

Political Dynamics and Islamic Leadership: KH Idham Chalid's Influence during Indonesia's New Order Era

Norman Ohira^{*1}, Luqyana Azmiya Putri², Andri Nurjaman³, Doli Witro⁴,
Nurul Alamin⁵, Raid Alghani⁶

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kerinci, Indonesia¹, Universitas Islam Internasional
Indonesia, Indonesia², UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia^{3,4,5}, Al
Azhar University, Egypt⁶

Email: ohira.norman@yahoo.com^{*1}, Luqyana.putri@uiii.ac.id²,
andrienurjaman99@gmail.com³, doliwitro01@gmail.com⁴, nurulalamin02@gmail.com⁵,
raidalghani4@gmail.com⁶

Abstract

This article aims to highlight the role and struggles of KH Idham Chalid during the New Order era in Indonesia. This article employs a qualitative research method with a historical approach consisting of heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Primary data sources were obtained from historical books, including Ahmad Barjie entitled "*Dr. K.H. Idham Chalid Ulama Politisi Banjar di Kancah Nasional*," Arief Mudatsir Mandan with the title "*Napak Tilas Pengabdian Idham Chalid: Tanggung Jawab Politik NU dalam Sejarah*," and Abdul Rahman Jaferi Rahmadi and Ahmad with the title "*Elite Muslim Banjar di Tingkat Nasional*." Secondary data was obtained from scientific articles, books, and other relevant literature related to the research topic. The data analysis techniques used were data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. This study found that the role and struggle of KH Idham Chalid during the New Order era can be categorised into two categories. First, he fought within the New Order government. President Soeharto trusted KH Idham Chalid to hold strategic positions. One of them was to succeed the Family Planning (KB) programme. Second, he fought outside the New Order government through the education sector by establishing Darul Ma'arif in Cipete, South Jakarta, and Darul Qur'an in Cisarua, Bogor. KH Idham Chalid also frequently held religious study sessions that were widely attended by the public and played a role in the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama University (UNNU) in Bandung, which later evolved into the Nusantara Islamic University (UNINUS). Exploring the history of the educational institutions established by KH Idham Chalid could serve as a valuable subject for further research.

Keywords: KH Idham Chalid, Islamic Education, Politics, New Order, Indonesia

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan menyoroti peran dan perjuangan dari KH Idham Chalid pada masa orde baru di Indonesia. Artikel ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dan dengan pendekatan sejarah yang terdiri dari heuristik, kritik, interpretasi dan historiografi. Sumber data primer diperoleh melalui buku-buku sejarah di antaranya buku karya Ahmad Barjie berjudul "*Dr. K.H. Idham*

Chalid Ulama Politisi Banjar Di Kancan Nasional”, Arief Mudatsir Mandan dengan judul “Napak Tilas Pengabdian Idham Chalid: Tanggung Jawab Politik NU Dalam Sejarah”, dan Abdul Rahman Jaferi Rahmadi dan Ahmad dengan judul “Elite Muslim Banjar Di Tingkat Nasional”. Sementara data sekunder diperoleh dari artikel ilmiah, buku-buku, dan bahan pustaka lainnya yang berkaitan dengan topik penelitian. Teknik analisis data yang digunakan adalah kondensasi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa peran dan perjuangan KH Idham Chalid pada masa orde baru bisa dikategorikan ke dalam dua kategori; Pertama, berjuang di dalam pemerintahan orde baru. KH Idham Chalid dipercayai oleh Presiden Soeharto untuk menduduki jabatan-jabatan strategis. Salah satunya mensukseskan program Keluarga Berencana (KB). Kedua, berjuang di luar pemerintahan orde baru, melalui jalur pendidikan dengan mendirikan Darul Ma’arif di Cipete Jakarta Selatan dan Darul Qur’an di Cisarua Bogor, KH Idham Chalid juga sering membuka pengajian yang banyak diminati masyarakat, serta turut membidani lahirnya Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama (UNNU) di Bandung yang dalam perkembangannya berubah menjadi Universitas Islam Nusantara (UNINUS). Melihat lebih jauh sejarah perkembangan lembaga pendidikan yang dibangun oleh KH Idham Chalid dapat menjadi penelitian selanjutnya yang dapat dipertimbangkan.

Kata Kunci: KH Idham Chalid, Pendidikan Islam, Politik, Orde Baru, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

KH Idham Chalid is the longest and youngest chairman of Tanfidziyah PBNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board) in the history of Nahdlatul Ulama. KH Idham led PBNU for 28 years from 1956 to 1984. The flexible cleric and statesman is a non-Javanese cleric and a graduate of the Gontor Islamic boarding school, which is affiliated with the modernist Islamic group (Nurjaman, Arzam, Zufriani, et al., 2022). However, KH Idham Chalid, who is a cleric from Amuntai, South Kalimantan and a Gontor alumnus, has successfully become a leader of PBNU and a national figure and even an international Muslim figure, because he has organised as well as the chief executive of the International Islamic Conference in 1965 in Bandung, namely the Asian-African Islamic Conference (Nurjaman et al., 2020). In the period leading up to the collapse of the old order in 1965, KH Idham Chalid was still the chairman of PBNU. The fall of the leadership and government of Ir. Several things marked Soekarno; First, the feud between NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) the Indonesia’s largest Islamic organisation (Hidayat et al., 2022), and the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) was getting fiercer, which could be seen in the wings of the two organisations that continued to attack each other. Second, President Soekarno’s health was getting weaker by

the day. Third, the conflict with Malaysia continued, and fourth, the socio-political atmosphere in the country was unstable (Barjie, 2022).

The two years prior to the G30-S PKI were favourable to the PKI, culminating in the G30-S PKI, which was a movement to radically seize power from the PKI (Batubara, 2008). The PKI movement led to the fall of Soekarno, and the PKI was eventually disbanded along with its wing organisations. In addition to the seven TNI generals whom the PKI killed, actually, the clerics who strongly opposed the PKI were also targets of the PKI, including KH Idham Chalid. KH Idham Chalid was indeed active in opposing the PKI both from within the government of President Soekarno and from outside the government. This made the PKI not free to carry out its political actions and manoeuvres. KH Idham always warned and alerted President Soekarno about the movements of the PKI. Not only that, outside the government, KH Idham Chalid and other NU scholars aggressively built popular resistance against the PKI. This can be seen from several NU organisations that were established with the aim of stemming the influence of the PKI (Barjie, 2022).

