

Militias' Role in Indonesia: to Subvert or to Sacrifice

By Muhammad Habibi Siregar

A. Are Muslims intolerance ?

This question always is asked by non-Muslims to see the violence phenomena which is stigmatized to Muslims. The Media role worsen the Muslims' reputation in non-Muslims' eyes.¹ Referring the question above, are Muslims intolerance? According to me as a Muslim academic, I see this matter from two sides, in normative aspect and the Muslims' behavior in reality. In normative aspect, Islam as religion teaches to his believers to respect and to tolerate the others, even in many literatures in Qur'an and Hadis (prophet's words) to behave well toward non-Muslims. Islam forbid all Muslims to kill innocence non-Muslims, because Islam treat Muslims and non-Muslims equally. In Islam, a Moslem is forbidden to kill non-Muslim who isn't guilty and must be protected equally.² But some of the Islamist from western countries to prejudice that Islam is source of problem amid teaching the terrorism matters by twist the Qur'anic's into bad interpretation.³ For most Muslim around this world, there is the belief that Islam is the only religion in this world which regulates all of aspects of human's life. yet Islam is teaching not only theology but also beyond theology, it can be proved now by seeing the flexibility of Islam is able to be attached by modern institutions like Islamic banks, Islamic insurance, Islamic stock exchange, or Islamic law. the institutions above grow like fungus in rainy seasons not only in Muslim countries as well as in western countries, especially in Islamic law that is taught in major prominent universities in this world.

Due observing the highlight issue in this paper, I prefer use the hermeneutic method in phenomenology.⁴ It analyze the phenomena surface and the background of the phenomena. The fluctuative relation between native people and Chinese people is described uniquely, but Chinese people always as the scapegoat in any chaotic problem. For that reason, this paper want to uncover the hidden ones.

While seeing Islam in the way of beholders of reality always make contradictive with normative one. The stigmatized Muslims with the corruption, poverty, terrorism, or the other bad things is attached to Muslims even though it can be caused by the many factors beyond Islam as the belief. A prominent Muslim Reformist Muhammad Abdu from Egypt in the early of twentieth century ever

¹ Tarmizi Taher, *Islam Across Boundaries*, (Jakarta: Republika, 2003), 5

² Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The place of Tolerance in Islam*, (Boston: Beacon, 2002), 7-9

³ Mark A. Gabriel, *Islam and Terrorism*, (Lake Mary, FL: Strang, 2002), 12-30

⁴ Edmund Husserl, *the Idea of Phenomenology*, translated by Lee Hardy, (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999), 35

said " when I travelled to western countries that I found Islam there, but While travelling to Muslim countries that I didn't find Islam there," And his another comment " Islam was left behind by Muslims themselves."The colonial factor is the crucial one to cause Muslims are left behind compared to the others. in Indonesian case, Dutch colonial treat Indonesians on based of the race which is divided into three hierarchy classes; the first class who were Dutch people and the descendent of white heritage living in Indonesia, the second who were Chinese people and the oriental people that they accepted the privilege status to run economy sector, and the third who were the native people that always get the oppression from all sector to curb their resistance to the colonial ruler. After getting independence, Indonesia is not free from infiltration was done by former colonial ruler, so from 1945 to 1949 ending in Den hag tractate or in Indonesia is famous with "konferensi meja bundar" that forced the Dutch government to accept the Indonesia's independence. The young nation must fight for defending independence, from 1950 to 1959, Soekarno's short government must face the domestic rebellion who want to declare self independence from Jakarta. After handling the rebellion, in 1963⁵, Dutch made a surprise maneuver not want to release west Papua to Indonesia that triggered the war between Indonesia and Dutch again. The illustration above described until the end of Soekarno's ruler in 1965 only two years Indonesia relatively save, so it's not enough to manage the social life in Indonesia. But after Suharto became the ruler from 1967 to 1998, he focused three elements; stability, economy growth, and defense. On behalf to increase economy growth amid Indonesia economy was very damaged in Soekarno's era amid 1000% inflation to force Suharto's to emphasize in economy sector.⁶ Suharto chose to increase economy growth so that the cake of development can be distributed to the poor. Suharto used the Chinese businesspeople to accelerate the economy growing by being given insentively and easy beaucracy. Not until 30 years inception many Indonesian conglomerates which are mostly from Chinese decendent. In fact, the growing of Indonesian conglomerates aren't based on competitiveness make their capability so fragile to compete in international level. The result in 1998, when crisis was actually first from Thailand hit Indonesia make Indonesia economy collapsed because of the foundation of fragile economy. The inflation hiked before 1998 1 dollar 2,400 rupiah became 20,000 rupiah per 1 dollar. It can't be

