

RISESEA

Review of Islam in Southeast Asia

Millenarianism and Islamic Resurgence
Exploring the Intertwining of Religious Belief and Politics in Contemporary Indonesia
Luthfi Makhasin

The Rise of Female Ulama in Indonesia:
A Gender Perspective
Yanuardi Syukur

The Rise of Radicalism and Terrorism
in Indonesia and Malaysia
Zaki Mubarok & Ahmad Fauzi

Şūrat Al-Adab Al-Tarbawiy Al-Insāniy Fi Al-Makḥṭūṭat: Murāja'at 'Ilmiyyat Li A'māl
Al-'Alim Al-Indunisiy
Iin Suryaningsih

Conflict Resolution in Southeast Asia:
Peace and Development in Myanmar and Indonesia
Badrus Sholeh

Seeds of Conflict and Religious Intolerance in Papua:
A Preliminary Study on Tolikara Incident 2015
Ridwan

Pesantren and Theory of Social Change in South-East Asia
M. Suparta

Pesantren dan Spirit Kebangsaan
Ma'as Shobirin

The History and Dynamics of Ethno-politic Conflict in Patani, Thailand
Faisol Mamang

Islam, Indonesia and Human Rights in ASEAN
Ahmad Fanani



Review of Islam in Southeast Asia

Vol. 1, No. 1, June 2018

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Badrus Sholeh

MANAGING EDITOR

Minatur Rokhim

MANAGING EDITORS

Imam Subchi

Khoeron Siri

Ulil Abshar

Rena LatifaJauhar Azizy

INTERNATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD

Abubakar Ebyhara (University of Jember, Indonesia)

Arskal Salim (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Azyumardi Azra (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Dzuriyatun Toyibah (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Flori Ratna Sari (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Greg Barton (Deakin University, Australia)

Greg Fealy (Australian National University, Australia)

Hamka Hasan (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Julian Millie (Monash University, Australia)

Julie Chernov Hwang (Goucher College, USA)

Kamaruddin Amin (Alauddin State Islamic University of Makasar, Indonesia)

M. Adib Misbachul Islam (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

M. Nur Kholis Setiawan (Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of Yogyakarta, Indonesia)

Masdar Hilmi (Sunan Ampel State Islamic University of Surabaya, Indonesia)

Masykuri Abdillah (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Munzier Suparta (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Nadirsyah Hosen (Monash University, Australia)

Noorhaidi Hasan (Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of a Yogyakarta, Indonesia)

Robert W. Hefner (Boston University, USA)

Siti Nurul Azkiyah (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

Ahmad Dzikrullah Akbar, (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

LANGUAGE ADVISOR

Maria ulfa, (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Makyun Subuki, (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia)

Review of Islam in Southeast Asia (ISSN 2621-8496; E-ISSN:) is peer-reviewed international journal published biannually by the Center for Human Resources Development (PPSDM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA. It specializes in Southeast Asian Islam in general, and is intended to communicate original research and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

The journal focuses on Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia from multi-disciplines such Islamic studies, law, philosophy, history, politics, sociology, anthropology, economy, international relations, and other social sciences.

Editorial Office:

RISEA, Pusat Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia (PPSDM)
Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta,
Jl. Ir. H. Juanda No. 96, Ciputat Timur, Tangerang
Selatan 15412 Indonesia
Phone: +6221 7443 329 Fax: +6221 7493 364
Email: risea@uinjkt.ac.id
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/risea>

**SEEDS OF CONFLICT AND RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN PAPUA:
A Preliminary Study on Tolikara Incident 2015¹**

Ridwan

Researcher at the Center for Muslim States and Societies (CMSS)
the University of Western Australia
Email: almakassary@yahoo.com

Abstract: *To date, Islam and Christians have built up religious tolerance in Papua. However, nowadays Papua faces the growing of religious intolerance and seeds of conflict. One of its striking cases was Tolikara Incident in 2015. Principally, the incident had destroyed image of the legacy of religious tolerance in Papua. By examining the case comprehensively, this writing explored the context and the complexities of the Incidents. This writing offers a broader perspective to examine the phenomenon of religious intolerance in Tolikara, Papua, by providing a brief conceptual study, as well as reports of several investigation teams. Afterwards, it will describe the profile of Tolikara, GIDI and Muslim in Tolikara as a background to understanding the case holistically. Then, the author will describe the chronology of the event followed by providing a diagnosis of the seeds of religious intolerance leading to the conclusion and recommendations.*

Keyword: Conflict, religious intolerance, Tolikara incident, GIDI miscommunication.

Introduction

In the early morning of Friday, 17 July 2015, around 500 members of the Evangelical Church in Indonesia (*Gereja Injili Di Indonesia/GIDI*), who were attending the Ritual and Religious Revival Seminar (*Seminar Kebaktian dan Kebangunan Rohani (KKR)*) in Karubaga, Tolikara, tried to stop Muslims from performing their *Eid* prayer in the yard of the 1702/JWY Sub-District Military Command (*Koramil*), and followed this by burning kiosks of transmigrants and the Mosque (*Mushalla*) *Baitul Muttaqien*. A 15 year-old school student died during the incident. Eleven people were injured, and 70 kiosks were burnt including the aforementioned Mosque (Ilham, 2015). The event is popularly known as “The Tolikara Incident”, which without doubt, drew attention at both the local and national levels. To date, some

¹ This Paper is a revised and developed of my research in Tolikara 2015 when I involved in fieldwork in Tolikara after the incident as a member of the team of Forum of Religious Harmony for Tolerance (FKUB) in Papua.

reports and investigations have been done on the incident by several institutions. However, there none have agreed upon any explanations.

Hence, to understand the case holistically, the findings in this paper are primarily based on my fieldwork after the incident at Karubaga in July 2015 by utilising in-depth interviews with main stakeholders, as well as participant observation in the field. Secondary data have been gathered from various relevant informants, such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), as well as through online research.

