

The Influence of Middle Eastern Islamic Political Thought on Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia: The Case of PKS

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Abstract

This paper primarily focuses on the influence of Middle Eastern Scholars on the Prosperous Justice Party or the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) of Indonesia. By looking into the way the party establishes and develops itself, and its member recruitment style, this paper shows that the influence of Middle Eastern scholars on the party's ideology is relatively significant. The emergence of what was known in Indonesia as the *dakwah* or *tarbiyah* movement, which later came to influence the establishment of PKS, was in fact an extension of the movements promoted by Abu A'la Maududi in Pakistan and Hassan al-Banna in Egypt. For the PKS, books written by Maududi and al-Banna have become main sources for its members' training activity, known as the *liqo* activity. The *liqo* training method, one would argue, is clearly akin to the one used by the Egyptian al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun movement to recruit its members, except that to the Ikhwan group, the *liqo* is actually termed as *usrah*. With its systematic method of gathering, each member of the PKS who has attended the *liqo* for a long period and considered capable enough to translate the knowledge gained, is urged to create another new *liqo* group and try to recruit new members.

Keywords: Islamic party; Dakwah; Liqo; Middle Eastern Influence; *Usrah*

Introduction

The early development of Islamic political thinking in Indonesia cannot be separated from the issues and problems that appeared and became a concern of Muslim scholars from the 18th to the early 20th century in the

Muslim world. The role of Islam in politics was not only reflected in governmental and social organizational activities, but was also the concern of the scholars as well. Muslim scholars like Jamaluddin al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh in Egypt, and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Iqbal in the Indian subcontinent were actively involved in disseminating ideas of modernism and resurgence. "Islamic modernism" consisted primarily of intellectual movements driven by several factors, and is particularly concerned with Muslim 'backwardness' vis-à-vis Western colonial influences. Although modernism in Islam was originally conceived in the Middle East, Middle Eastern modernist movements later managed to influence Muslims around the world, especially those in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, subsequently, in Indonesia too, to get actively involved in such intellectual movement.

This paper discusses the ideological influences of Middle Eastern and Indo-Pakistani scholars on the establishment, development and party cadre recruitment style of the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) or Prosperous Justice Party of Indonesia. Central to our study is the question of how the political thinking of those scholars, particularly that of Hassan al-Banna of Egypt and Abu A'la Maududi of Pakistan, influenced the political thinking of Indonesian activists in establishing Islamic political parties like the PKS. It is however important to note at this juncture that although Maududi was a Pakistani, his ideas were considered as Middle Eastern in origin and therefore this paper anchors its arguments on the Middle Eastern origin of Indonesian Islamic modernism and revivalism. As a matter of fact, the title of this paper

presupposes the notion that modern ideas on Islamic modernism and Muslim resurgence had their roots in early Middle Eastern Islamic political thinking.

From Middle East to Indonesia

The wave of Islamic reformism came to Indonesia in the early twentieth century. Transmitted generally by returning Indonesian students from Cairo who brought with them reformist literatures, Islamic modernism soon gained momentum in the Malay-Indonesian world. The Islamic modernist movement in Indonesia, considered to be the root of moderate and modernist Islam in the country, constitutes a remarkable milestone in the continuous and substantial influence of Middle Eastern Islamic scholarship on Indonesia. By and large, the modernist movement in Southeast Asia had its influence from the Middle East even before World War II. Referring to the first four decades of the twentieth century, Indonesian scholars like Deliar Noer argued how reformist ideas like those of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida had fired the imagination of Indonesian youths since very early (Noer, 1978). To Eliraz (2004), the narratives of Islamic modernist movements in Indonesia are, without question, intimately and deeply connected with the Middle East, except that certain Islamic ideas and streams of thought might have underwent some modifications. The greatest success of Islamic modernist movements in Indonesia was primarily due to Egyptian influence. They made Abduh's ideas essentially religious in character and a subsequent platform for an original and comprehensive reformism project that posed a substantial challenge to the traditional status quo. Muhammad Abduh's heritage appeared to be a significant source of inspiration for progressive ideas that emerged in the early 1970s and later became an influential stream of thought in neo-modernist Islamic discourse in Indonesia.

