



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Sujadi,

Citation

Sujadi,. (2017, June 29). *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se-Eropa : identity, encouragement for giving, and network, 1971-2009*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/50645>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/50645>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/50645> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Sujadi

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

Issue Date: 2017-06-29

Chapter Two: PPME's Religious Identity Formation

Islam was selected as the foundation of PPME.²⁷⁶ Opting for Islam, along with the differing Islamic, ethnic, and national backgrounds of its members, has influenced the boards that run the organization. Consequently, these factors have also become a compass for PPME's religious identity formation. While Indonesian Islamic achievements and Islamic practices remain influential, there have been adjustments to the local context, as can be seen from its religious practices and articles in its bulletins.²⁷⁷

I. Religious Practices

A. Islam for Children (1974): From *Kaidah Baghdadiyah* to *Qiroati*

PPME has provided Islamic teaching to the children (4-12 years old) of its members and sympathizers since 1974 in the apartments of its members.²⁷⁸ Basic subjects such as Islamic faith, Islamic pillars, Quranic recitation,²⁷⁹ Islamic history, Islamic etiquette, Islamic jurisprudence, and short prayers were taught.²⁸⁰ Sources frequently recommended for similar lessons in Indonesia have also been used to teach the children.

The ability to recite Quranic verses and to understand their meaning is considered very important by most Muslims.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ See Article 4, *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant van 14 augustus 1974* 156, 1, and see also *Uittreksel uit het verenigingenregister van de Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken voor 's-Gravenhage*, V 410668, 13 December 1994, 1.

²⁷⁷ Cf.: Ahmet Yukleyen, "Localizing Islam in Europe: Religious Activism among Turkish Islamic Organizations in the Netherlands," in *Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 3 (September 2009): 294.

²⁷⁸ DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP Musyawarah I* (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p.

²⁷⁹ Quranic recitation was not a part of Quranic education or in schools that include other Islamic subjects. W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Muslims in Nederland* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Samson Stafleu, 1990), 121.

²⁸⁰ A. Firdaus Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan Periode 1997-1998* (The Hague: PPME, 7 November 1998), 16.

²⁸¹ Ruud Strijp, *Om de moskee: Het religieuze leven van Marokkaanse migranten in een Nederlandse provinciestad* (Amsterdam: Thesis/Thela Publishers, 1998), 151.

Furthermore, the children of PPME members are considered crucial to the future of PPME.²⁸² Therefore, since the end of 1974, PPME saw the Quranic lesson for children as a way of meeting both these needs.²⁸³ The lessons were set up as part of the weekly PPME activities and took place on either Saturday or Sunday afternoon.²⁸⁴ Little is known about the text books used for the lesson before the mid-1990s,²⁸⁵ except that used most was the text book *Kaidah Baghdadiyah* [*Qāida Baghdādiyya*] (The Baghdad Method),²⁸⁶ which was written by Abu Mansur Hifzu al-Fikri al-Baghdādī and consisting of the thirtieth part (*juz'un*) of the Quran²⁸⁷ and composed of short chapters, i.e. no more than 46 verses. This method for teaching children to recite the Quran, which was generally used in Indonesia until the end of the 1980s,²⁸⁸ emphasizes the ability to recognize and pronounce Arabic from single characters to sentences with its diacritical marks.²⁸⁹ This is a time-consuming method;²⁹⁰ children can spend up to five years learning the Quran this way.²⁹¹ Of course, the duration depends on the pupil's diligence and capacity. A fast learner may only need

²⁸² T. Thoha Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002* (The Hague: PPME, 1 September 2002), Appendix 8, n.p.

²⁸³ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976* (The Hague: PPME, 1976), 8.

²⁸⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME*, Appendix 8, n.p.

²⁸⁵ A. H. Maksun, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5, 26-27 November 1988* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1988), 19-20, A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 2000), 9, and see also Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan Kepengurusan Periode 1997-1998*, 16-17.

²⁸⁶ A. Naf'an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

²⁸⁷ Dirjen Bimbaga, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Depag, 1986), 51.

²⁸⁸ Mahmud Yunus, *Metodik Khusus Bahasa Arab* (Jakarta: P. T. Hida Karya Agung, 1983), 33; and see also Mangun Budiyanto, "Efektifitas Metode Iqra' dalam Pembelajaran Membaca al-Qur'an di TKA-TPA AMM Kotagede Yogyakarta," accessed 4 January 2011, <http://mangunbudyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93-tpa-%E2%80%9Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/>.

²⁸⁹ Yunus, *Metodik Khusus*, 6-7.

²⁹⁰ Shahrin Awaludin, "Kaedah Pengajaran al-Qur'an Masa Kini," accessed 26 June 2011, <http://az-zair.blogspot.com/2010/09/kaedah-pengajaran-al-quran-masa-kini.html>.

²⁹¹ Yunus, *Metodik Khusus*, 35.

two or three years.²⁹²

In the mid-1990s, as time consuming as using the Baghdad Method, another book for the Quranic lesson was introduced in the PPME branches in the Netherlands. The children of PPME members in The Hague were taught the *Cara Cepat Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (The Fast Method of Learning Recitation of the Quran) called *Iqra'* (Read),²⁹³ produced by an Indonesian writer, As'ad Humam. In Indonesia, *Iqra'* had been used to teach children since 1988.²⁹⁴

The *Iqra'* method was also used by the Quranic teachers of PPME Amsterdam. At the end of 1998, it was Siti Atma, a member of PPME Amsterdam who brought a copy of *Iqra'* from Indonesia and presented it to the board of PPME Amsterdam suggesting they give it a try. This trial was deemed a success. According to Siti Fatimah, the chairperson of the education section of the association, the *Iqra'* provided a simpler and easier method to teach Muslim children living in the Netherlands.²⁹⁵ Budiyanto, a researcher of the *Iqra' method* argued that it is an effective and not time-consuming method of reciting the Quran. Using the *Iqra'* method children were able to recite the Quranic verses between 6 and 18 months.²⁹⁶ Because of this time efficiency, the *Iqra'*

²⁹² Dirjen Bimbaga, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, 51.

²⁹³ Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

²⁹⁴ Budiyanto, "Efektifitas Metode Iqra," accessed 4 January 2011, <http://mangunbudiyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93-tpa-%E2%80%9Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/>; see also As'ad Humam, *Cara Cepat Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (Yogyakarta: Team Tadarus AMM, 1994) and Muhammad Amin, *Kemampuan Anak-anak Membaca al-Qur'an (Suatu Studi di Kabupaten Aceh Tenggara)* (Banda Aceh: Pusat Pengembangan Penelitian Ilmu-ilmu Sosial Universitas Syiah Kuala, 1993), 25-27. This *Iqra'* method has been copyrighted, and has been internationally sold. Therefore, it has been known in Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei. See Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), 274; and see also Mangun Budiyanto, "Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an," accessed 16 May 2013, <http://mangunbudiyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93-tpa-%E2%80%9Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/>.

²⁹⁵ Siti Fatimah (a former chairperson of education division of PPME Amsterdam), telephone interview, 23 December 2011.

²⁹⁶ Budiyanto, "Efektifitas Metode Iqra," accessed 4 January 2011, <http://>

programme was implemented until 2005 for children of PMME Amsterdam (*Euromoslem*) members and until 2011 for the children of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam.

Following the conflict in PPME Amsterdamin 2005, yet another method was used. PPME al-Ikhlash decided to use *Iqra'* to teach the Quran to the children of its members,²⁹⁷ but PPME Amsterdam was of the opinion that using *Iqra'* did not produce correct pronunciation and also did not succeed in having children recite the verses fluently – a prerequisite to achieve a higher level of the recitation study.²⁹⁸ Consequently, PPME Amsterdam opted for another method, *Metode Praktis Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (The Practical Method of Learning to Recite the Quran) from *Qiroati* written by another Indonesian author, Dachlan Salim Zarkasy.²⁹⁹ At least until November 2011, PPME teachers in The Hague and at PPME al-Ikhlash still used *Iqra'*³⁰⁰ whereas the *Qiroati* was used by PPME Amsterdam after a visit by an imam of *tarāwiḥ* prayers from Indonesia, Khoirul Muttaqin³⁰¹ during *Ramaḍān* in 2005. He told them that the *Qiroati* has been used for teaching Quranic recitation at his family *pesantren* in Jepara, Middle Java, called Roisah,³⁰² a *pesantren* at which Quranic recitation is one of the main subjects taught and to which PPME Amsterdam gives its donations (discussed in chapter 7). His good Quranic recitation, acquired at the *pesantren*, was evident while leading the *tarāwiḥ* prayers in PPME Amsterdam that were followed not only by its members, but also

mangunbudiyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93-tpa-%E2%80%9Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/.

²⁹⁷ Astin (Da'wa Coordinator of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Almere, 10 December 2009.

²⁹⁸ Dachlan Salim Zarkasyi, *Qiroati Metode Praktis Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (Semarang: Roudlatul Mujawwidin, January 1990), n.p.

²⁹⁹ Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

³⁰⁰ Majlis Dzikir, *Mededeling* (Amsterdam: PPME Amsterdam, 3 November 2005), n.p.

³⁰¹ Muttaqin is able to recite the Quran by heart and is a graduate of the Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic (LIPIA) of Jakarta. Khoirul Muttaqin, interview, Depok, West Java, 9 March 2010.

³⁰² A. Aziz Balbaid (an advisor of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

by other Indonesian, Moroccan, and Egyptian people (discussed in chapter 7) also seem to have inspired the PPME Amsterdam's decision to use the method. Astin, a co-ordinator of *da'wa* activities for PPME Amsterdam, asserted that the main reason for the change in method used was that the *Qiroati* method emphasized aspects of pronunciation and fluency when teaching children to recite the Quran. Teachers of the Quranic recitation in PPME Amsterdam needed to have a Quranic pronunciation (*makhārij*) test. As a result, the teachers would have a similar viewpoint on how to teach the children Quranic recitation.³⁰³ Up to now, the children of PPME Amsterdam members are given Quranic lessons using the *Qiroati* method, used at the Roisah, every Sunday afternoon.³⁰⁴

B. *Ikhtilāf* in the Indonesian-Speaking Group (Early 1975): From Being an Inevitable, to an Accepted, Practice

The meeting for PPME's Indonesian-speaking group has been held on the last weekend of the month since early 1975. In the 1970s, meetings were held in the members' houses in The Hague and environs. No specific topic was selected in advance for this monthly activity. As a result, a diversity of topics was discussed at a meeting.³⁰⁵ Following the purchase of a building which was then used as a *muṣalla* (place of worship) called *al-Ittihaad* in October 1982 (discussed in chapter 3), an agenda was set determining the Islamic subjects to be discussed during the group's monthly meetings. After 1993, guest speakers were invited to the meetings and asked to talk on a specific Islamic topic.³⁰⁶ From the late 1990s this monthly activity became more organized and a wide range of Islamic subjects was presented by a number of speakers. For example, Islamic jurisprudence was taught by A. H. Maksum, M. Isyak gave a talk on Islamic etiquette, Islamic history was taught by M. Chaeron, and A. Naf'an Sulchan spoke on Islamic faith. Other

³⁰³ Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 8.

