



## Pancasilais Sufi: Kiai Asrori as a Portrait of Nationalist and Moderate Figure in Disruption Era

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**Abstract:** The relationship between Islam and the state is still debatable in Indonesia. Pancasila, as the foundation of the state, is also often contested, even though it was formulated by the Indonesian founding fathers through a very serious academic debate. This study will examine the role of K.H. Achmad Asrori Al-Ishaqi (hereafter Kiai Asrori) Kedinding Surabaya as a Pancasilaist Sufi. This is qualitative-based research, where the data were collected from Kiai Asrori's works and his lectures uploaded on YouTube, observations, and direct and indirect interviews. The findings show that Kiai Asrori is a Sufi who is able to demonstrate that there are similarities between the teachings of Sufism and nationalism, especially with Pancasila. Both even have a symbiotic association. Kiai Asrori is an ulama and a Sufi who upholds the values of nationalism and democracy, which are reflected in the Majelis Lima Pilar (Five Pillar Council) he established. This council was built on two foundations, namely the practice and teachings of Sufism and nationalism and democratic values.

**Contribution:** This study provides new insights into Sufi practices and teachings that align with Pancasila values reflected in the figure of Kiai Asrori.

**Keywords:** Kiai Asrori; Pancasilaist Sufi; moderate; nationalist; Disruption Era

## Introduction

Today, the Indonesian people are experiencing inequality in voicing religious values included in the fundamental values of Pancasila. This can be seen in the government's anti-political policy movement, which supports an excellent nationalist attitude, like the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) movement, which consistently campaigned for Islamic ideology or leadership by putting aside nationalism.<sup>1</sup> In addition, in the clashes in recent decades, the birth of the 212 movements was motivated by the case of the former Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, in 2017, who was accused of blasphemy against Islam. This event influenced the political perspective on society but was later silenced by nationalist groups.<sup>2</sup>

Based on the report recorded by Syamsun Ni'am et al., quoted from the Global Peace Index (GPI) research, globally, the emergence of Neo-liberalism is based on the ideas of capitalism in a group, which has an impact on knocking each other down and degrading each other. This is shown in the war between Israel and Palestine, which has still run until now.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, according to GPI, Indonesia is in the 46<sup>th</sup> position as a country with a high level of peace. It is on the same level as France, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United Arab Emirates, South Korea, and other countries.<sup>4</sup>

Supposedly, the Indonesian state based on Pancasila, which prospers its citizens in religious, ethnic, cultural, and social aspects, should be appreciated. However, this time, it is still a failure because Pancasila, as an ideology that builds intra-religious harmony, is experiencing a crisis of Pancasila values. The spirit of Pancasila is no longer a force to prosper the people and educate the nation; it is neglected by the neo-radicalism movement.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Hilali Basya and Hamka Hamka, "Cultural Capital, Islamism, and Political Distrust in Indonesia General Election: An Ethnicity-Based Community Engaged in Islamic Defenders Front (FPI)," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2023): 225, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v13i2.253-277>.

<sup>2</sup> Badrun Badrun et al., "Pancasila, Islam, and Harmonising Socio-Cultural Conflict in Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 61, no. 1 (November 19, 2023): 137–56, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2023.611.137-156>.

<sup>3</sup> Syamsun Ni'am & Anin Nurhayati, "TaPBUHuf Kebhinnekaan (The Sufism of Diversity) According to the Perspective of Indonesian Sufis: A Response toward the Problem of Diversity, Religiosity and Nationality in Indonesia," *International Journal* 7, no. 2 (2019): 3, <https://doi.org/10.15640/ijpt.v7n2a1>.

<sup>4</sup> Noorhayati, 3–4.

<sup>5</sup> I. Ihsan and Ahmad Fatah, "Pancasila and Islamic Education: The Deradicalization Model of Madrasahs Based on Islamic Boarding Schools in Central Java," *QIJS (Qudus)*

The issue of religious neo-radicalism in Indonesia seems to be increasingly prominent, especially after the bombing of street Thamrin near Sarinah Mall on January 14, 2015, by the ISIS group, which resulted in 8 deaths and 24 injuries.<sup>6</sup> Through the bombing tragedy, Indonesia seems to be serious about overcoming the issue of religious neo-radicalism with all efforts so that Indonesia becomes a peaceful and tolerant country again. This attracted the attention of the 'Ulama (Muslim scholars) and Kiai (Islamic teachers), who responded to peace by taking the position of Indonesian society as a nationalist color to realize a *wasat'iyya* (moderate) state. This can be seen in a figure from the Muslim circle of the archipelago who is called a Sufi.<sup>7</sup>

Sufi began to be known for their *da'wa* (preaching) style, which attracted the attention of the entire Indonesian Muslim community, starting from Wali Sanga (nine guardians) with his provisions of Sufism, such as Sunan Giri,<sup>8</sup> Sunan Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Kalijaga, and so on (d. 1506 AD), who spread Islam in Indonesia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD through their unique preaching pattern and were acceptable to the Javanese people.

In the archipelago, a Sufi figure from Surabaya, Indonesia, K.H. Achmad Asrori al-Ishaqi is seen as enlightening the diverse Indonesian society. This is then referred to as the beginning of the discussion of this article to further explore the form and characteristics of Kiai Asrori through an in-depth study of the teaching implied in Kiai Asrori's life journey.

This article aims to find the values of Pancasila brought by Kiai Asrori as a Sufi figure in his *da'wa* model that contributes to understanding Pancasila by instilling moderate values. It is also interesting if the fundamental Pancasila can

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*International Journal of Islamic Studies*) 9, no. 1 (July 21, 2021): 246, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v9i1.8941>.

