

## Resolution to Ethnic Conflict: Anti-Chinese Riots in Garut, Indonesia, in the middle of the Twentieth Century

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### Abstract

The Anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia are a dark side of history that must be uncovered. The riots caused by ethnicity and racism worldwide, such as the recent Anti-Chinese issue in the United States, also occurred even in Indonesia after World War II. The racial riots in Garut destroyed Chinese-owned houses, factories, and shops on two consecutive days. The research uses historical methods, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography, that reveal the memories of victims, perpetrators, witnesses, and rare primary personal archives. Through a social history approach, the research indicates that not only ethnicity causes violence but also social, political, and religious sentiments initiated by youth organizations, local religious leaders, and former followers of the revolutionary movement. This study provides benefits so that the public and stakeholders can manage ethnic, religious, racial, and inter-group issues to avoid ethnic conflicts that end in violence.

**Keywords:** Indonesian history; political conflict; religious sentiment; revolutionary movement; social violence.

### INTRODUCTION

Historically, the Chinese first came to the archipelago in the early 5th century AD (Beal, 1887, p. 205; Legge, 1886, pp. 111–113), and relations that have lasted for centuries have been diaspora in the archipelago. Recent data show that in 2011 the Chinese were scattered and found in almost every country, with 40.3 million people in 148 countries, the most massive number in Asia (Poston & Wong, 2016, p. 349). The United Nations states that China was the fourth largest country, after India, Mexico, and Russia, in the world's diaspora population in 2020, with a population of 9.8 million (M. McAuliffe & A. Triandafyllidou, 2021, p. 202). Research by Diandono & Purbantina (2022), shows that Chinese citizens abroad reach 50 million people (Purbantina, 2022, p. 399). The issue of diaspora has also given rise to problems regarding how the Chinese community interacts, adapts, and even conflicts with the areas they live in, including in post-independence Indonesia. Donald L. Horowitz (2000) examines the relationship between diaspora and conflict, where ethnic conflict is related to violence in diaspora lands, especially Anti-Chinese related to economic and political problems in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia (Horowitz, 2000, pp. 118–122).

In order to explain how the root conditions began for the post-independence Chinese conflict, it is necessary to look at the historical background of the Chinese during Colonialism, the emergence of Chinese nationalism, and its influence on Indonesia. China's defeat in the war with Japan in 1895 and the humiliation experienced in 1900 with the entry of allied troops into Peking led to a national movement in China (Yan & Hyman, 2020). This movement in 1911 succeeded in overthrowing the corrupt Ching Dynasty (Hao, 2020). The trend in the 1900s spread to Java. This national revival could easily affect the Chinese in Java of Indonesia because they felt they

experienced unfair treatment from the Dutch East Indies Government (Lin, 2020). They did not have political rights so that they could not fight for their interests in legislation. The leaders of the Chinese group thus did not influence the government. They were only appointed based on the right to petition against the bureaucracy (Liem, 1964).

All the treatment experienced by the Chinese people in Java gave rise to the awareness that they had to depend on themselves entirely (Claver, 2020). Their only hope was to merge with the emancipating ancestral country, and the Chinese government did not reject this aspiration, even encouraged. The movement that arose was called the so-called Greater China Movement. The Chinese Malay press developed into an organ to voice Chinese complaints, for example *Li Po* (1901) in Sukabumi, *Chabar Perniaga* (1903) in Batavia (now Jakarta), and *Pewarta Soerabaia* (1902) in Surabaya (Liem, 1964). The mass media published at that time showed that ethnic Chinese had a role in conveying various information and discourses related to the group, perhaps even leading to participation in political life (D'Angelo & Lombard, 2008).

The Greater China movement increased, and in 1907 and 1908, the *Saing Hwee* (Chinese Chamber of Commerce) was established in various Java regions. The Peranakan Chinese and the original (*toto*) held the leadership together, but the original seemed to outperform the Peranakan Chinese. Still, in 1907 T'ung-Meng Hui, the association of Chinese people sworn together with the revolutionary Sun Yat-Sen party, formed its branch in Batavia. This branch subsequently changed its name to *Chi-nan she*, spreading extreme doctrines (Suryadinata, 2002).

Concerning the Chinese movement, the Dutch East Indies government was worried that it would continue to separate the Chinese people who had lived for generations in the Dutch East Indies from the ties of statehood. Various kinds of repairs were made in such a short time. In 1908 the so-called *Hollandsch Chineesche Scholen* was established; in 1910, Foreign Easterners could live freely in provincial capitals, residences, districts, municipalities or districts, and certain market places designated by the local government. In 1916, the use of road passes was abolished. And in 1918, there was complete abolition of the coercion of living in certain villages.

Entering the early 20th century, the relationship between the wholesale trade of Europeans (mainly the Dutch) and the intermediary trade of Chinese also improved (Liem, 1964). The implication is that the trafficking of Chinese people has progressed very rapidly in almost all cities in Indonesia. The placement of the Chinese in the colonial economic monopoly led to confrontations with the natives that led to hostility and resistance (Rochadi, 2021, p. 262). In Garut, West Java, the trading business owned by ethnic Chinese grew after the Dutch East Indies government issued a policy in the form of special rights to appoint suppliers for European companies, especially Dutch-owned plantations outside Garut. The granting of these privileges caused jealousy among the natives, who initiated Anti-Chinese sentiment in Garut.

Based on his study of ethnic conflicts, Horowitz stated that control over trade and economic life could create vulnerable issues for inter-ethnic relations (Horowitz, 2000). In the field of historical research, research on the anti-Chinese incident in West Java in 1963 showed a gap between the indigenous population and the Chinese due to social and economic relations (Pangestu et al., 2021). Anti-Chinese riots even in the 1960s also occurred in other areas of West Java, such as in Cirebon, Bandung, Bogor, Sumedang, Tasikmalaya, Sukabumi, and Garut. This condition is also inseparable from the collapse of Soekarno's power, which was replaced by the New Order related to the worsening of Indonesia's relations with China, as well as the forced assimilation policy that was imposed, as well as the dynamics of the issue of Chinese identity for the Chinese (Aryodiguno, 2019). Therefore, due to the complexity of the various aspects behind the Anti-Chinese riots in Garut, a historical study is needed to explain the root causes of the Anti-Chinese violence that occurred after independence, which continues in Indonesia.

In another research on democracy in Indonesia, even the issue of violence against ethnic Chinese did not end sporadically in the 1990s, one of which was due to the dominance of the Chinese business economy (Horowitz, 2013, pp. 32–35). During the fall of Suharto's rule, there was even violence against ethnic Chinese in 1998 in big cities such as Jakarta, Medan, and Solo (Panggabean & Smith, 2011). Research on the collective memory of the victims in 1998 showed that there was trauma and suffering for the individuals who experienced and narrated the riots (Himawan et al., 2022). In Surakarta, ethnic conflicts between Javanese and Chinese also occurred during the 1998 reformation period, even a dozen years earlier, namely in 1980, which shows that the ethnic conflict has not been resolved (Riyadi et al., 2018). Elites also used religious sentiments to achieve political goals by using anti-Chinese issues during the democratic transition period in Indonesia from 1997 to 2004 (Alfirdaus, 2015). Research shows that hatred and hostility towards ethnic Chinese have occurred among

workers in Indonesia to date (Rochadi, 2021). Hence, a study of violence due to Anti-Chinese sentiment in Garut needs to be experienced as a historical part of Indonesia's democratic way as a nation-state.

