## Religious Minorities, Islam and the Law

This book examines the legal conundrum of reconciling international human rights law in a Muslim majority country and identifies a trajectory for negotiating the protection of religious minorities within Islam.

The work explores the history of religious minorities within Islam in Indonesia, which contains the world's largest Muslim population, as well as the present-day ways by which the government may address issues through reconciling international human rights law and Islamic law. Given the context of multiple sets of religious norms in Indonesia, this is a complicated endeavour. In addition to amending and enacting human rights norms, the government is also negotiating with the long history of Islamisation in Indonesia. Particularly relevant is the practice of customary law, which puts the rights of community over individualism. This practice directly affects the rights of religious minorities within Islam. Readers, especially those conducting research, will also be provided with information and references which are relevant to the field of human rights, especially in relation to religious minorities and international law.

The book will be a valuable resource for academics and researchers in the fields of International Human Rights Law, Law and Religion, and Islamic Studies.

Al Khanif is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Jember, Indonesia.

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# Religious Minorities, Islam and the Law

International Human Rights and Islamic Law in Indonesia





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### Glossary

Abangan A form of syncretistic religious belief

Abdurrahmah Wahid Indonesian Muslim thinker and former president of

the Republic of Indonesia

Adat Indonesian customary law

Adat law region proposed by Cornelis Van Vollen-

hoven in the era of colonisation

Agama An organised system of religious belief

Ahad Narration of a hadith by one narrator so that the

hadith is classified as dubious

Ahlul bait Members of the Prophet's family

Ahlul kitab People of the book

Ahmadiyah A religious minority within Islam founded by Mirza

Ghulam Ahmad in India in 1889

AKKBB Aliansi Kebangsaan untuk Kebebasan Beragama

dan Berkeyakinan or National Alliance for Freedom

of Religion and Belief

Aliran Religious sect

Aliran Kepercayaan A form of Indonesian traditional belief

Al-ismah bi al-adamiyah The universal human rights concept in Islam

founded by Imam Abu Hanifa

Al-Qiyadah Al-Islamiyah A religious sect led by Ahmad Musaddeq, who

claims himself as a prophet

Amanah Instructions made by MUI

Amicus Curiae Friends of the court

Amir A concept of commander or leader in the LDII

Aqidah Creed in Islamic theology

Asas Tunggal The sole principle in Indonesian statehood

Ashura The anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam al-

Husein at Karbala

Bakorpakem Badan Koordinasi Pengawasan Aliran dan Keper-

cayaan or the Joint-Judiciary Committee of Reli-

gious Life

An Indonesian concept of the spirit of being with Bermasyarakat

people

A principle of unity in diversity in Indonesian polity Bhinneka Tunggal Ika

Bid'ah Innovations or any rituals which were not done by

the Prophet

Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam **CDHRI** 

adopted by member states of the OIC in 1990

CERD Committee on the Elimination of Racial

Discrimination

**CRCS** Center for Religious and Cross Cultural Studies at

Gadjah Mada University

A Sunni-Messianic Islamic Sect also known as Islam DarulArqam

Iamaah or LDII

Dhimmis Adherents of religions revealed before Islam

Fatwa Islamic religious ruling, a scholarly opinion on

a matter of Islamic law

Figh Islamic jurisprudence

**FKKI** Forum Komunikasi Kristen Indonesia or Forum for

Christian Communication in Indonesia (FKKI)

**FKUB** Forum Kerukunan antar Umat Beragama or the

Forum of Religious Harmony

Forum Externum External dimension of religious freedom Forum Internum Freedom of thought or conscience itself

Front Pembela Islam or Islamic Defender Front FPI Branches of the law or jurisprudence in Islam furu'iyya Gotong Royong

Mutual cooperation or volunteerism in Indonesian

society

Grundnorm A basic legal norm in Kelsenian theory

GUI Gerakan Umat Islam or Muslim People Movement Habl min al-nas A concept of humanitarian noble spirit in Islam Habl min-Allah Relationship between human beings and God in