However, the influence of the transformation of intellectual thinking and movement among

Middle Eastern scholars resulted not only in the modernist-reformist approaches but also some revivalist approaches to address the problems of Islam in Indonesia. For example, the ideas and movements led by Abu A'la Maududi and Hassan al-Banna have had great impact on Indonesian and Malaysian Muslims. The emergence of what was known in Indonesia as the *dakwah* movement or the phenomenon of Islamic revivalism in the seventies, which influenced the establishment of PKS, was in fact a continuation of the movements promoted by Maududi in Pakistan and Hassan al-Banna in Egypt. According to M. Kamal Hassan (2003), Maududi along with Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) and Khomeini (1900-1989) were the most important Islamic thinkers and spokesman for the holistic vision of Islam.

Based on his brief survey of Maududi's influence on Muslim thought in Southeast Asia, Hassan concludes that Maududi's ideas have had a great impact on Indonesian and Malaysian Muslim movements in the seventies. While those ideas have had influence on mainstream Indonesian social organizations like the Nahdatul 'Ulama' (NU) and Muhammadiyah, those revivalist ideas also influenced other Muslim movements in Indonesia and Malaysia. Besides the fact that returning Malaysian and Indonesian students from the Middle East spread their ideas in their home countries, Hassan (2003) further explains how Maududi's ideas, particularly those on the relationship between Islam and politics, God's sovereignty, and the establishment of the Islamic state, also got disseminated. In the case of Malaysia, Hassan says,

The English translation of Maududis' writing and ideas were already available in Kuala Lumpur bookshops in the early sixties. Maududi's writings, translated into English mostly by Khurshid Ahmad and published by the Islamic publications Ltd of Lahore, were one of the most important sources of Islamic education of the English-educated Malay intelligentsia in the seventies and eighties. The writings of

Sayyid Qutb were equally popular (Hassan, 2003, 430-431).

This means that since the sixties, Indonesian and Malaysian Muslims have been familiar with the ideas of scholars from Middle Eastern countries.

The Establishment PKS and the Tarbiyah Movement

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera was founded on July 20, 1998 and was officially declared a party on August 9 of the same year. The time of its birth of course cannot be separated from what is called in Indonesian history the *Reformasi* post-Soeharto. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the PKS establishment was a response to the national political situations in Indonesia then.

However, different from other new political parties that have sprouted instantaneously during the reformation era, the PKS's birth was likely the final step or 'final product' of a long-term religious and social movement since the 1980s known as Kampus Da'wah ("Campus Proselytizing or Propagating") movement, also referred to as *Dakwah*, or *Tarbiyah*. Nur Mahmudi Ismail, the first PKS President, argued that the historical and ideological roots of his party went back a very long time - almost twenty years (Tempo, 1999).

The Tarbiyah movement is a movement that began in Indonesia in the late 1970s in major university campuses as a response to the repressive policies of the Suharto regime toward Muslim groups that aspired to the idea of an Islamic political system. The movement found university campuses all over Indonesia a fertile ground for recruitment and the cultivation of members. Students from across the archipelago focused their activities in the campus mosques, cultivating through small religious study groups a creed that combined the Islamism of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood with the idea of individual faith and reform. Based on my observation during a recent visit to the Salman

Al-Farisi mosque of the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Tarbiyah student activities still exist. This mosque, more than merely a place of religious worships, has evolved into a center of Islamic society. It provides various services for its members (ITB students) and the Muslim community outside the campus, such as education, marriage consultancies and even a banking system. In the 1980s, one of the founding fathers of the mosque, Imaduddin Abdul Rahim, popularly known as Bang Imad, introduced to the Salman community the thought and organizational traditions of the Egyptian al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun that was to influence heavily on the way the Salman mosque community organizes its activities, which, up to the present, is still maintained by the mosque administrators. This phenomenon is also found in other major universities in Indonesia, usually state-owned, such as the Shalahuddin Community in Gadjah Mada University, the al-Huriyyah Community in Bogor Institute of Agriculture, and the Arief Rahman Hakim Community of the University of Indonesia (UI). In my interview with the members of the Indonesian Parliament from PKS, I learned that many of them were former Tarbiyah activists. For instance, Zulkieflimansyah, a PKS parliamentarian, admitted that when he was the chairman of the UI Student Senate in 1994, he was actively involved in Tarbiyah activities at the UI mosque. When his term as Senate chairman ended in 1998, he was replaced by another mosque student activist, Rama Pratama, who was also a former PKS Parliamentarian. Zulkieflimansyah believes that student activists in other universities in Indonesia continue to be associated with mosque-based activists. Tarbiyah activists in many ways dominated the student Senate at the UI and formed part of the PKS's recruitment channel.

