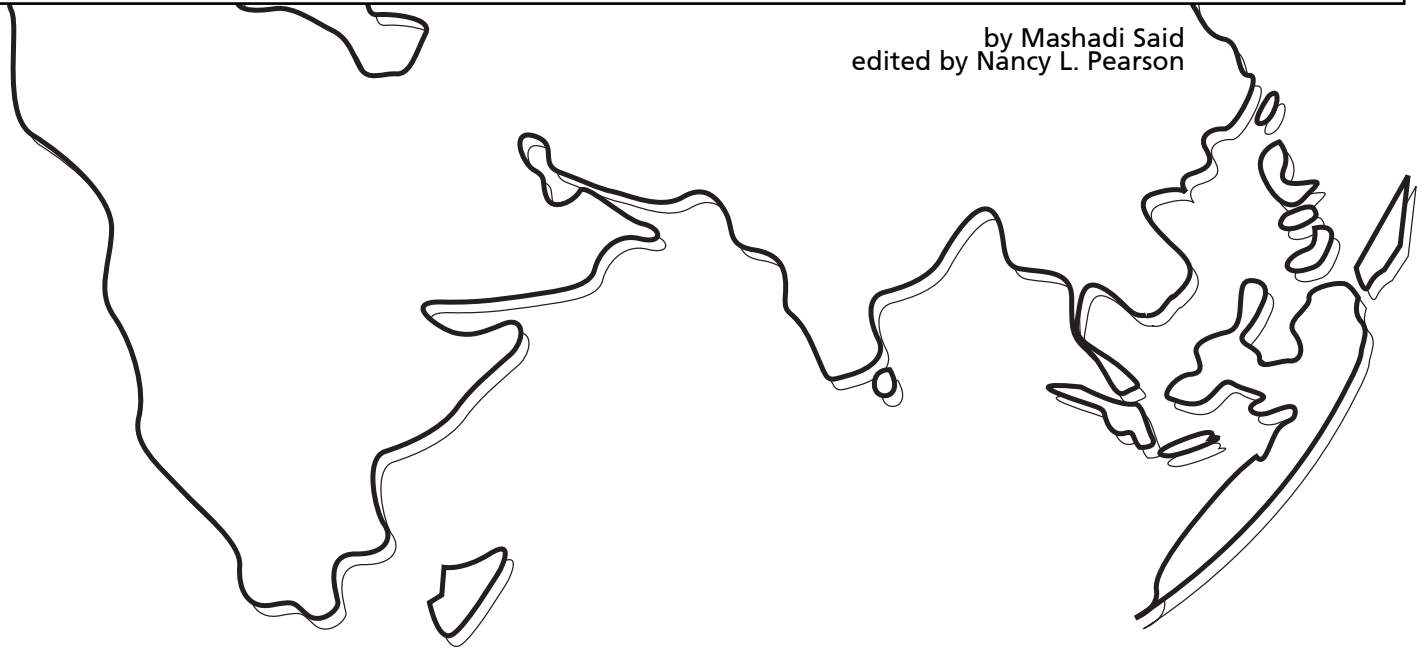


**Human Rights Advocacy Utilizing Religious
Perspectives and Opinion Leaders:**
Promoting National Human Rights Education in Indonesia

by Mashadi Said
edited by Nancy L. Pearson



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About the author

Mashadi Said is a member of the National Working Group for Human Rights Dissemination and Promotion, which works for the introduction of human rights through various levels of education throughout Indonesia. Concerned with preparing the next generation of Indonesians and frustrated with past and present human rights violations in his country, Mashadi has been involved in the working group since 2000. He is convinced that education, both formal and non-formal, is a key means for individuals to gain understanding, and eventually apply their knowledge in their day-to-day lives. Known for his academic expertise in education, in 2002-2003, Mashadi was named chair of the socialization group and its three main divisions, (1) research and socialization planning, (2) socialization material development, and (3) publication. Mashadi has also designed and written three collections of short stories on human rights to be used in Junior Secondary Schools as well as an Introduction to Human Rights 1, 2, and 3 to be used in Senior High Schools throughout Indonesia.

About the National Working Group for Human Rights Dissemination and Promotion

The National Working Group for Human Rights Dissemination and Promotion (NWG) was set up in 2000, based on the Presidential decrees Nos. 165, 2000, and 177, 2000, on the status, organizational tasks and working framework of the Department of Human Rights. The group is an advisory board for the introduction of human rights values through various levels of education. Four important main tasks of the group are (1) to study the substance of various kinds of human rights laws issued by the Minister of Law and Human Rights, (2) to prepare human rights materials for the introduction of human rights including for human rights training, (3) to design socialization models and methods for human rights dissemination, and (4) to publicize the result of the socialization program both in the national and local levels.

The members of NWG are academicians, as well as staff of the Department of National Education, Department of Religious Affairs, National Commission of Human Rights of Indonesia, Department of Health, and Indonesian Institute of Sciences. NWG has successfully completed its task for a five-year term (2000-2004) to provide a national framework for the socialization of human rights system. Now the Indonesian General Directorate of Human Rights is setting up Provincial Working Groups in 31 provinces.

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May 2006

Dear Friend,

Welcome to the New Tactics in Human Rights Tactical Notebook Series! In each notebook a human rights practitioner describes an innovative tactic that was used successfully in advancing human rights. The authors are part of the broad and diverse human rights movement including non-government and government perspectives, educators, law enforcement personnel, truth and reconciliation processes, women's rights and mental health advocates. They have both adapted and pioneered tactics that have contributed to human rights in their home countries. In addition, they have utilized tactics that when adapted can be applied in other countries and other situations to address a variety of issues.

Each notebook contains detailed information on how the author and his or her organization achieved what they did. We want to inspire other human rights practitioners to think tactically – and to broaden the realm of tactics considered to effectively advance human rights.

This notebook provides insights into how the National Working Group for Human Rights Dissemination and Promotion (NWG) in Indonesia developed a human rights education curriculum for all age levels in both public and private schools. In order to create support for instituting such a human rights curriculum that also encompassed religious educational institutions, an effective tactic was to engage key and respected agents of change—community and religious leaders as well as teachers—in the development and training of a human rights curriculum. By taking the time and effort to engage opinion and religious leaders in the process, the NWG was able to develop their critical support and integrate their needs and concerns in order to overcome barriers and challenges to human rights education. This tactic may spark ideas for others who are seeking to gain local to national level support for their human rights efforts.

The entire series of Tactical Notebooks is available online at www.newtactics.org. Additional notebooks are already available and others will continue to be added over time. On our web site you will also find other tools, including a searchable database of tactics, a discussion forum for human rights practitioners and information about our workshops and symposium. To subscribe to the New Tactics newsletter, please send an e-mail to: newtactics@cvt.org

The New Tactics in Human Rights Project is an international initiative led by a diverse group of organizations and practitioners from around the world. The project is coordinated by the Center for Victims of Torture (CVT) and grew out of our experiences as a creator of new tactics and as a treatment center that also advocates for the protection of human rights from a unique position—one of healing and reclaiming civic leadership.

