



**Proceeding  
International Seminar  
Culture Across Perspectives:  
Contestation Among Global, National and Local Cultures**



**Semarang, 20 November 2012  
Faculty of Humanities  
Diponegoro University**

## **PROCEEDING:**

Culture Across Perspectives: Contestation Among Global, National, and Local Cultures  
©Faculty of Humanities, Diponegoro University

### **Publisher:**

**FaSindo**

Jl. Prof. H. Soedarto, S.H. Tembalang,  
Semarang 50275

Telp. +62 24 76480619

Fax. +62 24 76480619

### **Cover Design:**

Bayu Cahayahari

**ISBN: 978-602-8726-05-4**

## List of Articles

1. Two Perspectives of Time: Time Train and Time Traveler  
**Kyoji Honda**
2. Islamic Science Fiction in Indonesia  
**Katrin Bandel**
3. Pengembangan Paradigma Pendekatan Budaya dalam Mendisain Kebijakan Pemerintah  
**Nico L. Kana**
4. Sistem-Sistem Sosial-ekonomi dan Sosial-budaya dalam Masyarakat Majemuk  
**Nurdien H. Kistanto**
5. From Local Javanese *Priyayi*'s Etiquette to Universals in Linguistic Politeness  
**Herudjati Purwoko**
6. Maritime History, Cross-Cultural Communication and National Integration in Indonesia  
**Singgih Tri Sulistiyono**
7. Local Versus Global Culture: Be Alive or Destroyed?  
**Dewi Yulianti**
8. Pemilu Liberal dan Budaya Korupsi Politik  
**Agus Riwanto**
9. Cultural Art Representation in Tourism Industry in Globalization Age: A Critical Review  
**Argyo Demartoto**
10. Multiculturalism-Oriented Education: A Process of Strengthening an Identity  
**Iriyanto Widisuseno**
11. The Polylingual Repertoire of Youth in Semarang: Spoken and Written Communication in Contemporary Global Indonesia  
**Kristian Tamtomo**
12. Changing Practice of Female Circumcision In Contemporary Javanese Society  
**Yuyun Kusdianto**
13. Dampak Makanan Global Terhadap Pola Makan Anak-Anak di Surakarta Studi Kasus di Tiga Sekolah Dasar di Surakarta  
**Mugijatna**
14. Cultural Contestation in Ritual Food: American Thanksgiving and Javanese *Slametan*  
**Sukarni Suryaningsih**

# MARITIME HISTORY, CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN INDONESIA

Singgih Tri Sulistiyono  
Department of History, Faculty of Humanities  
Diponegoro University

## Abstract

Dengan menggunakan perspektif historis, paper ini mencoba untuk mengkaji bahwa penulisan sejarah maritim Indonesia sebetulnya memiliki posisi yang sangat strategis dalam proses pemupukan integrasi nasional Indonesia yang hingga sekarang masih menjadi persoalan yang serius. Penguatan integrasi nasional melalui pembelajaran sejarah maritim Indonesia bukan hanya memperkuat ikatan politis sesama penduduk yang menempati apa yang disebut sebagai kepulauan Indonesia, tetapi juga akan memperkuat kesadaran terhadap ikatan sosial, budaya, historis, dan bahkan emosional. Hal ini terkaita dengan kenyataan bahwa sejarah maritim Indonesia akan lebih mampu mengungkapkan hubungan-hubungan lintas budaya dan etnik dari berbagai elemen sosial di kepulauan Indonesia.

**Keywords:** maritime history, cross-cultural communication, national integration.

## A. Introduction

In Third World countries, where state borders were determined by former colonialists without previous rapprochement with the local inhabitants or by young national governments unable to make agreements with the various local ethnic groups for arranging local administration, the problem of national disintegration is more serious than in developed countries.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the issue of national integration becomes a crucial problem in a large, newly independent state that has much heterogeneity in area, ethnicity, economy, and politics.

