

Human Rights And The New Order Regime; A Critical Discourse Analysis Towards The Novel "Laut Berceperita"

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ABSTRACT (Book Antiqua 11pt, bold, italic, capital)

The purpose of this research was to analyze, compare, and reconstruct the reality of human rights abuses in the last decade of the new order. Prior to the collapse of the New Order dictatorship, there were anomalies in the kidnapping and forced disappearance of student activists. The analysis of literary works in the form of novels becomes the subject of inquiry in order to see the specifics of human rights abuses that occur as a result of power practices. The study employs state power theory and human rights conventions in order to develop new knowledge for authors and readers through the application of a critical paradigm with three levels of examination. The author used a descriptive research approach in this study, which involves analyzing conversation using the Norman Fairclough model. Manuscript documents were used to collect data, which was subsequently examined using reading and note-taking procedures. Novels, as literary works, can disclose details of an event that are not adequately described in news reports; in this situation, literary works such as novels can also serve as an alternate channel for conveying event critique. The novel "Laut Berceperita" was examined using the analytical technique to determine how the New Order was depicted, the link between the state and society, and how the New Order was identified. Human rights abuses are attempts to keep power under the guise of national security and order.

Keywords: *Human Right Violation, New Order, Critical Discourse Analysis*

Background

Who does not recognise The New Order with its mighty regime power? The downfall of The Old Order power led by President Soekarno signifies the emergence of new power. Nobody knows it was for better or for worse. It is clear that this new power is, known as The New Order, is notoriously authoritarian, even since the beginning of its leadership. Soeharto's regime was popular with its patron-client, controlling for 32 years between 1966 and 1998. This regime is notoriously bad, but it is undeniable that its goodness is attached to our memory.

Modern Indonesian history records that this country has experienced two of the most significant socio-political and economic events in 1966 and 1998. On the first note, historiography has changed three times, to be exact pre-1971, during the consolidation of the New Order and post-1998. Second, historiography is even still at the stage of making (in the making) accompanied by the ongoing fight of political discourse. Then in order to maintain their consolidation of power, The New Order through Kopkamtib eliminated all sources of G-30-S materials (Widjojo, 1999).

The phrase truth and reconciliation indicates that the term “truth” lies ahead of reconciliation (Kurniawan, 2014). This shows that this one is an absolute requirement for the other one. That is what those perpetrators of the 1998 kidnapping of activists and supporters of the riots and enforced disappearances should have done. Reconciliation cannot begin with denial but must begin with recognition. However, the reality is inversely proportional. The perpetrators and supporters of the action are busy denying and defending themselves while propagandising development.

This research makes literature work as the object of research because it contains how a regime acts repressively, causing political conflicts, to the point they are committing grave human rights violations that have not been resolved until now. The series of political conflicts and human rights violations spread through this novel became a turning point for researchers and finally focused on those parts. Human Rights (HAM) and its violations will be primary data material that strengthens the research process with this discourse analysis.

Through the discourse analysis technique, the reality of political conflicts that occurred during The New Order will be built and associated with the theory of the State of power published by Thomas Hobbes. Human rights violations that occurred for 32 years will be seen through the data presented in this study. This research seeks to fill the void of previous research and help readers understand how the new Order regime is from other points of view. Because this research will trace the political conflicts that occur at the bottom level and hide until the narrative that formed is only a disaster statement made by the ruler.

Based on the explanation above, some questions that later become problems in this study emerged, there are:

1. How is human rights violation by The New Order regime displayed in the first part of the Novel “Laut Bercerita”?
2. How is the relationship between the State and its people in the first part of the Novel “Laut Bercerita”?
3. How is The New Order identified and featured in the first part of the Novel “Laut Bercerita”?

Literature Review

Concept of a Country and Power

Quoting from Quinton, Franz Magnis-Suseno explains the word “Negara”, which has the same meaning as “staat” in German and “state” in English, has two meanings. First, the State is a society or territory in political unity. Second, the State is a centralised institution that guarantees and organises political unity to power the territory (Magnis-Suseno, 1987: 204). The ideal State for Plato contains injustice against humans because Plato excluded all individuals in the concept of his State to maintain legal interests, Lowith (1967:240) quoted by Budiman (1996:8). Aristoteles, as described by Schmid (1965:31) and quoted by Budiman (1996:8-9), mentions that the State also controls humans. The whole determines the parts. Thus, it can be concluded that the State is a centralised institution or organisation and is in a specific territory. The State also controls the people in its territory and has the right to exercise control through the regulations or laws it makes. The State, in this case, is coercive, monopolised, and covers the entirety, whether the territory, society, or its regulations.

Power becomes one of the supporting variables in the political system. Power is considered a way of achieving something desired. Max Weber, in his book entitled *Wirtschaft und Gessellshaft* (1922), as quoted by Budiardjo (2008: 60), formulated:

Power means any ability in social relationships to enforce somebody’s will, even put up a fight, regardless of the basis of this opportunity.

