

HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT

INDONESIA



**Centre For Democracy,
Pluralism And Human Rights**

HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT INDONESIA

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About CDPHR



Introduction

Centre for Democracy, Pluralism and Human Rights (CDPHR) is a public charitable trust registered in 2020. Our motto is- equality, dignity and justice for every individual on this planet. We are committed to uphold values of democracy, pluralism and human rights. We endeavour to voice out human rights violations of individuals, groups or community. We dream of a world that accepts pluralistic ways of life, faith and worship through democratic means and practices.

Vision

CDPHR envisions an equitable and inclusive society based on dignity, justice, liberty, freedom, trust, hope, peace, prosperity and adherence to law of land. We believe that multiple sections of societies are deprived of basic human rights and violation of their social, political, economic, religious and developmental rights is a sad reality. We consider that advocacy, education and intervention are required from multiple fronts to ensure an all-inclusive and just society.



Our mission is to promote and aid in establishing democratic and pluralistic structures and realisation of human rights. To achieve this, broadly the following specific objectives have been set:

- a) To espouse all adoptable frameworks of advocacy, education and policy intervention to realise the stated mission.
- b) To promote and advocate human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any discrimination of race, religion, caste, gender, colour, and language.
- c) To keep a watch on issues of human rights violations globally and present their authentic analytical documentation.
- d) To use conferences, seminars, meetings, discussions, debates, study courses, collection of statistics, exhibitions, shows, tour trips, publications etc. for ensuring education, advocacy and outreach.
- e) To engage actively with governments, international organisations and human rights organisations to promote national integration, communal harmony, universal fellowship and global peace.
- f) To develop and mobilise community and natural resources so as to be harnessed for sustainable overall development of the marginalised and economically weaker sections of the society.
- g) To promote a culture of democratic values and pluralism in the face of particularistic tensions related to religion, caste, gender, class.
- h) To study the effects of draconian laws and unlawful use of state's machinery and force by the enforcement agencies and prepare reports for submission to appropriate authorities.
- i) To support democratic and economic reforms through the UN framework in countries coming out of totalitarian control.



CDPHR trustees and the team members consist of academics, lawyers, judges, rapporteurs, social activists, journalists and independent researchers who have an established reputation in their respective areas of expertise. Essentially, we are a team of socially sensitive intellectuals who wish to bring about a positive change in the lives of people deprived of minimum dignity and equality. Some of the team members have rich experience in researching and writing on issues of contemporary social interest. A few others have had long social commitments. In addition to the core organisational team, CDPHR plans to expand further and add to the human resources pool.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

- POLRI- Polisi National Republik Indonesia/the Indonesian National Police
- Jokowi- Joko Widodo, the current President of Indonesia
- SBY- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the former President of Indonesia priorto Jokowi
- LGBT- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
- Adat- Customary laws
- FPI- Front Pembela Islam/Islamic Defenders Front
- NU- Nahdlatul Ulama. NU is traditional Islamic group of Sunnis Islam. It is an old and the largest Islamic organisation based upon the local tradition and culture. It was established in 1926. Currently it has around 48-50 million members. NU has hundreds of Islamic boarding schools across the country.
- Masyumi- Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia/ Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims coalition. Masyumi was established during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. It was banned by Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia for its subversive activities.
- MIAI- Madjelis Islam A'la Indonesia/the Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia
- PKI- Partai Komunis Indonesia or Communist Party of Indonesia
- NASAKOM- Nasionalisme, Agama dan Komunisme or Nationalism, Religion and Communism and Religion
- CIA- Central Intelligence Agency
- JI- Jemmah Islamiyah(extremist Islamist group)
- LIPIA- Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab/English: Islamic and Arabic College of Indonesia) is a Saudi educational institution established in Jakarta, Indonesia.
- FPI- Front Pembela Islam/ Islamic Defenders Front
- TJ- Tablighi Jamaat- A Sunni Muslim seminary movement started in India in 1927
- MILF- Moro Liberation Front, Islamic Insurgent Group of the Philippines
- JAD- Jemaah Ansharut Daulah
- ISIS- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
- Komnas Perempuan or the Komisi Nasional Perempuan, National Commission of Women

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indonesia is one of the largest archipelagic countries in the world. It is considered the oxygen house for all the countries that fall in its vicinity considering its vast and rich biodiversity and aquatic resources. Its westernmost province Aceh is just approximate 100 nautical miles from the Indian group of islands, Andaman Nicobar. It is the largest archipelagic nation in Southeast Asia and lies on the ring of fire. The region is frequented with various seismic activities, i.e., volcanic eruptions causing earthquakes and tsunamis, landslides, and floods. Faced with such complex interactions with the physical environment, the people of the region have evolved their social system founded on the accommodative perception and community living, which is proven by some of the social philosophy of Indonesia, i.e., Gotong Royong; a system of cooperation, and adat (customary laws) since time immemorial.

Islam was brought to the archipelago by Muslim merchants from India during the 12th century. However, Hinduism and Buddhism ruled the entire archipelago till the end of the 16th century as the last and robust Hindu-Buddhist empire Majapahit declined slowly. The decline of Majapahit paved the way for expanding Islam, and subsequently, colonial masters; Portuguese, Dutch, and even Japanese, made their footprints in Indonesia. The Dutch started arriving in Indonesia at the end of the 16th century, and Indonesia consolidated the concept of nationalism when the Dutch occupied the islands. The present Indonesia was formed from the nationalised colonies of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) in 1800, and consequently, its borders were also defined by the Dutch East Indies (Ricklefs, 1991, 9-10).

Islam introduced itself in Indonesia in the form of Sufism with a complete mystic outlook in Java with the great Sufi saint, Wali Songo. He is considered the pioneer in propagating Islam, which was more aligned with the existing local traditions. Therefore, Islam also got defined as per the prevailing classes in Indonesia as Priyayi, Abangan, and Santri, identified by an American sociologist Clifford Geertz. Priyayis are traditional bureaucrats who linked themselves with the palace and court and followed Hindu-Javanese tradition. Abangans belonging to Hindu-Muslim elements, are mostly concentrated in villages, while Santris are exposed to the urban region and are followers of the modernist Islam (Magnis-Suseno, 1981). These all classes somehow got united and fought for the emancipation of the country from the Dutch. Sukarno could not understand Indonesia's multi-ethnic demography and instead designed the country's constitution Pancasila into an organic unit. Though it was instilled in the framework of Islam, was named as secular. The

Pancasila satisfied majority of the Muslims to certain extent but it took away freedom of the people of other faiths such as Hindus, Buddhists and other unrecognised religions. As per the Pancasila "every person has right to choose and practice the religion of his or her choice and assures all the citizens the freedom of worship according to one's religion or belief", (1945 Constitution of Indonesia).