³⁰⁶ Mohammad Isyak, *LaporanPertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1994-1996* (The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, 21 June 1997), 7.

PPME members, including Asief Ishom and A. F. Mas'udi, were also involved in supporting these events by covering for the teachers who were unable to attend.³⁰⁷ This improved arrangement can be directly linked to the purchase of the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* (Wisdom) Mosque in 1996. The PPME was given permission to use the mosque for the activities of its members, especially those in The Hague, and thus enabled them to hold such meetings weekly.

The meetings, which currently take place every Saturday, are attended by both men and women. They share the same space and are not separated by a *sātir* (a cloth dividing a room in two). They are in the same room, but their seats are separated – women were on the right side and men on the left one. This practice is known as *ikhtilāṭ* and means the mingling of men and non-*maḥārim* (a plural form of *maḥram*, i.e. a relative with whom marriage is prohibited) in one place without a *sātir*.³⁰⁸ For reformist Muslims, such as Ibn Taymiyyah and A. Hassan (Persis), *ikhtilāṭ* is forbidden. Ibn Taymiyyah stated in his *Majmū' al-Fatāwā* (The Collection of Formal Legal Opinions) that, “the mingling of man and woman will initiate temptation (*fitna*). Men who mingle with women are like fire close to wood,”³⁰⁹ whereas Hassan asserted, “Islamic viewpoints forbid male Muslims from seeing female Muslims and they are required to separate the two different sexes in their social interaction.”³¹⁰ These viewpoints suggest that it is unlawful and, therefore, must be avoided.

However, the reformist viewpoints contradict with the gathering of PPME to learn Islam, in this case via *ikhtilāṭ*. The phenomenon of *ikhtilāṭ* is also found in branches other than PPME in The Hague, including at PPME al-Ikhlash in Amsterdam (not PPME Amsterdam) and PPME ar-Rahman [*al-Raḥmān*] (the Merciful) in Breda. Initially, the *ikhtilāṭ* was chosen due to the

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 19.

³⁰⁸ “Bahaya Laten Ikhtilat,” *As-Sunnah* 3, Year XI, 2007, 12.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ A. Hassan, *Soal-Djawab tentang Berbagai Masalah Agama*, 2nd Ed. (Bandung: C. V. Diponegoro, 1969), 661-681.

lack of facilities for PPME gatherings.³¹¹ This seems to be in line with Waardenburg's observation that Muslims in Western Europe, especially in the 1970s, encountered financial problems that influenced the running of their activities and associations, and also their survival.³¹² In the case of PPME, prior to the purchase of the *Muṣalla* of *al-Ittihaad* in 1982, meetings to acquire Islamic knowledge from PPME preachers took place in members' homes. This meant that male and female members met under the *ikhṭilāṭ* conditions. This practice continued, despite the board of PPME purchasing a *muṣallā* in 1982³¹³ which has a big gathering room that can be divided into two by a *sātir* (discussed in chapter 3).

PPME The Hague holds the *ikhṭilāṭ* gatherings after the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* Mosque was purchased in September 1996 despite the fact that there are, at least, three rooms available for religious gatherings. This means that the reason for the *ikhṭilāṭ* was no longer the lack of facility. Maksum asserted that the *ikhṭilāṭ* was sustained in order to avoid separating PPME's female and male members radically and to adjust to the prevailing conditions of Dutch society. He added that these integrated gatherings would not lead people to commit sins (*ma'ṣiyā*) because of the sheer number of people who attend, i.e. around a hundred; the meetings held in the *muṣalla* or mosque were not small, intimate gatherings.³¹⁴ Though his analogy is questionable, Maksum also stated that the practice of *ikhṭilāṭ* could also be found during the *hajj* (pilgrimage). This adjustment relied upon the common good (*maṣlaḥa ḥājiyya*)³¹⁵ – a term of al-Ghazali which means a common good that is necessary for the raising of goodness and for adjustment to prevailing conditions.³¹⁶ It “has, according to Ramadan (the writer

³¹¹ Maksum, telephone interview, The Hague, 20 December 2011.

³¹² J. D. J. Waardenburg, “Muslim Associations and Official Bodies in Some European Countries,” in. Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 31.

³¹³ Maksum, telephone interview, The Hague, 20 December 2011.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ See Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazali, *Al-Mustaṣfā min 'Ilmi al-Uṣūli*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Fikri, n.y.), 286-290, and see also Tariq Ramadan,

of *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*), to do with the prevention of anything that could be a source of difficulty in the life of the community....”³¹⁷ Thus, avoiding separating men and women in a gathering (which is not familiar to Dutch society) seems to be Maksum’s focus. Similarly, A. Naf’an Sulchan stated that when propagating Islam, Islamic teachings needed to be delivered in accordance with the PPME members’ differing ethnic and religious backgrounds. Radical change should be avoided. Separating men and women would be a radical change. He even went on to argue that if a member, male or female, were to ask him, for instance, to dance with people attending an *ikhtilāf* gathering, he would accept the request. This is a strategy of *da’wa*.³¹⁸

In sum, the facts suggest that *ikhtilāf* was practiced at PPME The Hague, and elsewhere, primarily due to a lack of accommodation and also because of the backgrounds of the members, as well as the prevailing conditions in the Netherlands. These factors will also contribute to the continued existence of this practice.

C. Islamic Marriages (1975): Islamic and Positive Laws

The PPME board has presided over Islamic marriages in the Netherlands since 29 March 1975.³¹⁹ Indeed, facilitating the marriages of its members has been a key part of PPME’s incidental activity.³²⁰ Available data suggest that PPME presided over the marriage of 15 couples between 1976 and 1979,³²¹ five couples between 1984 and 1986,³²² four couples between 1997 and 1998,³²³ 15 couples between 2000 and 2002,³²⁴ 12 couples between 2002 and

Western Muslims and the Future of Islam (Oxford: University Press, 2004), 39.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Sulchan, interview, 11 December 20011.

³¹⁹ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 9 and 16.

³²⁰ DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979* (Aachen, West Germany: YMAE, 1 June 1979), 6.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 34.

³²³ Mas’udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 27.

³²⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 4, 2-3.

2004,³²⁵ and seven couples in 2005.³²⁶ In 2008 a couple was married by the PPME The Hague and in 2009 a couple was married by the PPME Amsterdam. Those married were not just Indonesian couples, but also couples of mixed nationalities such as an Indonesian with a Dutch, Malaysian, or British spouse. All of the abovementioned marriages took place in The Hague, Amsterdam, or Rotterdam, usually in the bride's home, *al-Ittihaad Muşalla*, *al-Hikmah* Mosque, or the place of worship of PPME Amsterdam.

The members of PPME's boards acted as the *waliyy ḥakīm* (the authoritative marriage guardian); the witness or the registrar³²⁷ at these marriages. There were no complicated requirements for Muslim couples who wanted to marry under the board's arrangements. This ease reflected the PPME's stance on marriage, namely, "making the performing of marriage easy and making the performing of divorce difficult" – a principle that supports the goal of the marriage, i.e. "preventing fornication."³²⁸ These marriages were primarily based on the principles of Islamic Law such as the attendance of a Muslim (or People of the Book) bride and bridegroom, a *waliyy* (a woman's closest adult male relative who has authority and responsibility with respect to the marriage of the bride), two Muslim male witnesses, and offer-acceptance (*ijāb-qabūl*) declaration.³²⁹ They were also based on the official

³²⁵ Sio Raboen, et al., *Het jaarverslag van het bestuur PPME Den Haag*, Appendix of Secretariat, n.p.

³²⁶ Aaman Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag: Het verslag 2005 en vooruitzicht 2006* (The Hague: PPME, 29 May 2006), n.p.

³²⁷ DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979*, 6.

³²⁸ Maulana Abul A'ala Maudoodi, *the Laws of Marriage and Divorce in Islam*, 3rd ed. (Kuwait: Islamic Book Publishers, 2000), 6.

³²⁹ See Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan di Luar Negeri* (Jakarta: Depag RI, 1989), Appendix 1, 35-37. This *ijāb-qabūl* declaration contains agreement between a *waliyy* of bride and bridegroom. Principally, the declaration is to offer the bridegroom, by the *waliyy*, to marry with her with the fulfillment of a requirement, i.e. giving *mahr* (property or money) to her. Ibid. See also Chapter I about Marriage Principles, Article 2: Each marriage should be registred according to prevailing Marriage Law and Chapter XII about Other Regulations, Part 2, about Marriage Overseas, Article 1. In Article 1, in principal, marriage which is concluded overseas is legal as long as it does not break Marriage Law of a country where it is concluded (for non-Indonesian) and Marriage of Law of Indonesia (for Indonesian). *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia*

administrative requirements of the Netherlands such as having a valid birth certificate and proof of citizenship.³³⁰ When these requirements were met, the marriage could be conducted. As a result, the marriages were valid according to Islamic law and the married couple was then given their marriage certificate by the board.³³¹

With regard to marriages involving Indonesians living in the Netherlands, since 1975 PPME has used Indonesian Law Number 1 of 1974³³² as a guiding principle for the marriages.³³³ Indeed, in the 1980s, many marriages were conducted by PPME in cooperation with authorized staff from the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.³³⁴ In practice, this could be as simple as Embassy staff being informed and invited to attend the marriages.³³⁵ Then, in the late 1990s, a more serious effort to follow Indonesian Law was made when conducting marriages. The officiating of Islamic marriages became part of PPME activities.³³⁶ Since the early 2000s, in order to avoid breaking the positive law on marriage prevailing in Indonesia,³³⁷ couples would be given legal documents relating to their Islamic marriage not only from the PPME, but also from the authorized officer of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.³³⁸ This meant that the PPME, in conducting Islamic marriages of Indonesian couples, has to involve officials of the embassy acting as the registrar, the official recorder, and the supervisor of the

Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 tentang Perkawinan, Issued on 2 January 1974 by the President of Republic of Indonesia.

