

# ASIA REPORT 2015



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## **INDONESIA**

Hopes for Protection of Rights  
under Widodo Belied



## INTRODUCTION

Seventeen years after the political reforms of 1998, and a year since Indonesia began operating under the administration of President Joko Widodo and Vice President Jusuf Kalla, the criminal justice system is still beset with deep problems. The police are abusive, indulging in the torture of citizens and the fabrication of charges, while the institution of the public prosecutor and the courts remain weak.

The current government has issued policy documents that promote human rights, such as Nawacita (vision and mission), the National Mid Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019, and the Presidential Decree No. 75 of 2015 on the National Action Plan on Human Rights (RANHAM) 2015-2019. In practice however, human rights protection remains remote for most citizens and institutionally fragile. Human rights protection has yet to become government policy, torture occurs widely, persecution against minority religion and belief remains unpunished, land grabbing on behalf of private corporations is rampant, and human rights defenders live under serious threat.

### Problems that persist under President Widodo's watch

Meanwhile, in Papua and West Papua provinces, promised conflict resolution and peace talks never take place. Rather, the government tends to prioritize economic development and invite international capital to invest in the provinces. A local human rights court and Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Papua have not been established, though mandated by Law No. 21 of 2001 on the Special Autonomy for Papua.

Although President Widodo began his presidential campaign in 2014 from Papua, conditions in the province remain unchanged; police and military brutality is prevalent with no perpetrators prosecuted despite efforts by national and international human rights groups for justice.

Indigenous Papuans are not only subject to violence by agents of the State. Systematic discrimination continues. Locals do not enjoy the fruits of development; malls and public markets are still dominated by migrants from other islands such as Java and Sulawesi.

Meanwhile, in the past year, the government has issued several controversial regulations that will restrict freedom of expression. For instance, the Chief of National Police has issued *suratedaran* (internal regulations) on hate speech. This governs prosecution against hate speech in the social media, in public speeches, and during public demonstrations. The Governor of Jakarta has also issued regulations that ban demonstrations in front of the Presidential Palace.

## POLICE

### Torture

In the last year, torture has remained a serious problem. Perpetrators are enjoying impunity because national law has yet to offer regulations for the prosecution against torture. And, the underlying fact of the criminal justice system remaining weak has created conditions for perpetuity of the practice.



*Mr. Sudirman burned alive by Brigadier Sony Saputra (AHRC File Photo)*

In the last five years, police officers have become dominant perpetrators of torture and other types of human rights violations. Torture has occurred in various forms; in some instances, victims have been tortured to death by the police. For example, Brigadier Sony Saputra, a police officer of the Polres Karimun (Karimun Police Resort), burned alive Mr. Sudirman, a drug dealer, for failing to provide drugs and money.

The Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) has sent an urgent letter to the police and to other local authorities to investigate the case. The AHRC has called for the police to charge the perpetrator with premeditated murder, under Article 340 of the KUHP, with maximum punishment of life imprisonment. So far, amongst the alleged perpetrators, only Brigadier Sony has been brought to court. Meanwhile, Sony's two friends, who are known to have accompanied him in the murder, have yet to be prosecuted.

Police officers continue to use torture to obtain confessions. This is what happened in the torture that resulted in the death of Mr. Abdullah, who was beaten and slashed, as he refused to confess to having stolen a motorcycle and laptop. The police have also tortured the under-aged, as in the case of Fiki Arfindo (13), who was arbitrarily arrested, detained, and tortured by police officers of Polsek Widang (Widang Police Sector), Tuban Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia.

The ongoing acts of torture occur because of the government's political unwillingness to prevent and punish such acts. The situation is bleak due to the following factors: firstly the security forces repeatedly fall back on the practice of torture in all levels of legal proceedings; secondly, the lack of accountability for perpetrators of torture and other cruel and inhuman treatment; thirdly, the lack of opportunity for rehabilitation for victims of torture and other cruel and inhuman treatment and their families; fourthly, the limited space to demand accountability as a result of a lack of national regulation pertaining to the matter, a lack of access to decent legal aid, and its immediate availability.

