

Annual Report LBHM 2025

# Colliding, Colliding, Yet Never Forming:

## Interests Eroding Reformasi

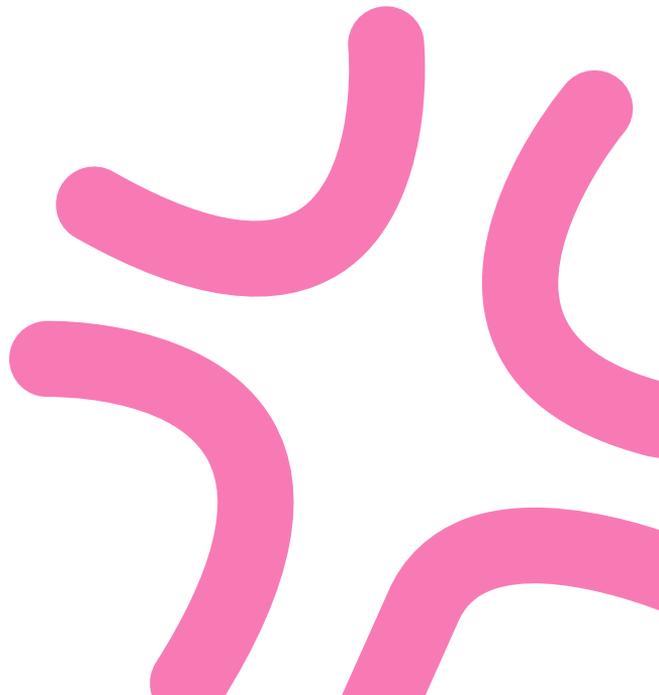


This is Pat  
 This is Pat's Uncle  
 This is Pat's Brother  
 This is Pat's Nephew  
 This is Pat's Organisation  
 This is Pat's Company  
 This is *Patronage Politics*



**Colliding, Colliding, Yet Never Forming: Interests Eroding Reformasi**  
Annual Report 2025 Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Masyarakat

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Tebet, South Jakarta  
Jakarta 12820  
Indonesia



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# Foreword

It is difficult to write about 2025 as merely 2025—as a single year detached from those that came before it. What unfolded in Indonesia in 2025 can be understood as an accumulation of events rooted in previous years.

During this year, the police carried out mass arrests of demonstrators, many of whom were subsequently brought to trial and imprisoned. This situation did not emerge in a vacuum; it is the consequence of a prolonged weakening of democracy, marked by regulations that have steadily constricted civic space.

The year 2025 can also be likened to a train moving at tremendous speed, one that cannot be halted by 2026 alone. For instance, at the beginning of 2025, large-scale funding cuts occurred following United States foreign policy decisions, which were then echoed by other countries. To this day, financial crises across various sectors, such as democracy, legal reform, health, and climate, have yet to recover.

Perhaps it is this conception of time as a continuum rather than a singular point that George Orwell himself sensed when he titled the last novel he wrote before his death. Orwell nearly named his masterpiece 'The Last Man in Europe', but at the final moment, he decided on the title '1984'. Some critics have speculated that the year was merely a rearrangement of 1948, the year in which the novel was completed. Others have suggested that it marked the centenary of the founding of the Fabian Society, a socialist organisation in the United Kingdom.

But what if the year in the novel's title was itself another authoritarian device employed by Big Brother to divert the reader's perception into believing that all those atrocities occurred within a single year?

Although the plot of the novel unfolds over the course of only a few days, its backdrop had been constructed long before. This is why, when Winston, the novel's protagonist, begins to rebel against the authoritarian system, there is little he can do. The system is already too powerful; the language that underpins thought has been revised time and again; spies are everywhere. 1984 is merely one point along a broader temporal span in which everything occurs. Winston is only one among many who experienced repression during that year and in the years that followed.

Therefore, this 2025 Annual Report is written not solely about this year, but also about the years preceding it and our hopes for the years to come. It cannot stand alone as a compressed unit of time, forced into existence for the sake of bookkeeping. Instead, it must be understood as a continuation of the legal and human rights situation in Indonesia.

In his novel, Orwell wrote: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past." May this 2025 Annual Report help democratise control over time, as well as return the interpretation of what has happened and what must happen back to the people.

**Albert Wirya**

Executive Director, LBHM



# Executive Summary: Normalising Conflicts

*No longer incidental, the exercise of power is repeatedly carried out without ethical boundaries, detached from the public interest, and serving only to enrich those in power and their inner circles.*

"This is the first time I have experienced an 'odd' and 'extraordinary' event, one that can be said to lie far beyond the bounds of reasonable logic," stated Justice Saldi Isra that afternoon as he read his dissenting opinion during the judicial review hearing of Case No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023 on 16 October 2023.

The ruling—now commonly referred to by the Indonesian public as Decision No. 90—led the General Elections Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum*) to revise the age requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This revision ultimately smoothed the path for Gibran Rakabuming Raka to assume office as Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2024–2029 term. The decision deviated from a series of prior rulings that had rejected similar judicial review petitions seeking to lower the age threshold for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. It was for this reason that Justice Saldi Isra felt such profound unease: a sudden shift in the judges' reasoning and conscience, all of which stemmed from the presence of one individual who had previously been absent from deliberations in similar cases. That individual was Anwar Usman, then Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*) and Gibran's uncle.

Anwar Usman was subsequently removed from his position as Chief Justice after it was proven that he had participated in deliberations and failed to recuse himself despite being aware of a conflict of interest.<sup>1</sup> He openly challenged the ruling of the Constitutional Court's Honorary Council. He even argued that conflicts of interest had existed since the very beginning, ever since the white building on Jalan Medan Merdeka Barat first stood. According to him, conflicts of interest could also be found in various Constitutional Court decisions under previous chief justices.<sup>2</sup>

What Saldi Isra felt at the time and the manner in which Anwar Usman sought to justify conflicts of interest became a sign of what was to come, particularly in 2025. Throughout last year, conflicts of interest occurred in rapid succession across public appointments, government projects, and legislative initiatives. Public officials then attempted to fabricate justifications to normalise these conflicts.

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1. Sri Pujianti, "The Constitutional Court's Honorary Council Removed Anwar Usman from Chief of Justice, Constitutional Court," 7 November 2023, accessed at: <https://www.mkri.id/berita/-/19751>

2. BBC News Indonesia, "Constitutional Court Decide Suhartoyo Replacing Anwar Usman as Chief of Justice," BBC News Indonesia, 7 November 2023, accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cekpgng2vjdo>

Early signs of conflict of interest had already surfaced when President Prabowo Subianto announced the largest cabinet in the country's history—there are 48 ministers and 54 deputy ministers, not including other bodies equivalent to ministries that were subsequently established. The public took note of cabinet members with familial ties to the president, as well as business figures who had supported Prabowo during the election.<sup>3</sup>

Then, in July of the previous year, more than half of all deputy ministers, 33 out of 56, were appointed as commissioners of State-Owned Enterprises (*Badan Usaha Milik Negara* - SOE) or their subsidiaries.<sup>4</sup> Some were assigned to companies they were supposed to oversee or regulate. For example, the Vice Minister of Health, Dante Saksono, was appointed Commissioner of PT Pertamina Bina Medika, a subsidiary of PT Pertamina that provides healthcare services; and the Vice Minister of Communication and Digital Affairs, Angga Raka Prabowo, was appointed President Commissioner of PT Telkom Indonesia, the country's largest telecommunications company.<sup>5</sup> As members of the public, we are concerned that, in their roles as vice ministers, these individuals may issue policies and programs that benefit state-owned companies rather than the public interest. It therefore came as no surprise when the Constitutional Court later consolidated judicial review petitions against Article 23 of Law No. 39 of 2008 on State Ministries and ruled to prohibit deputy ministers from holding concurrent positions.

The justifications offered for these appointments were equally contrived. Sufmi Dasco Ahmad, Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, who should have been scrutinising conflicts of interest within the executive branch, claimed that the placement of deputy ministers in SOEs was merely an extension of the government's authority.<sup>6</sup> This claim ignored the fact that the Ministry of SOEs already exists as the government's primary instrument for controlling SOEs, along with Danantara, which oversees the management of SOE assets.

