MANGKUNEGARAN SURYASUMIRAT (HKMN) RELATIVES ASSOCIATION'S POLITICAL PROCESS IN INTERNALIZING LOCAL VALUES AND UTILIZING THE NATIONAL STRATEGIC RESOURCES DURING THE NEW ORDER REGIME (1966-1998)

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Abstract
HKMN Suryasumirat is a kinship-based organization for Javanese royal elites from Surakarta that held an important role during the New Order era. The organization that was established in 1946 managed to transform itself in order to adapt to the complex urban environment and became one of the most influential interest groups. The New Order regime's patrimonial characteristic provided opportunities to thrive with the support of the reigning regime. Through various political processes HKMN Suryasumirat managed to dominantly utilize the country's national strategic resources, in economy, politics, and military, even had the Mangkunegaran values adopted as national moral values. This research focuses on the relations between the presence of HKMN Suryasumirat, its limitations of resources, social-political background, and its efforts to increase its role in order to control existing resources through a series of political processes. They also managed to control several strategic resources during the New Order. The time context employed in this research (New Order regime from 1966-1998) is not used intensively as one of the determining factors of the condition, but it should be seen as the context of the review.

Keywords: Political Process, Kinship, strategic resources control

INTRODUCTION

Kinship based politics is a common phenomenon. Influential clans who are also political elites can be found not only in developing countries such as Indonesia, but also in developed countries such as the United States of America with their Kennedy, Bush and Clinton (Mangkunegaran, 1949). In Southeast Asia, these phenomena are found in many of its countries, namely the Marcos, Macapagal, Aquino in the Philippines, the Razak and Mahathir in Malaysia, the Lee in Singapore and of course, the Soeharto and Soekarno in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, the culture of kinship-based politics arguably reached its peak during the New Order era. The era was marked with certain political elite groups controlling strategic and vital business capitals. These elite groups, and also several individuals, were given privilege by the statute gain access to strategic capitals. The definition of elite, according to Abner Cohen

(1981), is a group of people who have influential roles in strategic aspects in a community, and has a common interest that is based on their similarity in education background, experiences, public duties, and lifestyle. They usually develop a three Cs, which are consciousness, cohesion, and conspiracy. Definition of elites in the perspective of Gaetano Mosca (1939) refers to class differences in society, which comprise of the first class - small in numbers - rules all political functions, monopolizes power and relates all advantages that come with power, while the second class - much larger in number - are ruled and controlled by the first class.

In the context of Indonesia, the Javanesse royal elites (priyayi) are decendants of the Javanesse Kingdom (breed) who preserve and develop a regal 'Keraton' manner, complex art namely in dancing, acts, music and literatures, as well as Hindu- Buddhism that long started before the colonial era (Clifford, 1983). They are also categorized as cultural elites, whose basic power lies in their control over the symbolic capital of a society, which are religion, philosophy, art and literature. Trah has a wider meaning that refers to the form of social organization in the Javanesse community that is based on genealogic relations or ancestor. The word trah itself comes from the word "truh" that means rain (Sairin, 1982).

One of the most influential kinship organizations in national politics, economy, military and social culture during the New Order era is the clan of Mangkunegaran Suryasumirat (HKMN Suryasumirat). HKMN Suryasumiratis an example of an informal organization for Javanesse royal elites, mainly from Surakarta, that upholds the Mangkunegaran values. Established in 1946, this kin group is a platform for the dukes of the Dukes of Mangkunegaran and the Tri Darmo Circle of Friends and for the decendants of the Punggawa Baku (Punggawa Bakurefers to

Mangkunagoro I's main guards).

One of the determining factors behind the strategic role of the HKMN Suryasumirat is the support given by the first lady, Siti Hartinah Soeharto, who was a decendant of Mangkunegara III from the mother's side. This fact is made HKMN Suryasumiratas a clan different with other similar clans in Southeast Asia, as the HKMN Suryasumiratis not a direct family of Suharto. the nature of Soeharto-HKMN Suryasumiratrelationship is mutualism.

Based on the afforementioned background, this hypothesis identifies the following research questions: How is the political process within the HKMN Suryasumiratduring the New Order era (1966-1998), particularly in controlling and managing strategic recovery through its political process. The objective of this paper is to analyze the political process within HKMN Suryasumiratduring the New Order regimentally in controlling and managing strategic resumes through its political process.

