Ideology and State Apparatus to Create New Order State Power

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Abstract

This research tries to describe how the New Order State Journey to power and perpetuates its power. By applying Althusser's theory of State Apparatus, this study specifically focuses on the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) which were operationalized in the New Order society. Qualitative descriptive research is used to interpret data in books that have researched the "New Order" before. The results of this study indicate that the "New Order" state used ISAs such as political parties, cultural, law, media, and religion. Then, "New Order" state used the RSA such as military and para-military organizations to control and maintain domination within the Indonesian State.

Keywords: New Order State, Ideological, State Apparatus

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mencoba mendeskripsikan bagaimana Perjalanan Negara Orde Baru berkuasa dan melanggengkan kekuasaannya. Dengan menerapkan teori Althusser tentang Aparatur Negara, penelitian ini secara khusus berfokus pada konsep Aparatur Ideologi Negara (ISA) dan Aparatur Negara Represif (RSA) yang dioperasionalkan dalam masyarakat Orde Baru. Penelitian deskriptif kualitatif digunakan untuk menafsirkan data dalam buku-buku yang pernah diteliti "Orde Baru" sebelumnya. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa negara "Orde Baru" menggunakan ISA seperti partai politik, budaya, hukum, media, dan agama.

Kemudian, negara “Orde Baru” menggunakan RSA seperti organisasi militer dan paramiliter untuk mengontrol dan mempertahankan dominasi di dalam Negara Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Negara Orde Baru, Ideologi, State Apparatus

Introduction

The submission of humans over other humans by used the state apparatus as a tool of political-ideological interests that developed during the “New Order” by President Soeharto as the highest military leader. President Soeharto's government has full power over the government of the “New Order” State, The “Old Order” government was led by President Soekarno from 1945 to 1965.

The create of the power of the New Order State who wanted political stability was carried out with "violence" actions practiced by a country with Feith referred to as a repressive create regime which has the character of a hierarchical government in all sector involved the military, economic create was regulated by technocrat and bureaucratic elite with a centralized planning system, conventional democratic institutions, such as political parties and legislatures as well as political forces that exist in a society that was limited in their space of movement and activities (Feith, 1980).

Soeharto's government which was later referred to as the New Order State government gained the legitimacy of power with the publication of Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret (SUPERSEMAR). Supersemar becomes a source of legal legitimacy that was owned by Soeharto to take over the Soekarno government and stabilize the condition of the State in 1966. But, there are many controversy about Soeharto history and Supersemar, although the truth about Supersemar letter has not yet been revealed, in general, researchers take the outline that the beginning of the New Order State was after the existence of the Supersemar.

Political dynamics in 1965-1966 became the basis of historical research in discussing the legitimacy of the power of the New Order State. The occurrence of political chaos between the PKI and the TNI-AD in that era created condition a vulnerable state. Unstable conditions in politics caused the military to have a central role and function (the reason why President Soekarno appointed Pangkopkamtib to bring order to the country). The military is a group of people who have organized with discipline and armed, which later became different from civil society, with the focus for battle and win a war that occurred as the responsibility of the military to defend and maintain the security and safety of the society general and the existence of a State (Muhaimin, 1982).

Political chaos within a period of one year became a very important determinant for the sustain ability of political ideology during the New Order regime. The political create that ruled between 1955-1965 was a fierce battle, between political interests that had a military background, and the PKI in terms of fighting over influence over every decision of the state at that time. The create of political chaos in the 1960s was caused by the PKI as a political party that had a high enough dominance and became a party that was always special by Soekarno.

The vulnerability of the State began on September 30, 1965, which was carried out by the Cakrabirawa Troops, with the tragedy murder of the Indonesian military

figures through a coup by the PKI. The outcome in six people with the rank of general and one with the rank of the captain being killed in the incident. An officer managed to escape the arrest operation, but his daughter became a victim in the tragedy. The PKI's atrocities then continued in Lubang Buaya (Wirantaprawira, 2005).