As an anti-PKI politician, KH Idham Chalid was always able to secure himself from assassination plans, among others, by not living in his official house for months, sleeping in cars, eating at stalls, changing car plates, and KH Idham Chalid's house was always guarded by Barisan Ansor Serbaguna (Banser), and of course, praying for protection to Allah Swt. (Hidayatullah, 2016). During the collapse of President Soekarno's reign, the NU elite split, as for the NU group that remained respectful to Soekarno, even though it did not justify his attitude, namely KH Idham Chalid, with KH Wahab Chasbullah, KH Saifuddin Zuhri, and KH Masykur.

This group and other senior NU figures were still shrouded in caution and were in an indecisive position towards Soekarno's position and circumstances at the time. However, they still showed their loyalty to President Soekarno, as seen in the 40th anniversary of NU in 1966 in Jakarta. At that time, KH Idham Chalid, as chairman of PBNU, stated firmly that NU was ready and would live and die with Soekarno for Allah Swt. While related to PKI, KH Idham stated that atheism is an act of crime, because it contradicts the first principle of Pancasila, and it is a matter between NU and Allah Swt. (Rahmadi et al., 2013). The loyalty to Soekarno shown by KH Idham Chalid and senior NU figures, especially KH Wahab Chasbullah, was very visible in 1967. This was evidenced

by KH Idham Chalid always visiting Soekarno at his house in Bogor, even though at that time there was a transfer of power (Feillard, 1999). While the NU group, which is young activists from the Ansor Youth Movement (*Pergerakan Pemuda Ansor*), is a counter NU group and made a statement letter and protested KH Idham Chalid's leadership, because his leadership was considered a safe playing policy or playing a political policy to find safety. NU youths were disappointed with KH Idham Chalid's leadership model (Rahmadi et al., 2013).

Then KH Idham Chalid held a meeting at his residence on Jalan Magunsarkoro with the young NU members. KH Idham Chalid explained in detail the conditions and his position at the time after the Gestapu by the PKI on 30 September 1965. KH Idham Chalid, as the chairman of PBNU, had to take clear and firm steps, and his relationship with President Soekarno was dealt with wisely. That saving NU was the most important thing, KH Idham Chalid stated firmly that politics was indeed for survival (Muthalib & Zamzam, 2010). The young NU activists were Subchan ZE, KH Ahmad Syaichu, KH Dahlan, and KH Yusuf Hasyim, who opposed Soekarno even after the decree on guided democracy. After the outbreak of the G30-S PKI, Subchan ZE's NU group became more active in opposing Soekarno in the dissolution of the PKI by mobilising forces from NU itself, youth, and students.

Subhan ZE and Harry Tjan Silalahi, as general secretary of the Catholic Party, then formed KAP Gestapu. Harry Tjan Silalahi then gathered all Catholic elements who were anti-communist. KAP Gestapu then held a large conference in Central Jakarta, precisely located at Lapangan Banteng. The conference and meeting of KAP Gestapu resulted in demanding the dissolution of the PKI and its organisations. This gave birth to many demonstrations in Jakarta in 1966. The theme of most demonstrations was to dissolve the cabinet of 100 ministers, dissolve the PKI and its organisations, and lower prices. The theme of this demonstration became known as TRITURA (Tri Tuntutan Rakyat), or the three demands of the people (Mandan, 2008). In the increasingly precarious atmosphere of the State, then President Soekarno made an order to General Soeharto to restore the situation. The letter is called the 11 March Order (Supersemar). Soeharto, armed with this letter, made important decisions, including dissolving the PKI and all its wing organisations on 12 March 1966 (Dwidjowijoto, 1996). So ABRI, NU, Ansor-Banser, and anti-communist community organisations actively rolled up the PKI and its organisations in

many places.

Through Presidential Decree No. 5 on 18 March 1966, Soeharto issued another policy besides dissolving the PKI and its organisations, namely the detention of 15 ministers who were considered to be implicated in the rebellion or considered to have bad faith in solving the problem. Soeharto then appointed Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, Adam Malik, Dr. Ruslan Abdulghani, KH Idham Chalid, and Dr. Djohannes Leimene as coordinating ministers and together became the cabinet praesidium (Poeponegroro & Notosusanto, 2010). After disbanding and eradicating the PKI and its organisations, Indonesia's socio-political situation was not yet stable, namely the dualism of leadership, with Soekarno, who felt he was still the legitimate President, even though his power had decreased. This can be seen when Soekarno inaugurated the Air Force Commander, Rusmin Nurjadi, on 7 April 1966, who said that: "I am still President, still supreme commander of the armed forces". Meanwhile, on 28 July 1966, when inaugurating the Ampera Cabinet, which also included KH Idham Chalid as Chief Minister for People's Welfare, Soekarno said that Supersemar was not a letter of transfer of power.

When the condition of the country was uncertain, then the chairman of the NU faction in the DPR GR, Nuddin Lubis, proposed that Soekarno be held accountable for the events of the G30-S PKI and the proposal was approved by other factions, then Soekarno delivered his accountability speech without text known as "nawaksara". However, finally, his speech was rejected by the general session of the MPR. Djamaluddin Malik from the NU faction proposed that a special session of the MPR be held in March 1967 to dismiss Soekarno as President and inaugurate General Soeharto as the second President of the Republic of Indonesia, since then the reign of Soekarno officially ended or known as the old order and entered the reign of President Soeharto or known as the new order (Barjie, 2022). The historical background of the transition from the old order to the new order is important to address in the interest of this research, because this research is historical. The Islamic power represented by NU and led by KH Idham Chalid during the old order politics was utilised by President Soekarno to become his political force by combining with two other political forces, namely elements of communism (PKI) and the nationalist element (PNI/ Indonesian National Party).

At the beginning of the New Order period, KH Idham Chalid also faced

opposition when he changed his mind and supported Soeharto as president. Young NU activists voiced their opposition to this and accused him of failing to promote Indonesia's democratisation. KH Idham Chalid refuted this, saying that the communist issue had only been resolved by NU and there was still much work to be done on other issues. Democracy has its own time; do not ask for it simultaneously. According to KH Idham Chalid, God saves people one by one, not all at once. Soeharto must lead because each era has its people (Muthalib & Zamzam, 2010).

