

THE POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS IJTIHAD OF NAHDLATUL ULAMA ON THE CONCEPTS OF GUIDED DEMOCRACY, NASAKOM, AND MANIPOL-USDEK (1959-1965)

Abdullah Firdaus;¹ Hermanto Harun;² Andri Nurjaman;³
Doli Witro;⁴ Mhd. Rasidin⁵

¹UIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi; ²UIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi;

³UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung; ⁴UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung;

⁵Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kerinci

¹abd.firdaus@uinjambi.ac.id; ²hermantoharun76@uinjambi.ac.id;

³andrienurjaman99@gmail.com; ⁴doliwitro01@gmail.com;

⁵mhd.rasidin02@gmail.com

Abstract: *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) has been an Islamic political party since formally separated from Masyumi in 1952. Following this, the NU party maintained a close relationship with President Soekarno, particularly during the period of Guided Democracy, which was marked by the issuance of the Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959. However, NU's acceptance of Guided Democracy and its components was not immediate; instead, it involved a process of religious and political ijtihad (independent reasoning) by NU scholars. In this context, NU's acceptance and support for the concepts of Guided Democracy, Nasakom (Nationalism, Religion, and Communism), and Manipol-USdek (the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution) were framed through an Islamic approach. This paper aims to explore and analyze NU's siyasah-diniyyah (religious-political ijtihad) regarding these political concepts. This study employs a qualitative research approach, utilizing the historical method, which involves the stages of heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Historical sources relevant to the theme of this research were gathered and analyzed. The findings indicate that the siyasah-diniyyah ijtihad of Nahdlatul Ulama represented support for the ideas and political thought of NU's clerical leaders in responding to President Soekarno's new political system, particularly Guided Democracy, Nasakom, and Manipol-USdek. NU's religious and political stance can be seen in the thoughts of Kiai Haji Wahab Chasbullah, the Ro'is Syuriah (Chairman) of PBNU, accepted Guided Democracy as consistent with Islamic teachings and viewed the 1945 Constitution as an embodiment of the Jakarta Charter. Additionally, the perspective of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid, Chairman of Tanfidziyah PBNU, is also significant, as he contributed to bridging the gap between Guided Democracy and Islam*

through the concept of shuro, involving experts and emphasizing full responsibility in decision-making.

Keywords: *Ijtihad Siyasah-Diniyyah; Guided Democracy; Manipol-Usdek; Nahdlatul Ulama; Nasakom*

Introduction

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), established in 1928¹ and the most prominent Islamic organization in Indonesia, is a religious organization² that shares a common ground with President Soekarno, particularly in the realm of nationalism. This ideological alignment between NU and President Soekarno is rooted in their shared commitment to nationalism. While the origins of their respective nationalist concepts differ, both NU—during Guided Democracy, when it became a political party representing Islam in Indonesia—and President Soekarno pursued similar nationalistic goals. This common ideological ground formed the basis of their collaboration, particularly in the political history of Indonesia. However, NU's proximity to President Soekarno has been criticized, with some accusing the organization of engaging in

¹Syafiq Hasyim, "Fatwas and Democracy: Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI, Indonesian Ulema Council) and Rising Conservatism in Indonesian Islam," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 8, no. 1 (2020): 21–35; Andri Nurjaman et al., "Nahdlatul Ulama Theological Basis in Accepting the Concept of Guided Democracy 1959-1965," *FIITRAH: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman* 8, no. 2 (2022): 345–362, <http://jurnal.iain-padangsidempuan.ac.id/index.php/F/article/view/5964>; Asep Achmad Hidayat et al., "Nahdlatul Ulama in Facing the Guided Democracy 1959-1965: An Overview of Social and Political Factors," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 20, no. 2 (2022): 567–598, <https://jlka.kemenag.go.id/index.php/lektur/article/view/1069>.

²Alexander Arifianto, "Nahdlatul Ulama and Its Commitment Towards Moderate Political Norms: A Comparison Between the Abdurrahman Wahid and Jokowi Era," *Journal Of Global Strategic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2021): 77–114; Ishomuddin Ishomuddin, "Construction of Socio-Cultural and Political Orientation of The Followers of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in the Post Reform Era in East Java Indonesia," *Global Journal of Politics and Law Research* 2, no. 2 (2014): 39–51, <https://www.eajournals.org/journals/global-journal-of-politics-and-law-research-gjplr/vol-2issue-2-june-2014/construction-socio-cultural-political-orientation-followers-muhammadiyah-nahdlatul-ulama-nu-post-reform-era-east-java-indonesia-2/>.

