

Radical Muslim Groups and Confrontation to Church
(Unresolved Conflict of Taman Yasmin Indonesian Christian Church [GKI] Bogor, West Java)

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Abstract

This paper examines the movement of radical Muslim groups in challenging the ideas of pluralism and freedom of religion, particularly their confrontation to church of GKI (Indonesian Christian Church) Yasmin, Bogor. While traditional Muslims assume the Christians as the ‘ahlul kitab’ (People of The Book), the fundamentalist Muslim groups consider the Jews and Christian as ‘kafir’ (infidel). The mentality of crusade has been deeply instilled by radical Muslims, as a result, they put themselves confront with religious minority, particularly Christians. Therefore, the establishment of church in the Taman Yasmin housing complex, in which already have its permit from local administration, was questioned, attacked, and terrorized with any means. Two main radical groups which suddenly emerged in the fray, such as Forum Komunikasi Muslim Indonesian (Muslim Communications Forum or Forkami), and Gerakan Reformis Islam (Islamic Reform Movement or GARIS). Instead of guaranteeing religious freedom and pluralism, the Bogor administration supported the radical groups by violating human rights and challenge the legal verdict of Supreme Court. Unfortunately, central government did not seriously encourage to settle the local problem. The weak national leadership led the situation getting uncertain, whereas legal decision ruled that the Bogor Mayor policy is illegal.

I argue that strengthening trend of radical groups can not be separated from the support of elements of state apparatus who take advantage from the conflict. While the ideology of hatred of hardliners does not represent the moderate trend of Muslim majority in Indonesia, their movement has defeated liberal Muslim groups and human right activists in many contestations. This study focuses on the analysis of unresolved conflict of GKI Yasmin which left the question concerning the commitment of the government to undertake constitutional mandate. Its finding suggests that the law enforcement to the religious-based issues should consider minority rights as part of implementing democratic principles. I emphasize that peace and harmony among religious adherents can not be manifested as long as the ideas of violent approaches of religious communities are still fertile and supported, to some extent, by the state apparatus. Based on the literature, media reports and observation, I argue that the existence of radical Muslim groups will continuously trigger various social and cultural problems both with non-Muslims and moderate Muslim groups due to their conflicting ideology with the democratic and legal principles. This

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study attempts to capture the growing trend of Islamic radical movements against the aspiration of religious minority which still struggle to obtain their rights of religious freedom.

Keywords: radicalism, Christian community, GKI Yasmin, violence, pluralism, religious freedom, minority rights.

Introduction

As religion of Indonesian population majority, Islam has contributed significant role in facilitating Indonesia's transition to democracy.² The strong indications in which Islamic values have played significant role in forging the democratic system can be traced into the current political culture. Almost all components of Islam have a positive and significant relationship with secular civic engagement, political engagement, and political participation. These components of democracy have empirically strengthened the democratic system as whole. In other words, Islam fosters Muslim citizens to be politically active and it has contributed to the entire social and political system.³ This relationship certainly becomes good news for moderate Muslims who try to accommodate modern ideas without reducing their religiosity.

Indonesia has been also known as a model of tolerance and pluralism, however, stability of religious life and minority groups has been torn by various disturbances since the collapse of New Order regime. The research report conducted by Paramadina team, showed that religious-based violence mostly happened during the early transitional democratic regime (1998-2004).⁴ In the subsequent period, religious conflicts did not abate though. The Wahid Institute reported that violations of religious freedom and intolerant actions in 2007, 2008 and 2009 indicated unfavorable development. Both security apparatus and radical Muslim groups often played important role in oppressing minority groups (Wahid Institute Annual Report). Moreover, the latest report in 2012 shows the increasing numbers on the violence of religious freedom. Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy (Elsam) recorded 22 violations to religious freedom happened in the first three month of 2012.⁵

The growing trend of intolerant movements and religious freedom abuse certainly has put the good relationship between Islam and democracy at stake. Democratic system in which relies on pluralism, human rights protection, law enforcement, egalitarian and non-discriminatory principles, would be undermined by Islamist civil society groups which recently tend to ignore such principles. Places of worship of religious minorities, particularly Ahmadiyah mosques and

²Robert W Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslim and Democratization in Indonesia*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

³Saiful Mujani, *Religious Democrats: Democratic Culture and Muslim Political Participation in Post-Suharto Indonesia*, 2003, Dissertation in Political Science at The Ohio State University.

⁴Ihsan Ali Fauzi and Rizal Panggabean, *Laporan Kebebasan Beragama di Indonesia 2008*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 2009), iv.

⁵"Pelanggaran Kebebasan Beragama Meningkat," *Liputan6.com*, 03/06/2012.

Christian churches, are increasingly becoming contested places of tension and violence.⁶ Although Ahmadiyah community is legally Indonesian citizens, their basic rights have been violated by fundamentalist Muslim agents who continuously pressure government to disband them, attack them and destroy their mosques. It demonstrated a practice which 'substantially breached the spirit of the Indonesian constitution and state foundation of maintaining pluralism and freedom of religious affiliation'.⁷ Minority rights of Christian community have been also seriously violated. Based on the data of KWI and PGI, there have been 108 churches closed, attacked and destroyed since 2004-2007.⁸

The recent evidence on anti-democracy movement can be referred to radical Muslim groups in hindering the establishment of the Taman Yasmin Indonesian Christian Church (GKI Yasmin), Bogor, West Java in the last six years. Religious freedom and pluralism have been challenged by violence, terror and undemocratic practices. While Supreme Court has ruled that the closure of church was illegal, the Bogor administration does not obey the legal verdict. The church building permit is still being revoked by the Mayor on the pretext of security and stability of Bogor neighborhood. Meanwhile, hardliners did not only militantly pressure the security apparatus to evict the congregation of GKI Yasmin, but also undertook various intimidations and attacked whenever the Christian community holds Sunday service around their church. Considering these facts, it is difficult not to say that anti-democracy groups led to the opinion that relationship between Islam and democracy has been recently tenuous.

The growing trend of confrontation approach of radical groups to Christian community left the question concerning their Islamic worldview in the context of Indonesian democracy. Unlike traditional Muslim thought about Christians and Jews, radical groups tend to assume that they are no longer 'ahlul kitab' (People of the Book). In the radicalism perspective, the two religious adherents are 'kafir' (infidel) because their social and religious history is identical with Western Colonialism and Zionism.⁹ As violent actions conducted by the Islamic Defender Front (FPI), their reason to close churches was based on the procedure of building worship places. They use the Joint Decree as a "weapon" to legitimate their actions.¹⁰ Radicalism is commonly used to refer Islamic political movements which have negative connotation such as extremist, militant and non-tolerant, as well as anti-Western or America.¹¹ The movement could be named

⁶ Melissa Crouch, "Regulating Places of worship In Indonesia: Upholding Freedom of Religion for Religious Minorities?", *Singapore Journal of Legal Studies*, 2007, p. 116.

⁷Erni Budiwanti, "Pluralism Collapse: A Study of the Jama'ah Ahmadiyah Indonesia and its Persecution", *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series*, No. 117, 2009, p. 21.

⁸ Ihsan Ali Fauzi and Rizal Panggabean, *Kontroversi Gereja di Jakarta*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 2011), p. 33.

⁹Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004), p. 8.

