

# INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

*Islam, Atjeh, and Development Democracy  
in Indonesia*

## PROCEEDINGS

Surakarta, 04 Desember 2013



Editors :

Prof. Dr. Hermanu Joebagio, M.Pd.

Dr. Sariyatun, M.Pd., M.Hum.

Dr. Leo Agung S., M.Pd.



PROGRAM STUDI MAGISTER PENDIDIKAN SEJARAH  
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN  
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**Diterbitkan Oleh:  
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**Hak Cipta pada Penulis**



## PREFACE

Puji dan syukur kehadiran Allah SWT yang telah memberi karunianya sehingga prosiding seminar internasional yang bertajuk "*Islam, Atjeh, and Development Democracy in Indonesia*" yang diselenggarakan Program Pascasarjana Pendidikan Sejarah Universitas Sebelas Maret SURakarta. Penulisan prosiding ini tidak terlepas dari rangkaian penyajian makalah yang telah disajikan dalam seminar internasional ini. Penyajian tema seminar ini didasari untuk mengkaji sisi historis yang menarik dari bagian NKRI yakni Aceh.

Secara mayoritas, penduduk Aceh beragama Islam, eksistensi agama Islam di Aceh berlangsung sejak Aceh mengembangkan pengaruhnya pada abad ke-13 sampai dengan abad ke 19. Menurut keterangan Marcopolo, sekurang-kurangnya pada akhir abad ke 13, di Aceh Timur telah muncul sebuah kerajaan Islam pantai yaitu Kerajaan Peureulak. Ketika kerajaan Aceh Darussalam mulai ditegakkan oleh Sultan Ali Mughayatsyah pada awal abad ke 16, Kerajaan Peureulak yang telah terlebih dahulu muncul itu tidak terdegar lagi beritanya, kerajaan Islam di Aceh bertahan sampai dengan datangnya pengaruh Barat, lebih-lebih ketika kekuatan Belanda berhasil menancapkan pengaruhnya di daerah ini pada awal abad ke 20. Karena itu, dalam rentang waktu yang cukup lama itu, kehidupan sosial politik masyarakat Aceh sangat diwarnai oleh ketentuan-ketentuan hukum Islam, kehidupan agama Islam telah berakar dalam kehidupan sosial masyarakat Aceh, Islam muncul sebagai simbol politik. Dalam prosiding ini merangkum resensi yang komprehensif dari tema-tema seminar yang disajikan.

Dengan terselesaikannya penulisan ini, kami dengan penuh rasa hormat dan terima kasih yang tulus kepada Rektor, Direktur serta jajaran pimpinan di lingkungan Universitas sebelas maret, Pembicara utama dan pembicara pendamping yang kesemuanya telah menyajikan makalah yang sangat inspiratif, sehingga penulis mendapatkan banyak kemudahan untuk menyusun prosiding ini. Terima kasih pula, penulis haturkan kepada instansi dan seluruh panitia seminar yang terlibat, peserta seminar dari berbagai kalangan serta pihak-pihak yang memberikan banyak informasi dan pengetahuan dalam penelitian untuk menyusun prosiding ini.

Surakarta, 4 Desember 2013

Penyusun,

Prof. Dr. Hermanu Joebagio, M.Pd.



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**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE TIONGHOA PEOPLE AS A FORM DEMOCRACY  
DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA: TRACES JOURNEY OF TIONGHOA HISTORY  
IN POST-NEW ORDER NATION**

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(Sanata Dharma University Yogyakarta)

**Abstract**

1998 Reformation became a painful tragedy as well as early symptom of the rise of the Chinese community. The pressure of the New Order Rezime which forced the Chinese community to be apolitic and asocial had been over. The approach of the reform period encouraged the Chinese community to show up in the cultural, political, and also social activities.

The diverse of Indonesians needs a mature understanding of the concept of democracy. The receipt of the Chinese community in the political dynamics not only locally but also nationally surely becomes the positive discourse for the development of democracy. Political participation of the Chinese community can color the democracy inside of the life of the nation.

