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## **Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se-Eropa : identity, encouragement for giving, and network, 1971-2009**

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## **Chapter One:**

### **Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se-Eropa: Its Historical Background**

This chapter examines the process of founding the Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa (PPME, Young Muslim Association in Europe) and its development over time. To this end, its founders' ideals and wishes will be discussed, along with the structure, expansion, status and certain activities of the organization. In order to gain a better understanding of these issues and to become acquainted with PPME's key figures, their impulses that led them to travel to the Netherlands, and their reasons for establishing the organization, we will begin by examining their previous socio-religious and educational backgrounds.

The persons who established PPME were mostly Indonesian youths. They were M. Suyuthi Suhaib, Abdul Wahid Kadungga, Imam, Ozir M. Isa, Rusli Bena, A. H. Maksum, Ujang H. S., Azmihardi, T. Razali, Husni Basuni, Ali Khalik, S. Abidin, I. Idram, M. Rais Mustafa, A. Muiz, Suwardi, Abdurrahman Wahid, Moh. Syukur, Y. Machfud Muchtar, M. Amir al-Hajri, Ade Baharuddin, Moch. Chaeron and Rahmat Zitter.<sup>74</sup> Only two of them were not Indonesian. One was Dutch and the other came from Yemen. Nevertheless, they both had historical ties to Indonesia. Rahmat Zitter was born Robert Geoffrey Zitter in Kudus, Central Java, Indonesia. His father, a Dutchman, worked in Kudus as an official of the Dutch government in the Dutch East Indies. During this time he converted to Islam. Afterwards, he married an Indonesian woman from West Java, Ratu Titing Aeni.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, the man from Yemen was a son of Mubarak 'Abdullah Nahdi ibn Thabit al-Hajri from Ḥaḍramawt, who had joined Hizbullah (God's party) and, then, troops of Pembela Tanah Air (Peta, Indonesia's Defenders)<sup>76</sup> in the struggle for defending

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<sup>74</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP Musyawarah I* (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p.

<sup>75</sup> Adi Zitter (a son of Rahmat Zitter), e-mail to author, 10 October 2012.

<sup>76</sup> Hizbullah, formed on September 14, 1944 in Jakarta, was a Muslim force aimed at assisting in Perang Asia Timur Raya (the Pacific War) and serving as God's servants who devoted themselves to defending their land and nation for the sake of forming a new society. The forming of this force was initiated by leading figures of Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi, the first Islamic party which

Indonesia's independence since 1948. His mother, 'Aliyah al-Hajri, came from Temanggung, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>77</sup> The founders were also young.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, some of them were high school graduates, while others had studied at university. These young men wanted to preserve and strengthen Islamic brotherhood among Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands by means of *da'wa* (Islamic propagation), networks, joint activities, and social endeavours.<sup>79</sup>

The first one who deserves to be mentioned is Abdul Wahid Kadungga, who was born on 20 May 1940 in Indonesia and was later elected as the first leader of the new organization. He travelled to Germany at the end of the 1960s to pursue higher education at Cologne University.<sup>80</sup> He had previously graduated from the Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Atas (SMEA, Senior High School for Economics) of Makassar, South Sulawesi,<sup>81</sup> and had also studied at the law faculty of the Indonesian University (UI) in Jakarta between 1962 and 1964.<sup>82</sup> He

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was forced to dissolve itself in 1960), including K.H. Mas Mansur, Moh. Adnan, H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, H. Cholid, K.H. Abdul Majid, H. Ya'kub, K.H. Junaedi, H. Moh. Sadri, H. Mansur, M. Natsir and K.H. Wahid Hasyim. Tashadi, et al. (eds.), *Sejarah Perjuangan Hizbullah Sabilillah Divisi Sunan Bonang* (Surakarta: Yayasan Bakti Utama, 1997), 29, 120, 144 and 169.

<sup>77</sup> Amir al-Hajri, interview, The Hague, 12 February 2012.

<sup>78</sup> The definition of youth varies. The United Nations defines a youth as a person between the ages of 15 and 25 years old. However, according to Angel, in some countries the definition of youth has been extended downwards, to include young people who are 11 or 12 years old, and upwards, to include people as old as 30 or even 35 years old. William D. Angel, *Youth Movement of the World* (UK: Longman, 1990), xii. Angel's parameters differ to those set by the Indonesian government, particularly in the Reformation Era, which emerged after the collapse of Suharto regime. People between the ages of 18 and 40 were categorized as youth. See Achmad Fedyani Saifuddin, "Menjaga Persatuan dan Kesatuan Bangsa: Pemuda Kita dalam Dunia yang Semakin Contested," in Zulkifli Akbar, et al., *Dialog Pemuda dalam Membangun Bangsa: 80 Tahun Sumpah Pemuda* (Jakarta: Kementerian Negara Pemuda dan Olahraga, 2009), 46. When the PPME was founded in 1971, A. H. Maksum was 33 years old whereas al-Hajri was born on 21 June 1941 (30 years old). Therefore, they were, referring to Angel and Ministry of Youths and Sports, still youths.

<sup>79</sup> *Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME*, n.d. and n.p. and see also DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976* (The Hague: PPME, 1976), 2

<sup>80</sup> <http://counterterrorisminfo.wordpress.com/2002/12/24/abdul-wahid-kadungga>, accessed 23 July 2008.

<sup>81</sup> Herry Nuhdi, "Berdiri Melawan Amerika," in *Sabili* 16, Year XII, February 27, 2004, 62.

<sup>82</sup> Abdul Wahid Kadungga, "Gerakan Ba'asyir Dipenuhi Intelijen," accessed 11

was a former activist of Pelajar Islam Indonesia (PII, Indonesian Muslim Students).<sup>83</sup> His involvement in the PII started during his studies at SMEA and he participated in the organization's national congress held in Medan in 1962 as the leader of PII's Makassar branch. It was here that he met Adam Malik, a future Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia.<sup>84</sup> It is worth mentioning that the PII was one of the Muslim organizations involved in a demonstration on 13 September 1965 in solidarity with Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI, Muslim Students Association),<sup>85</sup> which had been discredited as being anti-Sukarno by the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party).<sup>86</sup> After a few years in Europe – in both Germany and the Netherlands, Kadungga returned to Indonesia and devoted himself to Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII, Council of Indonesian Islamic Propagation).<sup>87</sup>

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November 2012, [http://arsip.gatra.com/2003-01-16/versi\\_cetak.php?id=24216](http://arsip.gatra.com/2003-01-16/versi_cetak.php?id=24216).

<sup>83</sup> Maksum, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008. PII was founded on May 4, 1947 in Yogyakarta. Its founders were Yoesdi Ghazali, Anton Timur Djaelani, Amien Syahri (of Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia [Movement of Indonesian Muslim Students]) and Ibrahim Zarkasji (of Persatuan Pelajar Islam Surakarta [Association of Surakarta Muslim Students]). Its foundations were built on the dualism of the education system in Indonesia; namely, the Dutch public school heritage and Islamic education organized by *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). This resulted in Muslim students being divided into two groups, i.e. secular and religious. Another motivation for its establishment was to protect Indonesian integration after independence. Therefore, PII aimed to accommodate the aspirations of Muslim students. Djayadi Hanan, *Gerakan Pelajar Islam di bawah Bayang-bayang Negara: Studi Kasus Pelajar Islam Indonesia Tahun 1980-1997* (Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2002), 54-60. See also "Sejarah PII," accessed 18 September 2012, <http://dunia.pelajar-islam.or.id/dunia.pii/blog/sejarah-pii.html#>.

<sup>84</sup> Nuhdi, "Berdiri Melawan Amerika," 61-62.

<sup>85</sup> This association was founded on 5 February 1947 in Yogyakarta. Lafran Pane, a student of Sekolah Tinggi Islam (STI, Islamic Institute), now called Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII, Indonesian Islamic University), initiated its establishment with a view to defending the state of the Republic of Indonesia and enhancing the dignity of Indonesian people as well as performing and developing Islamic teachings. See Agussalim Sitompul, *Pemikiran HMI dan Relevansinya dengan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa Indonesia* (Jakarta: IKAPI, 1986), 22 and 35-36. See also Agussalim Sitompul, "Tafsir Historis Kebangsaan dan Keindonesiaan," in Wahyu Hamdani, et al. (eds.), *Menemukan Kembali Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (Jakarta Timur: Adalde, 2008), 3. Its establishment was also directed towards shielding students of higher education and Indonesian people from communist ideology and teachings. Hamdani, *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Dwi Purwoko, *Pemuda Islam di Pentas Nasional* (Jakarta: Bonafida Cipta Pratma, 1993), 122-124.

<sup>87</sup> DDII, which has often been called Dewan Dakwah, was founded on 26 February

In 1974, he was arrested and imprisoned, together with some other Islamic activists, on the instructions of the New Order government.<sup>88</sup> This arrest was made because the government blamed the former followers of Masyumi and of Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI, Indonesian Socialist Party) as those who were responsible for the riot in Jakarta on 15 January 1974, known as Malapetaka Limabelas Januari (Malari, 15 January Disaster).<sup>89</sup> The Intelligence Group of Ali Murtopo, a Special Presidential Assistant of President Suharto, arrested the main student leaders regarded as those who were involved in the Malari.<sup>90</sup> Kadungga himself had connections with the ex-Masyumi people at DDII, and was the former leader of PII. Therefore, it seems that he was arrested because of these links. On his release, he became the private secretary of M. Natsir, the former chairman of DDII and Masyumi, and studied Islam from Ahmad Hassan (the main figure of Persatuan Islam [Persis, Islamic Unity] between 1975 and 1980).<sup>91</sup> He then decided to return to the Netherlands as an asylum seeker due to the treatment he received from the Indonesian government. Consequently, the regime no longer recognized him as an Indonesian. Kadungga himself responded: "Actually, I do not wish to be a black Dutchman [like those Moluccans in the colonial time in the Dutch East Indies who entered into service with the Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (KNIL, Royal Dutch East Indies Army)]."<sup>92</sup> I do not rebel against the state and I am not an enemy

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1967 in Tanah Abang, Jakarta, by followers of Masyumi, including M. Natsir and M. Rosyidi. This Dewan was founded as a vehicle for exercising Islamic ideals by means of *da'wa* (Islamic propagation) activities, and was a response to the refusal of New Order government to allow Masyumi to re-emerge as a political party. Its first elected chief was Mohammad Natsir, the former chief of Masyumi. Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir: Dakwah dan Pemikirannya*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1999), 53-62. See also "Berdirinya Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia," accessed 18 September 2012, <http://www.dewandakwah.com/content/blogcategory/13/27/>.

<sup>88</sup> Luth, *M. Natsir*, 29, 42 and 55.

<sup>89</sup> M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Palgrave, 2001), 362.

<sup>90</sup> Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 166.

<sup>91</sup> Luth, *M. Natsir*, 29, 42 and 55.

<sup>92</sup> Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in ballingschap* (Amsterdam: VU, 1994), 4; see also Ben Allen and Aart Loubert, "History and Identity: Moluccans in the Netherlands," accessed on 6 November 2012, <http://www.safecom.org.au/dutch-moluccans.htm>.

of the [Indonesian] nation.”<sup>93</sup> Kadungga was a son-in-law of Kahar Muzakkar, the leader of the Darul Islam (DI, Darul Islam)<sup>94</sup> for the region of Sulawesi. He had been accused of being a leader of Jama’a Islāmiyya (JI, Islamic Community) together with Abu Bakar Ba’asyir,<sup>95</sup> the leader of Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI, Council of Indonesian Muslim Warriors). Kadungga was to remain a stateless person until 24 April 2008 when he gained a Dutch passport. Kadungga, who had treated the DDII as his second family,<sup>96</sup> passed away on 12 December 2009<sup>97</sup> and was unable to fulfill his intention to see Abdurrahman Wahid who had had different political ideas (see the following discussion on Wahid), one of those who founded PPME,<sup>98</sup> when he held the office of President of the Republic of Indonesia.