The freedom struggle was a consorted effort of all classes and creeds. However, when the country received freedom from the Dutch, the emergence of Islam as a political force turned inevitable. Sukarno succumbed to China's influence, which paved the way for the communists to exert their overwhelming political presence in the country. It was not liked by a part of the country's armed forces and orthodox Muslims. Thus, it allowed all the dormant forces of Islam to unite. Local ulama took the vacuum as an opportunity and tried to find solutions for all phenomenal and non-phenomenal problems. The recent worldwide resurgence of Islamic forces also profoundly impacted the new upsurge of fundamentalism in the archipelago.

Meanwhile, Tablighi Jamaat (TJ), popularly known as Jemmah Tablighi, had already made its footprints in 1950s Indonesia and already started its Dakwah (propagation). Post-coup, Suharto, with the help of the fundamentalist Muslims, purged the communists of the country. However, after Suharto emerged as the de facto leader, he feared the country's Islamic fundamentalist forces might challenge him. Thus, he kept them at bay.

A multi-ethnic and multi-sect Indonesia emerged as a full multi-party democratic country after Suharto's fall in 1998. After 32 years of his long dictatorship, Suharto was removed from power, followed by its worst economic crisis. Suharto ruled the country with the help of a strong army and also with the consent from the USA to not let the communist forces supported by China overpower the country.

The country stopped the Dwi-fungsi (dual functions) of the armed forces and formed the POLRI, the Indonesian National Police. During the transition phase of Order Lama (Old order) and the Order Baru, (New Order), efforts were made to hide narratives of persecution of communists. Hence, the accounts of human rights violations were almost deleted from the history of Indonesia. There was no talk of human rights as the country witnessed an era of darkness and vacuum. The media, writers, and civil society, including the ordinary people's movements, were strictly watched and controlled during the Suharto period.

In the Post-Suharto era efforts were made to bring the country on the path of democracy.

Initially, the government had three transitional Presidents, - BJ Habibie (1998-99), Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), and Megawati Sukarno Putri (2001-2004). Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) completed his full two terms, and the current President is Joko Widodo, popularly known as Jokowi.

Jokowi was elected for the second term in a mammoth general election, which saw 569 deaths of election workers, including election officers, agents, and the Police, during April-May 2019 (Da Costa May 9, 2019). The real causes of the deaths are still unknown to public. Neither the government and nor the Election Commission has shown any expediency or pressure to reach out to the culprits, though the issue has been highlighted in international media.

Frequent cases of orchestrated violence are carried out by the so-called religious authorities against other minority communities and the general public. The culprits remain unpunished as the prosecution process never reaches at logical conclusion. In recent years the country saw some of the worst attacks on Christians, Shiites, Ahmadis, trans-sexual, LGBT people and other religious minorities in the name of blasphemy. The country witnessed some of the worst Indonesian history phases in persecution of these communities by some of the Wahhabi Islamic elements. The government has also enacted a draconian sharia law in its province, Aceh.

The report will sketch through the proliferation of the recent Islamic fundamentalist forces, their genesis, and repercussions of the same on the minority communities in Indonesia after she received independence from the Dutch on August 17, 1945.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. 1998 Attack on Ethnic Chinese: The government must have a specific resiliency programme that can prevent such eventualities in future as the country seems to have become prone to similar attacks.
2. The Attack in Bali in 2002/Bali Bombing and the subsequent lengthy and lethargic criminal proceedings against the culprits put a big question on maintaining law and order by the government. Therefore, to win international community's trust, the government must create an extra-judicial body to look into terrorist attacks. However, if any such eventuality occurs in future, the judicial proceedings must be completed on time as justice delayed is justice denied.
3. 2012 Massacre of Balinuraga Hindus: The government should strengthen its internal security infrastructure seeing the rapid radicalisation of the society by religious fundamentalists through social media. It needs to be curbed as such intolerance may further weaken social harmony.
4. External Sources of the Problem: The government must create a commission which should look into funding from external sources and infiltration of religious fundamentalists in the country, mostly from Saudi Arabia, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, and ban the same.
5. Inter-religious violence in Surabaya again puts a question mark on secular fabric of the country. The government must strengthen its domestic intelligence to prevent such attacks.
6. Human rights violations of ethnic and religious minorities, i.e., the Ahmadiyah group, Shi'ite and other religious minorities: The government must form a human right watch group consisting of members of the civil society and human rights activists on a priority basis. It can aim at creating a security infrastructure and social awareness about the equal status of all citizens of the Republic of Indonesia.
7. The government must come out with strict legislation to stop practice of polygamy, child marriage, and virginity, or any other tests such as measuring the body parts of a woman that violate sanctity of womanhood. The government may form a commission of a high-level judiciary body to formulate strict legislation and implement it efficiently.
8. To prevent sexual harassment of women at workplace, the government may constitute a special judiciary commission with civil society's help, which may work on prevention, prohibition, and redressal mechanism.

9. Islamic fundamentalists and terrorist groups such as Jemmah Islamiyah (JI), Islamic Defenders' Front (FPI), Islamic Community Forum, Islamic Jihad Front, and the Indonesian Mujahideen Council must be banned and outlawed.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia having a substantial majority of Muslims, has been different from the other Pan-Islamic countries and has maintained a secular fabric in its Constitution. However, for the last two decades, the country has witnessed a strong influence of inter-religious conflicts and intolerance prevalent in some of the Pan-Islamic nations. The government has moved towards a new normal, where a severe human-right violation does not become a significant issue in the country's political sphere. The tendency of emergence of numerous sharia-inspired clerics working on the side-lines of the prevailing state-mechanism poses a considerable threat to the minorities and moderate Muslims of the country. Conversions have been carried out by Islamic seminaries forcefully in the region of West Papua and other islands where there is a predominance of other non-Islamic adherents. The protesters' subsequent quenching is a severe concern on the human rights front in the country.

OBJECTIVES

1. To study and highlight sources prompting human rights violations against different minority communities in Indonesia.
2. Study different minority groups and their vulnerability to increasing radicalism.
3. Chronicle significant incidences of human rights violations.
4. Study the Constitution of Indonesia, 'Pancasila' and its ambit of protection of the minorities.
5. Inter-religious proselytisation in Indonesia.
6. Status of women in view of increasing Islamic radicalism.

METHODOLOGY

The report has used primary and secondary resources, NGOs' human rights and media reports. Interviews of the victims and related information in primary resources have also been considered.

UNIT 1: GENESIS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITIES IN INDONESIA

1.a. Socio-Religious Scenario

It is very pertinent to understand the present human-rights violations against the minority communities in Indonesia on socio-religious front.

