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

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## **Chapter Four:**

### **The Indonesian Networks of PPME in the Netherlands**

PPME is not an exclusive Indonesian association. Other Muslims in Europe can participate in its activities. However, because of the Indonesian majority of its members and its leading figures, it is impossible for PPME not to have ties with other Indonesian organizations and institutions in the Netherlands, such as the KBRI (Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia), Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI, the Association for Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals), Pusat Informasi dan Pelayanan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PIP PKS, Centre of Information and Service of the Prosperous Justice Party), and Pimpinan Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah (PCIM, Board of Special Branch of the Muhammadiyah).

#### **I. KBRI: The Result of Cooperation in Religious and Organizational Activities**

Since its inception in 1971, PPME has never structurally been a part of the KBRI in the Netherlands. PPME is independent and a Muslim association without politically oriented principles,<sup>614</sup> but with strong principles where it concerns *da'wa* activities. This means that PPME, which primarily serves to fulfill the religious and socio-cultural requirements of its members and sympathizers living in the Netherlands and other European countries, refuses to be dictated to by other organizations or institutions, including the KBRI. The consequence of this European orientation is that only a few PPME activities are aimed at Indonesian Muslims in Indonesia. These are epitomized by the PPME's sending of *zakāt al-fīṭr* and other financial donations collected from its members as aid for the victims of natural disasters<sup>615</sup> and doing a joint activity caring for orphans and needy people.

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<sup>614</sup> The neutrality of PPME distinguishes itself, for instance, from the Turkish Milli Görüş (National Vision), which is affiliated to a religious political party in Turkey. See Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 117-127.

<sup>615</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976* (The Hague: PPME, 1976), 9.

Furthermore Islam, rather than *Pancasila*, is the basis of PPME's activities enabling it to accept members regardless of their nationality. Consequently, Arabic and Dutch members and participants, mostly *muallafūn* (new Islamic converts), can be found in each PPME branch. Because of the presence of Dutch and Arabic members in the PPME, its boards took the view that cooperation with the KBRI was encouraged so far as it was not harmful to the unity of the PPME and its members. The cooperation between PPME and the KBRI included various activities such as deciding when the first and the final day of *Ramaḍān* should be; deciding the date of *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* (sacrificial feast); collecting *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl* (yearly obligatory almsgiving of property); supporting the performing of the Friday prayers; providing assistance to run the organization of the *al-Hikmah* Mosque; and taking part in the maintenance of the mosque.

#### **A. Religious Activities (1970s)**

##### **1. Supporting the KBRI's Decision on the First and the Final Day of *Ramaḍān* and the Date of *ʿīd al-Aḍḥā***

In determining the beginning and the end of the fasting month, *Ramaḍān*, Muslims with a different background might decide on a different date. The process requires conducting *ru'yatul-hilāl* (the sighting of the lunar crescent) and the expertise of *ḥisāb* (the reckoning method used to determine the beginning and the end of Islamic lunar months),<sup>616</sup> in addition to the knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence relating to these rituals. These procedures also apply to the process of making a decision about the date of *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* (the sacrificial feast), even though the latter, on the face of it, appears to be more straightforward. This is because *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* takes place on the 10<sup>th</sup> of *Dhul-ḥijja* (the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the Islamic calendar), rather than on the first date of the month. However, the focus of the present discussion is not about the complexities of

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<sup>616</sup> Detailed information on the methods used to determine the beginning and the end of the Islamic lunar months in an Indonesian context can be seen in Wahyu Widiana's work in Farid Ismail and Sriyatin Shadiq, *Hisab Rukyat Jembatan menuju Pemersatu Umat* (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Asy-Syakirin, 2005).

making these decisions, but it is rather about the participation of the PPME in the gatherings organized and hosted by the KBRI in the Netherlands which aimed to determine the fixed dates of start of *Ramaḍān*, *‘īd al-ḥiṭr*, and *‘īd al-aḍḥā*.

The participation of PPME’s people in these gatherings was one effort to build a relationship with the Indonesian embassy in the Netherlands. The presence of the representatives of PPME and other Indonesian Muslim groups<sup>617</sup> at these activities was in response to a formal invitation of the KBRI.<sup>618</sup> PPME sent its delegates to attend these gatherings as it was aware of the importance of the dates for its congregation, in particular, and for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands who would follow the decision of KBRI, in general. What had been decided upon should not raise a doubt.<sup>619</sup> They, especially as Indonesian employees, needed a fixed schedule of the dates on which they could propose their days off work to their employers.

Generally speaking, PPME supported the decisions made by the KBRI in the above matters. One exception was in 1974 when, based on its own decision on when the final day of *Ramaḍān* would be, the PPME held its own *‘īd al-ḥiṭr*

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<sup>617</sup> From the 1970s to 1980, other representatives came from Keluarga Islam Delft (KID, Delft Muslim Family). A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 29-30. From the 1990s onwards, in addition to KID’s representatives, this activity was also attended by ICMI’s representatives. A. Nafān Sulchan, a graduate of the institute for *imam* education in Iraq and an outspoken figure of the PPME, interview, The Hague, 22 Nov. 2008. In the 2000s, the representatives included various Indonesian Muslim leaders residing in the Netherlands. See Pengurus Masjid al-Hikmah, “Pemberitahuan tentang Awal Bulan Suci Ramdhan 1428 H,” accessed 2 February 2009, <http://www.id.indonesia.nl/content/view/41/144/>. See also Pengurus Masjid al-Hikmah, “Pemberitahuan tentang 1 Syawal 1428 H Hari Raya Idul Fitri 2007,” accessed 2 February 2009, <http://www.id.indonesia.nl/content/view/39/144/>.

<sup>618</sup> Sulchan, interview, 22 Nov. 2008. The presence of the representatives was not aimed to uniform their decision but to gain an understanding of the dates decided among the boards of Indonesian socio-religious organizations. Therefore, the decision was understood, despite their disagreement. See Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 October 1974, 1, PPME, The Hague.

<sup>619</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 30

prayers at Daguerrestraat 60.<sup>620</sup> The PPME preferred to use the geographical position of Saudi Arabia and the decision of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia when deciding the date, whereas the KBRI preferred to use the geographical position of the Netherlands when making its calculations.<sup>621</sup> Another point of difference arose between the KBRI and PPME in 2005 when the PPME Amsterdam branch split. Again, the disagreement centered on the differing approaches between the PPME branch and the KBRI in determining the important dates in the above matters. However, these two cases did not harm relations between the PPME and the KBRI. Indeed, for many years members of PPME and KBRI officials performed the prayers of *tarāwih*, *īd al-fīṭr*, and *īd al-aḍḥā* together; initially in a leased hall and, after 1996, in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque.<sup>622</sup> With regard to the split in Amsterdam, the PPME Amsterdam branch situated on Ekingenstraat was the only PPME branch to decide the dates of key rituals differently from the KBRI. Other branches in The Hague, Rotterdam, Breda-Tilburg, Heemskerk, and also PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, adopted the embassy's dates.<sup>623</sup> Thus, the support of PPME was certainly an effort by the PPME to maintain this togetherness.<sup>624</sup> Sulchan strongly asserts that "to embrace Islam is easy, why should we make it [Islamic teaching] difficult?" This statement can be an exception to the statement of Van Bommel who hints at the lack of cohesion among the Muslims in The Netherlands due to their differing doctrines.<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>620</sup> Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 October 1974, 1, PPME, The Hague.

<sup>621</sup> Sufjan Ollong, interview, Ridderkerk, 5 May 2009. Ollong was the *imam* of the KBRI. He also had been the camp leader of Moluccan Muslims living in the Netherlands. Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in ballingschap* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1994), 184-185.

<sup>622</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976*, 7-8.

<sup>623</sup> Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

<sup>624</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976*, 7.

<sup>625</sup> See A. van Bommel, "The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations," in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Dutch Society*, 140-141.

## 2. 'Āmil of *Zakāt al-Fiṭr* and *Zakāt al-Māl*

Every year PPME fulfills its role as an 'āmil (collector) of alms – *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl*.<sup>626</sup> As an 'āmil, this Muslim organization has the right to collect these two types of almsgiving and distribute it to those in need. The *zakāts* were usually collected from members and sympathizers who wanted to pay their alms to a committee formed by the PPME and also from officials of the KBRI, as well as those who performed the *tarāwīḥ* prayers at the KBRI. It will be all right for a Muslim association if the activity of collecting almsgiving from its own members and sympathizers is carried out at its own location. However, questions can be asked about the collection of alms because it was primarily done by PPME; either in the hall of the KBRI in the 1970s and 1980s or in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque, which was under the authority of the KBRI, in the 1990s and 2000s. A key to understanding why the PPME feels justified in collecting alms in places under the authority of the KBRI is by examining the ways in which the PPME cooperates in this case with the KBRI and in which the alms are distributed.

