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# THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE CHINESE ETHNIC RELIGION IN THE ORDE BARU PERIOD IN PADANG, INDONESIA

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#### Abstract:

The Orde Baru carried out various restrictions and a number of attempts to eliminate the Chinese elements in the ethnic Chinese life through Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967, unfortunately, cannot be said to be successful. The ethnic Chinese of Padang during the Orde Baru made adjustments to the rules of the country at that time. In religious life, ethnic Chinese in Padang carry out various religious conversions for a variety of reasons, ranging from themselves, the school environment, colleagues and administrative matters. Padang with its long history as a multi-ethnic area has its own mechanism in maintaining the boundaries of tolerance between ethnic groups so that each has the opportunity to maintain the cultural values.

**Keywords:** Orde Baru, the role of the state, religious life, Chinese ethnic, Padang

#### 1. Introduction

This section should comprise a description of the general framework, definitions and principles, primary issues and controversies, background information and contexts, etc. The State, according to Weber, is a political unit that has territory, population and government that is able to control the territory and treat all citizen equally without ethnic discrimination (Semma, 2008). The purpose of the formation of a state is to stop the occupation, violence and the most fundamental one is the realization of shared interests and protect the rights of its people (Madjid, 2004). For this reason, the state has the right to regulate all aspects, whether political, economic, social or the cultural aspect.

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The definition and position of the state above, shows that the state has a great power in determining various policies and controlling its people, including religious matters. State control over various religious issues in Indonesia was particularly evident during the Orde Baru. The Orde Baru government under the leadership of President Suharto had a variety of policies aimed directly at one of the ethnic minorities in Indonesia, namely the Chinese, especially regulations relating to religion (Usman, 2009).

The Chinese are the target of various policies of the Orde Baru government including to homogenize the beliefs of the ethnic into official religions that are recognized by Indonesian government. For this reason, Chinese people in Indonesia are required to embrace one of the five official religions recognized by the state such as Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism. In fact, the Chinese have their own belief system, namely belief in the ancestors of Toa Pe Kong, and teachings on the philosophy of life such as Taoism and Confucianism. However, after the issuance of rules related to religious conversion, the Chinese ethnics were obliged to make choices. This is important because various official documents for various purposes such as identity cards, education, marriage, work, etc. must already include the chosen religion. If it does not include a religion recognized by the state, it will be suspected as an Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) sympathizer. The PKI was a political party that was considered a latent danger that had to remain vigilant and was declared as an ideology and a party that was banned in Indonesia after the tragedy of September 30th 1965.

The Orde Baru's limitation and regulation on religious matters was a follow-up to various stabilization efforts after the bloody tragedy of September 1965. The government and the ruling regime believed that political and economic stability could be achieved by consistently implementing the state ideology called "Pancasila". As a godly state, every citizen should embrace one out of five officially recognized religions in the state. In addition, the above policy is also intended to succeed the assimilation program launched by the government and the fading of various Chinese elements which are considered still adhering strongly to Chinese people's life. Therefore, after 1965, it was necessary to take action to carry out a comprehensive assimilation of the ethnic Chinese with the aim of separating the ethnic Chinese as an "exclusive" community into a "common" society. This separation policy is carried out through Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967. This instruction regulates: 1) Chinese worship procedures, that have cultural affinity aspects that is centered on the land of their ancestors, must be carried out internally in family or individual relations; 2) Celebrations of Chinese religious festivals and customs cannot be performed prominently in public, but rather in a family setting; 3) The determination of religion and beliefs categories as well as the implementation of the methods of worship, beliefs and customs of Chinese people are regulated by the Minister of Religion after

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Suharto argued that if a citizen who loved his country adhered to one of the religions established by the government, then that religion would be able to prevent the return of communist influence in Indonesia, as well as having carried out the first Pancasila teachings namely the almighty Godhead. This rule is in accordance with the ideals of the Orde Baru which wanted to restore Pancasila as the State Ideology. See Suryadinata (2014); & Weng (2019)

hearing the considerations of the Attorney General; and 4) The security and control of the implementation of this main policy is regulated by the Minister of Home Affairs together with the Attorney General (Presiden Republik Indonesia, 1967).

Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 above applies and must be obeyed by all Chinese in Indonesia. Every word of the instruction increasingly influences the position of Chinese in carrying out the culture and rituals of their ancestors. They are then required to adhere the religions recognized by the state. The government's active attitude in regulating religious issues is nothing but aimed at preventing the revival of the teachings of communism in Indonesia. As a result, the Chinese decided to choose religions that were still related to the traditions they practiced or religion which would not make it difficult for them to carry out the teachings of their ancestors. Therefore, in this Orde Baru period, most of the Chinese ethnics followed Buddhism and Christianity/Catholicism, and even a small portion embraced Islam (Suryadinata, 2010). The regulation above applies to all Chinese in Indonesia, including Chinese people in Padang.

