

Bridging the Unbridgeable

Changing Paradigms in Malay-Indonesian Studies



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(Editor)

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MATINDAH

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**PITI -- INDONESIA CHINESE MOSLEM ASSOCIATION:
BEYOND STATE CORPORATISM¹⁾**

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Dian Azmawati³⁾

Abstract

This paper aims to review the politics of nation building and state building of Indonesia. The central thesis of this paper is that regime change matters in the existence of an interest group, namely PITI, Indonesia Chinese Muslim Association. This association has played a role in bridging the interest of government to control society in the New Order Era, while it also takes an active role to color a more participatory regime in the Reform Era. Data collecting is based on an in-depth interview and literature study.

Keywords: Indonesia, Chinese Muslim, interest group, corporatism, regime change

In the study of politics, the concept of nation-state is always associated with power, authority, and solidarity. States create ways to organize their interests in both nation and state buildings. Somehow, in many cases, the challenges faced by nation-states to combine power, authority, and solidarity have never been decreased.⁴⁾ By the flows of liberal-capitalism and non-state actors' power, many speculations on the existence of nation-state have been made. The most popular one is Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* and Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*.⁵⁾

Basically there are three responsibilities faced by all governments, which are nation building, state building, and economic development. The application of each dimension will affect the other. When nation building is realized, stability will be achieved. This situation will bring the chance for political and governmental

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4) Elisa P. Reis, 2004. The Lasting Marriage between Nation and State despite Globalization. *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*. Vol. 25, No. 3. The Nation-State and Globalization: Changing Roles and Functions. Les États nations et la globalisation: Roles et fonctions en mutation, pp. 251-257

5) Francis Fukuyama. *The End of History and the Last Man*. Free Press, 1992. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.

institutionalization and economic development. Unfortunately, mistakes in economic development quite often weakened the process of political and governmental institutionalization, and sequentially endangering the national integration as the goal of nation building.

Figure 1.

adapted from Mohtar Mas'ood, *Etnisitas dan Politik*, in Seminar Sinology Center, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. 2004

Considering the restless of Fukuyama and Huntington, this paper will review a phenomenon in Indonesia on how the state and society deal each other. Anti-Chinese violence has often coincided with regime changes in Indonesia.⁶⁾ However, this paper will show how Chinese-Muslim in Indonesia shares the limited space to be a wider one in rhythm with regime changes.

Indonesia and the Nature of Nation-State

As a matter of fact, the concept of nation-state was constructed by two different concepts, nation and state. Those words sometimes overlapped and develop in a dynamic structure.

Clifford Geertz in his book *Welt in Stuecken. Kultur und Politik am Ende des 20 Jahrhunderts* pointed out that nation is a group of people who share the same language, blood ties, history, and landmass, with a country as their territory. So, a state is a political arena where social interactions are formed, life chances and productive resources are distributed, while a nation is the political power inside the arena.⁷⁾ However we simply find that Geertz's definition was tend to a view a nation in a communal, cultural context.

On the other hand, Weber describes the complexities of nation & state in his statement, "One might well define the concept of nation in the following way: a nation is a community of sentiment which normally tends to produce a state of its own." It means, nation create state.⁸⁾ It is more accommodate Sir Ernst Renan's direction on nation as *l'est esprit de corps* to conclude the new nationality in the Westphalia system and beyond. By this definition, we can understand why people with the similar ethnicity or social values separate into different nationalities, such as Malays in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Southern Thailand.

