

## Jurisprudence: Interpretation of Nahdlatul Ulama's Political Behavior



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**ABSTRACT:** The politics of the people are often identified with their lives in the state. This understanding gave rise to a prolonged discourse on the relationship between state and religion. The purpose of this study is to study, analyze and interpret from fiqh studies related to the interpretation of Nahdlatul Ulama's political behavior. This research is a literature research or revive literature using descriptive analytical methods. Data collection is carried out by listening and recording techniques. Analysis is carried out by means of data collection, (2) data reduction, and (3) presentation. The results of this study show that the religious symbols stated by Nahdlatul Ulama turned out to be upon closer examination is not surprising, because this organization is very tied to the concepts of formal legal thinking (fiqh) that must be implemented, and if not, contain other legal consequences. These religious symbols have a deeper meaning in their world. The idealistic state is transcendental, and when viewed from their religious discourse it must be created and implemented. Religious symbols in addition to having idealistic meanings, also consciously or unconsciously have political meanings, for the existence of Nahdlatul Ulama, which is sometimes designed and deliberate by Nahdlatul Ulama itself.

**KEYWORDS:** Jurisprudence, Tafsir, Politics, Nahdlatul Ulama.

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### I. INTRODUCTION

The discussion about Nahdlatul Ulama today has been raised by many scholars both western (Indonesianist) and Indonesian scholars themselves. Recent in-depth studies on Nahdlatul Ulama certainly cannot be separated from the concerns of Benedict R. OG. Anderson lamented the lack of serious Western scholarship on Nahdlatul Ulama and the tendency among Indonesian political observers to freeze prejudices that Nahdlatul Ulama was a completely corrupt and opportunistic organization.

Nahdlatul Ulama, with an estimated membership of more than 35 million people, is the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. Nahdlatul Ulama as an organization that is deeply rooted among the lower masses, under the leadership of ulama (Greg, 1996).

Nahdlatul Ulama is a unique phenomenon throughout the Islamic world in Indonesia. It was a large organization under the leadership of traditionalist scholars. Nahdlatul Ulama is a non-governmental organization that still survives and is rooted in the lower class, whose members feel bound to it through the bonds of primordial loyalty (Martin, 1999).

Nahdlatul Ulama in the course of its history, in line with the Sunni Islamic political tradition, which is usually accommodating to the existing government and the people in the body of Nahdlatul Ulama seem opportunistic. Accommodating attitudes towards the ruling government are seen in some cases, and are expressed in the form of religious symbols as legitimacy for the ruling government.

Regarding religious symbols, in 1938, Nahdlatul Ulama declared the government of the Dutch East Indies at that time as Darul Islam, this was very contrary to the efforts made by nationalist groups at that time. This statement with religious symbols gave the impression of legitimizing colonial rule.

Through a conference of scholars held in Cipanas West Java in 1959 and later a political decision of Nahdlatul Ulama, under the leadership of the minister of religious affairs, Kyai Masykur had appointed Sukarno as Walyul Amri adz-dzaruri bisy-Syaukah, a symbol as a title that Sukarno became a legitimate Head of State and therefore, ipso facto, must be obeyed by all Indonesian Muslims (Andree Feillard, 1999). From the discourse on religious symbols used by Nahdlatul Ulama, both the title Darul Islam for the Dutch East Indies colonial government or the title Walyul Amri adz-dzaruri bisy-Syaukah for the Soekarno government, therefore researchers are interested in studying and analyzing more deeply.