The research above shows that violence against ethnic Chinese needs to be explained and portrayed in aspects other than economic: such as historical, social, political, and religious aspects, which will be presented in this article. Therefore, this article attempts to answer how the history of violence against ethnic Chinese in Garut, West Java, is related to many factors other than economic factors as the main reason. The researcher chose the 1960s as the study period because it was a period of transition of power from the Old Order Era under Soekarno to the New Order era under Suharto, which was prone to conflict, and there was even much civil violence recorded. This historical research provides a sketch of past ethnic violence so that it does not happen again.

## METHOD

This history research was conducted in Garut, West Java, a city of roughly 3,981 Chinese in 1960s. This research was historical, seeking to systematically recapture the complex nuances, people, meanings, events, and even ideas of the past that have influenced and shaped the present (Dilthey & Rickman, 2020). The research method is historical, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Brundage, 2017). Through a historical approach, primary sources such as the main actors, victims, and archives of the 1960s, become essential to provide references, analyze, and reconstruct these historical events. This study relied on primary and secondary history sources from national archives and private collections. Whether oral or written, eyewitness accounts of events obtained in public records and legal documents, minutes of meetings, firm records; recordings; letters; diaries; journals, images, and private collections were used as primary sources for this research. Secondary sources could also be spoken or written in the form of second-hand views. They can be found in textbooks, encyclopedias, journal articles, newspapers, biographies, and other media such as films or recordings (Berg & Lune, 2012). This historical research involves the following steps: identifying an idea, topic, or research question; conducting a background literature review; refining research ideas and questions; determining that the historical method will be the method used; identifying and locating primary and secondary data sources; evaluate the authenticity and accuracy of the source material; analyze the data and develop a narrative exposition of the findings (Duarte et al., 2020).

The researcher focuses on primary sources related to contemporaries, primarily through oral history, because memories and sounds from the past must be written down (Thompson & Bornat, 2017). The primary sources were the victims, the figures involved, and eyewitnesses and families involved in the Anti-Chinese sentiment incident in Garut. The qualitative approach of in-depth interviews is also appropriate, given this study's aim at understanding how the reconstruction of historical events and the ongoing violence is related to the complexity of the various elements of society. The interviews were conducted in shops belonging to ethnic Chinese, at the participants' homes, and in places agreed upon by the respondents. Interviews were semi-structured with open-ended and subsequent follow-up and probing questions. An example of a question is, "how was the Anti-China riot in Garut?" "Why did the Anti-China riots happen?" "What are the sentiments that characterize the Anti-China riots?" "What is your perception of the relationship between ethnic Chinese and indigenous people?" "How was the damage done, and what material loss was there?" Therefore, this study used both deductive and inductive approaches. The former included pre-planned questions, whereas the latter arose from interpreting the participants' responses and narratives. The interviews ranged from 30 to 60 minutes, were audio-recorded, and transcribed verbatim. The participants' names attended were not altered. The theme is centered on historical events related to economic conditions, economic and social jealousy, and historical factors. Based on these data, in collaboration with various archives and personal documentation in the heuristic and critical process, the summaries in this paper are the result of interpretation and historiography.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Anti-Revolution of Indonesia and its Consequences

During the Physical Revolution (1945-1949), anti-Chinese hatred and sentiment among the indigenous population re-emerged. It is closely related to the attitude of the Chinese people in the City of Garut in facing the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia (Willmott, 2009). During the early days of the proclamation of Indonesian Independence, the Chinese in Garut City supported the struggle of the Republic of Indonesia. Still, when the Dutch aggression occurred in 1947 and 1948, when the Dutch succeeded in occupying the City of

Garut, they turned to the side of the Dutch. These characteristics include not wanting to flee the city of Garut as instructed by the Regional Government of the Republic of Indonesia, namely in Waspada and Juliana Plantation in the Cikajang area. Even the Chairman of Chungghua Chunghui, The Goan Ho, asked the Indonesian Regional Government to return the Chinese refugees in the area to Garut City (Sirad, 2008; Somantri, 2011; Yusuf, 2011). This request was because the facilities and infrastructure in the refugee camps were not fulfilling, and their safety was also a concern.

The attitudes and behavior of the Chinese people gave the impression among the indigenous population that they did not have a stand; whoever was in power would ask for protection and cooperate. Whoever is in power in Indonesia does not matter; the important thing is to survive and seek profit. Instead, they took advantage of the uncertain situation caused by the revolution to make a profit. At that time, many Chinese hoarded goods and illicit trade in the City of Garut. The Chinese people's acts sparked animosity among the indigenous community since they were perceived indifferent to their fellow citizens' plight.

The resentment of the indigenous population towards the Chinese, especially the freedom fighters, peaked after they formed *Poh An Tui's* organization (some write it *Pao An Tui*), which means "Chinese environmental security force." Members of this organization were trained in the military and armed by the Dutch army. The *Poh An Tui* organization is formed by the Allied Forces and the NICA (Netherland Indies Civil Administration) in Indonesia (Zein, 2000). They were tasked with protecting Chinatown from robbers.

*Poh An Tui* existed in Java and Sumatra. However, not many documents revealed them because they were considered black records. In Java, records of the whereabouts *Poh An Tui's* are vague. However, his shadow can be seen in the reaction of the Indonesian Independence fighters in Nganjuk, East Java, around the end of 1945. All Chinese men over 21 years of age (the youngest age limit for troops *Poh An Tui's*) were gathered in a warehouse and then burned. Indonesian independence fighters shot people still alive and trying to get out (Zein, 2000).

According to Baqir Zein, a relatively complete record of *Poh An Tui* is the *Poh An Tui* formed by the commander of the British forces, General Ted Kelly, in Medan, North Sumatra. General Ted Kelly had trained and armed about 110 young Chinese under commander Liem Seng. They not only served as spies for the allied forces but also carried out military operations. In 1947, Lim Seng and his troops stormed, terrorized, and shot at the residents of Bagansiapi-api (Zein, 2000).



Picture 1: Chinese settlement (Chinatown) burned by Indonesian Republican fighters in Cibadak, West Java, 1947 (Source: Collectie SPAARNESTAD PHOTO/Hugo Wilmar)

As in Medan, initially, *Poh An Tui* aimed to protect the Chinese people from security threats from irresponsible people. However, in subsequent developments, the Chinese security organization functioned to assist and defend Dutch troops from attacks by guerrillas based in the suburbs of Garut City, such as Cilawu, Karangpawitan, Wanaraja, Limbangan, Tarogong, and Bojong Salam. They were assigned by the Dutch army to protect the Chinese

residential areas in the area around *Pengkolan* from "extremists" and "Soekarno's dogs" (Iskandar, 2011; Sirad, 2008; Yusuf, 2011).