Muslims constitute 88 percent population of Indonesia, making it approximately 12.5 percent of the world's total Muslim population. Out of the total population of Muslims around 1 million to 3 million are Shi'a, whereas exact number of Ahmadiyyah Muslims is unknown. According to the 2010 census, there are 6% Protestant, 3% Roman Catholic, 2% Hindu, 1% Buddhist, around 1% Confucians, and 1% others. However, this census report about the minorities is not supposed to be true as claimed by some of the minority groups (US State Department: September 20, 2020)

Indonesia, the largest archipelagic nation, has the most extensive ethnic and religious diversity in Southeast Asia. Having been Indianised for almost two thousand years, the country takes pride in exhibiting its cultural heritage that has been preserved for thousands of years in its various art forms and folklore. The people of Indonesia embraced Islam without considering Arabic culture. They customised Islam as per the local wisdom, which did not disturb the existing social ethos' undercurrent. Thus, the country got the reputation of a peaceful and tolerant nation where Muslims are in majority, and they have a helpful attitude towards other faiths and creeds.

However, in the post-Iranian revolution era, the Saudi Arabia government conceived the Salafi and Wahhabi ideology and pushed its agenda in Indonesia to re-Islamise the nation with ever-increasing conflicts and intolerance among the adherents of different faiths and sects. The efforts to re-Islamise the country started with the increasing number of Muslim clergies, mostly influenced by bigotry with inveterate ideology in national politics during the post-Suharto period. The polarisation of votes in the name of Muslim brotherhood, establishing Sharia law, blasphemy against the Ahmadiyyah, Shi'ite, Christians, Ethnic Chinese, and Hindu-Buddhist community became the daily norm. The alumnae of Saudi Arabia and other middle eastern countries became the Islamic leaders at home, demanding more Wahhabi ethos to be incorporated in the government's policies, discarding its pluralistic ethos.

The country has witnessed a series of attacks and repressive acts by a few Sunni hardliner Muslims since Sukarno's transition phase to Suharto. Such violence created fear and

helplessness among the minority communities, making them feel like a pariah in their own home country. After Suharto, the elected government's efforts are becoming weaker to maintain the country's secular fabric. They seem to be bowing down to the Sunni theocrats' demands and succumbing to the country's communal forces' pressures. The mass violence against the ethnic Chinese during the Asian economic crisis in 1998 witnessed that Indonesia is vulnerable to civil unrest.

1.b. Historical Perspective

Historical perspective is needed to understand the present socio-political shape of Indonesia.

Stretching from Weh island, often known as Sabang, the westernmost province of Indonesia till its easternmost part; Irian Jaya, there are hundreds of ethnicities with an equal number of dialects and traditions. Being an integral part of the Indic-Belt society or greater India, smaller or bigger islands share India's shared culture and tradition. There is a good account of Indonesia mentioned in Indian epics and classical texts such as *Ramayana* and *Puranas*. Hinduism and subsequently Buddhism ruled the entire region that is reflected from the Borobudur, Kalasan Buddhist temples and Prambanan Hindu temple. Indian epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* became part of the familiar social chorus. Indian culture made a pervasive impact, which is visible from scores of social exhibits.

This region was an integral part of the Indic civilisation and until 1400 AD. Bharat is called Barat in Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia, which means 'West', denoting the Malay peninsula's western frontier. The countries of Southeast Asia, especially Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, were part of the Greater Bharat where Indic civilisation thrived and later metamorphosed into a new localised form. Historical facts, existing common folklores, and the social ethos speak volumes on the shared culture of Greater Bharat fraternity. The two great epics, namely *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and related mythological texts, emphasising the moral duty (Dharma) of humanity, became significant sources for their cultural heritage. This civilisational identity of countries is reflected in the form of temples and stupas which speak for social harmony and peace the world over and call for all peoples' unity.

Indonesia has still preserved the Indianised culture and tradition despite having a majority Muslim population. The country has witnessed a slow and steady Islamisation process starting from the 12th century onwards. The majority of scholars attribute this process of

Islamisation to the western coast of India by Gujarati Muslims (Tushar: December 27, 2011). The wave of Islamisation came at the expense of syncretic culture predominant in the region and still is reflected in numerous prevalent socio-cultural practices. Once Islam intensified its propagation with the military power through Melaka Sultanate from the Malay peninsula in the early 15th century to the Indonesian archipelago, a systematic attack on the Indianised culture started. Once known for its rich culture and scholarship, Java lost its glory for being a centre for multi-ethnic communities. Many Hindus flocked to the neighbouring island, Bali, a Hindu state of Indonesia. (Encyclopaedia Britannica: Sultanate of Malacca)²

The Indonesian archipelago, historically known as Nusantara, is an integral region of the Indic-Belt and has witnessed veneers of Indic culture assimilated in the local Indonesian socio-cultural ethos. This assimilation reflects in the form of a regional cultural syncretism that influences religions, languages, philosophies, and the same way of life, emphasising harmony with nature throughout the archipelago. The acknowledgment of "Indian blood running in the veins of Indonesians" by Indonesia's first President, Sukarno, attested to the umbilical fraternity and warm friendship between the two sovereign states.

"In the veins of every one of my people flows the blood of Indian ancestors, and the culture that we possess is steeped through and through with Indian influences. Two thousand years ago, people from your country came to Jawadvipa and Suvarnadvipa in the spirit of brotherly love. They gave the initiatives to found powerful kingdoms such as Sri Vijaya, Mataram, and Majapahit. We then learned to worship the very Gods that you now worship still, and we fashioned a culture that even today is mostly identical with your own. Later we turned to Islam, but that religion too was brought by people coming from both sides of the Indus" (Suryanarayan: July-Sep 2007).³

The cultural legacy and shared values between India and Indonesia date back millennia and continue to this day. A significant proportion of Indonesians can trace their ancestral origins to India, and this Indian diaspora has played a crucial role in symbiotically enriching Indonesian nationalism, culture, and politics since time immemorial while accommodating their distinct identity.

Indonesia was the torchbearer for its sensible approach towards humanity, barring the religions and diversities until two decades back. The country's last but most substantial Hindu Buddhist empire, Majapahit, ruled the majority of Southeast Asia. The kingdom started declining during the early 16th century paving Islam's way (H: March 3, 2015)⁴.

1.c. Islam and the Constitution

Being a Muslim majority country, it is important to understand how Indonesia has carved out the principle of respecting other religions but with a rider of limitations for others except Islam.

Indonesians struggled to formulate a common state law based upon its Constitution named Pancasila. It made compulsory for all the people to believe in One and Only God (the basic principle of Islam), removing any doubt on the polytheism practiced by the Hindus and other Buddhist and animistic ethnic groups in the country. The guarantee of freedom of faith or religion gets betrayed as the Pancasila makes Indonesian belief in one and only God, leaving no room, especially for Hindus who mostly believe in worshipping many deities and other indigenous faiths in the country.

