



SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON REMPANG ISLAND, OLIGARCHY AND UNJUST POWER: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

A Critical Reflection on Joko Widodo Government, the State and Society in Case of Rempang Island

Herdi Sahrasad¹, Al Chaidar², Iskandar Zulkarnain³ and Ti Aisyah⁴

¹Universitas Paramadina

²Universitas Malikussaleh, Lhokseumawe, Aceh

³Universitas Malikussaleh, Lhokseumawe, Aceh

⁴Universitas Malikussaleh, Lhokseumawe, Aceh

Abstract

This paper argues that the authoritarianism of the current Joko Widodo government can be seen in this conflict between the state and society in Rempang Island. Residents of Rempang, Batam, numbering in the thousands, have steadfastly refused to leave their homes. In order to advance the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN), relocation to Galang Island is being considered. It was inevitable that civilians would rebel. On September 7th, 2023, tensions between police and locals erupted into violent clashes. The police opened out on the crowd with tear gas. Students were also impacted and taken to the hospital for treatment. Many groups are keeping tabs on the situation on Rempang Island, Batam. This is because locals have voiced opposition to the PSN (National Strategic Project) -designated development of the Rempang Eco City region under the administration of Joko Widodo. The nation's oligarchy and Chinese capital (PRC) are eager to grab Malay land through transactional and discriminatory policies, implementing a top-down strategy. Because of its arbitrary nature and its use of power instruments for the benefit of the oligarchy, this enterprise modelled after the VOC colonialism must be corrected, controlled by the people, and cannot be accepted.

INTRODUCTION

Many groups are keeping tabs on the situation on Rempang Island, Batam. This is because locals have voiced opposition to the PSN (National Strategic Project) -designated development of the Rempang Eco City region under the administration of Joko Widodo. About 17,000 hectares of land make up Rempang Island. In this location, planners hope to build the Rempang Eco-City National Strategic Project (PSN). The project is expected to employ 306,000 people through 2080 and will require an investment of IDR 381 trillion.

Land disputes have arisen between the local population, the city government, and PT. Makmur Elok Graha as a result of the planned industrialization of Rempang Island in Batam City. Disputes erupted as a result of the development programme that was supposed

to make Indonesia more competitive with Singapore. The locals hold this area in high regard because of its historical significance dating back to before independence was achieved. However, the land is no longer considered common property once Cultivation Rights (HGU) have been issued to a corporation.

Land rights, human rights, and state investment priorities are all factors in the Rempang conflict. The locals have grand plans to turn this historic site into a mini Rempang Eco City. And many kinds of enterprises, including industries and real estate developments, will spring up there. However, please be aware that natives are being requested to leave the area. The indigenous people of Rempang obviously do not accept it since they believe it is unfair and a violation of their human rights. "(Ginting, 2023)"

There are two key issues at play in this war. First, for more than 200 years, Rempang Island has been home to traditional communities like the Malay Tribe, the Sea Tribe, and a number of others. The indigenous population at the time considered Rempang Island to be communally owned. Then, between 2001 and 2002, the government of Indonesia awarded a firm on Batam land authority in the form of Cultivation Rights (HGU). But before the war broke out, no investors had ever visited or handled the area. Second, the Batam Free Trade Zone and Free Port Management Agency (BP Batam) is responsible for enforcing regulations on the use of land on Batam. Since there is no obvious demarcation between BP Batam-managed land and community-owned customary land, the two often overlap.

We all know that Singapore and Malaysia are close neighbours to the Batam region. In addition, there is a Special Economic Zone (ZEK) that offers tax breaks and infrastructure to potential business patrons. Therefore, there is some benefit to conducting business in Batam. Batam has never experienced an earthquake. As a result, Batam has become an attractive investment destination (Ginting, 2022). Great business potential exist on Batam Island, and if the Rempang Eco City project is successful, local residents will be given greater say in their employment. Because of this disagreement, residents were split into two groups: those who were native to the area and strongly opposed the development, and those who were recent arrivals and generally supported the plan.