**Keywords:** Chinese Indonesian, political participation, development of democracy

**A. Introduction**

Tionghoa community in Indonesia has a unique history. This uniqueness is not just because of cultural differences brought from the country of origin which were then also influenced the culture in Indonesia. Tionghoa community in Indonesia since the Dutch colonial era, the time of independence, the Old Order, New Order period, until the Reformation now, carved their own story. At the time of Dutch colonialism, Tionghoa society deliberately placed in different strata with the indigenous population. This was in addition aim to create a dividing line between the Tionghoa people with native and also to make the Tionghoa community as a colonial power. Tenacity and ability of qualified Tionghoa trade utilized by the colonial government for their economic interests.

In the period leading up to independence, the Tionghoa community played a role in preparation for the independence of the Republic of Indonesia through the Tionghoa characters in BPUPKI. After independence was achieved and the government began to take shape, some Tionghoa people sat in the cabinet and the legislature. At this time several Tionghoa parties and social groups of Tionghoa political were standing. 1950s Tionghoa citizenship in Indonesia began regulated by the PRC government. Citizenship issues at that time got the spotlight because citizens of the PRC automatically owned the status of dual nationality in Indonesian descent. So the Tionghoa people should choose to return to the PRC or joined the Republic of Indonesia. Most of them settled on the last option because it was centuries ago the



Tionghoa community living, life, and fruitful in Indonesia.

The Tionghoa community on the New Order government should experience deep trauma. Assimilation policies implemented by the New Order government tried to negate all aspects of Tionghoa society to be equal to the natives. Efforts assimilation and intermarriage done to boost the assimilation practices could be realized immediately. Of course not that easy, cultural values and social patterns of the Tionghoa community had been internalized within each. Cultural freedom constrained especially in the field of social and political opportunity was obviously just a dream. Tionghoa society is treated as second-class citizens with a variety of discrimination policies of the New Order government. Tionghoa considered only able to participate in the economic sector. Tionghoa became animal economy, which were apolitical and asocial.

Policies adopted by the New Order government had put Tionghoa people in a position of full dilemma. Tionghoa activity limitation only on the economy made Tionghoa society into an exclusive group with a majority sufficient economic capability. This condition triggers the social gap between the Tionghoa communities with the natives. When tragedy 1998 was erupted as a result of prolonged monetary crisis caused the Tionghoa community was subjected to mass rioting. However, despite the emergence of the 1998 Reform must began

with a bitter pill to swallow, the Tionghoa community then managed to get the euphoria of freedom both in the field of cultural, social, and even political. It was certainly expected to tear down the walls of discrimination that had been built by the New Order regime.

Tionghoa society that was previously being asocial and apolitical consciousness slowly began to grow. Today many Tionghoa characters are successfully received by the public in political activity does. The growing awareness within the Tionghoa people who are part of Indonesian citizens and the general public openness in accepting the Tionghoa figure in the political dynamics would be a form of democratic development in the country.

#### **B. Tionghoa in The Journey of Nation History**

The term of "Tionghoa" actually came from Indonesia itself as typical Indonesia language. In the linguistic, Tionghoa term is not recognized or heard outside of Indonesian society. Although there was also interpreted that Tionghoa derived from Cantonese Chinese, which means China. According to Leo Suryadinata (1984:36), the Tionghoa term used by the Tionghoa community before 1965. In the seminar senior officers of the Army in Bandung in 1966, accepted the terms of China to replace Tionghoa term. The reason was to relieve inferior to the original Indonesian and eliminate a sense of superiority on the Tionghoa people in Indonesia. But even to this day for the



Tionghoa community, the using of the term China or the Chinese caused feelings of contempt or irreverent sense. So be wise when using the term Tionghoa to refer to Chinese descent in Indonesia.