According to the government, The PKI is considered to be the party responsible for the sole perpetrator of this heinous tragedy, then it is appropriate that hundreds of thousands of PKI members and cadres, wherever they were in their position, must be killed and exterminated quickly and massive. Therefore appropriate that the tragedy that took place on September 30, 1965, was known as the tragedy "G30S/PKI" by emphasizing the "PKI" because the PKI was the sole mastermind in the incident. The proper mention of the tragedy that occurred was "Gestapu" (*Gerakan September Tigapuluh*). The PKI deserved to be dissolved because it carried out two rebellions (1926/1927 and 1948), and has a desire to replace the position of Pancasila ideology with communist ideology in the State. Agree or disagree with the official version of the government, there were many incongruities and confusion unresolved related to the composition of the story about what happened on September 30 and early October 1965. For example, the stigma that the PKI was the mastermind of the coup attempt of 1965, Considering that the PKI was a political organization meanwhile, the key perpetrator in the Gerakan Tiga Puluh September (G30S) included Lieutenant Colonel Untung, Colonel Abdul Latief, and Brigjen Soepardjo were part of the military, in the Indonesian Army unit. It should be noted that the Army in the 1955 General Elections fought fiercely against the PKI. The reason for this was among other things, the increase in PKI's vote acquisition in the 1955 general election the IPKI (Indonesian Independence Supporters Association) was lower. namely a political party supported by the Army. The condition of Indonesia, which political instability has opened up enormous possibilities and flexibility to use violence in the political process of a country. In addition, the reason is because of the skills possessed owned by the military to change the political climate and even get a decisive political role. Because the military is a legitimate state repressive tool. Marked by the formation of Kopkamtib and Bakin. The Command for the Restoration of Security and discipline was obtained from the compromise reached between Soekarno and Soeharto when Soeharto was appointed as the Chief of Staff of the Army with the task of restoring security and discipline. (Crouch, 1986). Moreover with the intelligence coordinating replaced the intelligence center bureau led by Sobandrio and started working in 1967 with one of the tasks of paying attention to the create of ideologies and political parties that had the potential for a communist revival.

Made communist ideology a forbidden ideology in the Indonesian and making the PKI the mastermind who must be responsible for the political chaos of the 1965 GESTAPU, it was the first step of propaganda for made "New Order" state with the pretext of returning the Pancasila ideology as the only ideology in Indonesian. In this case, the "New Order" State launched one form of propaganda by releasing the film "Betrayal of the G30S-PKI" and supported by publishing textbooks for schools by telling the version of the "New Order" government (Vickers, 2005).

Based on the background, the researcher takes an interesting point to study, namely how the New Order State used military power to enter the realm of political

affairs of the New Order government as an effort to perpetuate power. The research questions are: How was the propaganda form of the New Order State to maintain power in the early days of Soeharto's government? This study also uses the time span as the research limitation in 1965-1971. Because during that time period the New Order State had power that was not generated from elections as a democratic process.

Theoretical Framework

Satet Apparatuses of New Order

The New Order State was a country that heavily utilized its state apparatus in carrying out the state political system. This is in line with Hegel's view on the concept of state create, that the change of power must take over full control of every institution that exists in a country, whether political or civil (Sabine, 1981).

State control over existing institutions is specified by Althusser's concept of State apparatuses regarding ISA and RSA in line with the conditions of the New Order State, the State was led directly by the military, namely the Indonesian National Army, the Army as part of the RSA, was the group that won the conflict. that occurred during the transition from the Old Order government to the New Order government.

However, in this case, the researcher does not give identity to the New Order State as a totalitarian state even though the military power was so dominant in the New Order State. However, it focuses more on how the ideology and repressive apparatus work as material for research discussion regardless of the form of the totalitarian state in the New Order State. And also this discussion does not exclude the political economy conditions that occurred at that time, it's just that it is not the main focus of research by researchers.

In discussing ideology, the researcher did not carry out all the parts of the ideological tools that have been defined by Althusser. The ideological discussion that the researcher is trying to describe is carried out on culture, media, and law which are supported by the military power of the State which is used as a tool of the New Order State's power. Thus, the research conducted from 1965 to 1971 can be comprehensive because it shows the form of the activities of the New Order State from the process of taking over power to the process of preserving power by using ideology as a state tool.