Last year, there were 35 recorded acts of torture and other inhumane treatments by penitentiary officers, while the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) personnel were involved in nine cases of torture and ill-treatment. The local government in Aceh performed as many as 25 canings. While the number of deaths due to torture in 2015 stands at 16 people, 262 people were injured and seven others were affected by violations such as sexual harassment, intimidation, and various other forms of human rights violations.

One of the torture cases advocated by the AHRC through its urgent appeal mechanism is that of the custodial torture and death Mr. Aslim Zalim in Bau-Bau Regency, South Sulawesi Province, on 29 October 2013. On February 2015, two years after the death of Mr. Zalim, finally, the Bau-Bau district court sentenced Police Adjunct Senior Commissioner (AKBP) Joko Krisdianto, former Chief of Polres Bau Bau (Bau Bau Police Report), to six months in prison. Although it is a light punishment, since the court sentenced AKBP Joko Krisdianto, he is now no longer the Bau-Bau Chief of Police.

### **Fabricated cases**

Since President Widodo assumed power, at least 51 people have been victims of fabricated cases; these persons have been charged with criminal defamation due to their effort and activities fighting against corruption. The fabrication of charges against these persons took place after President Widodo cancelled the candidacy of Commissaries General Budi Gunawan, promoting another candidate, namely Commissaries General Baddroin Haiti (currently a General), to be the Chief of National Police.

Three out of the 51 criminal charges are those against Chairperson of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), Mr. Abraham Samad, Commissioner of KPK, Mr. Bambang Widjajanto, and senior investigator of KPK, Novel Baswedan. Other charges have been brought against the Commissioner of Judicial Commission (KY) and anti-corruption activists.

### **No freedom for religion and belief**



*Public campaign on freedom of religion and belief (AHRC File Photo)*

This report also notes the role of the police in dealing with the protection of the right to freedom of religion and belief. In some cases, the police have not shown seriousness in protecting minority religions and beliefs. The police have tended to neglect threats and attacks conducted by intolerant groups.

Table No. 1

No.	Authority	Type of Regulations	Date
1	Governor of West Java	West Java Governor Regulation No. 12 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of the Ahmadiyya Community activities	4 March 2011
2	Lebak Regent	Lebak Regent Regulation No. 11 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	8 March 2011
3	Depok Mayor	Depok Mayor Regulation No. 9 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	9 March 2011
4	Serang Regent	Serang Regent Regulation No. 8 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	10 March 2011
5	Pontianak Mayor	Pontianak Mayor Regulation No. 17 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	11 March 2011
6	South Konawe Regent	South Konawe Regent Regulation No. 1 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	17 March 2011
7	West Sumatera Governor	West Sumatera Governor Regulation No. 17 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	25 March 2011
8	Bekasi Mayor	Bekasi Mayor Regulation No. 40 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	13 October 2011
9	South Sulawesi Governor	South Sulawesi Governor Regulation No. 12 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	4 March 2011
10	Banten Governor	Banten Governor Regulation No. 5 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	3 March 2011
11	East Java Governor	East Java Governor Regulation No. 188/94/KPTS/013/2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	28 February 2011
12	Samarinda Mayor	Samarinda Mayor Regulation No. 200/160/ BKPPM.1.11.2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	25 February 2011
13	Pandeglang Regent	Pandeglang Regent Regulation No. 5 of 2011 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	21 February 2011
14	South Sumatera Governor	South Sumatera Governor Regulation No. 583/KPTS/BAN concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	1 September 2008
15	Kuningan Regent	Joint Decree [SKB] concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	2005
16	Sintang Regent	Joint Decree [SKB] concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	18 February 2005
17	Garut Regent	Joint Decree No 450/ Kep. 255-PEM/2005 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	9 August 2005
18	Cianjur Mayor	Joint Decree No. 21 of 2005 concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	17 October 2005

19	Cimahi Mayor	Cimahi Mayor Regulation concerning Prohibition of all forms of Ahmadiyya Community activities	6 May 2008
20	West Nusa Tenggara Province	Decision letter of Minister of Religion concerning prohibition of thirteen beliefs of the Ahmadiyya Community	October 2005
21	Sukabumi Regent	Joint decree No. 143/2006 concerning place of Ahmadiyya worship	20 March 2006

For instance, when the Evangelical Church of Indonesia (known as GIDI) conducted a protest against Muslims in Tolikara, GIDI objected to the use of loudspeakers by Muslims when they celebrate Idul Fitri. At the same time, GIDI was supposed to organize an international youth seminar and revival service (KKR).

