AHMADIYYA AND PEACEFUL-COEXISTENCE;
GROUNDING TOLERANCE IN THE MIDDLE OF MINORITY GROUP

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Abstact

Ahmadiyya came into the world on a mission of peace and renewal through the values of morality teachings. In the context of Indonesia, Ahmadis have been coming to the archipelago through the youth of Sumatra since 1924 and has received positive responses as a new religious movement at that time. But in its development, the phenomenon of Ahmadiyya emerged as an issue of protracted conflicts and endless until today. Some of the group that is the true Islam with shouts of Allahu Akbar carried out the attack against Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, including Ahmadiyya in Manis Lor, Kuningan.

Keyword: Ahmadiyya, Peace, Coeixsistence

A. Introduction

Ahmadiyya came into the world on a mission of peace and renewal through the values of morality teachings. In the context of Indonesia, Ahmadis have been coming to the archipelago through the youth of Sumatra since 1924 and has received positive responses as a new religious movement at that time. But in its development, the phenomenon of Ahmadiyya emerged as an issue of protracted conflicts and endless until today. Some of the group that is the true Islam with shouts of Allahu Akbar carried out the attack against Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, including Ahmadiyya in Manis Lor, Kuningan.

The mosque as the central for religious activities targeted by the attackers of Ahmadiyya. There are dozens of mosques in Manis Lor burned by the hardline of Islamic savagery whom declared Ahmadiyya as heretical. Throughout 2002 to 2010, Ahmadis were restricted by discriminatory and anarchy of the attackers. Religious activities, social activities and infringement of other human rights continue to run until today. The question that arises then heads to the historical

reality that Ahmadiyya mosques have many years standing there is why its just problematized, demolished and sealed now?

Regulation of state law that are not friendly to the house of worship in this case the Ahmadi mosque, also deserves to be questioned. In interviews conducted with Ahmadi's in Manis Lor, they say that there is a deliberate let violence and intolerant actions occurred and was not followed up by the responsible officer. The influence of political forces standing behind the attacking group make the local government helpless.

Conflict and friction within the religious sphere is likely to occur due to a lack of wholiness understanding of religious texts and lead to partial religious attitude and result to fanaticism and exclusivism. According to Arkoun (1928-2010) as cited by Masduqi, the attitude of exclusivism and fanaticism is a mental illness religious rigidity caused by dogmatic doctrine. Religions are affected by this disease tend to negate other groups of differing views as it is considered not a believer. Exclusive religion can not accept the thought of another group charged with heresy, so that the views of minorities are misled will be included in the territory which is forbidden thought (Masduqi, 2011: 55).

What was described by Arkoun portrait glimpse into the reality of diversity in Indonesia in general and specifically Manis Lor. Conflict resolution which has been echoed by the discourse of dialogue as a medium of tolerance seemed deadlocked. On the other hand, the politicization of religion increasingly rife among the elite for particular interests. It is not impossible if then the religious texts are often manipulated by warring sects incite ideological and political interests. Problem of dialogue is also very risky in the end led to negative perceptions that could be an obstacle in seeking to understand the meaning of a substantive dialogue.

B. A Short Historical Review

Ahmadis came to Manis Lor around 1954, when the majority of the population Manis Lor is still adhere to Javanese traditions or worship that is primitive, for example sanctification of the large trees, offerings, etc., including

those that still survive as a local religion today, Sunda Wiwitan. Along with the arrival of Ahmadiyya, a resident of Manis Lor feel enlightened and make them get more deeper understanding to Islam. Since the beginning of its arrival, Ahmadiyya is considered as "foreign" because it is often associated with the person who wears the veil and say Salam in each of their greetings to the people around. Even the term Santri are also attached to Ahmadis. Thus, it can be seen how communities build better perception and accept openly in the entry of the Ahmadiyya to Manis Lor, Kuningan.

