

Nahdlatul Ulama Theological Basis in Accepting the Concept of Guided Democracy 1959-1965

Andri Nurjaman¹, Arzam², Muhamad Yusuf³, & Doli Witro^{*4}, Anwar Musadad⁵

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia^{1,4}, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kerinci, Indonesia^{2,3}, Al Azhar University, Egypt⁵

Email: andrienurjaman99@gmail.com¹, arzamzain46@gmail.com², yusufgayo32@gmail.com³, doliwitro01@gmail.com^{*4}, anwarmusadad574@gmail.com⁵

Abstract

Nahdlatul Ulama is the only major political party representing Muslims in national politics during the implementation of guided democracy. NU's accommodative and flexible political practices have made Nahdlatul Ulama able to live and continue to survive in difficult times. This is inseparable from NU's religious political strategy, which is its guideline. The theological basis based on the theory of *fiqh* and *ushul fiqh* can be seen in NU's acceptance of the guided democracy concept. This paper aims to reveal NU's theological foundation in accepting the concept of guided democracy. Data was collected through the study of texts and manuscripts and literature studies. The data analysis technique uses hermeneutic theory to capture symbols in the form of texts originating from Islamic law, namely *fiqh*, and *ushul fiqh*, as the basis and foundation of NU accepting guided democracy. The results showed that there were several theories of *fiqh* and *ushul fiqh* used by NU, including the concepts of *maslahah* and *mudarat*, *dar'ul mafasid muqoddamun ala jalbil mashalih*, *amar ma'ruf nahyil mungkar*, *ma la yudraku kulluh la yutraku kulluh*, *al-muhafadthu ala qodim al-shahih wa al-akhdu bi al-jadid al-ashlah* in dealing with President Soekarno's complex politics, and the concept of *syuro* presented by KH Idham Chalid in bridging between guided democracy and Islam.

Keywords: *Theology, Nahdlatul Ulama, Guided Democracy*

Abstrak

Nahdlatul Ulama adalah satu-satunya partai politik besar yang mewakili umat Islam dalam perpolitikan Nasional pada masa penerapan demokrasi terpimpin. Praktik politik NU yang akomodatif dan luwes menjadikan Nahdlatul Ulama mampu hidup dan terus bertahan pada masa-masa sulit. Hal ini tidak terlepas dari strategi politik keagamaan NU yang menjadi pedomannya. Landasan teologi yang bersumber pada teori fiqh dan ushul fiqh terlihat dari penerimaan NU terhadap konsep demokrasi terpimpin tersebut. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap landasan teologis NU dalam menerima konsep demokrasi terpimpin. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui kajian teks dan naskah serta studi kepustakaan. Teknik analisis data menggunakan teori hermeneutika untuk menangkap simbol berupa teks yang bersumber dari hukum Islam yaitu *fiqh* dan *ushul fiqh* sebagai dasar dan landasan NU menerima demokrasi terpimpin. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ada beberapa teori *fiqh* dan *ushul fiqh* yang

digunakan oleh NU, diantaranya konsep *masalahah* dan *mudarat*, *dar'ul mafasid muqoddamun ala jalbil mashalih*, *amar ma'ruf nahyil mungkar*, *ma la yudraku kulluh la yutraku kulluh*, *Al-muhafadthu ala qodim al-shahih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadid al-ashlah* dalam menghadapi politik Presiden Soekarno yang begitu kompleks, dan konsep *syuro* yang dipaparkan oleh KH Idham Chalid dalam menjembatani antara demokrasi terpimpin dan Islam.

Kata Kunci: *Teologi, Nahdlatul Ulama, Demokrasi Terpimpin*

INTRODUCTION

Inside Nahdlatul Ulama itself established in 1928 (Hasyim, 2020), Indonesia's largest Islamic organization (Arifianto, 2021; Ishomuddin, 2014)– it turns out that there are *kyai* who reject guided democracy, he is KH Dahlan, the second Rais of NU, and Imron Rosjadi, the Chairman of Ansor Youth. Kiai Dahlan himself stated that the decision to bury parties was an attitude that would injure the spirit of Islam and would lead to dictatorship. This was conveyed in November 1956 (Duta Masyarakat, 1956a). Imron Rosjadi emphasized this by saying that a dictator is against the sharia or Islamic teachings (Duta Masyarakat, 1957). This disapproval sentiment continued to be conveyed by Imron Rosjadi, who alleged that the National Council formed by Soekarno was only for the benefit of President Soekarno, and he added that the government system had to be developed, regardless of who the president was. (Noer, 1987, p. 378). However, it turns out that this does not significantly influence the NU body.

