

Militia Movement in Tangerang Incident of 1946

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan peran gerakan milisi dalam sebuah peristiwa berdarah di Kabupaten Tangerang yang dikenal sebagai Insiden Tangerang tahun 1946. Untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut, penelitian ini memanfaatkan metode penelitian historis dan teori-teori yang relevan untuk memahami peristiwa lewat sumber-sumber sejarah yang ditemukan. Adapun bentuk sumber sejarah yang digunakan adalah lisan dan tulisan. Berdasarkan waktu diproduksinya sumber-sumber sejarah tersebut, sumber sejarah ini dibagi kembali menjadi sumber sejarah primer berupa buku, arsip, foto dan surat kabar sejaman. Sementara sumber sejarah sekundernya adalah wawancara, buku dan penelitian yang relevan. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, Kabupaten Tangerang merupakan daerah multi etnis dimana kondisi tersebut rentan akan terjadinya kerusuhan antar etnis, konflik antar etnis kerap terjadi di daerah ini sejak tahun 1913 dan hubungan antar masyarakat semakin memburuk. Dalam situasi yang serba kacau, bermunculan kelompok milisi yang dibangun atas kepentingan-kepentingan etnis tertentu yang saling bermusuhan satu sama lain, kelompok tersebut akhirnya melakukan tindakan tidak manusiawi yang dikenal sebagai Insiden Tangerang 1946. Peristiwa ini berlangsung selama hampir dua bulan antara 1 Juni 1946 hingga 15 Juli 1946 dimana peristiwa ini telah merenggut ratusan nyawa lewat aksi perampokan, pembunuhan dan pembakaran, bahkan dikategorikan sebagai salah satu peristiwa paling berdarah di masa itu.

Kata kunci: insiden tangerang, milisi, konflik sosial.

Abstract

This research aimed to determine the role of the militia movement in a bloody incident in Tangerang Regency known as the Tangerang Incident in 1946. To achieve this goal, this study utilizes historical research methods and relevant theories to understand events through found historical sources. Historical sources used are oral and written. Based on the time when these historical sources were produced, these historical sources are subdivided into primary historical sources in the form of contemporary books, archives, photographs and newspapers. While secondary historical sources are interviews, relevant books and research. Based on the research results, Tangerang Regency is a multi-ethnic area where these conditions are prone to inter-ethnic riots, inter-ethnic conflicts have often occurred in this area since 1913 and relations between communities are getting worse. In a chaotic situation, militia groups emerged which were built on the interests of certain ethnic groups that were mutually hostile to one another, the group eventually committed an inhumane act known as the 1946 Tangerang Incident. This incident lasted for nearly two months between 1 June 1946 and July 15, 1946 where this incident claimed hundreds of lives through acts of robbery, murder and arson. even categorized as one of the bloodiest events of that era.

Keywords: tangerang incident, militia, social conflict.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian independence claimed (*de facto*) on August 17, 1945 with the reading

of the text of the proclamation of independence by Ir. Soekarno (Idris & Sembiring, 2022: 9014) in fact, was not

always welcomed by all Indonesian people. For groups that were collaborators with the colonialists, of course they would feel fear of reprisals for the discriminatory actions they had previously committed, not to mention that the people's disappointment with this group was increasing because of the economic inequality and injustice of the colonialists. One such group was the opportunistic Chinese businessmen during the Indonesian revolution era. Seen from various points of view, the polarization of society in ethnic matters at that time was very visible. In the view of the indigenous people, ethnic Chinese are considered different and even viewed as superior (Mu'in & Effendi, 2018: 2), because since 1860, the Chinatown area has become a retail center and controls the business sector in various regions. (Roosmalen, 2020: 21).

This is common because groups in conflict often divide camps based on ethnicity where this ethnicity is based on similarities in ancestry, historical experience, culture and even race and blood relations (Yilmaz, 2018: 14). Tangerang Regency, as one of the areas in Indonesia which has a fairly high concentration of Chinese population, is threatened by this polarization and the escalation of conflict within it. Not to mention the problem of the Chinese group who often hoped for help from the enemy, while the natives who were a majority

responded by building a militia force in the form of laskar. The impact of this support is the tendency to fight against any party that is considered a threat from the enemy (Carey & González, 2020: 260). The hatred between the laskar forces, which were dominated by indigenous groups and the opportunistic Chinese ethnic group, eventually broke out into a racial conflict which claimed approximately 1,000 lives. The incident is known as the Tangerang Incident of 1946.