Power is divided into two forms: power held through clear signals called manifest power and power that does not give signals or is commonly called implicit power. Power has the essence that is usually the right to sanction. The way it is organised is undoubtedly different. The effort that is considered the most powerful is by physical violence. In addition to physical violence, according to Suhelmi (2001), power can also be exercised through coercion or threats that then cause sanctions. Another way is by persuasion, and this method is considered more lenient because, through a convincing process, the ruler uses this method so that his power is not too prominent. (Budiardjo, 2008:61).

Human Rights

Human rights are considered rights owned and attached to every human being as its nature. The preamble to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights 1966 states that these rights stem from the dignity and dignity inherent in human beings. This right is fundamental because it is fundamental and necessary for humans to develop and be considered universal. After all, all human beings have regardless of differences. Understanding human rights explain that the right cannot be eliminated or declared invalid, even by the State. Because it does not recognise that right as human rights, it does not fully recognise human dignity. Human rights include detailing, operationalising, and respecting human dignity as concrete rights that allow and prohibit human behaviour from respecting other human rights.

Human rights can be ignored or violated by the State in many ways, but human rights never are considered invalid. Every State shall respect and guarantee these human rights.

Human rights are the most ethical and legal; it covers individuals, even groups that are weak against mighty forces in modern society. Human rights are universal because they apply to all human beings without seeing any differences. This universality is explained in Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (DUHAM) PBB 1948 (2006), which states:

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms enshrined in this Declaration with no exception whatsoever, such as distinction of race, colour, gender, language, religion, politics, or any other view, national origin or association, property, birth or other position."

From what is stated above, it is clear that human rights cannot be bargained, but respect for human rights must also not be excessive; it must be balanced. Because it is the basis of justice and cultured humanity, this does not mean that human rights cannot be restricted; human rights can be limited in certain situations and conditions. However, this restriction can only be carried out and declared valid if specified in the constitution and approved by the people's representatives; the validity period is temporary. In addition, human rights can be restricted in the event of tensions between the two human rights. Human rights in a democratic country believe that the government is under the people's rule and people self-govern its government. One of the rights is the right to protection. The State must provide some services to the community, especially the right of law protection, equal treatment in front of the law, any violation that is not allowed, and the right that guarantees justice in the courts.

Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough

According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2007: 45), who quoted Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, discourse theory is used to understand social phenomena through the construction of discourse analysed using discourse analysis tools. Since social phenomena are never considered complete, discourse theory is suitable for use as a theoretical basis for different social constructionist approaches in discourse analysis.

Every statement that is made is an action to create meaning. Therefore, discourse analysis is used to reveal the meaning and reality. The third view corrects the view of constructivism that does not put the process of production and reproduction of meaning as points of concern. This view is called a critical view. A.S. Hikam in Buku Bahasa dan Kekuasaan (1996:77) writes that this critical view is born from an earlier view that does not see closely related power relations in discourse and forms the type of subject and its behaviour. This critical paradigm emphasises the analysis of how a constellation of forces occurs during discourse production and reproduction of meaning. A critical view defines language as a neutral subject representing a particular subject. Therefore, a discourse will see that language is always involved in power relations, such as the formation of subjects and other actions that are representations. This paradigm is then referred to as critical discourse analysis.

The critical approach seeks to present a reality that hides facts behind the visible display, so this study used a framework of critical discourse analysis from Norman Fairclough (Badara, 2014: 7).

Norman Fairclough based his analysis on the relationship between the micro-scope of the text and a more macro-context society. His point of concern is how to see language as a practice of power. A thorough analysis will reveal the ideological content carried by language users. The focus on this analysis is formed and naturally formed into a relationship model with a particular social context, which then integrates discourse analysis based on linguistics, social change and socio-political thinking. Fairclough refers to language as a social practice, not just an individual activity or reflection of something. Fairclough's view involves several things, namely discourse as a form of action, especially as an embodiment when looking at the world or reality. This analysis model also involves the reciprocal relationships between discourses in social structures.

Fairclough, in his book quoted by Eriyanto (2001: 286), separates discourse analysis into three dimensions they are text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. There are three problems Fairclough describes in his analysis. First, it refers to a particular ideational or explanation that you want to highlight in the text without infrequently conveying ideological content. Second, a relationship that explains the relationship between discourse and the reader. Third, identity refers to the formation of the identity of the language wearer, how the language user identifies and places himself and the reader to be displayed in the text. These three problems were analysed using linguistic elements that looked at vocabulary, semantics, and phrasing, as well as coherence and cohesivity.

The first dimension, the discourse practice, describes how text is created and obtained a response. Sociocultural practice relates to the macro context outside the text, the relationship between two or more elements in the text, such as the relationship between the media and a particular society or culture and politics.