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### **II. METHOD**

This research uses qualitative research methods with the type of research carried out, namely descriptive qualitative methods. Descriptive qualitative methods implemented in this study. carry out analytical techniques by analyzing and studying Jurisprudence: Tafsir Political Behavior Nahdaltul Ulama. This qualitative descriptive is applied to answer problems and break down problems presented in complex and actual ways using steps in the form of collecting, starting preparation, clarifying objects, analyzing, and interpreting predetermined research objects (Ratna, 2007). Descriptive is a type of research or method that is carried out on the basis of phenomena and facts carried out by observing from predetermined research data sources, so as to get results in the form of a series of words and sentences, notes or narratives that are explanatory or explanatory (Sugiyono, 2011). In this study, the object of research is Jurisprudence: Tafsir Political Behavior Nahdaltul Ulama. The data collection process applied in this study is by applying the Library study as a reference in the process of finding and collecting information and materials needed based on libraries or library sources that are related to the object or data of the research conducted (Faruk, 2012). Then, researchers carry out listening techniques, the process of data collection activities that have been determined and obtained, then carried out from writing based on the classification of the selected research object. The last step in data collection is to explain recording techniques or making conclusions from literature studies and listening results from the data studied. The steps in carrying out the research analysis process are carried out in three stages, namely (1) data collection, (2) data reduction, and (3) data presentation. The data used in this study was obtained from the process of listening and recording techniques that produced data in the form of couplets and lines in poetry containing religiosity which were used as data and used in research. The next stage implemented is reducing data. The data that has been obtained is then reduced based on the type and classification of data that has been predetermined. The last step, after the data has been collected and reduced, then an analysis of each data is carried out, resulting in a description, description, and also interpretation of the religiosity contained in Jurisprudence: Interpretation of Nahdaltul Ulama's Political Behavior which is used as material or source of research data.

### **III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Darul Islam and the Dutch East Indies Colonial Administration**

In this section, we will try to review the history surrounding the emergence of Nahdlatul Ulama religious symbols against the colonial rule of the Dutch East Indies with Darul Islam.

Nahdlatul Ulama, an organization established in Surabaya in 1926 as an effort towards the expansion of the Hijaz Committee which was formed with two purposes; first, to counterbalance the Khilafat Committee which gradually fell to the reformers, but furthermore it was also a strong reaction against the reformers who attacked traditionalist Islamic religious practices, as well as to stem the influence of reformist religious thought in Islamic society. Second, to give an appeal to King Ibn Sa'ud, the new ruler in the Arab country, so that traditional religious customs and madhhab practices, especially the four schools, Shafi'i, Maliki, Hambali, and Hanafi are allowed to be carried out especially in Makah al-Mukaramah (Deliar, 1996).

The issue of khilafat is important to discuss here because it will be related to the discussion of Nahdlatul Ulama religious symbols. This concern for Nahdlatul Ulama is a crucial issue that must be fought because it is related to the religious paradigm of Nahdlatul Ulama. The issue of khilafat that Nahdlatul Ulama had to fight for and a little help from the Dutch East Indies colonial government, which at least encouraged Nahdlatul Ulama to establish religious symbols for the Dutch East Indies colonial government (Dawam Raharjo, 2014).

The attention of Indonesian Muslims, including Nahdlatul Ulama, to the issue of khilafat was very deep, especially after the first world war ended. The Ottoman State was in turmoil, meaning the Turkish Sultanate. Sultan Abdul Majid (Sultan of Turkey) who by Muslims including Indonesia is seen as the caliph holding religious and governmental power for Muslims throughout the world. The Turkish Empire became a fierce struggle between the Sultan and the Turkish nationalists under Mustafa Kemal. In 1922 victory was on the side of Turkish nationalists, so the Turkish Grand Council abolished the sultan's power and turned Turkey into a Republic, but in the same year the Turkish Grand Council made Abdul Majid a caliph without worldly power. The Turkish Grand Council in the next two years abolished khilafat altogether (Deliar, 1996).

Such developments confuse the Islamic world as a whole and begin to think about making a new khilafat (Yudian Wahtyudi, 2007). The Indonesian Islamic community is not only interested and interested in discussing this problem but feels obliged to find a solution. Egypt intended to hold a congress on khilafat in March 1924. The Indonesian Islamic Society welcomed the initiative and formed a khilafat committee in Surabaya on 4 October 1924, chaired by Wondo Amiseno (SI) and KH. Wahab Hasbullah (Traditionalist Islam). The third Al-Islam congress in Surabaya decided to send a delegation to the Cairo congress, consisting of Surjopranoto (SI), Haji Fachroddin (Muhammadiyah), KH. Wahab Hasbullah (Traditionalist Islam) (Deliar, 1996).