A series of conflicts of interest also swept through Indonesia's two largest "parties": the so-called "brown party" and "green party"—labels that refer to their uniform colours. Approximately 2,500 active-duty Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) personnel were occupying civilian positions in 2023.<sup>7</sup>

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3. Yudono Yanuar, et.al., "4 People Close to Haji Isam Became Ministries in Prabowo's Cabinet," *Tempo*, 23 October 2024, accessed at: <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/4-orang-terdekat-haji-isam-yang-jadi-menteri-di-kabinet-prabowo-1096628>

4. Riza Aslam Khaeron, "The List of 33 Vice-Ministry Having Double Position in Merah Putih Cabinet," *Metro TV News*, 28 August 2025, accessed at <https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/KZmCVD4V-daftar-33-wamen-rangkap-jabatan-di-kabinet-merah-putih>

5. Asri Widayati, "More Than Half Vice-Ministry Having Double Position in State-Owned Enterprises: 33 from 56 Vice-Ministries/PCO Take Position as State-Owned Enterprises Commissioners," *Transparency International Indonesia*, 16 July 2025, accessed at <https://ti.or.id/lebih-dari-separuh-wamen-rangkap-jabatan-di-bumn-34-dari-56-wamen-pco-menjabat-komisaris-bumn/>

6. Yefita Christopherus Asia Sanjaya, "Revealed, The Reason Prabowo Deliberately Appointed Vice-Ministries as State-Owned Enterprises Commissioners," *Kompas.com*, 16 August 2025, accessed at <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2025/08/16/143000065/terungkap-alasan-prabowo-sengaja-tunjuk-wamen-jadi-komisaris-bumn?page=all>

7. Nikolaus Harbowo, "2,500 Active Soldier in Civil Positions, Imparsial: Disturb Birocracy and Weaken Military Professionalism," *Kompas*, 4 March 2025, accessed at <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/2500-prajurit-aktif-di-jabatan-sipol-imparsial-ganggu-birokrasi-dan-lemahkan-profesionalisme-tni>

Meanwhile, an estimated 4,351 active police officers held concurrent positions in various civilian institutions.<sup>8</sup> This occurred despite explicit prohibitions on members of both institutions holding civilian posts.

Two problematic pieces of legislation enacted in 2025 further entrenched the state's tolerance of conflicts of interest, particularly those involving the military. These laws are Law No. 3 of 2025 on the Amendment to Law No. 34 of 2004 on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (the TNI Law), and Law No. 20 of 2025 on the Criminal Procedure Code (KUHAP). The amended TNI Law expands the military's core duties to include "military operations other than war" in areas that are unnecessary or ambiguous, such as "securing nationally vital strategic objects" and "assisting in countering cyber defence threats."<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, the new KUHAP introduces mechanisms for terminating cases without clear and measurable public oversight. These include restorative justice processes that may begin at the investigation stage before the law enforcement can even confirm a crime has happened (Article 83), settlement fines (Article 66), and guilty pleas (Article 78). Such mechanisms risk benefiting those with financial resources or the "capacity" to persuade law enforcement authorities that their cases should not proceed.

Even policies that appear positive on the surface warrant critical scrutiny. At the beginning of this year, we were among those who welcomed the Prabowo administration's policy of transferring death-row prisoners. As of 2025, 11 foreign nationals had been repatriated to their countries of origin. However, the selection of individuals for transfer lacked transparency and appeared to favour countries with which Indonesia maintains strategic partnerships, particularly those in the Global North.



Photo: Public Hearing Meeting with Commission III of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) discussing the Draft Criminal Procedure Code (KUHAP Bill) | 29 September 2025

Amid this pervasive web of conflicts of interest, the Community Legal Aid Institute (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Masyarakat*, LBHM) has sought to anticipate and minimize such conflicts through legal aid work, strategic litigation, and policy advocacy.

8. Santi Dewi, "Expert Witness in Constitutional Court States that 4,351 Police Officers Have Double Jobs in Civil Institutions," 16 September 2025, accessed at <https://www.idntimes.com/news/indonesia/saksi-ahli-di-mk-sebut-4-351-polisi-rangkap-jabatan-di-instansi-sipil-00-bbwlv-n5bf72>

9. Article 7 of TNI Law.

In 2025, LBHM was involved in advocacy opposing the revision of the TNI Law and in advocating for reforms to the KUHAP in line with constitutional mandates and human rights standards. Although both laws were ultimately enacted with numerous problematic provisions, residues of resistance remain and will continue in the years to come.

During the same year, LBHM also continued several initiatives aimed at exposing conflicts of interest embedded in problematic policies. In drug policy, we observed potential conflicts of interest when police diverted arrested drug users to rehabilitation centres with which they had close ties. In LGBTIQ+ issues, we identified discriminatory policies rooted in legislators who maintain close relationships with or hold positions in certain religious organisations. In the context of persons with psychosocial disabilities, we suspect conflicts of interest involving health practitioners who also own or operate institutions that confine persons with disabilities.

We believe that the antithesis of conflicts of interest is the strengthening of human rights. By reinforcing respect for, protection of, and fulfilment of human rights, we are in fact strengthening democracy that enables meaningful participation for all, not only for those with vested interests and access to power. Strengthening human rights also aligns with anti-corruption efforts, as it helps prevent those in power from extracting personal benefit from the policies they enact.

The advocacy, work, and reflection we carried out in 2025 form only a small part of a broader civil society movement. While we take pride in our work, we remain aware that we are part of a wider civil society ecosystem composed of diverse actors who persistently struggle for human rights in Indonesia, and who, at times, also make mistakes. Only by working together and resisting collectively can we hope to move beyond this “odd” and “extraordinary” moment.



Photo: #IndonesiaGelap action/Special

Photo: Saputra's case review trial, a medical marijuana user, at the East Jakarta District Court



II  
LBHM  
2025  
Achievement  
Highlights



Photo: Public hearing with Commission III of the Indonesian House of Representatives discussing the Criminal Adjustment Bill | December 2, 2025

# Legal Aid

Throughout 2025, **235 people** received legal aid from LBHM.

## • Gender of Applicant



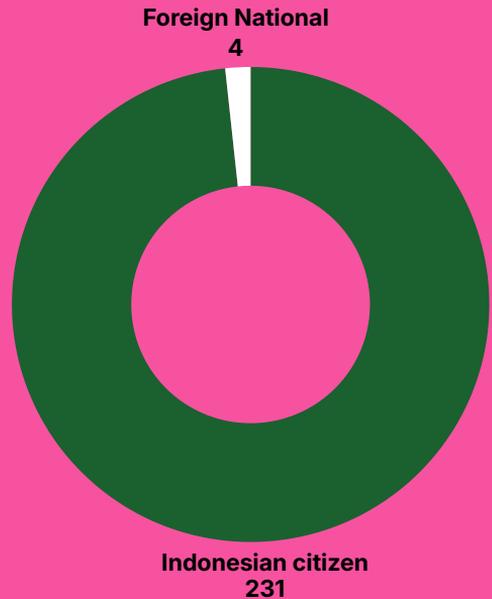
126 men



68 women



3 individuals of other gender identities



## • Applicant's domicile



1. Bali	1		
2. Banten	14		
3. DI Yogyakarta	3		
4. DKI Jakarta	131		
5. Jawa Barat	53		
6. Jawa Tengah	8		
7. Jawa Timur	3		
8. Kalimantan Selatan	2		
		9. Kepulauan Riau	1
		10. Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam	3
		11. Nusa Tenggara Timur	1
		12. Sulawesi Selatan	5
		13. Sulawesi Tengah	1
		14. Sumatera Barat	3
		15. Sumatera Selatan	2
		16. Sumatera Utara	3
		17. Luar Provinsi di Indonesia	1

## • Applicant's Disability Status



2 People with Physical Disabilities



1 Person with Intellectual Disabilities



8 People with Psychosocial Disabilities



2 People with Sensory Disabilities

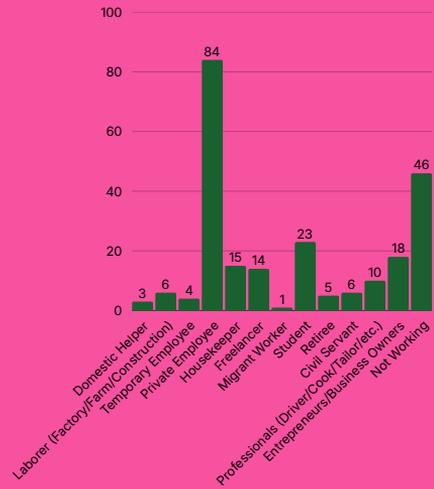


180 People Without Disabilities



42 Unknown Persons

## • Applicant's occupation



## • Petitioner's Case



Throughout 2025, **407 people** received counseling from LBHM



13 people claimed to have been tortured



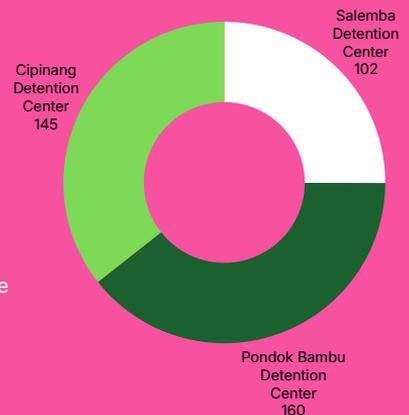
9 people claimed to have been extorted



265 people claimed not to have received legal assistance from the police



155 people Narcotics case



# Programs & Research

## • Publication List 2025

1.



