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

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Citation

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

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Issue Date: 2017-06-29

Chapter Five: The Non-Indonesian Networks of PPME in the Netherlands

Since the 1970s, PPME has had diverse connections with non-Indonesians both inside and outside the Netherlands. Within the Netherlands, links were made with the Stichting Federatie Islam Nederland (Islamic Federation Foundation of the Netherlands), which PPME joined in 1973;⁷⁵⁴ the *Indonesische afdeling* of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (Indonesian Section of Radio Netherlands Worldwide [RNW]), which had broadcast a religious programme featuring PPME Islamic preachers since 1977;⁷⁵⁵ a Suriname-Javanese association called Rukun Islam (RI, Islamic Pillars) for which PPME teachers taught Islam to its members from the early 1980s;⁷⁵⁶ the Nederlandsche Islamitische Parlement (NIP, Dutch Islamic Parliament), of which PPME was a member until 1985;⁷⁵⁷ a foundation for Surinamese-Javanese Muslims known as al-Jami'atul-Hasana (AJH, Good Congregation), with which PPME had established a long-term formal network (1989-2007);⁷⁵⁸ and, since 2007, links with a Turkish *hajj* (pilgrimage) travel agency called Haremeyn Vakfi (the Foundation of Haremeyn).⁷⁵⁹ It is worth noting that a number of PPME members had been featured by the Islamitische Omroep Stichting (IOS, Islamic Broadcasting Foundation) in a television programme on the process of converting to Islam.⁷⁶⁰

In terms of PPME's links outside the Netherlands, its boards have

⁷⁵⁴ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME* (The Hague: PPME, August 31, 1976), The Hague, 11, and A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5, 23-11- 1986* (PPME: The Hague, 27 November 1988), 11.

⁷⁵⁵ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994, Musyawarah Wilayah ke-VII* (PPME: The Hague, 27 November 1994), 9.

⁷⁵⁶ Fauzi Kromosetiko (the chairman of Rukun Islam), interview, 6 February 2011, The Hague, and A. H. Maksum, interview, The Hague, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁵⁷ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1984-1986*, 27.

⁷⁵⁸ Eskak Abdullah (the chairman of AJH), interview, 18 March 2011, Rotterdam.

⁷⁵⁹ Said Badjuber (a *hajj* program organizer of PPME in Amsterdam), telephone interview, 15 December 2011.

⁷⁶⁰ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1984-1986*, 22.

made connections with few Muslim organizations. From the early 1970s until 1994, PPME was a member of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) in Riyadh.⁷⁶¹ Furthermore, during two weeks (from the end of 1978 to the beginning of 1979), PPME preachers delivered a series of Islamic lectures to the Stichting der Islamitische Gemeente in Suriname (SIS, Foundation of Islamic Community in Suriname).⁷⁶² From 2000 to 2010, however, there were no significant connections between PPME and groups outside the Netherlands or in Indonesia. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, Aaman Sulchan, the former chief of PPME in The Hague, elucidates:

There were PPME's founders, who spoke Arabic (a prerequisite to WAMY membership allowing them to become active members) and had learned Islam formally, namely, in a *pesantren* and/or university. They also spoke Javanese (making it possible for them to deliver Islamic lectures to the Javanese communities in Suriname). They had grown old whereas the younger cadres now running PPME simply did not have these skills or such educational backgrounds.⁷⁶³

Another reason is that PPME in this period was more concerned with internal consolidation.⁷⁶⁴ There had certainly been a number of internal issues requiring attention, such as the legalization of its branches, the establishment of its branch in Breda-Tilburg, and the internal conflict among PPME's congregation in Amsterdam, which resulted in the establishment of a new branch.

The abovementioned facts suggest that in the first decade of this century, the PPME's endeavour to establish links with non-Indonesian organizations was far more successful inside than outside the Netherlands. Despite the internal consolidation, PPME did not prevent its boards from forging significant ties with other organizations within the Netherlands, i.e. the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW, Rukun Islam,

⁷⁶¹ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 22.

⁷⁶² Mochammad Chaeron, *Laporan Singkat dalam Rangka Perjalanan Da'wah ke Suriname: Stichting der Islamitische Gemeente in Suriname (SIS)* (The Hague: PPME, 10 January 1979), 18.

⁷⁶³ Aaman Sulchan, interview, 17 May 2008, *al-Hikmah Mosque*, The Hague.

⁷⁶⁴ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 4 June 2000), 6-8.

AJH, and Haremeyn Vakfi. The contacts with these four organizations appear to be independent of political orientations and contribute to the efforts of PPME to solve its financial and infrastructural problems.

I. RNW's *Indonesische afdeling* (1977): Sermons and *al-Ittihaad*

The *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW, known as *Redaksi Indonesia* (Indonesian Desk) since early 2011, was one of the divisions of the RNW. This *afdeling*, along with the others, such as the Dutch, English and Spanish Divisions, was established on 15 April 1947.⁷⁶⁵ In 1948, the *afdeling* broadcast its first programme, called Radio Nederland Siaran Indonesia (Ranesi, Radio Netherlands Indonesian Broadcast).⁷⁶⁶ Because the aim of this broadcast was to provide information on current Dutch socio-political affairs and cultural developments specifically for all those living in Indonesia, the language used was Indonesian.⁷⁶⁷ In the early 1990s, the service was expanded to include current affairs in Indonesia, using not only Dutch, but also Indonesian sources.⁷⁶⁸

Ranesi, which aimed more towards listeners in Indonesia than to those in the Netherlands, developed a number of sources and information providers for its programming. Its programmes were broadcast, via Short Wave (SW) of 31, for one hour. The timing of the broadcast varied: between 18.00 and 19.00 European time, between 18.00 and 19.00 Indonesian western time, 19.00 and 20.00 Indonesian central time, and 20.00 and 21.00 Indonesian eastern time. There was

⁷⁶⁵ RNW English Section, "History of Radio Netherlands Worldwide," accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/history-radio-netherlands-worldwide>, and Jean van de Kok (Senior Producer in the Indonesian Department), telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁷⁶⁶ See "Informasi Independen," in *Redaksi Indonesia, Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011* (Hilversum: Ranesi, n. y.), n.p., and Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁷⁶⁷ Indrajanti Titus (coordinator of the *Indonesische afdeling* 1995-2005), interview, Utrecht Overvecht, 22 April 2011; See also Communicatie RNW, "About Radio Netherlands Worldwide," accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/about-radio-netherlands-worldwide>, accessed 17 May 2011.

⁷⁶⁸ RNW Communicatie, "What is RNW's Mission," accessed 21 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/what-rnws-mission>; Indrajanti Titus, interview, 22 April 2011. See also "Ranesi Berperan Penting di Zaman Soeharto," accessed 6 March 2013, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/ranesi-berperan-penting-di-zaman-soeharto>.

another shortwave broadcast of 49 between 6.00 and 7.00 Indonesian western time.⁷⁶⁹ These SW broadcasts were sent via 95 Frequency Modulation (FM) radio stations in Indonesia which transmitted all or part of the Ranesi broadcasts. For instance, it established a partnership with Radio Suara Surabaya (Voice of Surabaya, East Java) and Radio Sonora (Jakarta).⁷⁷⁰ In the 1990s, the Ranesi began using the internet to transmit its message⁷⁷¹ and in 2009, there were also video broadcasts. These resulted in cooperation with a television station in Indonesia, Metro TV.⁷⁷² Consequently, it was much easier to access the Ranesi broadcasts, either live or recorded. The *afdeling* was abolished on 29 June 2012 following a 70% cut to the RNW budget. This RNW had recently focused its efforts and broadcasts on countries where freedom of speech and a free press remain absent.⁷⁷³

According to Indrajanti Titus, this *afdeling* did not have a specific policy of broadcasting religious programmes.⁷⁷⁴ However, the fact that Indonesia is a religious country as is explicitly mentioned in the first principle of *Pancasila* (Indonesian State Philosophy), Belief in One God,⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁶⁹ “Radio Nederland Wereldomroep Siaran Bahasa Indonesia,” in Redaksi Indonesia, *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011* (Ranesi: Hilversum, n.y.), n.p. Up to mid-2012, the broadcast schedules for both the morning and night have remained relatively unchanged. See Redaksi Indonesia, “Siaran Pagi dan Malam,” accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/siaran-pagi-dan-malam>.

⁷⁷⁰ See “Stasiun Mitra Ranesi Radio Nederland Worldwide,” accessed 8 June 2011, <http://www.bing.com/search?q=radio+nederland+siaran+Indonesia+kerja+sama+dengan+dengan+radio+surabaya+dan+jakarta&src=IE-SearchBox&FORM=IE8SRC>.