6) Charles Coppel. *Indonesian Chinese in Crisis*. Kuala Lumpur: ASAA, Oxford University Press. 1983. Jamie A.C Mackie. *Anti-Chinese Outbreaks in Indonesia, 1959-68*. In Mackie, J.A.C. (Ed). *The Chinese In Indonesia: Five Essays*, 1976. pp.77-138. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, in association with the Australia Institute of International Affairs. Twang, Peck Yang. *The Chinese Business Elite in Indonesia and the Transition to Independence*. Singapore: Oxford University Press. 1998

7) As cited by F Budi Hardiman *Pengantar: Belajar dari Politik Multikulturalisme*. Will Kymlicka. *Kewargaan Multikultural*. Translated by Edlina F. Eddin, Jakarta: Pustaka LPJES. 2002 hal.vii

8) Max Weber. "The Nation," in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (Eds), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1946

With the flourish of globalization, in which elements of nation becomes highly plural, it is not surprising that Benedict Anderson defines nation as an imagined community.⁹⁾ Of course, we may presume that nation-state challenge is getting harder day by day. How does a modern nation-state conduct its heterogeneity?

Clifford Geertz proposed Indonesia as an example of unique and complex nation-state. He was impressed on how it so diverse and multi-ethnic, namely Java, Batak, Bugis, Aceh, Flores, Bali, etc., also as a multi-mental influence arena of India, China, Dutch, Portuguese, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam, Christianity, Capitalism, etc. Indonesia, he said, is a collective group of 'nations' with different size, meaning and characteristics which underwent a grand narrative historically, ideologically, religiously or the sort, tied to each other forming a shared economic and political structure.¹⁰⁾

Many riots caused by the ethnic and religion differences and separatism in some parts of Indonesia shows that Indonesia does not only face the poly-ethnicity but also multi-nationality. This fact has long existed. Many criticisms come, but the New Order regime muted and suppressed the flame.¹¹⁾ The euphoria of democracy post the New Order regime has brought a new challenge for the next regime to reform the meaning of "nationhood or nationality".

The Conflict Origin

The roots of conflicts can be found between the pendulum swings. According to Samuel P. Huntington, the roots of conflicts are purely cultural. This type of explanation does not suggest the role of economic and social policy, or the possibility of conflict prevention, unless the conflicting ethnics are separated.¹²⁾ Huntington sees that the clash of civilizations is the source of many conflicts in the world. Meanwhile Collier and Hoefler and the World Bank see it as the effect of individual's economic motives and greed.¹³⁾

Meanwhile, J.S. Furnivall also sees that conflicts occur because of the existence of different group/ethnic in a community. Instead of intermingling to one another, they are parted deeply in cultural sense. It is only the market that joins them. Market is the one and only place where those ethnics meet. Therefore, grouping of ethnicity often collide with the grouping of economy.¹⁴⁾

Leo Suryadinata looks at this matter differently. Up to a certain point, the

9) Benedict R. O'G. Anderson (1991). (Revised and extended. ed.) London: Verso. p. 224

10) Kymlicka, *Ibid*, p. viii

11) *Ibid*, p. xv

12) Harrison, Lawrence E. and Samuel P. Huntington. (Eds.), *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, New York, Basic Books, 2001

13) Huntington, *op cit*, Frances Stewart, "Sebab-sebab Dasar Sosial, Ekonomi dan Konflik Politik dengan Kekerasan". In Dewi Fortuna Anwar, et al (Eds). *Konflik Kekerasan Internal: Tinjauan Sejarah, Ekonom-Politik, dan Kebijakan di Asia Pasifik*. Jakarta: YOI, KITLV, MOST-LIPI, LAHEMA-CNRS. 2005. pp. 186-208

14) Leo Suryadinata, "Aksi Anti Cina di Asia Tenggara: Upaya Mencari Penyebab dan Penyelesaian." In *Ibid*, pp. 173-174, 182.

grouping of ethnicity goes along with the grouping of economy. His explanation is simple, that is the existence of Chinese as a group generally is still as middle class in their society. However, usually cultural, economic, and political factors cannot be seen separately in explaining about conflict.¹⁵⁾ Conflict will occur when cultural and economic differences are used as political instrument.

