

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE .....	9
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	11
INTRODUCTION.....	13
Historical patterns of Chinese settlement.....	13
<i>Peranakan-totok</i> divisions .....	17
<i>Peranakan</i> organizations in Indies public life:	
Broker politics.....	18
I BAPERKI.....	21
Previous Chinese political activity .....	21
Problem of discrimination.....	22
Citizenship .....	23
Baperki established to defend Chinese.....	25
The elections of 1955 .....	25
Siauw's role in Parliament: minority representation...	27
Dual citizenship treaty with China .....	28
Voter exemption from the treaty.....	29
Assaatism.....	31
1957 elections .....	33
Chinese schools question .....	34

Baperki an educational organization in the traditional pattern .....	39
 II DUAL CITIZENSHIP SETTLED, 1959-62 .....	41
Alien retail ban and its effect.....	41
Response of Chinese community.....	43
Effects of the ban on Indonesia .....	46
West Java a special situation .....	46
Dual citizenship treaty goes into effect .....	48
Exemptions from the treaty: Chinese-Indonesian negotiations .....	49
Implementation of the treaty.....	51
Baperki active in implementation: evaluation of treaty's effects.....	53
 III THE DEBATE ON ASSIMILATION .....	57
Baperki's view: integration.....	57
Ambivalent attitude toward Chinese traditions .....	58
<i>Parenakan</i> Chinese as a "suku" .....	59
Assimilation and opposition to Baperki .....	60
Political implications .....	61
Views of older and younger generations.....	63
President Soekarno's intervention .....	65
1963 riots against Chinese .....	68
 IV INDONESIAN VIEWS OF THE CHINESE .....	71
Cultural pluralism and Indonesian unity .....	71
Mass support for anti-Chinese incidents .....	72
Sarekat Islam.....	72
Tangerang incident .....	73
The Indonesian revolution: elite attitudes 1945-49....	74

Elite attitudes 1950-57: Islamic parties.....	75
The nationalists, 1950-57 .....	76
The PKI, 1950-63.....	78
Baperki finds allies in PKI, Partindo .....	80
Importance of economic problems.....	81

## PREFACE

This report is the latest of the studies of the Chinese minority in Indonesia to be published by the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project. The Project has a long-term interest in this subject, and earlier studies which it has published include Cicik-Lan Tan's *The Chinese of Sukabumi* and Donald E. Willmott's *The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia* (1958-1959).

In the present Interim Report Mary B. Somers undertakes to view the overseas Chinese question as part of the politics of Indonesia, concentrating on the persons of Chinese descent who are Indonesian citizens. She devotes particular attention to the peranakan Chinese organization, Baperki and the role it has played, both in Indonesia's Chinese community and generally on the Indonesian political scene. She is also concerned with the reaction of the peranakan Chinese to the possibility of cultural assimilation into Indonesian society and the willingness of the Indonesians to accept them.

After gaining her B. A. in History and Chinese Language at Trinity College in Washington, D. C., Miss Somers entered Cornell University in 1958 as a Ph. D. candidate in the Department of Government and Southeast Asia Program. Following an initial period of research at Cornell and an intensive study of the Chinese (Mandarin) and Indonesian languages, she carried out research in Indonesia from December 1961 to May 1963 under a Foreign Area Training Fellowship. While there she interviewed prominent Chinese widely — both in Java and in Sumatra (Babatang, Medan, Padang), in Sulawesi (Makassar) and in Kalimantan (Bandarasia, Pontianak, Singkawang).

Mary Somers wishes to emphasize that the conclusions she has reached in the report are tentative, and she hopes to develop them further in a