⁷⁷¹ “Radio Nederland Wereldomroep Siaran Bahasa Indonesia,” in Redaksi Indonesia, *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011*, n.p. See also RNW English Section, “History of Radio Netherlands Worldwide,” accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/history-radio-netherlands-worldwide>.

⁷⁷² “Video dan TV,” in Redaksi Indonesia, *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011*, n.p. See also Communicatie RNW, “About Radio Netherlands Worldwide,” accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/about-radio-netherlands-worldwide>.

⁷⁷³ Tabik, “Radio Nederland Siaran Indonesia Mohon Diri,” accessed 6 March 2013, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/radio-nederland-siaran-indonesia-mohon-diri>. See also “Origins,” accessed 6 March 2013, <http://corporate.rnw.nl/english/article/origins>.

⁷⁷⁴ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁷⁷⁵ See also Douglas Edward Ramage, *Ideological Discourse in the Indonesian New Order: State, Ideology and the Beliefs of an Elite 1985-1993* (PhD Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1993), 58.

could not be ignored and so, according to Titus, it finally included the religious programmes in its broadcasts.⁷⁷⁶ For example, the program *santapan rohani* (spiritual nourishment) was provided for Christians. It was broadcast every Sunday morning and night. *Mimbar Jum'at*, which was intended for Muslims, was broadcast on Friday. It is worth noting that there were no such programmes for adherents of Hinduism, Buddhism and *Aliran Kepercayaan* (Traditional Belief Systems).⁷⁷⁷ As the *afdeling* was neutral from the religious broadcasts, it would be plausible for its organizers to select the two religions mostly adhered by Indonesian people for the programs. Otherwise, if they were to devote airtime to other religions, then religious programming would dominate Ranesi broadcasts. Titus informs that other RNW divisions, such as those of the Latin America and Arabic, never broadcasted religious programming.⁷⁷⁸

The sermons of the religious programmes were recorded. These recordings were allocated for four to five weeks. Every Saturday at 13.00, PPME preachers, mostly living in The Hague, recorded their sermons for the coming weeks and the preacher delivered one sermon in one broadcast. Catholic and Protestant preachers recorded their sermons on Saturday on different dates.⁷⁷⁹ Each PPME preacher prepared five minutes worth of material.⁷⁸⁰ Hence, the sensitive contents of their recorded materials could be edited before they were broadcasted.

The PPME preachers' contribution and support for the *mimbar Jum'at* programme is the result of a connection between one of them and the coordinator of the *Indonesische afdeling*, Ardamarisudji, frequently called Sudji. She frequently visited the Indonesian Embassy with the intention to broadcast certain events such as the commemoration of Indonesian independence and religious festivities such as *'id al-fiṭr*, *'id al-aḍḥā*, and Christmas. There she met members of the embassy staff

⁷⁷⁶ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011 and see Yunita Rovroy, "Ranesi Berperan Penting di Zaman Soeharto," accessed 11 March 2013, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/ranesi-berperan-penting-di-zaman-soeharto>.

⁷⁷⁷ Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011. See also: Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 9.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid. and Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁰ Maksum, interview, The Hague, 18 March 2011.

in charge of the Information Section and also members of PPME's board, specifically, Maksum.⁷⁸¹ The informal meetings between Sudji and Maksum initiated PPME's connection with the Indonesian Division of RNW.

The contact began in 1977. A KBRI staff member, working in the Information Section, put a member of PPME's board in touch with Sudji. She received a letter from Sudji that requested to invite Indonesian Islamic preachers [not necessarily from PPME] to participate in the programme that would later be known as *mimbar Jum'at*. She, in turn, passed on the letter to her husband, A. H. Maksum, who was the vice-chairman of PPME in the Netherlands. Thereupon, Maksum responded by telephoning Sudji a call announcing that PPME was prepared to participate in the programme.⁷⁸² So, he could establish a link between the two organizations through his wife; not as Hisyam states that the coordinator of the Indonesian *afdeling* contacted Maksum directly.⁷⁸³

Maksum invited two other persons to join. They were Sulchan (the first to deliver an Islamic speech for the *mimbar*) and Alinegara, the coordinator of the PPME's *da'wa* section.⁷⁸⁴ As a result, Alinegara, Sulchan and Maksum, himself, all contributed recordings for the programme. It is also worth noting that another PPME preacher, Mohammed Syukur, was involved in supporting the programme in the early 1980s. He was invited to replace Alinegara, who could not continue with his contribution. This occurred because Alinegara had to spend more time running his restaurant in The Hague and had a personal conflict with the chairperson of PPME in the Netherlands; therefore, he decided to exclude himself from PPME.⁷⁸⁵ His exclusion and reluctance to share half of his fee received from the coordinator of the Indonesian *afdeling* as a result of delivering Islamic speeches for the *mimbar* were the factors bringing about his discontinuity.

⁷⁸¹ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁷⁸² Maksum, interview, 18 March 2011.

⁷⁸³ See: Muhammad Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (Young Muslim Association in Europe): Sekilas Sejarah dan Peranannya dalam Dakwah Islam di Nederland* (PPME/YMAE: The Hague, August 1996), 74.

⁷⁸⁴ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1999*, 9, Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁸⁵ Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

Because of these, in 1982 PPME in the Netherlands did not recommend the participation of Alinegara in the *mimbar*⁷⁸⁶ and asked for Syukur to replace him. Together, the three PPME preachers supported and contributed to the programme until the early 1990s.⁷⁸⁷

The Islamic preachers responded favourably to Sudji's request for two reasons. They could deliver their Islamic sermons for RNW; besides, this provided a financial contribution to the mortgage acquired by PPME's board, to alleviate the financial burden of the PPME, which was the second reason. They took turns to record their Islamic sermons for the *mimbar Jum'at* programme, broadcast every Friday to Muslims all over Indonesia, to a wider audience. The subjects of these sermons were generally associated with *aqīda* (faith) and *akhlāq* (behavior).⁷⁸⁸ The fact that *mimbar* chimed with PPME's objective to endorse and support the Islamic preaching activities of its members was certainly a determining factor in the board's decision to respond positively to Sudji's request.

The discussion here, on PPME's radio sermons, will centre on one particular broadcast relating to *aqīda*, which became a catalyst for polemics between a PPME preacher and his non-Muslim listeners in Indonesia. Having supported and contributed to the *mimbar Jum'at* programme for seven years, Maksum – Karel Steenbrink called him an 'unsalaried professional imam'⁷⁸⁹ – preached a sermon entitled "Nabi Isa dalam al-Qur'an dan Injil" (The Prophet Isa in the Quran and the Bible)" on 20 April 1984.⁷⁹⁰ Rather than presenting comparative perspectives on the subject – referring to The Quran and The Bible, he chose to address two specific points on the basis of Quranic verses. One point

⁷⁸⁶ See Amir Al-Hajri to the chairperson of PPME Nederland, letter no. 03/KIV/VI/82, 7 June 1982. See also A. H. Maksum to Amir al-Hajri and M. Surya Alinegara, letter, p. 2, 11 June 1982.

⁷⁸⁷ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁷⁸⁸ Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁷⁸⁹ Karel Steenbrink, *Colonial and Postcolonial Muslims from Indonesia in the Netherlands* (unpublished paper, n.d. and n.y.), 7. See also Mufti Ali, "The Contextualization of Figh al-'Ibadah among Indonesian Religious Teachers and Their Communities in the Circles of the PPME in Amsterdam and The Hague," in *Hamdard Islamicus* 30, no. 2 (April-June 2007): 68-69.

⁷⁹⁰ A. H. Maksum, "Nabi Isa dalam al-Qur'an dan Injil," in *Al-Ittihaad* 19, Maart-April 1988, 22.

pertained to the status of Isa as a prophet, rather than as the Messiah, which Christians believed. The other point pertained to the Crucifixion. According to Maksum, the person on the cross was not Isa (Jesus) but someone else, perhaps someone resembling him.⁷⁹¹ Thus, Maksum presented a theological idea which is very sensitive for Christians who held opposing views to that of the Islamic preacher.