The problem of national disintegration is also faced by Indonesia, former Dutch colony. This biggest insular region in the world comprising about 17,508 large and small islands. Included within insular region are the great islands of Sumatra, Java, over three-quarters of Borneo, Sulawesi (Celebes), the Maluku Islands (the Moluccas), an infinity of smaller islands, and also the western half of the enormous island of New Guinea (West Papua) (Walcott, 1914:

In that spacious area, there is great diversity in geography and in ethnicity. Indonesia is made up of one immense ethnic group, the Javanese, several large and medium-size groups including Acehnese, Bataks, Minangkabaus, Sundanese, Maduranese, Balinese, Buginese, Tarajaks, Ambonese, and hundreds of smaller groups. These factors often become obstacle of the process of national integration in Indonesia. Considering the fact that most part of Indonesian territory is sea, the role of the sea as a dominant factor in the process of national integration is undeniable. The sea has a silent power in itself. Economic, cultural and political ties among ethnic groups are constant phenomena in the history of Indonesia. Sea has a dynamic power

<sup>7</sup> According to Ricklefs, the Dutch did not create Indonesia, they only defined its territorial extent (Ricklefs, 1981: 138). David Henley says that by establishing the 'territorial extent', the Dutch colonial power, therefore, determined who was to be Indonesian and who was not (Henley, 1996: 5).

creating a means of communication among people. It enables the development of shipping, trade, and cultural contacts. The sea provides unity, transport, the means of exchange and intercourse (Braudel Vol. I, 1976: 276). Even during the recent economic crisis, the sea is projected to be the natural resource in economic term. It is reasonable, therefore, to pay close attention to the symptom of national disintegration which is faced by Indonesia from maritime perspective both diachronic and synchronic. For this purpose, this paper outlines the importance of Indonesian maritime history writing in strengthening the process of national integration during the regional autonomy era. After a brief discussion of the geographical aspect of the Indonesian sea system, the role of maritime network in the cross-cultural communication, the importance of Indonesia maritime history writing, and national integration as a historical process are discussed.

### **B. Indonesian Maritime State and its 'Mediterranean Sea'**

The Indonesian archipelago stretches across the tropical waters of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, from South-eastern Asia to Northern Australia, making it the widest insular region in the world.<sup>8</sup> These islands are scattered from west to east 6,400 km wide and about 2,500 km in length from north to south. Its length from east to west is greater than the distance from London to Moscow or from New York to San Francisco. This vast archipelago has land area of approximately 1.92 million km<sup>2</sup>, archipelagic waters and a 12 nautical mile territorial sea of 3.1 million km<sup>2</sup>, and a 200 nautical mile exclusive zone (EEZ) of 2.7 million km<sup>2</sup>. The outermost coastline circling the Indonesian territory has a length of about 81,000 km. About 80 per cent of this territory is in fact sea (Purwaka, 1989: 3-5).

Those geographical facts provide the basic pattern of its history and culture. The insular character of the Indonesian archipelago has stimulated cultural variety and, at the same time, has offered easy access to foreign influences. The fact that the Archipelago produced plentiful commodities attracted traders and conquerors; it consequently made the islands and the sea a battle field of many contesting powers. This meant that the international significance of the Indonesian archipelago is based upon its location and its resources. It might be comparable with the two other great crossroads of world shipping, i.e. the Panama and the Suez Canals. In addition, the economic significance of the Indonesian archipelago is due to the fact that it has abundantly produced commodities that were so needed by the industrial nations.

Internally, the insular nature of the Indonesian archipelago also causes great variation, the most important of which are natural differences stemming from climate and volcanic activity.

---

<sup>8</sup> Indonesia is considered as an archipelagic state or *negara kepulauan*. The term *archipelago* refers to a group of islands or *kumpulan pulau* separated by an expanse of seawater. There is a fundamental difference in meaning between *kepulauan* and *archipelago*. The term *archipelago* is originated from the Italian, *archipelagos*, dates back to the Middle Ages and was derived from *archi*, meaning most important and *pelagus* or sea. This actually refers to the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, the original meaning of *archipelago* was not 'a group of islands' but 'a body of water containing islands'. According to Lapien, the concept of archipelagic state for Indonesia is should be referred to the later meaning, i.e. Indonesia as *negara laut* or *negara bahari* or 'sea state', not 'island state' (Lapien, 1996: 1).

These factors greatly influenced human habitation and cultural development. The islands situated near the equator, such as Sumatra, Kalimantan and Papua, have abundant rainfall throughout the year, whereas those in south-east of the Archipelago have less rainfall and a longer dry season. The climate in the south-eastern part is similar to that of Australia. Since Java has a favourable climate for vegetation and its fertile-volcanic soil, it is not surprising that Java's economy has benefited historically from such geographical advantages.