<sup>6</sup> Mantalean Vitorio et, al, "Records of the Thamrin Bomb Tragedy: Planned in Prison, Executed by Recidivists - JEO Kompas.Com," accessed March 19, 2024, <https://jeo.kompas.com/catatan-tragedibom-thamrin-direncanakan-di-penjara-dieksekusi-residivis>.

<sup>7</sup> In his sense, a Sufi is a person who is an expert in the field of Sufism with the strengthening of peaceful Islamic values and tolerance makes a Sufi respected by many people. In addition, the word Sufi in Sufism literature explains that those who are always busy with worship and devotion to Allah, of course this can be said to be people who prioritize worship and rituals that bring them close to the Most Merciful.

<sup>8</sup> Sunan Giri has several names, namely Raden Paku, Prabu Satmata, Sang Hyang Giri Nata, Sultan Abdul Faqih, Raden 'Ainul Yaqin and Jaka Samudra. He was born in Blambangan in 1442 and was buried in the village of Giri, Kebomas Gresik. Muhammad Ali, "Muslim Diversity: Islam and Local Tradition in Java and Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 2011): 14, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v1i1.1-35>.

be used as a Sufi reference in building a paradigm that many Muslims in Indonesia can accept. This proves that the development of Islam can be used as material for a deeper analysis of the values behind the meaning of Pancasila.

Thus, studying the renewal of Sufi practice and teachings by Kiai Asrori is interesting. Pancasila Sufi, as a religious thought and practice initiated and exemplified by Sufis in Indonesia, cannot be separated from the socio-cultural contextualization of Indonesian society. Therefore, there are three assumptions underlying this research. First, Kiai Asrori is an excellent Sufi figure in the archipelago who can develop Sufism thought in taking the path to Allah through the postulates of the Qur'an, hadith, and written religious books. Second, reinterpreting Kiai Asrori's thoughts and teachings to respond to nationalism and moderate attitudes. Third, the implications of Kiai Asrori's Sufi Pancasila practices and teachings in the era of disruption. Of course, this phenomenon has attracted the author's attention to raise the issue behind the fascinating facts to be used as a study in this article.

## **Literature Review**

As can be seen, Pancasila is very closely related to the values practiced by Sufi figures because, as the nation's ideology, it is very relevant to Sufi teachings. In other words, every precept in Pancasila has been manifested with religious teachings in general, so Sufism cannot refuse the values contained in Pancasila. Meanwhile, in this section, the author studies figures who concentrate on Sufism's teachings, often known as Sufi. He is a figure who tends to pay attention to both exoteric and esoteric values so that his basis of da'wah in spreading Islam is always backed by spiritual understanding (Sufism).

In this regard, Sufi Pancasila here is presented as an alternative to solving people's problems about the meaning of Pancasila caused by differences in understanding, fanatical attitudes towards religion, and others that are not in line with the teachings of Sufi figures so that the implications of the ideology of nationalism and the moderate attitude of Indonesian society in achieving noble ideals and intra-community peace become difficult to be realized.

Through the above indicators, several works of literature explain Sufi in line with the values of moderate attitudes and nationalism, namely, Bambang et

al.,<sup>9</sup> Bindaniji et al.,<sup>10</sup> Ali Mudlofir et al.,<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Asif,<sup>12</sup> Khalimi et al.,<sup>13</sup> Iiker<sup>14</sup>. From the following literature review, the author has not found a figure from Kiai Asrori as a figure to be researched that explicitly contains the values of Pancasila practiced by him. The author wants to re-elevate the Sufi figure with a Pancasila personality by building a moderate attitude through his spiritual soul and the da'wah pattern that he has been doing so far so that emerges a portrait of Muslim intellectuals called Pancasilais Sufi.

## Method

The object of this article is Kiai Asrori al-Ishaqi's thoughts on his Sufistic journey, which is systematically arranged in his book entitled *al-Muntakhabāt fī Rābiṭah al-Qalbiyya wa Ṣilah al-Rūḥiyya*. This research uses the qualitative descriptive method because it reveals facts in the form of ideas, meanings, concepts, thoughts, and characteristics in an explanatory manner.<sup>15</sup> Thus, this article is a type of library research through a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology has significant implications for the development of Islamic studies research because it has a role in epoching, which produces old thinking to find a process system for analyzing a text, event, or data.

Carefully looking at solutions is also essential because it is related to reducing the data obtained; it needs to be arranged, filtered, and then provided a

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<sup>9</sup> Bambang Irawan, Rosmaria Syafariah Widjajanti, and Mohd Syahiran Abdul Latif, "The Practice of Sufism And Religious Moderation In The Kauman Pesantren Communities, Central Java, Indonesia," *Religia: Journal of Islamic Sciences* 26, no. 1 (2023): 21–39.

<sup>10</sup> Muhamad Bindaniji and Moh Ashif Fuadi, "Sufism and Religious Moderation in Counter Radicalism," *JURNAL ISLAM NUSANTARA* 6, no. 1 (2022): 103–14.

<sup>11</sup> Ali Mudlofir, Hisbullah Huda, and Achmad Sultoni, "Nationalism and Pancasila Education within Indonesian Islamic and National Universities: Mapping Students Responses to the Integration of Spiritual and Emotional Intelligence-Based Education," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 15, no. 2 (December 1, 2021): 387–408, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.2.387-408>.

<sup>12</sup> Muhammad Asif and Fakhri Abdul Aziz, "Al-Shaykh Maimoen Zubair wa Afkaruhu an Al-Islam of Al-Wathaniyah wa Al-Tasamuh fi Indonesia," *INDONESIAN JOURNAL OF ISLAM* 15, no. 1 (June 1, 2021): 223–46, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.1.223-246>.

