

From Resolution until Social Religious Movement: Effort Eradication of Gambling Activity in Indonesia 1960s-1993

Mawardi Purbo Sanjoyo*¹

¹State Islamic University of Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq, Jember-Indonesia

Author's correspondence: *mawardijsanjoyo@gmail.com

Abstract

Gambling activity is one of the stories in the dynamics history of Indonesia. Its history can be traced from colonial to post-colonial times. In more contemporary times, gambling has even become a kind of commodity that is taken advantage of to cover the shortage of government funds. This habit became a polemic when gambling became a "disease" that was dangerous for society. To overcome this, various community groups are trying to eradicate gambling activities. Several questions were formulated, including: How did the emergence of gambling in Indonesia, its use, and the consequences? What was the process of eradicating gambling in Indonesia from the Soekarno government until the New Order government? Meanwhile, the research method used was a historical research method. The result of this study is that the process of eradicating gambling does not appear instantly. From the 1950s to the 1960s, it was filled with resolutions from social organizations. These resolutions apparently could not produce satisfactory results. In fact, in the following period, the government used gambling as an alternative economic source by imposing a tax on gambling. The struggle to eradicate gambling gained momentum in the 1990s when Muslims politically became the main consideration for the authorities at that time. The result of the movement was able to force the government to stop gambling nationally in 1993.

Keywords: *Social Religious Movement; Gambling Eradicating.*

Introduction

On July 27, 1954, the government legalized law number 22, which regulated lottery issues. The law provides an opportunity for social institutions to hold a lottery.

According to the provisions, the lottery organizers must ask permission from the Minister of Social Affairs (Menteri Sosial) before holding the intended lottery. Such a method did not appear suddenly during the Soekarno government but had existed since the colonial period. The holding of lotteries during the colonial period was usually also used for social activities or building many places (Etek, 2007, p. 34).

This "inheritance" was maintained until post-colonial. The lottery was intended to fund the construction of public facilities, and educational facilities were funded by holding the lottery (Husain, 2010, p. 67). From the total sales of the coupons, the organizers took a certain percentage for the social activities they carried out, and the rest was used for gifts, taxes, and other social grants. In the 1960s, the Minister of Social Affairs also created a foundation called *Jajasan Dana Bantuan* (JDB), to facilitate government programs in social and development activities (Tambunan, 1970, p. 10). JDB became the entry point for organizing other types of lotteries that would be held in the next era.

These various lotteries became a fictitious hope because of the large prizes. Gradually, the lotteries became negative excesses in society and were classified as gambling. However, the lotteries were not immediately stopped when there was resistance from the public. In the following period, JDB changed its form with new names, such as PORKAS (Pekan Olahraga dan Ketangkasan) to SDSB (Sumbangan Dermawan Sosial Berhadiah). Both are lotteries organized by the Government through the Ministry of Social Affairs (Lumaksono, 2014, p. 543).

These lotteries began to be discontinued in 1993, along with the discontinuation of the SDSB. It was not without reason that the lottery stopped, but there was encouragement from several elements of society who saw SDSB as part of gambling. The SDSB resisters then took action and were joined by groups with the same mission. Success in achieving this mission took work, and there was a long process that had been carried out for years. Gambling activity has become one of the colors in the historical and cultural trajectory of the Indonesian people (Wardhana et al., 2021, p. 380). If one observes that many games become common habits or to fill spare time, this

is the root of the gambling game itself (Septanto, 2020, p. 128). The trick is to rely on dexterity in playing it seasoned with luck and ending with a bet in the form of money or goods (Sugono & dkk, 2008, p. 644). The possibility of winning in a gambling game by risking a certain amount of money creates an economic opportunity.

As one of the promising financial sources, gambling activities do not escape the target of taxation by the government. Even the gambling tax has been carried out since the colonial period (Setiono, 2002, p. 95). In the course of Indonesian history, from the colonial period to post-independence, the government still carried out taxes on gambling with various taxation methods.

Whatever the reasons behind gambling, gambling activities are in direct contact with the prevailing norms in society that consider gambling immoral (Kartono, 2011, p. 88). When this activity occurs, it is not uncommon for various acts of resistance to emerge in social movements (Kuasa & Jaya, 2022, p. 355).

Robert Mirel defined a social movement as a set of beliefs not institutionalized (non-institutionalized) and carried out by a group of people to promote and hinder societal change (Mirel, 2004, p. 9). According to Tarrow (1994), "Social movement is a collective challenge posed by several people who have the same goals and solidarity, in the context of ongoing interaction with elite groups, opponents, authorities" (Klandermans, 2005, p. xiii). Furthermore, as stated by Sartono, social movements are defined as collective activities of social movements that want to realize, or vice versa, reject a change in the structure of society, often in a radically revolutionary way (Kartodirdjo, 1982, p. 205).