In order to maintain complete control of the State, the ideological tools of the state regulate people's lifestyles in detailed regulations to prevent them from making wrong choices. The ideological apparatus of the State is responsible for planning and assigning every person in society to a permanent profession based on the unquestioned decisions of the state. The power system as an agent of the state apparatus that takes on a role in various ways shows dominance over society as long as power runs.

Thus, this journal seeks to show how the dominant State ideological tool as the state apparatus imposes their ideology on society to silence them and bring them to repressive control as it is, as Althusser (1971)said that the domination of the ruling class state brings ideology for agents of exploitation and repression. It is important to reveal the practice of the ideological state apparatus because it is known that social phenomena in real life are somehow represented in the ISA through the

depiction of violence, state power, and several other repressive conflicts among the characters through the operation of Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser, 1971).

Research Methodology

For answer the formulation of the problem in this research, the researcher used a qualitative research approach with the case study method. This research uses secondary data sources.

Data obtained through the results of literacy studies or literature studies, books referred to as data sources are types of books that go through a research process with similar research topics with this research. Such as the research of Hermawan Sulisty (2000) which describes a journey of political parties during the development of the new order, and also like the research of Wijaya Herlambang (2015) which describes the journey of cultural and media development during the new order government.

The data obtained from sources relevant to this research are then processed by testing the data using the data triangulation method, each data source obtained from document searches is matched in order to obtain data objectivity and there is no bias in the data obtained. Then the data that has been tested for objectivity is presented by writing between time which is arranged according to the object of research under study.

Result and Discussion

New Order State and Media

Media is a general definition for radio, television, internet, newspapers, and so on that function for mass communication. It is explained that communication in the ISA which is emphasized through the media can be a great power to control the population (Althusser, 1993: 250). As reflected in the people of the New Order State, people in a country only knew certain sources from written texts. It is illustrated that they do not know the word newspaper or library in society. Information restrictions in the New Order State were very effective in binding the existing ideology in society. The government controls the distribution of information. People in the New Order State only got books that were selected for their reading sources. To be sure, governments have embedded their ideology in all the books their citizens can legally read.

The power of the media has been used by the Indonesian people to carry out political agitation against their readers since the Dutch colonial period. For example, Tirta Adi Suryo described in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's book *Bumi Manusia*, his struggle in building a newspaper media published by Tirta Adi Suryo in Indonesian, containing the political situation that occurred at that time from the point of view of the Indonesian people. 17 August 1903 Tirta Adi Suryo published *Sunda News*. In 1907, Tirta Adi Suryo published *Medan Priyayi* (Dhakidae, 2003). One of the news that was agitated by the power of the media was about the spirit of the Youth Pledge of 1928.

Legislative legitimacy of the state's control over the media after the issuance of Law No. 11 of 1966 concerning the Basic Principles of the Press. In the elaboration mentioned in CHAPTER IX article 20 paragraph, 1 newspaper publishers are required to have two interrelated permits before publishing their news. The two permits are the Publication Permit from the Ministry of Information and the Print

Permit from the Kopkamtib Military Security Institute. If you don't have both permits, a media will legally not be published and if one of the two institutions revokes the license, the media will be closed.

The leading newspapers at that time can be grouped into several categories. First, the radical New Order daily groups, including the student press, *US* and *Indonesian Students Daily*, *Koran Guidelines*, and *Indonesia Raya*. Second, are the leading newspapers with a cautious political stance, such as the Protestant *Sinar Harapan* and the Catholic *Daily Kompas*. Third, are media that have ties to the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, such as *Berita Yudha* and the Armed Forces (both published in 1965) and a newspaper that is part of Golkar, namely *Suara Karya*. Fourth, are radical nationalist newspapers such as *El Bahar*, *Independent*, and the re-formation of the disbanded *Suluh Indonesia*, namely *Suluh Marhaen*. Meanwhile, the aspirations of the Muslims are represented by the media such as *Abadi*, *Jihad*, and *Duta Masyarakat* which is owned by the NU party. The last category is popular and non-political style entertainment newspapers, such as *Pos Kota* which only reports on criminal conditions throughout Jakarta.