Legitimate land use in Batam and Rempang Island was established by Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 41 of 1973. To further administer the area, it was explained

that the Batam authority (BP Batam) had been granted full management rights over all of Batam. The government can demand payment from the party at a later date for the land use rights. The Batam administration was given control of the industrial zones of Rempang and Galang in 1992.

The Batam DPRD then recommended PT. Makmur Elok Graha to carry out development measures in the Batam area, and the company began accepting newcomers in 2004. The government of Batam has signed a memorandum of understanding with PT. Makmur Elok Graha to have the company oversee certain properties across the island, including the Rempang area. However, it must be stressed that contrary to the current narrative (Reggy), this agreement indicates that PT. MEG will construct entertainment centres, offices, and games.

Batam's former mayor attempted to divide the city from the rest of the island, including Rempang and BP Batam, many years ago. However, no more action was taken until 2023, when it was announced in the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs that the Riau Islands will be the site of an Eco City development project. Having this authorization means the Indonesian government backs PT. Makmur Elok Graha's decision to build factories on Batam Island. Of course, in this case, focus on the second paragraph, where it is stated that communities governed by customary law receive management rights arising from customary land. The topic is whether or not the inhabitants of Batam fall under the category of communities subject to state-recognized customary law. Is this land also considered customary land by the state? It is not acceptable to simply bow to the wishes of oligarchs and rulers in order to address the Rempang problem; rather, a solution must be found that benefits the local community as a whole.

In this regard, Rempang people fight against the domination and annexation of Rempang land by arbitrary oligarchs and political elites as a durable social movement. What is meant by social movement here is the collective action of the people or society, both at the group, community, local community, national (national) community level and at the global community level to overcome the problems faced together. This social movement is important for mobilizing resources from society collectively to realize common interests such as justice, equality and so on. Here, social movements are actually an integral part of

the strategy to strengthen and expand people's involvement to overcome their social problems.¹

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on our qualitative research into Rempang's social movements, we found that the oligarchs and ruling elite's greedy, coercive, repressive, and hegemonic character towards the relatively weak Rempang community led to the plan to build an Eco-city and Glass Factory on Rempang Island degenerating into anarchy and chaos. The nation's oligarchy and Chinese capital (PRC) are eager to grab Malay land through transactional and discriminatory policies, implementing a top-down strategy. Because of its arbitrary nature and its use of power instruments for the benefit of the oligarchy, this enterprise modelled after the VOC colonialism must be corrected, controlled by the people, and cannot be accepted. It is being funded by domestic and PRC capital. To address the unjust and arbitrary nature of power and the oligarchy of capital, the citizens of Rempang have taken to protesting and resisting. This is not an expression of Malay Islamic populism in the region. The Rempang people's movement is determined to overthrow the current oligarchy and governing elite/conglomerate at whatever cost. The unrest in the Rempang region shows that democracy and government are not yet fully transparent and accountable on both the regional and national levels.

The conflict that occurred between the residents of Rempang Island and the government has also become the world's spotlight. There are several major news agencies that are starting to dissect why the conflict on the island finally occurred.

The magazine based in New York, United States (US), *Time*², reported that the residents of Rempang are currently trying to reject investment in the construction of a

¹ Charles Tilly, 1993. 'Social Movements as Historically Specific Groups of Political Performance'. Berkeley, *Journal of Sociology* 1–30. See, Charles Tilly, 1998. 'Gerakan Sosial dan (Segala Macam) Interaksi Politik Lainnya - Lokal, Nasional, dan Internasional - Termasuk Identitas'. *Jurnal Teori dan Masyarakat*, no.27 (4), 453–480.

² *Time* Wednesday (13/9/2023)

factory by the quartz sand producer from China, Xinyi Group. They said that the construction of this problematic project put 7,500 residents at risk of being relocated.

The confrontation highlights rising tensions between authorities and local communities across Indonesia over a number of infrastructure projects, many of them funded by Chinese companies, that threaten to displace indigenous communities.

Time Wednesday (13/9/2023) revealed that this project meant that residents living in the old traditional Malay village of Rempang had to be relocated. This was also rejected by residents because of the historical value of the Malay people who had inhabited the island even before Indonesia's independence.

That there is legal uncertainty over land which gives rise to this agrarian conflict. Shifts in land use on Rempang Island reflect regulatory uncertainty regarding land use in Indonesia in general.