We hope that you will find these notebooks informational and thought provoking.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "N. Pearson".

Nancy L. Pearson
New Tactics Training Manager



Introduction

After three decades of repressive and authoritarian rule, Indonesia recognized that a transition to a more democratic and pluralistic society would require long term planning and effort. Creating change in coming generations is essential to building and reaching this vision. In 2000, the Indonesian government set up a National Working Group for Human Rights Dissemination and Promotion (NWG) to implement nation-wide human rights education. The government pursued this effort in cooperation with academics, the National Commission on Human Rights, as well as the Departments of Education and of Religious Affairs.

Indonesia is moving forward as a fledgling democracy. Our goal is to help future generations to better deal with age-old as well as emerging community and ethnic issues from a rights-based perspective in order to stop the kind of violence which has occurred in the past. Thus, a strategy for engaging the broad Indonesian public in a fuller understanding of human rights issues was pursued. An effective tactic for bringing human rights awareness to the community was engaging key and respected agents of change such as community and religious leaders as well as teachers in the development and training of a human rights curriculum targeting all educational levels in both public and private schools.

As members of the NWG, we worked together with a broad spectrum of key stakeholders to develop core human rights curricula that are now being integrated into the education system at all levels, in the public, private and non-formal sectors. By taking the time and effort to engage opinion and religious leaders in the process, the NWG was able to develop their critical support and integrate their needs and concerns in order to overcome barriers and challenges to human rights education. As a result, human rights values have been integrated into the curricula for civics, social sciences, religion, geography, and sociology.

To date, 400 opinion leaders including community and religious leaders and teachers as well as approximately 1,000 civics teachers in both government and private schools have been trained by the Department of Education in using the curricula. There have also been 31 provincial committees on human rights that have been set up to provide training and on-going support to the trainers.

Guidelines and reference materials have been developed and are soon to be published. These materials address human rights values as in the Indonesian cultural and religious context. They were designed with the consultation and assistance of community and religious leaders in order to overcome the perception that human rights values are Western concepts that impinge upon Indonesian cultural and religious values. Instead, the process has led to a mutual recognition of basic human values.

As this is a very new effort and curriculum, changes in behaviour are expected to take time, as with the introduction of any new concept. The introduction of human rights in Indonesia uses many agents to internalize and socialize the values among the populations. Only in the long term will the results of this socialization be seen. After students (along with their parents and the rest of the population) have been exposed to it through media, religious and other community leaders for years, significant changes among the overall population will emerge. The difficulty was to use as many effective agents of change as possible. In terms of on-going evaluation, new knowledge acquired by the students will be provided by teachers in the private and public education systems where the curriculum has been instituted.

In this notebook, I will discuss the process and the lessons which we learned in undertaking this large endeavour, and the importance we placed on engaging religious and opinion leaders in the curriculum development and overall human rights socialization process.

Brief Human Rights Background: The Role of the National Working Group

Under the rule of former President Soeharto and after his fall in 1998, the human rights record of the Indonesian government was, and remains very poor. According to the 2004 report of the U.S. Department of State, government agents continue to commit abuses, the most serious of which took place in areas where separatist conflicts have erupted in the previous years. Security force members have murdered, tortured, raped, beaten, and arbitrarily detained civilians and members of separatist movements, especially in Aceh and, to a lesser extent, in Papua. Police officers have occasionally used excessive and sometimes deadly force

“Only now do I understand what human rights are. Indeed, I used to think that human rights can only be violated by governments, not by individuals.”

—An Indonesian Civics Teacher

“It is great to know that our important task to promote the respect of human dignity is now recognized internationally.”

—A Religious Leader



A well-known religious leader, A.A. Gym, is delivering one of his weekly speeches to a female audience. A.A. Gym has recently incorporated human rights values to his public discourse.

in arresting suspects and in attempting to obtain information or confessions. Ongoing difficulties include a corrupt judicial system which contributes to the failure to provide redress to victims of human rights violations or to hold perpetrators accountable. Security forces use intimidation and bribery to avoid justice. Land disputes generate numerous human rights abuses and frequently involve forced evictions, some accomplished with lethal force.¹

As in previous years, the government jailed some peaceful antigovernment protestors for "insulting the President" or "spreading hatred for government."² Politicians and tycoons showed a greater willingness to take legal action against news organizations, whose reporting they found insulting or offensive, and this trend had a chilling effect on some investigative reporting. Members of the security forces and other groups sometimes limited freedom of expression by intimidating or attacking journalists whose articles they found objectionable. The government, on a number of occasions, restricted foreign journalists from travelling to conflict areas in Aceh, Papua, Sulawesi, and Maluku (2002-2003).³

More generally, discrimination and abuses by religious groups and by private actors occur and authorities condone them or fail to act forcefully against them. For example, Islamic extremists attack nightclubs (ostensibly to punish their owners for tolerating or promoting vice) as well as increase attacks on a small Islamic sect called the Ahmadiyah.⁴ Government has restricted the activities of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), particularly in Aceh and Papua. Women have been victims of violence and discrimination as well as female partial genital excision is practiced in some parts of the country. Child sexual abuse and violence against children, as well as child labor remain serious problems. Trafficking in persons is a strong current issue, as well as discrimination against persons with disabilities and the mistreatment of indigenous people. The government has allowed new trade unions to form and operate, but it frequently

fails to enforce labor standards or address violations of workers' rights.

"Institutionalized" forms of discrimination and corruption are found in Indonesia. Ethnic Chinese Indonesians, under the Soeharto presidency, could not be hired as civil servants. In addition, until 1995, civil servants, including university lecturers, professors, and rectors had to join the government party (Golkar), and were required to include a copy of their membership card when applying for promotions. This painful form of discrimination to coerce conformity had a profound impact on people. This situation has somewhat softened.

The present Indonesian government has sought to undertake action through various institutions such as the National Commission on Human Rights, established by presidential decree (No. 50/1993). This was followed by the establishment of the Commission of Anti Torture against Women (presidential decree No. 181, October 15, 1998), and the Office of the State Ministry of Human Rights (1999), which eventually became the Department of Law and Human Rights. In 1999, Law No. 39 on Human Rights was adopted, followed in 2000 by Law No. 26 on Human Rights Tribunal. Other laws on human rights were also adopted and certain articles on human rights in the 1945 Constitution were amended. Finally, the 1998 presidential decree No. 129 on the 1998-2003 National Plan of Action on Human Rights in Indonesia was revised in 2003 by the presidential decree No. 61.

It is important to note that the fall of Soeharto brought a rise of religion-based parties and leaders, which had occupied a secondary place under his rule. Religion is now being given a larger role in public life. Thus, the introduction of human rights values has to take into account the changing religious and cultural context of Indonesia. At the same time, a broad spectrum of perceptions about human rights is observed among the general population. In a series of development measures implemented in the country, the socialization of human rights values is described and perceived by many people as a way for human rights activists to enrich themselves, since large sums have become available for their promotion.

As we observe an increased desire among the population, among the Muslim majority as well as minorities, to adhere to their respective religious values and to integrate them into all aspects of their lives, religious factors need to be addressed in the process of human rights education. Finally, as the strong traditional role of religious leaders in particular seems to have increased as well, the tactic adopted here for the in-



roduction of human rights values through education is most appropriate.