Openness to the coming Ahmadiyya community at that time were able to create a favorable climate in social-religious relations among Manis Lor communities. As the majority group there were about 65 per cent of the Ahmadis in Manis Lor and the remaining 35 are non-Ahmadi.[1] They can mingle with the local community. However, since the slander spread which says that Ahmadiyya is heretical, the gap between the Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis started to widen the distance. The Fatwa issued by Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which states that Ahmadiyya is deviant or heretical then progressively cornered Ahmadiyya position and make them to be exclusive to the "outside world," because for them the outside world is a threat to the safety of life.

Conflict began in August 2002 when there were about 38 houses of Ahmadi burned, including the mosque where they worship. Furthermore, in 2004 at-Taqwa and al-Hidayah's mosque burned at the time when Ahmadis were conducting tarawih and tadarus prayer (Rosyid, 2015: 56-57). The marginalization of the Ahmadiyya from the local government and community continues from the central to local government level. According to Mr. Nur Halim, head of the Ahmadiyya Manis Lor, the conflict heats up after the decline in the Joint Letter SKB 3 minister in 2008, which affected the Governors and Regents Regulations.

Conflict is perceived divergent of interest. Interest also means values and needs (Pruitt and Rubin, 2003: 10). Some of the basic need is to strengthen individual or group identity (Staub, 1999: 304). According to Sulhan as quoted by

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[1] Ahmadi is the call for Ahmadiyya follower. Interview with Manis Lor Subdistrict Head, Yusuf Ahmadi. He was an Ahmadi follower derivative. Sign in governance since 2007 because of the instigation of the local community.

Moh. Rosyid (2015: 57), there are at least eight triggers of conflict in Manis Lor, Kuningan namely;

1. Differences in religious interpretation,

2. Bias of political interests,

3. The struggle for influence and economic assets,

4. The lack of space for dialogue,

5. Bias to the fear of other groups,

6. Bias of cultural fear,

7. The hegemony of the power of the majority to the minority, and

8. Loss of community solidarity.

According to Docherty, there are three different types of resources that involve in mobilization of human interaction; they are material, social and symbolic (2001: 30). Ahmadis rights as citizens are discriminated against by the local government with the material resources such as issuance of E-ID card (E-KTP) connected with the rise of the prohibition of pilgrimage for the Ahmadiyya community to the process of marriage which not recorded by the local KUA. Seemed odd then because this policy only applies to the Ahmadiyya in Manis Lor, while Ahmadiyya outside Manis Lor still get the same services as the society in general. According to Yusuf Ahmadi, Manis Lor subdistrict head, the chronological reason for unreleased of E-KTP for the Ahmadiyya community caused by some groups who do not like Ahmadiyya put a symbolic resources which is Islam as their religious status in their Identity Card. So that in 2013 arise social resources whom react to protest against the government not to publish E-KTP for the Ahmadiyya citizens in Manis Lor.

Further review, the ripples of conflict actually occurred long years ago. As a reflection of Mr. Jaka, a witness which graduated from IAIN Sunan Gunung Jati, when he was stepped on primary schools, discrimination from the Ahmadi, such as jokes that rainwater is Jesus's urine because mainstream Muslim believe that Jesus still with God in the sky, while Ahmadis believe Jesus survived from the crucifixion and died in Kashmir. In addition, the restlessness to the Ahmadiyah movement has emerged since 1969. It was when Ahmadiyah posting

flyers bearing the Mahdi had come, he who does not believe in Mirza Ghulam Ahmad meant to die in a state of ignorance. Indeed, for mainstream Muslim, the doctrine about Imam Mahdi also as an obligation to believe, and guidance for allegiance to Imam Mahdi when it comes later. The differences in interpretation related to the coming of the Mahdi was clear one of the triggers of conflict.

