

THE ASSIMILATION OF TIONGHOA IN PALOPO CITY (1917 - 1966)

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Abstract

Many stereotypes related to Tionghoa people have been around for a long time, such as their being exclusive and unsociable. Worsened off by the native and non-native issues, at the same time create a fission between the Tionghoa and the locals. Nevertheless, the Tionghoa in Palopo managed to blend in with the local community. This paper departs from the considerable concern to write about ethnic assimilation in Palopo City. The assimilation between Tionghoa and the locals in Palopo can hopefully serve a meaningful lesson for the religious moderation. Taking all those into account, this paper aims to find out the assimilation process of Tionghoa in Palopo, South Sulawesi Province. The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is nothing to bargain. However, it would all mean nothing as the minority and majority groups of ethnics prevail in which migrants and native do not integrate. The data of this paper were collected through literature and field methods. The results showed that the myth of I La Galigo served as much of the base of Tionghoa's interaction with the locals. There emerged a new frame of thinking on the part of the Tionghoa migrants that their identities basically had the same cultural and historical roots as those of the locals'. The Luwu Embassy welcomed the arrival of Tionghoa migrants by preparing a shelter house, a Tionghoa school and other facilities. These migrants chose to make a living in Palopo City and had marriages with locals. They adapted local languages and customs. In the end, they had descendants whose parts of their Tionghoa identities left were their physical features and faith. Their language and culture have become both integrated with those of the local community.

Keywords: *assimilation, palopo city, tionghoa*

INTRODUCTION

Some time ago, the government of Palopo city planned to designate the Kampung Tappong area as the Pacinan area or Tionghoa village. This plan was an effort to organize and represent a space as Tionghoa identity. However, this plan received resistance from among the Tionghoa people on the grounds that such formation would create Tionghoa exclusivity and could encourage the emergence of new divides among other city communities. (Benny Wijaya, interview, 05 August 2018). This rejection reflects that the Tionghoa in Palopo City have redefined their identity as residents of Palopo City and no longer put emphasis on ethnicity in their social relations.

That situation seems to be different from that of most other cities in Indonesia in which ethnicity serves as the base of settlement classification of the people to these days. For example, the city of Makassar, which was

constructed by the Dutch colonial government, classified settlements based on ethnicity so that it gave birth to the Pacinan area, Malay village, Arab village and so on. These duplicates of ethnicity villages were present in the midst of the development of the city of Makassar which influenced the adaptation and assimilation process in subsequent periods. Meanwhile, in the Luwu region, since the arrival of the Tionghoa in the early 20th century, they have not shown sharp barriers in the process of adapting their identities. In fact, the Tionghoa position themselves as inseparable part of the history of Luwu society.

The case above indicates that cultural identity is not completely unchanging, but very much dependent on how to position and become the subject of constantly unchanging history, culture, and power, which by Hall (1990) named as the becoming identity. This view sees that cultural identity is a never-ending product, but is always in the process of identification within a historical and cultural

context. This article attempted to look at the process of Tionghoa people assimilation in Palopo 1917-1966. The questions of “How did Tionghoa people in Palopo-Luwu interpret their identity in establishing social relations, particularly when dealing with the “China-Tionghoa, native and non-native” discourse? How was the dynamics of Tionghoa assimilation in Palopo-Luwu amid the socio-political changes in a wider context? And what did the Tionghoa assimilation take forms of in this area? These are the driving questions of this article.

The study of Tionghoa people has received considerable attention from historians and other social scientists. The study of Shaifuddin Bahrum (2003) looked at the assimilation variable through intercultural marriages that gave birth to a new identity known as “Mixed-Chinese”. Bahrum in his book accounted about Tionghoa people with long history in Makassar, whose in their journeys also experienced various interethnic incidents. Makassar Tionghoa consider themselves Indonesians, and no longer Tionghoa. In fact, they live their daily lives, do activities, and socialize like what local people generally do.

However, according to Bahrum, even though the Tionghoa have lived for a long time in Makassar and mingled with other members of the community, not a few of them still encountered significant problems with the local communities. The collective memory of China as the second social class after Europeans as constructed by the Dutch colonial government and anti-China sentiment, especially during the New Order era, seems to have continued to make a painful impression, hampering the process of integrating Tionghoa people in Makassar (Bahrum 2003).