The Cairo Congress was postponed, and the interest of Muslims in Java shifted to developments in Saudi Arabia (Hijaz), where Ibn Sa'ud succeeded in overthrowing the government of Sharif Hussein in Makkah in 1924. With this victory the Wahhabi leaders immediately carried out a cleansing movement against the practice of religion in Makkah in accordance with their religious beliefs, although not forbidding madhhab lessons in the Grand Mosque. With this victory, Makkah and Cairo competed for the position of caliph (Bruinessen, .

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The invitation from Ibn Sa'ud to Muslims in Indonesia was discussed at two Al-Islam congresses, the fourth in Yogyakarta and the fifth in Bandung. In these two congresses it appears to be dominated by Islamic reformers. The group decided to send Tjokroaminoto (SI) and KH. Masur (Muhammadiyah) to participate in the congress in Makah, here there is no visible representative at all from traditionalist Islamic circles.

Because of this, the traditionalist group submitted proposals to the delegation among others, so that deep-rooted religious practice habits such as; building graves, reciting dalail khairat prayers, madhhab teachings and madhhab in order to be honored by the new Arab head of state. Congress did not respond well to the proposals of traditionalist Islamists. This makes KH. Wahab Hasbullah and three of his colleagues left the khilafat committee. KH. Wahab Hasbullah then took the initiative to hold meetings among elder scholars from Surabaya, Semarang, Pasuruan, Lasem and Pati. These scholars agreed to establish a committee to establish a committee to discuss Hejaz issues, later this committee became known as the Hejaz committee. This committee later changed to Nahdlatul Ulama in a meeting in Surabaya on January 31, 1926. In the meeting still put the problem of Hejaz as the main point, thus the problem of Hejaz as a concrete cause of the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama.

In January 1926 Nahdlatul Ulama decided to send two envoys to meet King Ibn Sa'ud to express the organization's opinion on the matters of the madhhab, also calling on the king to take steps for the benefit of the madhhab and to facilitate the process of the pilgrimage. This opportunity for an audience with the king also requested the intercession of the Dutch consulate in Jedah. The Nahdlatul Ulama envoy failed to depart on transportation grounds. Instead, Nahdlatul Ulama sent a wire about the decision of their meeting to the Saudi head of state, with an additional request that the decree be incorporated into law in the Hejaz.

Because there was no answer from the Saudi king, on March 27, 1928 Nahdlatul Ulama sent two envoys KH. Abdul Wahab and Ustadz Ahmad Ghanaim al-Amin to appear before the Saudi rulers. On June 13, 1928 King Ibn Sa'ud received the Nahdlatul Ulama envoy. On that occasion the two envoys also asked the king to make a law that remained in the Hejaz and they immediately asked for answers.

In his reply in the form of a letter, the king said that improvements in the Hejaz were an obligation to the government in the country. He will improve the process of Hajj travel as long as the improvement does not violate Islamic provisions. The king also agreed that Muslims are free to practice their religion and beliefs. He also expressed his belief that he believed only what was found in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet, he also followed the earlier pious men, which were started by the Companions and ended by the four imams.

Nahdlatul Ulama drafted a formal statute of association which was first made in the third congress in 1928. The format of these articles of association is of course adapted to the laws of the Dutch Association. In this case, it was clear the desire to get official recognition from the Dutch East Indies colonial government, so an explicit and written article of association was prepared by the Nahdlatul Ulama management. Based on these articles of association, then the Dutch East Indies colonial government in February 1930 granted legal entity status (*rechtspersoonlijkheid*) to Nahdlatul Ulama.

In these articles of association NU does not mention the relationship with the Hijaz issue which is the direct reason for the establishment of NU. NU explicitly stated that its goals were to develop the teachings of Islam Ahlusunnah wa al-Jamaah and protect them from the deviations of reformers and modernists. Adhering to one of the four schools of orthodox jurisprudence is a firm feature to distinguish traditionalists from most reformers. Increase educational efforts in the Nahdlatul Ulama body.

