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## The Ups and Downs of Nahdlatul Ulama Relations with the Government of the Dutch East Indies 1926-1942

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### Abstract

Nahdlatul Ulama as the largest community organization in Indonesia and has been established for a long time has experienced various ups and downs in each of its journeys. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the Ups and Downs of Nahdlatul Ulama's Relationship with the Dutch East Indies Government 1926-1942. This research is a literature study, where the sources of penitilitin come from old texts in the regions and Jakarta, sources in the regions rely more on the private collections of some kyai over the literature related to this research. Tracing sources located in Jakarta include the National Archives, the National Library, and LAKPESDAM NU. The stage of this research is the collection of information from all sources, criticisms and interpretations. The process of collecting information from the whole source (*heuristics*), selection of materials, criticism and subsequent interpretation is needed to carry out historical synthesis. Historical synthesis is the embodiment of the ability to think logically and the ability of a historian's historical imagination so that the characteristics of a certain model of historical work are visible. The results of this study show that there was a ups and downs in the relationship between Nahdlatul Ulama and the Dutch East Indies government, when Dutch East Indies government implemented a Neutral Religion policy among traditionalist Islamists, there was not too much friction with the Dutch East Indies government because the government guaranteed that there was no interference in Islamic religious affairs, even the government formed a Raad Agama (Religious Court) and was led by a religious and expert ruler. Islam. Protests, non-cooperative resistance with the Dutch East Indies government began to be carried out by Nahdlatul Ulama when the practice of religiously neutral politics was violated by the government by making various ordinances that harmed Muslims. However, several times Nahdlatul Ulama still praised the muji of the Dutch East Indies government because several HBNO requests were granted by the government, such as the non-enactment of the rules for brides-to-be to be examined in Raad Agama, and the non-imposition of duties on the slaughter of sacrificial animals. However, at the end of the Dutch East Indies government, Nahdlatul Ulama really felt pro-Japanese.

Keywords: The Ups and Downs, Nahdlatul Ulama, Dutch East Indies

### 1. Introduction

In the context of Islamic political policy, at the beginning of its arrival the Dutch did not have a desire for religious conquest in the colonies, the purpose of conquest was more economic, namely the profit obtained from trade. At this time the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies did not have clear policies regarding Islam, because they did not have adequate knowledge about Islam so that it seemed that they did not interfere in Islamic religious issues (Suminto, 1985: 9). They are afraid and avoid intersecting with Islamic fanaticism (Pijper, 1987: 239). This fear was based on the assumption that Islam was similar to Catholicism, strictly organized with a hierarchical structure under the leadership of the Turkish caliphate Usmani, which held power over the people of the Dutch East Indies based on Islamic laws (Benda, 1980: 38).

Based on the advice of Hurgronje, in general, the policy of the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies was based on three main principles. First, in the matter of religious worship or rituals, the Indonesian people should be freed to carry it out, this is related to the hope of the emergence of a view in the Indonesian people's

think<sup>3</sup> that the Dutch East Indies Colonial government would not interfere in entering the territory of the faith. The colonial government of the Dutch East Indies by not stamping the affairs of worship and faith of the Indonesian Muslim community hopes to win the hearts of the Indonesian Muslim community, can tame them and reduce the sense of fanaticism and resistance to the Dutch colonial government which is considered infidel. Second, with regard to Islamic social institutions, such as marriage, inheritance, waqf, and other social relations, the government must maintain and respect its existence, while hoping that Western cultural associations can succeed and will slowly transform<sup>4</sup> these Islamic social institutions into those found in Western cultural traditions.. Third, on political issues, the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies should not tolerate Indonesian Muslims, especially with regard to the spread of Pan-Islamist ideas or political or armed resistance to the colonial government. The government must exercise strict control over the development and dissemination of any ideas that arouse the enthusiasm of Indonesian Muslims to resist the colonial government. (Shihab, 1998: 85-87).

In general, at that time NU's policy regarding the position of the Dutch East Indies Colonial government was to recognize its existence, in grand meetings NU always recognized the existence of the colonial government and praised the policies of the colonial government in matters of Islam and the People. According to reports by Dutch officials, the grand meeting held by NU at the Ampel Mosque was attended by a large number of Muslims to listen to speeches in which it was delivered in praise of non-Muslim governments (Bruinessen, 1999: 41) .