There have been many amendments in the Constitution of the 1945 called Pancasila such as in the years 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002, with the articles 28A, 28B, 28C, 28D, 28E, 28F, 28G, 28H, 28I and 28J which all say that Indonesia would go by the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights as per the United Nations (Persandingan UUD 1945, 2002: 49-57) and any human rights violation would be understood as a crime. However, the reality misses the formulation of the same on the ground (Sarsito 2007). There are around 245 unofficial religions in Indonesia which are yet to be recognised by the government. Anyone who belongs to these religions have to face difficulty in applying for the citizenship card called KTP in Indonesia as there is no option for the citizens of other religions except the six which are recognised by the Constitution (Aritonang, 7 November 2014).

Thus, the minorities' rights were trimmed at the initial stage of Indonesia's formation as a nation-state after receiving freedom from the Dutch. The symbol of secularism, Pancasila seems to be defined in the prism of Islam. Despite this, there are numerous ideological and cultural differences among various groups of Muslims of Indonesia. To assume that Islam was instrumental in bringing Indonesia out of the colonial clutch, is not sufficiently true. The reason was evident since most of the Muslims of Indonesia adhere to different classes and cultures. They never find themselves on one platform. The Islamic force which rose against the Dutch was Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) as a non-political association in 1909. It was an Islamic tradesmen association whose main objective was to protect Batik traders' interest from the hegemonic Chinese traders. The SDI later became Sarekat Islam and started working on a broader perspective, not limited to trade and business but also Muslims' socio-economic issues. The SDI was later divided into Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a

traditionalist Islamic group and Muhammadiyah, a modernist group. Later, both these organisations started taking interest in the broader context of Indonesian Muslims who were relatively weaker than the ethnic Chinese present in the country. Few ulema (Islamic scholars) of both these associations came forward and formed an umbrella group of Islamic organisations called the Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia (MIAI). During the Japanese occupation from March 1942, an Islamic organisation, Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations (Masyumi), was founded by the Japanese forces to counter the different Islamic groups getting united against Japanese imperialism. Both NU and Muhammadiyah were part of this organisation. Later, they realised the Japanese's real motif and established a political force in the country.

1.d. Internal Sources of the Problem

After the declaration of Independence on November 7, 1945, the Masyumi party emerged as the largest Islamic party in Indonesia by the 1950s. However, the party could not bear that the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), supporting Sukarno's government, become popular. Its network to reach to the grassroots was becoming stronger day by day. In November 1957, the senior leaders of the Masyumi party, i.e., Mohammad Natsir, Burhanuddin Harahap, and Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, conspired with the few rebels at a place called Padang in Sumatra to form a parallel government, which led to the banning of the Masyumi party. Thus, many Indonesian Muslims fought against Sukarno's government, who had coined his term as guided democracy. They feared the country would succumb to the hold of communist block supported by China. After a significant failed coup d'état in September 1965, a few army members led the first President Sukarno's ousting. The period was the most tumultuous phase in the history of modern Indonesia. Suharto and disgruntled military officers planned an extensive genocide with the few Islamic parties' help to clean the communists from the country. They termed the communists of the country as atheistic or kafirs, which led to the purging of anyone related to or linked to any leftist leader or member, family, or left-wing member.

It was the first violation of human rights on a mass scale in independent Indonesia. It was a genocide carried out during the transition phase in Indonesia from 1965 to 1966. This violence took place in the name of cleaning the country from the communists. The mayhem took the toll of approximately 500,000 to more than one million people, and a large number of imprisonments took place. The victims were civil society groups, ethnic Chinese, Hindus in Java and Bali. (Geoffrey 2018)⁵.

After eliminating communists, one of the three pillars of Sukarno's state philosophy as Nasakom (nationalism, religion, and communism), Suharto ousted Sukarno from power and resumed control as the acting President of the country. Subsequently, he was elected as the President of the country in 1968.

The above genocide was not a sudden or spontaneous coup but was conspired with the CIA's connivance as it did not remain a secret for a very long time. The systematic mass killings took place, and the USA embassy in Jakarta was in cognisance of what was happening on the ground (Jess: October 20, 2017)⁴. After resuming power, Suharto made sure that no history of the genocide was left.

Bali, the only Hindu island of Indonesia, did not remain aloof from this genocide. Bali's communists were critical of the caste system and rituals of the ordinary Hindus throughout the island. The communists disapproved of the hierarchy and religious chorus based upon caste system. Thus, the Hindu communists and ethnic Chinese of Bali, who made up around 100,000, were eliminated with the locals' help. The death amounted to five percent of the then population of Bali (Theodore 2003).⁵ MCGUIRE, DANIEL: July-September 2003⁶

The next 32 years of Suharto's dictatorship got moral support from America to eliminate the communists who had alleged links with China. During his regime, Indonesia's civil liberty was almost paralysed, and those who rebelled or pointed out at him were sent to prison, eloped, and killed in mysterious circumstances. There were myriads of codes and conducts to control any rebellion movement in the country. The government banned books and literature related to Carl Marx, Lenin, or any activity linked to the Left ideology. There was complete control over all forms of media in the country. Besides this, there was full control over any political, religious, or even an ordinary social gathering.

However, a terrorist attack occurred on the Borobudur Buddhist temple, the world's largest Buddhist temple. It is the also the source of the country's Buddhist population's existential strength, which is just 1.7 million of the entire population (Bandan Pusat Statistik 2010)⁵. The attack did not claim any casualty but ruined at least nine stupas. The perpetrator was one Husein Ali Al Habsyie, who got life sentence. However, the real source of the attack is yet to be ascertained. As per reports, he took revenge for killing the Muslims who were protesting against the state ideology, Pancasila promoting religious pluralism in 1984, popularly known as Tanjung Priok killing.

UNIT 2. MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLENCE POST-SUHARTO

Once the country started witnessing a democratic setup, political Islam began to claim more space in the government with the emergence of mushrooming Islamic parties and associations often fashioning themselves like Salafi and Wahabi. The democratisation has provided a big stage for the fundamentalist forces in the country. The government has allowed flow of funds from Saudi Arabia and let the radical groups to dictate the society. These radical groups have justified waging *Jihad* against other faiths and also the Pancasila, the symbol of secularism. They cite current situations in some of the Pan-Islamic countries as how Muslim youths are sacrificing their lives for the cause of Islam i.e., ISIS, Taliban, and numerous terrorist and radical Islamic groups.

They discard the softer ideology of major Islamic organisations, i.e., NU. And Muhammadiyah. The post-Suharto period has witnessed many acts of violence and barbarism throughout the archipelago. These victims have been from the minority communities; Protestants, Catholics, Buddhists, Shia and Ahmadiyah, and Hindu-Buddhist communities which make around 13% of the country's total population. Majority of the perpetrators have been Sunni extremists.