Fertile soil can be found in the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Wetar and Banda, as well as a part of Sulawesi since these areas are volcanic regions. The remaining islands, such as Papua and Kalimantan, have not demonstrated any recent volcanic activities although there are high mountains there. Two types of climate and geology provide the varieties in tropical commodities of the Archipelago. As the Java Sea is surrounded by regions of different types of climate and geology, it is fortunate that the regions around the Java Sea produce various minerals, such as oil, gold and coal, regardless of their climate or geology.

As a maritime state, Indonesia does not only have one 'main sea' or 'heart sea'. It has at least three heart seas forming Indonesia as a sea system, i.e. Java Sea, Flores Sea, and Banda Sea. Hall states that there were five commercial zones in the beginning of the 15th century in Southeast Asia (Hall, 1985: 20-25). The first was the Bay of Bengal Zone, including the Corromandel (Southern India), Ceylon, Myanmar, and the northern and southern coast of Sumatra. The second zone was the Strait of Malacca.<sup>9</sup> The third zone was the South China Sea Zone, covering trading activities of the eastern coast of Malay Peninsula, Thailand, and South Vietnam. The fourth zone was the Sulu Zone that covered the western coast of Luzon, Mindoro, Cebu, Mindanao, and the northern coast of Borneo. The last zone was the Java Sea Zone, from which gaharuwood, sandalwood, rice, and spices were dispersed among the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Moluccas, the eastern, western and southern coast of Borneo, Java, and the southern coast of Sumatra.<sup>10</sup>

Of those seas, Java Sea has the most important function because it is located in the middle of Indonesian archipelago. It is understandable that shipping and trade networks integrated regions around the Java Sea long before the era of Western colonisation. Charles Boissevain, a Dutch traveller, on his first journey to the Indonesian archipelago in 1909, called the Java Sea the Mediterranean Sea of Indonesia (*Indië's Middellandsche Zee*) (Boissevain, 1909: 50).

For centuries, the Java Sea network was established by indigenous people such as

<sup>9</sup> An Arabic document dating from around AD 1000 calls the Straits of Malacca the 'Sea of Melayu' (Andaya, 2000: 87-110).

<sup>10</sup> Indigenous sources from the mid-fourteenth century, such as Pararaton (1350) and *Negarakertagama* (1365), provide much information about various places claimed and controlled by the Majapahit kingdom. These places included Palembang, Jambi, Kampar, Siak, Rokan, Lamuri, Barus, Haru in Sumatra; Pahang, Kelang, Sai and Trenggano in the Malay Peninsula; Sampit, Kapuas, Barito, Kutai and Sedu in Borneo; Butung, Luwuk, Banggai, Tabalong and Sedu in Celebes; Wandan in the Moluccas; Seran in Irian; Sumba and Timor in the Nusatenggara islands. Although the list of Majapahit's vessels was doubtful, there is strong evidence that the places mentioned in those sources were linked by a maritime network. This network was chiefly centred in the Java Sea where the important ports were located (Lapian, 1984: 71-80).

Javanese, Madurese, Banjarese, Mandarese, Buginese and other Asian traders.<sup>11</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Dutch began to replace the main role of these indigenous people and built up a network of trade not only in the Archipelago but also in Asia (Gaastra in: Blussé & Gaastra, 1981: 68). Burger argued that the role of indigenous traders declined, especially that of the Javanese. The Javanese reacted to the VOC traders' domination by moving to the agricultural sector. Others, such as the Buginese, countered the VOC's domination over sea trading with piracy and kept trading, openly and illicitly. Yet the indigenous role became marginal. After their seizure of the Indonesia seas, the Dutch tried to re-order it and made it meet the demands of global capitalism. The shifting global-capitalist networks tended to stimulate the re-ordering of networks at regional or local level (Preston, 1998: 20).

### C. Maritime Network and Cross-cultural Communication

Indonesia, which is just attaining the age of 59 years old, is facing many conflicts that threaten its national integration. But, Indonesia is not the only state in the world that feels an urgent need for national integration. Many countries in the world, such as India, the Philippine, former Yugoslavia and former Soviet Union have been devastated by civil wars due to a lack of political, cultural and economic integration.

