

Anarcho Movement Against State Capitalism as A Form of Political Antagonism

(Case Study of Anarcho Syndicalist Direct Action on Mayday 2019)

Shinta Ressmy Cakra Ningrat
Medium Politik, Banten, Indonesia
sressmy@gmail.com

Nanang Suryana
Indonesian Politics Research and Consulting
nsuryana@iprc.co.id

ABSTRACT

Anarchism is a new tool of struggle for society, especially anarcho syndicalist is an alternative form of mass struggle which concentrates on the labor group as the pillar of the liberation teacher and is considered a philosophy of the workers. This is at least evidenced by the Mayday 2019 direct action. The anarchism movement itself is a representation of the political antagonism movement. This journal uses two main theories. First, Cheryl Simrell King & Camila Stivers's theory states that political antagonism is part of the representation of a vehicle for counter-state movements. Second, the theory used is the theory put forward by Mikhail Bakunin regarding the concept of freedom. This study uses qualitative research methods with primary and secondary data.

Keywords: *Anarchism, Anarcho-Syndicalist, Political Antagonism, Mayday*

Background

Recently, Indonesia has again received a new pattern of movement that is considered disturbing. The movement is known as Anarchy based on the notion of Anarchism. This understanding and movement did not originate from Indonesia. It is not surprising that there is concern about these "newcomers". The momentum of international labor day also bridges the expansion of the ideology of Anarchism. Many media, both national and international, reported on the incident.

Anarchism cannot be separated from the theory and practice of political antagonism. These two things are like two sides of a coin. This is very contrary to the constitutional principles that have been adhered to by many people.

What most people think about "Anarchy" or "Anarchism" will always end up with statements about "brutal", "riots", "riots", "chaos" and all other negative and destructive stereotypes. Especially in Indonesia, anarchism is more closely defined as a movement that destroys democracy.

In fact, anarchism is considered as the ideal concept of freedom and the most practical harmony between humans and each other as well as between humans and other subjects such as nature, the environment and so on.

Meanwhile, syndicalist anarchism is an alternative form of mass struggle that concentrates on the labor group as the pillars of liberation. So, what is the real meaning of anarchism is an ideology that contains ideas about anti- state, anti-fascism and anti-authoritarian discourses so that it is legitimate if they demand the abolition of the system and this understanding is considered as an absolute and pure implementation of democracy but places itself as a form of political antagonism even though it understands. it thrives in democracies.

Then why do adherents of anarchism make a pattern of movement against the system and against the state? Anarchists argue that the state is a form of oppressive institution. Therefore, the conception of the system and the state must be immediately abolished by means of revolution. Based on these basic facts, this journal was tried to be made and compiled. The main purpose of the preparation of this journal is as an effort to straighten out the historical meaning that has developed previously. This journal will explain how at least anarchism has developed in Indonesia. In addition, the author will explain about the role of anarchism in the movement of society which is considered as a contradiction of the state system that adheres to capitalism.

The anarcho movement itself is a form of implementation of political antagonism. Political antagonism can simply be interpreted as a vehicle for the counter-state movement or anti-state movement. Political antagonism is a form of antithesis rather than a pre-existing thesis. Furthermore, the research question is how the understanding of anarchism can grow and develop in Indonesia and how the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in its movement in the laborsector, especially in the Mayday 2019 direct action.

This is a fundamental question as well as a research question in this journal. Thus, the writer tries to formulate the problem as follows; First, why is the movement with anarchism considered so negative? Second, what is the pattern of movement carried out by Anarcho-Syndicalists in direct action in the face of State Capitalism as a common enemy. And third, what are the movement patterns created in the Mayday 2019 live action?

Literature Review

The literature review that the author uses is a book entitled "The War We Won't Win (Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial Movement to the Indonesian Revolution of 1908-1948" by Bima Satria Putra, a writer from Salatiga who studies anarchism, feminism, ecology and history. Bima explained about the history of anarchism and the anarchism movement that is developing today in Indonesia.

Research related to the anarchism movement in Indonesia has previously been discussed in Ferdi Fachrudin Putra's thesis from Gadjah Mada University which was written in 2011. The author reviews the anarchist group movement in Bandung and Yogyakarta during 1999-2010.

