

Construction of Ideological State Apparatus in the New Order Regime Against Communism in Indonesia

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Abstract

Gramsci's hegemony theory underlies the theory of ideological state apparatus Althusser studied in this paper, essentially also a repression of power. In empirical life, to create the subjectivity of society, the power paradigm of the New Order era relies heavily on the repressive state apparatus, and the ideological state of the apparatus. The paradigm was also known as state corporatism. This paper discusses two important things related to ideological state apparatus related to communism in Indonesia, namely: (1) the interpretation of communism in the new order regime, and (2) ideological state apparatus in the new order era.

INTRODUCTION

FOR INDONESIA today, communist ideology is still a sensitive issue in various circles of Indonesian society. As well as the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party, *Partai Komunis Indonesia*) is still a scary and taboo scourge to be discussed by the public at large. The PKI became a ban on ideology or

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people within it, even this was stipulated in the MPRS/XXV/1966 Decree which contained the banning of the PKI in Indonesia. This regulation was made during the Soeharto era after the G-30S (September 30th Movement of the PKI), during which there was a massive killing of PKI figures and members. The Soeharto era known as the New Order era, the determination of an ideology is in government approval.

In the days of the New Order, communism was very forbidden ideology. Anyone who is considered communist or related to communism (in this case PKI), life-even death, is definitely miserable. The survivors are arrested, tortured and exiled. The dead, his body could not be found, so his family could not bury him properly. This is how the hate crime spread by the New Order government. The New Order government sought to maintain its sovereignty by eliminating all those considered enemies. The New Order regards the PKI and those labeled as its minions a great enemy who can disrupt the national stability of the Indonesian state.

The New Order seeks to equalize the government's and society's opinions through the ideological state apparatus popularized by Althusser (Lechte, 2001: 67). In this theory, Althusser assumes that ideology does not represent the true state of the world. Ideology is only a representation of the relationship between human perception and the situation that exists in the real world. In other words, the "real world" is a product of human perception that is influenced by ideology. Ideological state apparatus that has the task of spreading the various discourses or ideology of the country, so that people are voluntarily subject to state power. This task is run through education or mass media. This ideological state apparatus provides various justifications or rules of play for repressive actions perpetrated by the state. This is what the New Order does in understanding communist ideology and the like. The discourse formed by the government during the New Order gave influence to the thinking of the society which then influenced the behavior of the people.

The prohibition of PKI understanding and discrimination against PKI members to date still occur even when the PKI has been burned down. The discrimination against the PKI now appears in the form of its target is Buru Island's ex-political prisoner, where the detainees are suspected of having links and being involved with the PKI. The discrimination that occurs is in the form of excommunication, the difficulty of accessing public services or facilities and the presence of parties opposed to the presence of ex-prisoners of Buru Island such as FAKI (Front Anti Communist Indonesia). This condition is the impact of the ideological state apparatus on the PKI in the New Order era.

‘PKI’ AND THE NEW ORDER

THE state is essentially established because of the agreements held between people who had lived independently, apart from one another without state ties. However, after the state, the freedom and freedom of everyone is slowly taken away by the state. According to Thomas Hobbes, the treaty was held in the hope that the common good could be preserved and guaranteed, so that “one person is not a beast to another” or *homo homini lupus*.³ However, this is inversely related to the fact that often the country becomes a predator against its citizens.

The relationship between whom the predator and the victim are essentially cannot be simplified simply because of the authority possessed by the State in carrying out common interests. This common interest then becomes the foundation for a country to develop. However, in reality over time, the state seems to forget the basic foundation of a country is formed. With power, the state often uses the pretext of common interest to legalize all actions taken. As was the case with the conflict between the PKI and the New Order government. In this conflict the State seems to have the highest authority to legalize any of its actions on behalf of 'for the sake of the nation'. Violent incidents at the end of September 1965, until now still keep a little mystery. The New Order regime in 32 years has monopolized the “interpretation” and clogged different views of the event.⁴ Even up to the present generation, not a few people are still following and loyal to the “interpretation” of the New Order regime that isolates and frustrates exponents of the PKI to its grandchildren.