### 2. Literature Review

Studies on government policies during the Orde Baru era on religion were still relatively limited in number, especially those written by Indonesian researchers. Some literature on state policy towards religion during the Orde Baru era is the work of B. J. Boland, (1971) entitled The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia. One chapter in the book discusses Islam and the "Orde Baru" (1965 and after). This paper explains the position of Muslims after the end of the 30 S movement and the beginning of the Orde Baru government. Boland clearly stated that the position of Muslims after the events of September 30<sup>th</sup> 1965 in the early period had a great opportunity to be active again in the spread of Islam and the expansion of its influence. However, along with the strong influence of the power of the Orde Baru, Islamic political activities stagnated in this period because the decision of former figures from Masyumi take part in politics again was hampered. This was due to the policy of Suharto on February 5th (Prawoto Mangkusasmito provided information in his meeting with Soeharto on February 5, 1968) which did not allow former Masyumi leaders to hold important positions in the new Islamic party. The slogan of the Orde Baru with "The state must believe in God and religious" becomes the legitimacy for the state to require every citizen to adopt a religion that is recognized by the state. This regulation has a big influence on the Chinese ethnics who have a belief in ancestral traditions, so they will choose one of the religions recognized by the state.

Furthermore, Leo Suryadinata's (2014) article, entitled "The Culture of The Chinese Minority in Indonesia". In a sub chapter entitled "The Da'wah Movement among the Indonesian Chinese", Leo explained how da'wah as a means of spreading Islam was carried out by the Chinese Indonesian Islamic Association (PITI) during the Orde Baru. There are several reasons why Chinese ethnic converts to Islam, such as social closeness with neighbours, friends and co-workers who are Muslim. It is these closest people in the

ethnic Chinese environment who have the influence to convert their religion into Muslims. When ethnic Chinese adhere to religions other than Islam such as Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism, they will continue to identify their identity as Chinese.

Furthermore, Leo Suryadinata's (1999) article, entitled "Etnis Tionghoa dan Pembangunan Bangsa", explained the government policy in the context of national integration in Indonesia. National integration has the definition of creating a national identity that includes political integration and territorial integration. Policies towards "foreign minority" groups are different. The government used an assimilation model that causes the ethnic Chinese to abandon their Chinese identity to become an "indigenous" identity. In other words, Chinese identity was considered a "foreign" identity or is not suitable for the formation of national culture. The assimilation policy covered various aspects ranging from education, Chinese language, citizenship from foreigners to citizens, and name changes.

Benny G. Setiono (2008) in his book entitled "Tionghoa dalam Pusaran Politik: Mengungkap Fakta Sejarah Tersembunyi Orang Tionghoa di Indonesia", explained about the Army Seminar II as the basis for policies related to Chinese ethnics. One of the results of the seminar was to change the word "Tionghoa" to the word "Cina". Furthermore, ethnic Chinese who are still Foreign Citizens (WNA) are required to be Indonesian Citizens (WNI), change their names to Indonesian, embrace a government-recognized religion, ban the use of Chinese letters, symbols and languages. The government even formed the China Problem Coordination Agency in order to exercise control over all ethnic Chinese activities in Indonesia. These discriminatory rules have narrowed the space for the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia.

Regarding one example of the form of assimilation practices in one of the regions in Indonesia, it can be seen from Hamas Assidiqi's (2018) article entitled "Kebijakan Asimilasi Terhadap Etnis Tionghoa di Jakarta 1966-1998". Hamas stressed the importance of assimilation as a step to solve minority problems and eliminate differences between groups. Historically he explained the assimilation process that was carried out comprehensively during the Orde Baru. One aspect of assimilation that is believed to be important is the change of ethnic Chinese names that began in 1966-1970. In that span of years, the change of name of the ethnic Chinese continued to increase. In his writings Hamas did not really explain much about other forms of assimilation of the Jakarta Chinese ethnic, how the relationship formed between the Chinese and other ethnic groups, so that it would become a new understanding in seeing the assimilation process in various regions in Indonesia. In his writings, Hamas did not explain much about other forms of assimilation of the Jakarta Chinese ethnic, how the relationship formed between the Chinese and other ethnic groups, so that it would become a new understanding in seeing the assimilation process in various regions in Indonesia.

Enis Khaerunisa's (2018) research is *entitled* "*Diskriminasi terhadap Etnis Tionghoa Kecamatan Tenjo Kabupaten Bogor*" focused on discriminating against ethnic Chinese in the Old Order until approaching reform. However, the 95 pages of the thesis did not touch the submitted title. She only explained what government policies were "discriminatory"

towards the Chinese people during the Old Order - ahead of the reforms but did not explain what forms of discrimination and what treatment was obtained by the Chinese in the District of Tenjo, Bogor Regency.

The latest book on ethnic Chinese in Indonesia by Hew Wai Weng (2019) entitled "BerISLAM ala Tionghoa: Pergulatan Etnisitas dan Religiositas di Indonesia" provides the view of a "Chinese" in embracing Islam as their chosen religion. Wai Weng stated that Chinese ethnic who adhered to Islam were considered to have become part of the majority Muslim community. However, ethnic Chinese cannot eliminate their Chinese symbols in their lives, such as the mosque as a place of worship modified using Chinese architecture and nuances. The adoption of these two styles will increasingly open the space for social interaction between Chinese Muslims and other Muslim ethnicities.