In an open letter to Indonesian Muslims issued by HBNO and signed by Rais Akbar KH. Hashim Asy'ari, the Colonial Government of the Dutch East Indies was praised for granting many requests from the NU community so that there were many improvements in religious and people's issues (BNO No. 3 Desember 1936). The recognition of the Colonial Government of the Dutch East Indies was formally discussed in the NU muktamar in Banjarmasin in 1938, that the Indonesian state was called an Islamic state, because it had been completely controlled by Muslims, this decision was based on the Book of Bughyah al-Mustarsyidin bab hudna wa al-imamah (Haidar, 1995: 96). Although there were so many small conflicts in the regions, especially in Java, between the NU community and the local colonial government, both penghulu and regent. These conflicts usually occurred due to the strict supervision and prohibitions of the local colonial government, the lack of concern for religious officials appointed by the colonial government with the problems of blasphemy of Islam, the rules imposed and contrary to the teachings of Islam. In 1936 there was a massive rejection of the rules issued by the Regent of Kebumen, The regulation issued by the regent contains the necessity for NU diniyah madrasahs to close on August 31 and April 30 as the year of Juliana's king and daughter, arguing that if on these dates nu diniyah madrasahs are not closed, it will disrupt public order (BNO No. 3 Desember 1936).

Conflicts also often occurred because the colonial police forcibly dispersed the recitations organized by the NU community, as experienced by the NU community kring Pacarkeling, the recitations they held were forcibly disbanded by the police because they were considered gathering propaganda and carried out in an openlucht format. (meetings outside the building) because of the large number of people present so that it overflowed out of the building. In this incident, the management of NU kring Pacarkeling negotiated with the police and finally the recitation could be continued on the condition that all pilgrims enter the building that is not where they must go home, as well as the head of the NU Pacarkeling HM kring. Tahir in the morning had to comply with a police call for an inquest (BNO No. 7 Januari 1937). The aftermath of this event caused Rais Suriyah NU Surabaya KH branch. Ghufuran was summoned by the assistant wedono to warn the NU administrators of kring Pacarkeling not to arbitrarily conduct meetings without heeding the laws and regulations. After this incident, every recitation was carried out by the NU management in Surabaya always invited representatives of the colonial government, but never once did they attend the invitation of the management NU (BNO No. 9 Maret 1937).

In the conflicts between the NU community and the local colonial government, it is not always the protests made by the NU people to be responded to with a power approach. Like the official protest made by the NU Pasuruan branch management against Regent Pasuruan's decision on marriage was responded well by the regent. The decree contains a rule that a woman who is about to marry is required to come to the office of the raad of religion or naivety for examination.. The NU community objected to this rule because in the religious raad office many men were not muhrim brides-to-be and because the cost of marriage became bloated. Nu Pasuruan's management applied to Regent Pasuruan and the Chief Judge to repeal the rule. It wasn't long

before Regent Pasuruan replied to a plea by NU Pasuruan administrators who essentially revoked the rules for examining brides-to-be at the religious raad office (BNO No. 9 Maret 1937).

The dissatisfaction of the NU people towards the local colonial government was also triggered by the government's indifference in blasphemy issues, which eventually led to riots albeit on a small scale, but in some areas due to the local colonial government's responsiveness to this issue riots could be prevented. As an example of the incident that occurred in Lamongan, a leader of the religious tradition in Sukomulyo entitled Eko Maju Dewa Satrio Tanah Jawa carried out a tearing of the holy book of the Qur'an and then received a strong reaction from the NU community who reported it to the religious raad judge and wedono assistant. The response from the two officials was so disappointing that both argued that the leader of the religious sect could not be punished for tearing up the Qur'an belonging to his own followers, this event gave rise to tremendous tensions between the NU community and followers of the religious tradition. The peak of tensions between the two groups became a small riot when one of the followers of the religious sect died and was about to be buried in a village cemetery rejected and blocked by NU residents, this riot was even more heated because the religious sect group was assisted by colonial police officers. This riot can be overcome by the interference of high-ranking Lamongan officials who grant the wishes of the NU people and at the same time fire the police who muddy the atmosphere (BNO No. 9 Maret 1937).