The long journey of the Tionghoa in Makassar was also a concern in the study of Yerry Wirawan (2013) in which he discussed the history of the Tionghoa community in Makassar from the 17th to the 20th century. This work was the first complete study providing account of the Tionghoa community of Makassar. The study showed that the cultural richness of the Tionghoa community in Makassar was strongly influenced by local culture and their maintaining of their ancestral culture at the same time. This community also

managed to build strong networks with important trading cities in the archipelago and to Singapore as well (Wirawan 2013). All these go to show the heterogeneity and complexity of the history of Tionghoa people in Makassar.

The characteristics of the Makassar Tionghoa community are also shown in the study of Ramli (2015) which particularly looked at the da'wah of Tionghoa Muslims through a socio-atropological approach. This study shows that there are semiotic problems stemming from the cultural production of Tionghoa people, which is different from those of local communities, which further affected the assimilation model that was built between the two ethnic groups. This study provides a fairly comprehensive understanding in looking at the assimilation of religion and culture in Tionghoa society (Ramli 2015). Another perspective on seeing Tionghoa Muslims, shown in Mubarak Dahlan's (2018) study which specifically focused on the Muslim Tionghoa community in Wajo District, Makassar. This study illustrated the change in Tionghoa identity from the point of view of religious activity (Dahlan n.d.).

Muslimin A.R Effendy (2004) studied the assimilation process of Tionghoa-Makassar people from a historical perspective. This study provided a historical overview of the migration process of Tionghoa people in Makassar. The discussion of this study began with a dark event in the history of Makassar, that is, the cracking down the Tionghoa in September 1997, marking the process of the sinking of the group identities both at the symbolic level and in relation to resources (Effendy 2004).

All the studies provide meaningful insights on the questions of this paper. Several other writings looked more specifically at Tionghoa in Makassar (Darwis 2013; I Ahmad 2016; Irwan 2018; Kunu 2018). Other writings that specifically examined Tionghoa people in Palopo City are those of Sritimuryati and M. Thamrin Mattudala (Mattudala 2018; Sritimuryati 2020). Both of these writings studied the assimilation of Tionghoa people with other people in Palopo City (1917 - 1966), by specifically bringing forward the case of a Tionghoa, Djie Adjeng, who came to Palopo in 1917. However, these two writings do not

provide a detailed explanation of the forms of assimilation of Tionghoa people at that time. This paper meant to complement the two existing writings.

As the history of the Tionghoa in South Sulawesi is looked at closely, the study of the Tionghoa in Palopo-Luwu still seems to occupy an empty space in Tionghoa historiography in South Sulawesi. Therefore, this study is expected to fill the empty space, and at the same time provide a more complete understanding of the complex relationships among people of South Sulawesi. With this understanding, it is expected that government policies related to multicultural development will not be instantaneous but based on historical and cultural knowledge

RESEARCH METHOD

This paper used a historical method with four stages of work, consisting of heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography. Data collection was carried out through library and field researches. In concern with the first one, visiting some libraries was conducted, such as the library of the Conservation Center for Cultural Values of South Sulawesi, the Regional Archives and Libraries of South Sulawesi Province, the Palopo City library, Palopo Post and the Tribun Newspaper in Palopo. Besides, extensive and intensive internet browsing was also conducted. Alexander Adjie, one of the key informants also gave a draft of his writing regarding his father's journey from his native China to Palopo. In that article, Alexander Adjie detailed the experiences of Djie Adjeng, his father, while living in Palopo (1895 - 1966). From all those efforts, the authors obtained a number of literature data that were supportive to the writing of this article.

The other method, the field research, was conducted by holding a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) twice, attended by Tionghoa figures in Palopo City. Most of them were children of mixed marriages between Tionghoa immigrants and local residents. In-depth interviews were also conducted with several figures that were thought to know a lot about assimilation in Palopo City. The results of this interview complemented the previously obtained data. Following that, historical sources were criticized to produce a

historiographical story about the assimilation of Tionghoa people in Palopo City.