The socio-religious movement in Indonesia is a serious issue. Many scientific journals discuss religious social movements, but almost none discuss the eradication of gambling. Discussion regarding religious, and social movements in several scientific journals has also stagnated, where most only discuss education and *da'wah* (Sagala, 2019, p. 34). Therefore, the discussion regarding eradicating gambling is a serious proposition where gambling itself is very close to Indonesian people's daily lives.

In a journal written by Rumadani Sagala entitled, "*Peran Majelis Taklim Al-Hidayah dalam Pendidikan Islam dan Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan di Propinsi Lampung*", Dodi Limas entitled, "*Metamorfosis Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan: Antara Polemik, Desiminasi, Ortodoksi, dan Penerimaan terhadap Ideology Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII)*". Several religious and social movements with institutional themes, among others, are *Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan FPI (Front Pembela Islam)* (Muslim, 2019, pp. 88–101), *Muhammadiyah Paradigma Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan* (Saguni, 2018, pp. 21–30), and *Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Thariqah 'Alawiyin* (Saepudin, 2020, pp. 12–34). Meanwhile, the theme of education dominates academic writing within the framework of social-religious movements, including *Gerakan Progresif Muhammadiyah dalam Pembaharuan Pendidikan dan Sosial Keagamaan di Indonesia* (Marsudi & Zayadi, 2021, pp. 160–179), *Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan pada Masyarakat Kota dan Desa di Era Digital Abad 21* (Al Basyari, 2022, pp. 500–509), *Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan dan Pendidikan Awal Abad Ke-20* (Asrori, 2022, pp. 59–83), *Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Pendidikan Islam Masa Kolonialisme* (Solichin & Anwar, 2020, pp. 69–91). Based on these nine articles, the study of religious and social movements monotonously discusses a religious institution's existence, role, and polemics. It leaves one of the important elements in a social group, namely society (Dodi, 2017, p. 230). This focus empties society's role, which should be an integral part of a socio-religious movement. Therefore, this paper focuses on bringing a new perspective regarding the "anomaly" of Indonesian society towards gambling and how religious movements respond to gambling.

As it is known that gambling is one of the closest parts of Indonesian society which is almost entrenched to this day. In an unwritten system in Indonesian society, gambling is a deviant act not following religion. However, behind the gambling activities that are considered "amoral" gambling brings benefits to the development of a region through the legalization of gambling. Despite these benefits, gambling activities still make some parties or religious organizations in Indonesia feel angry because of social deviations which the government supports. Often attempts to eradicate

gambling is carried out by several parties who bring "religious elements" in a fairly sporadic way. However, the eradication of gambling still takes quite a long time.

The historical trajectory of this movement is often driven by several parties, including religious groups and organizations, as well as layers of educated society (students). Religious groups and students become agents of change in society. Therefore, studying the movements carried out by the community against gambling activities is interesting to examine.

This article attempts to present movements in society to stop gambling activities, both in minor actions and on a large (national) scale. In order to unify the mission on a large scale, there is a long process that must be passed in this movement. The term "no smoke without fire" cannot be dismissed because this movement exists due to widespread gambling activities in society. Therefore, there needs to be a formulation that will be answered and described in the contents of the article, including: 1) How did the emergence of gambling in Indonesia, its use, and the consequences?, 2) What was the process of eradicating gambling in Indonesia during Soekarno's until the New Order era?

This article used is historical research method. There are four stages in historical research: Heuristics, Criticism, Interpretation, and Historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 1995, p. 89). Books, newspapers, and magazines are used as sources to reconstruct the studies to be written. The search for library sources utilizes Medayu Agung Surabaya Library, Surabaya Gouvernment Library, and the East Java Regional Library. Newspaper sources were obtained PIK (Kompas Information Center) Yogyakarta, Surakarta Press Monument, and AWS-Stikosa University Library in Surabaya. Archive sources were obtained from the Indonesian National Archives in Jakarta, Pakualaman Archives in Jogjakarta, and Surabaya Gouvernment Archives.

The second stage is Critic. The critic is the stage of investigation of the sources used. Criticism is divided into internal and external criticism. External criticism is seen from the materials used in materials or media from historical sources. In internal criticism, the researcher will examine the context of the contents contained in historical

sources. The third stage is interpretation. Interpretation is the process of interpreting the data that has been obtained. This stage is carried out by connecting the facts that have been obtained from the sources that have been obtained (Sjamsudin, 2007, p. 147). The fourth stage is historiography, or the process of compiling historical writing, which is an activity carried out to convey facts obtained regarding the process of compiling according to chronological order to become a complete description.