In his writing, the author conveys how groups of anarchism can emerge and survive until then.

The relation of previous writings with this research is to see the relevance of the anarchism movement in Indonesia which is developing. In addition, a historical review is needed to see the pattern of the development of anarchism in Indonesia.

This journal uses two main theories. First, the theory of Cheryl Simrell King & Camila Stivers in 1998 which states that political antagonism is part of the representation of a counter-state movement which is believed to be an anti-state movement. In simple terms, political antagonism can be seen as a movement that represents a voice that is not accommodated by the state. Second, the theory used is the theory put forward by Mikhail Bakunin regarding the concept of freedom. Mikhail Bakunin rejects the state system of power and rejects all forms of hierarchical authority (Bakunin, 1882). These beliefs cannot be separated from the interrelated concepts: (1) freedom; (2) socialism; (3) federalism; (4) antitheism; (5) materialism. (Chomsky, 2009).

Method

The method used in this study is a qualitative method with primary data sources and secondary data. Data were obtained through interviews and literacy studies, both from books, journals, official websites of anarchist groups and other scientific and valid secondary data.

The research was carried out in several places such as the action in the field on Mayday 2019 (Jakarta), the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, the Banten Regional Library, the Untirta Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Library and other information assistance through internet access and online library pages.

Result and Discussion

Anarchism and the Class Struggle

Karl Marx in the Manifesto of the Communist Party part I stated that, "the history of mankind is the history of class struggle". The author cannot disagree with this statement. Not without reason, indeed in the existing reality, humans are divided into social classes (or what we usually know as strata) that are hierarchical in form and contradict each other and cannot be reconciled (antagonistic).

Historical facts recorded in the development of the world, several big countries agreed on the existence of classes, for example the ancient Romans who believed in the existence of the noble class, the knight class, to the commoners and slaves. The term class is used to distinguish people based on their wealth class. At least that's what thinkers like Marx and Engels did. In the 16th century, class as a social idea referred to the working class or the working poor.

Class refers to the economy class, especially how much and how the income is obtained (Foster, 1990).

The class struggle itself will exist if there is awareness in these classes. Just as Marx divides class consciousness into two. First, the class itself or the atomized working class, namely the consciousness of workers who believe that they are the working class, nothing more. Second, a class for itself. In this second class, there is an awareness of its social gap with the capitalist which is antagonistic so that it is necessary to destroy the capital class. Not only as the liberation of his own people but the liberation of all mankind (Christman, 1987).

The greater the awareness and power of the working class, the more capable it is of creating a real class struggle. First, the class struggle is carried out by individual workers to continue in the workplace and form trade unions which are used as a tool for the class struggle itself in dealing with individual capital. The workers' attacks refer to the instruments of production, such as destroying machines which they value as rivals to human power.

While in the shadow of anarchism, society wins the class struggle must be egalitarian and of course without the previously described class capable of causing social inequality. Thus, countries that are considered destructive must be abolished. Anarchism holds that human beings are a harmonious unity and this unity means no longer being segmented.

Thus anarchism wants a society that can associate spontaneously in order to realize the needs and interests that exist collectively. It can be concluded that segmented classes will gradually create social inequality. The social gap in the end is able to bring class awareness and lead to class promotion. The class struggle referred to by the left is the existence of an antagonistic resistance to capital. This will lead to anarcho's desire to abolish the state as a form of destruction of the domination of power over society.

History of World Anarchism

The anarcho-syndicalist movement itself is an anarchist movement that is segmented into the labor movement in its base. The spread of the workers' movement through early socialist ideas led to a trend which had a very clear connection with revolutionary syndicalism (Rockers, 2017).

This trend first developed in England, which was then famous for being the first lady of large capitalist industry and for a time had a profound effect on Britain's more advanced working class. After the repeal of the Union Act, workers' efforts were directed to give trade union organizations a broader character. The workers at that time had no other goal than to demand an immediate improvement in their economic status.