DISCUSSION

Memories of Tionghoa and the Non-Native

In this paper, the author prefers to use the term Tionghoa rather than Chinese. The issue of choosing Tionghoa or Chinese for the word has actually been resolved when President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) issued Presidential Decree Number 12 of 2014 concerning the Revocation of Presidential Decree of the Ampera Cabinet Number SE-06 /Pred.Kab/6/1967 dated June 28, 1967. Through the presidential decree, President SBY replaced the term "China" with "Tionghoa". The consideration for the revocation, as quoted from the Cabinet Secretariat website, the term "Tjina" as mentioned in the Circular of the Presidium of the Ampera Cabinet, which in essence is a substitute for the term "Tionghoa/Tionggok" has caused a psychosocial-discriminatory impact on the social relations of Indonesian citizens of Tionghoa descents (Gatra 2014).

The president's decision to change the word Chinese to Tionghoa is basically a political memory of the state that seeks to eliminate discriminatory impressions when mentioning the word China. The memory of China itself is actually a colonial legacy which has been understood as negative legacy in the collective memory of Indonesian society. According to Hamdani, in a Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Tionghoa term assigned to Tionghoa descents in Palopo was not entirely wrong. However, the Tionghoa term per se in its pronunciation then contains an element of ridicule. Therefore, replacing Chinese terms with Tionghoa to refer to the Tionghoa descents can eliminate the impression of ridicule for the Tionghoa community at large and for Tionghoa people in Palopo City in particular (Interview: Palopo, 05 August 2018).

During the Dutch rule, the word Chinese ran linearly with the word non-native. Generically, any kinds of definition of native is anyone born in an area and lives with the native status. Natives are attached to a place or autochton. The word pribumi in Malay refers to inlanders, the tribal groups of archipelago, colonized by the Dutch East Indies. Then the

population of China, India, and Arab descents was included in the *vreemde Oosterlingen* or "Foreign Eastern" group, European and mixed people were often classified as non-native even though they had been born and lived in Indonesia for generations. This grouping is a social category and the idea that it was not racist as there could be movement as up and down among the groups. However, in practice it became racist because of striking differences in public treatment, wages, and prohibitions on the use of the Dutch language for certain groups, and many others.

Social categorization and discriminatory treatment then gave rise to sharp binary opposition in society, that is, "Tionghoa (Tionghoa descents) - Non-Native - Received Special Treatment - Rich" against "Local Residents - Native - colonized - poor". This binary continues and becomes the collective memory of the community, and natives and non-natives are still being understood with the impression of the era of Dutch colonization. This situation was exacerbated by anti-Tionghoa sentiment that occurred especially after the September 30, 1965 Movement. As a result, memories of Tionghoa and non-natives were always interpreted in a discriminatory way.

The terms Tionghoa, native and non-native assigned to the Palopo Tionghoa community have drawn criticism, debate and controversy. For the Tionghoa community of Palopo city, the terms native and non-native contain negative and discriminatory meanings for their position compared to residents of other ethnicities such as Bugis and Makassar. According to the views of the descendants of Tionghoa people in Palopo City, the term non-native should not be assigned to them anymore (FGD 5 August 2018).

According to Hamdani, one of the Tionghoa people who when the interview was conducted in 2018 served as a member of DPRD of Palopo City, that the word native was pinned to people who were born in an area or inhabit an area. In their views those who are currently in Palopo City are really descended from Tionghoa people but were born and raised in Indonesia. In addition, their parents were born in Indonesia, specifically in Palopo. For them, the term non-native is only appropriate for their grandmothers and

grandfathers who were born in China who then migrated to Makassar and then to Palopo (FGD: Palopo, 05 August 2018). Based on this definition, they then are natives, too.

To the experience of Benny Wijaya, a descendant of Tionghoa that was born and raised in Palopo, when he had to take care of foreign labor documents to open a shop, he accounted that he received a good acceptance from the Palopo community, and there was no problem with ethnicity in building social relations (interview: Palopo, 05 August 2018). Benny Wijaya's experience shows that in the context of society there are no longer problems with the relations between people in Palopo, but the administration of citizenship in the context of a state still faces obstacles, especially during the New Order era.

Memories of Tionghoa people are related to cultural memories of the Palopo people. Luis Chandra reminded that the Tionghoa people were part of the Luwu Kingdom. In his view, the Tionghoa from Palopo City also have the right to the history of the development of the Luwu kingdom as told in the La Galigo script. In the La Galigo manuscript, it is stated that Sawerigading's wife, We Cudai, came from China. Based on this story, the term non-native is no longer relevant in Luwu and Palopo and the problem of mentioning native and non-native should no longer exist. Tionghoa people are an inseparable part of the past history of the Luwu Kingdom (FGD: Palopo, 05 August 2018). The Tionghoa in Palopo City strongly object to being said to be non-native. Despite the notion that this argument is a politics of identity and historical and cultural claims, the Tionghoa Palopo have given their own meaning to the words Tionghoa and natives by redefining their identity.