In accordance with the problems above, this study focuses on discussing the development of militia groups and racial conflicts in Tangerang Regency and their impacts, regarding the scope of time it only discusses 1945 to 1946 while the spatial scope only covers Tangerang Regency. Through the results of this research, it is hoped that some of the missing stories of the existence of irregular laskar forces in this conflict can be revealed and can be informed to the general public, especially Tangerang residents, to instill historical awareness as well as fill in the information gap because there are still very few works dealing with these related themes.

METHODS

The research method used in this work is the historical research method, the method used as a guide in conducting research on historical events and their problems (Sulasman & Hum, 2014: 74).

This method includes heuristic activities, source criticism (internal and external), interpretation and historiography. In heuristic activities (source gathering), this research makes use of interviews and archives as primary sources, including:

1. *Inventaris van het archief van de Algemene Secretarie van Nederlands-Indische Regering en de daarbij Gedeponeerde Archieven*, (1922) 1944-1950, in *Nationaal Archief* number 5520, 5521, 2756 and 4716. (NA AS 5520/5521/2756/4716)
2. *Inventaris van de digitale collectie 'Afscheid van Indie' 1942-1962* in *Nationaal Archief* number 110. (NA AI No. 110)
3. *Inventaris Arsip Sekretariat Negara RI 1945-1949* in ANRI number 948. (ANRI Sekneg 1945-1949 No. 948)

The type of interview chosen was an open interview in which free interview activities were developed with the respondent as long as the information received was still relevant (Suyanto & Sutinah, 2022: 78). This interview technique was chosen because it aims to extract as much information as possible from the informant, the information received also does not require measurement (e.g. a questionnaire) as is done in survey research. (Suyanto & Sutinah, 2022: 78-79). While secondary sources included books and works of other relevant historians. All collected sources pass a careful examination according to

the criteria in internal and external source criticism. Historical data that has been compiled is then reconstructed through historical interpretation according to the method chosen and rewritten into this work or ends with a historiographical process.

In the process of analyzing the data, it uses a multidimensional approach which directs historical texts to be built through the various types of knowledge that can help the writing process, such as political science, economics and an understanding of social conflict (Kartodirdjo, 1993: 87-88) because this incident is not caused by a single factor. The results of this research presented in the form of a descriptive-narrative,

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Relations Between Chinese and Native Ethnic Populations in Tangerang Colonial Period

Since the *Chinezenmoord* (Chinese Massacre) incident which was carried out by Dutch troops in 1740, many Chinese citizens were prohibited from living in the Batavia area because they were considered a threat to Dutch political stability. Instead, the Dutch set up a new area around Batavia in the form of settlements called *Chinese Wijken* (Roosmalen, 2020: 21) or currently better known as Chinatown. One of the areas that was chosen at that time was *Afdeling Tangerang*. Since then, Chinese citizens

have acculturated with the indigenous people and even have descendants who are referred to as Cina Peranakan. The Cina Peranakan group in Tangerang also has a special title, named *Cina Benteng* because physically they have many similarities with the natives. It should be remembered that ethnic Chinese in Tangerang are a minority group because the majority of the population are indigenous people such as Javanese, Betawi and Sundanese (Al Ayubi & Kurniawan, 2009: 33), then the position of this group is still in the shadow of the threat of aggression.

In the division of areas in Tangerang, there is land called *particuliere* land which is considered as *eigendom* land where there are special rights for the owner, this kind of property is material in nature and is the most extensive right that a person can have over an object (Simandjuntak, 2022: 151). Some of these rights include the right to appoint or dismiss the village chief in the territory owned, the right to demand forced labor or to collect replacement fines from residents and the right to collect money or crops (Nugroho et al., 2022: 24-25). About 60% of *particuliere* land in Tangerang ended up in the hands of ethnic Chinese (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 131) and passed down from generation to generation where the owner is referred to as *teko* (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 117).

By owning this land, the position of the ethnic Chinese is very strong both in politics and the economy compared to the natives. In its development, *teko* is often considered discriminatory against indigenous people, they often threatening or punishing natives with violence for trivial matters. One of them is the 1913 Tegalkunir Incident where there were riots between villages just because of the problem of 1 cent “*ketan*” (Purwaningsih, 2000: 68). A Chinese citizen from Kebon Baru and a Tegalkunir native farmer were killed in this incident (Kartodirjo, 1981: 10) and it's thought to be the beginning of hostilities between the ethnic Chinese and the indigenous population of Tangerang.