The Role of Socioeconomic Factors in Indonesia's Punitive Drug Policy Regime

2.



Reviewing Drug Rehabilitation Policies and Practices in the Context of Human Trafficking in Indonesia

3.



Special Investigation Techniques: Undercover Operations, Covert Purchases, and Supervised Deliveries in the Revised Criminal Procedure Code

4.



Looking at Justice from beneath the Ivory Tower: LBHM's Critical Notes on the Regulation of Legal Remedies in the Revision of the Criminal Procedure Code

5.



International Law Enforcement Mechanisms for Human Trafficking Crimes with Elements of Coercion

6.



Inventory of Issues (DIM) for the Draft Government Regulation on Living Law

7.



Inventory of Issues (DIM) for the Draft Government Regulation on Commutation

## • LBHM Activities 2025

In 2025, LBHM has implemented **12 programs** and activities with **807 beneficiaries.**



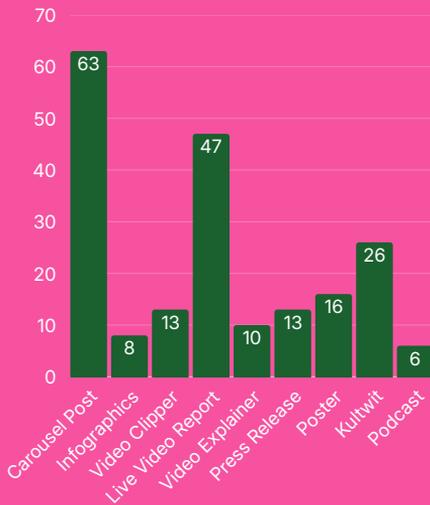
This activity covers at least 14 provinces in Indonesia, consisting of:

- Jakarta
- Aceh
- Sumatera Utara
- Jawa Barat
- Jawa Timur
- Bali
- Sulawesi Selatan
- Maluku
- Sumatera Barat
- Kalimantan Barat
- Nusa Tenggara Timur
- Sulawesi Tenggara
- Maluku Utara
- Yogyakarta



# Campaign & Media

- Throughout 2025, produce **202 communication products**, with the following details:



- Growth of Communication Channels**



Public engagement: 91,818 accounts  
Total followers: 19,132 (+8,161)



Public engagement: 28,146 accounts  
Total followers: 9020 (+285)



Public engagement: 26,727 accounts  
Total followers: 5,375 (+252)



Total visitors: 263,838  
Total page views: 58,481



Total views: 73,994 accounts  
Total subscribers: 1,259 (+125)

## Publication Reach

- Account Reach 3,091,006 accounts
- Played 711,548 accounts
- Liked 122,654 accounts
- Shared 11,724 accounts
- Commented on 4,462 accounts
- Saved 4,949 accounts

## Media Coverage



- 282 LBHM news reports in the mass media;
- 8 LBHM engagements in mass media/community/CSO podcasts;

LBHM received coverage in the mass media a total of **290 times**.

## Popular Products

- Advocacy Campaign for Capital Punishment Reform within the Framework of the KUHP



Account Reach 644,490 accounts  
Liked 1,335 accounts  
Shared 39 accounts  
Commented 6 accounts  
Saved 293 accounts

- Advocacy and Support Campaign for Political Prisoners

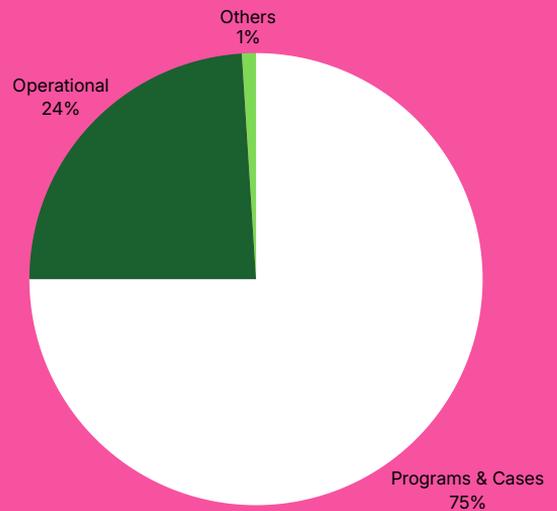
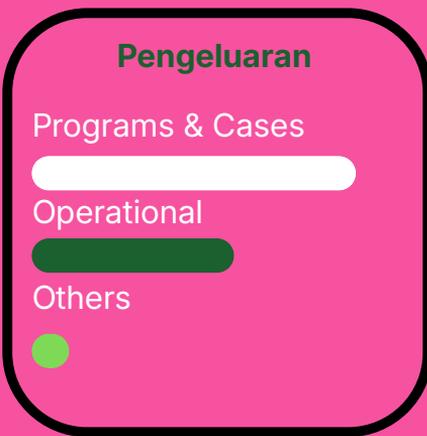


Account Reach 460,818 accounts  
Played 426,895 accounts  
Liked 58,762 accounts  
Shared 4,321 accounts  
Saved 2,075 accounts

# Financial Management

Throughout 2025, LBHM Financial Management Amounting to:

**Rp. 12.231.317.849**



Ambil Peran!

# DONASI

Mari jadi bagian dari LBHM dengan cara berdonasi. Bantu kami mewujudkan gerakan bantuan hukum yang berperspektif kelompok rentan!



Photo: Regular LBHM counseling at the Pondok Bambu Women's Detention Center, East Jakarta



Photo: FGD by LBHM & IJRS, Notes on the Granting of Amnesty in Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2025 | December 16, 2025

### III

## Planting Today for a Safeguarded Tomorrow: Nurturing Ecosystems, Expanding Impact



The initiatives undertaken by LBHM throughout 2025 were not merely ceremonial. They formed part of the organisation's long-term strategy to nurture the democratic ecosystem and ensure that human rights values remain alive amid ever-shifting social and political dynamics. We understand sustainability not only in terms of program continuity or funding, but also as the consistency of our struggle, the endurance of its impact, and the institution's capacity to persist in resisting injustice.

In line with this vision, LBHM has designed strategic interventions for its five core issue areas for the 2025–2028 period: the abolition of the death penalty; harm reduction and decriminalisation for people who use drugs; recognition of the legal capacity of persons with disabilities; equal treatment for LGBTIQ+ individuals; and the elimination of discrimination against people living with certain health statuses, such as people living with HIV and tuberculosis. These agendas are pursued through an integrated approach encompassing case advocacy and strategic litigation, policy and legislative advocacy, research and documentation grounded in data and current findings, public campaigns, and the strengthening of cross-sector collaboration and partnerships.

Throughout 2025, LBHM's initiatives were structured around several key pillars. First, strengthening the capacity of grassroots communities and local partners to understand, protect, and advocate for their rights, while enabling them to act as agents of collective advocacy within their respective regions. In 2025, LBHM's capacity-building efforts benefited at least 787 rights-holders across 14 provinces in Indonesia.

Second, the production and utilisation of evidence-based research and field documentation to reinforce case handling, policy advocacy, and the development of intervention strategies that are responsive to evolving social and legal contexts. During the year, LBHM completed seven studies on public policy and initiated four additional research projects scheduled for completion in the following year.

Third, case advocacy and public policy advocacy were carried out strategically, through litigation, the submission of *amicus curiae* briefs, and dialogue and consultation with policymakers. These ensure reforms not only exist at the discourse level, but are also translated into tangible improvements in legal protection and the fulfilment of human rights. Throughout 2025, we expanded our case handling to cover 235 individuals and provided legal education to 407 newly detained persons in Jakarta. We also participated in two Public Hearings (*Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum*) to submit substantive input on two problematic legislative initiatives.

Fourth, amid an information landscape increasingly distorted by bias and misinformation, LBHM strengthened public critical awareness through campaigns, discussions, and publications designed to open spaces for reflection and encourage people to claim their rights consciously and knowledgeably. The interactive content we produced reached more than three million accounts across various social media platforms.



Photo: Legal outreach session at Salemba Detention Center, Jakarta, together with Australian student interns from the ACICIS Program.

To ensure effectiveness and the breadth of impact, LBHM views internal resilience as a strategic organisational foundation. Strengthening institutional governance, developing adaptive internal policies, and upholding financial transparency and accountability—including through annual audits—remain core commitments of LBHM. This approach enables the organisation not only to withstand external pressures, but also to continuously enhance its capacity, deliver tangible impact for communities, and reinforce donor trust through effective and responsible resource management.

The year 2026 marks the second phase of LBHM's journey toward achieving the strategic objectives set for 2028: the realisation of a democratic and just legal system that eliminates destructive practices and strengthens the protection of human rights for vulnerable groups. Within this framework, sustainability is understood as the ongoing cultivation of fertile ground for struggle—ensuring that every effort undertaken today becomes a foundation for broader and more enduring change in the future.