Discussion

Gambling and Its Eradication Efforts in the 1950s to the Mid-1960s

The early years of independence until the 1960s can be described as years of turmoil in the social, political, and economic decline. (Margana & Wahid, 2010, p. 358). The cause is suspected of started in 1955 because of the budget deficit, which reached 14% (Mas'ood, 1989, p. 46). Meanwhile, in the following years, the inflation rate continued to creep up. From 1959 to 1962, the inflation rate moved from 19.42% to 154.40% (Mustopadidjaja, 2012, p. 111). In increasingly uncertain conditions, people must overcome their life problems. Speculation of fate became the right choice to be one of the ways to survive in this period.

It is not surprising that during this period, the phenomenon of the spread of the lottery and other types of gambling in society, ranging from petty gambling to gambling organized by the government. Gambling on a small scale is usually done at night markets organized by local youth organizations. They rent out stalls to sell to anyone who wants to sell. Not only used for selling in general but many of these stalls are also rented by bookies. The gambling booths at the night market received a response from gambling addicts. Because of that, more and more of them enlivened the bookies' stalls. The increasing number of people interested in gambling invites other bookies to open their stalls every time a charity market is held. Gambling in the night market includes *Paseran*, *Abang Idjo*, Number Guessing, and others (Samiadji, 1968, p. 30).

As well as the problem of night market gambling on a wider scale, free money lotteries flourished among bookmakers in the 1950s. They sell lottery tickets freely to the public with the lure of big prizes for anyone who can win them. Money lottery organizers advertise the lottery to be circulated in newspapers to inform the amount of the lottery prize and the date of the draw. In addition, several publishers and booksellers of forecasts also hold money lotteries, thereby increasing the interest of lottery buyers to try their luck. In order to attract buyers, the ad is also seasoned with interesting words. The lottery can be classified as a wild lottery because there is no permission from the Minister of Social Affairs who is authorized to administer the lottery.

Apart from the money lottery, another type emerged, namely the goods lottery. The goods lottery has been rife in big cities, villages, and even government agencies. Apart from being liked by adults, small children also want to participate in buying this lottery ticket ("Digoda Oleh Permainan Lotre, Djudi Dipasar Malam Dan Lotto," 1967). Their desire to get a favorite item also raises the desire to speculate. In addition, there is an opportunity for the public to distribute or sell lottery coupons. People in the villages got paid for their work distributing coupons. These lottery dealers provide capital to the organizers in the lower structure (agents) to buy an item. Only then the agent organizes the item lottery. So what goods lottery will be held depends on the need for goods or what is currently in demand by the public.

To contain the negative effects of gambling, several social organizations in various regions have started to issue resolutions. Among them are: *Gerwani Purwokerto*, *Masyumi Loksukon*, Semarang Islamic Students, Pekalongan Wiradesa Organization, Tanjung Balai People's Youth. In essence, these mass organizations demand that local governments and related parties always be proactive in eradicating gambling ("Kumpulan Arsip Lembaran-Lembaran Kabinet Presiden RI," 1905).

In another case, in East Java, a government agency allowed gambling games for social and development purposes. The incident then invited reactions from several members of the East Java DPRD. The climax was the issuance of a resolution by four

DPRD members named M.A Sjamlan (Masyumi), Tadjussubki (NU), W.S Kostambonan (PRI), and A. Roesma Dwidjopranoto (Catholic) who demanded that the government pay more attention to gambling which has penetrated the very foundations of people's lives. What is more, according to the resolution's proponents, gambling is one way for sources of corruption and moral crises to arise ("Usaha Berantas Perjudian, 4 Anggauta DPRDP Prop Djabatim Akan Adjukan Usul Resolusi," 1957, p. 2).

Eradication of Counter Legalization: The Dilemma of Eradicating Gambling in the Mid-1960s to 1980s

In the mid-1960s, economic conditions were no better than in previous years and even tended to get worse. The inflation rate at that time was 600% (Ricklefs, 2008, p. 2). Mohtar Mas'oed explained that the crisis occurred because the government was preoccupied with eradicating rebellions, which greatly drained the state treasury. After the extermination action, instead of fixing the economic conditions, the government started a new issue more aggressively: the effort to liberate West Irian and the campaign "Ganyang Malaysia" (Mas'oed, 1989b, p. 46).

Meanwhile, when the New Order came to power, it demanded that regional governments resolve all budget problems in their regions. The central government then allows local governments to explore and utilize existing regional resources for regional interests. Under these conditions, several local governments began to legalize gambling to collect taxes. Legalization occurred in several big cities including Surabaya, Medan and Makassar (Handayani & Bosra, 2019, p. 36).