Wijaya Herlambang (2013) in his book entitled "Kekerasan Budaya Pasca 1965: Bagaimana Orde Baru Melegitimasi Anti Komunisme melalui Sastra dan Film" explains the forms of cultural violence during the Orde Baru. According to him, cultural violence such as restriction by the state starting from the aspects of culture, symbols, religion, language and art is one form of violence that is structured and direct which aims to legitimize its power. Galtung, at the same time, added that violence does not only come from physical violence, but can also through various forms of exploitation carried out by a group of people against other groups. From the explanation of the violence above, it can be seen how the rules issued by the Orde Baru regarding Chinese religious and cultural life are one form of structural violence that causes injustice in social life of certain groups.

Supported by Ariel Heryanto (2018) in his book entitled "Identitas dan Kenikmatan: Politik Budaya Layar Indonesia", Ariel explained that the Orde Baru Government not only issued conflicting regulations, but also limit their access towards certain things like education and public services. Chinese education was closed, while access to public and private schools was very difficult, public services such as complicated and expensive citizenship changes increasingly made it difficult for the Chinese position in Indonesia. Despite being in a difficult position, on the other hand the government provides them with the economic access needed to groups of people who are close to the ruling circle.

From some of the writings above, we can conclude that "coercion" to embrace a religion was very intensively carried out during the Orde Baru. This is caused by fear and politicization so that communist influences, which in fact are "anti-god" teachings, will not reappear and damage Pancasila as the state ideology. Therefore, writing about how the Chinese ethnics of Padang in responding to state policies on religion recognized by the state and what the actions of these ethnic groups will give a new perspective on the implementation of state policies and their impact at the local level.

#### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1 "Ethnicity" Politics in the Orde Baru Regime

After the September 30th movement of 1965 there were various changes in the structure of government in Indonesia. Changes not only involved the transition of the regime from

the Old Order to the Orde Baru, but also eradicated communism and all groups suspected of spreading, following and receiving help from communists. The Orde Baru government carried out large-scale arrests of people suspected of being communists. The arrests were made against anyone suspected of being a member and a communist sympathizer. Chinese ethnicity did not escape the attention of the government as one of the ethnic groups that allegedly involved in spreading communism in Indonesia. According to Benny G Setiono (2008), after the September 30, 1965 Movement, the beginning of Sinophobia or anti-Chinese attitudes in Indonesia began.

Chinese ethnics who have always been considered as exclusive and less active ethnic groups in the Indonesian movement have been targeted by various government policies ranging from religion, culture and others. For this reason, the Orde Baru government then issued a regulation on religion targeting Chinese people. Religion becomes one of the important keys to become part of the State and avoid being suspected as a communist. President Soeharto said that religion and belief in God Almighty had strong roots in the history and culture of the Indonesian people (Harian Singgalang, 1989b).

As the first step taken by the Orde Baru Government to limit the space for ethnic Chinese is to impose obligations to adhere to religion and belief in God Almighty. The obligation to adhere to one of the mandatory religions in Indonesia is one of the steps that ethnic Chinese carry out total assimilation in order to become part of Indonesian society. The next step is to change the name from an organized name through the National Trustees Institution (LPKB) and through official procedures in the District Court and announced in the State Gazette (Setiono, 2008).

Furthermore, based on the decision of the Second Army Seminar in 1967 that replaced all the words "Tionghoa" to "Cina" although since 1928 the word "Cina" had become "Tionghoa" and in the 1945 Constitution used the word "Tionghoa" not "Cina". Substitution of words is increasingly alienating Chinese people become part of Indonesia. The results of this Army seminar became the basis of the Orde Baru Government to issue a circular letter from the Indonesian Cabinet Presidium No SE-06/PresKab/6/1967 dated June 20, 1967 which instructed the designation of "the Republik Rakyat Tiongkok" into "the Republik of Rakyat Cina" which aims to accelerate the assimilation process (Setiono, 2008).

The instructions for implementing the rules of religious conversion refer to presidential instruction No. 14 of 1967 regarding Chinese religion, beliefs and customs. This basic rule is related to the process of assimilation of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia that takes place properly, although it does not rule out psychological barriers, especially for citizens of Chinese descent. This obstacle could have been caused by the culture that has been rooted to the ancestral country of China even though they have been inhabitants of Indonesia for centuries. However, the ethnic Chinese still have the freedom to worship according to beliefs such as the implementation of ritual procession in public (Badan Koordinasi Masalah Cina-Bakin, 1980).

The conversion of religion by ethnic Chinese to one of the five official religions in Indonesia (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism) proves its position as part of Indonesia (Weng, 2019). The abolition of Confucianism as a religion and belief recognized in 1972 relating to State policy requires that ethnic Chinese become a part of Indonesia completely by abandoning the cultural identity and traditions of the ancestors through a process of total assimilation.