⁵ This war is well known as the Ara furu war, because the first main battle in term of sea battle in Indonesian history due in Ara furu war.

⁶ Look Emil Salim, *Pak Harto Selamatkan Bangsa dari Kehancuran*, Soeharto Media Center, Accessed in 29 April 2012

imagined the crisis hit the ordinary people who had income below 1 dollar per day. So the sentiment anti Chinese grows everywhere in Indonesia, especially in Medan who lived many Chinese businesspeople. The hatred to Chinese people consequently the privilege was given by Suharto's era assumed as culprit of devastating Indonesia economy.

The dominance in economy is still held by Chinese businesspeople in Indonesia, this maybe one of the Indonesian's government mistake to allow competition between native people and Chinese businesspeople who got protection from long time in Dutch colonial era. It's different with Muslims in middle east, they are wealthier because they are likely never run by others except Ottoman Turkey who were Muslims too. Differently with Malaysia in Mahathir's era, he made a program of economy was called new economy policy which give privilege facility to native people Melayu to get access in economy sources. Mahathir was quickly to learn after seeing the big riot clash in 1963 between Melayu and Chinese due extreme gap in economy. Mahathir convinced his people (Chinese and Indian) that to accelerate native economy equally was inevitable amid the disintegration began to grow because he didn't want the case of the riot happen again. Melayu also faced oppression in economy during British ruler for many years, so the Mahathir's new economy strides can be accepted. In Indonesian case, "the new economy policy"⁷ is never done even though the oppression from Dutch Colonial ruler stricter to Indonesians. As long as there is no political will to improve and to eliminate the gap between the have (Chinese People) and the have not (native Indonesian People) the fragile stability become a threat.

The riot in 1998 which made collapse of Suharto's who had run for 32 years inception the bad memory to all Indonesians. It can be memorized as one of the dark era in Indonesia but there is not guaranty that it won't happen again. As long as the factors of the riot can be eliminated the event doesn't occur again, and fortunately, many prominent Chinese people in Medan realize and involve to many activities due growing participants to join political parties even the famous national militia like Pemuda Pancasila. The Pemuda Pancasila was hated by many Chinese businesspeople who act like gang to blackmail them, but now it doesn't happen again is assumed the involvements many prominent Chinese people to the organization like such the Pemuda Pancasila

⁷ New Economy Policy is aimed make Malaysia is fully developed in 30 years when Mahathir outlined his economy vision and to break down economic ethnic barrier by passing a law to give Bumi Putera (Melayu race) a previledge to make equal wealthy in Malaysia, see Wain, Barry, *Malaysian Maverick: Mahathir Muhammad in Turbulent Times*, (Palgrave Macmilan, 2003), 45-56

Actually, Muslims in Indonesia more tolerance even compared than Muslims in Middle East, because Islam here relatively young than the original belief in Indonesia is Animism, Hindu, and Buddha. And We must recognize Indonesia as the host of most ancient temples of Hindu and Buddha in this world. Even Borobudur Temple which ever became one of the seven wonders lies in Indonesia. for that reason, so difficult to tell Muslim in Indonesia is not tolerance, it likely triggers the deeper gap economy between the rich and the poor in Indonesia. not based hatred to specific race or ethnic. Because the history of Chinese is not new, even there is the assumption the spreading Islam in Indonesia was done by admiral of Ceng Ho who a Muslim in Ching Dynasty had friendship mission to the world docked in coast Cirebon.⁸ And Sriwijaya on seventh century in Palembang south Sumatra (besides Majapahit) as the biggest kingdom ever existed Indonesia that still become Indonesia' pride until right now was the Buddha Kingdom.