Because it did not influence NU, the League for Democracy was founded on March 24, 1960, by KH Muhammad Dahlan and Imron Rosjadi with Masyumi and PSI people, as well as several independent figures. This league was founded by people with the same ideals and aim to defend the country, religion, and society. He will achieve his goals by publishing, speaking, and taking political action. It also intends to spread ideas to the district level (Abadi, 1960). Several figures from groups and including high-ranking military officers, supported the Democracy League. However, these supports occurred while President Soekarno was still abroad. After he returned home, the Democratic League was immediately disbanded without anyone or a single party defending him.

The League of Democracy has many enemies who are pro-guided democracy. When Imron Rosjadi from NU and Anwar Harjono from Masyumi attended a general meeting in Surabaya on 15 May 1960 to give speeches in order to spread the ideas of the League of Democracy, both of them needed to be saved from the attacks of the people who came to the meeting deliberately to disrupt

the meeting (Duta Masyarakat, 1960a). In March 1961, the League of Democracy was disbanded because it conflicted with Manipol.

The Islamic parties that live and survive in the complex flow of Indonesian politics during the guided democracy are PSII, Perti, and the Nahdlatul Ulama Party. These Islamic parties can survive in guided democracy because they can adapt to the will and politics of President Soekarno (Noer, 1987, p. 417).

During the government of President Soekarno, especially during the implementation of guided democracy, the three Islamic parties used a flexible and accommodating political strategy in their various political activities. Meanwhile, in Masyusmi's view, the government of President Soekarno was considered too leftist, so he chose to become the opposition (Feillard, 1999, p. 46).

If groups that reject the concept of guided democracy form the League of Democracy, the pro-guided democracy groups form the Muslim League. NU, Perti, and PSII founded the Muslim League on August 30, 1952. At the beginning of the formation of the Muslim League, KH Wahid Hasyim from NU gave his speech, KH Wahid Hasim voiced that the birth of unity among Muslims was beginning to be divided due to different political understandings and views. H. Sirodjuddin Abbas continued the speeches from Perti and Abikusno Tjokrosuroso from PSII, emphasizing unity among Muslims.

Of the three Islamic parties, the largest and has many members are Nahdlatul Ulama, then Nahdlatul Ulama, which at that time became the mecca of Islamic politics in Indonesia apart from being the only Islamic party that represented scholar in the Nasakom concept but was also able to bring the Nahdlatul Ulama party from destruction in the era of Indonesian politics which was very difficult and complex during the reign of President Soekarno during the guided democracy.

Several previous studies can be used as a basis for this research. First, a study related to what the researchers examined about NU's political support for Soekarno's leadership, entitled *Nahdlatul Ulama During the Government of President Soekarno (1945-1966)*, written by A. Hidayat (A. Hidayat, 2019). The content of this article is to look at President Soekarno's policies in dealing with Islamic political parties and reveal the political strategies played by NU in President Soekarno's government. The difference between this article and the author's research lies in the period, if A. Hidayat looks at NU from 1945 to 1966, the author sees NU during the leadership of President Soekarno from 1959 to 1965 (guided democracy) and focuses on the theological foundation of NU in accepting the concept of guided democracy.

Second, an article entitled *The Struggle of Islamic Political Parties During*

Guided Democracy: Masyumi Falls, NU Walks, PSII Indecisive written by Muhammad Rijal Fadli (Fadli, 2020). The contents of the Journal article are how the response of Muslims represented by various Islamic parties in responding to Soekarno's guided democracy led to dualism, in the sense that there were pros and cons. The difference with the author's research is that the author focuses on the theological foundation of Nahdlatul Ulama in accepting the concept of guided democracy.

Third, the article entitled Guided Democracy in Political Thought and Practice was written by Anwar Ilmar and contained the concept of guided democracy from Soekarno's thought (Ilmar, 2018). The difference with the research that the author examines in this article is that the author focuses on the theological foundation of NU in accepting the concept of guided democracy.

Furthermore, a study on Islam and democracy in Indonesia conducted by Buehler (Buehler, 2009); research on the elimination of communist ideology in Indonesia in 1965-1966 conducted by Heidhues (Heidhues, 2021); then research on the review of the journey of political parties in Indonesia seen from a socio-historical perspective by Rambe and Zulkarnain (Rambe & Zulkarnain, 2022).