METHODS

The method used in this research is observations and in-depth interviews. Information and data were obtained through some means. In this study, literature review was conducted

based on collecting data through scientific journals Depth interview / structured interview was done with respondents using general key questions, then focus on further details that are related to the subject topic (Pelto & Pelto, 1978). Open interview was through a series of open questions thus respondents were able to be descriptive. The list of questions was made based on an interview guide (Pelto & Pelto, 1978). Lastly, the observation, with passive involvement was conducted since the object of observation is a kin group, thus observations could only be carried out through limited activities, such as meetings, routine gatherings and special occasions.

The location of research are in Surakarta and Jakarta. Choice of location was based on consideration that Surakarta or Solo was the capital of Mangkunegaran district, the birth place of Mangkunegaran history and culture and the place when HKMN Suryasumirat kin group was established, as well the center of its associations up to 1993. Whilst Jakarta is the next location for the association center after Solo, where all the policy and decision-making were made. Jakarta gained its importance after the New Order regime came into power.

The population of this study is: the Central committee of the HKMN Suryasumirati Jakarta, the branch committee of HKMN Suryasumiratin Solo, the Head of the Mangkunegaran Clan (KGPA Mangkunagoro IX), representatives of Mangkunagorotrah, the Ito the VIII, representatives of the Punggawa Bakutrah, Supervisory Board of the Mangkunegaran (KGPA Mangkunagoro IX), representatives of Mangkunagorotrah, the Ito the VIII, representatives of the Punggawa Bakutrah, Supervisory Board , local elites that have relations or knowledge about HKMN Suryasumirat, and HKMN Suryasumirat members.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In terms of Political Process Of HKMN Suryasumirat as Javanesse Traditional Elite Kin Group, political process in this research refers to the ability of the people to obtain certain functions in controlling and distributing resources, and the ability to rule others to act in alignment with their interests and decisions. In the process, there are competition, compromise and conflicts between each individual or group to obtain a certain social position that ensures opportunity and facility to control, distribute and exploit resources, for himself, or for its group (Suparlan, 1986).

To analyze the political process it means to also analyze the political systems, at the national level as well as at the local level (Swartz, 1969). A system should be seen as an ecological concept that contains an interacting organization with the surrounding environment. Almond (1978) emphasized that this concept is paramount in understanding how politics is influences and influences its surrounding environment, natural and social. The characters that HKMN Suryasumiratdeveloped is to employ their model of cultural knowledge as an adaptive guidance on situations and contexts that they are currently facing, particularly also in interacting with other community members. One of the forms of the referred adaptation is to nourish solidarity and the kin's solidity through the establishment of HKMN after the Swaraprajawas dissolved. The absence of Swaprajasystem in the republic era, led Mangkunegara to a disadvantage, thus HKMN Suryasumiratwas hoped to be able to relive the Mangkunegaran's glory. The national political change from the Old Order to the New Order era, generated an advantageous situation for the Mangkunegaranand its clans. President Soehartoand Mme Tien as a member of the Mangkunegaranclan had opened their access to strategic resources and consequently increased the role of the HKMN Suryasumirat in the community, thus igniting a rapid organization's growth (Patrikios & Chatzikonstantinou, 2015).

Moreover, in term of the Transformation of HKMN from a Kin Group to an Interest Group at the National Level, interest groups are not a political party, although it may evolve into one. Interest group is every group that aims to influence government’s decision without a particular intention to sit in public positions (Almond, 1978). The most distinct difference

between a political party with an interest group is the absence of desire to be in power in the governing administration directly (Almond, 1978).

The adaptation process in HKMN Suryasumiratwith the national political environment started with its efforts to expand the function or role of the organization. The expansion was done through a series of political processes. The organization that was established by Kanjeng Pangeran Adipati Ario Mangkunagoro (KGPAA) VIII in 1946 amended its Article of Associations and by law in its III General Assembly in 1993, which is related to the center of the organization, mandates and functions of Mangkunagoro, and other Mangkunegaran clans. It also revised the center of HKMN Suryasumirat that was originally in Solo to Jakarta, and made Solo as one of its branches.

The expansion of HKMN Suryasumirat's function was carried out to control strategic resrouces. Since these resources are embedded in the national political system, thus the efforts undertaken by the group were to influence the national political system through a series of political processes. This condition is aligned with Cohen's (1974) view that the expansion of one's organization function is undertaken to allow the organization to attain the group's interest. Kin-basd interest groups can emerge due to the presence of pressure and scarcity of resources, and were established with a certain purpose that will make it more relevant to its surrounding environment (Ruud & Islam, 2016).