The situation in Rempang is part of a common practice of viewing local residents as obstacles to development. "This is a structurally violent way of managing society," said Ian Murdoch, lecturer in political and security studies at Murdoch University in Perth.

Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Mahfud MD stated that the recent incident in Rempang was caused by the decision of the regional government and central government, in this case the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, which changed the functional status of the land. This regulatory uncertainty creates conflict between society and the government.

In recent months, serious violence has occurred in several areas. Beside Rempang case, these violences included, among other things, brutal beatings by security forces against the people of Pakel Village, Banyuwangi; the mystery of the death of anti-mining advocate, Jurkani, in South Kalimantan; violence against people who refused mining for the construction of the Wadas dam, Purworejo; criminalization of the Head of Kinipan Village, Wilem Hengki, in Central Kalimantan; as well as the marginalization of the Marafenfen indigenous community in the Aru Islands, Maluku. These cases could be actual examples of the tip of the iceberg of similar problems in the archipelago. Increasingly, the development regime seems to be increasingly considering these acts of violence as normal while hiding them in jargon "in order to guard against the influx of

investment tsunamis and facilitate the objectives of corporate projects and strategic national development projects."³

For the first phase until 2040, President Joko Widodo claimed, an investment of around IDR 29 trillion will be realized with an estimated employment absorption of 186,000 people through the development of the manufacturing and logistics industry, MICE tourism, and housing activities supported by trade and services.⁴

However, investment in the downstreaming of jumbo-valued quartz sand has forced residents who have lived for decades to be relocated to Sijantung on Galang Island in the near future. Protests raised by residents resulted in clashes with TNI and Polri officers.

Muhammadiyah, the most influential modern Muslim organization in Indonesia, also urged President Jokowi and Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Airlangga Hartarto to evaluate and withdraw the Rempang Eco-City project as a National Strategic Project (PSN).

They also urged the National Police Chief, General Listyo Sigit Prabowo, to order his subordinates to free the people they detained after the clashes several days ago. They also asked law enforcement officials to withdraw their troops from the crime scene. "We urge the Chief of the Republic of Indonesia Police and the Riau Islands Regional Police to immediately release a number of citizens who are being detained and withdraw all armed officers from the conflict location," said the leaders of Central Board of Muhammadiyah, an influential Muslim organization, Wednesday (13/9/2023).⁵ In short, Muhammadiyah asks related parties to prioritize the human rights of local communities and issue decisions as fairly as possible. Moreover, to restore the community after repressive actions during enforcement.

³ Eko Cahyono Kekerasan atas Nama Pembangunan, opini, *TEMPO*, 29 Januari 2022

⁴ Soal Rempang, Presiden Jokowi, <https://www.presidenri.go.id/siaran-pers/soal-rempang-presiden-jokowi-selesaikan-dengan-baik-kedepankan-kepentingan-masyarakat/>

⁵ The leaders of Central Board of Muhammadiyah, an influential Muslim organization, Media Indonesia daily, Wednesday (13/9/2023).

The Rempang tragedy on September 7 2023 arose as a result of land clearing activities as part of paving the way for the Rempang Eco-city project. This project itself will be carried out by the Batam Enterprise Agency (BP) together with the private company PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG). There was an excessive deployment of officers to monitor land clearing because the scale was very large. Based on information from Rempang residents, they estimate that at least 60 vehicles will be deployed to the location on September 7 2023 accompanied by at least 1010 more personnel consisting of Police, TNI, Satpol PP and Ditpam BP Batam. This number was even confirmed by a release issued by the Barelang Police Public Relations.

The author found that the presence of the authorities had a real impact on the emergence of fear in the community. In the field, there are at least 5 guard posts on Rempang Island, both on the Trans Barelang Road to the Sembulang area. We identified that there are around 20 - 30 joint officers at each post which consists of joint officers. The public's fear is increasing due to the movement of officers on Rempang Island for no apparent reason. Not to mention, residents in 16 villages evicted slowly in the name of relocation. Residents are asked to register themselves and bring proof of land ownership from September 11-20 at two places, namely the Galang District Office in Sembulang and the Special Hospital for Infections (RSKI) which has now changed to the Koramil Office. The Galang District Office as a relocation registration place also functions as a security post - a number of officers from the Brimob Unit, fully armed with long guns and motorbikes. This is clearly excessive, considering that the situation is claimed to be safe. The placement of joint officers in civil facilities such as sub-districts will of course also be very problematic, considering that sub-districts cover various matters.