These historical events show that NU is inseparable from the establishment of the New Order, but NU's significant contribution in fostering the New Order did not guarantee NU a place in the government system. During the New Order, the army took power and did not give a significant role to civilian groups, such as NU. In addition, the military considered NU as a threat, especially after the Army Seminar in Bandung in 1966 (Mandan, 2008). In short, the politics of PBNU, which KH Idham Chalid led, were indeed very flexible and sought safety for the *Congregation* and *Jamiyyah* Nahdlatul Ulama itself. This has been done since the old order era of President Soekarno, both during the liberal democracy period and during the guided democracy period. This political strategy continued to be carried out by KH Idham Chalid during the New Order, namely by supporting the leadership of President Soeharto.

KH Idham Chalid is indeed a reliable politician who is the pride of NU. He struggles in politics not for himself, but for the development of Islam, especially the understanding of *ahlussunnah wal jama'ah annahdliyah*. He is a politician who is a scholar; his activity in politics does not necessarily abolish his religiousness and acceptance as a Kiai. This is evidenced by his considerable role outside the world of politics and government, especially his tendency towards the world of Islamic education. The above statement can be proven by some of his political policies regarding education, for example, with the establishment of NU University in Bandung, which is now the Nusantara Islamic University. In addition, outside the government, he has two boarding schools, both of which are free to orphans and people experiencing poverty. That was KH Idham Chalid's political strategy and his contribution to Islam in Indonesia during the New Order.

The previous research on KH Idham Chalid during the New Order was, First, a journal article entitled "Nahdlatul Ulama: Politics of Nationality during

the Time of Dr KH Idham Chalid (1956-1984)" written by Khairul Tri Anjani, Darmawan Rahmadi, and Yeni Handayani (Anjani et al., 2021). This article discusses the biography and leadership of KH Idham Chalid in Nahdlatul Ulama from 1959 to 1984. This is different from the focus of the research that the author wrote, namely, on the study of KH Idham Chalid's struggle during the Indonesian New Order. Second, an article entitled "Islamic Political Figures in the Old Order Era of Indonesia: A Study of KH Idham Chalid's Thought in Accepting the Concept of Guided Democracy in 1965," written by Andri Nurjaman, Arzam, Zufriani, and Doli Witro (Nurjaman, Arzam, Zufriani, et al., 2022). This article contains KH Idham Chalid's thoughts on accepting the concept of guided democracy during the old order. The difference in the object of research time is a differentiator in this research. The author focuses on the study of KH Idham Chalid's struggle during the New Order of Indonesia.

Third, an article entitled "Idham Chalid in Nahdlatul Ulama," written by Nur Hidayatullah (Hidayatullah, 2018). This article contains the role of KH Idham Chalid's leadership in Nahdlatul Ulama. This is also different from the focus of the author's research, which focuses on KH Idham Chalid's struggle during the Indonesian New Order. Fourth, the article entitled "Study of Islamic Education Thought in the Perspective of KH Idham Chalid," written by Arief Rahman and Zulfa Jamalie. This article contains the role of KH Idham Chalid in the world of education, especially in the Islamic Boarding School of Normal Islam Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah Amuntai by combining *salaf* and *khilaf* education patterns. Of course, the object of study and the results of this research are different from the author's research, which focuses on KH Idham Chalid's specific struggle during the New Order in Indonesia. However, his role in managing the Islamic Boarding School of Normal Islam in Amuntai is important to be quoted in this research.

Fifth, the article entitled "Modernisation of Pesantren (Study of the Role of KH Idham Chalid in Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah Islamic Boarding School Amuntai in 1945-1966 AD)" was written by Syamsul Rahmi. This article contains the modernisation process of the pesantren, namely Pesantren Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah Amuntai, which KH Idham Chalid carried out. The period of his research was from 1945 to 1966, during the old order period, of course the object and period were different from the focus of the research conducted by the author, which was specific to the issue of KH Idham Chalid's struggle in the

world of politics and education during the new order of Indonesia.

Therefore, based on the background of the problem above, regarding the issue of the role and struggle of KH Idham Chalid, especially during the New Order period in Indonesia, there has been no specific previous research. This is a novelty in this research on the figure of KH Idham Chalid, who is known as the "Father of NU Politics". This article specifically discusses the role and struggle of KH Idham Chalid in the fields of politics and education during the New Order in Indonesia. This article aims to find out the contribution and struggle of KH Idham Chalid during the new order period both inside the new order government (politics) and outside the new order government (especially in the field of education), this article also contains a description of the conditions of Islamic politics experienced by NU as one of the political forces during the new order period.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in the interest of this article is qualitative research and uses the historical approach, which includes four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Asa'ari et al., 2022; Nurjaman, Arzam, Yusuf, et al., 2022). The historical method itself, according to Abdurrahman, is a kind of question, namely knowing history, while historical methodology is the storyline of history (Abdurrahman, 2011). Data collection in this study is based on materials related to the topic (Sulasman, 2014).

Primary data sources were obtained from historical books, including Ahmad Barjie entitled "*Dr. K.H. Idham Chalid Ulama Politisi Banjar di Kancah Nasional*," Arief Mudatsir Mandan with the title "*Napak Tilas Pengabdian Idham Chalid: Tanggung Jawab Politik NU dalam Sejarah*," and Abdul Rahman Jaferi Rahmadi and Ahmad with the title "*Elite Muslim Banjar di Tingkat Nasional*." These books discuss the biography and role of KH Idham Chalid during his lifetime, which experienced three eras, namely the movement period, the old order period, and the new order period. From there, the author is interested in looking at the role of KH Idham Chalid during the New Order period, although in general, NU during the New Order was greatly eliminated by the authorities. However, with a significant role and struggle by KH Idham Chalid both inside and outside the government, it can bring fresh air to the progress of Islamic civilisation in Indonesia, especially during the New Order period. Secondary

data was obtained from scientific articles, books, and other relevant literature related to the research topic. The data analysis techniques used were data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Miles et al., 2014).

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Islamic Politics during the New Order

The issuance of the 11 March Order (Supersemar), which was later confirmed as TAP MPRS Number IX/MPRS/1966 on 21 June 1966, marked the beginning of the transition phase from the previous order to the new order. President Soekarno/Mandataris MPRS announced the handover of power to Soeharto on 20 February 1967. On 12 March 1967, the MPRS issued TAP Number XXXIII/MPRS/III/1967, which contained the revocation of President Soekarno's powers. Finally, on 27 March 1967, the MPRS appointed Soeharto as President of the Republic of Indonesia, ushering in the New Order era in Indonesia.

