

This is an appendix to the report *Indonesia: Pluralism in Peril*, published by Christian Solidarity Worldwide in 2014. The appendix contains additional interviews and case studies.

INTERVIEWS WITH THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF GEKINDO CHURCH, BEKASI, WEST JAVA

In 1990 the church purchased land and built a church building, and until 1997 they were able to function without any difficulty. In 1997, however, the congregation began to receive threats and pressure to move, but the church leaders explained that they could not move as there was nowhere else for them to go. On 17 August 1997 extremists attacked the church, destroying all the furniture and equipment. The mob was brought to the church by the next door neighbour, a serving military officer. The church building was destroyed, and one of the mob held a knife to the church leader's neck saying, "If you continue to preach, I will kill you." HKBP Getsemani church, nearby, also experienced harassment and threats.

In 2004, seven years later, the church leader purchased new land and a new building was constructed. However in October 2005 that church building was destroyed. The church reported the attack to the National Commission on Human Rights and the police, but no action was taken.

Fourteen different churches are using a business centre in another location in Bekasi [for their Sunday services]. Every Sunday, they have to pay US\$140 as rent. Each church contributes US\$10. The police and security forces come to protect us, but they want money.

INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF HKBP GETSEMANI CHURCH, BEKASI, WEST JAVA

In 1997 our neighbouring church, Gekindo, experienced rejection and discrimination from the police and local people. In 2005 the government promised to relocate the church to new land, but on the condition that we do not worship in the street, and that we don't use our church building again. They promised us a new property. They called three churches together – HKBP, Gekindo and a Pentecostal church – and showed us the land they were offering, but demanded money. The churches gave money, but we have still received no land. Relocation is a lie – it is a policy to calm the situation down but not to solve it. Since 30 October 2005 we have had no permission. We worship in the street, and have been threatened at knifepoint. We have been using public centres to hold services, without permission, but we have to pay US\$140 every Sunday. We use different places – cafés, offices, houses. Currently we are using a business centre. We have not faced direct harassment, but we have to pay a security fee of US\$125 each week to the security forces, FPI and local people in addition to the rent. If we do not pay, we cannot hold a Sunday service. So every Sunday it is very expensive.

INTERVIEW WITH REVEREND HOTMAN SITORUS, HKBP KALIABANG, MANGSENG VILLAGE, PERWIRA, BEKASI, WEST JAVA

The church was built in 2003, after we bought the land in 2002, and now we have 700 church members. It was forced to close on 11 February 2012 because we had no permit and the neighbours would not give their approval for our activities. I assume it is also related to the agenda of the Islamic Defenders Front [FPI] and the Prosperous Justice Party [PKS], an Islamist political party which has a 'zero church' policy. Together, the FPI and the PKS have a plan that

there should be no churches in Bekasi. Another reason, perhaps, is that Bekasi is an important base of support for Abu Bakar Bashir [the radical cleric], who is in jail on terrorist charges.

On 16 December 2011 the local authorities invited the church to a meeting. However, without consulting us, they decided to make a ruling that the church building could not be used for the Christmas celebration. We ignored this and celebrated Christmas in our church, and on 6 January 2012, another meeting was held, in which they issued a letter warning us not to use the church building. The letter claimed that the church is in an area which is residential and the property can only be used either for residential or business purposes. A second warning letter was issued on 13 January, emphasising that the land was appropriate only for the use of a residential property; a third letter was issued on 20 January and a fourth on 27 January.

After receiving four warning letters, we met with the mayor of Bekasi on 1 February. We told him that at the beginning, all the neighbours supported us, so we wondered why they did not now. We also made clear to him that the church had been in existence since 2003, and it had always been used as a church, not as a house. We said we had de facto permission in 2003, and de jure permission in 2007. Why can we not use it now?

On 6 February the local government decided to close the church, so we sought another meeting with local officials and requested a review of the case. We provided the full history of the church. A former local government official had noted that when the church was built, Muslims helped with the construction, and we had no problem with the local community. Very few people lived in the area, although now people are moving in.

We showed the mayor the letter from the local government, and he appeared to be surprised. He asked his assistants why the church was closed. His assistants were silent, so the mayor told us that the government did not have the right to close the church. He cancelled the closure order.

However, on 7 February the FPI and other radical groups held a demonstration calling for the closure of the church, and continued to protest every day for three days. The mayor gave in to the pressure. We did not receive a new letter ordering our closure, but a meeting with the government was held on 10 February, from 8am to 2pm, and at 4pm government officials informed us that we would not be permitted to hold a service the following day. We tried to appeal, as we had a baptism the following day, but the government refused to change their decision. They also closed two other churches: a Pentecostal church which had existed for more than 20 years, and a Charismatic church which had existed for more than 17 years. At 8am on 11 February they closed the Charismatic church, the Gereja Kristus Rahmani Indonesia, known as the Merciful Christ Church of Indonesia, followed by the Pentecostal Church of Indonesia church at 9am, and then our HKBP church at 10am. More than 1,000 police and other security forces came, but they did not protect us, they just stood watching the closing ceremony! At least 1,500 people came. Government officials from the inter-faith organisation the FKUB and the National Unity and Social Protection Agency [Kesbang Linmas] also came. They read out the letter, but they did not show it to us. They just put the letter on the door of the church, announcing the church's closure, and then they left. We received information that in 2012, these Islamists groups such as the FPI, the PKS and others, have a plan to close 53 churches around north Bekasi.