Before analysing the two dimensions, the order of discourse or relationships between different types, it is necessary to first look at the practice of the ideality of the language user. It also establishes how a text is interpreted, how the process of a text is produced, and how the text describes a social context.

Method

This study is a descriptive study with a qualitative approach. Qualitative research aims to understand social phenomena that occurred at that time from the point of view of critical discourse analysis, such as political conflicts and human rights violations. Descriptive research here is a type of research that will analyse a discourse. This discourse contains human rights violations of the New Order Regime, and descriptive research will also present a complete picture of social settings and clarification of a phenomenon or social reality.

This research focuses on analysing discourses that contain elements of political conflict and human rights violations during the New Order. The focus of the research subject is part one of the novel *Laut Bercerita* called *Biru Laut*, which tells the parts of political conflict and human rights violations of the New Order era.

This research uses a narrative study approach. It is used because the study focuses on narratives and descriptions of a series of events related to the human experience, particularly cases of forced disappearances of people during the New Order. The data in this study was collected through three stages, namely library studies and historical tracing, reading and recording techniques, and in-depth interviews. The analysis will be done through the data collected by linking text analysis at the micro-level with macro-social context analysis. Data analysis is done through three stages, namely description, interpretation, and explanation to see how the text is discussed and what meaning is implied, see the forms of discourse practices during the process of text production and consumption, and look at sociocultural practices in the society in which the text is produced. In the final stage, the data will be validated through theoretical triangulation techniques, source triangulation, and reference adequacy techniques to minimise the emergence of comprehension bias.

Result and Discussion

Novel Analysis of Laut Bercerita

1. Representation

Representation becomes one of the crucial elements that will explain how a group, action, or event is featured in the novel *Laut Bercerita*. The representation will look at how political conflicts and human rights violations during the New Order are featured in the novel through this research. Quotes that will represent these things. In this chapter, the author believes that political conflicts and human rights violations have been in force since the beginning of the New Order regime. This is illustrated in the representation of the sub-episode on Chudori (2017) pages 25, 26, and 48 through the use of passive verbs that describe actors as victims in an event.

“About seven people interrogated one by one and slapped, doused in water, stripped naked” (page 25)

“Policewomen interrogated Mira and me. We were not stripped naked, but they were screaming right before our ears. They asked who our leaders were, inciting the people to fight back. That is the language of those officers,” Kinan said. (page 26).

“I am just being pessimistic. Our friends who only discussed Mr Pram’s work are now imprisoned; how can we hope that the prisoners and their families will get the justice they deserved, name rehabilitation, and recovery for their souls? Not only Mr Razak but the millions of victims who were murdered from 1965 to 1966...” (page 48)

At the grammar level, the analysis obtained is a participant who sees how the character is displayed in the text. The use of passive verbs such as “slapped”, “interrogated”, “imprisoned”, and also “killed” is a picture that the actor is portrayed as a victim, which in the form of a process describes a situation that indicates an action committed by the culprit. The pronoun “we” on the second sentence of page 26 refers to the use of pronouns as an anaphoric reference that refers back to something mentioned earlier.

While in the representation of sub-clause combination, between one sub-clauses with another sub-clause will form meaning and reality. Like a sentence on page 46,

“And that is one of the goals of the Sinatra study group: to discuss alternative ideas to counter the doctrine from the government that has been crammed into our mind since the New Order rule over the land.”

The combination of the above sentence children describes coherence in which the child of one sentence is an elaboration of the child of the following sentence. Elaboration on the sentence here serves as an explanation of the sentence child that appeared earlier. The authors analysed that the elaboration was in “for,” which clarified Sinatra’s previous word. In linguistic studies, this combination used the relationship of the purpose of the content of discourse.

Next is a combined representation between sentences that will form a unity of paragraphs. In this section, the representation will show which sentence stands out more among other sentences. An important aspect is how participants are displayed in the paragraph. For example, in a paragraph on page 47,

“But one day, we have to move. It is not enough to be busy debating here. We have to visit what has been thrown by Petition 50 and some figures who criticise the five packages of the Political Law. We are a generation that must move forward, do not just discuss laws that have caged us for decades under the pressure of one thumb.”

In the paragraph on page 47, the series between the sequences shows the relationship between each other. However, one sentence that stands out among others is in the last sentence that says, “We are a generation that must move forward, do not just discuss laws that have caged us for decades under the pressure of one thumb.” This sentence is more prominent because it conveys a message of rebellion that reinforces the previous sentences. This sentence is placed by the author of the novel at the end of the paragraph because of its function to influence the reader’s meaning. The combination of sentences uses the same reference relationship in two sentences in a paragraph.