Conflict and Religious Intolerance in Papua: a Conceptual Study

In the Reformation Era, Indonesia saw communal conflict in many parts of Indonesia, in particular Ambon, Poso, Sambas/Sampit, to mention a few of them. In responding to the conflict, in 2002, Papua created the *Forum Konsultasi Para Pimpinan Agama (FKPPA)* to prevent communal conflict occurs in Papua. To date, Papua is quite safe from threat of communal conflict, although seeds of conflict are there. Thus, what are the roots causes of threats of tolerance and peace in contemporary Papua?

Generally speaking, Papua today, through the theoretical lenses of Johan Galtung, is enjoying “negative peace”, namely “there is no war” or there is “cessation of violent conflict”. However, Papua still fights to achieve “positive peace”. Positive peace will mean that aspects of justice, human rights and democracy can be implemented in Papua. While today there is no manifest conflict, latent conflict still occurs, in particular regarding conflict based on the separatist movement. One of its manifestations is the threat of communal conflict. Specifically, there is no religious conflict in Papua.

There are four main threats of religious tolerance and peace: First, over religious fanaticism; Second, over ethnic primordialism; Third, the marginalization of the Papuan indigenous people; Fourth, Social change as a result of many transmigrants to Papua.

In the same tone, International Crises Group (ICG), in their report *Indonesia: Communal Tensions in Papua* (Laporan ICG, 2008), mentioned that there are several main factors that cause conflict in Papua: migration of Muslim communities from other parts of Indonesian; the emergence of exclusive groups in two communities, Muslims and Christians, that have seen each other as enemies; as remnants of old exclusivity from the Moluccas conflict, and the result of extensive development outside Papua.

Hermann Saud (Papua Land Of Peace, 2013), stated that there are several

contemporary challenges in achieving Papua Land of Peace that are dominant of dogmatism-scripturalism's attitude, majority tyranny in doing religious activities, and lack of cooperation among religious groups in mundane areas such as health, education and economy.

Regarding the Tolikara Incident, there were several teams which visited Tolikara for fact findings. In fact, there none have agreed upon any explanations.

A. National Human Rights Institution of Indonesia

The commission found four alleged violations of human rights in Tolikara Incident(Galiartha, 2015):

First, the case of intolerance, such as violations of the right to freedom of religion as guaranteed in Article 22 paragraph (1) and (2) of Act 39 of 1999 on Human Rights. In fact, (1) Regent Tolikara, Usman Wanimbo, admit it has been signed with two factions of ParliamenTolikara (2013) Regulation about ban or restrict specific religions and religious practice in Tolikara. The regulation in the perspective of human rights can be regarded as discriminatory. Regent Tolikara promised to give the document to the 2013 Regulation Commission. Facts (2) The existence of a letter from the Evangelical Church inIndonesia (GIDI) Toli Regional Working Body number 90 / SP / GIDI-WT / VII / 2015 signed by the Chairman of Regional Toli, Rev. Nayus Wenda, S.Th and Secretary, Rev. Marthen Jingga, S.Th,, MA. The letter, addressed to Muslims throughout this Tolikara with copies to various institutions/agencies that inform their KKR activities for Youth International level on 13 to 19 July 2015.

Second, Violation of the right to life as guaranteed in Article 9 paragraph. (1) Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights. In fact there wass a victim's death. Enis Wanimbo and 11 gunshot wounds, namely Aitelur Yanengga, Endi Wanembo, Emison Pagawak is among, Aleri Wenda, Ailes Kogoya, Julian Lambe, Amaten Wenda, Perenus Wanimbo, Erendinus Jokwa, Keratus Kogoya, and Gaubuli Jikwa.

Third, the violation of the Right to Security as guaranteed in article 9, paragraph (2), 29 subsection (1), 30 and Article 31 paragraph (1) and (2) of Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights. In fact, such event Tolikara created fear resulting in the loss of security of citizens, especially Muslims and the transmigrants in Tolikara. Concern was growing massively, especially with the possibility of sub-

sequent clashes. Especially after the incident, local residents had to make writing and certain symbols, the cross, so that the house or kiosk would not be destroyed or burned. The Regent of Tolikara admitted it and instructed to remove it sometime after the events.

Fourth, a violation of the right to ownership as guaranteed in Article 36 of Law 39 of 1999 on Human Rights. The fact of burning that led to the burning of kiosks / economic centers of citizens, Muslim houses of worship, and homes/properties.

B. The Commite of Tolikara (Komat)

Komat released their main finding as below (pojoksatu, 2015):

1. Tolikara incident was not an ordinary criminal case. And it is not a case of spontaneity. But it is suspected there are efforts to create and systematically harass religious life.
2. The Tolikara Incident included gross human rights violations, because the *GIDI* deterred other believers from worshipping and carrying out their religious teachings.
3. The President of the *GIDI* should be used as a suspect, as he did not heed, and in fact ignored the warnings made by the police chief, so the incident that hurt Muslims occurred.
4. In fact, the mass of the Evangelical Church in Indonesia *GIDI* gathered terrorized by throwing stones either directly at the *Eid* prayer congregation or at tin roof kiosks which caused noise to disperse (overshadow) the *Eid* prayer.
5. In fact, combustion began at the home of the DKM Chairman, Mr. Sarno, a distance considered very close to the mosque, which is only 20 meters.
6. Land of the *Masjid Baitul Muttaqin* has official certificate. This fact break that this mosque belongs to *GIDI*.