¹⁰ M. Zaki Mubarak, *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia: Gerakan, Pemikiran dan Prospek Demokrasi*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2007), p. 242.

¹¹ Endang Turmudi and Riza Sihbudi, *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*, (Jakarta : LIPI Press, 2005), p. v.

radical because the supporters conduct harsh actions, such as destroying something that is not suitable with Islamic norms and teachings. Some “entertaining places” were attacked by the supporters because it is assumed as the center of ‘maksiyat’ (unlawful deeds).¹²

This paper examines the unfinished conflict that impinged the GKI Yasmin where radical Muslim groups hand in hand with bureaucracy agents against the Christian community. I argue that strengthening trend of radical groups can not be separated from the support of elements of state apparatus who take advantage from the conflict. While the ideology of hatred of hardliners does not represent the moderate trend of Muslim majority in Indonesia, their movement has defeated liberal Muslim groups and human right activists in many contestations. This study focuses on the analysis of unresolved conflict of GKI Yasmin which left the question concerning the commitment of the government to undertake constitutional mandate. Its finding suggests that the law enforcement to the religious-based issues should consider minority rights as part of implementing democratic principles. I emphasize that peace and harmony among religious adherents can not be manifested as long as the ideas of violent approaches of religious communities are still fertile and supported, to some extent, by the state apparatus. Based on the literature, media reports and observation, I argue that the existence of radical Muslim groups will continuously trigger various social and cultural problems both with non-Muslims and moderate Muslim groups due to their conflicting ideology with the democratic and legal principles. This study attempts to capture the growing trend of Islamic radical movements against the aspiration of religious minority which still struggle to obtain their rights of religious freedom.

The Story of GKI Yasmin

It has been six years since the Bogor Mayor issued the church building permit (IMB) in 2006, the temporary 300 square-meter building at Taman Yasmin housing complex Kavling 31 in Curug Mekar subdistrict, West Bogor, can not be functioned as worship place. The church has been sealed off by the authorities and banned to conduct religious activities. There is encryption at the outside wall of church saying that this building is sealed by Bogor administration based on the Perda (regional bylaw) No. 7/2006. The plot of land and its building which is located between the Giant Supermarket and Hermina Hospital are finally looked like an abandoned area left by its dwellers in the middle of business district. The wild grass grows in every corner around the building, due to the absence of human activities. Only the red-white national flag that still stands over the four meter flagpole and waved slowly by the win blow.

The completion of the church would run smoothly unless intrusions emerge later on from some groups that seriously against the church establishment. The perplexing policy of bureaucracy of local government is one of some triggers of the unsolved problem of church erection. When the local authority issued the IMB in July 13th 2006, it was soon followed by the ceremony of putting the first stone as the initiation step of establishment in August 19th, 2006.

¹² Ibid., p. 1.

The ceremony was attended by some important agents of government such as Lurah (Chief of subdistrict), Camat (chief of district), Danramil (Military Local Commander), Kapolsek (Chief of District Police), Kakandepag (chief of local ministry of religious affairs), Bimas Kristen (Agent of guidance for Christian community), Asisten Daerah I (Local Assistant) and some community figures.¹³ The procedure and ceremony should signify the support of local government and community to facilitate the aspiration of religious people to worship as guaranteed by the national constitution.

However, the Bogor administration suddenly decided to withdraw the IMB in February 14th, 2008. This policy was followed by the seal of church compound in 11 March 2010. A month later, in 11 April 2010, the city's Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) locked the gate of church. The seal was once opened in 19 December 2010 with the support of Bondan Gunawan, the former Minister of State Secretariat, but then it was sealed again one day later by the Satpol PP. The authorities said that the seal is done because the lawsuit of GKI Yasmin is still in legal process. As a result, the process of establishment could not be continued as scheduled. The church committee sent a letter of objection and rejection concerning the policy of Bogor administration. But the Bogor Mayor suggested the church committee to undertake legal procedure and he said that he will be ready with any consequence of legal verdict.¹⁴

Legal procedures have been undertaken by the GKI Yasmin with clear result for both sides, however, it does not change the policy of Bogor administration. Since the Mayor Diani Budiarto has challenged them to bring the problem into court, the GKI Yasmin filed a lawsuit against the Bogor administration to the Bandung State Administrative Court (PTUN). In September 4th, 2008, the court overturned the IMB withdrawal decision. The Bogor administration lost and appeal to the Supreme State Administrative Court (PTTUN). The Court strengthened verdict of the first court and again the Bogor administration bring the lawsuit to the next court (cassation). It was rejected by the Supreme Court in 11 June 2009. A few months later, the Bogor Mayor requested revision (PK) to Supreme Court. But again it was rejected by the highest court in 9 December 2010. The Supreme Court ruled that the closure of church was unlawful and ordered its reopening.¹⁵

Instead of executing the legal verdict, the Mayor has seemingly refused to abide by law. After his cassation was rejected by Supreme Court, the Mayor issued a letter of revocation of recommendation on the church establishment in 25 February 2010. In order to strengthen the policy, the Bogor City Planning and Parks Agency issued the letter of request to stop the establishment of church in March 8, 2010.¹⁶ The peak of Mayor's policy was the revocation of

¹³ Ihsan Ali Fauzi and Rizal Panggabean, *Kontroversi Gereja di Jakarta*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 2011), p.86.

¹⁴ "Kronologi Pembatalan Pembangunan GKI Yasmin," *pedomannews.com*, 14 October 2011.

¹⁵ "Hundreds turn out for Bogor rally to denounce besieged Yasmin church," *The Jakarta Globe*, 28 November, 2011.

¹⁶ "Kronologi Pembatalan Pembangunan GKI Yasmin," *pedomannews.com*, 14 October 2011.

the church permit by issuing the letter No. 645.45-137 in March 2011. He claimed that his policy was based on the fact of falsifying signatures conducted by Munir Karta in the process of obtaining the IMB. According to Ombudsman, the Mayor's policy is a form of maladministration by against the law and the ignorance of legal obligatory to execute the legal verdict from Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the spokesman of GKI Yasmin, Bona Sigalingging said that the Mayor's decision has no valid legal base. It was obviously made up by the Bogor administration to reject the church.

In many occasions, the Bogor Mayor Diani Budiarto always states that he obeyed the Supreme Court decision. He claimed that he has already issued a letter concerning the abrogation of the letter from The Bogor City Planning and Parks Agency that withdrawn the IMB. According to his staff, it was issued in 8 March 2011. However, three days after the policy was issued, the Bogor Mayor admitted that he launched a new policy on behalf of maintaining stability and the growing resistance from local residents. Based on the new policy, the church was legally no permit and its gate was still locked. This statement, however, was denied by the spoke person of GKI Yasmin arguing that both activation and revocation of the church permit was conducted by the Mayor at the same day, 14 March 2011.¹⁷ This practice is seemingly strong indication on how the Mayor played with legal verdict that he should dignify.