<sup>13</sup> Khalimi Khalimi and Abu Khaer, "Islamic Theological Perspective on Pancasila Textbook in Higher Education," *TARBIYA: Journal of Education in Muslim Society* 7, no. 1 (September 23, 2020): 102–18, <https://doi.org/10.15408/tjems.v7i1.16718>.

<sup>14</sup> İlker Aytörk and Laurent Mignon, "Paradoxes of a Cold War Sufi Woman: Samiha Ayverdi between Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 49 (2013): 57–89.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*, 3rd ed (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 18.

solution. Meticulousness is a characteristic of *epoching* in the research process; before concluding research, *epoching* can be called data filtering, a kind of data reduction. Then, the characteristics of the *epoching* need to be known in detail, as well as the phenomenon of empirical data, without the logical involvement of the researcher with the data, but purely from empirical data. However, various data need to be communicated, especially if there are many differences of opinion. A middle ground is drawn to minimize contrasting differences.

The data obtained in presenting this article is extracted from understanding religious moderation as an aspect of general provisions and exploring the form of values contained in Pancasila. At least this method is an analytical tool where the portrait of Kiai Asrori can be identified as a Sufi figure who is resonant with the values of Pancasila. After obtaining quite concrete data in the study discourse, the author assembles the argument by conducting a critical analysis of the data found by filtering the data or reducing the data to produce an answer to the phenomenon in the discussion of this article.

The sources of the data listed above contain two elements, namely primary and secondary sources. As a primary source, it refers to the works of Kiai Asrori as a figure in research, such as *al-Muntakhabāt fī Rābiḥah al-Qalbiyya wa Ṣilah al-Rūḥiyya* and the book *Pedoman Kepengurusan Al-Khidmah*, as well as supporting works from his books that are still related to the study of Pancasila. Second, secondary sources refer to supporting data such as journals, research, field research, and interviews with informants who discuss the theme in this study.

## Results and Discussion

### Sufism and Pancasila: Tracing Historical and Genealogical Roots

For a country, building the foundation of the state or the basis of state philosophy (*philosophische grondslog*) is fundamental. Because the formation of a state foundation can be positioned as a reference or a kind of compass for the preparation of the constitution or other conventions, laws, and regulations, in other words, the basis of the state can be occupied as a basis for the activities and movements of a country.<sup>16</sup>

Pancasila is the basis of the state and the primary law in Indonesia. Pancasila is a term derived from Sanskrit, consisting of *panca*, which means five, and *sila*, which means foundation or basis. Another opinion states that *panca*

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<sup>16</sup> Pamela Cardinale et al., "Enculturated Education for Strengthening Character Education in Preventing Intolerance and Radicalism," *TARBIYA: Journal of Education in Muslim Society* 8, no. 1 (June 20, 2021): 25, <https://doi.org/10.15408/tjems.v8i1.20359>.

means five, and *sila* means several essential rules for good behavior.<sup>17</sup> The term Pancasila is also found in several ancient works of literature, such as in the book *Negarakertagama* by Prapanca; there is also found in the book *Sutasoma* written by ole Empu Tantular, whose content explains five necessary prohibitions, namely not to get drunk, lie, envy, steal and commit violence.<sup>18</sup> This ideology is written in the Indonesian constitution's preamble to the 1945 Constitution. The five pillars referred to here consist of 1) Belief in the one and only God, 2) Fair and civilized humanity, 3) Indonesian unity, 4) Democracy led by wisdom in representative deliberation, and 5) Social justice for all Indonesian people.<sup>19</sup>

In its history, the formulation of Pancasila cannot be separated from the spirit of Islam. It can be proven that the figures involved in the formulation and determination of Pancasila are Islamic nationalists. For example, KH. Wahid Hasyim (NU), KH. Mas Mansyur (NU), and Kiai Abdul Kahal Muzakkir (Indonesian Islamic Party). This Islamic nationalist group joined the BPUPKI and Panitia Sembilan (a committee of nine).<sup>20</sup> The one who proposed "The Almighty" in addition to the first precept was KH. Wahid Hasyim. According to him, this is a formulation that implicates monotheism for Muslims.<sup>21</sup>

In addition, the religiosity of Pancasila was re-strengthened when there was a heated debate about Islam and Pancasila at the Constituent Assembly (1956-1959). In this debate, the source of Pancasila was questioned again and criticized by Mohammad Natsir, the leader of the Masyumi Party, as a secular ideology. In addition to the source of Pancasila not from revelation, according to him, the indicator of the secularity of Pancasila is its neutrality, which anyone can interpret. However, this criticism was denied by Roeslan Abdul Ghani, a representative of the Indonesian National Party, by showing the religiosity of Pancasila. According to him, one of the sources of Pancasila is Islam, with

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<sup>17</sup> Abid Nurhuda, "Sufism Values in Pancasila as the Nation's Ideology," *Athena: Journal of Social, Culture and Society* 1, no. 3 (May 19, 2023): 104, <https://doi.org/10.58905/athena.v1i3.53>.

<sup>18</sup> Nurhuda, 104.

<sup>19</sup> Abdul Mu'ti and Ahmad Najib Burhani, "The Limits of Religious Freedom in Indonesia: With Reference to the First Pillar Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa of Pancasila," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 9, no. 1 (May 24, 2019): 116, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v9i1.111-134>.