C. Independent Team (Civil Society Organisations)

Independent team that consisted of *Jaringan Advokasi Penegakan Hukum dan HAM Pegunungan Tengah*, *Yayasan Teratai Hati Papua (YTHP)*, *Aliansi Demokrasi untuk Papua (ALDP)*, *Sekretariat Keadilan, Perdamaian dan Keutuhan Ciptaan (SKPKC) Fransiskan Jayapura*, *Majelis Muslim Papua (MMP)*, *Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Papua*, *Sunspirit for Justice and Peace*, *Sekolah Tinggi Ag-*

ama Islam Negeri (STAIN) Al Fatah Jayapura, Imparsial, Institute Dialog Antarian di Indonesia (Interfidei) done an investigation in Tolikara. Their analyses are (Temuan Tim Independen Atas Pristiwa Tolikara”, 2015):

1. Incident Tolikara dated 17 July, 2015 is an event nuanced by religious sentiment for the first time and is difficult to imagine will happen in the land of Papua.
2. Circular Letter of *BPW GIDI* Toli referring to legislation that essentially prohibits any church or religious denomination other than *GIDI* in Tolikara district.
3. Another thing that also deserves attention is that the majority of participants of the Seminar and International *KKR* youth *GIDI* Papuan college studies in several cities in Java often witnessed or experienced discrimination as a minority form of closure or church bombings or banning pilgrims to worship. According to *BPW GIDI* Toli it is also one reason for the strong issuance of the notice dated 11 July, 2015 with a view to preventing violence when Muslims worship in Tolikara.
4. The Tolikara Incident happened because there was no intensive communication between religious communities, there is no communication forum for religious communities as a result of that since Tolikara into counties, the agency responsible for the development of religious communities does not function effectively, and even in the last three years, the Ministry of religious officers only visited twice.
5. The fact that the phenomenon of economic disparity between migrants and indigenous Papuans is very real in Tolikara like almost all over Papua in general. These conditions cause social jealousy regarding the economy and provide vulnerable areas of conflict.

D. Religious Leaders Forum for Tolerance (called FKUB).

FKUB Papua created a team to investigate the Tolikara Incident (*FKUB* Papua, 2015). At its conclusion, they say that, based on the general description and field, Tolikara Incident is an incident that should not have happened if all stakeholders established good communication. In addition, *FKUB* view that the incident resulted from: First, the religious fanaticism; second, ethnic primordial; Third, the marginalization of indig-

enous Papuans and fourth, social change due to the transmigrants (Conference-Focused Group Discussion-Strategic Planning, 2015). Moreover, the absence *FKUB* at the district level also smoothed the tensions that led to the incident, because the problems of mistrust and prejudice between Muslims and GIDI have to be discussed through open channels to be resolved collectively. Although the *FKUB* Papua acknowledges that there are seeds of intolerance in Tolikara incident, they stressed the miscommunication was the cause of the incident.

Tolikara Regency, Gidi and Tolikara Muslims: General Picture

This section will describe the general picture of Tolikara Regency, *GIDI* and Tolikara Muslims as basic understanding before going on to learn about the Tolikara incident deeply.

The Regency of Tolikara at a Glance

Tolikara is a name that is hardly familiar to most people of Indonesia, not least for those who live in Jayapura city. Many people outside Papua think Tolikara is located near Jayapura city, the capital of Papua. In fact, it is located in a mountainous region of Papua, not far from the famous *Baliem* Valley. Overall, the weather in Tolikara is fairly cool and even tends to be colder because it is located in the mountainous region.

Tolikara originally was a district carved out of Jayawijaya in 2002 based on Law Number 26 Year 2002. Tolikara has an area of 5234 km², which consists of 4 sub-districts (?) with Karubaga as capital. In the north, Tolikara is adjacent to Sarmi; in the south it shares a border with Jayawijaya, and in the west, Puncak Jaya. Currently, there are 140,801 inhabitants (Central Bureau of Statistic, 2014). The main occupation is agriculture, especially sweet potatoes, which are farmed in the traditional way, and *wam* (pig) rearing, especially in the district of Kanggime.

The main religion is Christianity, namely *GIDI* denomination. In addition, there are around one thousand inhabitants of Islamic followers (mainly migrants from Makassar, Java and other cities in Indonesia). To date, Tolikara is a region which is still developing. Kiosks and restaurants are few in number, and generally belong to Makassar and Javanese migrants, who pay the ground rent. Fortunately, local Papuans are not to sell the land, which they regard as savings or investments (Wanimbo, n.d.).

In addition, the accommodation services still need to be much improved, if it wants to build the tourism industry, for example the Lake

Biuk. There is a pretty good hotel, the Hotel Tolikara, but its location up the hills and its water shortages make it less attractive to tourists. Currently, the hotel is actually functioning as the office of Regent Tolikara. In fact, in Karubaga in general, at 12 midnight the lights are put out until the next day. It is this sort of reality that according to some informants makes Tolikara a “failed” regent, because the regent only focuses on the economic center and not at supporting infrastructure (Confidential interview, 2016).

Meanwhile, Karubaga is a community that adopts a patron-client relationship, or the image of a Big Man, typical of most communities in the mountains of Papua (Big Man in Papua is usually called *Ondoafi*, the head of tribe). Therefore, some people think that often the paternalistic system then the client will be easily directed to the interests of Big Man. In most cases it is normal to see people walking in groups of five or six especially in the mornings and evenings. Poverty and limited employment opportunities are increasingly leading to mass youth unemployment thereby creating the phenomenon known as ‘short wheelbase’, which mean an idle mass readily works in the interest of patron with short-term compensation/economic support in returns.

Hence, tribal conflict and conflict regarding local election sometime occur because of the interest of Big Man or in local language called as *Ondoafi* or head of tribe. Generally speaking, Big Man is people who have economic and political capacity to protect their ethnic members, as well as have good relationship with political and economic elite. For example, conflicts regarding local elections since 14-18 February 2012 have caused more than 10 deaths and injuries to 201 people. Independent Teams (Civil Society Organisations)(Tolikara, 2015) indicated that de facto in 2012 there was conflict between supporters of Usman Wanimbo (Democrat Party) and the supporters of John Tabo (Golkar Party). Such conflict caused casualties and property loss. People died and houses were burnt. Since that, tension between both parties has not really ended. Meanwhile, it seems not enough information that direct correlation that caused Tolikara Incident on 17 Juli 2015. In short, Tolikara incident, to certain degree, occurred as a result of the ‘short wheelbase’.