The reasons why the Mayor revoked the church permit were also bewildering because he changed it as soon as his first and second reason known baseless. He previously argued that the name of KH. Abdullah bin Nuh is an Islamic name where he was great ulama in West Java. So, it is not allowed to build a church around the Islamic street. However, K.H. Mustofa Abdullah bin Nuh, the son of KH. Abdullah bin Nuh stated that he supported the church building. "As long as it does not contravene the national constitution and the principle of religious harmony among believers in Bogor, the church building is no need to reject". Later on, the Mayor referred the revocation of the church permit based on the objection of local residents. But this reason was perceived not so convincing. Finally, he found something that he thought as strong reason. In the letter of revocation, the Mayor mentioned his decision is based on the lie in the proposal process of resident acceptance. It means the Mayor assumed that case of falsification of signature that involved Munir Karta has been final and legally binding. In fact, Munir Karta appealed his case and then requested revision to Supreme Court. It means that the case is not legally bound.

Beside the factor of bureaucracy agents, the pressure from radical groups which claim as the representative of Muslim community played significant role in hindering the church establishment. In reaching their goal, hard-liners used at least three kinds of patterns, such as pressure to local bureaucracy, evicting the congregation and creating public opinion. They frequently insist local bureaucrat, police officer and the city's Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) to fulfill their aspirations. For example, the meeting of hard-liner activists with officer of Bogor administration in 11 February 2010 produced an agreement on revocation of the church permit.

¹⁷ "Saling Kunci di Gereja Yasmin," *Tempo*, 19 February 2012, p. 86.

In 24 March 2010, they also pressured bureaucracy agents not only to abrogate the permit, but also to demolish the church construction. Some of them demanded police officer to seal the church. When the church continued its establishment, they called the Satpol PP to stop it.¹⁸

Apart from using other hand to reach their goal, the hard-liners also use direct approach to the target. When the congregation of Taman Yasmin Indonesian Christian Church (GKI) was doing Sunday Mass in front of church, they besiege the congregation and try to evict the congregation from their place of worship. Some of them don Muslim garb and wield rattan sticks during their actions. In the crowd, they often hurl verbal abuse at the Christians and sometimes shout “Allahu Akbar” (God is Great) to disrupt the mass. In October 2011, hundreds of hard-liners occupied the roadway in front of church on Sunday and forced congregation members to hold their service a kilometer away from their sealed building.¹⁹ As a result, Christian people moved their Sunday worship from house to house. Unfortunately, hardliners still hunted and forced them to disperse.

The way hardliners influence public opinion shows that they seriously and systematically reject the existence of church. In many religious gatherings (pengajian), they campaigned against the church. Some data have been uploaded in Youtube. Besides, they have their own chronology concerning the conflict between GKI Yasmin and their groups that they claim as local residents.²⁰ While Christian community and human right activists accused them for violating the religious freedom, they denied it. They argued that it has nothing to do with religion, but it is the problem of law breach. Once public assume that their act as the discrimination to religious minority, they ward it off. They tried to lead public opinion in looking the GKI Yasmin as purely the problem of building permit (IMB).

Given the fact that hardliners can operate in many occasions, there is speculation that their existence has been backed up by the ruling regime. When the gate of church was locked by the Satpol PP, there is convincing source mentioning that the order came from the vice Mayor of Bogor, Ahmad Ruhiyat. As a cadre of Welfare and Justice Party (PKS), he did not only involve in the mobilizing people and make negative campaign against the church, but also supported the inception of Forkami, one of the radical groups who militantly challenge the church.²¹ Meanwhile, there is indication that Ministry of Home Affairs supports the decision of Bogor administration to revoke the church permit. Minister Gamawan fauzi believes that the threat from local residents is political reality and it can disturb security and harmony. “It is not good for long term relations and even for the congregation themselves”, he said.²² In another occasion, the Bogor Mayor confirmed that central government endorsed his policy. “Since Minister of

¹⁸ “Kronologi Singkat Soal GKI Yasmin Bogor,” forkami.com, Saturday, 07 Januari 2012.

¹⁹ “Hard-line group occupies Yasmin church sidewalk,” The Jakarta Globe, 17 October, 2011.

²⁰ “Kronologi Singkat Soal GKI Yasmin Bogor,” forkami.com, 07 January 2012.

²¹ Ali Fauzi and Panggabean, *Kontroversi Gereja di Jakarta*, p.89.

²² “Mendagri Bela Diani soal GKI Yasmin,” Radar Bogor, 20 August 2011.

Political, Law and Security and Minister of Home Affairs supported me, I believe I have been on the right track. So, what have I violated?”, he said.²³

However, what has been done by the Ministers and his subordinate does not really reflect the policy of their superior, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In a Christmas celebration, the President called on the people to uphold the Constitution and foster tolerance. "Let us build the culture of tolerance and mutual respect," he said. As of today, the church at Taman Yasmin, Bogor, is still sealed and its members cannot conduct any kind of religious activity inside it.²⁴ The President said, "they [GKI Yasmin] have a right to their church". When accepting delegation of Bishop from Papua Indonesian Christian Church (GKI) and Indonesian Church Alliance (PGI) in Cikeas, President also has promised to directly handle the problem).²⁵

The president seemingly did not keep his promise. Instead of punishing the Mayor, he delegated his authority to the Bogor Mayor, Governor of West Java and some ministers.²⁶ "I have already pushed the Mayor, Governor and local community to settle this problem by the support from central government", he said.²⁷ This statement has not only reflected his half-hearted policy to overcome the problem, but also has triggered serious criticism to his weak leadership. An activist of International Center for Transitional Justice (ICJT), Usman Hamid states that passiveness of the state to the case of GKI Yasmin showed us about the doubtful and unqualified moral of political elite. He (the president) should dare to take risk as ideally done by a leader.²⁸ According to Secretary Executive of Indonesia Church Alliance (PGI), Jeirry Sumampow, government is no longer lie in this case, but it does not obey the constitution. The defiant attitude (of Bogor Mayor) has been allowed by the state.²⁹

Due to the ignorance of central government, Legal Advocacy Agent (LBH) will file citizen lawsuit to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Vice President Boediono, Minister of Coordinator of Political, Law and Human Rights, Minister of Religious Affairs, Chairman of House of Representative and the Chief of Indonesian Police. The lawsuit is based on the passive policy of central government against the discrimination of the Bogor Mayor, Diani Budiarto, to the GKI Yasmin congregation. The member of congregation is still banned to hold service in the legal church that has been ruled by the Supreme Court and Ombudsman of Republic Indonesia. The lawsuit will be filed in 2012 to the State Court of Central Jakarta.³⁰ If this initiative is undertaken seriously, this step will push government to settle the problem in a more promising way.

²³ "Diani: Pusat Dukung Saya," Radar Bogor, 10 November 2011.

²⁴ "Embattled GKI Yasmin wants action from President," The Jakarta Post, 30 December, 2011.

²⁵ "SBY Diminta Tepati Janji Soal GKI Yasmin," Beritasatu.com, 22 January 2012.

²⁶ "Kasus GKI Yasmin: Presiden Dituding Ingkar Janji," Suara Karya Online, 20 February 2012.

²⁷ "SBY: Jemaat GKI Yasmin Berhak Beribadah," Koran Tempo, 15 February 2012.

²⁸ "Konflik GKI Yasmin, Pemerintah Lemah Tegakkan Putusan MA," Okezone.com, 22 January 2012.

²⁹ "PGI: Dari Awal Sampai Akhir Tahun, SBY Masih Berjanji," Rakyat Merdeka, 21 December 2011.

³⁰ "Pemindahan GKI Yasmin Bukan Solusi," Kompas, 16 November 2011.