Picture 2: Chinese settlements (Chinatown) burned by Indonesian Republican fighters in Sukabumi, West Java, in 1947 (Source: Collectie SPAARNESTAD PHOTO/Hugo Wilmar)

In addition, there were Poh An Tui organization members as spies for the Dutch spying on the guerrillas in their base areas. They entered villages that were considered the basis of the guerrillas and 'drum kings.' The drum was a drum functioning to tell the time of the arrival of the five daily prayers and used for Eid Al-Fitr festivals as a means of a parade around the village accompanied by "*takbir*" (chanting "*Allahu Akbar*;" God is the Greatest). The Dutch army used the Chinese as spies, usually pretending to be traveling traders from one village to another, such as chicken egg traders and others (Iskandar, 2011; Somantri, 2011; Yusuf, 2011). With the existence of the Poh An Tui organization, many Republican guerrillas were caught and tortured by the Dutch. According to G. V. Ambekar and V. D. Divekar (Ambekar & Divekar, 1964), the seeds of anti-Chinese sentiment have been there since the Dutch era and when the Japanese occupation was getting more pronounced. This phenomenon was exacerbated by establishing the Poh An Tui organization, which was armed by the Dutch/NICA/Allies and became their stooges during the struggle for the Indonesian Revolution. The attitude of Poh An Tui, which consisted of the Chinese group, who welcomed the return of the Netherlands after the Japanese occupation, became sufficient legitimacy to foster anti-Chinese sentiment. Among the figures of Poh An Tui in 1963 were still living in Garut City in a happy, luxurious and safe state. They were familiar with some local officials in Garut City (Ayun, 2012; Saifutamam, 2011; Somantri, 2011; Yusuf, 2011).

### **Economic Factors and Anti-Chinese Sentiment**

Entering the 1960s, Chinese people in the trade sector, both the Chinese who were appointed as suppliers for plantation needs during the Dutch East Indies era and the Chinese who were not appointed as suppliers, experienced rapid progress. They control the trading centers in Garut City, especially in the *Pengkolan* area (Streets of Ahmad Yani, Mandalagiri, Pasar Baru, Ciwalen, Siliwangi, and Ciledug). Before entering the events of the 1960s riots, it is essential to show quantitative data regarding foreigners residing in the East Priangan area. In 1955, the Chinese dominated the distribution of foreigners in East-Priangan and its surroundings. The other foreigners were Dutch, Arabs, and others. Based on the data presented, Garut occupied the largest position 3,981 people, before Tasikmalaya (1,894 people) and Ciamis (1,181 people). For the East Priangan region, Chinese foreigners in Garut occupied the highest position. The data shows that Chinese foreigners in Garut had a relatively large number which did not include Chinese descent, which was much more numerous.

Table 1

*Distribution of foreigners in Garut and its surroundings in 1955*

City	Amount of foreigners
<b>Garut</b>	
Chinese	3,981
Dutch	141
Arab	41
<b>Tasikmalaya</b>	
Chinese	1,894
Dutch	11
Arab	224
<b>Ciamis</b>	
Chinese	1,181
Dutch	20

(Data Source: *Vreemdelingen in West-Java, in Algemeen Indisch dagblad: de Preangerbode* August 29, 1955 edition)

The merchandise sold and bought consisted of basic staples such as rice, oil, flour, salted fish, and other daily necessities. This merchandise was often sold by shops and market stalls owned by Chinese people along Mandalagiri Street and Guntur Street. Meanwhile, the shops owned by Chinese people were located on Ahmad Yani Street, Ciledug Street, Pasar Baru Street, and Ciwalen Street (Mrs. Liang Keng) sold merchandise in building materials, watches, or clocks, electronic devices, cloth, clothes, groceries, and jewelry. Apart from mastering the trade sector, the Chinese also controlled other businesses such as transportation, weaving, soap, starch flour, cracker, chocolate, tofu, soy sauce, and people's tea factories, lemongrass factories, and others. There were also shops belonging to the Chinese, which are pretty significant and sell various goods in Pengkolan (the center of trading activities in the City of Garut) and suburban areas such as Cikuray and Guntur Street around the Kampung Bentar Hilir area. On Cikuray Street, to be precise, at the turn between Cikuray Street and Gedung Jangkung Street has a large shop owned by *Babah Bongkok* (Old Baba) and other small shops owned by the Chinese people. Meanwhile, on Jalan Guntur in the vicinity of the Bentar Hilir area, approximately one kilometer from the Pengkolan area, there is a large shop owned by the Chinese people controlling the trading of necessities such as rice, flour, vegetable oil, salted fish, sugar, and others (Kie, 2011; Sen, 2011; Tjjong Tjap Sin, 2011).

The success of the Chinese people in controlling the trade, transportation, and other business sectors, made most of the indigenous population feel unhappy about their presence in Garut City. This displeasure was due to social jealousy over the successes achieved by the Chinese people. That part of the indigenous population engaged in commerce felt that they were competing with them. It is not only because the Chinese in Garut City are more numerous than the Arabs and Pakistanis, but also because they control the trading centers in Garut City.

Their extravagant life also caused the displeasure of the natives towards the Chinese. Their luxurious attitude can be seen in their materials, such as permanent houses, shops, and two- and four-wheeled vehicles. They had shown the luxury of life measured by the socio-economic conditions of the indigenous population at that time, where the main livelihoods of the indigenous population relied on the agricultural sector, especially as rural laborers whose income was only enough for daily food. The houses where they lived even, in general, were still straightforward, made of wood and walls of woven bamboo shades. This condition eventually for indigenous people to be "less aware" antagonism and excessive sentiment. This kind of atmosphere later became familiar among the indigenous population in the 1960s (Ayun, 2012; Enen, 2012; Misbah, 2012; Suryana, 2012).

### Stereotypes of Other Ethnic

A stereotype is a set of judgments from other groups concerning the in-group in their current situation. *Stereotypes* can also be construed as detailed descriptions of individuals' traits and characteristics or other opposing groups due to incomplete information and are subjective, where judgments contain oversimplification and exaggeration (McGarty et al., 2002; Padede, 2002).

In the city of Garut in the 1960s, the pattern of social relations between the Chinese community and the natives or the Sundanese was not so harmonious; there were still stereotypes strong about the Chinese in Indonesia. On the other hand, the Chinese developed stereotypes about the Sundanese, even though they were rarely expressed openly.

The Chinese stereotype in the Bumi Putra (indigenous) society (especially the Sundanese) in Garut is said to have a closed, arrogant, selfish, materialistic, and *balaga* (showing off). Meanwhile, Sundanese stereotypes in the Chinese general view are flawed, traditional, stupid, lazy, and begging. Islam was the religion of the majority Sundanese. Therefore, Islam is poor, ignorant, and conventional (Ajum, 2010; Iyah, 2010; Kusmayadi, 2010; Suyud, 2010). Those stereotypes had led to growing feelings of hatred the Sundanese towards the Chinese in the City of Garut. From when the stereotypes appeared, it is difficult to determine. But theoretically, stereotypes were formed based on a pre-existing general assumption which is then reinforced by personal observation at a glance and usually has a negative connotation. This observation only sees the outer side without knowing the background of the attitudes and behaviors that shape it, so that stereotypes could cause fanaticism and suspicion, which will further close down each group and strengthen the stereotype itself.



Picture 3: The damage caused by the 1963 anti-Chinese racist action on Guntur Street, Garut (Source: A Collection of Sulaiman Anggapradja and Kunto Sofianto)

Chinese stereotypes mentioned above include a closed, arrogant, selfish, and materialistic attitude. But sometimes, showing a friendly attitude, generous, diligent, tenacious, and effortlessly squandering material. This attitude seems to appear alternately, erratically, and independently. So that people who do not know him will find it challenging to grasp the attitudes and nature of Chinese people and will be easily seen from the negative side, even some people consider it a rational attitude as exploitation. This trait emerged spontaneously from the subconscious and was culturally derived from a single root with a specific meaning that was easily understood.