Evangelical Church in Indonesia (GIDI)

No doubt, *GIDI* has done evangelism in the Central Highlands, including Tolikara, in which many Papuans who were not already familiar with the religion later became Christians (*GIDI*). Evangelism is one of first missions. *GIDI*’s Vision is “*Umat GIDI Masuk Sorga*” (*The Community of GIDI*

Enter Heaven) and its missions: evangelism, discipleship, baptism, sending(Gidi, n.d.). Indeed, a change of civilization from “dark” Papuans in the region is inseparable from the struggle of the *GIDI* through their schools and clinics. In addition, *GIDI* also constructs airfields and boosts economic sectors to encourage traders (the majority of Muslim immigrants) to trade there, as well as elementary school teachers to teach the residents there. The presence of merchants and elementary school teachers has already established a good relationship with the Indigenous Papuan community.

Historically(Kondabaga, 2014), *GIDI* church was first pioneered by three people from the UFM Mission Board and APCM from 1951 to 1954. In March 1955, Bert Power and Ross Bertell arrived in Bokondini. On June 5, 1957, MAF plane first landed in Swart Valley now called Regional Karubaga Toli. Then, in August 1958, three people UFM: Ralph Maynard, Bert Power and Leon Dillinger walked from Karubaga and headed to the area Yamo open airfields in Mulia, Puncak. After opening outposts of evangelization, as the first results from the UFM Mission Board and APCM they administered the first baptism to 9 people in Kelila Bogo region on 29 July, 1962. This is the genesis of the early church in the history of the Evangelical Church in Indonesia. And, the second baptism was performed on 16 September 1962 at Bokondini, and then the third in Kanggime 27 January, 1963.

At that time, the indigenous church is increasingly growing and progressing very rapidly because the founders Three Mission Board in cooperation with the APCM, UFM and RBMU agreed to establish a church with the name itself (apart from churches from the outside). Finally, on 12 February, 1963 they agreed to change the name of the church which was first called the Evangelical Church of West Irian (GIIB) -1971 with the church center in Irian Jaya. In 1971, the name changed to GIIJ GIIB church (Evangelical Church of Irian Jaya) - 1988, in line with the transition of West Irian to the Homeland which was replaced with the name of West Irian (Irian Jaya). In 1988, the name of the church was transformed into the Evangelical Church in Indonesia (*GIDI*) in accordance with the development and growth of the church of Papua. It penetrated up to the islands of the archipelago of Indonesia.

This church was established on 12 February, 1962. Listed on: Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jakarta Number: E / Ket / 385-1745 / 76. Re: F / Ket / 43-642 / 89. Deed Number: 15 Date of January 6, 1989. Form: Autonomous and National Church. Validity: Infinite. Governments

of the system: the Presbyterian-Congregational.

GIDI church as a whole consists of 8 Regional Services throughout Indonesia. It consists of 61 Klasis, and 11 Candidates Klasis. It has 2 private hospitals: Calvary Clinic hospital in Wamena and Immanuel in Mulia. Education: School Level Up: STAKIN, SAID. Higher Education: STT *GIDI* in Sentani. Bible school speaking regions (Local): 7 pieces. TK-ECD: 5 schools, junior high and for high school, as many as nine schools spread across *GIDI*.

Hence, in Papua region, especially in the Central Highlands, people have known that *GIDI* has developed rapidly to other parts in Indonesia. Probably because of the historical base that made Karubaga and Tolikara in general was seen as the place of birth of *GIDI*. Because of this fact, *GIDI* has spirit to make the region as a special place for followers of *GIDI*. Not for other denominations. The similar situation happens not only in Tolikara, but also in other places such as Puncak Jaya region, where the *GIDI* influence is very well-known.

Stories that mentioned areas in the Central Highlands belongs to *GIDI* are popular. One prominent figure in Papua mentioned that Karubaga seems a special place for *GIDI* (Confidential interview, 2016). In addition, Usman Wanimbo, said that one of his staff does not belong to *GIDI*. That is why he goes back to Karubaga and Wamena regularly to pray in his church on Sunday morning. In addition, there is an assumption that only churches belonging to *GIDI* can operate in Karubaga (Kondabaga, 2014).

Meanwhile, *GIDI* seems to prohibit the existence of mosques there. Previous research stated that the Muslim Community is prohibited from building a mosque. Muslims in Karubaga are mostly civil servants and the traders of the day built a *Mushalla* with a loud speaker that is directed within the *Mushalla* (Pamungkas, 2008).

Muslims of Tolikara

To date, there is not much data available about the history of Islam in Karubaga, Tolikara. Based on the limited data collected from *Imam* Ali Mukhtar and *Ustad* Ali Usman (Mukhtar, 2015; Usman, 2015), the presence of Islam there was marked by the drop of teachers for elementary schools (*sekolah dasar*) in the 1980s (especially 1987), of which Mr. Tukiran, Mr. Nasrun, etc. from the Island of Java, in Karubaga which was still a district at that time. *Ustad* Ali Mukhtar (Mukhtar, 2015) said, "In the past, from our parents'

stories, there was a teacher who prayed, bodies bent and kissed the floor. Furthermore the tribal chief was amazed and asked. Why were you the teacher? Were you sick? Did you need to visit a doctor? The teacher answered. "I am praying. As Muslims we do our ritual in this way". Thus, the presence of early Islam is the case in Tolikara. In addition, the openness of many regions in Papua as part of the Indonesian unity enabled Muslims to come there.