2. Relation

Relation differ from representations that see how things are displayed in the text; the relation in this study will look at how the relationship between State and society is described in section I. The point of concern in analysing relation is how relations between states and societies during the New Order are displayed. This analysis will provide information about the relationships of social forces depicted in the text.

The pattern of relationships constructed by the author of the novel is the poor relationship between the societies – which is the student activist – and the State described by the government. Text excerpts are of concern to see how society and the State are the social forces that shape events and patterns of distant relationships between the two. One of the relationship patterns featured in the first part of the novel *Laut Bercerita* is found on page 182,

“Kinan clasped my hands with both hands.” We do not want to be under the rule of one man for decades, the Sea. Only in a dictatorial country can one-person rule for so long...

The whole of Indonesia is considered to belong to its family and cronies. Maybe we are just nuisance mosquitoes for them – pebbles in their shoes. However, We know one thing: we have to shake them up. We must shake up a passive, lazy, and desperate society so that they will help fix this truly corrupt and messy country, which has so no respect for humanity, the Sea.”

In this section, the novel’s author displays a pattern of relationships between society and the opposite government. In excerpts of the text, the author instructs himself to be on par with a society dominated by the power and practice of government power. This is evident from the long dialogue that Kinan spoke to the Sea, where at the beginning of his sentence, Kinan said, “We do not want to be forever under the rule of one man for decades, the Sea.” This sentence emphasises later sentences that identify poor communication patterns and relationships between the government and its people. Student activists were then formed into social power groups that, together with the community, became opponents to the government.

In this case, the government or State is placed in a more dominant position to do things that harm society. In a review of the Novel Laut Bercerita, the New Order shows the state hegemony capable of controlling every public space and engineering the political practices that control the entire evolving discourse.

3. Identitiy

The identity of the novel will analyse how the New Order is identified and constructed in the text. The analysis found by the author is that the New Order is identified by the author of the novel as a repressive government so that the reader’s audience will grasp the signal that the New Order will always be identified and displayed as such in the text. On page 111,

This time that electrical whip beat my legs and back. The pain feels through my nerves. (Paragraph 1)

The Red Eye then brought that box closer to my eyes. Then, his thumb and forefinger picked up something inside that box: an enormous red rangrang ant. (Paragraph 3)

The quotes above provide some examples of why the author of the novel identifies and presents the New Order as a dictatorial government, and it is because the author positions himself as part of society. Another example of New Order identification in this novel is found on page 198,

Our work overlaps because of all the fuss caused by victory news of the proclamar’s daughter to become a party leader that we have always regarded as the people’s voice. We showed open support by sending Bram, Dana, and Julius to give speeches alternately to fill the stage of democracy on Jalan Diponegoro.

In the first sentence of this 198-page, the author of the novel positions himself as one of the people who consider the daughter of a proclamation as fresh air over the shackles of dictatorial government over past decades. Robertus Robert (2008), in his book entitled Politics of Human Rights and Transition in Indonesia, wrote that five days after the declaration of PRD that was originally a party, the riots of July 27, 1996, occurred. The hunt and arrest of PRD activists began because they were considered the ‘masterminds’ of the incident. At its

peak, the PRD and its entire auspices were declared a banned organisation in September 1996. Kidnapping operations against those deemed “radicalised” are increasingly carried out systematically and measured by Team Mawar under the direction of Special Forces Command (Kopassus).

The novel’s author also constructs the New Order regime as a dictatorial regime by explaining the political conflicts that identify as part of the people. In this identification, there are significant similarities and differences between the Old Order and the New Order, including the aspect of language. The New Order forms several new vocabularies. When focused on that vocabulary, it will reveal three main things: the ideology of the elite ruler, the distribution of power, and the kind of elite ruler.

Discourse Practice Analysis

The analysis in this section will also look at how the New Order regime was identified in the novel’s production process to display the flow of human rights violations in detail. The analysis data in this stage was obtained from the Politika Sastra webinar organised by HISKI Komisariat Unesa. The author of the novel, Laut Bercerita, explains the production process of this novel. He believes criticism and ideas can be conveyed through literary texts to display lame socio-political conditions and realities that deviate from ideology.

Leila S. Chudori created a Marine figure then wrote Laut Bercerita, it began when Tempo magazine, where she worked, decided to publish a special edition of Soeharto in February 2008. His interest in Nezar Patria’s “Di Kuil Penyiksaan Orde Baru” tells his experience of being kidnapped and held captive during the New Order regime.

“The one thing I had to deal with at that time, I was with some other friends, and we were the pimpro. I was in the human rights section, and I said, how about in the human rights violations section? We have Nezar Patria write about his experience of being kidnapped. I asked Nezar to write directly from his point of view using “me”, but I asked Nezar to write more details and be more honest with how you feel.”