The existence of the Tionghoa community in Indonesia is a long history. They are an important ethnic group in the history of Indonesia long before the Republic of Indonesia was formed. It is logical if Tionghoa people are automatically classified into Indonesian society, which is also equivalent to other ethnic groups that make up the Republic of Indonesia. Their role is also cannot be deleted in this nation's history.

Long before the Dutch entry into Java, the Tionghoa people had come in and conduct trade. Merchants from China were coming along with the development of the kingdoms of Java and Sumatra around the eighth century. Trade relations between the natives and Tionghoa traders raised good social relations. So at the beginning of the arrival of the Dutch in Indonesia, as a foreigner, they require trading partners. Tionghoa merchants became trading partner for Dutch, especially as middlemen who distribute goods from the natives in the village to the city and vice versa (Onghokham, 2008:1). This was the beginning of the relationship between the Tionghoa and the Dutch, which were actually more advantageous Netherlands.

Tionghoa people who came to Indonesia are not from a homogenous group. There were many tribes and clans

who came to Indonesia. Not to mention the difference in the interaction with the natives certainly had an influence in the social life of the Tionghoa people in Indonesia. They were already mixed gradually and lose their original language and culture after two or three generations. They are commonly referred as the Peranakan Tionghoa. They had native blood from the female line and had a way of life that was somewhat similar to the natives. They no longer speak the Malay Tionghoa. But there were also ethnic Chinese since his arrival recently still retain their original language and culture. This group was usually called full-blooded Chinese. Heterogeneity of Tionghoa in Indonesia was also evident from the economic side, there are rich, some are poor. In terms of religion also exists that Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Conditions diverse Tionghoa community as well as indigenous in Indonesia would affect the mindset including their political tendencies in the future.

Leo Suryadinata (1981:21) explained that Dutch society was divided into three groups, namely: (1) class of Europe, including the Netherlands, (2) Foreign Eastern group (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*), including Chinese, Arabic, and Indian, and (3) indigenous groups (*inlanders*). The existence of social stratification had led to differences in the treatment and exclusive feeling. Of course also caused a split in the community. Plus these groups also placed



on separate villages (*wijkenstelsel*) that if they wanted to travel outside the area to take care of street letter / letter of fitting (*passenstelsel*). There were Malay village, the Arab villages, villages Chinatown, and so on, which until now its traces can still be seen in the big cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta, Semarang, Solo, Surabaya, and so on.

At that time the Tionghoa community in Chinatown villages had a leader with the rank of lieutenant, captain, until the mayor who was appointed by the Dutch VOC as a tool to reach out to the Tionghoa community. Some of them were Souw Beng Kong in Batavia, Kwee Kiauw Loo, Oei Tiong Ham in Semarang, Kapitan Yong Hong, Tan Sing Djien in Yogyakarta, and so on (Daradjadi, 2013:72). The emergence of the Tionghoa community leaders during the reign of the Dutch, although they were appointed only to lead his group, it can be said to be the beginning of Tionghoa involvement in politics.

Entering the twentieth century with the arrival of new ideologies and the emergence of nationalism in Indonesia was also influential in the Tionghoa community. Tionghoa people began to establish schools that Tiong Hoa Hwee China Koan (THHK). Netherlands were concerned with the establishment of THHK would inflame Tionghoa nationalism in his country. At that time in China was going on a wave of nationalism, which succeeded in breaking down the Ching dynasty and established the Republic of China. In 1910

there stood Sin Po group that advocates unity and full-blooded Peranakan. The main goal oriented Sin Po group of overseas Chinese nationalism (Leo Suryadinata, 1981:38). They felt the need for shelter and tied with his native country to sustain life.

Departing from Tionghoa group sound problems not addressed in the Volksraad, then on 8 April 1928 established the Chung Hwa Hui (CHH) led by Hok Kan Hwei (HH Kan). CHH began to realize the necessity oriented toward improving the fate of the Tionghoa in the Dutch East Indies. But even then the CHH movement received criticism from the press Peranakan like Sin Po, Po Keng, and Sin Tit Po who attacked HH Kan and CHH were much filled by the Tionghoa Bourjois. CHH accusation was sympathetic to the Dutch power and those about to be loyal to the Dutch (Leo Suryadinata, 1981:71).