He is stressing on state as having the most potential role to begin a serious conflict between ethnics, especially anti-China unrests in South East Asia.¹⁶⁾ His research indicates that conflicts between the so called indigenous people with the Chinese in South East Asia most frequently happened in Indonesia. During colonialism, conflict occurred especially between the East Indie Dutch and Chinese, and rarely with the 'indigenous' people. For example, the Angke Tragedy (1740). The situation changed after the declaration of independence. Physical and mental pressure to the Chinese-Indonesian citizen had involved the mass and the state. The case of weapon distribution by the Dutch toward Bao An Dui security guard, for example, badly deteriorated the relation between Chinese-Indonesian and the Indonesian nationalist. Another appearance of this structural example happened in the modern Indonesia era, namely Government Regulation no. 10, 1959 (PP 10 tahun 1959) that drove massive banishment of Chinese from Indonesia, and May 1988 riots in Jakarta, Medan, and Solo, all showed the involvement of Indonesian military.¹⁷⁾

Wonoadi concludes that phenomenon of separatism and SARA (ethnic, religion, and race sentiment) in Indonesia is related to the practice of centralistic and elitist authority. Central means Java, specifically Jakarta, more specifically means civil bureaucracy and military business network with 'cukong' (Chinese businessman).¹⁸⁾ Cukong is considered as the main player in such business network. Even though they are not involved directly to any political party, but they have the ability to influence government policies.

That fact grows another problem. All Chinese-Indonesia citizens are considered fortunate citizens by getting advantages from the state development. Their status as being 'non-indigenous' (although many have been living in Indonesia for six generations or even more) and how they obtain their economic and social access are considered contradictory with the non-Chinese or the 'indigenous' people. The later feel to have privileges in economic and social access but less likely to obtain it. In the reform regime, the business network between civil bureaucracy, military, and Chinese businessman are still thought as exist. That is why, Chinese-Indonesia citizens, both rich and poor, must carry the burden of social sins, and considered to be responsible of all economic difficulties faced by other ethnics.¹⁹⁾

15) A comprehensive review may be read in Frances Stewart in *Ibid*, pp. 188-209.

16) Suryadinata in *Ibid*, pp. 182-183.

17) *Ibid*, pp. 175, 181-182.

18) Cukong is a Chinese businessman who get a special protection from the authoritative officials with the payment of commission. The business network between bureaucracy and business is responsible for the continuity of bribery, corruption, and collusion that lead a high-cost economy. Read more in R. William Liddle, *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics*, Sydney: ASAA in association with Allen & Unwin, 1996, pp. 24-25.

Various efforts to overcome the problems of Chinese-Indonesia in the direction of nation building have been done. Ideas came from the ethnic also, among others, forming a strong non-indigenous middle class, complete assimilation with 'indigenous' citizens, converted into Islam, reforming Indonesian economy, operating pro-poor socialist economy. Unfortunately, none of those suggestions are satisfied.²⁰⁾

Regime Change: Corporatism and Beyond

The effort to create integration needs political approach, which means, government policies and the operation of those policies in all aspects consistently. The moment came several times, but not all can be used effectively except with regime change.

Regime, as Lawson explains, "Embody or are an embodiment of particular norms and procedures."²¹⁾ Stephen D. Krasner also mention in the similar way about international regime, "It is a set of principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedure in which actors' expectation converge in a given area of international relations." If there are changes in the principles and norms, than the term regime change applies, if there is a change in rules and procedures it is more apt to speak about changes within regimes.

Regime change, according to Krasner, involves alteration of norms and principles. Meanwhile, weakening of a regime involves incoherence among the components of the regime or inconsistency between the regime and related behavior.²²⁾ Both external and internal forces can drive regime changes. In the situation that completely altered existing norms and principles, people may be forced to rethink their place and role in society.²³⁾

Indonesia's Old Order was full with the dynamic debate among its founding fathers. The spirit of anti-colonialism drove the administration to do anything better than the foreign ruler. Its best performance was the general election in 1955. It was the people's festivals of liberal democracy. As noted by Herbert Feith it was the best general election ever but ended by the issuing of Martial law in 1957.²⁴⁾ On the other side, its economic performance was very poor and its political decay getting worse until the end of the regime.

