



Freedom and Restriction of Opinion and Expression in Modern Indonesian Poem Seen from Levinson's Pragmatics

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Abstrak

Peninjauan puisi Wiji Thukul dari teori normatif dan konstruktivis untuk menemukan ruang lingkup kebebasan dan pembatasan berpendapat dan berekspresi melalui berbagai bentuk karya sastra. Teori yang digunakan adalah perspektif stilistika Jeffries dan McIntyre (2010) dengan melibatkan tiga puisi Wiji Thukul, yaitu *Aku Menuntut Perubahan*, *Sajak Suara*, dan *Puisi Sikap*. Dalam konsep stilistikanya, Jeffries dan McIntyre (2010) juga memiliki kecenderungan pada bidang Pragmatik dan Sociolinguistik yang lebih menekankan pada pidato. Pendekatan Pragmatik Levinson (1983) menghubungkan pragmatik dengan aspek manusia, yaitu psikologi, biologi, dan sosiologi yang melekat pada tanda. Oleh karena itu, sebagai lambang (tanda) dalam sebuah karya sastra, setiap kata dan ucapan adalah identik dan erat kaitannya dengan ketiga aspek tersebut. Pemilihan kata dalam puisi Wiji Thukul kami rasakan bertujuan untuk mengancam kekuasaan Orde Baru, melakukan protes terhadap kebijakan dan tindakan Orde Baru, menyindir kekuasaan Orde Baru, dan merendahkan dan mengisolasi Orde Baru. Dengan demikian, puisi Wiji Thukul merupakan perpaduan dan komunikasi antara aspek psikologis dan biologis pengarang serta sosiologi masyarakat.

Abstract

*We revisited Wiji Thukul's poetry from normative and constructivist theories to find the scope of freedom and restriction of opinion and expression through various forms of literary works. We applied stylistic perspective of Jeffries and McIntyre (2010) by involving three of Wiji Thukul's poems, namely *Aku Menuntut Perubahan*, *Sajak Suara*, and *Puisi Sikap*. In their stylistic concept, Jeffries and McIntyre (2010) also have a tendency towards the fields of Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics which emphasized more on speech. Levinson's Pragmatic approach (1983) connected pragmatics with human aspects, namely psychology, biology, and sociology that were inherent in sign. Therefore, as a symbol (sign) in a literary work, every word and speech were identical and closely related to these three aspects. We perceived that the choice of words in Wiji Thukul's poetry aimed to create a threat to the power by the New Order, carried out a protest against the policies and actions of the New Order, made an allusion about the power of the New Order, and denigrated and isolated the New Order. Thus, Wiji Thukul's poetry was a combination and communication between psychological and biological aspects of the author as well as the sociology of society.*

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INTRODUCTION

Wiji Thukul (hereinafter referred to as Thukul) is a folk artist who is also active in writing poetry. Until now, his poetry has been compiled into an anthology of poetry. Some of his poetry anthologies include "Puisi Pelo" and "Darman dan Lain-lain" published in Taman Budaya Surakarta in 1984, "Mencari Tanah Lapang" in *Manus Amici*, Netherlands 1994, "Aku Ingin Jadi Peluru" published by Indonesia Tera in 2000, and a collection of poetry *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* was published by PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama in 2014. However, Tempo assured that there are still many of his poems that are scattered in magazines, student newspapers, labor journals, and other alternative media (Tempo, 2013).

The context that is closely related to Thukul's life is the New Order era. Thukul was also one of several PRD activists whose existence was not found after the riots in 1996 in Jakarta (Argenti, 2016). According to Ricklefs (2008), the New Order used a paternalistic, but also oppressive style of governance (Muttaqin, 2014). This was the hallmark and main feature of the militarism held by the New Order and was used as a foundation in the current movement of the New Order governance. The government sought and tracked people's involvement to gain legitimacy. Ricklefs added that the form of oppression in the New Order government could be seen through the provision of political prison terms to get rid of their political opponents.

As a folk artist, Thukul described his life story and journey through poetry. His poetry was able to describe his representation in his social class (Tjahjono, 2012). His poetry represented his feeling as an Indonesian from a small community group (Oksinata, 2010). He wrote his poetry based on the truth that occurred in social life.