Nezar’s strong desire to open up and reveal to future generations who may forget those events. Developing flow and plots also continues to roll during research and interviews that indirectly always raise new questions. Until then comes the plot that tells about why they decided to become activists and live in danger during the New Order and how to ‘become activists’ and ‘accompany the marginals’ to sue injustice into an ideal since childhood.

This interest led Leila to build a Biru Laut character about how she was formed as a child, introduced to injustice, and made decisions. This is what Leila also asks those who dedicated the rest of their lives to become activists and not just read intellectual reports, which is the reality, and what happened is different.

“Their answers are all similar. Budiman said that since childhood, he felt there was an injustice because people hanged themselves because of debt, so he had seen poverty since elementary school. Then Nezar did too, so they had already found his moment of truth early on. That is what impressed me...

The research and interviews also continued with PRD and SMID activists, who at that time shook up the status quo by announcing the PRD as a political party. One by one, the activists were then hunted down and arrested. One thing Leila understood at the time was that the student movements were the same as the journalists who tried to survive under the repressiveness of the New Order government. This part also makes Leila remember the big case of Kedung Ombo that makes journalists cover under pressure, and this event is what Leila thinks is difficult enough in its creation so that blangguan and Bungurasih chapters are created.

"The friends I interviewed told me how they accompanied the farmers in Blangguan. They tried to defend them because the land was taken. Then they had to run away because they were being chased. There may be comrades who have read, and there is a special chapter of Blangguan where dozens of activists have to crawl termites in the cornfields because the army is chasing them. So this is a real event."

Leila also explained that Laut Biru is a fictional character that adapted the story of Nezar, the story of Waluya Jati, the story of Leila herself to the building of Leila's imagination. Laut, who was born and raised in Solo from a family thick with intellectual cargo, therefore also the Sea was formed into a figure who was able to see injustice. Even Blue Laut's journalist father had to take part in the pressure when his son (PRD and SMID activists) was declared a fugitive for 2 years. Leila describes Laut Biru as a quiet man and an accomplished narrator who is an expert at writing stories and actively becomes a translator during his time at large.

Sociocultural Practice Analysis

In this analysis stage, the text will be analysed by the explanatory method, which explains interpretation results in the second analysis stage. Fairclough divided this sociocultural practice analysis into situational, institutional, and social levels.

2. Situational

A text is produced in a condition or atmosphere that may differ from other text. A unique and different situation will produce a different text based on the situation.

Kuah tengkleng tastes almost perfect. All of the essential seasonings such as onions, garlic, hazelnuts, turmeric, galangal, ginger have been stirred together with coconut milk and seeped into my tongue just like that. I can also feel the scent of orange leaves, bay leaves, and lemongrass. I am trying to find the flaws.

"Mom..," Now I know what we had been missed, "Mom, you have not put the brown sugar yet." I finally opened my eyes.

(Page 63-64)

Story pieces above are one form of sociocultural practice that influences the production of texts. In general, a text will look different from other texts because sociocultural elements outside the text influence it. In her novels, Leila almost always inserts elements from within

herself. As Leila said when giving the webinar material “Ketika Fiksi Membaca Reformasi” held by Mari Pada Baca on Sunday, May 25 2021.

“Well, apart from me mixing up some figures. I also created, there is my element there. For example, those readings about seas are books that I like. Then he likes to cook and eat, which is me really, not Nezar. Yes, Nezar also enjoys eating, maybe. However, I am a person who cares deeply about the art of food, that is. Furthermore, I created a family that likes and appreciates the art of food.”

This unique condition and atmosphere outside the text become one of the stages of analysis in the sociocultural practice. In addition to incorporating elements of herself into a text, Leila is almost always amazed by the family drama that later became a hallmark of some of her works. Leila also often slips puppet stories, reading books and works of European literature in her work.

3. Institutional

At this level of analysis, attention will be focused on how organisational institutions affect the production process. This institution comes from within the media and can also come from forces outside the media that determine how the text is made. There are two influential institutional factors, namely, media economy and politics. This analysis will look at how political institutions represented by the State do not have a direct effect but are seen from the regulations and various regulations made. In an authoritarian country surrounded by repressiveness and dilution, policies in creating a text will indirectly affect the production of the text and how it is produced.

Our movements are all capitalising on the spirit, personal money, and donations of some individuals secretly fed up with the New Order government that is increasingly repressive year after year. This time, we added to the weapon of resistance with rhymes and corn planting action. (Pages 116-117)

“This is Rendra, who is also just permitted to perform, Ma’am. He was also long banned from performing by Kopkamtib,” Asmara explained and at the same time threw me to the cliff.

“Ah yes, I know. Rendra from solo, am I right?”

“Yes, Ma’am, but he has been able to perform, a few years ago, Rendra performed a drama called Panembahan Reso at 9 o’clock in Senayan. We just discussed the allegory of the drama, Ma’am. So, we also discussed art...”

This time I rubbed Mom’s shoulder because her face looked even sadder.