How the New Order State ensured that its ideas reached the villages by using the media as a political tool was by carrying out the *Koran Masuk Desa (KMD)* program by Ministry of Information in February 1980. Initially, the government only collected 34 press publications, which reached 43 government publications. provide subsidies for special editions of KMD which contain news about matters that have been regulated by the State. (Junaedhie, 1991:138-139).

Several reports in the print media often show the attitude of the organization to build jargons such as "PWI Working Conference, Breaking Down the Old Order, Fostering the New Order" (*Surabaya Post* 10, October 1966). The slogan emphasized the press's support for the New Order government through PWI. Although PWI itself is a professional organization that was deliberately formed by the New Order State to fully support the state's political policies, including as a means of state control over the press. In addition, the slogan attempted to propagate an anti-Old Order government movement which at that time was considered as part of the obstacle to create. Free and Responsible Press was the jargons of the New Order State to regulate the involvement of the press in translating the political will of the rulers (M Hisyam, 2003). But in reality the political power of the New Order has silenced the freedom of the press to reveal the real political reality.

Another information displayed by the media at that time was to become a create partner for the government. Thus, the media, both printed and electronic, must always support every program of the New Order State government. The full control exercised by the government over the mass media at that time was declared by building the slogan "Freedom of Responsibility", this made all components of the mass media under the full control and power of Soeharto as the leader of the New Order State (Gazali, 2004).

New Order State and Culture

All types of repression carried out by the State, both physically and non-physically, are forms of violence because they will have an adverse effect on the people. Johan Galtung describes one form of violence that occurs in Indonesia as against culture. Galtung explained that the legitimacy of violence directly or

indirectly which is usually carried out by cultural products is also a form of violence. (Galtung, 1969:168).

In general, the way violence against culture works is to change the moral color of action, for example killing for the sake of defending the country is justified and acceptable, but killing for individual reasons is wrong. Another way of violence against culture is to make reality blurry (through language, art, knowledge, and other symbols) so that the phenomenon that occurs can be seen not as a form of violence, or at least we see it as less vile or an acceptable act of violence. (Galtung, 1990:292).^{arme}

The use of short stories as propaganda seems to come from a neutral party because the actors come from artists who explore the ability to make a story in accordance with orders from the New Order State government. The messages contained in the short story seemed to be a pure story from the history of the Indonesian people at that time so that the story contained in the short story was able to be accepted by the community. There were at least six short stories that were very famous at that time with full of manipulative lies, these short stories were published in several Indonesian literary magazines such as *Horison*.

These short stories can be said by Herlambang (2015) as a form of justification for victims of violence by communist groups in Indonesia. For example, a short story with the title "At the Culmination Point", depicts the main character, Soes committing the murder of his brother-in-law Koeslan who is related to the communists, Soes said that what he did was a form of divine light so that communists could be suppressed from the face of the earth. The addition of this sentence of divine light is a crime against language because it includes the element that murder on the grounds of communism is supported by the divine so that the perpetrators of crimes against humanity can be covered up and justified through these short stories. So, did the content of literary works when the New Order State began to lead Indonesia.

As the next example of the short story "Then Perfect My Suffering on Earth", Zulihdah tells of a young communist child whose mother just died last night. Because he was in a very tense condition as a communist child, where an attempted coup was just carried out on September 30, the youth was afraid to tell the public that his mother had died. Then, after having ventured to report to the head of the local area, it turned out that the residents and the head wanted to help the young man to bury his mother. Finally, the young man was very happy and apologized for his family's mistakes in the past had become a communist and promised not to repeat the mistakes of his family (Herlambang, 2015).

In the story as a layman who has been haunted by the fear of murder terrors, when reading the short story it is full of intrigues from the New Order State to provide an understanding that the PKI is a mistake and for people who have made mistakes, the State is still willing to forgive and provide assistance to people who need help regardless of their background. A depiction that is inversely proportional to the actual conditions that occur.

According to Jhon Rossa (2008) that short stories published by the government are a sublimation effort that hides messages that manipulate the reader's perception of violent events that befell the communists (Roosa, 2008).