The mayor told us we needed to get the agreement of local people for the church to open. The Joint Ministerial Decree issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs requires 60 signatures from local population. We received 130, so we completely fulfilled the requirements. We have delivered this to the local government, and the mayor has said he will see how he can help. We have good communications with the mayor. We don't want to launch a legal case unless we have to, because the legal route involves 'winners and losers', and even if the church wins, the government loses and the government would then find a way to cause more problems for us. So instead we are trying to use persuasion, trying to work with the mayor to find a solution. The mayor said we will receive permission, but the other two churches will not. We have an agreement with the other two churches that we will demand permission for all three churches.

We are still able to hold our Sunday services, but not in the building. Every Saturday night we set up a tent, and we send a letter to the police informing them, and we hold a 7am and a 9.30am service in the tent outside the church. About 20 police officers come, and until now we have had no harassment. Why are we allowed to worship in the tent but not in the church? It doesn't make sense, but perhaps it is to make us feel like second class citizens.

But it is difficult when some people have a 'zero church' policy. What is happening in West Java is now being duplicated in other places, such as Aceh. In West Sumatra, in one case a church received a permit but then the governor told them that the permit only gives them permission to build the foundations, not a church building itself!

At a meeting with the US Ambassador in a nearby pesantren [Islamic boarding school], he said, "In my country, we respect and work with the Muslim community. Why can we not work together here?" We have good local relations, but there is a silent majority in Indonesia. The majority understands that this kind of situation is wrong, but they do not act because they are afraid they will be seen as not true Muslims.

INTERVIEW WITH REVEREND BARINGIN AND THE ELDERS OF HKBP CITRA INDAH CHURCH, CIKARANG, BEKASI, WEST JAVA

Our church congregation started on 20 April 2003 with 30 to 40 members. We started here in this village, with an ethnic Batak congregation who were working in the local area, many as teachers. There was a lot of new real estate, and many Christians lived here. That's why we established HKBP here.

HKBP is an ethnic Batak church. There were already several churches here in 2003, but due to ethnicity the people did not feel they had a strong connection with these other churches, which were not Batak. When we started a HKBP church, all the Batak Christians were very happy. HKBP and Batak go together.

Our struggle started in 2007 when we tried to build the church. In the beginning, we worshipped in a business centre, which provided space for us and another church. But then the size of the congregation increased and there was not enough space, so we moved. We bought the land, and we wanted to build, but we had problems. We tried to get permission to build a church from the owner of the land. We proposed an idea: to have a mosque and a church side by side. However, the Muslim community rejected this and so we moved to the

land we are now on, an area of 70,000m². This land is not only for HKBP but for all Christians, including Catholics, Adventists, Charismatics and others. When the owner of this land decided this would be a space for Christians, we then had to get signatures of support from the local people. On 24 April 2006, we got permission from the local government for six churches – HKBP, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Bethel, Seventh Day Adventist and one other. Based on this licence, we started to build six churches. HKBP and the Catholics started first, because they had more money. In 2003, HKBP had 30 to 40 members and by 2006 we had 400 members.

When the church building was finished, the local Muslim community could see it was very nice. They questioned why we needed more than one church, when we already had such a nice building. One Islamic leader, whom we met with, claimed that every property built by Christian developers resulted in discrimination against Muslims. He complained that they only had one space for Muslims, for a mosque, and yet so many for Christians. This was not so, however: only one space was given by the developers, and the other churches were built by church members. In fact in every cluster of houses in the neighbourhood, there is a mosque, and the developer provided land on which to build a main mosque.

In 2005 the local mayor finished his term and there were local elections. His opponents accused him of 'Christianisation', and he was defeated in the elections. In 2006 there were elections for the mosque council, which resulted in a more radical, less tolerant mosque leadership than before. The new mosque council made a statement rejecting the construction of churches.

When we started building the church, we invited a senior HKBP leader from northern Sumatra to lay the foundation stone. We held a big ceremony, and invited local dignitaries including the mayor. Not long after this, a meeting was held at which the mayor decided the church should be closed, and no more construction permitted. However, based on the law we still had permission to build, and the local mayor had no right to reject this. Permission to construct the church had been secured by the developer, not the congregation. So when it was rejected, we made an inquiry to find out whether the people who had signed the permission were correct or not. The local mayor claimed that a noodle seller had signed the permission! We did not know why this happened, and we did not know who had signed it because it had been arranged by the developer. In addition, a joint regulation issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs was published, stating that the construction of every place of worship requires the support of at least 60 members of the local community, and the names and identity cards of at least 90 members of the congregation who will use the new house of worship, approved by the local authority. The Muslims said we must follow the new regulations and start a new application.

We had several meetings with the local government, developers, local church leaders and Muslim leaders, but the result was always the same: we were told we could not build the church. The local government was not neutral – it sided with the Muslim community. The developers were ambiguous, and were afraid that if they defended the rights of Christians, radical Muslim groups would destroy their business. The radicals demanded that the building must stop, and came close to saying it should be destroyed. The developer protected the

licence for the building, but the only option was to limit the construction to two churches – one Protestant, one Catholic. The Muslim community told us that we were only 2% of the population in Indonesia, and asked why we had so many churches. They don't understand that within the Protestant church there are many denominations. Furthermore, every cluster has a mosque, so in fact they have more places of worship than Christians.