The current National Action Plan on Human Rights (2004-2009) is intended as a guide and general plan to enhance efforts to implement the respect, promotion, fulfillment, and protection of human rights, including the protection of community members vulnerable to possible human rights violations. The plan is in accordance with the national legislation on human rights, the promotion of law awareness, and poverty eradication, which have a special place in the national development effort. Its main program is divided into the six following actions:

- Establishing and strengthening the institutions for the National Plan of Action on human rights;
- Preparing of the ratification of international human rights instruments;
- Preparing of the harmonization of relevant laws;
- Disseminating and teaching human rights;
- Applying human rights norms and standards;
- Monitoring, evaluating, and reporting.

Our effort in the National Working Group was specifically directed to address the goal of “Dissemination and human rights education” to move the overall strategy forward. In 2000, the government of Indonesia had given a general mandate to the General Directorate of Human Rights to adapt, promote, implement, and socialize human rights concerns and values through formal and non-formal education for future generations in Indonesia.⁵ The purpose of the NWG has been to help the General Directorate of Human Rights develop a plan to introduce human rights in the educational system throughout the country. In order to fulfill this mandate, the NWG secured the strong support and ideas of religious and community leaders. The desired outcome was to provide students throughout the system of education with curricula and textbooks on human rights values and to integrate these values.

TACTICAL DEVELOPMENT: Challenges and Assets

In order to reach its goal, the NWG adopted a series of steps to specifically consult and engage religious and other leaders in the development and promotion of the curricula. The NWG, following extensive discussions, established and organized this response

to the government’s overall strategy in order to introduce human rights to the general Indonesian population:

- Create awareness and engage the support of community and religious leaders to understand the relevancy of introducing human rights values.
- Obtain input from community and religious leaders in the development of human rights curricula.
- Train community and religious leaders to train peers and teachers.
- Assist in setting up a national network to enable the latter to consult others and share their experiences, and to provide on-going support.
- Utilize the centralized education system to disseminate curricula to be adopted in formal and non-formal education with support from community and religious leaders.

Engage the support of community and religious leaders to understand the relevancy of introducing human right values.

One overarching challenge has been that human rights values are widely considered by the Indonesian population and various community leaders as imported Western values. As human rights values were officially adapted and accepted in 1999 by the government, the mandate of the latter is to socialize these values among its various populations, in ways which are acceptable, based on their cultural and religious values.

One highly positive asset is that education is uniform and centralized in Indonesia. All private institutions are required to integrate the national public curricula. This makes the education system an effective network to introduce human rights values.

Rather than directly addressing in the curricula the prevailing opinion that human rights values are imported values, the standpoint adopted by the NWG is the same one as in the Indonesian constitution (1945) and Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights. The NWG concluded that opinion leaders, including community and religious leaders, are key players in ensuring the success of the introduction of human rights values through formal and non-formal education. However, they needed to acquire a deeper knowledge about human rights if they were to mediate the promotion and socialization process.

Indeed, the NWG identified a broad spectrum of understanding among opinion leaders regarding human rights values, in particular with respect to their coherence with Islamic values. The group needed to reach a balance between promoting human rights values as such and promoting Islamic values, with little mention of their human rights counterparts. We needed to answer one very important question: “Was the curricula going to refer to human rights values per se or not?” In the end, we combined the two languages, using both human rights language as well as religious language. Another challenge was how to reach and train community and religious leaders as well as thousands of teachers countrywide, including teachers of religion, sociology, civics and geography, in teaching these values. Eventually, the latter task has become the main mandate of local committees that have been established for this purpose and for providing on-going support for the human rights education and socialization processes. This will be discussed later in this notebook.

Many of the opinion leaders, by accepting the invitation of the NWG to participate in the process, intended to demonstrate that Islamic values are more comprehensive than human rights values. At first, they did not understand why the government wanted to emphasize, advocate, and implement human rights values. At first, they wanted to debate about the relevancy of advocating human rights in Indonesia, since they believed this is a concept imported from the West. Finally, they did want to hear why we had

Some difficult perceptions the National Working Group met.

- “Actually, Islam is more universal [than human rights values].”
- “If Islam could be well implemented, nobody would violate the rights of others. Therefore, talking about human rights values is irrelevant.”

invited them, religious leaders, to discuss human rights concepts.

This tactic could be developed because community and religious leaders in Indonesia are agents of change who actively participate in most social activities. They own and run schools, hospitals and other institutions, and because their opinion is sought after by their communities, these leaders have privileged access to the community. Their help is required to ensure successful integration of human rights values.

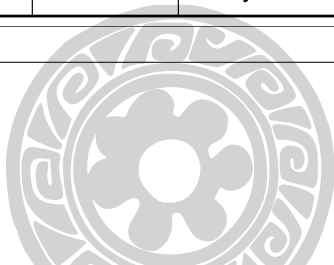
Looking back at both traditional and Islamic philosophies, dissemination by community leaders has helped make human rights values appropriate for Indonesians throughout the country. By providing examples of traditional philosophy and Islamic philosophy, we were able to incorporate these into the human rights education program. (See Figure 1.) Others might look at their own religious and cultural traditions to help them frame human rights in culturally

grounded and acceptable ways. Indonesian cultural values which eased the introduction of human rights values include solidarity, brotherhood, respect for others, freedom.

We recognized these conditions as specific to Indonesia since Indonesian Muslims constitute the large majority. In addition, traditional culture is very much entrenched and is often used by religious leaders as a means of Islamic socialization. However, this tactic can be very helpful to people who work in a context and environment with large populations of Muslims or other religious groups, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and the Philippines. It is also possible to transfer this tactic to different contexts to engage opinion lead-

Figure 1
Comparative example of philosophies found in Indonesia and relevant to human rights set forth in two religion curricula: Islamic and Christian

RELIGION	HUMAN RIGHT CONCEPT	BASIC COMPETENCE	INDICATOR
ISLAM	Respect others of different opinion, religion, race, age, property, sex	Read and understand the Koranic Reference to “Tolerance”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read correctly the Koranic reference “two verses” 40-41. • Understand the content of the verse promoting tolerance towards others of different opinion, religion, race, age, property, sex. • Adopt a tolerant attitude.
CHRISTIANITY	Respect others of different opinion, religion, race, age, sex, property	Explain the meaning of togetherness with others of different opinion, religion, race, property, without losing Christian identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adopt identity as followers of Christ by respecting others differing from him/her according to Christ’s teachings. • Having sympathy and empathy for others. • Adopt the behavior of Christ in conducting lives correctly and purely in friendship and loving relationships.