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opportunistic and pragmatic politics for the sake of power.³ Despite these criticisms, President Soekarno maintained a close relationship with NU based on his analysis of the organization's role. He viewed NU from three perspectives: its religious significance, its contribution to nationalism, and its ideals for social progress.⁴

From a religious perspective, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is an Islamic religious organization that advocates for the defense of Islam, and for this reason, President Soekarno, who was himself a religious leader, embraced NU. Soekarno hoped that NU would likewise support him in his political endeavors. From a nationalist perspective, NU's deep love for its homeland was evident through its active participation in the Indonesian Revolution. NU contributed both its resources and its blood to the struggle for independence, playing a crucial role in the efforts to establish a strong, unified state: the Republic of Indonesia. NU helped unite the vast archipelago from Sabang to Merauke into one mighty nation through sacrifices, hard work, and dedication. Based on these contributions, President Soekarno found ample reasons to respect and value NU. Finally, from the perspective of social ideals, NU asserted that socialism is not inherently opposed to Islam; on the contrary, socialism aligns with Islamic principles and represents the true ideal of Islam. For these reasons, Soekarno concluded that NU had significantly contributed to the Indonesian Revolution.

The socialism in question is Indonesian, namely, socialism adapted to Indonesia's climate, beliefs, customs, and conditions. Indonesian socialism is Islamic socialism that has been taught and practiced since 1400 years ago. This Islamic socialism is based on Q.S. al-Alaq, al-Muddatsir, and al-Dhuha. In these three Surahs, Allah Swt. has ordered and outlined humanity to know themselves and surrender themselves to God to be knowledgeable and work hard, and ultimately, all of this must be intended to elevate the status of the poor, peasants, laborers, and all humans who are in need.

This ideological similarity factor has made Nahdlatul Ulama one of the political parties that have become a loyalist Islamic party to the leadership of President Soekarno since the parliamentary democracy

³Imam Muhlis, *Ijtihad Kebangsaan Soekarno Dan NU* (Kebumen: CV Tangan Emas Publisher, 2013), 10.

⁴Idham Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," *Majalah Api Islam*, Nomor 1 (Juli, 1965), 33.

period⁵, even the NU Party itself during the transition to the implementation of guided democracy. NU accepted the concept of democracy and supported its thoughts through Islamic studies.⁶ So, the efforts of NU figures to bridge the gap between Nasakom and Manipol-Usdek during the period of guided democracy followed Islam's teachings and spirit. This was done by the Traditionalist party to reduce President Soekarno's inclination towards the PKI so that President Soekarno's attention could be diverted to Islamic elements and to prove that the Islamic community represented by NU could be in harmony with the revolutionary ideals that President Soekarno had so strongly echoed.

Several studies have discussed the same topic as this research. Among others, research by Asep Achmad Hidayat et al. about Nahdlatul Ulama in facing the Guided Democracy 1959-1965 in an overview of social and political factors.⁷ Furthermore, research by Asa'ari et al. about the title *waliyul amri adh-dharuri bi syaukah* as NU's support to Soekarno in Guided Democracy 1959-1965.⁸ Furthermore, Andri Nurjaman et al. researched Nahdlatul Ulama's theological basis in accepting the concept of Guided Democracy 1959-1965.⁹ On another occasion, Andri Nurjaman et al. also researched Islamic political figures in the Indonesian old-order era, which focused on studying KH Idham Chalid's thoughts on accepting the concept of Guided Democracy in 1965.¹⁰ The above studies have similarities with this research in that they both discuss

⁵Hari Zamharir et al., "Elite Deliberation As Deliberative Democracy: Experience of Walisongo and Nahdlatul Ulama in Nusantara/Indonesia," *Journal of Social Political Sciences* 1, no. 4 (2020): 285–297, <http://e-journal.unas.ac.id/index.php/jsps/article/view/31/>.

⁶Rina Andriani Hidayat, "The Existence of the Nahdlatul Ulama Party in the Guided Democracy Era," *Journal of Nahdlatul Ulama Studies* 3, no. 1 (2022): 1–21.

⁷Hidayat et al., "Nahdlatul Ulama in Facing the Guided Democracy 1959-1965: An Overview of Social and Political Factors."

⁸Asa'ari Asa'ari et al., "Title Waliyul Amri Adh-Dharuri Bi Syaukah As Nu'S Support to Soekarno in Guided Democracy 1959-1965," *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* 7, no. 2 (2022): 215–230, <https://journal.blasemarang.id/index.php/analisa/article/view/1784>.

⁹Nurjaman et al., "Nahdlatul Ulama Theological Basis in Accepting the Concept of Guided Democracy 1959-1965."

¹⁰Andri Nurjaman et al., "Tokoh Politik Islam Era Orde Lama Indonesia: Kajian Pemikiran KH Idham Chalid Dalam Menerima Konsep Demokrasi Terpimpin Tahun 1965," *Isblab: Jurnal Ilmu Usbuluddin, Adab dan Dakwah* 4, no. 1 (2022): 53–74, <https://jurnalfuad.org/index.php/ishlah/article/view/132>.

Nahdlatul Ulama and the Concept of Guided Democracy. However, no research above discusses the *Ijtihad siyasah-diniyyah* of Nahdlatul Ulama concerning the concepts of guided democracy, Nasakom, and Manipol-Usdek specifically.