For example, Ali Sadikin, the governor of Jakarta, legalized *Hwa-Hwe* and Casinos in the capital. According to him, this method was effective in raising funds for the development of the City of Jakarta (Hadimadja & Sadikin, 1993, p. 63). He gave permits for bookies to participate in the selection of tenders for the implementation of gambling. As many as seven bookies took part in the selection of tenders for gambling permits. The group that finally won this gambling tender was fronted by Atang Latif and his partners, including Yo Putshong and Hoksen (Pane, 2005, p. 83).

At first, the opening gambling place was in Princen Park, then rented the Sarinah building on Jalan Thamrin. More was needed for just one casino to be built. Atang Latif built several more casinos in Jakarta. Petak Sembilan Casino (PIX), located at Hayam Wuruk Street Number 127A, is the second casino to be built. Then he collaborated with Ciputra to build the Copacabana Casino in Ancol (Sastrosoemarto & Budiono, 2010, p. 55) Casino in Jakarta Theater and casino in Surabaya. Kompas newspaper reported that 300 to 500 people visit the Petak Sembilan Casino daily. Every day the money circulating at Petak Sembilan Casino ranges from two to three million Rupiah. The casino owner pays a predetermined gambling lease (patch) of twenty-five million rupiah (Rp 25,000,000).

Until 1976 the tax from gambling was targeted to reach nine and a half billion rupiahs, which was the second largest tax in Jakarta then. During the governorship of Ali Sadikin, DKI Jakarta's budget grew rapidly. In 1966-1967, the city budget was only 1.2 billion rupiah. In 1977-1978 the city budget increased to 89.5 billion rupiah (Blackburn, 2011, p. 259).

The method taken by Ali Sadikin cannot be separated from various criticisms. Criticism arose from Islamic groups in Jakarta who considered Ali Sadikin to be exploiting something immoral. Ali Sadikin was branded "*Gubernur Maksiat*", and his wife, Nani Ali Sadikin, was branded "*Madame Hwa-Hwee*".

Meanwhile, in Surabaya, the Mayor of Surabaya is trying the same thing. On November 29, 1967, at 20.00, Colonel Soekotjo, Mayor of Surabaya, invited ABRI leaders from various forces to realize the idea of controlling gambling. The first meeting was held to discuss the idea of the Mayor of Surabaya regarding the localization of gambling. The meeting was attended by dignitaries in the city of Surabaya, including Colonel Soekotjo (Mayor of Surabaya), AKBP Soeprajitno (Police), Major (Marine) M.T. Karim, *Overste* Joesoef Hidayat, Major (Air Force) Soedarsono, and Marsidik (Deputy Chair of the DPR-GR). The outcome of these meetings was the approval of the Mayor of Surabaya's idea to realize a gambling quarantine. Therefore, the appointment of a contractor was then carried out to manage the project.

The realization of this meeting was the inauguration of a gambling quarantine on Monday, December 25, 1967, which was placed at Pecindilan Street No. 50. The gambling quarantine in Surabaya is the only legal gambling place in East Java that is held in cooperation with the Surabaya's Government and ABRI. According to the Mayor of Surabaya, the inauguration of the place was intended to limit the negative excesses towards the community from gamblers ("Karantina Perjudian Di Surabaya," 1967, p. 2).

Although the gambling quarantine project seems to be running smoothly, there are also rejections from various elements of society, including Nahdhatul Ulama, PSII, Muhammadiyah, Women's Groups, Farmers' Groups, and Fishermen. These social organizations then pushed the Surabaya DPRD-GR to realize their mission: to annul efforts to legalize gambling.

Based on this pressure, on Thursday, February 15, 1968, DPRD-GR of Surabaya held a special plenary meeting to discuss the gambling quarantine project by the Mayor of Surabaya. The trial was a continuation of efforts to objections that had previously been sent via a letter from DPRD-GR to the Mayor of Surabaya. Most of the factions gave their response so that the gambling quarantine would be closed immediately. However, the final result of the meeting, which lasted from noon to night, was that it was decided to give the City Government a grace period of up to three months to continue carrying out the project. The grace period is meant to settle the City Government's affairs with Leasing (Pachter) or the gambling contractor, bearing in mind that the contract period between the two can only be renewed after three months.

Apart from casinos, in the late 1960s, lottery gambling was legalized again. This gambling was held to raise funds under the pretext of funding sports and social activity. Until the 1980s, through the lottery social service, the government made various types and names of lotteries, including Lotto, Porkas, and KSOB. Lotteries quickly infect society on a wide scale from their inception (Handayani & Bosra, 2019, p. 36). Starting from children to parents become lottery addicts. This condition was described by Suratman in an article in *Sketsmasa* Magazine at that time.