The Arrival of Tionghoa Immigrants in 1917 in Palopo City

The 20th century was not the first time for Tionghoa immigrants known to have set foot in Palopo City. Long before that the Tionghoa had been in Palopo City. According to D.F. Van Braam Morris, trade was important in Palopo City, where many ships arrived, such as ships from Singapore, Pontianak, Wajo, Cenrana (Pallima), as well as from Makassar to for forest products and

coffee production. It is said that trade in Luwu Kingdom at that time was dominated by the Arab, Tionghoa, Makassar and Bugis (Hafid 1992: 16).

It seems that this trade traffic was also what brought Tionghoa immigrants in the second decade of the 20th century to Palopo City. According to Alexander Adjie, his father, Djie A Djeng, was one of the immigrants who came to Palopo City at that time. Djie A Djeng who was born in Kai Ping, Kuantung China in 1895 migrated to Makassar in 1913 when he was very young at 18 years old. The uncertain circumstances in China prompted him and a number of other Tionghoa immigrants to seek a decent life outside China at that time.



Figure 1. Djie A Djeng (Djie A Djin) 1927
Alexander A Djie's personal documentation

Armed with his knowledge of construction, Djie A Djeng departed from China to Makassar. In Makassar, Djie A Djeng built the Dutch Naval Base, to be precise now it was at the Zipur Dormitory, on Jalan Rajawali Makassar. The Zipur dormitory building is still there today and it is written on the roof wall of the building "Anno 1915" which means that the building was built in 1915 (Adjie n.d.:1).

Djie A Djeng lived in Makassar for four years and then decided to go to Palopo City. In 1917, Djie A Djeng and his friends went to Palopo City, which at that time was under the Luwu Kingdom (Adjie, p. 1). It was not clear who he heard about this area from and who he was with, he set out for the Luwu Kingdom. It was thought that he heard the news about the Kingdom Luwu from the merchants who had first set foot in the Luwu Kingdom.

Palopo City is approximately 375 kilometers from Makassar City, the current

capital of South Sulawesi Province. Today, Palopo City can be reached by land and air. From Makassar to Palopo City there are two land routes, first through the City of Pare-Pare, Sidenreng Rappang and Siwa, Wajo Regency, then entering Luwu Regency. Palopo City is in the middle of Luwu Regency. The second road goes past Enrekang Regency, then North Toraja then comes to Palopo City. Through this road the distance is relatively short but the road is winding and there are many inclines, especially in Tanah Toraja. To access Palopo City, one can currently use public transportation because many private parties provide transportation services.

Now, the development of transportation can be felt that Palopo City can be accessed easily, it was very different back then in the early 20th century. At that time, people who came to Palopo are said to have come to the sea by boat and small boats (Hafid, 1992/1993: 16-18). According to Benny Wijaya, Palopo - Makassar in the 1950s was traveled by him and his friends by riding a car via Tana Toraja route. The trip usually took one night and they had to spend the night over on the streets (interview: Kota Palopo, 05 August 2018).

According to Benny Wijaya, chairman of the Budi Bhakti Foundation in Palopo, there were several people who came as immigrants to Palopo, including Cantonese, Hokkien, Hakka (Khek), Sangtung, and Khubek. The Cantonese were a group of Tionghoa immigrants who first settled in Palopo in sizeable numbers until the 19th century (interview: Palopo, 20 July 2018).

Until the 20th century, researchers did not find a definite number of Tionghoa immigrants in Palopo City. However, based on Volkstelling records in 1930, it is known that there were 772 Tionghoa people living in the Land of Luwu (Harvey 1989: 17). This number was quite large in its time. At the time of this research (2018), there were approximately 500 Tionghoa family heads living in Palopo City.