The outbreak of the September 30th Movement of 1965-or commonly abbreviated as G30S or often relying on the word “PKI”—which sacrificed seven generals, then led to the widespread national tragedy of mass murder of PKI figures and exponents ranged from 1965-1966 and the event of arrest and the detention of persons accused of involvement in the activities of the PKI, without trial. According to Asvi Warman Adam, these three events are trilogy or three national tragedies arranged in chronological order. The fears of the New Order regime will return and the development of the PKI at a time, causing this regime to act so repressively against the exponents of the PKI and its followers. Since the G30S incident, those accused of involvement were labeled by the government in several categories or classes. Category A or group A is individuals who have sufficient evidence to be involved with the PKI, group B *ie* individuals who according to the military government at that

³ See C.S.T. Kansil, *Hukum Tata Pemerintahan Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT Ghalia Indonesia, 1984) 70.

⁴ Pengantar Redaksi dalam Kasiyanto Kasemin, *Mendamaikan Sejarah: Analisis Wacana Pencabutan TAP MPRS/XXV/1966* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003) v.

time, not enough evidence but indicated a role in the movement of the PKI or its underbody organization, and group C, individuals who are affected either directly or indirectly with communist ideology. Those belonging to class B, 'thrown' to Buru Island. This was done by the New Order in 1969.⁵ About 10,000 people were sent by the New Order in several groups. However, at the urging of the International Human Rights Institution, the Indonesian government was forced to release the detainees in 1979.⁶ The dark tragedy that has not been comprehensively comprehended until now and has not been able to punish its intellectual actors has become a record for future generations to try to make improvements for the future of national and state life better.

In the discourse constructed by the New Order, the G30S was a coup attempt to seize power by forcefully tortured and murdered the great generals of the time. The New Order regime said explicitly that the perpetrators of the incident were Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) people and their sympathizers and some soldiers who were tricked into being communist followers.⁷

In the New Order era, most schoolbooks (especially history) contained images of the PKI's atrocities, even in a regime's production film when it was described how members of Gerwani (one of the PKI's underbrows), sadistically tormented the generals' bodies. In addition to the generals, other parties who became victims based on Orba discourse at the time was the people whose land was taken by force even always terrorized and even threatened murdered by the PKI and its sympathizers. However, the New Order did not mention the victims of the alleged party as the PKI. Persons suspected of involvement with the PKI were detained without trial, restricted to their political and economic rights, and excluded from society.⁸ Consequently, discriminatory and stigmatization attitudes experienced by exponents of the PKI and its followers and their families.

This thinking construct is then reinforced by MPRS / XXV / 1966 Tap which contains three things: The Dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI); The PKI as an outlawed organization in all parts of Indonesia; Prohibition of any activity of spreading or developing the understanding or teachings of Communism, Marxism, and Leninism. This tap is a strong hand to clear all things including the above three things that are considered contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Issues related to communism became

⁵ The Orba regime deliberately did so with the sole purpose of isolating the exponents of the PKI and its followers in the preparation and holding of the elections to be held in 1971.

⁶ Asvi Warman Adam, *Epilog: Kejahatan Kemanusiaan di Pulau Buru* dalam Hersri Setiawan, *Memoar Pulau Buru* (Magelang: Indonesia Tera, 2004), 592-593.

⁷ Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, *Gerakan 30 September Pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia: Latar Belakang, Aksi, dan Penumpasannya* (Jakarta: PT Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada, 1994), 44-45.

⁸ Adam, *Epilog: Kejahatan Kemanusiaan di Pulau Buru*, 592-593.

the basic capital of the New Order, to create economic, political, social, and cultural stability.⁹

Even when the exponents of the PKI, its followers and sympathizers were "secured" behind bars, it was labeled as Political Prisoners (prisoners) who were released from detention to return to their area, to live side by side with other citizens, but unfortunately they got the label that discredited them inserting their ID number with the addition of the ET (Ex-Tapol, *political prisoner*) code, which is very influential on their life and their future. In addition, they are subject to special provisions, such as: each time period reports to the sub-district military-level agency; doing work in maintaining cleanliness and environmental safety; leaving home more than 24 hours must carry a letter from the military institution; should not be a public and private employee in the vital employment sector; and a number of other provisions.¹⁰

In fact, the reconciliation of discriminatory attitudes and understanding of PKI exponents, when the government of President Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur) was presented to the public and continued into the constitutional test but failed. This is because the strong influence of the New Order regime on the understanding of individuals who justify the PKI's attitude of rebellious, anti-Pancasila and Constitution tendencies is still firmly embedded in the minds of Indonesian hearts.

