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DEBATING "GOLDEN LEAF": A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF SMOKING AND TOBACCO CONTROL¹

PERDEBATAN "GOLDEN LEAF": SEBUAH PERSPEKTIF SEJARAH ASPEK SOSIAL BUDAYA MEROKOK DAN TEMBAKAU

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Abstract

A series of controversies have been a striking phenomenon colouring the existence of tobacco and smoking habit. Drawing upon the available and reachable source materials, mainly secondary ones, the present paper seeks to trace broadly the historical roots of opposition to tobacco and smoking and the recent development of the pro and cons concerning the two issues. A special attention is going to be paid to the arguments built by the conflicting to support their own positions. It is argued that the debates on tobacco and smoking have long taken place, parallel with their spreads from the Americas to the European Continent and the other parts of the world. The debates have been increasingly fierce, in which many parties are getting involved. The present pros and cons conflict might be simplified to certain extent into a battle of "profit versus health", which is radically different from the earlier battle in which health considerations were initially an integral part of the explanation for tobacco and smoking expansion. In the past the moralistic arguments played a major role in the opposition against tobacco and smoking. Recently the position has been replaced by health issues, serving as the core arguments in the anti-smoking and tobacco movements emerging over the last couple of decades.

Keywords: controversy, tobacco, smoking habit, past time, contemporary period

Abstrak

Kontroversi telah menjadi fenomena mencolok yang mewarnai keberadaan tembakau dan kebiasaan merokok. Bersandar pada sumber-sumber yang tersedia dan dapat dijangkau, terutama sumber sekunder, artikel ini bermaksud melacak secara umum akar-akar historis oposisi terhadap tembakau dan merokok, serta memaparkan perkembangan mutakhir menyangkut pro dan kontra mengenai kedua isu dan argumentasi yang mereka bangun untuk mendukung posisi masing-masing. Diargumentasikan bahwa perdebatan mengenai kedua isu sudah berlangsung lama, beriringan dengan penyebaran tembakau dan kebiasaan merokok dari Benua Amerika ke kawasan Eropa dan berbagai tempat lainnya di dunia. Belakangan ini perdebatan menjadi semakin panas, melibatkan berbagai kelompok kepentingan. Pada masa kini pro-kontra tembakau dan merokok dapat disimplifikasi sebagai pertempuran antara "laba" versus "kesehatan", yang secara radikal berbeda dengan kontroversi pada masa lalu yang memperlihatkan alasan-alasan kesehatan sebagai bagian integral penjelasan atas ekspansi tembakau dan merokok. Pada masa lalu alasan moralistik menjadi dasar oposisi terhadap tembakau dan merokok. Kini posisinya digantikan oleh isu-isu kesehatan, yang menjadi argumentasi inti dalam gerakan anti tembakau dan merokok yang berkembang beberapa dekade terakhir.

Kata kunci: kontroversi, tembakau, kebiasaan merokok, masa lalu, periode kontemporer

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A. Introduction

Tobacco is one of the world's controversial commodities that have been produced for centuries in a large commercial scale in various places, including Indonesia. The controversy has grown from the conflicting views regarding the beneficial and harmful effects of tobacco production and its uses. The controversy can be portrayed as a battle of two different interests, profits versus health. The fact that tobacco has long been produced especially under the initiatives of the corporate enterprises and commercial farmers clearly indicates its great importance in economic terms. It can be understood that tobacco was and still is widely known as "golden leaf" or "green gold" (Arifin, 1989; Nawiyanto, 2009). This commodity has generated a very lucrative business, wide employment opportunities, and major source of revenues for a number of parties (the states, private enterprises, and producing farmers) in many places in the world.

The Indonesian historiography provides a good illustration of views on the positive impact of tobacco. In Indonesia this commodity began to develop as part of the colonial production system run under the Dutch colonial rule especially from the second half of the 19th century. It followed the development of the export-oriented sugar and coffee productions emerging under the so-called Cultivation System (*Cultuur Stelsel*, 1830-1870), designed for Java by Governor General Johannes van den Bosch. In regions such as Besuki, Deli, the Surakarta and Yogyakarta Principalities (*Vorstenlanden*), tobacco developed into a leading sector of the agricultural production system. In the three areas the development of commercial tobacco has been described as a major driving force of the regional transformation in demographic, economic, socio-cultural, and ecological terms (Mackie, 1985; Arifin, 1989; Padmo, 1994; Nawiyanto, 2007).