Figure: Acehese Police stopped a woman for wearing a sober dress and not cladding Islamic clothing (Women's UN Report Network), (Dinar Fitra. September 24, 2020).

2. a Draconian Blasphemy Law- A Tool Against Minorities

Indonesia is a Muslim majority country which has implemented blasphemy law. It is related to insult or degradation of any of the six religions, recognised by the Constitution, Pancasila. However, the blasphemy law is used for the alleged degradation of Islam only, and the interpretation of blasphemy law would depend upon how a fundamentalist would interpret it. For example, a man was detained for reading the Quran disrespectfully on a video screen in Sharia law enacted province of Aceh. And such incidences are not limited to Aceh but other parts of the country as well. There are frequent such kinds of incidences taking place in Aceh on which the central government does not seem to have any control. A recently imposed law mandates the people of Aceh to wear Islamic dress.

There are also reports that some local, provincial governments also impose laws from time to time to discipline ordinary people to enact Sharia. Non-Sunni Muslims are sometimes branded and subjected to be outcast. The non-Muslims and non-Sunnis are more vulnerable to the blasphemy law. A Buddhist in Tanjung Balai was prosecuted under the blasphemy law because he complained against loud sound coming from local mosque, and he was imprisoned for 18 months. The story of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, popularly known as Ahok, a descendant of ethnic Chinese and Christian, the former Governor of Jakarta, is another example of how blasphemy law is creating fear among minorities in Indonesia. Ahok became the Governor of Jakarta as a non-Muslim face in the last 50 years. His fault was a non-specific general quote that Islamic leaders were using Quranic verse to woo people and ask them not to vote for non-Muslim leaders. He was imprisoned for two years and was released four months earlier on ground of his good behaviour. The episode of indicting Ahok and his further imprisonment placed a big blot on the history of Indonesia's image of a tolerant country (BBC January 24, 2019).



Figure: Demonstration against the Jakarta Governor Ahok, May 2016 (The Holmes, November 25, 2016).

2. b 1998 Attack and Racial Discrimination against Ethnic Chinese

The country which was rather calmer post-annihilation of so-called communists in the country got a big blow with the violence against the ethnic Chinese during the Asian economic crisis in 1998. The violence touched a new low after the country suffered through genocide during the transition period. The racial hostility of 1998 shows that Indonesia is vulnerable to civil unrest, mainly due to socio-political and religious disturbances. Majority of the ethnic Chinese Indonesians is involved in businesses varying from small scale grocery shops to big international trade conglomerates. The professions have always made Indonesia's Chinese community distinct from the rest of the population. Besides this, the Chinese community uses Chinese as their mother tongue and practises culture and tradition.

Thus, the community becomes an easy scapegoat whenever the country suffers through such a crisis. The five million ethnic Chinese who make around two percent of the total population became the riot's focus, and they turned out to be the largest victims. More than 1000 people were killed, and a large number of women were raped. According to a report collected by an independent team, Volunteers for Humanity, consisting of NGOs, 168 cases of sexual violence have been reported, most of which were gangrape cases. The victims were primarily ethnic Chinese.



On the other hand, the government reportedly said that there were only 85 cases of sexual violence. A confirmed report noted that many people did not report atrocities they faced fearing the perpetrators' revictimisation attempts. The sexual violence victims ranged from 5 to 50 years old. Such racial discrimination forced the Indonesian Chinese to flee the country, and their number reached up to ten thousand (Glionna July 4, 2010). After 22 years, justice to the ethnic violence victims in 1998 is still awaited, even ignoring the US special rapporteur (Briton May 18, 2018).

2. c The attack in Bali in 2002/Bali Bombing

After India, Bali is the spiritual and cultural heart of the world. Millions of people flock every year to find spiritual solace. Tourists visiting temples, participating in yoga and meditation are some of the essential itineraries they plan. The revenue generated from Bali tourism has provided an opportunity for Indonesia to showcase its culture-based community and ancient Hindu-Buddhist civilisational exuberance.

Bali tourism and its remittances have helped Indonesia to manage rough periods of economic recessions it faces from time to time. The daily spiritual chorus of Balinese in

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balinese_temple accessed on 18/12/2020

<http://www.baliorti.com/2012/06/how-many-temples-in-bali-indonesia.html> accessed on 18/12/2020

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/priority-areas/sids/culture-tourism/tourism-esources/tourism-and-the-world-heritage/> accessed on 18/12/2020

thousands of Hindu temples has been attracting different types of tourists from across the globe to understand the fundamental objective of life. Bali, constituting the majority of Hindu communities, is one of the world's most sought - after tourist destinations. It has witnessed a flux of 6.3 million foreign tourists as per the data 2019 (Statista, Dec 2020). A general survey reflects that the most crucial cause of this influx in Bali tourism is its cultural and civilisational background. There are similar beaches and mountains globally, but the tourists specially choose Bali for spiritual solace. Compared to other famous tourist destinations globally, global tourists stay a more extended period in Bali.

Bali is one of the most attractive destinations of the world. Once Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore said: "Wherever I go on the island, I see God" because there are thousands of Hindu temples all around Bali that makes it one of the most attractive tourist places across the globe.

Bali, having a population of around 4.9 million as per the data of 2002, is one of Indonesia's smallest island provinces. It is the only Hindu majority province, with Hindus about 82.5 percent. Bali is very famous for its Hindu civilisational heritage, which is reflected in its traditional and modern dance, music, sculpting, painting, woodwork, and daily spiritual chorus.

One of Bali's famous crowded sites at Kuta beach was bombed by Jemmah Islamiah or JI (one of the most infamous terrorist groups spread across the Southeast Asian region. This terrorist attack jolted the Indonesian government's commitment to protecting Pancasila, the country's symbol of secularism. The attack took place in the heart of Denpasar, Bali, on October 12, 2002. The terrorists bombed a pub killing 202 people from 21 countries and injured a large number of people. The dead included 88 Australians, 38 Indonesians and 28 Britons. (BBC, 2012)

The JI, a Jihadi Islamist group linked with Al-Qaeda led by its ideological godfather, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir (ABS), has continuously changed its modus operandi to spread radicalism in Indonesia after the Bali attack despite serving a sentence against terrorist activities in jail.

JI founded in 1993 as a breakaway faction from Darul Islam to build an IS of Indonesia, has estimated 2000 members among the professional Muslims of Indonesia. The mentor ABS kept daring the government of dire consequences if the Bali bombing convicts get capital punishment. The Hindu heartland seems to be the target place in the hearts of mushrooming jihadi movements led by the country's radical groups (Hwang 2020).