## 2. Materials and Methods

Research entitled The Ups and Downs of Nahdlatul Ulama Relations with the Government of the Dutch East Indies 1926-1942 this used archival and literature research methods. Searching for sources was carried out in the regions and Jakarta, sources in the regions relied more on the private collections of several kyai on the literature related to this study. Tracing sources located in Jakarta include the National Archives, the National Library, and LAKPESDAM NU.

In historical writing, facts are the basic material for writing obtained through certain procedures. The stages that need to be carried out include, the first stage is the process of collecting information from all sources. The next stage is criticism and interpretation. The process of collecting information from the whole source (heuristics), selection of materials, criticism and subsequent interpretation is needed to carry out historical synthesis. Historical synthesis is the embodiment of the ability to think logically and the ability of historical imagination of a historian so that the characteristics of a certain model of historical work are visible (Garraghan, 1957, Ludmilla, 2000, Kartodirdjo, 1992, Kuntowijoyo, 1994).

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1 The policy of the Dutch East Indies Government is facing Islam

Some of the regulations issued by the Dutch East Indies government relating to Islamic issues include:

#### a. Teachers Ordinance

In the context of education, the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies made Islam a rival that had to be faced and dwarfed. By relying on the Western Education model, it is hoped that it can subvert Islamic hegemony in Education in Indonesia. The Islamic value system is seen as something frozen not dynamic which only results in setbacks, so by educating indigenous groups with Western model education will face vis-à-vis with Islamic Education, and the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies believes the Islamic Education model will be destroyed and abandoned (Suminto, 1985: 49).

The first teacher ordinance was issued in 1905 which required every Islamic teacher to apply for and obtain permission to teach as a religious teacher, this ordinance obviously put a lot of pressure on the preachers, kyai, and teachers of the Islamic religion. The government reinstated the second teachers' ordinance in 1925, containing the obligation to report only for religious teachers. These two ordinances were created so that the activities of the missionaries, kyai and teachers of the Islamic religion could be monitored. This ordinance was made based on the experience of the Dutch East Indies colonial government related to the emergence of the peasant uprising in Banten in 1888 which was pioneered by hajj, kyai and religious teachers, so religious teachers must be targeted for order and supervision, and for uniformity in supervision to occur. The Regent is obliged to report on the list of religious teachers in his area every year, supervision in this case includes special permission from the regent. The teacher ordinance in the form of regulations on Islamic religious education is applied to Java-Madura except Yogyakarta and Solo (Suminto, 1985: 52).

#### b. Wild School Ordinance

This ordinance relates to the obligation of every person who is to establish an educational institution, must give the purpose of its establishment in writing to the head of the local area, by including the way of learning and the place of learning. This is stated in the Staatsblad 1932 Nos. 494 and 495, which contain provisions including: a) Before obtaining written permission from the government, an Educational Institution that is not fully financed by government funds is not allowed to start its activities, b) Only graduates of subsidized government schools or private schools that are considered good by the government, are entitled to teach in schools, c) This ordinance does not apply to religious educational institutions (Suminto, 1985: 61). Actually, this ordinance was issued to suppress the emergence of many private educational institutions, but this ordinance received fierce resistance from indigenous organizations, whether nationalist or Islamic. Organizations opposed to this illegal school ordinance include; PSII, Permi, Muhammadiyah, Taman Siswa, Budi Utomo, PNI, Partindo and Isteri Sedar. Because of this resistance, in February 1933 this ordinance was declared withdrawn by the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies, and issued a new regulation in October 1933 calling wild schools unsubsidized private schools (Suminto, 1985: 63).

c. Hajj Ordinance

This ordinance relates to the management of hajj in the Dutch East Indies, hajj managers are divided from the central government in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies government (Nederlandsch Indie), the central government is represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Minister van Buitenlandsche Zaken), and the Minister of Colonization (Minister van Kolonie ). The Minister of Foreign Affairs was included in the management of the hajj pilgrimage of the Muslim community of the Dutch East Indies (colonies) because the pilgrimage journey had to leave the Dutch East Indies area. The matters arranged by the two ministries relate to the determination of general policies according to the views of the two ministries on the hajj. These two ministries are also tasked with resolving some issues regarding the hajj with the relevant foreign governments, such as Ottoman Turkey, the Hasyimid Arab Government or the Saudi Arabian government (Putuhena, 2007: 223).