The problems related to the process of integration in Indonesia began to emerge after the end of revolution (1945-1949). Many separatist movements and local revolts that threatened disintegration soon broke up: the RMS (Republik Maluku Selatan) in the early of the 1950s, the PRRI (Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia), the PERMESTA (Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta) in the end of the 1950s, as well as other recent separatism movement GPM (Gerakan Papua Merdeka). Whatever their cause, these movements proved that national integration was still not fully achieved. Indonesia's need for greater integration is demonstrated in the twenty-one uprisings or regional rebellions experienced in the first twenty years of its existence as an independent nation-state (from 1945 to 1965) (Drake, 1981: 471-472). Whatever their cause, these movements proved that national integration was still not fully achieved. It is also important to point out that although these disintegrative movements were caused by many factors, but the problem of inequality in economic development was the prominent issue. These regions accused the central government in Jakarta of paying too much attention to the development of Java and not enough to the Outer Islands and for taking too much revenue from the Outer Islands through the exploitation of natural resources (Drake, 1981: 471-472). This gives the impression that there was a kind of wealth drain from the Outer Islands to Java (or from periphery to centre).<sup>12</sup>

It is important that those problems explode when Indonesia is just free from repressive

---

<sup>11</sup> Klein states that Asian maritime shipping and trade had already been well developed into a smoothly operating system before the presence of the Europeans (Klein, 1996: 396).

<sup>12</sup> The idea of 'colonial drain' is still being debated and is not yet resolved. Pierre van der Eng argues that most of the funds flowing out of Indonesia were payments for the services of foreign labour and investment capital in Indonesia (van der Eng, 1993)

regime (Orde Baru) and entering to the era of democratisation and reformation. It means that 'stability' reached by the ORBA was actually integration in appearance only because of political pressure. But this phenomenon can also be found in many cases in which central government always suppresses all kinds of separatist movement even in a country which is considered as a democratic pioneer also oppress violently to the separatist, such as British government suppresses Ireland separatist. Ideally, relationship between central government and *daerah* (region) has to be based on a certain agreement in the framework of national unity. Certainly, law enforcement should be upheld for guarding the agreement.<sup>13</sup>

Considering the fact how serious are those problems in connection with the persistence of the existing Indonesia as a nation-state, new perspective on regional interrelation and socio-political unity has to be found. In this connection, the root of social, political, economical, and cultural structure which became the basis of regional interrelation either in the form of friendship or conflict (conflict management) should be found. For this purpose, writing of maritime history is totally urgent to be done. Maritime history gives a broader opportunity to expose cross-cultural communication among ethnic groups and communities which become the foundation of the process of social and political integration in Indonesia. Maritime connection preconditioned the cross-cultural connection through both shipping and trade activities. Geographical condition enabled these activities could persist from the early time as stated by Braudel.<sup>14</sup>

Braudel's opinion does not much different with those of the principle of Indonesia as a maritime state. Sea does not consider as a separator but as a unifier of islands. In this connection, Indonesia is the political unit binding thousands of islands and hundreds of ethnic groups. The sea functions as the main means of transport. By benefiting of sea transportation, indigenous ruler from various regions in the Indonesian archipelago contacted each other and/or with outside world. Within this process, exchange, trade, political, and cultural contacts have resulted an advanced local cultures. This phenomenon can be seen through the growth of coastal cities and its harbours which became the center of shipping, trade, and political power.

Braudel's work has inspired several researchers to support assumption that sea is a means of unifier of surrounding society by benefiting shipping, trade, cultural, and political activities.

---

<sup>13</sup> When Indonesian nationalist leaders struggled against the Dutch, agreements for establishing Republic of Indonesia was only carried out by leaders who were considered as representation of a certain region and/ or ethnic group in the Netherlands Indies. Due to revolution situation, they did not have enough time to strengthen their leadership formally upon their ethnic group and/ or region they came from, for example: Sam Ratulangi was considered as representation of Manado, Sukarno represented Java, Moh. Hatta Minang and Malays, Daud Beureuh represented Aceh etc.

<sup>14</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, [terjemahan S. Reynold], Vol. I (New York: Harper Colophon Book, 1976) 276. Ia mengatakan bahwa: 'the sea is everything it is said to be: it provides unity, transport, the means of exchange and intercourse, if man is prepared to make an effort and pay a price. But it has also been the great divider, the obstacle that had to be overcome'.