In the 1930s, the concept of Indonesian nationhood began to grow among the Tionghoa people. Liem Koen Hian, chief editor Soeara Publiek formulated the idea of Dutch nationality (Indonesian) for group Peranakan Tionghoa (Leo Suryadinata, 1981:82). Liem said Indonesia was the country and the state of the Peranakan Tionghoa. Tionghoa had the same rights and obligations with other Indonesian groups. Liem introduced the term *Indonesier* for Peranakan Tionghoa as part of Indonesia. Together with Ong Kok Liang and Surabaya peranakan seconded by dr. Atopic Dermatitis and Soeroso, Liem



Koen Hian founded the Tionghoa Party of Indonesia (PTI) on September 25, 1932. PTI purpose was to help advance the economic, social and political from Indonesia to become one country with equal rights and duties for all citizens (Leo Suryadinata, 1981:86).

Tionghoa political consciousness began to grow along with the growing spirit of Indonesian nationalism. At times it appeared the three streams of Tionghoa politics. The first stream was the Sin Po group that wanted the Tionghoa retained their Chinese nationality and country closer to China as their homeland. The second stream was CHH, which fought ethnic identity in the Netherlands East Indies in collaboration with the colonial government for the prosperity of the Dutch East Indies. The third stream was represented PTI who wanted to maintain their ethnic identity but politically assimilated into the indigenous people of Indonesia. Indonesia is also the homeland of the Tionghoa people and demanded equal rights and obligations, included willing to fight for the independence of Indonesia.

Towards the independence of Indonesia, many Tionghoa characters were entered as a member of BPUPKI and participated in taking part in the planning of independence. They were Liem Koen Hian, Oey Tiang Tjoei, Oey Tjong Hauw, and Mr. Tan Eng Hoa who had contributed to the subcommittee drafting the Constitution. In PPKI membership, they

were also Tionghoa characters like Drs. Yep Tjwan Bing. In the early days of independence were also recorded some Tionghoa youth who actively participated in the Barisan Rakyat Indonesia Rebels (BPRI) which had Bung Tomo as the chairman, such as Gam Hian Tjong, Auwyang Tjoe Tek, and The Djoe Eng.

Choirul Mahfud (2013:65) also mentioned some of the Tionghoa people who after independence became the member of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP), which then served as the legislative body. They are Drs. Yap Tjwan Bing, Liem Koen Hian, Tan Ling Djie, Nio Beng Goat, Siauw Giok Tjhan, dr. Oei Hway Kiem, and Ir. Tan Boen An. Some Tionghoa leaders also sat in the party like Oei Gee hwat Socialist Party and Lauw King Hoo of PKI. In Liberal Democratic era, Tionghoa's role in politics also appeared in the cabinet, such as Ong Eng Die (Minister of Finance of PNI), and Lie Kiat Teng (Minister of Health of PSII). Similarly during the Guided Democracy, recorded that Tan Kim Liong served as Minister for Revenue, Finance, and Control, Oei Tjoe Tat as Minister of State of Partindo, and David G. Cheng as Minister of Human Settlements and Construction.

These conditions changed drastically since the New Order. Instead of taking part in practical politics, to develop in the field of Tionghoa social and cultural course challenged. No Tionghoa citizens in the New Order sitting as a minister, except in the last months before the collapse of the



New Order. Mohammad Hasan or The Kian Seng became the Minister of Trade and Industry on the Development Cabinet. At the local level some Tionghoa people sat in the legislature, such as Hendry Jurnawan, Edy Pajarai, Khong Wui Bong, Bong Cin Nen and all derived from the Golkar in West Kalimantan in the period 1992-1997 (MD La Ode, 2012: 25).