Photo: Response to the passing of the TNI Bill/Special



Photo: LBHM visit to one of its female clients at the Class II Women's Prison in Malang, East Java.



Photo: Research interview process on Kratom with the Dayak Kalis indigenous community, Kapuas Hulu, West Kalimantan

## IV

# Harassed by the Majority, Justified by the State



Horizontal conflict is one of the practices most deliberately sustained by the state, with its perpetrators seemingly granted legitimacy as enforcers of the law, particularly in guarding society's moral compass through their own interpretations. They call themselves mass organisations (organisasi masyarakat), whose actions frequently harass sexual and gender diversity groups and are consistently "allowed" by law enforcement authorities.

One such practice occurred in mid-2025. Without the presence of the two legally required pieces of evidence for an alleged criminal offence, police officers together with members of a mass organisation arrested 75 people who were attending an event titled "*Big Star Got Talent*" in Bogor.<sup>10</sup> This incident not only effectively "authorised" parties with no legal authority to carry out arrests, but also involved the fabrication of baseless accusations, alleging that a sex party had taken place at the event.

The lack of information held by the police and the mass organisation did not deter them from acting. Not content with making arrests, they also invited the media to cover the arrest process. Through these actions, the police and the mass organisation subjected the 75 participants to public judgment, despite the absence of any factual or legal basis indicating wrongdoing or legal violations.

The widely circulated video subsequently triggered public demands for punishment. Several public figures, including a member of the PBNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board), the Chair of the Bogor Regency Regional House of Representatives, and the Vice Governor of West Java, issued similar calls.<sup>11</sup> This was no longer merely a legal process conducted in violation of procedure, but an expression of hatred toward a particular group that repeatedly gives rise to suspicion and prejudice.

Meanwhile, far from Bogor, in a small town in Central Java, a young influencer, Dani (not his real name), experienced a similar situation. It began with a question from one of his followers about sexual and gender diversity groups.



10. Rizky Adha Mahendra, "The Police Raid Gay Party in Puncak Bogor, 75 People Detained," DetikNews, 23 June 2025, accessed at <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7978897/polisi-gerebek-pesta-gay-di-puncak-bogor-75-orang-diamankan>

11. Press Release of LBH Masyarakat "Vicious Framing of Sex Party: Hate-Based Criminal Process in the Case of 75 People in Puncak", accessed at <https://lbhmasyarakat.org/framing-jahat-pesta-seks-peradilan-berorientasi-kebencian-dalam-kasus-75-orang-di-puncak/>

Dani responded by emphasising the importance of strengthening protections for them. That response, however, led to him being reported to the police by a local mass organisation.

Dani was reported for allegedly violating Article 27 paragraph (1) of Law No. 1 of 2024 on the Amendment to Law No. 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions. There was no violence, incitement, or concrete criminal act involved. The report was filed solely because Dani expressed support for sexual and gender diversity groups, which was then framed as an act of immorality.

These two incidents reveal a pattern in which criminal law instruments are used to respond to social and moral pressure from majority groups. Rather than objectively assessing the elements of a criminal offence, law enforcement authorities often position themselves as siding with the demands of mass organisations and public sentiment. This illustrates how Indonesia's legal structure is easily politicised, particularly against vulnerable and minority groups.

In Dani's case, LBHM not only provided legal assistance throughout the proceedings he faced, but also carried out structural advocacy, such as insisting on lawful summons procedures and opposing the forced interpretation of criminal elements. This strategy sought to reaffirm that criminal law must not be used as a tool of moral control, but must instead function as an objective instrument of justice.

In the *Big Star Got Talent* case, together with other organisations, LBHM urged the Bogor District Police to terminate all legal proceedings, as none of the activities at the event fulfilled the elements of Articles 7 and 10 of Law No. 44 of 2008 on Pornography, nor Article 296 of the Criminal Code—provisions the police attempted to apply to the event participants in response to public pressure.

The resolution of cases involving LGBTIQ+ individuals must begin with defensive efforts to prevent criminalisation, before it becomes possible to assert that their actions, such as assembling, expressing themselves, and voicing opinions, are part of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This reality not only demonstrates their vulnerability but also the absence of the state as a protector of their constitutional rights.

Under such conditions, advocacy frequently transforms into risk-mitigation work rather than a struggle for rights in the ideal sense. The vulnerability of sexual and gender diversity groups is not limited to access to rights, but is closely tied to personal security and social safety. Many individuals choose to compromise by apologising for their views or expressions in order to avoid threats and widespread criminalisation. Such approaches are, of course, unjust. They merely expose the imbalance of power resulted by pressure from majority groups and the limited bargaining power held by minority groups.

Advocacy for sexual and gender diversity groups in Indonesia is not merely about avoiding criminal prosecution, but also about defending safe and dignified spaces in which to live.

The vulnerabilities experienced by sexual and gender diversity groups underscore the importance of long-term and multi-layered advocacy. Legal assistance must go hand in hand with public education, capacity-building for law enforcement authorities, and consistent civil society efforts to affirm that gender diversity and sexual orientation are not criminal acts.

Without structural and cultural change, similar cases will continue to recur in the same pattern. As long as activities such as assembling, expressing oneself, and voicing opinions continue to result in criminal proceedings, the work of advocacy remains unfinished. It is essential to continue building courage, demonstrating solidarity, and conducting consistent legal work to ensure that the law does not become an instrument of oppression against those in vulnerable positions.



“LBH Masyarakat serves as a safe space for vulnerable groups. For me, as a trans woman, LBH Masyarakat is one of the institutions that provides a safe space for community members, free from stigma and discrimination, in reporting and handling both litigation and non-litigation cases.



An equal and empathetic working relationship is key to the success of case-handling efforts. Collective work between LBH Masyarakat and communities must continue to be strengthened through cross-sector solidarity so that the struggle for justice does not proceed in isolation.

The work of LBH Masyarakat and communities is a tangible form of social movement. For true justice can only be achieved when the law is no longer viewed as a dead text in books, but as a living tool of struggle in the hands of the community itself.”

**Echa Wao'de, Secretary General, Arus Pelangi**



Photo: Press Release from the Legal Aid Coalition Rejecting Discrimination and Malicious Framing of Sex Parties: Hate-Oriented Justice in the Case of 75 People in Puncak | July 1, 2025



Photo: National Symposium on the Comprehensive Anti-Discrimination Bill: The Department of Criminology's Call for Anti-Discrimination Legislation | September 16-17, 2025

## V

# Awaiting Policies That Are Fairer, More Transparent, and More Respectful of Human Life



“New leader, new policies” may be an apt phrase to describe Indonesia’s current situation. Unlike his predecessor, Joko Widodo, who began his presidency by declaring a war on drugs, Prabowo Subianto has taken the opposite approach. In the first year of his leadership, Prabowo repatriated 11 prisoners to their countries of origin, 4 of whom were on death row. Mary Jane Veloso, a Filipino national, was the first death-row prisoner to receive this opportunity and, notably, the only one originating from the Global South. Most recently, in December 2025, two male prisoners from the Netherlands were also transferred out of Indonesia.

This transfer of sentenced persons policy is not entirely new, as it is conceptually referenced in Article 45 of Law No. 22 of 2022 on Corrections. However, its implementation requires regulation through a separate law. The steps taken by Prabowo arguably exceeded the mandate of existing legal provisions and reduced the repatriation of prisoners to a matter of bilateral arrangements. While this move was welcomed for providing a degree of certainty regarding the fate of death-row prisoners, the criteria for selecting which prisoners were deemed eligible for transfer have remained opaque and lacking transparency.

Moreover, the transfer of sentenced persons policy has thus far failed to deliver reciprocal benefits for Indonesia. To date, no Indonesian nationals have been repatriated under this mechanism. Two names—Reynhard Sinaga, detained in the United Kingdom for rape, and Hambali, held in Guantánamo Bay on terrorism charges—have surfaced as candidates proposed by the Indonesian government for repatriation. However, the urgency of prioritising these two individuals raises serious questions: what makes Reynhard and Hambali more important than the 4,937 Indonesian citizens<sup>12</sup> currently imprisoned abroad?

There appears to be a deliberate omission by the Indonesian government. If the repatriation of foreign prisoners, particularly those serving severe sentences such as death or life imprisonment, is justified, then similar considerations should apply to Indonesian nationals in comparable circumstances. The humanitarian grounds cited in previous transfers, such as Mary Jane Veloso’s trafficking background,<sup>13</sup>

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12. Number of Indonesians detained outside Indonesia, quoted from the Academic Paper of Law on Transfer of Sentenced Persons, accessed at [https://bphn.go.id/data/documents/na\\_ruu\\_tsp\\_2023.pdf](https://bphn.go.id/data/documents/na_ruu_tsp_2023.pdf)

13. Candra Yuri Nualam, “Yusril Said the Philippines Need Mary Jane to Expose Criminal Cases,” Metro TV News, 28 November 2024, accessed at <https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/K5nCLVZ6-yusril-sebut-filipina-butuh-mary-jane-untuk-bongkar-kasus-pidana>

Siegfried Mets' advanced age,<sup>14</sup> and Shahab Shahabadi's mental health condition,<sup>15</sup> should likewise serve as benchmarks for establishing priorities among Indonesian citizens eligible for repatriation.