The state not did only abolish Confucius as one of the official state religions, but also banned the use of Chinese symbols and language in public and limited the pagoda's activities to places of worship only (Setiono, 2008). Furthermore, the Orde Baru government also closed down Chinese schools and replaced all Chinese characters into Indonesia (Heryanto, 2018). Although the ethnic Chinese already live in settlements formed by the Dutch colonial known as the "Chinatown", but to facilitate the assimilation process (Erniwati, 2019), the Chinese are expected to be able to blend into a pluralistic society, so that it does not become an exclusive society.<sup>iii</sup>

Various government actions that put Chinese ethnic at the corner are merely aimed at assimilation without thinking about the standards or the concept of assimilation itself. In fact, the concept of intermingling is already contained in the 1945 Constitution Article 26 paragraph 1 concerning Citizens and Article 27 concerning equality of positions in law and government (Harian Singgalang, 1991a). Even though the state basically provides protection for its citizens to express their culture and customs, the limitation of the ethnic Chinese movement is one form of state violence against their citizens (Erniwati, 2007). Galtung said that violence carried out by the State was not only in the form of physical violence, but also cultural violence. According to him, cultural violence is one form of action that justifies or legitimizes the actions of a State against the aspects of religion, language, and art of a structurally community group. The structure in question is a social structure that causes injustice in social and political life is sometimes considered normal (Herlambang, 2013). In line with Galtung, Kuntowijoyo (2006) also stressed that violence is not only physical but has evolved in a variety of different types, so that the explanation of the violence cannot be done simply.

## 3.2 The Conversion of the Religions

# 3.2.1 Becoming Chinese Muslim

After the Orde Baru government issued a regulation regarding the obligation to embrace five religions recognized by the state, ethnic Chinese in Padang began to convert their beliefs to Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, and Catholicism. Conversion takes place persuasively with a variety of processes and reasons for choosing one of the five official

This appeal was made by the State Minister for Public Housing, Ir. Siswono Yudhohusodo who stated that the ethnic Chinese to better blend in choosing a place to stay "did not group among them alone". The appeal was made after journalists expressed the hope of the public including the Minister of the Interior Rudini that new settlements such as Bumi Serpong Damai in Tangerang would not become "Chinatowns" (Harian Singgalang, 1989a). Padang Chinese ethnic who has become an Indonesian citizen (WNI) of Chinese descent did not escape the attention of the government in their daily lives. They are also expected to be able not to be exclusive and join other communities (Harian Singgalang, 1991b).

religions of the country (Bastian, Erniwati, & Hardi, 2018). There are various reasons to become a convert, ranging from political change, religious experience, business activities, social networks, locality (environment/relationships), and mixed marriages (amalgamation) that would influence the choice they make. This is in line with Leo Suryadinata's opinion which states that the Chinese ethnics converted into Islam due to several reasons starting from marriages, their Islamic neighbours, to be able to get the same right with the local people, or easier access to get a job after becoming a Muslim (Suryadinata, 2014).

One of the dominant reasons for the ethnic Chinese of Padang to embrace Islam is because they married Minangkabau people (amalgamation). The Chinese who chose to convert to Islam through the amalgamation process were more able to blend in and easily become part of the Minangkabau ethnic (Erniwati, 2011). By becoming Muslims, they were considered to have eliminated their Chinese identity and culture, especially those considered contrary to Islamic law. The ethnic Chinese of Padang who have become Muslims found it easy to foster social interaction and experience cultural assimilation, namely Chinese, Muslims and Indonesians. One example of the Padang Chinese ethnic group who converted to Islam was caused by a family condition was Marjohan Syukur (the Chinese name was unknown) where the story of his Islam was published in the Singgalang newspaper. Marjohan Syukur was a Javanese Chinese man who lives in Padang. When his father died in 1990, he lived alone because his mother had long been separated from his father. He left the High School (SMA) and often daydreamed and was sad. The neighbor who felt sorry for Marjohan's condition asked what was in his heart until finally he expressed the intention to convert to Islam. Hearing this, his neighbor also told this to an Ustadz from Sicincin named Musyamir Tungku Kuning who often gave religious to assist Marjohan to convert Islam. Musyamir also invited Marjohan to Sicincin to convert to Islam and say two shahada in the KUA office in the 2x11 Enam Lingkung Sicincin Padang-Pariaman. Since then, Marjohan became Musyamir's adopted family and lived with him there (Harian Singgalang, 1992).