The long journey of Anarcho-syndicalists can be seen from thinkers such as Gerald Winstanley and William Goldwin who spread anarchism in the 17th and 18th centuries. Winstanley through *The New Law of Righteousness* published in 1648 which is a pamphlet containing the basis of thought from the Book of the Apostles (Book of Acts),

especially in paragraphs 44-45 which reads, "all believers will sell their property and goods and distribute them to those in need."

Then through this verse Wistanle argues that when God created the earth, not a single word was said about mankind having power over others, but it was the selfish imagination that made humans feel they could rule and rule over others (Kennedy, 2019). Meanwhile, Godwin, who was a political economist, in 1793 published a book entitled *Inquiry Concerning Political Justice* which contained the definitive form and concepts regarding the political economy of anarchism (Kennedy, 2019).

Only after that, entering the middle of the 18th century, other thinkers and intellectual actors began to emerge who discussed anarcho-syndicalism as a more coherent discourse and with a more systematic foundation. Thinkers such as Joseph Pierre Proudhon (1809-1865), Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921). These three thinkers from Germany, Russia and France spread their ideas directly to the working class.

Anarchism in world history has its own story. Call it the syndicalist revolutionary movement (1910-1914), the Mexican revolution, the anarcho resistance in Cuba, the struggle in Korea against Japanese and US imperialism, all three of which took place after the second world war.

In the period 1931-1937 the working class in Spain sparked the formation of the Spanish Republic. At that time, the anarchists were able to push back the fascists, as they had done before in Catalonia. An example of the working-class democracy movement in Spain then had a positive impact on the working class in Russia who felt increasingly uncomfortable with the totalitarian regime.

Then later on the day which was later commemorated as International Labor Day or Mayday there was the Haymarket incident. The American Federation of Labor at that time had called for a mass strike on May 1, 1886, to fight for the 8-hour workday. In Chicago, the anarchist movement was the strongest supporter of this event. Furthermore, eight anarchists were executed as a form of warning to other anarchists. However, the event can be commemorated throughout the years and history as a moment of unification of the working forces around the world.

History of Anarchism in Indonesia

In its history in Indonesia, Anarchism developed during the Dutch colonial period. Edward Douwes Dekker or commonly known as Multatuli criticized Dutch policies through works of art, speeches and articles that attacked the Dutch when he worked for the Dutch government in 1842-1856. As a result, these messages had an influence on the working anarchists and syndicalists in the Netherlands (Welcker, 1992).

Multatuli's grandson, Ernest Francois Eugene Douwes Dekker who is a mixture of Europe and Indonesia, also expressed his resistance to the Dutch government. In the *Het Tidschrift* magazine published by E.F.E Douwes Dekker since 1911 in Java, articles with radical thoughts from foreign authors were published,

including the Indian anarchist Dar Hayal. These critical writings contain about restrictions on work rights in Europe and its distrust of parliamentary democracy which is considered useful as a way to create a classless society, both economically, socially and politically (Djik, 2007).

In his writings, they agreed to use revolutionary methods of violence, although the proposed revolutionary path was not always violent. In February 1913, he publicly wrote against the Dutch government. This is based on a system that contains the nature of inequality, injustice, privileges obtained by the authorities and the assessment that colonialism is a form of tyranny. E.F.E Douwes Dekker chose demonstrations, agitation, resistance, strikes, boycotts and revolutions as methods of struggle (Djik, 2007).

During the first World War, in Surabaya, there was a rebellion carried out by the Union of Soldiers and Sailors from May 1916 to November 1918. They criticized the treatment of superiors to poor nutrition and health services as well as the lack of hygiene levels. This action is also a form of anger over the war. In addition, according to the written document, this action was influenced by the hegemony of Social-Democracy and apart from this hegemony, this action was also influenced by the notion of anarchism. Because, in the local newspaper Soerabaijasch Nieuwsblad mentioned that "there was a sailor with clear anarchist ideas" and tried to convince his colleagues not to stop the lawlessness which led to clashes and repression with the police and the arrest of the organizers of the movement and the dismissal of 47 sailor (Blom, 2004).