In the case Medan, every Medan resident must have known the jalan mesjid in down town. While discussing about jalan Mesjid always related with the Cong Afie a Chinese businesspeople who ever became the richest man in 1920s.⁹ This man is very respected in Medan because his contribution not only helping the development of Medan but also advancing the mutual friendship between Chinese people and Native people in Medan. He built a monumental Mosque in central business in Medan to accommodate the Muslims who want to pray while they are in working in the companies around the mosque. In fact, the mutual friendship was rooted in Medan Between them, so the hypothesis that Muslim harassed Chinese and hate Chinnese because of the racial factor is false.

B. Militias' Role Inter Communal Life in Medan

The purpose of the formation militia in Medan like generally in Indonesia from 1967 until 1998 in Suharto's era to support the security officers to establish the stability in society. For that reason, almost every mass organization has the militia, some of them affiliated with religious organizations or the youth organizations. There is assumption the growth of militias in Medan is set by government to keep the conducive stability in Medan. No dominance ethnics in Medan to increase the fragile security instead of multi culture life, consequently for decades government let some prominently notorious people to establish their gambling business and private business security. They were hiding behind the youth mass organization but actually their role isn't different from

⁸ Kong Yuanzhi, *Muslim Tionghoa Cheng Ho, Misteri Perjalanan Muhibah di Nusantara*, editor HM Hembing Wijaya Kusuma, (Pustaka Populer, 2000), 123

⁹ See Memori Kejayaan Tjong A Fie, Daily news paper SUMUT Post, 12 mei 2010

bandits to blackmail the businesspeople, especially from Chinese ethnics on behalf their security reason. Government in this case security officers like police and army still allow the status quo after seeing the remote area like in Ambon and Papua. Ambon and Papua is fragile area in Indonesia always face the ethnics conflict among the societies due the heterogenous populations to triggers the disintegration issue. in Patria lineal society the role of the prominent people is very urgent to control their followers. For Medan case the potential riot is more dangerous than the other provinces in Indonesia amid the most heterogenous population to force government to develop new strategy to curb the potential riot. Government designated to make easier to form the mass organization and to have special relation with the leaders of the organizations while chaotic occurred that government would have called the leaders to curb the situation.¹⁰

In Suharto's era the spirit of secularism¹¹ and militarism is very strong. He didn't tolerate any militias which were affiliated with the religious organizations, for him, it is very harmful for integration of Indonesia in the future. For this case, in Suharto's era can be judged successfully to curb the actives the jihadist movement instead of terrorism. After toppling Suharto in 1998, uniquely in the same year Habib Rizieq (well known Islamist hard liner) established the FPI (Forum of Islamic Defenders) which is assumed as the Muslim famous hard liner in Indonesia. like the other jihadist organizations, grasping the chance after down of Suharto's regime amid the euphoria of democracy make them freely to spread the ideology of shariah law is based on the freedom of reformation era in Indonesia. The ideology FPI tries to perform as the moderate movement by continuously coordinating to the security officers before taking action like to sweep the prostitution area, gambling, or the hot issue related with common people. The idea of FUI. is vastly crossed to the other areas in Indonesia, including Medan instead of taking the marginal issue. In the beginning the participants of the FPI are the marginal people who don't have economy and politics access. They see this as a chance for them to express their voice. The general concept of FPI to establish *amar ma'ruf and nahi mungkar*¹² attracts many Muslim to respond the mission. It's not surprised in morally the activities of FPI is supported by ulama in Medan. despite their activities tend to show force rather than observe the religious value. The FPI move to destroy the *maksiat* (forbidden

¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society*, (London: Sage, 1970), see also James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the creation of human capital," *American Journal Sociology*, 1990, 94-95

¹¹ Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular, religion and Politics worldwide*, (Cambridge University, 2004), 215-218

¹² It is the common slogan of normative value of Islam, it mean that Islam endorse the goodness and ban the forbidden things.

things) like the prostitution area, alcohol vendors, or to shut down the canteens forcedly which open in the day of Ramadan (fasting month).