"Now it is hard to find what is lawful and false. People say both are delicious. Heaven and Hell are a matter of later. Because my wife and children are hungry, while others don't want to know, hearing religious sermons is useless. Mental development has been wasted. I only use mosques, churches, and temples to take shelter when it rains or it's hot. It's not that I don't want to know which ones are lawful or false. It's a dead end. No! Not mosques, churches, or temples, I only make shelter when it rains or when it's hot. However, there are no umbrellas. Unable to bear the skin burned by the scorching heat. Can't bear to shiver in the rain" (Suratman, 1968, p. 14)

The government, society, and religious leaders faced a difficult situation then. Gambling is prohibited in religion, but ensuring the stability of the financial balance requires the government to gain alternative economic resources as soon as possible. A religious leader named HAMKA also stated a dilemma in dealing with gambling, he stated:

1. *The Islamic religion prohibits gambling, whether on a large or small scale. However, it must pay attention to the sociological aspect of society. In government experience, no laws or powers can prevent gambling. If gambling is prohibited by law, gambling will be done secretly, and people will be hypocritical.*
2. *After gambling and lotto are under the supervision of DKI Jakarta, the results can be taken, and tens of elementary school buildings have been built in Jakarta.*
3. *Islamic scholars must warn Muslims to stop gambling and not do lotto gambling. However, do not criticize and oppose the government, if the government holds a lottery in Jakarta and other areas. Because if it is prohibited, it will continue in secret.*
4. *Strictly prohibiting gambling within a state structure like this is far more detrimental. If "we" are given the task of taking control of the state, then "we" take the same policy ("Dr. Hamka: Djudi & Lotto," 1968, p. 30).*

HAMKA's view of the quote above is called the government's efforts in terms of implementing the Lotto, as the statement is called "Irtikab Akhaffi al- Dlarurain" namely being forced to choose a path that is light in loss between two dangerous paths ("Prof. Dr. HAMKA: Djudi Dan Lotto Djika Dilarang Akan Lebih Berbahaja," 1968, p. 2). HAMKA is an acronym for the name Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah. He is a major scholar in Indonesia and one of the figures from the Muhammadiyah organization. During the New Order era, Hamka was one of the people who considered the formation of the MUI (Indonesian Ulama Council). In 1977, Minister of Religion Mukti Ali appointed him Chairman of the MUI.

Unity Mission Against SDSB

The impact caused by holding the national lottery triggered many objections from various parties to stop holding the national lottery. At first, attempts at rejection occurred in big cities but then spread to other cities. In Surabaya, efforts to reject the holding of a national lottery occurred in early 1986. The rejection came from the East Java DPRD, which considered Porkas the same as Gambling. Even though the central government considers that Porkas is the government's way of raising public funds for sports without coercion, the East Java DPRD remains in its position to reject the existence of Porkas in East Java ("Sekitar Porkas, Judi Buntut, Toto, 'Hwa-Hwee' Dll", 1986, p. 4).

One of the members of the East Java DPRD who was keen to reject Porkas was the chairman of the East Java DPRD named, Blegoh Sumarto. According to him, it is better to allow casinos to be held to get funds from gambling activities. Furthermore, he said Porkas would grip the small-scale community's economy more. There was no guarantee that school children and pedicab drivers, for example, would not buy the coupons. Meanwhile, Porkas sales in East Java are limited to the city or district level and even to remote rural areas.

Efforts to reject the implementation of the national lottery resurfaced in Surabaya when the SDSB lottery was held. On July 4, 1991, YDBKS as the organizer of SDSB issued SK No. MW/61/K/YDBKS/VII/1991 concerning the addition of the SDSB withdrawal time. The additions began on Sunday, July 14, 1991, to December 1991. The total additions totaled nine withdrawals, including July 14, July 28, August 8, September 22, October 6, October 17, and December 22. The additional frequency of SDSB withdrawals was made because the organizers of SDSB were experiencing a loss of 150 billion rupiah in the June 1991 withdrawal. After all, many guessers got the numbers right. The incident immediately sparked protests from several regional heads, including the Governor of East Java.

Soelarso, who served as Governor of East Java, then instructed regents and mayors throughout East Java to take preventive action or ban the circulation of the "SDSB Minggu" coupons. The Governor also asked every regional head in East Java to stick to the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs BSS 10-10/90 dated October 17, 1990, which stipulated that SDSB screening was only carried out once a week, namely every Wednesday. Even so, distributors of SDSB in the East Java region continued to sell coupons for additional screening on Sunday, July 14, 1991. Even though the governor was very keen to reject the distribution of SDSB, on November 18, 1991 the governor issued a letter of recommendation No. 300/2294/303/1991 which approved the extension of the SDSB circulation permit for one year.