Tarbiyah has also found campuses to be an excellent arena to train members in the art of power politics, which after education is the next step following the discussion groups. As the Tarbiyah activists graduated they spread their network beyond the campuses. They formed

religious study circles in the companies where they worked and in mosques, especially in the cities. Following the fall of Soeharto, intensive discussion took place among Tarbiyah activists on how they should respond to the reformation era. It is a time when the Indonesian people had a great opportunity to express their opinions, including establishing any type of political parties, be they religious or secular. There was an intense debate among Tarbiyah activists as to whether they should establish a political party or not.

According to Aay M. Furkon (2004), there was a more intensive discussion (*musyawarah*) among the members when the Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII, Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council) failed to establish a political party based on Islam as its ideology. The establishment of Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), facilitated and supported by DDII, whose ideology was based on the Pancasila (the five national pillars of Indonesia) instead of Islam, disappointed Tarbiyah activist and DDII members. In fact, Abu Ridha (a Tarbiyah activist and one of the PKS founding fathers) initially instructed that Tarbiyah activists took a 'wait and see' attitude toward DDII's decision believing at that time that it would lead to an Islamic party. But when the PBB party ultimately came to materialize and was soon realized as not an Islamic-based party, the Tarbiyah activists quickly got together and held their meeting (*musyawarah*) to respond to DDII's decision.

This Tarbiyah meeting was later extended to the larger Indonesian community through surveys conducted throughout Indonesia, both inside and outside the universities. Questionnaires were distributed among Tarbiyah activists existing on campus as well as the alumni community, who have branched out into different employment activities – government employees, members of non-governmental organization (NGO) or entrepreneurs. The objective of the survey was to know what their ideas and responses were to the Indonesian political situation in the era

of reformation in terms of whether they should form a mass organization or a political party, or simply remain and maintain their movement as a Tarbiyah movement focusing on *dakwah* inside and outside Indonesian universities.

Furkon (2004) mentions that some 6000 questionnaires were distributed to Dakwah activists through established networks. The respondents were chosen from those members who had been active in the movement for fifteen to twenty years since its establishment, and included both campus activists and their alumni who worked outside. This movement has had very effective networking due to its frequent meetings. Members often met in seminars and conferences, discussions, book launchings, and other programs related to religious activities organized by *Tarbiyah* activists.

The effectiveness of their established network could be seen from the fact that from the 6000 questionnaires distributed, around 5800 were returned. The result of the survey was surprising: 68 per cent of the activists surveyed wanted to establish a political party, 27 per cent of them wished to form a mass organization, while the remaining five per cent neither hoped to establish a political party nor a mass organization; they wanted to keep and maintain their movement simply as a *dakwah* movement, whether on campus, in Islamic boarding schools, or in other non-governmental organizations (Damanik, 2002).

Based on the polling result, some 52 Tarbiyah activists further met again to follow up on the findings. These 52 activists represented groups and institutions involved in the Tarbiyah network that had come from different educational backgrounds. They were also of different genders, ethnicities and professions (Furkon, 2004). Their professional backgrounds were very diverse, ranging from lecturers in universities (both public and Islamic universities) to entrepreneurs, businessmen, pesantren-leaders, and student activists. Regardless, they all had similar *dakwah* activities in their backgrounds.

It may be assumed that the 52 leaders were those who had at some point been involved in religious activities held in campuses in Indonesia.