Although previously GIDI has sent notification to the Tolikara Police Sector, the police did not make adequate effort to find a solution. And, when there was a protest organized by GIDI, in a brutal and excessive show of force, the police suddenly shot at the protesters, killing one elementary school child and injuring 11 adults. Another example is that of Tebet, Jakarta, where an Ahmadiyya group was threatened and prevented from holding Friday prayers. Recently, the police also failed to prevent and protect churches in Aceh Province, when an intolerant mob numbering in the hundreds sealed 19 churches and places of worship.

The failure of the police is also on display in the older case of violence against Ahmadiyya Transito and Shia Sampang groups. Members of these groups were attacked and evicted from their houses without any prevention and protection from the police. Their plight continues to be ignored and the government for years has neglected them. Since 2011, members of the Shia Sampang religious group have been living in temporary shelters, while the Ahmadiyya Transito members have been living in the building belonging to ex-migrants since 2006, with no permanent solution to their plight in sight.

### **Extrajudicial killings**

The AHRC has documented and reported cases of extrajudicial and summary killings, wherein the police have undertaken no proper investigation and prosecution. The brutal shooting of two indigenous Papuan high school students in Petra, Timika, Papua Province, Indonesia, is case in point. Another example is the shooting and brutal attack of 10 indigenous Papuan youth by police officers of Tigi Police Sector, Deiyai Regency, Papua Province. The attack resulted in the death of Yoteni Agapa (19).

As of yet, the police have undertaken no investigation, despite pressure by many human rights groups, including the AHRC. The cases remain in cold storage; families of victims have been denied justice and the government has provided no remedy.

### **Hiding behind controversial policy**

Poor performance of the police cannot be separated from the existence of controversial regulations. There are a number of laws, regulations, and policies that are counterproductive and opposed to universal human rights principles. These include President Decree No. 1/PNPS/1965 on Blasphemy Law, Law No. 23 of 2006 on Population Administration, the Joint Decree of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Attorney General Office, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs 2008 Decree (KEP-033/A/JA/6/2008-199) regarding the bans on the Ahmadiyya, and a number of discriminatory local regulations against Ahmadiyya activities in several regions.

Very recently, the Chief of National Police (Kapolri), General Police Badrodin Haiti, issued an internal regulation on hate speech. It regulates prohibition and punishment against hate speech in the public area, social media, and other public media. The AHRC notes that this regulation has the potential to be used as a “rubber article”, and can be used to restrict freedom of expression and opinion. Moreover, in November 2015, Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), also issued a regulation that restricts freedom of opinion in public spaces; it also prohibits public protests in front of the presidential palace.

### **Human rights defenders in land rights sector**

There are trends of violence, intimidation, and inhumane treatment by the security apparatus, hired by the private sector and by the State in the area of land rights. One such case is the murder of Jopi Teguh Lesmana Perangin-angin, an activist for the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN). His murder was committed by Indonesian Navy personnel.

In September 2015, human rights defenders Salim and Tosan were murdered for resisting the sand mining operation that damaged the environment and agriculture in Selok Awar-Awar Village, Pasirian, Lumajang District, East Java Province.



Field examination after murder of Jopi (AHRC file photo)

President Widodo has continued to persist with the Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development (MP3EI), which is a policy inherited from the previous President. Land and natural resources disputes are an inevitable outcome of this, despite the establishment of the Agrarian and Spatial Planning Ministry under Widodo. The government has not yet created an accountable mechanism for conflict resolution in the mining and agrarian sectors; at least 15 serious cases of conflict have been monitored in these sectors, attracting attention of the public and the national media.