The existence of tobacco and its use, however, have increasingly become a target of

fierce criticisms. The opponents of the tobacco build their arguments especially on the basis of the consumption side of this commodity. The use of tobacco especially in the form of smoking has been blamed for causing a complex of health problems leading to financial and human losses. In this connection, tobacco control regulation is felt by various parties urgent and necessary to prevent further health problems, financial and human losses from happening continuously. Drawing mainly upon secondary sources, the present paper seeks to trace broadly the historical roots of opposition to tobacco and smoking and the recent development of the pro and cons concerning the two issues. A special attention is going to be paid to the socio-cultural impacts of the tobacco control regulations and the reactions by the affected parties to the regulations set in place.

B. Early Opposition to Tobacco and Smoking

Tobacco is widely believed native to the Americas. Following the European colonization of the American continent from the 16th century, the planting and trading of tobacco and its use in the form of smoking quickly spread to many parts of the world. Around the mid-17th century tobacco smoking had been adopted in many societies and often had already been integrated into the native culture. The spread of tobacco and its aspects from planting, trading, and smoking to the other parts of the world was part of what is called as the post Columbian crop exchanges. The rapid adoption of the tobacco both as product and plant, however, did not take place without controversy.

Immediately after its introduction to the European continent and several parts of the world, tobacco frequently came under attacks from political and religious leaders. In the United Kingdom, for example, the attack to the adoption of tobacco and smoking habit was expressed in the pamphlet written by Philaretus circulating in London in 1602. Initially, the rejection to tobacco and its uses

was primarily built on the basis of moralistic-racial arguments associating tobacco and smoking with evil things. The creator and the inventor of smoking substance was said to have been Satan and the first users were believed satanic priests. In 1604 King James I published a pamphlet entitled "A Counterblaste to Tobacco" linking tobacco and smoking to Indians identified as low caste, slaves of the Spaniard, and anti-Christ. With such beliefs, therefore, tobacco and smoking were seen as inappropriate for the civilized and Christian Westerners (Budiman and Ongokham, 1987:23-24). In China smoking was attacked by the Manchu and Ming dynasties, declaring it as "heinous crime" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history_of_smoking).

The use of moralistic argument is also observable in the Indonesian experience, but in a rather different context. The case of the East Sumatera tobacco during the colonial period provides an illustration of the opposition to tobacco growing from this stand point. The success story of the East Sumatera tobacco and their exports to the American market industry raised concerns in the country. The United States of America was one of the four major markets for Deli tobacco, apart from Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark (Thee, 1977:13). There was an attempt to control tobacco export to the United States market by using human rights issues. This was contained in the Blaine Amendment, which called for the ban of tobacco exports from the East Sumatra to enter the United States market because of being produced on the basis of indentured workers (Thee, 1977:40). The use of indentured workers in the East Sumatera plantations was described as being predominantly characterized by brutalization, dehumanization and maltreatments of the coolie workers.

During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942-1945), the tobacco production was officially discouraged for defense-economic reason. Such a view was also found

earlier during the military-based Edo Shogun of Japan (1604-1868), regarding tobacco plantations as threat to the military economy because of bringing valuable lands under recreational drug crop rather than for food crop production (Screech, 2004:92-99). Under the war economy, tobacco was not seen as a strategic product for supporting the success of the Japan in the War campaign. Unlike rubber and castor-oil plant (*jarak*) which were paramount in importance for the Japanese war campaign, tobacco was regarded as a luxury product. Based on this consideration, tobacco production was drastically cut down, large part of the tobacco areas in Indonesia were brought under food crops cultivation (Padmo, 1994:163, Budiman dan Ongokham, 1987:175, Nawiyanto, 2005:126). The restriction of tobacco production was imposed, for example, in Besuki residency, the principalities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and other areas across the country including the tobacco plantations in East Sumatra. Meanwhile, for the *kretek* cigarette history in particular, the Japanese occupation period was described as "the lowest point of the industry" (Abhisam, et al., 2012:89).