If we trace *the stereotypes* above, it turns out that they are interrelated, had a single cultural root in their belief system. One is about the "essence of life," which comes from Confucius's philosophy. This philosophy is generally called "the philosophy of this world" (the worldly philosophy), which is realist-optimistic. Confucius mainly spoke of the duties of humans in their relationships with others and did not discuss heaven or hell or the afterlife. It is evident in Confucius's answer when asked by a disciple what it means to "die." He replied, "How do you want to understand the meaning of death if you don't understand the importance of life?" (Xie et al., 2021). Confucius emphasized being able to fill life in this world, not another world (Neville, 2021). This teaching encourages Chinese people to have an optimistic attitude and high self-confidence. In some cases,

optimism and self-confidence give the impression that Chinese people are tenacious and dynamic. On the other hand, they look tough, arrogant, stingy, or even superior.

In the case of Garut, this impression was shown by Chinese people in their daily lives in the Pengkolan area, who controlled the trade business sector. Even after Government Law Number 10 of 1959 in 1960, Chinese people had to leave rural areas and their businesses like retailers. With tenacity and stubbornness in their establishment, the enactment of this regulation succeeded in controlling the trading centers. His success as a wealthy merchant presented an impression among the indigenous population as arrogant and stingy because they did not want to mingle with the surrounding community. In addition, they often said harsh words to the natives. For example, it is common to find Chinese employers saying "sia" or "deuleu" in their conversations with the workers. The word "sia" (Sundanese, *sia* = you, Javanese = *Syro, sira*), "deuleu" (Sundanese, *deuleu* = see); is very harsh language and contains a tone of contempt. Words like this are taboo for the Sundanese people to say, except in an atmosphere of fighting and mounting anger.

Another teaching closely related to Chinese culture's stereotypes, directly or indirectly, is about family morality. It is a teaching that is quite striking in Chinese culture. This teaching is in Confucianism. Some mention that five things can show children's devotion to their parents. First, a child must show respect to his parents. Second, in entertaining a child's parents must be able to please him. Third, when a parent is sick, he must be overcome with anxiety. Fourth, in a period of mourning, he must be able to show his profound grief. Fifth, in holding a ceremony, he must be able to keep it lively.

When implemented, the five points are a difficult task. When pleasing one's parents and holding the ceremony festively, one should keep sufficient materials. It is where the beginning of the Chinese stereotype of materialism. The actual material manifestation demands the myth of children's devotion to their parents. The bigger the ceremony is held, the better the parents' name will be and closer to God. So, a particular impulse makes the Chinese materialistic (and working) the inner-worldly asceticism. In Garut, when the Chinese got special rights and roles during the Dutch colonial period, they tended to isolate themselves (closed) from the life of the native people. This attitude lasted until the 1960s. It can be seen from the pattern of their settlements clustered around Pengkolan. Their lives are luxurious with their facilities such as houses and permanent shops, two-wheeled vehicles, and four-wheeled vehicles. In the sixties, this life was exquisite compared to the indigenous people who mostly lived in rural areas with their livelihoods from farming. Most of the natives at that time were agricultural laborers whose income was minimal. Meanwhile, the indigenous people in the city mostly work as pedicab drivers, shop assistants, and laborers in the Garut Weaving Factory (*Pabrik Tenun Garut*; PTG) and several Chinese-owned factories.

The child's respect for their parents, love for their ancestors, and care for their future generations will also be developed in this way. Confucius established ancestor worship as a sacred set. Prayers and ornate tombs are expressions of devotion to ancestors and ancestral lands in traditional cultures. The Chinese believe that those who leave their ancestral land are considered apostate children and are not considered respectful. This expression of love is actualized in creating magnificent graves in the Gugunungan and Santiong areas, which are very different from the tombs of the natives. The graves of the indigenous people were made very simple, only made of piles of earth and stones.

Apart from within the family, the tradition of praying to the ancestors was also performed in the clan associations. The Temple of *Hok Liong Bio* on Guntur Street was next to Garut Market (now Garut Plaza). Prayers to ancestors at the temple are *Hok Liong Bio* held once a week. At the celebration of Chinese New Year (indigenous people call it the *Pabarua China*), celebrated every 1st day of the 1st month the Chinese calendar. The ceremony was very lively and luxurious. It was done to express their respect for their parents and ancestors.

The implementation of the ritual praying to the ancestors, which is so lively and luxurious at a considerable expense at every celebration of Chinese New Year, and the making of elegant graves was recognized by the natives as arrogant, closed, materialistic, and wants to be different from the natives. This impression was strengthened by the celebration of *Cap Go Meh*, which was held on a large scale when the indigenous population, generally Muslim, was fasting Ramadan. This impression generated social jealousy and resentment by the natives of the Chinese ethnic group because they considered Chinese people to disrespect Muslims who were practicing fasting (Maskanah, 2012; Misbah, 2012; Saifutamam, 2011; Suyud, 2010). Indigenous people show this phenomenon around the outskirts of Garut City by parading drums (*dulag*) and cannons (*lodong*) on the night of *Eid*, namely on February 25, 1963, fourteen days after the celebration



of *cap go meh* was held. At that time, a group of youths paraded their drums around the Pengkolan area and sounded "cannon" directed at houses and shops owned by Chinese.

The displeasure of the natives towards the Chinese ethnic group in Garut City also arose because of the ceremony "*Dana pati*" which was held in conjunction with the celebrations of Chinese New Year. Apart from using the expression "*dana pati*," the Chinese in Garut City refer to it as "the sacrifice of the Chinese people" for this ceremony. "*Dana*" means expense or fund, "*pati*" means death. This ceremony is intended for people who have died to be placed in a good place beside God. The practice of this ceremony is the distribution of "*gantingan*" (small hangers) containing rice and pork, which is thrown directly from the stage of the ceremony to a crowd of indigenous people who are watching these celebrations of Chinese Year (Ahman, 2012; Badruzzaman, 2012; Misbah, 2012; Momod, 2012; Popon, 2012; Saifutamam, 2011). Usually, Chinese New Year is held in front of the Temple building *Hok Liong Bio* on Guntur Street for seven days and seven nights (Ahman, 2012; Momod, 2012; Popon, 2012).

### 'Small' Riots in Rural Areas

Before the anti-Chinese riots occurred on May 17-18, 1963, the condition of the Garut people, especially those living in rural areas, was filled with general feelings of frustration and unrest. The leading cause of this frustration is the economic factor which is felt to be very burdensome for their lives.

As is well known, Indonesia in 1960 was a country with a terrible day-to-day economic situation. The need for daily food and drink has more than doubled from the previous year, and compared to the 1950s, the increase is five to ten times. Rice is not only experiencing a continuous price rise every day but is often also scarce. To fill the void, the Soekarno government imported rice, among others, from the People's Republic of China (PRC), but the quality was inferior. Kerosene (in Garut: called hanging oil) in the 1960s was very scarce. At that time, throughout Indonesia and Bandung and Garut, people had to queue at the Neighborhoods carrying family cards to obtain three or four liters of kerosene (*lantung*) oil. This situation continued to an even greater extent until 1964, 1965, and 1966 (Aang, 2012; Ayun, 2012; Gurnadin, 2012; Latifah, 2012; Maman, 2012; Sasa, 2012; Suarsono, 2012).