<sup>20</sup> Mukhammad Abdullah, "The Contribution of Faith and Humanitarian Values of the Brotherhood of Love for the Indonesian Fatherland," *Theosofi: Journal of Sufism and Islamic Thought* 7, no. 1 (June 1, 2017): 251, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2017.7.1.249-272>.

<sup>21</sup> M. Rais Akbar, "Sufi Nationalist in the Qur'an: Portrait of Nationalist Islamic Intellectuals with Wasathiyah Personality," *At-Turas: Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (2020): 232–52, <https://doi.org/10.33650/at.turas.v7i2.1518>.

evidence of the precept of "Belief in the one and only God," which reflects monotheism. Although it is not expressly stated to be sourced from revelation, the divine precepts mark the inspiration of Islam in Pancasila.<sup>22</sup>

During the New Order period, in the National Conference of Alim Ulama NU in Situbondo, East Java, in 1983, an argument for harmony between Islam and Pancasila was formulated in several premises. *First*, Pancasila is not a religion and is not used as a substitute for religion. *Second*, the One God's precepts reflect the value of monotheism according to the Islamic faith. *Third*, for NU, Islam is faith and sharia. From here, the practice of Pancasila values is as essential as efforts in practicing Islamic sharia. The decision of the National Assembly was then confirmed at the 27<sup>th</sup> Congress of NU in the same place in 1984.<sup>23</sup>

Reinforcing the discussion above, Kiai Wahid Hasyim, in the formulation of Pancasila, once asked for consideration from his father, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. According to Kiai Hasyim, Pancasila is correct according to Sharia. Thus, the seven words "Islamic Shari'a" in the first precept should be deleted. In this case, Kiai Hasyim attaches great importance to the benefit of all Indonesian people because the disunity is a damage or *mafsada*.<sup>24</sup>

From all the historical facts above, it is clear that Pancasila strongly reflects the spirit of Islam. In fact, the formulation of Pancasila is not only theological and esoteric but also sociological, with the emergence of plurality in various lines of life, ranging from ethnicity, race, religion, belief, and so on. So, the existence of Pancasila is a mediation to maintain diversity and foster a moderate attitude toward others.

Then, the question is whether Pancasila can find an intersection with Sufism<sup>25</sup> as the heart of Islam itself? In this case, the author wants to lead towards the meaning of Pancasila into the squeeze of "trisila" ala Soekarno. This trisila argument appeared in Soekarno's speech during the BPUPK meeting on June 1, 1945. At that time, Soekarno mentioned the details of the trisila in the form of socio-nationalism, socio-democracy, and cultural divinity.

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<sup>22</sup> Syaiful Arif, "Islam and Pancasila after Reformasi: A Critical View of Nahdlatul Ulama," *Tashwirul Afkar* 38, no. 2 (2020): 193–212, <https://doi.org/10.51716/ta.v38i02.30>.

<sup>23</sup> Syaiful Arif, "Islam and Pancasila after Reformasi: A Critical View of Nahdlatul Ulama,"

<sup>24</sup> Zudi Setiawan, "The Role of Nahdlatul Ulama Figures in the Process of Formulating Pancasila as the Basis of the State of the Republic of Indonesia," *Spectrum: Journal of Political Science in International Relations* 18, no. 2 (2021): 80–95, <http://dx.doi.org/10.31942/spektrum.v18i2.4800>.

<sup>25</sup> Sufism or Sufism itself is an Islamic study that emphasizes the inner (esoteric) aspect, because it concerns the understanding and doctrine of the union of God and humans. In this context, some figures mention that Sufism is considered a private and transcendental study. Nurhayati, "Sufism of Diversity According to the Perspective of Indonesian Sufis."



The socio-nationalism in question is the nationalism of the Indonesian nation, which is different from European nationalism. European nationalism is more aggressive and prioritizes personal interests; in other words, according to Soekarno, the nationalism of Indonesian nationalism has a humanist understanding and prioritizes the interests of human life. This shows the compatibility with each other, which at the same time rejects oppression and strongly condemns the acts of colonialism and imperialism.<sup>26</sup>

In this case, the ideas within Indonesian nationalism can also be found in the world of Sufism. Through historical records, many Sufism movements, both individually through their figures and organizationally through the Tarekat movement, have transformed into a social movement that not only motivates some people to resist and expel colonialism but also mobilizes a large number of masses to enforce the legal, social, political and even economic dimensions. Thus, Muzakkir, in this case, said that Sufism is not just a transcendent realm but also enters the social sphere. Moreover, social Sufism offered by Amin Syukur not only separates *ḥaqīqa* (the essence) and *sharī'a* (the law) but also involves worldly life that does not separate the earthly and the hereafter. Social Sufism means that a Sufi must be active amid the development of society, nation, and state as a guide for the social responsibility of Sufism in the XXI century.<sup>27</sup>

Imitating the nationalism of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, Muhammad Ibn 'Alan stated that the nationalism he taught was about love based on solidarity and unity among fellow human beings who selflessly have the spirit to protect and develop the country. In his narration, the Prophet PBUH loved and longed for Makkah as his homeland. But on the other hand, he also showed his love for Medina as a place to live until the end of his life. The love of the Prophet PBUH is natural and ideal, without the slightest love for Medina, which reduces his love for Makkah or vice versa.<sup>28</sup>

Because the socio-nationalism in question is humanist towards the people's interests, this needs to be accompanied by a socio-democracy system. In its meaning, this democracy is the concept of *marhaenism*,<sup>29</sup> which means providing

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<sup>26</sup> Wendy Anugrah Octavian and Puspa Dianti, "Nasionalisme Dan Pancasila Perspektif Sukarno," *Journal on Education* 5, no. 3 (2023): 7553–62, <https://doi.org/10.31004/joc.v5i3.1512>.