The strong anti-PKI discourse and its derivatives can be categorized as a success, however, the negative context of the New Order regime in spreading the influence of its discourse or idea-or in the Althusser Ideological State Apparatus-to the mindset of Indonesians in view of the ex-political prisoners involved in the movement of the PKI. In such a situation, it can be said that it occupies a hegemonic position within the social, cultural and ideological sphere.¹¹

IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS OF THE NEW ORDER

THE PARADIGM for the definition of anti-PKI discourse and its derivatives began during the New Order government led by Soeharto. The government became "communist" and so on as its great enemy. This regime often carried out acts of oppression and stigmatization of all elements that smell of communism. One way is ideological state apparatus through mass media

⁹ Kasiyanto Kasemin, *Mendamaikan Sejarah: Analisis Wacana Pencabutan TAP MPRS/XXV/1966*, 1-2.

¹⁰ Saparinah Sadli, *Prolog dalam Hersri Setiawan, Memoar Pulau Buru* (Magelang: Indonesia Tera, 2004) 18.

¹¹ Ariel Heryanto, *Intelektual Publik, Media, dan Demokratisasi* dalam Ariel Heryanto dan Sumit K. Mandal, *Menggugat Otoriterianisme di Asia Tenggara: Perbandingan dan Pertautan antara Indonesia dan Malaysia* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2004), 48.

manipulation. Through the mass media, New Order rulers then propagated that the PKI was a bad thing in society. Anyone who helps the PKI will be labeled a communist, and that means the enemy of the country. And, the enemy of the state is legally legitimate to be eliminated.

From the context of the historical search above, it appears that the New Order ruler wanted to perpetuate his power by eliminating the PKI considered enemy, and frightening the people, in order not to help the PKI. That way, the PKI's disappearance from Indonesian history will be faster. In addition, one of the ideological state apparatus conducted by the New Order government is to include all elements of PKI crime on historical learning materials at the school level. This is, of course, one of the examples that the state creates an identity of the 'PKI' in the paradigm of community thinking which from generation to next generation will be inherited.

The New Order version of PKI and Communism was used as a psychological control tool for the people. Referring to the gloomy period of the 1960s, the New Order instilled in the memory of the Indonesian people the specter or latent danger of communism and PKI through various devices, for example through state speeches, textbooks and mass media. Even routinely on every September 30th, G30S films were shown to portray the PKI as a dangerous and cruel organization.

In an essay entitled *Ideological States Apparatus*, Althusser¹² says that discourse, whether in the form of statements, media content, or rules, serves as the domain and justification for state repression to its citizens. The reason, the state always needs loyalty and compliance of its citizens. To get it cannot only rely on power and violence alone, because it can be judged authoritarian. Whereas the state always needs legitimacy so that power is not harassed. According to Althusser, society is united not only by the economy but by ideology.¹³ In this context, the government during the Soeharto period subjected to the submission and obedience of its people through the dissemination of discourses related to communism in Indonesia. Althusser introduced the concept of a repressive state apparatus, which is identical with the system and state structure, which stands as a legitimate and explicit power buffer. Examples are the military, the courts, and the bureaucrats. The second concept is ideological state apparatus (ISA), namely religious institutions, culture, education, including mass media. The workings of the ISA move more on ideological aspects. Then it will ultimately be repressive too, as it is meant to manipulate consciousness.

Here Althusser's thought actually reinforces the thinking of Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci¹⁴ about hegemony. Gramsci's hegemonic theory, like the ideological state of the state apparatus Althusser, is also essentially a

¹² P. Beilharz, *Teori-Teori Sosial, Observasi Kritis Terhadap Para Filosof Terkemuka* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), 4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴ Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebook*. (London: Lawrence and Wishart International Publishers, 1971/1995).

repression of power. The difference is that the repression in the hegemony is subtle in that it relies on moral and intellectual leadership and is active. Hegemony is not achieved through coercive power, but through systemic (language), directional, and continuous discourse to win voluntary public acceptance of an idea or regime.¹⁵

In empirical life, to create the subjectivity of society, the power paradigm of the New Order era relies heavily on the repressive state apparatus, and the ideological state of the apparatus. The paradigm was also known as state corporatism. The New Order regime instituted authoritarian corporatism in political organization as an instrument of exercising authoritarian political control, in the name of the "national goal" set by the ruling regime itself.¹⁶

Karl D. Jackson gave the term "bureaucratic policy", a form of totalitarian government that prioritizes mobilization rather than participation.¹⁷ All elements of the state, society, and various economic powers are mobilized to achieve the state's goals, all of which are in the control of Suharto's power. This phenomenon, called Arief Budiman, as an authoritarian bureaucratic development,¹⁸ where state officials have wide authority to regulate and provide facilities to their cronies. Over time, reliable entrepreneurs become independent then this new generation becomes a new elite, occupying the dominant class in an authoritarian bureaucratic development model.¹⁹ At that time the mass media was placed as an ideological state apparatus that played a role to reproduce and maintain the stability of the regime's legitimacy.²⁰ The instrumentalist analyzes looked at the mass media life in Indonesia at that time as the dominant instrument of the New Order and capital owners.²¹ The new order has a surplus of access to media, has media control legality as well as licensing monopoly. On the other hand, media owners have full power over their workers.