Unlike FPI movement in Jakarta, FPI in Medan brings the racial issue as its slogan movement on behalf of the shariah law. Despite the economy's activities is dominated by Chinese businesspeople create the gap. The most potential clash between FPI and Chinese businesspeople is related with excess the relocation of native people from ex..PTP's land (state-owned company's plantation) and ruislagh of mosque's property. Many Muslim community used to live in the area must leave it immediately amid the tension with the Chinese businesspeople who usually win the legal dispute about the land. For mosque case, almost the 90 % of the mosques in Medan doesn't have the legal certificate. The Muslim's ignorance of the mosque's legal certificate is like the time bomb, because some cases are accidentally occurred to be won the developer in the court caused by the legal certificate. Many mosques are as the gift by Muslim philanthropist driven the religious motivation without taking seriously about the legality. There is such assumption the pious philanthropist who donate a land for mosque must be *ikhlas*, It mean totally surrender to god and cut the right of the donation. Even the donation of the land for the mosques used to unwritten because the *waqif* (philanthropist) mostly gave it orally.

Meanwhile in national level after 2005, there is pressure to disband FPI due the anarchy is attached to this group during its campaign to bring shariah propaganda. Unfortunately for FPI when a accident of suicide bombing at Friday praying in 15 April 2011 a mosque inside the police compound. The suicide bombing took many victims including the chief local police. The horrible accident was connected with FPI's member because the result of investigation indicated the suicide bomber was identified for many times taped by television take part the FPI congregation. Despite the FPI denounced the accusation that the suicide bomber was the FPI's Member but the stigma FPI was infiltrated by Jamaah Islamiyah (the terrorist group in south east Asia which affiliated with al-Qaida).

After considering the fact that the reputation of FPI begin to decreas, meanwhile they need a organization is not contaminated with the stigma for that reason the prominent FPI actors form a new organization which is called FUI (forum Islamic Ummah) in the early of 2011. By this new organization, FUI as the metamorphosing organization from FPI try to proclaim as the legitimate organization to struggle on behalf of Muslim's interest. They used such the trick to bring the famous moderate Muslim organization into their line. One of the trick was the invitation for 16 Muslim

organization on behalf of *silaturrahmi* (.introducing and make link to the others) but actually is used to announce their clausal about the al-Iklash mosque was made before by using many journalist who attend to the meeting. They claim that the statement is made on behalf of all the Muslim in north Sumatra, it can be proved by the participants almost of Muslim organization signed the list of attendance.

Accordance with the two biggest Muslim organization like NU (Ulama Movement) and Muhammadiyah, they are likely disagree with the confrontation movement style of FPI by bring racial issues to solve al-Ikhlas Mosque case. In spite of the sensitive case, the problem must be used the dialogue or using the legal law instrument. Because North Sumatra, especially Medan is the very heterogenous population that it can trigger the unimaginably devastated riot. Even the biggest organization to persuade Muslim to introspect and to care the administration, especially for legal right Mosque's property amid this accident wouldn't happen again.

The persuasive way was offered by the biggest Muslim organizations is perceived as the coward and inconsistency to struggle in the name of Islam. The dispute mosque's property which lies on the KODAM's land because KODAM (Comand of Militerary Territory) insists to ruislagh¹³ to the entrepreneur to gain enough money to restructure and to improve the military's wealthy by providing the representative the active military's residence in suburb area. But FUI doesn't want to accept the reason then they accuse the sale mosque's property to Chinese businesspeople indicates the conspiracy among non-Muslims versus Muslims. FUI take strides to provoke the sale is based on hatred to Muslims because the current KODAM's chief is a Christian. For several times, mediation was taken by MUI (Muslim Ulama Council) and government but useless. FUI likely to accuse the current MUI's element and government are part of conspiracy gangs to collaborate to Chinese businesspeople. Then FUI felt no other way except to bring this case to PTUN (State Policy Court) with the disappointing result for FUI amid the court decision to strengthen the position of KODAM and the Chinese businespeople.