³³⁰ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 23.

³³¹ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 4, 4.

³³² See Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 3-5.

³³³ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 9.

³³⁴ Sufjan Ollong, interview, Ridderkerk, 5 May 2009.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 23

³³⁷ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 4, 2.

³³⁸ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 23, and see also Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 16-17.

performance of marriages.³³⁹

Currently, PPME's arrangements are in such a way that a conflict with the marriage laws of the Netherlands is avoided. A Dutch person living in the Netherlands, when he or she intended to get married, has to do so in front of a Dutch marriage registrar³⁴⁰ whereas the Indonesian government only recognizes the marriage of an Indonesian couple overseas on the condition that it is conducted according to the marriage law of the country in which the ceremony is taking place.³⁴¹ Therefore, the marriage certificate that PPME issues to the couple is not a legal document, but rather proof of their Islamic marriage. In addition, when the couple is of mixed nationalities (say, Dutch-Indonesian), the couple is also recommended to marry both under the arrangement of PPME and in front of a Dutch marriage official.³⁴² Thus, this is in line not only with the regulation on marriage of the Indonesian Embassy,³⁴³ but also with the prevailing procedure of marriage in The Netherlands.

The following experience of an Indonesian girl serves as an example of her marriage in front of a Dutch marriage official and of her marriage process conducted under the arrangement of PPME. The coordinator of PPME's an-Nasyid Remaja, Siti Rakhmawati (Indonesian), married Saleh Safiruddin (a Dutchman of Pakistan descent). Before the couple married under the arrangement of PPME, they had married in front of a Dutch marriage official accompanied by their witnesses, i.e. their mothers. After they were legally stated by the official as a married couple, they were asked to sign their *uittreksel* (letter statement) of marriage, signed

³³⁹ The tasks of supervisor are to check the identity of bride, bridegroom, and *waliyy hakim*; to examine marriage barriers and marriage requirements based upon both Islamic Law and prevailing regulations; to investigate administrative requirements; and to attend and witness the marriage ceremony. *Ibid.*, 3-5.

³⁴⁰ See also Nathal M. Dessing, *Rituals of Births, Circumcision, Marriage, and Death among Muslims in the Netherlands* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 90.

³⁴¹ Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 5.

³⁴² Maksum, telephone interview, 20 December 2011.

³⁴³ Hasyim (the marriage registrar of Indonesian Embassy for the Netherlands, interview, 6 December 2008, The Hague.

by the official, themselves, and the two witnesses. They were then given the *uittreksel*.

Having married at Stadsdeelkantoor Amsterdam West on Monday, 18 August 2008, their Islamic marriage was concluded under the arrangement of PPME on 24 October 2008 at *al-Hikmah* Mosque, The Hague. Afterwards, during the ceremony they were presented with marriage certificates prepared by the PPME's registrar. The role of the PPME may be to supervise, witness, record and ensure that the marriage complies with the legal requirements – roles that at other occasions were carried out by an official from the Indonesian Embassy in a marriage ceremony.³⁴⁴ Finally, the ceremonial marriage speech (*khutbatu al-nikāh*), the Islamic speech, and closing prayer are delivered by the officials of PPME.³⁴⁵

D. Assisting Converts (the Early 1980s)

Since the early 1980s, PPME has provided assistance to non-Muslims wanting to convert to Islam.³⁴⁶ This incidental assistance takes place at a number of locations where PPME activities are held, including the *Muṣallā* of *al-Ittihaad* and *al-Hikmah* Mosque (The Hague), at PPME Amsterdam (later called *at-Taqwa*), the Mosque of *Baiturrahman* (the House of the Merciful) in Ridderkerk, and at the homes of the converts. The assistance to be given would depend on the converts' needs. In the 1980s, the main reason for conversion under the guidance of PPME was for marriage.³⁴⁷ For instance, between 1984 and 1986 five out of nine converts became Muslim because they wanted to marry a Muslim.³⁴⁸ There is no

³⁴⁴ Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 3-5.

³⁴⁵ A. Naf'an Sulchan, interview, 11 December 2011.

³⁴⁶ A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 34.

³⁴⁷ Roald calls the reason of conversion to Islam for marriage an individual choice whereas Abdel Razaq names it a personal objective. See Anne Sofie Roald, *New Muslims in the European Context* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 80 and Salah Salem Abdel Razaq, *Neo-Muslim Intellectuals in the West and Their Contributions to Islamic Thought and the Formation of Western Islam* (PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2005), 13.

³⁴⁸ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984*, 33-34.

information relating to Islamic marriages overseen by the boards of PPME in the 1990s whereas in the 2000s, the situation reflected that of the 1980s, i.e. the majority of converts became Muslim for marriage. For instance, 12 out of 15 converts at the *al-Hikmah* Mosque between 2000 and 2002 became Muslim for marriage, whereas in 2005 the figure was four out of nine converts.³⁴⁹

In addition to marriage, there is another reason for people converting to Islam under the guidance of PPME. For instance, Hennie Hammink, chairperson of PPME in The Hague (2011-2012), converted to Islam on 3 September 1995 at *al-Ittihaad Muşalla* under the guidance of Sa'ad Syamlan, a preacher invited from Indonesia for the commemoration of the Prophet's birth. Hammink converted to Islam as the result of a journey to find his own consciousness and search for a meaningful life. He found the meaning he was looking for by attending the weekly gatherings held in the *muşalla* and he asserted in his writing entitled "*Ik heb mezelf in Islam gevonden* (I have found myself in Islam)"³⁵⁰ – that is to say, there was a psychological rationale behind his conversion.

Then, one of the 15 people PPME who converted to Islam in the 2000s did not do so for the reason of marriage or a psychological reason. The convert became a Muslim in order to avoid complications in Indonesia. This included having an Islamic marriage officiated by the PPME. The convert believed that having the PPME's Islamic marriage document would make it easier to respond to questions frequently raised by families in Indonesia about their Islamic marriage.³⁵¹ In Java, especially in Yogyakarta, such questions also will be raised by the head of Rukun Tetangga (RT, Neighbourhood), who requires the copy of the couple's marriage status document when they want to spend the night in the same house or room in his village.

³⁴⁹ Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag*, n.p.

³⁵⁰ Abdul Hamid (the Muslim name of Hennie Hammink), "Ik heb mezelf in islam gevonden," in *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December 1995, 23.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

E. Pengajian Remaja (the Early 1990s): *Pesantren Kilat, Iqra'* and an-Nasyid Remaja

In the early 1990s, the second generation of PPME members in the Netherlands, i.e. the children of its founders and congregations, founded their own group called Pengajian Remaja (PR, Islamic Teaching for Youths). The group (of children between 15 and 18 years old) was led by Hansyah Iskandar,³⁵² an Indonesian and Dutch-speaking graduate of Delft University. Iskandar was later the chairperson of PPME Arrahman Breda. The group's Secretary was Aaman Sulchan,³⁵³ an Indonesian and Dutch-speaking graduate of Leiden University, as well as the chairperson of PPME The Hague between 2005 and 2010. This PR, the majority of its members being Dutch speakers, emerged from dissatisfaction with the weekly Islamic teaching delivered in the PPME's Indonesian-speaking groups where the working language was Indonesian and only a summary of the Islamic teachings was provided in Dutch.³⁵⁴ In response to this situation, Yani Kurdi and Moch. Chaeron were appointed as advisors to the PR in the 1990s.³⁵⁵ In the 2000s, the PR's coordinators were René Hendriks, the coordinator of the Dutch-speaking group called al-Moekminun and Taty Suhartono, the vice-chairperson of PPME The Hague.³⁵⁶

There were two main reasons for forming the PR, namely to stimulate PPME youth to be able to do self-study about Islam and to provide a space for them to discuss their religious lives in a non-Muslim society.³⁵⁷ To achieve these ends, the PR held Islamic teaching and *pesantren kilat* (short Islamic courses). It also issued

³⁵² A. Na'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1994), 16-17.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 6.

³⁵⁵ Yani Kurdi, *Laporan Kerja Seksi Pendidikan dan Kaderisasi PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 28 March 1994) 3-4; see also Hansyah Iskandar, et al., *Handleiding Pengajian Remaja PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999), 5.

³⁵⁶ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 2.

³⁵⁷ Yani Kurdi and Dewi Hendriks, *Acara Rapat Evaluasi I Dep. Pendidikan dan Da'wah* (The Hague: PPME, 29 September 1996), 13.

a bulletin called *Iqra'* and formed a music group called an-Nasyid Remaja (Youth's Islamic Song).

Initially, the PR provided bi-monthly Islamic teaching on the second and fourth Sunday of the month on subjects such as Islamic faith, etiquette, and law. For example, on the subject of faith, they learned about principles such as the existence of Allah, the mission of the Prophet Muhammad for human beings, and human beings according to Islam. With regard to morals (*akhlāq*), pupils were taught about things such as why Islamic morals are important, that the Prophet Muhammad is the best representation of Islamic *akhlāq*, and the relations between Muslims with adherents of other religions and other societies. In respect to *Shari'a* (Islamic Law), pupils learned, for instance, about obligatory prayers, Islamic marriage, and Islamic attitudes towards sexual intercourse.³⁵⁸

Subsequently, PR held *pesantren kilat*, which is unique to PPME and crucial to the development of second-generation PPME members. No other Muslim organizations in the Netherlands offer this kind of non-formal Islamic education; they prefer to regularly provide religious instruction via their Islamic schools or mosques.³⁵⁹ The organizer of *pesantren kilat*³⁶⁰ asked for its participants to stay a few days in a certain place – not necessary at mosque – to study Islam and receive information about PPME both during the day and in the evening. The language used was Dutch. It was first held on 5-6 August 1995 in the building at Van Eversdijckstraat 31, Rotterdam.³⁶¹ The second *pesantren kilat* was held at a campsite,

³⁵⁸ Anonymous, "Activiteiten Pengajian Remaja," in Hansyah Iskandar, et al., *Handleiding Pengajian Remaja PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999), n.p.

³⁵⁹ See S. van de Wetering, "The Arabic Language and Culture Teaching Program to Moroccan Children," in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Islam in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1992), 89-100; see also Dick Douwes, Martijn de Koning, and Welmoet Boender (eds.), *Nederlandse moslims: Van migrant tot burger* (Amsterdam University Press: Salomé, 2005), 57-59.