Bali-bombing's consequence shows that Indonesia's government is slowly compromising with the Islamic fundamentalism creeping into the country, and the safety of its own people is questioned. The JI, Islamic Defenders' Front (FPI), Islamic Community Forum, Islamic Jihad Front, and the Indonesian Mujahideen Council are now involved in creating Dakwah (propagation) before waging Jihad. And it seems that days are not very far when these jihadi groups would demand Indonesia to be turned into a theocratic state.

2. d 2012 Hindu Massacre in Balinuraga Village

For the last decade, it seems that communal disharmony has become pervasive across Sunni Muslim majority Indonesia. The government that inspires to become the global economy seems to be inert in controlling jihadis or the people inspired by the jihad movement across the Pan-Islamic countries. Indonesia once understood to be the torch-bearer of the moderate Islamic ethos, now itself is succumbing to the jihadi influence.

Around 20,000 Hindus from different parts of Bali migrated to the easternmost province of Sumatera, Lampung. These emigrants mostly concentrated in the region called Balinuraga.

There have been similar inter-island migrations happening in Indonesia since times immemorial. During the early 1960s, the government also promoted inter-island movement in the form of a transmigration programme to balance the islands' demographic burden, such as Java and Bali. The government carried out transmigration without prior research on the aborigine population's reciprocation against the new emigrants. The result of these kinds of settlements invited wrath from the natives having a majority of different religions, such as the settlement of Muslims in the Christian-dominated island Maluku or the Moluccas, which often brought religious violence (Sholeh, 2008).

The emigration of Hindus of Bali in the southern Lampung has been natural and slow since the early 1950s. There have been similar settlements of different ethnic groups such as Javanese and Sundanese in the nearby village, Napal in the same province, Lampung. The settlement of these Hindus was peaceful. These Hindus of Balinuraga slowly prospered with hard-work and purchased local land mostly for cultivation purposes. Life was quite harmonious till October 2012, when thousands of people of the nearby village of Lampung laced with swords, homemade guns, and machetes etc. from the local Legun clan, one of the five clans in the region gheraoed Balinuraga and attacked indiscriminately. The incited

crowd torched and damaged more than 150 houses and many vehicles and killed 14, and injured many Hindus brutally. According to media reports, the killing was carried out on the pretext of minor sexual harassment by two Balinese youth. The result was somewhat beyond the perception of Indonesia's civil society that resulted in the killing of 14 Hindus and thousands of people's displacement.

The government deputed around 3,000 police personnel to calm the situation and ordered probe, but the real culprits are yet to be booked and prosecuted (Sujadmiko & Fitri Meutia: 2015), (The Asianews.it also reports that "Analysts and observers note the latest incident highlights the precarious social, economic and cultural situation of the world's largest Muslim nation, which has always prided itself as a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country, respectful of religious freedom" (Hariyadi, Mathias. Asianews.it, October 30, 2012).

According to Aseanplus news (ASEANPLUS NEWS, Sunday, November 11, 2012), the new emigrants from Bali are comparatively hardworking, and they bought land at a higher price forcing the existing ethnic groups to move to another village. However, the same report also says that the ethnic group responsible for the attack on the Hindus has vast land plots. Other news reports have mentioned that the same ethnic group demanded from the local authority that these Hindus should be transmigrated to a faraway island, Kalimantan.

The case of Balinuraga will always remind of the Indonesian government's inability to punish the culprits and protect the country's utmost emblem of the secular fabric of the nation, Pancasila. It is almost eight years that the culprits behind these heinous killings are yet to be found.

2.e. Lingering Prosecution

The Bali attack was to ruin the Balinese Hindus' economy and create fear among international tourists who would visit Bali in millions every year. The bombing was planned and financed by Al-Qaeda. The bomb used in the attack weighed 1020 kg. that killed 202 and injured 209 people. (France 24, Asia Pacific. September 8, 2011)

ABS, a hardcore fanatic cleric and a designated terrorist by the United Nations Security Council, was exiled by the Suharto government for his fanatical outburst, demanding Sharia's rule and failing to recognise the state Constitution based upon Pancasila (United Nations Report). He was found guilty of not recognising the Indonesian flag and put into jail

from 1978-1982. After his release, he was again charged as the main conspirator behind the 1985 attack on the Buddhist temple Borobudur. But he chose to flee the country and took shelter in the neighbouring country Malaysia. He remained in Malaysia and kept pursuing *jihad* mission and was involved in teaching until the fall of the Suharto government in 1998. He started working towards his mission again with rigid approach towards the non-Muslims and non-Sunnis. He was charged with bombing on churches in 2000 that killed 18 people. He was arrested for treason against the country. The state failed to prove this, and he was subsequently released. However, he was detained again in the bombing of Marriot hotel attack in 2003, killing 14 people. He was arrested and charged with a bomb attack at Marriot hotel and subsequently also in 2002 bombing. *The Outlook* dated October 16, 2004, reported that the convicts were supposed to get at least 20 years of jail as implied in article 187 of the criminal code.

"Indonesian prosecutors have charged hard-line Muslim cleric Abu Bakar Ba'asyir with involvement in the nightclub bombings in the resort island of Bali, which killed 202 people, a prosecutor said today.

"The Bali bombing is among the charges that we have included in Mr. Ba'asyir's indictment, and he has been charged with article 187 (of) the criminal code for that section," Kuntadi, one of the state prosecutors handling Ba'asyir's upcoming terror trial, told AFP.

Ba'asyir, alleged to be the spiritual leader of the Jemaah Islamiyah group, could face 20 years to life imprisonment for involvement in "a sinister conspiracy," which endangers or costs the lives of others, according to the article."

Prosecutors said they had formally charged Ba'asyir with involvement in last year's Bombing at Jakarta's JW Marriott hotel in which 12 people died but had not charged him over the 2002 Bali blasts" (*The Outlook, The Newswire*: October 16, 2004).

He was found conspiring the Bali night club bombing but not guilty by an Indonesian court. Thus, he was jailed only for 2.5 years. However, he was released 4.5 months earlier because of his good behaviour. Subsequently, he was charged again in 2010 for planning terror and military training in Aceh, one of Indonesia's states where Sharia law is in force. The government failed to prove the charge. However, he was charged in 2011 for running a *jihadi* camp, and he was sentenced to 15 years of prison, and again he was acquitted of another charge, 2002 Bali Bombing (*The Jakarta Post*: February 28, 2012). He is still in prison. However, the government was even thinking of releasing him on the pretext of his old age and declining health with a rider that he should recognise Pancasila as the only state ideology. (*Marguerite*: January 23, 2019)¹⁰

The entire proceeding of the ABS concerning his continuous role in the divisive and terrorist activities throughout the post-Suharto period puts a big question mark on the transparency of the government's dealing with Islamic fundamentalist forces.