Chauduri, for example, did research on the history of shipping and trade of Indian Ocean.<sup>15</sup> In the meantime, Anthony Reid discusses about the relationship among Southeast Asian societies by benefiting sea as a medium of communication. In this connection the role of Indonesian people was very significant.<sup>16</sup> Even Houben states that the core sea 'Southeast Asian sea' is the Java Sea locating in the center of Indonesian territory.<sup>17</sup>

#### **D. In Search of Regional Interrelation during the Pre-colonial Period**

By exploring the pre-colonial Indonesian history, it is possible to find values which is able to strengthen the broken national integration. It is very important considering the fact that the formation process of Indonesia as a national state is claimed as 'the most important heritage of Dutch colonialism', which is threatened by deformation process in its half of a century of decolonisation.<sup>18</sup> This must have made ruling elite realise there is possibly something wrong with the formation of colonial state which ultimately becomes present Republic of Indonesia. Without denying the fact that the colonial state is the direct predecessor of the Republic, a reflection must be done to the pre-colonial period. During that period, there have been cross-regional and cultural interrelation process which can be viewed the basis of the Indonesian integration process. New paradigm in writing of pre-colonial history should be done for inspiring the future process of national integration in Indonesia.

It is undeniable that colonial state which becomes the direct predecessor of the Republic was an enforced state. The establishment of a colonial state was actually protecting and preserving of capitalism and imperialism. The interest of local inhabitants was neglected except it related with the colonialist interest. In the colonial state, therefore, the interest of central government representing the interest of colonialist state (mother country) was very dominant. In this connection, the tradition of decentralisation and autonomy had been broken by colonial state system. In regions which were directly controlled by Dutch colonial government, colonial bureaucracy (*binnenlandsch bestuur*) was functioned to 'accompany' and as 'consultant' of indigenous bureaucracy (*inlandsch bestuur*). This means that although the decentralisation system was apparently perpetuated but in fact it was tightly controlled by the colonial bureaucracy. Through the bureaucracy, the interest of colonial state was compelled to indigenous people. When the colonial state collapsed, the interest of central government (in the Republic period) became the heir of colonial interest. In the meantime local interests were sufficiently represented by local elite groups who made a political deal (*politik dagang sapi*)

---

<sup>15</sup> K.N. Chauduri, *Trade and Civilization in Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680. Vol. I: The Lands below the winds* (New Haven: 1988); *Vol. II: Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: 1993).

<sup>17</sup> V.J.H. Houben, H.M.J. Maier and W. van der Molen, *Looking in Odd Mirrors: The Java Sea* (Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Asië en Oceanië Leiden Universiteit, 1992) viii.

<sup>18</sup> According to Ricklefs, the Dutch did not create Indonesia, they only defined its territorial extent (Ricklefs, 1981: 138). David Henley says that by establishing the 'territorial extent', the Dutch colonial power, therefore, determined who was to be Indonesian and who was not (Henley, 1996: 5).

with national elite from Jakarta.

Now problems are emerging when ruling elite groups (both national and local) are not dominated by persons who never directly involved in the process of decolonisation and had political deal with national elite groups. They did not involve in armed struggle against colonial power and did not take part actively in the negotiation process between central government in Jakarta and local interest during the early days of Republic establishment.

By implementing a new paradigm in exploring the pre-colonial history of Indonesia, lesson can be found to enrich discourses in developing a model of cross-cultural communication in the pre-colonial period. In this connection, analysis concerning patterns of cross-cultural communication during the pre-colonial period is very important to be done since indigenous political powers interrelated and interacted each other. Although there were many cases of conflicts and accommodation among them alternately, but there were also periods when the wave of cultures and religions influences unified them. Certain culture and religion became a symbol of identity of a community which possibly different in ethnicity. This can be seen in case of the spread of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam becoming common identity which were relatively able to contend with ethnicity corridor. Within this context, research on the development of maritime kingdoms and societies in Indonesia and their cross-cultural communication model is very relevant with the present condition of Indonesia. Contemporary Indonesia requires an intensive efforts for cross-cultural communication among social and ethnic groups. Besides, coastal cities as the center of maritime states were also functioned as the hub of international commerce. As a part of global trade system, these cities had demonstrated their cosmopolitan characters.<sup>19</sup> Cosmopolitan characters of these cities preconditioned to the creation of peaceful coexistence life and tolerance among communities social elements. From the early time, the development of interregional and international trade had positioned coastal cities as nodal point, rendezvous, and settlement of both local and overseas traders.

For those reasons, exploring the roots of national integration from the pre-colonial history will give a broader opportunity to find an ideal model of cross-cultural communication which become the important element to strengthen present national integration in Indonesia. It is recommended that 'a process to be Indonesia' should be the mainstream of writing of Indonesian national history. This refers to social processes (either in the form of competition, conflict or accommodation) which brought Indonesian people to an integrated nation.

