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BETWEEN *HINDU INDONESIA* AND THE *HARE KRISHNA* MOVEMENT: A MINORITY PROBLEM

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Abstract
The conflict between *Hindu Indonesia* or Indonesian Hinduism and *Hare Krishna* movements in Indonesia is between two religious groups that are not solely about theological differences but also political. Under Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI), Indonesian Hinduism gained recognition from the state after making several adjustments and changes. The entanglement of Indonesian Hinduism and Balinese cultures was knitted during the struggle for recognition. It led to a fixed, specific identity and character of Indonesian Hinduism. The case of a series of rejections toward the Hare Krishna movement sparked in the Hindu members who escalated with *Desa Adat* involvement and reached a deadlock with the statements of PHDI. This paper investigates the issues between Indonesian Hinduism and the Hare Krishna Movements through a literature review. It aims to answer questions about how the conflict between Indonesian Hinduism and the Hare Krishna movements presents the complexities of the socio-cultural politics of governing religion in Indonesia. Finally, it argues that the conflict between Indonesian Hinduism and the Hare Krishna movement reflects the effects of governing religious differences in Indonesia.

Keywords: conflict, governing religion, Hare Krishna movement, Indonesian Hinduism, religious differences

Introduction
In 2020, Indonesia was shaken by the demonstration of Hindus in Bali toward the Hare Krishna movement (Dae, 2020). The Hare Krishna movement is one of the Hinduism sects originally from India and arose in the 16th century. The existence of Hare Krishna was recently found in the twentieth century (1965) through the establishment of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in New York. The Hare Krishna movement arrived in Indonesia in the 1980s, and its influence was getting bigger and bigger. Demonstrations against the Hare Krishna movement primarily aimed to oppose their presence in Bali, as it was perceived as a threat to Hinduism. Today, the Ministry of Religions helped to accommodate the consolidation between Hare Krishna and Indonesian Hinduism, but a solution has not been found yet. This issue is an example of a minority problem in the politics of religious difference.

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Hinduism in Indonesia has already existed for many centuries, and in those periods, Hinduism collaborated with local culture while influencing and being influenced by society. Hinduism in Indonesia today, specifically in Bali, has undergone a long process of interaction with culture and resulted in the deep entanglement of Balinese culture and Hinduism. Therefore, the term Indonesian Hinduism is being used to express and underline the entanglement, as it involves the whole organization. The terms also point out that Hinduism in Indonesia is different from Hinduism in other countries while uniquely belonging to Indonesian people, although to a certain extent, it represents the entanglement of Hinduism and Balinese. That term is different from Hindu Dharma, which the researcher uses to refer solely to the Hindu teaching in Indonesia. By emphasizing the distinctiveness of Balinese Hinduism within Indonesia, it acknowledged and respected the long history of Hinduism in Indonesia since the Empire era. Meanwhile, the religious status of Hinduism in Indonesia was challenged by a monotheistic definition of religion, which resulted in adjustments and negotiations. After several adjustments, the recognition of Balinese Hinduism led to the exclusion of other forms of Hinduism, including the Hare Krishna movement. The existence of the Hare Krishna movement in Bali is both developing and threatening the integrity of Indonesian Hinduism, along with the long history of Hinduism there. Large-scale repudiation waves occurred as a result of the forced closure of the Hare Krishna Ashram in Bali.

From a theological perspective, the Hare Krishna movement teaches that Krishna is the Godhead, and that's why they suggested a more monotheistic Hindu perspective. On the other hand, Hinduism in Indonesia has a different theological perspective. Apparently, the internal conflict of Hinduism cannot be solved solely through theological dialogue since there were acts of rejection that involved violence and force. However, the Indonesian government only facilitates conflict resolution through dialogue, which may not be sufficient given that the rejection originates from both grassroots movements and the institution of the United Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI). The rejection reflects Indonesian Hinduism’s perspective about what kind of Hinduism in Indonesia should exist. The conflict between Indonesian Hinduism and the Hare Krishna movement was not merely a theological quarrel but held the complexities of sociocultural politics in Indonesia's history of Hinduism and governing religion.