Indonesian Muslims played an active role in the struggle to eradicate the PKI (Boland, 1985), and fostered the birth of the new order, but after the new order was born, Muslims and even Muslim politics were controlled and suspected by the new order government (Alfian, 1990). NU also felt this, although KH Idham Chalid was still trusted to hold important positions in the government, but NU's position was not so encouraging, and it even experienced pressure and castration (Barjie, 2022). In general, the political life of the new order era, according to experts, agreed that the state apparatus dominated political life and controlled the lives of civil society. The centralised politics centred on President Soeharto characterised the politics of the new order era, which was supported by the power of Golkar and ABRI, and even the military became the power base as well as the socio-political control of Indonesian society at that time. Indeed, this made for political stability as well as a strong government. Nevertheless, on the other hand, it also severely restricted the press and activities that were critical of the government (Pratikno, 2002).

The government of the time used the pretext of protecting the country from other ideologies and political threats that were deemed disruptive to Pancasila to justify its actions. Political stability and economic development were used to control society, especially those critical of the government. The definition of "subversive acts" is very broad and lacks clear boundaries, covering a wide range of activities deemed threatening to power. With such a vague definition, many activists could easily be categorised as subversive, depending on the

court's interpretation. The law is then used as a legitimate basis for the use of repressive institutions, rather than being left to the police or prosecution (Pratikno, 2002). The new order government carried out this subversive accusation with various pressures and disturbances. This can be seen, for example, when the NU Party campaigned for the 1971 election, which was heavily pressurised and harassed by Golkar, which was backed by the armed forces, to prevent it from winning the election. The New Order used threats and intimidation in addition to monoloyalty, which required civil servants to support Golkar. The exception was the Ministry of Religious Affairs, whose minister was from NU. However, after the 1971 election, the position of Minister of Religious Affairs was no longer given to NU, and Soeharto instead chose A. Mukti Ali, a modernist Muslim intellectual, to fill the position.

In fact, not only the NU party, but also NU's wing organisations were not spared from threats. Therefore, according to Syafriansyah, the period between 1970 and 1971 was a difficult time for the NU party. Many residents, NU party supporters, and members were imprisoned, beaten, and punished for slander. The pressure was not only felt by cadres at the regional level, but also by the chairman of the PBNU as well as the chairman of the NU Party, KH Idham Chalid, especially when visiting the regions (Barjie, 2022). The pressure on NU came from the new order government, supported by ABRI, which did not want NU to become a large and strong political party and considered that NU, as a party with a large mass base, would be a problem and a threat to the new order government. With various pressures and disturbances from the new order government against NU, NU's reaction was split. The radical NU camp, namely Subhan ZE's group, carried out a movement and raised the spirit of jihad against the new order, then the new order government labelled NU as an extremist group. Nevertheless, the NU camp led by KH Idham did not remain silent; he instructed NU residents to cooperate with the government to maintain security and peace. KH Idham Chalid also blamed the attitude of Subhan ZE (Feillard, 1999).

The political stance between KH Idham Chalid and Subhan ZE is representative of the polarisation within NU during the New Order era (Anam, 1985). KH Idham Chalid and Subhan ZE faced off until the 25th NU Congress held in Surabaya from 20-25 December 1971. At its peak in 1972, there was an idea or policy of party diffusion, namely the policy of uniting several parties into

one party, including Islamic parties. So, through the Ministry of Home Affairs, the government outlined a number of parties to be simplified, so in the case of Islamic parties, namely NU, Parmusi, PSII, and Perti, fused into the United Development Party on 5 January 1973. One of the declarers or founders of the United Development Party, which was established on 5 January 1973, was KH Idham Chalid. KH Masykur from NU, H. Muhammad Syafaat Mintaredja from Parmusi, Anwar Tjokroaminoto from PSII, and Rusli Khalil from Perti were the other founders of PPP (United Development Party) (Amir, 2003). Thus, the PPP became the only forum for the aspirations of Muslims, and it continues to be fought for by the PPP.

In addition to the diffusion policy for parties, during the New Order era, political parties were uniformed in principle, and their party leaders had to be approved by the ruler. The Islamic characteristics attached to the parties were gradually and systematically reduced and even eliminated. First, did this, juxtaposing Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and Islam as the principles of Islamic political parties in each of their statutes and bylaws. The name Islam is not displayed, so it is only the United Development Party. Second, Islamic leaders who lead the party and are too vocal in voicing the aspirations of Muslims or want to revive the Islamic character will be systematically removed and replaced with figures who are more loyal and easily managed by the authorities. Third, the PPP's existence is shackled by the State, due to the party's alienation from its mass supporters by directing it to no longer have an Islamic identity.

Nevertheless, the PPP is still identified by the Muslim community as an Islamic political party that accommodates the aspirations of Muslims themselves (Darisman, 1999). As the winner of the second election in 1971, the NU initially continued in a favourable position in the PPP by managing the party's seat distribution arrangement. However, NU's dominance in the PPP gradually and systematically diminished until it was finally eliminated. This was due to frequent internal disputes within the PPP over allotment conflicts between the NU and the Indonesian Muslims (MI). KH Idham Chalid was powerless to resolve the dispute within the PPP.

Furthermore, the government, through the Ministry of Home Affairs, always intervened so that the conflict was resolved, and of course, in accordance with the tastes of the new order government. Because of the many conflicts, PPP

as an Islamic political party was never big and encouraging, this can be seen from the election results during the New Order. In the 1977 election, it received 29.3% of the vote, in the 1982 election it was 27.8%, then in the 1987 election it fell to 16%, in the 1992 election it was still raised to 16% and in the 1997 election it rose to 22% (Barjie, 2022). It was only in the 1977 and 1982 elections that the PPP gained a considerable number of votes, which was inseparable from the role of NU scholars who supported the PPP. Even in the 1977 elections, Rois Am PBNU at that time, KH Bisri Sansuri issued a fatwa as follows:

“It is obligatory for every Muslim man and woman who participated in the 1977 elections to uphold the law and religion of Allah in the life of the nation by stabbing the Union Development Party (PPP)’s symbol. So whoever among the Muslims who voted in the election does not pierce the Union Development Party’s symbol, for fear of loss of position or livelihood or any other reason, then they are among those who have forsaken the religion of Allah” (Haris, 1991).