Since 1972, PPME has cooperated with the KBRI in collecting alms.<sup>627</sup> This cooperation usually occurred during *Ramaḍān* during the weekly *tarāwīḥ* prayers, held every Thursday night in the hall of the KBRI. Before prayers commenced, an announcement about the payment of alms was delivered by an almsgiving committee which was affiliated with the KBRI. The announcement included the information that alms could be paid to either KBRI or PPME almsgiving committees.<sup>628</sup> This indicates that the KBRI had given the PPME permission to collect payments of both *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl* from

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<sup>626</sup> *Zakāt al-fiṭr* is “a payment due on behalf of all Muslims, male or female, minor or adult, slave or free, in connection with the termination of the fast of *Ramaḍān*,” whereas *Zakāt al-māl* is the obligation of a yearly payment upon a Muslim’s property having reached a certain measure. See: A. Zysow, “Zakat,” in P. J. Bearman, et al., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 11, new edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 408–418.

<sup>627</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP PPME 25-26 Agustus 1973*, n.d. and n.p.

<sup>628</sup> Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

the congregation before the *tarāwīḥ* prayers at the KBRI hall in The Hague. This shows that the board of the PPME had a good connection with the officials of KBRI responsible for religious activities and with its Indonesian ambassadors.<sup>629</sup> This relation was illustrated by the facts that in the 1970s, both sides cooperated in collecting alms<sup>630</sup> and the difference of opinion in 1974 about the date of *ʿīd al-ḥijr* did not harm their cooperation in this respect.<sup>631</sup>

Permission was also granted due to the fact that the PPME and the KBRI were targeting the same country in terms of distributing the collected alms. That is to say, both institutions agreed that they wanted to deliver the alms to those in need living in Indonesia, rather than in the Netherlands, Suriname, or other European countries.<sup>632</sup> This fact also fostered cooperation between the two in the 1980s. Indeed, despite the fact that since 1982, the PPME had had its own place of worship in The Hague, *al-Ittiḥād*, it remained faithful to supporting the joint weekly *tarāwīḥ* prayers in the hall of the KBRI.<sup>633</sup> This provided the PPME with another opportunity to collect alms from both its own members and KBRI's officials.

In the 1990s and 2000s, cooperation between both sides in collecting alms continued. The good relations between the two and the shared goal of distributing alms to Indonesia remained an important factor in this continuity. In this period, a significant change occurred in respect to the form of their cooperation that cannot be separated from the presence of the *al-Hikmah* Mosque, which was already being used for PPME's *tarāwīḥ* prayers since 1996. The PPME was permitted to make use of the mosque once or twice a week,

<sup>629</sup> Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat DPP PPME 12 Desember 1973, 1, PPME, The Hague.

<sup>630</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP PPME 25-26 Agustus 1973*, n.d. and n.p., DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976*, 9 and DPP PPME/YMAE, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1976-1979*, 15.

<sup>631</sup> Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat DPP PPME 26 Oktober 2004, PPME, The Hague.

<sup>632</sup> Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

<sup>633</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan Umum PPME 1986-1988* (The Hague: PPME, 1988), 28.



on Saturdays and Sundays for its socio-cultural and religious activities. In addition, the mosque board allowed the PPME's almsgiving committee to receive those who would like to pay their alms over the weekend in the mosque.<sup>634</sup> It should be noted that in addition to this arrangement, the PPME committee was also still able to benefit from the courtesy of the almsgiving committee formed by the KBRI. In fact, when the KBRI committee had reached its target for collecting alms, it suggested that anyone still wanting to pay alms should do so via PPME's committee.<sup>635</sup> This situation would never have arisen had it not been for the concern of KBRI to be responsible for its Indonesian members of PPME.<sup>636</sup>

The on-going efforts by PPME to collect alms from those other than their own members were financially motivated. Acting as the *āmil* for almsgiving<sup>637</sup> was advantageous for PPME who benefited financially from collecting *zakāt al-māl* (but not from collecting *zakāt al-fiṭr*). According to Islamic jurisprudence, for instance of the Shafi'ite school, the almsgiving workers [like PPME] could be awarded one-eighth of its total proceeds.<sup>638</sup> PPME acknowledged that this was part of its sources of funding and the money was used for the organization's activities and to purchase facilities.<sup>639</sup>

### 3. Support for Performing Friday Prayers: From *Khaṭīb* to *Imām*

Van Koningsveld asserted that *imams* in the mosques or *muṣallās* (prayer halls) in the Netherlands can be categorized into three types. They are informal *imams* who voluntarily work for the mosque community; professional *imams* who

<sup>634</sup> Rudy Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

<sup>635</sup> Ibid.

<sup>636</sup> See Keputusan Menteri Luar Negeri No. S.K. 06/A/OT/VI/2004/01, 1 June 2004.

<sup>637</sup> DPP PPME/YMAE, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1976-1979*, 15.

<sup>638</sup> Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh al-Zakah: A Comparative Study of Zakah, Regulations and Philosophy in the Light of Quran and Sunnah*, trans. Monzer Kahf, vol. 2 (Jeddah: King Abdul Aziz University, n.y.), 28.

<sup>639</sup> DPP PPME, *Laporan kerja PPME 1973-1976*, 14.

are requested and then hired by the mosque community; and professional *imams* who are sent and employed by the government of the mosque community's country of origin.<sup>640</sup> Based on these categories, the *imams* of the PPME can be classified as belonging to the first. Despite carrying out weekly tasks such as leading religious ceremonies for its congregation and being the prayer leader, the PPME's *imams* were not employed by their *muṣhallā* or mosque communities and had other jobs in their daily life. Generally, they worked for the PPME without a written contract. This was also the case after they were recruited by the KBRI as *khaṭīb*s (preachers) for the Friday prayers held in its hall.<sup>641</sup> Their position was, therefore, worse than that described by Ghaly, who assumes that the salary of *imams* in the Netherlands is very low and that they are forced to work for periods without a written agreement from an employer.<sup>642</sup> Nevertheless, they continued to support the performance of weekly Islamic obligations. This reflects the founding ideals of the PPME, i.e. to propagate Islam to their congregations and other Muslim groups, in particular those living in the Netherlands.

Since the second half of the 1970s, the *imams* of the PPME have supported the performing of Friday prayers held in KBRI's hall. The *imams* who participated mainly lived in The Hague and included, among others, A. H. Maksum, Moh. Chaeron, Muhammad Syukur, M. Surya Ali Negara, and A. Naʿan Sulchan. In addition to them, there were preachers from other Indonesian Muslim groups.<sup>643</sup>

<sup>640</sup> See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 62 and see also Welmoet Boender, *Imam in Nederland: Opvattingen over zijn religieuze rol in de samenleving*, PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2007, 14-18.

<sup>641</sup> A. Naʿan Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 23 June 2009.

<sup>642</sup> Mohammed M. Ghaly, "The Academic Training of Imams: Recent Discussions and Initiatives in The Netherlands," in Willem B. Dress and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008), 375.

<sup>643</sup> Kerohanian Islam, *Jadwal Giliran Khatib Shalat Jum'at di Aula KBRI Den Haag* (The Hague: KBRI, 1995), n.p. See also DPP PPME, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 31.

The PPME *imams*' support for the Friday prayers at the Indonesian embassy became even more apparent in the 1980s. There was the *Muṣallā of al-Ittihaad*, but the Friday prayers were rarely held there and instead, took place in the hall of the KBRI. An exception formed the 1980s when Friday prayers were held in *al-Ittihaad* following a request from Surinamese-Javanese Muslims. The PPME's decision on supporting the KBRI's weekly religious programme was a deliberate decision to strengthen the unity among Indonesian Muslims in The Netherlands.<sup>644</sup> In other words, the PPME prioritized the unity of Indonesian Muslims over other interests, such as promoting activities in the *al-Ittihaad* and performing the Friday prayers for Surinam Muslims in the prayer hall.

The involvement of PPME's people in supporting Friday prayers in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy in the 1970s and 1980s was welcomed by the *imam* of the KBRI, Sufjan Ollong, a Moluccan and former member of the Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (KNIL, Royal Dutch East Indies Army) officially appointed by the Ambassador in 1964. He led the weekly Friday service,<sup>645</sup> while one of the PPME people would act as the preacher. This situation went on until the early 2000s, when the Friday prayers moved from the KBRI and were held in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque.<sup>646</sup> Following this change in venue, the official *imam* of the KBRI could no longer act as the *imam* at the Friday prayers. Instead, his position was frequently taken over by voluntary *imams*, including those affiliated with the PPME.