Furthermore, a young Chinese person who converted to Islam was influenced by his school environment. The young man named Tjia Siong Tji. Tjia Siong Tji (19 years old), a third-grade student at Taman Siswa Payakumbuh High School. He declared himself converted to Islam at the Muhlisin Mosque on September 19, 1984 and changed his name to Mohammad Yusri. He explained the origins of his interest in Islam when he was still in the first grade of high school when he always attended Islamic religion in his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>iv</sup> Muslim tinghoa in Indonesia are divided into three namely Chinese Muslims in Indonesia in the 15th century. This early generation is difficult to trace because it has carried out the process of assimilation, the second generation namely Chinese born by Chinese families who have embraced Islam, meaning that they have mixed marriages. with non-Chinese, the latter is the Chinese who convert to Islam for various reasons. See Weng (2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>v</sup> Even though the ethnic Chinese who embraced Islam were considered to have abandoned their Chineseness, in practice, they still used symbols such as architecture in the mosques they had built. This shows that not all symbols and elements of Chinese culture are left behind simply because they have converted religion. See Weng (2019).

school. Since then, he was interested in deepening his religious knowledge and entering Islam. After converting from Catholicism to Islam. Every day he tried to become pious Muslim by attending prayer at the school mosque and residence.

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Furthermore, a Chinese ethnic named Kian Sin (Eddy Setiawan) aged 24 years who was born in the Selat Panjang who lives in Padang chose Islam after previously believing in Buddhism. He converted because he believed that there is truth in Islam. During this time, he studied Islam silently in the Long Strait, but after he expressed his intention to convert to Islam but got obstacles from his parents even, he was dismissed from his job. After quitting from work, Kian Sin decided to move to Padang and convert to religion at the Muhammadiyah Taqwa Mosque in Padang. To deepen his understanding of Islam, Kian Sin, who changed his name to Eddy Setiawan, deepened his understanding of Islam by studying at an Islamic boarding school in East Java (Harian Singgalang, 1985).

A different story was also experienced by Hian Lay, a young man from Padang who chose to embrace Islam after going through a long struggle (Harian Haluan, 1978). Various experiences of ethnic Chinese who convert religion to Islam provide a new understanding that the ethnic Chinese of Padang actually do the conversion is not due to the state regulations, but there are various other reasons that cause the conversion to occur. The dominant reason is based on personal motives and after getting to know Islam, either accidentally or purposely.

Although there are various reasons for the ethnic Chinese of Padang to embrace Islam, but when they have become Muslims, the activities of fostering faith (aqidah) continue to be carried out. To strengthen the development of Chinese Muslim in West Sumatra, an organization called Pembina Iman Tauhid Islam (PITI) was founded. This organization consists of Chinese people who have converted to Islam. The formation of PITI was carried out after the Director General of the Guidance of the Islamic Community

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vi Pembina Tauhid Islam (PITI) is another form of Chinese Islamic organization that has existed since the Dutch East Indies called the Chinese Islamic Union (PIT) in 1936. The PIT organization was founded by Haji Abdussomad in Medan in 1936. After Indonesian independence, under Indonesian Independence leader Abdul Karim Oei Tjeng Hien, PIT's headquarters was moved from Medan to Jakarta in 1961. PIT then merged with other Muslim Chinese associations in Bengkulu to become the Indonesian Islamic Association of Indonesia (PITI). In 1965, when there was a political change that forced the ethnic Chinese to become part of Indonesia, the PITI also had to eliminate the Chinese word in its organization and change its name to the Indonesian Chinese Islamic Union into the Development of Indonesian Tauhid Faith. See Weng (2019).

to the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion suggested that an organization need to be immediately formed to foster ethnic Chinese who had converted to Islam in all TK 1 areas in Indonesia. To make it happen, West Sumatra sent three of its representatives to attend the National Conference (MUNAS PITI) on December 19-20 in Jakarta. It is important to establish PITI given the large number of Chinese Muslim in Padang raised more or less into about 300 people and 600 people for the whole West Sumatera (Harian Singgalang, 1987).

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Chinese descendants of the Islamic Community in West Sumatra held regional deliberations to form an organization of PITI (Trustees of Islamic Tauhid Faith) as well as the formation of regency/municipality Regional Council (DPW). The plan to establish West Sumatera and regency/municipality PITI was attended by the chairman of the West Sumatra Majlis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) namely Prof., Dr. H. Amir Syarifuddin (Harian Singgalang, 1993a). During the meeting, the Majlis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) in West Sumatra region gave full support to PITI (Trustees of Islamic Monotheism Faith) as a forum for Muslim communities of Chinese descent. This support was conveyed by the chairman of the West Sumatra MUI, Prof. Dr. H. Amir Syarifuddin in a meeting to establish a West Sumatra PITI Regional Muswil committee in Padang on August 23, 1993. Governor Drs. Hasan Basri Durin also felt proud of the formation of the DPW PITI (Regional Leadership Council of the Trustees of Islamic Monotheism) as a place to gather Muslim community of Chinese ethnic descent in West Sumatra (Harian Singgalang, 1993c). In addition to establishing the PITI DPW, PITI branches were subsequently established in areas with Chines Muslim there, such as in Payakumbuh City, Agam Regency, Sawahlunto City, Sawahlunto/Sijunjung District, Solok City and Tanah Datar (Harian Singgalang, 1993b).