The second central figure to PPME, A. H. Maksu, was born on 13 June 1938 in Indonesia. He was to become the first secretary of the PPME board. After completing his primary school education, he studied Islam in *pesantrens* (Islamic boarding schools) such as the traditionalist Pesantren Tebuireng, East Java, and the modern Pesantren Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java.<sup>99</sup> In 1957, he continued his Islamic education in the Pesantren Jamsaren, Surakarta, Central Java.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Nuhdi, “Berdiri Melawan Amerika,” 61–63.

<sup>94</sup> It is important to mention here that, in the 1940s, Kahar Muzakkar was one of South Sulawesi’s leaders of the Pemuda Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah’s Youth) and the Hizbul Wathon (the Muhammadiyah’s boy and girl scouts). C. van Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 155. In 1954, he founded Pemuda Islam Jihad (Muslim Youths for Holy War). This foundation took place after he proclaimed Sulawesi to be part of Negara Republik Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islam Republic) in 1953. Ibid., 189. This foundation, therefore, cannot be divorced from his struggle for the Islamic Revolution to establish a new Islamic state.

<sup>95</sup> Choirul Aminuddin, “Abdul Wahid Kadungga, Tokoh Islam, Asal Sulawesi Selatan Tutup Usia,” accessed 15 October 2012, <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/12/12/058213459/Abdul-Wahid-Kadungga-Tokoh-Islam-Asal-Sulawesi-Selatan-Tutup-Usia>.

<sup>96</sup> Siti Maesaroh (the wife of Abdul Wahid Kadungga), interview, Rotterdam, 12 December 2010.

<sup>97</sup> See <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/12/12/058213459/Abdul-Wahid-Kadungga-Tokoh-Islam-Asal-Sulawesi-Selatan-Tutup-Usia>, accessed 15 October 2012.

<sup>98</sup> Maesaroh, interview, Rotterdam, 12 December 2010.

<sup>99</sup> Maksu, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

<sup>100</sup> See Ali, “The Contextualization of Fiqh al-‘Ibādah” among Indonesian Religious



Subsequently, he travelled to Mecca in order to further his study at a senior high school called Dār al-‘Ulūm (the House of Knowledge). It was here that he studied Islamic jurisprudence relating to various *madhāhib* (differing schools of law). His eagerness to become involved in organizational activities can be seen from his involvement in an Indonesian Student Association in Mecca called Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI, Indonesian Student Association). Furthermore, he enrolled himself in an undergraduate programme, al-Jāmi‘a Baghdad (Baghdad University). During his stay in Baghdad he joined a Muslim organization known as Keluarga Pemuda Nahdlatul Ulama (KPNU, Awakening of Ulama’s Youth Association).<sup>101</sup> He eventually graduated from Baghdad University in 1969. Having completed his study, he chose to live in the Netherlands where he found employment as a teacher at the Sekolah Indonesia Nederland (SIN, Netherlands Indonesian School).<sup>102</sup> He taught part-time at SIN from 1971. In addition, he also worked for a Dutch insurance company. In 1974, he moved to Cologne, Germany, where he lived for a year and half, to study philosophy and German at Cologne University. Then, following the regulation of the company obliging its officials to work full-time, he made the decision to leave his job as a teacher at SIN in 1975. After focusing on solving PPME’s internal problems in the 1980s (discussed in the following section), he joined ICMI<sup>103</sup> in the Netherlands in the mid-1990s. From

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Teachers and Their Communities in the Circle of PPME in Amsterdam and The Hague,” in *Hamdard Islamicus* 30, no. 2 (April-June 2007): 68.

<sup>101</sup> Maksum, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

<sup>102</sup> This school was founded on 15 June 1965 and was inaugurated by His Excellency, the Indonesian Ambassador, Mr. Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro on 17 August 1965. The name ‘SIN’ was made official by a Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture, dated 15 August 1995. It aimed to provide official education to Indonesian children and youth in the Netherlands. It comprised primary, junior high and senior high school and followed the curriculum of Indonesia’s national education system. Indonesian was the primary language of students at the school. In practice, the school is managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands, but it is technically supervised by the Attaché of the Department of Education and Culture. See Abdul Manan Zaibar, *The Indonesian Program for the Islamic Religious Education of the Indonesian Children in the Netherlands* (Thesis, Leiden University, 2003), 151-153. Recently, primary school education at the school was abolished. S. Atikah Zofwaan (a retired teacher of the SIN), interview, The Hague, 11 August 2008.

<sup>103</sup> ICMI was established on 7 December 1990 in Malang, East Java. B. J. Habibie,



the outset of his stay in the Netherlands, he had no intention of ever living permanently in this country. However, Maksum has been living in the Netherlands since the early 1970s and today is enjoying his life as a pensioner,<sup>104</sup> Islamic preacher, and *imam* for the Indonesian community in the Netherlands.

The third person to be mentioned is Mochammad Chaeron who was born on 13 January 1943 in Indonesia. During his studies at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, he had joined Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM, Muhammadiyah Student Association). He graduated from Gajah Mada University in August 1967 with a major in publicity (communication science). He became a journalist for *Abadi* (Eternal), the newspaper of Masyumi, which gave him the opportunity to travel, together with his colleagues, to Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries. He travelled to the Netherlands in early 1970 via Saudi Arabia in order to further his tertiary education and to find employment in Germany for a better future. His intention to study could not be realised because of his job as a teacher at the SIN, which took a lot of time and energy. In fact, he became the headmaster of the school in 1972 after his involvement in the process of founding PPME. In the early 1990s, Chaeron was also a member of ICMI in the Netherlands. In 2003, at the age of 60, he resigned from his position as a teacher at the school. He had hoped to continue teaching students at the school on a part-time basis during his retirement; however this was not in line with the retirement regulations of the Indonesian Embassy. Two years after his resignation, in 2005, he passed away.<sup>105</sup>

The last person to be discussed is Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) who was born on 7 September 1940 in Jombang Indonesia. He was a son of Wahid Hasyim, a former Minister of Religious Affairs before the New Order began in 1966, and a grandson of Hasyim Asy'ari, a founder of the biggest socio-religious Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU, Awakening of Ulama). He was a pivotal figure

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the Minister of Research and Technology, was its first elected leader. M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Visi dan Misi Kehadiran ICMI: Sebuah Pengantar," in Nasrullah Ali-Fauzi, *ICMI: Antara Status Quo dan Demokratisasi* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 25.

<sup>104</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>105</sup> Zofwaan, interview, 11 August 2008.

for PPME because he was regarded as a person capable of leading the PPME. Therefore, he gained significant votes when the election to elect a leader was held (this will be discussed later on). In the mid-1960s, soon after he arrived in Cairo for study at al-Azhar University, he was elected the chairperson of Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI, Association of Indonesian Students) in Egypt. This enabled him to build social networks of Indonesian students across the Middle East. Another influential experience was his regular work at the Indonesian Embassy in Cairo. His tasks were to follow the developments in Indonesia; to translate reports from Jakarta about socio-political events taking place in Indonesia from Indonesian to Arabic or English; and to inform upon Indonesian students in Cairo who were under the influence of the communist ideology. Wahid did not finish his study at *al-Azhar* because he frequently did not attend his classes and did not pass certain main courses. Instead, he embarked on another undergraduate programme at Baghdad University. Having completed his studies at Baghdad University, he travelled from Iraq to the Netherlands in early 1970 in order to pursue his graduate studies. He was keen to enroll at Leiden University, however, the university could only admit him as an undergraduate student because of his Middle Eastern diploma. This frustrated Wahid's plans to proceed with his tertiary education in Europe. Consequently, he returned to Indonesia in May 1971 a month after the establishment of the PPME,<sup>106</sup> where he would lead not only a socio-religious organization and a political party, but would also go on to lead the nation. At the end of December 1984, he was elected executive chief of Nahdlatul Ulama. Then, in the middle of 1998, he was mandated to be the chief of Dewan Syuro (Advisory Board) of Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB, Party of the Awakening of the Nation). Finally, on 20 October 1999 he was elected the President of the Republic of Indonesia. He passed away in December 2009, the same year when Kadunnga passed away.

The above-mentioned facts show that the central founding figures of PPME had different organizational and religious orientations. They possessed, in principle, relations to traditionalist and reformist Muslim

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<sup>106</sup> Barton, *Gus Dur*, 83-101, and see also DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

organizations in Indonesia. The traditionalists are associated with the *pesantren* and the NU,<sup>107</sup> whereas the reformists are associated with the Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam (Persis), al-Irsyad (The Guidance, a Muslim organization of Arabs in Indonesia).<sup>108</sup> Due to his involvement in the DDII and his closeness to Natsir, Kadungga can be classified as a reformist Muslim who was interested in political affairs. Unlike Kadungga, Chaeron, who was involved in a Muhammadiyah-affiliated organization, was not interested in politics. Gus Dur, who seems to have had interests in political affairs, was the leader of NU, the traditionalist organization. Contrary to Gus Dur, Maksum was also involved in an NU-affiliated organization and was not interested in politics.

Hines classifies immigrant populations in the Netherlands into three groups. They are, firstly, “guest workers recruited to fill low to unskilled occupations starting after World War II; secondly, migrants from former colonies; and lastly, post-Cold War refugees from newly independent Eastern Europe.”<sup>109</sup> The PPME key founders cannot be grouped into the second classification of Hines precisely. In spite of the intentions of a number of PPME’s founders to look for work in the Netherlands, they cannot be categorized as guest workers as this required the presence of bilateral agreements between the Netherlands and the countries of the guest workers, which were “arranged for less developed nations to supply Europe’s [the Netherlands’] labor force,”<sup>110</sup> No such agreement existed between the Netherlands and Indonesia. At the same time, the young men could not be classified precisely as part of the second group defined by Hines; namely, migrants that had a “historical, social, cultural, and political relationship with the

<sup>107</sup> See Noer, *The Modernist*, 42-43 and 94-95 and Martin van Bruinessen, *Traditionalist Muslims in a Modernizing World: The Nahdlatul Ulama and Indonesia’s New Order Politics, Fictional Conflict and the Search for a New Discourse* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994), 24-26.

<sup>108</sup> See Noer, *The Modernist*, 42-43 and 94-95, James Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 20, and Howard M. Federspiel, *Labirin Ideologi Muslim: Pencarian dan Pergulatan PERSIS di Era Kemunculan Negara Indonesia (1923-1957)*, trans. Ruslani dan Kurniawan Abdullah, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Jakarta: P.T. Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2001), 112 and 116.