In analyzing the Indonesian Hinduism situation, The researcher recalled the concepts from Elizabeth Shakman Hurd (2015a, 2015b) that already warned us about the problem when religion becomes a political matter; it helps to understand the complexities of conflict between Hare Krishna and Indonesian Hinduism. She analyzed the minority problem by making distinctions about religion, namely governed religion, expert religion, and lived religion. Each distinction underlined specific characters and problems but at the same time entangled them with each other. Governed religion refers to the interpretation of religion as defined by the state authorities. Expert religion emphasizes the religion as described by the religious expert. Lived religion emphasizes how the religion is lived, practiced, and believed by the people. While earlier studies examined the complex relationship between Hinduism and Balinese culture—specifically, the opposition of Bali's Hindu Traditionalists and Hindu Orthodox to the Hare Krishna movement—this

new focus on religious governance differs from that prior work (Kuckreja, 2022; Ulum & Firdausi, 2021).

Attorney General Decision No. 107/JA/5/1984 forbids any written text about Hare Krishna's teaching published in society. That decree is used to justify the act of rejection toward Hare Krishna. A proposal was made to dismiss the Hare Krishna movement. However, according to the National Commission on Human Rights, the Hare Krishna movement legally exists in Indonesia and the Bali governor needs to protect the existence and rights of the Hare Krishna movement in Bali (Doktrinaya, 2021). It is necessary to protect the existence of the Hare Krishna movement from a human rights perspective, but it is also necessary to protect the long history of Hinduism in Indonesia. Therefore, this article seeks to answer the following questions about the interplay between the Hare Krishna movement and Indonesian Hinduism (as a governed, expert, and lived religion): how does the conflict between Indonesian Hinduism and the Hare Krishna movement present the complexity of the socio-cultural politics of governing religion in Indonesia? In what ways did the rejection of the Hare Krishna movement extend beyond theological concerns? The intricacies of Indonesia's sociocultural politics governing religious differences are encapsulated in the conflict between Hindu Indonesia and the Hare Krishna movement.

Method

This paper is a literature study about Hare Krishna and Hinduism in Indonesia by considering the Hindu institution (PHDI), Hindu adherents, and Hindus in Bali localized context. The data collection consisted of documents that were limited to the case of conflicts between Hindu Bali and Hare Krishna movements. The evidence was used in aiming in-depth and contextual study of the case (Yin, 2018). The documents used included previous studies, research on the matter, and news reports. The previous studies encompassed the explanation of each variable, Hindu Indonesia and Hare Krishna movements. Then, the research included the relations between Hindu Indonesia and Hare Krishna movements. Lastly, the news reports focused on the conflict between Hindu Indonesia and Hare Krishna movements that arose in 2019-2022.

Furthermore, the researcher used a logic model that consisted of tracing the actual events during 2019-2022 while giving attention to the chronological sequence. The analysis departed from Elizabeth Shakman Hurd's perspective on 3 aspects of religion (govern, lived, expert) which opened the possibility of including decree and law as the data. Meanwhile, the analysis used content analysis for the news report.

Findings and Discussion

The Struggle of Balinese Hindu

In 1952, the Ministry of Religion mandated the requirements to be an acknowledged and recognized religion in Indonesia, notwithstanding the 1945 Constitution's assurance of freedom for Indonesian individuals to practice and proclaim their faith. The requirement came from the Islamic view that religions have one god, written laws, a sacred text, and a prophet. These religions are recognized around the world and are not limited to one ethnic group (Picard, 2004). Since Balinese Hinduism had not yet been established, they were considered

atheists. Despite the fact that Balinese Hinduism had already been promoted by 1920, it was classified as *kepercayaan* (mere beliefs) as it had not yet attained the status of a religion. The term *Agama Bali* (Balinese Religion) was problematic because people were converting to *Islam Bali* (Balinese Islam) or *Kristen Bali* (Balinese Christianity), necessitating the use of *Agama Hindu Bali* (Balinese Hinduism Religion) for distinction. For years, they pressed the Ministry of Religion to give them recognition until it came with the help of Soekarno, whose mother was Balinese. It was recognized as Hinduism in 1965 (Picard, 2004, 2011). The recognition could be attained because they matched the requirements while following the steps of Islam and Christianity.