During the New Order, Tionghoa people were utilized in the economic field. They were given the opportunity to thrive in the trade until delivered conglomerates were becoming cronies economist once Cendana family cash cow. Tionghoa society was prohibited (can also be frightened) to enter the political realm and complicated when they wanted to become civil servants and military. Not only the Tionghoa who had become citizens were also regarded as "foreigners" so it must had proof of his citizenship in Indonesia. They should make the Proof of Indonesian Citizenship (SBKRI). This rule appeared on the Regulation of the Minister of Justice No. JB3/4/12 1978, which states that every citizens of Indonesia who need to prove their citizenship can apply their application in getting SBKRI. This was followed up by the Ministry of Justice Circular, which made Tionghoa people as citizen objects needed to prove citizenship (Paschasius HP, 2007:91). SBKRI should more appropriately be obliged to those who had naturalized citizen.

Discriminatory treatment, which must be accepted by the Tionghoa

community in the New Order, was not only a matter of such fundamental citizenship. After the 1965 event then all Tionghoa-language schools were closed in 1966. 1967 also imposed a ban on the use of Tionghoa characters in public places, including magazines and newspapers with Tionghoa characters. Through Inpres no. 14 of 1967 stated that all forms and manifestation of Tionghoa culture and traditions such as Chinese New Year, potehi puppet show, lion dance, and so, should only be celebrated in the family in the house or temple (Melly G. Tan, 2008:200). Including the existence of Confucianism, which was not recognized and managed under the Guidance Director General of the Hindu and Buddhist. Confucianism was considered as not a religion but a philosophy of life that came from China.

The concept of forced assimilation during the New Order for Tionghoa citizens was clearly not the right policy. Did not mean that those Tionghoa citizens did not want the process of integration with natives, but the process of assimilation should be run fairly and naturally. In fact the concept of assimilation, which is run by the New Order government, did not lead to social harmony. Efforts lethal democratic life and freedom for Tionghoa citizens to have the same rights and obligations as other citizens did not actually display the conducive atmosphere. Escalation polarization of Tionghoa relations with the



wider community had fostered anti-Chinese sentiment that eventually burst explosively in May 1998, especially in Jakarta and Solo.

### **C. Reform 1998: Turning Point of Chinese**

The policies pursued by the New Order government ultimately plunged the Tionghoa community into economic animal that had apolitical and asocial nature. Tionghoa community felt as an outsider who eventually getting shut down and position itself exclusively in the community. Apolitical and asocial attitude eventually became hereditary, and the feeling of always appeared suspicious in the Tionghoa people's own self that they would always be discriminated from others. Then the average new generation of Tionghoa people preferred professions according to their "safe" and "appropriate rations" as merchants, businessmen, bank employees, contractors, and the like. They did not look at jobs as teachers, civil servants, government officials, national police, and military.

May 1998 events beginning from the financial crisis and the impact on the crisis of confidence in the New Order government had a huge impact for the Tionghoa community. Those who had been branded as communities with better economic capacity of indigenous plus apolitical and asocial attitudes ingrained were subjected to mass rioting. Shops belonging to Tionghoa citizens in Jakarta, Solo, and several other cities destroyed, looted, and burned. Even some of the

Tionghoa people suffered violence and sexual abuse that made them experience the trauma and psychological distress.

Since the tragic events of May 1998 there were many changes, including the position of the Tionghoa community. That change began from the emergence of harsh protests from various parties including the international world of anti-Tionghoa violence that occurred in Jakarta and Solo. At the time it was the Tionghoa people faced with the choice to leave Indonesia or trying to resolve the fundamental problems originating from the discriminatory policies of the government. In fact, not all Tionghoa people could leave Indonesia. Whatever happens, Indonesia is the country where they were born, grew up, earning a living, and later died also in Indonesia. This attachment was increasingly evident when they had left Indonesia in May 1998 time finally back again to Indonesia. So the wise choice was to stay and did the resistance to change position and destiny as a marginalized minority group.