In 2008, at a meeting between local government, the developer, and Muslim and Christian leaders, we were told we must destroy the church building, which was 60% complete. There was a big demonstration by the Muslim community every Sunday, with shouts of "The church must be destroyed."

A representative of the developer came and informed us that this was the day for the buildings to be torn down. The developer himself agreed to the decision, but refused to come and participate. We could do nothing except demand that the money used to build the church, which had come from church members, would be returned to us. We signed a memorandum of understanding to get our money back from the developer.

Two churches, HKBP and Catholic, were destroyed, but one building remained. However, permission was revoked, and until now we have not been able to obtain permission to use the church. Seven churches share this one building, and the Catholics have their own temporary building on the same site, but we worship without permission. This has been the case since 2006, every Sunday, from morning to night. The congregation increases every Sunday, and the building is very small, so we cannot function well. It is tiny and very hot. We want to build a new church building to give us more space, even if that involves further struggle. We don't have equal rights.

In our area, the radicals are well educated and sophisticated, so they have not used violence or physical threats against us – they have just used their lobbying skills with the local authorities, and used the legal system to restrict us. At the same time, the government is very weak and has lost its authority, and the local people are not very well educated so it is easy for them to be influenced by religious leaders. If a leader says 'Burn', they would burn. In addition, there is a real movement of newcomers from outside the local community, radical influences who come in and become leaders in the mosques. This creates misunderstandings among the local people about Christianity. One main issue is that they think Protestants are all one denomination, and Catholics are one denomination, so they think we should only have two church buildings.

We need help, because we are at risk: whenever the local people want to destroy our building they can do so, because it is not legal.

We believe the church should be useful to many people, and that means we need to practise love for each other. We are trying to provide free medical check ups and economic assistance for local people, because we must be useful for the local community and especially the poor.

In Europe too many churches are empty, while here, we need churches. The regulations from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs contradict Article 29 of the Indonesian constitution, which protects religious freedom. We don't feel free. We urge the

Indonesian government to withdraw this regulation. Christians played an active role in the struggle for independence from the Dutch. We built this nation together. We don't want Indonesia to be divided between Muslims and Christians, but if Indonesia continues on this path and becomes an Islamic state, we are afraid that Christians will decide they don't want to take part. The government says it will implement human rights, but in reality they don't. Why don't we have equal rights? We don't demand too much – we just demand our basic rights. If Muslims can build mosques, why can't we build churches?

INTERVIEW WITH REVEREND BADIA, HKBP RANCAEKEK, BANDUNG, WEST JAVA

HKBP started here in Bandung in 1999, in a rented house. However, the local community rejected it and so the church moved to another place. In 2004, the church bought a building and began to worship there.

In 2005 local Muslims held a demonstration and from that point they stopped the worship and the church members had to move house to house, worshipping in people's homes. One day I went to the church building and opened it up, to clean it, and after Sunday school we began to use it again for worship. From 2005 until 2010 we used the building without permission.

On 14 November 2010, during a Sunday service, a demonstration was held by Muslims demanding that we stop. The church leader was not there. The elders tried to discuss with the demonstrators, but found no solution, so they went to the local government to discuss.

On 16 November we decided to send a letter to the local elected representatives, in the name of the Christian community here, asking for a solution. We have still not received an answer. The local government suggested we move to another place, but it is not easy because in 2006 we had to pay for the building. To rent another building would be more than US\$100 (£60). It is not easy – we don't have a lot of money.

The local government said that they had obtained permission from the director of a government building for us to use the building for services, but when we called the director he told us no permission had been given. So we decided to keep worshipping in our building, even if there are demonstrations, if there is no alternative.

On one occasion, there was a demonstration and the church leader asked the mob to give us one hour for a meeting with church members. We had silent worship, without singing or prayer, to make it seem like a meeting. After this, the local government sent us a letter informing us we must not use the building. In December there was a meeting with the district level government, but still no solution was found. On 11 December, words were written on the wall of the church building: 'This building cannot be used for worship, and must only be used for residential purposes.' SMS messages were sent to many people inviting all Muslims to come and close the church, falsely accusing it of being involved in prostitution. The police took no action.

On 12 December the church asked for police protection, and at 7am the police came to the church. At 9am a large crowd, about 300 people, gathered in the mosque and came to the church, shouting very loudly. The church leader and the elders went outside and invited six

representatives into the church for a dialogue. The coordinator of the demonstration told us, "We are warriors of the joint regulation," and said he would make sure that we follow all the points in the joint regulation. He said we must close the church. We told him that we had regularly asked permission, but kept being passed from one level of government to another. We spent an hour and a half negotiating, but found no solution. Then the Muslims presented a letter for us to sign, acknowledging that the building is illegal, and that if we use it we are against the government. It said that the mob would not be responsible for what might happen. The church leader said he did not have the authority to sign the letter, and would have to ask HKBP headquarters in Sumatra. The Muslims got angry and said, "You don't respect the government."