After being defeated in the court, FUI likely won't give their movement up. Now they apparently to declare open propaganda by using the sensitive issue in Indonesia. The sensitive issue mean here is the racial hatred, especially to Chinese people. They spread pamphlet to the concentrated Muslim mostly at Friday praying (Friday congressional), the pamphlet consist to invite Muslims to

¹³ To remove the property by rebuilding to other area

their line to defend the mosque destined with the hatred words. FUI's members still continue to defend the destructed mosque by doing common activities like praying openly unroofed.

FUI's argument to defend the destructed mosque was based on the local fatwa¹⁴ of MUI in north Sumatra in 1984 that it banned the sale activities on the wakaf's property. Even though the fatwa is not part of the legal statute in Indonesia due just for Muslim which unbinding legal law. Because for them, the fatwa is higher rank than the secular one. They likely to disobey the rule conduct of Indonesia's secular law by using the mosque's issue and to promote that the secular system is not suitable for Muslims in Indonesia.

C. Does the Jihadist group infiltrate inside the Religious Militia Group.

Jihad in Islamic terminology is to dedicate rightly in goodness. It's including many sectors of life, like in education, economic, politic, etc. But *jihad* often twisted as the harassment to the others on behalf of the religion, it is very embarrassing to Islam. And now day the terminology about *jihad* always discredit Islam even attach it with terrorism. There is a conspiracy to blame Islam as the terror, and to be stigma Islam as the new fascism to spread hatred around this world. And Islam has been accused to bring terror in human civilization, but this allegation toward Islam is not true. *Jihad* in term of physic and weapon is the minor compared with generally meaning about real *jihad*. The real *jihad* in Islam is to endorse maximally all of the potency to educate people better and to recognize the Allah as the Omni power in his life, and to humanize human in good atmosphere and to respect the others amid the biggest *Jihad* struggle to control our inner passion (syahwat) to do bad things.

The accusation of infiltration of Jihadists to Islamic hard liner like FUI can be accepted also for some people, because the leader of FUI Mr Timsar Sirait is the former jailed prominent jihadist in Suharto's era. In Suharto's era this man was received the death sentence due the subvert the legal secular. Meanwhile he was waiting the death sentence lucky for him because the regime was changed in 1998. After taking position as new president BJ Habibi made political maneuver to free all political prisoners including Mr. Timsar Sirait who is now as the FUI's leader. For that reason, Timsar Sirait as the prominent figure among Muslims hard liner and easily be acclimated as their leader.

¹⁴ Many Muslims still believe that Fatwa is binding law, but it actually is just scholar opinion wasn't binding to legal due alternative opinion for jurist to make decision

After being chosen as the FUI's leader, he emphasize their struggle to advocate the Muslim's marginal interest like the land dispute, mosque or the religious conflict. For case Selambo in Medan suburb, FUI lift the land dispute up become the religious conflict have a bit of exaggerating issue, the issue was brought until to DPRDSU(Local assembly of North Sumatra). The occupier of ex. PTP's land are the Muslim and Christian community, off course in the case of illegal occupation both of them didn't have the legal paper to prove theirs. Like the common society, the social contact always strains the relation among the community, but FUI use this issue to declare propaganda the religious conflict by describing Muslims is oppressed by Majority Christians in Selambo the Suburb area of Medan.