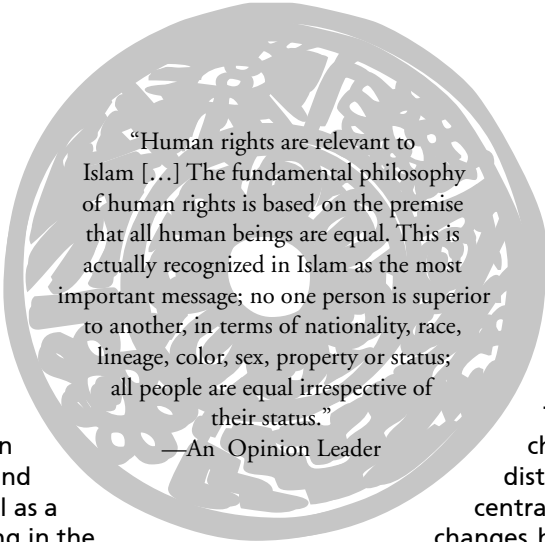
ers to utilize their traditional values and philosophies to promote human rights.

Specifically, the NWG identified a series of allies and possible opponents to its socialization program. Its allies have included community and religious leaders working within the Department of Education and Department of Religion as well as a specific religious leader working in the Academy of Sciences.

Among its opponents are some Muslim leaders, including religion teachers, who do not believe that human rights values need to be taught specifically. One hurdle we continually faced was the belief and perception that the Koran includes all the human rights values needed. I must emphasize once again, the additional overarching widespread belief and perception among the general population that human rights values are imported from the West. At the onset of an initial workshop we set up, some leaders teased us saying that all human rights values are already part of Islamic values and they believed there is nothing new here. Indeed, some Muslim leaders, including religion teachers, have still not endorsed the human rights concepts themselves, as they believe these have a lower status than values dictated in the Koran. In addition, the human rights resolutions are formulated by human beings, while the Islamic reference, the Koran, is dictated by God and is God's word.

At the same time, there were no significant challenges in bringing religious and cultural leaders into the process. In addition, there are various categories among Muslim leaders, from traditional schools (reading "yellow books", or interpretations of the Koran and the sayings of Prophet Muhammad written prior to the 10th century) to university-educated people. The former tended to be less open to new concepts and interpretations of the Koran, while the latter tended to be more open. Yet all accepted the invitations, largely due to the governmental mandate. To some extent, they still believed that human rights values are lower than Islamic values. We took into account this criticism by explicitly referring to Islamic terminology and to those Islamic values which resonate with human rights concepts.

Obtain input from community and religious leaders in the development of human rights curricula.



“Human rights are relevant to Islam [...] The fundamental philosophy of human rights is based on the premise that all human beings are equal. This is actually recognized in Islam as the most important message; no one person is superior to another, in terms of nationality, race, lineage, color, sex, property or status; all people are equal irrespective of their status.”

—An Opinion Leader

We viewed community leaders in Indonesia as including both formal and non-formal leaders. We classified **formal leaders** as those employed by the central government at the provincial, district, sub-district, and village levels. These are people who are in charge of development and the distribution of funding from the central government, although some changes have occurred with the recent effort towards decentralization. These people are generally respected, and at times feared, by the population. In either case, they certainly are heard and listened to with respect to the implementation of government projects.

We classified **informal leaders** as teachers, those with some education, charismatic individuals at the village level, and leaders of the various ethnic groups, religious leaders (*ulama*), retired army officers, self-defense group leaders, traditional healers, and civil servants. Most of these individuals considered as “informal leaders” belong to NGOs. They are mostly religious leaders or defenders of women rights, either as active members or as managers.

The NWG recognized that religious leaders require special attention and play a variety of roles. They are teachers from various backgrounds. *Kyai*⁶ or *ulama*⁷ are educated in *pesantren*⁸ and concentrate on reading Islamic scriptures. Some *ulama* are graduates from modern institutions, and these scholars deliver speeches in mosques and in private gatherings. Religious leaders also lead churches or temples. Finally, religious leaders lead religious discussion groups and socio-religious organizations, the actions of which permeate Indonesian society.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS WITHIN SOCIETY

As opinion leaders, religious scholars and their opinions are traditionally respected and trusted by the populations. The NWG felt that their engagement was crucial for this socialization program and focused great attention on how to inform and educate these leaders on human rights values. In addition, religion is integrated into the entire social life in Indonesia and most social activities involve religious speakers as agents of change in social development. The role of these agents is extremely important in spreading new understanding of religion with respect to modernity and development, including understanding and implementing human rights values.

The importance of community and religious leaders can be highlighted by the example of their involvement in conflict prevention and conflict resolution. They are respected by both their communities and the government, and were specifically asked to help in addressing inter-community conflicts in Ambon, Poso, and Kalimantan.⁹

The NWG also utilized the ability of these leaders to mobilize people because of the successful role of these in, among others, the introduction of family planning in Indonesia in the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, a similar tactic was used to introduce family planning nationwide. [See below: "Lessons learned from past

Figure 2

Time Line of the Process of HR Dissemination

No	Time	Agenda
1	August 2001	National working group was set up
2	September 2001	Sending invitation for consultation
3	October - November , 2001	Consultation
4	November 13,14, 2001	Workshop: Curriculum Development (1 st phase)
5	January 10 -12, 2002	Workshop: Curriculum Development (2 nd phase)
6	October 21,22, 2002	Workshop: Textbook writing (1 st phase)
7	June, 2003	Survey: Needs assessments on Human Rights Education at the University level
8	August - November, 2003	Workshop: Textbook writing (2 nd phase)
9	July 14 - 15, 2004	Workshop: Curriculum Development (University level)
10	July 19-21, 2004	Feedback from religion teachers: Teachers suggest training
11	August 2001 onwards	Training of trainers

LESSONS LEARNED FROM PAST MEDIATION OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS REGARDING FAMILY PLANNING

In order to ensure that the government family planning program was successful, the government first named it: family planning program and family welfare program, accentuating the welfare of family. Then religious leaders were hired by the state to contribute to the understanding of the population about family planning. These opinion leaders were to reinterpret Islamic teachings in view of the desire of parents to provide for their children adequate living conditions and to respect the rights of women and children to a healthy life. The involvement of religious leaders was initially seen as suspect by some religious leaders, as part of Western propaganda in order to reduce the number of Muslims in the world. However, as some religious leaders were able to engage in this reinterpretation process, and used Koranic references, other leaders followed.

Indeed, it seemed that individuals in Indonesia initially rejected this new concept, for lack of understanding. The population, however, came to accept opinions and the re-interpretation provided by religious leaders when the issues were from their own culture and religion, with specific references to the sacred Koranic text.

mediation of religious leaders regarding family planning.”]

It is important to state why community and religious leaders joined the National Working Group’s efforts. Culturally, one cannot refuse an invitation from such a government initiated body. Also, accepting an invitation from government can prove itself useful at a later time. Being selected to represent one’s organization is an honor. In addition, through government support, the NWG was able to provide transportation, hotel (3 days) and a small financial incentive (Rp. 250,000, about 25 USD) for their participation.