This paper aims to reveal the reasons or theological foundations used by Nahdlatul Ulama in its acceptance of the new concept of democracy created by President Soekarno, guided democracy. Disclosure of this matter is essential because it will refute accusations that NU's political stance during President Soekarno was an opportunist Islamic political organization and party.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this study uses the historical method used in this study, including the stages of heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Historical sources in the writing process were collected based on materials that are relevant to the theme that the author raised. Heuristics or the process of collecting sources to be studied (Sulasman, 2014, p. 93), namely regarding the basis of NU theology in accepting the concept of guided democracy in the form of a collection of *fiqh* and *ushul fiqh* theories used by NU figures during the implementation of guided democracy, among NU elite figures at that time who determined NU politics on the national level was KH Wahab Chasbullah as Rois Amm PBNU or PBNU Syuriah Council, KH Idham Chalid as General Chair or Chairperson of PBNU Tanfidziyyah and KH Saifuddin Zuhri as Secretary General of PBNU. Even KH Idham Chalid wrote a book entitled Islam and Guided Democracy, which KH Idham Chalid did, showing that guided

democracy follows Islamic teachings. Furthermore, the sources obtained are criticized or analyzed to obtain the validity of these sources, in this criticism process, a source selection process is also carried out to determine whether or not (Abdurahman, 1999, p. 11). The next stage, namely historical interpretation or analysis, is combining several facts and data that have been obtained (Sulasman, 2014, p. 107). To be able to find out how the theological foundation of Nahdlatul Ulama in accepting the concept of guided democracy, the author uses the hermeneutic theory popularized by Paul Ricoeur, which focuses his hermeneutic research on texts, according to him, texts are autonomous (A. A. Hidayat, 2016, pp. 158–159). The last stage of the historical method is historiography, which is a process of compiling historical facts from various sources that have been obtained and criticized.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

An Overview of Guided Democracy 1959-1965

Guided democracy is a new phase of democracy created by President Soekarno and officially implemented in Indonesia since the issuance of a Presidential Decree from 1959 to 1965. During the guided democracy period, power was centered in the hands of President Soekarno as head of state and government. In the beginning, this conception was applied in Indonesia, of course, it gave rise to various responses from existing parties, especially Islamic parties, and unavoidable pros and cons were born regarding the idea of facing guided democracy for every Islamic party.

The group or group of Islamic political parties against the concept of President Soekarno's guided democracy was Masyumi, at the beginning of this conception of guided democracy, Natsir immediately initiated, and his party vehemently refused. This uncompromising attitude has been seen since the burial of the parties. The burial of the parties is the beginning of replacing a multi-party liberal democratic system with a guided democracy system with simplification. In October 1956, Muhammad Natsir said that the hallmark of democracy still exists the existence of parties, so as long as there is party freedom, as long as there is a democracy, there is still a democracy, but if the parties are buried, then democracy is buried, and above the grave, a dictator is born (Abadi, 1956).

Natsir continued by stating that the concept of democracy cannot be changed under certain circumstances, the general chairman of Masyumi thinks that democracy is a way of life, and indeed applying democracy is indeed tricky, therefore, it must be faced with various trials that are sometimes also difficult. A party is a political tool, therefore, Natsir reminded us that the party should not be

used as a goal, which will step on the values of political life. So Natsir firmly told politicians and soldiers to cultivate a sense of democracy and avoid attitudes that violate the spirit of democracy. On the anniversary of Masyumi's 11th birthday, Natsir also talked about this again (Noer, 1987, p. 379).

Natsir also realized that the country's state and political life in Indonesia at that time were not healthy, but according to him, the solution to burying parties was not a good idea stating that the dictatorship system was against Islam. He also said that the unity of the Indonesian nation was maintained by mutual love and trust, not by pressure and coercion.

Natsir then submitted a statement to his colleague, Syafruddin Prawiranegara: *"This is the greatest danger that threatens our country: namely that democracy sinks into coalitions and then coalitions are eaten by anarchy and anarchy is overcome by armed groups or groups that control the armed groups."*

Moreover, Natsir stated that President Soekarno's new system and conception was a dictatorship that must be prevented. Juyuf Wibisono from the central leadership of Masyumi also does not believe that the President's conception will be able to overcome the difficulties facing the country.

On February 29, when the President summoned all parties (16 parties in all) from 09 am to 01 pm, the President gave a presentation on his conception in front of them. Representatives from Masyumi, namely Natsir, Faqih Usman, and Yunan Nasution, argued that the elimination of state difficulties should not be sought by changing the system or structure of the government, the main problem is how they say how to restore the hope and trust of the people to the government (Abadi, 1957). Because Masyumi firmly rejects guided democracy and Masyumi's failure proves that he was not involved in the PRRI-Permesta movement (Duta Masyarakat, 1960b), President Soekarno dissolved Masyumi on August 17, 1960.

Other Islamic parties are more aligned with President Soekarno's politics. Similar to the attitude of PSII, which agreed to return to the 1945 Constitution and abolish the 1950 Provisional Constitution. Meanwhile, the NU Party Council accepted the decree with the understanding that the Jakarta Charter was also a source of law (Noer, 1987, p. 392).

Including the Muhammadiyah, after Masyumi was dissolved in 1960, which was one of the political vehicles of the Muhammadiyah people. The channeling of aspirations through NU, PSII, or Perti is not possible. NU and Perti because of different understandings, PSII because of history has caused Muhammadiyah to be far from it. The vote for the change in status was

stimulated by the fact that Muhammadiyah allowed its members to sit in the DPR-GR on behalf of Muhammadiyah. However, through various Congresses, Muhammadiyah has firmly stated that its position remains a social organization, not a political party (Duta Masyarakat, 1956b).