It is acknowledged that the incident on September 7, 2023 has harmed the economic life and routine of the Rempang community. The livelihoods of communities dominated by fishermen have had to stop. Various residents testified that their main focus was to defend the village from being sacked. Apart from that, even if fishing activities are carried out, they will not be effective because they think about the fate of their children and wives who are left at home, which they fear will be taken into custody by officers. Another important finding for the public to know is that the chaotic governance in Batam is marked by the dual role of a Mayor who also heads BP Batam.

The case in Rempang also adds to the long list of agrarian conflicts caused by PSN. According to KPA records, there were 35 cases of agrarian conflict caused by PSN development

The Rempang case encouraged communities to carry out social movements to gather strength against oligarchs and unjust and unjust rulers. There are social movements that are institutional in nature and carry out activities regularly, but there are also types of social movements whose activities are only carried out in certain cases because those involved in them participate actively when faced with certain activities that have broad implications for society.⁶

Departing from the context of the multidimensional complexity of the Rempang problem, a solution method that relies on state and oligarchic power is very likely to reach a dead end; On the other hand, methods that provide stronger and broader people's participation can be more likely to be successful in realizing the problematic project.⁷

Therefore, it is important to note that it seems that there are so many different types of social movements that it is natural that the impacts they cause have different shades and this really depends on the factors that trigger the end of a social movement.

In fact, if we look at its history, the historical roots are quite long, especially if we look at the emergence of movements carried out by a number of people with the aim of creating a new environment which they see as peaceful and peaceful. This model of social movement can be observed from the emergence of social movements which are categorized as separatist movements. which is intended to form a new country that occurs in various parts of the world. Based on a number of existing findings, we tried to identify phenomena at various points of analysis. The series of violence that occurred in Rempang was part of violence based on capital interests (Capital Violence). The government's attitude of adopting a developmentalist and developmentism character is ultimately very

⁶ Cohen, J Bruce. 1983. *Sosiologi suatu pengantar*. Jakarta : PT Bina Aksara.

⁷ Tilly, Charles. 1993. 'Social Movements as Historically Specific Groups of Political Performance'. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 1–30. Tilly, Charles. 1998. Gerakan Sosial dan (Segala Macam) Interaksi Politik Lainnya - Lokal, Nasional, dan Internasional - Termasuk Identitas. *Teori dan Masyarakat* , 27 (4), 453–480.

dangerous and marginalizes people's rights. This situation is getting worse accompanied by a security approach which involves security forces. It is not uncommon for the involvement of authorities to accelerate business and investment interests to result in a number of human rights violations.

Apart from that, the fear that is awakened in the community due to the presence of officers passing by and at security posts can be considered as psychological terror by the State towards the community. Likewise, military involvement, we consider that this does not comply with procedures and must be declared an illegal military operation.

Looking at the dimensions of human rights violations in the Rempang case, we identified that there had been brutality by the authorities and the use of excessive force, resulting in acts of violence. One of the examples of the use of excessive force is the shooting of tear gas near civilian facilities such as schools.

Not to mention, very real violations of the rights to participation and access to information. The community was not asked for their consent before the Eco-city project took place and sacrificed the land of the Rempang residents.

The events of September 7 2023 also resulted in the arbitrary arrest of 8 people. We consider the arrest of protesters who express their opinions as a form of criminalization of society which is defending its living space. Even though Article 66 of Law no. 32 of 2009 clearly states that anyone who fights for the right to a good and healthy living environment cannot be prosecuted criminally or sued civilly.

Likewise, the rights of children and women were also violated in cases of violence in Rempang. Tear gas was fired near the SDN 24 and SMPN 22 Galang schools, causing panic, fear and even physical injuries to children who were learning. In fact, based on the chronology we have collected, the school has appealed and warned the police not to fire tear gas towards the school. Various incidents ultimately resulted in the deprivation of the right to a sense of security.