After Nahdlatul Ulama was given the status of a legal entity in 1930, in 1938 Nahdlatul Ulama gave the title Darul Islam to Indonesia under Dutch rule. A statement that gave legitimacy to the rule of the Dutch East Indies colonial government and seemed contradictory to the efforts made by nationalist groups.

This paper seeks and intends to trace the basis of Nahdlatul Ulama's thinking so that it decided to give religious symbols to the Dutch East Indies colonial government.

## **Walyyul Amri Adz-dzaruri bisy-Syaukah and Sukarno Government**

Nahdlatul Ulama had declared itself as an independent political party apart from the Masyumi party at a conference in Palembang at the end of April 1952. In many ways, Nahdlatul Ulama politicians have more in common with secular nationalists (PNI) and it is very likely that Nahdlatul Ulama is also closer to communists (PKI) than Western-educated Masyumi figures. Nahdlatul Ulama as well as the period-based PNI is strong in the Java region and is covered by Javanese values. These parties are more inward-oriented than outward-oriented, valuing traditional leadership styles rather than Western democratic ideas. It is not surprising that later in his journey Nahdlatul Ulama became very close to Sukarno, except for a few individuals.

Although Nahdlatul Ulama was known to be very close to Sukarno, it was not solely because of its opportunistic nature as alleged by previous experts about Nahdlatul Ulama. Nahdlatul Ulama did not always support Sukarno's every action. As evidenced when Sukarno spoke loudly, in 1953, about the idea of a state based on Islam because it would create separatism among non-Muslim Indonesian ethnic groups, not only Masyumi condemned Sukarno but Nahdlatul Ulama and other Islamic organizations also protested against Sukarno. In particular, Nahdlatul Ulama rejected Sukarno's assumption that Islamic governments lacked the ability to maintain national unity.

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In 1957, Nahdlatul Ulama also clashed with Sukarno when he seemed too close to the communists. Especially when Sukarno announced his concept, which was proposed as an alternative to liberal democracy and party-based government, which two years later was practiced in guided democracy. Nahdlatul Ulama changed course and immediately added a voice to Masyumi and PSII who both rejected this concept. Nahdlatul Ulama balked at the idea of a gotong royong cabinet, a government in which all parties should be represented, including communists. During a heated debate in parliament in 1959 about the ideological basis of the State should be Pancasila or Islam stipulated in the constitution, Nahdlatul Ulama was on Masyumi's side diametrically vis-à-vis Sukarno, the PNI, and the PKI.

The traditionalists in this case Nahdlatul Ulama are more flexible in the political field and prefer to take part in various governments called leftists by the modernists in power in Masyumi. In July 1953, Nahdlatul Ulama took part in Ali Sastroamidjojo's cabinet led by the PNI and fully supported by the PKI. PSI and Masyumi became opposition parties. In this cabinet Nahdlatul Ulama added to his political role, not only the post of minister of religion he obtained, but also minister of agriculture and deputy prime minister. The Masyumi elites were very disappointed to see Nahdlatul Ulama getting stronger and closer to Sukarno.

It is a fact that Nahdlatul Ulama's political behavior is often seen only to seek or gain Sukarno's approval. This has led to many criticisms of Nahdlatul Ulama among Masyumi sympathizers.

When KH. Masjkur became minister of religious affairs (1953-1954) a national meeting of ulama, held in Cipanas, attended only by scholars affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama, and gave legitimacy to Sukarno's presidential power by declaring himself and his government as a whole as *Walyul Amri adz-Dzaruri bisy-Syaukah*. This term has the meaning of Sukarno's government as the de facto power holder so that it contains the consequence that all Indonesian Muslims must obey the president and other state officials. The awarding of this title in later times caused many misunderstandings, at least partly intentional, many unsympathetic observers often mistakenly stated that the decision was a personal support for Sukarno thus this was considered evidence of the opportunistic and fawning character of Nahdlatul Ulama.