Brochures war ensued a symbolic resources between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi. IPNU representing the Non Ahmadi stir resistance by distributing brochures said that Ahmadiyya is heretical. From here then, appeared fatwa from Islamic organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Wasliyah and others with a fatwa that Ahmadiyya is deviant, misguided and misleading. Followed by the MUI fatwa stating that Ahmadiyya is heretical in 1980. This resulted in the burning of brances mosques three years thereafter.[2]

Over the years of conflict flare up in Manis Lor, some Ahmadis then decided to quit from Ahmadiyya. People who apostate from Ahmadiyya then accommodated by an organization called Taslima (Komunitas Muslim Al-Hidayah). Mr. Janu as the chairman of Taslima and former Ahmadiyya tells Taslima reasons out of Ahmadiyya. According to him, and most of Taslima which contains about 70 people, Ahmadis is exclusive in worship. For example, Friday prayer (Shalat Jum'at) should be implemented in Ahmadiyya mosque, they become difficult when they want to pray in the middle of a long trip.

More specifically, Mr. Janu explained some of the factors that cause Ahmadis became "mualaf," because some social sanctions as follow:

1. Environment climate more closer to Non Ahmadi,
2. Intercommunication more open and secure,
3. Remove from the restraints of government regulations, such as the ban on pilgrimage, marriage and E-KTP, and

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[2] Ahmadiyya did not use any term for their place of worship, such as Musholla, Surau, and Langgar that commonly used by Indonesian Muslim in other places. They only use Masjid to mention their place of Worship.

4. More freely to choose a spouse (married to non-Ahmadi).[3]

C. Between The West and The East

Manis Lor community recognize two terms attached to their religious identity, the West and the East. West is the identity for the people who worship toward the West (Ahmadiyya Mosque) in this regard Ahmadis, while the East for the people who worship to Al-Huda Mosque, in this case the general public (non-Ahmadi).[4]

So far, this form of tolerance that arise in social relations beween Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis in Manis Lor manifested in everyday social relations, for instance, when they want to leave for the fields, hoeing together, trading in the markets. While among the youth, those who like to exercise and other youth activities. No act of discrimination that makes them alienated from their works and activities.

On the western side, as is well known that the system adopted by the Ahmadiyya leadership is caliphate. But they assert that the caliphate system they profess is not the political but spiritual caliphate. Caliph as the leader plays an important to transform the process of conflict by sharing a mutually attractive peaceful future for all theri congegation (Reychler, 2006: 8). Throughout the suffering caused by the conflict, caliph never order to avenge attacks that intensified the Ahmadis, even the Caliph forbade his congregation to resist with violence. Caliph just suggest to keep the mosque as a house of worship, so that worship can continue to be carried out continuously by the Ahmadiyya Community.[5] The command of the caliph is then used as the basis of tolerance to other groups outside Ahmadis.

Ahmadis parties also realize and believe that the misunderstandings that led to the conflict occurs because of the relationship that is rarely done by the

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[3] In Ahmadiyya tradition, it is an obligation to marry with Ahmadis and not allowed to marry to non-Ahmadis, in order to create a harmonious and sustainable relationship of marriage.

[4] Interview with Mr. Jaka, an Ahmadis, October 23, 2015.

[5] Interview with Mr. Nur Halim, The Leader of Ahmadiyya Manis Lor, October 23, 2015.

Manis Lor community, both Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi. According Rusydi, who served as Public Relations for Ahmadiyya Manis Lor, the causes of discrimination and intolerance is a communication that is not built in two directions, making it vulnerable misunderstanding that could potentially bearing a stigma and negative claims. Ahmadis also believe that everything happens related to intolerance and discrimination affecting them are part of God's destiny. They believe that one day, the people who hate the Ahmadiyya will reverse direction and stop the violence.

Nur Halim as the leader of Ahmadiyya take a lesson from the history of the enemies of early Islam. He took the example of Umar bin Khattab r.a. God has created as the number one enemy of Islam before he became Muslim as a whole. Likewise with Abu Jahl, who are so intelligent but hostile to Islam. For those people who hate Ahmadis are those who have not received guidance, and violence against them are part of God's destiny scenario that should they receive. Positive thinking in looking at the enemy and the issue is imparted to every individual of Ahmadiyya, which indirectly creates an attitude of tolerance for others.