It might be the last option because dialogue and meeting to find the solution has failed. For example, when police officer of Bogor facilitated a dialogue between GKI Yasmin and hardliner groups, mutual understanding did not reached among them. There was no agreement about the neutral location that is suitable to discuss the problem.³¹ Since government promised to hold special meeting, there has been three times cancellation without any further plan. Whereas, the House of Representative seriously encouraged to realize the important meeting. At the same time, the GKI Yamin congregation and human rights activists have also great expectation to the meeting, because they will assemble with important agents who should have concern to settle the problem. "Government has no sense of crisis to the escalated tension faced by the GKI Yasmin in the field, said Eva Kusuma Sundari, the member of House of Representative."³²

While the meeting has not succeeded yet, alternative efforts for the conflict resolution is also not easy to make the pattern of win-win solution. The option of relocation which was offered by the Bogor administration certainly becomes a bad solution. Christian community assumes that legal procedure has been passed through and the result has been known. Rejecting the legal verdict and diverting it with other solution would contravene the law. It means that the idea will ignore the legal verdict ruled by the Supreme Court.³³ A senior lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution argues that the idea of church relocation is not an option to settle the conflict about the place of worship. Since the church has obtained the permit in 2006, the right to build should be struggled at any cost.³⁴ In other words, the idea of relocation will only give advantage to the Bogor administration, while for the GKI Yasmin means lost and at the same time breaking the law.

Another alternative solution has been proposed by two presidential institutions, Wantimpres (Presidential Advisory Council) and Wantanas (National Defense Council). The proposal to build a mosque close to church has been perceived by the members of two institutions as good solution to reduce the conflict. The Bogor Mayor was reported agree with such proposal. He even claimed that he has already had the same idea in September 2011.³⁵ Similarly, the GKI Yasmin agreed with the idea. "We are ready to live side by side with other religious adherents."³⁶ The former first lady, Sinta Nuriyah Wahid is also happy with the idea. She believes that building church beside the mosque is part of the Indonesian pluralism. The same idea has been actually manifested in Jakarta where the Istiqlal Mosque was built close to Cathedral church.³⁷ However, this idea will be seemingly failed, because the Bogor Mayor changed his mind. He still asks GKI Yasmin to move. "There is no other option except

³¹ "Rawan Bentrok, Dialog GKI Yasmin Batal Digelar," Koran Tempo, 20 November 2011.

³² "Eva: Menkopolkukam Tak Punya "Sense of Crisis"," Kompas, 19 January 2012.

³³ "Dari Awal Sampai Akhir Tahun, SBY Masih Berjanji," Rakyat Merdeka Online, 21 December 2011.

³⁴ "Pemindahan GKI Yasmin Bukan Solusi," Kompas, 16 November 2011.

³⁵ "Konflik Pemkot Bogor dan Gereja GKI Yasmin Terselesaikan," Media Indonesia, 02 May 2012.

³⁶ "Tuntaskan Sengketa GKI Yasmin, Sinta Wahid Dukung Langkah Dewan Ketahanan Nasional," Suara Pembaruan, 16 May 2012.

³⁷ Ibid.

relocation”, he said. According to the Bogor authority, “the Mayor has never agreed with such an idea (building church nearby the mosque).”³⁸

The deadlock situation led the GKI Yasmin to the uncertain development. Since their Sunday service in front of the church has been evicted and attacked by radical Muslim groups, they moved to houses belong to one of congregation members in Taman Yasmin housing complex. However, the attackers still hunt them although police has guaranteed the security. Finally, the congregation has moved their Sunday mass in front of State Palace. Since the end of January to mid of August 2012, their worship activity in the North Merdeka Street has been held for almost 30 times. They incessantly pray to God to get good solution and ask government to settle their problem as stipulated by the Supreme Court. In the growing democratic country, as Indonesia, it is odd that law enforcement dealing with the religious freedom still have problem, whereas the national constitution gives guarantee.

FORKAMI, Muslim Communications Forum

One of Muslim radical groups which militantly against the church erection is the Muslim Communications Forum (Forkami). This group was founded in 10 January 2009 by people who live around Curug Mekar subdistrict and its surrounding. Initially, this group was a few people who protested the establishment of church close to their neighborhood. Their activity did not only rally supporters from Muslim community, but they also spread many pamphlets in a number of mosques concerning their rejection to church erection. Since their actions were unorganized, Ahmad Iman initiated to organize the people. He took the lead and backed up by his colleague, Ayu Agustina as secretary. Although there is no fixed membership, hundreds of supporters and sympathizers are usually involved in mass actions. According to Forkami chairman, his group has been coordinated by the FUI (Islamic People Forum). “We report our activities to the FUI,” he said.³⁹

As the emerging conflict dealing the establishment of church in some places, the existence of Forkami could be the manifestation of the same radical groups that usually become pioneer to hinder the erection of worship places for non-Muslim. It might be merely the local version of the common radical groups like the FPI which hardly absent in the confrontation to church. This speculation can be referred to other similar cases that involved radical groups. When St. Bernadet church in Ciledug and HKBP church, Pangkalan Jati, Cinere, both in South Jakarta, have faced procedural problem, Muslim organizations with local names emerged, such as: Front Pemuda Islam Karang Tengah (Youth Front of Karang Tengah) and Forum Umat Islam Cinere (Muslim Forum of Cinere). In fact, they never existed before the church problems emerged. Based on the research from Research Tim of Paramadina Foundation, such radical

³⁸ “Disangka Selesai, Konflik GKI Yasmin Terganjil Lagi,” *Kabarinews.com*, 4 May, 2012.

³⁹ “3 years on, GKI Yasmin church remains victim of absence of the state,” *The Jakarta Post*, 24 December 2011.

groups tended to worsen the situation due to their politic of mass mobilization in many situations.⁴⁰

Forkami claims that its inception is intended to monitor or guard (mengawal) the policy implementation of state apparatus, particularly in the case of GKI Yasmin Bogor. Honesty and trustworthy are the two ideal concepts that they tried to apply to state apparatus. They ambitiously claim as the guardian of people who protect (mengayomi) and defend people's aspiration dealing with their communal interest violated by other group. Forkami will support government's policy to solve the legal dispute of GKI Yasmin. Forkami's activists believe that the initial process of church erection did not only violate the procedure, but also the existence of church has disturbed Muslim community who dominantly live around the church. Forkami claims that they have some evidences on how Christian people manipulate the church building permit (IMB).⁴¹

Similar with Hizbut Tahrir which uses non-violence approach for their agenda, Forkami claims that their actions do not use violence. However their maneuver shows that they were often trapped into violent actions. Like the FPI (Indonesian Defender Front), their violent actions are usually based on the pretext of the incapability of apparatus. "Let police work professionally and we wait the result. But if the police is unable to handle situation, we will take action right away", said the leader of Forkami (bogorplus.com). Their debut action was conducted when committee of church establishment tried to continue to build the construction in 2008. This group protested and threatened the committee that they will burn down the construction machines if the work activity in church area is not stopped. For this unfavorable situation, the committee willy-nilly stopped their work activity.