<sup>27</sup> Muzakkir Muzakkir, "RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND MAHABBAH IN SUFI PERSPECTIVE," *Journal of THEOLOGIA* 23, no. 1 (September 4, 2017): 126, <https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2012.23.1.1763>.

<sup>28</sup> CLASSIC Scientific Study Forum Team, *The Breath of the Prophet: Living the Life of the Prophet PBUH in Religion and Nation* (Kediri: Lirboyo Press Publisher, 2022).

<sup>29</sup> Zulfa M., Ananda Lisa P.S, and Agustya Panca P., "Indonesian Democracy," *Journal of Citizenship*, n.d., Department of Engineering, Universitas Airlangga. adm.

the most expansive possible space for the majority of people in the economic-political system to control and manage the resources of the strategic economy intended for the prosperity and welfare of the people.<sup>30</sup> In short, this democracy provides synergy between political and economic democracy, which, in a sense, emphasizes equality in both fields.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, the cosmological approach in interpreting democracy in the fourth precept values citizenship and consensus deliberation. The precepts are explicitly sound words led by wisdom in deliberation and representation. This marks the principle of populism, unlike the liberal democratic system, which is based on the absolute freedom of the individual and the majority system. Instead, the democratic system is consensus deliberation in the sense of family deliberation.<sup>32</sup>

Such deliberations differ from general deliberations, which only take decisions from the majority of votes. In solving problems, family deliberation is passed through dialogue with each other, mutual understanding, and arguments, and then a joint decision is taken from consensus in a family atmosphere.<sup>33</sup>

By understanding the socio-democracy above, several keywords can be drawn to represent this principle: justice (equality) and family deliberation. In Islam, social justice in the socio-economic sense has become an important component that must be preserved. Islam regulates theological-religious matters and pays attention to socio-economics to achieve prosperity and equitable welfare. This has been affirmed in QS. al-Dhāriyāt: 19, which gives the understanding that every person's wealth has rights for people experiencing poverty; in other words, it needs to be given to them. Wealthy people who ignore the lives of the poor are considered to lie about religion. This is like those who reprimand the orphans of QS. al-Mā'ūn:1-3.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, the Islamic world also places deliberation as an essential principle to practice in every policy-making. It is proven that the Prophet PBUH, as a figure with capabilities above his companions, was the most intense in deliberation. Because with deliberation, the best policy can be achieved. In this

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<sup>30</sup> Octavian and Dianti, "Nationalism and Pancasila: Sukarno's Perspective."

<sup>31</sup> Miftahul Habib Fachrurozi, "The Democratic Revolution: An Idea to Improve Indonesian Democracy," *Mozaik: Historical Studies* 8, no. 1 (2016): 49–68, <https://doi.org/10.21831/moz.v8i1.10768>.

<sup>32</sup> Sunoto Sunoto, *Getting to Know the Philosophy of Pancasila* (Yogyakarta: PT. Hanindita Graha Widya, 1995).

<sup>33</sup> Wisudawan Mahasantri Ma'had Aly Lirboyo, *Critical Ideological Radical* (Kediri: Lirboyo Press, 2018).

<sup>34</sup> The CLASSIC Scientific Study Forum Team, *The Breath of the Prophet: Living the Life of the Prophet PBUH in Religion and Nation*.

case, the Prophet PBUH first fought for the ideal of realizing social justice for citizens in material and spiritual matters. However, the socialism of the Prophet PBUH is not doctrinal to socialist materialists but must be placed within the framework of divine values.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, a cultured divinity. Divinity in Pancasila is a typical Indonesian solution that faces and accepts the reality of religious pluralism. This means that this divine value embraces all religions in Indonesia. This is because the independence achieved is a gift God gave to the Indonesian nation for the unity upheld by the community. In addition, it also contains the value of respecting different beliefs in Indonesia, considering that this country is diverse and avoids acts of discrimination or violence between religious believers.<sup>36</sup>

Clarifying the above idea, Bernard Adeney revealed it with the term "Divinity with Unity in Diversity." This shows Indonesia's religious diversity model, which prioritizes equality and anti-discrimination. Soekarno called the Pancasila the Divinity of mutual cooperation. This means that Indonesia provides freedom to worship God by prioritizing the nature of tolerance, solidarity, and openness. All of these values must be practiced in Islam, Christianity, and other religions by appreciating and respecting each other.<sup>37</sup>

In this case, Abdul Karim al-Jilli is one of the Sufi figures with an apparent esoteric view of the phenomenon of diversity. According to him, religion is not only substantive but also ontological. For him, the essence of religion is devotion to God, all believers, and all His creatures, even in different ways or forms. As for ontologically, diversity results from *tajalli* (God's manifestation) through *asmā* and *ṣifāt* (His names and attributes). For this reason, religions will remain as long as God still reveals Himself through the medium of the universe.<sup>38</sup>

From here, in essence, Pancasila can be said to be perennial ideas or philosophy. This is because it has a noble, eternal, and acceptable nature for all people from different backgrounds, both from the dimensions of religion, culture,

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<sup>35</sup> CLASSIC Scientific Studies Forum Team.

<sup>36</sup> Ahmed Zarangi Ar Ridho, "TAFSIR PANCASILA: REFORMULATION OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION," *Proceeding IConIGC: International Conference on Islamic and Global Civilization*, 2021, 20.

<sup>37</sup> Stella Y.E. Pattipeilohy, "Cultured Godhead: Understanding Pancasila as a Model of Interculturality in Indonesia," *Echo Theologika: Journal of Contextual Theology and Philosophy of Divinity* 3, no. 2 (2018): 121–46, <https://doi.org/10.21460/gema.2018.32.363>.