³⁶⁰ It was developed in Indonesia for children in order to teach them the principles of Islam and improve their Islamic knowledge. See Direktorat Pendidikan Agama Islam pada Masyarakat dan Pemberdayaan Masjid, *Panduan Pesantren kilat* (Jakarta: Depag, 2004), 1-3, 5-6, 9-10 and 15.

³⁶¹ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 8.

Camping Duinhoeve, Rotterdam. It took place from 28 to 30 June 1999 and was attended by 62 participants from all the branches of PPME in the Netherlands.³⁶² In the 2000s, the *pesantren kilat* was held many times: on 11 September 2002 at the Mosque of *an-Nur* belonging to a Moluccan community in Waalwijk; in 2003 it was held at the Mosque of *Baiturrahman* belonging to the Moluccan community in Ridderkerk; in 2004 it was held on 30 April and 1-2 May at the Mosque of *Baiturrahman*;³⁶³ and in 2005 it was held at the Mosque of *al-Hikmah* during the last week of Ramadan.³⁶⁴ As a result, participants of these courses gained not only diverse Islamic knowledge, but also organizational knowledge of PPME, both of which will assist them in their roles as future PPME leaders.

An example from 1995 highlights the achievements. The *pesantren kilat*, as run by the PR in the Netherlands, tends to have similar content with those held in Indonesia.³⁶⁵ Thirty-five participants from all of the PPME branches in the Netherlands attended.³⁶⁶ Participants were taught Islamic jurisprudence, worship practices, Islamic history, Islamic faith, Islamic *akhlāq*, Quranic exegesis, and the Traditions of the Prophet. Lectures on PPME's history, roles, functions, and orientation were also delivered. It is worth noting that in addition to the subjects on Islam and PPME, participants were also given an opportunity to explore and discuss any problems experienced in both their private and public lives in the Netherlands.³⁶⁷ As a result, the participants

³⁶² Ibid.; see also Husny Abdul Razaq, et al., *Programma PPME Jeugdkamp* (Rotterdam: PPME, June 1996), n.p.

³⁶³ Raboen, et al., *Het jaarverslag van het bestuur PPME Den Haag*, 10-11.

³⁶⁴ Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag*, n.p.

³⁶⁵ In Indonesia, *pesantren kilat* is seen as an Islamic education activity for students and young people. It is held at schools, universities, mosques, Islamic educational institutions, and *da'wa* institutions during their free days. Dirjen Kelembagaan Agama Islam, *Panduan Penyelenggaraan Pesantren Kilat* (Jakarta: Depag, 2005), 3, 7 and 8. In Indonesia, 35 percent of the *pesantren kilat* was allocated to Islamic thought; 25 percent to Quranic studies; 20 percent to Islamic leadership; 15 percent was allocated for problem solving; and 5 percent of the course was spent on role playing. Dirjen Kelembagaan Agama Islam, *Panduan Penyelenggaraan Pesantren Kilat*, 3, 7 and 8.

³⁶⁶ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 8.

³⁶⁷ Ifa Chaeron, "Kiprah Remaja Muslim di Belanda," in, *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December

were provided not only Islamic and organizational subjects, but also solutions to problems important for the cadres of the PPME.

In addition to *pesantren kilat*, in 1996 the PR published a Dutch bulletin called *Iqra'*.³⁶⁸ This bulletin was published bi-monthly, alternating with PR's programme of Islamic teaching.³⁶⁹ The viewpoint of Eickelman and Anderson that "...means of communication have multiplied the possibilities for...opening new grounds for interaction..."³⁷⁰ seems to be relevant considering the *Iqra'*. It can offer its writers' ideas to its readers, especially to PPME's first generation. *Iqra'* served as a means for PPME youth to express their religious ideas and experiences and most of the contributions to the bulletin were written by young PPME members. One example is Rachmawati (a daughter of PPME's founder, Moch. Chaeron) who discussed the story of Isrā' Mi'rāj (Midnight Journey to the Seven Heavens) of the Prophet Muhammad and Aaman Sulchan (a son of the leading PPME figure and Islamic expert, A. Naf'an Sulchan) dealt with the significance of the fasting month. No less important was Hansyah Iskandar who interviewed Naf'an Sulchan. The latter argued that PPME's youth had to be able, for instance, to benefit from their existence in the Netherlands to seek for both Islamic and secular knowledge in order to develop the existence of Muslims in the Netherlands. Besides, he hoped that the PR could provide assistance to teach Islam to the Dutch-speaking children of PPME.³⁷¹ This suggested that Naf'an Sulchan was optimistic about the future of the children in the Netherlands. The examples show that *Iqra'* was adopted as a vehicle for PPME youth not only to express their own Islamic points of view, but also to discuss their own life experiences in the context of Islamic teaching. Unfortunately, the publication

1995, 30.

³⁶⁸ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 14, and *Euromoslem* 46, July 1997, 11.

³⁶⁹ Hoofdbestuur, *Handleiding PR PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999), 8.

³⁷⁰ See Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, "Redefining Muslim Publics," in Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, 2nd ed. (USA: Indiana University Press, 2003), 3.

³⁷¹ *Iqra'* 3, January-February 1998, 5-12.

ceased to exist after 2000.³⁷²

Finally, music, which has been judged by some ulama as lawful and by others as unlawful, was a feature of the PPME youth.³⁷³ The PR formed the music group an-Nasyid Remaja in 2006.³⁷⁴ This date shows that the band that sings *nasyids* [*nashīds*] (songs of praise to God or spiritual songs about the glory of Islam)³⁷⁵ came into existence much later compared to those in Indonesia that had already become popular at the end of the 1990s.³⁷⁶ The group have a distinctly Indonesian style, i.e. its male members frequently wear *koko* (a long-sleeved white shirt) and *kopiah* (a black, rimless cap). It played its *nasyid* music using guitars – it is not acapella as many bands in Indonesia and Malaysia are (sung by a group of people without any musical instruments). Sometimes female vocalists³⁷⁷ are featured. The music was performed beyond PPME’s congregations. For instance, an-Nasyid Remaja took part in a commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad on 11 April 2009 held in The Hague,³⁷⁸ they also participated in a night of cultural events called ‘Initiatives of Change’ held in Caux, Switzerland on 22 September 2009³⁷⁹ and at the anniversary of the

³⁷² Hoofdbestuur, *Handleiding PR PPME*, 4-9.

³⁷³ Yusuf al-Qardawi, *Fiqh al-Ginā wa’l-Mūsīqā fi Daw’i al-Qur’ān wa’l-Sunna* (Cairo: Maktaba wa Hiba, 2004), 25.

³⁷⁴ Ilman Sulchan (one of Nasyid Remaja’s vocalists), interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

³⁷⁵ See Adjie Esa Poetra, *Revolusi Nasyid* (Bandung: MQS Publishing, 2004), 16, 49, and 51.

³⁷⁶ *Nasyid* music has existed in Jakarta since the mid-1980s. The public performance of *nasyid* music in Indonesia has been taking place since 1995. Harmony Voice (Bandung), Snada (One Tone, Jakarta), Suara Persaudaraan (Voice of Brotherhood, Surabaya) and Izzatul Islam (Glory of Islam, Jakarta) are well-known *nasyid* groups. However, *nasyid* reached its popularity in Indonesia when a well-known Malaysian *nasyid* group called Raihan (literally, Sweet Basil) performed their *nasyid* at Sasana Budaya Ganesha Sabuga, Bandung at the end of the 1990s. *Ibid.*, 57, 71-72, and 117; see also Bart Barendregt, “Transnational Soundscapes in Muslim Southeast Asia”, in Todd Joseph Miles Holden and Timothy J. Scrase, *Medi@sia: Global Media/tion in and out of Context* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 175.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 173.

³⁷⁸ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zetx7VP3XUo&feature=related>, accessed 7 November 2011.

³⁷⁹ Anonymous, “Islam, jongeren en vrede,” accessed 6 November 2011, in Rudy van der Aar, <http://www.iofc.nl/node/44122>.

mosque of *Baiturrahman* on 10 October 2009. The existence of this music group and their performances at diverse events indicate that the board of PPME and its Islamic experts have allowed the music group to progress, and even endorsed the use of instruments to play their music.³⁸⁰ This suggests that PPME leans towards the view of *ulama* such as the Jurist Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi and the Sufi Imam al-Gazali that singing with musical instruments is 'recommended'.³⁸¹

The facts demonstrate PPME's tolerance of the diverse characteristics of its members. This, in turn, has enabled its youth members to develop their own programmes. Both Islamic teaching and the backgrounds of members have been taken into consideration when forming the content of these programmes. The PR has been labelled the junior PPME³⁸² and the breeding ground for future PPME leaders³⁸³ who are developing their interpretation of Islam according to their own characteristics.

F. Dutch-Speaking Group (1995): From Learning Islam to Lecturing on Islam

Islamic teaching is also provided for PPME's Dutch-speaking groups, which have been established in all its branches in the Netherlands. The focus of this section is the Dutch-speaking group of PPME The Hague, mostly consisting of the Dutch husbands of PPME female members. The reason for this choice is the changes two of its participants underwent, i.e. from learning Islam to teaching and delivering speeches on Islamic subjects.

Before a Dutch-speaking group were formed by PPME The Hague, the Dutch-speaking men attended a group called Islamic teaching for Indonesian-speakers. Many attended at the request of their wives. However, it was only possible to provide a summary of the Indonesian Islamic teaching sessions in Dutch. Many of

³⁸⁰ A. Naf'an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

³⁸¹ See Fathuri, et al, *Kiai, Musik dan Kitab Kuning* (Depok: Desantara, 2009), xxix-xxxii; and see also al-Qardawi, *Fiqh al-Ginā wa'l-Mūsīqī*, 84-94.