The 300-strong mob continued the demonstration outside while we tried to negotiate. They also went to other churches. Seven churches were forced to close at the same time, and the mob threw out all the crosses and other symbols and equipment from the churches. The government told us we should leave the building, so we had no choice, but we insisted on having a final worship. For ten minutes we sang one song, and many people cried. The crowd became very noisy. They brought an ambulance, but used its siren to disrupt our worship. Then they made a cordon with plastic in front of the church, and on 16 December they made a permanent cordon and a sign, saying: 'Use of this building is prohibited'. Even the church leader's house was sealed, and he was very surprised when he returned and found he could not enter his home. The local government came and re-opened his home.

On 19 December at 4am ten people gathered outside the church leader's house yelling, "Why are you still in the house? Get out – you shouldn't be there." He called a lawyer, who advised him not to go outside. He felt afraid, but at first, when there were only ten people, he asked for dialogue. But at 7am more people came. From 6 to 7am, the crowd became more emotional. The church leader called the police and three police officers came, but they did nothing. They just sat in their cars, and did not secure the area. The lawyer then told the church leader he should go out, but he found that they had glued the gate together, forcing him to jump over the gate. He jumped, and they then opened the gate and went into the house. They took all the property, including furniture, out of the house and handed it over to the local government, and it is still in the government's possession today. They put up a sign forbidding the use of the house. The church leader argued with them, trying to persuade them that only the church building should be closed, but they did not accept this. He tried to call the police in Jakarta to intervene, but [they took] no action. Finally, the church leader had to leave his house and move around, staying in different houses. The church leader is made to feel like a criminal – wherever he moves, many people watch him.

On 25 December he was invited to a meeting with the government, and requested a letter of permission to use government property for church services. The government said they could not do this, because people would be angry.

I feel that there are rules only for Christians, not for Muslims. I want a fair life, a fair set of rules for all. I have reported the case to Komnas HAM [the National Commission on Human Rights], and they informed the local government that we should be permitted to use the

church again, but still no permission has been granted. I want the world to know that although Indonesia is a democratic country, it does not feel like it to me.

INTERVIEW WITH PASTOR OBERTINA M. JOHANIS, GKP DAYEUKHKOLOT, BANDUNG REGENCY

The church started in 1964, in a military complex, and in 1995 it moved to this location. From 1999 to 2005 we had no problems. In August 2005 some groups came to force the previous church leaders to close the church, claiming it had no licence and no permission. So since 2005, we have not been able to use it for Sunday services, although we have been able to hold weekday meetings. We have tried to hold Sunday services twice and both times a large crowd has gathered shouting "Allahu Akbar". The congregation is very afraid at such times, so we have no choice but to stop the services. We use a chapel in Bandung hospital instead.

In November 2008 we tried again to have services, this time with only the men. For six weeks we tried, but still they disturbed us. At 7.30am on 18 November 2008 a mob came in, broke the organ, the cross, lamps and fans, and threw everything outside. I wasn't here, but my husband and one-year-old child were. They called the police, and they did not come for two or three hours – and when they finally came, they did nothing. The government is too weak. During Ramadan, three or four times, they threw stones at the church leader's house. One week they came and were very angry at us, and tried to intimidate us.

However, the people doing this are outsiders, radical groups from other areas, who come and ask local Muslims to act against us. During the floods, many Muslims came to the church for help – for food, medicine, shelter. Sometimes we provide free medical check-ups, doctors and medicine, at the church, for the local community.

Yesterday, churches in Bandung received a letter from a leader of a radical group, asking for money. He was blackmailing us, offering to ensure our safety if we paid. Some churches do pay gangsters to secure their churches, but not all churches can afford to do this.

There are 153 churches without a licence in my district alone. We are no longer fighting to get a licence. We have tried four times since 1998, and it requires a lot of time. But we recognise that the building is not everything – the church is community.

The radicals accuse the church of 'Christianisation', but this term is becoming similar to the Communist Party in the 1960s in terms of the stigma it carries. Even if we are just carrying a Bible, we are accused of 'Christianisation'.

I would like the international community to urge the president to encourage him to use his power to stop the radical groups.

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHURCH LEADER AND ELDERS OF HKBP PONDOK TIMUR, CIKETING

We have been seeking a licence for 20 years. We started the church in 1990, with members from the ethnic Batak community. It started as a prayer fellowship. The number of members grew, and it became a church congregation in 1992. There was some rejection from the local community, but not so severe, so we continued. We worshipped in houses, moving house to house. We had one building but it was destroyed, and finally we bought some land in Ciketing. We bought this house for 400 million rupiah (£20,575), and from 2006 to 2009 used it as a place of worship. The main problem started in 2009, when the government issued a

notice saying that we were not allowed to worship there. In 2010 a second notice was issued by the government, and the government suggested we move to our land in Ciketing. But we were not allowed to build a church there. We tried very hard, and we worshipped in the sun, when it was very hot, but security was a problem. Every Sunday radical groups turned up to demonstrate, and the police came to protect us. Every Sunday we gather at this building and go together to Ciketing.

On 12 September 2010 we were attacked. It was the day after the start of Eid, and two days after Terry Jones had carried out his Qur'an burning in the United States. At least 12 people came on six motorcycles, armed with knives. We tried to protect each other. Some elders were attacked: one elder, Hasian Sihombing, was stabbed, and the previous church leader, Reverend Luspida Simanjuntak, received hospital treatment after she was hit with a wooden plank as she stepped in to help the elder – the attackers turned on her and beat her. There were no police at the time of the attack. We called the police and they came, and they brought the elder to hospital. We wonder, what are the orders the police receive? Is it to protect the people or to protect the radicals? The police will not crack down on radical groups. The police do nothing.