This approval sparked protests from the public. Thousands of students from several universities in Surabaya, including Unair, ITS, IKIP Surabaya, Unmuh, and IAIN held a demonstration on November 20, 1991. Since 8 am, several students have gathered in the post office yard and Kemayoran Mosque in front of DPRD building. Then followed by other students who came to ride the city bus, and their number grew to hundreds of students. At 10.15, they moved towards the DPRD building located on Jalan Indrapura. The demonstration proceeded in an orderly manner, but some of the demonstrators damaged one of the SDSB selling kiosks on Panglima Sudirman Street ("Mendagri Rudini: Gubernur Punya Wewenang Hentikan SDSB," 1991).

Several religious circles in East Java also did the same thing. One such protest occurred in Bangkalan on Wednesday, December 11, 1991. Four Kiai, including KH. Aziz Tabrani, KH Muhammad Bin Hadiri, KH Kholil A.G, and KH Abdullah Schal led the demonstration, accompanied by around 2,000 of their students. They walked from Roudhotul Muta'allimin Islamic Boarding School in Sebanen, Bangkalan, to the front of the Bangkalan Great Mosque ("Kiai Madura Turun Ke Jalan, Aksi Istighotsah Protes SDSB," 1991). Meanwhile, before the action of the Kiai took place, the MUI had announced a fatwa that SDSB had more harm and was unlawful. However, it seems that the government did not respond to these various acts of refusal because, until

1993, SDSB was still being circulated in Surabaya ("SDSB Sudah Berubah Jadi Haram," 1991).

The culmination of the rejection of the national lottery strengthened in November 1993. The demonstration was carried out to refuse the re-organization of the SDSB. It was strengthened by the circulation of news that the Minister of Social Affairs had secretly permitted the extension of the SDSB until 1996. The permit extension was made on September 9, 1993. Permits to be given directly to hold a national lottery for three years are not normally carried out because permits have been given once a year since the entry into force of the KSOB.

This problem sparked various demonstrations by students in various regions, including Medan, Padang, Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Surakarta, Malang, Bangkalan, Sampang, Surabaya, Jember, Jombang, dan Banjarmasin. In the various rejections from SDSB in several cities, several kiosks selling SDSB were one of the targets for the protesters to destroy. The student demonstration in Surabaya took place on November 7, 1993. They called themselves the "Anti-SDSB Student Committee," which was a representative of UNAIR, UNTAG, Dr. Sutomo, STIE Urip Sumohardjo, and STIE Perbanas. The representatives came to the East Java DPRD building and asked that SDSB be abolished ("Aksi Anti SDSB Terjadi Di Surabaya Dan Medan," 1993, p. 18).

These demonstrations put pressure on regional leaders to lobby the central government immediately to stop SDSB. However, the local government could only do a little to face these demands. National-scale sweepstakes such as SDSB are held with permission from the Minister of Social Affairs, which the President approves. In this matter, regional governments at the Governor level can only do something with permission from the President or the Minister of Social Affairs regarding the actions that will be carried out regarding SDSB in their area. This is similar to what was experienced by the governor of East Java, Soelarso, who could only emphasize that the local government is only continuing the central government's policies and can only limit its circulation. Soelarso further revealed that:

"East Java cannot reject SDSB. It could be thought that we are disobedient (to the central government)" ("Disepakati, Penghapusan SDSB Di Bangkalan Madura," 1991, p. 13).

Almost the same as what governor Soelarso said, his replacement governor, Basofi Sudirman, said that "the position of regional leaders is awry. Letting SDSB circulate would destabilize the region. However, if it is stopped, it will face the central government." Therefore, the Governor of East Java sent a letter to the Minister of Social Affairs. An excerpt from the letter reads:

"The regional government of East Java is in line with the will of the people of East Java, that East Java does not want SDSB to circulate in its territory" ("Tinggal Menunggu Kata Akhir," 1993, p. 31).

Structurally, the pros and cons regarding SDSB among officials or various parties will subside when the President decides on this matter. In such conditions, the President decided to stop holding the SDSB. Responding to the decision taken by the president, on November 23, 1993, SDSB was then discontinued. This year marked the cessation of holding national-scale sweepstakes, which had long been held for various interests, especially social and sporting ones.

As stated by Ricklefs, the strengthening of Islamist groups in the 1980s to 1990s was suspected to be one of the reasons for complying with the wishes of Islamic groups who also supported stopping SDSB (Ricklefs, 2013, p. 355). In addition, according to Liddle, in the 1990s, the New Order government increasingly considered the strength of Islamic groups as a social force in its politics. One of the consequences of these considerations is that when many Islamic organizations oppose the re-holding of the national lottery or sweepstakes, the government is also considering complying with the demands of these Islamic organizations. In line with this thought, Eep Saefulloh revealed that in the 1980s, there were symptoms of President Soeharto's efforts to approach, even embrace, the Muslim community (Fatah, 1998, p. 248). SDSB (Social Fund Donations with Prizes) is the last breath of a lottery held by the government.