#### 3.2.2 Becoming Buddhist

In addition to the development and selection of Islam by the Chinese as a religion, other religions such as Buddhism also experienced a significant increase in their congregations during this period. Based on historical records, Buddhism has entered West Sumatra since the 13th century with the establishment of the first Buddhist kingdom in the Damasraya region with its King Aditya Warman. The development of Buddhism accelerated upon the arrival of Chinese traders who embraced Buddhism in the 17th

century. Before the establishment of the Warman Buddhist Temple, Buddhism began at the Temple (See Hien Kiong). VII The Buddhist teachings at the See Hien Kiong temple were originally developed by a monk who came from China. Monks teach prayers and Buddhist scriptures to people who come to the temple. However, after the monks died and returned to China, Buddhists prayed privately without guidance. Since then, the teachings of Buddhism at the See Hien Kiong temple declined and became a place of worship culturally for their ancestors. VIII This setback occurred since Padang came under Japanese military occupation until the Orde Baru government issued ethnic Chinese rules to adhere to one of the official religions in Indonesia (Vihara Buddha Warman, 2014).

The 60s were considered as the era of Buddhist revival in Indonesia. It began with the arrival of an Indonesian young man named A Sing. who had studied as a monk in Myanmar. A Sing's return to Indonesia in 1962 revived the Vesak celebration at Borobudur temple. Since then, Buddhists have begun to develop and establish vessels for the formation of devotees, restructuring monasteries, and translating Buddhist teachings from foreign languages into Indonesian. A Sing Monk's struggle to develop Buddhism in Indonesia later received the Maha Putra Bintang award from the Indonesian government.

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vii The Orde Baru Government's ban on traditional Chinese religion and the obligation to adhere to one of the official religions of the State led to traditional Chinese religion and the obligation to adhere only for political reasons. Chinese Traditional Religion is known for its three teachings, namely Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucius (Kong Hu Cu) which are now known as Thri Dharma or Sam Kauw Hwee. In the city of Padang, followers of Thri Dharma pray at the See Hien Kiong Temple. Since Taoism and Confucianism were prohibited teachings in Indonesia, many ethnic Chinese converted to Buddhism, Christianity, Catholicism and some converted to Islam. This transfer process is carried out because every Indonesian citizen is required to adhere to one of the official religions recognized by the State. If it is not religious, it means that it does not obey Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Although there are still ethnic Chinese who try to defend the teachings of Tao and Confucianism, the numbers are very few and not prominent. The number of Taoists and Confucians in Padang is difficult to know, because trust activities are carried out individually and are not coordinated in the See Hien Kiong Temple. In addition, after 17 years of age in the KTP adherents of this doctrine are registered Buddhists or Catholics and a small proportion are Muslims. The ethnic Chinese of Padang undergo traditional customs in addition to being according to one of the official religions of the State. Therefore, the role of the Hien Kiong Temple Temple as a traditional place of ancestral tradition is still ongoing. Although since the arrival of Bikhu Yang Arya Ashin in 1962, the function of the See Hien Kiong temple turned into a place for developing Buddhist Dharma teachings, but Taoists and Confucians still carry out their rituals there. Visitors to the temple are mostly Hokkien who are still famous for maintaining the customs of the Fujian region. See Boerlaars (2005); BPS Republik Indonesia (1980); Salmon & Lombard (1985); Suryadinata (1990); & Tan (1981).

viii According to Buddhism the goal of humans in the world is to reach the highest level, namely Bodhisattvas in another sense human beings are truly in human nature. See Hartono (1947).

ix Bhikkhu Ashin wanted to introduce Buddhism by proposing the concept of one supreme God. He claimed that in the tenth century Javanese Buddhist text, the hyang, which he taught, there was the concept of the Buddha as the supreme God. The Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1975 instructed that "Sanghyang Adi Buddha joined the oath ceremony of government officials who were Buddhist. When a Buddhist was appointed, instead of using a supreme god he could use" sanghyang adi buddha. "Many Buddhist priests were not. can accept adhi Buddha as the supreme deity of the Buddha, they are still dealing with the state ideology Pancasila, a religion can only be recognized in Indonesia if it has an almighty concept of God. See Suryadinata (2014).

In 1962, A Sing formed a development team of Indonesian Buddhist teachings and traveled to Sumatra including Lampung, Bengkulu and Padang. In the See Hi Kiong pagoda, A Sing began to organize and invited Buddhists to return to worship. At the beginning of the arrangement, they were rejected by Padang Buddhists because there were some differences in the practice of worship being taught. The difference starts from the Indonesian language used because the Buddhist teachings taught by A Sing are from India while the one in was Padang come from China. This was the reason for rejection of the Buddhist teachings taught by A Sing.