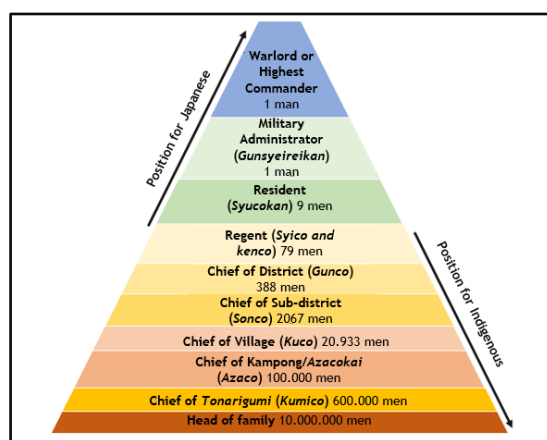
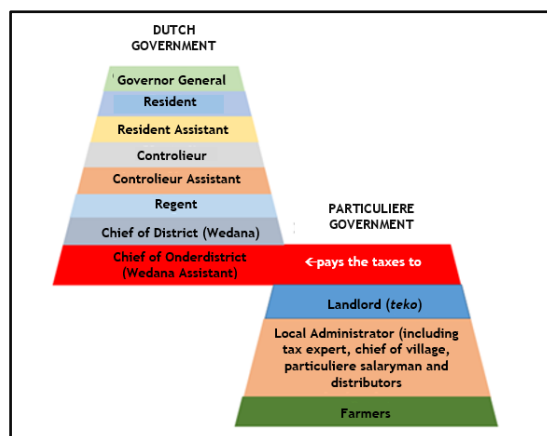
According to Brown & Jones (2001: 11) when there is economic discrimination based on ethnic factors including land, it will lead to the emergence of generations of violence. Changes in political conditions including the collapse of authoritarian rule, reform, ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism can lead to instability and even violence, especially when it comes to power struggles and the emergence of opportunistic politicians who use ethnic appeals (Brown & Jones, 2001: 14). Violence against an ethnic minority begins with politicians blaming an ethnicity as a result of experiences that have been received by their country (Brown & Jones, 2001: 15). So in this case, worse violence could occur if a

charismatic leader and a new ideology among the natives emerged.

In 1924, the social phenomena mentioned above appeared when a *wayang golek* puppeteer named Bapak Kaiin Kayah became famous after spreading messianic ideas in the Pangkalan area, Teluknaga, Tangerang. In his mind, the *tekos* do not have the right to all the *particuliere* land in Tangerang and must be expelled to China (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 133). To support his action, he managed to gather 42 shaman and less than 200 troops (Cribb, 2010: 33) even declared himself to be a king (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 135). In his action, he attacked several *particuliere* land employees, Chinese citizens and Assistant *Wedana* of Teluknaga. This incident ended with the killing of 19 people and the arrest of 23 on the Kaiin side, along with the killing of a Dutch policeman (see “*De Tangerang-zaak*” in *De Indische Courant*, February 16, 1925).

After this incident, the authority of the *tekos* decreased and the natives grew bolder towards the Chinese even though the Chinese were considered legally protected by the Dutch. The situation worsened when the Dutch were conquered by Japanese troops in February 1942, the native residents of Tangerang who thought that the only party protecting the Chinese group had left, instead attacked the Chinese. This was supported by the abolition of the *particuliere* land system

by the Japanese who stated that the *particuliere* land area of 27,488 hectares was officially abolished and transferred as government-owned land (Purwaningsih, 2000: 47). As the result, many natives committed robberies and damaged the robbed houses (Sumarda, 1985: 43), this event is known as *penggedoran* in the local dialect. For the first time, natives of Tangerang Regency start a riot against the Chinese ethnic group blindly and spontaneously, without even being led by anyone. It can be said that the authority of the *tekos*, which had long been lost, actually affected all other Chinese citizens.



Figures 1 & 2. Charts of the distribution of power between the Dutch and entrepreneurs in *particuliere* land before

the arrival of the Japanese (above) and the distribution of power after the arrival of the Japanese according to the Law of the *Dai Nippon Army* No. 27 of 1942 (below), based on the information in Sato (1994: 25) & Ekadjati et. al. (2004: 144-147).

Conflict Escalation Between Chinese Citizens and Indigenous People during the Japanese Occupation and Independence Period

During the Japanese occupation, the position of the indigenous groups in Tangerang, especially the *jawaras* (fighters) and Muslim *ulamas*, was placed strategically, especially in the military and politics. This led to the spreading of various military movements led by groups of *jawaras* and *ulamas*, one of them was the Barisan Banteng. This kind of movement was very dangerous for the colonizers and their collaborators because this group tended to be a form of militia. According to Kan (2019: 28) militias are armed groups that are organized (uniformed, trained by the military and have a hierarchy) in an official state organization outside of regular military units and armed groups that are not organized (illegal) by the state whose function is to protect the state and vice versa. Some of the characteristics of the militia are that it is built on the same thoughts based on background in family lineage, politics, ethnicity, ethnicity and

beliefs so it's potential to attack groups outside groups of these similarities (bandit rationality), utilizes narratives of self-protection to recruit members, is led by a local leader who is considered to have superior knowledge and milita works in local area (Kan, 2019: 7-35).