Likewise, the methods for obtaining sugar, wheat flour, and clothing in the form of chiffon and khaki cloth made in China were complicated to get. In the shops, if any, these goods are costly and heavy for the people who at the same time have increasingly insignificant income, drowned out by inflation. The threefold increase in wages is worthless by the tenfold increase in necessities (Aang, 2012; Ayun, 2012; Gurnadin, 2012; Latifah, 2012; Maman, 2012; Sasa, 2012; Suarsono, 2012). In such economic conditions, the Chinese people who had controlled the economic chain since the Dutch era were not affected by this condition. Since the colonial period, they have increasingly dominated the Indonesian economy because most have sufficient capital and have maintained the Indonesian financial network. During the Dutch colonial administration, the Chinese population, which in 1860 numbered 222,000 and grew to 563,000 in 1905, had developed into a feudal new, capitalist merchant class that controlled retail trade, as well as extensive trade that linked producers and consumers in rural areas as well as the rest of the world (Rahardjo, 1993).

Meanwhile, especially in the City of Garut, in the economic situation of Indonesia as described above, the Chinese people do not feel as much financial hardship as most of the indigenous population. This condition finally caused the dislike of most of the natives towards them. Then in a problematic situation to get necessities such as rice, coconut oil (vegetable oil), kerosene, the Chinese controlled the trade. The grocery store was governed by the Chinese people; the dried tea leaves were controlled by Hohong (Chinese of Dutch descent), rice was controlled by the Chinese in the Ciwalen area, coffee by the Ek Bou family, persimmon fruit (a typical fruit of Cikajang Garut), and its jam controlled by Chinese people at Klenteng area of Guntur Street (Ajum, 2010; Hasbullah, 2014; Jojo, 2014; Maman, 2012).

In such economic conditions, deep vertical disappointment arose to the government that was unable to overcome these problems, and horizontally they were very disappointed with the attitudes and behavior of the Chinese people in Garut City.

Furthermore, it must be specifically mentioned here that the Chinese people's disappointment was getting more potent after the news spread since the 1962s. Many of them had started to enter the village to buy agricultural lands, such as in the Cihuni of Wanaraja, Sukawening, and Cikajang (Latifah, 2012; Misbah, 2012; Momod, 2012; Syarifudin, 2010).

This issue was reinforced by reports conveyed by Munting, a Chinese Muslim, who informed the Islamic Revolutionary people about the number of Chinese in Garut City who had controlled agricultural land for the

third harvest in Cikajang and Cilawu areas. Almost half of the farming land in the Cikajang area is controlled by Chinese people from the City of Garut. Likewise, agricultural land in the Cilawu and Karangpawitan areas (Afandi, 2012; Iran, 2012; Lili, 2012; Saifutamam, 2011; Sopiandi, 2012).

In addition, many Chinese people also bought rice fields in the Karangpawitan, Cihuni of Wanaraja, and Cibatu areas, so that many farmers were anxious as a result of this action. The farmers in the area generally felt that they were competing and at the same time worried that if the rice fields in the region fell into the hands of the Chinese, they would no longer have the livelihood that was passed down from generation to generation from their ancestors (Kawakibi, 2012; Misbah, 2012; Saifutamam, 2011).

The general disillusionment and unrest resulting from the attitudes and behavior of the Chinese people eventually gave rise to feelings of "*ceuceub*" and "*ijid*" in the hearts of most of the indigenous population. *Ngewa* means feelings of hatred or dislike which are caused by special causes. *Ceuceub*, which means an intense and irreparable hatred. It can be due to "attitudes" and "behavior" that are not following existing norms or because they are hurtful, or because of jealousy and irritation. Meanwhile, the word "*ijid*" has almost the same meaning as "*ceceub*", which is very hateful (Tamsyah, 1997). Among the indigenous population, in the City of Garut, at that time (1960-1966), there were the words "we eat bones, they eat meat." These remarks were heard not only among the familiar people but also among local officials (Kawakibi, 2012; Misbah, 2012; Saifutamam, 2011).

### Riots: Violence, and Ethnicity

The approval of the dual citizenship agreement and Presidential Regulation (PP) Number 10 of 1959 colored Indonesian politics in the 1960s, accompanied by the various turmoil it caused. The accumulation of Chinese problems in Indonesia reached a breaking point in the form of an open polemic. The polemic between Chinese figures of descent regarding assimilation that took place openly in *Star Weekly* magazine in the early 1960s was an anti-climax of Chinese problems in Indonesia. The groupings and aspirations of Chinese descent in Indonesia were increasingly visible at that time.

The open polemic between Chinese descendants of assimilation and Chinese descendants of integration supporters in *Star Weekly* magazine in the early 1960s lasted several episodes. Some of the Chinese royal figures were involved in the open polemic were Yap Thiam Hien and Siauw Giok Tjhan, representing the Baperki (*Badan Permusjawaratan Kewarganegaraan*; Citizenship Consultative Body) group, Ong Hok Ham and Tjung Tin Jan, the assimilation group.



Picture 4: Anti-Chinese damage at Darekdok Market, 1963 (Source: A Collection of Sulaiman Anggapradja and Kunto Sofianto)

The open polemic regarding "assimilation" occurred after the emergence of an assimilation movement by ten Chinese descent figures in response to PP.10 of 1959 on the one hand and the attitude of the Chinese community itself in determining the choice of Indonesian citizenship on the other (Hien, 1960). On March 21, 1960, ten Chinese descent figures signed an assimilation charter to solve Chinese-Indonesians' problems. They argue that the only way out to eliminate discrimination is to assimilate totally. The ten people are Lauw Chuan Tho (Yunus Yahya), Ong Hok Ham, Kwee Hwat Djien, Tjung Tin Jan, Tjia Djie Siong, Tan Bian Seng, and Tantekhian (Onghokham & Rizal, 2005).

The assimilation process that the group of ten wants is the integration of Chinese Indonesian descent into the body of the Indonesian nation so that there is no longer an exclusive Chinese group. They argued that the Chinese Indonesians should unite themselves with indigenous Indonesians in all fields of life. Thus it is hoped that the complete characteristics of Indonesian Chinese (Tionghoa) descent that have existed since the colonial era can gradually disappear (Yahya, 1999).

In his letters about Chinese with the title "Three Therapies to Cure Racial Discrimination Diseases" published in *Star Weekly* magazine, respectively April 16, April 30, and May 21, 1960, Yap Thiam Hien criticized the "assimilation formula" or assimilation proposed by The "Group of Ten," and rejected the "Communist formula" proposed by Siau Giok Thjan and proposed the "Christian formula" as a solution to the problems of the Chinese people in Indonesia (Suryadinata, 2002).



Picture 5: Damage caused by anti-Chinese (1963) on Ahmad Yani Street (Source : A Collection of Sulaiman Anggapradja and Kunto Sofianto)

According to Yap Thiam Hien, assimilation can be carried out by eliminating prejudice and guaranteeing human rights. Its roots are in the problem of minorities. This minority problem is essentially a human problem itself, namely how humans perceive and treat fellow humans. It is not the wrong structures, physical or cultural differences, but the wrong people themselves (Hien, 1960).