It is noteworthy that health issues were not yet part of the arguments used to reject tobacco and its utilization. On the contrary, tobacco was closely associated with the healing properties. A Spanish traveler, Bernardino de Sahagun, in 1529 reported the uses of tobacco for medication among the Mexicans. According to De Sahagun, the aroma of green tobacco leaf was believed by them useful to relieve headache. Meanwhile, fresh tobacco leaf and tobacco powder were reported to have been applied to cure various illnesses such as inflammation, burn-linked wound, and bleeding, apart from their application as anti diarrhea, anesthetics and emollient (Werdawanti, 2012:288).

The belief in the healing power of tobacco was also held among the Europeans. In a work published in 1560 by a French scholar, Jean Nicot tobacco was recognized as medicinal

plant having remarkably strong healing power for wounds and various diseases. Considering its healing power, King Louis XIII of France in 1635 prohibited the free sale of tobacco and only pharmacists were allowed to sell tobacco for medication based on the medical experts' prescriptions. In 1674 the French government monopolized the planting, processing and selling of tobacco (Budiman and Ongkokham, 1987:37). Meanwhile in the United Kingdom, William Barclay published a work appreciating the usefulness of tobacco both in fresh and dried products for curing many diseases. Taking the beneficial effects of the tobacco in medical fields, Barclay raised an appeal to Bishop Murray in order to protect this sacred medicinal plant (Budiman and Ongkokham, 1987:26).

Like in the European Continent, health issue was not yet part of the arguments used to support the fight against tobacco in the colonies. In colonial Indonesia, tobacco was often associated with useful substance for curing ailment. The fast-growing popularity of *kretek* cigarettes (*rokok kretek*) invented among others by Hadji Jamhari of Kudus in the second half of the 19th century was inseparable from the circulating news about the healing properties of cigarettes. It was said that Hadji Jamhari was healed from his chest illness after smoking cigarettes mixed with cloves. Following the circulating news, the demand for *kretek* cigarettes immediately flooded and this pushed Hadji Jamhari to make cigarettes in large quantities (Abhisam, et al, 2012:66). With the beliefs in healing power the cigarettes had, it was unsurprisingly that cigarette was sold in drugstores. Until around the 1980s cigarettes were still seen as a remedy, rather than merely a satisfaction-giving substance. Therefore, it remained acceptable to include in the cigarette pack an advertising saying, "When you get cough and smoke this cigarette, you shall be healed" ("Kalau Anda batuk dan isep ini rokok, maka batuk anda akan sembuh") (Abhisam, et al, 2012:66-67).

To sum up, it can be said that for more than a century, tobacco and smoking had enjoyed a relatively-unshakeable position. After their adoptions by the European travelers, and introduced to the people of the European continent, tobacco and smoking grew in importance in line with the expanding western colonialism to many parts of the world. Although in existence, the early oppositions to tobacco and smoking were small, and therefore too weak and too little to have significant impact on the society in economic and socio-cultural terms. The anti tobacco and smoking movements were unable to win strong and wide public support among the society. Consequently, the movement failed to lead to the formulation of regulations controlling the production of tobacco and its uses. Under such circumstances, the popularity of tobacco and smoking thrived in many places, including Indonesia, as part of the colonial production systems and commodity exchanges connecting a great number of people and countries throughout the world.

C. Recent Development

Over the last two decades, the tobacco production and smoking have increasingly been under fierce attacks. The anti tobacco and smoking movement has gained their momentum, in line with the growing findings of scientific research suggesting the links between various chronic diseases and smoking. Health issues become the core arguments in the fight against tobacco and smoking. In the international arena the war on tobacco and smoking has entered its global dimension with the adoption of *Framework Convention on Tobacco Control/FCTC* by World Health Organization (WHO) in 2003 and was taken into effect from 2005. With no less than 172 countries officially participating to the framework, FCTC has become one of the most influential agreements in the long history of United Nations Organization (Sobary, 2012:111-112). The launching of the global efforts to

reduce tobacco use, in which many parties both governmental and non-governmental organizations actively get involved, surely has wide socio-cultural ramifications.