In terms of business and human rights, the eco-city project in Rempang, which is designated as PSN, has the potential to take away people's living space. Ideally, companies should pay attention, ensuring guarantees and protection for communities affected by these business practices. Furthermore, the state failed to carry out its obligation to protect

from the actions of third parties. The state through its joint apparatus actually becomes an extension of the company and ignores human rights principles.

The incident that occurred in Rempang must be considered a serious problem, because it has had an impact on many aspects. The seeds of deteriorating and continuing conflict can be seen from at least two characteristics, namely the awakening of tribal sentiment and resentment due to violence. If left unchecked, the seeds of this prolonged conflict will continue to spread and grow.

The project will displace 16 Old Malay Villages that have existed in Rempang since 1834. Not only that, the majority of indigenous people who live on Rempang Island also refuse to be relocated as a result of this project because they are worried about losing their living space. Meanwhile, BP Batam argues that this project is to boost economic growth.⁸

Because of these conflicting interests, the community took action because they felt threatened with being relocated from their homeland. Based on the information the team received, the action to convey opinions in the form of refusing land zoning took place peacefully. However, the clash ended in chaos and caused a number of casualties. In this clash, the police again used tear gas to disperse the protesters.

In order to find various facts in the field in order to demand state accountability, the KontraS team accompanied by two NGO's namely WALHI Riau and Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH- Legal Aid Institute) Pekanbaru, Riau Province, conducted an investigation and fact finding regarding the events that occurred on Rempang Island on 7 September 2023.⁹

In this case, Executive Director of Amnesty International Indonesia, Usman Hamid, highlighted the actions of law enforcement officers who carried out excessive enforcement actions. For example, the use of tear gas endangers both adults and children. "Resident protests were met by the authorities by means of arrests and the use of excessive force

⁸ Pulau Rempang, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1778260/pulau-rempang-belum-selesai-berikut-tanggapan-kritis-walhi-ombudsman-kontras-ncw-dan-komnas-ham>

⁹ Rempang Reports, WALHI Riau and Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH- Legal Aid Institute), Pekanbaru, 2023

such as batons and tear gas which endangered adults but also school children who were taking part in teaching and learning activities in their classes. "It is difficult to justify that tear gas entered the school area because it was blown by the wind," he was quoted as saying by *Amnesty.id*.¹⁰

Thus, this organization which is always related to human rights issues regrets this action, so Usman urges policy makers to find a fair solution in this case and evaluate the national strategic project plan. "The state must evaluate plans for national strategic projects, not only on Rempang-Galang Island, but also in Nagari Air Bangis, West Sumatra, then Wadas, Central Java and in other places which are currently inviting conflict with local communities," continued Usman," he added.

Meanwhile, Gusdurian Muslims, followers and humanitarian fighters affiliated with the humanist KH Abdurrahman Wahid, the main figure of Nahdlaul Ulama (NU) or The Gusdurian community, which originates from Alissa Qotrunnada Wahid's network, has condemned acts of violence and the use of excessive force by the regime of Joko Widodo when carrying out land measurements. Then, Gusdurian community also asked the National Police Chief and TNI Commander to withdraw the joint apparatus and impose sanctions on its members who had committed irresponsible actions.¹¹

"Asking the government to stop the practise of land grabbing and ensure protection and recognition of all basic rights of indigenous peoples," he said in a statement reported by Nu.or.id on Wednesday (13/9/2023). Rempang Island's Gusdurian community has

¹⁰ Amnesty Indonesia, <https://www.suara.com/news/2023/09/08/123745/amnesty-indonesia-tak-terima-klaim-aparat-soal-gas-air-mata-tertiup-saat-bentrok-dengan-warga-pulau-rempang>

¹¹ BBC News Indonesia, Kronologi, gas air mata, dan siswa dilarikan ke rumah sakit - lima hal tentang bentrokan warga dan aparat di Pulau Rempang, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c4n85vgremqo>

urged President Jokowi to act in accordance with Pancasila's tenets, particularly those of Just and Civilised Humanity and Social Justice for All Indonesian People.¹²

Human rights groups view the forced expulsion of residents of Rempang Island as a severe violation of human rights for the following reasons:

To begin, the United Nations Human Rights Council (2009) stated in paragraph 6 of the Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Eviction and Displacement A/HRC/18 that "forced evictions constitute gross violations of a range of internationally recognised human rights, including the human rights to adequate housing, food, water, health, education, work, security of the person, security of the home, freedom from cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment," among other rights.