The most important element in describing the 'process to be Indonesia' is a balance between element of 'expansion' and 'integration' in every phenomena and processes of history. Element of 'expansion' mainly refers to development and progress achieved by certain

---

<sup>19</sup> See Max Weber, *The City* [translated by Don Martindale & Gertrud Neuwirth] (New York, London: The Free Press & Collier-Macmilland) 65-67. For the study on coastal cities around Madura Straits, see F.A.S. Tjiptoatmodjo, *Kota-kota Pantai di Sekitar Selat Madura (Abad XVII sampai Medio Abad XIX)* (Unpublished dissertation, Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gadjah Mada 1983).

with national elite from Jakarta.

Now problems are emerging when ruling elite groups (both national and local) are not dominated by persons who never directly involved in the process of decolonisation and had political deal with national elite groups. They did not involve in armed struggle against colonial power and did not take part actively in the negotiation process between central government in Jakarta and local interest during the early days of Republic establishment.

By implementing a new paradigm in exploring the pre-colonial history of Indonesia, lesson can be found to enrich discourses in developing a model of cross-cultural communication in the pre-colonial period. In this connection, analysis concerning patterns of cross-cultural communication during the pre-colonial period is very important to be done since indigenous political powers interrelated and interacted each other. Although there were many cases of conflicts and accommodation among them alternately, but there were also periods when the wave of cultures and religions influences unified them. Certain culture and religion became a symbol of identity of a community which possibly different in ethnicity. This can be seen in case of the spread of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam becoming common identity which were relatively able to contend with ethnicity corridor. Within this context, research on the development of maritime kingdoms and societies in Indonesia and their cross-cultural communication model is very relevant with the present condition of Indonesia. Contemporary Indonesia requires an intensive efforts for cross-cultural communication among social and ethnic groups. Besides, coastal cities as the center of maritime states were also functioned as the hub of international commerce. As a part of global trade system, these cities had demonstrated their cosmopolitan characters.<sup>19</sup> Cosmopolitan characters of these cities preconditioned to the creation of peaceful coexistence life and tolerance among communities social elements. From the early time, the development of interregional and international trade had positioned coastal cities as nodal point, rendezvous, and settlement of both local and overseas traders.

For those reasons, exploring the roots of national integration from the pre-colonial history will give a broader opportunity to find an ideal model of cross-cultural communication which become the important element to strengthen present national integration in Indonesia. It is recommended that 'a process to be Indonesia' should be the mainstream of writing of Indonesian national history. This refers to social processes (either in the form of competition, conflict or accommodation) which brought Indonesian people to an integrated nation.

The most important element in describing the 'process to be Indonesia' is a balance between element of 'expansion' and 'integration' in every phenomena and processes of history. Element of 'expansion' mainly refers to development and progress achieved by certain

---

<sup>19</sup> See Max Weber, *The City* [translated by Don Martindale & Gertrud Neuwirth] (New York, London: The Free Press & Collier-Macmilland) 65-67. For the study on coastal cities around Madura Straits, see F.A.S. Tjptoatmodjo, *Kota-kota Pantai di Sekitar Selat Madura (Abad XVII sampai Medio Abad XIX)* (Unpublished dissertation, Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gadjah Mada 1983).

community both geographically and politically. This element can be addressed to the emergence, development, and fall of political powers in Indonesian archipelago both synchronically and diachronically.

Expansion and development attained by a community can be viewed as the highest achievement of the community during a certain period. Viewing from national history perspective, the achievement should be placed as the peaks of local performance and national asset. In this connection, if we are talking about the golden ages it automatically includes the period of decline of a community and political entity such as the kingdom of Mataram, Sriwijaya, Kediri, Singasari, Majapahit, Malaka, Aceh, Palembang, Banjarmasin, Ternate, Tidore, Goa, etc.

It is important to note that the obviousness of the expansion aspect in Indonesian history without balanced by the obviousness of the integration aspect will just produce a national history of Indonesia purely as a mosaic. Such kind of paradigm will give an impression that the national history of Indonesia is a sum of local history and/ or the sum of ethnic history. Is certainly that this paradigm is not an ideal national history. During this 'disintegration era', ethnic groups and/ or certain region will easily claim that certain historical events were not experienced by all elements of Indonesia people. The kingdom of Sriwijaya, for example, will be viewed as merely Sumatran history, not as part of Indonesia history or the history of Majapahit kingdom as the Javanese history, history of Samudera Pasai as the history of Aceh people, etc. The problem is the way how to compose an integrated national history from the scattered ethnic and local history which are apparently not interrelated each other. The national history of Indonesia should be 'a historical process to be Indonesia'.