Indonesia's New Order was different. With the spirit of anti-communism, the authority guarantees the sustainable economic development. It does not need

19) Grace Lestariana Wonoadi. Soft Power dalam Manajemen Masalah Tionghoa Indonesia. In *Seminar Nasional Sinologi: Membuka Tabir Kesuksesan China*. Lembaga Kebudayaan Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 3-4 Maret 2006.

20) Leo Suryadinata, *Dilema Minoritas Tionghoa*, Jakarta: Grafiti Press, 1984

21) Lawson, Stephanie. "Conceptual Issues in the Comparative Study of Regime Change and Democratization". *Comparative Politics* 25(2): 183-205. 1993

22) Krasner, Stephen. *International Regimes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983.

23) Marleen Dieleman, Juliette Koning, & Peter Post (Eds). *Chinese Indonesians and Regime Change*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. 2011.

24) Herbert Feith. *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1962.

democracy but political stability the first. In order to create political stability, all potential unrest should be minimized. No dissenting voice permitted.

The use of force and threat was obvious under the New Order regime to influence public mindset, creating public attitudes without willingness and future orientation. Many public motions, even only to think or expressing ideas, were under the threat of force. The obligation to make SBKRI (a Letter of Prove as Indonesian Citizen) for Chinese-Indonesia citizens, even when their parents had one already, looked like soft power. But actually it was a real structural power, that make people has no choice and always short term orientated.

For the sake of common goods, the government organized people into single hierarchical organization for each interest. Several to mention are PGRI (Indonesia Teacher Association), PWI (Indonesia Journalist Association), IKADIN (Indonesia Lawyer Association), HKTI (Indonesia Peasant Association). It sounds like what Schmitter calls corporatism.²⁵⁾

Schmitter define it as a system of representation in which the constituent units are organised into a limited number of singular, compulsory non-competitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories. They must be recognised or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports.²⁶⁾

By applying the state-corporatist system, government may effectively control and manage the emerging interest. However, the system change after the fall of the New Order regime, especially after the amendment of Indonesia's Constitution. People directly choose their representatives and even the President and they compete each other to get the public post, too.

PITI: People's Initiative in The Changing Environment

Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (Indonesia Chinese Moslem Association, PITI), was came into being in Jakarta, 14 April 1961. It was a merger between (PIT) which is based in Medan, North Sumatra, and (PMT) which is based in Bengkulu, Sumatera. Both PIT and PMT have been existing since 1930's. H. H. , and were the prominent persons in developing this association.²⁷⁾

PITI run itself as the media of accomodation for Chinese who converted to Islam. The numbers of Chinese Muslim was small, yet actual. It is well known that there is a gap between Islam and Chinese. A problem of stereotype on each side is difficult to break. The result is Islam is not popular among Chinese

25) For a comprehensive review on corporatism, see Victor C. Magagna. "Representing Efficiency: Corporatism and Democratic Theory." In *The Review of Politics*. Vol. 50- 3 (Summer 1988). pp. 420-444

26) Philippe C. Schmitter. "Still the Century of Corporatism?" In Fredrich B. Pike & Thomas Strich. (Eds.), *The New Corporatism: Social-Political Structures in the Iberian World*. Norte Dame: University of Norte Dame University Press. 1974. pp 85-131, 94-95.

27) H.M. Syarif Tanudjaja, *Sekilas Pembina Iman Tauhid Islam*, retrieved from , accessed on February 10, 2014.

Indonesian. However, PITI found itself small yet meaningful to complete the lack of participant.