They also confirmed that to be an Ahmadi is not easy, but through the oath first. Underlying that Ahmadiyya as a doctrine have no intention in searching followers even afford people to be their followers. The doctrines of Ahmadiyya is known for discipline and uphold Islam as a religion of peace.

As one of the Ahmadiyya community in efforts to build tolerance today is an alliance or openness toward immigrants, especially researchers and academics who have an interest in investigating cases related to the conflict and Ahmadiyya faith. In addition, the Ahmadis also do robtoh (gathering) to those non-Ahmadi on condition of non-religious or dogmatic purposes.

In religious matters, dialogue between Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis ever existed in 1999, but has not reached common ground until now. Negotiations surrounding the similarity search to carry out religious activity or worship into a discussion of neighbor. But an invitation from non-Ahmadi to perform Friday prayer and Eid prayer congregation was rejected by Ahmadiyya.

D. **Politicization of Conflict and the Absence of the State**

The case of conflict in Manis Lor related to discriminatory and intolerant that afflicts the Ahmadiyya community can not be separated from issues of political interest. Appears then the question from the subdistrict head who is also an Ahmadi, "Is E-KTP a grant or a rights? Is Religion a gift or recognition? We have had there since Indonesia is not yet independent, born in the same homeland, but why we did not receive equal rights treatment?" They all hope that the government in this case exemplifies discriminatory attitude towards people.

At least there are three theoritical perspectives on the role of religions in political conflict, their are primordialism which the basic is cultural, instrumentalism and constructivism which the basic are socio-economic (Hasenclever and Rittberger, 2003: 643). Some political nature of conflict phase analyzed by Yusuf Ahmadi as the subdistrict head of Manis Lor. He divide it into three phase as follows;

The first phase occurred at the beginning of the conflict around 2002-2005. In this phase, the group that attacked the Ahmadiyya purely from local groups, such as Rudal Community, The Anti-Ahmadiyya Movement, Al-Huda Mosque Youth Movement. At this phase, the conflict are purely primordialism, which only about cultural problems, before finally it turns to instrumentalism. They are driven by people with an interest in government by raising the issue of faith as a provocation for the attack.

The issue raised is how a candidate for Regent able to disband Ahmadiyah when managed to occupy the seat of government. This phase of instrumentalism is the starting point for Ahmadiyya case of conflict come into the realm of politics and started to become a toytool of government.

The third phase occurs within the period 2007-2010 and may today still running. In this phase, the conflict escalates beyond the region and turns to constructivism. Community organizations are represented by the FPI and others in Cikicing, West Java becomes the provocateur of violence against Ahmadiyya, as they construct the issues of conflict for their socio-economic and political interest. They take advantage of the situation and momentum of conflict which become

popular at the time by coveying contingen militancy. Local activists just be a spectator, did not go down to the field.

Since the shift of Ahmadiyya leader in Manis Lor, at the same time with the issue of the coming of twenty thousand people in 2010, Ahmadis started to light the fuse of war with an ultimatum to the government that they would take the fight against anyone who might attack their houses of worship. As minorities, they are sizeable to develop aspirations that threaten their norms (Pruitt and Rubin, 2003: 19). However, National Amir of Ahmadiyya continue to provide instruction to be patient and maintain their mosques that have been ups and downs established by Ahmadiyya and became the center of their religious activities.

Furthermore, Yusuf Ahmadi analyze that during conflicts, political factors have a greater influence than the factor of faith in hatred against Ahmadiyya. Personal competition and family revenge also played in the game of this discrimination. From here then emerge insurgent groups such as Barak (Barisan Anak Kuningan), Gamas (Gerakan Masyarakat Anti Maksiat), Gibas (Gerakan Inisiatif Barisan Anak Siliwangi) and other groups that have a vested interest to raise the ratings and running their political business. Religion here is sold for the benefit of the commodity, and of course it cost are very expensive.