The New Order regime may well have mastered everything. Entrepreneurs, as well as communities, are to be hegemony and subject to the rule of the state. At that time, according to Richard Robison, the glory of the country has exceeded the market power, the triumph of the state over the

¹⁵ H. Hendarto, *Diskursus Kemasyarakatan dan Kemanusiaan*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1992), 66.

¹⁶ Richards Robison, "Indonesia: Tension and State and Regime dalam R. Hewison dan Rodan (eds). *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: An Introduction*. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), 45-46.

¹⁷ Jackson, KD dan Pye, LW., *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 4.

¹⁸ Arief Budiman, *Negara dan Pembangunan, Studi tentang Indonesia dan Korea*. (Jakarta: Yayasan Padi dan Kapas, 1991), 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Hidayat, DN, Gazali, E, & Ishadi, SK., *Pers dalam "Revolusi Mei", Runtuhnya Sebuah Hegemoni* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2000), 6.

²¹ Herman, E & Chomsky, N (1998) *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Media*. (New York: Sage Publications, 1998), ix.

market. The state has become a predator that interferes with other institutions.²²

Discourse construction is closely related to power and the definition of truth is often based on the will of the authorities. Discourse construction is defined in such a way that it retains the advantage of the ruler, as sustaining and perpetuating power and as a basis of legitimacy over his power. Similarly, the discourse of G30S, PKI, Communism and so on because the New Order was born through its success defines the discourse is negative.

In the extermination of the left group is done from the inner circle, then gradually in the second circle, so on until the outer circle. The deepest circles were the PKI leaders who were killed without trial such as Aidit and Nyoto, and those belonging to the A group submitted to the Military Tribunal. The second circle is a group B tribe that some (as many as 10,000 people) are banished to Buru Island. The third circle is the group C prisoner who is required to report to the security apparatus, while the fourth circle is their family which is considered "unsanitary environment".

The actions taken against the class B prisoners include a policy of handling those deemed to be directly or indirectly involved with the G30S. But the disposal to Buru Island is inseparable from the national policy to secure the 1971 election which was the first election since the New Order. Under the pretext of securing the election, 10,000 B-class prisoners were banished to a remote island in eastern Indonesia.²³

The G30S/PKI incident clearly affects not only the life of the state, but it has deeply and profoundly affected the family life where women not only become victims but become active perpetrators of reestablishing family life in the midst of a torn nation. What happened to Buru's political prisoner may also be an example in which a woman experiences a "guilt by association" (targeted because she is a political prisoner's wife). Hersri's remarks on torture, humiliation and sexual harassment by officers and bodyguards against children and *tapol* wives have reinforced the fact that until now has received no serious attention from the authorities. The political prisoners who get "freedom" can breathe fresh air again. However, this is a false one, because they are still required to report themselves to the military rulers of the time.

²² Robison, R (1993). *op.,cit.*, 33

²³ Asvi Warman Adam, *Epilog: Kejahatan Kemanusiaan di Pulau Buru* dalam Hersri Setiawan, *Memoar Pulau Buru* (Magelang: Indonesia Tera, 2004), 593-594.

CONCLUSION

THE NEW Order version of PKI and Communism was used as a psychological control tool for the people. Referring to the gloomy period of the 1960s, the New Order instilled in the memory of the Indonesian people the specter or latent danger of communism and PKI through various devices, for example through state speeches, textbooks and mass media. Even routinely on every September 30th, G30S films were shown to portray the PKI as a dangerous and cruel organization. Gramsci's hegemony theory underlies the theory of ideological state apparatus Althusser studied in this paper, essentially also a repression of power. In empirical life, to create the subjectivity of society, the power paradigm of the New Order era relies heavily on the repressive state apparatus, and the ideological state of the apparatus. The paradigm was also known as state corporatism. This paper discusses two important things related to ideological state apparatus related to communism in Indonesia.

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