There are Indonesian groups actively get involved in the anti tobacco and smoking movements. One of the organized proponents is called GATRI (*Gerakan Anti Tembakau dan Rokok Indonesia*, Indonesian Anti Tobacco and Smoking Movement). According to GATRI, there has been an agreement among the scientists and medical experts that tobacco consumption is one cause of deaths that needs to be urgently addressed with. The cigarette producing company, Sampoerna Philip Morris has already accepted the view that smoking causes lung cancer, heart attacks, and other serious illnesses (Dwiarini, 2012:196).

Also an active player in the campaign against tobacco and smoking is the Indonesian Consumers Institute Foundation (*Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia*, YLKI). The adoption of regulations controlling tobacco and smoking are seen by YLKI as urgent and necessary. Without them Indonesia would develop into "an ashtray state" (*negara asbak*) (Sujatno, 2012). As a result, many children are believed to have no protection from hazardous consequences of tobacco products and smoking habit. Unsurprisingly, the National Commission for Children Protection (*Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Anak*), has also been very active in advocating the danger of smoking for children and pregnant women. The commission emphasizes the right of the children to live free from smoking hazards.

The anti-tobacco movement grows increasingly strong with the growing support coming from religious organizations. On 2005 the Indonesia's second largest Islam organization, Muhammadiyah, issued a decree stating smoking as *mubah*, meaning that smoking is allowed. But on March 8 2010, the Muhammadiyah Central Board (*Pengurus Pusat Muhammadiyah*) issued a new decree (*fatwa*) concerning smoking that

shifted its status from *mubah* to *haram*. The proscribing of smoking was stipulated on its decree No. 6//SM/MTT/III/2010. The decision has eventually been made after the due considerations and consultations with experts in medical, demographic, economic, sociological fields concerning various impacts of smoking habit (<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2010/03/09/10123349>).

There are several reasons to support the decision. Smoking is forbidden (*haram*) because of being seen as having harmful consequences for health reasons (and even be seen as a slow suicide), endangering one self and others. It is also seen as one of the wasteful practices (*mubazir/pemborosan*) prohibited in Quran, and it has weakening effects as alcoholic drinks and psychotropic materials (Nugroho, 2011). With the proscription of smoking, the implications are that for those who do not yet smoke, it is compulsory to avoid smoking and for those who smoke, it is compulsory to make serious effort to stop from doing it (<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2010/03/09/10123349>).

This proscription of smoking by Muhammadiyah has been endorsed by *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI, Indonesian Muslim Scholars Assembly). The endorsement was openly announced in an electronic press release issued by MUI on March 9, 2010. And, this was given on the basis of consideration to avoid health hazards that arise from smoking (Rahmatullah, 2010). The endorsement seems to have reemphasized a decree by MUI already proscribing smoking in public spaces, for children, and pregnant women that was issued earlier on January 2009 (http://www.indosiar.com/fokus/mui-terlalu-berani-keluarkan-fatwa-rokok_78165.html). The decree of MUI itself has obtained some supports from several parties sharing the notion that smoking is dangerous and harmful, that control regulation is necessary to protect the society from its negative consequences.

From a legal framework, the fight against tobacco and smoking has gradually obtained

a strong basis with the promulgation of the Governmental Regulation No. 81/1999 (*Peraturan Pemerintah* No. 81 Tahun 1999). This regulation marks the Indonesian involvement in the global war on tobacco and smoking (Sobary, 2012:108-109). Under the regulation, various restrictions are imposed, including ban on smoking in certain areas and cigarette sale restriction. Also cigarette advertisement, promotion, and sponsorship are strictly regulated and it is compulsory for the cigarette producers to inform health problems arising from smoking in the cigarette packs (Sobary, 2012:107). A number of the regional governments of Indonesia such as Bogor, Jakarta, Depok, Surabaya, began to progressively adopt anti-tobacco and smoking regulations in their respective administration areas. A stricter restriction on smoking has implemented at corporate level. A good example of this case is provided by the PT Kereta Api Indonesia (Indonesian Train Company), which has recently tried hard to ban smoking inside economic train services and station areas, as part of the efforts to improve its service to customers.

The growing pressures and attacks on tobacco and smoking have been strongly reacted by the pro-tobacco and smoking groups. In Indonesia the groups include Association of Indonesian tobacco Farmers (*Asosiasi Petani Tembakau Indonesia, APTI*). For example, it was reported that hundreds of tobacco farmers run mass protest in Jakarta on August 2011, rejecting the recommendations by FCTC WHO. It is feared that the framework especially concerning the use of non-tobacco substance in tobacco products would have dreadful impact on development and society (<http://indotc1.blogspot.com/2011/09/pengendalian-dampak-tembakau-bukan.html>).