## PROSECUTION

### No effective oversight

Despite law reforms having been effected by the government since political reform in 1998, the Attorney General's Office is beset with problems. Under National Law No. 16 of 2004, on the Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia, the Prosecutor does not have an effective mechanism for oversight. Though there is some internal oversight, the process is still far from effective, and the Office is not open and accessible for the public and justice seekers.

Under ex-President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration, the government established internal oversight as well as the Komisi Kejaksaan (Prosecutor Commission). The Presidential Decree No. 18 of 2011, on the Prosecutor Commission of Republic of Indonesia, regulates this Commission. But, the Commission does not have appropriate authority to execute its own recommendations; it can only submit its recommendations to the Attorney General's Office itself for execution. So, if there is abuse of power or violation of rules by the Prosecutor, and the Prosecutor is expected to implement the recommendations, it amounts to ineffective oversight. Therefore, despite recent changes, the internal accountability mechanism of the Attorney General's Office remains a problem, and lacks transparency.

### No investigation for gross human rights violations

Since 2003, the Komnas HAM (National Commission on Human Rights) has submitted, in total, seven investigation reports of gross violations of human rights to the Attorney General. The seven cases consist of student shootings in Trisakti and Semanggi (1998-1999), mysterious shootings (1981-1983), Talangsari massacre (1989), brutal shooting in Wasior and Wamena Papua (2001-2003), 1965-1966 massacre, enforced disappearances of student activists (1997 -1998), and the May riot tragedy (13-15 May 1998).

Komnas HAM has concluded that the seven cases fall within the standard and definition of crimes against humanity. But, up until now, the Attorney General has refused to conduct investigations as mandated by Law No. 26 of 2000 on Human Rights Court. So far, the Attorney General's Office has returned the reports to Komnas HAM six times. The Attorney General has requested that Komnas HAM revise and collect more data, while Komnas HAM argues that based upon Law No. 26, the Attorney General should conduct investigations to strengthen the findings of Komnas HAM before the Human Rights Court.



*Black Thursday demonstration against impunity (AHRC File Photo)*

Prior to his election, President Widodo had made a number of political promises (Nawacita), to prioritize the investigation and reconciliation of past gross human rights violations. Despite this, during the course of his first year in office, there have been no concrete steps and no seriousness displayed by his government in actually addressing these seven cases.



### **Controversial reconciliations**

Attorney General H. M. Suprpto made a very controversial effort to promote reconciliation for past human rights abuses. The reconciliation team would consist of representatives of the Indonesian Military (TNI), National Intelligence Agency (BIN), Police (POLRI), and the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM). The Attorney General's effort has triggered massive protests, organized by national and local human rights organizations, victims, and various human rights defenders. The protesters have stated that the AG's effort to initiate a reconciliation commission is in violation of its mandate and function, i.e. to investigate and prosecute gross violations of human rights. As a result, the Attorney General has changed tack and promoted another idea to solve past abuses, namely a commission on truth seeking.

### **Reluctant to adopt legal aid mechanisms**

Since the Parliament issued national Law No. 16 of 2011 on Legal Aid, both the police and the Attorney General have been reluctant to implement the law internally to address problems of unfair trial. Prior to this law, justice seekers or accused persons charged with criminal offenses having punishment of less than five years in prison have not been entitled to legal aid under Article 56 of the Indonesian Penal Code. The Law on Legal Aid that the police and Attorney General are reluctant to implement regulates poor people's right to legal aid at every stage of the judicial process.