<sup>109</sup> Twanna A. Hines, “The Myth of Ethnic Equality,” in Maura I. Toro and Marixsa Alice, *Migration and Immigration: A Global View* (USA: Greenwood Press, 2004), 149-150.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

Netherlands due to its colonial past.”<sup>111</sup> While they certainly fall into this second group in terms of their Dutch East Indies origins, they were also migrants, looking for employment or with a desire to further their studies without the bilateral agreement. The only relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia was historical, namely, between the colonizer and the colonized prior to Indonesian independence. Dassetto and Nonneman’s depiction of Muslim immigrants in Europe as “mostly men, and usually without families, in the early 1960s and the mid-1970s,”<sup>112</sup> can also be applied to those who founded PPME, most of whom were unmarried, despite some of them being over 30 years old.<sup>113</sup> Thus, PPME’s central figures are mostly unrestricted young migrants seeking a better life or future in Europe, specifically the Netherlands.

### **I. Shared Intentions of PPME’s Founders**

Prior to the establishment of PPME, those who established it had little political and legal knowledge of the Netherlands and the dominant Muslim and/or student organizations in the country.<sup>114</sup> They also had no permanent residence permits.<sup>115</sup> These conditions hardly seemed conducive to becoming pioneering youth leaders, i.e.

[those] who challenge the existing civilization by injecting ideas, values, actions to promote a new and more equitable order and to promote unity, integration and understanding between tribes [ethnics] and civilizations of different socio-economic, cultural and/or religious backgrounds.<sup>116</sup>

In fact, they did not make such endeavours, but were inspired by the following concerns.

Firstly, the founders were committed to performing Islamic teaching, propagating Islam (*da’wa*), and protecting the religion of the *umma* (Indonesian Muslims worldwide, in this case, Europe and

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Felice Dassetto and Gerd Nonneman, in “Islam in Belgium and the Netherlands: Towards a Typology or ‘Transplanted’ Islam,” Gerd Nonneman, et al., *Muslim Communities in the New Europe* (UK: Garnet Publishing, 1996), 191.

<sup>113</sup> Al-Hajri, interview, The Hague, 8 February 2012.

<sup>114</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

<sup>115</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>116</sup> Angel, *Youth Movement*, 8.

the Netherlands). This commitment was not hampered by their lack of knowledge of the political and legal situation in the Netherlands.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, they paid attention to their fellow Indonesian Muslims, living in their host country, the Netherlands, who were experiencing difficulties in performing their religious obligations. That is to say, the non-Islamic atmosphere in their new non-Muslim society, coupled with a dearth of Indonesian experts on Islam in the Netherlands, had prevented many of them from performing their Islamic duties and consulting experts about their religious problems.<sup>118</sup> Another focus for them was addressing the concerns of Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands, who were unhappy with the fact that they had not concluded their marriages according to Islamic ritual, even though they had concluded their marriages officiated by the Dutch administration. Therefore, they still wanted to renew their wedding vows on the basis of Islamic tenets. In addition, the persons establishing PPME were concerned with those who, when they died, wanted to be buried with Islamic rites.<sup>119</sup>

The socio-religious conditions encountered by those who founded PPME and their peers differed greatly from those encountered by the Muslims of the Moluccas, a group of Indonesian islands, who had previously been affiliated with the KNIL. These Moluccan Muslims lived in Friesland, and subsequently in Waalwijk and Ridderkerk. This group of Muslims appeared to be socio-religiously well-organized in the Netherlands. For example, their religious problems were being taken care of by their Moluccan Muslim leader, Akhmad Tan. Furthermore, they already had their own mosque and their funerals were conducted in an Islamic way.<sup>120</sup>

It is worth mentioning that the difficulties experienced by the fellow Indonesian Muslims who turned to the founders for assistance

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<sup>117</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>118</sup> See Muhamad Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa* (The Hague: YMAE, 1996), 21.

<sup>119</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>120</sup> See N. J. G. Kaptein, "Islam in Present-Day Dutch Society, in W. A. L. Stokhof and N. J. G. Kaptein (eds.), *Beberapa Kajian Indonesia dan Islam* (Jakarta: INIS, 1990), 201-202.

and advice apparently were not shared by other Indonesian students in Europe. Unlike other Muslims who may be permanent residents of the Netherlands, these students, almost by definition, return home a few years after finishing their study. In general, in addition to having no relatives there, the students mostly thought that they had no opportunity to directly involved in developments taking place in Indonesia. They were of the opinion that they encountered the unfamiliar cultural, political and social structures in their European host countries.<sup>121</sup> This situation might not matter for them because it would take place temporarily and their concerns suggest that religious affairs were not a priority for this group who devoted their energies to social and political activities.<sup>122</sup> Currently, such subjects still become the concern of Indonesian students in the Netherlands.<sup>123</sup>

Secondly, the founders of PPME who believed their spirit and faith would assist them in achieving their goal<sup>124</sup> wanted to establish a vehicle for their Islamic *da'wa* activities in Europe, and specifically the Netherlands, rather than create an organization comprising “a large number of people banding together in order to alter, supplement, or preserve some portion of the existing order.”<sup>125</sup> It appears that the political situation in Indonesia and the Netherlands had encouraged their belief in their dream. During the early years of the New Order regime, *da'wa* activities had been strictly controlled and required official permission. Take, for example, the establishment of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) in 1967. The name Yayasan Dakwah (Da'wa Foundation) was chosen, rather than one indicating a political party or a mass organization, because the activities of some of DDII's founders had been censored by the government. They had been accused of being

<sup>121</sup> Anonymous, *Konperensi Pelajar Indonesia se-Eropa* (Hennef: n.p., 1955), 62-64.

<sup>122</sup> Basuki Gunawan, *Indonesische studenten in Nederland* (The Hague: N.V. Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 1966), 169 and see also *Majalah Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, No. 3, October 1976: pp. 10-12.

<sup>123</sup> See the current online magazine of Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (Indonesian Student Association) in the Netherlands at <http://dokumen.tips/download/link/jong-indonesia-edisi-01-2009> and at <http://dokumen.tips/documents/majalah-jong-indonesia-edisi-4-september-2010.html>, accessed 09 November 2015.

<sup>124</sup> Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, ii.

<sup>125</sup> Angel, *Youth Movement*, xii.

involved in a revolt organized by the Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (PRRI, the Republic of Indonesia's Revolutionary Government) in Sumatra since February 1958.<sup>126</sup> Establishing a new organization required obtaining permission from the regime. By contrast, establishing a foundation only required approval from a notary<sup>127</sup> as, technically, it had no membership, but rather founders, supporters and sympathizers – in this case they were called Keluarga Dewan Dakwah (Family of Islamic Propagation Council). These political circumstances had contributed to an uncomfortable political atmosphere for some Islamic preachers in Indonesia. By contrast, in the Netherlands there were no external obstacles to achieving their aims.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, the existence of non-Muslim Indonesian organizations such as Persekutuan Kristen Indonesia (Perki, Indonesian Christian Association) encouraged those who established PPME in their goals.<sup>129</sup> Another factor that should be considered is that between the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, Muslims in the Netherlands had been attempting to unite under a single Islamic organization.<sup>130</sup> Such an effort was in line with the objective of the Dutch government that people should “take their own initiatives and do not depend on the government incentives.”<sup>131</sup>

In respect of the founders' shared intentions, we can conclude that they were aware of their fellow Indonesian Muslims in Europe who were in need of religious guidance. This awareness was central to the founders being part of a minority group, which had no significant political capital or access<sup>132</sup> that could be employed to change the prevailing socio-political situation. This awareness could be the starting

<sup>126</sup> M. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, trans. A Team of Serambi, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Jakarta: PT Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2009), 544-545.

<sup>127</sup> See Asna Husin, *Philosophical and Sociological Aspects of Da'wah: A Study of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (USA: UMI, 1998), 31.

<sup>128</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> M. Ali Kettani, *Muslim Minority in the World Today* (London and New York: Manshell Publishing Limited, 1986), 44.

<sup>131</sup> See Ruben Gowrichan and Bim Mungra, “The Politics of Integration in the Netherlands,” in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Muslims in the Margin* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 126.

<sup>132</sup> Kettani, *Muslim Minority*, 1-3.



point for the founders to perform their *da'wa* activities among their fellow Indonesian Muslims encountering socio-religious difficulties in the new non-Muslim environment.

## **II. PPME: The Result of Consecutive Gatherings and Intensive Discussions**

The establishment of the new Muslim organization known as PPME took place as a result of a series of monthly gatherings held from early January to mid-April 1971. At each gathering, the ideas underpinning the founding of a Muslim organization progressed and their desire to establish such an organization in Europe was discussed intensively by the participants of the gatherings.

The first meeting was held in early January of 1971 at Barenstraat 4, The Hague, a house belonging to Zitter. In fact, Indonesian young men gathered frequently in Zitter's home and it had become a sort of 'headquarters' for their activities.<sup>133</sup> Thirteen people participated in this inaugural meeting, which commenced just before midnight.<sup>134</sup> A number of those attending lived in Rotterdam and The Hague, while others, such as Kadungga, Ali Baba and A. Doni had travelled from Germany.<sup>135</sup> They discussed a series of ideas that required consideration before establishing a new Muslim organization. For instance, issues such as the Dutch rules of association in relation to socio-religious organizations, the possibilities of founding a new Muslim organization, the existing Muslim organizations, and the connections between the planned organization and PPI in the Netherlands. They eventually reached an agreement that their plans to found an organization in Holland for Indonesia-affiliated Muslim young men should continue and the meeting came to an end at 3 am.<sup>136</sup>

A second gathering was held at the beginning of February 1971. The number of participants was less than at the first meeting and Kadungga was the only participant from Germany to attend this gathering.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 23.

<sup>136</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

This meeting resulted in an agreement to form a commission to draft the statute and by-laws of the new organization.<sup>138</sup> This commission consisted of four people: Suhaib, Chaeron and Zitter (who would later be included in the first PPME board) and Kadungga.<sup>139</sup>

After further discussions in February and March of 1971, the commission, assisted by Maksum, finally accomplished their task and presented the statute and by-laws of the new Muslim organization. The last meeting was held on 11 April 1971 at 12 pm.<sup>140</sup> This gathering was attended by 21 participants and culminated in an agreement to use the name the Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (PPME, Young Muslim Association in Europe). Besides the name PPME, there had been other suggestions put forward, including Gerakan Pemuda Islam Eropa (Islamic Youth Movement in Europe) and Organisasi Pemuda Islam Eropa (Islamic Youth Organization in Europe).<sup>141</sup> Two arguments were presented opting for PPME. Firstly, the first word 'Persatuan' (Unity) was relevant to their situation at that moment; and secondly, the word 'Eropa' (Europe) accommodated not only the Dutchman, Zitter,<sup>142</sup> but also another person, al-Hajri, a citizen of the Republic of South Yemen.<sup>143</sup> There was a clear need to acknowledge the various nationalities of the people who founded PPME. This historical gathering ended with a declaration of the establishment of the new organization whose headquarters were at Volmarijnstraat 54 A, Rotterdam:

*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* (in the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful)

*Pernyataan* (Declaration)

*Kami yang hadir dalam pertemuan yang diadakan pada saat dan tempat ini, menyatakan berdirinya organisasi yang bernama Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropah* (We, attending this gathering which is currently being held in this place, declare the establishment of an organization called the Young Muslim Association in Europe). *Barenstraat 4, Den Haag, 12/4-71.*<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa*, 24

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>143</sup> Al-Hajri, interview, 8 February 2012.