Every person has the right to a safe and stable place to live; access to adequate food, water, healthcare, an appropriate education, gainful employment, the freedom to come and go as one pleases, and a sense of personal security, according to this United Nations provision.

The state has a responsibility to promote, fulfil, and safeguard the human rights of its citizens, including the right not to be subjected to inhumane treatment like forced eviction. Only in extreme cases and in strict accordance with international human rights standards and humanitarian law may evictions be carried out.

Second, the United Nations' 2014 Fact Sheet No. 25/Rev.1 on Forced Evictions states that: Forced evictions violate, directly and indirectly, the complete spectrum of civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights inscribed in international instruments.

Indirectly or directly, the forced displacement of residents from Rempang Island is a major breach of international human rights legislation protecting civil, cultural, political, and social rights.

Third, citing Law no. 26/2000 regarding the Human Rights Court's forced eviction of approximately 7,500 residents of Rempang Island, to move from their residential areas to

¹² <https://edura.unj.ac.id/edura-news/?p=6137>

other islands or to other places (population transfer), forced mass exodus, which uprooted residents from the roots of their social, cultural, and community life.

Children and members of the indigenous Malay, Orang Laut, and other tribes living in the 16 Old Villages on Rempang Island were forcibly relocated and evicted in what could be considered a genocide (Article 8 paragraph e) and a crime against humanity (Article 9 paragraph d).

States must ensure that effective or appropriate legal remedies are available to every person who claims his or her right to protection against forced eviction has been violated or is threatened with violation; States should refrain from taking deliberate retrogressive measures with respect to de jure protections of human rights; and

Regarding this, the ethnic make-up of the people living on Rempang Island shouldn't alter, with new arrivals from groups like the Javanese, Chinese, and Batak, among others.

In addition, authorities should limit the use of forced evictions to truly dire situations. As much as possible, evictions should be avoided because of the harmful effects they have on internationally recognised human rights. Only when there is certainty of obtaining full and fair compensation and rehabilitation, when there is acceptance by common sense and proportionality, and only when the purpose of the eviction is to promote general welfare for the poor, is forced eviction justified (paragraph 21).

Forcible expulsion of residents of Rempang Island, therefore, must be grounded in law rather than the whims or choices of a Minister or Regent.

If eviction is unavoidable, it must be done so in a way that promotes the well-being of all Rempang Islanders, and only after a binding agreement to provide adequate compensation and resettlement has been reached.

Even if all UN requirements have been met and evictions by force are permitted, the following guidelines must be followed. To begin, people's dignity and the right to life and safety must be respected throughout evictions. Here, the state must take action to protect the human rights of children and to prevent women from becoming victims of violence and discrimination during eviction (paragraph 47).

Second, the Basic Principles Regarding the Use of Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials or local regulations in accordance with international law enforcement and human

rights standards must be adhered to in any legally justified coercive measures (paragraph 48).

Third, evictions can't happen while it's stormy outside, after dark, on a holiday or religious holiday, right before elections or local elections, or when the kids have tests coming up (paragraph 49).

Ironically, some schoolchildren may have been exposed to tear gas during the forcible eviction effort on Rempang Island that took place on September 7.

If a forced eviction has been carried out in accordance with the UN human rights guidelines, the identified relocation site must meet the criteria for housing that is considered habitable in accordance with international human rights law, among other things, in the post-eviction phase.