The Muslim predecessor, who came from Java, created the *Mushalla* for praying. In the beginning, initial size of *Mushalla* was 5x5 m, which was painted black and the box-shaped houses follow local residents. *Mushalla* continued to expand to 8x 11 m due to the capacity of *Mushalla* to facilitate Muslims for prayer for those who came to Tolikara. The last width of *Mushalla* before it was burned in the incident was approximately 11 x 11 m. In addition, there was a guest area of 3x4 m, for *Ustads* invited to preach in the *Mushalla*.

The status of the land of *Mushalla* is still controversial. Based on the information of *Imam* Ali Mukhtar (Mukhtar, 2015), an existing customary release of a letter was signed by head of tribe (*ondoafi*) and head of the district, and it has been confirmed by Mr. Sarno who has been living for over 30 years in Tolikara. Currently, the land documents have been submitted to Ali Usman to be stored. In the same tone, The Committee of Tolikara Muslim (*Komat*) mentioned in their findings that they found a picture of land certificate that confirmed the site of the *Masjid Baitul Karim*. In the certificate, the owner of the land is Masrun. That certificate has number 208 No 264/1991 that within mention of the width of its land at 509 m² (Pojok, 2015). However, in various media it was reported that this land was the grant of a chieftain who still belongs to *GIDI* (Gabrillin, 2015). Despite such controversy, Ali Mukhtar said that so far there are no problems in the practice of worship.

Mushalla activity is devoted to prayers five times a day. Moreover, *Mushalla* has activities such as *taklim* (religious gathering reciting Qur'an) and other religious celebrations, such as *Isra' mi'raj*, *Yasinan*. However, in the early years of the presence of Muslim communities there were only dozens of Muslims, they were not very enthusiastic, nor were they active in religious practice beyond the implementation of the five daily prayers. In fact, according to Ali Usman, prior to 2006, the Friday prayer Muslim worship attendance was only about 10 to 20 persons. Furthermore, he added that before Ali Mukhtar came to Karubaga in 2006, the *Imam* of

Mushalla was a member of the Indonesian National Army, whose additional job was to be a preacher. In fact, the manager was often unavailable. Currently, the position of Ali Usman is the deputy *Imam*.

The position of the *Imam* has been vacant since 2007. An attempt was made to run religious activities better, and thus there was a need to hire a permanent *Imam*. The mosque board invited Ali Mukhtar from Wamena to preach in the *Mushalla*. They were satisfied with him and offered up the position of permanent *Imam* in *Mushalla* Karubaga. After careful consideration, Ali Mukhtar accepted the position because of dedication, regardless of the shortcomings of the conditions in Karubaga, including the *Imam*'s residence that was not yet ready.

The presence of Ali Mukhtar was welcomed not only by the Muslim community, but also the people of *GIDI*. That is because Uztad Ali Mukhtar was a leading, moderate and sociable figure. He was born in Lumajang. He is married with four children. Besides being an *Imam*, he also taught in elementary school. His friendly and level-headed attitude made him the lovable protector of Muslims who was also highly favored by *GIDI*. No wonder he has many friends who are Christians. For instance, he was invited to Jerusalem because he is very close to the preacher from *GIDI*. In fact, when his house got burned down along with stalls and *Mushalla*, he lived in the home of a Christian near the *Koramil* field in Karubaga. Finally, when he expressed his desire to go to Java to follow the *Nahdhatul Ulama (NU)* 33 Congress in Jombang, East Java, most of the people who knew him well in *GIDI* were sad because they thought he would have stay permanently in Karubaga (Mukhtar, 2015).

In terms of religious ritual, Muslims in Tolikara do not care about differences as shown by followers of Islamic mass organizations in other parts of Indonesia. According to Ali Mukhtar, religious rituals in Tolikara are fluid, not rigid. Hence, there is no clear distinction between *Nahdhatul Ulama (NU)* and *Muhammadiyah*. For example, there is no question of *qunut* at the dawn prayer. He further stated, "The problem is that people do not pray at dawn"(Mukhtar, 2015). Thus, there is no problem in terms of tolerance among Muslims.

To date, transnational Islam or in ICG terms as "new religions", as mentioned above, does not exist in Tolikara. Only *Jemaah Tabligh* ever preached there for several days. However, their presence has been reminded by Ali Mukhtar not to agitate because Karubaga is a small town and their distinct appearance could invite amazement and suspicion among Christians there. Ali Mukhtar said, "If I was wearing a robe it was no problem,

because they already know me well”(Mukhtar, 2015). Besides, Ali Usman added, that “no Islamization there. Those who are Muslims were Muslim before coming to Tolikara”(Usman, 2015). However, one informant told me that *Salafy-Wahaby* is there to promulgate their Islamic teaching secretly (Confidential Interview, 2015). This matter needs to be studied further.

Since mid 1980s, we have seen increasing number of Muslims in Tolikara. To date, Muslims have been growing as the number of transmigrants in general arrive in Papua. Until now, Ali Mukhtar and Ali Usman(Mukhtar, 2015; Usman, 2015) stated, “the number of Muslims there were about 800 based on alms givers even though statistic on *mustahik* (beneficiaries) on the feast of *Eid al-Adha* indicate there are as many as 1,200 people”. However, according to *Imam* Ali Mukhtar, hundreds of people are not staying permanently. Those who are there have a house in Wamena or are a Muslim employee who *nglaju* (roundtrip) between Karubaga and Wamena. As a whole, the growth of Muslims has caused the capacity of *Mushalla* to be limited primarily to conduct *Eid (Idul Fitr and Adha)* twice during a year. So, since 2009, the praying *Eid al-Fitr* was always carried out, before the incident occurred, outside *Mushalla* and there was never a problem.

Chronological Events of the Tolikara Incident in 2015

There are several versions of chronological events of the Tolikara Incident. Here is my version based on my fieldwork in Karubaga, Tolikara(Informants, n.d.).