This particular radio broadcast, which was also listened to by non-Muslims, elicited considerable responses in the form of letters delivered to *mimbar Jum'at*'s producer. A number of listeners protested about the contents of Maksum's sermon and one of them even objected to the existence of the programme of *mimbar Jum'at* itself. On 21 April 1984, Johan (a pseudonym) argues that the contents of Maksum's sermon insulted the beliefs of Christians who were, at that time, celebrating Easter. According to Johan, the sermon rejected the religious tolerance adhered to in Indonesia. On 30 April 1984, another listener called Anton (a pseudonym) voiced his disapproval. Like Johan, Anton argues that Maksum's sermon challenged Christian doctrines and insulted Christians. In addition, Anton demanded that the RNW broadcast should be discontinued. Another opponent of the preacher, Freddy (a pseudonym), sent a letter to the programme's producer in May 1984. Holding similar views to the previous two listeners, Freddy demanded that the preacher cease criticizing the beliefs of other religions and maintain religious tolerance on the basis of *Pancasila*.⁷⁹²

In response, Maksum claimed that his sermon referred to Islamic teachings and was aimed at strengthening the belief of Muslim listeners in Indonesia. He opined that it was impossible not to touch on the belief of Christians when dealing with these subjects. Furthermore, he said that his sermon was meant to protect Muslims and prevent them from becoming confused when they heard or read contradictory sermons

⁷⁹¹ See Maksum, *Nabi Isa*, 22-24. With regard to the crucifixion of an individual resembling the Prophet Isa, no Quranic verse or prophetic tradition clearly identifies such an individual. According to experts on Quranic exegesis, such as Ibn Jarir and Ibn Katsir, the person was one of the Prophet Isa's students. See Muslih Abdul Karim, *Isa dan al-Mahdi di Akhir Jaman* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2005), 60.

⁷⁹² "Surat-surat Tanggapan dari Pendengar Siaran Mimbar Jum'at," in *Al-Ittihaad* 19, Maart-April 1988, 25-31.

from Christian preachers on the subjects.⁷⁹³ As a consequence, taking into account the fact that Indonesian Christians were celebrating Easter at that time,⁷⁹⁴ the preacher rejected the opponents' views on tolerance:

Religious tolerance is not compromise or self-control, which would finally lead to the rise of social unrest among religious adherents.... It is, according to me, the attitude of respect for the followers of other religions, regardless of the fact that the contents of their holy books, which may be at variance with Islam's holy book. Therefore, Muslims should not be confused with the conflicting opinion expressed by people of another religion, on the status of Isa and the person on the cross. For instance, according to Islam, Isa is the prophet and messenger of Allah and this status is similar to His other prophets and messengers. There may be a statement in another holy book that he has different status. This should not hurt Muslim feelings. Similarly, Isa was, according to another holy book, stated to have passed away on the cross whereas in the Qur'an he does not pass away. This also should not hurt their feelings...That is tolerance, i.e. the agreement to respect different beliefs. ...For Muslims, the important thing is the freedom to deliver Islamic speeches and apply its teaching according to the Indonesian 1945 constitution [...]. This freedom can also be found in the Netherlands like the broadcast of the *mimbar Jum'at* itself.⁷⁹⁵

His views on religious tolerance finally led him to conclude that the opponents' objections to his sermon were not warranted.⁷⁹⁶ He even invited them to continue their polemics on the basis of searching for and delivering the truth.⁷⁹⁷ Such an invitation would require not only Islamic knowledge,⁷⁹⁸ but also would position Maksum as a preacher who was willing to challenge his opponents.

In fact, article 29 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution provides

⁷⁹³ A. H. Maksum, "Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan," in *Ibid*, 32-36.

⁷⁹⁴ Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁹⁵ Maksum, "Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan," 37-38.

⁷⁹⁶ Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁹⁷ Maksum, "Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan," 37.

⁷⁹⁸ See Shadiq Amin, *Mencari Format Gerakan Dakwah Ideal* (Jakarta: al-I'tishom Cahaya Umat, 2006), 46-47.

freedom to embrace and exercise legally recognized religious teachings or beliefs. One is also free to do so in the Netherlands – “the state [...] refrains, albeit within certain legal limits, from interfering with the internal affairs of communities based on a religion or a philosophy of life.”⁷⁹⁹ Moreover, the text of Maksum’s sermon was reviewed, before broadcast, by Sudji. According to Van de Kok (senior producer for the *Indonesische afdeling*), Sudji had selected the sermon, based on her knowledge of the Quran and the Bible. Sudji believed she was prudent in terms of protecting the feelings and beliefs of both Christians and Muslims and rejected materials that might be offensive to either group.⁸⁰⁰ However, in the case of Maksum, Sudji believed that he had a right to express his beliefs, his Islamic faith. Therefore, censoring his material would amount to censoring his faith. The decision was taken in the context of free speech. Polemics on religious subjects (mainly on theology) often took place.⁸⁰¹ Moreover, Maksum’s responses to his opponents followed the advice of Sudji – they were sent only to her and those who had protested.⁸⁰² As a result, PPME’s Islamic sermons via RNW continued for another ten years.

However, Maksum appears to have ignored his own advice on religious tolerance, i.e. to respect different beliefs – a point of view similar to that of Abou el-Fadl, who asserts that religious tolerance requires respect for theological diversity⁸⁰³ – when delivering an Islamic sermon entitled “The Prophet Isa in the Quran and the Bible.” Firstly, the title including the perspective of the Bible he chose suggested that he would deal with issues relating to Christianity. That would require specific knowledge of the Bible, which was beyond Maksum’s competence. Furthermore, his sermon, delivered as Christians were

⁷⁹⁹ Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, *Minderhedenbeleid*, Tweede Kamer, Zitting 1982-1983, 16 102, p. 110; See also Welmoet Boender and Meryem Kanmaz, “Imams in the Netherlands and Islam Teachers in Flanders,” in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *Intercultural Relations and Religious Authorities: Muslims in the European Union* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 170-171.

⁸⁰⁰ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁸⁰¹ Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁸⁰² Maksum, “Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan,” in *Al-Ittihaad* 19, March-April 1988, 38.

⁸⁰³ See Khaleed Abou el-Fadl, *The Place of Tolerance in Islam*, ed. Joshua Cohen and Ian Lague (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 13-18.

celebrating Easter, certainly did not appear to take into account “its impact on the rights and well-being of Christians,”⁸⁰⁴ or to show much of a sign of mutual respect for “the doctrines and practices of the Christians.”⁸⁰⁵ To some extent, this also challenged the New Order government’s attempt to establish national uniformity that was evident with the emergence of the policy (from the early to mid-1980s) of enforcing *Pancasila* as the sole principle for all political parties and social and professional organizations.⁸⁰⁶ This attempt included the repression of emerging conflicts caused by the problems of Suku, Agama, Ras, dan Antar Golongan (SARA, Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Social Groups) which had existed in Indonesia.

The second reason why the preachers of PPME supported the *mimbar Jum‘at* radio programme was financial. Many Muslim groups in Western Europe experienced financial problems, especially in relation to purchasing accommodation for their activities.⁸⁰⁷ This also happened to PPME. The fact was that taking part in the programme involved a monthly fee. Indeed, each of the preachers earned € 57 for five minutes of broadcasting. From 1977 to the early 1990s they allotted half of these fees, i.e. approximately € 136, to PPME.⁸⁰⁸ Their financial contribution was aimed at reducing the board’s financial burden; specifically, paying the monthly mortgage of € 363 used to purchase the *al-Ittihaad Muṣallā*.⁸⁰⁹ The preachers supported the agreement between PPME and the Indonesian *Afdeling* of RNW that their monthly fees would be delivered to the PPME’s bank account and, subsequently, PPME would pay the remaining half of the fees to the preachers.⁸¹⁰ In this

⁸⁰⁴ See Ibid. 4.

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. Azyumardi Azra, “Exploring Issues of Equality and Plurality: Inter-Religious Relations” (paper, Yogyakarta: Oslo Coalition on Freedom of Religion or Belief and UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 15-17 June 2004), 6.

⁸⁰⁶ Ramage, *Ideological Discourse in the Indonesian New Order*, 105-107.

⁸⁰⁷ W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, “Blaming the System or Blaming the Victims? Structural Barriers Facing Muslims in Western Europe,” in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 16-17.

⁸⁰⁸ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1986-1988*, 21-22 and 51, and Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁸⁰⁹ A. Naf’an Sulchan, “Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad,” in *al-Ittihaad*, 1985, 13 and see Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 13.

⁸¹⁰ Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

way, the preachers were able to contribute to the monthly mortgage, which was finally paid off at the end of 1986.⁸¹¹ *Al-Ittihaad*, situated at Daguerrestraat in The Hague, became a centre for PPME's religious and socio-cultural activities.⁸¹² Consequently, the PPME's financial problem could be partly solved through the preachers' contribution.

PPME's link with the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW came to an end in the early 1990s, when the RNW promoted internal cooperation between its divisions. This was impossible to accomplish regarding religious programs which were absent in other sections.⁸¹³ *Mimbar Jum'at* itself came to an end in the late 1990s as the RNW also wanted to pay much more attention to actual socio-political and cultural developments rather than to theological issues.⁸¹⁴ However, this did not prevent PPME's preachers from maintaining their informal connections with the *afdeling*. The preachers were interviewed and asked to comment on diverse issues by Ranesi journalists. For instance, Alinegara was interviewed on 23 March 2008 about Geert Wilders' controversial film entitled *Fitna* (Strife);⁸¹⁵ Maksum was interviewed on 2 May 2011 about his opinions on the death of Osama bin Laden;⁸¹⁶ and he was also interviewed on 11 May 2012 about the Dutch government's new regulations on the call to prayer from mosques in the Netherlands.⁸¹⁷ Such interviews, which continued in the 2000s,⁸¹⁸ facilitated the informal connections between PPME and the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW. Ranesi reported and covered issues such as controversy over the wearing of the *burqa* in Europe; the legal process related to the

⁸¹¹ See Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 13.