### **Inadequate prosecution for causing forest fire**

The 2015 conflagration and ensuing haze that have blanketed parts of Sumatra and Borneo Island have disturbed residents for months. The haze has also crossed the national border and disturbed the citizens of Malaysia and Singapore. The haze in 2015 is said to be the world's worst haze in the last 18 years. According to data from the Health Ministry, the number of acute respiratory system infection (ISPA) patients from June to October in Riau Islands is 45,668; in Jambi the figure is 69,734; South Sumatra, 83,276; West Kalimantan, 43,477; South Kalimantan, 29,104; and 29,104 in South Kalimantan. There are some big companies involved in the burning of forests and peat lands. On Central Kalimantan there are three Sinar Mas Group subsidiary companies producing palm oil, and 14 subsidiaries of Wilmar Group, which is Asia's leading agribusiness group. In Riau province there are six subsidiary companies of Asia Pulp and Paper (APP) Company Limited; APP's products consist of bleached hardwood paper pulp and a full range of paper, tissue, packaging, and stationery products from commodity-grade base paper, tissue and industrial paper.

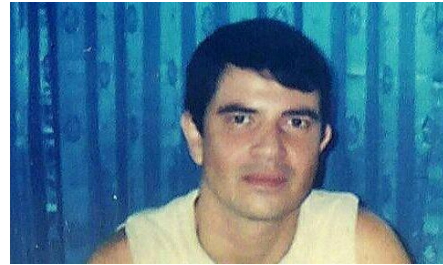
## **JUDICIARY**

### **Death penalty**

Recently, the government has carried out two batches of executions of 14 death row inmates, in January and May 2015. These inmates were 12 foreign citizens and two Indonesians. The death penalty practice is used by the government in the name of law enforcement. However, the national trend on death penalty is interrelated with the lack of accountability in the law enforcement mechanism.

The death penalty sentence is used as the primary legal sanction in cases of murder, terrorism, and drug crimes.

In December 2014, the President refused to grant 64 clemencies for cases involving illegal drugs. The President has made his argument on the basis of National Narcotics Agency (BNN) data, which shows that 4.5 million people in Indonesia are in rehabilitation, while 40 to 50 people die daily because of illegal drug addiction and abuse. However, the data is questionable; the methodology used by BNN is ambiguous and the agency has produced unreliable data.



*Mr. Rodrigo Gularte, one of the death row inmates from Brazil (AHRC File Photo)*

The death penalty sentence is even given to underage children. Yusman Telaumbanua is a dreadful example of the criminalization and unfair legal process in Indonesia. At the time of his alleged crime and during investigation, Yusman possessed limited knowledge of the Indonesian language, both in terms of speaking and reading. He was tortured in a prison cell so that he would agree to a false age. Yusman was 16 years old when the investigation process was carried out in 2013, but he was forced to confess that he was 19 years old.

### **Lack of accountability in military courts**

Under current President Joko Widodo, the Military Court in Indonesia is still used to try military personnel who have committed violations or abuse of power. Under Law No. 31 of 1997, on the Military Court, many cases have been tried and have resulted in light sentences.

For instance, the AHRC has documented and reported the case of the enforced disappearance of Mr. Dedek Khairuddin (30). Dedek was forcibly abducted from his home by seven soldiers, and has not been seen since. Six perpetrators from the Indonesian Navy have been convicted with light punishment, and one soldier of the Indonesian Army has been released, without clear and transparent reason.

#### **The six navy officers punished are:**

- Mr. Muliadi Wintoro, Sergeant 1st Class of Marine: 1 year, 3 months
- Mr. Hari Subandi, Lance Corporal: 1 year, 2 months
- Mr. Didik Utomo, Private in charge of Marine: 1 year, 3 months,
- Mr. Wahyu Cahyono, Private in charge of Marine: 1 year, 4 months
- Mr. Karso, Private in charge of Marine: 1 year, 2 months
- Mr. Bambang Trinugroho, Marine Captain: 1 year, 5 months

Perpetrators in other cases remain unpunished. This is so in the case of the vicious attack and land grabbing conducted by the Army in Urut Sewu, Kebumen Regency, Central Java Province. Without proper documents, the Army claimed the customary land occupied by local residents. As a result, many local residents were seriously injured. So far, there has been no investigation or prosecution undertaken by the military police.

In East Java Province, the Army sealed off 37 houses in Gunung Sari, South Surabaya City, East Java Province. The Army intimidated local residents and forced many of them to leave their houses. This stopped after the AHRC's urgent appeal on the case on 24 July 2015.

