PSYCHOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND PEACE CASES AMONG PEOPLE IN A NATION: CASE OF CHINESE- INDONESIAN

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ABSTRACT

Discrimination, undeniable, leads to the destruction of a community in any country. Thus, equality in social, political, and legal standing should be implemented relatively in the country and gain trust from citizenship. Related to the issue, the Indonesian case has been an example of discrimination on the surface of social and political dimensions. Looking back at Indonesian political history, this research evaluates the discrimination critically and bring out the ethnicity concept for the possible solution. Finally, the concept of *keselarasan* (togetherness), that has been known among the Indonesian should be implemented in the community, along with the Christian's religious values. This concept is hoped to be conducted together with the national concept of 'unity in diversity'.

Keywords: Discrimination, Conflict, Togetherness, Indonesian, Unity in diversity

I. INTRODUCTION

Social, political, and legal equality is a fundamental democratic principle. In a pluralistic society, like Indonesia, the treatment of minorities is one of the essential indicators of the entrenchment of democratic values. Indonesian, as the vast archipelago, hosts many different ethnicities, cultures, and religions (Martini et al., 2019). The country is the fourth most populous country in the world. Therefore, given the diversity of Indonesia and the existence of ethnic, cultural, and religious antagonisms, the search for a synthesis between these divergent groups must be a top priority for political reformers and pro-democracy advocates throughout the nation. While there are many manifestations to this problem, the purpose of the current study is to focus specifically on the issue of discrimination within the civil service against the Chinese Indonesian minority in Indonesia.

Yumarma (1996), who is a Roman Catholic researcher, points out that cultural and religious pluralism existed from the beginning of the period the separate kingdoms which came to make up the Republic of Indonesia in the historicism. From the time processes, the era of reformation, there has been increasing pressure on administrations to address the issue of discrimination against minorities, especially the ethnic Chinese minority, reflecting some of the liberal aspirations held by the public and progressive politician. Unfortunately, many of the procedural efforts of post-New Order governments in Indonesia (such as constitutional amendments, legislation, decrees, and legal revision) have failed to translate into substantive change, and thus the Chinese-Indonesian community continues to face discrimination.

Likewise, the deeply rooted antagonism between *pribumi* (indigenous) and *non-pribumi* (non- indigenous) still proves socially and politically divisive in Indonesia. Given these facts, the challenge for observers is to identify why government initiatives to end institutional discrimination have failed to translate into substantive change. The other research, such as Amy Freedman (2003); Evi et al. (2013), points out through their research when they find the question on ethnicity was asked to all people in Indonesia by first defining the status of citizenship and followed by asking the ethnicity of Indonesian citizens only. Another area of discrimination, stated by Taufiq and Catherine (2019), also appears in the sport when the 'pribumi' sportsmen have better promotion than the Chinese athletes (Tanasaldy & Palmer, 2019). This condition is supported by Turner when she sees that the division between the *pribumi* and *non-pribumi* (Turner, 2003) Therefore, we propose alternative means to bring an end to racial discrimination in Indonesia, which uses a new concept of *Keselarasan* as ethical religious of Javanese concept. It

is crucial to resolve the problem, and useful to make clear analytical distinctions between systemic/procedural changes and changes in institutional cultures and civil servant attitudes when addressing the problem of racial discrimination in Indonesia.

II. METHODOLOGY

This research applied the qualitative method using the interpretative as the mean of interpreting the movement of the past arguments concerning the Chinese Indonesian discrimination in the political, theological framework. The philosophical worldview also is conducted through this research, which is the post-positivism philosophy to show the holistic of arguments in the social dimension to conclude the research. The post-positivism leads to the epistemological concept, which is to construct the idea between ethical theology and politics in the term of political, theological concept (Crotty, 1998). In term of political worldview, We should refer back to the history of Indonesian Independence and *Pancasila* as the sole ideology of Indonesia (Latupeirissa et al., 2019), especially the first point that is 'Believing one and the only God'. Looking at history, we should get the main picture of how religion also plays an essential role in the discrimination for Chinese Indonesian.