This study was a development of an earlier study entitled "Wiji Thukul's Language Style of Resistance: A Resistance to the New Order's Power in a Collection of *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* by Wiji Thukul" in 2019. A study on Language and Literature was expected to develop and following the latest issues related to social welfare and human rights. The evidence in accordance with the substance in the poetry and figure of Thukul was a freedom of opinion for every citizen, especially Indonesian. In 2020, several studies on freedom of speech, expression and opinion were still being carried out (Azizah & Aquarisma, 2020; Marwandianto & Nasution, 2020; Roqib et al, 2020;

Nasution, 2020). These implied that the legal sanctions for violations of expression and speech still become barriers of the community to speak their perspective and aspiration.

When it is connected with the characteristics of independent literature (Figlerowicz, 2016), a gap emerged and needed to be considered through several scientific considerations. The objective was that the creative process and work of a literary author and poet could be appreciated as a masterpiece that had a psychological content (Sukirman, 2015), reflective (Sriwahyuni & Asri, 2020), ideas of renewal (Fitriana, 2017), and criticism of a social conditions that took place (Yanti, 2015). Therefore, we revisited Thukul's poetry from normative and constructivist viewpoints to find the scope of freedom and limitation of opinion and expression through various forms of literary works. Written in two-column layout, in Cambria 11 font, and is single spaced.

METHODOLOGY

We used the stylistic perspective of Jeffries and McIntyre (2010). In their concept, Jeffries and McIntyre (2010) also had a tendency towards the fields of Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics which emphasized more on speech. Moreover, a poem had two dimension, namely written form and spoken (oral) form. Therefore, we employed Pragmatic approach of Levinson (1983) in identifying types of utterances in three Thukul's poems, namely "Aku Menuntut Perubahan", "Sajak Suara", and "Puisi Sikap". Levinson's Pragmatics concept connected Pragmatics with human aspects, namely aspects of psychology, biology, and sociology that were inherent in something (sign). Thus, as a symbol (sign) in literary works, every word and utterance (speech) were identical and closely related to the previous aspects.

The findings generated through Pragmatic approach were analyzed using Blumer's Symbolic Interactionism theory (1969) with four basic principles, namely: (a) a person acts based on the meaning of the objects they have; (b) interaction between communities will occur in a particular socio-cultural form and dynamics to which physical, social, individual objects and situations must be defined based on individual meaning; (c) meaning will emerge during the interaction among individuals; and (d) meaning will grow and be re-created through a process of interpretation (Holis et al, 2019). This theory was used to argue that a literary work is an interaction

between the author and several parties; including society and government. This interaction created meaning processed by connoisseurs and readers of literary works.

After knowing and identifying that the manifestation of speech in poetry literature contained symbolic interactions between author and reader, further process was directed at scientific and objective theorization to answer the question of "why three of Thukul's poems contained psychological, biological, and sociological processes", thus a symbolic interaction was considered as a resistance that created a violence against the author.

RESULTS

Concrete Words

Concrete words (CW) are words that have no figurative meaning in their meaning and tend to be felt and seen by five human senses (Turney et al, 2011). The CW is straightforward. In the poem "Nyanyian Akar Rumput", the concrete word used was 'mimpi buruk'. The word 'mimpi buruk' meant a nightmare. It described a phenomenon based on facts that actually occurred in that phenomenon. The word did not contain a figurative meaning (implicit). Grammatically, 'Mimpi Buruk' is a grammatical construction of two lexicons, namely 'mimpi' and 'buruk', where each of which has a different meaning. The two words were then combined and united into a phrase; producing a new meaning.

In the context of phrases, a meaning can also contain denotation and connotation as well as literal (dictionary meaning) and contextual (Recanati, 2003). Therefore, the phrase 'Mimpi Buruk' had indicated its concreteness by its literal meaning that could affect its context. The word had a meaning a bad dream, uncomfortable dream, sad dream, and painful dream.