After several intensive discussions, the 52 representatives finally agreed to form a political party that later came to be known as the Partai Keadilan (Justice Party). The proclamation of the new party took place in an open area in front of the Al-Azhar mosque in Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta, on August 9, 1998, attended by around 50,000 supporters. The 52 original activists were called the Dewan Pendiri Partai Keadilan (the Council of the Founding Fathers of Partai Keadilan) (Furkon, 2004).

Since its establishment, the PKS founding fathers have implemented democratic procedures to guide the formation of the party. One of its pillars of democracy is that votes must be allocated equally among members and that the expressed preferences of each member must be considered. This democratic procedure can be easily identified in the document of proclamation written by Hidayat Nur Wahid. The charter of declaration says:

The Justice Party was founded not by a person nor by several activists. Instead, its establishment was decided through a democratic musyawarah (consultation) as aspired to by all its activists. A comprehensive survey that covered all dakwah activists in several mosques in universities in Indonesia, had been conducted months earlier to see what their responses to the political situation in Indonesia were. The result of the survey showed that the majority of activists agreed that it was an appropriate time for them to strengthen their dakwah activities by establishing a formal political party. This survey demonstrated a growing common vision among dakwah activists, which can become a dynamic asset to manage the party in the future. After the strong will to establish a party had been decided, integrated visions among them have been proven and become a reality (DPP Partai Keadilan, 1998).

From the above charter of declaration, it could be argued that PKS's establishment was a collective effort triggered by a shared vision and mission to strengthen dakwah activities among its members. It also indicates the idea of 'amal jama'i (community effort) in which all components of the community who were involved in its party formation had a similar vision, mission and responsibility to develop the party as a "vehicle" to expand dakwah activities. Thus, failure to manage the party equally means failure to expand their dakwah mission.

Influence on PKS Cadre Training Style

As has been noted earlier, besides the writings of Middle Eastern modernist scholars like Muhammad Abduh, Jamaluddin al-Afghani and Rashid Ridha, Indonesians also regard the works of revivalist scholars like Maududi and al-Banna with equal reverence and respect. However, in the case of Maududi, it was not only his writings that Indonesian scholars were influenced by in the first place, they were also exposed to his ideas as a result of a direct contact between the leader of the Masyumi Party, Mohamad Natsir, and Maududi, who was also the leader of the Jamaat'i al-Islami Party in Pakistan. Natsir visited Pakistan in 1952 and met Maududi as part of his effort to gain international support for the fledging Indonesian Republic. Natsir was aware of the writings of Maududi at that time and other Masyumi leaders could very well have quoted some views of Maududi, particularly when there were serious debates in the early period of Indonesian independence between Natsir, a Muslim nationalist, and Soekarno (Indonesia's first President), a secular-nationalist, on whether Indonesia should become an Islamic state or not. In these debates, it was believed that Natsir adopted the ideas of Maududi, which articulated the holistic Islamic perspective and argued that Indonesia should become an Islamic state. However, Natsir did not totally adopt Maududi's ideas but tried to implement them in the context of Indonesian politics.

The writings of Maududi were for the first time translated into Bahasa Indonesia from English in 1967. His work, the *Islamic Way of Life*, was translated by Osman Raliby into *Pokok-Pokok Pandangan Hidup Muslim*. And in the following years, a great number of books written by other revivalist scholars were translated and published. This translation trend and effort by Indonesians later had a big impact on Muslim movements in Indonesia. As observed by Hasan (2003), “from 1982 to 1986, twelve Indonesian translations of Sayyid Qutb’s book, ten of Maududi’s, six of Shariati’s and three of Hassan al-Banna’s were published in Indonesia.”

In the current situation, I have noticed that translations of Arabic books written by Middle Eastern scholars into Bahasa Indonesia are mushrooming in the country. The books written by Maududi and Hassan al-Banna are easily found in Indonesian book stores. When I attended PKS’s 7th anniversary and its annual meetings at district levels, it was very common to find books written by Middle Eastern scholars being sold in the vicinity of PKS’s meetings. Based on my interviews with several PKS members whom I met during the PKS’s anniversary meetings in Jakarta and during my visit to several PKS district offices in Depok, Bogor and Kuningan, they admitted that those books were also used as main sources in their regular cadre trainings known as *liqo* (weekly meeting) among members of the PKS.