Parisadha Dharma Hindu Bali (PDHB) was established in 1959 in Denpasar, where members were representatives and coordinators of all religious activities of the Balinese Hindu community. PDHB members were intellectuals of Western and Indian education; later, they published the theological canon of Hindu Catechism, which marked the shifting of ritual to text. Since they got support from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to universalize the theology, the ethnicity idea was drowned out in Balinese Hinduism and PDHB changed into Parisadha Hindu Dharma (PHD) (Picard, 2004, 2011).

Despite the widespread practice of Hinduism among Balinese people, many converted after the tragic events of 1965 so they might avoid being stigmatized as atheists and persecuted. Javanese Hinduism, whose members were converted, interacted with Balinese Hinduism, causing concern among the Balinese due to external influences threatening to gain control over their established religion (Picard, 2004, 2011). Therefore, the Parisadha Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) was established to accommodate and control all the Hindus in Indonesia, whether it is administrative or theological. In 1986, it was the first time that the executive board of PHDI was non-Balinese. In 2001, the result of Parisadha VIII was that Parisadha would not only give instructions and guidelines but actively lead the Hindus against any threat. In 2007, the term *Hindu Bali* or Balinese Hindu was used to emphasize the entanglement with the Indonesian tradition (Picard, 2004, 2011), although it later became Hindu Dharma along with PHDI. Under PHDI, the governing of Hinduism occurs under the umbrella of state officials and recognized religions. While PHDI makes the matters of Hinduism always entangled with socio-cultural-political aspects in the shared history of Indonesia, Balinese to a certain extent hold accountable influences in the establishment of Hinduism in Indonesia today. This shows PHDI's pivotal role in the history of the struggle to recognize Hindus as a religion. The *Ajeg Bali* (stands for Bali) movement emphasizes the entanglement between Balinese culture-tradition and Hinduism.

The *Ajeg Bali* movement emphasizes the protection of Balinese culture and tradition. Satria Narada, the owner of Bali Post Media, initiated the *Ajeg Bali* movement. *Ajeg Bali* means “stand strong for Bali.” The surge in tourism and Muslim migration from Java has led to significant changes in Bali, particularly in terms of plurality. Balinese felt threatened by the growing strength of the Islamic movement in Java, which was a result of the national revolution. The *Ajeg Bali* movements attempt to protect their identity, culture, and tradition. Balinese sought the restoration of independent sovereignty. *Ajeg Bali* brings out the idea of territorialism as their identity amid the anxiety of Javanese hegemony and Muslims

in the first area since the Bali economy is also dependent on tourists (Esposito et al., 2018).

PHDI Hinduism: Theological Perspective

According to *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga* (no: II/TAP/Mahasabha XII/2021), Hindu beliefs on *Panca Sradha* include three basic frameworks: *Tattwa* (Philosophy), *Susila* (Ethics), and *Acara* (Ritual). Their scripture is *Catur Veda Sruti* and *Smrti*, while Veda's teaching is poured in *Susastra* (*Nibanda*) as literature from Indonesia. Tradition is integrated with society and controls communal behavior. Those are *Sampadraya* of Hinduism in Indonesia, which emphasize the entanglement with tradition and the results of generalized religion categorization in Indonesia. The canonization, universalization, standardization, and scripturalization by PHDI were first published in 1967 (Picard, 2011).

Panca Sradha consists of five basic belief principles: *Brahman*, *Atman*, *Karmaphala*, *Punarbhawa*, and *Moksa*. *Brahman*, also known as *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, is a belief system in which the supreme deity *Trimurti* stands as the pinnacle deity, and all other deities originate from him. This concept led to the recognition of Hinduism as a religion in Indonesia (Santika, 2017). *Atman* is the self-existent aspect of *Brahman* that is present in every living creature, also known as *Brahman Paratmatman* (Hartaka & Diantary, 2020). *Karmaphala* is the human action that destined the reincarnation since the self will never die; *karma* is attached to the self. *Punarbhawa* is the reincarnation process that will never stop until one reaches enlightenment and is released from *karma*, which is also known as *Moksa*. It is the last destination when self-being gains freedom from the reincarnation cycle: birth, death, and suffering (Hartaka & Diantary, 2020).

