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印尼华人社团政治参与研究（1945--2010）

Proceeding Forward Along a Rocky Road:
A Study on the Political Participation of Chinese
Organizations
in Indonesia, 1945--2010

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摘要

本文从历史学的角度，通过考察国际环境、政府政策和华人社会内部各派力量的利益诉求三者之间的互动关系，对二战以来印度尼西亚华人社团的政治参与进行系统的研究。

二战以来印尼华人社团的政治参与经历了短暂辉煌（1949-1965）、全面倒退（1965-1998）以及蓬勃复兴（1998年至今）三个历史时期，华人社团政治参与的曲折发展正好与印尼二战后国际国内局势发展以及从专制走向民主的历程相呼应。为了自身的生存、发展以及服务当地社会，20世纪印尼华人及社团选择参与国家政治生活，但参政之路充满了曲折，先辈们奋斗的足迹中留下了宝贵的历史经验可供后人借鉴，同时也留下深刻的历史教训供后人汲取。在当前民主改革的新时代，参与政治不仅是华人社团的权利，华人社团的复兴本身便是印尼民主政治向前发展的副产品。因此印尼华人社团发挥自身优势参与印尼“大政治”，不仅是在维护和争取华人社会的合法正当利益，也是在巩固和推动印尼的民主政治的发展，虽然目前处于起步阶段，但其前景不容忽视。

本文分为七个部分。导论部分解释了选题的缘起及论文的思路，并对国内外相关学术史的演化进行了概括性的回顾，在此基础上，对研究区域的社会背景、基本史料以及文中所涉及的相关概念进行了简要的介绍。

第一章属于历史渊源，主要介绍印尼建国前包括荷属东印度公司时期、荷印政府时期和日据时期，在印度尼西亚群岛活动的华侨华人社团的政治参与情况，并概述该阶段华侨华人的国籍和政治认同问题是影响社团组织政治参与的主要影响因素。

第二章主要论述苏加诺时期印尼华侨华人社团组织政治参与有过的短暂辉煌，指出印尼建国后的初期，苏加诺政府实行的较为宽松的华侨华人政策给予华侨华人发展的空间，这一时期印尼华侨华人社团数量超过两千，典型代表为印尼国籍协商委员会。它不但在文教领域取得骄人成绩，政治方面亦在印尼华社历史上划上浓墨的一笔，迄今为止的印尼华人社团无出其右。这一时期除印尼华社自身的发展需要外，政府政策和中国印尼两国外交关系亦是印尼华团政治参与重要的影响因素。

第三章重点考察苏哈托时期印尼华人社会的总体情况，包括政府政策下的社会地位、印尼华人社团的发展情况和认同等问题。这一时期，苏哈托政府实行全面同化政

策，华侨社团组织全部被取缔，仅存一些慈善福利、文娱类和基金会等类型的社团组织。政治上的全线封锁导致印尼华人开始三十余年的畸形政治参与，主要模式为主公制度。

第四、五章在阐明民主改革新时期印尼政府的华人政策的前提下，重点以印尼大同党、华裔总会、百家姓协会为个案研究对象，考察这一时期印尼华人社团参政的新模式和新特点。第四章指出当前印尼当地社会的华族观念也正在发生积极的变化，这为印尼华人参政提供了良好的环境。第五章以印尼大同党、华裔总会和百家姓协会为个案研究对象，考察这一时期华人政党和社团组织的政治参与情况，指出目前印尼华人政党当前呈现出未兴先衰、华人社团的政治参与则是方兴未艾的格局。

结论部分对影响二战后华人社团政治参与的国际环境、政府政策以及华人社会内部的多元政治诉求三者之间的关系做出总结，同时结合民主改革与少数族裔之间的互动关系对华人政治参与问题进行探讨。作者认为作为华人社会的纽带与桥梁，作为民主改革时代的产物，尽管目前新时期华人社团的“政治参与”正处于起步阶段，其参与的途径、支持的力量有限，但其坎坷中前行的勇气值得肯定。

关键词：印尼政府 华人社团 政治参与 殊途同归

Abstract

With a historical examination with relationships among the international environment, government policies and diversified internal interest demands from Indonesian Chinese society, this paper attempts to systematically explore the political participation of Indonesian Chinese organizations. It is thought that Indonesian Chinese organizations' development had demonstrated a Brief Resplendence (1945-1965), Overall Retrogression (1965-1998) and Flourishing Revival (1998 until now) course since the World War II. Interestingly, this kind of twisted progress coincided with the development of international and domestic situation in Indonesia after 1945.