<sup>144</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

While there were 21 people who took part in this meeting, two important figures were unable to attend. One of them was Chaeron. He had been an active and creative figure in the new organization and he was actively involved in the founding of the PPME. He was both a founder and a member of the commission for the statute and by-laws and had designed a logo for the organization. Unfortunately, he was unable to attend the meeting due to his job, which had led him to move to Groningen. The other one was Zitter, a member of the board who was in charge of welfare affairs for the new organization. Zitter was unable to attend as he was in Brussels.<sup>145</sup>

Kadungga became the chairman of the PPME. He was elected by the PPME founders following *musyawarah* (a mutual discussion on an equal footing).<sup>146</sup> Each person at the meeting could put forward the name of the person they wanted to chair the PPME. After each participant cast his vote, by writing the name of their choice on a piece of paper, the outcome of the vote was that 14 votes went to Kadungga, 10 to Wahid, 8 to Suhaib, 7 to Muchtar, and 3 to Maksum. The board members of PPME were as follows: Abdul Wahid Kadungga (the chairman), M. Suyuthi Suhaib (the deputy chairperson), A. H. Maksum (secretary), Y. Machfud Muchtar (the coordinator of affairs), Rachmat Zitter (the coordinator of logistics affairs), and T. Razali (the coordinator of art affairs). Gus Dur, who wanted to return to Indonesia, refused to become a member of the PPME.<sup>147</sup>

### III. The Characteristics of PPME: Beyond Indonesia

To identify the characteristics of PPME we must understand not only its statutes and by-laws, but also its members' nationality and socio-religious backgrounds. The PPME's official statutes elucidated that the sole basis of its struggle was Islam, not Indonesian Nationalism.<sup>148</sup> The exclusion of Indonesian Nationalism can be understood in the

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. the concept of 'syūrā', i.e. to be in an equal position in discussions. See John L Esposito and John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 27-28.

<sup>147</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

<sup>148</sup> A Dutch text about the PPME's basis can be found in the *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant*, 14 August 1974.

context of PPME's goals. As mentioned in the statute, the organization was founded with the aim of performing Islamic teaching through Islamic propagation, networks, and (joint) socio-cultural activities.<sup>149</sup> This indicates that PPME did not want to engage in political activities and was autonomous, i.e. that it had no affiliation with the Indonesian government. The exclusion of 'Indonesian Nationalism' from PPME's statute signifies a transcending of ethnic and national boundaries. This is in line with the arguments that without such nationalism it reached a broader audience and would not prevent Muslims of different nationalities from becoming members. With Islam at its foundation, a wide range of values, including even nationalism, could be represented.<sup>150</sup>

Given the PPME's objectives, non-political orientation, and independence, it made it difficult to classify the organization according to the four categories posited by Waardenburg:

[firstly,] a spiritual association (the first category), which was concerned with the spiritual well-being of its members and better knowledge of religion, and tended to keep a distance from politics and the state; [secondly, an association aimed at] improving the social, cultural and educational conditions...[which] will be keen on obtaining subsidies...; [thirdly, an association that] expresses dissatisfaction with public affairs and government policies in... [its member's countries]; [or fourthly, as an association that] is concerned with bringing about more than incidental changes in laws existing in the European country....<sup>151</sup>

The PPME is not 'a spiritual association' in the same way as, say, the Jamā'atu'l-Tabligh (Community for Preaching), a Muslim organization which was founded in Northern India and began running on 2 August 1934.<sup>152</sup> This is because the PPME also aims at improving the social

<sup>149</sup> See Article 4 par. 1, 2, and 3 of the *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant*, August 14, 1974, No. 156, 1; article 4 par. 3 of the PPME's statute, and DPP PPME, *The Statute of PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1979), n.p.

<sup>150</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 26.

<sup>151</sup> J. D. J. Waardenburg, "Muslim Associations and Officials Bodies in Some European Countries," in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991), 32.

<sup>152</sup> F. Dassetto and G. Nonneman, "Islam in Belgium and the Netherlands: Towards a Typology of 'Transplanted' Islam," in Gernad Nonneman, et al., *Muslim Communities*, 206-207 and Muhammad Khalid Masud (ed.), *Travellers in Faith: Studies of the Tablighi*

and cultural conditions of its members. As a consequence, PPME may be located in Waardenburg's second category, but with a caveat, i.e. the absence of its link to the Indonesian or Dutch governments and the fact that it is not keen on seeking subsidies. In addition, to some extent, the PPME has served as the vehicle for the dissatisfaction of its founders with the restrictive policy of the New Order government in connection with the freedom to perform *da'wa* activities. This function is characteristic of Waardenburg's third category of Muslim organizations in Western Europe. In short, PPME does not fit precisely into Waardenburg's first, second or third classification, but rather is a combination of all three. PPME is an association intended to improve its members' religious and socio-cultural conditions without turning to the government for making its decisions.

The logo of the PPME is explained in its by-laws.<sup>153</sup> The logo was created in 1972 and launched in 1973, during the first General Meeting, held on the 25-26 of August at the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague.<sup>154</sup> It shows a crescent facing the European continent framed by a circle. Chaeron, who designed the logo, linked this crescent, a symbol for Islam,<sup>155</sup> with Europe and PPME accordingly to indicate that intellectuals in Europe started to discuss Islam.<sup>156</sup> Then, Chaeron explained that the circle meant the strong commitment of PPME's young men in performing and presenting Islamic teaching in their daily lives, whereas the European continent represents the target of the PPME's *da'wa* activities.<sup>157</sup> Lastly, the logo contains specific colours, each with a different meaning. For instance, the white of the crescent

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*Jamā't as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal* (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000), 11.

<sup>153</sup> DPP PPME, *the Bylaws of PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1979), n.p. The PPME's logo was designed by Mochammad Chaeron. This logo was agreed on by the participants of the General Meeting, the highest level gathering, attended by representatives of the regional and executive branches of the boards of PPME. Zofwaan, interview, 11 August 2008. Similarly, Kadungga recognized him as the logo's designer. See DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

<sup>154</sup> See Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> To know more about the symbol, you may see Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), xxii and xxxix.

<sup>156</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 27.

<sup>157</sup> See Ibid.

signifies the holy and perfect Islamic tenets; the light blue is for Europe and indicates that few of the inhabitants of the continent have begun to recognize the truth of Islam; and the dark blue symbolizes the high morality of those who spread Islam on the European continent.<sup>158</sup> Thus, the symbols are focused on Europe, rather than Indonesia.

Having discussed its statute and by-laws, we will now turn to the nationalities of the PPME members. From the outset, the founders and members of PPME came from diverse backgrounds and differing islands, such as Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Borneo. This diversity was not limited to ethnicity. As was mentioned above, Zitter was Dutch, whereas al-Hajri came from Yemen. Recently, there has been an increase in Dutch Muslims registering as members, and actively participating in the branches of PPME in The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Breda-Tilburg and Heemskerk.<sup>159</sup> Another group that must not be neglected are from Suriname.<sup>160</sup> They originated from there and are mostly Surinamese-Javanese. Lastly, there are PPME members of Arab descent,<sup>161</sup> some of whom hold a Dutch passport, but all of whom have historical ties with Indonesia. In this regard, the observation of Shadid and Van Koningsveld that PPME belonged to the Indonesian community<sup>162</sup> was not mistaken for the period prior to the mid-1990s. Indeed, in this period, the majority of PPME members were Indonesian. This observation is, however, no longer valid due to the presence of the PPME's al-Moekminun (the Believers) group in The Hague since 1996. This is a group comprising the Dutch husbands of Indonesian wives and Dutch converts to Islam.<sup>163</sup> Despite the fact that

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<sup>158</sup> See: Ibid., 28

<sup>159</sup> Listi (chairperson of PPME Heemskerk), telephone interview, 2 July 2008.

<sup>160</sup> The examples were Riboet Kasan, a member of PPME Amsterdam's board, Amin Dijo, a member of PPME al-Ikhlash (Sincerity) Amsterdam), and Johnny Kasijo, a member of PPME Rotterdam.

<sup>161</sup> The examples were Abdul Aziz Balbaid (the advisor and central figure of PPME Amsterdam), and al-Hajri, himself.

<sup>162</sup> Shadid and Van Koningsveld, "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands," in Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 100-101.

<sup>163</sup> See "Hennie Hammink, Ik heb mezelf in Islam gevonden," in *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December 1995, 23, Ruud, "Een bekentenis van een nieuwe muslim," in *Al-Ittihaad*, November-January 93-94, 4, and see also T. Thoha Machsuni, *Laporan Pertanggung-*

no information is available about the number of PPME's members with a nationality other than Indonesian,<sup>164</sup> there are a considerable number of non-Indonesian members in PPME branches in the Netherlands. This diversity is a result of PPME's basis in Islam, i.e. that all Muslims are welcome, regardless of ethnicity or nationality.

In addition to PPME's members being ethnically and nationally diverse, their professions are also heterogeneous. In the course of its early development, the main actors of this new association, Kadungga, a graduate of secondary school and Chaeron, Maksum and Wahid, graduates of universities, were those who would like to further their study in Europe. However, this has changed as the membership of the organization has developed. Today, members of PPME include professionals,<sup>165</sup> unskilled labourers,<sup>166</sup> business people,<sup>167</sup> and pensioners.<sup>168</sup> In addition, the organization continues to welcome students.<sup>169</sup> Up to now, the students who have registered are, generally, family of existing PPME members.<sup>170</sup> Thus, the opinion that the majority of those using PPME prayer halls are Indonesian students living temporarily in the Netherlands<sup>171</sup> is not correct. From the outset, PPME was not established specifically for Indonesian students, but had a wider goal of attracting membership from Muslim communities,

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*Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002* (The Hague: PPME, 1 September 2002), Appendix 5, p. 1.

<sup>164</sup> Asief Ishom (the former coordinator of the Dutch speaking group of PPME in The Hague), interview, The Hague, 9 February 2012.

<sup>165</sup> The examples for this group are William Satriaputra de Weerd, working at the Korean company, Samsung, and Ruutz Pourchez, working at Akzo Nobel.

<sup>166</sup> For instance, members of PPME who are employed in jobs, such as cleaning service, or as waiters/waitresses.

<sup>167</sup> Budi Santoso, the central figure of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam and the owner of an Indonesian restaurant, Warung Aji, and Abdul Aziz Balbaid, an importer of Indonesian foods and goods and the manager of the Indonesian restaurant, Selera Anda, are examples.

<sup>168</sup> Maksum (retired from a Dutch insurance company), Zofwaan (a retired teacher at SIN), and Riboet Kasan (retired from the Marilu Engineering) are examples.

<sup>169</sup> Pourchez, interview, Rotterdam, 27 July 2008.

<sup>170</sup> William Satriaputra de Weerd (chairperson of PPME in the Netherlands), interview, Rotterdam, 25 May 2008.

<sup>171</sup> Shadid and Van Koningsveld, "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands," 100-101.



especially Indonesians, living in the Netherlands.<sup>172</sup>

Finally, since its establishment, PPME's membership has never relied on religious affiliations.<sup>173</sup> As previously mentioned, both traditionalist and reformist Muslims worked together to found PPME as a socio-religious association. Among its members are also Muslims who have no relation with Indonesian Muslim organizations with either a traditionalist or reformist background. They may not be *santris*, i.e. Muslims who pay great attention to Islamic doctrines and have gained Islamic knowledge in the *pesantren* system<sup>174</sup> or they may be new Muslims (*mu'allafs*), i.e. those who may just know Islam and have no Islamic religious background. These new Muslims can become members of its board. Therefore, though its members might opt for NU, Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam or any other Islamic organization, this has never been the main focus of PPME. This flexible stance allowed PPME to maintain its unity from 1971 until the end of 2005, when discord among PPME members led to a schism in the PPME branch in Amsterdam in mid-2010 (discussed in chapter 2).

