

The Rejection of Kyai Nahdlatul Ulama to the Anti-Polygamy Bill For The Dutch East Indies Colonial Government

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Abstract

This study seeks to convey the Kyai NU's position on the anti-polygamy Bill, as well as the grounds behind their refusal. In the historical context, a Bill to abolish the practice of polygamy in Indonesian culture has existed since the Dutch East Indies Colonial control, the anti-polygamy Bill is called the *Ontwerp Ordonnantie Marriage Boemipoetra*. The Dutch East Indies colonial government distributed the anti-polygamy Bill to all Islamic groups in Indonesia in order to get replies and views from these Islamic associations, which would serve as the foundation for the colonial government to approve or repeal the Bill. A literature-based study was carried out to gather, investigate, and analyze various literatures related to the Kyai NU's perspectives on the anti-polygamy Bill offered by the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government. The result of study shows that the execution of the anti-polygamy Bill is categorically rejected by Nahdlatul Ulama. This rejection is motivated by both religious and social considerations.

Keywords: Anti-polygamy bill, Nahdlatul Ulama, Dutch East Indies Colonial

A. Introduction

In the historical context, Bill to prohibit the practice of polygamy in Indonesian society has existed since the colonial rule of the Dutch East Indies, the anti-polygamy Bill is called the *Ontwerp Ordonnantie Marriage Boemipoetra*. This Bill actually adopted the civil marriage law (*Burgerlijk Staand*) which was enforced in European countries.¹ Besides, this might be apart from a Christian-Catholic mission regarding monogamous marriage, where husband and wife are bound by an oath of allegiance to their partner for life, this da'wah movement is carried out by the *Bijbelgenoofschap* agency.²

The Dutch East Indies Colonial Government in this matter was not too hasty in imposing the implementation of this anti-polygamy Bill, because in matters of religion at that time the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government adopted a neutral system.³ The Dutch East Indies colonial government disseminated the anti-polygamy Bill to all Islamic associations in Indonesia to get their responses and views from these Islamic associations which would serve as the basis for the colonial government to legalize the Bill into law or revoke the Bill.⁴

In socializing the Bill, the colonial government always went to congresses held by Indonesian Islamic associations so that the anti-polygamy Bill became one of the agendas discussed in the congress of Islamic associations. Thus, the colonial government immediately drew conclusions about the views and responses of Islamic associations to the anti-polygamy Bill. In every congress of Islamic associations, the colonial government sent the representatives.

The same strategy was carried out by the Dutch East Indies colonial government in the XII NU congress in Malang by sending Dr. Pyper as his representative, the anti-polygamy Bill became one of the discussion agendas at the XII NU congress. It was presumed that all the participants represented by the consuls of each region reacted strongly and rejected the anti-polygamy Bill.

B. The Ups and downs Relation between NU and the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government

In general, at that time, NU's policy regarding the position of the Dutch East Indies colonial government was to acknowledge its existence. In grand meetings, NU has always acknowledged the existence of the colonial government and praised the policies of the colonial government in matters of Islam and the Ummah. According to Dutch officials' reports, the NU grand meeting at the Ampel Mosque was attended by large numbers of Muslims to listen to speeches in which they praised non-Muslim governments.⁵

In an open letter to Indonesian Muslims issued by HBNO afd. Syuriah and signed by Rais Akbar KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government was praised for having granted many requests from the NU community so that there were many improvements in matters of religion and the Ummah.⁶ The acknowledgment of the Dutch East Indies colonial government was formally discussed at the NU congress in Banjarmasin in 1938, that the Indonesian state was called an Islamic state, because it had been fully controlled by Muslims. This decision was based on the Book of *Bughyah al-Mustarsyidin* chapter *Hudna Wa Al-Imamah*⁷

Even though there were so many small conflicts in the regions, especially in Java, between the NU community and the local colonial government, either the chieftain or the regent. These conflicts usually occur because of the strict supervision and prohibitions from the local colonial government; the lack of concern for religious officials appointed by the colonial government with the problems of blasphemy against Islam; and the rules imposed that were contrary to Islamic teachings.