In order to attain its own survival, development and better interaction with the mainstream society, Indonesian Chinese and its organizations prone to join in the political life which is full of twists and turns. Lessons should be learned both from the former Chinese leaders (mainly Paranakan but not Totok) and their political activities. Nowadays, that Chinese organizations participates national politics is not only the essential right of Indonesian Chinese, but itself one of by-products of Indonesia democracy. Therefore, the purpose of political participation of Indonesian Chinese organizations is not only about how to guard and fight for lawful rights and interests for the whole Chinese community, but also to consolidate and promote the development of democracy in Indonesia, although it might be young and weak at beginning.

This paper composes of seven parts, with the introduction explaining why and how the author chose this topic, the following five chapters mainly demonstrating and conclusion. Beginning with general introduction of the Chinese organizations development before Indonesia's Independence, which includes both Dutch Colonial Era and Japanese Occupation Period, the first chapter tries to picture a pre-Independence overview of Chinese organizations' political participation, and points out the nationality problem and political identities are the main influence factors.

The second chapter mainly elaborates on the brief brilliant history of Baperki, one of the political paranakan organizations during the Sukarno Era, emphatically pointing out it was the relevantly comfortable social environment that created the development space of Chinese organizations after Indonesia's independence, and that led to the blooming 2000 organizations at the same time. Baperki was considered as the typical Chinese representative

at that time on account of its great achievement both in the social-cultural and political fields. However, except its internal needs, another two things that should be emphasized about the influence factors to political participation of Chinese organizations are the governmental policies and Sino-Indonesia relationship.

The third Chapter basically examines the general situation of Chinese community in the New Order Era, including the social status, the new development of Chinese organizations and their identities. Generally speaking, due to the overall assimilation policies strongly implemented by the government and arm magistrates, all the Chinese organizations were dissolved except some charity, entertainment, culture organizations and foundations. What's more, the political blockade to ethnic Chinese resulted in another bad influence for the next thirty-two year, which was deforming political participation of this group, with Cukong system as the primary pattern.

The fourth and fifth chapters take PIB (Indonesian Chinese party) and INTI and PSMTI these two Chinese organizations as case studies, and examine the current new pattern and character of political participation with the form of organizations, on the precondition of new government policies to Chinese at the beginning of the Reformasi Era. The fourth chapter mainly analyses the conception renewal from the mainstream society, which provide a better environment for ethnic Chinese to get more involved in politics. The following chapter chiefly expounds the political participation of those above Chinese organizations and points out the main distinction between PIB and INTI, PSMTI is PIB cannot gain enough support both from Chinese community and local society, which directly brings about its temporary failure and gives Chinese organization chances to be involved in politics.

Finally, it summarizes with triangle relationship among international environment, government policies and various political needs among the Chinese community, and pay particular emphasis on exploring the interaction between democratic reformation and domestic minorities. In short, the author expect that the political participation of Chinese organizations at present is essential and should be encouraged by ethnic Chinese, mainstream society and government.