In sum, there are three key points to emerge from this discussion. Firstly, PPME has attained members other than Indonesians. Secondly, the backbone of this socio-religious association consisted of graduates of secondary schools and university alumni, professionals, and businessmen living in Europe, especially in the Netherlands, rather than Indonesia. Lastly, PPME has members with diverse religious backgrounds.

#### **IV. The Structure and Expansion of PPME: The Netherlands and Germany**

The endeavours of the PPME board to expand their new organization drew little attention from Indonesian young men in Europe, except in the Netherlands and Germany. It was claimed by PPME that personal contacts had been established in various cities

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<sup>172</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> See: Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 126-127; and see also Ricklefs, *Modern Indonesia*, 285-286 and 460.

in Europe, such as Brussels, Helsinki, Paris, and London.<sup>175</sup> However, PPME has never managed to establish itself in these cities.<sup>176</sup> Less than two years after the establishment of PPME in the Netherlands, on 13 January 1973, Indonesian Muslims in Germany established their own PPME. As a result, for a while there existed two PPMEs – PPME in the Netherlands and PPME in Germany. The establishment of the PPME in Germany and its consequences for the PPME in the Netherlands, along with the structural development of the two organizations, their leading figures, and membership will form part of the present discussion.

### **A. PPME in the Netherlands**

Following the establishment of PPME in Germany in 1973, PPME's board in the Netherlands was repositioned as Dewan Pimpinan Pusat (DPP, Central Executive Board). Subsequently, in 1974, the Dewan Pengurus Wilayah (DPW, Regional Executive Board) of the Netherlands was formed. The DPW was under the leadership of M. Surya Alinegara, a prominent PPME figure and preacher who had studied at al-Azhar University, Egypt.<sup>177</sup> The DPW then founded PPME branches in The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam in 1975.<sup>178</sup> Today, there are also branches in Heemskerk and Breda-Tilburg.

PPME in The Hague was founded in 1975 and legalised in 2002.<sup>179</sup> Leading figures of PPME, including A. H. Maksum, the late Mochammad Chaeron, Naf'an Sulchan (the former chief of PPME in the Netherlands), and Yani Kurdi (the former coordinator of PPME's youth division in the Netherlands) have been members and advisors to this branch. As a result, this branch has been pivotal for PPME's other branches whose boards frequently consult with PPME The Hague on religious or organizational matters such as the date of the beginning of the fasting month (*Ramaḍān*), the date

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<sup>175</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 29-30.

<sup>176</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 5; and see also Maryadie, M. F. A., *Sumbangan Pemikiran kepada Musyawarah Umum PPME II*, 21 July 1976, 1-3.

<sup>177</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 29-30.

<sup>178</sup> <http://www.PPME.nl/Nederland/Geschied.htm>, accessed July 20, 2008.

<sup>179</sup> Koch Notarissen, *Akte van oprichting P. P. M. E. Den Haag*, 's-Gravenhage, 13 May 2002.

of *‘id al-fiṭr* (the feast after the fasting month) and PPME by-laws. Furthermore, PPME The Hague has also established an Indonesian-speaking group, a group of second-generation Muslims, and al-Moekminun (a Dutch-speaking group for learning Islam). Al-Moekminun is organized by Dutch members, the majority of whom are Dutch husbands of Indonesian wives who are PPME members in The Hague. As a result, there are some native Dutch-speaking cadres in PPME, such as Ludo Jongmans and Rene Hendriks (discussed in chapter 2). Finally, up to 2010 there was no written information available on the exact numbers of PPME members in The Hague. The only available data comes from a report in 1997 that states that 83 families had registered as active members.<sup>180</sup> In 2008, this number had risen to more or less 150, according to Aaman Sulchan, a second-generation PPME member and chief of The Hague branch between 2008 and 2010.<sup>181</sup>

In 1975, a PPME branch was established in Rotterdam. In addition to the late Kadungga, Husny Abdul Razak, the former chief of the Board tasked with establishing PPME's first *muṣallā* (place of worship) and the late Henk Tjen A Kwoei, a Surinamese in origin and a former teacher of Islam for PPME's Dutch-speaking members, also lived in Rotterdam. As previously mentioned, PPME was a socio-religious, rather than a political, organization; therefore, its branches, including PPME Rotterdam could not engage in political activities. However, this rule was apparently ignored by Hisyam Pula, alias Abu Jihad, the leader of PPME Rotterdam in the 1980s. This resulted in a split among branch members, i.e. one group under the leadership of Hisyam Pula and another under the leadership of Tjen A Kwoei.<sup>182</sup> The group under the leadership of Pula, who originated from Thailand, were keen to become a political organization. Consequently, it was not recognized by the DPW. This was due to his absence, although he

<sup>180</sup> DPC PPME, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag 1996-1997* (The Hague: PPME, December 1997), 14.

<sup>181</sup> Aaman Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

<sup>182</sup> DPW PPME the Netherlands, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 23.

was invited in an *islāh* (reconciliation) meeting held by a team of PPME for reconciliation between the two leaders. In the meeting, the members of the team wanted to gain information from the two sides on what happened in PPME Rotterdam. However, Pula and his people who had continued to try to use PPME as their political vehicle, for instance, for supporting the struggle of Muslims in Thailand<sup>183</sup>, did not respond to the invitation and gave no explanation for their absence. This made the DPW recognize the branch under the leadership of Tjen A Kwoei, who steered clear of politics and attended the gathering.<sup>184</sup> Lastly, according to Ruutz Pourchez, the present chief of PPME Rotterdam, only 60 families were registered in 2008.<sup>185</sup> Consequently, PPME in Rotterdam frequently cooperated with the Surinamese-Javanese Association in order to meet the needs for accommodation for their worship and socio-religious activities (discussed in chapter 3).<sup>186</sup>

In respect to PPME's branch in Amsterdam, it is important to note that a split occurred among the congregation at the end of 2005 due to differing religious orientations (discussed in chapter 2) resulting in two groups, PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash (Sincerity) Amsterdam. This section will discuss PPME Amsterdam, which was founded in 1975, and legally registered in 2001,<sup>187</sup> whereas PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam will be dealt with later on. The advisor of PPME Amsterdam is Abdul Aziz Balbaid, a former member of PPME's board in the Netherlands and also active in a PPME committee for providing places of worship. Prior to the

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<sup>183</sup> At least up to 2009, Pula, claiming to represent PPME, continued to support the struggle of Malay insurgents in southern Thailand. In doing so, he used the English translation of PPME (Young Muslim Association in Europe, YMAE) and not its Indonesian name. For instance, he, on behalf of the YMAE, organized a seminar on the Suffering of Pattani Muslims held at Islamitische Universiteit Rotterdam (Rotterdam Islamic University) on 26 June 2009.

<sup>184</sup> DPW PPME the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Nederland 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 1994), 7.

<sup>185</sup> Pourchez, interview, 27 July 2008.

<sup>186</sup> DPC PPME, *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian Community in the Netherlands*, (Rotterdam: PPME, 2004), 12.

<sup>187</sup> Koch Notarissen, *Akte van oprichting P.P.M.E. Amsterdam*, 's-Gravenhage, 19 April 19 2001.

conflict in 2005, PPME Amsterdam was considered a progressive branch. Its members' contribution to developing their PPME branch was crucial in this regard and can be seen from the success in organizing a series of socio-cultural activities and purchasing their own place of worship in 2005 (the only accommodation owned by PPME till 2011, discussed in chapter 3) in Amsterdam.<sup>188</sup> Members of PPME Amsterdam were able to meet the organization's monthly mortgage payments by means of diverse endeavours, such as annual donations (especially during Ramadan) and sport days programmes (discussed in chapter 3). By 2008, membership of PPME Amsterdam had reached 268 families.<sup>189</sup> Unfortunately, there is no exact information on the membership including the number of Indonesians with Arab descent.

On 18 April 1998, a new branch of PPME was established in Heemskerk. This branch evolved out a group of women interested in knowing more about Islamic subjects. The group then joined in with PPME activities.<sup>190</sup> The involvement of A. Naf'an Sulchan, a key PPME Islamic teacher, facilitated the development of the branch in Heemskerk, under their female leader. Up to now, no other leading PPME figures are connected to this branch, which has advanced. Initially, the women, who are mostly the wives of Dutchmen, held their meetings to discuss Islamic subjects in their homes. Their husbands, who are mostly converts to Islam, usually accompanied their wives to the place where the meeting took place. The Heemskerk branch has recently expanded and added a men's group for those husbands wanting to learn to recite the Quranic verses under the guidance of Sulchan. They meet separately, not only because of the different languages, i.e. Indonesian for the women and Dutch for their husbands, but also because of their different focus of learning. Their activities take

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<sup>188</sup> [http://www.achmad-supardi.blogspot.com/2005\\_10\\_01archive.html](http://www.achmad-supardi.blogspot.com/2005_10_01archive.html), accessed 21 July 2008. The writer was a journalist at an Indonesian newspaper called *Rakyat Merdeka* (Independent People).

<sup>189</sup> Abdul Aziz Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

<sup>190</sup> DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, Juni 2000), 6.

place monthly in a leased church hall.<sup>191</sup> There are 15 families actively participating in the religious activities organized by the PPME branch in Heemskerk.<sup>192</sup>

On 30 December 2005, PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam was founded.<sup>193</sup> This branch was legalised in 2006.<sup>194</sup> Initially, A. Ramli (a former PPME board member), Budi Santoso, (the former vice-chief of PPME Amsterdam) and Mustofa Sulchan (the younger brother of the aforementioned A. Naf'an Sulchan) were leading figures in this splinter group. This branch came into existence as a result of differing views among the members of PPME Amsterdam on the religious traditions of *yasinan* (reciting a Quranic chapter called *Sūra Yāsīn*) and *tahlilan* (a package of prayers usually aimed at dead persons by reciting *tawassul* (reciting a Quranic chapter al-Fātiḥa (The opening) for the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, certain well-known ulama, and ancestors), a part of the Quranic chapter al-Baqara (The cow), *istighfār* (asking for apology to God), *ṣalawāt* (to the Prophet Muhammad), *tahlīl* (no God but Allah), *tasbīḥ* (glorification of God) and a closing prayer).

These practices were performed on certain occasions (discussed in chapter 2). The dissenting members organized these recitations and conducted activities in their homes. A critical conflict erupted when PPME Amsterdam purchased a building for their religious and socio-cultural activities in Osdorp, a suburb of Amsterdam. The purchase was financed largely by members' donations. The conflict arose when members of al-Ikhlash Amsterdam wanted to hold their activities in the new building. However, their request was not supported by those members affiliated with the present PPME Amsterdam who had the opinion that only selected activities (i.e. those arranged by members of the board of PPME

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<sup>191</sup> Listi, telephone interview, July 2, 2008.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Siti Fatimah, Laporan Notulen Rapat ke-Empat Pengurus Majelis Dzikir, 31 December 2005, PPME Majelis Dzikir, Amsterdam.

<sup>194</sup> Koch Notarissen, *Akte van oprichting PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam*, 's-Gravenhage, 10 January 2006.