Thung Ju Lan (2010:4) illustrated that after the incident in 1998 emerging Tionghoa community associations, such as the Tionghoa Indonesian Association (INTI) and the Association of Tionghoa Social Highways (PSMTI). Not to mention the kind of associations that were local in areas such as Surakarta Society (PMS) in Solo, Surabaya Tionghoa Community Association, and so on. In the political arena, a number of Tionghoa party was



Tionghoa Indonesian Reform Party (Parti), which was established on June 5, 1998, Assimilation Party of Indonesia (Parpindo), chaired by HM Jusuf Hamka, and Party Unity in Diversity (PBI) chairman Nurdin Purnomo successful into the 1999 elections the party participants.

There were many efforts made by the Tionghoa community to try to change government policy through a variety of political approaches. Choirul Mahfud (2013:123) noted at the time of President Habibie out Inpres No. 26/1998, which repealed the use of the term indigenous and non-indigenous. Another result was that the lifting of Presidential Decree No. 14 of 1967 on the prohibition of Chinese cultural expression in public spaces through a Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000 issued by President Abdurrahman Wahid. President Abdurrahman Wahid in 2000 also announced the Lunar New Year as a national holiday facultative. Not long after the Lunar New Year designated as a national holiday, as the feast of other religions through a Presidential Decree No. 19 of 2002, which was signed by President Megawati Sukarnoputri. Confucianism was also recognized as the sixth religion in Indonesia and freedom for its followers to worship was guaranteed.

At the time of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also out new Indonesian Citizenship Law No. 12 of 2006. This law put Tionghoa citizens in the equation and equality with other citizens in the life of the nation (Thung Ju Lan,

2010:5). Besides Tionghoa citizen's relationship with other Indonesian citizens were also more open. Tionghoa culture such as Lion Dance Performances, Puppet Potehi, Chinese New Year celebrations, Cap Go Meh, and other current Tionghoa culture have been accepted by the Indonesian society at large.

The Tionghoa community as well as the opportunity to engage in practical politics read good reception. In the national political scene since the 2000s emerged names such as Kwik Kian Gie, Tjandra Wijaya Wong, Murdaya Po, Daniel Budi Setiawan, Rudianto Tjen derived from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Alvin Lie of the National Mandate Party (PAN), Enggartiaso Lukita from the Golkar Party, L.T. Susanto of the Unity Party (PBI), and Albert Yaputra and Ernawati Sugondo Democrat (I. Wibowo, 2010:40). For the first time in the 2004 elections Tionghoa people represent the people sitting in the House of Representatives.

Not only in the legislature, some Tionghoa characters were also included in the cabinet. Kwik Kian Gie was appointed Coordinating Minister for the Economy, Finance and Industry under President Abdurrahman Wahid and as Minister of Development Planning / Head of Bappenas at the time of President Megawati Sukarnoputri. Under the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also appointed a Tionghoa namely Marie Elka Pangestu as the Minister of Commerce and



now serves in the cabinet as Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy.

In the 2004 elections none of the Tionghoa party that got away as participating in the election. Nevertheless there were a number of media recorded at least 150 Tionghoa candidates scattered in various political parties, but only a small number managed to get a seat. Even some analysts believe that the Tionghoa participation in the 2004 elections was likely just to attract voters (vote getter) and to gain support for the party's campaign funds. But whatever it was the presence of Tionghoa citizens in political practices show that there was progress in the Tionghoa political participation, they did not think of their own safety but also cared about the fate of the nation and the state.

In the following years after the 2004 elections in the local political level also appeared that Tionghoa leaders contesting the local elections. In 2005 appeared Ir. Tjahaja Basuki Purnama, M.M. who managed to sit as Regent of East Belitung 2005-2010. Basuki's successful who has Tionghoa name Tjung Ban Hok (Ahok) studied this very interesting because he managed to win the election in the predominantly Malay and Muslim. Unfortunately Ahok unsuccessfully ran for governor of Bangka Belitung, so he only served one year as regent. In the 2009 elections Ahok successfully developed as a Member of Parliament from the Golkar Party. His younger brother named Basuri Tjahaja Purnama later became the Regent

of East Belitung 2010-2015. MD La Ode (2012:179) also recorded a similar phenomenon appeared in West Kalimantan with the election Christiandy Sanjaya (Bong Hou San) as deputy governor 2008-2013. Also selected in the adjacent Hasan Karman (Bong Sau Fan) as mayor Singkawang 2008-2013.