The new order rulers did not favour this political-religious fatwa, therefore the new order rulers tried to make NU not synonymous with PPP, especially since NU returned to *khittah* through the 27th NU Congress in Situbondo so that NU residents were free to determine the political party of their choice and this resulted in PPP’s votes decreasing, plus as NU cadres no longer in practical politics (Musa, 2010). Then, with the return of NU to its *khittah* as in decision No. 02/MNU-27/1984 on the principles of *Nahdlatul Ulama* as a religious organisation and no longer a political party, NU accepted *Pancasila* as the only principle, restored the primacy of *ulama* leadership or Syrian Supremacy over *Tanfidziyah*, withdrew from practical politics by prohibiting NU administrators as an organisation to participate in political parties, and compiled work programs in non-political fields (Barjie, 2022).

So the periodisation of the style, political and religious map pursued by *Nahdlatul Ulama* can be drawn as follows (Mandan, 2008): 1) The period from 1926 to 1952 saw NU as a religious organization; 2) The period from 1946 to 1950 NU as a political religious organisation that joined *Masyumi*; 3) The period from 1950 to 1973 NU as an independent political party and separated from *Masyumi*; 4) Period 1973 to 1984 NU as a political party by fusing into PPP, and 5) Period 1984 until now NU returned to *Khittah* 1926. With the existence of this *khittah nahdliyah*, coupled with the systematic elimination of NU people in the PPP with

the help of the new order political forces, it illustrates that the political power of the new order in regulating and curbing the political life of Muslims is very much felt. However, this condition did not prevent the figure of KH Idham Chalid from being silent; he continued to fight both in the field of politics and government of the new order and outside political life. This shows that his life is really to fight for Islam.

KH Idham Chalid's Struggle in the Political Field during the New Order Era

Although Idham Chalid was close and loyal to President Soekarno until the end of his reign in the old order, Idham Chalid's name remained clean. It was even given the trust and position as a Coordinating Minister and member of the Cabinet Praesidium, which certainly had an important task in running the wheels of government in the new order, including preparing a new government and inaugurating Soeharto as the definitive president (Barjie, 2022). KH Idham Chalid held several important and strategic positions during the New Order era, which showed that KH Idham Chalid had a capacity that was taken into account and needed. In 1966, KH Idham Chalid served as temporary Chief Minister for Political Affairs and temporary Minister of Labour as Deputy Prime Minister IV of the enhanced Dwikora Cabinet and deputy chairman of the MPRS. The role only lasted from 24 February 1966 to 28 March 1966, which was a fairly short time.

Later, in the same year, KH Idham Chalid served in the enhanced Cabinet as Deputy Prime Minister II in the Legal Affairs of the Highest State Institutions. Only four months, from 28 March 1966 to 25 July 1966, were spent in this position (Rahmadi et al., 2013). KH Idham also became a minister in Suharto's Ampera cabinet, which was established on 25 July 1966. The cabinet had NU in two positions, including the position of Minister of Welfare, which KH Idham Chalid occupied. Mohammad Dachlan was the minister of religion. The term of this position was from 25 July 1966 to 17 October 1967. Other positions held by KH Idham Chalid included coordinator of national family planning affairs and chairman of the National Disaster Management Advisory Board. KH Idham Chalid continued to serve as welfare minister after the Ampera Cabinet was completed; he served from 17 October 1967 to 6 June 1968. It was not until March 1968 that the MPRS inaugurated Soeharto as President of the Republic of Indonesia (Rahmadi et al., 2013). KH Idham Chalid continued his position as

Minister of People's Welfare in the First Development Cabinet after Soeharto was officially sworn in as President. From 6 June 1968 until the early 1970s, he also served as Minister of Social Affairs in the First Development Cabinet, which was his last position as Minister.

KH Idham Chalid was even offered as Vice President but refused, even though the offer had been made twice to him but he still refused. KH Idham Chalid gave the reason for his refusal, namely, because he wanted to be freer and close to the community or the people. KH Idham Chalid also once refused an offer to become chairman of the MUI, because, according to KH Idham Chalid, he considered that there were still many figures who were more suitable to become chairman of the MUI. Then KH Idham Chalid recommended his friend, KH Hasan Basri, to be the chairman of MUI, and it was approved, which was finally determined as the chairman of MUI. KH Idham Chalid also refused an international award, namely the Ramon Magsaysay Award, from the Philippine government for Asian figures who are meritorious in their fields. KH Idham refused the award because the President of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, at that time did not act democratically and suppressed the Maro Muslims (Mayer, 2011). This also shows that KH Idham Chalid is not thirsty for positions and positions. As for the position of NU, which helped form the New Order, it welcomed the birth of the New Order under the leadership of President Soeharto. NU wants to live in a safe and peaceful nation and state without the PKI. NU could still survive in the new order government, this can be seen from KH Idham Chalid, who at that time was still the chairman of PBNU, trusted by President Soeharto to continue to occupy important positions in the government.

In addition to the position of Minister, KH Idham Chalid was also chairman of the DPR-RI and chairman of the MPR-RI from 1971 to 1977. Then, from 1978 to 1983, he became chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council. Meanwhile, in 1984, he became a member of the BP7 team, and since 1985, he has been a member of the MUI Advisory Council. Furthermore, there are many more positions and positions offered to KH. Dr Idham Chalid from the government and society, but these offers are not all accepted by KH Idham Chalid (Barjie, 2022). One of KH Idham Chalid's roles and struggles in the government during the New Order was the success of the family planning programme, which had actually been proposed by KH Idham to Soekarno during the old order but had not yet been implemented. Therefore, during the new order, KH Idham

overcame various population problems, pioneered and institutionalised the family planning programme. Even on 10 December 1966, President Soeharto signed the Declaration on Population together with 29 UN member states. This was an effort to accelerate family welfare with the inclusion of family planning programmes as an integral part of the Five-Year Development Programme (Pelita) since 1969.

KH Idham Chalid, as Minister of State for People's Welfare, began to form a committee as a preparatory stage by conducting a feasibility study of family planning as a national programme. Then, with the Presidential Instruction Number 26 of 1968, which assigned KH Idham Chalid to gather the wishes of the community in relation to family planning programmes and seek the establishment of an institution that is national to organise activities related to family planning (Barjie, 2022). So, on 10 October 1968, KH Idham Chalid, as Minister of Welfare, through Decree No. 35/1968 dated 17 October 1968, formed a small team to prepare the establishment of the National Family Planning Institute (LKBN). Then, a year later, on 22 January 1970, Presidential Decree No. 8 of 1970 was issued, which inaugurated the establishment of the National Family Planning Coordinating Agency (BKKBN) (Barjie, 2022).