³⁸² Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 7.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 14.

the husbands were dissatisfied with this situation and the lack of detailed information. This proved to be a catalyst for the emergence of the Dutch-speaking group on 2 July 1995. Sessions were held at the PPME's *Muṣallā al-Ittihaad*. Given that the working language was Dutch, Tjen A Kwoei, a Dutch-Surinamese member who had been the chairman of PPME Rotterdam at the end of the 1980s³⁸⁴ and a writer of a number of articles in PPME's bulletins in Dutch,³⁸⁵ was requested to be the group's teacher.³⁸⁶ Accordingly, he delivered lectures on basic Islamic knowledge³⁸⁷ such as Islamic pillars and the pillars of faith (*aqīda*).³⁸⁸

Since the middle of August 1996, the Dutch-speaking group moved to *al-Hikmah* Mosque in The Hague, which was under the supervision of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands. By now, the group had expanded to include Islamic converts and PPME's sympathizers speaking Dutch. In the same year, a member of the group, Ludo Jongmans, proposed that the group adopted the name *al-Moekminun*. Asief Ishom who studied Islam at al-Azhar University, Egypt (a reformist-oriented coordinator of the group and leading PPME figure, see chapter 6) suggested that they should invite other teachers on their own initiative in order that they could choose Islamic teachers they needed and would be responsible for their own activities.³⁸⁹ Sulchan (a traditionalist-oriented leading PPME figure) supported Ishom's suggestion "as far as such a move would not challenge the foundations of the PPME and the diverse backgrounds of its members. This move should not lead to discord among members of the Dutch-speaking group. The disintegration that happened to PPME Amsterdam because of the challenge to the diversity should not occur in

³⁸⁴ See *Al-Ittihaad* 19, March-April 1988, 13.

³⁸⁵ See *Al-Ittihaad* 10, May-June 1986, 34-38.

³⁸⁶ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 1.

³⁸⁷ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 22.

³⁸⁸ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 1.

³⁸⁹ Asif Ishom, interview, The Hague, 12 February 12, 2012.

other PPME branches.”³⁹⁰ The group followed Ishom’s suggestion to invite teachers from outside the PPME on the basis of their own arrangements. As a result, different teachers taught at different occasions.

From 1996 to the 2000s, the following were the teachers included in different programmes. For the biweekly programme, in addition to Tjen A Kwoei, other teachers were involved. Two times a month the Moroccan Abdul Azizi gave the group lessons on *tajwīd* (knowledge of reciting the Quran correctly) and Rafiq de Vries taught the group *Ḥadīth* (the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad). Then, for a monthly programme, in addition to A. Naf’an Sulchan (a traditionalist teacher from the PPME) who taught the group Quranic exegesis,³⁹¹ Islamic teachers from outside the PPME such as Abdul Wahid van Bommel and Ibrahim Spalburg were asked to give talks to the group in the last week of every month.³⁹² In addition to those teachers, Remi Soekirman, a scholar of Islamic theology who graduated from Madina University, Saudi Arabia and who was also from outside the PPME, participated later.³⁹³ In the same period, under the guidance of Ishom and Rafiq de Vries, the group set up a weekly programme. Every Saturday afternoon, for example, lectures were held on the basic teachings of Islam, including better understanding of the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith, the recitation of short chapters of *Juz ‘Ammā* (The thirtieth part of the Quran), the Prophet’s Traditions, and Quranic exegesis. These subjects were taught by teachers from both inside and outside the PPME. Sometimes, members of the group were asked to deliver the talks.³⁹⁴ Consequently, participants of al-Moekminun have been exposed to a range of teachers and gained Islamic knowledge, at least, from both traditionalist and

³⁹⁰ Sulchan, interview, 11 December 2011.

³⁹¹ Mas’udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 22.

³⁹² G. E. Rijono Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Ketua PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 1996-1997* (The Hague: PPME, 6 December 1997), Appendix 4, n.p.

³⁹³ See Docenten Trainers at <http://www.daralilm.nl/het-instituut--2/docenten-trainers>, accessed 31 May 2014.

³⁹⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 1-2.

reformist perspectives.³⁹⁵

The providing of Islamic knowledge from such diverse Islamic teachers, rather than through formal education or by attending intensive Islamic courses offered by Islamic organizations and educational institutions, reflects the characteristics of PPME. René Hendriks and Ludo Jongmans (the senior participants of al-Moekminun) have ever been invited to deliver lectures on Islam to both PPME members and others. For instance, Hendriks taught basic Islamic history in Dutch to the second generation at the *pesantren kilat* (short Islamic courses) held in Rotterdam in 1996. This stimulated the board of PR at the end of 1997 to ask the board of PPME to support more teaching by Dutch-speaking teachers from al-Moekminun.³⁹⁶ Consequently, in 2006 he was asked to deliver an Islamic lecture in Dutch on the Prophet Muhammad at an event commemorating the Prophet's birth.³⁹⁷ He has also lectured on Islamic jurisprudence in English in relation to *zakāt al-fiṭr* (almsgiving during Ramadan) and *zakāt al-māl* (annual almsgiving) at a workshop held in The Hague in 2009 organized by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The theme of the workshop was the remittances sent back to Indonesia by Indonesians living abroad. Ludo Jongmans frequently talked on diverse Islamic subjects at al-Moekminun meetings. He was also sometimes invited to give speeches in Dutch in the weekly meeting of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam. Furthermore, he was one of the Islamic preachers in the marriage ceremony of Rachmawati (mentioned above) on 24 October 2008 in *al-Hikmah* Mosque – it was in Dutch. Thus, Hendriks and Jongmans are regarded as “Western

³⁹⁵ From these ways of acquiring Islamic knowledge, it would be difficult for the Dutch-speaking group to gain religious authority, as defined by Kramer and Schmidtke, i.e. the forms of religious authority can be “the ability to define correct belief or practice...or to shape and influence the views and the conduct of others accordingly.” Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke, “Introduction: Religious Authority and Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies: A Critical Review,” in Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 1.

³⁹⁶ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 2.

³⁹⁷ Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag*, Appendix 5, n.p.

intellectuals who truly believe in the Islamic faith, ...[and who] made great efforts to preach Islam...,”³⁹⁸ and who are valuable to PPME because of their Islamic knowledge, as well as their Dutch language.

In sum, the members of the PPME Dutch-speaking group have been given opportunities to deliver speeches on Islamic subjects that are important not only for PPME members, especially PPME’s young generation, but also for Muslim audiences outside PPME. These lectures are based on Islamic knowledge acquired from teachers with diverse Islamic backgrounds. This, once again, reflects the basis and characteristics of the association with an emphasis on a diversity of religious backgrounds.

G. *Dauroh* (2008): In Search of One New Religious Orientation

A *dauroh* [*dawra*]³⁹⁹ (intensive Islamic studies) is held twice a year by PPME Amsterdam and has been occurring since 2008.⁴⁰⁰ This activity takes place over two weeks in May-June and in December-January. It is led by a preacher invited from Indonesia. Courses taught every day in each *dauroh* are principally the same, i.e. *aqīda* (faith) and the Traditions of the Prophet using the same Islamic books as long as the discussion on these subjects is not finished yet, whereas courses that are taught weekly follow the needs of its congregation.

The following is an example of *dauroh* held at the end of 2008 led by a Salafi⁴⁰¹ preacher, Abu Haidar, who was invited

³⁹⁸ Cf.: Razaq, *Neo-Muslim Intellectuals*, 68.

³⁹⁹ *Dauroh* literally means ‘course of instruction,’ Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Ed. J. Milton Cowan, 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden: Spoken Language Service Inc., 1976), 299.

⁴⁰⁰ A. Aziz Balbaid, *Jadwal Dauroh Amsterdam via e-mail* (Amsterdam: PPME, December 11, 2009), n.p.; see also *Euromuslim*, 1 June 2011, n.p., and Abu Haedar, *interview*, Bandung, 11 April 2009.

⁴⁰¹ To make it clear, Reformist Muslim organizations and the Salafis in Indonesia have a similar interest, i.e. “calling for creed purification and ritual cleansing” by returning to the Qur’an and the Ḥadīth. The difference is that the Salafis absolutely follow the manners of the pious predecessors (*al-salaf al-sāliḥ*) while the Reformists endeavour to “grasp the spirit of the Salaf” and adjust it to modern life. See Din Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia,” (PhD Thesis, Leiden University), 2014, p. 52. Therefore,

from Indonesia by the PPME branch.⁴⁰² It took place in the main room of the PPME Amsterdam centre, which in mid-2010 was renamed *at-Taqwa* [*al-Taqwā*] (Piety). Male and female participants sat separately on the floor and listened to the preacher's talks which were arranged according to a specific schedule. The talks were given in the evening (after *'ishā*), at dawn (after *ṣubḥ*), and in the afternoon (after *'aṣr*). A cloth two metres high called the *sātir* separated the men from the women. This is in contrast to the practice of *ikhtilāf* implemented at gatherings by other PPME branches. In this case, the preacher sat together with the men. To have the women follow his sermon, it was filmed and projected on a wall. This video link also offered them the opportunity to pose questions orally.

The *dauroh* of 2008 lasted for two weeks. It began by mid-December 2008 – the date was chosen considering the possibility of a preacher invited from Indonesia. It aimed at enhancing Islamic knowledge among members⁴⁰³ and had the title “Towards an Understanding of True Islamic Faith”.⁴⁰⁴ Subjects ranging from Islamic faith to issues relating to women were discussed every day. A book entitled *Arba'īn Nawāwī* (The Forty Traditions of the Prophet) by Imam Nawawi was used to facilitate the first session from 15:00 to 16:00 after *'aṣr*. Then, between 19.00 and 21.00 a talk called “The Comprehension of True Islamic Faith” was given referencing *Sharḥ Thalāthati'l-Uṣūl* (Commentary on

Salafi orientation has much been inspired by a Salafi *manhaj* (method), i.e. a *manhaj* following the manners, as was stated in chapter 1 by al-Bani, of three generations: companions of the Prophet Muhammad (*ṣahāba*), their followers (*tābi'un*), and the followers of the followers (*tabi'un al-tābi'in*).

⁴⁰² Abu Haidar comes from Bandung, West Java and is an alumnus of the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN, now, called the State Islamic University), Bandung. He is also a graduate of the Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic (LIPIA) Jakarta. LIPIA was founded in Jakarta in 1980 and is under the coordination and the supervision of Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. See “Profil dan Sejarah LIPIA,” accessed 11 June 2010, http://www.lipia.org/in/articles.php?article_id=1.

⁴⁰³ Balbaid, e-mail to author, 11 December 2009.

⁴⁰⁴ This is the translation of Indonesian version of the *dauroh* theme *Menuju Pemahaman Aqidah yang Benar*.