Several arguments are developed to support their pro-tobacco and smoking views. Economic argument is paramount in defending tobacco and smoking. The pro-tobacco and smoking groups argue that a great number

of people depend their livelihoods largely on tobacco industry. It is argued that according to the Directorate General of Estates, Ministry of Agriculture, there were 6.1 millions of tobacco farmers in Indonesia in 2010. Meanwhile, according to Ministry of Workforce and Transmigration, about 7.5 millions of workforce in Indonesia engaged in tobacco producing activities and tobacco-related businesses (Mulyono, 2011:4). By showing the existing statistical data of tobacco-linked income earners, the tobacco control regulation is feared by them only to cause a dramatic loss of employments for many Indonesians, amidst the chronic unemployment problem Indonesia encounters. Apart from employment creation, tobacco and kretek industry have also been seen as one of the main sources of income for the state. In 2010, for example, the state revenues came from cigarette tax reached 62 trillion (Abhisam, 2012:137).

The economic argument is supported further by linking tobacco and *kretek* industry to the Indonesian development in general. In a work by Budiman and Ongkokham with a special reference to PT Djarum Kudus, the active role played by cigarette companies in the development has been clearly shown. The company contributed greatly to the development of sport training centres and sport events, school and university scholarships, religious buildings, and some other fields, including greening (*penghijauan*), museum erection, and adat houses conservation (Budiman dan Ongkokham, 1987:199-205). The role of *kretek* industry is also present during times of hardship or disasters. For example, the Bentoel Company, among many others, expressed sincerely sympathy and made donation to the victims of the 2008 Situbondo torrential flood (Raziqa dan Nawiyanto, 2012:52).

Cultural argument is also used to support the pro-tobacco and smoking movement. A special issue here is *kretek* cigarette. The *kretek* cigarette has been seen by tobacco and smoking defenders as a cultural heritage that

needs to be preserved as part of the national pride. As Prasetyaningrum (2012:228) puts it, "Kretek for Indonesia is more than merely an economic commodity, it has shaped an identity for this nation" [*kretek bagi Indonesia lebih daripada komoditas ekonomi semata, namun sudah merupakan identitas bagi bangsaini*]. Furthermore, it is stated that "loving kretek is identical with loving Indonesia" (Prasetyaningrum, 2012:229). Also part of the cultural argument is those who defend tobacco by using historical reasoning. Key to this argument is a view that tobacco and *kretek* are inseparable part of the nation's history and culture. Therefore, as one put it: "Get angry not only to those who take over and sell islands of Indonesia, but also to those who want to erase tobacco culture and *kretek* as part of the cultural legacies handed down by our ancestors" (Mahesaayu, 2012:154).

In a more extreme form, the pro-tobacco and smoking movement has laid their resistance upon ideological and nationalistic arguments. This form is well-illustrated by a book jointly written by Abhisam DM, Hasriadi Ary dan Miranda Harlan (2012), entitled *Membunu Indonesia: Konspirasi Global Penghancuran Kretek* [Killing Indonesia: Global Conspiracy of the Kretek demolition]. In the past *kretek* cigarette was one of the symbols of the Indonesian nationalist movement and it represented indigenous tradition (Abhisam, et.al, 2012:28). Of course, the radical meaning of *kretek* cigarette could only be well-understood when imagining it in the context of Indonesian experience as a colonized, oppressed society under the unjust, foreign rule. *Kretek* cigarette is a very unique and special product of Indonesia that is so much different from the white cigarette produced by western countries (Abhisam, et.al, 2012:29). The nationalist and ideological sentiments have been growing stronger especially among those who are deeply concerned and worried by the takeover of the domestic cigarette industry by foreign, multinational companies. In 2005 the Philip Morris tobacco company brought the Indonesia's third largest cigarette

company, HM Sampoerna. In addition, later in 2009 another company the British American Tobacco took over the Indonesia's fourth largest cigarette company, Bentoel (Sobary, 2012:113, 215).