The interpretative describes the possible solution for the discrimination for Chinese Indonesian, and the solution should come up from the Indonesian context through the excellent value as Galtung (1996) insists it. The possible solution will come up through the idea of Javanese ethical value of Indonesian context, which *Keselarasan*, in order to abolish the discrimination among the Chinese Indonesian through the social context and political perspective.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pancasila as the sole Ideology of Indonesia

At the beginning of the 13th century, Islam appeared as a political force in the Indies in the form of port cities and the establishment of the Indian Ocean trading system. Its followers became more influential in South East Asia, where they opened port cities from North Sumatra, Central Sumatra to the North Coast of Java. They also linked with international trade, for example, the Indian and China Oceans and the Eastern Mediterranean. Local people took for granted the trading system sailing as far as the Persian Gulf, East Africa and Istanbul. Moreover, they participated in the ritual pilgrimage and study at the great centre of Islamic learning.

The arrival of the first Europeans Portuguese, in 1511, caused the Islamic inhabitants to fight to maintain their trading rights. According to Uka Tjandrasasmita (1976), the Portuguese, who were under the leadership of Diego Lopez da Sequeira, engaged in war with the Islamic kingdom, i.e. the Kingdom of Mallaca. The Portuguese wanted to conquer the spice trade of North coast Java. However, the Portuguese were defeated on January 1st, 1513 and moved to Ambon.

The Dutch formed VOC in 1602 to control the Spice Islands [Ternate and Tidore] in Indonesia for the European Market. On February 23rd 1605, the Dutch navy, under the command of Steven Van Haghen, defeated the Portuguese in Ambon. In 1611, the Dutch captured Jakarta and re-named it Batavia and gained the Spice Islands trade monopoly. The Dutch involvement in the island of Java was challenged by the Islamic Kingdoms on the north coast. However, the Dutch controlled Java until the end of the 18th century. This allowed missionaries to bring Christianity to Indonesia with the help and political influence of the VOC. As Kratz points out: "In the days of the VOC attempts were made to stamp out Islam locally and prospective pilgrims were banned from using the company's ships for the voyage."

By 1799, the VOC collapsed financially, due to mismanagement and corruption. After a decade, Indonesia fell under the rule of the British East India Company (1811-1816), with Thomas Stamford Raffles as the Governor-General of Java. In 1942, the Japanese overran South East Asia, and the Japanese army invaded the Dutch East Indies, after that the Dutch army surrendered in March. The Japanese ruled Indonesia until 1945, when the allies bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki on sixth and 9th August 1945. It created a power vacuum in Indonesia and Sukarno, and Mohammad Hatta took advantage of the situation to proclaim Indonesian Independence on August 17th 1945.

In the light of the above history, Rajiman Wediodinigrat was prompted to ask the question: if Indonesia could gain Independence, what should the appropriate state philosophy for free Indonesia be? (Indra, 1991) Therefore, this question was commonly asked, before and after Indonesia achieved its Independence. (Kahin, 1952) On April 18th 1945, the Japanese Government, recognizing the inevitability of defeat, formed the Committee for Indonesian

Independence, called BPUPKI. This committee was under the chairmanship of Dr Rajiman Wediodinigrat, discussed the future state of Indonesia. In meetings held on May 29th - June 1st 1945, debate concentrated on whether Indonesia would have an Islamic or secular ideology as an independent country. The committee had 62 members including Sukarno, who was the first President of Indonesia and Mohommad Hatta, who was the first Vice-President of Indonesia. The 62 members were active in politics in Islamic parties such as SI and the "non-Islamic" party - PNI.

The members thought that if Indonesia were based on Islam, it would divide into two nations, which are an Islamic and non-Islamic Indonesia (e.g. Christian, Hindu and Buddhist). It led Sukarno to state emphatically, "Even though I am a Muslim, the party [PNI-Sukarno as the leader] cannot stand for Islamic ideology. For me [Sukarno] the ideology of nationalism is the best guarantee for Independence and the future of Indonesia citizens, both Christians and Muslims."