In 1936 there was a massive rejection of the rules issued by the Regent of Kebumen, the rules issued by this regent contained the necessity for NU's Madrasah Diniyah (Islamic non-formal school) to be closed on August 31 and April 30 as the year of the king and princess Juliana, with the reason is that if on these dates the NU's Madrasah Diniyah were not closed, it will disrupt public order.⁸

Conflicts also often occurred because the colonial police forcibly dispersed the recitations held by the NU community, as was the case with the NU community at Kring Pakeling, where the recitation they held was forcibly dissolved by the police because it was considered as engendering propaganda and was carried out in an open Lucht due to the large number of people present so that overflowed out of the building. In this incident, the NU board of Kring Pacarkeling held negotiations with the police and finally the recitation could be continued on the condition that all worshipers enter the building who did not have a place to go home, as well as the chairman of the NU Kring Pacarkeling, HM. Tahir in the morning must fulfill the police summons for an examination.⁹ The aftermath of this incident caused Rais Suriyah NU Surabaya branch KH. Ghufuran was summoned by Wedono's assistant to give a warning to the management of NU Kring Pacarkeling not to hold meetings on their own without heeding the laws and regulations. After this incident, every recitation conducted by NU administrators in Surabaya always invited representatives of the colonial government, but never once did they attend the invitation of NU administrators.¹⁰

In the conflicts between the NU community and the local colonial government, protests by the NU community were not always responded to with a power approach. For instance, the official protest by the NU Pasuruan branch management against Regent Pasuruan's decision on marriage, the regent responded well. The decree contained a regulation that a woman who wanted to get married was required to come to the office of religious for examination or being checked. The NU community minded to this rule because there were many men who were not the marriage partners of the bride in the religious community office, and the cost of the wedding had increased. The NU Pasuruan authority submitted an application to the Pasuruan Regent and the Chief Justice to revoke the regulation. Finally, it was not long that Regent Pasuruan replied to the request of the NU Pasuruan authority, essentially revoking the rules for examining prospective brides at the religious office.¹¹

The NU community's dissatisfaction with the local colonial government was also largely triggered by the government's indifference to blasphemy issues, which eventually led to riots even though on a small scale,

but in some areas because of the response of the local colonial government in this issue riots were prevented. For example, in Lamongan, a mystical leader of Javanese religion in Sukomulyo with the title Eko Maju Dewa Satrio Tanah Jawa tore the holy book of the Qur'an and then got a strong reaction from the NU community who reported the matter to the religious council judge and assistant *Wedono* (assistant regional leader). The responses from the two officials were very disappointing, even though they both argued that the leader of the Javanese religion sect could not be punished for tearing the Qur'an belonging to his own followers, this incident created tremendous tension between the NU community and the followers of the Javanese religion sect. The climax of the tension between the two groups turned into a small riot when one of the followers of the Javanese religion sect died and was about to be buried in a village cemetery, but he was rejected and blocked by NU residents. This unrest could be overcome by the intervention of a high-ranking official of Lamongan who granted the wishes of the NU community, and at the same time fired the police who made the situation worse.¹²

Similar incidents also occurred in the Kudus area, but there was no rioting because Regent of Kudus immediately intervened to deal with it. In Kudus, in a *kethoprak* art performance there was an insult to the holy book al-Qur'an by the players. The NU community reacted strongly and reported the incident to the regent. The report was followed up by banning the *kethoprak* performance and expelling the art group from the Kudus area by the regent.¹³

During the colonial government, the relationship between NU and the government had never had a significant clash (tension). This was due to NU's accommodative attitude towards government policies. Small and local conflicts often occur but only in certain areas depending on the level of accommodation of the NU community and the policies of the local government.

C. Anti-Polygamy Bill (Ontwerp Ordonnantie Boemipoetra Marriage)

The anti-polygamy Bill or marriage Bill for indigenous peoples is actually part of the grand scenario of European colonialism for doing westernizes and Christianizes the colonized areas. The anti-polygamy Bill for indigenous peoples proposed by the colonial government was actually an attempt to adopt a civil marriage regulation in Europe that was intended to be implemented in the colonies, and what was no less important was that the bill was an attempt to Christianize the issue of marriage.