“But, drama Panembahan Reso is also about fighting for power,” Father added. “You have to be careful, nowadays intel often disslyaches into student and activist discussion events. Some of my colleagues from Tera magazine said that there are always several spies who follow some of their journalists. Also, they kind of like to go in and out of LBH, pretending to be an activist.” (Page 76)

The pieces of the above story text illustrate how state institutions are directly influential in life and the production of texts. Taken from pages 116 and 117, the story is adapted based on a true story when activists helped farmers in Blangguan in the big case of Kedung Ombo fight for their land. Then, the story piece on page 76 was adapted based on the stories of Leila's colleagues, who are also journalists and often followed by undercover spies in her work. This shows the role and influence of the State as an institution in the process of creating this Novel, *Laut Bercerita*.

That is her work as a journalist, Leila also often get repressiveness from the New Order government, the peak is when *Tempo* magazine, where she works, is also banned by the Government for criticising the New Order regime. As *tirto.id* wrote on his website, in a speech on June 9, 1994, Suharto said there was a press that made the situation murky and pitted, disrupting national political stability. After being criticised for reporting on the riots during the 1982 election, *Tempo* was re-founded on June 21, 1994, to publish at least six reports related to purchasing used warships from East Germany. Among *Tempo*, *Editor Magazine* and *DeTik* also targeted by the government to be banned.

4. Situational

The production process of a text is also influenced by social factors related to the change of society. At this level, the social aspect will pay attention to macro aspects such as the political system or culture of society as a whole, which will be seen which groups are in power and the dominant values in society. These values and groups will later influence how a text is created.

Bram tells about his childhood in Cilacap. Mbah Mien, a housewife in his village who lived behind Bram's grandfather's house, was found hanged due to a debt to land leeches. "For a 15 years old kid, The scene of an elderly mother hanging by a rope continues to hurt her mind and heart," Bram said. (Page 27)

It is a big wound for five-year-old little Bram. Bram claims to be constantly haunted by the question of why Mbah Mien chose to die rather than face piled debts. "The more I grew and read more reading material, I slowly concluded that there are two things that always haunt poor people in Indonesia: poverty and death." (Page 28)

At the end of the report, he made sure he had recorded and accommodated our report. Daniel was right. DPRD or DPR has only been a septic tank, a mere shelter. This country knows nothing about the four pillars. We only know one solid pillar who hold all the power: the president. (Page 163)

Text pieces above were analysed by looking at how the economic and political situations are changing and affecting text production. Leila adapts this process from her own experience as a journalist's son who later also worked as a journalist and saw what happened through intellectual glasses, and saw the personal experience of Budiman Sudjatmiko, who since childhood had seen injustice and changed his outlook on life and felt he had to do something by jumping directly into activists. Leila, in this section, looks to want to include and show the

real socio-political injustice and inequality during the New Order. Where Leila also mentioned that in the course of her interview, Leila was invited to explore the abomination of humans who can turn her capacity into a 'monster'.

The story on page 163 above is also analysed on how the loss of public trust in the Government is represented by the House of Representatives and likened to a septic tank because it does not function properly.

Human Rights Violations of the New Order Regime

Based on the analysis results conducted through three stages, to be exact descriptive, interpretation, and explanation, the Novel Laut bercerita is a literary work whose purpose is as a form of images and actions to care for memory. The author wants the Government to immediately investigate and resolve human rights violations during the New Order regime in power.

Therefore, the author concludes that what happened during the New Order regime is a political conflict that occurs in real terms between the State and the anti-government community. The government also clearly appears to be committing grave human rights violations against humanity as written in the Executive Summary of the Report on Investigation of Gross Human Rights Violations by the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM: 2014), that in this case, there is an element of criminal crimes against humanity because the way it is carried out is part of a systematic attack. Addressed to a group of civilians and the perpetrators knowingly carried out an act of widespread attack against a group of civilians. The elements of acts categorised as criminal acts against humanity under Law No. 26 of 2000 concerning human rights courts are the extermination, deprivation of independence or arbitrary deprivation of other physical freedoms that violate (the principles) of the basic provisions of international law, torture, and enforced disappearance of persons contained in Article 9 letters (b), (e), (f), and (i).

The National Human Rights Committee summarised 10 cases that have been investigated. That during the 32-year period of its establishment, the New Order regime was recorded repeatedly committing severe and unresolved human rights violations to this day, they are:

1. Incident 1965-1966
2. Mysterious Shooting Incident Period 1982-1985
3. Tanjung Priuk Incident 1984-1985
4. Talangsari Incident 1989
5. The Forced Disappearing of People Incident
6. Chaos in May Incident 1998

According to the KontraS (2019) report, forced disappearances also led to the killing of Leonardus Nugroho, aka Gilang and Suyat. Torture, persecution, deprivation of liberty or other physical freedoms, and the forcible disappearance of 9 returnees, namely Mugiyanto, Aan Rusdianto, Nezar Patria, Faisol Riza, Raharja Waluya Jati, Haryanto Taslam, Pius

Lustrilanang, Demond J. Mahesa, “St”, and Andi Arief. The violations that continue today are the forced disappearance of 13 victims, namely Yani Afrie, Sonny, Herman Hendrawan, Dedi Hamdun, Petrus Bima Anugerah, Wiji Thukul, Ucok Munandar, Hendra Hambali, Noval Alkatiri, Suyat, Yadin Muhyidin, and Abdun Naser.