Saudi Arabia and Malaysia account for the largest populations of imprisoned Indonesian nationals.<sup>16</sup> Yet initiating repatriation from these two countries seems to face governmental reluctance, often justified by claims that Indonesia's correctional facilities are already overcrowded.<sup>17</sup> This rationale underscores two critical gaps, namely the absence of clear prioritisation criteria for the transfer of sentenced persons and the lack of a sentencing model to treat repatriated prisoners. Through its Policy Paper: International Law Enforcement Mechanisms for Human Trafficking Crimes Involving Forced Criminality, LBHM has sought to offer solutions to the government.

First, through a continuation of sentence model, where by the remaining sentence imposed by the sentencing state is continued in Indonesia, except where the length of the sentence is incompatible with Indonesian law. For example, a 30-year prison sentence would automatically be converted to 20 years, in line with Indonesia's maximum imprisonment limit. Second, through a conversion model, in which the requesting state may impose a new sentence in accordance with domestic law, provided that it is not harsher than the original sentence and may be lighter. This approach also encourages the introduction of new evidence that could allow for a fairer reassessment of punishment.



Beyond policy proposals, acting as legal counsel for five families of Indonesian death-row prisoners who received commutations in Malaysia, LBHM has demonstrated concrete criteria for prioritising repatriation. In closed-door meetings with various ministries and state institutions, LBHM emphasised that prisoners who are elderly, suffer from specific health conditions or declining physical and mental health, or are victims of forced criminality—such as human trafficking or coerced drug couriers—should be prioritised for transfer. LBHM also submitted specific names, accompanied by supporting evidence, to substantiate their eligibility for repatriation.

LBHM's death penalty advocacy extends beyond addressing transnational cases; it also monitors and shapes national death penalty policy. The year 2025 proved pivotal in determining how the death penalty would be applied under Law No. 1 of 2023 on the Criminal Code (KUHP 2023),

14. Haryanti Puspa Sari dan Jessi Carina, "2 Dutch Elderly Sentenced to Death and Life Will be Repatriated Next Week," *Kompas.com*, 2 December 2025, accessed at <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/12/02/210738212-lansia-wn-belanda-terpidana-mati-dan-seumur-hidup-bakal-dipulangkan-pekan>

15. BBC News Indonesia, "Indonesia Repatriated Two UK Citizens Sentenced to Death and Life in Drug Cases-What Are the Reasons," BBC News Indonesia, 21 October 2025, accessed at <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c9v1y873gk3o>

16. Haryanti Puspa Sari dan Danu Damarjati, "Yusril: 82 Indonesians Sentenced to Death in Malaysia, 79 of Them Amended," *Kompas.com*, 9 October 2025, accessed at <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/10/09/21152241/yusril-82-wni-divonis-mati-malaysia-79-di-antaranya-diampuni>

17. *Ibid.*

particularly with regard to the issuance of mandated implementing regulations. In this context, two draft regulations focus specifically on capital punishment: the Draft Government Regulation on Procedures for the Commutation of Life Imprisonment and Death Sentences, and the Draft Law on Procedures for the Implementation of the Death Penalty.

Significant issues remain in both drafts. In the Draft Government Regulation on the Commutation of Life Imprisonment and Death Sentences, one key concern is that the minimum period required to be served by life or death-row prisoners remains excessively long and has not been designed as a realistic timeframe for sentence reduction. Another issue is that commutation is not automatic; it must be initiated either through a ministerial proposal or an application by the prisoner or their family. Additionally, the requirement of “good behaviour” places the burden of proof on the prisoner rather than on the competent authorities.

Meanwhile, at least three major concerns arise in the Draft Law on Procedures for the Implementation of the Death Penalty. First, it does not provide for the postponement of executions for death-row prisoners who are pursuing legal remedies or who are elderly. Second, it maintains the previous rule requiring notification of execution only 72 hours (3 x 24 hours) in advance. A longer notification period is necessary to allow prisoners to meet with their families and to pursue remaining legal remedies, especially for foreign death row prisoners. Third, the draft fails to regulate oversight mechanisms for the implementation of executions. The absence of strict supervision contributed to serious implementation problems during executions in 2015–2016, including notification given less than 72 hours in advance,<sup>18</sup> executions carried out while prisoners were seeking clemency,<sup>19</sup> and the execution of Rodrigo Duterte, a death-row prisoner with a mental disability.<sup>20</sup> A comprehensive legal framework and stricter safeguards are therefore essential to prevent unprofessional and rights-violating executions.

The year 2025 not only introduced new dynamics in the diplomacy surrounding death row prisoners, but also set the course for death penalty policy in 2026, following the entry into force of the KUHP 2023, which positions capital punishment as an alternative sentence. The drafting of implementing regulations should not be viewed merely as a procedural obligation to fulfil the mandate of the KUHP 2023, but as an opportunity to align policy with the spirit of restricting the death penalty—ensuring it is imposed strictly, selectively, and with a clear human rights orientation. The state must also demonstrate genuine fairness in pursuing repatriation for both Indonesian and foreign nationals, particularly those facing the death penalty or living under conditions of heightened vulnerability.

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18. “Experts Said Execution of Death Sentences Violated Laws,” [bbc.com](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/07/160728_indonesia_eksekusi_langgar_aturan), 29 July 2016, accessed at [https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2016/07/160728\\_indonesia\\_eksekusi\\_langgar\\_aturan](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/07/160728_indonesia_eksekusi_langgar_aturan)

19. “Waiting for the Commitment of the Commission of Prosecutors to Process 4 Complaints Regarding Executions,” [hukumonline.com](https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/menanti-komitmen-komisi-kejaksaan-tangani-4-aduan-eksekusi-mati-1t57ab326cd4259/), 11 August 2016, accessed at <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/menanti-komitmen-komisi-kejaksaan-tangani-4-aduan-eksekusi-mati-1t57ab326cd4259/>

20. “Rodrigo Duterte: A Dream at the End of Long Barrels of Guns,” [lbhmasarakat.org](https://lbhmasarakat.org/rodrigo-duterte-sebuah-mimpi-di-ujung-laras-panjang/), 17 December 2015, accessed at: <https://lbhmasarakat.org/rodrigo-duterte-sebuah-mimpi-di-ujung-laras-panjang/>

“



I am the child of Mrs. Ani, who was imprisoned in Malaysia. I am deeply grateful to LBHM—my family was able to meet my mother with LBHM's assistance. Without them, I might still not have seen my mother to this day. During the time LBHM handled my mother's case, thank God there has been significant and remarkable progress. Thank you, LBHM. Without their help, I would not have been able to do anything.

**Kokom Komalasari, Child of a former Indonesian death-row prisoner in Malaysia**



Photo: Accompanying the family of AA, a female convict in Malaysia, to report alleged human trafficking to the National Police Headquarters | July 30, 2025

Photo: Meeting with Deputy Coordinating Minister for Law, Human Rights, Immigration, and Corrections (Otto Hasbuan) to discuss prisoner transfer | February 28, 2025



Photo: Legal assistance for BR, who faces the death penalty at the Tangerang District Court



## VI

# The Politicisation of Health Under the Guise of Security



When a person with a particular health status comes into contact with the law, the questions that should arise are not limited to their actions alone, but must also encompass their condition, vulnerabilities, and the systems surrounding them. The law often focuses narrowly on conduct, while health-related contexts that shape how a person thinks, feels, and acts are frequently ignored.

In mid-December 2024, a mother came to LBHM accompanied by a friend. She was a victim of attempted murder. Yet the person who almost killed her is someone whom she should forgive. The perpetrator was her 17-year-old son, Anggara (not his real name), who prior to attempting to kill his mother had already killed his father and grandmother. He committed these acts out of what he believed to be compassion, convinced that by ending his parents' lives he was freeing them from suffering.

In assisting Anggara, LBHM pursued every possible legal avenue, from requesting the application of restorative justice based on the parents' statement forgiving Anggara, to filing a pretrial motion due to Anggara's detention having exceeded five months. These efforts were undertaken to ensure the fulfilment of the child's rights and were grounded in the firm belief that incarceration does not constitute a reasonable accommodation for a child with a disability.



Photo: Anggara Courtroom

This case of parricide not only attracted public attention but also generated stigma against the perpetrator, diverting focus away from his psychological health condition. In its ruling on the merits, the court sentenced Anggara to two years of rehabilitation accompanied by mandatory therapy. However, consideration of Anggara's psychosocial disability remained inadequate, despite expert testimony establishing that his condition had existed prior to the criminal incident.