The allegation the jihadist group metamorphose to such a group like FUI then related with trans-national jihadist movement like al-Qaida group is likely baseless.¹⁵ The allegation is usually by connecting the some hard liner prominent figures who were black list in Suharto's era is now running the such hard liner Islamic organization like FUI in Medan or Mujahidin in Solo. Thus the organization like FUI is the minor view inside Muslim who has the extreme opinion to response the marginal position of Muslim. They want to attract government to focus more about the native people who are living below standard. Off course, some analysts said the component of Muslim hard liners aren't dominated by the uneducated people but some of the Muslim hard liner organizations are well educated people like Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.¹⁶ But their appearance is still welcomed by significant people in Indonesia because they are smart enough to sell the marginal issue which attached by Muslims community.

FUI's members often gather in Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Office indicate that their hidden agenda is to fight for the Shariah law must be instilled into legal formal in Indonesia. to gain their goal immediately is like impossible because in the public election alone PBB (partai bulan bintang/ crescent party) the only one party to sell jargon shariah law as its campaign lost and now it face the degradation due the lack of electoral threshold 2%. So their mission is right now only to promote themselves, and the effective way as quickly as is to raise the racial issue covered by poverty, corruption, or the populism matters.

¹⁵ This allegation is thrown by Sidney Jones from International Crisis Group see Changing Terrain of terrorism in south Asia, in The strait Times 4 January 2012

¹⁶ Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is like impossible to gain significant great numbers of followers because of the propaganda slogan sometimes contradict to Indonesia's national interest like their dream to create caliph to abandon historical nationalities.

In physically looked the people who involved with FUI to indicate the conservative performance like mouth beard and wearing the *gamis*¹⁷ dress. But the perception is totally mistaken by accusing with the performance is associated with the radical fundamentalism. Because the other Islamic group even very humanism make the distance away to the politics. Even though their performance look like the Taliban's dress style due they are far way from politics. They observe *da'wah* (Islamic propagation) from mosque to mosque just to expect to be the god's good servant besides to make distance from intrigue of politic they are far from the violence movement. This group is known as *jamaah tabligh* which had the representative almost every country even in Israel. In Medan this group is well known as the *Jamaah jalan Gajah* because their core activities are at a mosque in Gajah Street in the centered Chinese population in Medan.

So the fundamentalist stereotype is described by physical clue like mouth beard, wearing the *gamis* dress style like Taliban 's style as the western media describe the Muslim fundamentalist is baseless. The *jamaah jalan gajah* in Medan like the *Amish* community¹⁸ in western country who dedicate to preserve the old tradition, to observe the traditional value, and anti violence.

Actually to identify someone is Muslim fundamentalist or moderate can't be seen from one's performance. But the possible way to explain it by referring the educational back ground. Because the culprit of terrorism in Indonesia were related with the specific Pesantren (Islamic boarding school).¹⁹ Because the culprits were alumni of the suspected pesantren. But to prejudice all pesantren in Indonesia are thought the terrorism, in fact no pesantren in Indonesia is in Indonesia teaching the terror lesson to its students, but some of them deviated from the good lesson to be perpetrator due inequality social life. Generally the pesantren system education is divided into two majors; the tauhid major and the fiqh major. Indonesia has more than 14,656 pesantrens most of them emphasize the fiqh major only few pesantrens focused about the tauhid major.²⁰

Pesantrens which focus the fiqh lecture are more moderately even to respect the different view inside the Islamic school thoughts. Because inside fiqh consist five big Islamic thoughts which respect each others. The fiqh major teaching to influence its alumni's character more moderately

¹⁷ The dress style of common south Asia Muslims is percept by traditionalists as the pious dress style

¹⁸ Western people who still defend the old christian value and reluctant to use the convenience modern technology, see Kraybill, March A, Olshan, *The Amish Struggle with Modernity*, (University Press of England, 1994), 3-5

¹⁹ Sidney Jones's advice to Indonesia government to look more actively the extra curriculum was given by the teachers amid the wash brain activities, see the recommendation International Crisis Group to Indonesia government, Asia Report 19 April 2011