For the Chinese ethnic group, the presence of the militia seriously threatened their existence, which had been weakened within the new government hierarchy in Tangerang. Although there are no *tekos*, many unscrupulous Chinese businessmen still dominate the trade and use underhanded practices. According to Sulardi (2015: 16) Chinese traders at that time often hoarded merchandise and sold it when prices had soared. Those who served as rice millers also conspired with local government officials to increase the rice quota that the people had to hand over to the Japanese troops. The people, who were afraid of the Japanese's wrath, continued to pile up rice beyond the specified limit. The rest of the harvest is actually used by rice millers to be sold on the black market at a higher price (Purwaningsih, 2000: 48). This made the indigenous people furious and became a fatal mistake for Chinese citizens during the independence period because it increased the hatred that occurred between groups.

This really happened when the *jawaras* and *ulamas* finally sat at the top

of the Tangerang Regency government. Tangerang, which used to be a district, was promoted to a *ken* (regency) during the Japanese period when M. Atik Suardi was the regent (see “Poesat Pemerintahan Tangerang *Ken* dipindahkan ditengah-tengah rakjat, pelantikan resmi mendapat perhatian penoeh” in *Asia Raya*, January 14, 1944), not long after he was replaced by Agus Padmanegara (Sumarda, 1985: 51), a former *Fuku Kenco* (vice regent) Karawang (see “Oerosan Pegawai Negeri, Pengoemoeman No. 1” in *Kan Po*, July 10, 1943). During the independence period, Agus Padmanegara, as the leader who had continued in his position since the Japanese occupation, was considered apathetic towards independence and tended to be afraid to act, as evidenced by the various riots that occurred in Tangerang Regency at that time.

Less than one month since Indonesian independence, the level of violence has increased at various points, especially by remnants of the Barisan Banteng, for example, 15 police officers who were on guard at Bencongan were attacked by Tangerang residents who had just returned from the Ikada Field Grand Meeting. Violence peaked when the Sepatan Incident occurred where an Assistant Wedana was hacked (with machete) until his body parts were cut off, this frightened other local officials and they left their respective positions (Sumarda, 1985: 63-64). Government

activities, which at that time were under the auspices of the Komite Nasional Indonesia Daerah (KNID) Tangerang, questioned the position of Agus Padmanegara who was considered incompetent in dealing with this problem (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 175). Meanwhile, an expert in mysticism appeared from among the *jawaras* and local *ulamas* who was believed to be able to provide invulnerability (especially bulletproof ability) against the Dutch using coconuts, chicken eggs, blood and coins named KH. Achmad Khaerun (interview with Bapak Ustadz Mat Yani, February 25, 2023).

The invulnerability or *jiad* offered by KH. Achmad Khaerun in fact succeeded in controlling the masses because those who had gained strength became brave and ready to fight the Dutch under the command of KH. Achmad Khaerun (interview with Bapak Daenuri, January 25, 2023), indirectly the strength of the militia was formed because of this phenomenon. KNID Tangerang together with several community representatives took advantage of this situation by appointing KH. Achmad Khaerun as Regent of Tangerang on October 21, 1945 (Kementerian Penerangan, 1953: 152) and called him the Bapak Rakyat Tangerang (Bapak, this title is usually used by *laskar* leaders (Cribb, 2010: 132)). Unexpectedly, the KNID Tangerang was actually disbanded on the reason that it did not represent the interests of the rakyat or

people (filled in by remnants of employees from the colonial period) and was replaced by the Badan Diktorium Dewan Pusat (BDDP) (Kementerian Penerangan, 1953: 152).

Much more extreme, KH. Achmad Khaerun also cut off communication, transportation and any contact with the central government in Jakarta (see Makloemat No. 2, October 20, 1945 in ANRI Sekneg 1945-1949 No. 448) which was considered weak in preventing the Dutch from re-entering. It should be remembered that the KH. Achmad Khaerun adheres to the concept of 100% independence, an ideology created by Tan Malaka (for him, for the sake of complete independence, the people must have a total confrontation against the imperialists (colonizers), an ideology that is contrary to the republican group (Badrudin, 2020: 238) most of whom come from the central government and official military).