An alternative would have been for Indonesia would become a secular nation. As Darmaputera pointed out if this had occurred, the problem of the diversity would have been solved, but on what basis could the diversity of religions, ethnic groups and cultures be united? (Darmaputera, 1982). It caused Sukarno to propose 'Pancasila' as the factor for uniting diversity in Indonesia. A debate continued between the Islamic parties (SI) and Nationalist people (PNI). The heart of the debate was that the Islamic party wanted the state of Indonesia to be based on religion, while the Nationalist party wanted Indonesia kept apart from religion. Because time ran out for the preparation of Indonesian Independence, they created a 'Small Committee'. The aim of this 'Small Committee' was to campaign for that Pancasila as the ideology of independent Indonesia. They came to an agreement that Pancasila would be the ideology of Indonesia, as long as, they added (to satisfy the Islamic groups) with "the obligation to carry out the Islamic sharia for its adherents" (Effendy, 1988).

It led the nationalists to 'bargain' with the Islamic people. Instead of the seven words, the Nationalists put monotheistic theology into the first principle of Pancasila. Thus, it reads 'Belief in the One and Only God. By the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila reads as follows until now: Belief in the One and Only God. In the light of the change, Pancasila is 'an open-ideology' where it can be interpreted widely. For example, the first principle of Pancasila can be explicated by religious people according to their own beliefs. It, therefore, means that the first principle of Pancasila does not characterize only the Islamic faith. This change made most Islamic people feel 'miserable.

In contrast, some Muslim people agreed with the sentence of 'Belief in God and the Only God', as embracing monotheism in the Islamic perspective. The largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, i.e. NU and Muhammadiah, accepted Pancasila as the ideology of Indonesia. Eka Darmaputera, who is a prominent Christian leader, says, Pancasila, therefore, is the best solution for the fundamental reality that Indonesia epitomizes unity and diversity. Pancasila plays a critical role in the whole life of Indonesian. It is the philosophical basis of the State of Indonesia and the source of all law in Indonesia. The spirit of the nation, its identity, and the noble of aspirations are manifested and developed by Pancasila.

From what has been said above, it follows that the motto of Indonesia is Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Various, yet One; Diverse, but United). This motto aims to encourage the Indonesian people to maintain the unity and peace of the country. However, this may lead us to ask: have Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika been able to prevent the conflict for the unity and diversity of Indonesia in a modern context? Have they been able to answer the problems of nation-building, order, and development? Can Pancasila provide a framework for the problem of orthopraxis and orthodoxy, i.e. a shared conception of the fundamental rights and the common good?

Discrimination: Antagonism and Agony

Historically, the process of nation-building in Indonesia, the world largest archipelago with approximately 13,000 islands and some 300 distinct ethnolinguistic groups, required the development of some fundamental imperatives such as the principle of pluralism — ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious. Plurality is reflected in Indonesia's motto "Unify in Diversity" (Bhineka Tunggal Ika), which signifies that the existence of minorities is not only recognized but that their rights are to be fully respected. At times in Indonesia's volatile history, the principle of pluralism was abused and neglected, for example under the Dutch Colonial Rule and during the repressive New Order era, and Indonesia's ethnic minorities suffered from maltreatment and subjugation. The hope is that Indonesia can overcome the prejudices that have been passed on from previous generations and rid the nation of discrimination in all its manifestations - institutional, psychological, systematic, and cultural.

Mistrust and prejudice happen to Chinese Indonesian can be traced into the riots occurred in the part of Indonesia. One must view the tragedies in Indonesia, [in which the primary cause of the problems will develop], in the context of SARA (ethnicity, religion, ancestry, and a group of people). In recent years, Indonesia has gone through real matters about SARA. The tragedy of Situbundo on October 10th 1996 seems to be the beginning of the 'religious incident outbreak' between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia for the modern era that leads into the biggest riot to Chinese Indonesian in 1998. The matter of discrimination for Chinese Indonesian is still present today. Although the President Abdurrahman Wahid, who was the fourth president of Indonesia, could try to give the effort to solve the discrimination of Chinese Indonesian in term of religion, the entity of being Chinese is still present today (Fittrya, 2013).