The highly political nuance of the 1965 tragedy brought a new direction for Indonesia, especially the Chinese-origin. As quick as the new government came into power, regime change happened. The most trusted advisers of Suharto came from the military that were assigned double functions, *dwi-fungsi*. This meant that they were not only active as military officers but also fulfilled roles in politics and the bureaucracy. The military took over many civilian positions and the most important were that of the Minister of DEPDIAGRI (Home Affairs) and the Chief of Dirjen SOSPOL (Directorate General of Social and Political Affairs). These two posts became the backbone of repressing political opposition and preventing social unrest. Later on the Dirjen broaden its network with establishment of the Communication Body of Organizing National Unity, or BAKOM PKB, which is frequently referred to as the main instrument in the assimilation policy during the Suharto era.²⁸⁾

Though this organ just legalised in the 1978, but the assimilationist policy has been applied as soon as the New Order Era start in power. Everything about Chinese was banned. Form Letter of the Presidium of Ampora Kabinet (Surat Edaran Presidium Kabinet Ampora) No. SE.06/Pres.Kab/6/1967, 28 June 1967, changed the pronunciation of Tiongkok and Tionghoa to be Tjina, in accordance with the recommendation of Seminar of Indonesian Army in Bandung, 25-31 August 1966... "to conform with common usage... moreover to omit the inferior sentiment of our nation and, especially, to omit the superior sentiment of the group in our country."²⁹⁾ In 15 Desember 1972, subject to the regulation, PITI should rename itself, by omitting the word Tionghoa. To sustain the acronym, the new name becomes Pembina Iman Tauhid Islam.

Though controversial, a part of Chinese Indonesian supports the assimilations policy. One of the ideas is by conversion of religion and inter-ethnic marriage. However, there is no accurate data on its. Only several personage show up their conversion or marriage and mostly do on the basis of personal reason; without intention to follow the policy.

PITI looks like utilized by the state to control the society and support the government program. Subject to the national obligation, people's grouping conducted to be a single association. Only one association may serve one interest. As mentioned in another part of this paper, the association should have a hierarchical structure, from the national level to the regional and town level. PITI, which was a societal initiative, also drives to be a single Chinese Muslim organization in Indonesia. PITI has 20 (twenty) Regional chapters and is identified as the one and only home for a new Chinese Muslim to adapt himself towards his new attribute and environment that become more pluralistic and cross-cutting.

28) Nobuhiro Aizawa, "Depoliticization: Chinese Indonesians and The Ministry of Home Affairs in Suharto's Indonesia. In Dieleman, Koning, & Post (Eds). *Op cit* pp 49-61.

29) The using of *Cina* is common and neutral in many place, but Chinese Indonesian, especially in Java, have a negatif experience. They prefer to called *Tionghoa* because Javanese language has a grading system and people sarcastically used the word *Cina*, especially in the riots.

In the Reform Era, Chinese Indonesian got back their political rights step by step. The very first time policy taken was launching the revival of its name, Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia, in the National Meeting in Pontianak on 20 May 2000 and start a pro-active strategy

In Yogyakarta, PITI was initiated in the 1970. Supported by elements of Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama, the two biggest Islamic movements in Indonesia, H. Nur Iksan Budi Santoso (Kwik Sing Djwan) and his team were constituted by the Central Committee of PITI. The presence of Minister of Social Affairs and the Chief of Religion Affairs of Indonesian Army indicate how the government adapted corporatism.³⁰⁾

PITI Yogyakarta became an influential agent in the period of the 4th leader, H. Budy Setyagraha (Huang Ren Chong). Getting start with a small number, PITI Yogyakarta consistently supports the need of its members to have a monthly meeting, knowledge sharing, personal support, and charity activities. The dynamics of PITI Yogyakarta is supported by several factors, but in brief, call them generosity and charity. What does it mean?