Even though he is Baperki's board member, Yap Thiam Hien disapproved of Siau Giok Thjan's thinking; he even criticizes thinking Siau Giok Thjan's completely. To Siau Giok Thjan, racial prejudice can only be eliminated if Indonesian society's feudalistic, imperialist, and capitalistic structure is restructured and changed into a communist society. According to Yap Thiam Hien, this thought only predicts whether and when the communists will control the Indonesian community and the state. Of course, this prediction, said Yap Thiam Hien, is challenging to accept (Hien, 1960).

Regarding the group signing the assimilation charter or better known as the group of ten, Yap Thiam Hien criticized it all out. The ten argued that the minority problems in Indonesia could only be resolved through total assimilation in all fields. According to Yap Thiam Hien, this thinking is correct. Still, minority problems can also

be resolved in other ways, such as through law enforcement and policies that create harmonious relations between various racial groups. Yap Thiam Hien strongly objected to this assimilation therapy; he alleged that this group of ten assimilation therapy wanted a "*nivellering*" (to be the same) of the culture of tribes and racial groups by generalizing their particular characteristics. If nationalism is wrongly embraced, extremism forces a "uniforming" as Hitler and the totalitarian states practiced (Hien, 1960).

In April 1960, Siauwi Giok Thjan wrote down a letter to Yap Thiam Hien's criticism. The response letter from Siauwi Giok Thjan was published in the same magazine, *Star Weekly*, on April 23. In his letter, Siauwi Giok Thjan denied that the "communist formula" offered had come from President Soekarno. He called Yap Thiam Hien the best follower of Mc Carthyism, which according to him in the United States itself, is opposed by the Democratic Party and human rights activists. In his letter, Siauwi Giok Thjan delivered six points of argument as a rebuttal to Yap Thiam Hien's thoughts published by *Star Weekly* magazine one week before this letter was published. This denial of Yap Thiam Hien ended with the words: "So accepting my thoughts on how to solve small class problems means actively participating in the implementation of the Indonesian Political Manifesto which, after being declared the outline of the state's direction, must be obeyed by every Indonesian citizen" (Hien, 1960).

Tjung Tin Jan, a Chinese descendant of supporters of the assimilation movement from Bangka, responded to Yap Thiam Hien's writing through an article published in *Star Weekly* magazine on June 25, 1960. In his writing, Tjung Tin Jan concluded that Yap Thiam Hien's writing was too generalizing minority issues as if there is only one kind of minority problem; therefore, the conclusion is wrong. It is because the issue of racial minorities is not always the same from one country to another. In Indonesia, the Chinese group is not excluded by the Indonesian people regarding their residence, school, or association; in fact, some Chinese groups are self-exclusive (Jan, 1960).

In Tjung Tin Jan's view, racial discrimination will disappear if groups are lost, which requires goodwill from both parties, people of Chinese descent and "native" Indonesians. Resolving the problem of the Chinese minority in Indonesia, according to Tjung Tin Jan, is "a two-way process"; therefore, both parties must act. And he also believes that with the "assimilation" movement, prejudice and discrimination will disappear by themselves. Thus the criticism of the group of ten from Yap Thiam Hien is inappropriate. This criticism was precisely addressed to Hitler, who defended the "*Arviens van het universe race*," countering assimilation (Jan, 1960).

Approximately six months after the events of the open conflict regarding "assimilation" in *Star Weekly* magazine, the assimilation charter was again issued by thirty people of Chinese descent from various cities in Java. This assimilation charter was given at a National Awareness Seminar in Bandung, Ambarawa, on January 13-15, 1961. Mainly, Bandung Charter emphasized the need for Indonesia to become one nation with a just and prosperous society and a robust Indonesian state full of dynamics to fulfill its role in the international world following times. Assimilation is an expression of this goal (Republik Indonesia, 1964; Yahya, 1999).

Then, assimilation in the charter means merging groups with different mental attitudes, customs, and artistic statements into one harmonious and meaningful sociological unanimity, namely the Indonesian nation (Republik Indonesia, 1964).

Several figures of Chinese Indonesian descent described a series of events regarding the assimilation movement. The polemic in this issue shows a general symptom of the lack of integration of Chinese descent groups with indigenous groups in Indonesia in the 1960s. The impression of the exclusivity of Chinese descent in the eyes of the natives that existed since the Dutch era was still developing. As for the natives themselves, most of them still hold various negative prejudices regarding the attitudes and behavior of people of Chinese descent in Indonesia. This condition resulted in the not being able to merge the two social groups into one social group.

This analysis is not only based on the facts described above; other facts support this conclusion. Solo Soemardjan, for example, in a study on the "May 10, 1963, Movement in Sukabumi," explained that although social groups of Chinese descent in their entirety and indigenous Indonesian social groups need each other in Sukabumi City, the two social groups remain to defend themselves. There are no vital signs of merging into one social group (Soemardjan, 1991).

Solo Soemardjan stated that the behavior of this social group of Chinese descent in 1963 still showed its exclusivity. The National Unity Development Institute (LPKB), under the leadership of Sindhunatha, issued a leaflet stating that the May 1963 riot in West Java was caused by the behavior of exclusive Chinese descendants who like to flaunt luxury (Setiono, 2002).

Based on the above description, it must be said that it seems that the problem of mixing ethnic Chinese with the natives, especially in the cities on the island of Java, was severe in the sixties. In the town of Garut,

which is the location of this dissertation research, mixing Chinese ethnicity with other ethnicities (Sundanese, Arabic, and Pakistani) is quite a complicated problem. However, the lifestyle of the Chinese ethnic group in Garut City is very different from other ethnic groups, such as indigenous groups (Sundanese ethnicity), Arabs, and Pakistanis. Even though they have lived in Garut City as a family for more than two generations, their life attitude is still exclusive, making it difficult for Garut City people to assimilate (Sofianto, 2001).

In the view of the pribumi (Sundanese ethnicity), the position of ethnic Chinese in Garut City is generally still considered foreigners. One of the factors is their lack of integration with the natives. Resentment has built up among certain indigenous people in the City of Garut because they are reluctant to integrate ethnic Chinese citizens into their daily lives.

It is different for the Arabs and Pakistanis. In their daily lives, they have been closely associated with and mingled with the natives. Thanks to his flexibility in socializing, his presence in Garut City is not considered a foreigner. The natives can accept them because they are considered not close to everything (Sofianto et al., n.d.).

Several factors cause the integration between ethnic Chinese and indigenous people not to work well—first, religion and customs or socio-culture factors. In assimilation between Chinese and Sundanese in Garut City, religion and customs or socio-cultural factors play a significant role. The elements of faith and traditions impede the assimilation process and indirectly serve as a "borderline" between the Sundanese (especially the Priangan Sundanese) and the Chinese ethnicity.

Each ethnic group in Garut Regency develops a culture according to their ethnicity. The ethnic of Padang, Javanese, Arabic, Pakistani, and other Muslim immigrants can easily fuse into the traditions of the Sundanese society through social and religious relationships. A slightly striking difference is seen in the Chinese ethnic group when culturally and religiously, the Chinese are still able to maintain and practice according to the customs of their ancestors and live in groups in Pengkolan and its surroundings.



Picture 6: Anti-Chinese racist actions on 17 and 18 May 1963 on Ciledug and Ahmad Yani Street. (Source : A Collection of Sulaiman Anggapradja and Kunto Sofianto).