STEPS INVOLVED IN THE INVITATION, CONSULTATIVE AND TRAINING PROCESS (SEE FIGURE 2 FOR TIMELINE)

In order to invite a group of community leaders, the NWG engaged in a long process. It first identified leading socio-religious organizations. The two main Muslim organizations each own teaching facilities, clinics, hospitals and orphanages, and organize regular training and other events. These activities punctuate the life of Muslim men, women, and children in Indonesia. Among these leading organizations of various denominations, 40 were invited to participate. They were asked to send individuals most suitable to contribute in a workshop and to share ideas about this specific government-initiated process. All organizations invited eventually sent a representative. Together with these resource-people, the NWG discussed and agreed on the necessity of incorporating human rights values into the schools/university curricula. Showing its interest and concern for incorporating human rights values into the curriculum of religion

courses in particular, the NWG explained these values and a need to create a common ground between Indonesia's various populations and the rest of the world. Indeed, by entering the democratic process, Indonesians are joining a world community and it is interesting to see that all of us, including Indonesian Muslims, share values, which we choose to call human rights values. Also discussed was how relevant human rights values are to that of Muslims, Christians, and Buddhists, who in fact also uphold human rights values in their respective religious traditions and sacred texts. Finally, the NWG invited religion teachers (primary and secondary teachers, as well as university religion professors – who often also lead religious discussion groups) to take part in the human rights promotion phase.

The NWG integrated the questions, concerns, and ideas thus collected into new curricula. In this way, opinion leaders contributed to the integration of human rights values into all civics and ethics courses, which are compulsory at all levels of the government education system and in private institutions. The NWG has published textbooks and short stories on human rights which are to be used in elementary and secondary schools, both public and private.

At the next stage, the NWG sought the opinion of teachers, including teachers of religion (Muslim and Christian) to explain how relevant the human rights concepts enunciated in the new curricula were in view of their own religious values and knowledge. As the National Directorate of Human Rights works in cooperation with the Department of Education, Department of Religious Affairs and local government (education being the responsibility of governors since the adoption of regional autonomy), it was easier to identify

and involve teachers in the process. Senior teachers were invited by government to take part in a training workshop. These teachers were both pleased and honored to be invited. In addition, they were provided with local transportation.

Comments and suggestions were gathered from teachers and, to suit their teaching needs, the curriculum is to be revised in 2006. Among their suggestions, and irrespective of their religion, they asked for similar training to be offered all other teachers. Finally, the NWG obtained the contribution of these leaders in

the formulation of a guidebook to be used by human rights trainers in the non-formal sector.

TRAIN COMMUNITY AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO TRAIN PEERS AND TEACHERS.

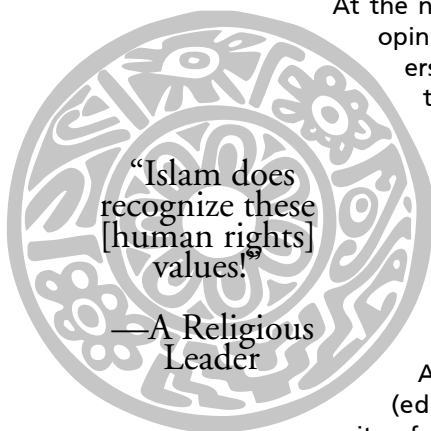
Since 1999, the government has initiated a broad action program, training legislative and executive personnel about human rights. It then embarked on spreading these values using the centralized system of education and the training of human rights personnel, abroad and at home, within the ministry of Education and its Departments.

At the implementation phase, opinion leaders were trained in human rights values. Trainees also included teachers from primary school to university, public and private, and opinion leaders among ethnic groups and minorities, including religious discussion groups, women and non-government organizations.

In fact, one incentive we utilized to engage opinion leaders was offering training abroad to some (Australia, South Africa, Switzerland, and Norway). Others were trained at home. Those who went abroad observed what is being done elsewhere in terms of human rights and, upon their return, they became trainers themselves. They attended sessions with leaders from other countries, thus acquiring additional information and insight. They could see themselves as citizens of the world, in a broader international context. This experience also helped them understand the initial motivations of the Indonesian government in spreading human rights values in Indonesia. Community and religious leaders as well as religious scholars, once trained in human rights, become trainers themselves. They also joined a network enabling them to get support for training individuals in their respective environments. This network allows them to compare the progress of their respective training efforts in the human rights training of teachers, police officers and other community leaders.

Although the NWG was not directly involved in the international training, here are two specific examples of training provided abroad and in Indonesia.

Musda Mudia, a religious leader employed as a researcher by the Department of Religious Affairs, was chosen for her demonstrated influence in a women's organization. She is a leader of the women's section of the Nahdatul Ulama (NU), one of the two largest national socio-religious organizations. She is also the spouse of the 2nd Financial Office of the Post Graduate School of the State Islamic University (UIN) in Jakarta. She has published research on women in





Mashadi among secondary school teachers leads a group discussion on Curriculum Development for Secondary Schools. November 2001.

Indonesia and speaks in a variety of forums, seminars, and workshops.

In 2002, she joined a three-week long training-of-trainers workshop in Sweden. Together with 40 other Indonesian leaders, Musda Mudia was trained in the following topics: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Law No. 39, 1999, on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Islam and Human rights; Minorities; the Relevance of Indonesian Culture and Human Rights; Tactics on Human Rights dissemination; Universalism and relativism. This training was provided by Indonesian experts trained abroad, mostly in Switzerland and Canada.

Following her training, Musda joined the NWG. She now integrates human rights concepts into her speeches in religious discussion groups within the NU and in seminars. She has published a very popular book on gender equality, including discussions on how the Koran actually only allows men to have one wife only. The book has been described as an important step forward by the *Jakarta Post*. This religious leader is now also a trainer within the Department of Human Rights.

Another religious leader, Anisa Basleman, has received a similar training abroad. A professor at the Institute of Education at the State University of Jakarta, Prof. Basleman also speaks at religious discussion groups for women, in particular within the Muhammadiyah, another national socio-religious organization. In 2002, she attended a month long training in Norway, together with 20 other Indonesian leaders. Among the courses she completed are: International Instruments of Human Rights (the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; CEDAW; RCCPR); Universalism and Relativism;

International Human Rights Mechanisms; World History of Human Rights.

As was the case for Musda Mudia, this training abroad enabled Prof. Basleman to gain different perspectives on Human Rights from her various trainers. In addition, all trainees were able to exchange views with officers within the Human Rights court system, including the Supreme Court as well as visits to local prisons and prisoners.

Following her return, Prof. Basleman has integrated her new knowledge into the discussions she holds with women's groups. She has set up a Center for Human Rights Studies at the State University of Jakarta. This center supervises research on human rights and provides training in human rights for the staff of local government and non-government organizations. It also provides training for elementary to high-school teachers sent by government. Prof. Basleman is now involved with the development of a human rights curriculum at the university level.

Other Indonesian community leaders attended trainings abroad with leaders from other countries, thus gaining further insights on human rights and their introduction in various countries.