Amsterdam) should be held in the building.<sup>195</sup> One of the members argued that activities such as Quranic recitation should not be performed there because not all members wanted to participate in such events.<sup>196</sup> Similarly, another elucidated that these traditions should take place at home, rather than in the new building as there were differing views on the Islamic legal foundations of such activities [traditions] (discussed in chapter 2).<sup>197</sup> PPME's board in the Netherlands finally came to the decision that both sides should go their separate ways on the grounds that the two groups were set firm in their own points of view and could not be united under the umbrella of PPME Amsterdam.<sup>198</sup> In 2008, membership of PPME al-Ikhlash, the majority who were former members of the PPME Amsterdam branch, reached 125 families.<sup>199</sup>

Lastly, the PPME branch in Breda-Tilburg was founded in 2005 and legalised in 2008.<sup>200</sup> It had its origin in a group of people assisting families who had experienced hardship following bereavement – this took place in 2000. Members would visit bereaved families in their homes, holding the *yasinan* and *tahlilan*. They had the support of Hansyah, a former leader of PPME's second generation. Hansyah is a Dutch-speaking graduate of Delft University who took over leadership of this branch from his mother-in-law, Tuti.<sup>201</sup> Its monthly activities and discussions of Islamic subjects frequently took place in Dutch, rather than in Indonesian. Indeed, in the process of learning Islam, there has been no separation between Indonesian and Dutch speakers in the Breda-Tilburg branch.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>195</sup> DPW PPME Nederland, *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland*, no. 2/PPMENL/XII/2005 (The Hague: DPW PPMW, December 18, 2005), appendix 2, n.p.

<sup>196</sup> Kasan, interview, Amsterdam, 10 May 2008.

<sup>197</sup> Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 May 2008.

<sup>198</sup> DPW PPME Nederland, *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland*, appendix 1.

<sup>199</sup> DPC PPME al-Ikhlash, *PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam ledenlijst* (Amsterdam: PPME, n.y.), n.p.

<sup>200</sup> <http://www.PPME.nl/Nederland/Geschied.htm>, accessed 20 July 2008 and see: *Nieuw uittreksel handelsregister etc. Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken PPME wilayah Breda ar-Rahman*, ref: 2007.041801/T, Notariskantoor Staden, Oosterhout, 8 January 2008).

<sup>201</sup> Hansyah (chairman of PPME Breda-Tilburg), telephone interview, June 30, 2008.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.



This implies that the leader and preachers of this branch should speak Dutch. In addition, there has been no separation of men and women at branch meetings to learn Islam as had been the case in Heemskerk. 15 to 20 families have actively participated in the monthly programmes held in members' homes. Up to 2008, there were approximately 35 families registered as members of PPME Breda-Tilburg.<sup>203</sup>

## **B. PPME in Germany**

Motivated by the establishment of PPME in the Netherlands, Indonesian Muslim youths in Germany founded their own PPME. Unlike those who established the PPME in the Netherlands who were no longer students, those who established PPME Germany were university students in Germany.<sup>204</sup> During a meeting attended by 14 Indonesian students and chaired by Rasyid Suparwata, they established a PPME in Giessen on 19 January 1973. Present were Suparwata Rasyid, Akias A. M., Romdhon Bermah Kusumah, Hasbi Tirta Praja, Hasnan Jalal, Hendra Cahya, Madkar O. H., Marzuan Umar, A. M. Saefuddin, Saiful A. Rangkuti, Sofyan Sadeli, Taty Permana Kusumah, Syamsuddin, and Masykur Abdullah<sup>205</sup> who issued the following statement:

*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim (in the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful),  
Kami yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, pendukung perintis pembentukan organisasi Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropah Jerman Barat, menyatakan kesediaan dan tanggung jawab terhadap kelangsungan hidup organisasi ini sejak didirikan pada tanggal 19 Januari 1973 atau 9 Dzul Hijjah 1392 H, di Giessen. Semoga kami tetap beriman, Islam dan mudah-mudahan Allah SWT melindungi organisasi ini serta kami dalam melaksanakan tugas kewajiban sebagai Muslim[,] amien (We, the undersigned, supporters of the establishment of PPME in West Germany, declare our readiness and responsibility for the existence of the organization from its inception on 19 January 1973 in Giessen. May we remain faithful and perform Islamic teaching. May Allah protect this*

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 26.

<sup>205</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

organization and us in performing our duties as Muslims).<sup>206</sup>

The headquarters of PPME was in Germany. While establishing its branches in Dortmund, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Offenbach, Giessen, Berlin Heidelberg,<sup>207</sup> in Clausthal, and Bochum, taking place from 1973,<sup>208</sup> it became a DPW on 21 December 1975. The German DPW remained under the leadership of Rasyid Suparawata.<sup>209</sup> In spite of the fact that the German DPW organized only a few activities, such as publishing a newsletter called *al-Falāḥ* (The Success), which actually appeared first in Rotterdam,<sup>210</sup> supporting the purchase of a place of worship in The Hague,<sup>211</sup> and publishing a new newsletter known as *Insan* (Human eing), the headquarters of PPME was there, in Giessen, from 1979. This was largely due to the fact that the elected chief of DPP PPME, S. A. Rangkuti, lived there. However, this move did nothing to bring PPME in Germany and the Netherlands closer. This was due to their perspectives. As previously mentioned, PPME in the Netherlands had been non-political, whereas PPME in Germany had gone in the opposite direction.<sup>212</sup> The PPME in the Netherlands was *da'wa* oriented, whereas the PPME in Germany wanted to respond to the political situation in Indonesia. For instance, the magazine *Insan*, published by PPME Berlin in October 1982, included an article discussing the presence of communists in the Syarikat Islam (SI, Islamic Union) in the 1910s and 1920s which called into mind the coup d'état of 30 September 1965 and warned against the dangers of communist ideology.<sup>213</sup> In the same magazine, Sukarno's and Natsir's differing

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 29-30 and DPW PPME Germany, *Laporan Kerja DPW PPME* (Darmstadt: PPME, July 1976), 2.

<sup>208</sup> DPP PPME, *Daftar Peserta Musyawarah Umum IV* (The Hague: PPME, November 1982), n.p.

<sup>209</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja*, 4-5.

<sup>210</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Mandataris Musyawarah Umum PPME/Ketua Umum DPP PPME Periode 1989-1982* (Aachen: PPME, November 1982), 11.

<sup>211</sup> See A. Naf'an Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad," in *Al-Ittihaad*, 1985, 13.

<sup>212</sup> Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 34-35.

<sup>213</sup> See: Damanhuri Djamil, "Kita Merdeka Berkat Rakhmat Allah," in *Insan*, October [19]82: 4, 5, and 6.

views on national policy pertaining to, for instance, Irian Jaya (Papua) were also presented.<sup>214</sup> Natsir's cabinet preferred to use a diplomatic way of giving certain concessions, such as making Irian Jaya an autonomous region and forming a Badan Perwakilan Rakyat (Body of People's Representatives) in the region; and giving economical advantages to the Netherlands in exchange for the takeover of its sovereignty from the Netherlands. This approach was regarded as a too soft and weak diplomacy by the cabinet opposition parties, especially, Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian National Party), including Sukarno.<sup>215</sup> Including these subjects may indicate the political orientation of PPME in Germany. The different orientations of the PPME in the Netherlands and Germany also triggered differences among members of PPME. That is to say, those Indonesian Muslim students living temporarily in Europe favoured PPME Germany, whereas Muslim graduates living permanently in the Netherlands were the backbone of PPME there. These differences contributed to a distance between the two organizations and a weakening of the connection between PPME in Germany and the Netherlands that continued for almost a decade (1973-1982). This relation was eventually severed in 1982 and the DPP in Germany no longer held any activity.<sup>216</sup>

In order to reactivate the DPP PPME in Germany after it had been dormant for almost 13 years (1982-1992), the DPW in the Netherlands took the initiative to hold a *Sidang Umum* (General Meeting) in Rotterdam in September 1992. At this meeting, M. Zubaidi, a member of the board of the PPME in Germany, was elected to replace Rangkuti as the new leader of PPME Germany.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Mohammad Roem, "Peralihan ke Negara Persatuan," in *Insan*, October [19]82: 7-11. Roem's writing was written on 15 June 1982. See *Ibid.*, 11 and at [http://pustakadigital-buynatsir.blogspot.co.id/2010\\_05\\_01\\_archive.html](http://pustakadigital-buynatsir.blogspot.co.id/2010_05_01_archive.html), accessed 10 November 2015.

<sup>215</sup> See M. Natsir, "Keterangan Pemerintah tentang Irian Barat," in D. P. Sati Alimin (ed.), *Capita Selecta 2* (Jakarta: Pustaka Pendis, 1957), 21-35, Nuura N. Fasa, "Perjuangan M. Natsir dalam Merebut Irian Barat," in *Avatara* 1, no 1 (January 2013): 145-146 and Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 295.

<sup>216</sup> DPW PPME, *Ikrar Musyawarah Wilayah Luar Biasa* 1982 (Germany: PPME, November 1982), n.p.

<sup>217</sup> DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME*

However, five months after the DPP was reactivated, Zubaidi crossed out in the translated Qur'ans the words '*Berdasarkan Pancasila*' (on the Basis of *Pancasila*, Indonesian State Philosophy) in a foreword by the Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs, Munawir Syadzali. The Qur'ans were gifts by the government of Saudi Arabia to that of Indonesia and were distributed among the members of PPME after the words had been crossed out.<sup>218</sup> In fact, Zubaidi's action shows his opposition to the *Pancasila* as *Azas Tunggal* (the Sole Basis) for Indonesia. This was in accord with his religious orientation. He called himself a *dā'ī mujāhid* (militant preacher) refuted *jihād* in the sense of great effort and did not repudiate Islamic revolution. This was his clarification of attitude of *dā'īs* (Islamic preachers) affiliated to Dār al-Iftā' (the Riyadh-based Presidency for Scientific Research and Religious Edicts) toward *jihād*.<sup>219</sup> This attitude was similar to that of Kadungga, affiliated to Masyumi and the DDII, declaring at the end of 1980s: "...There was no state, except Islamic [state] [and] there was no government, except Islamic [government]."<sup>220</sup> In fact, since 1970s, the DDI itself had dealt with discourses upon the implementation of *Sharī'a* (Islamic Law).<sup>221</sup> In performing his *da'wa*, Zubaidi argued that the Qur'an and *Ḥadīth* were the only guidance. He also prohibited Muslims, with the exception of Islamic preachers, those given mission for Islamic tasks and those seeking beneficial knowledge, to live in non-Muslim countries because they could not keep strictly to Islam themselves. In addition, he refuted financial donations from

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*Periode 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, November 1994), 6-7.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid*, 14-15.

<sup>219</sup> Mohammad Zubaedi to DPW PPME Nederland, letter "Menangkal Fitnah," pp. 7-11, n.d. See also Dār al-Iftā' is an affiliate of the Council of Senior Islamic Scholars, headed by Saudi Arabia's Grand Mufti Sheykh 'Abdul Azīz Alī. One prominent Islamic scholar who joined this Dār is Sheykh Muhammad Ibn Salih ibn 'Uthaymin [a Sheikh often linked to Salafi groups]. See "Saudi Arabia Launches Website for Authentic Fatwas," accessed 30 May 2011, <http://muslimtoday.wordpress.com/2007/10/07/saudi-arabia-launches-website-for-authentic-fatwas/>.

<sup>220</sup> Abdul Wahid Kadungga, *PPME/YMAE sebagai Badan Perjuangan dan Lembaga Da'wah*, Rotterdam, PPME, 1989, 7.