From the context mentioned above, this paper also intends to find the true meaning of the title from the mindset of the Nahdlatul Ulama itself.

### **Nahdlatul Ulama and Religious Discourse**

In understanding Nahdlatul Ulama's religious discourses, it would be better if here the basics of Nahdlatul Ulama's religious understanding and social attitudes were expressed.

The religious basics of Nahdlatul Ulama include:

1. Nahdlatul Ulama bases its religious understanding on the sources of Islamic teachings; the Qur'an, Sunnah, Ijma' and Qiyas.
2. In understanding, interpreting Islam from its sources mentioned above, Nahdlatul Ulama follows the understanding of *ahlusunnah waljamaah* and uses the path of approach (*madhab*); (a) In the field of jurisprudence, Nahdlatul Ulama follows one of the four schools (Imam Abu Haneefah, Imam Malik, Imam Shafii and Imam Hambali). (b) In the field of creed, Nahdlatul Ulama follows the understanding of *ahlusunnah waljamaah* pioneered by Imam Abu Hasan al-Ash'ar and Imam Abu Manshur al-Maturidi. (c) In the field of Sufism, Nahdlatul Ulama follows between Imam Junaid al-Bagdadi and Imam Al-Ghazali.
3. Nahdlatul Ulama follows the stance that Islam is a religion of *fitri*, which is perfect for all the virtues that humans have. Nahdlatul Ulama's religious understanding is perfect for good values that already exist and belong to and characterize a human community such as tribes or nations, and has no aim to eliminate these values. Nahdlatul Ulama's societal attitude, the basis for the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama's religious understanding gave rise to a community attitude consisting of :
  1. The attitude of *tawasuth* and *i'tidal*, is a middle attitude that is based on the principle of life that upholds the necessity of doing justice and *hanif* in the arena of life of the Nahdlatul Ulama community, with this attitude is always expected to be a role model group that behaves and acts upright and is always constructive and avoids all forms of *tatharry* (extreme) approaches.
  2. *Tasamuh* attitude, this attitude is a tolerant attitude towards differences of views both in religious matters, especially matters that are *furu'* or become *khilafiyah* issues, as well as in social and cultural matters.
  3. *Tawazun* attitude, is a balanced attitude in service, harmonious between service to Allah and fellow humans and their environment. Harmonize the interests of the past, present, future.
  4. The attitude of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, an attitude that always has sensitivity to encourage good, useful and beneficial deeds for life together and reject and prevent all things that can plunge and degrade the values of life.

Thus, it is clear that Nahdlatul Ulama in all aspects of its life is always bound by religious institutions, especially jurisprudence as a standard of living.

For traditionalists, especially Nahdlatul Ulama, jurisprudence is the queen of science, is the guide of all behavior and explains what can and cannot be done. Jurisprudence explains in detail what to do in certain situations, but a certain amount of flexibility and freedom always has a place because jurisprudence is not a complete and constant system.

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Jurisprudence is not perfect, because many real issues have not been discussed so that an Islamic jurist must choose the problem that is considered to be truly in accordance with the problem at hand. Thus, many of the problems explicitly discussed in the books of jurisprudence have not just one answer, but many answers to the same problem.

Nahdlatul Ulama as jam'iyah ijtima'iyah diniyyah is an inseparable part of the discourses of Sunni thought. This organization expressly recognizes Sunnis as its only pattern of life. If traced more deeply, the founders of Nahdlatul Ulama had a strong chain network with the Haramain ulama who at that time were under the auspices of the Sunni Ottoman Turks.

The moderation of Ahlusunnah Waljamaah is seen in the method of taking laws (istinbath) which not only uses nash, but also pays attention to and respects the position of reason. In discourse, thought always bridges between revelation and ratio. This method (manhaj) is carried out by imams of the four schools of thought and later generations in establishing the laws of social institutions (fiqh).