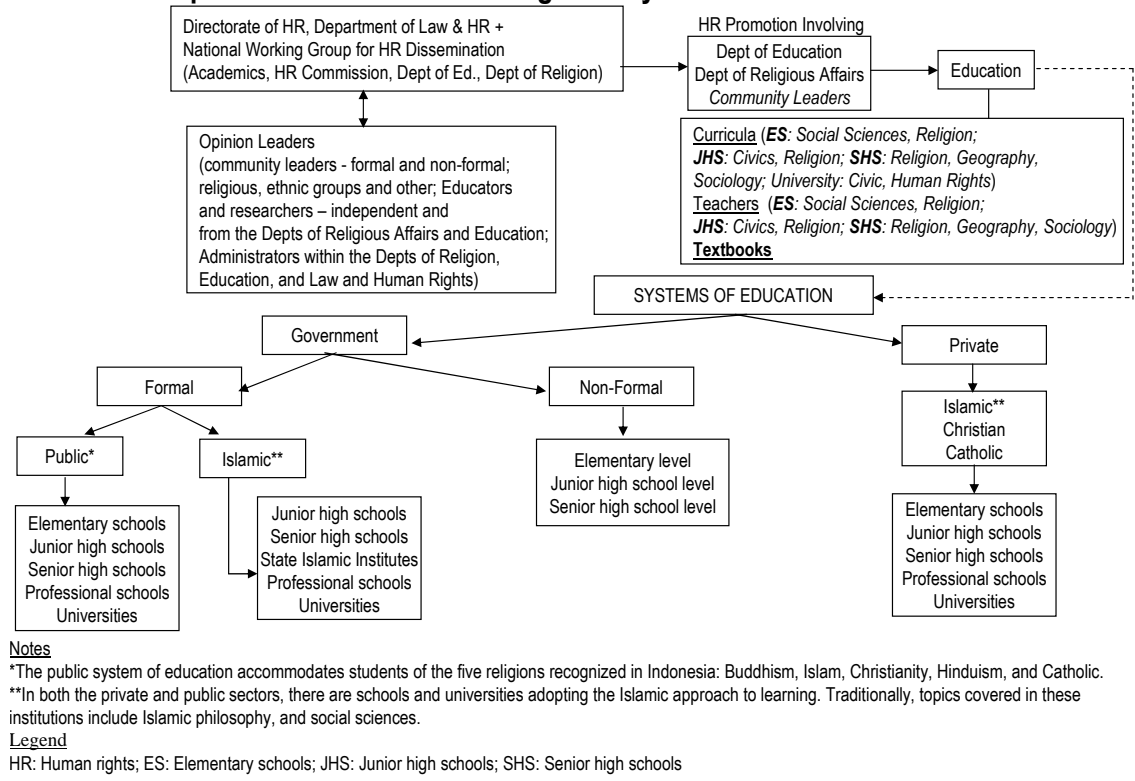
Natsir Zubaidi, leader of MUI (the Indonesian Council of ulamas) was trained on human rights in Jakarta in 2001. He was selected based on his important role in this council. He lectures at Hamka University, part of the Muhammadiyah university network. He also speaks in various socio-religious gatherings. Natsir's training included the following topics: Islam and Human Rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Human Rights Law No. 39, 1999; Social, Cultural and Economic Rights; Discrimination; Universalism and relativism; Indonesian Culture and Human Rights; the History of Human Rights; International and National instruments of Human Rights; CEDAW; RCCPR. After his training, Natsir joined the NWG to promote human rights education.

A last example of individuals who underwent a human rights training is that of Afdal Mangkuraga, representing the Habibie Center. He was trained in Sydney, Australia, in 2003, together with 18 Indonesians. The Habibie Center is known for publishing and conducting seminars and workshops on human rights. Afdal also lectures at a private university in Jakarta, Mercu Buana University. Among other subjects, his training included seminars on discrimination, social, economic and cultural rights; National and International Instruments of Human Rights. Upon his return, he conducted



Figure 3

HUMAN RIGHTS CURRICULUM: The Implementation Process through the System of Education in Indonesia



further seminars on human rights at the Habibie Center and at his university.

In addition, the NWG also needed to train those who were in charge of writing the curricula and the textbooks, since these tools are and will continue to be used as references. Indeed, curriculum development and textbook writing was taught by academic experts from the Institute of Education, now University of Education, in Jakarta. Writers included trained academics and teachers (including religious teachers). The NWG provided advice and supervision of the process.

Assist in setting up a national network to enable them to consult others and share their experiences, to provide on-going support.

To complement the training of opinion and religious leaders, and in order to ensure sustainability of this training effort, trainees were engaged in an on-going dialogue through a network set up by the national government. Local human rights committees were set up by these community and religious leaders as part of

the national human rights plan, concurrently with the promotion of human rights in education. At present, there are 31 provincial committees operating, and they include religious and opinion leaders (particularly teachers and professors) who are engaged in introducing and supporting the education and promotion of human rights in their environment. These leaders are expected to train local leaders. Their efforts create a favourable background for the education program. This process will assist in the on-going design of curricula for human rights teaching to be used at all levels of the national system of education, in private institutions, and in the non-formal education sector. Funding for each local provincial committee was provided by local government. These committees were only set up in 2005. However, they are presently training local government staff and trainers using guidebooks provided by the NWG. They have already trained elementary and high school teachers in human rights, as well as non-formal leaders. Local committees provide an annual report to a central committee in the Directorate of Human Rights. The central committee addresses discrepancies between the planning and the results. At this early point, however, follow-up training has not been planned.

Utilize centralized education system to create curricula to be adopted in formal and non-formal education with support from community and religious leaders.

Despite a policy of decentralization of all government institutions, some fields, and education in particular, remain centralized. Figure 3 provides an overview of where the NWG engaged and worked together with various government bodies (e.g., Directorate of Human Rights, Department of Law and Human Rights, the Human Rights Commission, Departments of Education and Religion along with academics) to introduce human rights education into the systems of education in both the government and private spheres.

The NWG was able to draw on the support and contacts from the Department of Education, which has access to teachers and leaders throughout the country; the Department of Religious Affairs, with access to religious leaders working for this Department throughout the country; and the Indonesian Academy of Sciences,

Figure 5

Basic Competence	Indicator	Main Material
Ability to describe fundamental freedom of human beings	Analyzing individual freedom; Describing freedom of collectivity; Describing human rights inherent to each person	The fundamental freedom of human beings
Ability to analyze definition & human rights basic principles	Giving human rights definition; Analyzing HR terms; Describing basic principles	The definition and the basic principles of human rights
Ability to describe basic and freedom	Analyzing basic HR of human beings (UDHR); Describing fundamental freedom of human beings (UDHR)	Basic rights/ fundamental freedom of human beings
Ability to analyze the history and the development of International HR	Describing: <i>Media Charter</i> ; Bill of Rights ; <i>The French Declaration</i> ; Declaration of Human Rights	The history and the development of human rights
Ability to describe HR in religious, cultural & political perspectives	Analyzing HR (Religious perspective); Comparing HR with cultural relativity; Comparing HR with cultural relativity; Comparing HR & Intl politics	Human rights in the religious, cultural, and political perspective

with access to academic and opinion leaders, including a prominent religious leader.

Tactic Outcome and Impact

Four hundred opinion leaders have been trained, including community leaders, religious leaders, civil servants, academics, police and military personnel in the police and military academies. The previous trainings were provided abroad, in Canada, Norway, Australia, Sweden, South Africa, and France and at home. In the future, we plan to send opinion leaders to international trainings that will be given in Germany, Japan, and Egypt. Upon their return, these trainers become official human rights trainers in their respective communities.