Islam

Haram Any act forbidden by God in Islam

Himbauan Appeals made by MUI HRC Human Rights Committee

HTI Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia or Indonesian Party

Liberation

**ICCPR** International Covenant on Civil and Political

Rights

Iima Independent agreement among Muslim scholars

Ijtihad Independent legal reasoning

Ikhtilaf Differences of opinion among Muslim scholars on

religious matters

**ILRC** The Indonesian Legal Resource Center Imamiyah The concept of leadership in Shi'ah

Inter alia A term which means "among other things"

Islah The concept of improvement in Islam

Islam Jamaah A Messianic Islamic group which renamed itself as

Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII)

Ius non scriptumUnwritten lawIus scriptumWritten lawJaksaAgungAttorney General

Jalan Tengah Margin of appreciation in the Indonesian socio-

legal system to bridge the interest between the par-

ties in order to achieve the right balance

Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah A religious minority group in Islam in Indonesia

accused by the MUI as deviant

JI Jamaah Islamiyah or Islamic Congregation
JIL Jaringan Islam Liberal or Liberal Islamic Network
Joint Ministerial Decree A decree made by two or more ministers to admin-

ister a particular matter

Jural Community Informal tribunal which is run by consensus and

consists of community leaders such as the head of a village, the local police officer, religious leaders

and community elders

Kades Kepala Desa or head of a village

Kafir An Islamic doctrine which refers to disbelievers or

infidels

Kafir Londo Nickname which refers to the Dutch in the era of

colonisation

Kebatinan Javanese religious tradition

Kecamatan District

Kepercayaan Non-organised religious belief

Kharijites The first groups of Muslims who split away from

Mainstream Islamic groups in the Caliphate Era

Khurafat Non-Islamic beliefs

KLI Komando Laskar Islam or Commando of the

Islamic Army

Komnas HAM Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia or National

Human Rights Commission

KUHP Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana or Indones-

ian Criminal Code

Kyai A traditional Islamic scholar and this term is par-

ticularly used within the NU community

LDII Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia or Indonesian

Islamic Propagation Board, an Indonesian-Sunni

dominant minority

Lex specialis A legal doctrine which states that if there are two

laws governing the same factual situation, a law

governing a special subject (lex specialis) overrides laws which only govern general matters (lex

generalis)

MA Mahkamah Agung or Supreme Court
Mahesa Kurung A Sufi-Sunni Islam in Bogor West Java
Maslaha umma A principle of public interest in Islamic law

Maslahah Mursalah An Islamic concept of greater public interest for the

Islamic community

Membumikan Islam Indigenising Islam based on the Indonesian context

Menteri Dalam Negeri Ministry of the Interior

MK Mahkamah Konstitusi or Constitutional Court of

the Republic of Indonesia

MMI Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia or the Holy Warriors

Council

MORA Ministry of Religious Affairs

MPR Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat or People's Con-

sultative Assembly

Mu'amalat Islamic concept of inter-human relations

Mufti fatwa giver

Muhammadiyah An Indonesian Islamic organisation founded by

Ahmad Dahlan in 1912

MUI Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Ulema

Council

Mujtahid Islamic jurist

MunafiqunA group of hypocrites in Islamic doctrineMunasMusyawarah Nasional or National Summit

Musyawarah Consensus or informal litigation process held to

overcome a particular dispute among people

Mutazilite A school of thought in Islamic theology which is

based on reason and rationalism

Nasakom Nasionalisme, Agama dan Komunisme or National-

ism, Religionalism and Communism

NKRI Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia or the Unitary

State of the Republic of Indonesia

NTB West Nusa Tenggara

NU An Islamic organisation in Indonesia founded by

Hasyim Asyarie in 1926

OHCHR Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights
OIC Organisation of the Islamic Conference is an inter-