<sup>38</sup> Syamsun Ni'am and Anin Nurhayati, "TaPBUHuf Kebhinnekaan (The Sufism of Diversity) According to the Perspective of Indonesian Sufis: A Response toward the Problem of Diversity, Religiosity and Nationality in Indonesia," *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology (IJPT)* 7, no. 2 (2019): 4, <https://doi.org/10.15640/ijpt.v7n2p1>.

ethnicity, ethnic groups, and factions. It can be clarified that Pancasila also spreads moderate values that align with Islamic values so that they do not need to be contradicted by each other.<sup>39</sup>

From all the above descriptions about Pancasila and Sufism, identification can be drawn that a Pancasila Sufi is a figure who practices the teachings of Sufism but also a Sufi who loves the homeland by implementing moderate Pancasila values. So, with the understanding and practice of Pancasila values here, it is difficult to reject differences in ethnicity, race, religion, and belief.

In the archipelago, several Sufi figures are moderate and inclusive towards pluralism. Among them is Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), who broadly understands the world and is cosmopolitan. For Gus Dur, the peak of Islamic cosmopolitanism was formed when everyone was free to express their thoughts. No matter how controversial, the mind must be given space to express itself.<sup>40</sup> People should not think and then be arrested. For this reason, Gus Dur tends to disagree with anarchist actions in the name of defending God or religion, even if they are true. Because, in essence, God does not need defense. Human faith or disbelief will not affect God's Oneness and Glory. In the understanding of cosmopolitanism, there is an attitude of acceptance and respect for humanity (human rights).<sup>41</sup>

Then, there are also the nine guardians, known as Wali Sanga, who have become famous as spreaders of diverse Sufism in the archipelago. The prominent features of Wali Sanga's teachings and *da'wa* practices are cultural, accommodating, and acculturative with local culture so that the community readily accepts what they preach.<sup>42</sup>

So, in this case, the author has found a barometer of how Sufi figures are called "Pancasilais." In a more specific discussion, the author wants to explore some of the indicators of Pancasilais personality from KH. Achmad Asrori al-Ishaqi, a *murshid* (teacher) of Tariqa *al-Qādiñyya wa al-Naqshabandīyya al-*

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<sup>39</sup> Sigit Priatmoko, "MAINSTREAMING MODERATE ISLAMIC VALUES THROUGH THE REVITALIZATION OF PANCASILA IN ISLAMIC EDUCATION," *2nd Precedings; Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars*, 2018, 736.

<sup>40</sup> Shofiyana Nadia Fairuz, "INTEGRATIVE VALUES OF SUFISM AND NATIONALISM WITHIN SANTRI COMMUNITIES AT PONDOK PESANTREN DAARUL ULUM WAL HIKAM YOGYAKARTA (LEADERSHIP AND CHARACTER BUILDING ANALYSIS)," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 7, no. 2 (December 21, 2018): 151–69, <https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v7i2.4402>.

<sup>41</sup> Muhammad Habibullah, "KOSMOPOLITANISME DALAM BUDAYA ISLAM," *As-Shuffah* 7, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 21, <https://doi.org/10.19109/as.v1i2.4859>.

<sup>42</sup> Ni'am and Nurhayati, "TaPBUHuf Kebhinnekaan (The Sufism of Diversity) According to the Perspective of Indonesian Sufis," 5.

*Uthmānīyya* in Surabaya. The reason is that the figure of Kiai Asrori is known to be moderate and inclusive. One of the proofs is his routine in socializing *tariqa* (Sufi order) to the community, both face-to-face in an event and with the narration of the book he wrote, *al-Muntakhabāt fī Rābiṭah al-Qalbiyya wa Ṣilah al-Rūḥiyya*. This makes it very urgent to see the information about Kiai Asrori's moderation thought, which closely correlates with the development pattern of the *tariqa* that everyone can accept. Because in the past, most people felt reluctant when they came into contact with Sufism, even to enter the dimension of the *tariqa*. Thus, the effort initiated by Kiai Asrori is a form of preventive action against radical attitudes toward religion.<sup>43</sup>

### **Kiai Asrori: Portrait of a Nationalist and Moderate Sufi**

Kiai Asrori, with his full name Achmad Asrori al-Ishaqi (d. 2019 AD), is said to be a Sufi figure who blends in with all of society. He is the son of Kiai Usman al-Ishaqi and was born to a mother named Nyai Hj. Siti Qomariyah binti Kiai Munadi.<sup>44</sup> He was also a *murshid* of *al-Qādirīyya wa al-Naqshabandīyya al-Uthmānīyya* Sufi order, which his father previously led.<sup>45</sup> Kiai Usman's leadership to Kiai Asrori is a form of charismatic transformative leadership to democratic leadership. According to Hamdani, Kiai Asrori's involvement as a replacement for his father is not a form of leadership hegemony because it has been organized in a democratic order. Kiai Asrori was elected as the *murshid* of the Sufi order.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, tracing Kiai Asrori as a nationalist figure can be seen from his tolerance and democracy. This is evident in the practice carried out by Kiai Asrori in developing the values contained in Pancasila, namely:

### **Kiai Asrori's Tradition of Religious Tolerance**

Kiai Asrori's involvement in the development of the times does not close itself to opening up opportunities for the spirit of religious tolerance. According to Sholihin, Pesantren Salaf al-Fithrah Salaf, which Kiai Asrori founded, implements a lot of religious tolerance. Among the most learned is that this Islamic boarding school is known for not giving a particular sentence to teachings

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<sup>43</sup> Muhammad Zakki Muhtar, "Religious Moderation in the Book of Sufism Al-Muntakhabāt by KH. Ahmad Asrori Al-Ishaqi," *Journal of Religious Literature* 19, no. 1 (July 2, 2021): 290, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v19i1.928>.