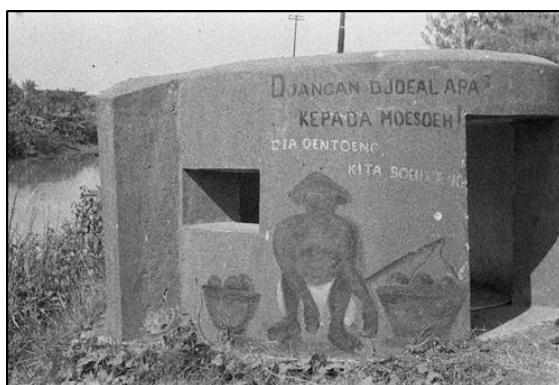


Figure 3. Propaganda of radical laskar prohibiting buying and selling transactions with ethnic Chinese and Dutch (*Nationaal Archief* (2.24.04.01) 6755-462719LR).

Development of Militia Movement in Tangerang Regency

During the reign of KH. Achmad Khaerun, the people's focus is expelling the invaders, so it's no wonder the local militia forces needed in this effort are growing. In Indonesia, the militia known as the laskar, according to Cribb laskar itself is taken from the Urdu language, named *Lashkar* which means the army, troop or militia itself which refers to the concept that the troop is not part of the official Indonesian armed forces, because they are expelled, break away or has sharp differences in the way of fighting because laskar groups emphasize more on the struggle for nationalism than armed groups which focus on tactical struggles (Cribb, 2010: 96-97). During the reign of KH. Achmad Khaerun, these soldiers were built on the strength of the untrained civilians, one of them was Laskar Pasukan Berani Mati (LPBM) or known as Laskar Ubel-ubel Hitam led by Syekh Abdoellah, his comrade when he was a santri at Caringin (Sumarda, 1985: 74).

However, during its journey, LPBM often acted up, LPBM was known to often arrest Chinese citizens and government employees who were suspected of being Dutch spies, forcibly searched, and even killed several people including a national hero, named Otto Iskandardinata (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 186). The situation changed when one of KH. Achmad Khaerun troops was disappointed after realizing that they

weren't completely immune to the bullets after trying to attack a Dutch patrol in Kampung Ulunjani and they began questioning the BDDP responsibilities (Sumarda, 1985: 80-81). One of the LPBM groups no longer obeyed Syekh Abdoellah's orders and chose to cause trouble in Grendeng under the name of KH. Achmad Khaerun as their alibi (Sumarda, 1985: 93-94). This group frequently attacked the Chinese population who were considered to be wealthy and this began to infuriate the official military.

TKR Regiment IV under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Singgih, who had just built the Akademi Militer Tangerang (AMT), sent his troops to stop the rioting. AMT students cleared Tangerang Regency from the LPBM together with the Soeparto Battalion from TKR Regiment IV and the Cadre School on January 14, 1946. In a short time, the mob was arrested and several firearms were confiscated by TKR members (Saleh, 1995: 60). For a while, TKR troops of the IV Tangerang Regiment assisted in the government with the new Tangerang Regent, Akhyat Pena (Kementerian Penerangan, 1953: 154), while problematic laskar leaders such as Usman, Dulloh, Pande and Mukrie were executed at the Bendungan Sangego (Sumarda, 1985: 96). Even though the reign of *jawara* has ended, the situation has not been completely peaceful.

Some AMT students who felt that Tangerang Regency was safe instead returned to warzone on January 25 1946 (coinciding with the change in the name TKR to TRI, henceforth it will be called that) to seize Japanese weapons in Lengkong, unluckily as many as 33 cadets, 2 officers and their leader, Daan Mogot died in this effort (Saleh, 1995: 99). Meanwhile, TRI Regiment IV was busy defending Pesing, Rawabuaya and Cengkareng from attacks by the Dutch military. The Dutch, which at that time did not recognize Indonesia's independence, tried to flank the defense in Tangerang Regency by controlling the Cengkareng-Pesing route in the east and Serpong-Parung in the Southeast. If the Dutch succeeded in controlling the route, the reinforcements and logistics from Jakarta and West Java for TRI would not reach Tangerang and Banten.

In the middle of the increasingly critical condition of Tangerang's military defense, news came that many Chinese citizens were spies and soldiers for the Dutch. Some of them enlisted as the Civil Police (CP) through the *Tsu An Hui* organization, an organization formed on October 15, 1945 to protect themselves and property in the event of looting by indigenous groups after the Japanese withdrew (see NEFIS Report KP5/29807/G Report I-5/CI no.12, June, 17 1946: 1, NA AS 1944-1950 No. 2756). In contrast to the fact that many indigenous laskar members

were involved in the effort to defend the Tangerang Regency with official military members, for example 80 laskar members from Banten who left to fight for Pesing (see *Rapport over Tangerang*, June 7, 1946: 5, NA AS 1944-1950 No. 2756). However, the additional strength of the army was still unable to surpass the Dutch military strength of the KNIL II-14 RI troops (see *Verovering van Pesing door 2/4 R.I.*, April 16, 1946, NA AS 1944-1950 No. 4716).