Conclusion

Gambling in the narrative of Indonesian history has two different faces. Gambling activity, on the one hand, can be used as an economic resource, but on the other hand, it is transformed into a social disease in society. It is on this bad side that movements to eradicate gambling emerge. The process of eradicating gambling in the movement container does not appear overnight. In the beginning, from the 1950s to the 1960s, this movement had yet to show itself. Efforts to eradicate gambling are realized with resolutions from social organizations to related parties at the regional level, one of which is the DPRD. It seems that this cannot produce satisfactory results. It is proven that gambling is increasingly difficult to eradicate, even in society, various new types of gambling emerge. In the next period, in the late 1960s, the government used gambling as an alternative economic source by imposing a tax on gambling. The government, society, and religious leaders faced a difficult situation then. Gambling is prohibited in religion, but ensuring the stability of the financial balance requires the government to gain alternative economic resources as quickly as possible. The struggle to eradicate gambling gained momentum in the 1990s when Muslims politically became the main consideration for the authorities at that time. Movements that were previously only resolutions and proposals erupted into socio-religious movements by equating the mission of eradicating gambling with Islamic principles. The result of the movement was able to force the government to stop gambling nationally in 1993.

Bibliography

- Aksi Anti SDSB Terjadi di Surabaya dan Medan. (1993, November 8). Koran Kompas.
- Al Basyari, M. M. (2022). Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan pada Masyarakat Kota dan Desa di Era Digital Abad 21. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan*, 8(22). <https://jurnal.peneliti.net/index.php/JIWP/article/view/2851>.
- Asrori, R. (2022). Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan dan Pendidikan Awal Abad ke 20. *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 8(1). <https://journal.um-surabaya.ac.id/index.php/Ah/article/view/13329>.

- Blackburn, S. (2011). *Jakarta: Sejarah 400 Tahun*. Masup Jakarta.
- Digoda Oleh Permainan Lotre, Djudi Dipasar Malam dan Lotto. (1967, October 18). *Kompas*, 3.
- Dodi, L. (2017). Metamorfosis Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan: Antara Polemik, Desiminasi, Ortodoksi, dan Penerimaan terhadap Ideologi Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII). *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 17(1), 227. <https://doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v17i1.880>.
- Disepakati, Penghapusan SDSB di Bangkalan Madura. (1991, December 23). *Koran Kompas*.
- Dr. Hamka: Djudi & Lotto. (1968, May). *Majalah Sketsmasa*.
- Etek, A. (2007). *Koto Gadang Masa Kolonial*. LKIS.
- Fatah, E. S. (1998). *Catatan Atas Gagalnya Politik Orde Baru*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Handayani, F., & Bosra, M. (2019). Legalisasi Lotto di Makassar, 1967-1969. *Jurnal Pattingalloang*, 6(2), 35. <https://doi.org/10.26858/pattingalloang.v6i2.10823>.
- Handayani, F., & Bosra, M. (2019). Legalisasi Lotto di Makassar, 1967-1969. *Jurnal Pattingalloang*, 6(2), 35. <https://doi.org/10.26858/pattingalloang.v6i2.10823>.
- Hadimadja, R. K., & Sadikin, A. (1993). *Bang Ali: Demi Jakarta 1966-1977*. Sinar Harapan.
- Husain, S. B. (2010). *Negara di Tengah Kota: Politik Representasi dan Simbolisme Perkotaan (Surabaya 1930-1960)*. LIPI Press.
- Karantina Perdjudian di Surabaya. (1967, December 30). *Kompas*.
- Kartodirdjo, S. (1982). *Pemikiran dan Perkembangan Historiografi Indonesia; Suatu Alternatif*. Gramedia.
- Kartono, K. (2011). *Patologi Sosial*. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Klandermans, B. (2005). *Protes dalam Kajian Psikologi Sosial*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Kuasa, D. A., & Jaya, F. (2022). Online Gambling Phenomenon: Law & Society. *Widya Yuridika*, 5(2), 345. <https://doi.org/10.31328/wy.v5i2.3572>.
- Kuntowijoyo. (1995). *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Bentang Budaya.