The obviousness of integration aspect in writing of Indonesia maritime history means the obviousness of formation process of maritime networks reflecting interrelation among social elements or cross-cultural communication among social and political units in Indonesian archipelago. As mentioned before that the Indonesian waters is a network system comprising several sub-networks of trade, political, and cultural activities. It is undeniable that these activities benefited shipping network as a means of transport. For those reasons, it is important to study trade routes and communication among trade centers and markets, direction of trade, commodities traded, etc., which become the basis of national integration process.<sup>20</sup> These networks, therefore, involved trade centers (port cities) as market places which acted as nodal points of maritime trade network.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> This is different with Menkhoff's opinion stressing on trade network sociologically and psychologically. See R. Menkhoff, *Trade routes, trust and trading networks: Chinese small enterprises in Singapore* (Bielefeld: University of Bielefeld, 1993).

<sup>21</sup> Combination of market networks is called as market system, see Weber, *The City*, 65-68. See also Evers, 'Traditional', 92.

## E. National Integration as A Historical Process

Literally, the term integration means 'the making up or composition of a whole by adding together or combining the separate parts of an element, combination into an integral whole, a making whole or entire' (Simpson & Winner, 1989: 1065). The term is often used in various interests either politically, socially, culturally, or economically. It can also refer to the bringing together of parts into a whole (Balassa, 1965: 1).

Drake states that national integration involves the way people in different areas of a country and of different ethnic, socio-cultural and economic backgrounds feel themselves to be united and function as one nation and one identity. An important component for cultivating this kind of feeling is often the experience of a common history. Historical heritage can be vital, because in history the roots of cultural, political and economical structure can be found. The feeling of oneness, either in the course of glory or vagueness, victory and defeat, struggle and success, deepens the awareness and pride of being part of their nation. It becomes the basic foundation of the process of national integration.<sup>22</sup>

National integration has two aspects, namely vertical, or structural, and horizontal, or regional. The vertical/structural aspect refers to the relationship between elites and masses, while the horizontal/ regional aspect refers to the relationship among regions. Both aspects relate to politics. The vertical aspect, for example, is interpreted as the way to eliminate the gap between the elite groups and the masses, while the horizontal aspect refers to the process of reducing discontinuity and local cultural strain in the process of creating a homogenous political society (Syamsuddin in: Bahar & Tangdililing, 1987: 3-27). Yet, national integration does not merely refer to political issues. It is a complexity of politics, culture, society and economy. Political integration does not merely include the relationship between elites and masses, neither does territorial integration relate to the unification of regions. Problems relating to the disintegrative elites-masses-relationship do not only occur at the central government level, but also at the regional or local level. Moreover, a conflict among elites at the top (central) level may lead to the problem of territorial disintegration when some elite groups of the central government, 'escape' to the region where they receive mass support and set a separatist movement in motion. This happened in the case of the PRRI in 1958. Also in some cases, individuals who are viewed as a part of the masses on the centre level will be regarded as elite on the local level.

It is important to note that national integration is the whole process of unifying a nation that entails all aspects of social life: the political, cultural, social as well as the economic. Therefore, national integration embraces political, cultural, social, and economic integration. In

---

<sup>22</sup> Ben Anderson gives an example of President Sukarno who always spoke with complete sincerity of the 350 years of colonialism that bears Indonesia, although concept of 'Indonesia' itself is a twentieth-century invention (Anderson, 1983: 19).

short, national integration is a multi-dimensional, complex, and dynamic concept, involving a great variety of intertwined elements that to some extent operate separately yet cumulatively, and in general are mutually reinforcing. It is a holistic concept in which the totality of separate aspects is greater than the sum of the separate parts (Drake, 1989: 2).