national organisation founded in 1969

Pancasila Ideology of the state and the supreme source of law

in the Indonesian legal system

Perda Peraturan Daerah or bylaw

Peremptory norm A fundamental principle of international law that is

accepted by the international community of states



Talaa A term which refers to divorce in Islam

Taglid A follower of an Islamic jurist

Tarekat At-Tijani A religious sect which believed that there would be

a tsunami in Jakarta and that the Day of Judgement

would occur on 17 August 2012

Taubid The concept of monotheism in Islam Tausiyahs Recommendation made by MUI

Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by **UDHR** 

the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948

**UIDHR** Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights

adopted by Islamic Councils in Paris and London

Ulama Islamic scholars

Ulil Absar Abdalla A founder of the Liberal Islamic Network Umma Islamic community in Islamic doctrine Ummah The concept of community in Islam UN

United Nations

Wahdatul wujud Idea of the unity of existence proposed by an Indo-

nesian sufi, Siti Jenar

YKNCA Yayasan Kanker dan Narkoba Cahaya Alam or Nar-

cotic and Cancer Rehabilitation Centre

Zandagah Heresy or religious dissidence in Islam

#### 1 Introduction

Indonesia is well known as a country with diverse ethnicities, cultures and religions. Despite being the largest Muslim populated country in the world – over 80% from an estimated 250 million are Muslims – Indonesia is not an "Islamic state", but a Republic-Pancasila state. Besides being the ideology of the state, Pancasila has also become a supreme source of law in the Indonesian legal system, as well as the philosophical foundation of the state polity. The acknowledgement of Pancasila as a state ideology was designed by Indonesia's founders to build a collective awareness of the Indonesian socio-religious pluralistic character. Thus, apart from some criticisms of its vagueness and meaninglessness, Pancasila undoubtedly plays a significant role in Indonesia's legal discourse, a development seen most prominently after the establishment of the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Mahkamah Konstitusi, MK) in 2003.

Religious pluralism is also acknowledged in article 29 (1) of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution, by which the country believes in One Supreme God without referring to a specific name of God, leaving an open interpretation of this concept to all Indonesians. Thus, the 1945 Constitution makes provisions for all monotheistic religions and asserts that this supreme theistic canopy in the Indonesian legal system respects all believers equally, no matter which religious denomination they follow. This constitutional provision can be interpreted as

- 1 According to Nasim Hasan Shah, a state which is inhabited entirely by Muslims or predominantly Muslims is not synonymous with an Islamic state. What I mean by "Islamic state" in this book is a state which applies Islamic law as a supreme source of law in the constitution and national legislation. On the concept of Islamic state, see Nasim Hasan Shah, 'Islamic Concept of State' (1987) 26 Islamic Studies 97, 97–155.
- 2 "Pancasila", derived from Javanese philosophy, means five principles (*Panca* five and *Sila* principle); (1) belief in One Supreme God or monotheism, (2) just and civilised humanitarianism, (3) Indonesian unity, (4) democracy, and (5) social justice. See Howard M Federspiel, *A Dictionary of Indonesian Islam* (Ohio University, Center for International Studies 1995) 97. For further discussion on Pancasila, see Chapter 5 of this book.
- 3 See e.g. Blasphemy Law (2010) Mahkamah Konstitusi 140/PUU-VII/2009 305. and Decree of the Indonesian Consultative Assembly on Legal Sources and Hierarchy of Indonesian Legal System 2000 (NO III/MPR/2000).

# 2 Religious minorities under international human rights law and Islamic law

#### 1. The scope of human rights law

It is necessary to discuss the rights of religious minorities as a human right within Islam in a wider context. This is to show that the fundamental reason for the protection of the rights of religious minorities is not based on their religious status but is related to their status as dignified human beings. International human rights instruments comprehensively honour human beings by asserting that all humans are born free with equal rights and dignity. Therefore, everyone should be entitled to human rights without any kind of distinction such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. The instruments further assert: "each state party must ensure that all individuals are granted their rights equally without distinction based on, *inter alia*, religion." The instruments also require that all persons should be entitled to their rights equally and the state should prohibit any discrimination which impairs the equal enjoyment of rights and provide effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as, inter alia, religion."

