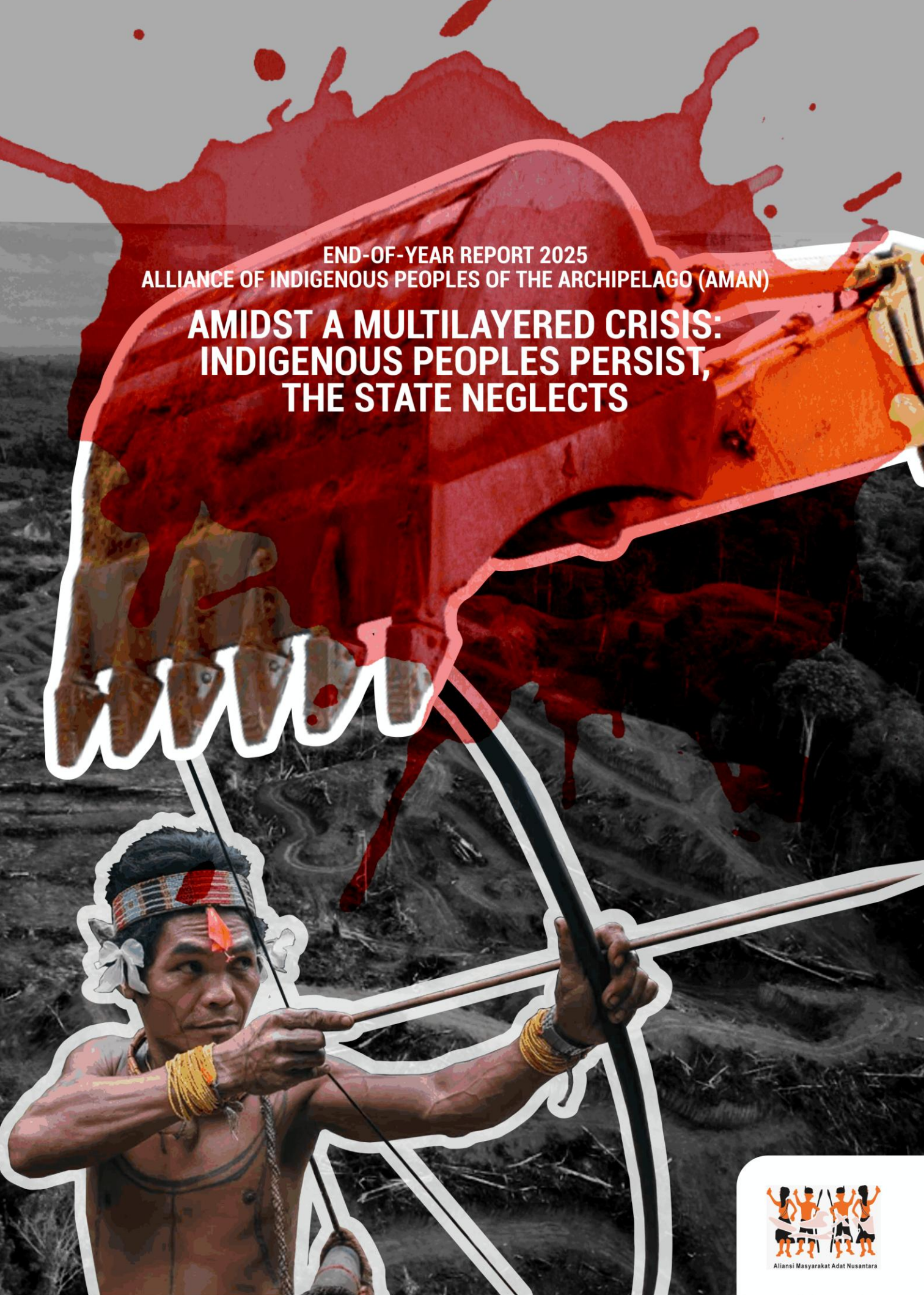


END-OF-YEAR REPORT 2025
ALLIANCE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO (AMAN)

**AMIDST A MULTILAYERED CRISIS:
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES PERSIST,
THE STATE NEGLECTS**



Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara

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*PSN Food Estate & Bio Energy in Merauke, South Papua, is destroying ecosystems and Indigenous territory that support the livelihoods of Indigenous Peoples.
Photo source: Yayasan Pusaka Bentala Rakyat*



The oppression and deprivation of rights experienced by Indigenous Peoples in various parts of the archipelago in 2025 worsened compared to previous years. The appropriation of Indigenous territory, criminalization and violence continued to occur in various places. Activists of the Indigenous Peoples have been targeted for silencing through criminalization and the mobilization of masses to suppress the critical stance and resistance of the Indigenous Peoples. Legal and policy decision-making spaces at the national level, as well as legal decisions in specific cases in various courts, are still often filled with neglect and rejection.

The space that allows for open dialogue through the customary forest task force, dialogue with various ministries, local governments, and other available dialogue spaces has not been able to change the situation because in practice these available spaces do not target the elimination of “discrimination” which is the basic character of the state through its legal and political policies.

The state even appears to be strengthening its hegemony over Indigenous Peoples through the establishment of discriminatory laws, despite decades of resistance from the people, including Indigenous Peoples. Moreover, the strengthening of the command structure and the role of the military in social life also raises big questions on how much space is left for Indigenous Peoples to fearlessly fight to defend their Indigenous territory and identities. This question should be asked not only because of the above facts, but also because the state continues to show “neglect after neglect” towards Indigenous Peoples, from neglecting discussions on the Indigenous Peoples Bill to neglecting to implement various regional regulations that have been established in many regions.


The situation of Indigenous Peoples in Indonesia throughout 2025 did not escape the attention of a special mechanism at the United Nations. In July 2025, Albert K. Barume, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, made an academic visit to Indonesia at the invitation of AMAN. During this visit, the Special Rapporteur held dialogues with various representatives of Indigenous Peoples in Indonesia.

In his report at the sixtieth session on 8 September – 3 October, 2025, the Special Rapporteur reiterated the responsibility of states to recognize Indigenous Peoples as special subjects of international law and holders of special rights under international law. The Special Rapporteur reminded that without recognition of Indigenous Peoples, States cannot fulfill their international obligations under the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, particularly in the preamble and article 38, as well as other international instruments¹.

Regarding Indonesia, specifically the UN experts, including the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, expressed deep concern about Indonesia's continued lack of recognition of Indigenous Peoples and the systemic human rights violations faced by Indigenous Peoples in Indonesia. This concern was conveyed in a release on 4 November 2025².

The experts call on Indonesia to formally recognize Indigenous Peoples. Although Indonesia has voted in favor of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the country continues to refuse formal recognition of Indigenous Peoples who identify themselves as such, thereby undermining their rights to land, self-determination, and their cultural rights, the experts said.

In a more specific context, the experts expressed concern about the revision of the Special Autonomy Law for Papua, as it appears to centralize power and erode Indigenous Peoples' governance, exacerbating poverty, persecution, and displacement among Indigenous Papuans, who have faced centuries of discrimination and militarization in their resource-rich region.



A stretch of forest in a company's concession area in Zanegi Village, Merauke District, Papua. Photo source: beritahita

¹ Albert K. Barume, Recognition of Indigenous Peoples, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights Council, Sixtieth Session, 8 September – 10 October 2025, p. 2.

² <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/11/indonesia-must-recognise-indigenous-peoples-and-consider-them-partners>

The transmigration program also caught the attention of these experts. They said that the revival of the colonial-era transmigration program threatens the survival of Indigenous Peoples' cultures, especially in West Papua, accelerating demographic and cultural shifts, as well as forced assimilation. This not only reduces the population but also reduces the Indigenous Peoples' control over their ancestral lands and their ability to maintain their chosen way of life.

Proyek Strategis Nasional (National Strategic Projects) and extractive projects being implemented without FPIC are also a concern. These experts say that this has led to the appropriation of Indigenous territory, human rights violations, environmental degradation, further impacts of climate change, and militarization in Indigenous territory.

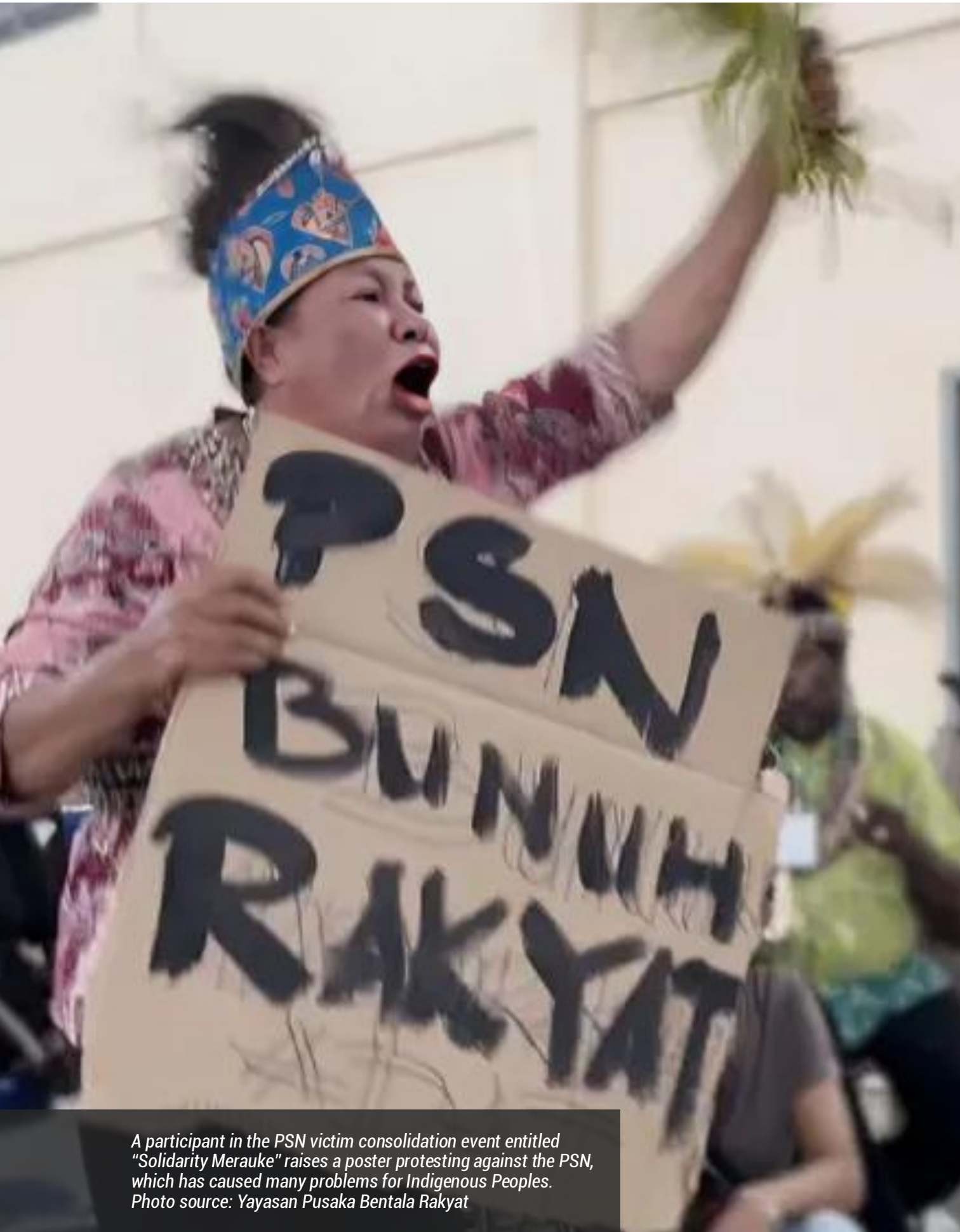
The experts added that defenders and Indigenous Peoples face increased criminalization, repression, and violence, including arbitrary detention, torture, and enforced disappearance, as well as being stigmatized as "terrorists".