²⁰ Religious affairs department data released in 2004

and response to heterogeneity to behave tolerance not only to sesame Muslims but also to non-Muslims. Mostly the pesantrens in Indonesia (99 percent) observe the moderate fiqh and usually more open to government intervention like accept the national curriculum standard besides the local curriculum. And government (ministry of education) also fund part of the pesantren cost by subsidy the building or the teacher salary. This is as the reward from government as their open heart to government. But sometimes, there are few cases that pesantrens refuse to accept the financial aid from government. They just want to be independently, the independent pesantren like this mostly observes the tauhid major. this pesantren usually very rigid, always to see non-Muslim as the enemy. And their religion's thought is very textual to perceive everything just from the black or white side. Usually the radical movements try to make contact to the stake holders including the students. The evidence in Bali boom 1 and 2 can be seen the culprits had the typical pesantren alumni who were the easy target by terrorist jihadist trans-national.

In context of Medan, the pesantrens didn't have the connection the religious violence to the Muslim radical groups like FUI. Because of pesantren in Medan mostly moderate, open, or adopting modern system. so the assumption of radical movement is run by FUI is not connected at all. Even the pesantren tradition is not rooted in Muslim people in Medan not like in Muslims in Java who had strong rooted in pesantren.

The FUI group is often seen as the Muslim hard liner amid their rejection toward PTUN's decision to win the Chinese businesspeople in mesjid al-Ikhlas case in Medan. in spite the deception of the PTUN's this group still blatantly to reject the decision. They make harsh criticism to the legal system in Indonesia. Although FUI is assumed as the Muslim hard liner but FUI can't be categorized as the international jihadist who is attached with al-Qaeda.²¹ Because the international jihadist movement usually bring the Muslim international issue as their jargon like Palestine issue, Afghanistan issue, or western imperialism to Muslim world, meanwhile FUI only take local issue up problem as its struggle. FUI's movement grows as bias the development activities. They feel abandon by government, and they accuse government to give the privilege to Chinese businesspeople, and government was accused not want to lift their social status up.

²¹ see the content of Sidney Jones's speech at the Australian Strategy Policy Institute, 15 september 2005, The Changing Face of Terrorism in Indonesia: Weeker, More Diffuse, and still a threat.

D. Fragile Relation between Chinese people and Native People in Medan

Chinese businesspeople for many native people in Medan is phenomenally seen as the greedy to occupy not only the property but also the economy resources. One of the major factors because Chinese people mainly shown identity likely not as the Indonesians but as the foreigner. The shown identity is perceived by the dialogue daily used among them in public place, may be Chinese people don't understand that most native people dislikes the hokkien conversation occur in public like in banks. Because native people on behalf to lift the Indonesian's language is very seldom to communicate use the ethnic language in public. The behavior like this may not realized by the Tionghoa make the relation native and Chinese is fragile.

It's based on data that Medan population more than 2 million people who consist the different ethnics and religion. The data shows that Tionghoa as the biggest ethnic in Medan is approximately more than 20 percent of total population. That's why in the last local major election, Sofyan Tan is a Chinese business people participated as the contestant, despite he lost but this the major leap for Chinese people almost win to the election as the second stage from six contestants.

Medan is the Chinese people concentrated in Indonesia, and many of native people mostly from suburb Medan work in Chinese people home industry. So They contribute to increase Medan's GDP is very significantly. This situation make Chinese businesspeople have the significant role in development, consequently Chinese businesspeople have the bargaining position in term of development in Indonesia, especially in Medan.

The SKBRI's²² termination in Abdurrahman Wahid's era is the success story of Chinese businesspeople in Indonesia. The end of SKBRI (Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia/legal conDutch of Indonesian civilization) era is indication the official discrimination toward Chinese people in Indonesia. thus SKBRI as the ticket for Chinese people to involve to all sectors in Indonesia equally. But for marginally native people, the SKBRI termination as the bigger gap will occur in their life, due without SKBRI's termination Chinese people so strong as the real actor in many field in societies. The terminated SKBRI in Indonesia in one side as the advance step in the name of human right. Off course, the SKBRI's termination implicates the participation of

²² SKBRI (Surat Bukti kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia), the legal evidence of Indonesian Citizen is mostly only for Tionghoa in Indonesia amid the discriminative law that the former President Abdurrahman Wahid terminated the law. SKBRI is as the requirement for every Tionghoa to have any legal conDutch such identity card, passport.