Reverend Luspida has physically recovered and moved to another congregation in north Jakarta. The elder who was stabbed has also moved. He is traumatised.

At the time of the attack, we were all very afraid. We did not know what to do. But we have learned that through struggle, we become stronger – it is part of our faith.

The tragedy became a national issue, and the president himself urged the police and the government to find a solution. There was no justice. The mastermind behind the attack was sentenced to only five and a half months, and the attackers just seven months. They were charged one day after the tragedy, and with only a minor charge. So where is the justice there? We had a meeting with the government, and they urged us to accept the decision to relocate to another place. I told them I could not make a decision by myself, I must bring it to a church meeting.

One week after the incident, we decided to continue to worship here, before deciding whether to relocate. The government pushed us not to conduct worship, because they said it was not safe, but we decided to go ahead. At least 1,000 people gathered and 500 police came to protect us. It was a very tense atmosphere. We could not finish our worship as we were pushed by the government to stop.

The next day, we had a meeting here. We decided to accept the government's proposal to relocate the church. We met the mayor of Bekasi and agreed to sign an agreement to worship in a building provided by the government, but to move after two years to the Timur Factory. We demanded a new building, and the government agreed, but the agreement has not yet been signed. It is with the mayor's secretary. The option of relocation was proposed by the government, yet it has not yet signed the agreement, so we are questioning: can we use the building they have proposed, or not? We have tried to meet with the mayor, the deputy mayor, and ministers in Jakarta, but none of them would meet us. The government,

from the president down to the mayor, does not care and does not take responsibility for their own policy.

Now we are worshipping in a building, but it is not suitable. It can only accommodate 100 people, but we have more members. We have 1,000 registered members and at least 500 gathered every Sunday. We can use it for two years but after that we don't know what will happen. There is no solution. We pray for help to bring our voice to the international community. Please bring our struggle to the international community's attention, and help them to understand that even though the Indonesian government says there is tolerance, in fact there isn't. If there is tolerance, show it to me. How long will this situation remain like this? Will we remain a nation, or will we separate? The government sees Christians as a minority, but in the constitution, there is no 'majority' and 'minority', only citizens of Indonesia. We will still fight for our rights, which are the basic human rights of human beings.

INTERVIEW WITH REVEREND IVAN, HKBP PONDOK UNGU PERMAI, BEKASI, WEST JAVA

The church started in 1991 with 45 families, and now we have over 1,000 members from 300 families. For the first four years, we moved house to house and had no church building. In June 1991 a group of Muslims came to stop our worship, and threw stones at the church members and at one family's house. From June to November 1991 we stopped worshipping there and went to our parent church, but in December 1991 the church decided to start again, because they spent a lot of money travelling to our parent church. In 1995 we bought two houses to use as a church. In 1996 a group of people again came to stop the worship, and they destroyed the church building, threw out all the chairs and the cross, and burned Bibles. We tried to have a dialogue with the Muslim leaders and we were able to continue our worship as a result, until 1998.

On 19 December 1998 a group came and tried to stop the service, but the church members continued their worship. The group destroyed the church. We were unable to continue worshipping there because our church was destroyed, but we renovated it one month later.

In 2001, we had a problem again because the government issued a notice announcing that we could not use the building. We tried to communicate with the local government and the [Indonesian] House of Representatives, but it was no help. In 2003 we decided to buy some new land and build a new church building, in a new location. We received no refund on our previous property.

In 2005 there was a demonstration outside the new church. The local government, the Muslim community and the church signed an agreement, permitting the Muslim community to force us to move whenever they want. They have not done so yet but they could any time. We have no licence. The church has a plan to buy the land nearby, a 4,000m² site, so we can build something more permanent.

We have tried to follow the rules in applying for a licence, and we have already collected identity cards from citizens, but we have not yet reported to the Ministry of Religious Affairs. According to the law, therefore, the building is illegal. It is against the law - but the law should not be against basic human rights.

However, the people in the local area are very good – if there is a problem, it will come from outside. We have been told that the identity cards gathered in support of the church have expired, so we must start the process again.

The church has an active social service to the local community. At Eid, the church takes part in the local festivities, gives a goat to local mosques and organises a free medical service. We try to dialogue with Islamic leaders and start an inter-faith approach.

In Indonesia, there is injustice towards religious communities. Law and justice exist only on paper, but in reality there is no justice for minority communities.

INTERVIEW WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF HKBP SEBUHAN, NEAR SELAEN, NORTH SUMATRA

Our church was closed in August 1992, and we were forced to sign a document agreeing to destroy the church and pull down the cross. In 2009 we tried to build the church again, but the MUI said no. We have more than 100 church members and no church building. We continued to build the church, but in December 2009 a mob demonstrated, warned us to stop construction, and tried to destroy it themselves. The church invited local government officials to come and see the construction, and they said it was OK, but the local people still did not like it. On 22 January 2010 there was another demonstration after Jummah [Friday] prayers, and this time they destroyed the church. Many Christians ran to my home. We tried to meet the local government but with no success. The police came, between 30 and 50 of them, but they just watched the burning of the church, and filmed it. Now Christians worship in their own homes, but even this the locals do not like. They asked people to sign a letter saying that houses should not be used for worship. They threatened to burn people's houses if they are still used for worship.