The decision of the Indonesian ambassador on discontinuing the performing of the Friday prayers in the hall of KBRI was a decisive factor behind the changing roles of both the official and salaried *imam* of the KBRI and the voluntary *imams* of the PPME. Despite the fact that in 1996 the *al-Hikmah* board decided to have the Friday prayers performed

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<sup>644</sup> Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

<sup>645</sup> Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

<sup>646</sup> Hasyim, interview, The Hague, 5 Dec. 2008.

in the mosque, these weekly rituals were also still held in the KBRI hall. However, in the early 2000s, the Indonesian Ambassador decided to terminate the performance of the weekly Islamic obligation in the hall of the KBRI.<sup>647</sup> This decision contradicted Ollong's view that there should be continuity in respect of the weekly religious activity in order to spread the messages of Islam among the Muslim officials of the KBRI.<sup>648</sup> The KBRI argued that the very reason behind the decision was to increase efficiency and productivity, as the weekly religious activity demanded a lot of time and effort from KBRI officials and it wanted to support the spread of the *syi'ār* of Islam through the *al-Hikmah*,<sup>649</sup> the first Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands, where it could reach more people because there were less barriers for Muslims to enter a mosque than an embassy. It is worth noting that the official *imam*, Ollong<sup>650</sup> said, "I am the official *imam* of the KBRI. Therefore, the *imam* in the weekly religious activity is me."<sup>651</sup> This implies that to be an *imam* in a religious meeting in the KBRI's hall required his permission. However, permission from the official *imam* was apparently unnecessary for an *imam* at the Friday prayers held in *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Therefore, the decision reduced Ollong's role as the *imam* of KBRI. He had no authority regarding arrangements for the performing of weekly religious obligations in *al-Hikmah* Mosque because he was not in charge of its board.<sup>652</sup> Moreover, the mosque did not belong to the KBRI. Thus, Ollong had no authority to say who could or could not be the *imam* of Friday prayers held in the mosque.

## B. Organizational Activities (1996)

As the PPME continued to build relations with the KBRI,

<sup>647</sup> Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

<sup>648</sup> Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

<sup>649</sup> Hasyim, interview, 5 Dec. 2008.

<sup>650</sup> Ibid.

<sup>651</sup> Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

<sup>652</sup> Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 10.

it widened its cooperation with the embassy's organizational activities. As an independent socio-religious organization and a regular user of the rooms at *al-Hikmah* Mosque, the PPME had been actively involved in stimulating the use of the mosque and in maintaining the mosque. This would suggest that the status of the PPME as a lessee, rather than the owner or authoritative board of the mosque, was irrelevant and that its commitment to taking care of the mosque led to various involvements with the mosque board. The following examples illustrate this organizational cooperation.

### 1. Stimulating the Use of *al-Hikmah* Mosque

In Europe, the prayer-hall, *muṣallā*, or the mosque generally functioned as places for religious gatherings, basic religious education for children, multi-religious activities as well as a social-cultural centre, the place for social activities, and as a place for women to participate.<sup>653</sup> Consequently, a *muṣallā* or mosque needs to function effectively. Even though *al-Hikmah* Mosque does not belong to the PPME and is organizationally structured under the authority of the KBRI, this was not an obstacle in terms of the PPME jointly stimulating activities in the mosque in cooperation with the mosque board formed by the KBRI. The following section illustrates this.

It can be said that the establishment of the Indonesian mosque was “a dream comes true” for the PPME. It had been planning to have a mosque since the early 1970s.<sup>654</sup> After 25 years of waiting, the PPME had the opportunity to run a

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<sup>653</sup> See Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 57-66. The functions asserted by Landman are wider than those stated by Shadid and Van Koningsveld. They put more emphasis on the basic functions of a prayer hall or mosque, i.e. as a place for religious observances, the provider of basic religious education for children of the community and a place where the community can gather daily. See Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), “Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in The Netherlands,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 90-91.

<sup>654</sup> The plan to have a mosque was proposed by the PPME in the early 1970s. See Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat PPME 14 July 1974, PPME, The Hague. See also DPP PPME, *Program kerja PPME 1971-73*, n.p.

mosque in cooperation with KBRI. In fact, PPME's enthusiasm and involvement in the mosque sacrificed its own prayer hall *al-Ittihaad*, which the association had purchased in 1982.<sup>655</sup> The hall was deteriorating and required a large amount of money for renovation.<sup>656</sup> However, the PPME appeared to be more concerned with the mosque than with the maintenance of the prayer hall. On 18 September 1996 the KBRI appointed an official board for *al-Hikmah* Mosque.<sup>657</sup> The presence of A. H. Maksum, one of the founders and *imams* of the PPME, as a member of the mosque board was key to the involvement of PPME activists such as A. Naf'an Sulchan, Erna Jongsman, and Ludo Jongsman, in addition to Maksum himself, in the efforts to get the mosque functioning. However, it appears that the chairman of the *al-Hikmah* board, Azhari Kasim, a KBRI official, preferred to include other leading Indonesian Muslims, such as Sofjan S. Siregar and M. Surya Alinegara.<sup>658</sup> This suggests that there was a possible conflict of interest among the mosque board, specifically between Maksum's and Azhari Kasim's interests. Maksum certainly secured places for himself as the coordinator of the socio-religious programme for men, for Sulchan as the coordinator of children activities, for Erna Jongsman as the coordinator for women, and for Ludo Jongsman as coordinator of the Dutch-speaking group.<sup>659</sup>

The presence of these PPME coordinators, from the beginning of September 1996, meant that PPME members, in particular those of the The Hague branch, were able to conduct their weekly socio-religious activities in the mosque.<sup>660</sup> In addition to the weekly activities previously discussed, there was a series of discussions on Islamic subjects organized for

<sup>655</sup> A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Pertanggungjawaban Cabang Den Haag Periode 1995-1996* (The Hague: PPME, 29 December 1996), 1.

<sup>656</sup> Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

<sup>657</sup> Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 2.

<sup>658</sup> Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009.

<sup>659</sup> Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 12.

<sup>660</sup> A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban DPP PPME Wil. Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 199), 7.

second-generation PPME members. All of these activities continue today.

## 2. Participation in Maintaining *al-Hikmah* Mosque

As a weekly user of the rooms at *al-Hikmah* Mosque, the PPME assisted the mosque board<sup>661</sup> in the maintenance the premises in two ways, i.e. providing financial contributions and assistance in cleaning it. It is worth noting that there was no fixed amount of money that PPME should pay for the maintenance. This is because the assistance relied on the capability of PPME.

Firstly, PPME provided monthly financial contributions to the mosque board to fund the annual cleaning of the building. Starting in January 1997,<sup>662</sup> the PPME donated approximately € 270 and around € 400 monthly during the 2000s<sup>663</sup> to the board. This contribution, paid via PPME in The Hague, was in response to a request from the board to the users of the mosque, including the PPME, to help resolve the financial problems related to the its maintenance<sup>664</sup> - the mosque

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<sup>661</sup> Shadid and Van Koningsveld say the tasks of the mosque board usually were to organize financial matters and to maintain the premises. Therefore, the board needed to be capable of managing the mosque and of dealing with the non-Muslim community residing around the mosque. Thus, they had to be able to speak Dutch and capable of understanding aspects of Dutch law and society. Shadid and Van Koningsveld, "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands," 96. Referring Shadid and Van Koningsveld's assertions about the mosque board, there was ambiguity in the structure of the board of the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* Mosque. In the 1990s, Indonesian *imams* were recruited as members of the mosque board. In fact, they functioned as both coordinators of the socio-religious activities and instructors in Islamic religious matters for their congregation. Thus, they were not really suited to functioning as managers of the mosque and its relations with the community. Since the 2000s, this position has changed and the *imams* now only have an advisory role on the mosque board. Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

<sup>662</sup> See Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, Appendix 8, pp. 1-3. See also Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag*, 5, and Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban DPP PPME*, 7.

<sup>663</sup> The amount fluctuated depending on the frequency that the rooms of the mosque were used. Thus, this figure is an estimation. Aaman Sulchan, the chairman of the PPME The Hague branch, interview, The Hague, 5 July 2009. The Hague.

<sup>664</sup> See Letter no. 005/PM/*al-Hikmah*/1/97, 22 January 1997.

board, rather than the KBRI, was in charge of its physical maintenance. The amount of the financial contribution was determined based on the financial capability of PPME in The Hague branch.<sup>665</sup> The cost of leasing rooms at the mosque was very low. PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam had to pay a monthly fee for rooms at el-Amien School (Trustworthy School) in Amsterdam-Osdorp of around 1,000 Euros a month<sup>666</sup> for its religious and socio-cultural activities. This low cost must be understood in light of the KBRI's remit to protect and facilitate Indonesian people living in The Netherlands, including those Indonesian members participating in PPME activities. It is reflected in PPME being allowed to use one of the rooms at *al-Hikmah* Mosque as a secretariat and a library since the end of the 1990s.<sup>667</sup>

Secondly, as a user of the rooms at the mosque, the PPME was actually entitled to expect the members of the mosque board to provide for the cleaning. However, the PPME's congregation preferred to clean the rooms themselves. This was carried out regularly and collectively at the end of its weekly programme, regardless of the associations' monthly contribution.<sup>668</sup> Erfan, the guardian of the mosque (appointed by its board following a recommendation from the PPME board), frequently joined the people of PPME in the cleaning. He cleaned the mosque's mirrors, ablutions room, and bathroom. His involvement was not only because of his function as the guardian of the mosque, but also because of his debt to PPME for recommending him to be the guardian allowing him to live in a house close to the mosque free of charge.<sup>669</sup> Furthermore, since 1997, the PPME's members have

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<sup>665</sup> G.E. Rijono Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 1996-1997* (The Hague: PPME The Hague, 1997), 7.