To take care of part of the management of the Dutch East Indies hajj in Saudi Arabia (Hijaz) is managed by the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, which was inaugurated in 1872. In the context of hajj, the duties of the consulate are related to the interests of ships carrying pilgrims, the interests of pilgrims as Dutch citizens, and the interests of the government's authority in implementing hajj policies. The duties of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah related to the hajj include: 1) Receiving and keeping a list of pilgrims transported by the hajj ship, 2) Compiling a list of arrivals and departures of hajj ships to be given to the shaikh in Makkah, according to the report of the hajj agent, 3) Providing a hajj certificate (pelgrims certificaat) for each hajj transport ship, 4) Providing a visa for each hajj passport, 5) Issuing new passports for pilgrims departing from Singapore, 6) Solving problems faced by pilgrims with related parties, 7) Supervising certain people and ideologies that are expected to have an influence on politics in the Dutch East Indies, 8) Making hajj reports (Bedevaart Verslaag) during each hajj season (Putuhena, 2007: 230).

Suspicion and supervision of pilgrims from Java and Malay has been since the time of the VOC, even at this time there has been a jihadphobia, pilgrims who will and finish carrying out the hajj must get VOC permission even at this time there are pilgrims who are not allowed to return to their homeland and be exiled. In the 19th century, to prevent the increasing number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies, the government issued various regulations. The number of pilgrims who reach 5000 people each hajj season has decreased due to regulations set by the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies, such as the issuance of a resolution dated October 18, 1825 which states that every pilgrim must have a hajj passport by paying f 110, but pilgrims who do not have a hajj passport will be charged f 220. Continued in 1874, pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies were required to have a round-trip ticket (retourbiljetten), these provisions were really very burdensome for prospective pilgrims. These regulations were indeed based on fear of problems arising for the colonial government, as were Raffles' anxious and suspicious fears of jihadists. In his view, the Javanese people believed that the people who returned from the hajj in Makah as a saint, who had supernatural powers so that they could easily mobilize rebellion and endanger the government (Putuhena, 2007: 291-293).

d. Bumi Putera Marriage Ordinance

The Son Earth Marriage Ordinance 1929, contains rules including; first, the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies every Muslim who is about to get married must report to the Religious Court for

marriage registration. And the validity of divorce if it is decided by the court. Second, The threat of penalties and fines related to violations committed by Muslims in the performance of marriage (Staatsblad 129 no. 348). In the marriage ordinance, the polygamous marriage model is closed, a man can only have one marriage and the divorce certificate is declared valid if it has gone through the courts. This marriage ordinance can also be understood as a response from the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies from the recommendations of the first Indonesian Women's Congress in December 1928, which asked the government to draft a marriage law (Ulfah, 1981: 9-10). Regarding the banning of the polygamous marriage model, of course, it became a controversy in the Dutch East Indies, this regulation received support from feminist movements in the Dutch East Indies including the Dutch East Indies women's movements which then held a conference on marriage and trafficking of women held in the city of Bandung (BNO No. 8 1937). The majority of Muslims reject this no-polygamy rule.

### 3.2 Nahdlatul Ulama's Response to the Bumi Putera Marriage Ordinance

The marriage laws of Bumi Putera and among the Nahdlatul Ulama these laws are referred to as anti-polygamy regulations. For Nahdlatul Ulama, the laws regarding the marriage of Bumi Putera are understood as a big scenario for European colonialist countries to carry out desecration and Christianization in their colonies. The Bumi Putera marriage laws for the people of the Dutch East Indies issued by the government were the adoption of European civil marriage regulations and efforts to Christianize especially in marriage. The Bumi Putera marriage laws (Ontwerp Ordonnantie Marriage Boemipoetra) contain the obligation for the bride and groom to make their marriage agreement for life (BNO No. 16, 1937). This law also stipulates that the validity of a divorce must be through a decision of a court judge (landraad). Divorces that are not issued by the court (landraad), then the divorce is invalid or not recognized by the government (BNO No. 16, 1937).