Apart from short stories, propaganda against Pancasila which is anti-Communism by using culture as a tool of the State to ensure the ideology of the

rulers uses films. The film made by the government shows a story that is far from the truth of what happened. With the title *The betrayal of the G30S/PKI*, which the researcher will describe, what story did the New Order State bring up as its propaganda. In general, this film is the same as the short stories described above, that its main purpose is to cover up the crimes against humanity of 1965-1966 that were committed by the New Order State.

The film by Nugroho Notosusanto about the events of 1965 with the title *Peng betrayal G30S/PKI* was shown with a documentary film as the background. The film also shows the producer's statement that this film is the result of research from testimonies, books, articles, and magazines as well as the testimonies of the victims so that the audience of this film will assume that the film departs from a story that is not a type of fiction film. This is something that must be underlined with the reinforcement tools, the film *Peng betrayan G30S/PKI* is not a fictional film. In the opening of the film, the narrator tries to introduce in line with the image that appears about the reliefs in the Pancasila Sakti museum. This film was made to be dedicated to the victims of the PKI brutality in September 1965 who would betray Pancasila as the only ideology of the Indonesian State. The accusation against the PKI as the only perpetrator on September 30, 1965, has been raised since the beginning of the film.

Then this film is not only to tell a historical tragedy but also to provoke the anger of the Indonesian Muslim community, by describing how the rebels trampled on the holy book *Al-Quran*. The narrator in this film also adds to the impression of dramatization to trigger the audience's anger that Communists are enemies of the State because they do not respect the prevailing religion in Indonesia. The depiction of the generals performing prayers in the mosque and the sound of the *Azan* sound add to the dramatization of this film to provoke the anger of Islamic religious groups (Atmowiloto, 1986).

The film also shows how Aidit held a meeting with his special bureau, namely *sham*, the content the meeting in the meeting was planning to carry out a coup to arrest the general council which was told by *sham* and *aidit* would do a coup.

This depiction clearly illustrates to the audience that the PKI was the sole actor in the uprising that took place on September 30, 1965. This is also where Aidit's depiction as a heavy smoker because it is always shown in the film, meanwhile that condition reverses with Aidit's daily life who never smokes. However, what is an important part of the meetings that appear in the film is that always describing the idea of an attempted coup on September 30 is the agenda of the PKI (Harsutejo, 2003).

New Order State and Law

The legal conditions at the beginning of the power of the New Order State demonstrated and legitimized the violence that preceded it, in the sense that the killings were an important condition for holding trials or for creating new legal products. For example, the PKI was first killed before creating the rules for the prohibition of the PKI in Indonesia. In any political system, the law is a technical instrument to achieve certain political goals. Therefore, the main function of law is to maintain the status quo in any power relation.

In Indonesia, the New Order State adopted a legal system in every create of as a power. The actions of the New Order State against legal recourse in the form of justice against the actors accused of the G30S incident were only for the purpose of imposing punishment. So the law that applies to the New Order State is the result of an agreement between Soeharto and his group. This effort has 3 potential characteristics, all three obey the law of fabrication of events and manipulation to give propaganda testimony.

First, the coup of Soeharto and his accomplices took place behind established legal institutions. Second, the trials carried out were only formal rituals because the New Order State cornered the old regime in court. Third, the trials are the embodiment of the legitimate function of directly terrorizing the victims and terrorizing the wider community. What is meant by legitimacy includes propaganda and ideology. As a process, legitimacy refers to the process of propaganda, agitation, and terror. As an ideological concept, legitimacy provides the view that after all the legal process justifies or validates all policies and actions of the New Order State (Southwood & Flanagan, 2013).

The New Order State had the legitimacy to reach the peak of Indonesia's power in the Printah Letter of March 11, 1966. That legitimacy was given to the threat that occurred so that the State was in an unstable condition. To prevent a civil war, Soekarno gave Soeharto a mandate. Supersemar clearly ordered Soeharto to protect Soekarno and his government. The points contained in supersemar even though until now there are several versions, but in essence as follows:

1. Take all actions deemed necessary for the establishment of security and tranquility as well as stability in the course of the government and the course of the revolution, as well as ensure the personal safety and authority of the president of the supreme commander/major leader of the revolution/mandatary of the MPRS for the sake of the integrity of the nation and the State of the Republic of Indonesia, and implement with certainty all the teachings of the great leaders of the revolution;
2. Coordinate the execution of orders with the commanders of other forces as well as possible;
3. In order to report everything related to their duties and responsibilities as mentioned above (Southwood & Flanagan, 2013).