The principles of equality and non-discrimination have become fundamental to the peremptory nature of international human rights law.<sup>4</sup> The two principles affirm the character of human rights as universal because the entitlement of these rights is not according to membership of a particular group but according

- 1 See e.g. the preamble and article 1 and 2 of the UDHR, the preamble of the CEDAW, the CERD and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and article 55 of the UN Charter
- 2 See *e.g.* article 2 (1) of the ICCPR. The regulation of "equal treatment" is also stipulated in the preambles of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which say that equal and inalienable rights are the foundation of freedom and justice in the world.
- 3 See article 26 of the ICCPR and Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies 2006 167.
- 4 See Olivier De Schutter, International Human Rights Law: Cases, Materials, Commentary (Cambridge University Press 2014) 123.

# 3 The discourse of religion and religious minorities within Islam in a "quasi-theistic secular" Indonesia<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. The legal acknowledgement of pluralistic character

Indonesia is a republic politically and ideologically, but it is also not an Islamic state per se.<sup>2</sup> With a predominantly Muslim majority population, Indonesia does not deny a role for religion in relation to law and perceives itself as a religious-democratic state which does not hold onto a particular religion. Indonesia is built on the foundation that the nation is and will always be a religious-pluralistic country, as asserted in Pancasila as the ideology of the state.<sup>3</sup> As the supreme source of law in the Indonesian legal system, Pancasila also becomes the sole foundation of the polity which represents the supreme source of law of Indonesia. This basic framework is further emphasised by the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution (hereafter the 1945 Constitution), which declares that the independence of the nation was bestowed by God and therefore the structural form of the Republic of Indonesia is based upon the sovereignty of the people and shall be based upon belief in the One Supreme God.<sup>4</sup>

These two fundamental laws, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, assert that Indonesia is based on the rule of law, forming a state based on laws<sup>5</sup> which believes in monotheistic religions. This principle stipulates that Indonesians should respect their fellow citizens even if they have different religious beliefs, as a consequence of the observable fact that Indonesia is a religiously plural state

- 1 The term "quasi-theistic secular" state has been coined by the author to define Indonesia as a state that upholds secularism in its legislations but at the same time also considers the significant role of theistic religion in the public sphere.
- 2 Abdullah Saeed, 'Interpreting the Quranic Principle of Religious Pluralism', in Abdullah Saeed, Approaches to the Qur'an in Contemporary Indonesia (Oxford University Press 2005) 221.
- 3 Luthfi Assyaukanie, Islam and the Secular State in Indonesia (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 2009) 16.
- 4 See Michael Barry Hooker, Indonesian Islam: Social Change through Contemporary Fatåawåa (University of Hawaii Press 2003) 17.
- 5 A state based on laws in Indonesian terms is known as "negara hokum". See Daniel S Lev, Legal Evolution and Political Authority in Indonesia: Selected Essays (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers 2000) 221.

# 4 The complex reality of religious minorities within Islam in Indonesia

### 1. The discourse of *forum internum* and *forum externum* in international human rights law

As discussed in Chapter 2, the existence of rights for religious minorities, for both intra and inter religious minorities, are basically covered by different international human rights instruments. Based on the factual phenomena of minorities as vulnerable groups of people, religious minorities may receive special rights because this kind of group not only deserves equal rights but also positive measures such as effective protection from the state. Based on Asma Jahangir's report submitted to the HRC in 2003, "one of the main reasons is that minority groups, and particularly religious minorities, are often directly targeted for extra-judicial execution in many countries". Such persecutions are often a consequence of the external manifestation of their religion or beliefs. This means that there should be a synergic relation between international human rights law and domestic law on the regulation of forum internum and forum externum to protect vulnerable religious groups globally.