In the last five years, the effort to revise Law No. 31 of 1997 has been going on in the Parliament. In general, the debaters can be categorized into two groups. The first group argues that military personnel who committed crimes against civilians or public should be tried under civilian court. Meanwhile, the second group argues that whatever crimes military personnel have committed, both within the military institution or in public space, should be tried under military court, and the investigator should come from the military police.

**Weakening Anti-Corruption Court**

In October 2015, some political parties led by the ruling party, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), promoted a new bill on the revision of Law No. 30 of 2002, on the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

The new bill has triggered public anger. Many anti-corruption activists and human rights activists organized public campaigns and demonstrations to stop the plan for a revision of the Law on the Corruption Eradication Commission. The anti-corruption groups argue that the effort to revise the law has been done by design, because in recent times, many government officials, local government authorities, and parliamentarians have been named, tried, and sentenced due to their involvement in graft cases. Furthermore, there was a conflict between KPK and police when the KPK named Commissaries General (Komjen Pol) Budi Gunawan as a suspect in a case of graft.

The PDIP and other political parties are therefore trying to revise the law and insert some controversial provisions.

**Table 2**

<b>The New Bill</b>	<b>Law No. 30 of 2002 on the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).</b>
The KPK will be closed after twelve years, and its mandate and function will be integrated into the police and Attorney General’s Office.	No Limitation time
The KPK cannot handle corruption cases below IDR 50 Billion (Rupiah), only those cases above IDR 500 Billion.	No Limitation of money
The KPK cannot prosecute, only investigate	The KPK can investigate and prosecute

**PRISONS**

**No legal aid available**

The reluctance of the police and Attorney General’s Office in implementing provisions of the national Law No. 16 of 2011 on Legal Aid is on display in another Indonesian institution as well. Despite the law, legal aid is not available in prisons. Convicted persons face difficulties when they need a lawyer; in particular, those sentenced to less than five years in prison have

difficulties, because the Indonesian Penal Code only provides legal aid assistance for suspects or accused persons charged with criminal offenses involving punishment of more than five years in prison or capital punishment.

For instance, the AHRC has documented and reported the situation of political prisoners detained in some prisons in Papua Province. When President Joko Widodo released five Papuan political prisoners, they were found to be suffering from serious health problems, and no significant effort has been undertaken by the government to advocate this matter. In the last one year, the AHRC, along with its local partner, documented 15 torture cases conducted by prison guards.

### Crowded prisons



*Crowded prison in Papua Province  
(KontraS Papua)*

In general, the picture in Indonesia is one of overcrowded prisons without sufficient capacity, and according to data of the Ditjen Pas (Directory General of Prison and Detention), the prison population has ballooned up to 320% of capacity. This report notes that overcrowding is caused by the policy of the government itself. Currently, the government has issued a new policy to prosecute 433 new criminal offenses, which are not regulated by the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP), and mostly related to drugs. Based upon the data released by the Ditjen Pas along with Asia Foundation, the number of prisoners in Indonesia has increased from 71,500 to 144,000 between the years 2004 and 2011.

Another serious problem is that of the total prisoners (around 170,000), as many as 34% are in pre-detention. Under the Indonesian Law of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP), the police can detain accused persons for 120 days (Article 29, KUHAP) if the accused is charged with sections involving more than nine years imprisonment, and 60 days for charges with punishment of less than nine years imprisonment.

This retrogressive pre-trial detention has itself been adding to the problem of overcrowding.

## CONCLUSION

Considering the facts and data on human rights in Indonesia, this report concludes the following:

Firstly, there is a serious gap between the promotion of human rights and protection of human rights in Indonesia. Although the government has produced many documents and policies, which appear to promote and protect human rights, various human rights violations recur with impunity, and people remain unprotected without justice or remedy.

Secondly, the government has yet to show any seriousness in reforming laws not in line with human rights instruments and principles. Many controversial rules have been triggering fragile law enforcement and lack of accountability.

Thirdly, the criminal justice system remains weak, although political reform since dictatorship has entered its 17th year. The government has undertaken no genuine reform and on the ground, there is no justice for citizens.