Despite the important role of religious leaders in the development and training of the human rights curricula, they were not asked to specifically participate in the promotion of the socialization program. Indeed, in its public statements, the government of Indonesia chooses to not directly refer to one religion or another.

As a concrete example of an intervention from a religious leader, one of them mentioned that it would be more appropriate, in religion classes and in the curricula for religious classes, to

Figure 4

Basic competence	Indicator	Main material	Method
Ability to describe fundamental freedom of human beings	Describing fundamental freedom of human beings	Def.: Human rights, scope, HR history, theory, values, basic principles, instruments & HR institutions	Lectures, discussions, analysis of HR references, instruments, and résumés
Ability to describe the importance of human rights	Being aware of the importance of human rights	Cases of human rights violations	Value clarification technique, case study, observation, and interview
Ability to promote, protect, and advocate human rights	Ability to promote, protect, and advocate human rights	Tactics on how to promote, protect, and advocate HR on the national level	Portfolio

incorporate human rights values, but not use the human rights terminology. For example: not use the term: right to life, but a culturally and religious equivalent (See Figure 1). In addition, the initial consultation with religious leaders created a momentum for the integration of human rights values in the discourse of religious leaders.

As a result of the incorporation of human rights values into curricula, at various levels of formal and non formal education, students have been exposed to basic principles of human rights, particularly regarding two axes: Indonesian human rights law No. 39, 1999, and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. In particular, these values have been integrated into the curricula of social sciences and religion for elementary schools, into



“Their right to basic education is ignored.” – A leading newspaper, Kompas (July 23, 2005)

Concurrently, a guidebook is being published for human rights trainers (non-formal sector) as well as reference material for all human rights teachers (elementary to secondary, public and private).

At this stage, the impact of the tactic is just beginning to show in the public discourse, media — such as news-

papers — and in particular, among opinion leaders. We believe the tactic has increased the awareness of these leaders and they now see the relevance of religious values, traditional values, and human values. For example, in Indonesia, a number of religious leaders host television and radio shows, discussing the four aspects of Islamic, from philosophy to law. A very well known religious leader and a television host, A.A. Gym, is one such example. He owns radio and television stations, produces audiotapes and video compact discs and he hosts daily television and radio broadcasts, as well as call-in shows. He is well loved among the general population. Over the last two years, A.A.Gym’s discourse has changed. Indeed, like others, he now uses the term human rights and criticizes abuses in Indonesia and abroad. Although A.A. Gym himself was not involved personally in the National Working Group, a representative of his organization was sent to meet with the NWG. In addition, his references to human rights reveal a new climate in Indonesia. An example of this integration of human rights concepts into the public discourse was observed before the U.S. invaded Iraq. A.A. Gym, carrying a child, walked into the U.S. embassy accompanied by a number of his followers. He presented a letter asking the U.S. not to invade Iraq. He explained that such an invasion would kill women and children and, most of all, such an act would be a violation of human rights. This is indeed a new vocabulary and approach by this speaker. Thus, we are encouraged to see that the concepts of human rights are being understood and that it has been leveraged toward those who are also saying they promote human rights.

A much more difficult area to evaluate is the impact of the human rights curricula at various student levels. The discourse of students, demonstrators, particularly university level students, generally refers to the violation of human rights. Currently, the curriculum for the various age groups is set up as lecture style, with reading materials and role-playing. Some experiential aspects also help the students know how to apply these concepts to their real life situations. For example, they are taught how to file human rights complaints, and what agencies in Indonesia deal with certain kinds of human rights violations (e.g., police abuse, discrimination, domestic violence, housing or land issues, etc.)

LESSONS LEARNED

We have utilized the knowledge opinion leaders have of their communities in order to produce curricula which are consistent to cultural and religious values. Through that process, we have learned that not only did we have to gather their advice and take it into account in the development of the curricula, but we also need to make it an on-going dialogue through training. As their opinions are valued and followed



Mashadi (left) leads a workshop on Human Rights Curriculum Development for university level. Jakarta, July 2004

in their communities, this extra dialogue and training work will have a large and on-going impact. The National Working Group set up a very ambitious task, at the national level, and we now clearly realize that the training of opinion leaders in Indonesia will take years of sustained effort.

We are even more convinced that our tactic of utilizing opinion leaders is an effective one. Indeed, while spreading human rights values through the system of education, via the Departments of Education and of Religion, was a “natural” approach in the Indonesian centralized system of education, addressing opinion leaders directly enabled us to add another dimension to reach our objective. As opinion leaders include academics (in religion and other subjects), community leaders (formal or non formal, religious or other), and administrators in education, we have broadened our support base for a better dissemination of information on human rights values, and we have initiated a dialogue with this group on human rights.

We also came to realize that it could be more beneficial to start with a pilot project, concentrating funding, competence, and clientele in one limited region first. This would allow us to have increased access to opinion leaders at the local level. This would also allow us to maintain contact and use their feedback to further adapt tactics and strategies to move our objectives and goals forward.

To increase the impact of the work already done in socializing human rights values in education, it would be important to also drastically increase the dialogue among communities, individuals and leaders, about human rights concepts. Finally, there is a need to continue emphasizing, even more, the importance of adopting the *International Declaration of Human*

Rights as a bridge between individuals and nations, irrespective of religious or ethnic backgrounds.

ON-GOING CHALLENGES

To pursue the work initiated by the NWG, more reference books need to be written in Indonesian on human rights for teachers and other actors in the education system. Human rights values and terminology also need to be made even more explicit in the curricula. Indeed, the curricula for religion classes need more work. After our first step of including references to human rights values into the curricula, we can engage opinion and religious leaders in improving them further. In order to attain a clearer understanding among religion teachers on the human rights values in the curricula, the values should be explicitly defined. This can be done through further and continuing training of religion teachers.

In addition, the description of the basic competencies expected from students needs to be further developed. As the competency-based curriculum is also new to Indonesians, competencies addressing human rights need to be made very explicit in order to be understood (See Figures 4 and 5 for curriculum examples).

The competencies and the human rights concepts at times do not match in the curricula. Indeed, too little time was provided by the Department of Human Rights to actually write these curricula. A strong emphasis was placed on the consultation process, which was certainly necessary and critical; however, equal time is also needed for revising the content of the curricula based on the consultations.

As funding is scarce, and taking advantage of new regional autonomy mandates, the local steering committees (including community leaders, religious or others) are now responsible for promotion, education and training of human rights educators for change in their area. As previously mentioned, these committees were only set up in 2005, so results are not available or analyzed. Detailed data is intended to be gathered in 2006. A long-term evaluation will be done in 2006 by educational experts from the Department of Education of the State University of Jakarta. The plan is to measure the impact of the new curricula implementation in terms of knowledge, attitude and behaviour.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE TRANSFERABILITY OF THE TACTIC

Based on our experience in the NWG, success in spreading human rights values requires consultation with as many opinion and religious leaders as possible in various areas and keeping the dialogue open. An important contributing factor is to ensure the active participation of all government actors in the introduction of human



A training of trainers in Jakarta for opinion leaders, religious and others. Religious and community leaders are joining a TOT. May, 2003.

rights. Maintaining a constant flow of information and coordination between various governmental branches involved in the socialization process should be emphasized. Our use of this tactic in the area of education also required us to train those in charge of writing the curricula and the textbooks, since these tools are and will be used as references. This is an important area of need and development for others to keep in mind.