The Assimilation of Tionghoa people in Palopo City (1917 - 1967)

In the Indonesian national standard dictionary, KBBI, assimilation means, 1) the process, method, action, mixing 2) the elimination of the exclusive characteristics of

ethnic groups in society in the effort to achieve national unity; 3) mixed marriages between native citizens and citizens of foreign descents (Depdikbud 1998). Therefore, the assimilation referred to in this study is the process of uniting Tionghoa people with the people of Palopo City by eliminating the exclusive characteristics of certain groups of people in achieving national unity.

The assimilation that occurred between Tionghoa and other people in Palopo City in 1917 was inseparable from the role of the Luwu Kingdom. The inherent blood relationship between the Kingdom of Luwu and China as told in Manuscript I La Galigo, is believed to be true. It is not only a myth for the Luwu Kingdom and the Tionghoa community to this day. This is what was pointed out as the cause of the warm welcome of the Kingdom of Luwu by Datu Andi Kambo to Tionghoa immigrants in the second decade of the 20th century.

Shelter House and Tionghoa Schools

The arrival of Djie A Djeng with the migrants was warmly welcomed by the Luwu Kingdom. Given that the immigrants who came had no family in Palopo, the Luwu Kingdom provided a temporary shelter called a "shelter house" or which among Tionghoa was called kwang I lhu shio. Andi Kambo, Datu Luwu, who served at that time, provided special land and other infrastructures for the convenience of the coming immigrants. The shelter house was made officially in 1920. The immigrants later left the house after finding new settlements in Palopo or other areas in Luwu Kingdom, usually, because they found job in another area or getting married to the locals of that area.

The immigrants had nothing at their time of arrival, completely relying on the destination as a place to make a living. Only a few of these immigrants were equipped with skills. For Djie A Djeng, as he had the expertise as a mason, it was easier for him to get a job.

In addition to a shelter house, a Tionghoa school was also built in Palopo at that time. The Tionghoa school was called "Hwa Chio Kung Sue", meaning overseas school located on Jalan Diponegoro, Palopo City today. Currently, the school building is

still standing but no longer in use and has much damage everywhere.

This Tionghoa's school aimed to teach children of Tionghoa immigrants from elementary to high school. The school is thought to have been built in the 1920s on a former Tionghoa burial ground gifted by Datu Luwu Andi Kambo. The Tionghoa burial ground was moved to Balandai, present-day Palopo City.

Alexander Adjie, son of Djie A. Djeng, admitted attending this school, but was expelled in the middle of his term due to a fight with a schoolmate. The Tionghoa did not usually think that education was important in life. In general, parents sent their children to school only for them to know how to read and write. After that, they were usually endowed enough money from their parents to run their own businesses (interview: Palopo, 20 July 2018).

While during this period, the Dutch East Indies Government paid more attention to education as part of its ethical politics. Not only for the Tionghoa, but also for the natives, schools were provided. In Luwu during the period 1904-1910, there were 3 Inlandsche Schools and 10 Volkschools. Until 1925, the Holland Inlandsche School (HIS) was built in Palopo City as a secondary school (Rismawidiawati, 2015: 17). These school instruction languages and those of Tionghoa were Dutch. Unfortunately, these schools had to close at the same time as the enactment of Presidential Regulation Number 10 of 1959.

For Tionghoa people who wanted to continue their education to high school, they had to go to Makassar because there they could attend the Cendrawasih Catholic school which has been established since 1952. This school is mostly occupied by Tionghoa and Toraja people to these days.

Mixed Marriage

The shelter house provided by Luwu Kingdom was used as a temporary shelter for immigrants until they found a suitable place to stay. Those who chose to leave the shelter house, found a place to work or married a local woman.

That also happened to Djie A Djeng that first settled in Makassar and later in Masamba as he got a job to coordinate the dam

project in Masamba. In Masamba, he met a local woman named Watiah. He then fell in love and married the girl who came from Pararra, Sabbang. Both were blessed with 10 children; 5 sons and 5 daughters. One of his sons was named Alexander A Djie.

His marriage to the local woman did not make Djie A Djeng embrace the local religion, Islam. Djie A Djeng continued in his belief as did his wife Watiah. However, not the slightest issue of religious differences collided with the two even to the children.

Alexander A Djie, who was born to a local woman, Watiah, admitted that he did not follow the religion of his mother nor his father. In addition, he also admitted that he did not know his father's mother tongue. When the author met him, he was even more proficient in speaking regional language taetae, the Luwu language and bahasa with the thick dialect of the Masamba people.