<sup>666</sup> Budi Santoso, interview, Lelylaan, Amsterdam, 19 June 2009. See also "PPME al-Ikhlash," accessed 14 July 2009, [http://www.al-ikhlah.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=blogcategory&id=19&Itemid=](http://www.al-ikhlah.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=19&Itemid=).

<sup>667</sup> Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban*, 15.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>669</sup> Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009.



also taken part in the annual cleaning of the mosque before *Ramaḍān*.<sup>670</sup> This commitment by the PPME to keep *al-Hikmah* Mosque clean was a reflection of their consciousness of the importance of togetherness in order to maintain the physical condition of the mosque.

The abovementioned facts show that PPME has endeavored to maintain its connection with the KBRI by varied ways of its involvement in religious and organizational activities. This involvement has enabled it to have networks such as the committee of *Ramaḍān* of the KBRI, the former *imam* of the KBRI, the *al-Hikmah* board, and the mosque guardian.

## II. ICMI in the Netherlands (1995): The Result of Inclusivism

The relation of PPME with ICMI in the Netherlands began in 1995 when the ICMI formed its first board in the Netherlands. The discourse of the establishment of ICMI in the Netherlands, founded in the early 1990s,<sup>671</sup> drew much attention from Indonesian Muslims in the country. Various Muslim leading figures and government officials wanted to head the new association of intellectuals. For instance, in addition to Saiful Hadi, the head of Antara (Indonesian News Agency) for Europe and a son of Idham Chalid (the former leader of NU), there were also Azhari Kasim (a KBRI official) and M. Surya Alinegara (a former activist of PPME), in competition to become the chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands.<sup>672</sup> In the end, Hadi was elected by the majority of around one hundred people who had been invited to attend the meeting to decide on the matter. Present were KBRI staff, Indonesian students, and Indonesian Muslim leading figures. After the election, A. H. Maksum was invited to be one of the board members of ICMI in the Netherlands. Maksum, who was regarded as a leading figure of PPME by ICMI there, accepted the offer,<sup>673</sup> and was included as a member of the expert council of ICMI board for the period of 1995-1997. He stated

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<sup>670</sup> Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban*, 10-11.

<sup>671</sup> *Visi* 1, 1996, 3.

<sup>672</sup> Husnan Bey Fannanie, a board member of ICMI and PPME in the Netherlands, interview, Jakarta, 5 March 2010.

<sup>673</sup> Fannanie, interview, 5 March 2010.

that his involvement in ICMI at that moment could not be separated from developments in Indonesia where many leading Muslims joined the association.<sup>674</sup> Among them were such well-known intellectuals in Jakarta as Nurcholish Madjid and Jalaluddin Rakhmat. Membership amounted to around eleven thousand in 1992 and rose sharply to forty thousand in 1993. He also asserted that many Indonesian activists in the Netherlands entered in order to strengthen the unity of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands.<sup>675</sup> There, ICMI, under Hadi's leadership indeed, included various elements of Indonesian Muslim communities in the Netherlands. Among those who joined were Sufjan Ollong and Azhari Kasim of the KBRI, prominent Muslims such as A. H. Maksum, M. Surya Alinegara, and Sofjan S. Siregar, as well as students such as Husnan Bey Fannanie (Leiden University) and Dody Darsiyan and Siti Wurian Hutomo (Delft University of Technology).<sup>676</sup>

During the period of 1995-1997, the relationship between PPME and ICMI in the Netherlands was close. The existence of PPME, of which most of its members were common people, was taken into account by ICMI. An indication is the cooperation in the effort to realise the aim of having an Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands. Apart from including Hadi as an adviser of the PPME committee for a mosque in the Netherlands, the PPME programme of having the mosque was adopted by ICMI as part of its main program. Pertaining to this, Hadi told me that his position was that ICMI and PPME should not compete and PPME was a part of ICMI's concern.

It was necessary for ICMI [in the Netherlands] to unite its members who had diverse religious backgrounds by including them in activities organized by ICMI. The attempt of PPME to have an Indonesian mosque, mainly providing for the Indonesian Muslim communities living in the Netherlands, was encouraged by ICMI. This would be the priority of ICMI – ICMI had to be mainly concerned with the need of Muslims living in the Netherlands. It was impossible for Indonesian students in the Netherlands to become its basis because they frequently came and went. An ICMI, without the grassroots, was meaningless. Therefore, I had

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<sup>674</sup> Maksum, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

<sup>675</sup> Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

<sup>676</sup> *Visi* 1, 1996, 3.

consciously included various elements of Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands. This would be a test for my leadership.<sup>677</sup>

Husnan Bey Fannanie, a student of Leiden University acting as a member of ICMI and PPME in the Netherlands, added: “The idea of PPME to have a mosque in the Netherlands was supported by ICMI, thus resulting in a committee for a mosque, which included not only ICMI’s people but also those of the KBRI.”<sup>678</sup> As consequence, PPME and ICMI cooperated in finding donors, as they did, for instance, at the end of 1995 during the celebration of the birthday of The Prophet Muhammad<sup>679</sup> as previously mentioned. Hadi agreed: “ICMI was established for the Islamic *umma* [of Indonesia] – not only for Muslim officials of the KBRI and Muslim students, but also for Indonesian Muslim communities living in the Netherlands. Therefore, I included, for instance, Azhari Kasim, Husnan Bey Fannanie, and A. H. Maksum as the members of the board.”<sup>680</sup>

However, since the end of 1990 when Hadi and Fannanie were no longer on the ICMI board – a period when ICMI in Indonesia no longer drew interest of Muslim politicians because of the establishment of Islamic-oriented parties,<sup>681</sup> the cooperation of PPME with ICMI in the Netherlands was discontinued. In Indonesia a variety of Muslim groups favoured the establishment of ICMI: Muslim government bureaucrats, intellectuals, and activists.<sup>682</sup> In the Netherlands the situation was different. There, ICMI seemingly ignored the approach of the central ICMI to include significant elements of the Indonesian community. Kurdi, a board member of ICMI in Europe (1995-2000), argues that ICMI in the Netherlands was an association of intellectuals that had only slight concern for the interests of the wider Indonesian Muslim communities living in the Netherlands and paid much more attention

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<sup>677</sup> Saiful Hadi, interview, Jakarta, 23 June 2010.

<sup>678</sup> Fannanie, interview, 5 March 2010.

<sup>679</sup> *Visi* 2, 1996, 70.

<sup>680</sup> Hadi, interview, 23 June 2010.

<sup>681</sup> Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad ke-20* (Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2012), 709.

<sup>682</sup> Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 139-152.

to scholarships for Indonesian students.<sup>683</sup> In view of the statement by Siregar, the chairman of ICMI in Europe, this seems a logical consequence of ICMI's membership profile:

ICMI in the Netherlands is mostly run by students who temporarily live in the Netherlands. This does not mean that Indonesian Muslims who have been living in the Netherlands are not included in running the association. However, its main actors are the students. The problem is, then, their lack of concern in running the association since they frequently return to Indonesia for their concern [study].<sup>684</sup>

In addition to being more concerned with the students, according to Fachruddin, the secretary of ICMI in the Netherlands in the 2000s, the ICMI had no real basis and was not concerned with the needs of grass-root Indonesian communities in the Netherlands.<sup>685</sup> Similarly, Fannanie states: "After the Hadi leadership, the board members of ICMI in the Netherlands, such as Sofjan S. Siregar, Jahir Khan [a KBRI official], and Azhari Kasim, were much more concerned with bureaucratic position than with the interests of Muslim communities in the Netherlands."<sup>686</sup> All the statements show that key components of Indonesian communities in the Netherlands were not included in running ICMI. This exclusion definitely is at variance with the ideal image of a *cendekiawan* (intellectual Muslim) as defined in the articles of association of ICMI which speak of "a Muslim, or a group of Muslims, who continuously intensify intellectual capability; who investigate, comprehend, and apply science and technology; and who improve religious life of society for the welfare of human beings,"<sup>687</sup> The exclusion also contradicts the words of Hoesein, the chairman of the National Symposium Committee of Muslim Intellectuals, the organization responsible for the meeting at Brawijaya University in Malang in 1990 during which ICMI was founded. He stated: "...It [ICMI]

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<sup>683</sup> Jani Kurdi, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

<sup>684</sup> Sofjan S. Siregar, interview, The Hague, 24 August 2008.

<sup>685</sup> Didin Fachruddin, interview, Delft, 28 May 2008.

<sup>686</sup> Fannanie, interview, 5 March 2010.

<sup>687</sup> Achmad Tirto Sudirdjo, "Sambutan Ketua Panitia Pelaksana Nuktamar II dan Simposium Nasional ICMI," in Mahmud F. Rakasima, et al. (eds.), *ICMI di Mata Pemuda, Mahasiswa, Dai, dan Kaum Dhuafa* (Jakarta: Amanah Putra Nusantara, 1995), 63-64.

was established to accommodate and embrace all Muslim groups and streams of Islamic thought.”<sup>688</sup> The exclusiveness has placed ICMI in a position in which other Indonesian Islamic organizations were not much motivated to work in concert with it.<sup>689</sup> In view of this, Sulchan suggested that the word of *cendekiawan* seemed to be proper for smart people who were not concerned with the fate of the common people.<sup>690</sup> This signifies that the label of “exclusive” frequently used by others<sup>691</sup> is a good characterization of ICMI in the Netherlands after the Hadi period; the members of its new board were no longer PPME’s partners whom the PPME could invite to cooperate in fulfilling the needs of its members.