Finally, the experts also warned that several Indigenous Peoples groups in Indonesia are being pushed towards gradual extinction. The physical and cultural survival of Indigenous Peoples in voluntary isolation is at great risk.

This Year-End Report not only highlights the main problems faced by Indigenous Peoples in the Archipelago throughout 2025, but also various initiatives by AMAN and Indigenous Peoples to strengthen themselves so that they remain resilient in the face of political, legal, and economic turmoil caused by various forces beyond their control.

*Land clearing for a food estate in Merauke is being guarded by the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI).
Photo source: Yayasan Pusaka Bentala Rakyat.*





A participant in the PSN victim consolidation event entitled "Solidarity Merauke" raises a poster protesting against the PSN, which has caused many problems for Indigenous Peoples. Photo source: Yayasan Pusaka Bentala Rakyat

CHAPTER II POLICY & REGULATION RELATED TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

A. International

COP30, which took place in Belém, Brazil, from 10 to 21 November 2025, was an important moment for Indigenous Peoples around the world, who have long been the last bastion of biodiversity. This time, Indigenous Peoples were not only present as participants, but also became the center of global attention. However, this position also highlights the contradiction between symbolic recognition and real commitment at the policy level. From the first day of the conference, the presence of Indigenous Peoples was very prominent. Delegations from various regions filled the pavilions, discussion rooms, plenary sessions, and informal political dialogue channels. This presence signifies that the struggle of Indigenous Peoples on climate issues is increasingly recognized by the international community.

The narrative that emerged at COP30 shows that Indigenous Peoples face complex climate issues. The impacts of the climate crisis are becoming increasingly apparent: changes in rainfall patterns, prolonged droughts, forest fires, the extinction of important species, and the loss of land due to rising sea levels. Delegations of Indigenous Peoples conveyed how these disasters threaten traditional food systems, destroy cultural sites, and force some communities to face legal action for defending their Indigenous territory from permit expansion.



Residents affected by flash floods caused by the climate crisis and deforestation walk among piles of wood in Tukka Village, Central Tapanuli, North Sumatra. Photo source: YT Hariono / AFP

On the other hand, COP30 has become a stage for debates on deforestation. Indigenous territories remain areas with low levels of damage because they have been protected for generation after generation by Indigenous Peoples. However, threats remain: the expansion of extractive industries, infrastructure development, and energy projects without FPIC. This shows that although the ecological value of indigenous territories is increasingly recognized, their legal protection remains weak. Energy transition has become a controversial issue. Indigenous Peoples reject models that only replace energy sources without changing exploitative patterns that destroy indigenous territories. Mineral mining projects, large dams, and other energy projects in indigenous territories are not climate solutions if they violate the rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Outside the official arena, the actions of Indigenous Peoples show both anger and hope. AMAN, together with the Global Alliance of Territorial Communities, emphasized that COP30 must produce concrete decisions, not just ceremonies. Indigenous Peoples asserted that global mitigation success will not be achieved without the role of Indigenous Peoples as guardians of forests and traditional knowledge.

Overall, COP30 shows increased recognition of the contribution of Indigenous Peoples, but the gap between recognition and real commitment remains large. At COP30, Indigenous Peoples also demanded that land rights, FPIC, access to funding, and protection of Indigenous Peoples' knowledge must be the foundation of every climate decision.

AMAN's action alongside global Indigenous Peoples in Belem, Brazil, on the COP30 agenda. Photo source: AMAN documentation.



AMAN's response to the Indonesian government's commitment

AMAN welcomes the Indonesian government's announcement at COP30 Belém regarding the recognition of 1.4 million hectares of customary forests and the strengthening of Indigenous Peoples' tenure rights as part of its deforestation mitigation strategy. This step is only the beginning, as the government has received maps of 33.6 million hectares of Indigenous territories, 60% of which are located in forest areas.

The direct involvement of Indigenous Peoples in the preparation of the roadmap and the *Satgas Percepatan Hutan Adat* (Customary Forest Acceleration Task Force) is important to ensure that the recognition process is more transparent, fair, and legitimate. Without the involvement of Indigenous Peoples, the risk of implementation failure will be even higher, including if tenure conflicts are not resolved or funding does not effectively reach Indigenous Peoples.

The recognition of tenure rights and control over Indigenous territory must place Indigenous Peoples as key actors in climate mitigation and adaptation. Indigenous Peoples are not merely beneficiaries, but key actors in protecting forests, rivers, and ecosystems. In this position, Indigenous Peoples can strengthen climate action based on Indigenous territory and ensure that the government's recognition of customary forests is not merely a political symbol, but a real foundation for sustainable social and environmental justice.

At COP30, AMAN also rejected the "*business as usual*" approach disguised as climate solutions. Policies targeting customary forests, such as nickel mining in Halmahera and the construction of a geothermal power plant in Poco Leok, pose new threats. In addition, Indonesia's presentation of its *National Adaptation Plan* (NAP) and *Second Nationally Determined Contribution* (SNDC) at COP30 also raised serious concerns. Indigenous Peoples' participation in the drafting of these documents remains limited, while strategic decisions are dominated by the government and technocratic institutions. The top-down approach to mitigation and adaptation, including industrial-scale energy projects, carbon trading, and forestry schemes, risks opening up indigenous territories to exploitation without FPIC. Funding mechanisms remain difficult to access, and some projects have the potential to be *greenwashing*.

For AMAN, the success of the NAP and SNDC must be measured by the extent to which Indigenous Peoples become key actors, land rights and FPIC are guaranteed, and adaptation and mitigation strategies integrate the local wisdom of Indigenous Peoples with scientific knowledge. Without these steps, Indonesia's climate policy risks being symbolic and ignoring the role of Indigenous Peoples as guardians of forests, ecosystems, and community resilience.

B. National

1. Indigenous Peoples Bill

The Indigenous Peoples Bill continues to adorn the national legislative program (Prolegnas) list. Despite repeatedly being included in the priority *prolegnas*, by the end of 2025 the Indigenous Peoples Bill had still not been discussed, remaining neatly shelved on the desk of the chair of the Indonesian House of Representatives' Legislation Committee. This shows the state's weak commitment to recognizing, protecting and fulfilling the constitutional rights of Indigenous Peoples. The government has done the opposite. Throughout 2025, the government has continued to serve the interests of investment by issuing various regulations and policies that discriminate against Indigenous Peoples.

*AMAN demands the ratification of the Indigenous Peoples Bill on the occasion of National Farmers' Day 2025.
Photo Source: AMAN Documentation.*



2. Militarization of Forest Area Control through Presidential Regulation No. 5 on Forest Area Control

Presidential Regulation No. 5 on Forest Area Control (Perpres No. 5/2025) has the potential to threaten the nationalization of customary forests without considering the principle of social justice. Efforts to control forest areas through Perpres No. 5/2025 have the potential to seriously impact the rights of Indigenous Peoples, especially in customary forests that have not yet been recognized by the state. In general, forest area control as regulated in this Presidential Regulation is carried out through the application of sanctions, both administrative and criminal, as well as the reclaiming of forest areas if there are individuals or corporations conducting activities in Forest Areas without permission.

The sanction of "reclaiming forest areas" by the state can be used at any time as a pretext to appropriate Indigenous territory in the name of development, particularly for national strategic projects (PSN), because Indigenous Peoples are considered to be occupying forest areas illegally/without permission from the government.



*Dua orang Anggota TNI AD yang bertugas sebagai Satgas PKH memeriksa plang pengusahaan lahan.
Sumber Foto : Efendi Jambak / KitaKini.News.*

The military approach in this Presidential Regulation can be seen from the composition of the Task Force (*Satuan Tugas/Satgas*), which consists of a Steering Committee and an Executive Committee. The Steering Committee is chaired by the Minister of Defense, while the Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) serves as Deputy Chair II. The military element in the Executive Committee is the TNI Chief of Staff, who serves as Deputy Chair I, and the Secretary of the TNI Strategic Intelligence Agency as a member.³ The militarization of the forest area was further strengthened by a Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Forestry and the TNI on the Synergy of the Duties and Functions of the Ministry of Forestry and the Indonesian National Armed Forces Number PKS.4/MENHUT/SETJEN/KUM.3/2/2025, Number NK/3/II/2025/TNI dated 12 February 2025. The scope of the Memorandum of Understanding is as follows:

- a. *Implementation of forest and land rehabilitation;*
- b. *Forest and land fire control;*
- c. *Conservation of natural resources and ecosystems;*
- d. *Forest protection and forestry law enforcement;*
- e. *Human resource capacity building;*
- f. *Utilization of facilities and infrastructure;*
- g. *Social forestry;*
- h. *Use of forest areas for national defense and security purposes; and*
- i. *Other forms of cooperation agreed upon by the PARTIES.*

This militaristic approach raises concerns about widespread evictions, criminalization, and violations of the Indigenous Peoples' rights, as experienced by Indigenous Peoples during the *Order Baru* (New Order also known as Orba) era through resettlement projects or the forced removal of Indigenous Peoples from their Indigenous territories, which were then unilaterally designated by the government as state forest areas.