At the beginning of its development, family planning became a programme that gave birth to polemics, in the sense that some Muslims rejected the family planning programme in terms of Islamic law. However, KH Idham Chalid and KH Nazarudin Latief tried to enlighten the public, especially the Muslim community, about the law and the family planning programme, even KH Idham Chalid involved the NU organisation and other religious leaders to succeed the family planning programme (BPK Indonesia, 1995). This can be seen from the emergence of writings by religious leaders on family planning from Muslim, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, and Buddhist religious leaders, and all of them provide perspectives and support for family planning programmes according to their respective religious views (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional Biro Penerangan dan Motivasi, 1979).

KH Idham Chalid's enlightenment regarding the family planning programme can be seen from the PBNU's own decision which says that family planning is permissible with several conditions, namely; not mass and forced, not negating births but spacing births, there is consent from the husband for his wife and not using contraceptives that damage the body or that endanger health. The

government approved the conditions issued by the PBNU, and this facilitated the success of the family planning programme because it had received legal legitimacy from the Islamic side. Therefore, NU, including Muslimat NU, was also involved in the success of the family planning programme. As a result, a number of health clinics catering to the correct family planning programme according to Islamic law were established in several regions in Indonesia (Hilmy & Ma'shum, 2002).

KH Idham Chalid's Struggle in the Field of Islamic Education during the New Order Era

KH Idham Chalid's struggle outside the new order government is the struggle of a KH Idham Chalid in society, especially in educational institutions. Since the 1984 NU Congress, there has been a split among the NU elite, namely the Cipete camp and the Situbondo camp, but then KH Idham Chalid legowo gave his leadership in PBNU to younger NU cadres, from here KH Idham Chalid's phrase emerged, namely: "every figure has its era and every era has its figure" (Hilmy & Ma'shum, 2002). Therefore, since the NU congress in Situbondo, KH Idham Chalid's leadership at the top of Nahdlatul Ulama ended. Although KH Idham Chalid no longer serves in PBNU, KH Idham Chalid continues to devote himself to religion and society. KH Idham Chalid specifically devoted himself to the field of education and religion (Barjie, 2022).

In fact, before entering politics, he had served in his alma mater educational institution in Amuntai, South Kalimantan, namely Pondok Pesantren Rasyidiyah. In fact, he gave a breakthrough in his pesantren, namely combining *salaf* and modern traditions (*salaf* and *khalaf*) (Rahmi, 2018), according to the needs of the community and the times, and changed the name to Normal Islam, which later became Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah (Rahman & Jamalie, 2023). The modernisation of educational institutions carried out by KH Idham Chalid at Pondok Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah Islamic Boarding School in Amuntai, South Kalimantan, began with a curriculum overhaul by providing religious lessons in public schools and including general lessons in religious schools. This imitates the pattern and education system at Gontor Modern Islamic Boarding School, where KH Idham Chalid had previously received education at Gontor Modern Islamic Boarding School (Rahman & Jamalie, 2023).

In an effort to make changes in the field of education, KH Idham included exact subjects and general science, as well as religious science and its supporters (science tools). The composition was 60% religious subjects and 40% general subjects, with Arabic as the language of instruction. No less important, KH Idham Chalid also added knowledge in the educational reform at Normal Islam in Amuntai (Muhajir, 2007). Normal Islam Islamic Boarding School in Amuntai is able to maintain its influence in the community with a comprehensive curriculum, meaning that by combining religious and general education, it makes the institution relevant in equipping students to face modern challenges. This ensures graduates have holistic knowledge, both in terms of religion and practical skills (Sulaiman, 2012). Then, with Arabic language skills is an effort to maintain religious distinctiveness and traditions, which makes it still respected by the community, especially those with strong religious backgrounds (Hasan, 2014). In addition, there is an emphasis on national knowledge. KH Idham Chalid realised the importance of national spirit in education. By incorporating national values, the institution not only educated students in religious and general knowledge but also prepared them as patriotic citizens. This increased its appeal in the eyes of the political elite and made it relevant on the national scene (Maulana, 2016).

This nationality education was born because of the figure of KH Idham Chalid, who was active in the movement by following the style of Gontor Modern Islamic Boarding School, then adopted and practised at Normal Islam Rasyidiyah Islamic Boarding School to instil love for the homeland. Another educational breakthrough implemented at Normal Islam is that KH Idham Chalid also established a special school for girls (Rahmi, 2018). Not only that, in Amuntai, KH Idham Chalid also formed an educational organisation known as *Ittihadul Ma'ahidil Islamiyah* (IMI). IMI was established at the initiative of young Islamic educators and teachers, including KH Idham Chalid and his colleagues, as a means to facilitate the unity of Muslims through the field of education and teaching (Rahmi, 2018). This proves that KH Idham Chalid is very concerned about the development of Islamic education in Indonesia.

Therefore, on the sidelines of his activities as a high-ranking state official, KH Idham Chalid began to pioneer educational institutions. Darul Ma'arif College was established in 1954 by KH Idham Chalid in Cipete, South Jakarta. Darul Ma'arif Foundation was then established in 1959, which raised this college.

There were two factors behind KH Idham Chalid establishing this Islamic educational institution. First, A meeting of Jakarta scholars in 1954 to celebrate the Prophet Muhammad's birthday at KH Idham Chalid's house. These scholars encouraged KH Idham Chalid to establish Islamic educational institutions in Jakarta and its surroundings. Second, his father, KH Idham Chalid, did leave a will that allowed the establishment of a pesantren (Mandan, 2008). Madrasah Aliyah was established in 1962, Islamic Primary School in 1964, Islamic Kindergarten in 1974, Junior High School and Senior High School in 1979. Darul Ma'arif College offers various levels of education. Then came the Islamic College (STAI), which was established in 1985 (Rahmadi et al., 2013). The development of Darul Ma'arif is considered quite rapid. Several figures who are famous and studied with KH Idham Chalid at Darul Ma'arif include KH Zainuddin MZ, KH Abdul Hakim, KH Ahmad Fatin Naim, and Hj. Saidah Said.