The steps taken by the New Order State in utilizing the law after obtaining its legitimacy, the simplest was to make legal products retroactive. The intent is to use the law to justify every action that has been taken previously, so that the State's actions become the truth in the eyes of the people, for example, the Presidential Decree 1/3/1966 which officially declared the dissolution of the PKI as a prohibited organization. Although Soekarno had previously refused to disband the PKI even though steps had been taken to disband the PKI since October 1965. Soeharto had given orders to regiment commanders in the regions to dissolve the PKI.

This decree is very important to become a central government document, at least with this decree describes three things in the legal condition of the State of Indonesia at that time directly. First, it becomes a legal agreement for what has been achieved in the massacre. Second, it becomes a retroactive legal basis; against any actions suspected of being involved with the PKI. Third, this decree was an important stage of the coup because it de jure paralyzed one of Soekarno's three NASAKOM foundations (Crouch, 1986).

In every trial process carried out by the New Order State in the early days of Soeharto's leadership, the New Order State began to show its attitude that it wanted to dissolve the Old Order State led by Soekarno. The trial of Soekarno's ministers such as Soebandrio, Jusuf Muda, and Omar Dhani was the same as trying the Soekarno regime. This trial seemed to show a response to the demands of the student movement at various demonstrations demanding that the government immediately dissolve the Soekarno government, and the New Order State government seemed to show its attitude of caring about political issues that its people wanted.

This concept of law worship takes place and is designed in such a way by the New Order State, has the nature of serving certain interests of the ruling elite, at any time and provides illusionary satisfaction according to the expectations of the victims of power relations, this also applies to collaborators. In this case, the worship of the law becomes a protection as well as compensation for situations that cannot be tolerated, such as the PKI rebellion against the State, so that in the trials that occur, it is the worship of the law.

At the trial of the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Subandrio in October 1966, Soekarno was attacked by various kinds of foreign policy actions that were too trusting in the PKI and international cooperation that always rested on the Chinese State. Soebandrio was charged based on the Presidential Decree on Economic Subversion No. 5 of 1959, and Soebandrio was also strongly suspected without evidence that he had handed over classified information from China to Aidit to support the PKI movement which was about to carry out the 1965 coup. One of the records given to Subandrio was the purchase of weapons, and pressure for Indonesia to immediately withdraw its membership from the United Nations. (Southwood & Flanagan, 2013:169).

One other trial process that can serve as an example that the New Order State deliberately used the law as a propaganda ideological tool was the trial of the former Minister of Central Bank Affairs, Jusuf Muda Dalam. He was sentenced to death on charges of subversion, corruption, importing illegal weapons, and increasing the budget for Soekarno's support, and the most absurd accusation of having six wives which are not by applicable Islamic law. (Southwood & Flanagan, 2013:169).

New Order State and Golkar

The government-controlled by the Army group showed its desire to gain power democratically, did not want to be seen as a group that seized Soekarno's power, therefore the New Order Negara government initiated an election that could be scripted by the New Order State Government by not trying to dampen the wishes of the New Order government. political parties within the MPRS who urged for an immediate election to be held at the MPRS session in June and July 1966.

However, the Army at every agenda meeting initiated by the MPRS to discuss election preparations, always stated that the army's approval for the General Election was on the condition that radical organizations other than Pancasila must be ensured defeat, only political parties that uphold Pancasila. who can only win elections (Crouch, 1986).

After the central government established a format called the create order, regional attention was fully absorbed in economic create efforts. This is closely related to the slogan built by the government, economic create first, political

participation later. However, the government still needs political legitimacy, that in 1971, the government decided to hold elections. The dilemma faced is how to keep the elections going but the government needs to create a face for political participation without any real political struggles. On that basis, a series of strategies were carried out by the Army until the determination of only 10 parties to take part in the 1971 elections (Sulistyo, 2000).