Indonesia did not experience any mass revivalist movement as such during the pre-independence period. However, Pan-Islamic ethos started creeping after independence as the number of Haj pilgrims started increasing to Mecca. The process of a reassertion of the religious values started propping up. This trend led to the emergence of various religious organisations that started mushrooming with charity's help from Pan-Islamic countries. Besides there have been other external sources, India and Pakistan instrumental in spreading *jihadi* ideas among the syncretic Muslims of Java.

UNIT 3. EXTERNAL SOURCES OF THE PROBLEM

3 a. Saudi Arabia

As Indonesia is the largest Muslim populated country globally, it became a fertile ground for the Pan-Islamic seminary organisations to re-Islamise Indonesia, particularly during the post-Suharto era. Suharto government had tight control over the divisive activities of the radical groups in the country. After Suharto's ousting, democratisation paved the way for Indonesia's radical groups to expand their network in the Pan-Islamic countries and seek funds. The networking got further strengthened with the opening up of the Internet world. There has also been a profound impact of the Iranian Revolution in 1979, which opposed the western idea of secularism and replaced Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's western-oriented ideology with a theocratic state (History of Iran: September 16, 2020). The development in Iran led to the Sunni majority of Saudi Arabia's Wahabi movement's intensification worldwide. They mostly tried to pry upon the developing countries consisting of Muslim population. The influence became very evident in Sumatra than Java as the latter is more exposed to syncretic or Hinduised culture. However, Java also could not stay untouched with the creeping *jihadi* influence as the radicals' first attack started for the removal of local culture and traditions termed as un-Islamic in Java, Sulawesi, Kalimantan.

Salafism, a movement that emanated from Egypt by famous Islamic scholars; Muhammad Abduh, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and Rashid Rida in the 19th century, crept into Saudi Arabia during the rule of King Faisal. It got merged with the already emerged radical stream; Wahabism having a goal of bringing the ummah (the followers) to follow the lifestyles of Prophet Muhammad by way of Da'wa or preaching through education, discussion with the evangelical method. Wahabism, on the other hand, started by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab in the 18th century, a revivalist movement that sought to the purification of Islam by removing the innovations (Bida') associated with the traditional life of Muslims.

The existing traditions and any new modern or western element in social life also came under Bida's scope. The Wahhabi teaching process often went with violence, having no room for logic or discussions (*Trevor*: July 15, 2005).

Starting in the 1980s, Saudi Arabia began taking a deep interest and invested billions of dollars in exporting Salafi cultures into Indonesia's land of syncretic and tolerant culture. They opened 150 schools with their teachers and other necessary logistics and Arabic

languages, having a central regulating authority as Institute for the Study of Islam and Arabic (LIPIA). The LIPIA imparts the Wahhabi style of education where music is banned, and the female students have to follow the values of Saudi Arabia strictly. Some Saudi returned scholars like Habib Rizieq founded the Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front) or FPI, and Jafar Umar Talib launched the Lashkar Jihad. Both these organisations have been involved in Church burning, bombing, closing off the music pub, purging on Shi'ites, Ahmadiyah, and other minority communities (Paul: September 2017, 13)

3. b. India

India has been one of the sources that have been fuelling discrimination and violence among the Indonesian Muslims' hearts against non-Muslims and non-Sunni citizens. One of these organisations is Tablighi Jamaat (TJ).

TJ, a Sunni Islamic seminary movement based upon Wahhabi and Salafi style of theological aspects, urges fellow Muslims to become more orthodox and follow the contemporary lifestyle of Prophet Muhammad. They carry out their activities with certain etiquettes and behaviour, making the people of other faiths an anomaly or the kafirs (non-believers). TJ's motto was to abolish the non-Islamic elements (syncretic beliefs) from Islamic society. The TJ first faced resistance in Indonesia from these two major groups; Muhammadiyah and the NU. However, TJ very politely showed that they had come to Indonesia to stay. Slowly they established their movement across the country by manipulating the existing hierarchy among the religious leaders of the two major Islamic organisations: Muhammadiyah and NU.

They opened its branches in 25 out of 29 provinces of Indonesia. They slowly strengthened their bases by trapping the poor Muslim youth and engaging them in their activity like performing *Khuruj* (40 days traveling in a year to preach hard-line Islam and organising *Markaz*). Later during the 1980s, Salafism started emerging in Indonesia with the new Wahabi appearance of young men wearing long beards (lihya), Arab-style flowing robes (jalabiyya), turbans (imama), and ankle-length trousers (isbal) and women wearing a form of enveloping black veil (niqab) in public places and identifying themselves as Salafis. However, TJ still found more takers as, by this time, they had already established well among the Indonesian society (Noor 2003, 19-122).

3. c. Pakistan

Pakistan is considered the hotbed of global terrorists, and any Islamic terror activity globally has specific links to Pakistan's numerous terror outfits. Jamaat-e-Islami and TJ of Pakistan have direct links with the terrorists of Jemmah Islamiyah and the Moro Liberation Front (MLF) of the Philippines. Many students have become religious leaders of Indonesia who have studied theology in Pakistan (*Pakistan: the Footprint of Terror*).

UNIT 4. RECENT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

4.a. Attack on Church in Surabaya

As mentioned earlier the radical forces in the country are able to reflect their hidden aspiration of *jihad* in the form of sporadic attacks fed through continuous fomentation by using jihadi narratives.

After the 2002 attack in Bali, the worst attack in the country happened in 2018 when a Jihadist family, including a husband, wife, and four children who had recently visited Syria, blew themselves in Surabaya's two churches. Surabaya is a crowded and second-most populous city of Indonesia. The attack killed 13 Christian devotees who were participating in a Sunday mass. The jihadist was supposed to be inspired by ISIS. Indonesian Police blamed a terrorist group named JAD (Jemaah Ansharut Daulah), and Aman Abdurrahman, the head of this group. Abdurrahman is the person who was behind the Sarinah Mall attack which claimed eight lives. Though the Police supposedly worked quickly on the perpetrators, however, close social contacts of various seminary activities motivate young Indonesians to join ISIS and then commit such acts.

4. b. Human Rights Violations of Papuan People

After the Dutch government's withdrawal from the Netherlands' New Guinea, Indonesia has not integrated its westernmost province Papua New Guinea, which it calls Irian Jaya, completely. There have been many low-intensity guerrilla movements among the rebellions, but the government has failed to protect the people's rights. It is estimated by human rights groups, churches, and NGOs that around 10000-30000 people have been killed by the security forces (Crocombe 2007, 287).

4. c. Women and Girls Rights

There have been reports that women are subjected to a virginity test before they are recruited by the Police. They have to go through an invasive "two-finger" test and be pretty. The fundamental rights of women seem to be crushed at the hands of Sharia law. After mounting international pressure, the government had to withdraw it. However, the Indonesian Police (POLRI) has maintained other practices like checking vagina and hymen are still part of the recruitment process. Quoting the Human Rights Watch,

"Indonesian police believe that society will not accept a female police officer who has an active sex life or used to be a sex worker" The applicants are paraded in front of the judge.