<sup>221</sup> Remi Madinier, "Masyumi antara Demokrasi Islam dan Islam Integral," Paper presented at Séminaire IISM/EHESS for Indonesian Master and PhD Students of Leiden University, 7 May 2008, 8.

non-Muslim countries, but accepted fees from the Saudi Arabian government for his task as the preacher of the Saudi Arabian Dār al-Iftā'. Lastly, he was critical of the Indonesian government because of its dislike of Islamic preachers who doggedly kept to Islamic ideology. In addition, he disliked those who hated the Saudi Arabian government.<sup>222</sup>

Zubaedi's action invited a response of the DPW PPME in the Netherlands. In a letter sent to Zubaedi acting as the chairman of the DPP PPME in Germany, A. Naf'an Sulchan, on behalf of the DPW in the Netherlands, informed Zubaedi that he had acted of his own accord and in breach of the statute of PPME, article 3 which states that PPME was an independent organization that concentrated on educational development and performing *da'wa* (Islamic propagation). It was not a political organization.<sup>223</sup> As a result, since M. Zubaidi's actions, no joint activities between DPW in Germany and DPW in the Netherlands have taken place.<sup>224</sup> Zubaedi was an Indonesian preacher who was given the task by the House to propagate Islam in Europe.<sup>225</sup> This House, which has existed since the early 1950s, seemingly plays a significant role in disseminating the official religious orientation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It not only issues the *fatwas* and publishes books, but also 'socialises and sustains the religious narratives' of Saudi Arabia.<sup>226</sup> Until 2010, a few members of board of PPME in Germany still lived there, but the majority had returned to Indonesia after finishing their studies. This is the main reason for the dissolution of the PPME in Germany – there were no activities performed on

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<sup>222</sup> Mohammad Zubaedi to DPW PPME Nederland, letter "Menangkal Fitnah," pp. 7-11, n.d.

<sup>223</sup> DPW PPME Nederland to Mohammad Zubaedi, letter no. 0X/KWN/01/93, 8 January 1993.

<sup>224</sup> Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa*, 38-39.

<sup>225</sup> Mohammad Zubaedi to DPW PPME Nederland, letter "Menangkal Fitnah," pp. 7-11, n.d. and Kadungga, *PPME/YMAE sebagai Badan Perjuangan dan Lembaga Da'wah*, 7.

<sup>226</sup> Afshin Shahi, *The Politics of Truth Management in Saudi Arabia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 73-75 and 87-89, and see also at <http://www.alifta.net/Fatawa/Scientists.aspx?language=en>.

behalf of PPME in Germany including those of its branches there.<sup>227</sup>

We can conclude that even though PPME expanded into Germany, the PPME there did not follow the same policy as the PPME in the Netherlands. This cannot be separated from the fact that the leaders of the two PPMEs had a different orientation. In addition, their inability to agree on whether to run PPME as a non-political organization or as a vehicle for political aspirations contributed to their inability to connect and work together.

## **V. The PPME's Status in the Netherlands and Its Activities**

Having dealt with the structure of PPME and its efforts to expand in Europe, we have to note that the PPME in the Netherlands still exists, whereas the PPME in Germany has been disbanded. This section will concentrate on the legal status and activities of the PPME in the Netherlands. Until mid-2010, the legal status of PPME in the Netherlands had changed two times. These took place in May of 1974 and August 1993. Along with these changes, certain activities had been organized by the board of PPME.

### **A. Prior to May 1974**

The PPME board made a strategic decision to propose the legalization of the new organization. In order to do this, they had to accomplish certain legal and organizational requirements. Firstly, PPME should change the contents of its statute in connection with article 1 par. 2, concerning the timeframe of PPME's existence in the Netherlands.<sup>228</sup> Secondly, it should replace its board members who did not possess a permanent residence permit for the Netherlands.<sup>229</sup> Lastly, it should form a new PPME team to meet the requirements. As a result, based upon PPME's letter no. 004/PPME/SEK/73, a team was formed to ensure that PPME met the requirements. Led by Jus M. Muchtar, one of those who founded PPME, it aimed to accomplish two tasks - preparing the required documents for the legalization; and writing a letter requesting

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<sup>227</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>228</sup> Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat pada 2 Februari 1974, PPME, The Hague.

<sup>229</sup> Maksum, interview, The Hague, 30 June 2008.

PPME's legal recognition.<sup>230</sup>

The letter was sent to the Ministry of Justice in February of 1973<sup>231</sup> and the Ministry responded within two months.<sup>232</sup> Firstly, the Ministry wanted more information on the statute and by-laws of PPME. Therefore, the Ministry asked to meet Muchtar in order to know about the headquarters and the requirements to become a member. This was because there was no information about them and that should be clearly stated.<sup>233</sup> It also assented the requirement that the PPME should replace its board members who did not have a permanent residence permit for the Netherlands. Besides, the Ministry requested further information on the timeframe for PPME's existence in the Netherlands.<sup>234</sup> According to the statute, PPME was established for '*onbepaalde tijd*' (without a time limit). This meant that the time limit on PPME's existence should be determined. PPME was able to respond to this second request and adopted the Ministry's suggestion to limit PPME's existence to 29 years.<sup>235</sup> This was to determine whether PPME would or would not be needed after the determined time.<sup>236</sup> In addition, the Ministry requested clarification regarding the sentence in the statute about *da'wa* (Islamic propagation).<sup>237</sup> Having clarified that the *da'wa* referred to the delivering of Islamic speeches to those attending PPME gatherings and through its newsletters, the Dutch Ministry had no objection to the words.<sup>238</sup>

In the meantime, the board had organized a number of activities which gave the PPME a clear identity and strengthened charity. These included producing Newsletter *al-Falāḥ* in March 1972; commemorating the Prophet's birthday in April 1972; and

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<sup>230</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 30-31.

<sup>231</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

<sup>232</sup> Maksum, interview, 30 June 2008.

<sup>233</sup> Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat pada 2 Februari 1974, PPME, The Hague.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> This restriction of 29 years can only be found in the Dutch version of PPME's basis. In the English and Indonesian versions, it is absent.

<sup>236</sup> The *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant*, 14 August 1974, p. 1.

<sup>237</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

<sup>238</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 31-32.



collecting *zakāt* (alms) together with the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.<sup>239</sup> The newsletter stimulated the publication of two other bulletins: *al-Ittihaad* (Unity), published by the central PPME in the 1980s, and *Euromoslem* published by the Amsterdam branch in the 1990s, both of which provided a clear picture of PPME's religious identity (discussed in chapter 2). Meanwhile, the commemoration and the *zakāt* collection were activities used by the PPME board to promote charity (discussed in chapter 3).

We can conclude that the desire of the PPME board to legalise the organization's presence in the Netherlands demonstrates a concern for PPME's continued existence in Europe. Moreover, its activities show that it tried to socialise itself to other sides, especially, the Indonesian Embassy.

## B. After May 1974

In 1974, the Ministry of Justice recognized the existence of PPME on the basis of the Dutch Queen's Letter no. 38 of 6 May 1974.<sup>240</sup> In this letter, it was written:

*...Wij Juliana, bij de gratie Gods, Koningin der Nederlanden, Prinses van Oranje-Nassau, enz., enz., enz.,...hebben goedgevonden en verstaan: de overgelegde statuten der navolgende verenigingen goed te keuren en deze verenigingen mitsdien te erkennen, te weten:... 'Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa' (Vereniging van Islamitische Jongeren in Europe), gevestigd te 's-Gravenhage. Onze Minister van Justitie is belast met de uitvoering van dit besluit. (We Juliana, by the grace of God, Queen of the Netherlands, Princess of Oranje-Nassau, etc., etc., etc., ...have approved of and understood: to endorse the consulted regulations of below associations and, therefore, to recognize these associations, namely: 'Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa' (Young Muslim Association in Europe), established in s'Gravenhage. Our Minister of Justice is responsible for the implementation of this decision).*

This letter shows that PPME was awarded the status of a

<sup>239</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

<sup>240</sup> In Hisyam's book (1996: 32) the letter was numbered 58 and dated May 4, 1974. However, in the sources he refers to, i.e. *Bijvoegsel* of 1974 and the Queen's Letter on the legalization of PPME, it is clearly written that it was legalised on the date mentioned in the main text.

‘vereniging’ (association). This status was different from other Muslim organizations in the Netherlands, which were a *stichting* (foundation).<sup>241</sup> This new status placed PPME in a complicated position. For example, important PPME decisions, strategies and programmes were dependent on decisions being made in General, Regional, Branch or Extraordinary Meetings. Thus, the association was subject to long procedures when making fundamental decisions and strategic steps.<sup>242</sup> This is in contrast to the nature of a *stichting* (foundation), which requires no membership.<sup>243</sup> Another problem confronting the PPME was the absence of a clear definition in its statutes of the main concerns influencing the activities of PPME.<sup>244</sup> Therefore, it was hard for PPME to gain Dutch government subsidies. In fact, subsidies were frequently awarded to non-government organizations or foundations on the basis of specific socio-cultural needs, rather than religious ones.<sup>245</sup> For example, the Surinamese-Javanese foundation known as Setasan which was abbreviated from Setoedjoe Anggawe Santoso (Agree to Be Peaceful), situated at Van Eversdijkstraat 31 in Rotterdam, focused on the improvement of Javanese socio-cultural activities and for this it had been awarded an annual subsidy from the Dutch government, specifically for its Santoso Centre.<sup>246</sup> According to its statute, PPME should remain an independent organization and not be tied to a donor.<sup>247</sup> Therefore, any assistance should be assessed in terms of whether it would harm the fundamental characteristics of the association or not.

Nevertheless, the status of association seemed to be the

<sup>241</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 32.

<sup>242</sup> See “Chapter V-VII,” in DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME*, Giessen, 1979, n.p.

<sup>243</sup> See C.H.C. Overes, *Van vereniging en stichting, coöperatie en onderlinge waarborgmaatschappij*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Deventer: Gouda Quint, 2002), 18-22.

<sup>244</sup> See “Vereniging of stichting,” accessed 14 December, <http://www.netwerk-notarissen.nl/mijn-notaris/vereniging-of-stichting>.

<sup>245</sup> W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 53.

<sup>246</sup> Rudie Somohardjo (the former chief of Stichting Setasan), interview, Rotterdam, 16 January 2001.

<sup>247</sup> See “Article VII tentang Keuangan,” in DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar*, n. p.

best choice for PPME. Firstly, it allowed for the establishment of foundations.<sup>248</sup> PPME itself would establish a foundation called al-Ittihaad (Unity) with a view to organizing activities in PPME's place of worship, purchased in 1982, and known as *Muṣallā of al-Ittihaad*. A place of worship was needed to absorb increasing numbers of PPME members.<sup>249</sup>

Having gained its new status, PPME held certain activities. At the end of 1974 and in 1975 PPME organized a *hajj* (pilgrimage) programme for its members.<sup>250</sup> This programme later resulted in PPME boards establishing networks with non-Indonesian partners, including a Turkish foundation known as Haremeyn Vakfi (discussed in chapter 5). By the end of 1974, Islamic lessons for children were provided. Then, in 1975, Islamic lessons for the wider congregation were introduced.<sup>251</sup> These last activities drew great attention from the board of branches of PPME which placed them as weekly religious activities at the heart of their programmes and presented them in such a way that their religious priorities and identity clearly came to the fore (discussed in chapter 2). Also in 1975, alms, in the form of cash money, were collected and allocated to selected people and institutions in Indonesia.<sup>252</sup> Recently, this almsgiving has been a primary vehicle for the PPME board in its efforts to take care of the poor and orphans in Indonesia. In addition, this activity has proven to be an entry point for establishing institutional networks in Indonesia, i.e. with Roisah Foundation in Central Java (discussed in chapter 2). In August 1976, the statute and by-laws of PPME were revised. As a result, PPME could not only operate with social concerns, but also with scientific and cultural activities. The revision also created the opportunity to include certain people of other Islamic

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<sup>248</sup> See "Vereniging of stichting," accessed 14 December 2008, <http://www.netwerknotarissen.nl/mijn-notaris/vereniging-of-stichting>; and see also Overes, *Van vereniging en stichting*, 18-22.