The position of the domestic *kretek* cigarette industry in Indonesia is under a growing pressure from internationally-supported anti tobacco movements. One of the International donors that actively promote the reduction in tobacco use is Bloomberg Initiative by allocating a great number of fund to Indonesian partners such as Demographic Institute, Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia (US \$ 280,755 for 2008-2010), Directorate of Non-communicable Disease Control (US \$ 315,825 for 2008-2011), Indonesian Corruption Watch (US \$ 45,470 for 2010-2011), Indonesian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (US \$ 240,000 for 2011-2012 and US \$ 164,717 for 2007-2009, and US \$ 145,860 for 2010), Indonesian Public Health Association (US \$ 542,600, for 2007-2009 and US \$ 491,569 for 2009-2011), Jakarta Resident Forum ((US \$ 154,400 for 2010-2012), National Commission on Tobacco Control (US \$ 81,250 for 2009-2011 and US \$ 112,700 for 2011-2012), National Commission for Child Protection (US \$ 200,000 for 2011-2013 and US \$ 455,911 for 2008-2010), Institute of Semarang Consumers Advocacy and Protection (US \$ 99,640), No Tobacco Community of Bogor (US \$ 193,968 for 2011-2013 and US \$ 228,224 for 2009-2011, and Indonesia Consumers Institute Foundation/YLKI (US \$ 454,480 for 2008-2010) (Sobary, 2012:118-129).

Unsurprisingly, a suspicion often emerges among the pro-tobacco and smoking in Indonesia that there is a hidden agenda behind the international initiatives to reduce smoking and tobacco consumption. The target is to strengthen the foreign domination on Indonesia's cigarette market and therefore, forming no more than a new colonialism. With its large number of smokers, Indonesia will be used as a market for foreign products linked

with Nicotine Replacement Therapy (NRT). The suspicion grows stronger with the inclusion of two forms of Nicotine Replacement Therapy (transdermal patches and chewing gums) in the World Health Organization Model List of Essential Medicines (Sobary, 2012:133). The anti tobacco and smoking initiatives are suspected only a mask for the pharmaceutical industries to hide their business interests behind the health mission, as already illustrated previously by the Western and Asian imperialisms with their civilizing missions in the past.

D. Concluding Remarks

The paper has shown that tobacco and smoking have long created controversies as they spread from the Americas or the then so-called New World to people with different cultures especially in the European or Old World. Initially, moralistic considerations were the core argument in the fight against smoking and tobacco, as put forward especially by political and religious leaders. In contrast to the moralistic arguments, the supposedly health associated beliefs and more importantly, financial benefits have been a major part of the expansion in tobacco production and smoking habits in the mother countries and the colonies. In the rising tide of western colonialism and imperialism from the second half of the 19th to the pre-1930s depression years, even tobacco served as a means of the colonial exploitation. The earlier opposition to tobacco and the resulted control regulations proved to be ineffective and only gave dissatisfying results. The tobacco and smoking have been unstoppable and emerged as a dominant feature. The tobacco-related economy also grows considerably large and millions people engage this sector for their livelihoods. The economic importance of tobacco is undoubtedly paramount.

Given the large socio-economic importance, tobacco and smoking control are really an uneasy business. As the case of Indonesia shows, such a regulation control has easily led

to the outbreak of social unrest and conflicts between pros and cons groups. The present conflict might be simplified to certain extent into a battle of "profit versus health", which is radically different from the earlier conflict in which health considerations were initially an integral part of the explanation for tobacco and smoking expansion. But over the last three decades or so, health issues have been the primary evidences in the arguments against tobacco and smoking. The dilemma is that the tobacco-related business in Indonesia has done not only harm, but good as well to many parties in the country in one form or another. The socio-economic arguments for defending tobacco and its related business, however, have been increasingly unsteady with the increasing number of cases and widely-publicized health hazards linked to smoking. The pressure grows stronger with the promulgation of the tobacco and smoking control regulations, the emergence of anti tobacco and smoking groups in the country. But, the inflows of funds from the international donors and the taking over of domestic cigarette companies by foreign enterprises, has opened an opportunity for the pros tobacco and smoking to incorporate nationalistic, ideological, cultural and historical reasons in their arguments in defending tobacco and cigarette as part of the national identity and invaluable cultural legacies.

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