The nature of tawazun Ahlusunnah Waljamaah is usually related to political issues. Ahlusunnah Waljamaah does not really justify hardline (extreme) groups. But when faced with despotic rulers, they do not hesitate to distance themselves and enter into alliances. In other words, at certain times they can be accommodating, but at other times they can behave differently even within the limits of tawazun. The nature of ta'adul (balance) is reflected in their work in social life, the way they get along and their socio-cultural conditions.

Nahdlatul Ulama's religious view in the socio-political field, the establishment of a state is a must in a Muslim community. The state is intended to provide facilities to the people, serve, protect the lives of the people, and maintain the common good (maslahah musytarakah). The necessity of establishing this State in the Sunni concept is only a facultative obligation or fardhu kifayah only, so that if some people have taken care of the establishment of the State, then other obligations will fall. Thus, the concept of statehood or imamate in the view of Ahlusunnah Waljamaah is not one of the pillars of faith as the Shi'a believe it. However, the concept of Ahlusunnah Waljama'ah must also not allow the protracted condition of government vacuum without a government recognized by the people. In this case there is a difference with the Kharijites who allow Muslims without having an imam when the community can already govern itself.

The concept of Ahlusunnah Waljamaah does not have a standard standard for the form of the state. A state is given the freedom to determine its form of government, can use a form of democracy, government, theocracy, or other forms of state. Aswaja only provides criteria that must be met in the State. As long as the requirements for the establishment of the state can be met, the State can be accepted as a legitimate government regardless of the form of the state. On the other hand, even if a country uses the flag of Islam, but in it there are many irregularities and abuses and trampling on the system of government based on predetermined criteria, such practices must be rejected in Aswaja.

The requirements that must be met by a State are:

1. The principle of shura (deliberation), this principle is based on the word of Allah QS. 42:36-37, according to this verse shura is a teaching equivalent to faith in Allah, captivity, avoiding major sins, giving forgiveness after anger, fulfilling divine commandments, establishing prayers, giving sadaqah and so on. It is as if deliberation is an integral part of the nature of faith and Islam.
2. al-Adl (justice), upholding justice is a must in Islam especially for rulers and government leaders towards the people and ummah led, this is based on QS. 4:58.
3. al-Huriyyah (freedom), freedom is intended as a guarantee for the people to exercise their rights. These rights in the Shari'a are encapsulated in ushul al-khams (five basic principles) which are the primary needs of every human being. Among others (a) hifdzu nafs, which is a guarantee of the life and life of citizens, (b) hifdzu al-Din, which is a guarantee to embrace religion in accordance with their beliefs for all citizens, (c) hifdzu mal, which is a guarantee of the safety of property owned by citizens, (d) hifdzu nasl, which is a guarantee of the origin, identity, lineage of every citizen, (e) hifdzu irdh, that is a guarantee of self-respect, honor, profession, work or position of every citizen.
4. al-Musawah (equality), all citizens should get equal treatment. All citizens have equal obligations and rights. Discrimination against certain groups, races, genders or religious adherents is not permitted.

The above is the religious understanding of Nahdlatul Ulama in its daily life or it is the living world for this organization. This pattern of religious thought will be tried to understand or interpret the religious symbols of Nahdlatul Ulama from their own perspective.

### **The meaning behind the Darul Islam Symbol**

In 1938, Nahdlatul Ulama declared that the Dutch East Indies was Darul Islam, meaning a land acceptable to Muslims. From the religious view of Nahdlatul Ulama, it can be seen that the title cannot be separated from the institutions in it. Related to the title, it is inseparable from the views of Nahdlatul Ulama, especially those related to political jurisprudence; First, in his view it is stated that Ahlusunnah Waljamaah will not allow an area in which many Muslim communities do not have a government. The granting of the title is understandable because at that time there was no government from among the natives that regulated the lives of the people, so even though the Dutch were non-Muslims could be accepted as a legitimate government. This, according to the author

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is because Nahdlatul Ulama is very bound to strict jurisprudence, that in a Muslim community must have a government recognized by Muslims, it will make a connection with the provisions of jurisprudence which otherwise – the area in the Muslim community – will become Darul Harb (an area without a lord or a war area). If the last provision of jurisprudence is used, it is understood that it will complicate religious practice later as a consequence of the Darul Harb provision.

