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Chapter Three:
The Encouragement of PPME for Giving

In Islam, giving practices refer to the payment of both zakāt al-fitr and zakāt al-māl, both of which are obligatory for Muslims. The practices can also refer to infāq or ṣadaqa as voluntary donations. This sense can also be found in the Indonesian context in the terms infāq and ṣadaqa having similar meanings, i.e. voluntary gifts. In fact, “in the later history of Islam, ṣadaqa is traditionally used to mean only voluntary charitable donations....” In a wider sense, the term ṣadaqa can be regarded as giving both material (money, land, and buildings) and non-material (support, dedication, and commitment). “Giving” as the term used in this section refers to the usage of ṣadaqa in the wider meaning and as voluntary gifts, which are both material and non-material. The PPME itself has endeavoured to encourage its members and sympathizers to give their financial and non-financial assistance to realise its plans. This took place through both socio-cultural and infrastructural endeavours.

I. Socio-Cultural Endeavours

A. Maulid Nabi (1973)

The commemoration of Maulid Nabi (the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad) has always been flexible. That is to say, Muslims are not obliged to commemorate it on the exact date on which the Prophet was born, the 12th of Rabī’u’l-Awwal (the third month in the Islamic calendar). The decision about when to hold the commemoration is a pragmatic one. This is unlike the day on which the fast of Ramadan (for the feast of ‘īd al-fitr) is broken.

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taking into consideration the decisions to be made on when the final day of Ramaḍān falls, and the sacrificial feast (‘īd al-ʿaḍḥā) that must be conducted on a fixed date, i.e. 10 Dhu’l-ḥijja (the 12th Islamic calendar month).\footnote{See A. van Bommel, “The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, \textit{Islam in Dutch Society}, 128.} Muslims follow the decisions of the Saudi Arabian government or those of their own government for the fixed festivals (this will be discussed in chapter 4).

There are Muslims who oppose celebrating the \textit{maulid} which they consider \textit{bid’a madhmūma} (a blameworthy innovation),\footnote{See Ahmad Haris, \textit{Bid’ah dalam Literatur Islam}, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (Ciputat: Referensi, 2012), 162.} for instance, reformists and adherents to the Maliki, rather than the Syafi’i, school of Islamic jurisprudence.\footnote{See N. J. G. Kaptein, \textit{Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW: Asal Usul dan Penyebaran Awalnya, Sejarah di Maghrib dan Spanyol Muslim sampai Abad ke-16/ke-10} (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), 43, 48 and 50; see also Martin van Bruinessen, \textit{Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia)} (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 97-98.} However, there are many Muslims, residing in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries, who celebrate the event.\footnote{See Kaptein, \textit{Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW}, 1.} The Prophet’s birthday is frequently celebrated in the Javanese-Suriname Muslim community in the Netherlands.\footnote{See Van Bommel, “The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations,” 128.} Likewise, the congregations of PPME The Hague, PPME Rotterdam, PPME al-Ikhlash in Amsterdam, PPME Heemskerk, and PPME Breda-Tilburg, hold festivities to mark the event.

of the Prophet Muhammad for the first time in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy (KBRI) in The Hague. As part of the events, the association presented a theatrical show with the theme “Umar ibn Khattab Embracing Islam and Becoming a Khalifa (Caliph)”. T. Rusli, a founder of the PPME, played the role of Umar, a brave and firm caliph who believed in justice and rights (al-ḥaqq). This theme was chosen in order that the PPME would inherit his character, thus stimulating it to implement Islamic principles in running its programs as a reflection and an affirmation of PPME’s Islamic principles. To some extent, the choosing of such a theme can be seen as a response to the early Indonesian New Order’s strict control of da’wa activities (giving Islamic speeches) by Muslims, especially in Indonesia. Muslim activists in the beginning of Suharto Era were being marginalized by him, although they had cooperated with the government to fight against the Communist Party (PKI) in the Old Order (Sukarno Era) and in the murder of communists at the beginning of the New Order. On the other hand, the theme can be seen as a response to the socio-religious problems encountered by Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands, among them, their need for Islamic teaching as previously discussed in chapter 1.

The celebration in 1973 was attended by 359 people from the Netherlands and some from West Germany. Many of those from the Netherlands were members of the PPI in the Netherlands. Others were teachers of Pajajaran University (West Java) and the University of Gajah Mada (Yogyakarta) who had been participating

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471 Kadungga, Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME, 7.
in educational training hosted by Dutch universities.\textsuperscript{472} In addition, members of PPME in the Netherlands and Muslim officials of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands also attended the celebration. Those from Germany were all PPME members.\textsuperscript{473} Thus, the participants were not only insiders (the members of the association), but also outsiders (Indonesian students, embassy staff and university teachers).

Given that there was no budget allocated by the PPME board for the commemoration,\textsuperscript{474} it was facilitated from other sources. For example, the event was held in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{475} This was also seen as an endorsement by the embassy, despite there being no official or structural relationship between the two. Besides, celebrating such a commemoration was not part of the Embassy’s tasks, especially, connected to educational and cultural affairs.\textsuperscript{476} Furthermore, the students and staff who attended the commemoration demonstrated a willingness to take part in events organized by the association’s board. For example, a group of students participated in sport activities, which included such things as table tennis and chess; and the universities’ staffs acted as judges in essay competitions with Islamic themes.\textsuperscript{477} Their contributions requiring time and skills are all evidence of their non-material support for the celebration.

Subsequently, on 3 September 1995, the PPME board in the Netherlands celebrated the commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{478} This commemoration, which was broadcast on a Dutch television by the Nederlandse Moslim Omroep (NMO, Broadcasting Organization for Muslims in the Netherlands),\textsuperscript{479} aimed to elicit


\textsuperscript{473} Kadungga, \textit{Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME}, 7.

\textsuperscript{474} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{475} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{476} See Martosuhardjo, \textit{Laporan Tahunan}, 111 and 127.

\textsuperscript{477} Kadungga, \textit{Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME}, 7.


\textsuperscript{479} See M. Isyak, \textit{Laporan Pertanggung-jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland}
financial donations for an Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands – Basri, a student of Leiden University acting as a member of PPME board in the Netherlands and committee of the commemoration, stated that it was a fund-raiser affair of PPME and therefore, it had to be an impressive event. No less than 500 people were invited to the celebration at the Grote Kerk in The Hague. Speeches were made by Sa’ad Syamlan, a member of HMI and of Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP, Party of Unity and Development). Quranic verses were performed by a well-known female reciter from Indonesia, Maria Ulfah and food was provided for all. Consequently, PPME hoped that much money could be collected from those who attended. Having announced the aim of the event, together, especially with the officials of KBRI and the members of ICMI in the Netherlands, the PPME board led the collecting of donations from the attendants. The result was that € 909 were collected. Even though this amount fell short of what was needed to fund a place for worship – the cost of mosque was later known to be more or less € 534,090 (discussed in the following section of this chapter), the donations indicate a willingness of the guests to contribute and are another endorsement of the endeavors of the association.