Likewise with the story of Benny Wiaya or Oy Cue Oeng who said that his father from the Hokkien clan came directly from China to Makassar. In Makassar he lived for a long time and married a girl from the Bantaeng area, south of Makassar City. After the marriage, they decided to go to Palopo to find a new life. Armed with his skills, he also then opened a bicycle repair shop. In Palopo both were blessed with three children including Benny Wijaya born in 1955. Like Alexander A Djie's family, Benny Wijaya no longer speaks his father's mother tongue. In fact, he is more fluent in Bugis and Makassarese languages because he has been living in Makassar for a long time.

It seems that marriage is a powerful way for these Tionghoa immigrants to mingle with the local community. Married to a local woman made the existence of Djie A Djeng or other immigrants recognized and they were able to enjoy so special facilities as the result of the marriage, such as a place to live that they no longer lived in the shelter house. In addition, they enjoyed protection from their native wives regardless of the fact that love was the base of their marriages.

According to Alexander A Djie, Djie A Djeng was once engaged to a Tionghoa woman. The woman came to Palopo to meet Djie A Djeng. However, it turned out that Djie A Djeng did not feel she was the one for him

that he instead married Watiah, a native from Pararra, Masamba, her mother (interview: Palopo, 20 July 2018).

Residence

For immigrants who live in Palopo, they usually choose to find a place to live in market areas, especially in Tappong. The Tappong area is currently located on streets of Jalan Pelabuhan, Jalan Sawerigading, or on Jalan Landau. This area is the center of Tionghoa settlement in the city of Palopo which can now be referred to as Kampung Tionghoa. In fact, some time ago, there was a discourse to formalize the naming. However, this discourse failed because Tionghoa themselves opposed it on the grounds that it could create a gap between Tionghoa people and other residents in Palopo City.

According to Alexander A Djie or Djie Wang Gip, Djie Ajeng's son, the Tappong area was once known as a settlement inhabited by various groups of people because there were ports and market facilities there. Not only Tionghoa people lived here, but also Bugis, Makassar, Javanese, Toraja and others. They could live in harmony and no conflict has emerged between them since (interview: Palopo, 4 August 2018).

In the early history of the arrival of the Tionghoa in Palopo, these Tionghoa migrants had mingled and integrated with the local community. There are no barriers between them, both among newcomers and with local residents in Tanah Luwu. Tionghoa migrants were not concentrated in Palopo City alone, but spread to hinterlands in Tana Toraja, Palopo, Masamba to Malili.

The immigrants who come to Palopo City work according to their expertise that they brought from their home countries. However, these kinds of expertise could be shown only by looking at the clan. Agricultural businesses were usually carried out by Tionghoa from the khek tribe. They spread in the areas of Tana Toraja, Luwu and Palopo.

The Hokkien in Palopo were known as the most successful tribe among Tionghoa people. They chose to work as traders for such as gold, medicine, glassware, hotels and entertainment. In Palopo City today, there are only 10 families left in this tribe. As the most dominant migrants, Cantonese people are

mostly engaged in carpentry business such as carpentry and masonry. Apart from that, they were also engaged in sewing, rice milling, selling food, coffee shops, restaurants, photographer and trading clothes. Meanwhile, the Sangtung people worked as cloth traders.

The Involvement of Tionghoa People in Helping the Bumiputra

According to Luis Chandra, the only mall owner in Palopo at the time when Japan came to Palopo City in 1942 was Luis Chandra's father, Li Seng. He joined the struggle with the local community to seize Japanese weapons. Li Seng, with the *khék* surname, was a direct immigrant from China. Li Sheng was even awarded a veteran service star published by Andi Sultani, chairman of Palopo City Veterans (interview: Palopo, 05 August 2018).

The harmonious relationship between the Tionghoa and the local people is evident in their every step and move. Another proof of the relationship between the two is when the Masamba Affair broke out in October 1949, which was led by Mrs. Sarlote Salawati Daud and friends. Resistance with only traditional weapons against modern weapons belonging to NICA could be easily cracked down. The fighters were then placed in a detention center. The detention house, which at that time had to be renovated, needed Djie A Djeng's services. Djie A Djeng, who was able to enter and leave the detention center freely, of course met with the detained fighters. Feeling that everyone was his friend, Djie A Djeng secretly supplied them with food and medicine.