International human rights instruments define *forum internum* as freedom of thought or conscience.<sup>3</sup> The HRC similarly points out that *forum internum* encompasses freedom of thought and conscience, or the freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of one's choice that is not susceptible to any limitation.<sup>4</sup> The HRC further asserts that freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief necessarily entails the freedom to choose a religion or belief including, inter alia, the right to replace one's current religion or belief with another, or to adopt atheistic views, as well as the right to retain one's religion or belief.<sup>5</sup> Paul M. Taylor similarly argues that:

<sup>1</sup> Nazila Ghanea, 'Are Religious Minorities Really Minorities?' (2012) 1 Oxford Journal of Law and Religion 57, 60.

<sup>2</sup> E/CN.4/2004/7.2.

<sup>3</sup> E/CN.4/2005/61.15.

<sup>4</sup> General Comment No. 22, Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies 2006 22.

<sup>5</sup> ibid 345.

# 5 Protecting *forum internum* for religious minorities within Islam in Indonesia

#### 1. Legal framework of forum internum in Indonesia

Discussing the forum internum of religious minorities within Islam in the Indonesian context is unequivocally complex. The concept of forum internum as asserted in the 1945 Constitution and international human rights instruments ratified by Indonesia is understood differently by the government and the general Muslim populace. The state frequently challenges the rights of religious minorities within Islam due to the influence of traditional Islamic orthodoxy and the practices of Indonesian customary law. The mixture of traditional Islamic orthodoxy and customary norms with Indonesian legal positivism has created serious complexity for human rights enforcement in the country, including the freedom to hold a certain version of the Islamic creed that is not in line with the majority. Based on this interwoven legal system, it is necessary to examine the legal spectrum of forum internum in relation to the concept of Pancasila. Pancasila is fundamental to understanding Indonesian human rights because as a national ideology and the supreme source of law, Pancasila is subject to interpretation. It can be interpreted in a relatively open and liberal way or in a monolithic and restrictive way, depending mostly on the regime and society in a particular era.

Pancasila consists of five, unamendable principles and has also become the highest source of law in the Indonesian legal system.<sup>1</sup> This means that Pancasila becomes the supreme source of law in the Indonesian hierarchical order of legislative rules.<sup>2</sup> The five principles of Pancasila are also mentioned in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which emphasises that these principles are established as the supreme source of the constitution. Even though there have been progressive legal and many human rights developments in Indonesia, particularly after the *Reformasi* era in 1998, such as the amendment of constitutional

<sup>1</sup> See article 1 (3) of the Peoples' Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, MPR) Decree No. III/MPR/2000.

<sup>2</sup> According to article 2 of the MPR Decree, the hierarchy of Indonesian law is as follows: The 1945 Constitution, MPR's Decree (TAP MPR), Act (UU), Substitute Act (Perpu), Government Regulation (PP), Presidential Decree (Kepres) and Bylaw (Perda).

# 6 Regulating forum externum to protect religious minorities within Islam

#### 1. Restricting hate speech to protect religious minorities

Similar to international human rights instruments, the 1945 Constitution also recognises certain limitations of human rights. The distinctive character of human rights limitation is regulated by article 28J (2) of the 1945 Constitution. It says:

In exercising his/her rights and freedoms, every person shall have the duty to accept the restrictions established by law for the sole purposes of guaranteeing the recognition and respect of the rights and freedoms of others and of satisfying just demands based upon considerations of morality, religious values, security and public order in a democratic society.

The recognition of religious values without referring to any particular religions in the second amendment asserts that the constitution advocates the "religionisation" of Indonesian society rather than the Islamisation of the country. It can be argued that the religious clause may not be used by a certain religious doctrine to restrict a particular manifestation of religious right. The constitutional clause of limitation should be interpreted as saying that all limitations on the manifestation must be applied necessarily to protect public safety, order, health or morals and the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

As previously mentioned, religious minority rights are generally concerned with protecting collective aspects of individual rights and therefore require positive measures from the government to preserve group identity. One such positive measure is the restriction of religion-inspired hate speech which may breach public order and the fundamental rights of others. This restriction is justified under Article 19(3) of the ICCPR, which requires state parties to fulfil their respective obligations against certain expressions which reach the threshold of incitement to hatred. Additionally, the restriction itself must fulfil the fundamental requirements of human rights restrictions.