Finally, a commemoration was held on 8 September 1996 to celebrate 25 years of the PPME’s existence. This event was held in conjunction with the celebration of the new Indonesian al-Ḥikmah Mosque and the 51st anniversary of Indonesian independence. A well-known Indonesian preacher, Zainuddin M. Z. was invited and qasidah music (religious chants sung to the rhythm of a gambus) was presented by Lembaga Seni dan Qasidah Jakarta Raya (Lasqi

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482 Rudy Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009, The Hague.
484 Ibid.
485 Religious chant [usually] in Arabic, sung to the rhythm of a gambus, a six-stringed, plucked instrument of Arabic origin.
Jaya, Association for Arts and Qasidah of the Greater Jakarta). Furthermore, the best participant of the Musābaqa Tilāwatil-Qur’ān (MTQ, National Contest in Reciting the Qur’an) held by the Indonesian government, Nasrullah Djamaluddin, was also invited. As a result, about 1,500 people attended the celebrations which were held at the new Indonesian mosque that was under the supervision of the KBRI. This fact shows that the ambassador assisted PPME in providing a place for the celebration.

B. **Summer Sportdagen (1973)**

Recreational sports have long been a part of the socio-cultural activities of Muslim organizations in the Netherlands and have formed part of the PPME’s programmes since 1973. Sport as part of its commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet (1973) in cooperation with the Indonesian Embassy was an example. Up to present, sport remains a part of PPME’s activities.

PPME Amsterdam is much concerned with this sport programme and in fact, the board of PPME Amsterdam even developed a sport programme which has been running since 1997. Originally, the programme was called *barbeque dan budaya* (barbeque and culture), but in 2009 the board converted the name into *sportdagen* (sport days) and this is the name used today. The following is the comparison between the former and the latter sport programme.

The programme of *sportdagen* 1997 was held for two objectives. It had been mainly aimed at facilitating the children of PPME members to do sports together in a bid to improve their well-being, which, in turn, would improve their relations at home. For this aim, activities in the programme should be in accord with needs of the children from year to year. According to the

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490 Ibid., 1.
organizer of the *sportdagen*, this programme was a materialization of the Quranic verse of Chapter al-Nāzi‘āt (Those who tear out): “A provision for you and your cattle,” which encouraged the enjoyment of an environment in which sports were done while remaining focused on useful activities. This indicates the hope of PPME Amsterdam was that the *sportdagen* could make children more open to accepting their parents’ religious guidance, but it is actually hard to achieve. This is because it is an annual program rather than, for instance, a routine monthly programme that may be more influential for the relation between the children and their parents. Alongside this first objective, the sports programme was a continuation of a previously organized family program called *berkumpul pada musim panas* (gathering on the summer weekends) aimed at enhancing the *silaturahim* (human links) between PPME members and sympathizers. This meant that not only children, but also adults did sports. The facilitation of sports, along with an arts programme, have been important aspects of PPME’s endeavours. In addition to PPME members, sympathizers such as M. Luthfie and Zaenal, the Chief and Assistant Defence Attaché of the Indonesian Embassy for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, attended the gathering. The chairman of PPME Amsterdam, Balbaid, highlighted that the attendance of officials from the Embassy in the *sportdagen* could go on in the following years to create familiarity between them and members of PPME Amsterdam.

Unlike the one held in 1997, PPME Amsterdam’s *sportdagen* programme held in 2009 was concerned much more with fund raising. It was advertised online and in the *at-Taqwa* Mosque. It called on men and women, young and old, to come and play their favourite sports such as football and volleyball. Outsiders were also welcome to participate. Consequently, officials from the Indonesian embassy, PCIM members and PIP PKS supporters joined the PPME members and took part in the day. It is worth

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491 Ibid.
492 Ibid.
493 Ibid., 2.
mentioning that in addition to the sports on offer at this 2009 event, the board of PPME Amsterdam also organized selling foods, beverages, Islamic books and CDs, and herbal medicine. Traditional foods and beverages such as rujak cingur (raw fruit with peanut sauce), bakso, soto ayam/kambing (soup with chicken or goat), siomay (steamed ravioli filled with meat), sate ayam and kambing (sate made of chicken and goat), cendol (beverage made from coconut milk) and bubur campur (porridge). This was a marked difference with the 1997 event which focused much more on playing sports, rather than on making an effort to raise funds. For the sportsdagen programme of 2009, the board distributed tasks among its board and volunteers in order to put on a well-organized programme. It was seen as a fundraising opportunity. The profits gained from selling the foods and other products went to the organization and were used to contribute to the monthly mortgage payments (€ 2,700-3,000) on the recently purchased at-Taqwa (Piety) Mosque and its operational costs and maintenance (€ 500-700). Their commitment to providing assistance to the organization can also be seen from the statements of Rib Kasan (the former PPME treasurer) who told how his family went to the event early in order to deliver their food (bubur campur) to the organizers before the visitors arrived.

C. Halal Bihalal (the Late 1980s)

According to Mas’udi of NU and Ahmad Zahro of the State Islamic University of Surabaya, the term halal bihalal was posed by Wahab Hasbullah of NU. This took place when Sukarno invited him during Ramadān of 1948 to solve a heated political situation in Indonesia, i.e. politicians blaming each other, thus, becoming disunited. Hasbullah’s first advice was to hold silaturahim, an Indonesian Muslim tradition in ‘īd al-fīṭr, but this term, according

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494 A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.
496 Nina Maasdam, interview, Yogyakarta, 23 August 2011.
497 A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, 21 June 2009.
to Sukarno, was commonly known. Therefore, Sukarno preferred another term. Hasbullah then posed the term *halal bihalal* as realization of the *silaturahim*, which aimed to be an effort to end the blaming of each other among the politicians; they should get together and forgive each other.\(^{499}\) It is clear that this *silaturahim*, with the aim of forgiveness, is not an Arabic, but Indonesian, tradition.\(^{500}\)

Today in Indonesia, the *halal bihalal*, which includes shaking hands and asking for forgiveness, is annually performed by Muslims (both men and women) in places of worship, offices, at home or other buildings.\(^{501}\) It is a practice not without controversy; indeed, there is some debate among those knowledgeable of Islam about whether the activity is recommended or unlawful. Those who argue it is recommended believe that *silaturahim* and the activity of forgiving one another, which are parts of the *halal bihalal*’s activities, are in accordance with Islamic teaching;\(^{502}\) whereas others see it as prohibited, arguing that apologies should be made when necessary and not be limited to an annual event. Opponents also argue against the physical contact and shaking hands between men and women citing writings in the Salafi magazine, *as-Sunnah* (The Way of the Prophet Muhammad) and the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyya and al-Albani,\(^{503}\) both central figures in the Salafi *da’wa* movement.\(^{504}\)


\(^{504}\) Hasan, “From Apolitical Quitism to Jihadist Activism,” 140 and 143.
In Indonesia, *halal bihalal* takes place during the ‘*īd al-фиr* celebration (in the month of *syawwāl*, the Islamic month after *Ramaḍān*), after the fasting, in order to establish *silaturahim* and to ask for forgiveness.\(^{505}\) There is no evidence (*dalīl*) of this practice in the period of the Prophet Muhammad and is regarded as being beyond Arabic tradition. Also it is absent among other Muslim communities in the Netherlands, with the exception of those of Indonesian and Surinamese-Javanese origin. It has not been part of ‘*ibāda mahḍa* (pure worship), i.e. Islamic worship in the narrow sense of the meaning.\(^{506}\) This means that there are no sacred religious ceremonies or rituals related to the *halal bihalal*, which is an adjustment to the socio-cultural and ethnic background of those who participate in it.