<sup>44</sup> "Konsep Sufistik KH. (Yogyakarta: Bildung, 2019), 13-14.

<sup>45</sup> Robith Hamdany, "Transformation of Charismatic Leadership Towards Democratization," *Journal of Young Politics* 1, no. 1 (2012): 9.

<sup>46</sup> Hamdany, 12.

other than Islam. This refers to the first precept of Pancasila, "Belief in the one and only God". Kiai Asrori implemented the value of the first precept by encouraging learning yoga and gymnastics. Afterward, the management of the Islamic boarding school established it as an obligatory activity for students every Sunday morning, yet gymnastics does not come from Islamic teachings.

In this case, the highlighted idea is that interreligious tolerance is what Kiai Asrori built as a form of moderate attitude, which is reflected in the first precept of Pancasila. Structurally, the students carry out the activity according to practical awareness through the management of the administrator of the Islamic boarding school, which is also an agent. Until now, students have been carrying out yoga exercises every Sunday morning, led by senior students mandated by the *Asā'īdh* council to lead gymnastics.<sup>47</sup>

In another story, interfaith tolerance is applied outside the Islamic boarding school during the *Haul Akbar* (the great annual commemoration of the figure's death) in Bali. Not only Muslims attend the *Haul Akbar* event, which al-Khidmah, founded by Kiai Asrori, organizes. However, there are also Hindu figures who participate in the *dhikr* ceremony. This proves that the attitude of nationalism and tolerance has been taught by Kiai Asrori, which is applied in Pesantren al-Fithrah and its surroundings as a form of tolerance between religious communities. This means that the management of al-Khidmah has instilled tolerance inherited by Kiai Asrori. Al-Khidmah is an open assembly and is not limited to certain groups. The board of directors always holds this.<sup>48</sup>

### Democracy in the Five-Pillar Council

Through a cosmological approach, democracy can be seen from the fourth precept, which reads, "Democracy led by wisdom in deliberation and representation." This precept is valuable for citizenship and consensus deliberation. In this precept, the term citizenship is explicitly sounded, not democracy. In addition, this precept is reaffirmed by sounding words "deliberation and representation". These two elements indicate that the people's principle in this precept is not like the liberal democratic system, which is based on the absolute freedom of the individual and the majority system. Instead, the democratic system contained in this precept is consensus deliberation in the sense that the deliberation contained in this precept is family deliberation.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Choirus Sholihin, *Interview*, Surabaya, March 10, 2024

<sup>48</sup> Sholihin, *Interview*.

<sup>49</sup> Ainul Yaqin, "The Implications of the Qur'an in the Manifestation of Mathematical Science and the Ethos of Pancasila", 20

Such deliberations differ from general deliberations, which only take decisions from the majority of votes. In solving problems, family deliberation is through mutual dialogue, mutual understanding, and arguments, and then a joint decision is taken from consensus in a family atmosphere. Likewise, this fourth precept also sounds like the people are elevated to be able to speak through representation.<sup>50</sup>

In this context, through the teachings of Sufism and the Sufi order, Kiai Asrori, as a *murshid* as well as the caretaker of the Islamic boarding school, made a breakthrough that is not only related to the Sufi order teachings and the boarding school system. From here, Kiai Asrori has the authority to form several institutions with their powers in each region. The institutions in question are the "Five Pillars," which include the management of Tariqa Qādirīyya, the management of al-Khidmah Indonesia Foundation, the management of Pesantren al-Fithrah, the management of the al-Khidmah followers and the prominent family of Kiai Asrori. Kiai Asrori successfully managed a new system so that some existing institutions would run well and not become extinct after he left them. Even today, these institutions, commonly called the five pillars, run smoothly in carrying out several rules and systems.<sup>51</sup>

The five-pillar council mentioned above also recognizes the existence of the majority of leadership procedures and the rationality of agreements in the community as well as the agreement of the five-pillar council regarding the similarity of perceptions of each pillar to the will of Kiai Asrori which was stipulated in Surabaya on September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Therefore, the central concept of democracy was adopted in the five-pillar council (Majelis Lima Pilar). The statement that gave rise to democracy was immediately agreed upon by the people and made into a *Basic National Building* in a country.<sup>52</sup>

The concept of democracy in the five pillars is somewhat different from the concept of democracy embraced by each country. The leader's figure shelters the democratic system, and voting is the basis of a country. However, this did not happen to the five-pillar council system that Kiai Asrori had inherited from his students and followers. Democracy should stand on the people who establish agreement, but in practice, the people's consent is organized; in other words, democracy has become a form of organization-compromise between the leader and those led. To make a policy, the five-pillar council opens up room for compromise but does not open room for voting or election in every policy

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<sup>50</sup> AFKAR Graduates of Mahasantri Ma'had Aly Lirboyo Academic Year 2018-2019, *Criticism of Radical Ideology*, 421-422.

<sup>51</sup> Hamdany, "Charismatic Leadership Transformation Towards Democratization," 12.

<sup>52</sup> Hamdany, 13.

determination. The determination of a policy must be taken by consensus in a deliberative forum.