In addition, Chinese anarchists who were in the Dutch East Indies also communicated with anarchists in China, the Philippines to English Malaya (Malaysia). Then they spread their ideas through political associations against the Dutch and Chinese authorities. In addition, they also convey their ideas through newspapers such as Hoa Tok Po and Soematra Po (Claver, 2014).

Meanwhile, in the modern era, it emerged after the collapse of the New Order. The forerunner of the anarchism movement as a political movement emerged when several people (punk youth groups) who came from Bandung and joined the People's Democratic Party (PRD) which at that time was considered a major force to overthrow the New Order. The first generation of anarchism in Indonesia came from those who defected from the People's Democratic Party and felt disappointed with the way the party was fighting and felt discriminated against by the treatment of other party members towards those who hold anarchist views.

The Political Struggle of Anarchism in Its Development

As explained in the previous sections, anarchism is an understanding that believes in the abolition of classes and opposes all forms of hierarchical state structures and oppressive power systems. Anarchism is an ideology that opposes the existence of capitalism or the control of the means of production by a few people.

The goal of anarchism itself is to satisfy and fulfill the needs of all members of society and no longer see the special interests of a few people who are considered special from social unity. In replacing the organization of the state, anarchists want a federation of free communities united by common economic and social interests and regulate all their affairs through collective agreements and free employment contracts. Anarchists also argue that the means of production must be seized and controlled by the masses equally (Rockers, 2017).

The existence of class abolition is due to the fact that the state is destructive to anything; individual freedom, social movements, nature and the environment to democracy and that's why the anarchism movement is a form of political antagonism. Anarchists assume that anarchism is a form of implementing real democracy because it is carried out directly with egalitarian principles and without any hierarchy or structure.

By some, anarchism is seen as a new tool of liberation for society as a whole. In various regions, this understanding spread widely. Call it Yogyakarta, Medan, Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya to Makassar. They spread this understanding in a simple way, starting from the creation and dissemination of zines containing propaganda and anarchism discourses to the idea of rejecting the existence of the system and the state.

In Yogyakarta, they carry out an organizing pattern that tends to be unique. Besides, together with the community, they rejected the eviction by Angkasa Pura, which then turned the local residents' land into the New Yogyakarta International Airport, they also carried out a pattern of organizing and expanding their ideology through a sovereign economic system that was managed collectively. AOA space is one of the cafes located in the center of Yogyakarta. This cafe applies a very democratic and socialist system in its management. Everyone who works there will work according to their abilities and will get results according to what has been done. More than that, the egalitarian principle is very much applied in the café. For example, a barista can work as well as an operator. Likewise gardeners can learn how to be a barista.

Quoting from the AOA space website about their working concept, "There are no more investors or capitalists who take profit from our sweat and enrich themselves through the accumulation of these profits. No more bosses have the right to decide everything, fire workers, reduce salaries, punish workers just because the boss has the capital."

In Jakarta, in addition to the massive dissemination of ideology through zines and other forms, they are campaigning for the Foods Not Bombs movement. This movement is a movement to distribute food and vegetables to those who are considered to have poor economic capacity. The Foods Not Bombs movement has also been applied by anarchism movements in other parts of the world.

Then shifting to Salatiga, there is the Libertarian Student Federation (FML) which is active in campaigning for the anarchism movement through the dissemination of ideas in writing. In addition, there is also a discussion study circle run by Salatiga students. Call it Bima Satria Putra who has published several books and focuses on the discourse of anarchism.

Uniquely, each region has one common method of struggle, namely the existence of a Street Library that has taken the road as a literacy movement in the region. Street Libraries are more widely spread in various regions because of their very flexible movement, of course this library provides various literacy materials that have been difficult to access in libraries owned by educational institutions or government owned, for example, books containing discourses of the left movement.

Then what distinguishes syndicalists from other leftist movements is that the anarcho-syndicalist movement represents a revolutionary philosophy that was conceived, born and developed in the struggles experienced by the workers themselves. So that some figures of anarchism themselves call it the philosophy of the workers.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Live Action Movement on Mayday 2019

Anarcho-syndicalism in Indonesia itself strongly opposes state capitalism. State capitalism is an economic system in which the means of production are controlled by the state. Workers actually work for the owner of the means of production. The main problem is that the means of production are no longer purely controlled by the state.