There have been, in principal, two sorts of *halal bihalal* activities. The main one includes reciting Quranic verses, Islamic lectures on subjects usually associated with the significance of fasting during *Ramaḍān*, forgiving each other, and about good deeds in the future, whereupon people approach each other, shake hands and state: “...*Mohon maaf lahir dan batin* (Forgive me for intentional and unintentional mistakes).”\(^{507}\) In addition, there are complementary activities. In the case of PPME in the Netherlands, entertainment and art performances are usually part of the *halal bihalal*; for example, the playing of Indonesian music with Islamic lyrics, the recitation of poems, and the performance of traditional dances are common additional activities.\(^{508}\)

*Halal bihalal* has been held separately by each of the PPME branches since the late 1980s.\(^{509}\) Consequently, more than one

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celebration takes place in the Netherlands every year. However, this has not always been the case. In 1986, for instance, a joint celebration was organized by PPME Rotterdam who invited PPME members from other branches to take part in the *halal bihalal*. On 21 February 1998 in a hall of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, the celebration was hosted by PPME Amsterdam, and on 20 November 2005 PPME Breda organized an event in Oosterhout. More recently, the board of PPME the Netherlands organized a celebration in Osdorp, Amsterdam on 18 September 2011 where all PPME members, with the exception of PPME Amsterdam, which is now called Euromuslim, were invited.

The 2005 *halal bihalal* meeting in Breda was an unusual one – it took place at a time when the conflict in the PPME Amsterdam came to the fore. In addition to its neutral position in the conflict, PPME Breda always liked to have a big *halal bihalal*, thus, becoming more interesting. As was mentioned in chapter 1, its membership is small in number. It was held at Wilhelminalaan 57-59 in Oosterhout. It was attended by more than 300 people, including the congregation of PPME ar-Rahman Breda, PPME’s central board, and the boards of PPME branches throughout the Netherlands as well as PPME sympathizers. The working languages of the event, whose theme was “Through Halal Bihalal We Enhance Silaturahim and Togetherness among Us,” were Indonesian and Dutch. The PPME preacher, A. Naf’an Sulchan, strengthened the theme with an Islamic speech encouraging the audience: “Not to judge others, especially *mu’minun* (believers) as unbelievers or polytheists [the theme underlining the significance of unity among the congregation of PPME Amsterdam].” He went on to stress: “Not to say that good deeds we have conducted are the best according to

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510 See Zikra, April 1998, 18.
511 *Al-Ittihaad*, no. 10, May-June 1986, 27.
513 Hansyah (chairman of PPME Breda-Tilburg), telephone interview, 30 June 2008.
515 *Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman 20 November 2005 PPME Breda*, CD-ROM.
516 Ibid.
Allah. Therefore, even though you [the congregation of the PPME] have chosen me as imam, this by no means guarantees that my deeds are better than those of you [those who have been learning Islam from him]. The judgement is the right of Allah, The Real Judge.”517 While delivering his statements, the imam cited a Quranic verse (Al-Mulk: 2): “...Wa-‘l-ḥayāta li-yabluwakum ayyukum ahsanu ‘amalan... (...And life that He may try you which of you is best in deed....)”518 His speech clearly aimed at emphasizing the significance of respect for others, which would lead to togetherness, something that was threatened at that time regarding PPME Amsterdam.

The disunity among the followers of PPME Amsterdam did not prevent PPME’s congregations or disputing members of PPME Amsterdam boards from endorsing Breda as hosts of the halal bihalal in Breda. They were still willing to assist the Breda board. Firstly, the organizing committee (made up of PPME Breda members) took the initiative to continue with the halal bihalal tradition and PPME’s boards and members donated their financial assistance and provided food beyond PPME Breda’s disposal (€ 2,500), for instance, semur (dish of meal stewed with chicken), gado-gado (vegetables), rendang (stewed beef), sambal terasi (sauce made with shrimp paste), fried rice, and lempur (sticky rice) were served. They were under no obligation to be involved, but they wanted to ensure the success of the event and to maintain this PPME tradition. In addition to the financial donations made by PPME Breda’s congregation, the boards and the members of PPME Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Heemskerk also provided donations in order to ensure the success of the tradition. As a result, € 980 were collected in a box especially put there for this purpose. This amount certainly reduced the expenses of the committee; for instance, they were able to cover the cost of leasing the hall, which were more than € 800.519

Finally, in addition to traditional dances performed by the

517 Ibid.
518 Ibid.
519 Ibid.
PPME’s younger generation, a *qasidah* group, *as-Salaam* (Peace), which was recommended by the members of PPME Rotterdam, and al-Jama’atul Hasana – an Islamic organization of a Surinamese-Javanese congregation, formed in 2003 by Johnny Kasijo, a PPME Rotterdam member keen to develop cultural activities – played music and songs with Islamic lyrics. Playing tambourines and a guitar, the group started with playing the music of *ṣalawāt* (praise for the Prophet Muhammad), followed by a Sundanese song entitled *Es Lilin* (Popsicle). The original lyrics of this traditional song about a lady who is ashamed to tell a man that she had fallen in love with him were partly replaced by the *ṣalawa*: “*Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā sayyidinā wa mawlānā Muḥammadin* (God, bless the Prophet Muhammad).” Another song was the Javanese *Gambang Suling* (Xylophone-and flute-like instrument) whose original lyrics tell about the nice sound of the instruments when it was played. The lyrics were, then, replaced with those inviting listeners to recite the Quran and learn about Islam.

It is worth noting that the music group did not receive money for their performance. The idea of commercializing *qasidah* was not in line with the ideals of the group’s founder, Kasijo, who wanted to propagate Islam through music and found the idea of obligatory payments for the group’s performance distasteful. He believed in culturally developing PPME’s activities, especially in Rotterdam, rather than financially.

**D. Istighotsah (2001)**

*Istighotsah* in the form of intercessory prayers asks not only for God’s protection, but is also an appeal for His assistance in solving problems experienced in the here and now by the reciters themselves, their families, or those experiencing difficulties.