### III. PIP PKS (2005): The Result of Sympathizers’ Support

The relation of PPME with PIP PKS in the Netherlands cannot be separated from their *da’wa* concerns. This has resulted in some cooperation. For instance, PPME Amsterdam has supported PIP PKS in holding the *halal bihalal* in 2005. This cooperation, which was initiated by PIP PKS, aimed to similarize their vision of a future Indonesia,<sup>692</sup> i.e. to realise a just, prosperous, and dignified civilized society (*masyarakat madani*).<sup>693</sup> Some members of PPME Amsterdam were recruited as the organizer of the event, which took place at *al-Hikmah* Mosque. The members of PPME the Netherlands and its sympathizers, the activists of PIP PKS and their sympathizers, and members of other Indonesian Muslim communities in the Netherlands were invited except the members of Majelis Dzikir.<sup>694</sup> Another example was the support of William S. de Weerd, chairman of PPME the Netherlands and sympathizer of PIP PKS, for training in *Manajemen Sholat menuju Khusu’ dan Nikmat* (MSKN, Management for Earnest and Contented Prayer) organized by

<sup>688</sup> Abdul Azis Hoesein, “Membangun Negara Perlu Kebersamaan,” in Rakasima, et. al. (eds.), *ICMI di Mata Pemuda*, 63-64.

<sup>689</sup> *Visi* 2, 1996, 70.

<sup>690</sup> Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

<sup>691</sup> See Muhaimin Iskandar, “ICMI Belum Membela Umat Islam,” in Rakasima, et al., *ICMI di Mata Pemuda*, 63-64 and see Taufiq Hidayat, ICMI: “Wadah Baru HMI untuk Perjuangan Umat,” in *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>692</sup> Permana, interview, Schiedam, 11 November 2008.

<sup>693</sup> MPP PKS, *Memperjuangkan Masyarakat Madani* (Jakarta: PKS, Maret 2008), 203.

<sup>694</sup> Santoso, interview, Amsterdam, 22 June 2010.

PIP PKS.<sup>695</sup> It was held on 30-31 August 2008, and took place at *al-Hikmah*. Seventy people attended. They came from PPME, PIP PKS itself, and Forum Komunikasi Alumni (FKA, Communication Forum of Alumni) of Emotional and Spiritual Quotient (ESQ, an Indonesian training centre for Character Building, founded on 6 May 2000 by Ary Ginanjar). This training of MSKN, which was part of the PIP PKS' activities, was led by Ansufr Idrus Sambo, the owner of Pesantren Ustadh (Islamic Teacher) and Imam Masjid (Prayer Leader of a Mosque) in Bogor, West Java.<sup>696</sup>

As far as the cooperation was concerned, it is worth noticing the viewpoints of PIP PKS' people from PPME Amsterdam. According to Budi Santoso, "in fact, PIP PKS always searches for sympathizers, including from PPME. However, since the outset, our cooperation has been focused on *da'wa*. Therefore, this concern motivated us [PPME and PIP PKS] to communicate with each other."<sup>697</sup> This connection was acknowledged by Balbaid stating:

The young board members of PIP PKS in the Netherlands, such as Deden S. Permana, the chairman of the centre and Didin Fahrudin, his secretary, maintain contact with me. They frequently visit activities of PPME Amsterdam, such as *'id al-fitr* and *'id al-aḍḥā* celebrations and other gatherings, about which its members and sympathizers are informed through their e-mails.<sup>698</sup>

In fact, the PIP PKS' young leaders and members committed to develop their party and keeping their morality contributed much to its impressive performance.<sup>699</sup> The following examples confirm what Santoso and Balbaid stated. Hatami and Agus Purwanto, other young members of the PIP PKS board, frequently visited PPME Amsterdam's *sportdagen* taking place in an open green space. De Weerd was invited as a speaker at PIP PKS' *halal bihalal* of 2009 in Schiedam, which had as

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<sup>695</sup> See Human MSKN, "MSKN Goes to Europe," accessed 6 January 2009, <http://manajemensholat.com/2008/09/11/mskn-goes-to-europe/>, accessed 6 January 2009.

<sup>696</sup> Anonymous, "Pelatihan Salat Khusus: Kapan Ada Lagi?", accessed 24 January 2014, <https://sites.google.com/site/PPMEinetherlands/>.

<sup>697</sup> Santoso, interview, 13 April 2010.

<sup>698</sup> Abdul Aziz Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

<sup>699</sup> Kees van Dijk, "Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Radical, Moderate and Practical," (Cleveringa Lecture, 4 December 2004, Indonesian University, Depok), 7.

its theme “Uniting Potency to Develop Beloved Indonesia.”<sup>700</sup> At the same occasion, Maksum recited prayers to end the meeting. Winarna, another young PIP PKS’ cadre from PPME Amsterdam, even pointed out: “PIP PKS inquires about my efforts to gain more followers of the party almost every day – it rushes me to do so. It also persuades me to do my utmost to assure a good election result for their party. The face to face *da’wa*, i.e., *da’wa* by a person visiting another, is the approach of the party to gain more followers.”<sup>701</sup>

However, apart from the occasional contacts and reciprocal visits, such cooperation was not carried on in the following years. The reason was PPME’s suspicion of the pragmatic approach of PIP PKS, i.e. an approach which focuses on gaining as many votes as possible for the PKS in the Indonesian general elections.<sup>702</sup> Santoso, who used to be a sympathizer of the PIP PKS, insists: “In each activity, the centre displays the party’s flags and uses political language – this will make participants who are not connected to the PKS feel less comfortable.”<sup>703</sup> Kurdi could not agree with activists of PIP PKS trying to influence PPME members during *da’wa* activities organized jointly with PPME. She also criticized the fact that PIP PKS was very selective in offering its service. “The PIP PKS will only act as a centre of information and service when it is to the advantage of the party. The information and service will, actually, be provided to their own friends [cadres, members, and sympathizers].”<sup>704</sup> Sulchan insists: “The PIP PKS has brought about the *afscheiding* (the separation) of PPME Amsterdam from PPME the Netherlands. It has influenced the leading figures of the PPME in Amsterdam to prohibit [performing *tahlilan*, *yasinan* and

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<sup>700</sup> Hilman Rosyad, a member of Indonesian Parliament Member of PKS also attended this meeting. He came to the Netherlands to deliver speech to the people of PIP PKS.

<sup>701</sup> Winarna, interview, Amsterdam, 31 October 2010.

<sup>702</sup> See Okamoto Masaaki, “The Rise of the ‘Realistic’ Islamic Party: PKS,” in Otta Atsushi, Okamoto Masaaki, and Ahmad Suaedi (eds.), *Indonesian Islam in Contention* (Jakarta, Kyoto, and Taiwan: Wahid Institute, Cseas and Capas, 2010), 220-226. See also Van Dijk, “Partai Keadilan Sejahtera,” 13.

<sup>703</sup> Santoso, interview, 22 June 2010.

<sup>704</sup> Jani Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008, The Hague. The depiction on PCIM and PCIA will be dealt in the subsequent subsection on PCIM.



*istigotsah*].”<sup>705</sup> These are the suspicions of PPME, which tend to blame the PIP PKS.

In response to the accusations by PPME, Permana, the chairman of PIP PKS, has expressed the following viewpoints. “They [the cadres of PIP PKS] have involved themselves in a variety of activities of Indonesian community organizations, especially Muslim, in the Netherlands. PIP PKS is even always prepared to assist PPME Amsterdam in inviting Islamic preachers from Indonesia.”<sup>706</sup> Furthermore, he insists:

They [the leading figures of PPME Amsterdam] are not unintelligent people. It is impossible for us [the cadres and members of PIP PKS] to influence those who we regard as our parents and teachers. [On the contrary], they have influenced us. The point is that it is not necessary for us to claim that we are the best, but we keep learning. We regard Budi Santoso, a leading figure of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, as our elder brother and A. Aziz Balbaid, a leading figure of PPME Amsterdam, as our father. Therefore, their disunity [at the end of 2005] was possibly *takdir* (God’s decision). Each side possesses its own segment. [Do] *fastabiqū al-khairāt* (then strive together as in a race towards all that is good [see the Quranic verse 148 of chapter 2]), and optimise our programmes! We are not bothered by the negative issues raised by other sides that will prevent us from gaining progress. The number of us [Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands] is small. Therefore, if he or she [a Muslim activist] will take part in the activities of various Indonesian organizations, this will not surprise us.<sup>707</sup>

He adds:

Why should we hold joint activities [with PPME], if this is not of benefit to us? In order to avoid its negative perceptions like that of taking over strategic positions in PPME and of influencing the vote of its member [to elect PKS politicians in the general elections], we prefer to hold our activity without cooperation [with it]. People [of PPME] are intelligent. Therefore, we need to build their trust in the people of PIP PKS on the basis of their good understanding of the PKS.<sup>708</sup>

The facts show that it is hard for PPME to carry on its cooperation with the PIP PKS as long as the centre does not respect the differences

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<sup>705</sup> A. Naf ‘an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 18 October 2008.