Among these are the following: the ability to feel safe in one's own home; the availability of affordable housing; the availability of services, materials, facilities, and infrastructure such as potable water, energy for cooking, lighting, sanitation, and washing; food storage; waste disposal; drainage; emergency services; and the availability of adequate public facilities; Accessibility for disabled groups; access to employment opportunities, health care services, schools, childcare facilities, and other social facilities; culturally appropriate housing; and adequate space for residents to live in while being protected from cold, damp, hot weather, rain, wind, or other threats to health, structural hazards, and disease. Privacy and security, a voice in critical decisions, a safe environment free from violence, and the chance to heal and get well after a traumatic event like eviction are all crucial components of safe, secure housing (paragraph 55). . The international community may turn on a government that forcibly evicts its nationals without first ensuring that it complies with these international rules.¹³

¹³ Tragedi Pelanggaran HAM Berat di Pulau Rempang <https://edura.unj.ac.id/edura-news/?p=6137>

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Thousands of people in Rempang, Batam, are resisting attempts to force them to leave their homes. For the sake of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN), they do not support a forced relocation to Galang Island. It was inevitable that civilians would rebel. On September 7th, 2023, tensions between police and locals erupted into violent clashes. The police opened out on the crowd with tear gas. School-aged kids were also hit hard, leading to many hospitalisations. The authoritarianism of the current Joko Widodo government can be seen in this conflict between the state and society.

Many groups are keeping tabs on the situation on Rempang Island, Batam. This is because locals have voiced opposition to the PSN-designated development of the Rempang Eco City region under the administration of Joko Widodo. Our qualitative research into Rempang's social movements through participant observation, site visits, and in-depth interviews revealed that the oligarchs and ruling elite's greedy, coercive, repressive, and hegemonic character towards the relatively weak Rempang community caused the project to devolve into anarchy and chaos. With a top-down approach, the oligarchy and the ruling elite are eager to seize Malay land using transactional and unfair policies, involving the national oligarchy and Chinese capital (PRC). This VOC colonialism-style project, with domestic and PRC capital, must be corrected, controlled by the people and cannot be tolerated because it is arbitrary and uses tools of power for the vested interests of the oligarchy.

The protest and resistance of the Rempang residents is not Malay Islamic populism in the region, but is an action to confront the injustice and arbitrariness of power and the oligarchy of capital. The people's movement in Rempang is no longer trusts this kind of oligarchy and ruling elite/conglomerate so they are fighting hard at any risk.

The upheaval of the Rempang people reflects the still poor transparency and accountability of democracy and government at the local and national levels. Inequality in national development appears to be more than just a duality in the nature of development, as evidenced by the government's failure to respond to different acts of violence committed by state security personnel and the makeover of the agrarian structure. The state's alignment with capital and market forces, which have been seen as the only

players capable of reversing the economic gap between the developing country and the developed one, is also reflected imperfectly here.

REFERENCES

- Arizona, Yance and Erasmus Cahyadi. "*Masyarakat Adat.*" *Adat and Indigeneity in Indonesia*, Göttingen University Press (2013)
- Advocacy Team for Humanity – Rempang, Bareleng Police Chief must stop criminalizing 8 Rempang-Galang residents. See, <https://www.walhiriau.or.id/2023/09/11/kapolresta-bareleng-harus-menghentikan-kriminalisasi-terhadap-8-orang-warga-rempang-galang/>
- Cohen. J Bruce. 1983. *Sosiologi suatu pengantar*. Jakarta : PT Bina Aksara
- Chaerudin, Muhammad Alvian Yudistira Chandra. "Perlindungan Hak Tinggal Bagi Masyarakat Pulau Rempang Terhadap Penggusuran Proyek Strategis Negara." *Jurnal Socia Logica* 3.3 (2023): 385-395.
- Frances Raday, "Privatising Human Rights and the Abuse of Power." *Canadian Journal of Journal of Law & Jurisprudence* 13.1 (2000): 103-136
- Jack Donnelly,. "Human rights: a new standard of civilization?." *International Affairs journal*, 74.1 (1998): 1-23..
- Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia, Hak Perempuan dalam Reforma Agraria, <https://www.komnasham.go.id/index.php/news/2021/9/28/1918/hak-perempuan-dalam-reforma-agraria.html>.
- Masli, John A. , Kasus Rempang:A wake up call, bahaya politik ekspansi territorial Cina" <https://www.konfrontasi.com/2023/09/kasus-rempanga-wake-up-call-bahaya.html>
- Maslan, Andi "Analisis Faktor-Faktor Mempengaruhi Kesenjangan Digital Studi Kasus Bareleng (Batam, Rempang Dan Galang) Kepulauan Riau." *Computer Based Information System Journal* 2.2 (2014).
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Guidance on Less-Lethal Weapons in Law Enforcement, 30.
- Pandangan peneliti Evander Nathanael Ginting dalam diskusi bertajuk “Konflik Rempang: Memahami dari Berbagai Sudut Pandang”, Pusat Kajian Hukum Adat Djodjodigoeno, Fakultas Hukum UGM, Sabtu (23/9/2023).
- Pandangan peneliti Reggy Dio Geo Fanny dalam diskusi bertajuk “Konflik Rempang: Memahami dari Berbagai Sudut Pandang”, Pusat Kajian Hukum Adat Djodjodigoeno, Fakultas Hukum UGM, Sabtu (23/9/2023).
- Ridwan HR, *Hukum Administrasi Negara*, cet.9, (Jakarta: PT Grafindo Persada, 2013), 248-289.
- Robert O. Keohane, "Abuse of power." *Harvard International Review* 27.2 (2005).