<sup>249</sup> See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 32-33

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

organizations in the Netherlands, along with its protectors and donors as honorary members.<sup>253</sup> In May of 1979, the statute and by-laws were revised. For instance, this revision dealt with the possibility to form autonomous bodies or special committees to deal with urgent activities.<sup>254</sup>

There were a number of activities in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1982, PPME's board in the Netherlands purchased the *al-Ittihaad Muṣalla* (a place of worship). Its cost, € 27,430,<sup>255</sup> was covered largely through donations by members - a great achievement for PPME (discussed in chapter 2).<sup>256</sup> In early 1985, the Regional Executive Board of PPME in the Netherlands published *al-Ittihaad*.<sup>257</sup> As previously mentioned, *al-Ittihaad* was one of PPME's most successful bulletins. Until the mid-1990s, it was the PPME's vehicle for providing written Islamic knowledge originating from both traditionalist and reformist sources. Consequently, we can view it as a medium for comprehending PPME's religious identity (discussed in chapter 2). Following a revision of the PPME constitution in September 1992, in early 1993 a magazine called *Euromoslem* was published by the board of PPME in Amsterdam.<sup>258</sup> Contrary to *al-Ittihaad*, *Euromoslem* held few contributions by traditionalist Muslims. Following the schism of 2005 resulting in the splitting of PPME Amsterdam into two groups, the writings of Salafi ulamas, i.e., those who, according to al-Bānī, an inspiring figure to the *da'wa* movement in Indonesia, follow the manners of companions of the Prophet Muhammad, their followers, and the followers of the followers,<sup>259</sup> have dominated the pages of

<sup>253</sup> DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME* (The Hague: PPME, August 1976), 2.

<sup>254</sup> DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar* (The Hague: PPME, 1979), n.p.

<sup>255</sup> The conversion is according to the conversion rate of 31 December 1999, i.e. € 1 was equivalent to fl 2.2. See "The Euro Europe's New Currency," accessed 1 January 2016, <http://fx.sauder.ubc.ca/euro/>.

<sup>256</sup> See Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad," in *Al-Ittihaad*, 13.

<sup>257</sup> *Al-Ittihaad* 19, March-April 1988.

<sup>258</sup> See *Euromoslem*, May 1994, 1 and *Euromoslem* 22, July 1995.

<sup>259</sup> See Amrun Abd al-Mun'im Salim, *Al-Manhaj al-Salafi 'inda Shaykh Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), 13-14, and see also: Noorhaidi Hasan, "From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism: Salafis, Political Mobilization and Drama of Jihad

*Euromoslem*. The writings tended to focus on “the correction of belief and of religious rituals”<sup>260</sup> (discussed in chapter 2).

In sum, having gained legal recognition from the Ministry of Justice in May of 1974, PPME’s boards initially paid great attention to the basic religious needs of its members. Furthermore, in addition to providing an infrastructure for the worship for its members, from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, PPME’s boards were concerned with providing media for the dissemination of Islamic knowledge, thus facilitating their goal to improve the understanding of Islam.

### C. After August 1993

Since 1 September 1993, PPME has been registered as a *vereniging* (association) without a time limit on its existence.<sup>261</sup> Since then, it has held the following activities. Having become an active member of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) in October 1994 as a result of its representatives regularly having participated in WAMY’s gatherings since 1977,<sup>262</sup> on 2 July 1995, PPME formed *al-Moekminun* [*al-Mu’minūn*, the Believers].<sup>263</sup> This group aimed to accommodate its Dutch-speaking members who wanted to study Islam. Consequently, Dutch speaking members instructed Dutchmen improving the Islamic knowledge of those who did not speak Indonesian (discussed in chapter 2). Then, from September 1995 to April 1996, PPME was involved in purchasing a mosque specifically for the Indonesian Muslim community in the Netherlands. The Mosque *al-Hikmah* (Wisdom) was bought in 1996. Since July of 1996, it has been under the management of the

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in Indonesia,” in Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and N. J. G. Kaptein, *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Indonesian Islam* (The Netherlands and Singapore: IIAS and ISEAS, 2010), 40.

<sup>260</sup> Samir Amghar, “Salafism and Radicalization of European Muslims,” in Samir Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam* (Brussels: CEPS, 2007), 42-45.

<sup>261</sup> Kamer van Koophandel (Kvk, Chamber of Commerce and Industry) to the Board of PPME, letter, file 0703287 609, 14 December 1994.

<sup>262</sup> DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1994), 22.

<sup>263</sup> DPC PPME Den Haag, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja 2000-2002* (The Hague: PPME, September 2002), 5.

Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands,<sup>264</sup> however, PPME uses it for its weekly activities (discussed in chapter 3). Furthermore, the *jeugdkamp* (or *pesantren kilat*, short Islamic courses), part of PPME's second-generation programme,<sup>265</sup> was organized in 1995 and 1996. Islamic tenets and subjects close to PPME principles were discussed intensely during this programme.<sup>266</sup> As a result, participants became acquainted not only with Islam, but also with the PPME, an important factor for the second generation. PPME's central figures were involved in this *pesantren kilat*, which resulted in the emergence of PPME's second-generation cadres (discussed in chapter 2). Lastly, on 10 August 1997, PPME Amsterdam conducted its annual sport days for members with the intention to strengthen social relations.<sup>267</sup> This programme has recently been continued, and it functions as an exercise to raise solidarity, and in particular, to gather donations for the monthly mortgage payments (discussed in chapter 3). The achievements of the PPME in the 1990s can be viewed as more internally-oriented.

Unlike the 1990s, when the activities of PPME were more internally-oriented, in the 2000s they were more outward-oriented. Between 2000 and 2002, the Islamisation of non-Muslims who wanted to convert was facilitated, especially by PPME The Hague. During these two years, 135 Islamic converts were guided by PPME Islamic scholars so that they could take part in an Islamic marriage, usually between Indonesian-Dutch couples.<sup>268</sup> Thus, assisting Islamic conversions, especially of Dutch non-Muslims to facilitate their mixed-nationality marriages, has been a part of PPME's activities (discussed in chapter 2). Moreover, since 2001

<sup>264</sup> See Azhari Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan Ketua Pengurus Sementara Masjid al-Hikmah* (KBRI: The Hague, 1997), 3-5.

<sup>265</sup> The fate of Persatuan Oemat Islam (POI, the predecessor of PPME – see introduction) was not what PPME's boards and members wanted. It only still existed on a paper. DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland 1997-1999* (PPME: The Hague, 2000), 8.

<sup>266</sup> See Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> DPC PPME Amsterdam, *Laporan Kegiatan Musim Panas Barbeque dan Budaya Periode 1996-1997* (Amsterdam: PPME, 1997), n.p.

<sup>268</sup> DPC PPME Den Haag, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban*, Appendix 4, pp. 1-3.

PPME has held monthly *istighotsah* [*istighātha*],<sup>269</sup> i.e., intercessory prayers to appeal for God's protection and assistance to prevent ruin and to solve worldly matters.<sup>270</sup> This activity has strengthened charity among members and sympathizers. Mention should also be made of the effort of the PPME to assist people in difficult circumstances in Indonesia (discussed in chapter 3). Since 2005, PPME Amsterdam's board has established an institutional network with Roisah, Jepara, Central Java, Indonesia,<sup>271</sup> a traditionalist *pesantren* that was turning into a Salafi one; more puritanical religious orientation. Through this network, PPME's joint socio-religious activities with the Roisah have concentrated on assisting the poor and orphans (discussed in chapter 7). Lastly, in 2007 PPME The Hague assisted poor people in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in constructing Penampung Air Hujan (PAH, rainwater containers) to assist them during the annual drought. Thus, PPME's external activities in the 2000s aimed not only at people in the Netherlands, but also in Indonesia.

The PPME's care for others in the 2000s does not mean that it neglected its internal activities. In October of 2004, *dauroh* [*dawra*] (intensive Islamic study) for learning Islam was introduced by Islamic teachers at PPME Amsterdam for its members.<sup>272</sup> This included Islamic subjects such as theology, Islamic jurisprudence and ethics, and has been held twice a year for two weeks.<sup>273</sup> The result was that members of PPME Amsterdam have adopted a more puritanical religious orientation (discussed in chapter 2). In addition, since the outset, PPME has been busy trying to establish two mosques, one in Amsterdam and the other one in Rotterdam.<sup>274</sup>

<sup>269</sup> *Mededeling*, PPME Majelis Dzikir, 2005, n.p.

<sup>270</sup> Muhammad ibn Salih al-'Uthaymin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok: Siapa Rabbmu? Apa Agamamu? Siapa Nabimu?*, trans. Zainal Abidin Syamsuddin and Ainul Haris Arifin, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. (Jakarta: Darul Haq, 2008), 95; and see also Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 4-5.

<sup>271</sup> Nurul Furqon (the head of the Roisah Foundation), interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

<sup>272</sup> *Jadwal Kegiatan pada Minggu Ketiga dan Minggu ke-Empat Ramadhan Th. 2004*, PPME Amsterdam, 2004, n.p.

<sup>273</sup> Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 May 2008.

<sup>274</sup> PPME Rotterdam, *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian*



As previously mentioned, PPME Amsterdam's board succeeded in purchasing a place of worship in 2005, while PPME Rotterdam's efforts could not be realised yet till 2011 (discussed in chapter 3). Lastly, as discussed, PPME in Amsterdam has been establishing networks with a Turkish foundation since the end of 2009.<sup>275</sup> This network was established to facilitate members and sympathizers in performing their *hajj* (pilgrimage). Thus, the internal activities of the 2000s show PPME's awareness in terms of providing intensive study on Islam for its adult members and its success in providing a suitable location for its socio-religious activities, something that has been its aim since the 1970s. Moreover, establishing networks with non-Indonesian partners is viewed as meeting the religious needs of its members.

To sum up, the new status of PPME gained after August 1993 has stimulated PPME's boards to conduct more activities. In spite of the fact that the activities held in the 1990s were more internally-oriented, the formation of Dutch-speaking groups and holding the *pesantren kilat* demonstrate the boards' awareness of the importance of providing cadres from Dutch and second-generation members. Meanwhile, the activities of the 2000s indicate that the PPME's care for others, both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia, has become more apparent. This period is marked by the purchase of a place of worship for PPME members, the establishment of institutional networks, and intensive Islamic studies for its adult members.

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*Community in the Netherlands* (Rotterdam: PPME, January 2004), 15-16.

<sup>275</sup> Dzanun Mujahid (a leading figure of PPME The Hague's, who established cooperation with Haremeyn Vakfi prior to Said Badjuber of PPME Amsterdam), interview, The Hague, 13 February 2011.