Not only challenge the Christian people, the Forkami also intimidated Muslim fellows when they knew that some Muslims accept the establishment of church close to their neighborhood. Forkami activists enforce the people to sign the statement of objection to the church existence. By involving some activists, they come to people's house to change their mind. They also frequently abuse religious teachings to legitimate their mission. For example, they arbitrarily presented sacred texts saying that it is very sinful if Muslim supports Christian people. The similar way also applied to Munir Karta, a local people who was in charge to collect signature from people living in Curug Mekar. He said that his signing of a police deposition was made under pressure at the Bogor police station in the presence of several people from a hard-line religious organization, Forkami. "I was all alone seated there (at the police station) and was forced to follow what (Forkami) members said, and I now regret that," he said.⁴²

One form of violence conducted by Forkami and other radical groups covered by media was their efforts to disperse the parishioners who hold service in front of the sealed church since

⁴⁰ Ali Fauzi and Panggabean, *Kontroversi Gereja di Jakarta*, p. 125.

⁴¹ "Kronologi Singkat Soal GKI Yasmin Bogor," forkami.com, 07 January 2012.

⁴² "How a Molehill Grew Into a Mountain of Intolerance," *The Jakarta Globe*, 17 November, 2011.

12 April 2010. Almost every Sunday, the three kinds of groups gather around the east side of Jl. KH. Abdullah bin Nuh where religious activity at the sidewalk of church conducted. Tens of Christian people pray, sing and listen to the sermon, while hundreds of hardliners stage demonstration and agitation against the churchgoers and at the same time, the Bogor Police which is backed up by officers from the city's Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) try to control the crowd. One of Forkami activists, Ayu Agustina, said "Forkami will always push security forces to disperse the congregation from the (church's) sidewalk. Forkami would not allow the parishioners to congregate in front of the church over Christmas. By using theological doctrine, she threatened Christian people, "If they insist, we will act according to our Islamic law. Because this is the land of Muslims".⁴³

The serial violence reached the peak at the end of 2011 and the early 2012. At that time, GKI Yasmin congregation planned to hold Christmas ceremony in the sealed church. However, their plan was failed by the coming of hundreds of hardliners who came earlier at the location. By staging demonstration and agitation, the radical Muslim groups successfully evicted the congregation. Dozens of churchgoers then joined a Christmas mass at a member's house in the Taman Yasmin housing complex. Assuming that their removal would be safe and stay out of the problem, their assumption was wrong. The hardliners kept chasing them and tried to disperse the religious activity.⁴⁴ In another occasion, when the Sunday mass was held in a member's house, the Christian community was attacked by hardliners. Some of them brought weapon and threatened the members of congregation, visitors from House of Representative and human right activists.⁴⁵

The incident shows the strong pressure of radical groups on the one hand and the weak policy of security apparatus on the other. The mass mobilization that was coordinated among radical groups, involved some other cells that was imported from other regions around West Java. This is known from testimony of local residents that they do not recognize most protesters that every Sunday comes to GKI Yasmin. No wonder, they can collect many supporters and control the situation. Their aspiration in questioning the legality of GKI Yasmin was conducted by serious pressure to security apparatus and bureaucracy. Meanwhile, local bureaucracy and police officer could not stand in neutral position. Beside their tacit endorsement to the hardliners, the local authorities were also ambiguous to determine whether they have to dignify law enforcement or follow the radical group's aspiration.

Serious attack of Forkami to the GKI Yasmin was also pointed to legality of church permit. Its activists have built an argument that GKI Yasmin attached requirements to propose the permit by using falsified signature of local residents. To strengthen this accusation, they brought seven witnesses to the Polresta (Bogor Police Office) with the 150 supporters. Those

⁴³ "3 years on, GKI Yasmin church remains victim of absence of the state," The Jakarta Post, 24 December 2011.

⁴⁴ "GKI Yasmin barred from church on Xmas," The Jakarta Post, 26 December 2011.

⁴⁵ "Polisi Dinilai Ingkar Janji dalam Kasus GKI Yasmin," Koran Tempo, 25 January 2012.

people reported Thomas Wadudara as the committee of church building for falsifying signature (forkami.com). A few months later, they also presented three witnesses to Bogor Police Office for the case of falsifying data that was used by GKI Yasmin to get the permit. According to them, the signature that was asked by Munir Karta (former chief of RT/neighborhood chief) to local residents previously intended to build the Hermina Hospital. But the signature was later aimed to the agreement of getting the church permit.⁴⁶

However, such accusation was rejected by the GKI Yasmin. Since the church had plan to build a new church, an intensive step was undertaken to complete documents of requirement to get the church permit (IMB) in 2002. By social and cultural approach, the committee of church building has already obtained approval from local residents by collecting 267 signatures in 2002-2003. The committee did not involve in the alleged falsified signature that was conducted by local chief of sub-district Curug Mekar, Agus Ateng and Munir Karta, chief of local neighborhood (RT). The committee merely submitted the 2002-2003 documents to local administration, while Agus and Munir collected the signatures in January 2006. And it was submitted to Bogor Administration (Anas S. Resmana) in 4 March 2010. This gap of year can certainly explain the false accusation. Moreover, they do not have any original documents which were handled by Agus and Munir.

The forgery accusation which involved the name of Hermina Hospital has been also explained by the spoke person of GKI Yasmin, Bona Sigalingging. He said that the Hermina Hospital has been completed long before the plan of church building. It is illogical if the reason of asking approval to local residents by mentioning that it is aimed to build the private hospital. This information must be baseless, Bona argues. He also explains that if the forgery was really happened, it has nothing to do with the GKI Yasmin. It must be deal with Bogor administration which involved their lower agents, such as Agus Ateng and Munir Karta. If they are ruled guilty, their mistake should also refer to their superior, because they did it as part of executing their superior's order.

GARIS, Islamic Reform Movement

Another radical group which militantly involved in the disruption of GKI Yasmin activities is Islamic Reform Movement (Garis, Gerakan Reformis Islam). This group was born in 1998 when the reform movement emerged in many parts of Indonesia. Although, this organization was established to against the awakening of communism, its agenda and actions have developed from its initial mission. This radical group does not only focus on their efforts to destroy non-Muslim and religious minorities worship places, but also attack many groups that are different with their missions. No wonder, media labeled this community as the anti-pluralism group. There are thousands of supporters which spread mostly in West Java, but there are also other members in Aceh, Yogyakarta and Papua. One of the recruitment places is Pesantren Ashabul Yamin,

⁴⁶ "Kronologi Singkat soal GKI Yasmin Bogor," forkami.com, 07 January 2012.