The New Order regime violates international law and standards because it has arbitrarily deprived them of independence and physical freedom in the framework of crimes against humanity and international treaties. In this regard, the concept of arbitrariness includes unlawful imprisonment, torture, the revocation of freedom, and the forcible disappearance of persons, which is also regulated by almost all international human rights instruments as a right that cannot be reduced under any circumstances.

Public and State Relation

Usually, a writer tries to look at two points of view when researching and compiling his work. So Leila made a human rights point of view that showed how the relationship between social forces in society then influenced each other. Leila raised these forces into a storyline adapted based on victims’ experiences and testimonies about their relationship with the State represented by the government. As shown in the text, this discussion will see how text production and forces affect each other to create relationships.

Nezar Patria, in his interview with Menjadi Manusia, accessed through youtube channel, told how the wave of students could happen,

“The wave of student demonstrations was inseparable from a continuum of the history of the student movement since the early 90s. Student criticism had been awakened at that time, we know the New Order dictatorship always tried to control freedom of opinion, the critical voice was silenced. A campus is just a place where people study and is politically blind, so extraordinary politicisation is true. So acute was the problem of cronyism, nepotism that occurred in the New Order at that time, as well as corruption. So this is then disquieting, this is the design of making the 90s generation upset with its future, this is how? Meanwhile, if protests, criticism, brushed, silenced, that is.” (Source: youtube channel Menjadi Manusia “79. From Nezar Patria’s Perspective about Kidnapping of Activists 1998”)

Through control over language, an ideology is instilled to maintain a power structure and a pattern of domination constructed as “maximum expression of the state for itself”. The New Order on its way is seen to have re-practised the authoritarianism of the previous regime through the coalition nature of power. This is evident from the political character that lasted for three decades through a dominant structure that operated in almost every public sector and used the State’s repressive apparatus to control opposition and defiance.

Leila as the author of the novel positioned and constructed herself as part of a society that also felt injustice due to the poor relationship built by the State to society. Patterns of the relationship between student activists and the government can also be seen from the sentences of emphasis contained in some of the dialogues in the novel. The government in the novel is

identified as dominating power and implementing authoritarian practices such as a whole kingdom ruled by a king.

Instead, student activists are constructed as groups that, together with society, demand injustice created by poor socio-political dynamics. This destructive socio-political dynamic also causes prolonged political conflict because the government prioritises their interests over the interests of its people. The most powerful data is drawn from the testimonies of abducted and tortured victims about how they faced surveillance, silencing, intimidation, torture and enforced disappearances of some activists, as Nezar wrote in his writings published in the article published in the Tempo Magazine.

"After that, I was laid on the bed. The left hand is handcuffed, and the legs are tied to wires. They asked where Andi Arief, chairman of SMID, was. Unsatisfied with the answer, the stun device sprang into action. Fiercely, electricity also knocks out bones and joints. "You guys had a meeting with Megawati and Amien Rais, right? Want to overthrow Suharto, right?" asked the voice fiercely.." (Source: Patria (Tempo), "Di Kuil Penyiksaan Orde Baru")

The author also summarizes the experiences of journalists who were also targeted by surveillance and dissing by intel as a representation of the New Order regime. As written on the nationalgeographic.grip.id page, who wrote his interview with Ignatius Haryanto, discussed the barrage of media dissing during the New Order. According to him, many media journalists were arrested, went to prison, and exiled to Buru Island. The government at that time prohibited the press from publishing news writings that could create hostility, violence, infighting, and chaos in society. Compass and Tempo are also included in the closed media. Kompas was about two weeks closed and ordered to issue an apology to Suharto and promise not to raise the issue of Suharto and the military in its reporting. Similarly, the temporary dissipation in Tempo in 1982 for covering the riots during the election period. The Tempo was also asked to issue an apology sign an agreement, only after which it was allowed to be reissued. These relationships are arranged into literary political works by Leila as the author of the novel to detail the repressiveness experienced.