- Kiai Madura Turun ke Jalan, Aksi Istighotsah Protes SDSB. (1991, December 12). Koran Jawa Pos.
- Kumpulan Arsip Lembaran-Lembaran Kabinet Presiden RI. (1905). ANRI.
- Lumaksono, W. (2014). Legalisasi Porkas dan Dampaknya terhadap Masyarakat pada Tahun 1985-1987. *Avatara*, 2(3).
<https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/avatara/article/view/9163>.
- Margana, S., & Wahid, A. (2010). *Sejarah Indonesia: Perspektif Lokal dan Global* (F. Ningsih, Ed.). Ombak.
- Mas'ood, M. (1989a). *Ekonomi dan Struktur Politik Orde Baru 1966-1971*. LP3ES.
- Mas'ood, M. (1989b). *Ekonomi dan Struktur Politik Orde Baru 1966-1971*. LP3ES.
- Mirsel, R. (2004). *Teori Gerakan Sosial*. Resist Book.
- Mustopadidjaja. (2012). *Bappenas dalam Sejarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Indonesia 1945-2025*. LP3ES.
- Marsudi, M. S., & Zayadi, Z. (2021). Gerakan Progresif Muhammadiyah dalam Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam dan Sosial Keagamaan di Indonesia. *Mawa Izh Jurnal Dakwah dan Pengembangan Sosial Kemanusiaan*, 12(2), 160-179.
<https://doi.org/10.32923/maw.v12i2.2035>.
- Mendagri Rudini: Gubernur Punya Wewenang Hentikan SDSB. (1991, November 22). Koran Suara Merdeka.
- Muslim. (2019). Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan FPI (Front Pembela Islam). *Moraref*, 1(2).
<https://moraref.kemenag.go.id/documents/article/98933798586031853>.
- Pane, N. (2005). *Soebronto Laras, Meretas Dunia Otomotif Indonesia*. Aksara Karunia.
- Prof. Dr. HAMKA: Djudi dan Lotto Djika Dilarang Akan Lebih Berbahaja. (1968, March 26). Koran Surabaya Post.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2008). *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*". (Jakarta: Serambi, 2008), hlm. 573. Serambi.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2013). *Mengislamkan Jawa, Sejarah Islamisasi di Jawa dan Penentangannya dari 1930 sampai Sekarang*. Serambi.

- Sagala, R. (2019). Peran Majelis Taklim Al-Hidayah dalam Pendidikan Islam dan Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan di Propinsi Lampung. *AL-MURABBI: Jurnal Studi Kependidikan dan Keislaman*, 6(1), 27–36. <https://doi.org/10.53627/jam.v6i1.3632>.
- Samiadji. (1968, March 15). Lotto Sama Dengan Djudi. *Sketmasa*, 29–30.
- Sastrosoemarto, S., & Budiono. (2010). *Jejak Soekardjo Hardjosoewito di Taman Impian Jaya Ancol*". Kompas.
- Septanto, A. (2020). Perilaku Menyimpang Masyarakat Penjudi Merpati di Surabaya. *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika*, 14(2), 126. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jsd.v14i2.2019.126-131>.
- Setiono, B. G. (2002). *Tionghoa dalam Pusaran Politik*. Elkasa.
- Sjamsudin, H. (2007). *Metodoogi Sejarah*. Ombak.
- Sugono, D., & dkk. (2008). *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia*. Pusat Bahasa DEPDIKNAS.
- Suratman. (1968, June 28). Essensilia Djudi dalam Pembangunan. *Sketsmasa*, 14.
- Saepudin, A. (2020). Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Thariqah 'Alawiyiyin. *Tsaqofah*, 18(1), 12. <https://doi.org/10.32678/tsaqofah.v18i1.3181>.
- Saguni, M. K. (2018). Muhammadiyah Paradigma Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan. *Nukhbatul 'Ulum*, 4(1), 367–378. <https://doi.org/10.36701/nukhbah.v4i1.30>.
- SDSB Sudah Berubah Jadi Haram. (1991, December 7). *Majalah Editor*.
- Sekitar Porkas, Judi Buntut, Toto, "Hwa-Hwee" DII". (1986, June). *Koran Kompas*.
- Solichin, M., & Anwar, M. A. (2020). Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Pendidikan Islam Masa Kolonialisme. *Dirasat: Jurnal Manajemen dan Pendidikan*. Solichin, M., & Anwar, M. A. (20206). Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Pendidikan Islam Masa Kolonialisme. *Dirasat: Jurnal Manajemen dan Pendidikan Islam*, 1. <https://journal.unipdu.ac.id/index.php/dirasat/article/view/1967kan>, 6(1). <https://journal.unipdu.ac.id/index.php/dirasat/article/view/1967>.
- Tambunan. (1970, January 1). Menteri Sosial Merusak Masyarakat. *Sketmasa*, 10.
- Tinggal Menunggu Kata Akhir. (1993, November 20). *Majalah Tempo*.

Usaha Berantas Perjudian, 4 Anggauta DPRDP Prop. Djatim Akan Adjukan Usul Resolusi. (1957). Koran Harian Umum.

Wardhana, A. P. S., Pradita, D., Farokhah, F. A., & Andriyanto, A. (2021). Cockfighting in Javanese Muslim Society during the Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Century. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 15(2), 359. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.2.359-386.org/10.22146/jwk.764>.