Ahmadiyya by all means have been fighting for their rights as citizens of Indonesia in the face of government. In fact, according to Yusuf Ahmadi, Ahmadiyya has offered to the government to put any faith in E-KTP column in order to be issued, but there is no response at all from the local and central government. In exchange for E-KTP, the government only provides temporary KTP for access to meet the other civil rights such as driving license and vehicle registration, family card and a birth certificate. Whereas the right to marry is not recognized or recorded by local KUA. To perform marriages, Ahmadiyya Manis Lor must hold a reception outside the region.

State regulation is quite confusing since in addition to the E-KTP, all the services of civil rights such as family card and a birth certificate are succesful. In these letters, Islam were written as a religion for Ahmadiyya. Negotiations that exists between Ahmadiyya and local MUI are matters of faith. MUI forced

Ahmadiyya to convert to the true Islam. While the Ahmadiyya offers recitation of the Creed (syahada) without being forced to get out of Ahmadiyya, because for them, there was no significant difference between the pillars of Islam and the Ahmadiyya's faith.

E. Peaceful Coexistence

Ahmadiyya as deviant Islam in Indonesia has so far upheld the messages of tolerance and peace in life together. Regardless of their method of proselytization which considered controversial by some circles, Ahmadis have been eligible to be considered as Islam refers to their basic ideological principles such as the pillars of Islam and Iman which are the same to the mainstream. Therefore, mutual open minded between Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis in Indonesia is important to be fostered by the state to create a climate of peaceful coexistence.

According to Lisa Schirch, peacebuilding requires both ritual and rational approaches (2015: 516). In rational approches, Ahmadis efforts to open up to the "outside world" by conducting various activities to cultivate an attitude of tolerance and openness among fellow believers, such as robtoh (gathering) to various Islamic School (Pesantren) located in Manis Lor. Pesantren also welcomes the arrival of Nur Halim as Ahmadiyya leader and some representatives by agreement to not discuss the issue of religion, faith and belief.

In addition, some medicines that are traded by Ahmadiyya also instrumental in building tolerance between the two sides. With the mediation of these medicines, there are about 53 Islamic Boarding School visited by the Ahmadiyya Party in order to treat various ailments such as headaches, doping to get smart faster, doping to get pregnant faster, until the itching which has become a tradition among students of Islamic Boarding School.

Until now after a prolonged conflict they can be said to coexist peacefully although still in different faith. On several occasions of religious event, they still do not mingle. But for business outside of religion, for example, public events or traditional ritual such as weddings, the distribution of sacrificial animals (for Idul Adha) and others, they still mingle with the local people. As Lisa Schirch assert that ritual can play an important role to in the process of peacebuilding (2015:

516), these rituals has become the prove. Further, a wedding party and sacrificing animals in Idul Adha are included as traditional ritual, which refers to symbolic act that people have carried out for many years, decades and centuries (Schirch, 2015: 517). In essence, Ahmadiyya claimed that they were very open to others who are willing to attend Ahmadis events. Because in principle, they do the same worship and religious practice. In contrast, non-Ahmadi also demanded the Ahmadiyya community to come mingle with the public following the prayers in non-Ahmadi mosques. The absence of common ground here at least enough to make them coexist peacefully, by keeping their religious principles alone.

F. Concluding Remarks

It is undeniable that the conflict in Manis Lor is a conflict under the guise of conversion, the mass coercion exercised for Ahmadis to be converted back to the true Islam. This is certainly a part of the violation of the rights of belief for Ahmadis. So far, the government's policy to resolve conflicts and human rights violations is simply relocating, hence it is not so effective in addressing cases of discrimination against minorities. According to Franz Magnis Suseno, the greatest problem is not the position of minority religions but the position of so-called aberrant groups (2013: 58). Thus, in order to achieve sustainable peace, the goverment of Indonesia should install political, economic and security structures and institution that sustain peace (Reychler, 2006: 6) in this case for Ahmadiyya Manis Lor.

Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) which should play an important role in upholding the values of tolerance between religious communities also can not serve well in resolving problems of conflict in Manis Lor. This is because the political forces of MUI and public organizations who do not like Ahmadiyya. Indeed, community organizations in Manis Lor, Kuningan was known to be exclusive, whether Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and others are the hardline organization, they are independent and do not necessarily follow the instructions and directives that are structural from the center.

Therefore, the role of religion in the development of the country should be re-examined, especially in terms of conflict resolution. During this time the size of the country's development is restricted to the physical forms such as houses of worship, high schools, and others, which are then destroyed by certain parties. But the important needs to be evaluate is the religious mentality or integrative climate (Reychler, 2006: 6) of the people to build a sense of tolerance and harmony in order to coexist peacefully. In addition, monocultural education sector in the midst of a multicultural society is also important to be evaluated. Thus, the interreligious model of education which characterized by religious plurality and sees the possibility of mutual enrichment should be applied (Strekens, 2001: 63).

Indonesia is also worth learning to the Soviet Union as a failed state in fostering the unity of the nation. As a result, today we are witnessing the emergence of new countries which is a fraction of the Soviet Union, namely Russia, Yugoslavia, Serbia etc. Indeed, Yugoslavia also finally divided into some sub-countries. Otherwise, the split areas with race, ethnicity, religion and culture into state as advocated by Aceh and Papua could be catastrophic for the unity of the republic of Indonesia.

Viewing the people of Kuningan, West Java as a liminal society (of different faiths), the pattern of proselytization of each religion should be equally open and less rigid, such as Majlis Rasulullah in which the members are from various backgrounds with universal purposes. In addition, to foster tolerance, personal approach will be more effective rather than by bringing religious identity or group.

On the other hand, the role of media in conveying the message of peace can not be denied. Instead, the media has been the trigger of the ongoing conflict. Why then appear intolerant and discriminatory actions that lead to violent conflict? Because the media has been used as a mouthpiece of particular interest as pitting and deliberately creating a climate of mutual hostility between people. Through the media, people have the power to create the discriminatory and intolerant discourses. Therefore, peace journalism need to gain an appreciation and full support from the government in order to convey the message of peace and

can open people's minds about the importance of tolerance and openness to differences.

According to Arkoun, the future of tolerance in Islam can be realized by deconstruction of traditional theological orthodoxy. This will have an impact on the appreciation of human rights, in which all human beings have the individual rights regardless of their religious beliefs and race. Then the act of violence in the name of religion, discrimination and intolerance can be reduced.

Referring to Arkoun thought, dialogue as deconstruction media which sought to anticipate the conflict so far merely as government discourse. The lack of openness of government of the importance of dialogue between religions in Indonesia, especially in Manis Lor increasingly block way out of the conflict itself. Thus the constructive dialogue and are wisely is a good solution for building understanding and tolerance to other religions under the ideology of Pancasila. From here, it is important then to all people of Indonesia to interpret their religion in context of Indonesia's in which it is plural and multicultural.

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Informans
- Nur Halim, The Leader of Ahmadiyya Manis Lor, Kuningan.
- Yusuf Ahmadi, Subdistrict Head and Ahmadiyya Follower Manis Lor, Kuningan.
- Ataurrahman, Chaplain of Ahmadiyya Manis Lor, Kuningan.
- Muhammad Syafaat, Staff of the Ministry of Religious Affairs Kuningan and member of KNPI (Kominte Nasional Pemuda Indonesia).
- Rusdi, Public Relations of Ahmadiyya Manis Lor, Kuningan.
- Jaka, non-Ahmadi resident, Manis Lor, Kuningan.
- Janu, Chairman of Al-Hidayah Muslim Community (Taslima), Manis Lor, Kuningan.

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