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520 Johnny Kasijo, interview, Rotterdam, 15 January 2011.
521 *Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman PPME Breda 2005*, CD-ROM.
522 Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.
Istighotsah is the recitation of a given package of prayers; it is longer and more varied than tahlilan (reciting a certain package of intercessory prayers including the words of lā Ilāha illā Allāh, usually performed to pray for the deceased). It also includes reciting God’s names (asmā’ al-ḥusnā). PPME’s yasinan and tahlilan activities are frequently performed as an introduction to the istighotsah. In the istighotsah, the names of those who serve as the wasīla (the spiritual mediator) such as the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, certain saints, well-known ulama, and teachers, a ritual known as tawassul, are recited. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, this wasīla is exerted in the hope that the intercessory prayers recited directly to God will be accepted by Him. In addition, attendants of this ritual recite the sholawats (praise for the Prophet Muhammad) of the so-called munjiyya (sholawat to be safe from disaster and achieve goals both in the worldly life and the hereafter) and nāriya (sholawat to solve a problem, relieve sadness, and achieve a goal). These kinds of sholawats are frequently practiced by those who are fond of performing yasinan, tahlilan, and istighotsah. The munjiyya has a more general content and is recited as an introductory sholawat for any prayer, whereas the nāriya is mainly recited when confronted with problems. The istoghotsah takes more time and, according to the tradition of Qadiriyya Sufism, it is performed loudly. Such a ritual does not signify that the performing of the traditionalist practice should adhere to the way of a certain Islamic sufism or mysticism strictly. In PPME, it is guided only by a knowledgeable person and is not necessarily guided by a murshid (guide) such as the Turkish Sülaimanli sufis who lead in the Netherlands adhering to Naqshabandi brotherhood and using

524 See Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia) (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 20-21 and 262-263.
526 See Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 20-21 and 262-263.
spiritual genealogy, i.e. mentioning their spiritual ancestors.

Muslim reformists in Indonesia considered the recitation of tawassul and sholawats as a religious activity that leads to shirk (polytheism). The debates surrounding this subject remain heated, as can be seen from two recent publications on the issues of tawassul, istighotsah, and reciting the sholawats. The first book, entitled *Mantan Kiai NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik: Nariyah, al-Fatih, Munjiyat, Thibbul Qulub* (A Former Kyai of NU Criticizes the Reciters of Sholawat and Polytheist Chants: Solving, Opening, Salving, and Peace-making Sholawat), was published in 2007 and written by Mahrus Ali. The second book is entitled *Membongkar Kebohongan Buku Mantan KIAI NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik* (Revealing the Lies of the Book “Mahrus Ali Criticizes the Reciters of Sholawat and Polytheist Chants”) and was published in 2008. It was written by a team from the Jember branch of the NU – a team devoted to the *Bahth al-Masāil* (Discussion on Cases) – and is a response to the first book that is said to discredit the traditions of the NU. In fact, these issues have been a source of tension between Indonesian traditionalists and reformist Muslims since before Indonesian independence in 1945.

Consequently, the reformist-oriented followers of the PPME have never accepted the tradition of istighotsah. For this reason, following the schism in PPME Amsterdam in 2005, the ritual was no longer performed by the branch of PPME. This branch’s opponents of the ritual believe it leads to shirk and they refused to allow the activity to take place in their new building purchased in 2005. Their repudiation of the traditionalist ritual was in accord with their Salafi-oriented Islamic preacher, Khoirul Muttaqin living in Depok, West Java, who was invited for their *Ramaḍān* programme of the year (discussed in chapter 6). Afterwards, the practice

527 Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 91.
530 See Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember, *Membongkar Kebohongan*, 4-21, and 126-136.
was no longer found in the branch activity. They suggested its proponents to perform it elsewhere – a suggestion refuted by the latter resulting in a rift. Consequently, those PPME followers who joined PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam and who still wanted to perform *istighotsah* had to do so in another place.

In the beginning of 2001, various PPME congregations performed the intercessory prayers.\(^{531}\) This was done during a period when Abdurrahman Wahid, the President of the Republic of Indonesia and a proponent of traditionalist devotions,\(^ {532}\) was facing calls for impeachment in the Indonesian Legislative Assembly (DPR) during its session in July 2001.\(^ {533}\) The congregations in the Netherlands, in accordance with the aims of *istighotsah*, used the opportunity to appeal for God’s help in providing a solution to the political difficulties Wahid was encountering. The congregation of PPME The Hague performed it at the end of each month, whereas others, including members of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, conducted their prayers at the beginning of each month.\(^ {534}\) The timing was generally dependent on the arrangements of the boards of the branches. In performing the *istighotsah*, the congregations were sincere because they were seriously concerned about the destiny of the president. The rationale for this enthusiastic non-material support of Wahid is the fact that he is a founder of the PPME.

PPME al-Ikhlash also used to exert the *istighotsah* for material giving. For instance, the one that was performed on 4 December 2010. In this *istighotsah*, various refreshments were sold to elicit financial donations for the victims of the earthquake that took place in Padang, West Sumatra on 25 October 2010. Approximately 200 members of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam’s congregation were invited to attend the solidarity event held at al-Ameen School in Amsterdam. After the *istighotsah* prayers had been recited, €

\(^{532}\) A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, The Hague, 7 April 2011.
2,000 were collected.

II. Infrastructural Endeavours

In their early arrival, Muslim communities in Europe encountered financial difficulty to have a place of worship. PPME was not an exception in this regard. In order to alleviate the problem of its financial shortage, the PPME made efforts. To discuss these efforts, this section will deal with how the PPME endeavoured to encourage people to contribute to acquire the Muṣalla of al-Ittihaad (Unity), the Mosque Tafakkoer (Reflection), the Mosque at-Taqwa (Piety), and to provide assistance to have the Mosque al-Hikmah (Wisdom). It is worth noting that other sides who were involved in the effort to have the places of worship originated from the Netherlands, as well as Indonesia.

On 11 November 1972, a plan to establish a mosque for the Islamic Umma in The Hague was proposed by a PPME team under the coordination of Idris Bakri. This team was also tasked with investigating ideas for developing links with other Muslim communities in the city and searching for international donors. While they were not particularly successful in this regard, contacts were made with Islamic institutions in Saudi Arabia and with DDII between 1973 and early 1974. This resulted in a promise from A. Harjono of the DDII to submit the plan to establish the mosque to Rābiṭat u al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī (The World Muslim League). When in early 1974 there still had been no positive response from the DDII, plans for a muṣallā or gebedsruimte (prayer room) came to the fore on 14 July 1974. To realise this, in mid-October 1974, PPME’s board organized the performing of ‘id al-фи’r prayers at Daguerrestraat 60 in The Hague. This event resulted

in donations of € 364 from the congregation and sympathizers who attended (more than 150 people), both Indonesian and non-Indonesian. The latter were people of Surinamese-Javanese origin.\textsuperscript{539}

The October meeting stimulated PPME’s board to do more to provide a mosque.\textsuperscript{540} For a start, on 10 November 1974, the central board of the PPME took over the task of establishing the mosque from the original team that had not made a major contribution to the plan for establishing a place of worship. This change also meant that the mosque would also eventually function as the secretariat of the PPME.\textsuperscript{541} The idea of providing a mosque had made progress by 1975. A decision to fund the project by taking out a mortgage was made at a meeting on 29 March 1975.\textsuperscript{542} In spite of the fact that only € 2,273 had been raised from members and donors by July 1976, the PPME board reasserted that The Hague was to be the central city for the organization’s activities and its worship.\textsuperscript{543} Then, the board materialized its mortgage from a bank in the Netherlands in the beginning of the 1980s. This realization stimulated the board to provide places of worship, or centres of activities, for its branches in other big cities in the Netherlands such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the following years.