Of course, this does not mean Muhammadiyah has left political developments unattended. As a member of the National Front, for example, Muhammadiyah must participate in various activities to support government policies. In this case, he could not isolate himself. He also came to play in such a way that his University, Muhammadiyah University, in 1965 awarded President Soekarno an Honoris Causa Doctorate in monotheism. Even at the Jakarta Muhammadiyah Branch Conference in 1963, he bestowed the title Mubalig Agung to President Soekarno (Duta Masyarakat, 1963).

Theological Foundation in Facing President Soekarno's New Politics

The reason the Nahdlatul Ulama Party accepted and supported President Soekarno was that psychologically, NU and Soekarno had a close and harmonious relationship, they also had similar thoughts and views towards the nation and state. NU's flexible political stance, which is accused of being political opportunism, is not proper but is based on substantial reasons.

NU's political flexibility is not an attitude of opportunism other groups have accused NU of. However, it is a political shrewdness and flexibility, openness, or high survival rate of NU in the face of President Soekarno's challenging and complex political changes. NU's attitude is based on the theological concept, namely, "*al-muhafadthu ala qodim al-shahih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadid al-ashlah,*" which means maintaining the good old one and taking the better one.

The obligation of *amar ma'ruf nahyil mungkar* can be effectively implemented in the system. This is one of the reasons for NU's acceptance of guided democracy. Religious considerations emerged from the general chairman of PBNU, namely KH Idham Chalid that the system and concept of guided democracy followed Islamic teachings, namely *syuro*, as long as they emphasized deliberation to reach consensus.

Furthermore, KH Idham Chalid explained that *syuro* or deliberation is a solution and Islamic teachings in deciding or solving a problem. Therefore, the conflict that occurs between political parties during a parliamentary democracy and determining a decision with the majority of votes is an act that violates Islamic law. Apart from parliamentary or liberal democracy, it is unsuitable for the Indonesian people (Muhlis, 2013, p. 205).

The concept of *syuro* in Islam is that a leader in making a decision must always consult with deliberation participants who have expertise in their fields and have a sense of responsibility, in this case, referred to as *ahlu halli wal 'aqdi*. Hope in deliberation will give birth to the best ideas in deciding.

The concept of *syuro* is Islamic teaching and is the antithesis of a parliamentary democratic system emphasizing debating and bringing each other down. A leader can decide other things if there is an opinion that would be inappropriate but still must have a sense of responsibility as a leader (Chalid, 1965, pp. 47–49). So *syuro* is a bond between the leader and the deliberation participants who have quality and quantity or experts in their field or who have influence in science, experience, religion, society, culture, and economy (*ahlu halli wal aqdi*).

KH Idham Chalid or Nahdlatul Ulama indirectly tried to bridge and find common ground between the concept of *syuro* in Islamic teachings and the concept of President Soekarno's guided democracy. KH Idham Chalid emphasized that a leader must have responsibility. A decision must be based on deliberation with *ahlu halli wal aqdi*, but if there is an inappropriate opinion, a leader may look for other alternatives. This deliberation concept is considered more effective in seeking the truth than deciding by the majority vote method (Muhajir, 2007, p. 116).

KH Idham Chalid's efforts in bringing together these two big ideas were also balanced by anticipating various possibilities for the birth of dictatorship from the concept of guided democracy because it was clear that dictatorship violated the principles of Islamic teachings. From this, two concepts were born from KH Idham Chalid, namely, the first characteristic of democracy in Islam is *syuro* or deliberation, and secondly, there are some similarities in the concept of *syuro* with President Soekarno's guided democracy.

KH Idham Chalid considers that *syuro* or deliberation is essential in a democracy, so guided democracy, according to KH Idham is the concept of deliberation led by a leader who has a sense of responsibility (Muhajir, 2007, p. 121). Here KH Idham Chalid shows an eclectic attitude or his efforts in bridging these two significant concepts. KH Idham found a match between the teachings of Islam, namely *syuro*, with President Soekarno's new democratic concept.

KH Idham Chalid's view of the *syuro* gives a hammer or legality in the eyes of the Islamic religion towards President Soekarno's guided democracy. So this makes Nahdlatul Ulama, as a political party, accept the concept and support

President Soekarno during the guided democracy so that the NU Party continues to play an active role in the political world (Muhajir, 2007, p. 122).