The three fundamental frameworks (*Tattwa*, *Susila*, and *Acara*) are essential to Indonesian Hinduism (Panyatman, 2019). *Tattwa* is related to the knowledge of the truth, which is also the core of Hinduism religious teaching (Watra, 2007). *Susila* comprises the word "*su*," which means good, and "*sila*," which means behavior; hence, *susila* arranges Hindu behavior in accordance with nature, living peacefully with nature and all living beings (Suhardana, 2006). *Susila* also touches the realm of truth since Hindu beliefs that divine sacrifice (*Yajna*) has been made for them (Santika, 2017). *Upacara* consists of "*upa*," which means close or getting close, and "*cara*," denoting harmony or balance; then *upacara* is performed as one part of bhakti (Santika, 2017).

The term "*Dresta*," meaning "long-lived tradition and culture," is the foundation upon which that religious concept rests. There are four Dresta (Sudibya, 2021): *Sastra Dresta*, *Loka Dresta*, *Kuna Dresta*, and *Desa Dresta*. In *Satra Dresta*, sacred texts including the Smrti, Bhagavad Gita, Upanishads, and Sruti form the basis of religious practice. *Loka Dresta* refers to the custom at a particular time, according to the leader. *Kuna Dresta* is an old tradition from many centuries before. *Desa Dresta* is the combination of three *Dresta* (*Sastra*, *Loka*, and *Kuna*) that was implemented in accordance with societal norms.

Hare Krishna Movements (ISKCON)

The Hare Krishna movement is named after the chants of *mahamantra* (great mantra) that the ISKCON followers chant on the streets. The chant consists of "Hare

Krishna, Hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna, Hare Hare, Hare Rama, Hare Rama, Rama Rama, Hare Hare," which is chanted repeatedly. The ISKCON movement is classified as Hindu mysticism. The repeated chants echo to bring transcendental consciousness. Since the chant affects people's spiritual selves, it is unnecessary to decipher their meaning; also, there is no prerequisite or limitation to chanting; therefore, anybody can do it (Beck, 2004).

ISKCON was founded by Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, or Srila Prabhupada, in New York in 1966 and belongs to the monotheistic tradition within the Vedic or Hindu tradition, *Gaudiya-Vaishnava sampradaya* (International Society for Krishna Consciousness, n.d.). Their members practice the *bhakti-yoga* at home and worship at the temples. In Indonesia, ISKCON temples are only present in five places: Medan, West Java, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Bali. ISKCON worshiped *Krishna* as the supreme manifestation of *Brahman*, the highest hierarchy of deities. *Krishna* is understood as an avatar and *adi-purusha devata*/the highest deity (Schweig, 2004).

Although ISKCON in Indonesia was legally present, its existence and activities are restricted. According to *Surat Keputusan Jaksa Agung Nomor 107/JA/5/1984*, ISKCON is prohibited from publishing or spreading his teaching in books. Even though ISKCON has existed since 1980, their presence later was rejected by Hindu Indonesia, which involved PHDI, Hindu adherents, and Hindus in Bali as represented by *Desa Adat* (Ulum & Firdausi, 2021).

Hindu Indonesia and Hare Krishna Movements

The conflict between Indonesian Hinduism and Hare Krishna occurred in three levels and aspects: the Hindu adherents, *Desa Adat* (as an authorized institution tasked with maintaining Bali's cultural integrity), and PHDI (as a legal and formal institution tasked with managing Hindu Dharma teaching and Hindu Indonesia representatives at the governmental level). While the difference in theological understanding is claimed to be the main reason for the conflicts, as expressed in the serial actions of rejection, it widens not to merely a theological problem but to a sociological, cultural, and political problem. The complexities of the conflict hold together in the shared history of Hindus in Indonesia. The conflict response by Hindu adherents through demonstration showed the sociological reality of the conflict. The decisive rejection from *Desa Adat* signifies the significance of cultural differences. Meanwhile, PHDI holds the authority and power recognized by the state, which has political implications. As the conflict escalates, formal and legal statements by PHDI have a central role in determining the government's position and response during the conflict.