Chinese people in politics, but many native Indonesian expect them want to involve not only to the politicians but also want to become the official servants (*pegawai negeri*).

Chinese people name themselves as the *Tionghoa* ethnic who speak using the *hokkien* dialect, even the the government to mention Chinese people in Indonesia as *Tionghoa* as the respect name for Chinese people who live in Indonesia. The term of *Tionghoa* is never found in other countries like in Malaysia, Singapore, or Thailand. This term may related with the word of *Tiongkok* which Indonesians often to mention the China with the word of it.

As it was mentioned above one of the causes why native people hate Chinese people in Medan because Chinese people blatantly using the *hokien* language in public places. Even many signs are written to use the Indonesian language as the unified language in strategic places. For many native Indonesian this behavior as the arrogant gestures by Chinese people and the indication of lack of nationalism.. meanwhile most of native people is very seldom to use their ethnic language in public places in Medan. This behavior make Chinese people so difficult to interact to native people in social life. this is quite different to Chinese in other provinces in Indonesia, They easily to interact to native people. They very seldom to communicate among them using *hokien* language but just using Indonesian language or the local ethnic language like Javanese language.

The antipathy toward Chinese people is higher than other areas in Indonesia, this attitude is not suddenly appeared but facing long time processes. For many native people in Medan that *Tionghoa* ethnic is considered as " They" not "we". Oppositely for Chinese people that the native people are not good for them lack of friendship. And they see native people as their threat, this behavior make them need security guaranty from security officers. The feeling native people phobia can be seen from the most Chinese people's houses style are very protective. Every one who arrives in Medan easily guessing that security as the big problem in this city by seeing from the formation of the houses. From the house any one can guess the owner of the house, because average Chinese people's house very protectively closed, it's different with the native people's houses are more open.

Due the lack of security, many Chinese businesspeople to create *Bankom* (*badan komunikasi*). *Bankom* mean in English a Communication institution, but its function as the security guaranty for anyone who had registered as the member. Almost 100 percent of *Bankom*'s member is Chinese businesspeople in Medan, they oblige to pay sum amount of money to this institution as the feedback, security forces like army and police will protect them from any threat was usually from

local perpetrators. Bankom in Medan grows like fungus in rainy season, security forces will response as quickly as possible to any security claim, like blackmail, thief, or the physical threat. The word of Bankom only as the camouflage how close relation between Chinese businesspeople and security forces.

Different with Chinese businesspeople, for native people Bankom is the openly collusion between Chinese businesspeople and security forces. And for many native people that Bankom is reflection the Chinese businesspeople who use Indonesian security forces for their interest. Bankom is reflection so deep damage the law enforcement in Indonesia, because Bankom hide as the security reason but it actually had destroyed the law enforcement by bribing the officers. For native people, this allegation likely can be proved by some bad conglomerate Chinese business people who easily escaped go abroad like Edy Tansil, Joko s candra, Samsul Nursalim, Samadikun Hartono, Sujiono Timan, or in Medan case Adelin li. This case for native people make assumption that Chinese businesspeople is lack nationality.

I think the only way to increase trust among the residents in Medan is to make dialogue continuously. Because the fued occur due misunderstanding each others, cultural approach can be used in this term by using the prominently native ethnic. Like empower the *Dalian Datolu*²³ in Medan due the prominent figures in FUI are from Tapanuli tribe. By intensive dialogue will be strengthening the mutual understanding among the citizens in Medan. And the Military figures in Medan is expected more wisdom to response this problem by putting position in the middle. This is useful to omit one's is ostracized in this country and to endorse inter-dependable among the stock holders in Medan.

²³ Three elements of Tapanuli ethnic is based in intern relation among the member ethnic clans or the relation to other ethnic clans

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