<sup>706</sup> Deden S. Permana, interview, Schiedam, 24 August 2008.

<sup>707</sup> Deden S. Permana, interview, Schiedam, 11 November 2008.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid.*



in religious orientation within the PPME community. Apart from the discontinuity of its cooperation with the PIP PKS, PPME Amsterdam itself has included the PKS activists from Indonesia in its *Ramaḍān* activities discussed in chapter 6.

#### **IV. PCIM (2006): The Result of Reformists' Support**

From the outset, PPME has never been part of the organizational structure or under the coordination of reformist socio-religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Persis, and al-Irsyad, or of the traditionalist NU. Its neutrality means there are no barriers to Indonesian Muslims with a non-reformist or traditionalist religious orientation to become a member of the PPME. Its principles are simply based on Islam; thus, any Muslim can join its congregation. This cannot be separated from the task it had set itself from the start, i.e. to be a unifying Muslim organization for Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands and the rest of Europe. Thus, the rise of PCIM in the Netherlands, led by a former leader of the PPME at the end of 2006, raises a question. The following section will examine the connection between PPME and the PCIM.

Though a structural link is absent, reformist members of PPME have supported PCIM. The support came from PPME Amsterdam. This occurred since its traditionalist members had left in 2006. This PPME facilitated the official inauguration of the PCIM taking place in its mosque, now called *at-Taḳwa*, on 8 December 2006. The event was attended by around one hundred people, including Din Syamsuddin, the chairman of the central board of Muhammadiyah, and its sympathizers living in the Netherlands.<sup>709</sup> The links between PPME Amsterdam and PCIM also found their expression in an exchange of *ustādhs*.<sup>710</sup> One of them was Agus Hasan Bashori al-Sanuwi, an Indonesian Salafi *ustādh* requested by both PPME Amsterdam and PCIM to deliver lectures on Islamic subjects to their congregations in February and early March

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<sup>709</sup> Administrator, "Peresmian PCIM Belanda," accessed 29 December 2008, [http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2](http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2).

<sup>710</sup> Yusuf Setiyono, interview, Utrecht, 16 August 2009.

2008.<sup>711</sup>

The interactions between PPME and PCIM could take place as a result of the relationships of leaders of both Muslim associations. Balbaid, a prominent member of PPME Amsterdam, became acquainted with the leader of PCIM, M. Surya Alinegara, who had a top position in PPME in the middle of the 1970s.<sup>712</sup> This fact is confirmed by Yusuf Setiyono, the PCIM's treasurer. He asserts that good relationships between them fostered the abovementioned cooperation between PCIM and PPME Amsterdam.<sup>713</sup> The importance of this personal relationship is revealed by the fact that cooperation between the two organizations waned following the stroke suffered by Alinegara in early 2008.<sup>714</sup> In addition, Balbaid knows the main proponent behind establishing the PCIM, Jani Kurdi. She was a PPME activist in the 1990s.<sup>715</sup>

Nonetheless, the link with PPME Amsterdam did not appear to be of value in terms of creating relations with other branches of PPME in the Netherlands. The reason is the fact that the traditionalist practices of reciting *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, and *istighotsah* performed in most PPME branches (other than PPME Amsterdam) were rejected by reformist-oriented members and sympathizers, thus, contributing to the rise of the new PCIM. They have criticized these practices. For instance, Setiyono, a sympathizer of PPME The Hague, is particularly critical:

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<sup>711</sup> See Qiblati, "Info dari Safari Belanda Pemred Qiblati," accessed 14 February 2009, <http://qiblati.com/berita/id/1/>. See also: Qiblati, "Biografi," accessed 14 February 2009, <http://qiblati.com/profil/biografi/>.

<sup>712</sup> See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME*, 4.

<sup>713</sup> Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

<sup>714</sup> Agus Purwanto, the vice leader of PCIM, acknowledges the sharp drop in joint activities after M. Surya Alinegara fell seriously ill. This statement was delivered in front of some members of its board and its sympathizers on 17 July 2009 in Kurdi's house, The Hague.

<sup>715</sup> Kurdi was an advisor on religious education for the youth division of PPME The Netherlands in 1999-2000. She was one of the people who showed Minister Rita Verdonk around when the minister visited the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* mosque on 28 August 2006. Alia Baidhowi was also a former PPME activist. She was to take care of the religious education division of PPME The Hague in 1996-1998. Furthermore, Baidhowi was nominated as a candidate for the position of Secretary of *Pimpinan Cabang Istimewa Aisyiah* (PCIA, Board of Special Branch Aisyiah) of Muhammadiyah in the Netherlands (2006-2008), however she failed to secure the votes necessary to be elected.

I can feel the boredom (*kejenuhan*) of those who have distanced themselves from the PPME The Hague due to the stagnancy of the PPME in its activities, concentrating more on *zikir* (invocation of God) [rather than on *fikir* (intellectual exercises)]. There has been no programme of issuing a magazine like Suara Muhammadiyah (Voice of Muhammadiyah) [since the end of the 1990s]. In addition, the diverse religious backgrounds [of its members, such as NU, Muhammadiyah, al-Irshad, Persis, al-Washliyah] have increased the unpleasantness (*ketidaknyamanan*) in the PPME in conducting ‘*ibadah*’ (Islamic observance). At the outset, the colour of NU’s practices did not dominate its activities. However, after Gus Dur was elected as the fourth Indonesian president, these [reciting *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, and *istighotsah*] have come to the fore. The PPME’s traditionalist congregations seem to have longed for these traditionalist practices. *Istighotsah* is a salient example. This raises the question: why have these practices dominated PPME’s activities? My friends and I, [from Bina Dakwah (a Muslim group of mixed nationalities for upholding Islamic propagation)], frequently take part in its activities in the third and fourth weekend of each month, but the practices have fully dominated its activities. Some of us, [affiliated with Muhammadiyah] longed, too, for our own model of *silaturahmi* or gatherings [without performing such traditionalist practices].<sup>716</sup>

Criticism also came from Asniar Harun, a member of PPME The Hague and a proponent of PCIM. She confirmed that the *istighotsah* was routinely conducted as an introduction to its main activities. I [as a reformist Muslim] indeed eschew such a practice.<sup>717</sup> Finally, Kurdi, a former activist of PPME The Hague, a former advisor to Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Aisyiah (PCIA, Board of Aisyiah Special Branch)<sup>718</sup> in the Netherlands and a key proponent of the establishment of PCIM, insists:

The practices should not serve as a routine activity of the

<sup>716</sup> Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009. This interview took place when the chairman of PCIM was seriously ill and its secretary was not staying in the Netherlands.

<sup>717</sup> Asniar Harun, former member of the board of PCIA, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

<sup>718</sup> PCIA, founded at the same time as the PCIM, is aimed at the female congregation of the Muhammadiyah in the Netherlands. More on the Aisyiah can be found in James L. Peacock, *The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 42-45. Information on the presence of PCIA in the Netherlands can be found in a letter “Penagihan Laporan dan Pembekuan Organisasi,” no. 361/PPA/A/XII/2008, 23 December 2008, Yogyakarta.

organization. *Istighotsah* is demonstratively and massively performed. In addition, reciting the *tahlilan* and *yasinan* has routinely served as the introductory religious ritual, leading us to do *bid'a* (innovation),<sup>719</sup> whereas the compulsory tasks, such as educating those members of its congregation who do not yet comprehend the meaning of *du'ās* (prayers) recited during the performing of obligatory prayers is forgotten. This [keeping them ignorant on the Islamic obligation] is a satanic culture. [Furthermore], this criticism is aimed at balancing both the importance of performing *dhikr* and of exercising *fikr*. [However], the fact is that this PPME continues to focus more on the performing of *dhikr* rather than on the other.<sup>720</sup>

These criticisms and objections came from the individuals who recently had stopped attending most of the activities held by the PPME, but have supported those organized by PPME Amsterdam. It is worth noting that the death of Moch. Chaeron, who was the only person who drafted PPME's statute, was a factor in PPME becoming a more traditionalist organization. He frequently organized its religious activities of not only *dhikr*, but also *fikr*.<sup>721</sup> Chaeron, himself, was one of the reformist-oriented members and took great care to keep them, and traditionalist-oriented members, together.<sup>722</sup> These criticisms are extremely pertinent to the PPME al-Ikhlash (Sincerity), Amsterdam, which has committed to maintaining the practices, particularly following its split from PPME Amsterdam at the end of 2005.