For the PKS, books written by Abu A’la Maududi and Hassan al-Banna have become main sources of their members’ training. The influence of their writings, particularly al-Banna’s, to the dakwah movement has been admitted by the former President of PKS, Tifatul Sembiring. He says:

The influence of Hassan al-Banna’s thoughts on the Dakwah movement, especially PKS, is obvious. Even in my thesis, Rivalry Between Modernist and Traditionalist Islamic Movements, I concluded that there is not a single modern Islamic movement in the world that is

not influenced by Hassan al-Banna’s thoughts (Edward, 2006).

Sembiring’s statement above shows that al-Banna’s political thinking has significantly impacted not only upon the PKS, but also other Islamic movements in the world. Sembiring’s view is strengthened by Igo Ilham (as cited in Edwards, 2006) when he observed, “....to make a connection between PKS and international dakwah movements like al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, there are actually common points, though the acts and formats are different”. These two statements from PKS political leaders are proofs of the influence of other Islamic movements in the Middle East on PKS.

In addition to book translations, the transmission of revivalist ideas to Indonesia was also supported by government and non-governmental organizations, and individuals from the Middle East through education and *dakwah* activities. Egypt, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are among those Gulf countries actively involved in spreading revivalist ideas through educational approaches, either by sending teachers to Islamic institutions in Indonesia or by establishing educational institutions. Saudi-sponsored Islamic education in Indonesia has taken the most prominent and influential form through the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab (the Indonesian Institute for Islamic and Arabic Sciences), popularly known in Jakarta as LIPIA. A branch of Imam Muhammad bin Saud University in Riyadh, it provides courses in both Arabic and Islamic studies for Indonesians. Through this institution, the ideas of Hassan al-Banna have been transmitted to Indonesians because many of the school teachers have strong Brotherhood influences. Fealy and Bubalo even argued that LIPIA could be considered as a place to transmit brotherhood ideas to some of the leaders of PKS Islamic parties (Bubalo and Fealy, 2005).

Fealy and Bubalo only offer a one-sided view, however. Based on my research findings, the composition of the PKS membership is more intricate. For example, from the forty-five PKS

parliamentarians, only three were graduates of LIPIA – Jazuli Juwaini, Hilman Rosyad Syihab and Muhammad Anis Matta. Of the rest, more than fifty percent of them graduated from Indonesian secular (not Islamic) universities like ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology), IPB (Bogor Institute of Agriculture), UI (University of Indonesia), and UGM (Gadjah Mada University). The remaining others graduated from Indonesian Islamic universities as well as overseas universities both in the Middle East and the West (Bastoni and Anwar, 2006). It is also important to note here that the first PKS President, Nur Mahmudi Ismail, holds a Ph.D in Food and Technology from Texas A & M University in America.

Strategies have been applied by PKS not only to spread out and recruit new members but also to maintain and develop their members' loyalty to the party by making regular cadre training such as *liqo* and *muqoyyam* as part of *halaqoh* and *tarbiyah* movements. Further, the PKS has implemented two pillars of their *tarbiyah* movement, which are straight *manhaj* (systematic steps to be followed to achieve an objective) and qualified *murobbiy* (leader of group discussion in *halaqoh*). While a leader of *halaqoh* is called *murabbiy*, the members themselves are called *mutarabbiy* (guided students). *Liqo* and *muqoyyam* have been selected as good training to create solid and qualified cadres of PKS.

Liqa or Ta'lim

Liqa (لِقَاء) literally means 'meeting'. This term is taken from the Arabic and used by PKS members to refer to weekly gatherings consisting of small groups (5-12 persons) to learn Islamic studies under the guidance of more senior and qualified Islamic teachers of PKS members called *murabbiy*. Although members generally discuss Islamic teachings at these gatherings, *liqa* is also used as a tool to strengthen cadre relationships among party members.

The *liqa* weekly gathering is usually held in one of the houses of the members, or if it is held in

campuses or schools, in mosques or *musallah* (a prayer area) located in the campuses. It is then very common to find small gatherings of students at Arief Rahman Hakim mosque in Depok, University of Indonesia, or at Salman Mosque in Bandung Institute of Technology. Their gatherings are easily recognizable because members sit in semi-circles each with a leader (*murabbiy*) positioned in front of them.