Concurrently, a strong media campaign (television, radio, newspapers) could be effective to support the link between cultural/religious values and human rights. The objective is to initiate a popular discourse on traditions, religion and human rights among the general population. We did not, in our case, use the media in this way but it would be worthwhile considering.

Opinion leaders need to be involved in all levels, including the working group itself—at the stage leading up to the implementation and afterwards. They need to be able to keep in touch through a network where they can compare and discuss their respective success or efforts in introducing human rights in their communities. Further sustainability would be ensured by promoting the creation of multicultural, multiethnic and interfaith local committees on human rights. This promotion was done in Indonesia through multiethnic, multicultural and interfaith NGOs dealing with human rights that already exist. Indeed, creating such mixed groups to discuss and implement human rights would help further the application of human rights in Indonesia and may be helpful for others to consider as well.

A number of factors need to be considered before implementing a similar tactic. First, a detailed analysis of the social context is key to the success of this tactic. Opinion leaders need to be clearly identified, and the link between human rights and local cultures needs to be made and explained in detail to make human rights relevant to them and the population these leaders serve. Finally, the cultivation and degree of commit-

ment of the various government branches need to be assessed, analyzed, developed, and consolidated.

LIMITATIONS OF THE TACTIC

Following the previous point, this tactic has its limitations. Indeed, an appropriate political will and atmosphere in government added to the success of this tactic in Indonesia. Fortunately, this factor is currently present in Indonesia and makes it possible to implement the program. Others may find it very difficult to make such inroads where there is no government support, or there is active resistance by government to implement the introduction of human rights values.

In addition, this tactic makes extensive use of a common curriculum and greatly benefits from the centralized education system in Indonesia which allows the curriculum to be implemented in both the government and private systems of education. This centralization is a great asset for Indonesia, but such a system might not be the case in other countries where curriculum is developed and implemented by each institution. Our tactic also relies significantly on the respect of the majority of the population for its opinion and religious leaders.

Finally, among its limitations, it is more difficult to implement in areas with less homogenous majorities (culturally, ethnically, or religiously).

As mentioned previously, a variation of this tactic had been used in Indonesia in the past to implement family planning. At that time, religious leaders were hired throughout the country to discuss with community members the relevancy of family planning for Muslims. The outcome was positive as most Indonesians know and freely use contraception now. They believe in the benefits they yield for the welfare of their families. At the same time, the tactic had been coupled with coercion and violence by local government representatives and government officers were provided with financial rewards when family planning quotas were met. Under the new, less authoritarian government, and because of the freedom of speech now possible in Indonesia, fear is much less a factor in the adoption of new concepts and behaviours among Indonesians.

As a result of this experience with family planning policies, the NWG made significant changes with the human rights socialization process. No religious leaders were hired, although they are very much included in the process and in the application of the program. As a large number of lecturers in Islamic schools play a dual role as religious leaders, speaking in mosques and leading religious discussion groups on a regular basis, they were crucial in the successful application

of the program. However, as they are not recruited by government, conflict of interests is a lesser issue, and they are not distrusted by the population.

This tactic has great potential for use in other situations. Indeed, it is based on the concept that information becomes more acceptable to individuals when relayed by opinion leaders who best know them, their values, cultural background, and interests. Specific to the Indonesian context is the fact that the population is largely religiously homogenous. It is important to still note, however, that there remains a broad spectrum of opinions and practices among Muslim Indonesians. The Indonesian population relies largely on traditions which have been in place for centuries and which are very much alive, and on leaders they trust. This is not so different from many countries and their populations around the world.

In order to grasp the significance and power of the present tactic, one will need to understand and examine the political and especially socio-religious background of the country context as a key factor. For us, an additional factor needing consideration has been that most Indonesians live in rural areas. Their lives are organized in tightly knit communities where formal and informal opinion and religious leaders play a very active role in everyday activities. The opinions, support, and guidance from these leaders are sought after by their communities. This might not be the case in countries affected by wars and internal conflicts over long periods of time. In such cases, it might be difficult to identify opinion and religious leaders outside of the political sphere who have survived the conflict. At the same time, communities generally find ways to replenish their valued leaders. It may take considerable time and exploration to find those in the community who are stepping into these leadership roles.

A tight and continued collaboration between the NWG and a broad spectrum of community and religious leaders enabled the integration of human rights values into the national curriculum in Indonesia. This is facilitating and moving forward the concrete socialization of these human rights values into the general society. As community and religious leaders were trained abroad and at home, they have acquired a broader perspective on human rights values and are able to better translate and educate their communities. This kind of incentive approach proved to be most effective in getting the support of these leaders whose role and credibility in their respective communities is critical.

CONCLUSION

Others considering this tactic would need to make adaptations that would reflect the reality of public and private educational systems and institutions, governmental supports or hindrances, local values and beliefs that would need to be understood, and the benefits and dangers of engaging opinion and religious leaders in the process.

Finally, I hope that our example of customizing a human rights socialization program by taking into account the specific political, cultural and religious context of Indonesia will be helpful to others seeking ideas for broad human rights education strategies. For us, the ability to engage the support and influence of opinion and religious leaders made it possible to better ground our human rights curriculum in the formal and informal educational systems, making it more acceptable and resonant with the local values of teachers and students alike and, hopefully, become recognized and relevant to their daily needs.

¹ Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - 2004, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, February 28, 2005. U.S. Department of State. Source: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41643.htm>. Retrieved on November 13, 2005.

² Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - 2004, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, February 28, 2005. U.S. Department of State. Source: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41643.htm>. Retrieved on November 13, 2005.

³ Country Reports on Human Rights Practices-2004, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, February 28, 2005. U.S. Department of State. Source: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41643.htm>. Retrieved on November 13, 2005.

⁴ Ahmadiyya Muslims believes that Ghulam Ahmed, who founded the sect in 1889, fulfilled the messianic expectations of Christianity, Judaism, Islam and other religions.

⁵ Source: <http://www.ham.go.id/ran.asp>. Retrieved November 13, 2005.

⁶ Kyai: Islamic religious scholar or leader teaching at a Pesantren (Islamic boarding school).

⁷ Ulama: Muslim scholar who interprets Islam's sciences and doctrines and laws and is a guarantor of continuity in the spiritual and intellectual history of the Islamic community.

⁸ *Pesantren*: boarding schools in Indonesia operated by a Muslim leader.

⁹ For more information regarding these conflicts: www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0112/21/UTAMA/keku01.htm Retrieved December 2, 2005.

¹⁰ For an additional example regarding religious leaders see the tactical notebook: *Powerful Persuasion*: By Emile Short, Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), Ghana <http://www.newtactics.org/main.php/PowerfulPersuasion>.



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