<sup>1</sup> Nazila Ghanea, 'Minorities and Hatred: Protections and Implications' (2010) 17 International Journal on Minority and Group Rights 423, 423.

<sup>2</sup> See article 19 of the ICCPR.

# 7 Repealing blasphemy law to protect religious minorities within Islam in Indonesia

### 1. Religion, defamation and religious freedom under international human rights law

In the context of religious freedom and minority rights, international human rights law has attempted to strike a balance, not only between religious beliefs and freedom of expression as asserted in articles 18, 19 and 20 of the ICCPR<sup>1</sup> but also to establish equal relations between the respective majority and minority groups, as asserted by article 27 of the ICCPR. Against the historical background of persecutions of vulnerable minority groups, the international human rights movement has basically succeeded in establishing international human rights standards for minorities in general as well as religious minorities in particular.<sup>2</sup> State parties responsible for the implementation of relevant human rights instruments are required not only to guarantee freedom of religion as an individual human right but also to protect communal dimensions of religions, because most religions are practised communally.<sup>3</sup> If the states only protect the individual as a believer of religion and not communal religious rites, the individual may consider this policy as a kind of insult against his/her religion. Based on this argument, the state parties are legally and morally also obliged to undertake proactive actions to protect the right of every person to embrace a religion of their choice and to respect the communal observance of religious rites as part of religious freedom.

To regulate the communal character of religion, the state parties must acknowledge that the recognition and protection of the rights of believers in a world characterised by inter and intra diversities and rivalry of beliefs becomes very significant because religious belief and religious identity are both significant personally and communally.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, religion is like a double-edged

<sup>1</sup> M Bassiouni, 'Speech, Religious Discrimination, and Blasphemy: Remarks' (1989) 83 American Society of International Law Proceedings 427, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Geoff Gilbert, 'Religious Minorities and Their Rights: A Problem of Approach' (1997) 5 International Journal on Minority and Group Rights 97, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Nazila Ghanea-Hercock, 'Introduction', in Nazila Ghanea-Hercock, *The Challenge of Religious Discrimination at the Dawn of the New Millennium* (Springer 2013) 1.

<sup>4</sup> ibid 2-3.

#### 8 Conclusion

This book has critically examined the complex issue of protecting religious minorities within Islam in Indonesia within the context of international human rights law and Islamic law. This concluding chapter provides a summary of the research findings and, on the basis of those findings, recommends at the end an integrated legal spectrum as a means of effectively protecting the religious rights of minorities within Islam in Indonesia. Firstly, the chapter summarises the general insights of the book on the problematic position of religious minorities within Islam generally and the role and responsibility of Muslim-majority states in that regard. This is followed by a summary of the specific challenges to the protection of religious minorities within Islam in Indonesia.

The preceding chapters of this book show that in relation to the protection of religious minorities within Islam, the position of Indonesia as a quasi-theistic state becomes crucial because the state has a duty to regulate the freedom of religion of all religious groups and individuals. This is achieved generally by, on the one hand, ensuring the protection of their religious rights and, on the other hand, preventing groups from violating the religious rights and freedoms of others. Such a crucial role of the state is necessitated by the fact that all religious groups and individuals often claim that freedom of religious expression and manifestation is part of their religious belief, while at the same time they also often argue that their religious belief cannot be interfered with. These two claims engender the overlapping of the private and public spheres of religious rights especially when the state provides regulations that can be used by the religious majorities to persecute religious minorities within Islam. In this situation, the state is often caught between the need to protect the right of religious minorities within Islam to embrace their own understanding of the religion, and the pressure of the Muslim majorities on the state to protect the religious orthodoxy of the majority from what they consider to be a violation by the minority. Striking a proper balance between these two positions continues to be problematic for most Muslim-majority states, including Indonesia.