PPME leaders, themselves, did not ignore the criticisms of the traditionalist practices. De Weerd, the chairman of PPME the Netherlands, asserts: "There is no coercion to attend the performing of *istighotsah* [frequently initiated with performing *yasinan* and *tahlilan*]. This is due to the diverse socio-religious backgrounds of the members, and also because of ethnic and national diversity."<sup>723</sup> Moreover, Hasyim, a sympathizer of PPME, clarifies that PPME The Hague performing

<sup>719</sup> *Bid'a* is a religious practice which is never taught by the Prophet Muhammad. See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 81.

<sup>720</sup> Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008.

<sup>721</sup> Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009.

<sup>722</sup> Hasyim, interview, 5 December 2008.

<sup>723</sup> Willy de Weerd (the chairman of the PPME The Netherlands and of the Forum of Emotional and Spiritual Quotient Alumni in the Netherlands), interview, Rotterdam Alexander, 25 May 2008.

*istighotsah* [usually after performing *yasinan* and *tahlilan*] led by A. Naf'an Sulchan, was scheduled for the end of each month, whereas the third week of the month was allocated for a discussion programme led by Ashif Ishom (a reformist member).<sup>724</sup> He adds:

The problem is that the schedule of intellectual exercise is not well announced to the members. Therefore, it seems that there is no programme of discussion. Indeed, the programme does not work because most of the PPME members who actively take part in its programmes are blue collar-workers who come to gatherings held in the PPME merely for their relaxation rather than for an intellectual exercise. The participants of PPME's programmes are mostly common Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands.<sup>725</sup>

Parallel to the PPME The Hague, the PPME al-Ikhlah Amsterdam regularly performed the *istighotsah* [its formula is similar to that of PPME The Hague] in the first weekend of each month led by Mustofa Sulchan, a younger brother of A. Naf'an Sulchan. The remaining weekends of the month are allocated to learning other Islamic subjects [such as Quranic recitation and its interpretation, Islamic law, Islamic traditions, and Islamic ethics].<sup>726</sup> In other PPME branches, such as Rotterdam, Breda-Tilburg, and Heemskerk, the activity forms a part of their bi-weekly or monthly gatherings, in addition to discussions on Islamic subjects and understanding Quranic verses under the guidance of selected religious teachers.

In response to this dispute, both sides were strict when it concerned their own customs. On the traditionalist side, reciting the Sūra of Yāsin and performing *tahlilan* and *istighotsah*, as part of conducting Islamic observance, are always performed using *tawassul*, i.e. reciting the name of the Prophet Muhammad and the names of selected authoritative *ulamas* and reciting given *sholawats* (intercessory prayers particularly aimed at the Prophet Muhammad) such as *munjiyat* and *nariyah*. In fact, these are considered as *shirk* (ascribing partners to God) by the Indonesian reformist Muslims. Therefore, the practices have induced discomfort among those reformist-oriented members

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<sup>724</sup> Hasyim, interview, The Hague, 5 December 2008.

<sup>725</sup> Ibid.

<sup>726</sup> Santoso, interview, 30 August 2009.

who have never performed them such as those affiliated to the PCIM. “...The Muhammadiyah does not practice the *yasinan*, reciting the Sūra of Yāsīn of the Quran for a certain occasion and for a certain purpose, does not practice *tahlilan* - recite selected sūras of the Quran, *istighfār*, *shalāwat*, *tasbiḥ*, *taḥmīd* and *tahlīl* on a certain occasion and for a certain purpose, and refuse to implement the *tawassul* in prayer.”<sup>727</sup> On the reformist side, in dealing with the traditionalist activities there is no effort to apply the Muhammadiyah’s *dakwah kultural* (cultural propagation), which can be exercised in domains in which cultural creation is permitted.<sup>728</sup> The reformist members and sympathizers who objected to the practices preferred splitting off from the PPME to modify the activities in such a way that was proper for them. Mulkhan, a Muhammadiyah intellectual, opines that “the *dakwah kultural* relies on an assumption that each human being and society has different experiences, and goes on to change in various ways.”<sup>729</sup> Therefore, the refusal of the reformist members to attend the activities of PPME and the break-up of PPME Amsterdam into two groups, PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, are a consequence of this discomfort and disapproval of the practices among reformist-oriented members. Balbaid strongly rejected the traditionalist rituals in PPME Amsterdam. He stated:

Islamic observances, whose *Hadīths* (the Prophet’s Traditions) do not reach the level of *ṣaḥīḥ* (the most reliable) or *ḥasan* (close to the most reliable) or are based upon analogy [*qiyās*], should not be part of the programmes of PPME Amsterdam. The commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, *istighotsah*, etc. are examples. Adopting the Islamic observances whose *dalīls* (Islamic legal foundations) are absurd will confuse its congregation. Please, conduct the observances [of the traditionalist activities] outside of the mosque [of PPME Amsterdam] due to their absurd *dalīls*.<sup>730</sup>

<sup>727</sup> Haedar Nashir, *Manifestasi Gerakan Tarbiyah: Bagaimana Sikap Muhammadiyah?*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2006), 28 and 49.

<sup>728</sup> See Jabrohim, a former member of the Culture Council of the Regional Board of the Muhammadiyah 1990-1995, *Membumikan Dakwah Kultural* (Yogyakarta: PSM, 2005), 60-61.

<sup>729</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-70.

<sup>730</sup> A. Aziz. Balbaid, interview, Lelylaan, Amsterdam, 28 May 2008.

This statement is in line with that of Kurdi that many reformist-oriented members of PPME's congregation claimed that they refused to attend PPME meetings due to the abovementioned religious practices of the Nahdlatul Ulama, which had dominated the religious activities of the PPME.<sup>731</sup>

PPME Amsterdam and PCIM shared a similar view on the traditionalist practices. As a consequence for the reformist members, the presence of PCIM seems to be a solution to their predicament. This solution corresponds with the interest of the central board of Muhammadiyah which wished to extend its branches overseas. However, it was opposed to the opinion of A. Naf'an Sulchan who rejected the founding of an Indonesian Muslim association based on a specific socio-religious background, such as the NU and Muhammadiyah because of the small number of Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands and the existence of PPME.<sup>732</sup>

In response to the wish of Muhammadiyah, Siregar, a former member of the PPME in the 1980s and a preacher from Dār al-Iftā in Saudi Arabia,<sup>733</sup> wanted to establish the PCIM soon. He led a gathering, aimed at deciding on the PCIM's structure, which was held on 25 November 2006 in Alinegara's house in The Hague and urged those who were present to elect Alinegara as the leader of PCIM.<sup>734</sup> Siregar explains that he merely wanted the rapid establishment of this Muslim association so that its proponents could perform their socio-religious activities according to their own practices. Similarly, he hoped that other religious congregations would follow suit and found their own associations.<sup>735</sup> His desire for the rapid establishment

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<sup>731</sup> Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008.

<sup>732</sup> Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 16 June 2009.

<sup>733</sup> Ibid., The Hague, 2 June 2009.

<sup>734</sup> Agus Purwanto and Yusuf Setiyono, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban PCIM Belanda Periode 2006-2008* ('s-Gravenhage: PCIM, 17 July 2009), 4.

<sup>735</sup> Sofjan S. Siregar of al-Washliyah, interview, ICCN The Hague, 17 September 2009. His advice seems to be in line with the approach that al-Washliyah has taken in dealing with other socio-religious organizations in Indonesia. Its followers have frequently initiated the founding of other Islamic organizations. See Ahmad Hamim Azizy, *Al-Jam'iyatul Washliyah dalam Kancah Politik Indonesia* (Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pena, 2006), 96.



was met with objections from Kurdi stating: “Why should the PCIM be formed in a rush? Why were there no preparatory actions taken, such as determining who should sit on its boards and run it? and on what fields should it focus.”<sup>736</sup> However, her reservations fell on deaf ears. The PCIM was founded in less than a month, on 8 December 2006 with Alinegara as its chairman. The fact is that Alinegara was an experienced leader; he, had studied at al-Azhar university, was a former leader of PPME the Netherlands, and ICMI in the Netherland.<sup>737</sup>

The PCIM was founded to unify the Muhammadiyah people and sympathizers residing overseas.<sup>738</sup> Muhammadiyah believes that in order to maintain the spirit of Muhammadiyah among students and its followers abroad, and to introduce the Muhammadiyah to other people and institutions, it is essential to found new branches of Muhammadiyah. As a result, the PCIM was included in the programme of the Lembaga Hubungan dan Kerja Sama Luar Negeri (LHKLN, Institution for Foreign Relations and Foreign Cooperation) of the Muhammadiyah.<sup>739</sup> Therefore, the central board rapidly issued the subsequent decrees aimed at legalizing the composition of the board of PCIM in the Netherlands. The issuance of the first decree from the central Muhammadiyah board numbered 153/kep/i.0/d/2006 was dated 4 December 2006. Another decree from the central board was issued in 2007 when the board of the new special branch proposed a change in the composition in which a vice chairman, deputy secretary, and treasurer would be added to the existing board which consisted of a chairman, secretary, members, and that an advisory board should

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<sup>736</sup> Kurdi, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

<sup>737</sup> Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

<sup>738</sup> Administrator, “Peresmian PCIM Belanda,” accessed 29 December 2008, [http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2](http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2).