The New Order Identification

Identification is an attempt to give identity or meaning to something. Identification in this discussion will look at how the New Order was identified and what kind of identity is inherent in the New Order regime in the Novel Laut Bercerita. In this novel, the author identifies the New Order regime as an authoritarian regime with a dictatorial leader. The New Order is described as a single state coated in power, legitimacy, accumulation and culture in which states and societies interact dialectically. The New Order is an executive, military, police, the parliamentary, bureaucratic, and judicial government that is also seen as a network of institutions used by the government to control civil society while mobilizing all elements of production and distribution within the framework of national declarations and the public interest. The New Order is also seen as a state following its systems since its inception. It uses ideology as the primary foundation of its hegemony, order, stability, and national security.

The New Order recognized an official philosophy that defines the state as a totalitarian entity, and they gave the name Pancasila state (Latif, 1996). All socio-political organizations

should be affiliated to Pancasila as a single principle. Any citizen or social organization that opposes the Government or ignores Pancasila will be labelled a traitor. In line with this, the bifunctional conceptualization of ABRI became the main characteristic of the New Order regime to legitimize that the rulers of the state system hold all decisions. Although in this case, the state is an authoritarian-corporate-constitutional entity. It can be seen in many scenes and dialogue contained in the text.

The repressive signals that accompany the reader's audience when diving into this novel will be felt, especially in the odd chapter that shows the moments after the Sea was kidnapped and then subjected to constant torture. Leila, in her interview with Menjadi Manusia that aired on the youtube channel, said, "First of all, what I want to say is to show how terrible the event was, it is an event that cannot happen again, absolutely cannot happen again. If Indonesia wants to be considered a civilized country, yes, that is one. Second, even though we were a generation that experienced a repressive regime, I still did not expect that it would experience something bloody like the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th of May. Ideally, if there is a change of president, Change of government should be no bloodshed." (Source: Menjadi Manusia Youtube channel "74. From Leila Chudori's Perspective about Mei '98 Tragedy and Laut Bercerita Novel")

In addition to her statements and experience as a journalist in the face of repressive regimes, Leila as a writer also adapted the image of a repressive New Order regime based on the writings of Nezar Patria made honestly from Nezar's glasses as a victim of kidnapping and also subjected to massive and planned torture. In his writings, Nezar declared his involvement as a member of the anti-dictatorship movement known as the Indonesian Student Solidarity for Democracy (SMID). Since SMID affiliated with the People's Democratic Party was declared a proscribed organization by the Government, Nezar and his comrades have been hunted and declared fugitives.

Since being accused of masterminding the July 27, 1996 (but never proven) riots in court), SMID and all organizations affiliated with the People's Democratic Party (PRD) have been declared by the government to be proscribed organizations. Since then, our lives have had to change. New order security forces are hunting us. So, there is no other way but to move the underground force. The actual name changed alias. Every time you move house, you have to be a book dealer or something else. (Source: Patria (Tempo) "Di Kuil Penyiksaan Orde Baru")

As a writer and journalist, Leila feels she is not enough to write in journalistic glasses and feels the need to tell this story in other forms to describe the details of the character as a human. So Leila decided to write a fiction that tells more details of the struggle of student activists since the early 1990s.

During her research and interviews for Laut Bercerita Novel, Leila also delved into human abominations based on the victims' testimony about what they experienced during their abduction. That is why Leila finally identifies the New Order in part one of this Laut Bercerita Novel as a repressive regime. From there, Leila understands the human capacity that can turn into monsters in the practice of her power. The state, in this case, the security forces, carried out various actions to maintain the security and order of the community in the period 1997-1998, including through violent channels such as torture and illegal arrests. Repressive

measures were also carried out massively and evenly against various student activist groups in various regions.

Quoted from the Executive Summary of the Report on The Investigation of Gross Human Rights Violations in the security effort, there are various socio-political events and conflicts involving the security forces, including its involvement specifically in some events. This identification is also one of the efforts to introduce to future generations that there have been political conflicts and grave human rights violations against humanity and explore the historical reality of the lens in addition to the regime's single discourse and support previously existing chronological reports.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis and discussion outlined about the human rights violations of the New Order regime depicted in part one, Laut Bercerita Novel. Some conclusions can be drawn, There are :

1. Novel as literary works can be an alternative to provide detailed images of an event or event that is not enough if only reported through news and other reportage.
2. Critical discourse analysis is not only used to research news or other journalistic products but can also be used to research fiction in the form of novels to reveal the actual reality through critical analysis of an event.
3. The results of the research found on gross human rights violations occur as one of the efforts to maintain power and are carried out to those who are considered to endanger the position of the ruler. The power practices of the New Order regime were concluded in harmony with the concept of the Leviathan State put forward by Thomas Hobbes.
4. Laut Bercerita Novel also emerged as an effort of criticism that demanded the government immediately resolve gross human rights violations cases in the New Order era and prevent the emergence of gross human rights violations cases against other humanitarians, especially those whose perpetrators are state representations.
5. As a reflection if these cases are not resolved immediately, it does not rule out the possibility that similar events may occur again in the future.

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