PITI Yogyakarta is not an exclusive group. Its participants are varies, such as shop-keepers, shop-owners, retired teacher and professor, lecturers, office boys, entrepreneurs, young teacher, housewives, and students. They are varies in ethnicity, too. Therefore PITI Yogyakarta is abundant with human resources, continuous donation and sponsorship in many terms, including financial, lectures, initiative, and networking from the oldest to the youngest generations, from the Chinese and the non-Chinese.³¹⁾

By that condition, PITI Yogyakarta develops its networks with communal associations, academia and Universities, bureaucracy, NGO, mass media, and other concerned parties. Moreover, PITI Yogyakarta can support several researches and publications on Sinology and Chinese-Muslim studies, motivate and support the Government of Yogyakarta to develop new tourism agendas, namely Chinese New Year and Dragon-boat Festivals. In coordination with the Central Committee of PITI and other Chinese and/or Islamic organizations, namely INTI, Bhakti Putera, Muhammadiyah, etc., this association covers the regional and national level activities, such as in the Recovery and Rehabilitation Action of Yogyakarta and Central Java earthquake in 2006 and inviting a delegate of Muslim-Chinese minority to visit Indonesia. Last but not least, PITI Yogyakarta maintains regular charity and community development programs for its "close relatives", namely local and village people, orphanage, and carrier labors.³²⁾

These activities have been running well for 30 years and echoed. By all those programs, PITI became an agent of change.

30) Perdana, Fehmi Rafika. *Integrasi Sosial Muslim-Tionghoa: Studi atas Partisipasi PITI DIY dalam Gerakan Pembauran*. Yogyakarta: Mystico, 2008. See also pitiyogyakarta.com

31) Interview with H. Budy Setyagraha. Selected data is compiled from Drs. H. Maruf Siregar

32) Interview with Rachana Fatimah & Salman Suprawardhana.

Good Practices to Learn

One important thing to remember is that soft power makes people happy and hard power must be minimized.³³⁾ Therefore, it is necessary to make other party feel obliged to achieve the same goals as we offer.

It will be a lot more constructive if the ideas, norms, and institutionalization of integration policies were directed to recognize and respect diversities rather than originality. Internalization and communication through education (formal, non formal, and informal), means (political, economic, social, cultural), and interactive-participative methods would strengthen soft power.³⁴⁾ Questions about ethnicity in legal documents would not be necessary. Inter-ethnic marriage creates such a generation who are not able to mention their ethnic-primordial identities anymore. On the other hand, they are so 'rich' and such a legal document cannot accommodate this. Moreover, legal documents sometimes limit ethnicities with 'originality' so that a Chinese-Indonesia citizen is not included.³⁵⁾

Public policy making process is commonly elitist. Therefore 'an adjacent bridge' is needed to link the elites and the mass. R. William Liddle in his book, *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics*, assumes that there are actors outside the government who play important roles, like local leaders, producers, trade associates, and both organized and unorganized consumers, the Member of Parliament, mass media, and intellectual communities. All of these show us that non-state actors actually play very important role in new regime creation toward Indonesian national integration.

Recently, PTT become one of the new arenas for developing a more significant role of Chinese Indonesian. It is more than just a medium for developing knowledge on Islam among them or decreasing inconvenience towards another Chinese Indonesian. Its neutral positions in politics and shared basic values of Islam produce a better environment for its members, both Chinese and non-Chinese, to develop an in-group feeling with the rest of Indonesian. On the other hand, it also provides an easier path for them to communicate many broader issues with another Chinese-Indonesian, including those with the political effect, for instance are Chinese New Year's Festival and the new Act on Citizenship. It shows that Chinese Indonesian is a diverse and socially active group.

33) *Hard power* is the ability to make other parties to do something they actually do not want to with the use of threat or promises. *Soft power* is the ability to achieve the expected result with the use of *attraction* more than pressure, because other party expects the same as what we also expect. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Soft Power and Conflict Management in the Information Age." In Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, & Pamela Allen, (Eds.) *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, Washington D.C.: United States of Peace Press, 2001, hal. 354

34) To compare, see John Burton & Frank Dukes, *Conflict: Reading in Management and Resolutions*, NY: St Martin's Press, 1990

35) Grace Lestariana Wonoadi . Soft Power dalam Manajemen Masalah Tionghoa Indonesia. Paper in *Seminar Nasional Sinologi: Membuka Tabir Kesuksesan China*. Lembaga Kebudayaan Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 3-4 Maret 2006 .

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