When Kahar Mudzakkar staged a rebellion in the Luwu and the surrounding areas, Tionghoa people also appeared in supplying various stuffs to the gangs. Such was done to maintain the safety of their merchandise from the loot of these gangs. Yet, this incidence was not openly acknowledged during the interview session with several Tionghoa figures in Palopo City some time ago. There is one sentence that is often uttered by some Tionghoa people whom the writer interviewed during the research is the sentence "the first and foremost important thing is to be safe". It seems that their actions have always been based on a desire to create a sense of security for themselves and their families.

Mr. Yanto who ran a bicycle repair shop in the 1950s - 1960s recalled that when the knocks on were three times, the people of Kahar Mudzakkar were at the door coming to ask for goods. Mr. Yanto's family used to give rice and cigarettes for DI / TII soldiers, then. In reward, by the gang, the Tionghoa would have been notified and ordered to move to a safer place (interview: Palopo, 05 August 2018).

Tionghoa People in Palopo City Got Hurt

The prohibition on trading for foreigners as stipulated in Presidential Decree No. 10/1959 marked the time when Tionghoa in Indonesia felt their lives had been trespassed. The Presidential Regulation signed by the Minister of Trade Rachmat Mujomisero containing the prohibition of foreigners doing business in retail trade at the regency level and lower outside the regional capital and the obligation transfer their business to Indonesian citizens inevitably began to eliminate Tionghoa businesses (Bahrum 2003: 95).

Long before the enactment of these regulations, these Tionghoa immigrants had mingled and intermarried with local people. They had reproduced and had even settled in the interior of Tanah Luwu to the mountainous areas of Tanah Toraja, Rampi, as well as Seko as merchants. These Tionghoa merchants were locally known as "baba".

This regulation then forced Tionghoa immigrants and their descendants to leave their residence and business. They then moved to the sub-district capital and based on the information by F.H Watulangi most of the immigrants and their descendants chose to return to live in Palopo City. It was estimated that there were around 200 family heads who had been the victims of the enforcement of this regulation (interview: Palopo, 05 August 2018).

This regulation further interfered with the spirit of the assimilation of Tionghoa people with the local population when the regional military rulers of South and Southeast Sulawesi began issuing orders to exile all Tionghoa living in rural and mountainous areas. Muslimin A.R Effendy stated that this prohibition was originally motivated by the spirit of economic nationalism but soon and

surely became an unstoppable anti-Tionghoa spirit (Effendy 2004).

According to F.H Watulangi on one of the interviews, Tionghoa people from the Toraja, Masamba and from Malili mountains were gathered at the Palopo cinema building and Tionghoa schools. Those who did not have documents in the form of marriage certificates or passports were then transported to Makassar by truck. They were then deported to Tiongkok, China (interview: Palopo, 05 August 2018).

Similar incidents have not only occurred in Palopo but throughout Indonesia. After the implementation of this presidential regulation, many Tionghoa people were found to have no documents and, as a result, many of them were returned to China (Tempo 2007: 96–97). However, the undocumented Chinese mixes refused to be deported on the grounds that they no longer understood Tionghoa and had no more relatives in China.

Indonesia, through President Soekarno, has tried to minimize this gap. Soekarno initiated the concept of a pluralistic nation in 1963. He pointed that the Indonesian nation consisted of many tribes, Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, and Chinese mix tribes. The privileges felt by the Tionghoa during the Dutch era were slowly being negated by President Soekarno. Tionghoa schools were converted into Indonesian language schools. Unfortunately this concept had to be completely destroyed during the New Order era (Suryadinata 2002).

When the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) movement which was suspected of willing to overthrow the legitimate government (G30S/ PKI) took place in Jakarta, the Tionghoa in Palopo were affected. The Soeharto regime announced that the PKI was behind the coup and China was believed to be giving its support to the PKI. According to Yanto, his parents were once picked up by the Indonesian army and taken to Makassar although later released because it was proven that they were not involved with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (interview: Palopo, 05 August 2018).

During the New Order era, the arguments to accelerate the assimilation process between Tionghoa and local residents led the government to implement an assimilation policy that was enforced in 1966.

This policy required Tionghoa people to change their Tionghoa-sounded name to a more Indonesian name. This policy was contained in the Cabinet Presidium Decree No.127/U/ Kep/12/1966.