The movement against the existence of Hare Krishna in Bali was sparked in 2020 when thousands of Hindu adherents did a demonstration. Dissimilarities with Indonesian Hinduism in the areas of theology, philosophy, *tattwa*, and ritual are the primary grounds for their rejection. In addition, the rejection was grounded in the fact that Hare Krishna's teaching was included in the sixth-grade elementary school curriculum. Some people were disturbed by the public practice of Hare Krishna rituals. The Hare Krishna movement in Bali was estimated at 3 percent of the Hindu population in Indonesia, with around a hundred thousand followers. Therefore, the Hindu people in Bali ask for the disbanding of Hare Krishna and the retraction of the sampradaya protection of Hare Krishna by PHDI (Dae, 2020). The movement

against Hare Krishna was sparked and started at the grassroots, not from the official/PHDI.

In July 2021, PHDI published its statement about ISCKON, stating that PHDI evoked the *sampradaya* of the Hare Krishna movement. *Sampradaya* is a religious doctrine related to a certain school of thought (Widana, 2021). In 2001, PHDI published a statement indicating that it would protect the *Sampradaya* of Hare Krishna as part of a mutual agreement. Despite PHDI's position as an official representative of Indonesian Hinduism, the cultural and theological considerations have led to a change in the organization's attitude toward ISCKON.

In theological aspects, the Hare Krishna movement that held on to the monotheism doctrine and supremacy of Krishna was against the theological doctrine agreed upon by PHDI that emphasized the *Brahman* that manifests into a deity with *Trimurti*, the highest deity. Before, in 2020, there was a protest against the publicity of the Hare Krishna movement in elementary teaching books. From the PHDI perspective, the teaching books need to contain Indonesian *sampradaya*, not outside Indonesia, such as Hare Krishna (Artaya, 2022). PHDI does not identify Hindu Dharma as a monotheistic religion. Instead, PHDI argues that Hindu Dharma meets the requirement from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which is monotheism, by emphasizing the existence of *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*/*Brahman*. The deities of Hindu Dharma are the manifestation of *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*. Therefore, PHDI does not impose monotheism on the manifestation of *Brahma*n. This approach is different from Hare Krishna, which emphasizes that *Krishna* is the supreme deity, the highest manifestation of *Brahman*. *Krishna* is considered by the followers of the Hare Krishna movement to be not just the avatar of *Vishnu*, as in the universal Hindu tradition, but also the supreme being and God. Related to *moksa*, Hare Krishna embraces the concept of *dvaita*, which means when someone dies, their *atman* would not unite with *Brahman* (Krishna). While Hindu Dharma embraced *advaita*, the *atman* would unite with *Brahman*.

In socio-cultural aspects, this movement was argued against and violated tradition. In addition to the PHDI, the Majelis Desa Adat (MDA) in Bali expressed their opposition to the Hare Krishna movement. They argued that the existence of the Hare Krishna movement threatened *Dresta* in Bali, which has been rooted in culture and traditions that have existed for centuries because its movement teaches a different form of culture and traditions (Porosbali.com, 2021). The Hare Krishna movement opposes using animal sacrifice in *mecaru*, the tradition of seeking *yadnya* (sacrifice) to god, even rejecting the symbolic depiction of animals through pictures. As a result, fewer individuals will participate in traditional rituals, and younger generations will likely tear down the *sanggah* (place of worship) (Ulum & Firdausi, 2021). When Ashram Krishna Balaram in Padang Galak was forcefully closed by *Desa Adat* on 18 April 2021 (Media Pers Indonesia, 2021), the rejection movements toward Hare Krishna were reaching the summit.

Reasons for the action were as follows: 1) The disciple was not affiliated with Kesiman; 2) the disciple was not officially recognized as a member of the *desa adat* Kesiman; and 3) there was a breach of the agreements 106/PHDI-Bali/XII/2020 and 07/SK/MDA-Prov Bali/XII/2020 about the education of sampradaya non-*dresta* in Bali. There is an *ashram* in Bali besides the Ashram Krishna Balaram that is being forcefully closed, such as Ashram Hare Krishna Radha Maha Candra in Buleleng. Forcibly closing the Hare Krishna's *ashram* was a move that the MDA

wholeheartedly supported because of the empowering link between *desa adat* and the government (Ulum & Firdausi, 2021). Last but not least, PHDI severed ties with the Hare Krishna *Sampradaya*, which effectively cut them off from Hindu Indonesia on all fronts.

Should Hare Krishna Leave?