KH Idham Chalid built the Darul Ma'arif educational institution with the lower middle class in mind. Therefore, in order for all groups to participate, the entry price or tuition fee was made as low as possible. Therefore, it is not surprising that the physical condition of the educational institution in the 1970s looked shabby and poor, and was constantly constrained by expenses. KH Idham Chalid did not want his institution to develop into a flagship or exclusive institution, let alone one that focused on business. Regarding this, KH Idham Chalid once said the following:

"I did not set up the college to make a profit like the elite Islamic schools, but I wanted to accommodate the children of the bajaj drivers, the sweepers, the children of the greengrocers in this area to be able to go to school, at least get some knowledge and a diploma. I want to accommodate children who are not rich and not smart" (Mandan, 2008).

Apart from the College, KH Idham Chalid also founded the Nahdlatul Ulama University (UNNU) in Bandung together with Subhan ZE, KH Ahsin, KH Usman Aydarus, KH EZ Muttaqin, and others. UNNU, which later became Universitas Islam Nusantara (UNINUS), was officially established in 1950. KH Idham's commitment to the development and advancement of religion through education was fully supported by the ulama. By no longer serving in Nahdlatul Ulama and the new order government system, KH Idham Chalid focused on managing the educational institution he founded, Darul Ma'arif. Many alums of

Darul Ma'arif became ulama, preachers, and community leaders after returning to their respective regions or remaining in Jakarta.

Apart from managing educational institutions, KH Idham Chalid also often gives recitations as well as the recitation of the Nahdliyin's majelis *ta'lim*. His recitation is much in demand by the community because of the depth of knowledge that is seasoned with typical humour. KH Idham's recitation also often relates it to the practice of tarekat to interested people, because after not being the chairman of PBNu, KH Idham became chairman of Mudir Amm Network Ahli Thariqoh Al-muktabaroh an-Nahdliyah (Jatman). (Bruinessen, 1999). In addition to building Darul Ma'arif College in Cipete, South Jakarta, KH Idham Chalid also built Darul Qur'an Islamic Boarding School in Cisarua, Bogor, which also has MTs, SMA, and orphanage education levels. Darul Qur'an first established PGAP for 4 years before turning it into Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) in 1977. Darul Qur'an then opened a Senior High School (SMA) in 1980. In addition, Darul Qur'an built an orphanage in the 1980s. Therefore, the pesantren founded by KH Idham Chalid in Bogor had excellence in Qur'an learning between the 1960s and 1980s. Suryadharma Ali, who later served as Minister of Religious Affairs from 2009 to 2014, is an alumnus of Darul Qur'an.

The Darul Qur'an Islamic Boarding School stands on 2,620 metres of land, which is a waqf from KH Idham Chalid himself. The pesantren is used as a purely social institution with no commercial objectives; its main priority is to help the weak economic community to continue to receive education (Barjie, 2022). KH Idham Chalid also paid much attention to his home region of Banjar, whether he was still serving in the Government or had retired. This attention can be seen from placing his sons in strategic positions in the government, after going to KH Idham Chalid to ask for support, prayers, and recommendations, after which the ideals are often realised. In addition, KH Idham Chalid also paid attention to the educational development of people who came from South Kalimantan to continue their studies, especially lectures with scholarships to Egypt and Saudi Arabia. For example, KH Husin Naparin, who managed to study at Al-Azhar University in Egypt, and KH Madyan Noor, who managed through the help of KH Idham Chalid to study in Medina. Then there was H. Rusydi Hatta, who was still related to KH Idham Chalid and also had the opportunity to study in Medina (Barjie, 2022).

The two Islamic educational institutions above, Darul Ma'arif in Cipete, South Jakarta, and Darul Qur'an in Bogor, which were founded privately by KH Idham Chalid, have been able to maintain their influence in the general public and among the political elite by combining in-depth religious education and general studies. This made the graduates of these institutions not only have a strong religious foundation but also be able to compete in the modern world of education, making them relevant among the wider community. So while rooted in a strong religious tradition, the institution also tries to keep up with the times by integrating technology and modern learning approaches. This helps them remain competitive and attractive to the younger generation who want to get a balanced education between religion and modern knowledge (Sulaiman, 2012).

Not only that, KH Idham Chalid himself was an influential figure in Indonesian politics. His involvement in politics and good relations with national elites opened up avenues for these institutions to establish links with important figures, which helped maintain their influence among the elite (Nugroho, 2018). The Islamic educational institution founded by KH Idham Chalid has also produced many successful alums in various fields, including politics, business, and government. These influential alumni help maintain the institution's good name and expand their network in the political elite circle, as mentioned above, that Suryadharma Ali, who is the former Minister of Religious Affairs, is an alumnus of KH Idham Chalid's Pesantren Darul Qur'an Bogor (Fauzi, 2019). Darul Ma'arif and Darul Qur'an play an important role in social and religious activities in the surrounding communities. By engaging in various community and charitable activities, these two institutions remain close to the community, building trust and maintaining relevance amidst social change.

CONCLUSION

KH Idham Chalid is a cleric as well as a statesman who lived and fought in three eras, namely the era of the national movement against and expelling colonialists, the old order era of President Soekarno, and the new order era of President Soeharto. The role and struggle of KH Idham Chalid during the New Order can be categorised into two categories, namely, the first is fighting in the New Order government. President Soeharto trusted KH Idham Chalid to hold strategic positions. One of his struggles in the new order government was the success of the Family Planning (KB) programme, which at the beginning of its

development gave birth to pros and cons, but with KH Idham Chalid's intelligence as a cleric could enlighten the public about the law of KB according to Islamic views. Second, struggling outside the new order government, especially when he did not hold a strategic position in the government, and had stepped down from the position of chairman of PBNU. KH Idham Chalid devoted his service to religion and society through education by establishing Islamic educational institutions, namely Darul Ma'arif in Cipete, South Jakarta, and Darul Qur'an in Cisarua, Bogor. KH Idham Chalid established both Islamic educational institutions for the lower middle class. In addition to establishing these two Islamic educational institutions, KH Idham Chalid also often opens recitations like Majelis Taklim Nahdlyin, and is in great demand by the community. His commitment to struggling in the world of education can also be seen from his contribution in founding the Nahdlatul Ulama University (UNNU) in Bandung, which, in its development, turned into the Nusantara Islamic University (UNINUS).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thank you to all those who have contributed to this research. This article does not receive any funding from other parties but is purely on the author's initiative. In addition, the author is aware that this article still has shortcomings in terms of both data and how to present the contents of the article. Therefore, the author expects criticism and input to improve this article.