The laws regarding the marriage of Bumi Putera, by the Government of the Dutch East Indies, were deliberately sent to all registered Islamic organizations, to be observed and discussed at each Islamic organization. According to Dr. Pyper in the Nahdlatul Ulama muktamar to XII in Malang, it is stated that laws if not approved by Muslims will not be enforced, but if this regulation is approved by Muslims, it will be implemented through the Volksraad (BNO No. 16, 1937). Bumi Putera's marriage laws or in Nahdlatul Ulama language referred to as anti-polygamy laws include the proposals and agendas of the wife section movement (feminist movement) of the Dutch East Indies (BNO No. 16, 1937), K.H. Mahfudz Siddiq of HBNO explicitly mentioned that these laws were supported by Islamic women's organizations, which rejected the existence of polygamy (dimadu) which would cause disharmony in the home. ladder(BNO No. 16, 1937)

Bumi Putera's marriage laws really made Indonesian Muslims rowdy because at this time the Dutch East Indies Government also implemented the policy of transferring the power of the Islamic Raad to Landraad related to the determination of heirs, the division of heirs. This caused concern among Muslims, especially followers of Nahdlatul Ulama because they were the ones who had a lot of contact with the Raad of Islam, the decision of the Dutch East Indies Government regarding this matter received a strong reaction from HBNO by several times sending letters of protest to the Government of the Dutch East Indies both in Batavia and in other areas, HBNO also mandated all Nahdlatul Ulama consuls to always protest these policies in every meetings of NU organizations and disseminated to the wider community in recitation activities. Since April 1, 1937 the power of the Islamic Raad has been transferred to the Landraad, and the judge's decision on inheritance rights is not based on Islamic law. (BNO No. 16, 1937).

In the XIIth Nahdlatul Ulama Muktamar in Malang, all or all muktamar participants rejected the enactment of bumi Putera marriage laws given by the Dutch East Indies government. Nahdlatul Ulama requested the repeal of bumi Putera marriage laws on two grounds, First, Religious reasons. The bumi Putera marriage laws handed over by the Dutch East Indies Government are felt to hurt the feelings of Indonesian Muslims, besides these laws are also contrary to Islamic law and the neutral religious principles of the Dutch East Indies Government itself. In this context, the representative of the Nahdlatul Ulama consul, Mr. Cornelis or Jatinegara, said that marriage is part of Islam, if the government interferes in regulating marriage affairs, it means that the government intervenes in religion and this is not in line with the neutral religious principles of the Dutch East Indies Government, thus the government should not impose the Bumi Putera marriage laws(BNO No. 16 Juli 1937).

The theological reason for rejecting the marriage laws of Bumi Putera as stated by K.H. Wahab Hasbullah, that the Bumi Putera Marriage Ordinance is contrary to Islam and the culture of the Indonesian nation, this

ordinance will not bring out the good of Muslims, because marriage has been regulated in detail in Islam so Nahdlatul Ulama hopes to the Dutch East Indies Government to revoke the ordinance and ask Muslims to reject the ordinance with various ways that can be done (BNO No. 16 July 1937). The same was also conveyed by K.H. Machfoed Siddiq who mentioned that explicitly this ordinance is contrary to the teachings of Islam which will make Muslims rowdy, while for the growing model of use not prohibited by the government, then Muslims should reject this ordinance blatantly (BNO No. 16 Juli 1937).