The government then issued a letter saying that those who attacked the church should not be prosecuted, and they forced church leaders to sign it, giving their consent. There was a signing ceremony in a hotel, facilitated by the government, police and military. When the agreement was signed, the government promised to facilitate the construction of a new church, but since then there has been nothing. We were told if we did not sign, we would not even be allowed to worship in our own homes.

Another church, in Padang Lawas Regency, was told in 2010 and 2011 that it was not allowed to hold Christmas celebrations. The church was built 32 years ago. The church leader asked, "If we do not allow the children to celebrate Christmas, what do I say to them?" In the end the authorities allowed just three hours for a Christmas celebration only for children, on 20 December, not on 25 December.

In schools, Christian children have to wear the hijab, and there are no Christians teaching in this area.

INTERVIEW WITH PASTOR SUKRIS, GKAI INDONESIAN BIBLE EVANGELICAL CHURCH, JEDONG VILLAGE, WAGE DISTRICT, MALANG REGENCY, EAST JAVA

Our problems started in 2007. In 2005 we started to build the church, and we started using it in 2006. In 2007 people started to question the building permission. I told people honestly that we had not obtained permission, and then some people started to create problems. We

built the church and tried to get a permit. We secured signatures from local people and a recommendation from the district chief, but the process halted at the regency level. We submitted a letter, but the local government never replied. We were waiting for the process to continue.

I was invited to a meeting in the village office. I went alone, and there were so many people there. They told me to stop using the church building. The church building has been used by several different denominations, with altogether 25 families totalling 80 to 90 people from the village. I told them that we had applied for the permit, and that we had no problem in our relations with the local population.

We continued using the church building, but pressure on the local authorities increased and whenever we had any major events such as Christmas celebrations, there were demonstrations. They never touched us, but they demonstrated. It was only three local people who objected to the church, but they provoked others and invited outsiders to come and hold demonstrations. In our final meeting to discuss the situation with the authorities, it went on from 7pm until 1am. Outside the demonstrators shouted "Burn, destroy!" Then we negotiated, and after some negotiation we agreed to give the building to the village as a health centre, and we asked for permission to build a new church in another location. We reached a written agreement with the local Muslim organisations, witnessed by the village and district chiefs and the police and local military chiefs, although we were not given a copy. We agreed to give the building to the village as a health centre, and they would pay all the expenses of the building. In 2011 the government took over the church building. We have never received any money. We spent 125 million rupiah (£6,430) on the construction of the building. In the agreement we agreed that they would pay some of the money in May 2011, and the rest when we build the new church. We planned to use the first money to buy land and start a new building. We also agreed that the new building would be built together by Christians, Muslims and Hindus and government manpower. But we have still not received any money. Christians have to worship in their homes.

Only a few of the local Muslims are radical, but those few radicals invited outsiders from other areas.

INTERVIEWS WITH THE AHMADIYAH MUSLIM COMMUNITY

CASE STUDY: MUKHTAR STREET, SAWANGAN BARU, DEPOK

According to the Ahmadi spokesman in this area, which is 10km from Jakarta, an anti-Ahmadiyah movement developed into protests and a mob then forced the mosque to close in March 2011.

This anti-Ahmadiyah movement is not local. People come in from other parts of West Java. I became an Ahmadi in 2002. After that, I experienced very strong tensions with my neighbours. There were small demonstrations and an anti-Ahmadiyah movement. But after the 2008 Joint Decree, and the decree of the governor of West Java in March 2011 and the decree of the local mayor in 2011, the problem became bigger. One man, Mr Damankuri from the al-Karimiyah pesantren [Islamic boarding school], worked closely with local preachers and local community to create an anti-Ahmadiyah movement. In March 2011 30 people came and made speeches asking for the mosque to be closed down and banned. We left the mosque before they arrived. There were two demonstrations after the Cikeusik attack, one led by Mr Damankuri, in which 50 people from a local pesantren came and used planks of wood to lock down the mosque. Every day they came to make sure the mosque was sealed. The police did not do anything – there were 40 to 50 police nearby but they did not stop the demonstrators. The local government, especially the mayor, support the closure of the mosque. My wife sometimes comes to clean the mosque. Sometimes she hears people saying, “If that mosque was not watched by the police, I would burn it.” They say, “If Ahmadis use it, I will attack.” But the real problem is people don’t know about the Ahmadiyah community. We need to explain to them what we’re about – but we have no mediator and no media.

CASE STUDY: LOMBOK

The Ahmadiyah community in Lombok has suffered a series of violent attacks over the past decade or more. One of the most significant incidents was an attack on 11 September 2002 in Pancor, East Lombok, which resulted in the destruction of 81 houses, eight shops, and one Ahmadi mosque and *musholla* (prayer room), and caused 383 people to seek refuge in the police headquarters. Another major outbreak of anti-Ahmadi violence was in 2006, when attacks began in Ketapang and Praya, West Lombok. Many of the Ahmadis in Ketapang and Praya were originally from Pancor, and had moved to West Lombok following the attacks in 2002. At least 34 families were attacked in the violence in Ketapang in 2005 and 2006, following the MUI *fatwa* against the Ahmadiyah,¹ and a further attack in 2011 resulted in 17 families being attacked.