A. \textit{Al-Ittihaad} (1982)

\textit{Al-Ittihaad}, which no longer exists, was a \textit{muṣallā} in The Hague. Originally, it had been utilized as a café. The building at the Daguerrestraat in The Hague was bought on 1 October 1982 for € 27,430. € 5,455 had been donated by members and sympathizers and the rest was borrowed from the ABN AMRO Bank. The \textit{muṣallā} was inaugurated on 13 July 1985.\textsuperscript{544} The property is one floor of 75

\textsuperscript{539} Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 Oktober ’74, 1, PPME, The Hague.

\textsuperscript{540} Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974, 9, PPME, The Hague.

\textsuperscript{541} Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 Oktober ’74, 2, PPME, The Hague and see also Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974, 9, PPME, The Hague.

\textsuperscript{542} Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 29 Maret 1975, PPME, The Hague.


square metres and consists of three rooms: a kitchen, a secretariat room, and a meeting room. This space was considered insufficient, in particular for Friday prayers and the prayers of ‘id al-fītr and ‘id al-aḍḥā.\footnote{A. Naf’an Sulchan, “Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad,” in al-Ittihaad, 1985, 13 and see A. H. Maksum, Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Masyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 13.} It is worth mentioning that the organization for this muṣalla was not the responsibility of the PPME board in The Hague, but its own board made up of members of the The Hague branch. As a consequence, the congregation of this branch and its sympathizers frequently made use of the space for their religious and socio-cultural activities.

As mentioned, the muṣalla was purchased at the end of 1982; the culmination of the efforts by PPME boards since the 1970s including the collecting of infāq (donations), which is, in sense of time, easier than the obligatory zakāt (almsgiving) to spend\footnote{See Edien Bartels, “Ritueel en religieuze beleving,” in Douwes, De Koning, and Boender (eds.), Nederlandse moslims, 60.} from among the congregations in The Hague in this period. In 1975, €
2,272 could be collected. This amount resulted from the donated funds during their participation in the prayers at tarāwīḥ, ‘id al-fiṭr, ‘id al-adha and during the Friday prayers organized by the board of PPME.\(^{547}\) As a result, around € 5,455 could be collected by the early 1980s.\(^{548}\) Subsequently, the project to provide a place of worship was placed in the PPME’s short programme for the period 1981-1983 and was confirmed in a meeting on 2 May 1982 that was also attended by representatives of other Islamic organizations in The Hague, including POI and Djam‘iyyatul Islam al-Fatah Nederland (DIAN, Pioneer Islamic Organization in the Netherlands). This gathering took place at Jan Hendrikstraat 3, The Hague. During the meeting, a committee was formed to realise the plan. It had nine members and was chaired by Husny Abdur Razak, a leading figure of PPME Rotterdam.\(^{549}\)

In addition to collecting donations during the regular weekly and annual religious activities mentioned above, PPME preachers, such as A. H. Maksum, Naf’an Sulchan, Surya Alinegara, and M. Syukur, donated a portion of the fees they received for participating in the mimbar Jum‘at (Friday forum) of a radio programme that was produced and broadcast by the Indonesische afdeling of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (Indonesian Section of Radio Netherlands Worldwide) from 1977 to the early 1990s. Each preacher earned € 23 for five minutes of broadcasting; for a period of 13 years, they all donated half of these fees, i.e. about € 136 per month, to the PPME board.\(^{550}\) Their financial contribution was aimed at reducing the board’s financial burden of paying the monthly payment of € 364.\(^{551}\) An agreement was made between the programme coordinator, Sudji, and the PPME for the preachers’ fees to be paid directly into PPME’s bank account. The organization then paid the preachers the remainder of their money\(^{552}\) (their


\(^{549}\) Ibid. 10-11.


cooperation will be discussed in chapter 5).

However, the financial support from the Islamic preachers was not enough. Therefore, PPME did an activity, which went beyond the usual socio-religious activities of muṣallā-based associations in the 1980s in the Netherlands,\(^{553}\) to cover the monthly obligations. The boards of the PPME decided to publish a bulletin called *al-Ittihaad* in order to raise additional funds. One thousand copies of the bulletin were published, bimonthly from 1984, and were sold for more than € 1 per copy. The bulletin was offered not only to PPME congregations, but also to sympathizers residing both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. Many of those who bought it were Muslim officials of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands or for Islamic organizations in Indonesia; *al-Ittihaad* did not go beyond the character of ‘Muslim media’ whose main target were Muslim communities.\(^{554}\) This endeavour resulted in sales amounting to, on average, € 1,136 per publication; however, it cost € 1,250 to produce each issue.\(^{555}\) Thus, the exercise failed in terms of its aim to reduce the burden of the monthly payment to the bank.

In response to the problem, the PPME boards decided to offer some advertising space in the bulletin to Garuda Indonesian Airways. The manager of Garuda in the Netherlands agreed to the deal and in return for advertisements in the bulletin, they offered to transport 500 copies of the PPME’s Islamic calendars, which had been printed in Indonesia, to the Netherlands – a mutually beneficial arrangement. The calendars, which cost € 909 to print, were sold for € 4.5 each.\(^{556}\) The profit from selling the calendars amounted to € 1,363. This meant that the shortfall of € 113 for each publication of *al-Ittihaad* (or more or less € 682 per year) was covered.

\(^{553}\) Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 62-63.

\(^{554}\) Rigoni, “Access to Media for European Muslims,” 118.


The facts show that it was heavy work for PPME to have a muṣallā requiring financial support of outsiders. This enabled PPME to meet its mortgage obligation of paying the monthly payment until it was finally paid off at the end of 1986.557

B. *Al-Hikmah (1996)*

Most of mosques in the Netherlands were established as a result of financial support from a variety of sources such as the government of a country from which Muslims originate or live, an Arab country, or individual donations.558 For example, the Moluccan Mosques of Baiturrahman in Ridderkerk (1984) and An-Nur in Waalwijk (1990), were built as a result of funding by the Dutch government.559 Unlike the Moluccan mosques, *al-Hikmah* Mosque was the effort of a single individual. This mosque, which was originally a church (*Immanuëlkerk*) situated at Heeswijkplein 170-171 in The Hague, was purchased on 1 July 1996 by Probo Sutedjo, the owner of the Mertju Buana Company in Indonesia and the younger brother of former President Suharto. It was Probo Sutedjo’s waqf (religious endowment), not that of his elder brother Haris Sutjipto, intended to become an Islamic centre in Europe. It was purchased for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. It is roughly 3,250 square metres and cost € 534,090.560 On instruction of Sutedjo as the owner of the mosque, the Indonesian Embassy, rather than, for instance, Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI, Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectual) or PPME, was given authority to organize and run its activities.