**ORBA 2.0
IS COMING**

³ See more details in Article 10 and Article 11 of Presidential Regulation No. 5/2025.



3. Carbon Trading Policy

On 10 October 2025, President Prabowo officially signed Presidential Regulation No. 110 of 2025, replacing Presidential Regulation 98/2021 on the Implementation of Carbon Economic Value (*Nilai Ekonomi Karbon/NEK*) Instruments and National Greenhouse Gas Emission Control (hereinafter referred to as the NEK Presidential Regulation). This Presidential Regulation updates the mechanism for managing Carbon Economic Value (NEK) by expanding mandatory and voluntary carbon trading both nationally and internationally. This Presidential Regulation does not mention the role of Indigenous Peoples in climate change adaptation and mitigation. Presidential Regulation on NEK 110/2025 also further expands the involvement and authority of ministries outside the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of Environment, such as the Ministry of Industry, Agriculture, and Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) to participate in carbon trading.

The issuance of NEK Presidential Regulation marks a new chapter for Indonesia as a major supporter of carbon trading. It was no surprise that at COP 30 in Belem, Brazil, the Indonesian government delegation openly promoted carbon credits and intensively lobbied other countries to open discussions on Article 6.4 of the Paris Agreement on market-based carbon trading, with the aim of weakening environmental protection safeguards and community rights.

The carbon trading mechanism blatantly obscures the fact that the appropriation of Indigenous territories through extractive industries such as mining, monoculture plantations, forestry concessions, and other infrastructure projects that alter the landscape are the main causes of the current climate crisis. Carbon trading is one of the many false solutions offered by the Indonesian government to address climate change.



4. **Second Nationally Determined Contribution (SNDC) Policy and Energy Transition**

The formulation of the SNDC policy did not fully and meaningfully involve Indigenous Peoples. Yet Indigenous Peoples are the ones directly affected by this policy. In terms of substance, the SNDC policy does not accommodate the recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rights to their Indigenous territory as part of the national strategy for climate change adaptation and mitigation.

The only phrase found in the SNDC document is about "traditional wisdom" as a good practice, but it is not followed by recognition and protection of the rights of Indigenous Peoples to their living spaces such as forests, rivers, coastal areas, and local food. In fact, traditional knowledge in climate change adaptation and mitigation has been practiced by Indigenous Peoples generation after generation and has been tested across generations. Indonesia's SNDC currently still maintains the economic growth paradigm as the basis for reducing emissions. This is reflected in the 2025-2029 RPJMN document, which targets an economic growth assumption of 8.0%.

The same applies to energy transition policies. Energy transition projects are still far from meeting the demands of justice. A total of 26.68 million hectares (25.8%) of Indonesia's forested areas are now under industrial licensing regimes. Meanwhile, 7,348,747 hectares of Indigenous territory are under a licensing regime consisting of: 4,108,528 (PBPH-HA), 1,591,405 (PBPH-HT), 756,928 (Mining IU), and 891,886 (Business Use Rights). Indonesia's current energy transition policy is still oriented towards the forestry and land use sectors and will drive deforestation and human rights violations. This situation is very dangerous for Indigenous Peoples, as their Indigenous territory could be grabbed at any time in the name of development under the guise of energy transition, such as the geothermal development currently taking place in the Pocoleok Indigenous Community in Manggarai, NTT, bioenergy in Merauke, development in the Rendu Indigenous Community, and others.

From the above facts, it can be concluded that the SNDC policy and energy transition currently being implemented by the government are a false commitment and a false solution to climate change adaptation and mitigation.



**THE WILDERNESS
OF THE ARCHIPELAGO
IS CONTROLLED
BY CORPORATIONS
UNDER THE GUISE
OF INVESTMENT**

26.68 Million Ha

of forest area in Indonesia are under industrial concession regimes

7,348,747 Ha

Of Indigenous territory controlled by concessions



**Woodyard
(PBPH-HT)**

1,591,405 Ha



**Mining
(IU Mining)**

756,928 Ha



**Logging
(PBPH-HA)**

4,108,528 Ha



**Plantation
(Right to Cultivate)**

891,886 Ha

5. Establishment of Customary Forests, Indigenous Lands, and Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Coastal Areas and Small Islands

To date, the total area of Indigenous territory that has been mapped participatively by Indigenous Peoples is 33.6 million hectares. Of the total area of Indigenous territory that has been mapped, 6,372,307 hectares from 320 Indigenous Peoples' communities have been established with regional legal instrument (AMAN, BRWA, August 2025). To date, 345,257 hectares of customary forests have been designated, spread across 164 Indigenous Communities (Ministry of Forestry, October 2025). To accelerate the confirmation of customary forests, the Customary Forest Task Force formed by the Ministry of Forestry, consisting of academics and CSOs including AMAN, is currently working towards the target of confirming 1.4 million hectares of customary forests, as announced by Raja Juli Antoni (Indonesian Minister of Forestry) in various forums.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) has identified 4,043,581.28 hectares of Indigenous land spread across 20 provinces (Ministry of ATR/BPN, October 2025). The Ministry of ATR/BPN's advocacy for the establishment of Indigenous land must be discussed clearly, because in practice the Ministry of ATR/BPN promotes the certification of Management Rights (HPL) rather than the registration of Indigenous land in the Indigenous land register (PDTU). AMAN firmly rejects HPL certification over Indigenous territory because it reduces the rights of Indigenous Peoples to their Indigenous lands as affirmed in the constitution. The results of AMAN's review of Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning Regulation No. 14 of 2024 concerning the Implementation of Land Administration and Registration of Customary Land of Indigenous Peoples can be downloaded at the link: <https://aman.or.id/publication-documentation/276>.

In the coastal and small island sectors, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries has designated 412 Indigenous Peoples' territories spread across 27 coastal areas. The slow recognition or confirmation of Indigenous Peoples' rights is not only due to sectoralism in legislation and sectoral egoism between ministries/institutions, but also due to the lack of budgetary support from the state to finance the processes of confirming or restoring the rights of Indigenous Peoples in all sectors.

33.6 Million Ha
Indigenous Territories

have been mapped
in a participatory manner
by Indigenous
Communities

The Ministry
of Agrarian Affairs/
& Spatial Planning/
National Land Agency
has identified

4,043,581.28 Ha

of Indigenous lands
spread across **20 provinces**

(Ministry of Agrarian Affairs &
Spatial Planning/National Land Agency,
October 2025)

● Indigenous Territory

6,372,307 Ha

of Indigenous territory
belonging to

320

**Indigenous Peoples
Community**

has been designated by
regional legal instrument
(AMAN, BRWA, August 2025)

345,257 Ha

of customary forest
belonging to

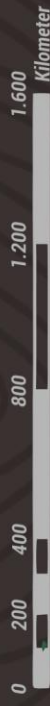
164

**Indigenous Peoples
Community**

has been designated by
the Ministry of Forestry
(Kemenhut, October 2025)

The Ministry of
Marine Affairs & Fisheries
has designated

412 areas of Indigenous Peoples territories
spread across **27 coastal regions**



6. Constitutional Court Decision No. 181/PUU-XXII/2024

On 16 October 2025, the Constitutional Court (MK) read out Constitutional Court Decision MK.181/PUU-XXII/2024 (hereinafter referred to as MK Decision 181/2024). This decision granted part of the petition for judicial review of Law No. 18 of 2013 as amended by Law No. 6 of 2023 concerning Job Creation (Job Creation Law) on the Stipulation of [Perppu No. 2 of 2022](#) concerning Job Creation into Law, which was submitted by Sawit Watch. In its decision, the Constitutional Court affirmed that Article 17 paragraph (2) letter b in Article 37 point 5 of Law 6/2023 is contrary to the 1945 Constitution and does not have binding legal force as long as it is not interpreted as “excluding communities that have lived in the forest for generation after generation and are not intended for commercial purposes”.

The Constitutional Court also stated that Article 110B paragraph (1) in Article 37 point 20 of Law 6/2023, insofar as it relates to the provisions of Article 17 paragraph (2) letter b in Article 37 point 5 of Law 6/2023, is contrary to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and has no binding legal force as long as it is not interpreted as exempted for communities that have lived in the forest for generations after generations and are not intended for commercial purposes

In general, MK Decision 181/2024 is actually similar to MK Decision No.95/PUU-XII/2014, which states that the provisions on forestry crimes in Article 50 paragraph (3) letters e and i of the Forestry Law do not apply to communities that have lived in the forest for generation after generation, as long as tree felling, harvesting, gathering forest products, and farming within forest areas are not carried out for commercial purposes.

The Ministry of Forestry, through press release No. SP.246 /Humas /PPIP /HMS.3 /10 /2025, stated that the government would formulate guidelines or regulations governing the implementation of the ruling. In drafting these guidelines, the government will continue to pay attention to and accommodate the rights of Indigenous Peoples or Local Communities to utilize the forest in a limited and non-commercial manner. In addition, law enforcement will be carried out against parties who utilize the forest without rights (free riders), either through criminal or civil law instruments or administrative sanctions.

Thus, it will be interesting to see the enforcement of this Constitutional Court decision, because in fact, to date, many Indigenous Peoples have been criminalized because their Indigenous territories overlap with state forest areas that are used as living spaces and for livelihoods, not for commercial purposes.

7. Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code

The Criminal Procedure Code Bill was officially passed in a plenary session of the Indonesian House of Representatives on 18 November 2025, which will complement the implementation of the law that will officially come into effect on 2 January 2026. In general, there are several critical notes regarding the new Criminal Procedure Code, including: **First**, regarding wiretapping as regulated in Article 136 paragraph (2) of the Criminal Procedure Code Bill. This provision states that wiretapping can be carried out by investigators for the purposes of investigation without restrictions on the type of criminal offense and the safeguards applied. **Second**, regarding arrest and detention as regulated in Articles 93, 99, and 100. This provision adds highly subjective conditions for detention, namely "providing information that is not factual" and "obstructing the investigation process". This contradicts the suspect's right to remain silent, which is the suspect's right not to answer questions that could incriminate themselves, or what is known as the privilege against self-incrimination, and several other provisions that have the potential to be used as tools to criminalize and discriminate against Indigenous Peoples when defending their traditional rights, particularly those related to rights over Indigenous territory and natural resources.