KH Idham Chalid as a captain who brought a big boat named Nahdlatul Ulama in the political waves of President Soekarno, had managed to adjust. In the sense that NU's acceptance of the concept of guided democracy in the perspective of Islamic teachings, namely *syuro*, was able to survive the political storm when other Islamic parties such as Masyumi were disbanded. This is, of course, based on the political intelligence used by KH Idham Chalid in responding to all political turmoil from an Islamic point of view.

The Nahdlatul Ulama Party's acceptance of guided democracy from the view of Islamic law is rooted in the teachings of *siyasah-diniyah ahli sunnah wal jamaah*, which are the guidelines for *nahdliyin* citizens in living their political life in Indonesia (Muhajir, 2007, p. 90).

Greg Fealy stated that the ideology of *siyasah-diniyah* Nahdlatul Ulama is that the ulama as a leader must place Islam and Muslims as the highest priority in ensuring security regarding their physical and spiritual life, in the sense that the ulama must be able to stay away from all kinds that can threaten the life of Islam and the ummah of Islam (Fealy, 2009).

Therefore, the political principle held by NU is always to be careful, choose the middle way, and be flexible and accommodating. NU's political attitudes and strategies are considered more effective in maintaining the physical peace and spirituality of Islam and Muslims than being in opposition and conducting confrontational politics against the government of President Soekarno (Muhajir, 2007, p. 91).

The above makes NU's political view realistic, meaning that NU views power as the primary determinant in its political strategy. The ulemas in the NU body consider that President Soekarno is a great power, so if he chooses to fight against it, it will bring great danger to the survival of Islam and Muslims (Muhajir, 2007, p. 91). So that NU accepts President Soekarno's leadership in guided democracy and provides its support, in the sense that NU uses a participatory strategy against the guided democracy government. To achieve the goal of NU's nature in politics is to take an active role in the new democracy created by President Soekarno.

Apart from the above, the figure of KH Idham Chalid is moderate, flexible, and tends to follow the flow of water without drifting into it and chooses cooperation over confrontation. That is the figure of a politician cleric from South Kalimantan described in Tempo Magazine. The stance of KH Idham Chalid was seen at the NU party meeting in 1959, stating that:

“From the point of view of domestic politics, NU always tries, as much as possible, to adapt to the times and events that are happening and never proposes anything absolute and unconditional.” (Fealy, 2009, pp. 77–78). So it is difficult to break the connection between the thinking of KH Idham Chalid, who accepts the concept of guided democracy following Islamic teachings, and the political attitude of the Nahdlatul Ulama party. Although KH Idham Chalid’s political thoughts were personal and published in a magazine he co-founded with KH Saifudin Zuhri, namely Api Islam Magazine, it is implied that the NU Party’s attitude was born from the *ijtihad* of the thoughts of NU political figures at that time.

The efforts of KH Idham Chalid, KH Saifudin Zuhri, and Notosoetarjo in conducting a thought study to bridge two central concepts, namely guided democracy and Islamic teachings, which are carried out by *da’wah bil qolam* or *da’wah* through the magazine they founded, namely Api Islam Week magazine, which aims to preach to Muslims that there is a compatibility between Islam and the concept of guided democracy (Federspiel, 1990, pp. 35–43).

Greg Fealy, for example, that to secure interests that are religious in nature as well as those concerning the social and economic welfare of Muslims, especially *nahdliyin*, it is practical to use *siyiyasah* or politics, and this is the political strategy of the NU party throughout the leadership of President Soekarno (Fealy, 2009, p. 19).

However, President Soekarno did not immediately accept the willingness of the NU party, including other political parties, to cooperate with him during the guided democracy. President Soekarno gave one non-administrative condition, namely to completely abandon the realm of liberal democracy and accept and fully support the guided democracy ideology, Nasakom, and Manipol/Usdek. This requirement was also included in the political party simplification program in 1960 (Muhajir, 2007, p. 127). Even in this case, KH Idham Chalid emphasized the conditions given by President Soekarno if he wanted to join his new democratic system, namely:

“This condition is not clearly stated, but it is implied, and it turns out to be decisive. It turned out later that even though the technical requirements were sufficient, the political nuances, for example, accepting the Manipol-Usdek and so on, had also been fulfilled with oral, written, and so on, but if the previous practice of a party, its actions, words and -his words, gestures or his life history impressed or convinced P.J.M the President of the Great Leader of the Revolution that his chances of being invited together in this revolution would only be grumbling, cynics, and shears in the folds, so that party to is not recognized, no allowed to

continue standing even though his birth and written juridical looks like he meets the technical and political requirements". See the speech of the PBNU General Chair at the 23rd NU Congress in Sala (Surakarta) on 26 December 1962 (Chalid, 1966, p. 24).