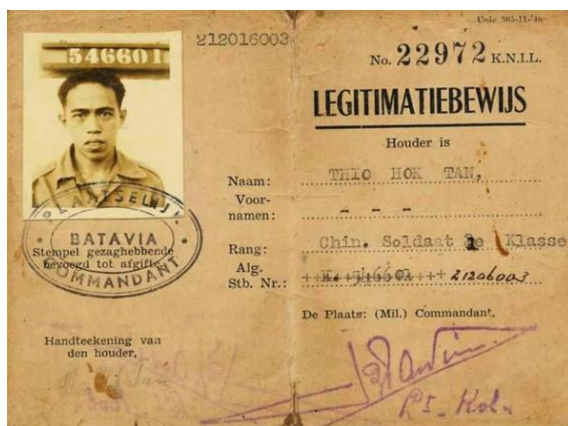


Figure 4. Example of a Chinese soldier's KNIL Membership Card (Twitter account @ourpussports).

Other losses were also reported from the Banten-Tangerang coalition laskar troops who lost 189 people in the battle in Serpong on May 26, 1946 (Madjiah, 1993: 90-92). In other hand, relationship between laskar and official military groups was actually not very good, in an incident after the imposition of the *Niemansland* ultimatum (*Niemansland* or also called No Man's Land is a military terminology that developed around 1907 which means it is an emptied area between the two front lines between

the conflicting parties (Walker, 2017: 204)) by the allies in Serpong on May 15, 1946, they disagreed with each other. The military chose to withdraw from the area around the Cisadane River as the request of the allies in order to respect peace and diplomacy efforts outside the Tangerang area, especially the central government. Meanwhile, the laskar responded that as a false threat (see Tjataan Rapat K.N.I. tanggal 17 Mei 1946, NA AS 1944-1950 No. 5521) and chose to continue fighting the Dutch armed with TRI's hand grenades even though they weren't able to defeat the Dutch (Purwaningsih, 2000: 130). Finally, on May 28, 1946 Tangerang Regency officially fell into Dutch hands after the Dutch freely entered Tangerang from Pesing direction (Kementerian Penerangan, 1953: 155).

During this period at least several laskar groups appeared, as follows:

a. Laskar Tangerang-Banten outskirts

Led by KH. Ibrahim from Sempureun Village, Maja, Lebak, Banten. With a strength of 400 people gathered from residents of Maja, Cibubur and Cipinang, they joined forces with the Laskar Abuya Tenjo.

b. Kampung Sengkol People's Troop

This troop was led by Jaro Tiking, together with his residents, they joined the collaborative forces from Banten (Madjiah, 1993: 90-92).

c. Laskar Rakyat Tangerang City

This troop was led by H. Ahmad Izzoeeddin under the command of KH. Arsjoedin with the strength of one squad.

d. Laskar Pasar Baru

This troop was led by Akhmad Dimyati, he died in the battle to defend Serpong (Sumarda, 1985: 113). When they were still part of the Laskar Rakyat Tangerang Regency, this army was led by Haji Gias.

e. Laskar Cipondoh

This troop was led by Haji Ali, he also died along with 21 of his men in the battle to defend Serpong (Madjiah, 1993: 87).

f. Laskar Rakyat Tangerang Regency

This troop was led by KH. Arsjoedin was assisted by Somawinata and Tabi'ie with a strength of 5,000 people who were gathered from remnants of other laskar troops who still survived in Tangerang Regency (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 198).

h. Laskar Banten

This laskar is identical with the typical *jawara's* all-black clothes, the strength and leadership are unknown because they do not come from Tangerang Regency.

i. Laskar Ubel-ubel Hitam

Laskar Ubel-ubel Hitam actually rose again in the midst of the chaotic conditions in Tangerang Regency around April 1946, this laskar group became active again by borrowing leftover TRI weapons (see *Rapport*

Omtrent Bevolking (Inz. Chineesche) van Tangerang en Omgeving, June 8, 1946: 1, NA AS 1944-1950 No. 2756).

j. Barisan Pelopor

This movement was led by Mohamad Tabi'ie in order to unite the communist group and the *ulamas* group (Sumarda, 1985: 62-63). The term Barisan Pelopor or Pelopor continued to be used until 1946.