Cianjur, West Java, where two suspect of terrorism: Encep Nurzaman (Hambali) and Rusman Gunawan (Gun-gun) learnt Islam.⁴⁷

Since its inception, this group has been led by Chep Hernawan, a former activist of Gerakan Pemuda Islam (Islamic Youth Movement or GPI) and alumni of 'Perguruan Tinggi Dakwah Indonesia (University of Indonesian Dakwah or PTDI), Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta. His background shows that he has been involved with hardliners group which has grown during the New Order regime. As part of the dakwah movement on the university campuses in 1980s and 1990s, the GPI has been later on a jihadist group that militantly against the US-led war policies. Their actions were manifested in anti-American demonstrations, recruitment and dispatch of jihadist to Afghanistan in the early of 2000. Since there was a connection with Al-Qaida, Indonesian Intelligence and police suspect that the GPI serves as talent-scout for Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI). At the level of actions, according to Abuza, the activists of GPI have not regularly involved in violence, but its teachings and practices are intolerant toward a multi-ethnic and denominational Indonesia.⁴⁸

The involvement of old figures who come from militant, anti-Christian and holding pan-Islamic worldview confirm the orientation of Garis as part of Islamist hardliner groups. Some prominent figures of fundamentalist, Anwar Harjono and Husein Umar (leaders of Council of Indonesia for the Propagation of Islam, or DDII/Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia o), became two important figures that encouraged Hernawan to establish such a militant mass organization. Although the core of DDII's mission is tauhid (the oneness of God), DDII has serious efforts to fights against any forces thought to be trying to "Christianize" Indonesia. Over time, DDII changed its orientation from its early pro-democracy tilt to a more pan-Islamic worldview, including a radical anti-Zionist agenda. Its activists also targeted liberal Muslims such as Nurcholish Madjid.⁴⁹ Garis also invites Abu Bakar Basyir to be the member of Majelis Syura with Abdul Qadir Djaelani and Ahmad Sumargono. The existence of those fundamentalist figures certainly strengthened the impression that Garis has fundamentalist agenda.

Like programs and actions of Islamic Defender Front (FPI, Front Pembela Islam), Garis tends to mobilize mass in their efforts to eradicate what they call 'maksiyat' (unlawful deeds) and 'kemungkaran' (infidelity). Their track record shows that violent approach frequently becomes their main option. In 2007, Garis supporters attacked the Lembah Karmel (The Valley of Karmel), a religious tourism object for Catholic people in Cikanyere, Sukaresmi, Cianjur. This action was based on their hatred to Catholic activity that will hold international conference and reunion of Tritunggal Mahakudus Community in that place. By mobilizing thousands of people, activists of Garis staged demonstration and requested the Karmel organizer to cancel the program. Although the organizer has obtained the permit from authorities, the Catholic

⁴⁷"Dari Lembah Karmel Sampai Yasmin," *Tempo*, 19 February 2012, p. 89.

⁴⁸ Zachary Abuza, *Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia*, (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 72.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

community finally fulfilled the demand of radical Muslims. Whereas, the organizer has long prepared for this program that was planned to be attended by 2,500 participants.

Confrontation style of Garis to minority groups is not only targeted to non-Muslim communities. Muslim community who was considered defiant frequently becomes their prey. Ahmadiyah community, for example, has been frequent target of their anger. By shouting 'Allahu Akbar' (Allah the Great), they successfully destroyed many places that become center of activities of Ahmadiyah community in Cianjur, West Java. In 2010, Garis supporters attacked participants of National Work Meeting (Musyawarah Kerja Nasional) of Indonesia Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI) in Setia Hotel, Cipanas, Cianjur. They also occupied Al-Ghafur Mosque which is owned by Ahmadiyah Cianjur in 2011. In September 2005, Garis devastated dozens of houses and mosques of Ahmadiyah community in Cijati, Campaka and Cibeber. Due to this attack, Ahmadiyah members forcefully left their home. In the court, it has been revealed that those who were caught by police only followers, while the leader is still free until the Karmel incident happened.⁵⁰

The involvement of Garis activists in the conflict of GKI Yasmin looms at their intense participation in demonstration and agitation. By mobilizing 200 to 300 militant supporters, Garis has coordinated with other Islamic organizations such as FUI (Forum Umat Islam), Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Keluarga Muslim Bogor (Bogor Muslim Family), and Indonesian Muslim Communications Forum (Forkami). Since 2011, Garis regularly sent their members to Bogor, where every Sunday they confronted with Christian people who hold service in front of church. "Gereja itu makanan kami" (the church is our target), said Chep Hernawan.⁵¹ This aggressive way was also felt by Christian people when they participate in the Sunday service. As the members of GKI Yasmin still could not conduct the service near their sealed church, the service was then moved into a house of the church's members at Taman Yasmin housing complex. But when congregation members were ready to leave the church in their cars, one of the protestors was enraged after reading a sticker attached on the back window of a car. Then, the protestors chased the car, threatening to set it on fire. The sticker reads "We need friendly Islam, not extreme Islam."⁵²

Garis could escalate its action by besieging and attacking the Christian worshippers who have tried to evade the physical clash. The hardliners were seemingly not satisfied before churchgoers left the location of worship. After moving from the church sidewalk to one of congregation members, the hardliners kept hunting the Christian people. They successfully permeated the blockade of security who tried to guard Christian people in Cemara Street No. 9, Taman Yasmin housing complex. On the pretext of disturbing public order and breaking the law, they forcefully disperse the congregation activity. Lily Wahid, a member of House of

⁵⁰ "Ketakutan di Lembah Karmel," *Tempo*, 05 August 2007.

⁵¹ "Dari Lembah Karmel Sampai Yasmin," *Tempo*, 19 February 2012, p. 89.

⁵² "Protesters chase parishioners over 'friendly Islam' sticker," *The Jakarta Post*, 2 January, 2012.

Representative, has witnessed how intimidating the hardliners were.⁵³ Although they know that she is Muslim, she was also harassed by the protesters. This action indicated that the hardliners are no longer care who or what became the hindrance, they will move forward.

Another violent way was also demonstrated by Garis activists to Christian community in Bandung. Acting like security apparatus, they swept the congregation of HKBP (the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan) who were holding religious service in their houses. They forcefully requested dwellers of houses to come out where they usually become the place of worship. On the pretext of having no permit, Garis and Forkami activists pressured the Christian people to sign a letter of statement concerning the seal of houses which frequently become the center of religious activities. Under the siege of hundreds of hardliners, Christian people signed the letter with crying and agony for their powerless situation. Ironically, such inhuman treatment happened in front of security apparatus that should protect any citizen based on the national constitution.⁵⁴

Islamic Radicalism and the Weak State

The unresolved conflict of GKI Yasmin signifies the strengthening trend of radical groups on the one hand and the weakening apparatus of state on the other. Indication of such trend can be identified in the intensification and ubiquity of radical movement in many parts of Indonesia. Although the majority of Indonesian Muslims remain moderate, the aggressiveness of Islamist hardliners in responding any social and political issues is often much greater than their number. As Hefner argued that the crisis of nationhood and the actions of old regime conservatives gave hard-line Islamists a prominence on the national stage far out of proportion with their numbers in society.⁵⁵ Mass mobilization has been an effective strategy to take over public discourse and compete with their counterpart, moderate and liberal Muslim groups. This strategy successfully defeated the approach of moderate Muslims and human rights defenders when they took part in contestation of Christian church in GKI Yasmin. The Forkami and Garis were two of some radical groups whose role have emulated their counterpart groups.

Unlike moderate and liberal Muslim groups who intensely use intellectual and dialogue approaches, radical groups have different characteristics. Although each group has different strategy and agenda, they have common mental attitude and orientation. Aside from their militancy to implement the Islamic sharia, their ideology of opponent to non-Islamic system and their way of jihad, they have also crusade mentality and anti-Jews and Christians.⁵⁶ Another indicator of radical Muslims lies at their harsh and firm character to achieve their goals dealing with other groups. Their suspicious mentality to non-Muslim groups led them to put their

⁵³ “Bantu Jemaat GKI Yasmin, Lily Wahid Bersitegang dengan Satpol PP,” Koran Tempo, 22 January 2012.

⁵⁴ “Eksekusi Biadab Ala Gerakan Reformis Islam,” Kompas, 13 December 2010.