REFERENCES

- Abdurrahman, D. (2011). *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam*. Ombak.
- Alfian, A. (1990). *Pemikiran dan Pembaharuan politik Indonesia*. Gramedia.
- Amir, Z. A. (2003). *Peta Partai Islam*. LP3ES.
- Anam, C. (1985). *Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Nahdlatul Ulama*. Jatayu.
- Anjani, K. T., Rahmadi, D., & Handayani, Y. (2021). Nahdlatul Ulama: Politik Kebangsaan Pada Masa Dr. KH. Idham Chalid (1956-1984). *Adz-Zikr Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 6(2), 19–34. <https://doi.org/10.55307/adzzikr.v6i2.107>
- Asa'ari, A., Ahmad, J., Nurjaman, A., Witro, D., & Alghani, R. (2022). 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(2), 215–230. <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v7i2.1784>
- Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional Biro Penerangan dan Motivasi. (1979). *Keluarga Berencana Ditinjau Dari Segi Agama-Agama Besar di Dunia*. Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional Biro Penerangan dan Motivasi.
- Barjie, A. (2022). *Dr. K.H. Idham Chalid Ulama Politisi Banjar di Kancah Nasional*. Penakita Publisher.
- Batubara, C. (2008). *Panjangnya Jalan Politik*. Jala.
- Boland, B. (1985). *Pergumulan Islam di Indonesia*. Grafiti Pers.
- BPK Indonesia. (1995). *25 tahun Gerakan keluarga berencana*. Kantor Menteri Negara Kependudukan/ Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional.
- Bruinessen, M. van. (1999). *Kitab Kuning Pesantren dan Tarekat*. Mizan.
- Darisman, M. (1999). *Almanak Pers Kalimantan Selatan*. Badan Penelitian Pers dan Pendapat Umum.
- Dwidjowijoto, R. N. (1996). *Manajemen Presiden Soeharto Penuturan 17 Menteri*. Yayasan Bina Generasi Muda.
- Fauzi, R. (2019). *Jaringan Alumni dan Pengaruhnya dalam Pendidikan*. Alumni.
- Feillard, A. (1999). *NU Vis-à-vis Negara Pencarian Isi, Bentuk dan Makna*. LKiS.

- Haris, S. (1991). *PPP dan Politik Orde Baru*. Grasindo.
- Hasan, B. (2014). *Penggunaan Bahasa Arab dalam Pendidikan Islam*. Aksara.
- Hidayat, A. A., Nurjaman, A., Ahmad, J., Witro, D., & Alghani, R. (2022). Nahdlatul Ulama in Facing the Guided Democracy 1959-1965: an Overview of Social and Political Factors. *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 20(2), 567–598. <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v20i2.1069>
- Hidayatullah, N. (2016). *Pahlawan Nasional Idham Chalid (Dimensi Spiritual Negarawan Agamis)*. Yayasan Pondok Pesantren Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah.
- Hidayatullah, N. (2018). Idham Chalid di Nahdlatul Ulama. *Idrak: Journal Of Islamic Education*, 1(1), 1–18. <http://jurnal.stit-rh.ac.id/index.php/idrak/article/view/1>
- Hilmy, M., & Ma'shum, S. (2002). *Asmah Syachruni Muslimah Pejuang Lintas Zaman dari Kalangan Nahdlatul Ulama*. Pustaka Indonesia Satu.
- Mandan, A. M. (2008). *Napak Tilas Pengabdian Idham Chalid: Tanggung Jawab Politik NU Dalam Sejarah*. Pustaka Indonesia Satu.
- Maulana, I. (2016). *Nilai Kebangsaan dalam Pendidikan Islam*. Cendekia.
- Mayer, R. (2011). *Islam di Spanyol*. Pensil 324.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: a methods sourcebook*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Muhajir, A. (2007). *Idham Chalid Guru Politik Orang NU*. Pustaka Pesantren.
- Musa, A. M. (2010). *NU dan Moralitas Politik Bangsa*. Telaga Bijak.
- Muthalib, Z. A. A., & Zamzam, A. H. (2010). *KH. Dr. Idham Chalid dalam Pandangan Umat*. Syndicate 23.
- Nugroho, S. (2018). *Politik dan Pendidikan: Keterkaitan dan Dampaknya*. Politik.
- Nurjaman, A., Arzam, A., Yusuf, M., Witro, D., & Musadad, A. (2022). Nahdlatul Ulama Theological Basis in Accepting the Concept of Guided Democracy 1959-1965. *FITRAH: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 8(2), 345–362. <https://doi.org/10.24952/fitrah.v8i2.5964>
- Nurjaman, A., Arzam, A., Zufriani, Z., & Witro, D. (2022). Tokoh Politik Islam Era Orde Lama Indonesia: Kajian Pemikiran KH Idham Chalid Dalam Menerima Konsep Demokrasi Terpimpin Tahun 1965. *Ishlah: Jurnal Ilmu*

Ushuluddin, Adab Dan Dakwah, 4(1), 53–74.
<https://doi.org/10.32939/ishlah.v4i1.132>

Nurjaman, A., Sulaiman, A., & Purnama, A. (2020). Peran KH. Idham Chalid dalam Konferensi Islam Asia Afrika di Kota Bandung Tahun 1965. *Historia Madania: Jurnal Ilmu Sejarah*, 4(1), 147–176.
<https://doi.org/10.15575/hm.v4i1.9193>

Poeponegroro, M. D., & Notosusanto, N. (2010). *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Zaman Jepang dan Zaman Republik*. Balai Pustaka.

Pratikno, P. (2002). Keretakan Otoritarianisme Orde Baru Dan Prospek Demokratisasi. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 2(2), 18–33.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.11152>

Rahmadi, R., Jaferi, A. R., & Ahmad, A. (2013). *Elite Muslim Banjar di Tingkat Nasional*. IAIN Antasari Press.

Rahman, A., & Jamalie, Z. (2023). Study of Islamic Education Thought in the Perspective of KH. Idham Chalid. *Jurnal Transformatif (Islamic Studies)*, 7(1), 89–98. <https://doi.org/10.23971/tf.v7i1.5261>

Rahmi, S. (2018). Modernisasi Pesantren (Studi Peran KH. Idham Chalid di Pondok Pesantren Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah Amuntai Tahun 1945-1966 M). *Jurnal Al-Risalah*, 14(1), 1–28. <https://jurnal.stairakha-amuntai.ac.id/index.php/alris/article/view/38/29>

Sulaiman, A. (2012). *Reformasi Pendidikan di Indonesia*.

Sulasman. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Sejarah*. Pustaka Setia.