⁸¹² Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁸¹³ Titus, interview, Utrecht Overvecht, 22 April 2011 and see also Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 9.

⁸¹⁴ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁸¹⁵ Zulfikri, "Ihwal Film Fitna," accessed 16 February 2012, <http://dir.groups.yahoo.com/group/pakguruonline/message/3916>.

⁸¹⁶ Van de Kok, Warga "Muslim di Belanda tentang Kematian Osama," accessed 24 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/warga-muslim-indonesia-di-belanda-tentang-kematian-osama>.

⁸¹⁷ Bram Hendrawan, "Anekhkah Pengaturan Suara Azan," accessed 15 February 2012, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/anehkah-pengaturan-suara-azan>.

⁸¹⁸ Van de Kok, interview, 14 March 2011.

court case of Geert Wilders; and the violence against the followers of Ahmadiyah (a religious organization) in Indonesia partly provoked by the fatwa of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI, Indonesian Ulama Council) that it was a religious organization going astray. On these issues PPME could provide an opinion.⁸¹⁹ To put it in other words, the formal ending of relations between PPME and the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW did not interfere with the interpersonal connections of the two sides. Of course, it was a mutually beneficial relationship as the Ranesi journalists got their stories and the PPME's preachers' were still able to widely deliver their Islamic message.

II. Rukun Islam (the Early 1980s): Providing Islamic Teachers

The Surinamese-Javanese organization called Rukun Islam (Islamic Pillars) was founded in 1980 as a *vereniging* (association).⁸²⁰ In the early 1980s its membership amounted to approximately 20 families; this had increased to around 250 families by early 2011.⁸²¹ Initially, members originated from three different religious backgrounds. Some of them were non-practicing Muslims; some were practicing Muslims, but did not perform their daily prayers facing the *qibla* (towards Mecca) – a group frequently called *madhep ngulon* (facing a western direction); and the remainder, a group often called *madhep ngetan* (facing an eastern direction), who did face the *qibla* when performing their daily prayers.⁸²² This last group refrained from performing pre-Islamic Javanese-Hinduism traditions,⁸²³ while many of the *madhep ngulon*

⁸¹⁹ Bari Muchtar (journalist of Siaran Indonesia of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep), interview, Hilversum, 6 April 2011.

⁸²⁰ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 233.

⁸²¹ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011, The Hague.

⁸²² The Surinamese-Javanese group who faced a western direction, rather than the *qibla* (towards Mecca) when praying, developed this custom in Java and held on to this tradition in the Netherlands. Those who prayed facing an eastern direction lived in accordance with the Quranic prescription as much as possible. See: Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 201. See also, Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 54. Furthermore, discussion of the *qibla* has been a significant part of the ongoing discourse about Javanese identity and since the Islamization of Java, efforts have been made to refute “the centrality of Mecca and the Arabization of Java.” Moch. Nur Ichwan, “Prayer in the Surinam-Javanese Diasporic Experience,” in *ISIM Newsletter* 3, (1999): 45. In sum, changing the direction of prayer is not a simple matter.

⁸²³ Nathal M. Dessing, *Rituals of Birth, Circumcision, Marriage, and Death among Muslims*

group practiced not only Islam, but also their pre-Islamic heritage, i.e. performing *kendurenan* (often called *slametan*, festivities for safety) using *menyanan* (burning incense) and *sajenan* (providing offerings).⁸²⁴ These are, according to Geertz, primary elements of *Abangan* religious tradition.⁸²⁵ This variety of religious conditions among the congregation (who, since 1995, have owned premises at the Schalk Burgerstraat 308, The Hague, for their socio-religious activities)⁸²⁶ stimulated Rukun Islam's board to invite PPME's teachers to talk to its members.

The invitation issued to PPME's religious teachers by the board of the Rukun Islam to provide Islamic teaching was in line with the religious objective of association, i.e. that its members should implement the five pillars of Islam in their life.⁸²⁷ The invitation had its roots in early connections between PPME's teachers and Rukun Islam members. In early 1980, for example, Maksum, Asief Ishom and Sulchan attended the commemoration for the birthday of Prophet Muhammad held in The Hague and hosted by the Stichting of Djami'atul Islam al-Fatah Nederland (DIAN, Foundation of the Pioneering Islamic Community),⁸²⁸ a Surinamese-Javanese Muslim organization which had been founded on 25 December 1978.⁸²⁹ During this event, Maksum, Ishom and Sulchan met Saefullah Kadi, a member of Rukun Islam's board. This meeting, in turn, stimulated PPME's board to invite him and his fellow Javanese-Surinamese Muslims to attend PPME activities, such as performing *tarāwīḥ* prayers (night prayers during *Ramadan*) and Islamic wedding ceremonies held at PPME's *al-Ittihaad* prayer room in The Hague as well as the inauguration of *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Even though the mosque had already been purchased in 1996 and the PPME congregation performed their Friday prayers there, *al-Ittihaad* was still used at the request of Surinamese-Javanese Muslims, who did not yet

in the Netherlands (PhD Dissertation, Leiden University, 19 September 2001), 17.

⁸²⁴ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸²⁵ See Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960), 11. See also Andrew Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese Religions: An Anthropological Account* (UK, USA, Australia, Spain and South Africa: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 28.

⁸²⁶ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ See Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 232.

own a centre of activity at that moment, for their Friday prayers and who preferred to attend their sermons delivered in Javanese.⁸³⁰

Certainly, PPME's teachers spoke Javanese and their Islamic knowledge had been recognized early on by Rukun Islam's members. From the early 1980s they were invited to provide Islamic teaching to members in Javanese, rather than in Dutch. Kadi Syaefullah asserted: "At that time, PPME's teachers taught Islamic teaching in Javanese to the members of Rukun Islam who were mostly first-generation immigrants to the Netherlands who were Javanese speakers with a slight understanding of Islam."⁸³¹ Furthermore, Fauzi Kromosetiko, the chairman of Rukun Islam, has emphasized that: "We invite the teachers because they understand Islam better than we do."⁸³² The teachers in question were Maksum and Sulchan, both of whom learned Islam in Baghdad,⁸³³ and Ishom, who acquired Islamic knowledge at al-Azhar University.⁸³⁴ The PPME teachers weekly instructed a group of 30 to 50 members of Rukun Islam in reciting the Quran and Islamic *aqīda* (faith). The meetings were held at their accommodation on the Majubastraat in The Hague.⁸³⁵

In addition to the three teachers, since 1985, M. Syukur,⁸³⁶ another PPME teacher who speaks Bugis, not Javanese, has been involved in delivering Islamic teaching to the congregation of Rukun Islam.⁸³⁷ His involvement indicates a shift in the focus of the Rukun Islam's board. Indeed, the board now preferred people who could speak Dutch

⁸³⁰ Saefullah Kadi (former chairperson of Rukun Islam), telephone interview, 27 February 2011, The Hague. See also A. Naf'an Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla 'al-Ittihaad'," in *al-Ittihaad*, 13 July 1985, 14.

⁸³¹ Kadi, telephone interview, 27 February 2011. See also Anja van Heelsum, et al., *Muslim in Nederland: Islamitische organisaties in Nederland* (The Hague: SCP, July 2004), 20.

⁸³² Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸³³ Certificate no. 32585 of College of Islamic Law Sharea (Iraq: University of Baghdad, 4 October 1970). *Al-Tasjil 1222 of 'Imādatu Kulliyat al-Imam al-A'zam* (al-Jumhuriyya al-'Irāqiyya: Riāsa Diwan al-Awqaf, 7 July 1972). Dzanun Mujahid (a relative of Ishom), interview, The Hague, 13 February 2011.

⁸³⁴ Ashif Ishom, interview, The Hague, 12 February 2012.

⁸³⁵ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸³⁶ He was editor in chief of *al-Ittihaad* (a PPME magazine) at the end of the 1980s. See *Al-Ittihaad*, July-August 1989, n.p.