Keywords: Indonesia government, Chinese organizations, political participation, unity in diversity

目 录

绪 论.....	1
第一章 历史渊源：印尼建国前华侨华人社团的政治参与	34
第一节 二战前印尼华侨华人的地区和人口分布概况.....	34
第二节 荷印政府的华侨华人政策及华侨华人社团的发展概况.....	41
第三节 荷印政府时期华人社团的政治参与——以新报集团为例.....	52
小 结.....	67
第二章 短暂辉煌：苏加诺时期印尼华人社团的政治参与（1945-1965）	68
第一节 苏加诺时期印尼华侨华人人口分布与认同情况.....	68
第二节 苏加诺政府时期国内政治环境及各党派的华侨华人观.....	82
第三节 苏加诺时期华侨华人社团的政治参与——以印尼国籍协商委员会为例	91
小 结.....	113
第三章 全面倒退：苏哈托时期印尼华人社团的政治参与（1965-1998）	115
第一节 苏哈托政府时期国内各派政治势力的华族观.....	115
第二节 苏哈托政府的华侨华人政策.....	121
第三节 苏哈托时期印度尼西亚华人的地区、人口、认同与社团发展情况.....	127
第四节 苏哈托时期印尼华人的政治参与——以民族统一辅导机构为例.....	139
小 结.....	148
第四章 喜忧参半：民主化改革初期印尼华人个人的政治参与 （1998-2010）	150
第一节 民主改革新时期印尼华侨华人人口数量及分布.....	150
第二节 历届民主改革政府的华人政策与嬗变中的当地社会华族观.....	163
第三节 超越族群的华人个体与政治参与.....	178
小 结.....	216

第五章 方兴未艾：民主化改革初期印尼华人社团的政治参与 (1998-2010)	217
第一节 新时期印尼华人社团的发展情况.....	217
第二节 社会资本理论视野下印尼华人社团的政治参与.....	240
第三节 未兴先衰的印尼华人政党与政治参与.....	254
第四节 方兴未艾的华人社团与政治参与——以印尼华裔总会和印华百家姓协会 为例.....	270
小 结.....	310
结 论.....	310
附表、附录.....	319
主要参考文献.....	356

Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter1 Historical Origin: Ethnic Chinese Organizations’ Political Participation before 1945	34
1.1 Population and Distribution of Ethnic Chinese	34
1.2 Colonial Government Policies to Ethnic Chinese and the Overview of Ethnic Chinese Organizations	41
1.3 Ethnic Chinese Organizations’ Political Participation: Sin Po as Case Study ..	52
1.4 Conclusion	66
Chapter 2 Brief Resplendence: Ethnic Chinese Organizations’ Political Participation during the Sukarno Era (1945-1965)	68
2.1 Population, Distribution and Identity of Ethnic Chinese	68
2.2 Domestic Political Surroundings and Views of Factions to Ethnic Chinese	82
2.3 Ethnic Chinese Organizations’ Political Participation: Baperki as Case Study ..	90
2.4 Conclusion	112
Chapter 3 Overall Retrogression: Ethnic Chinese Organizations’ Political Participation during the Suharto Era (1965-1998)	114
3.1 Views of Political Factions to Ethnic Chinese	114
3.2 Government Policies to Ethnic Chinese	120
3.3 Population, Identity of Ethnic Chinese and the Overview of Ethnic Chinese Organizations	127
3.4 Ethnic Chinese Organizations’ Political Participation: BPKB as Case Study ..	138
3.5 Conclusion	148
Chapter 4 Flourishing Revival: Ethnic Chinese’ Political Participation at the Beginning of Reformasi Era (1998 until now)	149
4.1 Population and Distribution of Ethnic Chinese	149
4.2 Governments’ Policies and the Evolving Views to Ethnic Chinese	162
4.3 Ethnic Chinese’s Trans-ethnic Political Participation	177
4.4 Conclusion	214
Chapter5 Rising Future: Ethnic Chinese Organizations’ Political	

Participation at the Beginning of Reformasi Era (1998 until now)	216
5.1 Overview of Ethnic Chinese Organizations	216
5.2 Ethnic Chinese Organizations' Political Participation in the View of Social Capital	241
5.3 The Declining Ethnic Chinese Parties' Political Participation: PBI as Case Study	256
5.4 The Rising Ethnic Chinese Organizations' Political Participation: INTI and PSMTI as Case Studies	274
5.5 Conclusion	312
Conclusion	314
Appendix	322
Bibliography	358