To borrow Harold R. Isaacs's term (Isaacs, 1989), the inherent belief in Han superiority and orientation to the ancestral land are well-known characteristics and the basis for the Chinese view of themselves. In the 1960s, Chinese residents in the City of Garut demonstrated this propensity. The Sundanese are impoverished, stupid, lazy, and indolent. Islam is the religion of foolish people. And daily expressions like *deuleu* (meaning; see) and *sia/elu* (meaning; you) were cruel to their employees. Meanwhile, their strong orientation to their ancestral lands is not only seen in their daily customs but is also reflected in the installation of the PRC flag in every house, school, and the commemoration of the PRC's anniversary, which is always celebrated every year. The

observance of the PRC's anniversary shows that their loyalty to their ancestral land (the PRC state) trumps their commitment to the Indonesian state.

In terms of education, in the 1960s, the Chinese had their school, namely the Chinese Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (THHK) school or the school of Chunghua. Chinese Elementary School Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (THHK) was located on Mount Payung (Lio) Street and THHK Middle School or School of Chunghua Chunghui Middle on Ahmad Yani Street. The political orientation of the two educational institutions was in favor of the Chinese people. Likewise, the direction of the academic curricula of these two educational institutions is very Chinese oriented. It can be seen from the number of subjects presented by these two schools. Of the twenty-eight subjects given, seven personality subjects oriented to Chinese PRC, namely Chinese language, Chinese history, composing Chinese calligraphy, and writing, must be the character of Han Zi.

At that time, very few Chinese children entered the Daya Susila Mixed Elementary School (SD) and the Daya Susila Junior High School (SMP), Yos Sudarso Junior High School, and the Catholic Senior High School (SMAK) on Brata Yuda Street. Most young people who study at this school are indigenous youth, especially from the Sundanese and Javanese tribes.

Although some of their young children go to mixed schools such as SMP Daya Susila on Ahmad Yani Street and SMP Yos Sudarso on Bank Street and Senior High School (SMAK) on Bratayuda Street, but their association with natives is limited to schools. Mixed marriages between young people of Chinese descent and youth from the male earth group are rare. It can be said that before the 1960s, there were no mixed marriages between Chinese and natives. There was only one mixed marriage between the Chinese and the natives in the 1960s, namely the Munting (Chinese Muslim descent) union with H. Sujadi's daughter in Cikajang (Ken, 2013; Saifutamam, 2011; Suyud, 2010). In the Chinese marriage system, parents have the most decisive power in choosing a mate for their children. The reason is mainly that they still adhere to their descent origins, and there is still an assumption that they still have a higher status than the indigenous people, especially the Sundanese (Ken, 2013; Ling, 2013; Suyud, 2010).

In addition to a separate school with schools for indigenous children, the Chinese ethnic group also has a cemetery different from the graves of the natives, namely the Chinese burial in Gugunungan Village in Margawati, Garut City, the Chinese cemetery in Santiong, Karangpawitan District. The tomb looks luxurious because it is made of solid bricks of enormous size. It is different from the graves of the natives, such as in Cipeujeuh Dayeh Handap, Pasir Pogor, Paledang, Bratayuda, and Sumbersari, which seem very simple. The graves of the natives are generally made of piles of earth and common stones.

The second factor is the settlement pattern of the ethnic Chinese grouped and separated from the settlement of indigenous groups. As is known, most of the Chinese settlements in Indonesia were formed due to trading activities. Likewise, ethnic Chinese settlements in the area *Pengkolan* Garut. This settlement developed following the main road of Garut city, where it is a very strategic place for trading business because it is in the middle of the town. By occupying the main route, the Chinese company in Garut City has developed quite rapidly.

The third factor is the activities of the Chinese ethnic group in the trading business. The ethnic Chinese in Garut City are apart from adhering to diverse beliefs, namely beliefs that have been mixed with animism and local dynamism of their origin and destination. They also comply with the teachings of *San Wei Yi* (San = three, Wei = belief, Yi = one), namely teachings that come from the teachings of Kon Fu Cu, Taoism, and Buddhism, which then become one teaching. This teaching emphasizes that humans must direct their attention to worldly problems in the present. This teaching already exists in the education of Confucianism. According to Confucius, "wealth and position, is what people want, if obtained by unnatural means, will not last, it is like a floating cloud." Therefore, said Confucius empowers people to be prosperous and teaches them morals (Arifin, 2013). This teaching seems to have influenced the mentality and attitude of life of the Chinese in Garut City to be materialistic and at the same time earnest to cultivate property. Thus, his life is spent searching for the world, seemingly disregarding his surroundings. In Garut, Chinese people are busy trading from morning to night, so they do not have time to interact. In the 1960s, Chinese people in Garut City opened their shops at 6.00 am and closed them at 10.00 pm (Latiwan, 2012; Sin, 2012; Wijaya, 2013). But some go to Pasar Baru at three in the evening to carry out trade transactions until the morning. Usually, they come home from the market at 7.00 am. Then after that, they open their shop at 8.00 or 9.00 am and close at 22.00 at night. At Pasar Baru, they usually sell essential goods such as rice, oil, flour, and salted fish. While on Pasar Baru Street or Ahmad Yani Street and Ciledug Street sold cloth and electronic goods (Ahman, 2012; Momod, 2012; Popon, 2012).

The above anti-Chinese arguments are expressions of the Garut people, who are predominantly Muslim, against the presence of Chinese in their area. Of course, such an expression is not justified in today's society, which is already pluralistic, and everyone is entitled to their own business (Rahman, 2010). However, social ills, such as racial hatred for the Chinese, are narratives that can arise at any time, especially when the gap between indigenous and non-indigenous becomes widening.

Today, the Chinese race has reached Africa and Latin America with various business types (Banik & Bull, 2018; Borrás Jr et al., 2012; Eichenauer et al., 2021). The lessons of the past presented here can serve as lessons for the present and the future. This behavior that shows wealth is the beginning of an attitude of contempt that will lead to hatred of the local community that can eventually explode. That is because humans always want to be treated equally (Rawls, 2001). It is the spirit that was voiced by the Sun Yat-Sen generation back in 1911 (Wesser & Calney, 2011).

### Conflict Resolution

There were no casualties during the riot because the Chinese were passive. Damages caused by this incident were 90 motor vehicles, 206 bicycles, 77 tricycles, 119 houses, 215 shops, 9 weaving factories, 2 starch factories, 2 warehouses, 1 chocolate factory, and other damages. in the form of luxury goods and citronella oil factories belonging to ethnic Chinese (Rakyat, 1963b).

The passive attitude the Chinese took in this incident was not only because they already knew that a similar riot would occur in other cities in West Java. Because indeed they had been given a signal by the Catur Tunggal (Local Government, TNI, Police and Prosecutors) at a meeting between their leaders (Baperki and *Chunghua Chunghui*) and Catur Tunggal on May 12, at the Garut Hall and were given a message not to fight. This passive attitude also results from the large number of people who destroy their assets, consisting of not only youth and the general public, but also women and children of junior high and elementary school age. According to the Chinese leaders of Garut at that time, if there was resistance, there would be many casualties from both sides, especially among children and women, and young people from the Chinese and indigenous groups (Lie Kiat Teng, 2010).

Regarding the large number of young people and women involved in the riots, the Governor of West Java, Masyhudi, called for saving the lives of young shoots and the joints of the community's economic life. The call was made at a meeting with journalists in Bandung on Saturday night, May 18, 1963, after he visited the Tasikmalaya and Garut areas in the afternoon. At that time, in Garut City, the destruction of shops and houses belonging to the Chinese is still going on (Masyarakat, 1963).