After the purges of 1965-66, in which at least 500,000 real or suspected communists were killed, a systematic campaign against the ethnic Chinese followed. The New Order regime promoted anti-Chinese politics in which the minority ethnic group faced exclusion from Government, the military and national police forces, and had no real opportunities for political expression (Tyson, 2003). University enrolment was circumscribed and limited, Chinese schools were closed, the use of Chinese names discouraged, and almost all the Chinese language newspapers were banned (Djalal, 2001). The Chinese were only allowed to be active in the business sector, so they became an exclusive group segregated from indigenous Indonesians.

One of the discriminatory regulations having a lasting and visible effect upon the Chinese Indonesian community is the Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia or Republic of Indonesia Citizenship Certificate (SBKRI), which forces all Indonesian's of Chinese descent to declare their status as Indonesian citizens belonging to a minority ethnic group. Chinese Indonesians are still required to have an SBKRI as stipulated in the Citizenship Law No. 62/1958 (Tyson, 2003). Since 1958 Chinese-Indonesians have had to produce the SBKRI documents in order to renew or obtain passports and identity cards (Kartu Tanda Penduduk), to process credit applications and business licenses, and even to enrol at some state universities. (Jahja, 1983) It is widely acknowledged by government officials, legislators, legal experts, NGO's, civil society, and advocates of human rights that the SBKRI requirement is a discriminatory regulation (Arifin et al., 2017).

The other findings of discrimination also are found by other researches, when they find the question on ethnicity on the application form of making a passport and is asked to all people in Indonesia by first defining the status of citizenship and followed by asking the ethnicity of Indonesian citizens only. Another finding of discrimination also is found in the sport when the 'pribumi' sportsmen have better promotion than the Chinese athletes(Tanasaldy & Palmer, 2019) and this condition is supported by Turner when she sees that the division between the *pribumi* and *non-pribumi* in the social dimension (Turner, 2003). By segregating one ethnic minority in Indonesia and demanding that they abide by a different set of citizenship rules than other groups is an illegitimate process that needs to be eliminated (Tyson, 2003). However, the previous researches give some solutions, but they do not use the philosophical Javanese, Keselarasan, as the ethical religion or ethnicity. Based on this premise, there have been increasing efforts to revoke all discriminatory laws, regulations, and practices in Indonesia since the political transition in 1998.

As a result, the antagonism and agony of Chinese Indonesian give the reflection of the discrimination, which leads to the continual conflict. In other words, the discrimination positively affects to the conflict between *pribumi* and non – *pribumi* in term of social, political, and legal equality in the Republic of Indonesia.

Hans Kung poses his presupposition when he builds up a global ethic by saying that there is no survival in the world without ethic and Peace can be achieved when there is a dialogue between religions informing global ethics. Hans Kung, in other words, implies that the intervention of religions is greater affection to society as global. He believes that reconciliation between people depends upon the success of inter-religious dialogue. However, this leads us to ask the question: Can discrimination be achieved without justice? Or will ethics ever be completed if the goal is not discriminated? How much is discrimination dependent on ethics?

The investigation of Hans Kung through the social responsibility of conflict and peace engagement has ever said that there can be no peace among the nations without Peace among the religion. He seems to be consistent when he sees that the conflict should be valued through the worth itself. This also is seen through the Trilateral Science of the data, theories, and values triangle by Johan Galtung. Conflict and Peace are dependent much on the values because values play a particular if not unique role. In other words, the thesis of conflict and peace studies should rely on the values, because without values, peace and conflict studies in general and world studies in particular.

Without the value of Peace, both critical and constructive Peace becomes impossible, and the discrimination is still present among the Chinese Indonesian. Lawrence Grinter studies the analysis of Sinic Asia regarding conflict and Peace, and he finds out most of the conflict is started across politics, culture, and warfare. Furthermore, this analysis shows the condition of Chinese Indonesian, who struggle against the discrimination of racial or identity in Indonesian society (*pribumi* or indigenous). In other words, the racial discrimination of Chinese Indonesian is related to politics, culture and warfare, and this discrimination has gone further.