The enactment of these two laws not only complements the material and formal aspects of criminal law in Indonesia, but will also have a direct impact on the legal status and administration of Indigenous law following the formalization of Indigenous law in Article 2 of the Criminal Code.

*UI students protest against the ratification of the Criminal Procedure Code.
Photo source: Civil Society Coalition for the Revision of the Criminal Procedure Code.*



C. Formulation and Implementation of Regional Legal Products on Indigenous Peoples

With a few exceptions in the land sector, national policy construction places regional policy as a prerequisite for the recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rights, particularly in forests and coastal areas and small islands. This policy construction has resulted in 366 regional legal products on Indigenous Peoples. Of the total regional legal products, the recognized Indigenous territory covered by regional legal products spans 31,058,480 hectares, with 6,372,307 hectares having been designated by regional legal products and 24,686,173 hectares still in the form of regulatory arrangements (AMAN, BRWA, August 2025). In the land sector, the implementation of Indigenous land registration needs to be watched closely, especially because it is clear that the government is "insisting" on issuing Management Rights or HPL on Indigenous lands even though this has been rejected by AMAN and various civil society organizations.

The very low level of recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rights as described above indicates the existence of complex problems ranging from the legal system and norms in regulations to the level of implementation. AMAN and civil society organizations have long called for changes to the legal framework for the recognition of Indigenous Peoples and their traditional rights so that it is faster and more integrated, and so that authority is truly returned to Indigenous Peoples to regulate their Indigenous territory based on their respective Indigenous law. From the outset, the Indigenous Peoples Bill was designed for this purpose, and the protracted discussion of the Indigenous Peoples Bill shows that the state has deliberately neglected this issue.

366 Regional Legal Products concerning Indigenous Peoples cover an Indigenous territory of

31,058,480 Ha

6,372,307 Ha
Indigenous territory has been established by Regional Legal Product

24,686,173 Ha
still in the form of regulation arrangements



CHAPTER III CASES OF INDIGENOUS TERRITORY APPROPRIATION, CRIMINALIZATION & VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ACTIVISTS

To date, there are 1,633 Indigenous territories throughout the archipelago with a total area of 33.6 million hectares that have been registered with the *Badan Registrasi Wilayah Adat* (Indigenous Territory Registration Agency/BRWA). From this data, there are forest areas within Indigenous territories covering 26.2 million hectares and concessions that overlap with Indigenous territories covering 7.3 million hectares. However, state recognition of indigenous territory remains very low. Only 6,372,307 hectares from 320 Indigenous Peoples communities have been recognized through regional legislation. Recognition of customary forests is even lower, with only 332,505 hectares designated as customary forests. Meanwhile, the recognition of Indigenous territory through policies in the land sector still shows serious problems because it takes over the authority of Indigenous Peoples to manage their Indigenous territory and revives the practice of *domein verklaring* by imposing HPL certificates on Indigenous territory.

The above description shows stagnation in the resolution of agrarian conflicts in Indigenous territories. In fact, agrarian conflicts have increased over time. This is because the laws and policies formulated by the government are based on the assumption that all Indigenous land in the republic is state land that can be used for any purpose. Therefore, all Indigenous lands that have not been recognized by the state are viewed as state land that can be easily transferred to corporations for concession permits such as mining, monoculture plantations, forestry concessions, green projects in the name of climate, and other infrastructure development.



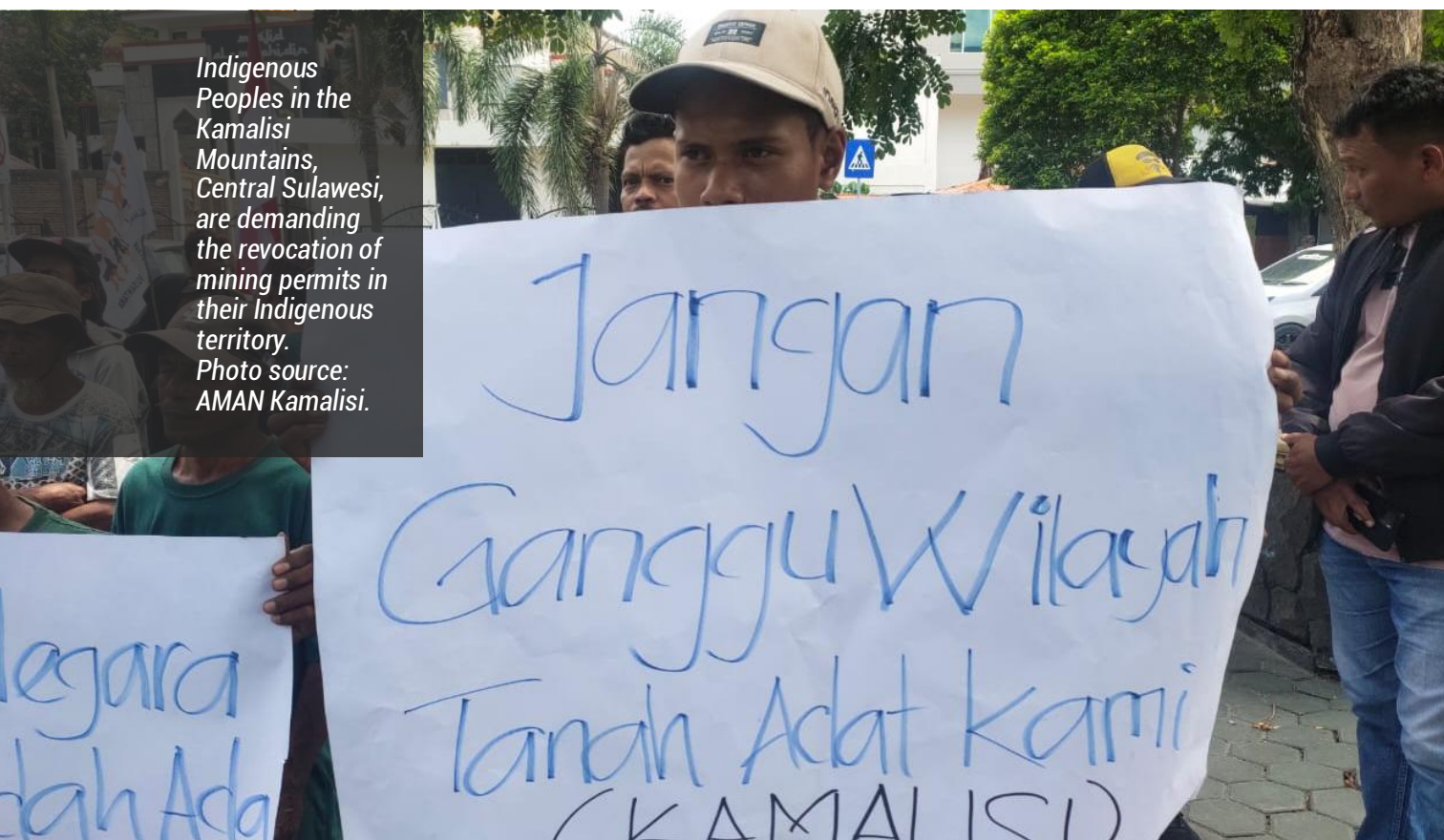
Police brutally attacked protesters who were demonstrating against the construction of Rempang Eco City in front of the BP Batam office on October 11, 2024.
Photo source: Yogi Eka Sahputra / Mongabay.

The failure to resolve agrarian conflicts in Indigenous territory has been exacerbated by the enactment of the Job Creation Law, which systematically legitimizes the seizure of Indigenous territory for investment purposes. The unilateral designation of state forest areas and the expansion of various permits in Indigenous territory have displaced Indigenous Peoples from their living spaces. As a result of discriminatory development, several Indigenous Peoples in the archipelago are threatened with extinction, such as the O'Hongana Manyawa in Halmahera, North Maluku, the Sakai in Riau, and others. Policies related to Indigenous Peoples have been deliberately designed to negate the existence of Indigenous Peoples and their rights through bureaucratic, complicated, slow, and discriminatory procedures.

Agrarian conflicts in Indigenous territories cannot be resolved without changing the state's paradigm: from state control to recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rights, from threats to protection, from exclusionary development to inclusive development for Indigenous Peoples. A true resolution of agrarian conflicts in Indigenous territories can only be achieved if the state has the wholehearted political will to recognize, protect, and fulfill the rights of Indigenous Peoples over their territories as living spaces with legal certainty as inherent rights or rights of origin through the ratification of the Indigenous Peoples Act. Without this, the entire agenda for resolving agrarian conflicts involving Indigenous Peoples will remain nothing more than empty political promises and end up in the trash bin.

The worsening legal and policy situation regarding Indigenous Peoples, coupled with the lack of recognition of Indigenous Peoples and their Indigenous territory, has directly resulted in an increase in the appropriation of Indigenous territory, criminalization, and violence. Throughout 2025, AMAN recorded at least 135 cases that have appropriated 3.8 million hectares of Indigenous territory in 109 communities of Indigenous Peoples, with 162 Indigenous Peoples becoming victims of violence and criminalization.

*Indigenous Peoples in the Kamalisi Mountains, Central Sulawesi, are demanding the revocation of mining permits in their Indigenous territory.
Photo source: AMAN Kamalisi.*



During 2025,
there have been...

135
Cases of
Indigenous
Territory
appropriation

3.8 Juta Hectares

Of Indigenous Territory
Appropriated in the
Name of Development,
Investment & Conservation

korbannya...