Thus, the use of the concrete word in "Nightmare" is to state (Stating) something for a specific purpose. The aim is to make the president frightened, feel insecure and uncomfortable with the sentence inviting 'ayo gabung ke kami' as a sentence that not only serves as an invitation, but can also trigger a movement to emerge. Therefore, this kind of concrete word serves to make and state a threat. The threat was aimed at none other than the president.

Apart from that, the concrete word was also found in "Sajak Suara" and "Peringatan". The concrete word was clearly seen in the verse of "Sajak Suara".

'lawan!' was said to be a concrete word, because it did not have a classical meaning. Judging from the context of previous verse, 'lawan!' was a resistance. This resistance arose when there was a party who controlled and was repressive (forcing). Furthermore, 'memburu(mu)' also did not experience a figurative process. In fact, the word 'memburu' became a symbol of a great effort to finish off and fight against a party, namely the ruler of the New Order. Therefore, Thukul attempted to use concrete word to threaten the New Order government at that time which seemed authoritarian and repressive.

In the poem "Peringatan", the concrete word 'lawan!' showed a synchronization with the previous poetry, namely an attempt to utter a threat and take an action of resistance. It was clear that the word 'lawan!' did not contain a figurative meaning, but remained a concrete word which stated that Thukul would put up a fight. It was proven by a clause 'tak menyerah' which indicated Thukul's consistency in fighting the New Order regime. Of course, it was a way to threaten the New Order regime.

Vulgar Words

In accordance with the meaning in language, vulgar could mean rude and impolite (Cachola et al, 2018). When someone used harsh words/sarcasm and words that were disrespectful to others and their interlocutors, it could mean that they challenged, insinuated, and isolated others. In Thukul's poem, the function of the first vulgar word was to emphasize a defiant attitude against the opponents.

A vulgar word in the poem "Aku Menuntut Perubahan" was 'mulut besarmu'. The use of the phrase 'mulut besarmu' indicated an element of vulgarity/sarcasm which served to humiliate and isolate a party. In this piece of poetry, Thukul created an act of humiliation and isolation of a party; that was the New Order government by contrasting a statement. In a literal view, a reader would understand that the large number of latrines which were dumping places for human waste had meant more to Thukul himself than the regime. **one-column layout**, centered, and numbered consecutively. To avoid a difficulty in presenting the table, the author(s) can place the table in appendix or on a separate page.

Personal Name/Greeting/Call

According to Al-Ma'ruf (2010), a word of greeting or personal name is a word that functions as a designation to indicate a person; and serves as a marker of one's identity. In addition, greeting words or personal names can also be in the form of nicknames that are given by someone to another. The use of these types of words could be seen in his poem "Puisi Sikap". In the poem, the use of personal names/greetings/call was indicated by the use of the word 'penguasa zalim'. The lexicon of 'penguasa zalim' indicated a different dimension of identity of the ruler. The inclusion of the word 'zalim' was Thukul's attempt/effort to state another fact of the New Order ruler; where beyond its success, the New Order turned out to have a repressive and authoritarian nature of power.

DISCUSSION

Reading for Context

The New Order was born from a political mechanism developed by New Order practitioners. It was noted that the New Order led the Indonesian government for more than 30 years. The political system run by the New Order regime proved successful in maintaining the New Order political movement. Soeharto as the initiator and leader during the New Order era succeeded in strengthening his power and maintaining the legitimacy of the people towards his government which lasted until May 21, 1998. The regime of Soeharto (the New Order regime) used two methods to eliminate and weaken its political opponents, namely manifest and latent-symbolic (Sudibyo, 1998).

Manifest is a method that is operated through legal-formal mechanisms, manipulative and cooptative legal instruments, as well as procedural physical repressions. The manifest path could be seen through the phenomenon of press, labour movement, and student or intellectual groups controlled by the engineering of legal instruments, physical repression, and psychological intimidation.

As a result of resistance carried out by several parties and critics, the regime also fought back in the form of imprisoning, kidnapping and even eliminating a number of activists who were critical of government policies at the time.