It should be remembered that even though laskar troops were illegal troops, they still held special positions in the government in Tangerang Regency at that time. In the making various decisions, the laskar leaders will be involved together with Lt. Col. Singgih as the TRI leader (see *Tjatetan Pembijtaraan di Lengkong*, NA AS 1944-1950 No. 5521). The remnants of the army leaders from the time of KH. Achmad Khaerun reign like Mudjitaba was even chosen as secretary in the Tangerang Regency Government Committee on January 20, 1946 (Ekadjati et al., 2004: 181), while Moh. Tabi'ie was appointed as Head of the Political Affairs Police (Kementarian Penerangan, 1953: 154). Not to mention the problem that the number of laskar troops is far more than the army police (PT), TRI and AMT in Tangerang combined, this causes the possibility that the laskars can act arbitrarily against anyone they consider enemies, including Chinese accused of being Dutch simpatizers.

Laskar's involvement in the 1946 Tangerang Incident

In the middle of the political chaos between the paramilitary and TRI, their defeat and the entry of the Dutch into Tangerang, the Chinese welcomed the Dutch with joy because the Dutch were thought to be able to protect them from the laskar's threat. One of the Chinese residents who were too happy even dared to lower the red and white flag at the Tangerang Hall, as well as the chairman of the Tangerang Chinese association, *Chung Hua Tsung Hui* (CHTH), Tjoa Boen Lie, refused an invitation to flee to Balaraja for fear that there would be another *gedoran* after his family was robbed a week before this incident (see "Noraka Sakiter Tangerang" in *Sin Po*, June 5, 1946), his attitude made the rakyat (people) and laskar furious and saw this as a form of partisanship with the Dutch (Sumarda, 1985: 119). On 29 and 30 May 1946, laskar troops and remnants of TRI who had not yet fled began to openly rob Chinese citizens as an act of revenge.

On June 1, 1946, the Tangerang Incident began with the appearance of thousands of people consisting of laskar troops and civilians who burned Chinese residents' houses in response to the burning of indigenous residents' houses around Cisadane (Sumarda, 1985: 120-121). According to Dr. Gambiro, a chief doctor at PMI Tangerang Hospital, in Purwaningsih (2000: 136) the Dutch

military began combing the Cikupa area looking for TRI by burning local residents' houses, local residents actually retaliated by burning Chinese residents' houses. The burning action became more chaotic, in the attachment to a copy of report number 27 dated June 6, 1946 from the Komite Tionghoa Pembantoe Keamanan Oemoem Djakarta (KTPKOD) written by Loa Keng In, racial sentiment was clearly seen when one member of the laskar said "waktoenja sekarang semoea Tjina Tjina haroes di matiken (it's time to kill all chinese)", before slashing one of his victims in Sepatan. Riots were no longer oriented towards economic problems because the victims of robbery and murder on the Chinese side were not rich people like landlords, but just ordinary farmers and traders.

On the third day of the rioting, the number of masses increasing and with increasingly dangerous weapons, around 1,000 laskar troops attacked Kampung Panggang Cilongok, some of whom carried carbine rifles and pistols (see Surat Komite Tionghoa Pembantoe Keamanan Oemoem Djakarta, June 6, 1946: Salinan Lapor No. 19 by Tjan Boen Eng). In just 5 days at the beginning of June, 28 cases of Chinese citizens being burned alive were reported, one of which was the attack on Cilongok where a 71 year old woman was burnt alive along with his 3 year old grandchild. In Rawa Tjina a pregnant woman had her stomach cut open until her fetus died, in

Bayur a girl was burned by the laskar in front of her own father and in Sepatan, a baby from the Oey Hap Sioe family was forcibly taken from her mother's hands and thrown into the fire (Chung Hua Tsung Hui, 1947: 5).

Other reports also came from Prahoe village where around 350 Chinese prisoners were captured, only two of them managed to get out of the location alive. The two people were a Chinese *jawara* named Oen Kim On who was hiding in the ceiling of Oen Kim Moy's pigsty and Lo Nani who was thrown into a well alive filled with piles of corpses. Lo Nani survived because a *jawara* forbade the laskar to slash her but only need to break her hand and hit her head so that it fell into the well. Lo Nani managed to escape after 7 days of climbing the well and was helped by a *jawara* who was trusted by her family named Kodir (Sumarda, 1985: 125).

The few Chinese who survived this event ran in search of safer areas, or at least guarded by official military forces. Some groups chose to go west of Tangerang Regency towards Mauk which was guarded by TRI, while other groups of refugees chose to go east of Tangerang Regency towards the Cisadane River which was close to the Dutch KNIL military front line. This violence continued for two weeks and had subsided for two consecutive weeks, but the riots resumed and hundreds of refugees returned after

this period (see “Chinese Panics as Indians Take Over Batavia” in *Straits Times*, July 1, 1946).