Saturday, 11 July, 2015:

Regional Working Committee Toli (BPWT) *GIDI* wrote a letter dated July 11, 2015, Letter No. 90 / SP / GIDI-WT / VII / 2015. Subject: notification to the Muslims in Tolikara. In essence, the letter indicates the Working Committee on Regional Toli Evangelical Church in Indonesia (*GIDI*) announced that on 13-19 July 2015 there were to be seminars and *KKR GIDI* youth international level.

In connection to these activities, the leadership of *GIDI* tells us that:

1. The event of *Idul Fitri* dated July 17, 2015, we are not allowed to do it in the area Tolikara and District Karubaga
2. It may conduct *Idul Fitri* outside Tolikara (Wamena) or Jayapura

3. Non-Muslims cannot use headscarf
4. *GIDI* Toli region prohibits other religions and other denominations to be created in Karubaga, Tolikara.

The letter was signed by Chairman BPWT *GIDI* Rev. Najus Wenda, S.Th, and Secretary Rev. Marthen Djingga, S.Th, MA. After that *GIDI* submitted to the Regent, Toli Regency House of Representatives and the police chief.

Monday, 13 July, 2015

The Circular Letter was received by Soeroso SH (served since September 2014) on Monday from members of the Intelligence Police Tolikara. Then, the Circular Letter dated 11 July, was reproduced and distributed to the Regent, the Chief DPRD and the commander.

Meanwhile, Police have not received a request for permit and security assistance from the Executive Committee Seminar and Revival Service (*KKR*) 15-19 of July, 2015. This is necessary as the basis for issuing a warrant of security assistance. In the morning the Deputy Police Chief visited and met *KKR* committee at the secretariat to ask about the security letter. The Chief said “If indeed there is the difficulty of making such a letter, it is necessary to help conceptualize after new conceptualized signed by the chairman and secretary”. Because of the safety plan, permission from the Police Headquarters instead of the Police or local police has to be issued because the incident involves participants of foreign nationals, including Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Manus.

On the same day, the Regent and the Chairman of the Parliament were not in their offices. At 9:30 in the morning, the coordinator of the Police Chief in Karubaga made a conference call with the Regent, who was in Jakarta, and the following night he returned to Karubaga.

Tuesday, 14 July, 2015

Regent tried to contact the head of BPWT, but he was not in Tolikara. The letter confirmed by the Chairman BPWT, it turns out the letter was indeed signed by him, and then the Regent asked to revise the Circular Letter with the *Eid* prayers held in *Musholla* only. Because preparation of a seminar on the *KKR* was not yet ready, the Regent asked the committee of the *KKR* to be postponed to October 2015. The committee denied the postponement, because everything

was scheduled in advance.

Wednesday, 15 July, 2015

Early in the morning, together with the Regent, the Police Chief and the Head of Parliament visited the District Panago and Giga, by Pilatus aircraft, where there was a tribal war. This conflict occurred since the date of July 9, 2015.

In the afternoon the Opening Seminar and *KKR* were attended by the Governor of Papua and not attended by the Regent. Afterwards, at 19:00, there was the ribbon cutting of the *GIDI* Monument.

At the same day, the Revision Letter dated on 15 July, 2015 was completed by the Organizing Committee and signed by Mr. Mathen Djingga and Mr. Wenda. However, the letter just arrived on Saturday morning at the Police Office at Karubaga. This was confirmed by Mr. Marthen Djingga in front of the Police Chief at a meeting in *Koramil* date 22 July, 2015.

Meanwhile, the Information Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs at Jayapura acknowledged that they had received the copy permit requests to do *KKR* at 15:00, and employees have left work.

Thursday, 16 July, 2015

The Police Chief contacted the Regent by phone/SMS. Then, the Chief contacted President *GIDI* by phone reporting the planning of *Eid al-Fitr* in Tolikara. According to Chief, plan to conduct *Eid al-Fitr* prayers at 06:30-7:30 a.m. because *Mushalla Baitul Muttaqien* capacity is only 150 persons, then disconnect the *Eid* prayers held on the lawn *Koramil* front.

Certainty about the news of *Eid* at 18.00 from Jakarta .At night *takbiran* only implemented in *Mushalla* only using the active speaker and without a parade. Police Chief urges that *Taraweeb* was heard by people who were in the back, so there was no need to use loud voices or sounds outside. Speaker reasonably was placed in *Mushalla* inside and active speakers were also put it near the door, so the prayer would not heard outside. At that night, it was decided that *Eid* prayer will be held in *Koramil* yard.

Friday, 17 July, 2015

People who wanted to pray *Eid* already started to gather at 06.00 a.m. in the morning. *Eid* praying was held at the *Koramil* within

approximately 750 meters of the venue for the *KKR* using wireless devices, which have a range of about 200-300 meters. Meanwhile, *KKR* had not yet begun.

Eid prayer is performed only until the 7th *Takbir*, because the masses of *GIDI* at the end of BPD office shouting: “Stop and Disband”! The first shooting by police was fired as a warning to the masses of *KKR* who seemed brutal, and began to attack by throwing stones into *Jemaah* while they were conducting worship.

The Police Chief said “If there were no warning shots, the possibility of masses of *KKR* may not be controlled and there may have been more victims from the *Jemaah*, especially mothers and children. The masses went back”. They gathered at the edge of the small airport near to the *Koramil* field. But not long afterwards came another wave of mass from the back of *Mushalla*. They were screaming to expel the congregation to stop the activities. Then after the first shooting activities of *Eid* prayer have stopped. But they think what disbanded want to run where, while from every point of entry into the field *Koramil* has fulfilled the masses of *KKR* who were there all, and if you want to disband where, eventually *Jemaah* still gather just around *Koramil*.

Furthermore, at that time the police chief who was using Muslim dress (*koko*), and was requested to release his hat (*songkok*) and the chief did. Then he and the Regent tried to stop and discuss with the leaders of the masses coming from the Street Irian, then there was no combustion.