CASES OF INDIGENOUS TERRITORY APPROPRIATION



16,707 Hectares



17,383 Hectares



699,678 Hectares



1,949,260.37 Hectares



1,057,738 Hectares



264,357.95 Hectares



52,816.26 Hectares

The following is a description of several cases that occurred in Indigenous territory throughout 2025:

1. Attack and Kidnapping of the Sihaporas Indigenous Peoples

On 22 September 2025, at around 8:30 a.m. local time, hundreds of employees of PT. Toba Pulp Lestari (TPL) attacked Indigenous Peoples in Buntu Panaturan, Sihaporas Village, Pematang Sidamanik Subdistrict, Simalungun District, North Sumatra. This attack was carried out brutally, causing 33 Indigenous Peoples to suffer serious injuries, including a child with disabilities. A number of Indigenous Peoples' houses were also damaged, 10 motorcycles and 1 pickup truck were burned. The attackers also damaged the Sihaporas Indigenous Peoples' struggle post. This attack was not the first to occur. Previously, on 22 July 2024, at around 3:00 a.m. local time, around 50 PT. TPL security guards approached five members of the Sihaporas Indigenous Peoples who were sleeping in a hut. The PT. TPL security guards then kidnapped Johny Ambarita, Thomson Ambarita, Prado Tamba, Gio Ambarita, and Dosmar Ambarita.

These two incidents are forms of intimidation and violence aimed at weakening the resistance of the Sihaporas Indigenous Peoples against the appropriation of their Indigenous territory by PT. TPL.



PT. Toba Pulp Lestari (TPL) security officers brutally attacked the Indigenous Peoples in Buntu Panaturan, Sihaporas Village, Simalungun, North Sumatra, causing 33 Indigenous Peoples to suffer serious injuries, including a child with a disability. Photo source: AMAN Tano Batak.

2. Seizure of the Indigenous Territory of the Soge and Goban Tribes by PT. Krisrama

January 2025, The long-standing conflict between the Soge and Goban Indigenous Peoples in Sikka District, East Nusa Tenggara, erupted again. The two tribes have long been fighting to regain their Indigenous Territory, which had been given by the State to a company owned by the Catholic Church. The evictions involved the use of heavy equipment to destroy houses and crops such as morning glory, corn, cashews, and others. These evictions were carried out by PT. Krisrama with the assistance of the Sikka District Government, backed by the Sikka Resort Police. As a result, both tribes suffered material losses.

- On March 17, 2025, the Sikka District Court sentenced eight Indigenous Peoples from the Soge and Goban tribes to 10 months in prison. This incident began on 24 July 2024, when a company carried out forced evictions in the Pedan area of Nangahale Village, Talibura Subdistrict, Sikka District. A total of 142 trees and plants belonging to the residents, which were their source of livelihood, were destroyed and could no longer be used. During the eviction, the community tried to 'resist' to defend their land. One of the ways they did this was by damaging the company's signboard, which became the reason for the company to criminalize the 8 residents. Because of this damage to the signboard, the eight members of the Indigenous Peoples were detained from October 2024 until the verdict was handed down.
- On 21 March 2025, PT Krisrama again reported 12 members of the Soge and Goban Indigenous Peoples to the East Nusa Tenggara Regional Police. This report also included a lawyer who had been providing legal assistance to the Indigenous Peoples. The reported individuals were accused of trespassing without permission as referred to in Article 167(1) of the Criminal Code.
- In October 2025, the Sikka Resort Police named seven residents from the Soge and Goban tribes as perpetrators of threats during the evictions that occurred in early 2025. One of the suspects was the chair of the East Flores AMAN Local Chapter.
- On December 1, 2025, the company again destroyed the gardens and crops belonging to the Indigenous Peoples of the Soge and Goban tribes, destroying various productive plants such as cashews, bananas, papayas, jackfruit and vegetables. This eviction and logging operation was led directly by Father Robertus Yan Faroka (Operations Director of PT. Krisrama), accompanied by Father Stef Lebuan, Pastor of the Talibura Parish, and several other priests.

3. Criminalization and State Violence against Indigenous Peoples in Pocoleok, Manggarai, Flores-NTT.

On 5 June 2025, coinciding with Environment Day, Indigenous Peoples from 10 Gendang in Pocoleok, Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara took action and reaffirmed their stance regarding their rejection of the geothermal development plan in Poco Leok, Manggarai District on Thursday. This protest marks the latest in a series of rejections by the community since 2011. Unfortunately, the protest was met with intimidation and direct violence from the Manggarai Regent. As a result, many participants experienced fear and had to end their action earlier than planned.

4. Criminalization of Indigenous Peoples Defenders

- Nulker Sababalat, an environmental and Indigenous Peoples activist from the Mentawai Islands who has been actively involved in fighting for the preservation of nature and the environment, had to face the Mentawai Resort Police. Nulker, who at that time was providing assistance in an effort to resolve the problems affecting the Mentawai Indigenous Peoples related to a customary dispute over fines or *tulo* against two people accused of black magic. The issue was facilitated by a public official, resulting in the loss of land for one of the Tatubeket Indigenous Peoples. This decision caused disappointment and prompted a number of residents to go to the North Sipora Sub-District Office on 6 November 2024.

During the meeting, Nulker and Rusmin got into an argument with the public official. This incident was reported to the police. Nulker and one of his colleagues were detained.

The arrest and detention were resolved through deliberation. The complainant forgave Nulker and withdrew the complaint. Unfortunately, despite various deliberations and the establishment of peace, the Mentawai Resort Police did not easily release Nulker and his colleague.

Nulker was only released after his legal counsel filed reports with various parties outside Mentawai.

- Antonius Johanis Bala was reported by the legal representative of PT. Krisrama in connection with the conflict between the Soge and Goban Indigenous Peoples in Sikka District, East Flores. Antonius Johanis Bala was reported for violating Article 28 in conjunction with Article 45A of Law Number 1 of 2024 concerning Amendments to Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions. In fact, the steps and actions taken by Johanis Bala were common actions taken by a legal representative in defending and assisting his client.

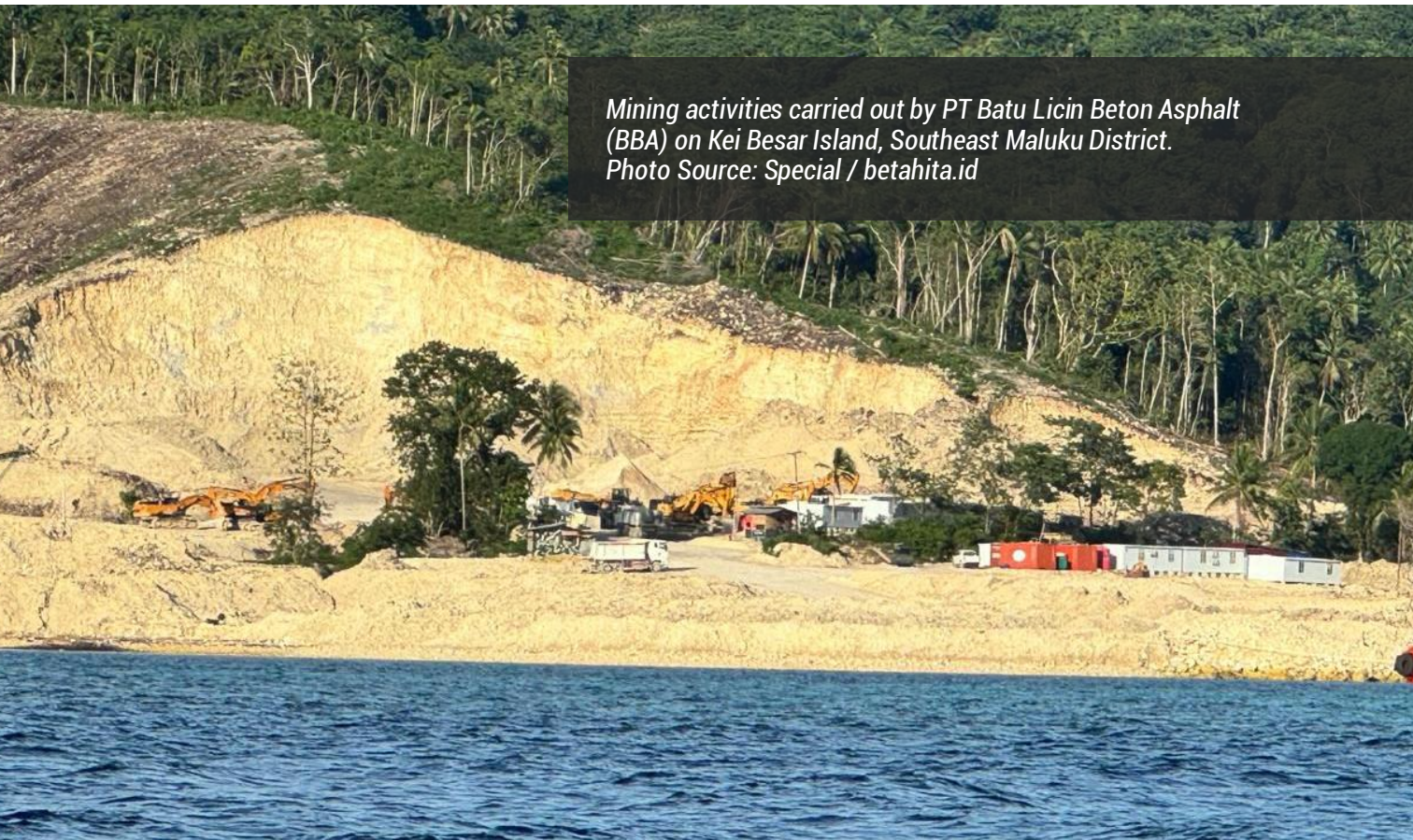
5. Destruction of Kei Besar Island for the National Strategic Project in Merauke

PT Batu Licin Beton Asphalt (BBA) on Kei Besar Island, Southeast Maluku District, which conducts non-metallic mineral mining. The mined stones are then transported to Merauke District.

PT BBA is known to be conducting mining activities based on the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Decree Number 147.K/MB.01/MEM.B/2022, which regulates the classification of minerals such as dolomite, feldspar, and quartzite.

Kei Besar Island itself is part of a group of small islands that are legally protected. Law No. 27 of 2007 in conjunction with Law No. 1 of 2014 on Coastal Zone and Small Island Management explicitly prohibits mining activities in small island areas. In addition, Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2017 also designates Kei Besar as one of 111 strategically important Outer Small Islands that must be protected from exploitative activities.

In addition to the potential for environmental damage such as flooding, water source degradation, and changes in the landscape, the community also highlights the threat of social conflict arising from land disputes and socio-economic inequality. Sacred sites and ancestral graves are also threatened with displacement.