The mosque is managed by the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands which has set up a board specifically for this task comprised of embassy officials and a number of leading figures

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558 See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 50, and see also Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 42.
559 Ibid., 36-37; see also Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in ballingschap: Institutionalisering en leiderschap onder christelijke en islamitische Molukkers in Nederland* (Amsterdam: VU Publisher, 1994), 187-188.
of the Indonesian Muslim community in the country.\textsuperscript{561} Thus, while the mosque does not belong to the Indonesian government, it is under the supervision of the Indonesian embassy and the chairperson of the board of the mosque is always an official of the embassy.

Despite the fact that the mosque is under the management of the Indonesian Embassy, a number of leading PPME figures are members of the mosque’s board. This is because the existence of the mosque cannot be separated from the efforts of the PPME leaders who, since the early 1970s, were determined to provide its congregations with a mosque. The chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands, Saiful Hadi, asserted that the top priority of ICMI, i.e. having a mosque, was in favour of the PPME endeavour.\textsuperscript{562} A lack of funds, however, meant that an initial step was to purchase a \textit{muṣallā}, the \textit{al-Ittihaad}, in the 1980s. Subsequently, in 1992, Bintoro Tjokroamidjoyo, the Indonesian Ambassador to the Netherlands at that time, visited the \textit{muṣallā}. During this visit, he was informed by the PPME’s board of their intention to have a mosque in The Hague as the \textit{muṣallā} was no longer adequate for their needs, especially for performing Friday prayers and the

\textsuperscript{561} Ibid., 19.

\textsuperscript{562} Saiful Hadi, interview, Jakarta, 23 June 2010.
prayers of *tarāwih*, ‘īd al-ْfītr and ‘īd al-ْadha. The intention of PPME to have a bigger place of worship either by acquiring a building, or even by building a new one indicates that the association would try to provide a place of worship not ‘on a temporary basis,’ in the sense of renting a building.\(^{563}\) However, this does not mean that there is a permanent solution for such a problem. When the building or place of worship is too small and no longer enough for a congregation’s socio-religious activities because of the increasing number of members, they will certainly look for, or build, a bigger one. Furthermore, the ambassador was also told that a similar project would be started in Amsterdam. Following the visit, the Vice-Ambassador, Malikus Sualim, indicated that the Indonesian Embassy was in favour of the plans.\(^{564}\) Following the positive response, at a regional meeting (*musyawarah wilayah*) the board formed the Kelompok Kerja Perencana/Pengembangan Mesjid (KKP2M, Committee for the Planning and Development of a Mosque), comprising of A. H. Maksum, A. Aziz Balbaid, Slamet Widjojoatmodjo, G.E. Rijono Soedarso, and Rudy Erfan. The tasks of this team were: to investigate the possibility of developing the al-ْIttihaad or purchasing a mosque or *muṣalla* for PPME’s branches; to form a committee for the building of a mosque; and if possible, to raise funds in order to realise these plans. Given the huge sum of money required to acquire a mosque (€ 590,909),\(^{565}\) on 1 October 1995 the team decided that PPME Amsterdam would first acquire a mosque. In addition, following consultations with the Ambassador and his deputy, the team was broadened to include Sofjan Ollong, the advisor for religious affairs at the Indonesian Embassy and Saiful Hadi, the head of the Islamic Association for Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) in The Netherlands, as advisors to the

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team. In a proposal written for the provision of places of worship, the task of the team was described as: “to purchase a muṣallā for PPME Amsterdam as a short term object; and to purchase a mosque for PPME in The Hague as a long term one.”

Having included the Indonesian Embassy and ICMI in its effort to have a mosque, the PPME was encouraged to realise its goal of establishing a mosque in The Hague by approaching Probo Sutedjo. This was determined in order to achieve the goal of founding a mosque in The Hague quickly. In fact, less than six months after meeting Sutedjo and a year after their campaign to raise money at the commemoration of the Prophet’s birth, PPME’s congregation, along with embassy staff and members of other Indonesian Muslim associations and communities, witnessed the establishment of their much craved for Indonesian mosque. Certainly, the support for the project from top embassy officials and ICMI’s board, as well as the meeting of Rosyidi (a fundraiser for the mosque committee and an official of the diplomatic protocol section at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands) with Sutedjo, were all factors in the quick realization of the project. A few months after the campaign to establish a mosque in The Hague was launched at the Grote Kerk, Rosyidi said that he could arrange a meeting with the family of Sutedjo who was accompanying Haris Sutjipto to the Netherlands where Sutjipto was seeking treatment at the Leiden Hospital. In fact, as an official of the embassy, Rosyidi had facilitated the transportation of the elder brother to the hospital and was, therefore, able to communicate with the family of Sutedjo and Sutjipto. This relation intensiﬁed as Rosyidi provided religious

567 Rudy Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.
568 Pertaining to the effort of PPME through the Indonesian embassy to have a mosque in The Hague, Rosyidi was a key source because his position enabled him to meet important and rich persons from Indonesia. His significant contribution is acknowledged by De Weerd (the chairman of PPME), Sulchan, Maksum and Erfan (a former college of Rosyidi in the Indonesian Embassy). During my ﬁeld work in the Netherlands, there were no key sources other than Rosyidi in that effort.
guidance and counselling to the terminally ill Sutjipto.\textsuperscript{569}

Rosyidi’s communication did not stop after Sutjipto died in Leiden in December 1995. Before the family’s return to Indonesia, he said that he spoke to Sutedjo’s daughter about the PPME’s desire to found a mosque in the Netherlands. He begged her to deliver his message to her father: “It is a good opportunity for Pak Probo [Sutedjo] to build a mosque in the Netherlands for the Indonesian Muslim community as the waqf of his elder brother.”\textsuperscript{570} Rosyidi’s statement strengthens the fact that the mosque would belong to Sutedjo.\textsuperscript{571} He then provided her with a written proposal in October 1995 which included support for the plans from, among others, the Ambassador and Vice-Ambassador, as well as the chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{572}

In early 1996 after Rosyidi returned from a holiday in Sumbawa, he said that he, together with Indra Gamulya (a former local official at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands working as an attaché), would visit Rahardjo, the husband of the daughter of Sutedjo, in his house in Jakarta in order to meet Sutedjo.\textsuperscript{573} When Rosyidi met Sutedjo, he said to Rosyidi: “After reading the proposal, please try to search for a church [rather than a location for a new mosque] that will be sold.”\textsuperscript{574} This instruction was a great opportunity for the PPME and Indonesian Muslim communities to gain a religious infrastructure regarding “diversity in policies towards the foundation and maintenance of mosques on a municipal level; contradictory attitudes of Dutch municipalities towards the subsidizing of social and cultural activities of mosques...”;\textsuperscript{575} “the

\textsuperscript{569} Rosyidi, interview, The Hague, 18 February 2011.
\textsuperscript{570} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{571} This means that the mosque is the waqf of Sutedjo, not that of Sutjipto. The only relation of Sutjipto with the Netherlands was that he had gained medical treatment in a hospital now known as Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum (LUMC, Leiden University Medical Centre) and died there in December 1995. Kasim, Memorandum Akhir Jabatan, 1-9. Sutjipto was not a leader of ICMI in the Netherlands and did not live there.
\textsuperscript{572} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{573} Indra Gamulya, telephone interview, 28 February 2012.
\textsuperscript{574} Rosyidi, interview, 18 Februari 2011.
\textsuperscript{575} See W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, Religious Freedom and the Position
need to consult the authorities in order to gain their permission and information on permitted sites for mosques; and the need to inquire about the neighbours close to the sites.”