Herbert Feith commented as follows: *"Never before has a government leader forced repeated support for ideas as a condition for legal participation in politics"* (Feith & Castle, 1970, p. 11). The compatibility between guided democracy and Islamic teachings, namely *syuro*, is an *ijtihad-syiasah diniyyah* or religious, political thought by KH Idham Chalid as the leader of the NU party as a middle way in saving Islam and Muslims, especially *jam'iyah* and NU congregations. This also proves that the Muslims represented by NU can be following President Soekarno's ideas (Muhajir, 2007, pp. 128–129).

The thoughts and attitudes of PBNU in dealing with President Soekarno's politics are the thoughts and attitudes of KH Wahab Chasbullah and KH Idham Chalid, and other NU party figures. The theological basis for accepting the concept of guided democracy is the *amar ma'ruf nahyil mungkar* and the concept of *syuro* (Muhajir, 2007, pp. 138–139). These two theological foundations in accepting guided democracy are a political strategy of the NU party, which is accommodative and chooses to cooperate.

Theological Basis for the inclusion of the NU Party in the Cabinet and DPR-GR

Nahdlatul Ulama has a strong *fiqh* basis in its involvement in government, the most important of which is the concept of *mashlahat*. NU also said that its approval had been given to the Ministers of NU: *"With the intention to use power (i.e., the cabinet) for the common good of religion, the homeland, and the nation, as well as to prevent the possibility of abuse of power by some groups, especially those who are seen as political opponents"* (Fealy, 2009, p. 42).

KH Idham Chalid (Chairman of Tanfidziyyah PBNU) and KH Saifuddin Zuhri (Secretary General of PBNU) in the seventh broadcast of PBNU stated that NU cadres or members who entered the world of politics both in the cabinet and in the National Council whom the President directly appointed were based on the principle of *fiqh* is to prevent *mudarat* from taking advantage, this is a PBNU policy issued at that time (Mandan, 2008, pp. 362–363).

The larger *mudarat* stated clearly that the positions or seats provided for NU would be occupied by groups that could be dangerous, and if NU chose to become the opposition, it would create a disaster that the *jam'iyah* or NU congregations did not expect. As in the PBNU broadcast quoted from the PBNU

documentation, not published. Significant emphasis was also given in the 7th PBNU broadcast to provide certainty of attitude to NU citizens during an uncertain socio-political situation. One such emphasis states; that PBNU's path has been provided with a line of wisdom on how to respond to the efforts of other groups that could harm Islamic ideology by laying out strategies and principles that are thorough and thorough and do not play valiantly. Because it asks for peace of mind and skill in assessing so that our actions are not like heroes but empty!

The danger of damage or harm in question is that if the DPR is dissolved, then NU recommends holding new elections as soon as possible, this departs from the fiqh rule, which reads *mala yatim al-wajib illa bihi fahuwa al-wajib*, meaning that the requirement to be able to carry out obligations becomes an obligation itself. Elections, which mean community participation, are a must to make improvements (Mandan, 2008, p. 363).

The reasons used to justify NU's helpful attitude during this period were the old Sunni teachings which emphasized the need for a cautious and realistic attitude and advocated a compromising attitude when facing a stronger party in order to save the people, especially the *ahlus sunnah wal jamaah*.

There is no more outstanding obligation than protecting religion. Other goals, such as defending democracy, defeating communists, or supporting modernist Muslims, are secondary. Although in a guided democracy, some things are tricky for NU to accept, it is still possible for NU and its ulema to maintain their position in the state institutions to monitor and spread Islamic teachings, which is a determining factor (Fealy, 2009, p. 344).

Nahdatul Ulama was able to survive during the difficult political times of President Soekarno during the implementation of guided democracy and his Nasakom concept. So NU chose to be accommodative and cooperate with the government. This loyal and flexible attitude of NU is not based on political opportunism. However, it has a solid theological basis originating from the theory of ushul fiqh, which reads, "*daar'ul mafasid muqoddamun ala jalbil mashalih*," which means avoiding damage is prioritized rather than taking advantage (Sitompul, 1989, p. 143).

In this regard, KH Idham Chalid gave a statement regarding NU's religious politics: "*In domestic politics, NU has always tried within the limits of the possibility of adapting itself to time and events and has never appeared either active or reactive with something absolute.*"

Through a meeting of the Nahdlatul Ulama Party held in June, it was decided that NU cadres must enter the political realm of President Soekarno, especially in the cabinet, with a solid religious foundation originating in the theory of *ushul fiqh* earlier “*dar’ul mafasid muqoddamun ala jalbil mashalih*” (Feillard, 1999, p. 52).

However, there were differences of opinion among senior NU Kiai regarding NU’s decision to sit in the Gotong Royong DPR. This disagreement can be seen from the arguments of KH Bishri Syansuri, KH Dachlan, Imron Rosyadi, and KH Ahmad Siddiq, who think that the DPR-GR is anti-democratic. In this case, KH Bishri Sansuri argued that the people did not elect the DPR-GR, violating the law of *fiqh*, so KH Bisri branded the DPR-GR as an act of *ghosob*.