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*

fluently rather than their proficiency in Javanese. Syukur graduated from Sekolah Guru Atas (SGA, Senior High School for Islamic Teachers) of Makassar (South Sulawesi, formerly known as South Celebes) in 1959. His working language for teaching at the Rukun Islam was Dutch.⁸³⁸ The Rukun Islam preference for Dutch is evident from the fact that Ishom, who originated from Gombong, Central Java, regularly delivered Islamic teaching to the Surinamese-Javanese congregation in Dutch and not in Javanese.⁸³⁹ According to Kromosetiko, this need for the Dutch language stemmed from the fact that many of Rukun Islam's congregation were younger, second-generation Surinamese-Javanese who had been born in the Netherlands and were more fluent in Dutch than in Javanese.⁸⁴⁰ This fact differs from Ichwan's viewpoint that the younger generation no longer spoke Javanese.⁸⁴¹ It is worth noting that the involvement of Ishom and Syukur contributed to the absence of Maksum and Sulchan in the Rukun Islam after 1985.

The decision to replace Maksum and Sulchan⁸⁴² with Syukur and Ishom was evident because their religious backgrounds were stronger than their Dutch language abilities. As Kromosetiko argues, both Maksum and Sulchan were Traditionalists, while Syukur and Ishom had a more reformist religious orientation, i.e. "a reliance on the Qur'an instead of the commentaries of Muslim scholars; the simplification of ceremony; and the purge of saint and spirit worship, and of any other idolatry which distracts from allegiance to the one God."⁸⁴³ Syukur stated: "My *aqīda* (faith) is similar to that of the reformist Moh. Natsir of the DDII."⁸⁴⁴ With regards to Ishom, he comes from a family that ran

⁸³⁸ Moh. Syukur, interview, The Hague, 31 January 2011.

⁸³⁹ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁴¹ Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Prayer in the Surinam-Javanese Diasporic Experience," 43.

⁸⁴² A. Naf'an Sulchan was formally educated as an *imam* in Iraq. He was born in Jepara, Middle Java, on 10 November 1946. Al-Tasjil 1222 of 'Imādatu Kullīyyat al-Imam al-A'ẓam (al-Jumhuriyya al-'Irāqīyya: Rīasa Diwan al-Awqaf, 7 July 1972). Recently he has been leading PPME's congregation in performing their tahlilan, part of the religious practices of Indonesian traditionalist Muslims.

⁸⁴³ James L. Peacock, *Purifying the faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2nd ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 3. See also Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 14-16.

⁸⁴⁴ Syukur, interview, 31 January 2011. See also Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir: Dakwah dan*

an Islamic boarding school called Pondok Pesantren dan Madrasah Wathoniyah Islamiyah (PPMWI, Islamic Boarding and Islamic National School) in Barongan, Banyumas. His family favoured Masyumi.⁸⁴⁵ Ishom added: “In our *pesantren* the atmosphere of reformist *wahhābī*, which Saudi Arabia adheres to, was prominent.”⁸⁴⁶ This reformist background seems to be in line with the religious orientation of Rukun Islam, i.e. the purification of its socio-cultural religious activities⁸⁴⁷ by performing Islam on the basis of the Qur’an and the Prophet Muhammad’s Traditions, and terminating Javanese-Hinduism traditions.⁸⁴⁸ This is similar to what Kromosetiko states: “On the basis of the two sources, the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad’s Traditions, we [the board and the members of Rukun Islam] perform Islamic instructions and obey Islamic prohibitions.”⁸⁴⁹ Certainly, this religious orientation has contributed to the absence of traditionalist Javanese-speaking teachers in the organization.

The purification fostered by the board of Rukun Islam became more evident in the late 1980s. It began when a *dā’ī* (preacher) called Muslikh became an Islamic teacher for the association between 1987 and 1988. He came from Semarang and was an Islamic preacher affiliated with Dār al-Iftā’ (the House of Deliverance of Legal Formal Opinions) of Saudi Arabia.⁸⁵⁰ After having preached among the Javanese community in Suriname, in 1987 he visited his brother-in-law, Ali Ahmad, in the

Pemikirannya (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1999), 32.

⁸⁴⁵ Ishom, interview, 12 February 2012. Masyumi was an Islamic party in the Old Order period, backed by Indonesian reformist Muslims especially after the traditionalist wing, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), split from it in 1952.

⁸⁴⁶ Ishom, interview, 12 February 2012.

⁸⁴⁷ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011. See also Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 233.

⁸⁴⁸ See Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 72.

⁸⁴⁹ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸⁵⁰ Dār al-Iftā’ (the Riyadh-based Presidency for Scientific Research and Religious Edicts), is an affiliate of the Council of Senior Islamic Scholars, headed by Saudi Arabia’s Grand Mufti Sheikh Abdul Aziz Ali. One prominent Islamic scholar who joined this dar is Sheykh Muhammad ibn Salih al-‘Uthaymin [a Sheykh often linked to Salafi groups]. See “Saudi Arabia Launches Website for Authentic Fatwas,” accessed 30 May 2011, <http://muslimstoday.wordpress.com/2007/10/07/saudi-arabia-launches-website-for-authentic-fatwas/>. See also Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 72.

Netherlands. Ahmad was the imam of PPME Amsterdam, which had changed its name to Euromoslim in mid-2010. Because of the fact that Syukur and Ishom had jobs to make a living and could not devote all their time to Rukun Islam, the presence of Muslikh in the country drew great attention from the board of Rukun Islam and they invited him to become a teacher to its members. He accepted and, in addition to teaching the reciting of the Qur'an, between 1987 and 1988 he delivered a series of weekly lectures on diverse Islamic subjects in Javanese on Friday night and Sunday. Kromosetiko gives us an impression on Muslikh's influence.

We (the board and the members of Rukun Islam) ...have been trained by Muslikh how to perform Islam *cara Qur'an lan Hadits* (Islam according to the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad's Traditions). For instance, according to him, it is permitted to burn one kilogram of incense as long as you read Sura al-Fātiḥa (The Opening of the Quran). *Alḥamdulillāh* (Praise be to God), Javanese-Hinduism traditions like the *kenduren* with *sesajen* (offerings) such as *jenang abang* (red porridge), *jenang ijo* (green porridge), and *pitik ingkung* (offering an entire chicken) are no longer practiced in Rukun Islam. The coming of Muslikh has contributed to the gradual elimination of such practices.⁸⁵¹

Engaging Muslikh, who spoke Javanese rather than Dutch, suggests how much importance the board of Rukun Islam attached to the purification agenda. In Kromosetiko's words, due to Muslikh's teaching, *kenduren* (frequently called *slametan*) has no longer been performed by the Rukun Islam congregation since 1990.⁸⁵²

Up to April 2011, PPME's reformists remained involved with *Rukun Islam*. In fact, throughout the 1990s, Syukur and Ishom were the only ones. In early 2000, a third Islamic teacher, Remi Sukirman, who is a graduate of the Faculty of Uṣul al-Dīn (Theology) at the Islamic University of Medina (Jāmi'at al-Madīna) and a typesetter of Dar al-

⁸⁵¹ Ibid. See also Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Prayer in the Surinam-Javanese Diasporic Experience," 36.

⁸⁵² See Moh. Khusen, "Pertarungan Identitas dan Pengalaman Diaspora dalam Ritual Slametan Komunitas Muslim Jawa Suriname di Belanda," accessed 6 February 2011, <http://mohkhusen.staff.stainsalatiga.ac.id/2013/01/21/pertarungan-identitas-dan-pengalaman-diaspora-dalam-ritual-slametan-komunitas-muslim-jawa-suriname-di-belanda/> (paper, DIKTIS Kemenag, ACIS, October 10-13, 2011), n.p.

'Ilm (House of Knowledge) in the Netherlands, joined.⁸⁵³ Sukirman, a Surinamese-Javanese teacher, who only speaks a little Javanese, has regularly delivered Islamic sermons to the congregation in Dutch.⁸⁵⁴ In fact, Sukirman is now regarded as the main imam of the Surinamese-Javanese association. Despite the newcomers, Ishom and Syukur remain Islamic teachers at Rukun Islam.

III. Al-Jami'atul Hasana (the Late 1980s): The Quest for a Centre of Activities

Al-Jami'atul Hasana or AJH, is a Surinamese-Javanese foundation that was founded in 1985 in Rotterdam by Kasmorie, a Surinamese-Javanese Muslim *imam* (leader of prayers).⁸⁵⁵ He had been a member of stichting der Islamitische gemeente in Suriname (SIS, Foundation of the Islamic Community in Suriname) and had no formal Islamic education. AJH was legalised in 1989.⁸⁵⁶ It was initially established to raise awareness in Rotterdam's Surinamese-Javanese community of their Islamic obligation to perform daily prayers, which was, on the whole, being neglected at that time. This goal stimulated other objectives, i.e. providing lessons in Quranic recitation, Arabic, Islamic knowledge, traditional dance (*serimpi*, a palace dance from Central Java),⁸⁵⁷ and providing information on political and socio-cultural subjects, mainly, pertaining to the Netherlands.⁸⁵⁸ Therefore, AJH tends to be a Muslim organization which focuses on the "shaping of norms, values and behaviours of their own group."⁸⁵⁹ Because of these objectives, the membership of AJH increased by 40 percent, reaching

⁸⁵³ Firdaus Queslati, "Non-Formal Higher Education in The Netherlands: With Some Comparative Notes on France and the United Kingdom," in Drees and Van Koningsveld, *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe*, 411.