The *Ontwerp Ordonnantie Marriage of Boemipoetra* contains the opportunity for a man and a woman to make an agreement in their marriage bond. The agreement requires a man to declare that he is bound to one pair of daughters, and he cannot have more than one wife.¹⁴

The ordinance also regulates whether or not a divorce is legal and must be decided by a *landraad* judge. If the divorce that was carried out was not submitted to the court and got a *landraad* judge's decision, the divorce did not occur and was not valid according to the laws and regulations that would be enforced.¹⁵

This ordinance at that time was deliberately sent and distributed to Islamic associations (organizations) by the colonial government to be discussed together. If Muslims did not approve of this Bill, it would not be put forward (proposed) by the colonial government, but if this Bill was to be implemented then the order for its implementation would be through the *Volksraad* institution.¹⁶

The anti-polygamy Bill proposed by the colonial government was actually the desire of some women's movements (feminism) in the Dutch East Indies,¹⁷ even the desire of several Islamic women's movements as an effort to reject the situation of women in marriage which would create household disharmony¹⁸

In fact, this Bill was socialized by the colonial government along with the transfer of power of the Islamic Religious *Raad* to *Landraad* in terms of determining heirs and distributing inheritance. These two things had raised concerns for the Indonesian Islamic community in general, and especially for NU residents, so they had always been hot discussions leading to protests at NU board meetings. The transfer of the power of the Islamic Religious *Raad* to *Landraad* has taken since April 1, 1937, and it is reported that *Landraad's* decisions regarding inheritance issues were not based on Islamic law.¹⁹

According to the aforementioned problems, this paper attempts to describe the views of the NU *Kyai* on the anti-polygamy bill and the reasons for their refusal. This paper relies on the main source of Nahdlatol Ulama News edition No. 16, 1 July 1937 which reported on the commission session discussing the anti-polygamy Bill (Ontwerp Ordonnantie Boemipoetra Marriage) at the XII NU congress in Malang.²⁰

D. Methodology

A literature-based study was conducted to collect, study, and examine various literatures related to the views of the NU *Kyai* on the anti-polygamy Bill proposed by Dutch East Indies Colonial Government. They are mentioned in several magazine, newspaper and journals dealing with the rejection of anti-polygamy Bill of Dutch East Indies Colonial Government. In analyzing the data, a social-historical approach was used by collecting the data heuristically which are then criticized and interpreted, and finally they are synthesized historically. To conclude, a comprehensive understanding of Kiai NU's view of rejection to the anti-polygamy Bill of the colonial rule of the Dutch East Indies.

E. Kiai NU's Resistance to Boemipoetra's Ontwerp Ordonnantie Marriage.

This section will discuss the views of NU *Kyai* delegates from various regions who attended the XII NU congress in Malang on the anti-polygamy Bill proposed by the colonial government.

In general, the *muktamirin* (participants of the congress) rejected this anti-polygamy Bill and they demanded the government to revoke the bill. There were two principal reasons for the rejection of this Bill, namely for religious reasons and for cultural reasons. Regarding religious reasons, the *muktamirin* not only focused on Islamic law but also criticized the government's ambiguous attitude about neutral principles in religion. The *muktamirin* considered that it was clearly that the government defended certain religious doctrines, and this was considered disrespectful to the sense of justice of the Muslim community.

1. Religious Reasons

The anti-polygamy Bill proposed by the Dutch East Indies colonial government was considered to have seriously hurt the hearts of the Indonesian Muslim community, not only because it contradicts Islamic law but also contradicts the principle of a neutral government in religious matters. In this matter, the NU consul Mr. Cornelis (Jatinegara) KH. Zainul Arifin said:

Hal perkawinan jalah soeatoe bagian dari pada Igama, Tjampoernja pemerintah dalam hal perkawinan ini, berarti bahwa pemerintah mentjampoeri sebagian dari Igama, jg mana hal itoe ada tidak tjotjok dengan keneutralannja Pemerintah tentang sesoeatoe Igama. Oleh sebab itoe soedah sepatoetnja Pemerintah meoeroengkan maksoednja tentang ordonnantie ini

A case of marriage is part of the religion, the government's responsibility in this case of marriage, means that the government protects part of the religion, where this is not compatible with the neutrality of the Government regarding a religion. Because of that, the government has agreed to take full advantage of this ordinance.²¹

The non-neutrality of the colonial government was not only related to the issue of the polygamy bill, but Muslims was more hurt because of the repeal of the Governor General's law article 177. Article 177 states that if Christian teachers and priests who want to do da'wah in the Dutch East Indies, they must obtain permission from the governor general, if what they do is deemed detrimental, the permit will be revoked²². However, at the request of a Christian leader, Prof. Mr. Schepper, statute article 177 by the colonial government was later repealed. The revocation of article 177 received a strong reaction from the top leader of Nahdlatul Ulama (HBNO) in Surabaya, who then submitted a request to the colonial government to also

revoke the law article 178 which regulates Islamic teachers in preaching, as well as making announcements for all Muslims in Indonesia to unite against the rate of Christianity.²³