The second method is Latent-symbolic. In this way, the regime carried out the practice of delegitimizing its political opponents by producing

and manipulating official discourses which were then used as a means of producing the State's version of truth. The production of these discourses can be seen in Education textbooks, newspapers, magazines, journals, white books, and films produced and designed by the government. Indirectly, the types of truth practiced by the New Order regime were: 1) truth as the object of massive distribution and consumption through the widespread education and information apparatus; and 2) truth was produced and disseminated under the supervision of a handful of dominant economic and political apparatus. This argumentation has approved Foucault's idea that the State needs the soul of its citizen to create a regime; not by coercion (Daldal, 2014).

The discourse of truth on the New Order regime and its political opponents had spread to be a delimitation. The state's version of truth in the context of legitimacy and de-legitimation is summarized in the practice of positively depicting State itself (Positive Self-Presentation) and the practice of depicting the other party (against the State) negatively (Negative Other-Presentation) (Sudibyo, 1998). Legitimacy and de-legitimacy led to public view that the New Order was a golden and prosperous era, so that to smooth the process of legitimating and delegitimizing discourse to the public, the New Order used a symbolic domain in the form of control over the meaning and thoughts of discourse participants. However, if the legitimacy and de-legitimacy are not effectively carried out through symbolic domain, legitimacy and de-legitimacy will operate by means of coercive, repressive, and other legalized mechanisms. Thus, the New Order became a period of authoritarian rule.

The New Order government provided a socio-political role for ABRI (Indonesia's Military Forces), especially the Army. ABRI practiced its dual function as 'balancing' and 'partnership' in order to achieve national stability and support national economic growth (Hadi & Kasuma, 2012). Indirectly, the relationship between civil society and ABRI must be carried out with full responsibility to create and maintain balance and accuracy according to circumstances and needs.

However, the role of ABRI in the New Order government gave different impressions and views from several parties. The existence of ABRI as a socio-political force had been challenged by many parties. They thought that ABRI should not occupy positions outside defense and security which should be part of

the civil group. In Western society, the role of the military is basically to support political aspirations of society under a civilian leadership. Logically, when the military deviates, goes beyond the existing basic principles, and interferes in civilian affairs, the illegal acts committed by the military begin to emerge (Ibrahim, 2002). Therefore, military intervention in all matters of civilians could be seen in the New Order regime.

In Thukul's poetry, the depiction of cases of human rights violations could be clearly identified. The use of simple and common languages was the goal and choice taken by Thukul, so that the readers would really understand what was depicted and became the story in his poetry. His poetry had a time setting, namely the New Order era, so that it made a sense for his readers. Kumral (2013) argues that sense is the literal meaning reached through the first order signification process in the natural domain. However, with regard to cases of human rights violations, we merely involved some descriptions of human rights violations in the poetry collection of "Nyanyian Akar Rumput". This was done to focus the discussion based on the object being studied.

In the case of human rights, Thukul invited readers to look at the lives of the 'grassroots' who had received discriminatory treatment for all power and power relations mechanisms created by the New Order regime. We found at least three poetries that could also represent the essence of the whole poetry about human rights in the collection of "Nyanyian Akar Rumput". The three poems were "Monumen Bambu Runcing", "Suara dari Rumah-rumah Miring", and "Nyanyian Akar Rumput".

In the poem "Monumen Bambu Runcing", we found a depiction of a portrait of street vendors selling in rows under a pointed bamboo monument. Trading activities carried out by street vendors were often obstructed by law enforcement officers. Meanwhile, in the poem "Suara dari Rumah-rumah Miring", Thukul invited readers to see, reflect and feel the conditions experienced by the marginalized people, where they had felt the impact of modernization and industrialization. They must volunteer themselves to be expelled and became homeless without a certain place to live. In his poem "Nyanyian Akar Rumput", Thukul invited readers to see and feel how small people (marginalized communities) were being evicted due to government's infrastructure development project.

In an outline of the leadership records of the New Order regime, the New Order government promised that human rights enforcement would be carried out during his regime. Various seminars on human rights began to be held during the New Order era. However, in reality, the New Order showed the true form of its government by not carrying out what it had promised. It was evident that the implementation of human rights during the New Order leadership experienced a rapid decline, namely around the 1970s to the 1980s (Rosyada et al, 2003).