附表目录

表 1	1860-1930 荷属东印度各岛华侨华人人口统计表.....	36
表 2	1930 年荷印各地区各籍侨生占华侨华人人数百分比.....	38
表 3	爪哇年均收入 1000 盾以上的所得税纳税者.....	43
表 4	苏北华侨书报社信息表 [创办于 1908-1911].....	51
表 5	印尼群岛华人人口递增情况统计表[1930-1956].....	70
表 6	20 世纪 50 年代印尼华侨华人国籍情况统计.....	73
表 7	1956 年华人人口和印尼总人口对比情况统计.....	74
表 8	20 世纪 50 年代印尼华人籍贯情况统计表.....	76
表 9	印尼侨团分布及其政治倾向情况表.....	78
表 10	华侨华人出入印尼国境人数统计表[1936—1956].....	93
表 11	1955 年制宪委员会选举结果.....	104
表 12	1860-1998 年印尼华侨华人人口估算.....	129
表 13	2000 年印尼国家统计局关于境内中国人数的统计.....	152
表 14	台湾侨务委员会关于印尼华人人口总数的统计数据[2000--2009].....	154
表 15	2000 年印尼 11 省已有确切华人人口统计表.....	159
表 16	2000 年印尼 19 省[未有确切华人人口]人口总数第八的族群情况统计表.....	160
表 17	1999 年大选中的五大政党国会议席得票情况.....	182
表 18	2004 年印度尼西亚各政党国会华族候选人数情况.....	189
表 19	2004 年印度尼西亚全国 32 省地方代表理事会 (DPD) 华人参选情况.....	189
表 20	2004 年印度尼西亚国会华人议员统计表.....	190
表 21	2004 年印度尼西亚各政党国会华族候选人数简表.....	192
表 22	2009 年印度尼西亚各政党国会议员华人得票情况.....	198
表 23	2009 年四级议会席位和候选人数.....	208
表 24	1955 年和 1999 年大选中印尼国籍协商委员会与印尼大同党得票对比表.....	257
表 25	2004 年十大政党国会候选人情况一览表.....	268
表 26	担任政治职务的印尼百家姓协会、华裔总会成员.....	284
表 27	华裔总会、百家姓协会召开/参与的政治研讨会一览表.....	287

List of Tables

1.1.1 Progressive Increase in Ethnic Chinese Population, 1860-1930	36
1.1.2 Population of Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, 1860-1930	38
1.2.1 Taxpayers: Average Annual Income above Rp.1000	42
1.2.2 Information on Ethnic Chinese Organization of Reading Newspaper and Books in Sumatera Utara, Built Between 1908 and 1911	51
2.1.1 Progressive Increase in Ethnic Chinese Population, 1930-1956	70
2.1.2 Statistical Information on Ethnic Chinese' Nationalities in Indonesia in 1950s	72
2.1.3 Population Comparison between Ethnic Chinese and Total Indonesian Population	73
2.1.4 Statistical Information on Ethnic Chinese from Different Native Places in 1950s	75
2.1.5 Distribution and Political Orientations of Ethnic Chinese Organizations	77
2.3.1 Statistical Information on the Immigration Numbers of Ethnic Chinese, 1936-1956	92
2.3.2 1955 Election Results for Members of the Constituent	103
3.3.1 Estimated Data of Population of Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, 1860-1998	128
4.1.1 BPS's Statistical Data on Number of Domestic Chinese in Indonesia, 2000 ..	151
4.1.2 OCAC (Taiwan)'s Statistical Data on Number of Domestic Chinese, 2000-2009	153
4.1.3 Statistical Data on Population of Ethnic Chinese in accounted 11 Provinces, 2000	158
4.1.4 Statistical Data on Population of Ethnic Chinese in unaccounted 19 Provinces, 2000	159
4.3.1 Parliamentary Seats of Five Political Parties in 1999 Election	181
4.3.2 Number of Ethnic Chinese Candidates in 2004 Congress Election	188
4.3.3 Overview of Ethnic Chinese Candidates Electing for DPD in 32 Provinces, 2004	188
4.3.4 Overview of Ethnic Chinese Senator, 2004	189
4.3.5 Number of Ethnic Chinese Candidates Representing for Parties, 2004	191
4.3.6 Votes Number of Ethnic Chinese Candidates Representing for Parties, 2009	197