According to Drake, there are four things that can reinforce national integration. *First*, common and integrative historical experience obviously acts as a cohesive force. *Second*, shared socio-cultural attributes can produce an identity different from surrounding states and give a sense of unity, such as language, religious life, culture. *Third*, interaction among diverse people and their cultural background within a nation-state can reinforce nation integration. In this matter, means of transportation and communication such as ships, radio, television, telephone, etc., are key. *Fourth*, regional economic interdependence and some measures of regional balance in economic development aid integration. The stability of national integration, therefore, depends on the dynamic equilibrium of these four aspects. Disintegrative forces arise if one aspect is neglected (Drake, 1989: 1-2). But there is a fifth aspect that is not mentioned by Drake, namely shared legitimising institutions by which all activities of a state and society can be covered either in the field of politics, economy, culture, or social. Shared economic institutions are prerequisites of economic integration such as a common currency, national monetary system, national banking system, taxes and customs, etc.

Bear in mind, national integration has to be understood as a dynamic process. It can be influenced by internal and external factors. Internal factors originate from its own dynamics, while the external factors come from the outside forces that cannot be avoided by a nation-state. Since national integration is a process, it is important to study national integration historically. It has to be noted that there are many countries, having reached an integrative condition in some period, finally face the process of disintegration, as it happened in Yugoslavia and Soviet Union.

It is also understood that the problem of national integration is always an actual issue. National integration is a process that continues as long as the nation-state exists. National integration will never be complete. To study the problem of national integration, therefore, one has to stress the factors or forces that influence and determine the process of integration internally and externally. On the one hand, it is important to analyse the patterns and trends of such a process from which one can discover the strengths and weaknesses of the process of integration. On the other, it is important to find the antagonistic factors arising from the process of disintegration. These can arise from internal and external factors in politics, culture, society and economy or from the nation-state's own contradictions. It seems there is always a struggle between integrative and disintegrative forces, like the fight between the *Yin* (constructive force) and the *Yang* (destructive force) as in Chinese mythology. In Indonesia, plurality in ethnicity, geography, religion, and economy can easily cause disintegration. This chance of this happening could be reduced by enhancing the integrative factors such as the writing of national histories.

developing interregional communication and transportation, minimising interregional economic unevenness, among many other possibilities.

Inconsistent government policies can also cause disharmony in many aspects of social life, such as between the economy and politics, economy and culture, politics and culture. Economic integration often becomes the victim of the forced interest of political integration. The Dutch Colonial government in Indonesia had pursued this kind of policy when they restricted foreign fleets for interisland shipping. The colonial government worried about the political impact of foreign trade activities in the areas where the Dutch only had pseudo-power. The appearance of James Brooke in Sarawak in 1841 caused the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia to fear the possibility of British intrusion in the Netherlands Indies territory (Crisswel, 1994; Tarling, 1971). Similarly, in 1878, the Dutch colonial government responded to the arrival of the British North Borneo Company in present-day Sabah, by dispatching mining prospectors and Dutch colonial officers to the three remote sultanates of Bulungan, Gunung Tabur and Sambaliung in northeastern Kalimantan (Lindblad in: Dick et al., 2002: 96. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch colonial government's efforts of political and military expansion were primarily economically motivated (Lindblad in: Van Goor, 1986: 227). The early 20<sup>th</sup> century beheld the late colonial state's success in achieving further economic and political integration in Indonesia (Cribb, 1994: 1-9).

Hence it is important to note that national economic integration does not always coincide with national political integration. National economic integration mainly refers to growing together in economic terms, while political integration refers to the pooling of sovereignty.<sup>23</sup> The assumption is that both are part of a process either leading to state formation or strengthening it. But the opposite can occur in a state such as Switzerland, where different parts of the state are economically integrated to larger and powerful neighbours, such as Germany and France. There are at least two reasons for their political integration. They may think it is better to be united than to be at war (for example because of religion). They also may feel that it is better to be an equal part of a small country than a peripheral part of a large one (Griffiths, 1999). This question was also faced by Indonesia, seeing that Java has been growing rapidly as the centre of Indonesian politics and economy on the one side, and the increasing involvement of the political centre in the local economy on the other.

Economic integration is a part of national integration. It is crucial for the national cohesion and political stability of the country. In numerous developing countries (as well as in some developed countries), regional dissatisfaction stems from the perception of economic inequalities. This was the major cause of the civil war in Sudan and in the break up of Pakistan

---

<sup>23</sup> In international macro-economic term, economic integration is referred to a process by which transactions such as trade, investment, and aids flows are progressively increased among members in regional group or block. Progress in degree of international economic integration can be made by increasing this transaction flows (Balassa, 1965: 1-3).