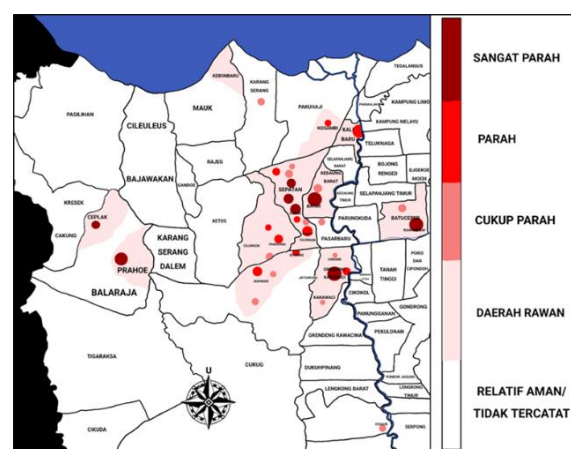


Figure 5. Map of the most affected Tangerang District area (robbery, murder and arson) during the Tangerang Incident.

According the report from *Chung Hua Tsung Hui* (CHTH) Jakarta to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the death toll is estimated at more than 1,000 people with the following details:

Table 1. Latest casualty reports from CHTH (Surat Komite Tionghoa Pembantoe Keamanan Oemoem Djakarta No I/73, July 17, 1946, NA AS 1944-1950 No. 5520).

Last phase riot casualties, June 3 - July 15, 1946		
Death	Missing	Escaped
Men: 703	Men: 78	Men: 4085
Women: 239	Women: 51	Women: 4353
Children: 143	Children: 84	Children: 6862
Total: 1085	Total: 213	Total: 15300

In addition to this report, CHTH Jakarta also published a report in book form one year after this incident to the United Nations, the contents of which mentioned part of the events in the

Tangerang Incident, named the massacre in Kampung Prahoe with a death toll of around 600 people, the bodies of the victims of the incident were disposed of in 3 well (*Chung Hua Tsung Hui*, 1947: 5). Another report came from the Batavian Red Cross, Jang Seng Te, that the number of victims in the Tangerang Incident in 1946 reached 653, including 136 women and 36 children. As many as 25,000 people managed to flee to Jakarta, 1,269 houses were burned to the ground and 236 others were damaged. (*Chung Hua Tsung Hui*, 1947: 8). In Soember Penerangan statement, the number of fatalities reached 366 people, missing residents reached 169 people while 3,136 people managed to escape to Jakarta (Lie, 2014: 75). And according to Natsir, during his trip to Tangerang, he estimated that 130 Chinese citizens were killed and 1,300 refugees were taken care of by TRI troops in the Mauk area (see *Indonesian and Chinese Relations: Report on incident at Tangerang where Chinese were attacked by Indonesians*, June 27, 1946: 1, NA Al 1942-1962 No. 110).

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research previously described, it can be concluded that the 1946 Tangerang Incident was not an event caused by a single factor, several causes such as the long hostility between the Chinese and the natives, social and economic inequality and even the Dutch attack also had an effect. The

development of the conflict between the Chinese and the natives at that time was one of the symptoms of the transformation of the escalation of the conflict, small to large, as defined by Pruitt and Rubin. According to Pruitt & Rubin (2004: 144) outsiders are absorbed into the conflict and are willing to pour out any resources for the victory of the chosen side. On the one hand, the indigenous population began to unite because of the discrimination that had existed since the emergence of *particuliere* lands and on the other hand the Chinese asked for help from the Dutch which in fact did not provide a resolution to the conflicts that arose. This was aggravated by the continued growth of militia groups.

The militia group, which previously played the role of a group defending itself from foreign powers (Dutch), actually considered Chinese citizens as foreign elements as a result of bandit rationalism. Chinese citizens who are a minority group actually expect safety from those who are considered as enemies by the indigenous people. As a result, as a group that feels stronger, these militia groups play an important role in this incident that taken thousands of lives. It can be said that in this conflict there was also polarization between ethnic Chinese and indigenous groups in Tangerang Regency. In the end, this conflict is no longer oriented solely on economic issues but has become a racial

conflict as evidenced in one of the archive reports mentioned earlier.

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INFORMANT LIST

Interview with Bapak Daenuri (48), grandson of KH. Achmad Khaerun, January 25, 2023 in Doyong Village.

Interview with Bapak Ustadz Mat Yani (78), a colleague of KH. Achmad Khaerun and the son of KH. Achmad Khaerun's colleague named Ustadz Usman, February 25, 2023 in Cipari Village.