On the other hand, KH Wahab Chasbullah explained that NU, in this condition, had no choice, in the sense that if NU chose to be in opposition and carried out a confrontational policy, it would endanger the *jam’iyyah* and NU congregations. Therefore, KH Wahab Chasbullah suggested NU enter the DPR-GR first, while if at any time NU wanted to leave, this would be easy to do.

The inclusion of the Nahdlatul Ulama Party in the DPR-GR, in addition to being based on the theory of *ushul fiqh* earlier, also has the principles of the Qur’an, namely *amar ma’ruf nahyil mungkar*, in order to correct the mistakes of the government that will be formed (Feillard, 1999, pp. 60–61).

This means that taking part in improving the situation is an obligation that can be done if NU enters the world of politics. This is based on the theory of *ushul fiqh* held by NU, namely *mala yatimul wajib illa bihi fa hurwal wajib*, which means that the condition for being able to carry out obligations is mandatory. The law to improve the situation to make it more conducive is mandatory, so entering politics to improve the situation is considered obligatory (Feillard, 1999, p. 61).

NU’s Theological Foundation in Accepting Pancasila

Religious reasons were also seen when NU accepted Pancasila as the only national principle. NU was the first to adopt the Pancasila ideology ultimately. NU was not only the first to accept Pancasila but also the easiest to accept. This is also based on two rules of *ushul fiqh*, namely *mala yudraku kulluhu la yutraku kulluhu* dan *idza ta’arada al-mafsadatani ru’iya a’dzumuhuma dlararan birtikabi akhaffihima* meaning that if you are faced with a dilemma, then choose the one with the least negative impact (Amir & Saleh, 2013, pp. 131–132).

This statement makes it clear that NU recognizes Pancasila as the philosophy and basis of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. NU clearly explains the differences and separates religion and state. Pancasila is the basis of

the state, not religion, but the existence of Pancasila cannot replace religion or use it to replace religion. However, that does not mean religion has nothing to do with the state. The declaration states that religious people in NU or Indonesia must ensure the correct interpretation of Pancasila and its pure and consistent experience. Following the efforts of an Indonesian Muslim to impose sharia into his religion. In this sense, NU positions religion as the state's moral ethics, and the state is subject to religion to maintain justice and always focus on the good and interests of the people (Amir & Saleh, 2013, pp. 132–133).

The declaration stated that religion and an independent state still have a mutualistic relational symbiosis in realizing the values of justice, humanity, benefit, compassion, and liberation for humanity, especially Indonesian Muslims. With political reasoning and moral support from NU for this country and nation, this has also become the theological foundation for NU to embrace the reality of a pluralistic and democratic nation-state. Furthermore, NU supports this fact as a very accurate political *ijtihad*.

As an implementation of NU's acceptance of Pancasila as the sole basis of national and state life, NU's articles of association have changed since 1984, following the paradigm. As a result of the 27th NU Congress held in Situbondo on 8-12 December 1984, NU's stance changed from Islam to Pancasila. This is what distinguishes NU between principles and beliefs. NU is based on Pancasila and has Islamic beliefs (Amir & Saleh, 2013, p. 134).

The consequence of the acceptance of the Indonesian state based on Pancasila is that in practical and strategic needs, NU's national position is from the religious understanding it contains, namely the Islamic values of *ahli sunna wal jamaah*, that NU has been associated with Pancasila as the basis and ideals of the nation since the founding of the nation. NU is consistent in promoting and maintaining Pancasila.

CONCLUSION

The steps taken by NU in dealing with President Soekarno's politics were the thoughts and attitudes of KH Wahab Chasbullah and KH Idham Chalid as well as other NU party figures. The theological basis for accepting the concept of guided democracy is *amar ma'ruf nahyil mungkar* and the concept of *syuro*. These two theological foundations in accepting guided democracy are a political strategy for the NU party which is accommodative and chooses to work together. NU cadres who entered the world of politics both in the cabinet and in the National Council appointed directly by the President based on *fiqih* principles,

namely preventing the arrival of harm rather than taking advantage. As an implementation of NU's acceptance of Pancasila as the sole foundation of national and state life, NU's statutes have changed since 1984 following the paradigm. NU is based on Pancasila and has Islamic beliefs.