Three Principles) written by Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Uthaymin. Finally, another book, entitled “*Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* (The Gardens of the Righteous),” by Imam Nawawi was discussed from 07:00 to 08:00 after dawn prayers.⁴⁰⁵ Other sessions held during this *dauroh* course included sessions every Sunday, between 13:00 and 16:00, to discuss a book entitled *al-Wasāil al-Mufīda Lil-Ḥayāt al-Sa’ida* (Effective Media for Achieving Happiness) by Qasim ‘Abd al-Rahman. In addition, Islamic preaching specifically for women was held on Wednesdays from 13:00 to 16:00. These sessions made use of a book called *Wājibāt al-Mar’at al-Muslima fī Nazrat al-Qur’ān wal-‘Sunnah* (Obligations for Muslim Women according to the Quran and the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad) by Ummu ‘Amr.⁴⁰⁶ Thus, within two weeks the *dauroh* participants had received both an intensive and a diverse range of Islamic courses.

Seemingly, the *dauroh* had a special aim which has been mentioned before. It was to purify the *aqīda* (faith) of PPME members. Two groups that emerged after the split – PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash – had different stances on interpreting *aqīda* (faith) in relation to performing *istighotsah*.⁴⁰⁷ Participants of the *dauroh* study the Traditions of the Prophet using the works Salafi people use such as *Arba’īn Nawāwī* and *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*. Unlike the study of the Traditions which lasted only one hour, the study of the *aqīda*, which was a core part of the *dauroh* in 2008, lasted three hours and was offered in the evening. As a result, most of PPME Amsterdam members who had to work during the day could attend the session. The theme – “Towards an Understanding of True Islamic Faith” seemingly reflects the schism that occurred in the Amsterdam branch in mid-2005.

Istighotsah are intercessory prayers asking for God’s protection and assistance.⁴⁰⁸ *Istighotsah* involves the recitation of a given

⁴⁰⁵ Balbaid, *Jadwal Dauroh Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: PPME, December 6, 2009), n.p., and see also *Euromoslim*, June 2011, n.p.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, 7.

⁴⁰⁸ See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia)* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 277 and Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 4-5.

package of prayers. These prayers are longer and more varied than those of the *tahlilan* (part of the *istighotsah*). For example, it also includes reciting God's names (*Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*). *Yasinan* and *tahlilan* are frequently performed as an introduction to PPME's *istighotsah* activities. All the intercessory prayers are recited loudly in the same way that the prayers of *Qādiriyya* are recited in the Sufi tradition.⁴⁰⁹

Instead of performing the *istighotsah* (including *tahlilan* and *yasinan*) members of the board of PPME Amsterdam preferred to practice *dauroh*, which is used for improving Islamic knowledge of its members. They went so far as to raise objections against accommodating *istighotsah* in the PPME's new building at Ekingenstraat at the end of 2004.⁴¹⁰ These objections were in line with the viewpoint of Yazid ibn Abdul Qadir Jawas, author of *Mulia dengan Manhaj Salaf* (Noble with Salaf Method), and who has studied Islam with Muhammad ibn Ṣālih al-'Uthaymin. He refers to a point made by Abu Abdu'l-Salam Hasan ibn Qasim al-Hasani, the writer of a book entitled *Irshādu'l-Bariya* (The Guidance for Creatures), asserting that "...a Salafi does not gather with those performing *bid'a* (innovation)...."⁴¹¹ Similarly, PPME Amsterdam's members argue that *istighotsah* leads to *shirk* (polytheism) and is not based upon Islamic teaching and therefore is *bid'a*.⁴¹² This was in contrast to the view of members of PPME al-Ikhlash. For instance, Hasanah Iman (a pseudonym), frequently attended the *istighotsah* of Majlis Dzikir (Gathering for Remembering God), organized by PPME al-Ikhlash and a group that later became the proponent of PPME al-Ikhlash). He explains that,

All good deeds are allowed, even though there is no Prophet Tradition dealing with them; that is to say, they are not against *Sharī'a* (Islamic Law)... However, they [current members of PPME Amsterdam who are anti-Majlis Dzikir] regard us [who

⁴⁰⁹ See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat*, trans. Farid Wajidi and Rika Iffati (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012), 266.

⁴¹⁰ Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

⁴¹¹ Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, *Mulia dengan Manhaj Salaf* (Bogor: Pustaka-Taqwa, 2009), 253.

⁴¹² Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

regularly recite *istighotsah*] as polytheists. Remember and be careful, there is a Prophet Tradition asserting that a Muslim who claims another [Muslim] to be a polytheist is a polytheist!... [Consequently], if you [the anti-Majlis Dzikir] do not want to recite the *dzikir* [*istighotsah*] together with us because your *ulama* prohibits it, we [the participants of Majlis Dzikir] have no objection and won't judge you because it is your business. Do not force and oblige Muslims all over the world not to recite [*istighotsah*]! Do not judge them [these Muslims] as infidels, as people losing their way and as people doing wrong. ...Your *imam* himself, al-Bānī, asserted in his book *Tamām al-Minna* (The Perfection of Benevolence): a weak Prophet Tradition [*ḥadīṣun ḍa'īfun*] will reach a higher level, i.e. it will become a *ḥadīṣun ḥasan* (a good Prophet Tradition), and so it may be applied. This is because one supports another.⁴¹³

The emotional responses of PPME al-Ikhlash and the apparent urgency to enlighten the PPME Amsterdam's members on *istighotsah* drove PPME Amsterdam's board to use the *dauroh* as the media of introducing Salafi religious orientation. In fact, PPME was established on the basis of the diverse religious backgrounds of its founders – traditionalists and reformists have always been the backbone of PPME. Such diversity has been evident among the members of PPME in The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Breda-Tilburg. However, the PPME Amsterdam board members tend to use the *dauroh* to introduce to its members a new religious orientation that they consider to be the proper way.⁴¹⁴ Amghar, a sociologist of *l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (EHESS), Paris, calls it a Salafi focusing on “the correction of belief and of religious activities” – the second tendency of Salafism in Europe,⁴¹⁵ with a

⁴¹³ Hasanah Iman, e-mail to the members of PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash, pp. 2-5, 27 July 2005.

⁴¹⁴ A. A. Balbaid, interview, The Hague, 7 April 2011.

⁴¹⁵ There are, according to Amghar, three tendencies of Salafism in Europe, i.e. “revolutionary or jihadist Salafism, pursuing the objective of conversion and predication, and emphasizing political activism.” The first tendency emphasizes that political and social actions have to meet an Islamic perspective whereas the third one invites Muslims to establish Islamic state and society. Dissimilar to the mentioned tendencies, the second one emphasizes on “purification of the religion from innovations that sullied its dogma and its precepts, in order to return to the religion as it was taught by the Prophet and the education of Muslims, so that believers may conform to this religion and abandon their bad habits.” Samir

view to perfecting their belief. This effort has been highlighted by the presence of Abu Haedar, a Salafi preacher,⁴¹⁶ at the *dauroh* in 2008. Then, Salafi texts in the programme were used. For instance, *Sharḥ Thalatsati'l-Uṣūli* (Commentary on Three Principles), written by a well-known figure in the Salafi world, Muḥammad ibn Ṣaliḥ al-'Uthaymin,⁴¹⁷ has been used in the programme to teach Islamic faith.⁴¹⁸ The Indonesian translation of this Arabic book was even available for participants to buy. This book contains information on, among other things, the types of polytheism, i.e. the great polytheism that results in exclusion from Islam, and the small one that does not result in exclusion. It also talks about *Istighotsah*⁴¹⁹ which is classified into four categories. They are an appeal for aid from Allah directly; an appeal for aid from the dead who are incapable of providing assistance; an appeal from the living who are capable of providing assistance; and an appeal for aid from the living incapable of providing assistance. The second and fourth categories are forbidden. Appealing for aid from the dead leads to polytheism (*shirk*) and appealing for aid from those alive who are unable to help is seen as mocking others.⁴²⁰ PPME Members (with the exception of the congregation of PPME Amsterdam) appealing for Allah's aid by mentioning the names of a particular *ulama* (*wasīla*), for instance 'Abdul Qādir al-Jīlāni (Sufi), are not welcome at activities organized by PPME Amsterdam who have been consolidating their new religious orientation.

To conclude, the *dauroh* programme has been a vehicle for the board of PPME Amsterdam to improve and increase levels of comprehension of Islam by its members, in particular their knowledge of Islamic faith. This has served as a means to shape

Amghar, "Salafism and Radicalization of European Muslims," in Samir Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam* (Brussels: CEPS, 2007), 42-45.

⁴¹⁶ See Anonymous, "Menebar Kesejukan dan Memupuk Kelemahlembutan," at <http://www.abuhaedar.net>, accessed 9 June 2013.

⁴¹⁷ Amghar, "Salafism and Radicalization of European Muslims," 43.

⁴¹⁸ Haedar, interview, 11 April 2009.

⁴¹⁹ Muhammad ibn Salih al-'Uthaymin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok*, 52-55 and 95-97.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

their Salafi religious orientation. This new religious orientation actually may not detract from the characteristics of PPME, which favour a diversity of religious backgrounds among its members. This new religious orientation may extend the PPME's identity when there is still space for diversity among members. However, the disintegration of PPME in Amsterdam indicates the opposite and signifies that one religious orientation has deliberately been singled out for members of PPME Amsterdam.

II. Religious Discourses

Publishing bulletins has been a part of PPME's activities in the Netherlands since early 1972.⁴²¹ There were at least six bulletins available to the association's congregations. For instance, *al-Falah* [*al-Falāḥ*] (The Success) was published from 1972 to the end of the 1970s;⁴²² *al-Ittihaad* [*al-Ittiḥād*] (The Unity) was published from 1985 to the late 1990s;⁴²³ and *Iqra'* was issued from 1996 to the late 1990s.⁴²⁴ In addition to the bulletins published by the centre PPME, its branches in the Netherlands have also published such bulletins. For instance, since 1993 PPME Amsterdam has issued *Euromoslem*;⁴²⁵ from 1995 to the late 1990s, PPME The Hague has published *Zikra* (Remembrance); and from early 1999 to 2000 PPME Rotterdam issued *Afdeling* (Division) Rotterdam.⁴²⁶ In the following section, the author's Islamic backgrounds, writings, and viewpoints in *al-Ittihaad* and *Euromoslem* will be discussed. These two publications are chosen because they were well-read.

⁴²¹ See Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, *Laporan DPP PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I dari Tanggal 25-26 August 1973* (The Hague: PPME, n. y), n.p. In early 1972 Muslims issued their first newspaper in Western Europe. Issabelle Rigoni, "Access to Media for European Muslims," in Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam*, 118.