In the 2009 elections the higher the enthusiasm of Tionghoa society that was characterized by the increasing number of legislative candidates from Tionghoa citizens. Tionghoa candidates in West Kalimantan with a population of Chinese who pretty much even introduced themselves through banners using Mandarin. Almost the same situation with the 2004 elections, the Tionghoa candidates not from a Tionghoa-based party, but they were scattered in various existing national parties. On the other hand this would indicate that the natural assimilation efforts in democracy in Indonesian citizens of Tionghoa people efforts to play politics was not characterized exclusively by a Tionghoa party but integrated in the political parties that already exist.

Political participation of Tionghoa citizens is increasing every year. By the year 2014 more political heat also affect the political participation of Tionghoa citizens for the increasingly dynamic. Victory Tjahaja Basuki Purnama (Ahok) as deputy governor of Jakarta accompanying Governor Joko Widodo (Jokowi) become phenomenal. Not to mention the incredible



buzz from Ahok, which was decisive and explosive. Kompas (Tuesday, November 19, 2013: p. 33) in the Kompas Kita section wrote that Ahok's style is very fit juxtaposed with Jokowi who is also firm but calm. Ahok has a principle to always obey the law at all costs. Many people who feel threatened for leadership Ahok way, but support far more people in Jakarta who want Ahok able to clean up the bureaucracy with his clear and thorough manner.

One thing that is interesting today is a matter of the declaration of candidates for president and vice president of the People's Conscience Party (Hanura). Declaration presidential candidate Wiranto paired with Hary Tanoesoedibjo, a Tionghoa surnamed Tan, the vice president is a new phenomenon in this country. Java-Tionghoa fusion could be a first test case for national politics. If later in the 2014 elections the vote Hanura increased dramatically, it can be interpreted that people give positive responds for this pair collaboration. Indeed, the local level has been had a lot of evidence that the candidate of Tionghoa citizens can prevail to win the election. However, at the national level nomination Wiranto-Hary Tanoesoedibjo is new.

It is inevitable that in a democracy the competition as it is today then the popularity and electability can be built through public media that will require funding not less. Perhaps too insular but financial strength possessed by most

ordinary Tionghoa citizens had always exploited by the government or other parties. Then came the idea that the Tionghoa community participation in practical politics actually become a form of democracy or simply become a tool of exploitation as a cash cow for others. If this latter is the reason, so it becomes futile struggle of the Tionghoa people during this demanding position and the position is treated the same as other Indonesian citizens.

#### **D. Chinese Political Participation: New Color for Democracy Development**

Muhammad A. S. Hikam (1996:13-14) explained that a bureaucratic authoritarian state created especially for the strong supervision of the civil society (civil society) in an effort to prevent the masses from political involvement under overactive so as not to interfere with development. Such countries will grow into a unified political force gigantic, dynamic, spreads, repressive, bureaucratic, and technocratic. This explanation can be used to read the behavior of the regime that suppresses the efforts of grassroots political involvement overactive including Tionghoa citizens. New Order government involvement clearly illustrates a bureaucratic authoritarian state interfering in the activities of people in various fields of political, economic, social, and even cultural. Then the state becomes more dynamic growth than society itself. Of



course, this condition indicates that democracy dead faint.

The population of the Tionghoa community in Indonesia is not much, the results of population census in 2000 showed the number of them is only about 3.7% of the total population of Indonesia. It should be noted that democracy is not the monopoly of the majority. Political participation of minorities are done democratically actually contributes interesting and gives the color in the democratization process itself. While it's certainly not easy and a lot of challenges for Tionghoa people who want to go into politics.