⁵⁵ Robert W. Hefner, “Global Violence and Indonesian Muslim Politics,” *American Anthropologist*, vol. 104, no. 3 (September 2002), p. 763.

⁵⁶ Jamhari and Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*, p. 6-8.

position confront with religious minority groups.⁵⁷ They always suspect, particularly, Christian communities for doing Christianization, promoting apostasy and degrading basic creed of Muslim. They also believe a theory of conspiracy concerning Western scenario to destroy Muslim throughout the world. Therefore, such conviction has been strong basis for them to call for global jihad, a borderless struggle with any target that presumably support Western forces.⁵⁸

The strength of radical Muslims does not only rely on the mob, but also on the support of powerful elements of state apparatus. The story behind the military officers who support hardliners might sound slightly odd, but its indications are sufficiently strong and logically convincing. As the emergence and survival of the FPI whose agenda and actions considered as controversial, the endorsement of military factions is inevitably significant. For the purpose of gaining material and political advantages, Nugroho Djajusman, as the Jakarta police officer, was often mentioned as the important sponsor of FPI.⁵⁹ Also Djadja Soeparman, military commander of Jakarta in the end of 1990s, and General Wiranto, were the main patron of FPI in the early inception of the militant group.⁶⁰ In the case of Laskar Jihad, military agents were much involved in the execution of the paramilitary actions at the field. For example, when President Abdurrahman Wahid tried to preclude the battle against Christian, the Jihad militia successfully transported to Maluku with support from Islamist sympathizers in the military body. Instead of assisting the Laskar Jihad to punish Christians, the military officials intended to destabilize the reform government of Abdurrahman Wahid.⁶¹

Although it is still speculation, unfinished problem of GKI Yasmin could be the result of conspiracy among those who have political interests in the fray. Since Garis and FUI have strong connection with military agents, Islamist politicians have also presumably backed up the anti-Christian movement. Aljazeera indentified General Tyas Sudarto, former Chief of Army Commander, as the supporter of Muslim hardliners.⁶² Media also found Nazamuddin, chief of Welfare and Justice Party (PKS) fraction in Bogor House of Representative, took part in demonstration which was held during Sunday service in front of church.⁶³ If this assumption is right, as other similar groups, hardliners got confidence to execute their actions without any worry of being persecuted. As speculated by the representative of Indonesian Church Conference (KWI), Romo Edy Purwanto, that the unsolved problem of GKI Yasmin shows the collusion between local government and certain political elite. "When President stated something, other

⁵⁷ William E. Shepard, "Islam and Ideology: Towards a typology, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, 1987, p. 307.

⁵⁸ M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transisis Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), p. 152-3.

⁵⁹ Mubarak, *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia* p. 117.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.118.

⁶¹ Hefner, "Global Violence and Indonesian Muslim Politics," p. 762.

⁶² "Konspirasi Jenderal-Laskar Islam, Benarkah?," *Vivanews.com*, 23 March 2011.

⁶³ "Saling Kunci di Gereja Yasmin," *Tempo*, 19 February 2012, p. 85.

government agents have replied and at the same time they throw their responsibility. It becomes an object of irresponsibility.⁶⁴

Those speculations might emerge due to a great number of peculiarities. Although Christian community has obtained support from many agents, both individual and institution, the conflict has not showed the sign of settlement. At the level of legal mechanism, legal verdict from the highest court has ruled that the church is eligible to build. The Supreme Court mentioned that the Bogor administration broke the principles of good governance and some national laws. Instead of obeying the legal decision, the Bogor Mayor did not show a good manner as the state official. He has later on played the law and argued with another baseless reason. Recommendation from National Ombudsman Commission was even ignored altogether. For this odd political attitude of the Mayor, many people defend the church activists and criticize the policy of Bogor administration. Those who intensely advocate the church come from Abdurrahman Wahid's family, youth organization called Banser of Nahdhatul Ulama, The Wahid Institute and Forum Masyarakat Bogor Barat Cinta Damai (FMBBCD) who comprises local Nahdhatul Ulama constituents. Prominent lawyers took part in the group such as Todung Mulya Lubis and Adnan Buyung Nasution. Nationalist politicians from PDIP and human rights activists also condemned the policy of Bogor Mayor. Almost all important element of civil society against it. However, the problem has seemingly met the dead end. Dealing with such complicated case, Mahfud MD once expressed his despair, "how could legal decision is not executed (by the Mayor), whereas it has been final?"⁶⁵

Since Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration is far weaker than it was in the Suharto era,⁶⁶ it affects the whole system of social and political life. The weak political institutions and the growing religious conservatism have basically weakened democratic system. After all mechanism to conflict resolution was undertaken by the church activists, many people expect the President to take action over the case. The deputy chairman of human rights watchdog Setara Institute, Bonar Tigor Naipospos, said "If the central government, especially the President, does not take action against the perpetrators, there will be more of the same in the future".⁶⁷ At the same tone, spoke person of GKI Yasmin, Bona Sigalingging argued that "The central government should have been our defender. If we let this discrimination continue, I am afraid that minorities will face a dark future in this country".⁶⁸ However, central government could not do anything. Through the spoke person of Palace, the President said, "Central government can not interfere this conflict (GKI Yasmin) because the issue of building permit is fully charged by the regional government."⁶⁹

⁶⁴ "Kasus GKI Yasmin: Presiden Dituding Ingkar Janji," Suara Karya Online, 20 February 2012.

⁶⁵ "MK Putus Asa Soal GKI Yasmin," Beritasatu.com, 15 February 2012.

⁶⁶ Abuza, *Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia*, p. 7.

⁶⁷ "Govt must act on intolerance or things will get worse," The Jakarta Post, 26 December 2011.

⁶⁸ "Embattled GKI Yasmin wants action from President," The Jakarta Post, 30 December, 2011.

⁶⁹ "Saling Kunci di Gereja Yasmin, Tempo, 19 February 2012, p. 85.

The defeat of SBY regime over the anti-pluralism and anti-tolerance movement has triggered serious criticism from moderate Muslim groups and human right activists. Those people concern with violent actions conducted recently by radical groups with endorsement of police apparatus. These intolerant movements proved that government has ignored its obligatory to protect people's rights in holding religious activities and expressing their opinion. In fact, the freedom of worship and having opinion has been guaranteed by national constitution. Consequently, state apparatus must protect the people in accordance with the mandate of the highest national law. According to Yenny Wahid, human right activist, state has been defeated by the pressure of the "preman berjubah" (thugs with Muslim garb).⁷⁰ Whereas, state has responsibility to fight against hardliners and never doubt to eradicate radicalism whose actions frequently use violence approach, said Muhadjir Muhammad Darwin, professor of social science and politics of UGM.⁷¹

The recent rejection of the Lady Gaga and Irshad Manji's coming by hardliner Muslims showed how state apparatus was again powerless in front of radical agents. While Lady Gaga was assumed as a "little monster" that will bring the faith of Satan to Indonesian youth and thus will destroy the nation's moral, Irshad Manji was accused as the liberal feminist who promotes lesbianism, a foreign way of life that is condemned among conservative Muslims. At both cases, hardliners showed their achievement. First, they successfully pressure SBY administration to cancel Lady Gaga's performance in Jakarta by threatening to "wreak havoc" at the concert. Second, they were responsible for the violent attack on Manji in Yogyakarta and successfully pressured the police apparatus to disperse Manji's lecture in Salihara, South Jakarta.⁷² Those facts again demonstrated the failure of SBY administration to manage various aspirations among citizens.