Almost 200 Ahmadis have been living in two temporary displacement camps in Mataram, the capital of Lombok, since 2006, with no apparent effort by the government to find a durable solution to their plight. One of the camps is a disused hospital and the other is a transit camp for transmigration. At least 118 people live in the transit camp, and have been there since their homes in Ketapang, Gegerung Village, Lingsar District, West Lombok were destroyed on 4 February 2006. Some Ahmadis have left Lombok and moved to other locations, including Jakarta and West Java, but those who

¹ *Jakarta Post*, ‘MUI fatwa feeds flames of clerics’ hate speech’, 17 January 2011
<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/01/17/mui-fatwa-feeds-flames-clerics%E2%80%99hate-speech.html>

have stayed are living in poor and unstable conditions. They are denied identity cards by the government, thus hindering their access to education, employment and other opportunities.

CSW visited the camps in 2013 and interviewed a number of displaced Ahmadi people who are effectively living as refugees in their own country. One refugee told CSW he had moved at least eight times. A campaign of hate speech, fuelling violence and discrimination against the Ahmadiyah community, has been largely instigated, in the words of one Ahmadi, by the MUI and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. "It has been caused by the people who should be protecting us," he added. The governor of West Nusa Tenggara, for example, added fuel to the fire when he argued in 2011 that all Ahmadis should leave Lombok, suggesting that he wanted tolerance but that that was only possible without the Ahmadiyah.²

CSW interviewed a number of Ahmadis from Lombok, and they described the violence they endured:

Interview with Mr X, an Ahmadi missionary

Hate speech against the Ahmadiyah began in 1990. In 1993, I converted and became an Ahmadi. In 1998 people burned Ahmadi homes in Jerowaru, East Lombok, where I was living, and they tried to kill us, so I moved to Pansor, in the central part of East Lombok, for one year, and then to Sumbawa in 1999. In 2003 the Ahmadiyah community in Sumbawa was attacked, and so I came to Praya, West Lombok. In February 2006 mobs attacked my home in Praya, and so I came here to this camp.

In 2011 I went back to Sumbawa to serve, but people attacked my house, throwing stones. They said they would attack me again and kill me if I come back. The police took me away and detained me in the police station for three days.

I have witnessed many forms of discrimination. I was not allowed to bury my father, for example – I tried many graveyards, but people rejected me. When a baby dies or an elderly person dies, we cannot bury them here.

People say the blood of an Ahmadi is 'halal'. My hope is to become just an ordinary person, to live normally. Government officials always say to me, "Please say you are not an Ahmadi, to make you safe. That is all. You can do your religion, but just say you're not an Ahmadi." I cannot understand that.

Ahmadi missionaries' treatment is worse than that of ordinary Ahmadis, because people think we are the 'masterminds'. Hate speech is caused by the MUI and the Ministry of Religious Affairs – caused by the people who should be protecting us.

A local Muslim cleric always defended our rights, until he came under pressure. Other clerics issued a fatwa saying his blood is 'halal' [meaning that it is lawful to kill him]. So now he is afraid.

² *Jakarta Globe*, 'Governor Wants Lombok Tolerant, But Ahmadiyah-Free', 25 January 2011
<http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/archive/governor-wants-lombok-tolerant-but-ahmadiyah-free/>

Interview with Ms A, Ahmadi refugee

In 2002 we lived in Pansor, East Lombok. One night my husband went to the mosque for a meeting to discuss the situation of Ahmadi children studying in Tasikmalaya. A mob came. My husband came home early, at 9pm instead of 11pm when I had expected him, and so I asked why. He told me the mosque had been attacked. I was afraid. It was the night of 11 September 2002. I stayed in my home with several people. The next morning I went to work in the market, and I met the mubarik [Ahmadi religious cleric]. He said that his house had been attacked the previous night. He had to hide. If he did not hide, they would have killed him. They threw stones.

In the market, I was working as a distributor, selling goods to the stallholders. That morning I went to the market, and went round all the stalls, but they told me, "Sorry, we cannot take your goods any more." I asked why. They said that the clerics had forbidden them to work with me.

So I came home. I was very sad. It was very quiet in my house. One member of my extended family came and asked me to move to a neighbour's house. I refused. I spent that night in my house, but I heard many Ahmadi homes in another area had been attacked, and so I was very afraid. The next day at 8am I went to the police station with my family. I did not take anything, just some clothes and a picture of the Khalifa [the worldwide head of the Ahmadiyah community], and a Qur'an. That's all I brought from my house. The children were just wearing underwear. It was 12 September 2002.

I stayed in the police station for a week. My extended family came and asked me to come back home, and to leave the Ahmadiyah community. I asked, "For what?" I told them I wanted to see my children, who by then were being looked after by another family, but I said I did not want to leave the Ahmadiyah community. My house was safe, although other Ahmadi homes had been destroyed. My husband is ethnic Batak, from Sumatra, and many of the police and army are Batak, so they protected us.