The neglect of the specific conditions of persons with disabilities is rooted, in part, in erroneous and stigmatising conceptions that are reproduced through Indonesian legal regulations. In 2025, LBHM consistently monitored two problematic legal instruments: Minister of Health Regulation No. 2 of 2025 on the Provision of Reproductive Health Services (Permenkes 2/2025) and Law No. 20 of 2025 on the Criminal Procedure Code (KUHAP). Articles 62(4) and (5) of Permenkes 2/2025 allow forced abortion of persons with psychosocial and intellectual disabilities on the assumption that they lack legal capacity. Meanwhile, Article 221 of the KUHAP states that persons with mental or intellectual disabilities cannot provide sworn testimony, resulting in their statements being treated not as valid evidence but merely as indications. These provisions reflect a disregard for the legal capacity of persons with disabilities.

In contrast to the neglect faced by persons with psychosocial disabilities, people living with HIV (PLHIV) experience excessive scrutiny of their health status, often amounting to discrimination. Throughout 2025, LBHM assisted three PLHIV who were dismissed from their jobs. All of the companies involved denied that the terminations were related to HIV status. Through mediation, LBHM succeeded in securing the reinstatement of employment rights for two of the three individuals, while the remaining case is still ongoing.

Through these cases, LBHM found that violations of the right to work frequently overlap with violations of other rights, such as the right to privacy. To facilitate dismissals, companies forcibly obtained or demanded medical examination results. Alarmingly, hospitals and clinics provided such medical information without the patients' consent. Employers often obtain legitimisation to access workers' health information, even when such data is irrelevant to work capacity and should clearly be classified as personal data.



Similar patterns of discrimination were also encountered in LBHM's work with communities affected by tuberculosis (TB). TB patients of productive working age face heightened fear of dismissal. Employers commonly use "physical fitness" as a justification for termination, generalising that anyone living with TB is no longer capable of productive office work, regardless of whether they are undergoing regular treatment.

The Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Manpower, has issued Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 13 of 2022 on Tuberculosis Control in the Workplace, which under Article 6(2) encourages employers to grant rest periods for workers with TB. However, this regulation prioritises transmission prevention over the restoration of dignity and rights for workers with TB who face discrimination.

These persistent workplace issues have prompted LBHM to take a more active role in policy advocacy related to labour rights for individuals with specific health conditions.

Even where employers fear that allowing workers with certain health conditions, such as TB, may pose risks to others,<sup>21</sup> termination of employment is not a solution to prevent transmission. These challenges require more accommodating and flexible regulations that enable workers with particular health conditions to access treatment without sacrificing their livelihoods.

LBHM's experiences in legal assistance, research, advocacy, and campaigning demonstrate that health vulnerabilities, whether it is psychosocial or physical, are frequently not treated as primary considerations in legal and policy decision-making. LBHM believes that an inclusive environment for all must begin by ensuring the active participation of those most affected.

“



LBHM's lawyers are intelligent, trustworthy, and highly reliable. Their competence in handling cases is beyond doubt. LBHM works wholeheartedly, always willing to listen to our concerns, provides clear and reassuring guidance, and makes every possible effort in the best interests of their clients.

My child and I feel deeply grateful to have met and been accompanied by LBHM's lawyers. Thank you, LBHM. Your support for both of us will never be forgotten.

**Mother of Anggara, LBHM client**

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21. "Workers Diagnosed with TBC Should Not Be Dismissed Arbitrarily by Employers," accessed at <https://www.stoptbindonesia.org/single-post/pekerja-yang-terdiagnosa-tbc-tidak-boleh-diberhentikan-sepihak-oleh-pemilik-perusahaan>

Photo: Anggara's trial process





## VII

# Ignoring the Root Causes: Trapped in a Self-Created Labyrinth



The government has taken certain steps to address overcrowding in prisons and detention centres. Through Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2025 (Keppres 17/2025), President Prabowo granted amnesty to 1,178 individuals, the majority of whom were convicted prisoners, while some were detainees whose cases had not yet reached final and binding decisions. The recipients varied widely: some were pardoned after serving more than 20 years of their sentences, while others had served only a quarter of their term, some as little as one month. It shows that recipients of amnesty have varied prison sentences.

Criticism of this amnesty policy mirrors critiques of other policies introduced in 2025: the absence of transparency and clear criteria underlying the granting of amnesty. This lack of clarity raises questions about the state's basis for determining eligibility, such as why offences involving murder and sexual violence against children were also deemed deserving of amnesty. Moreover, vulnerabilities related to economic, social, or health conditions do not appear to have been considered as determining factors.

At first glance, Keppres 17/2025 appears to offer a solution by positioning drug-related offenders as the primary recipients of amnesty, given that drug offences have long been the main contributors to prison overcrowding. However, the critical question that follows is whether amnesty can truly serve as a sustainable remedy for Indonesia's chronic correctional overcapacity. LBHM does not believe so.

Overcrowding in prisons and detention centres will continue to recur as long as the government ignores the root cause of the problem: punitive drug policies. The handling of drug offences, which remains confined to a rigid dichotomy between mandatory rehabilitation and imprisonment, places vulnerable groups within a high-risk punishment cycle and gives rise to a new problem that the state fails to acknowledge, which is human trafficking practices disguised as rehabilitation.

The impact of drug policy on vulnerable groups is evident in the cases handled by LBHM in 2025. Romantic manipulation of women who are nearing despair has proven to be one of the most effective ways to recruit them as drug couriers. This method is not new, yet law enforcement authorities consistently fail to recognise and consider the factors that drive women into involvement in drug-related offences.

Women's involvement in drug crimes is also frequently driven by economic motives, often through job offers. Conditions of poverty, compounded by pressure to meet basic living needs, frequently override suspicion toward employment opportunities that arise. In many cases, this vulnerability is exacerbated by the fact that those offering such jobs occupy positions of greater power.

These circumstances cause women to hesitate to question the nature of the work being offered. Even when they sense irregularities, such as false identities or incomprehensible employment documents, they ultimately accept the offer. This positions them as drug couriers and exposes them to the threat of the death penalty or lengthy prison sentences.

These patterns should not be viewed merely as drug offences. Those placed in the position of defendants in drug cases are often victims of human trafficking. In 2025, LBHM reported this model of crime to several government institutions to draw attention and prompt appropriate responses. Without recognition of vulnerability, the door to justice will remain closed for those who are, in fact, victims.

Human trafficking practices do not stop there. As noted above, rehabilitation has also become a façade for trafficking. Through its study *"Reviewing Drug Rehabilitation Policies and Practices within the Framework of Human Trafficking Crimes in Indonesia,"* LBHM examined weaknesses in the oversight of rehabilitation regulations that enable exploitation and turn people who use drugs into commodities, potentially drawing them into human trafficking schemes.

This research was prompted by the 2024 case of human cages operated by former Langkat Regent Terbit Rencana Perangin-Angin. Rehabilitation facilities established under the pretext of disciplining people instead became sites of violence, where torture tools such as hammers, chili peppers, cigarettes, and heated metal were found.<sup>22</sup> These findings also highlighted rogue rehabilitation centres that lack comprehensive recovery programs and treat people who use drugs merely as objects of extortion.



Despite the chaotic and ineffective handling of drug issues that fail to provide appropriate interventions for both people who use drugs and those who should actually bear criminal responsibility, the government continues to employ a "war" approach. Rather than evaluating the war on drugs, the National Narcotics Agency rebranded it as a *"war on drugs for humanity,"* claiming that the fight against drugs is no longer solely law-oriented but also grounded in humanitarian values.<sup>23</sup>

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22. "Human Cell in Langkat: Ex-Regent Terbit Perangin-angin Sentenced Four Years in Prison, Supreme Court Annulled Free Verdict," BBC News Indonesia, 26 November 2024, accessed at <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cg7gkl5x3vyo>

23. "The Head of BNN Declared "War on Drugs for Humanity": War on Drugs For Indonesia Gold Generation," mediapolri.id., 27 August 2025, accessed at <https://mediapolri.id/kepala-bnn-ri-kumandangkan-war-on-drugs-for-humanity-perang-melawan-narkoba-demi-generasi-emas-indonesia.html>

Yet slogans are meaningless when policies remain anchored in punishment. This campaign narrative feels performative and devoid of substantive reform. A “war” can never coexist with “humanity.” There is no war that saves lives; on the contrary, it inevitably produces new victims. Such an approach also shapes a worldview that normalises state violence.

LBHM’s research analysing 368 drug-related news articles published by three major mainstream media outlets—Kompas.com, Detik.com, and Tribunnews.com—found that 95.5% employed a repressive framing: arrests, raids, and detention. Only two articles mentioned harm reduction approaches to drug use. This media-driven perpetuation of state violence reinforces public perceptions of drug issues solely as criminal matters, narrowing recovery-oriented spaces and intensifying stigma against those involved in drug-related offences.