Combustion occurred soon after raging, there was a mass of Gilig Batu, also from the direction of BPD and there is also a mass located at Jalan Irian. Then, he heard the sound of gunfire, then burning occurs at the end of the pack kiosk Mr Sarno, near the Banyan tree.

At the end of the runway, shots were also heard. At the same time, smoke appeared behind the Banyan tree. The first kiosk burned is owned by Mr Sarno, then the fire spread upwards and downwards. Then, third stall, which sells gasoline and diesel, including cars also caught fire. The *Mushalla* then started to burn. The fire was extinguished after 2 hours, when 70 stalls were on fire and the *Mushalla*. One person died, and the 11 injured were evacuated to Wamena and Jayapura for treatment.

Saturday, 18 July, 2015.

The Revision letter dated 15 July, 2015, was brought into the police station, but it was unknown who brought the letter. On the same day the Revision letter was received by Ali Mukhtar. Meanwhile, at the meeting of the Chief of Police dated 22 July, 2015, Mr. Marthen Jingga acknowledged that he signed the letter with Mr. Wenda. In addition, he also confirmed that on 15 July he wrote the Revision letter.

Seeds of Religious Intolerance Discriminatory Local Regulation

One case that is much discussed in the Tolikara incident is the issue of the presence of discriminatory local regulation (*Peraturan Daerah/Perda*) based on religious setting, especially against Muslims in Tolikara. For instance, the regulation prohibits the establishment of mosques and bans the veil in Karubaga. This issue was a strong blow when the incident occurred, and also took a lot of attention and invited a number of questions. Additionally, allegedly “Circular Letter of July 11 by *GIDI* of Toli region” is also derived from the local regulation.

In this regard, Elga Sarapung (Sarapung, 2015) stated, “Probably the regulation is only a decree (declaring) from the head of the Tolikara Regent. So no one challenges the regulation. Because the data on the regulation physically promised me not sent”. In addition, there is also a controversial aspect of the regulations which are discriminatory against Muslims because of a ban on the veil for Muslim women. Hence, this issue must be discussed directly with local authorities and local legislatures so there is clarity on this issue.

To date, the “mysterious local regulation” is still in draft form yet already approved by the Parliament Tolikara. However, the regulation had not gone into force, because there must be consultation with the Governor of Papua. Then it is needed to be forwarded to the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs in Jakarta. In reality, according to Usman Wanimbo, this regulation has not been followed up to the Governor and the Ministry of Home Affairs. Therefore, the regulation is not legally binding. In addition, physical data of the regulation also cannot be seen because the staff of Regent that stored the data was not in Karubaga (Wanimbo, 2015).

Furthermore, according to Usman Wanimbo, “Initially this regulation was a result of the *GIDI* 4th Annual Meeting of Toli region. It emerged from the aspirations of the people and then was discussed in Parliament and approved” (Wanimbo, 2015). Looking at detail, the discriminative aspirations toward Muslims emerged due to misunderstanding about Islam and marginalization that have been faced by Papuan people. It seems, in line with it, Soeroso, Chief of Police in Tolikara (Soeroso, 2015), stating that it has been sealed in the local parliament and approved by several factions”. This means, that the regulation has indeed been discussed in the Parliament Tolikara. Furthermore Wanimbo said, “That is indeed the case procedures and regulations that come from the aspirations of the people. If no aspirations of the community were made, then preliminary design for endorsement would not exist. There must be consultation with the Governor before the regulation can be forwarded to the Minister of Internal Affairs” (Wanimbo, 2015).

So far, there has been no consultation with the Governor of Papua and the regulation has not yet been forwarded to the Ministry of Home Affairs, so the regulation is not legally binding. In conclusion, this local regulation has not been approved as definite regulation that legally binding.

Circular Letter of 11 July, 2015 and Revision of Circular Letter of July 15, 2015

Circular Letter of 11 July, 2015, which contains three points which essentially ban the implementation of *Shalat Eidh* in Tolikara, conditional praying of *Eid* in Wamena or Jayapura and banning of the veil (see appendix), really invites curiosity of people, related to authenticity and why the discriminatory letter was out?

For authenticity of the circular letter, it can be ascertained that “the circular letter” was original. In other words, it was not a fake (hoax). The Head of Regent confirmed that the letter was original because he had had talks with the Chairman *GIDI* of Toli Region. In addition, the Regent also received contact from the local police chief, Soeroso, to confirm this. In the same vein, the police chief also stated “That the circulars exist and have been recognized by Mr. Marthen Jingga in front of the police chief in *Koramil* meeting time after the incident”. The Police chief also added that he did not receive the letter directly. But he got it from an intelligence service (Soeroso, 2015).

The existence of the circular letter aforementioned had been responded by the Regent and the police chief. Both were communicating via mobile when the Regent was in Jakarta. The Regent in particular has confirmed. He added that there was a Revision letter dated July 15, 2015 by *GIDI* branch Tolikara to replace the Circular Letter.

The issuance of the Revision Letter to replace the Circular Letter was indeed a positive step. According to Usman Wanimbo (Wanimbo, 2015), the Revision Letter had been discussed to revise the previous controversial Circular Letter, because the substance of it was problematic. In the Revision Letter (See annex) it was mentioned that the Eid prayer can be implemented in Karubaga, but better to be carried out in the *Mushalla*. Not in the *Koramil* field. However, banning the veil has not been revised.

The Revision Letter raised some polemic, especially related to the fact whether or not the letter had been disseminated. Even it was a fake. Meanwhile, the *GIDI* stated that the Revision Letter has been submitted to the police chief and the *Imam*. It was even mentioned in the *Menkopolbukam* meeting with religious leaders in Papua Governor's office (Wanggai, 2015). Meanwhile, the Police chief and the *Imam* admitted that both of them had received a letter of Correction on 18 July, 2015, a day after the incident occurred in Tolikara. (Mukhtar, 2015; Soeroso, 2015) In addition, we have to note that the Regent and the Police Chief were too busy resolving the tribal war among Papuan ethnics in the Panaga District which affected the late dissemination of the Revision Letter.