Due to the perseverance and enthusiasm of the Padang Buddhists to revive Buddhism again, then to avoid conflicts with fanatical Buddhists with old teachings, Romo Gaya Suara lent his house in front of SMP 4 (Karam Island) as a place of worship. With the help of Toako Himpunan Bersatu Teguh named Lim Cheng Hong, he lent a larger building for Buddhist worship in Padang. Since then, Buddhists have grown, but the certain number of people is not really recorded. The interview with Romo Sudharma revealed that Buddhists did experience an increase during this period, but the exact number was unknown due to the lack of written data on the number of members and loss of data during natural disasters (Padang earthquake on 30 September 2009). According to Romo Sudharma what is important is not the number of the worshipers, but rather to strengthen faith, and appreciation of the people in Buddhism.

Furthermore, Romo Sudharma said that in teaching Buddhism in schools the priority was spiritual journey as a Buddhist. Romo Sudharma's experience as a Buddhist adheres only to self-taught through books without scientific guidance and knowledge, so he decided to study. Buddhism regularly at the temple on Sundays. Then, after graduating from high school, Romo Sudharma decided to formally study Buddhism and, after graduating, he founded the Buddhist Sunday School at Warman Buddhist Temple in Padang in 1980.

Setting up a school is not easy. Establishing a formal school that is recognized legally by the state requires struggle. School permits must be taken to the Ministry of Religion and Ministry of Culture until the school can be formally recognized and equal to other public schools. Even the religious teachers who teach at this school are also graduates of the Buddhist College in Java or directly from India, China or other countries. The legality and standardization of teachers has led to Buddhist schools at Warman Buddhist Temple to also accept Catholic schools or other public schools in the city. Even the value obtained from learning at the Buddhist Buddhist Vihara Warman school is recognized as the value of their religious studies.

Besides schools, the basis for developing Buddhism in Sumatra is based on the region of residence by forming a secretariat. Secretariat I consists of North Sumatra and Aceh, Secretariat II of the Riau and Riau Islands, Secretariat III for the West Sumatra region joined with the Jambi region, Secretariat IV in the Lampung region, Secretariat V in Bengkulu and South Sumatra, Secretariat VI in the Bangka Belitung region. Each secretariat is headed by a Buddhist monk whose job is to control and manage the problems of the people. For West Sumatra, the activities of the head of the Buddhist monk

are mostly done in Jambi compared to West Sumatra, because in the secretariat area of West Sumatra there are only 4 temples, namely 1 temple in Padang, 1 in Bukittinggi, 1 in Payakumbuh, 1 in Padang Panjang. Apart from the small number of temples, Buddhists in the West Sumatra secretariat are also very flexible. In general, Buddhists are Chinese ethnic who still want to carry out Chinese cultural rituals. Although the practice of Chinese tradition is permissible as long as it does not conflict with the principles of Buddhism. This can be seen when a Buddhist of Chinese descent dies, the family will hold a prayer ceremony by offerings to the ancestors with non-animal food because Buddhism are forbidden to kill living beings, so the Buddhists usually presenting vegetables, cakes, and fruits. Likewise, the tradition of waiting for dead bodies in funeral with alcohol and gambling were prohibited while waiting for the bodies (Sui, 2019).

## 3.2.3 Becoming Catholics

The abolition of Chinese schools during the Orde Baru.\* Caused many ethnic Chinese to enter Catholic schools. Those who attended Catholic schools eventually converted to Catholicism. For Chinese people in Padang, the decision to choose Catholicism was also motivated by some practical interests. Chinese children have difficulty and are rarely able to enter public schools. In general, since Chinese schools were closed, they studied in Catholic schools. This is because the private Catholic school has a good reputation in the city of Padang. Therefore, although there is no coercion, Chinese children tend to attend Catholic religious classes in the classroom. Apart from religious studies being compulsory subjects, Chinese children indirectly also do not want to be bothered by the issue of values, so from elementary school to school Middle-class they are used to Catholic studies. Although at first on a practical basis, but along with the process of time, they live in a Catholic environment so that some of them embraced Catholicism by themselves (Long, 2019). The main principle in the Chinese family is the importance of devotion to ancestors and elders, so that it is not too much of a concern for the family to choose any religion as long as the basic principle is not lost (Long, 2019; Sui, 2019).

Based on historical records, Catholicism in Padang was first developed by Mgr. Y.H. Scholten, Pr in 1834. At first, Catholicism was only carrying out a mission in strengthening Catholicism among native and the Dutch descent. The distribution of missions among non-Dutch began in the late 19th century, especially among ethnic Chinese in Padang. It is recorded in the baptism book that the first baptized Chinese person named Antoon Yosef Oei Tian Seng who was born in Padang on January 10, 1876 (Panitia Yubileum Katedral Padang, 2017). It is probable that after 1876, the spread of the Catholic mission became more widespread among the ethnic Chinese of Padang. The congregation data from ethnic Chinese from the colonial period until the 1950s was difficult to trace, but in the history book of Padang Cathedral Church it was explained

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>x</sup> The rules regarding the closure of Chinese schools are contained in the Cabinet Presidium No. 127 / U/KRP/1968 concerning name change, Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 concerning the main policies relating to citizens of foreign descent and the Presidium Instruction of Cabinet No. 37 / U / IN / 1967 concerning the main policy of solving the Chinese problem. See Erniwati (2016); & Suhandinata (2009).

that in 1962 the cathedral parishioners numbered 11,577 people and 90% came from Chinese and others from the Mentawai, Batak, Java, Nias, Flores and other migrant tribes (Panitia Yubileum Katedral Padang, 2017).