The 1971 election could be carried out as a form of the results of the concessions of the New Order State government which wanted the election to be postponed before the election was planned to be held in 1968, but after the achievement of the July 1967 package which was achieved between political parties and the government, it was necessary to do it again. drafting laws that support each outcome of government concessions.

Seeing the government starting to slacken, several high-ranking officers such as Nasution and the Siliwangi Commander Dharsono showed their disapproval and proposed holding a district system election. political parties and build a dual party system, so that the existing political parties merge into only two political parties. The government does not support dharsono's proposal, but the West Java area may be a bit easier to do because this area was a former Masjumi base which Masjumi was later disbanded during its rebellion, not necessarily other areas such as Central Java and East Java would agree because it is clear that the base is large. there were formerly parties that supported Soekarno, such as PNI and NU. (Muhammad Hisyam, 2003).

In early 1969 a two-group system suddenly appeared in local representative councils in several districts in West Java, due to pressure exerted by the army who did not follow Dharsono's wishes. Dharsono's violent methods eventually collided with the central government which was garnering support and cooperation from every political party, Dharsono was finally asked by the central government to stop his efforts in promoting a two-party system after the centralized political parties protested. This incident provided an opportunity to divide the New Order militant group which previously Kemal Idris had been transferred to Makassar as Regional Commander for Eastern Indonesia, dharsono was then appointed as Indonesian Ambassador to Bangkok, thus efforts to form a party without the old party split (Crouch, 1986).

Conclusion

This journal shows an outline of the propaganda pattern carried out by the New Order State in its efforts to gain power. If the New Order State was always described as a militaristic and authoritarian system of government, this study takes the other side of looking at the New Order State as a whole.

Tabel 1.

Ideological State Apparatus in Soeharto's Regime		
Media	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Permit issued from the Ministry of Information 2. print license from Kopkamtib 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Each print media must obtain a publishing permit from the Ministry of Information 2. Each print media must obtain permission from Kopkamtib <p>These two conditions after the state</p>

		issued UU No 11 of 1966 on the basic principles of the press.
Culture	1. Short story publishing 2. Film publishing	1. Some short stories are published as state propaganda tools to build the image of government Soeharto such as "Pada Titik Kulminasi", "Telah Sempurna Penderitaan Saya di Muka Bumi " 2. The film was screened as a government propaganda tool such as "G-30S/PKI"
Law	1. Surat Perintah 11 Maret (Supersemar) 2. Manipulation of the court	1. The letter was used as Suharto's legitimacy to gain the highest power in Indonesia. 2. Suharto's government manipulated the trial of PKI figures indicated subversively.
Political Party	Golongan Karya	Golongan Karya became Suharto's political tool to gain power with the democratic system (General Election).

Source: Processed by Researcher

In general, it is inevitable that any research on the New Order State Regime will always lead to militaristic discussions. However, the researcher in this thesis adopts a theoretical approach that is rarely found in research on the New Order State. Every instrument of State ideology used underwent changes before the New Order era came to power and after the New Order State regime was destroyed.

The state during the reign of the New Order State severely restricted freedom of expression in the media space which greatly intimidated the press with the KOPKAMMTIB whose authority was always in the ideological space. permission from KOPKAMTIB. KOPKAMTIB here is the embodiment of Althusser's concept of the Repressive State Apparatus. A state tool used by the dominant power of the Army for state security and not only security but to penetrate the boundaries of military functions in a country. For example, the ideological control of political parties that will follow the 1971 general election is closely monitored. In addition to Pancasila, KOPKAMTIB issued a ban on the spread of Bung Karno's teachings. It is not only the discussion of the mass killings of PKI cadres, members and sympathizers that is the discussion of repression in this thesis.

The subsequent legitimization of power was carried out by means of ideology in the form of political parties, carried out with repressive tools of the New Order State which ultimately caused the New Order State to legitimize its power, namely the 1971 General Election through its political tools, the Political Party Group, the Work Group which won a landslide victory in its first contestation in the general election. Golkar's victory in the 1971 general election was an engineering democratization that got rid of many major parties such as the PNI and NU. A victory that led the New Order State to achieve lasting power in every upcoming election which GOLKAR continues to win.

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