HKMN Suryasumirat's Control over National Strategic Resources during the New Order Era (1966 – 1998) can be traced in some matters. The first is in the concept of power in Javanesse tradition. Quoting the concept of power within the Javanesse context by Ben Anderson (1991): it tends to be concrete, homogenic, and intractable and does not require legitimacy. The concept of power is not only refers to the possession of control, but also the accumulation of power since the source of power is static. The concept of power is concentric and derived from one source, which is usually apparent in the regular manner in the recruitment process. The meaning that the nature of the power is static means that if one group attains power, then the other group will lose power. Therefore, the process of accumulating power by means of maintaining the status quo refers to the act when the power holder will establish a network of power to avoid a new power group emerge. This is because the essential political resources are limited, thus the groups are constantly in competition to attain the high-value resources. In this context, the formal framework of the economic and political power appears hand in hand, or even sometimes mixed and added with various forms of informal structures (Wolf, 1999).

The control over material and non-material resources were hoped to be able to accelerate HKMN Suryasumirat to attain its goals, as it was stated in its Articles of Associations. Utilizing the kinship relationship among its members is also one of the means that also aims to ease the organization's effort to attain its goals. This relation can also be obtained through matrimony as this type of relation is proven effective to maintain the organization's grip over the resources. Moreover, according to Wolf (1999), the control over resources will be much more successful if it combines a form of kin-based corporatism with the cultural and business corporatism (Zappala, 1998).

The second is the control over national strategic resources. In terms of political and economic resources, the economic assets of HKMN Suryasumiratamongst others are corporations in the sectors of forestry, agribusiness, hotels, property and others. This accumulation of wealth was started by the Mangkunagoro IV, well known as the wise Duke who was also a successful business man that invented numerous commercial business lines. His success includes economically-successful factories, such as the sugar factory in Tasikmadu, Colomadu, and Gembongan, agavefactory in Mentotulakan, palm kernel factory in Polokarto, and brick factory in Kemiri. He also expanded his agribusiness by diversifying products such as coffee, spices, sugarcane, quinine and actively advocated for larger plots for coffee plantations in the surrounding areas. The political influence of HKMN Suryasumirathad led to

the successful placement of his people in strategic political and military positions. It should also be noted that the Mangkunegaran values were adopted as the bases of moral values for the military. Meanwhile, in terms of socio-culture assets, Mangkunegaran values are served as an integral part of Javanesse cultural values thus often overlapped. Prominent Javanesse values, among others, are to create harmony in respectful and non-confrontational manner, thus avoiding conflict. Harmony for the Javanesse community means "to constantly live in harmonious conditions", "peaceful", "absence of conflict and confrontation", "unity and helpful" (Mulder, 1977). In principle, the effort to avoid conflict is inherent in Javanese conflict. Willner (1966) Refers to this as "the principle of avoiding politics".

The concept that Mangkunegaran offered was more pragmatic than the Javanesse culture as it was taken from the lessons behind the establishment of the Kingdom of Mangkunegaran (Praja Mangkunegaran) (Astuti, 1986) When the Kingdom was still fighting for its existence, Janget Kinantelan (the three royals); Pangeran Sambernyawa, Kyai Tumenggung Kudanawarsa, and Nyai Ronggo Panembangan had repeatedly proclaimed “Tijitibeh” and “Tebu-Sauyun”. These two vows have more or less the same meaning, which is to uphold unity, solidarity and harmony. These principles, to an extent, had a fostered patriotic sense in the Mangkunegaran clan, and they were then used in character-building within the Mangkunegaran community. Values such as honesty (friend), integrity (manteb) and loyal to duty (gelem nglakoni) were maintained by the military and the civilians (Mangkunegaran, 1971).

After Praja Mangkunegaranwas in place, the Tiji-tibeh and Tebu-Sauyunan values were reinstated in the Tri-Darma (the Three Vows) and became the foundation of the community and widely known as the Praja Mangkunegaran doctrines. Other values that were also upholded were pada rumangsa melu handarbeni, wajib melu hanggondeli/hangrungkebi, mulatsari rahangrasawani (to have a sense of ownership, sense of defending, sense of courage and constant mindfulness) (Tri Darma. 1971). If studied closely, the Tri Darma also has an egalistic value.

Furthermore, in terms of mastering military’s basic values, based on its history, the culture of Mangkunegaran is almost identical with the culture of militarism. The royal beuracrats like Pepatih Dalem, not only coming from the Sentana Dalem class strata, but also from the Mangkuneragan legion where this practice is rather similar with the dualism role of ABRI in the era of New Order. 1970-an). Moreover, the Serat Tripama and Wedhatama teaching that encompass main values and patriotic norms in the Mangkunegaran’s tradition was then socialized to the youth, and even adopted into one of the curriculum material in the Army School (SESKOAD), Navy School (SESKOAL), and Air Force School (SESKOAU), police academy and even in the Military School (SESKO ABRI), as well as during formal ceremonies during the New Order era. The Mangkunegaran values were also utilized to legitimate the ABRI’s doctrince Tri Ubaya Cakti dan Sapta Marga (Astuti, 1986).