Regarding the reasons for NU's acceptance of guided democracy, firstly, because it is based on religious teachings that guide NU citizens, NU always has a religious foundation in every action, including political matters. There are several theological foundations based on the theory of *fiqh* and *ushul fiqh* in NU's acceptance of guided democracy, including the concept of *mudarat* and *maslahat*, or *dazr'ul mafasid muqoddamun ala jalbil mashalih*, from this theory shows NU's political attitude which is accommodating and tends to cooperate with President Soekarno. The concept of *amar ma'ruf nahyil mungkar* in the context of NU entering the parliament and DPR. Another theory of *ushul fiqh*, *ma la yudraku kulluh la yutraku kulluh*, means that obligations cannot be abandoned because they cannot be carried out in full. Moreover, the theory of *al-muhafadthu ala qodim al-shahih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadid al-ashlah* deals with President Soekarno's complex politics. Also, the concept of *syuro* presented by KH Idham Chalid in bridging between guided democracy and Islam.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thank you to all those who have contributed to this research so that it can be completed in the form of a scientific article. This research was not funded by any institution, but purely on the initiative of the author personally. Thank You.

REFERENCES

- Abadi. (1956). *Koran Abadi*. 30 Oktober.
- Abadi. (1957). *Koran Abadi*. 1 Maret.
- Abadi. (1960). *Koran Abadi*. 26 Maret.
- Abdurahman, D. (1999). *Metode Penelitian Sejarah*. PT Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Amir, Z. A., & Saleh, I. A. (2013). *Soekarno & NU Titik Temu Nasionalisme*. LkiS.
- Arifianto, A. (2021). Nahdlatul Ulama and Its Commitment Towards Moderate Political Norms: a Comparison Between the Abdurrahman Wahid and Jokowi Era. *Journal Of Global Strategic Studies*, 1(1), 77–114. <https://doi.org/10.36859/jgss.v1i1.573>
- Buehler, M. (2009). Islam and democracy in Indonesia. *Insight Turkey*, 11(4), 51–63. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781316344446>
- Chalid, I. (1965). *Islam dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*. Api Islam.
- Chalid, I. (1966). *Mendajung dalam Taufan*. Endang-API Islam.
- Duta Masyarakat. (1956a). *Koran Duta Masyarakat*. 9 November.
- Duta Masyarakat. (1956b). *Koran Duta Masyarakat*. 1 Agustus.
- Duta Masyarakat. (1957). *Koran Duta Masyarakat*. 22 Januari.
- Duta Masyarakat. (1960a). *Koran Duta Masyarakat*. 17 Mei.
- Duta Masyarakat. (1960b). *Koran Duta Masyarakat*. 11, 21, dan 31 Maret.
- Duta Masyarakat. (1963). *Koran Duta Masyarakat*. 10 Oktober.
- Fadli, M. R. (2020). Pergumulan Partai Politik Islam Pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin: Masyumi Tumbang, NU Melenggang, PSII Bimbang. *JUSPI (Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam)*, 4(1), 34–49. <https://doi.org/10.30829/juspi.v4i1.7927>
- Fealy, G. (2009). *Ijtihad Politik Ulama, Sejarah NU 1952-1967*. LkiS.

- Federspiel, H. M. (1990). *Soekarno dan Apolog-Apolog Muslimnya, (Penerjemah) Jajat Burhanudin dan Nasrullah Ali Fauzi*. LSAF.
- Feillard, A. (1999). *NU vis-a-vis Negara*. LkiS.
- Feith, H., & Castle, L. (1970). *Indonesian Political Thinking 1945-1965*. Cornell University Press.
- Hasyim, S. (2020). 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(1), 21–35. <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2019.13>
- Heidhues, M. S. (2021). The 1965-66 Elimination of Indonesian Communists: Two Recent Re-readings. *Archipel*, 101, 255–258. <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.2460>
- Hidayat, A. (2019). Nahdlatul Ulama Pada Masa Pemerintahan Presiden Soekarno (1945-1966). *Herodotus: Jurnal Pendidikan IPS*, 2(3), 272–282. <https://doi.org/10.30998/herodotus.v2i3.9217>
- Hidayat, A. A. (2016). *Filsafat Bahasa*. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Ilmar, A. (2018). Demokrasi Terpimpin Dalam Pemikiran Dan Praktik Politik. *Jurnal Polinter*, 4(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.52447/polinter.v4i1.1276>
- Ishomuddin, I. (2014). 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(2), 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/>
- Mandan, A. M. (2008). *Napak Tilas Pengabdian Idham Chalid: Tanggung Jawab Politik NU Dalam Sejarah*. Pustaka Indonesia Satu.
- Muhajir, A. (2007). *Idham Chalid Guru Politik Orang NU*. Pustaka Pesantren.
- Muhlis, I. (2013). *Ijtihad Kebangsaan Soekarno dan NU*. CV Tangan Emas Publisher.

Noer, D. (1987). *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional*. Mizan.

Rambe, S., & Zulkarnain, Z. (2022). An Overview of the Journey of Political Parties in Indonesia from a Socio-historical Perspective. *Polit Journal: Scientific Journal of Politics*, 2(2), 52–62. <https://doi.org/10.33258/polit.v2i2.645>

Sitompul, E. M. (1989). *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Pancasila*. Pustaka Sinar Harapan.

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