This article aims to find out and analyze the *ijtihad siyasah-diniyyah* of Nahdlatul Ulama on the concept of guided democracy, Nasakom, and Manipol-Usdek. This article focuses on three things: First, *ijtihad siyasah-diniyyah* of Nahdlatul Ulama on the concept of Guided Democracy; Second, the form of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's political thought support; and Third, campaigning the concept of Nasakom and Manipol-Usdek through Api Islam Magazine.

Method

This article is a qualitative research. The historical method used in this study consists of heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography stages. Historical sources in the writing process are collected based on materials relevant to the Author theme. First, heuristics or the process of gathering sources to be studied¹¹, namely regarding *Ijtihad siyasah-diniyyah* of Nahdlatul Ulama on the Concept of Guided Democracy, Nasakom, and Manipol-Usdek. Second, the sources obtained are criticized or analyzed to obtain the validity of these sources, in this critique process, a source selection process is also carried out to determine whether or not a source is accurate in terms of its content so that the source can be accounted.¹² Third, historical interpretation or analysis combines several facts and data obtained.¹³ Fourth, the last stage of historiography is compiling historical facts from various sources obtained, criticized, and interpreted by a theory, so the final presentation is a historical writing report.

¹¹Sulasman Sulasman, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2014), 93.

¹²Dudung Abdurahman, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999), 11.

¹³Sulasman, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah*, 107.

Result and Discussion

***Ijtihad Siyasah-Diniyyah* of Nahdlatul Ulama on the Concept of Guided Democracy**

In 1959, Nahdlatul Ulama held its 22nd Congress in Jakarta. In the NU Congress, Kiai Haji Wahab Chasbullah delivered his opening speech to the members in *ijtihad siyasah-diniyyah*, or political-religious thinking, in connection with the Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959 and the return to the 1945 Constitution. In the *iftitah* speech delivered by Rois Amm PBNU Kiai Haji Wahab Chasbullah at the XXII NU Congress in Jakarta in 1959, there were three primary considerations, namely¹⁴:

First, we (read: NU) return to the 1945 Constitution, which means returning to gain complete confidence in our hearts and souls to achieve the ideals outlined by our struggle to defend and defend independence, which became the basis for the formation of the Constitution. Second, along with the announcement of the return to the 1945 Constitution by P.J.M., the President, the implementation of guided democracy was also stated. Defining the term democracy considering the many broad meanings of this definition, it can be said that insofar as what is meant by democracy is that democratic methods do not conflict with religious teachings and claims but are based on deliberation and deliberation among people who have been appointed as representatives people, deliberations between scholars, experts in their respective fields, deliberations within the circle of people who are entrusted with determining attitudes and decisions, and besides that democracy upholds and protects individual rights as members of society and emphasizes the importance of providing the same priority for the common good. In the sense of democracy based on the principle of deliberation, it is not what we hope for in the form of an arrangement of ways of governing, but we hope for the implementation of democracy in its broadest sense and meaning in the field of our life as a society in its three basic fields, namely the political field, the social field and economics. Third, it would have been very wise if President Soekarno took a stand when calling for the Presidential Decree to be returned to the 1945 Constitution and that

¹⁴Wahab Chasbullah, *Kaidah Berpolitik Dan Bernegara (Wahab Chasbullah)* (Depok: Langgar Swadaya Nusantara, 2015), 51.

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the Jakarta Charter is the soul of the 1945 Constitution and is an inseparable part of it, clearly stated.

The above is the basis for Nahdlatul Ulama's acceptance of Pancasila and returning to the 1945 Constitution with the significant title Basis for NU's Acceptance of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution issued by the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board in 1959.¹⁵ Nahdlatul Ulama believes that all developments and changes in the field of politics and state administration, through the realization of the party's mission and sovereignty over goals and national security, are essentially through reflection to find the right path and in the context of maintaining security, our efforts for the integrity of the state and nation to realizing a just, peaceful, and prosperous society under the protection of Allah Swt.

Wisdom in representative deliberations is an important link for NU in participating in solving problems that are the wishes and interests of all Indonesian people. Therefore, NU will always take a middle path to overcome the country's difficulties if it does not damage the ideological essence and fundamental beliefs that NU adheres to. Since the idea of guided democracy was put forward, NU has expressed its welcome that it should emphasize the word "democracy" because it has become a role model for NU's belief that democracy without a leader can lead to forms of anarchism. However, something that is guided without democracy is essentially a form of dictatorship, and both violate the principles NU upholds.

NU has long been inviting other factions to speed up the constituent work. If NU were ever to suggest Pancasila-Islam as the basis of the state, it would be nothing but to prevent undecided constituent breakdowns, bearing in mind that this constituent has been able to produce much work even though the material suggested by NU did not reduce the content in the treasury of Pancasila and Islam as far as could be achieved considering the reality. If the constituent assembly is recommended to elect the 1945 Constitution as the State Constitution, then NU, if it feels that this proposal cannot be implemented, will be prepared to accept, with the understanding that the ratification of the 1945 Constitution is postponed. This means accepting everything related to historical documents, including the Jakarta Charter, as baboons and as the soul of the 1945 Constitution.