Amid drug policies that ignore root causes and offer non-substantive, unsustainable solutions, LBHM has engaged religious leaders to reduce the stigma that frames people who use drugs as sinners. These dialogues generated moral support from religious figures, affirming that repressive and punitive approaches are not appropriate solutions to drug-related issues. They also encouraged harm reduction approaches for people who use drugs, rather than reliance on mandatory rehabilitation alone.

These conditions demonstrate that instant policies which fail to address root causes, coupled with harsh rhetoric that ignores the realities behind individuals’ involvement in drug offences, will never lead to better outcomes. Instead, such approaches trap the state in a self-created labyrinth of recurring problems: overcrowded prisons, misdirected criminal enforcement, and futile interventions for people who use drugs.

“

LBHM is a companion in our theological–juridical–advocacy journey and a strategic partner of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI) in reaching as many as possible marginalised people who require attention, assistance, and holistic accompaniment.

For PGI, LBHM is an ideological–practical–contextual ally. We both choose the ‘quiet path’—one rarely taken—by walking alongside vulnerable groups (including people exposed to drugs), not through judgment, but through compassion that restores dignity and enables the creation of a more hopeful future.



LBHM’s capable team, well-prepared programs and activities, including the 2025 Harm Reduction Workshop on Drugs, and its measurable forward plans further strengthen PGI’s confidence in LBHM’s resilience and prospective impact in the struggle for justice and equality rooted in love and compassion.

**Alfian Rico Komimbin**  
**Head of Research and Development Bureau**  
**Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI)**





Photo: Workshop on Harm Reduction for Religious Leaders | December 11-13, 2025



Photo: Legal assistance for one of LBHM's clients in a case involving the criminalization of drug users, at the South Jakarta District Court.

# International Advocacy Participations

VIII



The 5th Regional Congress on the Death Penalty, Tokyo, Jepang | November 7-9, 2025



ADPAN Regional Conference & General Assembly WCADP 2025, Manila, Filipina | June 6-9, 2025



Advokasi Kasus AA, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia | September 17-20, 2025



Women in Corrections Conference (WICC) organized by the International Corrections and Prisons Association (ICPA) and the Thailand Institute of Justice (TIJ), Bangkok, Thailand | February 19-21, 2025



Drug Policy Reform Conference 2025, Detroit, Amerika Serikat | November 12-15, 2025



ASEANPeoples@ASEAN2025, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia | May 24, 2025



Pathways to Harm Reduction Drug Policy in Hong Kong and East & Southeast Asia: Principles, Process and Practices Regional Research Hub Roundtable, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong | March 25-27, 2025



The 13th International Conference on Health and Hepatitis Care in Substance Users (INHSU 2025), Cape Town, South Africa | October 10-11, 2025

# IX

# Audit Report 2024



S. MANNAN, ARDIANSYAH & REKAN  
REGISTERED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

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## LAPORAN AUDITOR INDEPENDEN

No.LAI.00026/3.0258/AU.2/11/1668-3/1/IX/2025

Kepada Yth.  
Manajemen  
Perkumpulan Lembaga Bantuan Masyarakat  
(LBH Masyarakat)  
Jakarta

### Opini

Kami telah mengaudit laporan keuangan Perkumpulan Lembaga Bantuan Masyarakat ("Organisasi"), yang terdiri dari laporan posisi keuangan tanggal 31 Desember 2024, serta laporan penghasilan komprehensif lain, laporan perubahan aset neto, dan laporan arus kas untuk tahun yang berakhir pada tanggal tersebut, serta catatan atas laporan keuangan, termasuk ikhtisar kebijakan akuntansi signifikan.

Menurut opini kami, laporan keuangan terlampir menyajikan secara wajar, dalam semua hal yang material, posisi keuangan Perkumpulan Lembaga Bantuan Masyarakat tanggal 31 Desember 2024, serta kinerja keuangan dan arus kasnya untuk tahun yang berakhir pada tanggal tersebut, sesuai dengan Standar Akuntansi Keuangan Entitas Tanpa Akuntabilitas Publik di Indonesia.

### Basis Opini

Kami melaksanakan audit kami berdasarkan Standar Audit yang ditetapkan oleh Institut Akuntan Publik Indonesia. Tanggung jawab kami menurut standar tersebut diuraikan lebih lanjut dalam paragraf Tanggung Jawab Auditor terhadap Audit atas Laporan Keuangan pada laporan kami. Kami independen terhadap organisasi berdasarkan ketentuan etika yang relevan dalam audit kami atas laporan keuangan di Indonesia, dan kami telah memenuhi tanggung jawab etika lainnya berdasarkan ketentuan tersebut. Kami yakin bahwa bukti audit yang telah kami peroleh adalah cukup dan tepat untuk menyediakan suatu basis bagi opini audit kami.

## INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

No.IAR.00026/3.0258/AU.2/11/1668-3/1/IX/2025

To.  
Management of  
Perkumpulan Lembaga Bantuan Masyarakat  
(LBH Masyarakat)  
Jakarta

### Opinion

We have audited the financial statements of Perkumpulan Lembaga Bantuan Masyarakat ("The Organization"), which comprise the statement of financial position as at December 31, 2024, and the statement of comprehensive income, statement of changes in net assets and statement of cash flows for the year then ended, and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies.

In our opinion, the accompanying financial statements present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Perkumpulan Lembaga Bantuan Masyarakat as at December 31, 2024, and its financial performance and its cash flows for the year then ended, in accordance with the Indonesian Financial Accounting Standards for Non-Publicly Accountable Entities.

### Basis for Opinion

We conducted our audit in accordance with Standards on Auditing established by the Indonesian Institute of Certified Public Accountants. Our responsibilities under those standards are further described in the Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements paragraph of our report. We are independent of the organization in accordance with the ethical requirements that are relevant to our audit of the financial statements in Indonesia, and we have fulfilled our other ethical responsibilities in accordance with these requirements. We believe that the audit evidence we have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion.

# Audit Report 2024



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## **Tanggung Jawab Manajemen dan Pihak yang Bertanggung Jawab atas Tata Kelola terhadap Laporan Keuangan**

Manajemen bertanggung jawab atas penyusunan dan penyajian wajar laporan keuangan tersebut sesuai dengan Standar Akuntansi Keuangan Entitas Tanpa Akuntabilitas Publik di Indonesia, dan atas pengendalian internal yang dianggap perlu oleh manajemen untuk memungkinkan penyusunan laporan keuangan yang bebas dari kesalahan penyajian material, baik yang disebabkan oleh kecurangan maupun kesalahan.

Dalam penyusunan laporan keuangan, manajemen bertanggung jawab untuk menilai kemampuan organisasi dalam mempertahankan kelangsungan usahanya, mengungkapkan, sesuai dengan kondisinya, hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan kelangsungan usaha, dan menggunakan basis akuntansi kelangsungan usaha, kecuali manajemen memiliki intensi untuk melikuidasi organisasi atau menghentikan operasi, atau tidak memiliki alternatif yang realistis selain melaksanakannya.

Pihak yang bertanggung jawab atas tata kelola bertanggung jawab untuk mengawasi proses pelaporan keuangan organisasi.

## **Tanggung Jawab Auditor terhadap Audit atas Laporan Keuangan**

Tujuan kami adalah untuk memperoleh keyakinan memadai tentang apakah laporan keuangan secara keseluruhan bebas dari kesalahan penyajian material, baik yang disebabkan oleh kecurangan maupun kesalahan, dan untuk menerbitkan laporan auditor yang mencakup opini kami. Keyakinan memadai merupakan suatu tingkat keyakinan tinggi, namun bukan merupakan suatu jaminan bahwa audit yang dilaksanakan berdasarkan Standar Audit akan selalu mendeteksi kesalahan penyajian material ketika hal tersebut ada. Kesalahan penyajian dapat disebabkan oleh kecurangan maupun kesalahan dan dianggap material jika, baik secara individual maupun secara agregat, dapat diekspektasikan secara wajar akan memengaruhi keputusan ekonomi yang diambil oleh pengguna berdasarkan laporan keuangan tersebut.

## **Responsibilities of Management and Those Charged with Governance for the Financial Statements**

Management is responsible for the preparation and fair presentation of the financial statements in accordance with the Indonesian Financial Accounting Standards for Non-Publicly Accountable Entities, and for such internal control as management determines is necessary to enable the preparation of financial statements that are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error.

In preparing the financial statements, management is responsible for assessing the organization's ability to continue as a going concern, disclosing, as applicable, matters related to going concern and using the going concern basis of accounting unless management either intends to liquidate the organization or to cease operations, or has no realistic alternative but to do so.

Those charged with governance are responsible for overseeing the organization's financial reporting process.