There are still obstacles faced by Tionghoa people today. Thung Ju Lan (2010:6-7) described that event in May 1998, which took the lives of both Tionghoa, and non-Tionghoa was never resolved legally. Vice President Jusuf Kalla's statement on October 12, 2004 was also a bad precedent for democracy in this country. That associated with the Presidential Decree. No. 16 of 1994 on the implementation of the state budget would be differentiated treatment between indigenous entrepreneurs who were still weak economy with non-natives. Similarly, the damage of houses, temples, and motor vehicles in Pontianak on December 6, 2007 after Christiandi Sanjaya, Tionghoa man was elected as vice governor of West Kalimantan.

These cases essentially show that Tionghoa people still fragile political

position. Associated with democracy-building efforts in Indonesia, not only a challenge for the Indonesian people in general to be able to accept the existence of Tionghoa citizens as part of the whole Indonesian citizens with the same rights and obligations. The existence of political cadres in the Tionghoa society would make them not only chosen to represent the group but should be able to absorb the cross-ethnic aspirations of the people. Moreover, due to the diversity of Tionghoa society itself makes the existence of Tionghoa political cadre is not necessarily an option for Tionghoa citizens.

Choirul Mahfud (2013:156-157) revealed that the democratic process in Indonesia is not yet mature so that there are almost no cases, which do not invite noise. Related to the context of the democratization and political participation of Tionghoa political prefer solitary path but productive with measurable outcomes and clear results. Not all Tionghoa citizens in an effort to promote the aspirations and interests of practical political path. Though winds of change were blowing yet safe ways that dialogues, compromise, participatory, and regulative is a better choice.

Behind it all is actually back on the history of the Chinese community in Indonesia has proved that Tionghoa people also have the potential to be unreliable for this country. However Tionghoa played a significant role in the development of the nation and the state. In general, highly



educated Tionghoa people have a tenacious work ethic and diligent and has a neat network (Choirul Mahfud, 2013:67). These advantages would be its own potential for diverse nation as a contribution to build this country.

It should be noted also that the Tionghoa political participation is not simply to demonstrate their existence in society. This may arise because after so long in the New Order, their potential and their abilities were not actualized. So, we need awareness of the Tionghoa people and the wider community to put the Tionghoa community in the same corridor as Indonesian citizens who are compound. State, as government administrators also need to ensure social justice for all Indonesian people without exception and do not practice discrimination against any ethnic or group. Thus the Tionghoa political participation can be defined precisely in the context of the development of democracy in Indonesia.

#### **E. Closing**

The existence of the Tionghoa community in Indonesia recorded a long history. Since the days of the kingdoms in the archipelago there, the Tionghoa community has been present to give color in the context of community. Similarly, during the Indonesian nationalist movement emerged, the Tionghoa community also contributed to the eventual independence could be achieved. In the presence of the Old Order Tionghoa leaders also helped to contribute to the

advancement of the country involved in the government anyway. That all changed when the New Order. Since the Tionghoa community was placed as an economic animal that eventually formed apolitical and asocial attitudes.

Forced assimilation policy during the New Order to the Tionghoa was disastrous for the Chinese community. Tragedy In May 1998, Tionghoa citizens were subjected to mass rioting. After the incident, the awareness of the need to fight destiny and desire to position themselves as other Indonesian citizens making a lot of Tionghoa people started to get involved in political activities. Tionghoa citizen involvement in politics was not an easy matter. Although the era of freedom and democracy is wide open, but there are still many obstacles and prejudice against Tionghoa citizens.

For that within the framework of democratic development is still needed awareness of the wider community and the Tionghoa people to put themselves as part of diverse Indonesian citizens. Tionghoa political participation in Indonesia needs to be understood as part of the solution the formation of civil society (civil society) to realize a democratic, progressive, just, and prosperous.



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