¹⁵Chasbullah, *Kaidah Berpolitik Dan Bernegara (Kumpulan Tulisan KH Wabab Chasbullah)*, 61–62.

In this case, NU, traditionalist clerics quickly adapt to the concept of guided democracy. Kiai Haji Wahab Chasbullah, the PBNU's Sharia council chairman, agreed with guided democracy and added that norms and morals must guide democracy. Without leadership, democracy will fall into anarchy, both anarchy and dictatorship contradict democracy itself.

Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's Political Thought Support

Kiai Haji Idham Chalid gave his ideas or thoughts regarding NU's participation in Nasakom by advancing the argument that the majority does not necessarily know what is good for the nation. Kiai Haji Idham Chalid quotes H.R al-Adjuri from Anas R.a.:

*“Truly the Ulama on this earth are like the stars in the sky, with him (My Ummah) getting guidance (if) in darkness, both on land and at sea.”*¹⁶

Kiai Haji Idham Chalid then quoted President Sukarno saying that guided democracy had nothing to do with communism. Ki Hajar Dewantara had told *demokratie met Leiderschap* in 1926 about the democracy that Indonesia needed. In addition, the term *demokratie met Leiderschap* is often associated with Ki Hajar Dewantara's own “family democracy,” Family democracy is the basis of upbringing that fosters independence, self-centeredness, populism, independence and commitment, and understanding progress as part of the natural evolution of the system between them. One aspect of the among system is “acting as a leader, influencing from behind, uplifting students when in their midst, and setting an example when in front of them.”¹⁷

The concept of family democracy (as in family life) aims for a society where everyone is equal, has the same rights, and is equally free and independent. However, if every individual freedom can disrupt public order and security, decisive rescue actions are needed, and wise leaders act in deliberations with other decision-makers, formulated as deliberative or representative policies in Pancasila.¹⁸ Even Prime Minister Ir. Djuanda stated that democracy is a means, not a goal. The goal is a just and prosperous society, as well as a happy society, both materially and spiritually. Democracy as a tool must be considered regarding

¹⁶Idham Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin* (Jakarta: Api Islam, 1965), 8.

¹⁷Ahmad Muhajir, *Idham Chalid Guru Politik Orang NU* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2007), 63.

¹⁸Muhajir, *Idham Chalid Guru Politik Orang NU*, 63–64.

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freedom of thought and expression, recognizing certain limitations. These limits are the limits of people's interests, morality, and responsibility to God.¹⁹

This was shown by Kiai Haji Idham Chalid because he had long been active as a figure who defended the interests of Muslims, as was the case in 1946, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid had joined the Leadership Council of the Indonesian Muslim Sarekat (SERMI) in Amuntai. Then, in 1952, he served as head of Ma'arif NU education and the caretaker of Darul Ma'arif Islamic College in Cipete Jakarta. Since 1956, he has been elected as Chairman of the Tahfidziyyah PBNU. In 1960, I was a caretaker at the Orphan Education College at Darul Qur'an Cisarua Bogor. Kiai Haji Idham Chalid was also the founder of the Islamic Mission (NU) in 1970, founder of Nahdlatul Ulama University, and Leader of *Jamiyah Thariqoh al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nabdiyyah* (JATMAN). In the period from 1962 to 1964, he was chairman of the National Islamic Mission Leadership as well, Chair of the Central-level Islamic Party Consultative Body, chairman of the Asian-African Islamic Conference (KIAA), chairman of the Asian-African Islamic organization, and since 1973 Kiai Haji Idham Chalid became President of the United Development Party (PPP).²⁰

In addition, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid talked about the relationship between Islam and democracy. According to him, in Islam, majority rule must go hand in hand with the right to truth, according to experts. Regardless of rights or expertise, listening to the majority's voice is insufficient and can lead to danger or misdirection. This is as warned by Allah Swt. in His words in the Al-Qur'an Surah al-An'am verse 116, which reads:

وَإِنْ تَطِيعَ أَكْثَرَ مَنْ فِي الْأَرْضِ يُضِلُّوكَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ يَتَّبِعُونَ إِلَّا الظَّنَّ وَإِنْ هُمْ إِلَّا
يَخْرُصُونَ

Meaning: "And if you obey most of those upon the earth, they will mislead you from the way of Allah. They follow not except assumption, and they are not but falsifying."

¹⁹Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 10.

²⁰Idham Chalid, *Muktasor Dalail Khoirot Wal Manaqib KH Idham Chalid* (Jakarta: Dar Al-Syakirin, 1992), 2.

According to Kiai Haji Idham Chalid, democracy in the view of Islam must be as follows²¹: First, deliberation in matters without authentic text must be prioritized (Revelation from Allah Swt.). Second, the results of deliberations should be filtered by not always emphasizing the majority vote solely. The personality in the expertise (work) of the people consulted is an important factor, more important than the number of people. From this, we can see the attitude of acceptance of NU through Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's thoughts are in line with the thoughts of Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Djuanda, Ir Soekarno, and other figures regarding the concept of liberal democracy, which is indeed not suitable to be implemented or implemented in Indonesia.