## **Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements**

Our objectives are to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements as a whole are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error, and to issue an auditor's report that includes our opinion. Reasonable assurance is a high level of assurance, but is not a guarantee that an audit conducted in accordance with Standards on Auditing will always detect a material misstatement when it exists. Misstatements can arise from fraud or error and are considered material if, individually or in the aggregate, they could reasonably be expected to influence the economic decisions of users taken on the basis of these financial statements.

# Audit Report 2024



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## Tanggung Jawab Auditor terhadap Audit atas Laporan Keuangan (Lanjutan)

Sebagai bagian dari suatu audit berdasarkan Standar Audit, kami menerapkan pertimbangan profesional dan mempertahankan skeptisisme profesional selama audit. Kami juga:

- Mengidentifikasi dan menilai risiko kesalahan penyajian material dalam laporan keuangan, baik yang disebabkan oleh kecurangan maupun kesalahan, mendesain dan melaksanakan prosedur audit yang responsif terhadap risiko tersebut, serta memperoleh bukti audit yang cukup dan tepat untuk menyediakan basis bagi opini kami. Risiko tidak terdeteksinya kesalahan penyajian material yang disebabkan oleh kecurangan lebih tinggi dari yang disebabkan oleh kesalahan, karena kecurangan dapat melibatkan kolusi, pemalsuan, penghilangan secara sengaja, pernyataan salah, atau pengabaian pengendalian internal.
- Memperoleh suatu pemahaman tentang pengendalian internal yang relevan dengan audit untuk mendesain prosedur audit yang tepat sesuai dengan kondisinya, tetapi bukan untuk tujuan menyatakan opini atas keefektifitasan pengendalian internal organisasi.
- Mengevaluasi ketepatan kebijakan akuntansi yang digunakan serta kewajaran estimasi akuntansi dan pengungkapan terkait yang dibuat oleh manajemen.
- Menyimpulkan ketepatan penggunaan basis akuntansi kelangsungan usaha oleh manajemen dan, berdasarkan bukti audit yang diperoleh, apakah terdapat suatu ketidakpastian material yang terkait dengan peristiwa atau kondisi yang dapat menyebabkan keraguan signifikan atas kemampuan organisasi untuk mempertahankan kelangsungan usahanya. Ketika kami menyimpulkan bahwa terdapat suatu ketidakpastian material, kami diharuskan untuk menarik perhatian dalam laporan auditor kami ke pengungkapan terkait dalam laporan keuangan atau, jika pengungkapan tersebut tidak memadai, harus menentukan apakah perlu untuk memodifikasi opini kami. Kesimpulan kami didasarkan pada bukti audit yang diperoleh hingga tanggal laporan auditor kami. Namun, peristiwa atau kondisi masa depan dapat menyebabkan organisasi tidak dapat mempertahankan kelangsungan usaha.

## Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements (Continued)

As part of an audit in accordance with Standards on Auditing, we exercise professional judgment and maintain professional skepticism throughout the audit. We also:

- Identify and assess the risks of material misstatement of the financial statements, whether due to fraud or error, design and perform audit procedures responsive to those risks, and obtain audit evidence that is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion. The risk of not detecting a material misstatement resulting from fraud is higher than for one resulting from error, as fraud may involve collusion, forgery, intentional omissions, misrepresentations, or the override of internal control.
- Obtain an understanding of internal control relevant to the audit in order to design audit procedures that are appropriate in the circumstances, but not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the effectiveness of the organization's internal control.
- Evaluate the appropriateness of accounting policies used and the reasonableness of accounting estimates and related disclosures made by management.
- Conclude on the appropriateness of management's use of the going concern basis of accounting and, based on the audit evidence obtained, whether a material uncertainty exists related to events or conditions that may cast significant doubt on the organization's ability to continue as a going concern. If we conclude that a material uncertainty exists, we are required to draw attention in our auditor's report to the related disclosures in the financial statements or, if such disclosures are inadequate, to modify our opinion. Our conclusions are based on the audit evidence obtained up to the date of our auditor's report. However, future events or conditions may cause the organization to cease to continue as a going concern.

# Audit Report 2024



**S. MANNAN, ARDIANSYAH & REKAN**  
REGISTERED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

Member of  
**INTEGRA INTERNATIONAL®**

**Tanggung Jawab Auditor terhadap Audit atas Laporan Keuangan (Lanjutan)**

- Mengevaluasi penyajian, struktur, dan isi laporan keuangan secara keseluruhan, termasuk pengungkapannya, dan apakah laporan keuangan mencerminkan transaksi dan peristiwa yang mendasarinya dengan suatu cara yang mencapai penyajian wajar.

**Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements (Continued)**

- Evaluate the overall presentation, structure and content of the financial statements, including the disclosures, and whether the financial statements represent the underlying transactions and events in a manner that achieves fair presentation.

Kami mengkomunikasikan kepada pihak yang bertanggung jawab atas tata kelola mengenai, antara lain, ruang lingkup dan saat yang direncanakan atas audit, serta temuan audit signifikan, termasuk seliap defisiensi signifikan dalam pengendalian internal yang teridentifikasi oleh kami selama audit.

We communicate with those charged with governance regarding, among other matters, the planned scope and timing of the audit and significant audit findings, including any significant deficiencies in internal control that we identify during our audit.

**KAP. S. MANNAN, ARDIANSYAH DAN REKAN**  
**KANTOR AKUNTAN PUBLIK / PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT FIRM**  
**NIU-KAP / OFFICE LICENSE : KEP 1430/KM.1/2012**



**Hasnawati CPA, CFI**  
Rekan / Partner  
NIAP / Public Accountant License No. AP. 1668  
Jakarta, 4 September / September 4, 2025



See More  
[bit.ly/LaporanAuditKeuanganLBHM2024](https://bit.ly/LaporanAuditKeuanganLBHM2024)

# X

## LBHM Anniversary and Congress



Eighteen years ago, a group of young activists decided to establish a legal aid organisation grounded in the principle of legal empowerment for poor and vulnerable communities. At the Goethe-Institut Auditorium, representatives of fishing communities, victims of forced evictions, survivors of past human rights violations, and other vulnerable groups gathered to mark the inauguration of the Legal Aid Institute for the Community (LBHM). Having been accompanied by the community since its onset, LBHM chose to celebrate its 18th anniversary once again together with the public. This time at another cultural space, Salihara Theatre.



Photo: Screening of the film "Happy Birthday" at Salihara Theater, December 10, 2025/ALT

The 18th anniversary in 2025 was especially meaningful, as LBHM also premiered a short film produced by CreativEight titled "Happy Birthday." The film tells the story of a woman standing on the brink of execution due to an unjust judicial process. While the story is fictional, its inspiration is very real, drawn from the experiences of groups that LBHM has consistently accompanied over the years: death row prisoners and their families. During the discussion held that day, families of death row prisoners supported by LBHM shared their perspectives on how Indonesia remains far from realising the aspiration of abolition.

Under both national and international norms, the age of 18 signifies adulthood, a stage of maturity marked by growing independence in determining one's direction. One key indicator of such maturity is accountability to the public and society at large, upheld through transparency and compliance with applicable regulations. In line with this principle, LBHM conducted three things in 2025: (1) a public financial audit,

(2) the formulation of the 2025–2028 Strategic Plan, and (3) the convening of the Congress. The financial audit concluded with an unqualified opinion, fair in all material respects (see Chapter IX), while the Strategic Plan serves as a guiding framework for LBHM's future work and is shared with development partners (see Chapter III).

Meanwhile, the Congress was convened as a statutory obligation of LBHM as a legally registered association. The Congress acts as the highest deliberative forum for decision-making and plays a critical role in steering the organisation. The 2025 Congress produced several key resolutions, including the discharge of the 2021–2025 Board of Directors and Board of Supervisors; the appointment of the 2025–2029 Board of Directors and Board of Supervisors; revisions to LBHM's Articles of Association; and the expansion of LBHM's membership to include individuals from community groups, paralegals, academics, and former LBHM staff members.

Under the leadership of the newly appointed boards and with a broader sense of collective ownership over the organisation, we hope that LBHM's work will become increasingly professional and impactful. With this aspiration, we look forward to celebrating future anniversaries with even greater joy, together with many new friends yet to come.

Photo: LBHM Board of Executive and Supervisory Directors 2025 - 2029/Aan Afriangga





Photo: Screening of the film "Happy Birthday" at Salihara Theater, December 10, 2025



Photo: Third Congress of the LBH Masyarakat, July 11, 2025.

# LBHM Partners

## The Governments of Indonesia



## Development Partners



## Universities



## Civil Society Organizations



18<sup>th</sup>

**LEMBAGA BANTUAN  
HUKUM MASYARAKAT**

Dec 8, 2007 - Dec 8, 2025

Igniting Hope,  
Realizing Justice for  
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