⁴²² Sjaiful A. Rangkuti, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawab Mandataris: Musyawarah Umum PPME/Ketua Umum DPP PPME Periode 1987-1982* (Aachen: PPME, 12-14 November 1982), 11; see also Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, *Laporan DPP PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I dari Tanggal 25-26 August 1973* (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p.

⁴²³ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 1999), 7.

⁴²⁴ See *Iqra'* 3, January-February 1998, 1.

⁴²⁵ See *Euromoslem* 22, July 1995, n.p.

⁴²⁶ See *Bulletin Afdeling Rotterdam* 6, November 1999, n.p.; see also *PPME Rotterdam* 1, Year 2, 1 March 2007, n.p.

A. *Al-Ittihaad* (1985)

Al-Ittihaad containing the information on activities of PPME has served as a resource for PPME's *da'wa* activities⁴²⁷ both in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980s, both traditionalist and reformist authors were given space in the bulletin. For instance, in the foreword of *al-Ittihaad* of July (1985: 2-4), Maksum, a traditionalist, discussed the law of *halal bihalal* [*ḥalāl bī ḥalāl*] (a gathering for forgiving one another) and inauguration of the *al-Ittihaad Muṣallā* – laws on subjects which cannot be found in the life of the Prophet. He was of the opinion that it was lawful to hold them. Furthermore, pertaining to the gathering for forgiving each other, he opined that it served as a vehicle for performing the Islamic teachings of *silaturahmi* [*ṣilatur-raḥim*] (human links) (discussed in chapter 3). This point of view was absolutely contrary, for instance, to that of the Salafis arguing that apologies should be made when necessary and not be limited to an annual event.⁴²⁸ It is worth noting that as far as socio-cultural activities of PPME are concerned, the *halal bihalal* is the one which draws a lot of attention from its members and invited guests. Another example was the article by Syafi'i Ma'arif, an important leader of Muhammadiyah. In the *al-Ittihaad* of July-August (1989: 15-16), he discussed a question from Yusuf Hasyim of NU: "Can a member of either Muhammadiyah or NU become a member of both socio-religious organizations?" delivered in a seminar held in the Surabaya Muhammadiyah University (UMS) on 9 July 1989. Ma'arif's opinion was that it was significant to establish bridges between Muhammadiyah and NU

⁴²⁷ *Al-Ittihaad* 10, May-June 1986, 2. Information on the socio-cultural events of PPME and other Islamic associations in the Netherlands was featured in the *al-Ittihaad*. For instance, it reported on the programs of performing prayers of 'īd al-*fiṭr* and 'īd al-*aḍḥā*; the schedule of *halal-bihalal*; and the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday along with the inauguration of *al-Hikmah*, an Indonesian mosque in The Hague. See *Al-Ittihaad*, 1985, 11, *Al-Ittihaad* 10, May-June 1986, 26-27, *Al-Ittihaad* 25, July-August 1989, 56 and 59, and *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December 1995, 31.

⁴²⁸ See Anas Burhanuddin, "Pengertian Halal Bihalal dan Sejarahnya," accessed 31 December 2011, <http://kampungsalaaf.wordpress.com/2011/09/04/menyingkap-keabsahan-halal-bi-halal/>. See also Hasan, "From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism," 140.

and encouraged the youths of both organizations to support each other (*kompak lahir batin*). He also supported Amin Rais' point of view of the significance of cross-organizational marriage between members of the two organizations. Ma'arif highlighted that these ideas were to accelerate the unity of the Indonesian Muslim community (*umma*). Ma'arif's suggestions are crucial for PPME which, since its inception, has been supported by people who have different ethnic backgrounds and religious orientations.

Articles presenting authors who had different religious backgrounds still could be found in *al-Ittihaad* of the 1990s. Moch. Caheron, a former journalist at Masyumi's newspaper, *Abadi*, in *al-Ittihaad* of December (1995: 21) discussed PPME's Islamic teaching for children. He argued that when Islamic teaching was integrated with the Islamic education of Sekolah Indonesia Nederland (SIN, Indonesian School in the Netherlands), its portion was less than enough as a supplement for their religious need. This was, especially, because of the lack of qualified religious teachers and the absence of a syllabus of Islamic teaching. Therefore, it needed a clear objective, syllabus, and schedule of teachers along with the establishment of a good institution for it. Such an integrated approach and an arrangement in education are applied by the schools affiliated with Muhammadiyah. In these schools, religious teaching is given to their students, alongside non-religious subjects and they are well managed.⁴²⁹ Another example was *al-Ittihaad* of November (1996: 17-18). In the bulletin, PPME published its interview done in The Hague in mid-1996 with Zainuddin, frequently called a preacher of a thousand audiences and who learned Islam from Idham Khalid, the former chairman of NU.⁴³⁰ During the interview, he explained much about ways to train the

⁴²⁹ See Nakamura, *The Crescent*, 263-271.

⁴³⁰ See Stevy Maradone, "Zaenuddin M. Z. Sejak Kecil Bakat Dakwahnya Sudah Terlihat," accessed 29 December 2011, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/11/07/05/lnueen-zainuddin-mz-sejak-kecil-bakat-dakwahnya-sudah-terlihat> and see also Zainuddin M. Z. was also involved himself in Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) from 1977 to 1982 following an invitation from Idham Khalid. See Anonimous, "Referensi Biografi Tokoh dan Public Figure," accessed 1 June 2013, <http://biografi.rumus.web.id/biografi-k-h-zainuddin-m-z/>.

young generation of PPME as cadres of *da'wa* in Europe. He said that it was important to change the focus of *da'wa* activity for the young generation of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. He argued that they needed to keep their Indonesian identity while conducting their daily activities in the Netherlands. He furthermore highlighted that they could become the cadres of *da'wa* in a non-Muslim country in which an Islamic atmosphere is less apparent. Therefore, *da'wa* should no longer focus on the preachers' interest, but on that of the audience.⁴³¹ As an example he mentioned the involvement of a male member of PPME's *nasyid* who wore earrings (which was against Islamic teaching) during the inauguration of the Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands in 1996. He argued that the person in question required an organization for his religious expression. It seemed that the *nasyid* group were his place. The last of his statement clearly shows that music for him was lawful, which is in line with the practices of traditionalist *pesantrens* endorsing *qasidah* music using musical instruments. As a result, he supported the music group being used as a medium of *da'wa* for youths.

The facts of the 1980s and 1990s show that the authors who contributed to the bulletin had connections to differing religious organizations in Indonesia, both traditionalist and reformist. In this way, readers who had no formal Islamic education were able to acquire Islamic knowledge from a variety of sources within the different religious orientations. In other words, the bulletin served not only as a new source for studying Islam,⁴³² but also as the media accommodating the differing religious organizational backgrounds consistent with its name, *al-Ittihaad* (Unity), which was unfortunately no longer issued in the following periods (discussed in chapter 5).

⁴³¹ The *da'wa* whose message is needed by the audience and whose method and medium should bring out in the heart of the audience. Moh. Ali Aziz (a preacher of PPME al-Ikhlash), *Ilmu Dakwah*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2009), 348.

⁴³² Cf. Jajat Burhanudin, "Traditional Islam and Modernity: Some Notes on the Changing Role of the Ulama in Early Twentieth Indonesia," in Azra, Van Dijk, and Kaptein, *Varieties of Religious Authority*, 55.

B. *Euromoslem* (1992)

Another bulletin is *Euromoslem* published by PPME Amsterdam. This bulletin has been published for more than two decades (from 1992 up to now) and serves as a vehicle for transmitting its *da'wa*.⁴³³ The paper-based version of this bulletin still appeared until 2003 and in order that the *da'wa* of PPME Amsterdam could reach a larger audience, Islamic discourses in *Euromoslem* have seemingly been published in digital form since the early 2000s.⁴³⁴ From the early 1990s to 2005, Islamic discourses in *Euromoslem* originated from both traditionalist and reformist authors.

For instance, in the *Euromoslem* of January (1995: 5-7), Maksum discussed Islamic Law on women's *aurat* [*'awrāt*] (the parts of the body that must be covered up in public). He mentioned that there have been two main lines of thought on this law. There were firstly those who believe that it is obligatory for women to cover all parts of the body, even when not performing the five-times-a-day prayers. Then, there were those who did not consider it obligatory for women to cover up except when praying. According to him, *ulama* in favour of a woman covering herself are textualists, whereas those who hold the opposing view are contextualists, i.e., those who really consider *asbāb al-nuzūl* (the history of the sending down of the Quranic verses) of Chapter Al-Nūr: 31 and al-Ahzāb: 59.⁴³⁵ Thus, based upon the contextualist approach, the aim of covering the *'awrāt* and the dress code of the women in a society should be taken into account during the discussion. His point of view absolutely differs, for instance, with that of the reformist Persis which only underpins the first mainstream approach. It

⁴³³ Issues of other Islamic organizations in the Netherlands are not really represented in *Euromoslems*, Apart from its religious articles, its other contents are similar to those of *al-Ittihaad*.

⁴³⁴ Fatimah, telephone interview, 23 December 2011. *Euromoslem* of 2002, for instance, published an issue on recommended prayers (*ṣalāt al-sunna*) by Said ibn Ali ibn Wahf Al-Qaṭṭānī, which was sent to members of the PPME Amsterdam and to those of PPME branches in the Netherlands through euromoslem@hotmail.com on 22 November 2002.

⁴³⁵ A. H. Maksum, "Hukum tentang Aurat Wanita," in *Euromoslem* 16, January 1995, 5-7.

argues that women should cover all parts of their body, except their face and palms, in their daily life.⁴³⁶ Up to now, female members of PPME, themselves, have dressed in the way of the two different streams. In *Euromoslem* of July-August (1999: 11), the writing of A. M. Fatwa, the deputy of Lembaga Hikmah Pimpinan Pusat (Division of Wisdom of Central Executive) of Muhammadiyah, one of the founders of the Reformist Muslim-Based Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN, National Mandate Party) and a former chairman of *Muballighāt* (Preachers) Corp of Muhammadiyah Jakarta,⁴³⁷ on the obligation of performing *da'wa* was presented. Fatwa argued that in order to defend and sustain the life and the common good (*kemaslahatan*) of society, every Muslim must serve as a primary agent of *da'wa*. Hence, it is essential that individual Muslim should engage in *amar ma'rūf wa nahy munkar* (commanding good and forbidding wrong).⁴³⁸ Such an idea is *da'wa* of Muhammadiyah orientation, i.e. each member of Muhammadiyah must become an *al-Ṣāliḥ al-Muṣliḥ* (a reforming-pious person), namely, a good individual who is prepared to reform mistakes.⁴³⁹ According to Moh. Ali Aziz, a traditionalist preacher who has been invited by PPME al-Ikhlash for its *Ramaḍān* programme, such an idea can only be implemented when a Muslim has Islamic knowledge.⁴⁴⁰ In contrast, the *da'wa* which PPME is concerned with is performed by its members who feel a need to do so. Moreover, *Euromoslem* of

⁴³⁶ See Federspiel, *Labirin Ideology Muslim*, 385-386. This practice is similar to the point of view of the textualist al-Bānī. See: Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, *Women between Islam and Western Society*, 1st ed. (New Delhi: Islamic Centre, 1995), 226-227.