Regarding democracy, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid, in his book "Islam and Guided Democracy," which contains material presented at PTI Nahdlatul Ulama Surakarta to students, states that there are two elements of democracy: political democracy and social democracy. The important thing to look at when evaluating democracy is the degree to which people have freedom of expression, in other words, the extent to which the ruling party respects and supports these considerations, and from what organization they belong, it develops, and how many forces operate in each area country.²² People who feel that their country is governed by deliberation rather than rights emanating from democracy itself, called democracy, also seek advice about what community, to a certain degree, is based on.

Consultation in one country is the thermometer for democracy. Experience and history show that other rights generally cease when the right to vote or be consulted is abolished. From this point of view, deliberation is the minimum necessary to implement democracy in a country.²³ Further regarding Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's thoughts on guided democracy, he previously quoted President Soekarno's public lecture in front of Padjadjaran University students in May 1958 that democracy had nothing to do with communism and that Indonesia needed guided democracy.

Also, the statement of Prime Minister Ir. H. Djuanda during the cabinet of Karya period in the plenary meeting of the DPR on March 2, 1959, was as follows:

²¹ Andree Feullard, *NU Vis-à-Vis Negara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1995), 91.

²² Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 33.

²³ Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 33.

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“Meanwhile, democracy is a tool, not a goal. The goal is, namely, a just and prosperous society, a society full of material and spiritual happiness. As a tool, democracy in the sense of free thought and free speech must apply, knowing several boundaries. These boundaries are the boundaries of the people’s interests, the boundaries of decency, the limits of national security, the boundaries of the nation’s personality, and the limits of accountability to God.

A just and prosperous society cannot be other than an orderly and controlled society. The economy is in a guided economy. So, a guided society is bound by the limits of the demands of justice and prosperity. In order to organize such a society, a pattern is needed, and to implement this pattern, guided democracy must be used. Thus, the essence of guided democracy is implementing democracy”²⁴

It is clear to Kiai Haji Idham Chalid that democracy in Islam is due to the deliberation factor, or in the language of the Islamic religion, it is called *shuro*. Democracy is following Islamic teachings, according to Kiai Haji Idham Chalid’s ideas, at least based on five references that he holds, namely:

First, from the word of Allah Swt. in the Qur’an Surat as-*Shuro* verse 38, which means the following:

“And those who have responded to their lord and established prayer and whose affair is [determined by] consultation among themselves, and from what We have provided them, they spend.”

Also, in Q.S. al-Imran verse 159, which means as follows:

“So by mercy from Allah, [O Muhammad], you were lenient with them. And if you had been rude [in speech] and harsh in heart, they would have disbanded from about you. So pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely [upon Him].”

Second, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid quoted a figure from Al-Azhar University, namely al-Ustaz Akbar Mahmud Syaltut, an Islamic scholar at that time, who said in his book *Al-Islam ‘Aqidatun wal Syari’atun* about *shuro* that deliberation is the basis of all perfect law, it is the path to righteousness, and by deliberation, mature minds can be discerned.²⁵ The Qur’an has ordered *shuro* or deliberation and made part of the elements

²⁴Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 38.

²⁵Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 40–41.

on which Islamic orders are established. In the Qur'an, there is a Surah called Surah as-*Shuro*. This proves that *shuro* is the cornerstone of the personality of the true priesthood and arranges that *shuro* into a series with the purity of heart with faith and trust, and also arranges *shuro* with the cleanliness of the body from sin and dishonor, and also coupled with a self-approach (*taqarub*) to Allah Swt. by establishing prayer, and with *shuro*, solidarity, and *ukhuvah* arise as well as the sacrifice of property for the cause of Allah, and with *shuro*, victory will also be achieved over evil and insolent lust.²⁶

Furthermore, namely, al-Ustaz Akbar Mahmud Syaltut said:

“This verse (Q.S. as-Shuro verses 36-39) was revealed after the uhud incident, which the Muslims had to swallow bitterly. After that, Allah Swt. ordered the Prophet Muhammad Saw. to consult with his friends on all issues and the development of society to bind the people’s day and strengthen a sense of shared responsibility, mutual solidarity in dealing with all affairs and controlling all matters.”

Third, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid quotes a hadith narrated by Imam al-Baihaqi from Ibn Abbas Ra. when the verse comes down:

وشاورهم في الامر

Which means “consult them in the matter.”. The meaning of this hadith is:

“As for Allah and His Messenger there is no need for deliberation with anyone, but he has ordered deliberation to be solely for the good of My people. So whoever likes to consult, surely he will not lose the truth, on the other hand, whoever abandons deliberation is not holy from mistakes.”²⁷

Fourth, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid quotes from a book of interpretations called the *Tafsir Shawi Alal Djalalain*. The interpretation of this verse is as follows²⁸:

“As for the Ansar people, before the migration of Rasulullah Saw. to Medina, they consulted with each other in every matter so that Allah Swt. praised them and ordered Rasulullah Saw. to consult them with God’s Word:

²⁶Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 40–41.