What is interesting to note is that the names that are referred to as Indonesian names are actually non-Tionghoa names. Name change was not compulsory. However, during the first years of the New Order era, most Indonesians of Tionghoa descents changed their names because changing names is often seen as evidence of political loyalty to Indonesia or self-identification as the Indonesian nation. In addition, changing the name would make it easier for Tionghoa people to take care of administration and permits and find jobs as well.

This assimilation policy is widely applied in Indonesia, including in Palopo. Djie Wang Giep's family, which was an immigrant family, also had to change his name to a name to Alexander Adjie. The same was true for his siblings. Her younger sister, Hiu Hwa Siu, changed hers to Muller Adjie, Jie Hwa Ching to Sony Ching Adjie, Je Pie to Marlina Adjie and Hwa Kiu to Mama Yanti.



Figure 2. Alexander Adjie's National Identity Card in 1964 before changing its name. Alexander Adjie's personal documentation

The assimilation policy does not stop at name change alone. Any place of business and business names that was previously in Tionghoa must be changed to in Indonesian. According to Alexander A Djie, due to the assimilation policy, the photo shop owned by Djie Wang Giep, called "Be Kong" which means beautiful, which he started in 1953, had to change to "Ong Giep Portraitman". Not long after, the name of the business changed again to "Remaja Photo" (interview: Palopo, 04 August 2018).

CLOSING

Based on this description, the process of assimilation in Palopo City during 1917 - 1959 can be concluded to take place harmoniously and quickly. The arrival of immigrants from mainland China was welcomed by the Luwu Kingdom and the Luwu community. The Luwu Kingdom provided a shelter house in 1920 and the Tionghoa School "Hwa Chio Kung Sue in Palopo. The contributing factors so that the assimilation could properly exist was the myth of the blood unity of Luwu and Tionghoa in the story of the I La Galigo manuscript. This myth is believed by the Tionghoa and the Luwu community regardless that the Tionghoa mentioned in the text are still being debated. In addition, the skills of these immigrants were urgently needed by the City of Palopo, which at that time was in dire need of development. The construction of roads, bridges, mosques to detention houses were carried out by Tionghoa.

The assimilation took shapes in mixed marriages by male immigrants to local women. The descendents were later called Chinese mixes. The immigrants learned the language and customs of the local community. However, the Tionghoa language was no longer passed down to the later descendants. The Tionghoa who were born later preferred to observe their mother's customs. Subsequently this mixed marriage also led to an increasing number of Tionghoa Muslims and Christians. Even so, there were also those who preserved the belief of their father, Kong Hu Chu.

The Japanese occupation and the revolutionary period did not make Tionghoa people side with Japan and the Netherlands. The Tionghoa people chose to help the warriors and some were even directly involved and awarded with honors. The Tionghoa people who were born and raised in Palopo City do not want to be assigned Tionghoa anymore. They want to be recognized as Indonesians who were born and raised in Indonesia. It just so happened that they were born to fathers who came from China, causing them to become Indonesians of Chinese mixes.

The assimilation of Tionghoa in Palopo City was jeopardized when the Government Regulation Number 10 of 1959 was issued concerning the prohibition of

foreigners doing business in retail trade at the district level and lower, outside the regional capital, and their being obliged to transfer their business to Indonesian citizens. The Chinese mixes who felt that they had become completely Indonesian were hurtful as they were considered foreigner. They had to apply for a work permit for foreign workers to open a business in their place of birth.

It did not stop there, during the New Order era the assimilation policy was also implemented. It is a policy whereby Tionghoa people must change their name, even their place of business or trade mark, into Indonesian. All Tionghoa people dutifully changed their names. But deep down, they felt abused and disregarded. This proves that the State had a share in the process of assimilation itself.

The case of the 30 S / PKI Movement in 1965 also hit Tionghoa people where they were suspected of being PKI minions. Although later, it turned out that the accusation was not true. When the cabinet presidium announced a decision through the Circular of the Presidium of the Ampera Cabinet Number SE-06 Pred. Kab 6/1967, which mandated government agencies and the public to use the term "Tjina" and discarded the term "China", Tionghoa people did not really feel the alleviating impact. The assimilation that has occurred for a long time in Palopo City has made Palopo residents respect existence and the position of Tionghoa in the society. The use of term Tionghoa or "Darn you Tionghoa" is no longer used in Palopo City at this time.

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