⁸⁵⁴ Remi Sukirman, interview, The Hague, 6 February 2011.

⁸⁵⁵ Kasmorie (the first chairperson and founder of Stichting al-Jami'atul Hasana), interview, The Hague, 17 April 2011. See also Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 64.

⁸⁵⁶ Kasmorie, interview, 17 April 2011.

⁸⁵⁷ Kontributor Solo, "Solor Gelar Mangkunegaran Performing Arts," accessed 8 June 2011, http://www.jatengprov.go.id/?mid=wartadaera&listStyle=gallery&document_srl=18978.

⁸⁵⁸ See Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 64, and Ali Redjo (former secretary of Stichting al-Jami'atul Hasana), interview, 18 March 2011, Rotterdam.

⁸⁵⁹ Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 91.

about 60 families by early May 2011.⁸⁶⁰

Links between the PPME branch in Rotterdam and AJH have existed since the late 1980s. PPME involved its members, rather than its religious teachers, in establishing its link with AJH. During *Ramadan* in 1988 Nina (Indonesian) and her Surinamese-Javanese husband, Johnny Kasijo, were invited by Kasmoerie to perform the *tarāwīḥ* prayers together with the AJH congregation. The prayers were held in a house in Rotterdam Zuid that belonged to Moesirah, a Surinamese acquaintance of Kasmoerie.⁸⁶¹ Nina was born in West Sumatra. Her parents are originally Surinamese-Javanese though, and her husband comes from Surinam, as well.⁸⁶² The couples' Surinamese-Javanese background was certainly a factor in the invitation being issued. According to Kasmoerie: "I first met Nina and Johnny Kasijo when they attended the funeral of a Surinamese-Javanese called Ponidjan, an AJH member in Rotterdam Zuid, in 1987. There I asked them to join and help the foundation. As a result, she and her husband have assisted its cultural activities, in particular, teaching *serimpi*, a Javanese traditional dance."⁸⁶³

This acquaintance with Kasmoerie enabled the couple to meet other members of AJH's board, among them, Reso and Ali Redjo.⁸⁶⁴ It is worth noting that Kasmoerie only invited the Surinamese couple, who had a Surinamese background and not other members of PPME.⁸⁶⁵ After having been invited by Kasmoeri to participate in the *tarāwīḥ* program, in the following year the couple approached PPME's board in Rotterdam with a proposal to invite AJH to join PPME for such events. The board approved of the idea and, as a result, prior to *Ramaḍan* in 1989, T. Razali, on behalf of PPME, invited AJH to join PPME in performing the *tarāwīḥ* prayers in his house at the Hooidrft in Rotterdam. AJH welcomed the invitation. This invitation appears to have provided a solution to the Surinamese-Javanese association's

⁸⁶⁰ Abdullah, interview, 3 February 2011, Rotterdam Zuid.

⁸⁶¹ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011, Rotterdam Zuid.

⁸⁶² Kasmoeri, interview, 17 April 2011, Rotterdam.

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Redjo, interview, Rotterdam, 18 March 2011.

⁸⁶⁵ Kasmoeri, interview, 17 April 2011.

quest for a place to carry out this annual activity and both parties welcomed the plan.⁸⁶⁶ PPME's invitation certainly did not deviate from its by-laws, which accommodated the involvement of non-Indonesian members, including Dutch, Thai and Surinamese, in its activities.

The need to provide accommodation for religious and socio-cultural activities has been a central issue for Muslims in the Netherlands, mainly due to the high costs involved and the need for permits, etc.⁸⁶⁷ Such a need also became the concern of PPME and AJH, which had no such an accommodation. In addition, the high cost of purchasing such an accommodation was another incentive for PPME to establish connections with AJH from 1990 onwards. By 1990 the PPME responded positively to the invitation of AJH to the performing of joint activities in a jointly rented room of the Centrum Santoso (Centre of Unity) belonging to the Surinamese-Javanese Foundation Setoedjoe Anggawe Santoso (United We Stand, Setasan) at Van Eversdijkstraat 31, in Rotterdam. As a consequence, each needs to pay approximately € 57 per month to the Setasan.⁸⁶⁸ Moreover, in the rented room, they performed their weekly socio-religious activities, but on differing days. PPME used the room on Saturday, whereas AJH used it on Sunday. On other days, the room was also used for socio-cultural activities, for instance, for playing *qasidah* music (which will be discussed later on) by some members of the two organizations on Friday night⁸⁶⁹ and for the exercise of traditional Javanese dance on week nights.⁸⁷⁰ In general, they used the room on the weekend. They also jointly organized annual socio-religious activities, such as *ʿīd al-ḥijr*, *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, the commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, in addition to the *tarāwīḥ* programme.⁸⁷¹ These joint activities continued in the Santoso Centre until 2007. This need for accommodation for socio-religious activities contributed to PPME and AJH's enduring

⁸⁶⁶ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁶⁷ See Strijp, *Om de moskee*, 74-79. See also Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 61.

⁸⁶⁸ Abdullah, interview, 3 February 2011.

⁸⁶⁹ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁰ Somohardjo, interview, 16 January 2011.

⁸⁷¹ Abdullah, interview, 18 March 2011.

formal connection.

Due to the separation of church from the state, the Dutch government has mostly been in favour of providing subsidies for Muslim migrants in the Netherlands on the basis of non-religious activities. Such subsidies had been a policy of the Dutch government since 1976 and part of their plan for dealing with Muslim migrants in the Netherlands.⁸⁷² Following the policy, in 2003, Kasijo, a PPME member who was interested in cultural activities, tried to strengthen PPME's ties with AJH by forming a music group called Qasidah as-Salaam (Peace Qaṣīda)⁸⁷³ He did so at the request of Rudie Somohardjo, the chairman of Stichting Setasan, who wanted to receive a regular subsidy from the municipality of Rotterdam.⁸⁷⁴ The music group had to perform *da'wa* (delivering Islamic teachings) through music.⁸⁷⁵ Indeed, Kasijo's mission was to preach Islam through music in the same way as Sunan Kalijaga, one of nine saints in Javanese history, had done. Kalijaga "taught Islam through local art and cultures such as shadow puppet theatre."⁸⁷⁶ In addition to guitar and piano, this group also employed a traditional musical instrument, the tambourine. This shows that both PPME and AJH not only allow, but also support the development of music performances for its *da'wa* – AJH seems to have a different character from Rukun Islam, especially, after the late 1980s (the beginning of its purification agenda) which no longer provided space for music in its *kendurens*.⁸⁷⁷ It was hoped that by using music as a medium for *da'wa* the young members of the two associations could be reached. Members of both PPME in Rotterdam and AJH were asked to join the band and Indonesian, Javanese, and Arabic religious songs

⁸⁷² See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom and the Position of Islam in Western Europe*, 28-33. See also: Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 53.

⁸⁷³ Qaṣīda is "an ancient Arabic poem having, as a rule, a rigid tripartite structure." Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, 3rd ed. (New York: Spoken Language Service, 1976), 767.

⁸⁷⁴ Somohardjo, interview, 16 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁵ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁶ See Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (USA: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 96. See also Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 49.

⁸⁷⁷ Cf. Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 23; Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

were sung when this music group performed.⁸⁷⁸

In spite of the fact that the bylaws of PPME mentioned socio-cultural activities, the links among the band's proponents were personal. As mentioned before, Setasan also allowed the band to use the jointly rented room for their exercises before they performed fulfilling invitations from PPME, AJH, and others. PPME Rotterdam suggested that the group should be paid for their performances and that part of those fees should go to the PPME; AJH did not.⁸⁷⁹ However, the idea of commercialization was not part of the plan of the music group's founder. Kasijo found the notion of payment for his group's performances distasteful. What he only asked was the compensation for the transport cost of the band.⁸⁸⁰ Thus, as-Salaam made a cultural, rather than a financial contribution to PPME in Rotterdam. In 2010, the music group moved its activities from Centrum Santoso to Stichting Bebarengan Anngawe Rukuning Rakyat (BARR, Foundation for People's Harmony) at Dempostrat 143, Rotterdam.⁸⁸¹ Recently, the group have given concerts at socio-cultural events such as *halal bihalal* and the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, as well as other anniversaries. The existence of this music group illustrates how a number of people from PPME and AJH regularly connected for the same goal; to play religious music.