Figure: Virginity Test for the recruitment of Police Officer
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHyNwLKf2xI>)

Their beauty and body parts are measured, such as waist, breasts, etc. by male policemen¹ (Wibawa, Tasha. October 20, 2018).

On the other hand, Indonesia is also infested with the problem of child marriage. A UN report says that one out of nine girls got married before they attained the age of 18. In 2020, the government has committed to the United Nations Population Fund that they will eradicate child marriage tradition in the country (OCHA Services. February 5, 2020).

4.d. Attack on inter-Religious Marriages

For the last decade, Indonesia has witnessed increasing supremacy of Islamic religious authorities, creating hurdles by making rules to prevent inter-religious marriages, and making them more pro-Islamic. For example, if a Muslim woman marries a Hindu or Christian would automatically lose their religions. The local marriage authority generally refuses to carry out a marriage ceremony process if the proposed bride is a Muslim, resulting in a long ordeal for the couple.

4.e. Status and Persecution of Ahmadiyya Muslims in Indonesia

Ahmadiyya started as a religious movement within Islam in 1889 and became a sect claiming its origin in Punjab province of India. Mirza Gulam Ahmad of Quadiyan (1835-

1908) was a reformist and the founder of this sect. He emphasised on the humanitarian character of Islam and forbade against Jihad. As claimed by Mirza Gulam, he had revelations from God in 1889. He saw himself as a prophet and revivalist or Mujaddid and a Messiah or Mahdi of Islam. Ahmadiyyah movement rose when several Islamic movements and reforms inspired by the Pan-Islamic movement emerged in India. The followers of Ahmadiyya do not accept Prophet Muhammad as the last messenger of Allah. According to the ideology of Ahmadiyyah, prophethood is a continuous phenomenon. He believed in the union of God, and he claimed the reappearance of Prophet Muhammad. He also claimed that he was the reincarnation of Jesus and Krishna (Britanica.com). The rest of the Muslims directly negated this claim as they stick to the Prophet Muhammad as the last messenger of Allah. Thus, they consider Ahmadiyyah as non-Muslim and kafir subjecting them to racial violence in several countries, particularly Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia, where Muslims live in majority.

Ahmadiyyah made its footprint in Indonesia in 1925 by Imam Rahmat Ali. The majority of Indonesians who are of the Sunni sect welcomed him overwhelmingly. The community rose in tandem with the development of the country for the last 90 years. Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia, was very sympathetic towards Ahmadiyyah, and he mentioned that he had benefited from the books of Ahmadiyyah in one of his talks. The fourth President of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, popularly known as 'Gusdur,' a Muslim religious leader, also met the leader of Ahmadiyyah in 2000. There are around 400,000 Ahmadis spread in around 542 clusters across the archipelago. However, as mentioned earlier, the community has been persecuted on several occasions in the recent past. The MUI (the Association of Ulemas of Indonesia) issued fatwas against the Ahmadiyyah in 1980 and 2005. They also recommended to the government in 1984 the banning of Ahmadiyyah seminary movement as a heretical sect (*Rashid Qasim*. March 29, 2019).

As stated in the earlier part of this report, there has been a continuous inflow of seminary movements with Wahhabi and Salafi ideology in Indonesia from the Pan-Islamic countries. The impact is visible in the Sunni Islamic construct of Indonesia starting from the 1980s. As time passed by, the persecution against the community intensified by the Sunnis. During the post-Suharto period, the frequency of intra-religious and inter-religious violence shows that the country is rapidly losing its syncretic and secular fabric, having a legacy of thousands of years' values the country could boast of.

In 2011, a mob of around 1500 fundamentalist Sunnis attacked a hamlet known as Cikeusik in West Java, having a few Ahmadiyyah families. The mob killed three Ahmadiyyah

brutally by bludgeoning them. The government turns a blind eye to the perpetrators of such activities resulting in delay or injustice to the sufferers. The Ulemas' network in the form of MUI and the Musyawarah Nasional (the National Conference) within the MUI, keep meeting at an interval of 5 years and give fatwas. These fatwas are mostly related to disciplining the Muslims and non-Muslims, i.e., Shia and Ahmadiyah, Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist communities, other minorities in Indonesia (Nasution, February 2008).



Figure: A mob of 1500 people attacked the Ahmadiyah Community in Banten, Java (Hariyadi Mathias, July 02, 2011).

The tendency of repression of the Ahmadiyah community in Indonesia is becoming more intense than in the past. In 2008 a joint ministerial decree came out during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, popularly known as SBY, stating that the Ahmadiyah should stop their teaching in Indonesia and other religious activities against Islam. A five-year term was

imposed against anyone who would try to propagate Ahmadiyah in Indonesia. This decree became a tool for the country's fundamentalists to persecute the Ahmadiyah community in the form of attacks, making them pariah at their home location, ousting them from their society throughout the country. They had to close several of their mosques at many places in the country from 2005 to 2008. In May 2018, several families from Lombok island, West Nusa Tenggara, were attacked. The mob attacked them while praying and sexually harassed the female followers, and forced them to leave their villages. International watchdogs as Amnesty International and National Commission often condemn such violence. Even the Komnas Perempuan or the Komisi Nasional Perempuan (National Commission of Women) condemned the violence on Ahmadiyah women as unfortunate events (Yuniarni, May 29, 2018).

The government seems to be showing remorselessness when the question comes to the safety of the Ahmadiyah community in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Rising radicalism in Indonesia has had repercussions on Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, women, children, gender minorities, Shi'ite and Ahmadiyah Muslims. The attacks on Shi'ites and the country's Ahmadiyah population, mostly in the easternmost corner of the Java island, are becoming intense by the day. The Indonesian authority is understood to be considering the present reality as a new normal. The global media and the human rights watch groups have continuously reported such violations; however, the government is yet to provide a neutral judiciary system to the public.

Indonesia has rejected the seventy-five recommendations of the United Nations' member countries' recommendations to improve Indonesia's human rights violations. They ranged from the draconian blasphemy law to death penalty, etc. However, the Indonesian government's response as "hard to accept it" shows that the government lacks any commitment to protect the rights of the gender-wise discriminated people and the minority communities (*Human Rights Watch*. July 28, 2017).

The 2019 United Nations' report has asked Indonesia to reform and work on the human rights violations of the freedom of religion, freedom of expression and association, women's and girls' rights, Papua and West Papuan people, sexual orientation and gender identity, terrorism and counterterrorism, children's rights, disability rights, extrajudicial killings, and environmental rights.

Therefore, the government must reduce the radical groups' influence and create resiliency against such eventualities to protect common men and minorities in the country.

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