*Mining activities carried out by PT Batu Licin Beton Asphalt (BBA) on Kei Besar Island, Southeast Maluku District.
Photo Source: Special / betahita.id*

6. Appropriation of Indigenous Territory through the Establishment of a National Park

The government plans to designate 119,779 hectares of land in the Meratus Mountains in South Kalimantan as a National Park. This plan has been met with immediate resistance from the Meratus Indigenous Peoples. The Indigenous Peoples are very concerned that this policy will be used as a cover for appropriation of their living space, restricting their access to natural resources, and ignoring the sustainable management of customary forests that has been practiced for hundreds of years.

Gandang Dewata National Park was established based on Minister of Environment and Forestry Decree No. SK. 773/MenLHK/PLA.2/10/2016 with an area of 189,269.82 hectares. This national park is located in four districts in West Sulawesi, namely Mamuju, North Mamuju, Central Mamuju, and Mamasa. The people of Mamasa who inhabit the area bordering the National Park have raised objections because their Indigenous territory and gardens have been included in the National Park area.

7. Appropriation of Indigenous Territory in Mentawai for Forestry Corporations

The appropriation of Indigenous territory in Mentawai into areas designated for Forest Utilization Business Permit (PPBH), covering 20,706 hectares by PT. Sumber Permata Sipora, issued by the Ministry of Forestry. However, this permit included customary forests that had already received a decree from the Minister of Environment and Forestry.

8. Criminalization of Indigenous Peoples Practicing Traditional Farming

The arrest of Indigenous Peoples who practice traditional farming also occurred in 2025. On Saturday, 30 August 2025, police arrested Kariya (52 years old) in Sanglap Village, Batang Cenaku District. Kariya, who was named a suspect, was accused of burning land. However, all Kariya did was farming the land to survive. Kariya was charged under Law No. 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management.

9. Appropriation of Indigenous Territory for Military Institutional Interests

240 hectares of Indigenous territory controlled, owned, and inherited generation after generation by the Puntik Kalo Indigenous Peoples in Sumay Subdistrict, Tebo District, Jambi Province, was appropriated for the construction of the 844/Ksatria Batanghari infantry battalion. The 240 hectares of Indigenous territory is claimed as land belonging to the Indonesian Army (TNI AD), even though the area has been owned in a traditional, generation-after-generation manner by the Puntik Kalo Indigenous Peoples. Efforts at dialogue between the community and the local government have not yet yielded results.

CHAPTER IV UPHOLDING IDENTITY & FIGHTING FOR THE FUTURE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES & INDONESIA

The 2012 KMAN IV resolution stated, “If the State is not with us, then we will continue to be with the State.” This statement was motivated by the fact that the state, which is supposed to be an organization that promotes the common good for all, often shows its brutal side in reality. Nevertheless, through this statement, Indigenous Peoples demonstrate their strong commitment to preserving and fighting for Indonesia. In practice, this commitment has been and will continue to be manifested in the daily lives of Indigenous Peoples through various efforts to restore and strengthen their identity in the fields of economy, law, environment, education, and so on..



Indigenous Peoples in Kasepuhan Pasir Eurih, Lebak, Banten tap sugar palms as raw material for palm sugar. Photo Source: AMAN Documentation

Sovereignty Upstream, Prosperity Downstream: The Economic Contribution of Indigenous Peoples to Sustainable Food and Energy

The management of Indigenous territory for food and energy is an important and strategic sector for the creation of sovereignty, independence, and prosperity for Indigenous Peoples, as well as an effort to preserve the heritage of their ancestors from generation after generation. The management of Indigenous territory is strongly linked to local knowledge and wisdom, which provides food in a sustainable manner while continuing to preserve biodiversity in Indigenous territory.

Optimal and sustainable management of Indigenous territories can only be achieved if the state recognizes Indigenous Peoples and their Indigenous territories. Through this recognition, Indigenous Peoples not only manage and protect natural resources in their Indigenous territories, but also protect these territories from extractive activities that result in environmental damage and disruption to the social systems within Indigenous Peoples. Through the application of historical knowledge systems, the management of Indigenous territories can mitigate climate change.

There are 4.9 million hectares of Indigenous Peoples' cultivation areas with high food diversity⁴. The food produced by Indigenous Peoples is very diverse. These include sago, upland rice, various types of tubers, fruits, vegetables, various types of nuts, and so on. This shows that Indigenous Peoples are sovereign in producing food and, on the other hand, reduce dependence on a single type of food commodity that is often still imported by the government.



*Indigenous women of the Moi tribe in Sorong, West Papua, harvesting sago.
Photo source: AMAN documentation*

Sustainable food management is supported by AMAN's efforts to establish Indigenous Community-Owned Enterprises (BUMMA), which have now reached a total of 47. As an institution focused on achieving the welfare of Indigenous Peoples, BUMMA increases bargaining power and commodity stocks and product availability in the market and strengthens the economic argument in diplomacy for the recognition of Indigenous Peoples and their Indigenous territory. BUMMA ensures that the production and distribution chain of Indigenous Peoples' agricultural products can meet the need for a food source that is continuously available, high-quality, and environmentally friendly.

In an effort to expand the reach and market acceptance of Indigenous Peoples' products, BUMMA improves the quality of Indigenous Peoples' products, one of which is through Indonesian National Standard (SNI) laboratory testing. These tests are conducted on leading products such as palm sugar and granulated palm sugar from four BUMMA (KPMAS Sinjai, BUMMA Jago Setahun – Rejang Lebong, BUMMA Kemanyan Putih Puncak Negeri – Kerinci, and BUMMA Saiket Sabeungketan – Ciherang). This is an effort to assure the public that the products of Indigenous Peoples are not only healthy and natural, but also tested with quality standards from a trusted party so that they are highly competitive in a wider market.

The added value of sustainable and sustainable Indigenous territory management lies in the use of Indigenous Peoples knowledge and customary deliberation as a basis. For example, knowledge about resource conservation, such as the designation of protected forests, the prohibition of tree felling around springs, and the prohibition of forest destruction are important elements in Indigenous territory management.



The Wae Rina micro-hydro power plant pipeline, which was independently built by the Indigenous Peoples in Flores, NTT. Photo Source: AMAN Documentation

Economy and Renewable Energy: A Mutual Reinforcing Relationship

In addition to food, energy is another important sector in achieving the welfare of Indigenous Peoples. There is a very close relationship between the economic activities of Indigenous Peoples based on sustainable natural resources and the development of renewable energy sources, particularly micro-hydro power plants. Micro-hydro power plants depend on a stable water flow, which can only be guaranteed by well-preserved forests and watersheds. Soil and water conservation practices based on the Indigenous Peoples' traditional knowledge, such as refraining from cutting down trees upstream of water sources, directly ensure the sustainable operation of micro-hydro power plants. In other words, the Indigenous Peoples' deep knowledge of forest, soil, and water resource management is the foundation for the sustainable availability of renewable energy, especially water energy.

AMAN proactively initiated the establishment of the *Yayasan Kemitraan Energi Terbarukan* (Renewable Energy Partnership Foundation/MITRA ENTER). This foundation focuses on the development of renewable energy in Indigenous Territories and is committed to facilitating access to new and renewable energy. Micro-hydro power plants management is community-based. It is not positioned as a business commodity but rather for collective energy sufficiency. Nevertheless, Micro-hydro power plants have been proven to encourage productive activities and increase the income of Indigenous Peoples. Electricity from micro-hydro power plants supports micro-businesses such as rice mills, welding shops, and electricity stalls. For example, Wae Rina and Wae Mese Wangkar Micro-hydro Power Plant in Flores have shown success. Through collective funds from Indigenous Peoples, micro-hydro Power Plant in these two places has provided electricity to hundreds of homes, health centers, and Indigenous houses.

The establishment of BUMMA for both food and energy in Indigenous territories not only demonstrates holistic development in Indigenous territories but also promotes justice. Not only do healthy food products increase food sovereignty and preserve the environment, but at the same time they create ideal conditions for sustainable development in indigenous territories. Thus, Indigenous Peoples are no longer objects but key actors who integrate economy, environment, culture and energy as real solutions to the climate crisis and the realization of prosperity.

To ensure that forest honey remains available, BUMMA Sanggar Mandiri in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, is working hard to preserve the ecosystem of Mount Tambora.
Photo Source: AMAN Documentation



**Indigenous Education:
The Way Home Restoring People, Restoring Indigenous Territory**

The Earth, where we all live together, has suffered severe damage. Floods in Sumatra and various other places are irrefutable evidence of this. Blaming rainfall for these events is a foolish attempt to cover up the failure to produce good policies and governance.

Indigenous territories have not been spared from this kind of damage. Millions of hectares of Indigenous territory, ranging from forests, seas, coasts, and small islands that were previously preserved and cared for by Indigenous Peoples, are now severely damaged as a result of various extractive industries such as mining, illegal and legal logging, large-scale monoculture plantations, and various other projects, whether labeled “strategic” or not. This damage is not only experienced by one or two countries, but is felt widely throughout the world. In the context of Indonesia, this natural destruction has caused various disasters such as droughts, floods, and so on. There have been many victims, many Indigenous Peoples bear the brunt of this destruction. The protests often carried out by Indigenous Peoples and environmental activists against this destruction have led to criminalization and violence. Many Indigenous Peoples and environmental activists have had to face the law. Some of them have even been imprisoned.

The influx of all types of extractive industries that destroy Indigenous territories is often linked to the Indigenous children themselves, whether they act as intermediaries or in other roles. This is recognized by Indigenous Peoples communities, including elders, youth, and women. Therefore, since the Fourth Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (KMAN IV), the Congress has mandated the AMAN organization to think about and formulate a form of education rooted in the community to strengthen the identity of Indigenous Peoples, restoring a noble and wise way of thinking in treating nature and humans.

In response to the KMAN IV mandate, AMAN held various meetings to discuss the form of education intended by KMAN. Together with Lifemosaic and The Shamdana Institute, AMAN organized leadership training for the next generation of Indigenous Peoples. The training, which was attended by 25 indigenous youth, gave birth to various initiatives to return to protecting and managing indigenous territories. This movement came to be known as the “homecoming movement”. Through this movement, indigenous youth committed themselves to implementing a traditional education system in their communities.