Most of the *muktamirin* used theological reasons in giving their views on the anti-polygamy Bill, in this case KH. Wahab Hasbullah said:

Ordonnantie itoe, tidak terlihat bagoesnja dalam theorie atau praktijknja oentoek bangsa dan Igama kita. Igama telah mengatoer hal perkawinan oentoek oemat Islam dari dahoeloe sampai sekarang dan dimasa jang akan datang, djadi njata sekali adanja ordonnantie itoe akan mengadakan soeatoe atoeran baroe jang tidak berasas pada Igama Islam. Kita berharap soepaja pemerintah, mengoeroengkan sadja adanja itoe ordonnantie, jang mana hal ini kita akan minta dengan sekeras2nja walaupoen dengan djalan bagaimana sadja.

The ordinance does not look appropriate with the theory or practice of our nation and religion. The religion has controlled the marriage of Muslim from the past until now and in the future, so it is very clear that this ordinance will hold a new rule which is not based on the Islamic religion. We hope that the government, as soon as possible, trumps this ordinance, in which case we will ask for it in the strongest possible way, even if in some way.²⁴

A similar opinion was also conveyed by one of the senior kiai within the NU community, KH. Machfoed Siddiq said:

Ordonantie ini adalah menjalahi atoeran Islam semata2 dan akan mendatangkan salah faham pada oemat Islam se'oemoemnja sedang goendik tidak diindahkan. Sikap kita haroes kita toendjoekkan dengan terang2an menolak pada ini ordonnantie.

This ordinance is a mere violation of Islamic rules and will lead to misunderstandings among Islamic community while they are being ignored. Our attitude must be welcomed by openly rejecting this ordinance.²⁵

These two influential kyai were seen trying to convince the *muktamirin* and government representatives that the anti-polygamy Bill proposed by the colonial government violated Islamic law. These new rules were heresy in religion and would inevitably cause great slander in Muslim society in general.

The general view of NU branch delegates regarding this ordinance was almost the same, that in matters of marriage, which was part of the religion regulated by the government. The government had no right to regulate it, the ordinance was very against the will of Islam while the rules for polygamy in Islam come from God. Polygamy was a rule that has wisdom which was very big because it was impossible for God to make a rule without great wisdom to his servant.

The Sriwijaya (Palembang) branch representative also said:

Adanja ordonnantie itoe sangat menentang dengan kemaoean Islam, sedang atoeran Polygamie di dalam Islam jg di datangkan oleh TOEHAN JANG ESA, adalah soeatoe atoeran jang mempoenjai Hikmah jg sebesar2nja TOEHAN ta'akan mengadakan sesoeatoe atoeran, djika tidak mempoenjai Hikmah jg amat besar pada hambanja.

This ordinance is very much against the will of Islam, while the rules of Polygamy in Islam are also brought by God, that is a rule who grants Wisdom to the greatest extent God that will not hold something rule, if not a servant of Wisdom.²⁶

2. Cultural reasons

Differences in culture and view on life were another reason for several NU branches in their general view of rejecting the anti-polygamy Bill. Indonesian society, which is mostly Muslim, has cultural differences with European society, European society builds its culture on a very different basis from Indonesian society. European culture is built on rules made by those who want an equal position between men and women, and are based on their respective religions and beliefs, while Indonesian culture is built on the values of Islamic law.²⁷

In European society, there was a civil marriage law (*burgerlijke-stand*) which did not allow a man to have more than one wife. Consequently, in Europe, in a society that was anti-polygamy, turned out that a new culture had emerged for men to live or have women again in an improper way or known as concubines, and even hotel associations had legalized concubines.²⁸

If the anti-polygamy Bill implemented in Indonesia, it would certainly legalize and foster the pattern of concubine relationships in an anti-polygamy society. In this social context, it is clear that the anti-polygamy Bill will further damage the social life of the Indonesian people. This group explicitly said:

... tetapi tidak sedikit diantara marika itoe ataupoen bangsa kita sendiri jang Anti Polygamie, mempoenjai isteri dengan djalan jg tidak terang (gelap) dengan perkawinan jang tidak sjah atau jg dinamakan GOENDIK. Boektinja dengan njata dapat kita lihat dimana2 tempat HOTEL-SOCITEIT dan sebagainya. Hal GOENDIK ini, tentoe sekali kita sama berkejakinan adalah soeatoe penjakit jg amat meroesak pada pergaoelan kita dan Igama kita. Hal Goendik ini sama sekali tidak diperhatikan oleh kaoem poetri kita, jang minta diadakannya ini Ordonnantie. Djadi dengan pendek dapat dapat kita njatakan disini, bahwa djika ordonnantie ini diterima oleh Pemerintah, tentoe sekali tidak sedikit akan meroesakkan pergaoelan hidoep diantara bangsa kita, jg mana sekarangpoen soedah roesak, tentoe akan lebih roesak lagi. Selain dari itoe hroes poela kita madjoekan pada Pemerintah soepaja soedi poela memperhatikan keadaan GOENDIK2 jg dipiara dengan tidak perkawinan jg sjah jg mana hal sematjam itoe tidak di izinkan oleh Igama apa sadja.

... but not a few among them or our own nation who are anti-polygamy, marry their wives in a dark way with an illegal marriage or also called *GOENDIK* (concubines). We can actually see the physical education everywhere, *HOTEL-SOCITEIT* (hotel associations) places and so on. This *GOENDIK* thing, of course we all have the same belief that illness is also very destructive to our relationship and our religion. This concubines matter was completely ignored by our women, who asked for this ordinance to be held. So, in short, we can state here, that if this ordinance is accepted by the Government, it will certainly not a little bit will ruin the domestic relations between our nation, and where now, if it is broken, it will be even worse. Apart from them, we are mad at the government, to make them pay attention to the condition of concubines, who are also being kept without marriage, it's also okay where things like that are not allowed by religion or anything²⁹

The *muktamirin* pointed out that the pattern of social relations between husband and wife that had been going well so far based on Islamic religious rules should be maintained, not undermined by new legislation. On the other hand, the colonial government should have thought about and overcome the pattern of relations between men and women with the concubine model that would damage the social order in Indonesian society.

3. NU's Attitude towards *Ontwerp Ordonnantie Marriage Boemipoetra*

The attitude of Nahdlatul Ulama, which was formulated in the XII NU congress in Malang, against the ordinance for indigenous people's marriage, firmly rejected its implementation by the colonial government. The actions taken by the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (H.B.N.O.) to support their attitude were; Firstly, Nahdlatul Ulama would openly reject the ordinance to the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government in any way.

Secondly, Nahdlatul Ulama will conduct socialization about NU's rejection of the ordinance in Muslim society through meetings and recitations. In the third place, Nahdlatul Ulama would communicate and

coordinate with all components of Islamic society both at home and abroad to reject the implementation of the ordinance for indigenous people's marriage.

Finally, to make the steps that have been set effective, then Nahdlatul Ulama created a special commission to deal with the rejection of the anti-polygamy bill. This commission consists of three people, KH. Zainul Arifin (Consul Mr. Cornelis), H. Soeroto (Consul for Sidoharjo), KH. Machfoed Siddiq (Consul of Jember). This commission was given full power to carry out the rejection measures that had been determined by the XII NU congress in Malang, even if necessary, it was permissible to use other methods that were deemed more appropriate and possible, provided that the new steps must be coordinated with The Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (HBNO) based in Surabaya,³⁰ even in this case KH. Wahab Hasbullah proposed to this commission to hold an audience with the Queen of the Netherlands.

However, in the XII NU congress in Malang, the representative of the Dutch East Indies Government, Dr. Pyper had responded to the NU community's rejection of the *Ontwerp Ordonnantie Marriage of Boemipoetra*, who said:

Ordonnantie ini sengadja dikirim pada dan dibagikan2-kan pada perkoempoelan2 Islam, soepaja dicitjarkan dan ditimbang. Kalau oemat Islam tidak setoedjoe, tentoe ini rantjangan tidak akan dimadjoekan. Djadi tjoekeop djika Congres membitjarakan sadja, ta'oesah ditanjakan sebab2nja; karena itoe ada perkara lain. Djika ini ordonantie didjalankan dan dikirim dengan perantaraan Volksraad, nanti akan diterangkan apa sebab2nja

This ordinance was intentionally sent to and distributed to Islamic societies, so it should be discussed and weighed. If the Muslim do not agree, this course will not be adjourned. So, if the Congress just talks about it, it is not raised for the reasons; because there is another matter. If this ordinance is implemented and sent through the Volksraad, it will be explained later what the reasons are.³¹

It seems that what Dr. This Pyper became a reality, that because of the overwhelming rejection of this ordinance from Muslims in general, this ordinance was never enforced. It is conceivable that this ordinance was not enforced, apart from the rejection of Muslims as well as the colonial government considered this ordinance not very necessary because the issue of marriage did not endanger the colonial government even though it was not promulgated. It was different with Islamic da'wah which was very likely to disrupt the stability of the colonial government, a law was issued from the Governor. General article 178.