²⁷Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 44.

²⁸Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 44–45.

Meaning: “Consult them in the matter.”

Fifth, the basis of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid’s ideas in bridging guided democracy and Islam are the historical reality of the time of the Prophet Muhammad Saw. The Apostle always invites his companions to consult in matters or matters that did not come down to him by revelation. Sometimes, the Apostle defeats his own opinion and takes the opinion of his companions. In particular, he consulted on matters of struggle, strategizing, discussing prisoners, and discussing socio-economic improvements, and he always paid serious attention to experts’ opinions in their respective fields. I also deliberated with great friends like Abu Bakar Ashidiq and Umar bin Khattab on matters of war, daily administration, and relations with other countries.²⁹

From this, one can see the thoughts of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid, chairman of PBNU, in facing and accepting the concept of guided democracy through an Islamic approach. Kiai Haji Idham Chalid wants to say that guided democracy follows Islamic teachings as long as it contains deliberations with experts in dealing with various problems in Indonesia. Kiai Haji Idham Chalid is indeed an expert on jurisprudence and interpretation, so it is not surprising that his efforts to bridge the gap between Islam and guided democracy through studying jurisprudence and interpretation. NU is an Islamic community organization that adheres to the *fiqh* paradigm.³⁰ The example of the rule he cited is “*al-bukmu yaduru ma’a illatibi wujudan wa a’daman*,” meaning that the law depends on the reasons either explicitly or implicitly.³¹ There are three conclusions from the five foundations of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid’s thoughts above: First, prioritizing deliberations; Second, capturing the results of deliberations by not always emphasizing the most votes solely, and Third, the personality and expertise of the people invited to deliberations are important factors that are more important of the number of people.³²

²⁹Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 46–47.

³⁰Saefer Rochmat, “Nahdlatul Ulama, the Fiqh Paradigm and the Republic of Indonesia,” *Tawarikh* 7, no. 1 (2015): 45–62, <http://www.journals.mindamas.com/index.php/tawarikh/article/view/622>.

³¹Chalid, *Muktasor Dalail Khoirot Wal Manaqib KH Idham Chalid*, 31.

³²Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 57.

Kiai Haji Idham Chalid here also wants to emphasize that democracy according to the Islamic view is very different from Western liberal democracy, which uses *de helf plus een heeft altijd gelijk* (half plus one must always be correct), and different from pretend democracy (*schijn democratie*) rather than dictatorship those who have decided on something prior to deliberation. In contrast, deliberation is just a formality to legalize the will of the dictators. Kiai Haji Idham Chalid also criticized the parliamentary or liberal democratic system for how decisions are made, in which an opinion can turn into a decision if a majority supports it. This method is considered democratic and honest because the opinion represented by the majority is always correct. So, how do we determine whether a decision is right or wrong? These questions always generate debate. For Kiai Haji Idham Chalid, it is clear that the awareness of the importance of accountability to the people and belief must be ingrained in those who hold deliberations.³³

A good leader should not only respect the opinion of experts when making decisions but also understand the importance of professional responsibility and avoid making arbitrary decisions. However, he did not elaborate further at this point, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid considered the status of the leader important. Kiai Haji Idham Chalid emphasized the meaning of responsibility for a leader by quoting a well-known hadith, which means:

“You are all leaders, and you will be held accountable, a ruler is a leader, and he will be held accountable for his people (before Allah).”

The importance of deliberations with experts, not just relying on the most votes in decision-making, and the sense of responsibility of the leaders and members of the deliberations is part of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid’s thinking bridges President Soekarno’s guided democracy concept with Islamic sharia, namely *shuro*.³⁴ What Kiai Haji Idham Chalid said when he criticized the liberal democratic system that Islam has never taught decision-making based solely on overwhelming support. Guided democracy should be an atmosphere where minority opinions are respected, and debate and consensus lead to harmony without complaint, not division, as a side effect of a liberal democratic system, so Islam does the same. From this point of view, guided democracy is entirely in line with Islamic teachings.

³³Muhajir, *Idham Chalid Guru Politik Orang NU*, 83–84.

³⁴Muhajir, *Idham Chalid Guru Politik Orang NU*, 84–85.

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In his accountability speech on Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's policy at the 21st NU Congress in December 1959 in Jakarta (which the Congress accepted the policy by acclamation) is as follows:

*"In agreeing to guided democracy in general, one must emphasize the word democracy because being a role model among NU is based on the Islamic belief, which is the main basis of ours, that a democracy which is not guided will lead to anarchism. Conversely, something guided without democracy leads to dictatorship."*³⁵

Kiai Haji Idham Chalid concluded that guided democracy, according to Islam, has two complementary elements: an element of deliberation that respects leadership and an element of leadership that emphasizes deliberation. Which of the two factors is more severe depends on the situation and conditions. That depends on the problem, situation, and with whom the deliberation was held.³⁶ When there was a difference of opinion among the other council members, who were all experts (*ahlul balli wal aqdi*), Rasulullah Saw. provide a solution by voting the most votes among the experts. So, guided democracy is not guided by one's own will, not by human lust for power, not by empty slogans, but by rights and experts. Decision-making based on a majority vote alone without rights and expertise can bring danger, and this is what has happened in the political life of liberal democracy.