One of the primary purposes of PHDI is to support, protect, and represent Indonesian Hinduism. From this perspective, Hare Krishna's movement stands out as an alien, making it difficult to get accepted. According to PHDI, there is only one type of Hindu in Indonesia, even if there are numerous Hindu sects worldwide. This perspective was the result of the Ministry of Religion, which set the requirements for religion. The Ministry of Religion changed Balinese Hinduism from a ritual religion into a text religion. Therefore, to unify Hindu Dharma in Indonesia, the Ministry of Religion authorized PHDI.

In the researcher's opinion, the conflict between Hindu Bali and Hare Krishna cannot be resolved only by a conference between Hare Krishna and Hindu Bali while the Ministry of Religion is present as moderator. Hare Krishna emerged subsequent to the PHDI's struggle for the recognition and universalization of Hindus in Indonesia. It is certain that, from the PHDI perspective, the Hare Krishna movement is defiant and threatens the position of the PHDI. Hindu Dharma, with its strong cultural sense and traditions, is often proud and tends to reject cultures and traditions that are outside its local norms. The position of Hindu Dharma also needs to be reconsidered since they already felt threatened for being a minority and disadvantaged by the national government. If the Ministry of Religious Affairs chooses to recognize the Hare Krishna movement, then PHDI needs to reconstruct Indonesia's Hinduism and destroy the characteristics of Hindu Dharma today. In summary, the problem and conflict of the Hare Krishna movement are the after-effects of politics governing religion and religious differences.

Hinduism in Indonesia is not only a matter of belief in religion; rather, it is institutionalized and governed by the state, encompassing sociological, cultural, and political dimensions. The dispute with Hare Krishna highlighted the complexities of governing religion in Indonesia. This fight and its repercussions illustrate the history of state attempts to govern the Hindus. As the struggle of Indonesian Hinduism involved a series of negotiations and adjustments, it resulted in emphasizing cultural entanglement between Balinese tradition and Hinduism, as interpreted through the Hindu Dharma perspectives and represented by PHDI. This specific definition of Hindu Dharma (Hindu Indonesia) logically excludes other Hindu doctrines, like Hare Krishna.

The Hare Krishna movement, as a minority sect within Indonesian Hinduism, encounters persecution and struggles to achieve recognition among Hindu Indonesians. This exclusion of Hare Krishna began during the New Order with the prohibition and restriction on spreading their teachings in published books. After decades, the rejection of Hare Krishna has escalated. PHDI did not declare its statements quickly; rather, it seems that PDHI did not have any choice except to fulfill the request from *desa adat* and Hindu adherents. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has limited authority in the matter since the formal and legal Indonesian Hinduism representative is PHDI. Hare Krishna members are considered members of different social groups, although they are Hindus. This situation is unprecedented

in Indonesia; *Ahmadiyya* and *Syiah* face rejection from the Muslim majority. These "defiant groups" were rejected because the state focused on governing religious differences rather than accommodating religious differences.

The conflict between Hare Krishna and Hindu Indonesia cannot be resolved merely by the elimination of Hare Krishna. The historical recognition of Hinduism in Indonesia has led to three distinct faces: governed Hindu, expert Hindu, and lived Hindu. These aspects have been universalized under PHDI and *desa adat* guidance, as requested by the state. Consequently, conflict resolution necessarily recognizes the intricacies of this dispute while tackling the intertwining social, cultural, and political dimensions of the problem of governing religious differences.

Conclusion

The Hindu Indonesia strategy in a struggle for recognition from the Ministry of Religion results in the universalization of theology and practice. The efforts to establish Hindu law in Indonesia resulted in a distinct understanding of Hinduism in Indonesia, with all three elements of Hinduism—the govern, the expert, and the lived—supporting one another and the Hindu Indonesian religion as a whole. The series of rejections against Hare Krishna primarily started from Hindu individuals and *desa adat*, which spread rapidly and compelled PHDI to make a decision, particularly given that PHDI has a double function and responsibility toward the state and Indonesian Hinduism people. The rejection was due to the challenge posed by Hare Krishna to the entanglement of Hinduism and culture. Therefore, this conflict is not merely about theological comprehension but also concerns the cultural identity of Indonesian Hindus, especially those in Bali. Given that the conflict between Hare Krishna and Indonesian Hinduism (particularly Bali) is the after-effect of a long history of governance in Indonesian Hinduism, the issue is more than simply one of identity; it is a governance problem as well.

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