Thus, the five-pillar council becomes a form of organization. Still, no leadership exists, so every policy is determined by deliberating the five existing pillars. So, each pillar has a system, and each pillar has the authority to determine its policies within the scope of its management. As for those related to significant problems that have an impact on all pillars, the mechanism that runs is the five-pillar council mechanism. In each pillar, a leader or representative is used as the center of consideration, so in the deliberation of the five-pillar assembly, the leaders or representatives represent the attitude of the majority of the pillar members.<sup>53</sup>

From there, it can be seen that the value of democracy exists in the phenomenon of the five-pillar assembly. In this case, Kiai Asrori created a new system by breaking through the existing structure. He created a new system in the form of management institutions in certain areas. He positioned himself and his family outside the existing management. This is evidenced by a five-pillar council, with the fifth pillar being the prominent family. Meanwhile, the five-pillar council has a rule that all five pillars have the same policy, meaning there is no single leadership. Therefore, every policy determination is carried out deliberatively by the five pillars. This is what is meant by the form of democracy in the five-pillar council.

### **The Reflection on Kiai Asrori as a Pancasilaist Sufi in the Disruption Era.**

Based on the above explanation, Kiai Asrori dramatically influences the formation of a nationalist character, not only affecting the students and congregations he leads but also having a broad impact on solving the problems of nationalism and moderation in the life of society, nation, and state. This can be found through the prism of thought that Kiai Asrori builds and practices daily. This implication can be felt by all levels of Indonesian society, with the solidity of unity that has not been shaken by anything until now.

The implication of Kiai Asrori's Sufi thoughts with Pancasila values can be felt by all Indonesian people to this day, at least can be seen from the national trident that has been mentioned in the previous sub in the form of socio-nationalism, socio-democracy, and cultural Divinity. This can be seen as follows:

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<sup>53</sup> Rifat Masduki, "The Thoughts of KH Achmad Asrori Al-Ishaqy (Study on the Development Pattern of the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah Ottoman Order of Surabaya)," n.d., 13–14, accessed March 21, 2024.



*First*, as a socio-nationalist, Kiai Asrori is the leader and even the caretaker of Pesantren al-Fithrah. Countless students and alumni have been successfully educated. In addition, the culture of *sami'nā wa aṭa'nā* (we hear and obey) to the government has become a jargon that his followers cannot abandon, whether they live in Islamic boarding schools or are alumni. This happens because there is a belief in the *pesantren* that if the culture of *sami'nā wa aṭa'nā* has been eliminated and ignored, it will impact the loss of blessings and benefits of the knowledge obtained in the *pesantren*. This has implications for everything related to the Sufistic teachings and practices of Kiai Asrori to be part of socio-nationalism that must be followed and obeyed.

*Second*, apart from being the highest leader of the *pesantren* who has control over students and alumni, he is also considered a figure who is respected by the community and is called a figure who plays a role in socio-democracy. Kiai Asrori's involvement in maintaining a socio-democracy never recedes. Through the organization of Five Pillars founded by Kiai Asrori, the organization al-Khidmah, and the institute he leads, he directly and significantly influences the sustainability of society, nation, and state. Therefore, hardly any organization he founded does not support and defend the sustainability of socio-democracy. Because they are aware that opposing or distorting the existence of socio-democracy is the same as betraying the results of *ijtihad* (independent thought) built by the Kiai, this also indicates that Kiai Asrori's Sufi views on the relationship between Sufi and Nationalism (Pancasilais) are complementary.

*Third*, Kiai Asrori is a Sufi amid religious and cultural diversity. He realized Indonesia was founded on inevitable pluralism regarding beliefs, ethnicities, and races. Therefore, this religious and cultural diversity must be managed properly so as not to cause conflicts in the future. In managing religious and cultural diversity, a building is needed to build solidarity or unite various existing differences. The most influential building in managing the nation still considered the most suitable is the "Cultural Divinity" (Pancasila).

Based on that, Kiai Asrori has reflected on the cultural building of God with the presence of al-Khidmah assembly in the city of Bali, Denpasar. As explained earlier, in the ceremony, not only Muslims attended the *Haul Akbar* event, but also Hindu figures participated in the *dhikr* ceremony to respect the Hindu-majority culture in Balinese society.

Thus, the Sufism of Kiai Asrori can be said to be Sufis-Pancasilais in absorbing various aspects of Pancasila, both in divinity, humanity, and democracy in this archipelago. So, Pancasila was chosen as the best tool to govern the nation to date. Through the product of teachings and thoughts from the charismatic figure of Kiai Asrori, it is then implicated in the order of

nationalism and a moderate attitude that is good and in line with the teachings of Islam in Indonesia.

## **Conclusion**

A Sufi figure who echoes Pancasila's values, Kiai Asrori al-Ishaqi, could not just be separated from the fundamental order of Pancasila; this is called the *trisila* of Pancasila, namely socio-nationalism, socio-democracy, and cultural divinity. Kiai Asrori has taught and practiced these three aspects in every *da'wa* he conveys to the community.

These three ways, as Kiai Asrori thoughts in his Sufism teachings on how to achieve the *trisila* of Pancasila, must be through (1) the tradition of tolerance between fellow communities, (2) building a socio-democratic organization system called "al-Khidmah" together. In his methodology, Kiai Asrori positions himself as an inclusive leader, accepts the opinions of his members, and positions himself as equal to others.

Kiai Asrori is a Sufi-Pancasilais in terms of the absorption process of various aspects of Pancasila, divinity, humanity, and democracy in this archipelago. So, Pancasila was chosen as the best tool to govern the nation to date. Through the product of teachings and thoughts from the charismatic figure of Kiai Asrori, it is then implicated in the order of nationalism and a moderate attitude that is good and in line with the teachings of Islam in Indonesia.

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