The relationship between PPME and AJH was also cemented by the fact that both sides were still searching for a permanent location for their activities. In fact, this led them to join forces and make plans to construct a mosque in Rotterdam. In late 2003, PPME Rotterdam invited the AJH to cooperate in realizing a plan of constructing, rather than acquiring, a building that would serve as a mosque and also as a centre for the religious and socio-cultural activities of both organizations.⁸⁸² AJH's board responded positively to the proposal and

⁸⁷⁸ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁸¹ Martodikromo, *Jaarplan stichting BARR 2010 t/m 2013* (Rotterdam: Stichting Bebarengan Anggawe Rukuning Rakyat, 2010), 8 and 13.

⁸⁸² Razak, *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 14-15.

pledged financial contributions to the project from its congregation.⁸⁸³ AJH's board contributed € 800 and a number of its members donated € 50 or more to the project.⁸⁸⁴

The fact was that up to March 2011, the funds collected were still not enough to realise the project to build a mosque and the tenancy of the room at Centum Santoso could no longer be extended. This contributed to the absence of formal cooperation between PPME Rotterdam and AJH between 2008 and March 2011. Their joint socio-religious activities also stopped. However, the personal connections between the two continued, although on an ad hoc basis. In addition to the gathering of the *qasidah* music, Kasijo and his wife continued to attend AJH's weekly socio-religious activities. Other PPME members made such personal contacts using their own means. For instance, Razak (an advisor to PPME Rotterdam), Jarwan⁸⁸⁵ and Ridwan preferred joint Friday prayers being held by AJH at a care home called Simeon en Anne at Strevelsweg 350 in Rotterdam. Razak also irregularly obtained opportunities to deliver Friday sermons in the weekly Islamic ritual.⁸⁸⁶

From what has been related above, it is clear that personal contacts between PPME members and the AJH have been instrumental in facilitating the establishment of an organizational connection of the two associations, which in turn were strengthened by the need to find a place for their religious and socio-cultural activities.

IV. Haremeyn Vakfi (2008): Paving the Way to Perform Pilgrimage to Mecca

...The special character of religion and life philosophy leads the Dutch government to take a neutral position in that matter and serves to let them be free.⁸⁸⁷ This is part of its policy of religious

⁸⁸³ Abdullah, interview, 3 February 2011.

⁸⁸⁴ Razak, Commissie voor de bouw van tafakkur moskee, nummer 2004/PPME/TAF/0068 t/m 83, 10 December 2003.

⁸⁸⁵ Djarwan has frequently visited Eskak Abdullah. T. Razali, the chairperson of PPME in Rotterdam, did the same in the 1980s and 1990s in order to maintain communication with al-Hasana's board. Abdullah, interview, 18 March 2011.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁷ See W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom and the Position of Islam in Western Europe: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Acquisition of Equal Rights (with*

freedom, enabling Muslims to arrange their *hajj* travel themselves. As a consequence, PPME made a connection with travel agencies, especially a Turkish foundation called Haremeyn Vakfi (the Haremeyn Foundation), to arrange a *hajj* (performing a pilgrimage to Mecca) programme for its members. This endeavour will be discussed in the current section. It is worth noting that the moment of performing the *hajj*, allowing Muslims to acquire a religious experience and also to feel united with other Muslims from all over the world,⁸⁸⁸ is arranged in the Netherlands by special *hajj* travel bureaus,⁸⁸⁹ including the Haremeyn Vakfi.

In fact, PPME had arranged the *hajj* for its members and sympathizers since the early 1970s. For instance, in April 1974, PPME set up a *hajj* program in which thirty people participated.⁸⁹⁰ A similar programme was offered in subsequent years, with 48 members making the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1975, 21 in 1976, 59 in 1977, 45 in 1978 and 5 in 1986.⁸⁹¹ However, between the late 1980s and 2009, the PPME could no longer make these organizational arrangements. This took place for two reasons. Firstly, the number of *hajj* travel agencies in the Netherlands had increased. There were a number of unofficial *hajj* travel agencies that were not registered with the Ministry of *Hajj* of Saudi Arabia, which PPME or individual members of PPME had cooperated with in organizing the *hajj* for its members and sympathizers. They were Stichting Hidayah, an Indonesian Foundation, Bali Indah, an Indonesian travel bureau, and Firdaus, an Eritrean *hajj* travel bureau. In addition to these, there

an Extensive Bibliography) (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 8-9. See also Minderhedenbeleid 16 102, Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, September 15, 1983, 110.

⁸⁸⁸ Douwes, Martijn de Koning, and Welmoet Boender (eds.), *Nederlandse moslims*, 62.

⁸⁸⁹ Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 160.

⁸⁹⁰ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 20 April '74, 1-2, PPME, The Hague.

⁸⁹¹ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME the Netherlands* (The Hague: PPME, 31 July 1976), 9, DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979* (Achen: YMAE, 1 June 1979), 7, A. H. Maksu, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, November 23, 1986) 38, Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME The Netherlands* (The Hague: PPME, July 31, 1976), 15, DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979* (Achen: YMAE) Appendix, 1-2, and A. H. Maksu, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5 26-27 November 1988 di Amsterdam* (The Hague: PPME, November 27, 1986), 21. See also DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979*, Appendix, 1-2.

were also sixteen *hajj* travel agencies, including the Haremeyn Vakfi (Haremeyn Foundation), that were officially registered by the ministry.⁸⁹² This increase appears to be in conformity with the observation by S. Pallida that in the Netherlands, tourism and transportation became sectors where Muslims who wanted to be self-employed started businesses.⁸⁹³ Secondly, there existed more requirements for organizing the *hajj*. In addition to the need to arrange accommodations in Saudi Arabia for the participants, there was a quota on the number of *hajj* visas a *hajj* travel agency could obtain from the government of Saudi Arabia. The visas, which were limited in number, were only given to a number of registered travel agents.⁸⁹⁴

Following these changes, from the early 1990s to 2001, such reasons made the PPME board conclude that to organize the *hajj*, the detailed information on the requirements that was required and the fulfillment of such requirements went beyond its means.⁸⁹⁵ So the decision was made to organize the *hajj* either in cooperation with official *hajj* agencies or to turn to members of the PPME to organize the *hajj* for its congregation.⁸⁹⁶ As a result, one member, Dzanun Mujahid⁸⁹⁷ organized the *hajj* programme in 1999 for 29 persons and for 45 persons in 2000, asking approximately € 1,590 per person.⁸⁹⁸

Because travel was the crucial factor when making arrangements

⁸⁹² “Approved Hajj Travel Agents: [The] Netherlands,” accessed 31 March 2013, http://www.hajjinformation.com/hajj_agents.php?id=13. See also “Saoedische ambassade aaarschuwt voor malafide hadj-reisbureaus,” accessed 12 February 2012, <http://www.moslimvandaag.nl/islam/2011/10/saoedische-ambassade-waarschuwt-voor-malafide-hadj-reisbureaus/>, accessed 12 February 2012.

⁸⁹³ See Imane Karich, “Economic Development of Muslim Communities,” in Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam*, 68.

⁸⁹⁴ A. Naf’an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 8; Dzanun Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011, The Hague; A. Naf’an Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011, The Hague.

⁸⁹⁵ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, The Hague, 4.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁷ Mujahid was not the only person to the *hajj* for PPME’s congregation and sympathizers. A. Naf’an Sulchan had also arranged a programme. The example of Mujahid is used here because of his connections with Haremeyn Vakfi, which contributed to the formal link between PPME Amsterdam and Vakfi.

⁸⁹⁸ A. Naf’an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999*, 9.

for participants to perform the *hajj*,⁸⁹⁹ Mujahid made the necessary arrangements for their travel from the Netherlands, as well as in Saudi Arabia. This arrangement not only involved booking airline tickets, but also applying for *hajj* visas. To acquire the visas, he had to cooperate with official *hajj* travel agencies in the Netherlands, such as Haremeyn Vakfi, Stichting Hidayah and Firdaus, which had acquired a limited number of *hajj* visas and asked different prices for such a visa. The number of participants in Mujahid's programme was between 20 and 50 people and asked € 1,590 for PPME members and around € 1800 for non-PPME members.⁹⁰⁰ While the *hajj* visas were being organized, participants were also provided instructions for the *hajj* ritual,⁹⁰¹ frequently conducted in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque and in cooperation with the board of PPME in The Hague,⁹⁰² as well as the board of the mosque. To prepare the actual *hajj* in Saudi Arabia, Mujahid contacted his nephew, Ali Munif, and his family living there.⁹⁰³ They helped Mujahid in respect of arranging accommodations, food, and transport during the *hajj* and in hiring *mushrifs*, i.e. those who guide pilgrims in order to be able to perform the *hajj* rituals who the PPME, itself, was not able to provide. The selected guides who had competence in the *hajj* rituals were Indonesian students studying in Arabic countries who wanted to assist his congregation.⁹⁰⁴ In addition, Mujahid also made contact with Indonesian officials of *maktabs* (service offices for *hajj* affairs in Saudi Arabia),⁹⁰⁵ which enabled him to solve administrative problems for members of his congregation holding

⁸⁹⁹ See: Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop* (USA: the University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 3.