When democracy relies on the concept 'majority rules and minority rights',⁷³ the commitment of the ruler to protect minority rights should be an important part in its good governance implementation. The GKI Yasmin case would not meet the dead end if the ruler has courage to protect minority right groups to have freedom of religion and worship. By making analogy with the experience of American President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Ulil Absar Abdalla showed how national leader should take action dealing with the violation of basic rights of citizens. In a concise article, Abdalla told a story concerning seven black students who were barred by anti-segregation agents to enter the Little Rock school, Arkansas. The white people movement was even endorsed by Governor Arkansas, Orval Faubus. The tension had lasted. While the Governor supported the racist-white group, the US President defended the seven-young-black citizens. As stubborn as the Bogor Mayor, the Governor did not listened to the

⁷⁰ "Pemerintah Jangan Kalah oleh Preman Berjubah," *Tempo.co.id*, 07 May 2012.

⁷¹ "Negara Jangan Gamang Hadapi Radikalisme," *Okezone.com*, 25 May 2012.

⁷² "Lady Gaga Versus Global Jihad", *Wall Street Journal*, 04 June, 2012.

⁷³ Winfried Weck, Nurhaidi Hasan and Irfan Abu Bakar (eds), *Islam in the Public Sphere: The Politics of Identity and the Future of Democracy in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC), 2011), p. 95.

President order and challenged the legal verdict of Supreme Court. For this defiant policy, the President used his hard power. He sent 1,200 troops from Airborne Division 101 of US Army to guard and protect the seven students. In 23 September 1957, Eisenhower had showed his constitutional-based authority. The Governor surrendered and the seven students could enter the white school for the first time in American history.⁷⁴ The moral story of Abdalla's article is the national leader brave to take action based on the national constitution, although the policy would be controversial. Abdalla shows the virtue of leadership of president in protecting minority rights with any risk. By his article, he certainly expect that Indonesian President can be as virtue as American President who had serious commitment to guarantee the basic right of citizens. "Indonesian Eisenhower" can be born if the SBY bravely uses his hard power to enforce the Bogor Mayor to abide by law.

The political will of the ruling regime seemingly plays significant role to determine whether the religious-based conflict will settle or not. As Arkoun said that the purpose of actors and promoters of Islamic fundamentalism is more relied on the political and ideological movement rather than for the sake of Islam itself,⁷⁵ the political actions to handle the conflict between hardliner Muslims with their counterparts is much more needed than non-political policy. As ruled by the amended constitution in the article 10, President holds the highest power of Army, Navy and Air Force. This constitutional guarantee should be used for urgent matters, including protecting religious freedom and minority rights. However, if President SBY is afraid to the pressure of radical Muslim groups, it means that his authority is at stake. This political attitude does not only give a bad model to public but also significantly decrease people's support to his office.

Deradicalization program should be also part of strategic political policy of the ruling regime to overcome the growing radical groups for long term period. This commitment should be embodied in the sufficient budgeting that is allocated not only by central government but also local government. Unfortunately, the budget to fight against radicalism is still far from public expectation. Government through the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) has spent approximately 19 percent of its Rp. 126 billion budget in 2012 for preventive program. It was before its annual budget was cut to merely Rp. 92 billion. Ministry of Religious Affairs also spent Rp. 5-10 billion annually, or less than 1 percent of its 2012 budget of around Rp. 28 trillion.⁷⁶ However, there is no data mentioning that local government participating in the budgeting of deradicalization program. Whereas, the role of local administration is profoundly significant since the regional autonomy has applied.

⁷⁴Ulil Abshar Abdalla, "Eisenhower dan Sembilan Murid Hitam,"jaringnews.com, 6 January 2012. This article was also published in the site of Jaringan Islam Liberal (JIL), <http://islamlib.com>.

⁷⁵ Mubarak, *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia*, p. 17.

⁷⁶ "Moderate Islam on the brink against radicals," The Jakarta Post, 25 June 2012.

Since education has played significant role to make a better change, the curriculum of multiculturalism should be embedded in both formal and non-formal education. This effort is needed to create the mindset and mentality of people to respect the difference and diversity. Through this strategic effort, people learn how to settle the social conflicts with peaceful resolution. According to Abdul Munir Mulkhan, the uniqueness of Indonesia which comprises hundreds of ethnic should be the important basis to strengthen pluralism and multiculturalism. By realizing that they are different, every group should aware the meaning of existence of other people, not by negating and trying to erase their collective memory. If every people respect other people by their own divine interpretation without decreasing their piety in accordance with respective faith, many people will able to access their better life with prosperity from God. However, if people ignore the blessing of God, the country will be devastated into pieces.⁷⁷

Conclusion

The unresolved conflict of GKI Yasmin is an evidence of strengthening radical Muslim groups following the more open space of civil society movement in the consolidated democracy of contemporary Indonesia. While Islam and democracy was previously hand in hand, the emergent of Islamist hardliners has undermined the pillar of democracy which is sustained by pluralism, multiculturalism, human rights protection, law enforcement, egalitarian and non-discriminatory principles. Taman Yasmin Indonesian Christian Church has been a contested site of tension and violence where Christian community has endeavored to obtain their basic rights on the one hand and the anti-religious minority movement which has been sponsored by radical groups on the other. Although many people and institutions took part to defend the existence of church in the Taman Yasmin housing complex, the strategy of marauding hardliners to evict Christian people has been successfully proven. The radical groups won over the church activists by intimidation and terror approaches.

The weakening apparatus of state also contributed significant aspect for the failure of government to protect minority rights as guaranteed by the national constitution. Since local administration has not succeeded to settle the religious-based conflict, central government showed confusing and ambiguous policy. Although President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono rhetorically promised to take important part in the conflict of GKI Yasmin, its implementation has never been effective and never been seriously evaluated. Therefore, the Christian community continuously experienced various harassments and violent actions from the fundamentalist groups such as Forkami and Garis. Instead of facilitating and trying to find good solution among the conflicting groups, central government tend to let the case worsen by giving tacit support to the radical groups. No wonder if moderate Muslims and human rights activists assume that government has been defeated by the Islamist hardliners.

⁷⁷Abdul Munir Mulkhan, "Sekeping Surga Retak di Negeri Orang Beriman," *Seputar Indonesia*, 20 September 2011.

Such complicated case led us to serious effort to question the commitment of state to guarantee the freedom of religion and worship. Although the history of Indonesian Muslims and Christians was filled by mutual distrust and hostility (Ropi, 1998: 109), the growing aspirations of people to adopt democratic principles requires recognition and guarantee for minority groups. The modern Indonesia should no longer open the opportunity to certain group to violate national constitution due to the claim of certain group as majority. In this context, the implementation of pluralism and multiculturalism at the level of grass-root needs guidance from a strong national leader who understands how to demonstrate justice for all citizens. Democracy does not justify the tyranny of majority, however, it upholds the principle of majority that contains fair compromise without violating the fundamental rights of the minority. Although the concept of “majority rules, minority rights” is still facing various obstacles, Indonesia should ensure its step to keep faithful to democratic and humanitarian principles.

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