After returning to the Netherlands, Rosyidi said that he contacted a female official of the Grote Kerk and obtained information about churches for sale in The Hague, including one located in the Zuiderpark and the Immanuelkerk located on the Heeswijkplein. The committee decided on the Immanuelkerk and approved of the price of the church and also its location. The price was close to the budget written in the proposal, around € 590,909, whereas the other church would have cost around € 272,727. It also had a comfortable, modern design and was easily reached by public transport. It was also near a shopping centre and a park. It would be ideal for the PPME congregation and its families. Following negotiations with the vendor, the church was purchased for € 534,090.

The efforts of PPME would have been meaningless if there had not been the involvement of the Catholic Indonesian Ambassador, Kadarisman and the embassy’s head of administrative affairs, Azhari Kasim, who were decisive in the successful purchase of the church. It would appear that even before Rosyidi met Sutedjo, the latter had gained news of the desire of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands to have their own mosque from the Ambassador; while the PPME team were closely involved in the project, Sutedjo involved the embassy in the financial transaction. Subsequently, Sutedjo sent payment for the church via the bank account of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands. The reason was that the embassy represents all Indonesian Muslim organizations and communities residing in the Netherlands. This choice to deal with

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576 See Ibid., 30-32.
577 Rosyidi, interview, 18 Februari 2011.
578 Hasyim (the Secretary of the Board of the al-Hikmah), interview, 11 December 2011, The Hague.
579 This was facilitated by the embassy’s head of administrative affairs, Azhari Kasim. “Masjid al-Hikmah,” in Kasim, Memorandum Akhir Jabatan, 1-5.
the embassy, rather than directly with the PPME, seems to reflect what he expected the mosque to become. As he said during a speech at the inauguration ceremony for the mosque on 1 July 1996: “I hope that the Islamic umma [of Indonesia], that has dissolved into its own organizations, can be united in this mosque.” Sutedjo also preferred the embassy to manage the mosque. Again, this was reflected in the message he delivered at the inauguration: “I hope that this mosque can be used by Muslims from Indonesia and other countries of ASEAN... It is hoped that it can be used as an Islamic centre....” During a dinner afterwards, attended by the Ambassador and other leading figures of the Indonesian Muslim community in the Netherlands, he declared: “...I, the owner of the building [the mosque]...submit its organization to the Indonesian Embassy.... [Therefore], the Mosque al-Hikmah is under the supervision of the KBRI....” The facts show that what Silvestri, the writer of “The Muslim Political Mobilisation and the EU Response,” argues that “the involvement of elite groups were crucial to the establishment of association and institutions” like a mosque is still valid in the case of PPME. Based on the above-mentioned information, PPME has made efforts to have a mosque in The Hague. It started by approaching the Indonesian Embassy and ICMI’s board, followed by the establishment of a committee comprised of representatives from all three organizations and backed by the Indonesian Ambassador. This was crucial to gain credibility and support for the project from Probo Sutedjo.


The plan to build the Tafakkoer (Reflection) Mosque was officially announced by the board of PPME Rotterdam on 10 December 2003. The mosque should be built over a period of five years in the south of Rotterdam. It should be the primary centre for

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580 Ibid., Appendix 8, p. 17.
581 Ibid.
PPME Rotterdam’s congregation and should be approximately 520 square metres and have two storeys. The first floor of the mosque should house two classrooms in addition to a storeroom and a kitchen. On the second floor should be a prayer hall, a meeting room, and lodgings for an imam. The planned Indonesian mosque, which should later be expanded into an Islamic centre, required €787,482.50 as the mosque, whose size should be smaller than that of al-Hikmah, should be built from scratch rather than renovating an existing building. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there was no need to consult the local government about the possibilities and for the necessary permits to construct a specially-designed public prayer space.

Till 2011, the plan had yet to be realised; however, significant efforts have been made by leading figures of PPME Rotterdam such as Husny Abdul Razak, R. S. Pourchez, and D. Rengur who were members of the committee for the mosque. Since 1990, PPME Rotterdam and its partner al-Jami’atul Hasana (AJH, Good Congregation), a Surinamese-Javanese Muslim association, have hired a hall belonging to Stichting Setasan/Centrum Santosa (Setasan Foundation/Santosa Centre) situated at Van Eversdijckstraat 31, Rotterdam, for their activities, including Friday prayers. At a meeting on 10 August 2003, PPME Rotterdam’s board was informed by the Setasan Foundation that the hall was to be used by a dance school, Nirtya Widyarini, as part of the intention to engage in socio-cultural activities that would enable the foundation to receive subsidies from the Dutch local government. According to one of the founders of the foundation, allowing the dance school to use the hall posed no problems.

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589 Shadid and Koningsveld, Islam in Nederland en België, 53.
because the centre was built for the togetherness of its users from Suriname and Indonesia living in their new society regardless of their religions. It was provided for both religious purposes and cultural expressions, thus, anybody could use the hall when there were no other activities in the building going on. However, a leading figure of PPME Rotterdam protested that because PPME Rotterdam, along with AJH, had hired the hall, PPME’s board considered this to be a breaking of the agreement made (albeit not explicitly), between PPME Rotterdam and the AJH (the users of the hall) and Stichting Setasan (the owner of the hall). Since then, there has been no official communication between the board of PPME Rotterdam and that of the foundation increasing the urgency for PPME Rotterdam to have its own mosque, a possibility that was already considered by the centre PPME after the purchase of al-Ittihaad Muṣalla (between 1984 and 1986).

PPME Rotterdam has made three efforts to own a place for its socio-religious activities. When developing their plans for a mosque, PPME Rotterdam’s board initially approached those PPME figures who had been involved in the successful purchase of the Muṣalla of al-Ittihaad, as well as the Indonesian Ambassador who had helped secure the donation from Sutedjo for the purchase of al-Hikmah Mosque. Consequently, people such as A. H. Maksum, William de Weerd, Moch. Chaeron, Rosyidi, and Rudi Erfan became involved in the fund raising and became members of the committee charged with establishing an Indonesian mosque in Rotterdam. The ambassador became the adviser of the committee. In order to raise the necessary money, at the end of 2003 the board asked people to buy at least one of 3,000 waqf shares offered by PPME Rotterdam at a price of € 50. Subsequently, they invited members of their congregation and their partner

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594 Husny Abdul Razak, Commissie voor de bouw van tafakkur moskee, nummer 2004/PPME/TAF/0068 t/m 83, 10 December 2003,
Muslim association of Surinamese people in the Netherlands, al-Jami’atul Hasana (AJH), to donate. The response was positive and resulted in donations from around 60 PPME families (at least €3000) and almost €800 Euros from AJH. After the success of this exercise, Husny Abdul Razak and his colleagues on the committee, in cooperation with leading PPME figures, involved influential Indonesian people who visited the Netherlands. As a result, in addition to the Indonesian Ambassador, the wife of the former Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Tuty Try Sutrisno, wanted to assist the committee for the mosque from early 2004. This enabled the committee to present its proposal to the Office of the Ministry for People’s Prosperity in Indonesia and on 31 March 2006 the Ministry awarded the committee the amount of €27,459.95 to assist in the mosque project. Unfortunately, the amount of money collected was insufficient to build the mosque.