Second, Cultural reasons. Different cultures and philosophies of life also make excuses for rejecting the enactment of Bumi Putra marriage laws from the Nahdlatul Ulama branches in the muktamar. The majority of Indonesians are Muslims who build their culture based on Islamic law so that they have cultural differences with European society which is built on rationalism, individualism and capitalism. European norms of rule require an equalization of positions between men and women and are based on the religious teachings of Europeans. (BNO No. 16 Juli 1937)

The muktamar participants argued that the pattern of relations between husband and wife that is already good and established based on Islam will be damaged by the enactment of bumi Putera marriage laws proposed by the government, should the pattern of relationships based on Islam be maintained not hypothesized by the existence of new laws. Likewise, the government must anticipate a lifestyle that will damage the citizens of the community. Strictly based on the formulation of the NU muktamar to XII in Malang, Nahdlatul Ulama rejected the Bumi Putera marriage laws (Ontwerp Ordonnatie Marriage Boemipoetra) imposed by the Dutch East Indies government.

### 3.3 Nahdlatul Ulama's Response to the Hajj Ordinance, Inheritance and Teacher Ordinance.

As has been recorded in the reports of the regent to the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies regarding the number of pilgrims who departed and who decided to live in Makah every year increased, in 1855 the number of pilgrims was 1,668 people and those who settled in Makah were 860 people, in 1893 the number of pilgrims who departed was 5,193 and who decided to live in Makah a total of 1,984 people (Majid, 2008: 95-96). These pilgrims mostly departed from traditionalist Muslim enclaves, some Dutch observers believed that those who were mukim in Makah for a while were due to several factors, namely lack of provisions to return to the Dutch East Indies or unwillingness to take care of their family's livelihood in the country and the factor of obtaining appreciation, high respect from the people of their native region. This opinion is not entirely correct if you understand the tradition of learning (nyantri) among traditionalist Muslims, known as santri kelana, where a student must travel to Islamic centers of science to stay and continue his scientific wanderings if he has been given a diploma by his teacher. This tradition of wandering students is what causes students who are alumni of Islamic boarding schools in the Dutch East Indies to continue their education in Makah while performing the Hajj. It was because of this that the Javanese colony increased, which was later referred to as the Jawi community.

One of the things that is considered detrimental or burdensome for pilgrims from the traditional Muslim community of Nahdlatul Ulama followers is related to one of the duties of the Dutch consul in Jeddah which attracts hajj taxes for pilgrims who mukim Makah. Nahdlatul Ulama's rejection in the issue of hajj ordinance was more because of this, this hajj tax had been so burdensome for the mukim pilgrims, so at the time of the Nahdlatul Ulama congress in 1938 in Menes decided several things, and then reported in verslag Conggres 23 dated June 12-13, 1938, first, The need to ask the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies to exempt taxes for pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies who were mukim in Makah, the same request was made after the 22nd Nahdlatul Ulama congress in Malang. Second, pressuring the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies to be more sensitive to the suffering faced by pilgrims who are mukim, the difficulty of living provisions and a mediocre life, coupled with the new burden of hajj tax (Hayat, 2020: 35).

In relation to Nahdlatul Ulama's rejection of the transfer of the Islamic Religious Court (Raad Igama Islam /RII) to Landraad contained in a short verslag of the open meeting of the Nahdlatul Ulama congress to XII in Malang in 1937, in this report it is stated that, first, the inheritance division model that has been in force for more than 60 years in the Dutch East Indies and is recognized by the government as a matter related to religious beliefs, which later the government established the Raad of Islam. Second, the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies abruptly revoked the recognition and transferred the power of the Islamic Raad to the Landraad, all of whose decisions were not regulated or based on Islam. This is felt to be very heart-piercing for Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Third, because of this, the congress decided to urge the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies to revive the Islamic Raad and that the inheritance law must be

established by the Islamic Raad. Fourth, ask all Muslims to be with Nahdlatul Ulama to fight for the return of the power of the Islamic Raad and reject all ordinances that harm Muslims even though they have to go abroad and have a conference with Sri Paduka Tuan Besar in the Netherlands so that nahdlatul ulama's request is granted (BNO No. 16 Juli 1937).