F. Conclusion

From the previous explanation, it can be concluded that Nahdlatul Ulama expressly rejects the implementation of *the Ontwerp Ordonnantie for the Boemipoetra Marriage*, this rejection is based on theological and social reasons. However, furthermore, in this case, the implicit reason is to block the rate of Christianization, especially after the Governor General's law article 177 regarding permits for Christian preachers was revoked by the colonial government, the NU community believes that monogamous marriages are a product of Christianity.

Reference

¹Berita Nahdlatul Ulama, No. 16, 1 Juli 1937.

² Badan ini sangat berhasil dalam melakukan misi kristenisasi, dilaporkan dalam masa pemerintahan Ratu Wilhelmina menunjukkan naiknya kuantitas pemeluk Kristen di Indonesia, di Jawa dari 15000 menjadi 60000, di Batak dari 40000 menjadi 400000, di Nias dari 5000 menjadi 120000 dan Toraja menjadi 60000, untuk daerah flores dari 20000 menjadi 500000. Badan ini dalam melakukan misinya sangat profokatif,

seperti memberikan buku-buku Kristen gratis kepada umat Islam yang sedang melaksanakan Shalat Jum'at di Masjid Mangkunegaran Solo. Berita Nahdlatol Oelama, No. 6 th. 8, hal. 16 B.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Berita Nahdlatol Oelama, No.16, 1Juli 1937.

⁵ Martin van Bruinessen, *NU Tradisi Relasi-relasi Kuasa Pencarian Wacana Baru*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1999), hal. 41.

⁶ Lihat salinan Oendangan dan Garis Besarnya N.O. Oleh H.B.N.O, afd. Sjoerijah.

⁷ M. Ali Haidar, *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Islam di Indonesia, Pendekatan fiqh dalam Politik*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1996), hal. 95.

⁸ Berita Nahdlatol Oelama No. 3, 1 Desember 1936, th. 6., hal. 14.

⁹ Disebutkan dalam pemeriksaan ini terjadi perdebatan yang panjang dan polisi mengancam akan membawa persoalan tersebut ke pengadilan (*Landraad*). Lihat Berita Nahdlatol Oelama No.7, 1 Pebruari 1937, hal. 14.

¹⁰ Berita Nahdlatul Oelama No.9, 1 Maret 1937.

¹¹ Lihat surat balasan Bupati Pasuruan kepada pengurus NU Pasuruan dalam *Regent van Pasoeroean* No. A.427/33 *Onderwerp* : Hal memeriksa bakal penganten perampoean, Berita Nahdlatol Oelama No. 10, 15 Maret 1937.

¹² Berita Nahdlatol Oelama No. 9, 1 Maret 1937.

¹³ Berita Nahdlatol Oelama No. 12, 15 April 1937.

¹⁴ Berita Nahdlatol oelama No. 16, 1 Juli 1937.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Pidato Dr. Pyper dalam muktamar NU ke XII di Malang mengenai *Ontwerp Ordonnantie Perkawinan Boemipoetra*, dalam *Ibid.*, hal. 14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, hal. 4.

¹⁸ Pernyataan KH. Machfoed Siddiq dalam kongres NU ke XII di Malang dalam *Ibid.*, hal. 15.

¹⁹ Amin Farih, "Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Kontribusinya dalam Memperjuangkan Kemerdekaan dan Mempertahankan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI)," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 24, no. 2 (15 Desember 2016): 251–284, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.24.2.969>.

²⁰ *Verslag pendek rapat terboeka Congres Nahdlatol Oelama* ke XII di Malang, dalam *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, hal. 14.

²² Berita Nahdlatol Oelama No. 6, th. 8, hal. 16b.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Berita Nahdlatol Oelama No. 16, 1 Juli 1937, hal.4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, hal. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.* hal. 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, hal.5.

³¹ *Ibid.* hal. 14.

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