Another factor that has a significant position in guided democracy in the Islamic view is guided deliberation, namely the leader's leadership. Guided democracy only follows Islamic demands if the leader appreciates the wisdom of deliberation and deliberation experts respect or are aware of the leader's leadership. As Islam warns people who solve problems together, it means that there is accountability from a deliberative, Islam also warns people who will lead.

Campaigning the Concept of Nasakom and Manipol-Usdek through Api Islam Magazine

Support for ideas or thoughts can also be seen in the efforts of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid and Kiai Haji Saifuddin Zuhri campaigned for the concept of Nasakom and Manipol-Usdek in a magazine called Api Islam Magazine under the Api Islam Foundation. The Api Islam Foundation is based on the Islamic religion according to the *Abli Sunnah*

³⁵Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 58.

³⁶Chalid, *Islam Dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 58.

Wal Jama'ah based on Pancasila and the Manipol-Usdek as the philosophy and the Guidelines of the Republic of Indonesia along with all the teachings of the President or Great Leader of the Revolution or Hero of Islam and Independence, namely Bung Karno, accompanied by the belief that religion is an absolute element in nation and character-building.³⁷

The Api Islam Foundation aims to be a tool for the Indonesian revolution to carry out President Soekarno's command that the state and nation must believe in God, with the foundation of implementing Islamic law and seeking the enactment of Islamic religious laws in society towards the ideals of the Indonesian Revolution, an Indonesian socialist society that just and prosperous and blessed by God Almighty. Uphold belief in one and only God as the first precept of Pancasila, clarified in the Manipol-Usdek. Exploring, owning, and explaining the teachings of Islam. The Api Islam magazine has also become a kind of revolutionary tool that is courageous for the glory of the Indonesian revolution, and this magazine is also a part of the Nasakom axis. This flame of Islam also struggles and works, thinks, and does charity based on the Pancasila philosophy and moves to all the teachings of the Great Leader of the Revolution, namely President Soekarno.³⁸

Api Islam magazine is published and managed by a socio-religious foundation called "Institute for Exploring and Spreading Api Islam (Islamic Fire)" or abbreviated as "Api Islam" as its legal entity and is a collective effort of several Islamic figures. These Ulama and Zuama figures are unique according to the ideology of *Abli Sunnah Wal Jamaah*. One of the several business plans of the institution is the publication of Api Islam Magazine, which is used as the basis for the institution's endeavors to preach according to the rhythm of its commander, P.J.M President or Great Leader of the Revolution or Hero of Islam and Independence Bung Karno.³⁹

Kiai Haji Saifuddin Zuhri wanted to emphasize and inform Indonesian Muslims that Islamic teachings align with President Soekarno's teachings, and the Api Islam Foundation pursued this effort—meanwhile, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid stated that the Indonesian revolution is religious, and religion cannot be separated from the

³⁷Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara."

³⁸Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," 5.

³⁹ Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," 6.

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Indonesian revolution.⁴⁰ Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's serial writing in *Api Islam Magazine* entitled *State Politics Policy* is Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's thoughts on guided democracy, Nasakom, and Manipol-Usdek became support for Nahdlatul Ulama's ideas for President Soekarno at that time.⁴¹ It was also mentioned that this country's political direction material was lectured to Nasakom cadres.

State political direction means state ideology, in his writings, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid will explain Pancasila, Manipol-Usdek, and guidelines for its implementation, such as *Djarek*, *A.B.K*, *Resopim*, *Takem*, *Gesuri*, *TAVIP*, *The Five Freedoms are our weapon*, *The era of confrontation* and independent matter. The direction of state politics includes state politics, state economic politics, state socio-cultural politics, etc. The Indonesian Revolution also includes a political, economic, social, cultural, and religious revolution and a revolution in ways of thinking and acting. This means that the Indonesian revolution is a multi-complex revolution. A revolution is a sum of many revolutions in one generation, meaning that the Indonesian revolution is a collection of various revolutions. The Indonesian revolution demands food and clothing and includes all human aspirations. He is concurrent with man's social conscience.⁴²

When Indonesia implemented a guided democracy system, many said that Indonesia had taken the wrong path, that Indonesia had taken the path of dictatorship. Kiai Haji Idham Chalid emphasized that guided democracy is not the wrong way and not the path of a dictatorship, but the second stage of the Indonesian revolution, namely the political revolution.⁴³ That is a series of multi-complex Indonesian revolutions in one generation as mandated by His Excellency the President or the Great Leader of the Revolution at the Asian-African Islamic Conference in Bandung on March 6, 1965, from which President Soekarno was

⁴⁰ Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," 17.

⁴¹ Kang Young Soon, *Antara Tradisi Dan Konflik: Kepolitan Nahdlatul Ulama* (Jakarta: UI Press, 2008), 116; Marcus Mietzner and Burhanuddin Muhtadi, "The Myth of Pluralism: Nahdlatul Ulama and the Politics of Religious Tolerance in Indonesia," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 42, no. 1 (2020): 58–84.