Rosyadi Khoirul, "Kewenangan Badan Pengusahaan Batam pada Pengelolaan Lahan di Pulau Batam, Pulau Rempang dan Pulau Galang." *Journal of Law and Policy Transformation* 1.1 (2017): 1-27.

Responses of Petition for 100 Upholders of People's Sovereignty (6/10/2023) for Rempang case, they have conveyed their aspirations and demands regarding the National Scandal in the Rempang Case ((6-7/October/2023),

Steven R. Ratner., "Corporations and human rights: a theory of legal responsibility." *Yale Law Journal* 111, no. 3 (2001): 443-545.

Sugiswati, Besse "Perlindungan hukum terhadap eksistensi masyarakat adat di indonesia." *Perspektif* 17.1 (2012): 31-43.

Solidaritas nasional untuk Rempang: Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (YLBHI). YLBHI - Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH) Pekanbaru, Eksekutif Nasional Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI), WALHI Riau, Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Tindak Kekerasan (KontraS), Amnesty International Indonesia, Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA), Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN), Trend Asia, 'Keadilan Timpang di Pulau Rempang, Temuan Awal Investigasi atas Peristiwa Kekerasan dan Pelanggaran HAM 7 September 2023 di Pulau Rempang' Jakarta, September 2023

Tim KontraS, Laporan Hari Bhayangkara ke-77, "Kewenangan Ekseusif, Kekerasan dan Penyelewengan Tetap Masif", diakses pada <https://kontras.org/2023/07/04/laporan-hari-bhayangkara-ke-77-kewenangan-eksesif-kekerasan-dan-penyelewengan-tetap-terjadi-di-wadas..>

Tugas dan Fungsi BP Batam, dikutip dari <https://e-ppid.bpmatam.go.id/profil/tugas-fungsi/> Booklet Relokasi BP Batam, 2022

Tilly, Charles. 1993. 'Social Movements as Historically Specific Groups of Political Performance'. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 1–30.

Tilly, Charles. 1998. Gerakan Sosial dan (Segala Macam) Interaksi Politik Lainnya - Lokal, Nasional, dan Internasional - Termasuk Identitas. *Teori dan Masyarakat*, 27 (4), 453–480.

Tilly, Charles. 2007. 'Sejarah dan Sosiologi'. *Sosiolog Amerika* 38(4):326–29

Tragedi Pelanggaran HAM Berat di Pulau Rempang <https://edura.unj.ac.id/edura-news/?p=6137>

Vedi R. Hadiz, *Dinamika kekuasaan: ekonomi politik Indonesia pasca Soeharto*, Jakarta: Penerbit, LP3ES, 2005

Newspaper and Internet

<https://edura.unj.ac.id/edura-news/?p=6137>

Time, Wednesday (13/9/2023)

<https://www.konfrontasi.com/2023/09/kasus-rempanga-wake-up-call-bahaya.html>

<https://www.walhiriau.or.id/2023/09/11/kapolresta-barelang-harus-menghentikan-kriminalisasi-terhadap-8-orang-warga-rempang-galang/>