Previous description had indicated that Thukul's poetry tried to describe how the New Order regime implemented its authoritarian leadership principles which gave birth to inequality and injustice at the social level. Various cases of human rights violations committed against the people at that time were one of the repressive portraits of the New Order government. After all, the national development project to prosper the economy of the Indonesian had become a major project that has admittedly not a few negative impacts in its implementation. Thus, Thukul's poetry was full of social depictions in the form of various social problems which included some following points, namely:

- a. Repressiveness of power against people who tried and carried out protests against the New Order regime.
- b. Advantages in the economic sector obtained by the power relations of the New Order, such as entrepreneurs and financiers.
- c. Marginalization of small people as grass roots.
- d. Limitations of people to express their aspirations.
- e. Human Rights violations (HAM).

Uniqueness of Resistant Language in Indonesian Poem: Learning from Thukul

Language contains a variety of meanings. Language is constructed through a mechanism and a combination of language elements, so that it becomes a perfect sentence structure, containing a special meaning, and understood by readers. In this case, Nurgiyantoro (2018) clarifies that although the role of language and reaching the level of beauty of literary work (e.g., poetry) is not so decisive; in this case, the role of language cannot be underestimated. Simplicity must be seen in a literary work, because by that simplicity, the beauty of literary works will emerge.

Based on the analysis, we found a form of straightforwardness of meaning contained and expressed in straightforward language as well. The choice of words (diction) of Thukul's poems implied the simplicity of using language to create and express meaning that was straightforward, emphatic, and empirical. This was a personal beauty and style that Thukul had in composing every word and verse in his poetry. For this statement, Aras (2015) emphasizes that each author has personal characteristics that are individual and different from other authors, but they are still influenced by general characteristics of a literary period during his time.

The emphasis of diction in Thukul's resistance poems showed Thukul's purpose in expressing ideas through his poems. Rokhmansyah (2014) confirms that in creating a poem, a poet has a goal that he wants to convey to readers and certain circles through his poetry. Poets must be careful in choosing words that can express their hearts, ideas and thoughts appropriately. On the other hand, Wicaksono (2014) also assesses that word choice (diction) is the ability of a poet to precisely distinguish the nuances of meaning from an idea to be conveyed, and to be able to find out the form of words that match the situation, values, and sense owned by the community (Derry, 2020).

In Lenin's concept, literary works can arouse readers' awareness to act revolutionary, because literature provides motivation and impetus, so that readers rebel against inhuman realities. In fact, Lenin argues that literature can affect nerves and increase readers' emotion, because the points in the literary text is related to the reality (Juanda, 2017). A resistance through poetry with the characteristics of straightforward and opposing language is also found in Okky Madasari's poem entitled "Pasung Jiwa". The poem has a similar context to Thukul's work. In Okky Madasari's work, people who felt oppressed by officials' actions against officials who could manage the government properly (Idayatiningsih, 2017).

In the context of this study, we found out the straightforwardness and transparency of diction in the resistant poems in the poetry collection of "Nyanyian Akar Rumpu". The concreteness of language and meaning through the use of concrete words, vulgar words, and words in the form of personal names/greetings/calls were the characteristics of Thukul in composing his resistance poetry. This reflected how Thukul tried to express, say, and describe what he saw, felt and perceived about a social reality

during the New Order. Similarly, Triana et al (2021) say that social actors, ideas, and events determine the shape and meaning of a text (e.g., poem) in the community. This evidence is relevant to Fowler's approach that there is an interaction between ideological and aesthetic elements in a literary text (Tahiri & Muhaxheri, 2021).

Conceptually, concreteness of words is closely related to imagery, symbolization, and figurative sense. These three things also take some advantages of the language style to clarify what people want to speak (Kamilah et al, 2016). Substantively, through a diction in concrete words, vulgar words, and words with personal names/greetings/calls, Thukul has done the following matters, namely:

- a. Making a threat to the power exercised by the New Order.
- b. Speaking and carrying out a protest action against the policies and actions of the New Order.
- c. Making an insinuation about the power of the New Order.
- d. Humiliating and isolating the New Order.