D. At-Taqwa (2004)

The PPME Amsterdam’s centre, called at-Taqwa, is approximately 350 square metres and was purchased at the end of 2004 for 585,000 Euro. This centre is situated at Ekingenstraat 3-7, in Osdorp, Amsterdam West. The building consists of a number of rooms: for providing Islamic teaching (for children, Indonesian-speaking male adults, and Dutch-speaking male adults); a kitchen; a room for ablutions; the association’s secretariat; and a storeroom. In addition, there is a main hall, used not only for prayers, but also for other religious and social activities, including for dauroh by

595 Eskak Abdullah (the chairman of AJH), interview, Rotterdam, 3 February 2011.
598 The present research is up to 2009. The following brief information is beyond the scope of the research. At the end of 2012, PPME Rotterdam could afford a building at Wolphaertsbocht 453B, 3081 KM Rotterdam, functioned as the mosque of the PPME called Tafakkooer. De Weerd, e-mail to author, 22 November 2015.
599 Rib Kasan (a former treasurer of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Yogyakarta, 18 August 2010.
600 Ade Faisal Bahar, Donaties voor ons gebouw, no. PPME/04/04/Ind, 7 December 2004.
both male and female members of the congregation. This building is much smaller than that of the al-Hikmah Mosque (3,250 square metres). By mid-2010, at-Taqwa was the only PPME accommodation that was being used not only for pure worship (‘ibāda maḥḍa), but also as a centre of Islamic learning – exercising the ‘pure religious’ and ‘societal education functions’\(^601\) of PPME in the Netherlands. The accommodation was officially inaugurated on 21 May 2011.\(^602\)

PPME Amsterdam’s board has made great efforts to provide accommodation for the activities of its members. Balbaid’s involvement in the KKP2M led to a crucial decision for the organization. On 1 October 1995, it was decided that PPME Amsterdam would get a muṣallā. As we know, in addition to the short programme, the PPME had long-term plans to realise the establishment of a mosque in The Hague, not in Amsterdam. Because Probo Sutedjo donated €590,909 to support the effort of Indonesian communities to have a mosque, not a muṣallā. The team supported the materialization of its long-term goal rather than its short-term one. However, this history did not discourage PPME Amsterdam, which had no money for a place of worship at that moment,\(^603\) from pursuing its own plan for a muṣallā. On 5 December 2004, a meeting of PPME members resulted in an agreement to purchase a new building for €585,000. Accordingly, the board of PPME Amsterdam invited its congregation and sympathizers to provide financial support for the project. This involvement resulted in donations of more than €300,000.\(^604\) In addition, the leaders consulted with the PPME’s central board about available money. In response, the board gave them €55,000.\(^605\) PPME

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\(^603\) Cf. Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 43.


Amsterdam borrowed the remainder from a Dutch bank,\footnote{Bahar, Donaties voor ons gebouw, no. PPME/04/04/Ind, 7 December 2004, n.p.} an approach similar to the one employed by PPME in The Hague when they purchased \textit{al-Ittihaad} as their place of worship. As a result, its board was able to buy a new building for the place of worship in 2005.\footnote{Budi Santoso (a former vice of the chairman of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Jombang, 13 April 2010.}

However, the apparent success of the board in purchasing the \textit{at-Taqwa} was not mirrored in unifying the congregation who had provided funds to buy the building. Some wanted to conduct \textit{tahlilan, yasinan and istighotsah} in the building. In response, the board of PPME Amsterdam decided that permission should only be given for ‘neutral’ activities in the building and only with the approval of all members of the board\footnote{Kasan, interview, 21 June 2009.} - this was obviously a decision by the puritanical-religious-oriented members that now run \textit{at-Taqwa} (discussed in chapter 6 and 7). This decision resulted in a few activities being held elsewhere and culminated in a formal split of the organization on 18 December 2005\footnote{William Satriaputra de Weerd and Regnerus Marinus Hendriks, \textit{Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland No. 2/PPMENL/XII/2005 tentang PPME Cabang Amsterdam} (The Hague: PPME, 18 December 2005). n.p.} - PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash. Despite this split, PPME Amsterdam remains responsible to the board of PPME Amsterdam to make the monthly payments for its mortgage.

\footnotetext[606]{Bahar, Donaties voor ons gebouw, no. PPME/04/04/Ind, 7 December 2004, n.p.}
\footnotetext[607]{Budi Santoso (a former vice of the chairman of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Jombang, 13 April 2010.}
\footnotetext[608]{Kasan, interview, 21 June 2009.}
PPME Amsterdam engaged in three different types of activities to raise money. As commonly found among Muslim communities in the Netherlands when they would like to give financial contribution to their organizations, PPME Amsterdam’s organizers began selling meals at their weekly activities and at religious feasts or special events.\(^{610}\) Generally, these meals were provided by the female members of the congregation. They provided dinners such as *nasi soto* (soup mixed with rice), *nasi kuning* (yellow rice), and *nasi kebuli* (kebuli rice) and they used the kitchen of *at-Taqwa* to prepare the food. In addition, Islamic books written by Salafi *imams* such as al-Albani and ‘Utsaimin, CDs of Islamic lectures, and recordings of the *dauroh* activities held in the new building twice a year, were sold. The profits from these sales, as well as money collected during the annual sports day,\(^ {611}\) contributed directly to the mortgage payments. In addition, donations were also collected in the form of *infāq* (voluntary donation) and collected during the *tarāwīḥ* prayers held every night during Ramadan from 2005 onwards. This last effort also involved approaching other Muslims from outside the PPME, especially from the Moroccan community, who also participated in performing the prayers of *tarāwīḥ* (recommended nightly prayers held after the obligatory night prayer, ‘*isyā* in Wellant College in Osdorp, another large building near PPME Amsterdam’s centre.\(^ {612}\) The money from this last effort has been used not only to alleviate the financial burden of the PPME Amsterdam, i.e. paying the monthly mortgage, but also to pay the maintenance needs of the new building.\(^ {613}\)

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\(^{611}\) Nina Maasdam, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

\(^{612}\) Ishak Mansjur, interview, Amsterdam, ‘*id al-fiṭr* of 2009.

\(^{613}\) Ibid.