Despite the controversy, the Revision Letter was not disseminated and was not well distributed to stakeholders thus leading to a wide communication gap. In other words, there was a disconnection in communication between the parties concerned to anticipate the security problems that would have averted the incidents from happening in the field.

Conclusion

Based on the theoretical lenses aforementioned and findings of the field, as mentioned above, it can be concluded that the Tolikara Incident that occurred was not because of single factor. To certain degree, religious fanaticism seems play a significant role in Tolikara Incident, including *GIDI* activity and its *KKR* activity to date, which was combined with other factors, namely, marginalization, the strongest of ethnic primordialism and social change because of immigration from outside Papua.

In other words, religious fanaticism is probably a main factor that can

be seen by the presence of the Circular Letter on 11 July 2015, which prohibits other religions from conducting their rituals that paved the way for *GIDI* members (*KKR* participants) to attack and violate rights for doing their religious teaching.

From human rights perspective, to a certain degree, *Komnas HAM* and *Komat* was right that what was demonstrated by *GIDI* members in Tolikara Incident cannot be tolerated, as well as considering Indonesian country as a Lawful country and based on Five Pillars (*Panca Sila*) and Indonesian Constitution (*UUD 1945*). The issue of local regulation that discriminatory to Muslims is proof that state institutions failed to uphold and implement the rule of law and human rights in Karubaga. In short, the incident is not solely based on Islamisation, in particular loud speaker problem (*masalah Toa*) that was assumed as scapegoat.

Meanwhile, another cause of the incident was miscommunication between the stakeholders, as mentioned by *FKUB* Papua. For example, there is no good (missing) communication about the notification for Revision Letter on 15 July 2015 over the Circular Letter on 11 July 2015 that prohibits Muslims to conduct *Eid* praying in Karubaga as well as prohibits women (*Muslimah*) from wearing veils. The first letter was assumed to be a source of the incident. Unfortunately, the second letter revising the first letter was not given to local police head and the *Imam* soon after revision because of ineffective communication.

Overall, this incident shows how state institutions failed to prevent the Tolikara Incident. In many instances, there is no regulation in place, and when in place, it is not communicated on time or effectively to the right people. In other words, the Tolikara Incident was caused by many factors namely religious fanaticism, ethnic primordialism, marginalisation and transmigrants' impact including miscommunication of its stakeholders.

Recommendations

First, it is good time for stakeholders especially in Tolikara to improve communication to prevent the same incident in the future. In addition, the Indonesian government should respond to four threats to tolerance and peace in Papua: religious fanaticism, ethnic chauvinism, marginalization of indigenous Papuan people and social change of influx of transmigrants, as mentioned above.

Second, the Police and the Indonesian Military should advance a per-

suasive and non-violent approach in handling crowds and demonstrations. No doubt, several parties blamed that non-professional police conduct in the field for raising resistance from the masses, which resulted in shootings, burnings and social panic. Although, many claim that the police did the correct thing in handling the brutality of masses.

Lastly, outsiders always assume that they know what is best for Papua and sometimes push solutions that they think are better rather than the “Papuan Way”. In other words, they want to put “cloths” that they think fits the Papua problem. The appropriate responses may well come from within the land.

References

- Asian Report. (2008). *Ketegangan Agama di Papua*.
- FKUB Papua. (2015). *Laporan Klarifikasi Data dan Fakta*. Forum of Religious Harmony for Tolerance.
- Gabrillin, A. (2015, July 22). Ada di Tanah Milik GIDI, Lokasi Pembangunan Masjid di Tolikara Akan Dipindah. Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/07/22/17244161/Ada.di.Tanah.Milik.GIDI.Lokasi.Pembangunan.Masjid.di.Tolikara.Akan.Dipindah>
- Galiartha, G. (2015, July 20). Ini agenda tim investigasi Komnas HAM ke Tolikara. Retrieved from <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/507962/ini-agenda-tim-investigasi-komnas-ham-ke-tolikara>
- Gidi. (n.d.). Selayang Pandang. Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://www.pusatgidi.org/ind/selayang-pandang-0>
- Ilham. (2015, July 17). Ini Kronologi Pembakaran Masjid di Tolikara. Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/daerah/15/07/17/nrmprs-ini-kronologi-pembakaran-masjid-di-tolikara>
- Informants. (n.d.). This chronological event is written based on my interview with informants in Karubaga and compare it with other findings from Komnas HAM, Komat, Tim Independen untuk Tolikara.
- Kondabaga, D. M. (2014). Sejarah Injil Masuk di Wilayah Toli.
- Mukhtar, A. (2015, July 13). Interview with Ali Mukhtar.
- Pamungkas, C. (2008). *Papua Islam dan Otonomi Khusus: Kontestasi identitas di kalangan orang Papua*. Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Papua Land Of Peace. (2013). *A Prominent Religious Leader and Declarator of*

*Seeds of Conflict and Religious Intolerance in Papua:
A Preliminary Study on Tolikara Incident 2015*

Papua Land of Peace 2002. Papua.

Pojok, sulsel. (2015, August). Insiden Tolikara Pelanggaran HAM Berat ini Hasil Lengkap Investigasinya. Retrieved from <https://sulsel.pojoksatu.id/read/2015/08/01/insiden-tolikara-pelanggaran-ham-berat-ini-hasil-lengkap-investigasinya/>

Sarapung, E. (2015, July 23). Interview By Phone With Sarapung.

Soeroso. (2015, July 23). Interview with Soeroso.

Usman, A. (2015, July 13). Interview with Ali Usman.

Wanggai, T. (2015, August 1). Interview with Toni Wanggai.

Wanimbo, U. (2015, July 24). Interview with Usman Wanimbo.