⁴³⁷ Fatwa is also a member of advisory board of Perhimpunan Keluarga Besar of Pelajar Islam Indonesia and of the advisory board of Alumni Corp of HMI (KAHMI).

⁴³⁸ A. M. Fatwa, "Kewajiban Berdakwah," in, *Euromoslem* 67, July-August 1999, 11.

⁴³⁹ Nashir (ed.), *Manhaj Gerakan Muhammadiyah*, 35, and see PP Muhammadiyah, "Gerakan Muhammadiyah adalah Gerakan Pencerahan dan Dakwah Muhammadiyah adalah Dakwah Pencerahan," accessed 10 July 2014, <http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/news-3780-detail-gerakan-muhammadiyah-adalah-gerakan-pencerahan-dan-dakwah-muhammadiyah-adalah-dakwah-pencerahan.html>. See also Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2009), 39.

⁴⁴⁰ Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2004), 148-153.

July-August (2001: 3-11) issued a topic about the domestic life of the Prophet Muhammad written by ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Qasim. He was, among others, of the opinion that Muslims were prohibited to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet and to visit sites of his legacies like his cemetery and the *Hirā* cave where the first revelation was sent to him. They were innovations (*bid‘a*). These viewpoints are reformist-oriented and obviously contrary to those of traditionalist Muslims who tended to not only allow, but also encourage others to do such activities.

It is worth mentioning that since the late 1990s, Salafi-oriented works have been the primary contents of *Euromoslem*. The authors of this period used the works of Salafis such as Muhammad ibn Shalih al-‘Uthaymin (a student of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ‘Abd Allāh ibn Bāz) for their viewpoints⁴⁴¹ and the works of those who inspired the emergence of the Salafi *da‘wa*, i.e. *da‘wa* calling upon Muslims to return to the Quran and the Prophet’s Tradition, as well as to follow the Salafi *manhaj*,⁴⁴² in Indonesia such as Ibn Taymiyya, al-Albani and Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah.⁴⁴³ The *Euromoslem* editions of July-Agust (1999: 5-9) and September-October (2000: 2-3) presented writings of Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin, an Indonesian Salafi leader.⁴⁴⁴ Both discussed attributes of God. The former dealt with significance and principles of understanding of the attributes. In reference to a book entitled *Al-Qawā‘id al-Mutlā fi Şifātillāh wa Asmāihī al-Ḥusnā* (Perfect Principles in God’s Attributes and His Good Names) by Ibn Utsaymin, he argued that perfect attributes of God were unlike those of human beings. In addition, the attributes should be understood only according to divine proof (*dalīl naqlī*). In a similar sense, it is more clearly discussed in the latter writing. It discussed the point of view of al-Firqat al-Nājiya (The Rescued Group) about Allah’s attributes in reference to a book entitled *Al-Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya* (The Mediating Faith) of Ibn Taymiyya.⁴⁴⁵ He

⁴⁴¹ See Syamsuddin and Arifin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok*, 4.

⁴⁴² Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 53.

⁴⁴³ Hasan, “From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism,” 140 and 143.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁵ Ahmad Faiz Saifullah, “Bagaimana Membangun Imam yang Benar,” in

stated that the *al-firqa*, which is one of the names Salafi groups like to use,⁴⁴⁶ was a Muslim group that would be rescued by Allah from the fire of hell. He added that according to the *al-firqa*, it was important to well know and comprehend the names and attributes of Allah in order to be able to truly perform worship to Him. The *al-firqa* determined all His names and attributes on the basis of the Qur’anic verses and the Prophet’s Traditions because they were beyond rational capability; only God knew their essence.⁴⁴⁷ Then, between July and August, *Euromoslem* (2003: 7-12) presented a translated article⁴⁴⁸ of Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah on the avoidance of *zinā* (adultery) by Muslims. Beginning with the need to control their speech and maintain a commitment to avoiding *zinā*, the author informed his readers of the consequences of *zinā* on both its actors and their families, as well as to any child born as a result of it.⁴⁴⁹ The author based his information upon the Quranic verses and the Prophet’s Traditions from sources, usually used by Salafis such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (al-Bukhārī’s Sound Collections of the Prophet’s Traditions), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Muslim’s Sound Collections of the Prophet’s Traditions) and *Jāmi’ al-Tirmidhī* of Ibn Mūsā al-Tirmidhī (al-Tirmidhī’s Comprehensive Collections of the Prophet’s Traditions).⁴⁵⁰ Additionally, the author does not discuss them intellectually – a Salafi way.

Euromoslem, September-October 2000, 2-3.

⁴⁴⁶ Other names of the Salafi groups are, for instance, al-Jamā’a (the Congregation), Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a (the People Following the Prophet’s Traditions and the Congregation), and Ahl al-Ittibā’ (the Followers). See Jawas, *Mulia dengan Manhaj Salaf*, 35-36. In fact, Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a is a term also used for the religious orientation of NU. However, the Salafis and the traditionalists identify the term differently (discussed in chapter 6).

Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

⁴⁴⁷ Ahmad Faiz Saifullah, “Bagaimana Membangun Imam yang Benar,” in *Euromoslem*, September-October 2000, 2-3.

⁴⁴⁸ There is no information about a source from which the article is quoted.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, “Jangan Dekati Zina,” trans., in *Euromoslem* 91, July-August, 2003, 7-12.

⁴⁵⁰ See Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 215 and see also Muhammad Rifqi, “Keteladanan al-Imam at-Tirmidzi [al-Tirmidhī] dalam Menuntut Ilmu,” accessed 18 July 2014, <http://www.darussalaf.or.id/biografi/keteladanan-al-imam-at-tirmidzi-dalam-menuntut-ilmu/>.

The internal conflict among the congregation of PPME Amsterdam at the end of 2005 strengthened the emergence of a digital version⁴⁵¹ via its e-mails such as euromoslem@hotmail.com, euromoslem@PPME-amsterdam.org, muslimnl@yahoo.com, and media@euromoslim.org. These e-mails only contain the writings of Salafi authors and this means that there was no longer space for authors of not only traditionalist, but also reformist backgrounds. This was in line with the performing of the *dauroh* in which the Salafi orientation had deliberately been arranged.

The following are examples of Salafi authors' writings of the period. *Euromoslem* of 31 March 2006 issued the true ethics of a Muslim in his relation to God by Arif Syarifuddin. He was of the opinion that a Muslim should establish God's revelation; conduct His laws; and be patient with and accept the fate He has decided. His viewpoints were based mostly on a *Kitāb al-'Ilm* (The Book of Knowledge) by Ibn 'Uthaymin. *Euromoslem* of 20 November 2009 issued the significance of Islamic knowledge and its experts.⁴⁵² This was an article which was written by 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Bāz, a leading figure of Salafi *da'wa* and translated by Abu Mushlih Ari Wahyudi, the chairman of Ma'had al-'Ilm (Boarding of Islamic Knowledge) in Yogyakarta.⁴⁵³ The author presented the importance, for instance, of the *dawra* [which was regularly held by PPME Amsterdam] as the medium for those who wanted to study Islam. Moreover, he added that the seekers of Islamic knowledge should be patient in their learning and want to spread the knowledge to other Muslims, as al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ did.⁴⁵⁴ *Euromoslem* of January 2010 presented an article on understanding the position of the *imam* (prayer leader) and *ma'mūm* (the follower), in collective prayer (*jamā'a*). It was written by Abu Asma Kholid Syamhudi, a member

⁴⁵¹ Siti Fatimah (chairperson of the Educational Division of PPME Amsterdam), telephone interview, 23 December 2011.

⁴⁵² *Euromoslem*, 20 November 2009, n.p.

⁴⁵³ Ma'had al-'Ilm is a centre of Salafi cadres of *da'wa* recruited from students of universities in Indonesia. See "Donasi Ma'had al-'Ilm," accessed 18 July 2014, <http://abumushlih.com/donasi-ma%E2%80%99had-al-%E2%80%99ilmi/>.

⁴⁵⁴ *Euromoslem*, 20 January 2010, n.p.

of editorial board of the Salafi magazine Assunnah, Solo, Central Java. In this article, the author discussed, for instance, the validity of becoming the follower of a *fāsiq* (sinner) and *mubtadi'* (heretic) in the collective prayer. This is in reference to the opinions of Ibn 'Uthaymin and Ibn Taymiyya. It is worth mentioning that after the internal conflict in 2005, religious orientation of a leader prayer was a heated topic with which PPME Amsterdam was much concerned. Prayers of its congregation should be led by a person who had a similar religious orientation – by a Salafi. As a result, the PPME branch preferred its younger members knowledgeable of Islam who were Salafi to Islamic preachers whose religious orientation differed from that of its congregation to become their prayers leader even though the preachers were elder and leading figures of the central PPME. We see, then, that after 2005 there has been no diversity in *Euromoslem* and a tendency to reflect a narrow set of religious sources, i.e. Salafi-oriented authors. This suggests that PPME Amsterdam has set aside its previous principle reflecting diverse religious backgrounds – it is still attempting to make its own religious orientation known.⁴⁵⁵

To sum up, the Islamic discourses that have developed in *al-Ittihaad* and *Euromoslem* and that can be used as sources for studying Islam by the members of PPME reflect the diverse religious orientation of the organization. *Al-Ittihaad* has accommodated traditionalist and reformist works. By contrast, the articles presented in *Euromoslem* have undergone a change of religious orientation, i.e. from diversity to a single Salafi religious orientation. The schism in PPME Amsterdam's congregation in mid-2005 can be seen as a factor in *Euromoslem*'s shift to the Salafi publication.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Rigoni, "Access to Media for European Muslims," 119.