In 2016, AMAN and Lifemosaic held a Traditional Education Methodology Retreat in the Kasepuhan Ciptagelar Indigenous Community in West Java. At this retreat, AMAN also invited 20 representatives from communities that had already begun indigenous education initiatives in their communities, education advocates, and representatives from Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines who were invited to share about the state of Indigenous education in their country. This meeting successfully formulated the principles of Indigenous education used by Indigenous education activists in the archipelago and a common understanding that if formal education teaches the knowledge of leaving, then Indigenous education teaches the knowledge of returning, to preserve and manage the village, and to restore Indigenous territory.

Initiatives to restart Indigenous education through the establishment of Indigenous schools in communities continue to emerge. As of December 2025, there were 130 Indigenous Schools affiliated with AMAN.

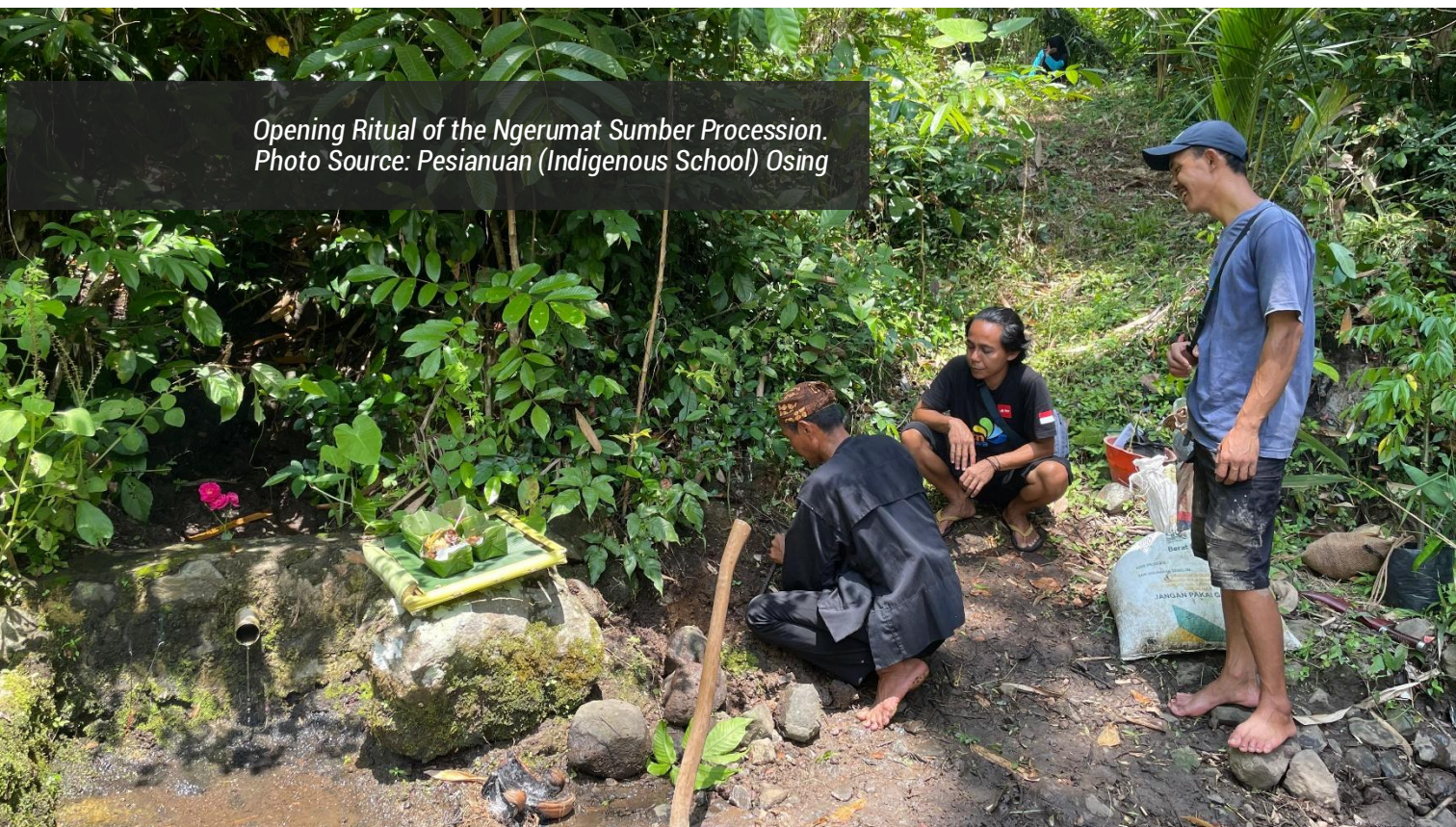
*Participants at the inauguration of the Tunggu Tubang Indigenous School in the Semende Ulu Nasal Indigenous Peoples Community in Kaur District, Bengkulu, unfurled a banner demanding the passage of the Indigenous Peoples Bill.
Photo Source: AMAN Bengkulu Documentation*



Restoration of Indigenous Territories

The idea of restoring indigenous territories cannot be achieved without restoring the people (Indigenous Peoples) themselves. This is because the two are inseparable. Since ancestral times, Indigenous territories have been preserved through the continuous development of knowledge, including the system of rules we now know as Indigenous law, so that Indigenous territories remain sustainable and abundant. Various important places are also directly connected to the history and spirituality that form the identity of Indigenous Peoples themselves. Conversely, nature or Indigenous territory also protects and provides life for Indigenous Peoples. However, with the intrusion of external knowledge systems that are difficult to resist, a handful of people in many Indigenous Peoples no longer think and act wisely like their ancestors. This is because the next generation of Indigenous Peoples is no longer nurtured by the wisdom and prudence of their ancestors. Many of them have been nurtured by the state through formal education that has uprooted them from their roots and their identity.

Indigenous education is intended to return the next generation of Indigenous Peoples to the wise thinking and fair actions of their ancestors towards nature and fellow human beings by exploring the essence of the knowledge inherited from their ancestors, but also through adaptation to contemporary knowledge in order to survive in the whirlwind of the times. Thus, it is hoped that the earth and Indigenous territories can be restored, and harmony between humans, nature, and the Creator can be reestablished.



*Opening Ritual of the Ngerumat Sumber Procession.
Photo Source: Pesianuan (Indigenous School) Osing*

Currently, indigenous schools are working to restore indigenous territories and their people. One of them is Pesinauan (Indigenous School) Osing in Banyuwangi. This initiative arose from the fact that Indigenous rituals, which are a means of communication for the Indigenous Peoples in Osing, Banyuwangi, are currently threatened with extinction because the prerequisite for these rituals, namely water from springs, is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. Therefore, the Osing Indigenous School, together with elders from five communities, AMAN Osing Local Chapter, BPAN, and PEREMPUAN AMAN in Osing, are conducting a "Ngerumat Sumber" activity.

"Ngerumat Sumber" or "Caring for Water Sources" in English is carried out in several stages, from traditional discussions, water source purification rituals, cleaning of water source locations, planting of water-supporting plants, *ginau* sumber or learning from sources, water source festivals, to the production of books and video documentaries about "Ngerumat Sumber". The Osing Pesinauan (Indigenous School) began this initiative to restore the Indigenous territory from a single point, namely the water source. From there, the restoration effort expanded because restoring the water source required the rehabilitation of the supporting environment, such as water-retaining plants, which necessitated the planting of water-retaining plants, and so on.

Every process in the "Ngerumat Sumber" activity itself is Indigenous education. *Rembug adat* teaches us to return to Indigenous deliberation involving all parties in the Indigenous community. Indigenous rituals teach us that everything we do requires the help of God Almighty and the blessing of our ancestors. Cleaning the spring location teaches us to work together. The types of plants that must be present in the Indigenous territory near the spring teach us that our ancestors already had knowledge about ecology that enabled the spring to be preserved. *Ginau Sumber* becomes an arena where all experiences and knowledge can be transferred to all parties in the Indigenous territory.



The Osing Indigenous Peoples eat together after completing the Ngerumat Sumber procession.
Photo Source: Pesinauan (Indigenous School) Osing

Integrating Village Planning with the Interests of Indigenous Peoples

Villages are governmental institutions as well as social spaces that are closest to Indigenous Peoples. Through Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages, the state explicitly recognizes the authority of rights of origin, which opens up opportunities for Indigenous Peoples to restore and strengthen their rights by utilizing the village government structure. The political and legal space provided by the Village Law allows Indigenous Peoples and villages to consult together in developing development plans - something that has rarely happened since the New Order era.

Citorek is one example where the village authorities, the Kasepuhan Citorek authorities, and the entire Citorek Indigenous Peoples sit down together to discuss and plan various development agendas. This is a space that enables the strengthening of Indigenous Peoples through efforts to reconcile proceduralistic village development logic with development planning based on Indigenous territory. Within the Indigenous territory (*wewengkon*) of Kasepuhan Citorek, there are five villages. This cohesive (socio-cultural) similarity makes it possible to establish cooperation between villages in Kasepuhan Citorek based on *wewengkon*. This cooperation is aimed at strengthening Kasepuhan Citorek politically, socially, and economically - meaning that villages within the Indigenous *wewengkon* of Kasepuhan Citorek can create plans for Indigenous territory that can be integrated into village development plans.

This *wewengkon*-based village planning was initiated by Kasepuhan Citorek together with five villages within *the* Kasepuhan Citorek Indigenous *wewengkon* by promoting the Village Regulation on Inter-Village Cooperation and the formation and strengthening of the Inter-Village Cooperation Agency (BKAD). In this way, Kasepuhan Citorek can be actively involved in managing collaborative programs across villages within the Indigenous territory, such as the utilization of customary forests, *seren taun* rituals and celebrations, and the formation of a pooled fund between villages that can be used to strengthen Kasepuhan Citorek.



*A row of leuit (traditional granaries) belonging to the Kasepuhan Citorek Indigenous Peoples.
Photo source: AMAN documentation.*

CHAPTER V STRENGTHENING THE MOVEMENT

Throughout 2025, AMAN has taken various steps to strengthen the movement, especially in the midst of a situation where various external forces, supported by political and legal decisions, continue to weaken the authority and rights of Indigenous Peoples. One of these steps was the consolidation of the Indigenous Peoples' movement, which aimed to strengthen and reinforce the movement in achieving the goals of a Sovereign, Independent, and Dignified Indigenous Peoples.