Based on my interviews with members of the *liqa* groups, direct observation and active involvement in several of their activities during my fieldwork in Jakarta, I found that the *liqa* gathering seemed to be an effective method of cadre recruitment for PKS because such activity tends to integrate the members more and help establish party loyalty. Interpersonal relationships among the members can also be effectively maintained by the party because of the frequent meetings among the members. With their systematic method of gathering, each member who has attended *liqa* for quite some time and is considered to be capable enough to transform knowledge gained during the *liqa*, is urged to create another new *liqa* group and try to recruit new members. This *liqa* method is clearly influenced by the method used by the al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun movement in Egypt to recruit their members. While the PKS uses the term *liqa* for this method, al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun calls theirs *usrah* (Rosyad, 2006). Damanik (2002) argues that *liqa* and *usrah* have similarities in style, objectives and principles of performing the gathering. There are three principles of *liqa* or *usrah* activities that should be fulfilled by the members, namely, *ta'arruf* (knowing each other), *tafahhum* (understanding each other), and *takaful* (responsible to each other). Through these principles, interpersonal relationships among the members are established. Damanik is correct in that between them, *liqa* and *usrah* have similarities not only in terms of their small numbers per group but also in terms of the curriculum they teach. During my direct observations, I found that there are not more than ten *liqa* members in each group and that their interpersonal relationships were very

strong. When I was first introduced to attend the *liqo* group meeting in Mampang Prapatan, South Jakarta, the *murabbiy* (*liqo* leader) explained the objectives and principles of the *liqo* gatherings similar to those mentioned by Damanik above. Fortunately, I was able to easily join in in the *liqo* gathering because I stayed in a shared rental house in Mampang (the PKS headquarter also located in this place) where all the tenants were also *liqo* group activists. I was initially approached in person and asked about my religious and educational backgrounds before I was given the green light to join them and participate in their activities.

The leader of the *liqo* circle that I attended explained the principles of *liqo* – that each member should be aware of: *ta'arruf*, *tafahhum* and *takaful*. *Ta'aruf*, the first principle, entails that each member should know each other among those involved in the same *liqo* group well enough so as to develop interpersonal ties with tone another. My experience in being involved in such a gathering showed me, for example, the importance of pretending to be a close relative of a *liqo* member in order to be easily accepted as a group member. *Liqo* members should establish close relationships in the sense of *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood), by knowing the name, address and status of others in their family. They should also know each other's psychological state, way of thinking, self-capability, and economic condition. After the principle of *ta'arruf* is naturalized and embedded in the psyche of the members, the second principle, *tafahhum*, is observed.

This principle of *tafahhum* or “understanding” consists of three factors that can strengthen relationships among the members. They are: (1) strengthening love and compassion for each other, (2) negating hatred that can break relationships and, (3) avoiding dispute among the members. And the last principle which is considered to be the result of the process of *ta'arruf* and *tafahhum*, is that of *takaful* (responsibility to each other). This principle implies that each member readily takes care

of each other, particularly when one of them faces difficulties.

To extend the *halaqoh* or *liqo* membership, which implies creating more numbers of PKS cadres and members, each *liqo* member has to undertake two types of compulsory recruitment: *fardi* recruitment and *jama'i* recruitment. *Fardi* recruitment means that a member of PKS initiates himself or is recommended by his *murabbiy* to recruit one or two persons to become a member of his *liqo* or *halaqoh* group. Several steps should be followed by a member to recruit new members. They are: 1) each *halaqoh* member firstly should find a candidate to be recruited; 2) the candidate is introduced to other members and given information on what is taught and done in *halaqoh*; 3) the candidate is observed confidentially whether he is capable enough to become a member; 4) the result of the observation is discussed among *halaqoh* members; and 5) a candidate is approved to become a *halaqoh* member (DPP Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, 2004). From this process of recruitment, one could argue that there are enough bases for determining that a cadre or member of PKS is now fully integrated and loyal to the party.