<sup>739</sup> See Arif Nur Kholis, “Kabar Jejaring Muhammadiyah Internasional,” accessed 22 December 2008, [http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=2](http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=2). Another consideration was that PCIM was intended to serve as a mediator in providing scholarships. See Surat Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah No. 114/Kep/I.0/B/2008 tentang: Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah, Yogyakarta, 29 July 2008. The embryo of PCIM has been part of the central Muhammadiyah’s program since 2003. Ibid.



be instituted.<sup>740</sup> The issuance of the first decree, which legalised the PCIM's existence and its rudimentary structure, suggests the great desire for a rapid formation of the first PCIM board. The board was officially established by a decree issued on 22 January 2007 by the central board of the Muhammadiyah.<sup>741</sup>

The reformist members and sympathizers who had left the PPME were looking for support from an organization that reflected their beliefs and practices. However, the establishment of PCIM seems to have been marred by a leadership problem. The careless and hurried process of selecting members of PCIM's board appears to have had a huge impact on the running of the new association. Its board was apparently unprepared for its role as a place for all the disenchanted reformist-oriented Indonesian Muslims. A salient example of this relates to a visit to the association by three members of the Muhammadiyah central board<sup>742</sup> on 10 January 2009. They were coming to the Netherlands to cooperate, for instance, with the Indonesian Embassy and Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) through the new PCIM in the Netherlands; however, the members of the new board were less than responsive. Kurdi, who has argued for a well-planned and less hurried foundation of PCIM, confirms that the PCIM responded to the e-mail from Muhammadiyah central board only a few days prior to the arrival of the delegation although already in October, the e-mail had been sent to the PCIM.<sup>743</sup> In fact at that moment, PCIM

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<sup>740</sup> See Dodong Priyambodo, "Alhamdulillah PCIM Belanda dan Jerman Telah Resmi," accessed 21 December 2008, [http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=296&Itemid=2](http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=296&Itemid=2).

<sup>741</sup> Ibid.

<sup>742</sup> They were Zamroni, Haedar Nashir and Muhadjir Efendy. Kurdi was given the responsibility to organize the visit of three members of central board of the Muhammadiyah and to welcome them, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

<sup>743</sup> In the case of PCIM's response to the visit of the Muhammadiyah deputation, the vice chairman tried to contact the central board by sending an e-mail to a member of the central board, Sofriyanto Solih Mu'tasim. The problem was the e-mail was received a week after it had been sent, but some time later Jani Kurdi, assisted by Baidhowi, not members of the PCIM board, were appointed by the central board to prepare the visit and only a few of their board members could be involved in it. Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

was encountering serious problems. M. Surya Alinegara had a stroke just a few months before and was unable to respond to their request of arranging the cooperation and welcoming them. Furthermore, the secretary of PCIM was travelling to Indonesia at the time.<sup>744</sup> However, these facts do not explain the lack of response from the other members of the board. The vice chairman (Agus Purwanto), the vice secretary (Didin Fachruddin), the treasurer (Yusuf Setiyono) and other members of its boards were capable of running the organization in the absence of the chairman and secretary. It is worth mentioning that all mentioned were activists of PIP PKS in the Netherlands.<sup>745</sup> Kurdi, the host for the visit by the three members of the central board, emotionally sees the lack of political advantage as the reason for their reserved response.<sup>746</sup> Refuting her accusation, a member of the PCIM board claimed: “We [the members of PCIM board], as the young generation, are involved in PCIM to assist M. Surya Alinegara in running the organization, not to seek advantages from it. We are prosperous in terms of income and are not the employees of PCIM. Thus, PCIM has never been politicked by its board affiliated with a given party [PKS].”<sup>747</sup>

It is worth noting that in Indonesia, the infiltration of PKS activists in other organizations called *tarbiyyah*<sup>748</sup> virus takes place not only in

<sup>744</sup> Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008.

<sup>745</sup> Ibid. Similar opinions were expressed by Baidhowi and Asniar Harun, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008. Setiyono’s point of view is not at odds with them in this case.

<sup>746</sup> Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008. This restlessness emerged because the Muhammadiyah *Khittah* (Guideline) of 2002 that does not oblige its adherents to support one particular political party only but allows them free choice. See Haedar Nashir, *Khittah Muhammadiyah tentang Politik*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2008), 35–39.

<sup>747</sup> Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

<sup>748</sup> The term *tarbiyyah* was used by a *da’wa* movement called *Jamaah Tarbiyyah* (*tarbiyyah* group) in the 1990s, whose *da’wa* was performed at universities such as Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB, Bandung Technology Institut), Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB, Bogor Institute of Agricultural Studies), Indonesian University (UI) and Brawijaya University. After the fall of Suharto, this movement was transformed into a party called Partai Keadilan (PK, Justice Party), now PKS. This transformation followed the group’s view that it was important to establish an Islamic party for their Islamic political aims in Indonesia. Yon Machmudi, *Islamizing Indonesia: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*, (Australia: ANU E Press, 2008), 73 and Zuli Qodir (an intellectual of Muhammadiyah), “Gerakan Salafi Radikal dalam Konteks Islam Indonesia,” in *Islamica* 3, no. 1 (September 2008): 3–7.

Muhammadiyah but also, for instance, in NU and MUI. In the case of Muhammadiyah in 2006, this infiltration gave rise to, for instance, the prohibition of a discussion on the ideological transformation in Muhammadiyah schools such as Mu'allimin (Male Islamic Junior and Senior High School) and Mu'allimat (Female Islamic Junior and Senior High School). This discussion was planned to be held in the Mu'allimin of Yogyakarta, but was prohibited by the Mu'allimin. It was then held outside the school. Still during the year, there also took place an effort to take over the Muhammadiyah Taman Kanak-kanak (TK, Kindergarten) Aisyiah Prambanan, Central Java, which would be transformed into TK Islam Terpadu (Islamic-Oriented Integrated Kindergarten) with the endorsement of Hidayat Nur Wahid, the chairman of Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People Assembly) and the former chairman of the party. This takeover failed. Recently, 60 percent of the number of lecturers at Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (UMS, Surakarta Muhammadiyah University), Central Java, are, according to Bambang Setiaji, the Rector of UMS, affiliated with PKS and 40 percent of these PKS people have chairs at the university. This is a dilemma. Therefore, no decision is made to solve the problem.<sup>749</sup> Since 2006, Muhammadiyah itself has been determined to rid the organization's boards of the infiltration of those affiliated with the PKS. The central Muhammadiyah prohibits politicians or members of a party from being key members in the boards of Muhammadiyah and affiliated organizations.<sup>750</sup>

Leaving aside what both sides said, the composition of the PCIM board contradicted the effort to protect the boards of Muhammadiyah against interference by the PKS. The fact that a number of the PCIM's board members were party-affiliated must be seen as the fault

<sup>749</sup> Farid Setiawan, "Tiga Upaya Mu'allimin dan Mu'allimat," in *Suara Muhammadiyah*, 3 April 2006, Abdurrahman Wahid, *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Desantara Utama Media, 2009). 202-209 and Qadir, "Gerakan Salafi Radikal," 10-13.

<sup>750</sup> See "Kutipan Surat Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, No.: 149/KEP/LO?B/2006 tentang Kebijakan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Mengenai Konsolidasi Organisasi dan Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah," in Arif Giyanto dan Budi Gunawan Sutomo, *Bertaruh Citra Dakwah: Membedah Kritis Friksi Muhammadiyah-PKS* (Surakarta: Era Intermedia, 2007), 169.

of the central board of the Muhammadiyah. Their carelessness in selecting board members was not in accord with the policy of the Muhammadiyah. In response to the PCIM's passivity with regard to the visit of the members of Muhammadiyah central board, Kurdi and the candidate secretary of PCIA in the Netherlands, Alia Baedhowi, were asked by the central board to become involved in the arrangements of welcoming the members of the Muhammadiyah central board.<sup>751</sup> It is apparent that two different groups existed within the PCIM, i.e. party-affiliated and non-party-affiliated members. This led to disagreement and disunity in the organization. This fact was at odds with the ideals of its leader himself, Alinegara, who wanted to situate PCIM as a unifier, not only of Muhammadiyah's proponents and sympathizers, but also of all Indonesian [reformist] Muslims living in the Netherlands.<sup>752</sup> According to him, "...a lot of Islamic organizations claim themselves as the best. This claim has caused them to move away from other congregations who adhere to differing Islamic organizations. If this feeling of the best or the truest is allowed to develop, it will threaten 'ukhuwwa (brotherhood)... Such a condition opposes the vision-mission of Muslim associations that want to develop an *umma* [Indonesian Muslims]...."<sup>753</sup> In short, the PCIM was unable to fulfill its role as a way out and a solution for disenchanting PPME reformist members.

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<sup>751</sup> Alia Baidhowi, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

<sup>752</sup> "PCIM Belanda: Kader Muhammadiyah Menjadi Perekat Ummat," in Arif Nur Kholish accessed 22 December 2008, [http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=635&Itemid=2](http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=635&Itemid=2).

<sup>753</sup> Ibid.