The presence of Catholicism in Padang cannot be separated from the history of the Dutch Colonial Government in West Sumatra. It began in 1807 when the arrival of MEP union missionaries from France to West Sumatra, namely MEP clergy, P. Candall, to Padang in 1830 and P. Vallon to Nias Island in 1832. The arrival of these clergy was initially opposed by the Dutch Colonial Government, but 7 years later that is, in 1837 the first priest was found in Padang who led the Catholic community consisting of Dutch soldiers, civil servants, Chinese-descent and several Chinese (Keuskupan Padang, n.d.).

On 27 June 1952, Padang Apostolic Prefecture was established and on 3 January 1961, its status was upgraded to Padang Diocese and Mgr. Raimundo C. Bergamin, SX was elected as the first Bishop of Padang on 16 October 1961. Mgr. Bergamin then established the church of St. Theresia as the church of Padang Cathedral (Keuskupan Padang, n.d.). For the formation of Catholics, there were a number of churches in the city of Padang such as the Church of the Cathedral of Santa Teresia, the Catholic Church of St. Francis Assisi, Santa Maria Catholic Church and St. Leo Chapel in Padang. In addition, there was also PSKP St. Joseph which is a society of Catholic Social and Funeral (PSKP) which was founded on March 19, 1964. This association accepts all different ethnicities as long as they want to accept the Catholic principle (Erniwati, 2016).

The rules issued by the State regarding the selection of state-recognized religions (Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism and Hinduism) and the prohibition of Chinese cultural appearance in public, were not rigidly interpreted by the City/Province Government and the people of Padang City (Bastian et al., 2018). In reality, ethnic Chinese who embraced Catholicism still carry out various rituals based on Chinese culture in their daily lives. This is inseparable from the tolerance given by the church to Catholics, who are predominantly of Chinese ethnic origin. The leniency of carrying out Chinese culture in various lives was seen at the implementation of birth ceremonies, naming, marriage ceremonies (determining good days, ceremonies of prostration to parents, installing red cloths in cars, sowing flowers and others), problems of death and new year's celebrations (Hartono, 1947). For more than three decades of the Orde Baru regime, these cultural traditions are still practiced even though the ethnic Chinese of Padang have adopted certain religions and beliefs formally.

The government also actively participated in strengthening religious harmony. The governor, on various occasions, often reminded the leaders of the *Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, Bishops, PHD, Walubi, ICMI, PTI and IAIN to create tolerant religious climate in Padang. The Governor reminded that a sense of togetherness based on unity will resolve all disputes through dialogue. Therefore, religious leaders need to strengthen the faith and piety of the believers so that they are not easily provoked and shaken by the distractions from outside (Harian Singgalang, 1996). In the end, the spirit to live in harmony and tolerance can be maintained.

#### 4. Conclusion

The Orde Baru regime built its political legitimacy by strengthening Indonesian identity and making Pancasila the only principle. Ideologies that are considered incompatible with Pancasila do not get a chance to live. In the end, for the achievement of the Orde Baru's political ideals which prioritized the implementation of development in various fields, it was realized by various political decisions and policies that harmed civil rights and deviated far from the mandate of the constitution. The Orde Baru, which on the one hand wanted to develop Indonesia in diversity, on the other hand also built a gap between what is called indigenous and non-indigenous. Non-Indigenous people in the Orde Baru narrative were more focused on the ethnic Chinese whose ancestors came from China. Various political decisions implemented since the colonial period until the Orde Baru came to power widened the gap between the natives and the Chinese Ethnic. No wonder, during the Orde Baru era, various rules and policies were made specifically so that the existence of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia could remain under the state control. The Orde Baru regime believes that it is important to "Indonesianize" the Chinese people and abandon their ancestral identity in China. This includes the prohibition of a number of cultural activities and related matters including religious issues. The Chinese ethnics in Padang are required to accept one of the officially recognized religions and mention it in their official documents.

Even though it seemed heavy and discriminative, the government and people of Padang successfully apply the rules within certain limits and concessions. In practice, although the ethnic Chinese of Padang have embraced certain religions (Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism), they are still being told to respect ancestors and parents as taught in Confucius teachings. The implementation of Chinese culture and ritual is still carried out every year starting from the Chinese New Year, Cap Go Meh and other activities, even though the celebration was only in the scope of the *Pondok* village with a simple implementation. In the end, it can be said that, various restrictions and a number of attempts to eliminate the Chinese elements in ethnic life during the Orde Baru Regime, unfortunately, could not be said to be successful. Padang with its long history as a multi-ethnic area has its own mechanism in maintaining the boundaries of tolerance between ethnic groups so that each has the opportunity to maintain its cultural values.

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