4.3.7 Total Seat Numbers of DPR, DPD, MPR, PPR and Number of Party Candidates	207
5.3.1 Votes Comparison between Baperki (1955 Election) and PBI (1999 Election)	256
5.3.2 Number of Parliament Candidates of Top 10 Parties, 2004	267
5.4.1 Overview of Senators as Membership in INTI and PSMTI	283
5.4.2 Overview of Political Seminars Held by INTI and PSMTI	285

厦门大学博硕士论文摘要库

附图目录

图 1	1860 年至 1947 年印度尼西亚华侨华人总人口增长趋势图.....	36
图 2	中国侨民历年进入印度尼西亚人数统计 1900-1940]	37
图 3	1930 年荷印各岛侨生性别比例图	39
图 4	对于各年龄段受访者印尼华人总体印象的问题调查结果.....	172
图 5	对于各年龄段受访者是否意识到印尼华人对于国家建设贡献的问题调查结果.....	173
图 6	对于各年龄段受访者是否支持印尼华人应当更多参与印尼政治生活的问题调查结果	181
图 7	修宪前印度尼西亚 1945 年宪法的政治结构	187
图 8	2004 年修订后的印度尼西亚政治结构	192
图 9	对于各年龄段受访者是否支持印尼华人参加国会议员选举、地方代表理事会议员等竞选活动的问卷调查结果.....	214
图 10	华人社团内部社会资本运行示意图	245
图 11	结构化的华人社团与社会资本	246
图 12	对于各年龄段受访者是否支持组建印尼华人正常的问卷调查结果..	262
图 14	印尼华裔总会地方分会建设[新增]10 年历程 [1999-2009]	274
图 15	印尼百家姓协会地方分会建设图 [1998-2010]	275
图 13	印尼华裔总会中央总会组织结构图	276
图 16	印尼华裔总会中央总会内部运作图	277
图 17	印华百家姓协会中央执行委员会组织结构图	280
图 18	对于各年龄段受访者是否支持组建印尼华人压力集团的问卷调查结果	308

List of Figures

1.1.1 Population Trend of Ethnic Chinese: Indonesia, 1860-1947.....	36
1.1.2 Number of Chinese Diaspora Arriving in Indonesia, 1900-1947.....	36
1.1.3 Sex Percentage of Paranakan in Indonesia, 1930	38
4.2.1 Questionnaire Results: the Overall View of Local Ethnicities to Ethnic Chinese	171
4.2.2 Questionnaire Results: Realization to Ethnic Chinese' Contribution to National Building	172
4.3.1 Questionnaire Results: Support to Ethnic Chinese on Getting More Involved in Politics.....	180
4.3.2 Indonesia Political Structure in 1945 Constitution.....	185
4.3.3 Indonesia Political Structure in Revised Constitution, 2004	191
4.3.4 Questionnaire Results: Support to Ethnic Chinese on Participating Election in DPR, DPD and MPR	212
5.2.1 Structure Diagram of Internal Social Capital in Ethnic Chinese Organizations	244
5.2.2 Structured Ethnic Chinese and Social Capital.....	245
5.3.1 Questionnaire Results: Support to Ethnic Chinese on Building Ethnic Party	261
5.4.1 General Structure Diagram of INTI	275
5.4.2 Branches Building of INTI, 1999-2009	275
5.4.3 Branches Building of PSMTI, 1998-2010	275
5.4.4 Specific Structure Diagram of INTI.....	276
5.4.5 Specific Structure Diagram of PSMTI.....	278
5.4.6 Questionnaire Results: Support to Ethnic Chinese on Pressure Group.....	31006

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