Jam'i recruitment is a collective recruitment of *tarbiyah* or *halaqoh* members and at the same time recruitment of PKS members through formal and informal activities. Several activities are considered to be part of *jama'i* recruitments, and they are as follow: 1) recruitment through party activities, 2) recruitment through Lembaga Dakwah Sekolah (School Dakwah Board) or Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (University Dakwah Board), and 3) recruitment through other institutions such as Majelis Ta'lim, Ramadhan activities and Bakti Sosial. The recruitment through party activities method is a recruitment of a *Tarbiyah* member arranged officially by a member of the party through both *Training Orientasi Partai Satu* (The First Party Orientation Training) and *Training Orientasi Partai Dua* (The Second Party Orientation Training).

The PKS also recruits their *tarbiyah* members through active involvement in *dakwah* institutions available both in schools (high schools) and universities. This means that PKS members have actively promoted their programs to recruit party members not only among university students but also among students in high schools. At the high school level, PKS members have tried to approach students to actively involve them in *dakwah* activities in their schools while in fact cadres of the PKS would become their mentor in their activities and indirectly invite them to become *halaqoh* and PKS members. PKS programs have thus been introduced to the high school students, so that when these students enroll later into universities, they will continue to actively be involved in the *dakwah* movement at the university level as PKS cadres. At the high school level, PKS members influence students to actively get involved in *Rohaniawan Islam (Islamic spiritualist)* activities. *Rohaniawan Islam* is an institution of *dakwah* in high schools in Indonesia. Almost all high schools in Indonesia, except Christian or Catholic schools, have this kind of institutionalized platform. Coordinated by the students with the help of teachers of religion subjects, this institutionalized platform regularly performs Islamic activities such as religious discussions, celebrating Islamic festivals and coordinating Islamic ritual activities like daily prayer and Qurban (slaughtering of animals during the 'Id celebrations).

In the *halaqoh* or *liqo* program, PKS provides special curricula consisting of planning activities and materials that should be taught by *murabbiy* to *halaqoh* members. This curriculum was set up by the party, particularly by their party-division on cadres called *Departemen Kaderisasi*. For new members of PKS, a *halaqoh* guideline is called *Manajemen Tarbiyah Anggota Pemula* (Tarbiyah Management for Beginners). In this guideline, the party set its *tarbiyah* curriculum as well. The curriculum covers four categories of materials: 1) basic teachings of Islamic studies; 2) basic teachings of skills and self-

empowerment, 3) *dakwah* and Islamic thoughts, and 4) social sciences.

Looking into the litany of materials enumerated in the PKS's cadre engagement programs, it is clear that almost all materials taught in the *tarbiyah* or *halaqah* activities are based on Islamic teachings. This means that although the PKS claims that its membership is open to all Indonesian people whatever their religious beliefs are, it is most likely impossible for non-Muslims to be involved in *halaqoh* activities. However, it could be assumed that for the non-Muslim members, they might participate and be involved in other party activities, which are not related directly to Islamic or *dakwah* activities, such as social activities.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that there are connections between modernism and revivalism movement in Middle Eastern countries and the emergence of *dakwah* movements in Indonesia, which later on would have an impact on the creation of PKS. Even now, materials from Middle Eastern countries not only flow and spread among Indonesian Muslims through translation efforts but in a globalized world, thanks to internet development, the doctrinal or political views of Middle Eastern scholars are easily come by and read through websites.

Although both PKS and the al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun have different name for their membership training, *liqo* for PKS and *usrah* for al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, the core of the training programs have remained similar, that is to create very loyal and integrated members with their Islamic values as their basic ideology. One can argue that the PKS strategy in recruiting the cadre more or less was influenced by the style of al-Banna's Ikhwan in Egypt in recruiting their members. The style of member training could be regarded as a reflection of the fact that PKS's internal structures are almost the same as their counterpart in Egypt. Besides similarities

between PKS and al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun in maintaining their cadre's integration to the parties through special training, it is necessary to note that in terms of member recruitment and expanding the cadres of the party, the PKS has an added special strategy that the Ikhwan of Egypt does not have, and that is, encouraging their cadres to have big families. Having a lot of children for PKS cadres has been interpreted by Indonesians as a reflection of the party's strategy to increase their party membership, a strategy is not found in the al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun policy.

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