The context of the poetry that built up and gave a background for the uniqueness of Thukul's language style in terms of the use of lexical elements (words) was the context that related to the background of the author's life and the social conditions/realities that occurred at that time. These two things played a highly dominant role in the creation of Thukul's poetry, including the style of language used in his poems which was evident in his use of lexical elements. Thus, we could formulate a skeleton model as author's (Thukul) creative process developed from Levinson's Pragmatic model.

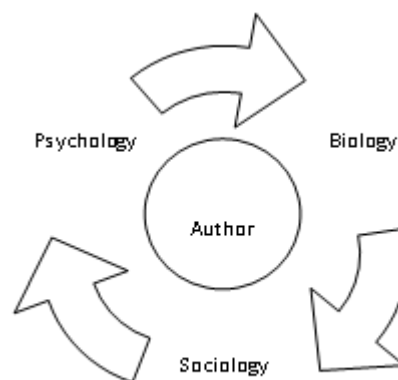


Figure 1. Levinson's Pragmatic Conceptualization in Thukul's Poem

The analysis process carried out had found a new framework in the discourse of the relationship between language style, social context, and social situation felt by the author. The context of life and social condition during the New Order stimulated Thukul to fight back through poetry with the aim of demanding people's rights and indirectly demanding the New Order government to be responsible for social inequality and social conditions caused by the nature of the ruler repressiveness. As a part of a small community and folk artists with a competence in composing arguments, Thukul chose to fight back through poetry. His language style showed his anger and his restlessness against the regime.

Thukul and His Social Consequences

The principle of stylistic study is a normative and accommodative approach in seeing a literary work not only from the point of view of the intrinsic element, but also the external (context) elements in the literary work. The external context of a literary work is an important element that cannot be eliminated in the process of understanding literary works as a whole. Something written in a literary work is a form of ideas of an author that he gets from his experiences in the world, his inner state of something, and of course the social conditions in a society where the author lives (Suparno, 2016).

The external context is highly binding within a writer in the process of creating his literary work. An author is a part of society who also sees, feels, and experiences what is happening in people's lives and in their social reality (Subandiyah, 2013). The role of context in stimulating a writer and poet to create literary works can also be seen in the personality of Thukul through his poems. The words in his poetry were words that were soulful. He could accurately represent the feelings and conditions of his social group originating from marginalized society and the workers (labor). The words he composed were his ideas, ideas, and feelings towards the New Order government, so that with these words in Thukul's poetry could be called as a poem of resistance.

In addition, the character of Thukul's language style was straightforward, concrete, and straightforward, providing a clue to understanding some of the social facts of the New Order. In Foucault's concept, Thukul's language style contained a strong context built on mutually reinforcing mechanisms of

ideas. These ideas could include Thukul's views on the social reality in the New Order concerning Soeharto's authoritarian nature and social inequality that occurred, Thukul's personality as a folk artist and activist during the New Order, and Thukul's life experience as a minor, so as to create and exposing a factual context about the New Order, Thukul did not really consider aspects of rhetoric that could obscure the essence or substance of his poetry.

From this, what Foucault calls language that does not say exactly what is said, contradicts the style of Thukul in his poetry. We only saw one concept of language by Foucault that could be used as a basis, namely language was used to express a context with a link between one idea to others. With the language style of resistance in his poetry, Thukul got the legal consequences given by law enforcement at that time because of the style of language in his poetry.

In addition to contributing thoughts in social theories, Foucault also initiated a thought about language. The essence of his thought about language is how language is constructed and used to create power. Foucault calls language a system of ideas that are interrelated and provide us with knowledge about world (Jones, 2009). Foucault also says that language does not say and state exactly what it says (Wibowo, 2004). For him, language is a means of domination (formula of domination), where language plays its role in normalizing deviations from facts outside of language, and that is what he calls language normalization (Liere, 2010).