⁹⁰⁰ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 8 and 17.

⁹⁰¹ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰² Mohammad Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1994-1996* (The Hague: PPME, 21 June 1997), 11-12.

⁹⁰³ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁴ Abdul Wahid Abdurachman Naji (a participant undertaking pilgrimage to Mecca under Dzanun Mujahid's individual endeavors), interview, January 3, 2011, Leiden.

⁹⁰⁵ Mch/Riyanto, *Petugas di Mina Wajib Bawa Peta*, 10 January 2011, <http://www.jurnalhaji.com/2010/11/12/petugas-di-mina-wajib-bawa-peta/>. See also: Moeslim Abdurrahman, *On Hajj Tourism: in Search of Piety and Identity in the New Order Indonesia* (PhD Thesis, University of Illinois, 2000), 165-166.

Indonesian passports rather than Dutch or Surinamese ones.⁹⁰⁶ This kind of contact for the arrangements for individual members of the PPME with the aforementioned *hajj* travel agents continued until 2001.⁹⁰⁷

After the *hajj* of 2001, the cooperation of Mujahid with Bali Indah, which had a quota of 50 *hajj* visas, was made for few years inconsecutively (between 2002 and 2006).⁹⁰⁸ However, after 2006 he no longer organized the *hajj* on his own, but cooperated with a registered *hajj* travel agency. This was due to the fact that the procedure for organizing the *hajj* had become more complicated. It included the need to use a travel agency which was registered by and received the *hajj* visas from the Ministry of *Hajj* of the Saudi Arabian government.⁹⁰⁹ The new procedure had been put into effect by the Saudi Arabian government since the *hajj* of 2007.⁹¹⁰ It was also the case that an application form for getting a *hajj* visa should be signed and stamped by the registered travel agency so that information on accommodations prepared by the agency for participants of its *hajj* travel to Saudi Arabia could be obtained.⁹¹¹ Consequently, at the end of 2007, for instance, Mujahid turned to the Turkish foundation, Haremeyn Vakfi to make the *hajj* travel arrangements⁹¹² following the bankruptcy of Bali Indah travel agency and responding to the Saudi Arabian government's policy of only approving *hajj* visas applied by certain registered *hajj* travel agencies.

After Mujahid had met the owner of the Turkish foundation,

⁹⁰⁶ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁷ Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁸ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁹ See Ministry Hajj, "Visas," accessed 31 March 2013, <http://www.hajinformation.com/main/p10.htm>. See also Josef Stevens, "Bedevaartgangers opgelet!," in *Moslim vandaag: De eerste moslimkrant van Nederland* 8, October-November 2011.

⁹¹⁰ Sean McLoughlin, *Organising Hajj-Going in Britain: A Preliminary Report* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 10 October 2013), 12.

⁹¹¹ Ministry of Hajj Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 27 march 2013, "Accommodation," <http://www.hajinformation.com/main/p50.htm>; https://saudiembassy.net/services/hajj_requirements.aspx, accessed 2 September 2015, and Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹¹² Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011. See: "Stichting Haremeyn (Haremeyn Wakvi)," accessed 16 December 2011, http://www.hotfrog.nl/Companies/Stichting-Haremeyn-Haremeyn-Vakfi_2007320.

Sulayman Ramazanoglu, in Mecca in 2007, he was invited to cooperate with the foundation in organizing the PPME *hajj*. The fact was that the foundation had acquired 63 *hajj* visas.⁹¹³ Mujahid responded to the invitation positively for two reasons; the foundation offered cheap *hajj* visas and it was a *hajj* travel agency regarded as *mu'tabara* (officially registered by the Saudi Arabian government).⁹¹⁴ In 2008, he cooperated with the foundation which asked a reasonable price, € 2,400 for each person. This cooperation continued in 2009 when the PPME pilgrims paid the same price as in the previous year. It is worth noting that Sa'id Badjuber, the coordinator of the *hajj* program for PPME in Amsterdam, was one of the pilgrims, thus enabling him to meet Ramazanoglu⁹¹⁵ and resulting in the cooperation of PPME in Amsterdam with the foundation in the following year.

After Badjuber returned from the *hajj*, in 2010 PPME Amsterdam arranged its *hajj* program in cooperation with the Turkish foundation rather than with others. The following are the reasons for this choice. Similar to the previous reason, the costs for the Turkish foundation organizing the *hajj* remained less than that of other travel agents. In fact, PPME Amsterdam's members paid almost € 3,000.⁹¹⁶ In addition, prior to the arrangement of airline tickets and *hajj* visas, the foundation also had prepared accommodations for participants of its *hajj* travel in Saudi Arabia. Last but not least, participants under the coordination of Badjuber were delivered to the site of *wuqūf* (dwelling in 'Arafa) two days prior to this ceremony taking place, thus, enabling them to make more preparations than those arriving to the site later.⁹¹⁷ None of the facilities that the foundation provided to its participants included

⁹¹³ Suleyman Ramazanoglu (chairman of Haremeyn Vakfi), interview, Rotterdam, 13 February 2012.

⁹¹⁴ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011. It was one of the sixteen travel agencies officially approved to organize the *hajj* from the Netherlands, according to Khalid Faqeeh, the Ambassador of the Saudi Arabian government for the Netherlands. See: Stevens, "Bedevaartgangers opgelet!", in *Moslim vandaag: De eerste moslimkrant van Nederland* 8, October-November 2011, 14. See also Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 160.

⁹¹⁵ Mujahid, telephone interview, 15 December 2011.

⁹¹⁶ Said Badjuber (a *hajj* organizer of PPME in Amsterdam), telephone interview, 15 December 2011.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid.

instructions on the *hajj* ritual before performing the *hajj*. Therefore, as with the arrangements of Mujahid the PPME also provided such instruction.⁹¹⁸

The board of PPME Amsterdam appointed Badjuber to lead the *hajj* of its members in that year. The PPME did so because of his previous *hajj* experience along with his personal contacts with the owner of Haremyen Vakfi, as well as his knowledge of the facilities offered by the foundation. This fact shows that PPME chose another man to organize the *hajj* of PPME members and sympathizers, despite the involvement of both men and women in the *hajj* ritual – men remained the main actors in organizing the *hajj* program⁹¹⁹ requiring cooperation with a travel agency. This choice seems proper when regarding the requirement for performing *hajj*, i.e. a female pilgrim needs a *maḥram* to accompany her whereas a male pilgrim does not.

In conclusion, PPME had endeavoured to facilitate the *hajj* for its members and sympathizers. The requirement for getting a *hajj* visa was the crucial factor for the way PPME or its individual members facilitated them. Before the procedure for getting a visa was more complicated, PPME, or its individual members, seemingly did not find difficulties to determine a travel agency as a partner, including Haremeyn Vakfi and an Indonesian travel agency. Such a situation could no longer be found in facilitating their *hajj* travel after 2001, thus bringing about irregular arrangements of individual members of PPME for the *hajj* programme

⁹¹⁸ The following is an example of the instruction in the former PPME in Amsterdam, i.e. Euromoslim. Apart from the Turkish travel's arrangement, on October 31, 2010 sixteen participants of the program were provided the instruction – service provided for the participants since the 1970s – by M. Ali Ahmad, the *imam* of Euromoslim, previously called PPME Amsterdam. This instruction started from reciting the Quranic verse of *al-Baqara* 124 emphasizing on the struggle of the Prophet Ibrahim as the initiator of performing *hajj*. Furthermore, activities pertaining to *hajj*, for instance, wearing *iḥrām* (clothes for making *hajj*), conducting *ṭawāf* (circumambulation of the Ka'ba) and *sa'ī* (running between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwā) in Mecca, and *wuqūf* (stay) in 'Arafa were also informed. Then, at night of the day 'a compact disk' on the *hajj* ritual was played so that the participants could gain more visual information, thus enabling them to understand the ritual more clearly and see the pictures of sites to visit when performing *hajj*. Thus, verbal and visual information on the *hajj* ritual was provided before their departure from the Netherlands on 6 November 2010 to Saudi Arabia.

⁹¹⁹ Cooke and Lawrence, *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*, 2-3.

until 2009. In addition to irregular cooperation with the Indonesian travel agency, the cooperation of individual PPME members with Haremeyn Vakfi after the more complicated procedure for getting the *hajj* visa was made only after the *hajj* of 2007. This confirms that making a formal connection, for instance, with the Haremeyn Vakfi has become imperative in enabling the members and sympathizers of PPME to perform the fifth pillar of Islam, *hajj*.