Ethical Javanese, which is Keselarasan, is the potential to resolve the discrimination of identity of Chinese Indonesian. Keselarasaan concept, for Javanese people, is to live harmoniously without conflict and always make Peace with others (Kompasiana, 2020). The concept of Keselarasan maintains the value of the Peace and gives a peaceful atmosphere to others because the mindset of this concept is the corporate identity. The concept of Keselerasan shows the quality of relationship characterized by balance, concordance, appropriateness, avoidance of public conflict and the composite whole of reality. This concept also seems to be rooted in the ethical religion of Christianity, because at one level Kung's thesis is hard to argue against when he sees the majority of the population of the world is religious when they are at discrimination, their gods are invariably at war too. Therefore, it would seem that if we reconciled the gods, we would come closer to reconcile the people. It also applies to the people who hold political power must work within the framework of a just order and commit themselves to the most nonviolent, peaceful solutions possible.

The concept of *Keselarasan* is in line with the religious concept in the parable of the Kingdom of God in Luke 15: 11-31, especially the opening arm of the Father for the lost son. It expresses the welcome sign for them in the community as the co-equal with the word '*keselarasan*' in the Indonesian context. We will, therefore, draw out from the parable of Prodigal Son lesson for the social level, because the problem of discrimination of Chinese Indonesian seems to stem from the social injustice. The parable of 'prodigal son' is characterized by three figures – the Father, the older brother and the younger brother. A close relation identifies each of the characters, i.e. his Father (v. 12) and your brother (v. 27), so their identity is significant throughout the parable.

The parable itself begins with the request by the younger son to have his share of the estate (vv. 11-12). After he gets all that is his, he departs from his home. The departure, according to Volf, is that "it does not mean an act of separation for the formation of a distinct identity, but an act of exclusion by which the self pulls itself out of the relationships without which it would not be what it is and cuts itself off from responsibilities to other and makes itself their enemy."

If Volf's definition of departure is right on a social level, then when the younger son comes back to the place where he belongs after spending his wealth and suffering severe famine (vv. 13-14), he realizes that the others whom he wants to push out from his world still belong to him (Volf, 1996). The coming home begins with a reflection on his condition and the recollection of his belonging. Therefore, even the memory of belonging makes him come back home; however, he cannot be a pure son because he has been shaped by the circumstances of his departure, which cannot be erased. However, the remarkable attitude of the Father is based on forgiveness and loving his son. Even though the Father lets him have his inheritance and permits to go, but the son remains still in the heart of the Father. It implies that the Father has a memory of belonging and when the son comes home, his heart is full of compassion; thus, he puts his arms around him and kisses him (v. 20). It brings Darell Bock to point out that the Father's compassion does not cease, but transfers to the angry brother and calms him down when the elder brother is consumed with the issue of justice for himself.

Luke 15 states that forgiveness and loving do not depend upon justice, but upon the *keselarasan* and will eventually lead to the confession of the younger son. It leads Bock to suggest that, because of the *keselarasan*, justice means that the son should be received back with joy and celebration (Bock, 1994). Therefore, the concept of *Keselarasan* is believed to be a possible step in eliminating the discrimination of Chinese people in Indonesia.

Firstly, Chinese Indonesian should involve in the social matter throughout Indonesia and make close to the indigenous people in order to bring the gap to decline. Secondly, Chinese Indonesian also should share the portion of economic wealth with the indigenous people through the program of labour intensive to bring the economic condition to the next level. Thirdly, the indigenous and the Indonesian Government should implement the Javanese ethical concept of *keselarasan* in all aspect due to the elimination of discrimination. The open arm and 'the will to love' is believed to bring unity in Indonesia. Finally, the *keselarasan* is easily the concept of Indonesian people because Indonesian people are known as friendly people in the world.

IV. CONCLUSION

Overall, discrimination of Chinese Indonesian indeed becomes the classic issue in Indonesia, and the involvement of the past Government also plays a vital role to make the condition worse. The discrimination of Chinese Indonesia is not only on the level of social but also furthers to political, cultural and economic. The concept of *Keselarasan* and the dialogue of inter-religious can create the gap to decrease and lead to the elimination. It is also identified as the religious concept in Christianity, especially in the parable of the 'Kingdom of God'. Religious dialogue, without the principled assertion that it is never appropriate to use religion to give the moral sanction to the use of violence, can be achieved through the peace of religions.

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