Below are some of the consolidation agendas carried out by AMAN throughout 2025:

1. Day of the Revival of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago

Hari Kebangkitan Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (The Day of the Revival of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago/HKMAN) is commemorated every 17 March by the Indonesian people, especially Indigenous Peoples. 17 March was designated as HKMAN because on 17 March 1999, the Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (KMAN) was held for the first time at the Hotel Indonesia in Jakarta. Subsequently, KMAN 1999 declared the Indigenous Peoples Alliance as a forum to fight for the rights of Indigenous Peoples in Indonesia, namely *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago/AMAN).

Since then, 17 March has been commemorated as the Day of the Revival of the Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (HKMAN) and the anniversary of AMAN. The HKMAN celebration is a moment of consolidation for the Indigenous Peoples movement in Indonesia to uphold their rights and position themselves as a key component in the life of the nation and state. In addition, this moment also serves as a reflection of the Indigenous Peoples movement in fighting for and defending their rights that have been taken away by the state for the sake of investment or capital.

In 2025, AMAN commemorates HKMAN and celebrates its 26th anniversary. In this celebration, Indigenous Peoples throughout the archipelago commemorate HKMAN 2025 with an urgent call for the government to immediately pass the Indigenous Peoples Bill (UU MA) and stop the appropriation of Indigenous territory, criminalization and violence against Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Peoples activists.

For 26 years, AMAN has faced various challenges in building the Indigenous Peoples movement. Of course, these challenges are learning tools to shape and forge Indigenous Peoples' administrators, cadres and communities in realizing the ideals of Sovereign, Independent and Dignified Indigenous Peoples. Now in its 26th year, AMAN continues to consolidate Indigenous Peoples communities to raise awareness of their rights that have been taken away by the State. This is marked by an increase in AMAN membership from the previous year. In 2025, AMAN had 2,645 communities of Indigenous Peoples as members, spread across 7 major regions of the archipelago. These communities are served by administrators at various levels, ranging from the AMAN Central Governing Body, 21 AMAN Regional Chapters, and 135 AMAN Local Chapters.



Rukka Sombolinggi, AMAN Secretary General, sits among the facilitators of the Indigenous Women Leaders Consolidation in Kasepuhan Guradog, 8 August 2025. Photo source: AMAN documentation.

2. International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples

Around the world, Indigenous Peoples celebrate the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples every 9 August. The celebration is a moment to commemorate and celebrate the resistance of Indigenous Peoples' movements around the world against all forms of oppression and colonization, as well as to reject extinction.

On August 9, 2025, AMAN celebrated the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples in Kasepuhan Guradog, Curugbitung District, Lebak District, Banten, from 7-9 August 2025. The celebration was attended by around 5,000 people from Indigenous Peoples communities in 7 regions and invited civil society organizations. The celebration on 9 August 2025 was also attended by the Governor of Banten, the Deputy Regent of Bogor, members of the Banten Provincial House of Representatives, and members of the Lebak District House of Representatives. The theme of the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples was "Strengthening the Right to Self-Determination: The Road to Food Sovereignty." This theme was a reflection and depiction of the situation of Indigenous Peoples in all AMAN member Indigenous Peoples' communities in Indonesia.

During the celebration, AMAN held a consolidation of Indigenous Women Leaders and a consolidation of Indigenous Peoples Journalists of the Archipelago. This consolidation brought together AMAN cadres, both as indigenous women and journalists, who are fighting to defend their Indigenous territory.

a. *Consolidation of Indigenous Women Leaders of the Archipelago*

The consolidation of indigenous women at the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples celebration is a momentum to strengthen the role of indigenous women in all aspects of the Indigenous Peoples' struggle. KMAN VI affirms that indigenous women are an important pillar in defending the sovereignty of Indigenous Peoples, protecting Indigenous territories and ecosystems, passing on knowledge, preserving culture and language, and leading the resistance movement against the deprivation of Indigenous Peoples' rights.

This consolidation was held on 7-8 August 2025 and was attended by 70 AMAN leader cadres from various regions and areas in 7 regions. In this consolidation, Indigenous women shared stories and tales about the resistance leadership they carried out to defend their Indigenous territory.

Indigenous women's leadership is not a gift but the result of struggle. The presence of indigenous women leaders in the Indigenous Peoples' movement is to strengthen the struggle to maintain food sovereignty amid the threat of various projects. The momentum of the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples became a space for consolidation for indigenous women to mutually strengthen and unite their voices in the face of various forms of structural injustice that still persist.

b. Consolidation of Indigenous Peoples Journalists of the Archipelago

The 2025 International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples celebration brought together AMAN cadres who had been trained to become Indigenous Peoples' journalists. Since 2017, AMAN has trained at least 230 AMAN cadres to become Indigenous Peoples' Journalists. These cadres are trained to report on various issues and achievements of Indigenous Peoples in Indigenous Peoples' communities. The presence of Indigenous Peoples' journalists is an important part of the Indigenous Peoples' movement because mainstream media coverage of Indigenous Peoples is often lacking and unbalanced, tending to give a false representation of Indigenous Peoples' practices.

The consolidation of these journalist cadres was held on 7-8 August 2025, and was attended by 50 Indigenous Peoples journalist cadres and 20 journalists. This consolidation became a momentum for the journalist cadres to unite their understanding and declare an AMAN affiliate organization called *Asosiasi Jurnalists Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (Association of Indigenous Peoples Journalists of the Archipelago/AJMAN).

The establishment of AJMAN is one of the pillars in the struggle for Indigenous Peoples' rights and a step forward in strengthening the publication of issues related to Indigenous Peoples, specifically strengthening the political position of Indigenous Peoples' Journalists and expanding cooperation networks, including fighting for the protection and recognition of the profession of Indigenous Peoples' Journalists.



Apriadi Gunawan read the declaration of the establishment of the Association of Indigenous Peoples' Journalists of the Archipelago (AJMAN) on 8 August 2025, at Kasepuhan Guradog. Photo Source: AMAN Documentation.

3. Strengthening the Management as a Basis for Critical Resistance

In order to strengthen the organization, AMAN is reforming its organizational structure at all levels of management. AMAN administrators at the regional and local levels already have a working structure in place that is appropriate to the needs and circumstances of the organization. In addition, AMAN is also strengthening the AMAN Council at all levels through training. This AMAN Council training was conducted in 18 regions and attended by 385 AMAN Council members. This training is part of the restructuring process to enable the AMAN Council to carry out its duties as administrators in the organization. This organizational restructuring is carried out so that the organization's administrators can carry out the organization's mandates.

The strengthening of this organisation has led to the expansion of Indigenous Peoples' resistance. This resistance has grown stronger due to the lack of recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rights and the massive seizure of Indigenous territory. However, on the other hand, the resistance of Indigenous Peoples has also accelerated the creation of regional policies to recognize and protect Indigenous Peoples.

Indigenous Peoples' resistance in communities involves all elements of Indigenous Peoples, such as Indigenous women and Indigenous youth. In carrying out its resistance, AMAN also consolidates civil society movements and religious organizations. This resistance movement is taking place throughout Indonesia due to the government's impartiality towards Indigenous Peoples.

In North Sumatra, the AMAN Tano Batak Regional Chapter consolidated the civil society movement and religious organizations such as the HKBP Church (Huria Kristen Batak Protestan) and the Catholic Church to fight against PT. Toba Pulp Lestari (PT. TPL), which has been depriving Indigenous Peoples of their rights.



Joint prayer and joint stance of the Close TPL Movement at the Proclamation Monument, Jakarta. Photo source: AMAN documentation.

4. Organizational Consolidation Towards the 7th Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (KMAN)

One of the decisions of KMAN VI in Jayapura was to decide on the implementation of KMAN VII in 2027 in the Sulawesi Region. KMAN will be held in March 2027. The consolidation of AMAN administrators in the Sulawesi Region also determined that KMAN VII will be held in Toraya. In preparation for KMAN VII, the AMAN Toraya Local Chapter has consolidated and organized the Indigenous Peoples communities that are members of AMAN.

The 7th Congress of the Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago will involve 32 Indigenous territories in Toraya. Approximately 5,000 representatives from each of the Indigenous Peoples communities will attend this grand event.

The first step in preparing for KMAN VII was to hold *Kombongan*, or Indigenous deliberations, in each Toraja Indigenous territory. These deliberations also served as a forum to socialize the implementation of KMAN VII. After the *Kombongan* (deliberations) in each Indigenous territory were completed, they were followed up with joint deliberations to decide on the venue for KMAN VII. The Indigenous Peoples' communities have been organized because their participation is very important for the success of KMAN VII. The Indigenous Peoples' communities in Toraya contribute through the provision of agricultural products such as rice, vegetables, fish, meat, and others.

In preparation for KMAN VII, AMAN also consolidated all levels of Regional Chapter and Local Chapter through mandatory organizational meetings. This year, 46 AMAN Local Chapters held Regional Working Meetings and 10 Local Chapters held Regional Consultative Meetings. At the Regional Chapter level, 10 Regional Chapters held Regional Working Meetings and 4 Regional Chapters held Regional Consultative Meetings.



The Toraya Indigenous Peoples conducted participatory mapping of their Indigenous territory. Photo Source: AMAN Documentation.

Throughout 2025, the Prabowo-Gibran administration showed no strong desire to eliminate discrimination against Indigenous Peoples. It is still unclear when the Indigenous Peoples Bill will be discussed and passed. Meanwhile, Indigenous Peoples hope that this law will become a legal instrument that serves as a starting point for the state to fulfill its responsibility to respect and protect Indigenous Peoples and their traditional rights. The logical consequence of this starting point is the need to provide a new direction for the recognition of Indigenous Peoples and their Indigenous rights, as well as to harmonize policies that conflict with the basic principles of state respect and protection for Indigenous Peoples.

However, the opposite has happened. The seizure of Indigenous territory has become increasingly unstoppable for food estate, mining, energy, plantation, and other projects, as well as the strengthening of state claims through national park plans and repression through forest area control. Even the expansion of the military's structure and role in social life and development programs indicates the possibility of escalating conflict and violence in the coming years.

In addition to continuing to make demands, strengthening communities, strengthening organizations, expanding networks, and developing skills must continue to be carried out in order to open up spaces that allow Indigenous Peoples to always show their critical stance and resistance.

AMAN'S 2025 END-OF-YEAR REPORT



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