To restore the situation and prevent further destruction, as well as physical conflict after the riots between the Garut Chinese group and the indigenous people (ethnic Sundanese), the Governor of West Java Masyhudi, instructed the Regents to carry out their re-ordering of physical forces, namely state instruments (TNI and police) assigned to examine the people involved in the incident and to separate which groups of people just joined in, such as children and women, and which group of people who were involved in the event (Masyarakat, 1963).

Meanwhile, the Regent of Garut, Gahara Widjajasoerja, has appealed to the entire community of Garut to help the government maintain public peace, avoid all forms of provocation, and obey all provisions and instructions from state instruments (TNI and police) to maintain public peace. Meanwhile, traders are called upon not to misuse this event to profit themselves, who do not care about the suffering and interests of the people (Rakyat, 1963a).

In line with the appeal of the Garut regent, the administrators of the Garut Level II Regional National Front invite all political parties, mass organizations, youth organizations, student organizations, women's organizations, and the general public to try to fully assist the activities carried out by the Garut Level II Regional Government in restoring public order and security, as well as strengthening national vigilance for the safety of the state and nation in general and the people of Garut in particular (Rakyat, 1963a).

In addition to calling on the general public to maintain peace and tranquility, the local government of Garut also held a meeting with Chinese youths not to retaliate, and the government deeply regrets the incident. As said by the spokesman for the Garut Regional Government Level II Mochammad Dana Atmaja, that before the incident, prevention efforts had been carried out through meetings with representatives of youth and students, at which time it was agreed not to carry out anti-Chinese riots as happened in other cities in West Java. But the incident on Friday was unavoidable and ended Saturday, May 18 (Rakyat, 1963a).

Subsequently, a meeting was held between indigenous and Chinese leaders at the *Chunghua Chunghui* School on May 20, 1963. In the meeting, the indigenous group was represented by the organization "National

Front Level II Garut," and the Tionghoa group was represented by the organization "Chunghua Chunghui and Baperki'. In the meeting between the two groups, it was agreed to understand each other, be willing to help public order and restore the situation. In particular, the Chinese youth expressed their willingness not to retaliate, and did not have a grudge against the youths who carried out the riots on May, 17-18, 1963. The Chinese youths agreed to return the incident with good deeds and manners, following Kong Fu Tse's teachings (Confucianism). Meanwhile, the indigenous people apologized and took care not to repeat the incident for the integrity of the nation and state of the Republic of Indonesia (Rakyat, 1963a).

As seen in his speech, Soekarno clearly stated that the anti-Chinese riots in West Java in May 1963 were a counter-revolutionary movement driven by remnants of the PRRI/Permesta rebels and activists from the banned Masyumi parties and the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI). Meanwhile, DN Aidit, Chairman of the CC of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), in his speech delivered at the ceremony to commemorate the 43rd anniversary of the PKI in Senayan, Jakarta, on May 26, 1963, stated that the anti-Chinese riots in West Java were a political act of three anti-Chinese people, namely anti-Soekarno, anti-Chinese, and anti-PKI. Here, said Aidit, President Soekarno was right in saying that this counter-revolutionary movement was masterminded by former Masjumi, PSI, PRRI/Permesta, Kuomintang, and pro-Malaysian elements (Aidit, 1963).

Furthermore, Aidit pointed out that there would be signs from the anti-Chinese politics of the three anti-riot movements, that the anti-Soekarno politics was evident from the actions of the mass action groups to sabotage the implementation of the Economic Declaration by destroying the means of production, the means of production, transportation and distribution. Thus, said Aidit, the counter-revolutionaries did not like to see the Soekarno regime succeed in implementing the food and clothing program: "By destroying the economy, they make the people more miserable, and with this miserable condition they think it will be easier for them to invite the people to oppose the "Soekarno Regime". DN Aidit also stated that 'anti-Chinese' politics is racist politics. They, continued Aidit, want to practice the Alabama model of the "*American way of life*", in which racism is fueled. According to DN Aidit, they not only confronted President Soekarno, the Chinese, and the Communists, but they faced the entire nation who condemned their actions (Aidit, 1963).

Not only Sukarno and the PKI accused the remnants of Masjumi and PSI of being behind the anti-Chinese riots, but the Indonesian Peace Committee (KPI) also issued a similar statement. In a statement signed by Ir. Setiadi Reskoprodjo on May 26, 1963, the Indonesian Peace Committee confirmed Soekarno's speech which stated that the riots were orchestrated by elements of the former PSI, Masyumi, and PRRI/Permesta which were controlled by imperialist subversive groups such as the Tengku Abdurahman group from Malaysia (Merdeka, 1963).

After Soekarno issued a powerful condemnation of the anti-Chinese riots in West Java, within a few days the conditions in the cities in West Java that were hit by the riots calmed down again. It seems that Soekarno's statement psychologically impacted the general public not to carry out similar riots. Another impact of Soekarno's statement was the emergence of no hesitation from the security forces (TNI and Police) to arrest the main drivers of the May 1963 riots. In the May 10, 1963 riot in Bandung, for example, students involved in the riots were arrested and sentenced. Dedi Krisna was sentenced to six years in prison, Iwan Zoehra was sentenced to four years in prison, and next in line with three years in prison are Siswono Judohusodo, Muslim Nasution, Qoyum Tjandranegara, Joko Santoso, Tari Pradeksa, Theo Pieterz, and Soeripto (Intel, 1963).

In Garut City itself, although not being processed in court, the perpetrators of the May 17-18 1963 riots were arrested and detained at the Garut Kodim office, the Garut Police office, and the Garut Prosecutor's Office. Misbah, Saeputamam, Raden Abdullah, Ii Hartono, and Endih Muslih were detained at the Garut Kodim office for one month. During that one month, they received intensive indoctrination regarding the need for assimilation and measures to limit activities that might foster hatred among the nation's children (Misbah, 2012; Saifutamam, 2011).

## CONCLUSION

The anti-Chinese racist riots in Garut on May 17-18, 1963, involved socio-cultural, economic, political, and even religious contexts. It was a deep hatred for the Chinese ethnicity in West Java since the Dutch colonial era. Furthermore, during the physical revolution, it was strengthened when the Dutch occupied Garut in 1947-1949 in cooperation with Chinese people here and the NICA. Entering the 1960s, anti-Chinese sentiment among the natives increased again. This sentiment arose from social jealousy of the ethnic Chinese who controlled the trading center. Various arguments and mobilization riots occurred in downtown Garut. The sudden riots were also a series of



Chinese sieges that appeared in many cities in West Java. In Garut, former Islamic party activists, former Islamic state revolutionaries, and activists from Islamic youth organizations have instigated the public by mixing local sentiment and political ideology. For the people of Garut at that time, the Chinese group that supported communist ideology were former Dutch stooges, and their orientation was more towards mainland China than developing with them had failed to convey in the societal milieu. This incident shows that dialogue and conflict resolution from any ethnic group in Indonesia against ethnic Chinese must be carried out to prevent violence in the name of ethnicity and racism. With the involvement of the government and related parties that have created a mutual understanding between the indigenous population and the Chinese ethnic group, Garut's social conditions have become conducive again. This illustrates that dialogue has resulted in harmony in society. Therefore, dialogue efforts between communities must be fully supported by the Indonesian government in the present and future.

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