Second, in political jurisprudence, it is stated that when a government has been able to guarantee the faith or freedom of citizens to practice their beliefs (hifdzu al-din) then the government is considered legitimate. As is known that the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies never interfered in the religious affairs of the people, because the government had a religiously neutral principle.

As the explicit reason put forward by Nahdlatul Ulama itself that the Muslim population can observe the Shari'a, the Sharia is carried out by officials who are also Muslims and in the past the country was also ruled by Muslim kings. This is the first time Nahdlatul Ulama has applied the Sunni tradition in the legitimacy of power that is acceptable if it is beneficial for the development of religious life.

Another meaning that can be stated here is the interest of Nahdlatul Ulama to exist in the life of the Indonesian nation at that time, namely to maintain religious practices according to their traditions. For this reason, finally Nahdlatul Ulama like the nature to be built in its community life to be tolerant and accommodating, then this organization adapted to get approval from the Dutch East Indies colonial government by fulfilling the requirements in the Dutch Association, so that in the end this organization became a legal entity.

This can also be interpreted as gratitude given by Nahdlatul Ulama to the Dutch East Indies colonial government for its formal legal recognition of this organization, and also according to the author, to some assistance that had been provided by the Dutch East Indies colonial government, such as the assistance of the Dutch Consulate in Jedah to this organization to be able to have an audience with King Ibn Sa'ud, although in the end the Nahdlatul Ulama delegation did not leave for transportation reasons.

Despite always maintaining its interests in religious matters, Nahdlatul Ulama and the Dutch East Indies colonial government still seemed to respect each other, an attitude similar or similar to Muhammadiyah which received subsidies from the Dutch East Indies colonial government.

The accommodating and apolitical attitude of Nahdlatul Ulama during the Dutch East Indies colonial government turned out to be very beneficial for the existence of this organization. This attitude has contributed to the rapid development of Nahdlatul Ulama supporters in a period of time when the Islamic Company, which was more nationalist at first, continued to be hit by a decline in influence. The colonial rulers were consistently as kind to Nahdlatul Ulama as their attitude towards Muhammadiyah. The development of Nahdlatul Ulama until 1942 was characterized by an extraordinary increase in followers and geographical expansion. Nahdlatul Ulama members are not systematically recorded, but estimates of the number fluctuate. By the mid-1930s, about four hundred kiai had joined the Nahdlatul Ulama with an estimated total of 67,000 followers (M. Ali Haidar, 1994).

Outside Java, Nahdlatul Ulama has also been able to exist, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and South Sumatra. Nahdlatul Ulama showed its desire to become an international organization by holding conferences in various regions in Indonesia.

In the colonial period Nahdlatul Ulama which was intimately associated with the colonial administration of the Dutch East Indies, which led to the granting of the title Darul Islam, has provided extensive opportunities for Nahdlatul Ulama to develop themselves, attract members and sympathizers in contrast to nationalist organizations.

## **Meaning of the Symbol of Walyul Amri adz-Dzaruri bisy-Syaukah**

The real purpose of this decree was to affirm the authority of the newly established sharia courts in West Sumatra as a counterpoint to the established local adaptations in the matter of appointing guardians for brides who do not have a close male relative. These courts were established by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1952, the legitimacy of Islam depends on this department and the State as a whole.

With the decision that the government is Walyul Amri adz-Dzaruri bisy-Syaukah, Nahdlatul Ulama scholars want to emphasize that the courts are the authorities to appoint guardians, thus according to Bruinessen, this policy is in response to local problems.

Regarding the title, KH. Wahab Hasbullah argued before parliament on March 29, 1954, saying that according to jurisprudence, Muslim women who do not have a guardian must marry before a guardian, so that later when having a child is not considered adultery. Therefore, it is determined that the guardian of the judge is the Head of State who is then represented by the authorized official.