Descriptively, Thukul's language style was a straightforward language style and tend to have an explicit sense of power. He tried to state truthfully about a social reality in the New Order, so that the beauty aspect of his poetry through rhetorical means was not taken into account. Based on Foucault's view of language, Thukul's language style was having a discourse and built by a context. The choice of diction used by Thukul indicated that he wanted to reveal and stated a fact about the New Order in a concrete, straightforward and clear manner.

The versatility of the language and the meaning of the previous poetry indicated the distinctive language style of Thukul in arranging his ideas into a poem. Historically, the principles of *developmentalism* adopted by the New Order placed the economic sector at the center of a country's development. Therefore, the New Order created a corporation with foreign investors to invest in

Indonesia, so that it indirectly eliminated private entrepreneurs and farmers. Industrialization, which was a proof that the New Order applied the principles of *developmentalism*, also placed the small people, especially farmers in helplessness.

The New Order's expropriation of land ownership rights resulted in disputes and resistance. The deprivation of land rights did not only occur in rural communities where the majority of the population were farmers, but also occurred in urban communities or in areas closed to cities. The poem told a portrait of the life of people who lived in sub-urban areas. From this poem, the interests of state capitalism could be seen and known through the expressions 'jalan raya dilebarkan' and 'digusur'. These two expressions represent a portrait of the life of the suburban community who are facing relocation and forced evictions by the local government for the purposes and interests of the economy and business of capitalism. When the highway is widened and the residential areas of the suburban community are evicted, there is no other choice for them to live in the overhang of the building or even to build a piece of space among the buildings of the houses. This portrait is the impact of the capitalism adopted by the New Order regime at that time.

From the above poetry, Foucault's understanding of language favours the context in Thukul's poetry style. Foucault's statement which views that language does not say and does not state exactly what is said, cannot be a basis and reference to examine Thukul's language style in his poetry, because stylistically Thukul's style tend to be straightforward, concrete, and what it was. However, Foucault's contribution to the language style of Thukul's poetry was that language is a system of ideas that is interlocked with one another and provides an understanding and description of the world called as context.

The characteristic of Thukul's language style is straightforward, concrete, and straightforward, providing a clue to understanding some of the social facts of the New Order era. Another case that becomes the context in Thukul's poetry was President Soeharto's statement to command ABRI to support Golongan Karya Party (Golkar) in the election and his statement which stated that whoever criticizes himself as a president, he has also criticized Pancasila as the state ideology.

'Mulut besar' is a figurative representation of the behavior and mannerisms of people who are arrogant and arrogant. Thukul mentioned the term 'mulut besar' to describe and describe Suharto's personality as a president or proclaimer of the New Order. Historically, when President Soeharto attended a meeting of the leadership of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) held in Pekanbaru on March 27, 1980, Suharto confirmed his statement in front of high-ranking military (Army) officials at the Command headquarters of Sandi Yudha Forces on April 16, 1980 with a sentence "... what criticizes me means criticizing Pancasila". Based on these two statements, it can be seen that Suharto's abuse as the leader of the country in running the wheels of leadership and government freely. Thus, the provision of the term 'mulut besar' by Thukul to President Soeharto as the leader of the New Order can be said to be appropriate in representing and reflecting the personality of an authoritarian leader in President Soeharto.

Thus, Thukul's style in Foucault's point of view contains a strong context built on mutually reinforcing mechanisms of ideas. These ideas can include Thukul's view of the social reality in the New Order era concerning Suharto's authoritarian nature and the social inequality that occurred, Thukul's personality as a folk artist and activist during the New Order era, and Thukul's life experience as a minor, so as to create and reveal in a factual context about the New Order, Thukul does not really consider aspects of rhetoric that can obscure the essence or substance of his poetry. From this, it can be seen that what Foucault calls language, which does not state exactly what is said, contradicts the style of Thukul in his poetry.

CONCLUSION

Word (lexicon) has an emotional bond with Thukul as a writer, poet and activist during the New Order era. Through the words he uses in his poetry, he can reveal a portrait of national and social life during the New Order era. Therefore, Thukul's poetry could anger the rulers at that time, so that he had to become a New Order fugitive through military due to his sharpness of words in his poetry.

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