After one week in the police station, I wanted to see my children. They were living with my mother by this point, but she came to the police station every day without bringing my children. Finally one day my friend Mr Ahmad told me, "Follow me, I can take you home." We went to my sister's house, and there I found many Muslim clerics. One was Haji Ilham, from the United Development Party. They gave me a letter denouncing the Ahmadiyah. After I read the letter I asked them, "If I leave the Ahmadiyah, what kind of Islam should I follow? The Islam that destroyed my house? The Islam that destroyed the mosque? Tell me. And how about my husband? What if he remains Ahmadi?" They told me I should divorce my husband. I told them I will not leave the Ahmadiyah and I will not divorce my husband. They said, "If you don't want to leave the Ahmadiyah, you can go." They took me by car back to the police station. I asked my younger sister to look after my daughters. I tried to go back home to take my children with me, but they forced me to leave the house. Sometimes they brought my baby to the police station for breastfeeding but then they took the baby away again. I was very afraid and confused.

The government separated the Ahmadi members from the local board of the Ahmadiyah community, holding the ordinary members in the police station while the board members

were in the army barracks. They separated me from my husband. Then a rumour spread that two members of the local board had left the Ahmadiyah community. We were confused. But after several days, my husband came to the police station. He told me this was not true.

My husband said that he was being pressured to leave the Ahmadiyah, but he did not want to, and so he said we should go to Denpasar, Bali. He went ahead to Denpasar, and the Batak police helped him. They told me they would accompany me there if I wished to follow him. But then the regional Ahmadi missionary came to East Lombok, and asked where my husband was. He was angry when he learned that my husband was in Denpasar, and called him back.

One day, the police chief arranged a meeting in a small mosque inside the police station. He told us, "If you want to leave the Ahmadiyah, sit down. If you still want to stay with the Ahmadiyah, stand up." People got confused. Nobody except one blind man stood up. He said, "None of us will leave the Ahmadiyah."

A rumour spread one Friday that the police planned to shoot us all the next day. They would create a line of us and shoot us one by one. We were afraid. So that day, before sunrise, I went to my aunt and asked her to bring my baby to me, so I could breastfeed the baby. Maybe they will kill us, I thought, so I wanted to feed the baby one last time before they killed us. My family brought the baby. My aunt cried, hugged me, pleaded with me to leave the Ahmadiyah. Then I asked to see all my children. I was crying. I thought, maybe they will kill me, so let me see my children before I die. They brought the children to the police station, but then they took the eldest and the second eldest away, and left the youngest with me. The eldest was born in 1992, so was just ten at this time. The second was born in 1995. Today, they live with my grandmother, 60km from Mataram.

I fled here from Mataram, and I live here in this camp in just one room. My daughter is getting bigger and bigger, and she often asks me, "Mum, when will we have a house?" So many sad things happened to me on my journey here. The hardest thing is losing my home.

My father and mother were Ahmadis, but after what happened, my mother was afraid and rarely attended Ahmadiyah activities. I have one brother and five sisters, all of whom were raised Ahmadi, but all the incidents led them to give up their Ahmadi practice. My fourth sister married a non-Ahmadi, and her husband asked her to leave the Ahmadiyah. She refused, but after they were married she never attended Ahmadiyah activities.

Interview with Mrs B, Ahmadi refugee

The first Ahmadi in my village was Mr Indrus. I remember when his house was attacked, and he moved to his father-in-law's house. After staying there for several days, he moved to another house, the home of Mr Rajib, in the middle of a plantation area. After he moved to Mr Rajib's house, many people joined the Ahmadiyah. Many people joined completely by themselves, by choice. In some cases, a husband would join and a wife would not, and many families separated as a result. My family lived there too, along with eight other families.

In 2000, after several months living together there, people from our village came and asked us to go back to our village. So we went, and we met together in one house. After every

Ahmadi had come, one person gave a signal and said, "Let's start." Then they started to attack us. They hit, kicked and beat us. Mr Indrus was injured in the eye. Only one of the four Ahmadis was uninjured. There were 20 non-Ahmadis attacking us.

The main perpetrator of this violence was a man called Mustafa. The police arrested him, but when a mob turned up in a truck outside the police station, the police released him.

Several months after that incident, one night Ahmadi people came to meet in my home. Then a mob came to attack. The other Ahmadis fled to another place, but I was ill and so I stayed where I was. I found a tree and hid in the tree. From there I saw people pouring gasoline on our house and setting it on fire.

Soon after this, a ten-year-old Ahmadi boy died. We tried to bury him, but the local community would not allow us to. We waited until it was dark, and then we dug a grave at night.

I married a man from Panjur, in East Lombok, and lived at my father-in-law's house. When I was six months pregnant I visited my family home, but there was a rumour of another attack, so we dug a hole in the ground and buried our belongings, rice and other valuables. We waited for a month but no one came, and so we dug up our belongings and took them back. My father told me to take them with me to East Lombok.

On my way to East Lombok, I saw two motorcycles following us. In the market they stopped and went back. Later, I knew that they had attacked our place. My father was killed and my mother seriously injured. That was in 2001. My father had been trying to protect our mosque, and died after being hit by a big brick. Then the killer went home and on the way he met my mother. He asked her, "Will you take revenge for your husband?" She did not know what had happened, and so said "No, why?" A mob shouted "Communist, communist!" and stabbed her seven times. My father's killer is still alive now. The police arrested him for one week, and then released him when mobs came in trucks to the police station.

I moved to my mother's house, but in 2006 I went to Kutapang, and there was an attack, so then I came here to this camp. I want to tell the world about life in this refugee camp, about my life, and to try to tell the government to let us go from here. We want freedom.