As for internalizing the Mangkunegaran’s presence and values, the process for internalizing Mangkunegaran's presence and values was done systematically through cultural systems as well as through architecture. In several national monuments, such as the Central Java Site in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah that were using the building style of the Ageng Pavilion, which was the Mangkunegaran palace. Plenty of yellow-green color (pari-anom) which was very typical of Mangkunegaran building style that could also be found in numerous national monuments.

In this context, the Anglir Mendhung dance became an important traditional vehicle for Mangkunegaran as it reflected the historical meaning and symbol of Mangkunegaran's status and prestige. The AnglirMendhungdance was a sacred dance that was created by KGPAMNI. The dance was momentarily perceived to belong to the Surakarta's Kasunanan. There was a strong struggle from the Mangkunegaran to reclaim the dance, which was understandable considering what the dance represented for the Mangkunegaran. The dance was a symbol of

Mangkunegaran's status as one of the Javanesse Royals. It was an important and high-valued non-material asset, particulary in the perspective of Javanesse local politics. Even though the Duchy had its own administrative entity, however by de facto and de jure, Mangkunegaran was not considered part of the Keraton. Bedhaya Anglir Mendhung dance confirmed the acknowledgment and legitimacy of Mangkunegaran's position in the Javanesse local political sphere. Further national recognition was obtained when Mangkunegaranparty and its relatives performed the Bedhaya Anglir Mendhung dance during the 40th Jemenengan Dalem Jangkep (commemoration of king's coronation) in 1984, and prior to that, on during the the 64th Pengetan Jangkep Yuswaor Tumbuk Ageng Yuswa (commemoration of anniversary) MN VIII in 1982. The triumph in reclaiming the symbol of Mangkunegaran's power also demonstrated Mangkunegaran's political positioning (Fawzia, 1997).

Another internalized value was the value of prioritizing kinship relations over material (tuna sathakbathisanak). This value, although slightly seems to be nepotistic, but actually was more on prioritizing kinred. However, it should be noted that there are also horizontal relationships that are non-kinred, which was referred to by McDougal as friendship ties (MacDougall, 1981). The expansion of kinship ties that is commonly done by royal families or elite, was also done by the Mangkunegaran clan through, first, HKMN Suryosumiratwelcomes honorary members, who are people that are deemed to provide valuable contribution for the Mangkunegaran, such as government high-level officials and local elites that also promotes the HKMN's principle and values" (as stipulated in the Article of Association of HKMN Suryo sumirat, (1980: 6 – 10). Second, is through marriage that uses a filtering mechanism to ensure suitability of the bride or groom in accordance to Javanesse value (bibit, bebet, bobot – predigree, quality and network). This mechanism is an effective screening system to ensure that the matrimony will benefits the Mangkunegaran politically and economically. Preserving the Mangkunegaran value was also done through inventorizing their traditional dances.

CONCLUSION

History has indicated that Mangkunegaran kingroup has consistently taken a significant role in the country's social and potential process, even from the establishment of Praja. Through these processes, the informal group is managed to sustain and adapt in an urban environment that is highly complex. Of course, the most determining factor was the support of the New Order regime that contributes to the peak of the Mangkunegaran's power. The patrimonialistic-heavy regime had provided an opportunity for the king group, much to the fact that the First Lady, Mme. Tien Soeharto, was one of its descendants.

This kind of political phenomenon was very common to find in the New Order. However, it should be noted that HKMN Suryasumiratas a kinship-based organization was different from other organizations as it had existed since the regime was in power. Arguably, HKMN Suryasumiratwas also used by the regime to strengthen their domination on almost all existing natural resources - physical resources as well as cultural resources.

HKMN Suryasumiratalso managed to dominate economic and political resources through its crafty placement of their people in strategic positions as well as internalization of their values that were later adopted as the country's military moral values. Another means to foster their influence was also through marriage, in addition to preserving their existence by having their signatures design in several national and historical monuments and buildings. This research demonstrated that the kinship organization could be used to expand political networks and was used to obtain strategic roles in Indonesian's political sphere. The existing resources were utilized to obtain these roles, in accordance with the current regime's political interest.

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