However, what is interesting is that Kiai Wahab's defense of this decision did not stop at the issue of jurisprudence and guardians, but also firmly defended Sukarno's legitimacy by stating that the current government was legitimate and must be obeyed. Because Sukarno prayed, he performed marriage also according to Islamic law, as well as his oath in Islam. In a further statement that he would not obey and defend a government that told people not to pray or a government that stipulated that

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everyone could drink a bottle of beer or whisky, and this was not done by the government. Furthermore, Kiai Wahab revealed that Sukarno could indeed be considered as a dzaruri imam, because the perfect a'dhom imam, who could rule the entire Islamic world with dignity with absolute mujtahid had not existed for seven hundred years until now. This means that only an absolute mujtahid can remove a head of state who is not anti-religious.

The defense of Nahdlatul Ulama came from the Indonesian Muslim League representative of Perti, H. Siradjuddin Abbas, who hinted before parliament that the accusations and condemnations leveled at traditional clerics regarding the decision in Cipanas were only a manifestation of the malice and hostility of the reformers. According to Abbas, one year earlier, on May 4-5, 1953, which took place in Bogor in a meeting held by Minister of Religious Affairs Fakhri Usman of Muhammadiyah, the scholars had already taken the same decision regarding the guardian judges. The Bogor decree has stipulated that the President of the Republic of Indonesia is Dzu Syaumah and has full rights in matters of guardians, which is more remarkable the decision taken by the ulama meeting in Bogor stipulates that only the president is designated as Walyyul Amri Dharuri, while the Cipanas meeting in the same matter decides is the President along with the Cabinet and Parliament. It can be concluded that Bogor's decision was not criticized at that time, according to him, only because the person who appointed it was the religious minister who came from the modernist circle.

Apart from the reason of jurisprudence as the ideal state behind the decision, according to the author, whether we realize it or not, the Cipanas decision has a more beneficial effect on Nahdlatul Ulama during the reign of Soekarno. As proof of this was Sukarno's speech at the meeting in public which said that the decision taken by the traditional cleric led by the Minister of Religious Affairs of Nahdlatul Ulama was a recognition of his personal authority. The Ministry of Religious Affairs clearly also benefits from implicit recognition of its authority over religious matters, so according to Bruinessen, Kiai Masjkur's position as minister of religious affairs is getting stronger.

The greater political significance of Cipanas's decision was to delegitimize the Darul Islam rebellion, which at that time was still very strong. It was once mentioned that a very influential cleric in South Sulawesi who had given support to Darul Islam in South Sulawesi, revoked his support, because of the statement of the results of the decision of the ulama meeting in Cipanas. In this matter, Sukarno benefited greatly without having to struggle to overcome the ideology of Darul Islam.

Another meaning of Nahdlatul Ulama's decision is that it is understood as an effort to win the cold war between traditionalists represented by Nahdlatul Ulama and reformers represented by Muhammadiyah in fighting for the hot seat of the Minister of Religious Affairs. As is known that during Sukarno, there was always a struggle for the position of minister of religion between Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah.

During Sukarno's reign, the seat of minister of religion was more obtained by Nahdlatul Ulama elites because of their accommodating attitude than the reform elite who opposed Sukarno's policies. During Sukarno's reign, Nahdlatul Ulama was more intimate, not only because many individuals were known to be close to Sukarno, but also because Nahdlatul Ulama was ideologically close to the Nationalists.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The religious symbols stated by Nahdlatul Ulama are not surprising, because this organization is strongly bound by formal legal concepts of thought (jurisprudence) that must be implemented, and if not, contain other legal consequences. These religious symbols have a deeper meaning in their world. The idealistic state is transcendental, and when viewed from their religious discourse it must be created and implemented. Religious symbols in addition to having idealistic meanings, also consciously or unconsciously have political meanings, for the existence of Nahdlatul Ulama, which is sometimes designed and deliberate by Nahdlatul Ulama itself.

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