A motion to the government to restore the power of the Islamic Raad from Landraad was reissued by Nahdlatul Ulama as a decision of the Nahdlatul Ulama Congress to XIII in Menes in 1938, the decision contained: first, to pass and strengthen the motion to the government that had been decided in the IX Nahdlatul Ulama Congress in Banyuwangi, on the contempt for Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. This is related to the many insults and curses directed at the Islamic religion and its Prophet so as to make the hearts of all Muslims hurt, therefore it is proposed that the government maintain and be empowered not to let such problems occur repeatedly. Second, to investigate and strengthen the motion to the authorities regarding the objections decided in the NU to XII muktamar in Malang regarding the transfer of the right of the mawaris from the Islamic Raad to the Landraad. Given the adequacy of the rules in the Islamic religion regarding mawaris so that it does not need to be changed or supplemented, the transfer of power is to be undone, revoked and returned to the Raad of Islam by the government (BNO Juli 1938).

In general, the teacher ordinance in staatsblad no. 550 of 1905, stipulates that if a teacher of an Islamic religious school will carry out teaching, it must obtain permission from the regent, the regent's permission will be given when the Islamic teacher is judged to be good and the material taught does not interfere with security and order. Madrasah or school must fill out a list of students who take part in learning, must be ready to be checked at any time related to the implementation of learning and if there is a violation, fines will be given and revocation of the regent's license. This regulation applies to missionaries, religious teachers in diniyah madrasahs and kiai-kiai in islamic boarding schools, the last two mentioned are the support base of Nahdlatul Ulama (Hayat, 2020: 39). Invisibly, the purpose of this ordinance aims to select religious teachers, missionaries and kyai to be in accordance with the goals of the Dutch East Indies colonial government. The ordinance also aims to supervise the curriculum of madrasahs and islamic boarding schools, whether the subjects given are purely Islamic studies or there are political elements that can be the seeds of rebellion. This ordinance has taken a lot of casualties from madrasahs and pesantren which were then stopped from implementing learning, this mostly happened because the madrasahs and pesantren concerned did not report the number of students and curriculum used, the main cause was that the administrators of madrasahs and pesantren did not have the ability in Dutch and were not familiar with Malay to fill out the report format provided by the Dutch East Indies colonial government.

The rejection response made by the kyai-kiai, madrasa teachers and the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board was embodied in the attitude of others; first, being non-cooperative by refusing financial assistance provided by the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies, at which time several Muhammadiyah universities received the assistance. After refusing this financial assistance, NU kyai withdrew by moving their madrasahs and islamic boarding schools to rural areas so as to minimize contact with the officials of the Dutch East Indies colonial government (Mawardi, 1967: 16). Second, spreading hatred for everything Dutch to the Muslim community through open meetings (recitations), spreading dislike for Western thought and its culture, even so these kyai and madrasa teachers did not dare to directly confront the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies, so this desire for resistance was vented to colonial thought and culture (Zuhri, 1980: 10). Third, protest objections to the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies. The Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (Hoofdbestuur NO) on May 21, 1940, wrote to Deputy V Financien in Betawi, demanding that they not collect taxes (belasting) to NU madrasahs. The Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama wrote back to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, which contained, among others; 1) Given that Indonesia is Darul Islam, NU clerics requested the abolition of the 1925 teacher ordinance, 2) Providing freedom for mubaligh and Islamic religious teachers to teach religious knowledge inside and outside the roof, 3) Providing freedom for mubaligh and Islamic religious teachers to carry out religious worship and orders, 4) Using mosque cash for the benefit of Islam and punishing insulters of Islam (Hayat, 2020: 43).

#### 4. Conclusions

There was a ups and downs in relations between Nahdlatul Ulama and the Dutch East Indies government, when the Dutch East Indies government implemented a Neutral Religion policy among traditionalist Islamists did not experience much friction with the Dutch East Indies government because the government guaranteed that there was no interference in Islamic religious affairs, even the government formed a Religious Raad



(Religious Court) and was led by a religious ruler and Islamic expert. Protests, non-cooperative resistance with the Dutch East Indies government began to be carried out by Nahdlatul Ulama when the practice of religiously neutral politics was violated by the government by making various ordinances that harmed Muslims. However, several times Nahdlatul Ulama still praised the muji of the Dutch East Indies government because several HBNO requests were granted by the government, such as the non-enactment of the rules for prospective bride to be examined in Raad Agama, and the non-enactment of duties on the slaughter of sacrificial animals. However, at the end of the Dutch East Indies government, Nahdlatul Ulama really felt pro-Japanese.

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