The means of production change hands to the investors, which means they are private parties. The policy carried out by the private sector reflects the principle of capital itself, which is to issue the smallest amount of capital and get as much profit as possible.

This is considered to provide an oppressive production pattern or relation. the reason is that workers are forced to work more than 8 hours a day without paying attention to the welfare index of the workers themselves. Many private companies do not provide proper health insurance or pay benefits that are in accordance with the hours of production. These normative matters are opposed by most trade unions, including the anarcho-syndicalist movement itself.

The pattern of movement carried out by anarcho-syndicalists at the Mayday 2019 action is to hold collective action. Anarchist groups took action in several areas such as big cities. Call it the capital city of Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Malang and other areas in Indonesia. The hundreds of people carrying red and black flags and flags bearing the anarcho symbol (the letter A with a circle on the outside) were dressed in all black and wore face coverings. This has become the hallmark of the mass action. Uniquely, the masses of action are able to organize themselves. The actions of the mass anarchist groups included marking buildings and roads with pictures and writings of resistance using black and red spray paint.

Regardless of the pattern of movement that anarchist groups do, many parties do not agree with the way anarchist groups act. They argue that carrying out acts of vandalism is no better than state behavior which they have considered destructive. Meanwhile, the anarchist group has a different opinion regarding the vandalism.

They judged that they spoke a language the country could easily understand. They consider that sometimes violence is the way to go, considering that the path of revolution in the future, they agree, cannot be separated from the path of violence itself.

Most of the resistance calls also contained demands in the action, such as the demand for 8 hours of work in a day. In addition to demands for working hours, the anarcho-syndicalists also demand menstrual leave and maternity leave for female workers. This is because many companies have not realized the regulation, even though the regulation is clearly stated in the Manpower Regulation.

Moreover, they also demanded lewd behavior of the union elite. However, this demand also sparked problems with other union members. This should be used as a member's evaluation of the union elites themselves.

Thanks to the actions taken, anarchist groups in several areas received repressive measures from the authorities. As was the case in Bandung, about 600 more mass protesters who were arrested were subjected to repressive treatment. They were shaved, stripped naked, painted with spray paint and forced to carry out the punishment given by the authorities.

This triggered a variety of responses. Some people think that this is what they deserve as a result of the acts of vandalism they did and as a form of providing a deterrent effect so as not to disturb the community in the future. However, some others think that the repressive treatment of the apparatus has seriously injured human rights. The actions of these officers constitute a violation of human rights that cannot be tolerated.

On this basis, it is a rational choice if the anarchist group chooses a path to be hostile and even tends to agree with the abolition of the system and the state. This is due to the destructive nature of the system and state. In fact, Tito Karnavian's discourse to provide guidance to this group is an attempt to dwarf an ideology. Coaching will hinder the process of development and movement of the anarcho-syndicalist itself. Ideology will continue to work, forms of repression will only increase the spirit of resistance and struggle of the anarchist group itself.

CONCLUSION

The result of this scientific journal research is that the anarcho-syndicalist group is not a new ideology like the framing that the media has been saying. Furthermore, anarchism is not an ideology that works by means of violence and other destructive properties. Anarchism is also a harmonious unity both between humans and with other subjects such as the environment and the universe.

The anarcho movement itself is a form of implementation of political antagonism. Political antagonism can simply be interpreted as a vehicle for the counter-state movement or anti-state movement. Political antagonism is a form of antithesis rather than a pre-existing thesis.

What is the enemy of anarchism in this case is state capitalism in which the power of resources and production resources is controlled by a few people, and this is of course legitimized by the state. The state in this case is the institution that has agreed to and legalized the exploitation of the working class.

Anarchism is seen as a new tool of liberation for society as a whole. In various regions, this understanding spread widely. Call it Yogyakarta, Medan, Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya to Makassar. They spread this understanding in a simple way, starting from the creation and dissemination of zines containing propaganda and anarchism discourses to the idea of rejecting the existence of the system and the state.

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