⁴² Idham Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," *Majalah Api Islam*, Nomor 2, July 1965, 2.

⁴³ Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," 25.

appointed Champion of Islam and Freedom (Hero of Islam) and Independence).⁴⁴

Related to Pancasila, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid wrote in *Api Islam Magazine*, heading State Politics, that Pancasila was the *Philosophische Grondslag* of an independent Indonesia. Pancasila is the guidance and inspiration from Allah Swt. to President Soekarno on July 1, 1965, meditating and humbly praying to the presence of Allah Swt. As a result of guidance and inspiration from Allah Swt, it is inevitable that Pancasila, which is the ideal foundation for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, is a foundation that is blessed by Allah Swt. and must be practiced and carried out consequentially following the demands of the pleasure of Allah Swt.

Furthermore, in Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's writings on State Political Direction, he explained his thoughts on Pancasila. This was Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's thoughts represented NU's support for Soekarno during the guided democracy period. In the realm of guided democracy, not only Nasakom, Manipol-Usdek, and the 1945 Constitution, but Pancasila as the philosophy and basis of the state is also echoed. This is NU's support for President Soekarno and his loyalty to Pancasila.

Kiai Haji Idham Chalid said that:

*"The Indonesian revolution was a revolution that completely departed from the nature of the Indonesian personality. The Indonesian revolution is different from the bourgeois French revolution, and it is different from the Russian revolution, which aims to form a dictator-proletarian power. It differs from the American Revolution, which only aims to liberate humankind from slavery or slavery. It is even different from the Turkish revolution, which was driven by intellectuals under the leadership of Kamal Atatürk."*⁴⁵

Haluan Politik Negara (The State Political Bow), written by Kiai Haji Idham Chalid added, standing on its own feet. The Indonesian revolution is building and working hard in material and mental or spiritual-religious development. In other words, the Indonesian nation has succeeded in the nation and character-building project following the *sunatullah* set by Allah Swt. following the Indonesian revolution, changing

⁴⁴Idham Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," *Majalah Api Islam*, Nomor 3, July 1965, 9.

⁴⁵Idham Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," *Majalah Api Islam*, Nomor 6, August 1965, 6.

old things that are not good with new and better things. This follows the struggle of the Prophets and Apostles, namely the essence of overhauling old ways of thinking and socializing to develop new and better ways of thinking and socializing.⁴⁶ Remodeling here means changing everything that no longer follows civilized human life's demands. This is based on Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's ushul fiqh concept, namely *Almuhafazatu alal qodimis saleh wal abdzu bil djadidil aslah*. However, please do not change the personality of the Indonesian nation itself—remodeling in the writings of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid means breaking down imperialism and feudalism to build an independent and democratic Indonesia.

The Indonesian nation has become independent and is one more stage towards Indonesian socialism, or it is standing on its own feet to build a just and prosperous society and be blessed by Allah Swt. The Indonesian socialism that will be built is Pancasila socialism.⁴⁷ In the last edition of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid's article entitled State Politics Policy in *Api Islam Magazine*, he wrote that there was already awareness in society to adhere to Pancasila, have Manipol-Usdek and Guided Democracy, and this shows a society's acceptance of life new to politics in Indonesia.

However, according to Kiai Haji Idham Chalid, some people interpret Pancasila with their own will or by accepting some of Pancasila with some of the others. It is the same with Nasakom, which only accepts one element over another. This does not capture the spirit of progressive-revolutionary national unity and unity in Nasakom as the feeling of Pancasila.⁴⁸

Conclusion

Ijtihad siyasah-diniyyah Nahdlatul Ulama is a form of support for the ideas and thoughts of NU Ulama figures in dealing with President Soekarno's new political system and life, namely guided democracy, Nasakom, and Manipol-Usdek. NU's religious and political thinking can be seen from PBNU's Ro'is Syuriah, namely Kiai Haji Wahab

⁴⁶Idham Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," *Majalah Api Islam*, Nomor 8, September 1965, 8.

⁴⁷Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," 8.

⁴⁸Idham Chalid, "Haluan Politik Negara," *Majalah Api Islam*, Nomor 9, September 1965, 9.

Chasbullah, who accepted the concept of guided democracy, returned to the 1945 Constitution, which guided democracy follows Islamic teachings, and the 1945 Constitution animates the Jakarta charter. PBNU's Tanfidziyah chairman, Kiai Haji Idham Chalid also gave his thoughts on bridging the gap between guided democracy and Islam, namely the concept of shuro or deliberation with experts full of responsibility. Meanwhile, efforts to disseminate the concept of guided democracy, Nasakom, and Manipol-Usdek are following Islamic teachings to Muslims, especially traditionalists, can be seen in the efforts of Kiai Haji Idham Chalid and Kiai Haji Saifuddin Zuhri, through a weekly media outlet called Api Islam magazine. Some points concluded from the subject discussed in the article.

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