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ABSTRACT: This article is a research finding aiming at reconstructing and analyzing the slogans related to Indonesian nation integration in the 1968-1998 New Order regime printed mass media. The research questions of this paper are as follows: (1) What slogans were used?; and (2) How and why did the national integration propaganda slogans take place in the New Order regime? The article also searched for how the New Order regime’s machine produced a lot of slogans regarding the ideas of national integration done in various ways. This paper used discourse analysis and historical interpretation. The reason why this research was conducted is the fact that the slogans on the national integration in the New Order regime have not yet documented and analysed. This analysis deals with the understanding of slogan texts as the record of the New Order regime. Another objective of the research is to complete the study on New Order regime, as well as as a comparative study with the slogans taking place in the Reform era.

KEY WORDS: Slogan, New Order regime, printed media, national integration, and comparative study.

INTRODUCTION

Slogan is a part of propaganda usually presenting itself in the written text. Like the advertising propaganda techniques, slogan means to agitate and persuade others in order that they are triggered and encouraged to accept or like, choose, and acknowledge the message presented. As a part of propaganda, slogan means to invite, influence, appeal, show, negate and even accept the idea that what is presented is the best for those who accept it.

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Slogan is structurally an effective and efficient tool in term of delivering certain messages of the sender to the number of the addressees. Slogan is presented in various persuasive and active media and often in obliging ways to create a situation that everybody has to continuously listen, see, and feel the messages of the slogan.

The Orde Baru (New Order) regime in Indonesia, therefore, used slogans to disseminate, inform, intensify, and extend its social policies to the community, particularly those in connection with the national integration through its printed and electronic mass media under the government control. Propaganda itself is an aspect of political communication conducted on the basis of consequence and political impacts, with the objectives of persuading others through propaganda as a means of communication (Jackall, 1995:1-2).

Propaganda generally means to have a one-way communication and tends to be instructional and is a tool systematically designed to emotionally manipulate certain things for the sake of the sender’s interests and this idea is not that strongly felt by the addressee. Using its propaganda, the New Order regime intentionally designed its propagandas in various slogans on the basis of certain selected situations and conditions, in particular those connected to the national integration problems. Such slogans are intentionally and continually prepared to persuade and influence the opinions in the community, stating that the New Order regime ran well and had done its best for the community.

Dan Nimmo and James E. Comb further argues that propaganda functions as a communication tool used by a certain organized group of people who intend to create active or passive mass participation consisting of individuals united to become an organization (Nimmo & Comb, 1994:136). This statement is an important idea when connected to the New Order regime who was strongly and strictly organized in the military system with really strong intention to actually unite the people. This regime distributed the top-down information to the community psychologically united in a collective imagination called nation. The New Order regime continually produced symbolic image regarding the national integration through cliché and uniform national union and unity and this was systematically implemented through various institutions, media, ways, forms, people, groups of people, with variety of decisions.

During its government, the New Order regime did some activities regarding mass media, for example supervising or limiting the information as done by the Department of Communication through which the regime used to inform its programs and tightly controlled and limited the
information spread. The institutions involved in these activities were Film Censor Board, Attorney Office, Police, and Military Institutes who always created various types of information on their own through their mastery of mass media, like Television (commonly called TVRI, *Televisi Republik Indonesia*) and Radio (generally known as RRI, *Radio Republik Indonesia*), as well as their possession on public spaces in order that they could manage the political stability for the sake of Indonesian unity in the frame of integration with the symbol of unity and union.

The national integration has been the complicated and unsolved problem for Indonesia as historically stated that the integration was the main focus in the process of forming Indonesia unity faced with a number of problems. Geographically and politically, the mechanism and consensus agreed to unite the Indonesian nation was *Pancasila* (Indonesian ideology with five pillars) and UUD 1945 or *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* (the Indonesian constitution); several groups of people, such as Communist and Islamic groups, however, were doubting this agreement considered as the only well-prepared compromise as the unifying symbol by other groups (Elson, 2008:147-156).

Some problems in connection with the national integration which occurred in the New Order regime but have not yet been comprehensively solved include democracy ideas, the position of Muslim groups, centralization system, existence of double-military-function, economic crises, prosperity and social gaps; and these problems contributed to the national integration prior to the New Order regime. Then, there was not a nationally unifying factor. To a certain extent, there was such a factor but this factor seems to be cliché when faced with the above five problems.

It is in the New Order regime that various slogans regarding the government’s intention to do its best to make the national integration as oneness took place. According to the New Order regime version, one of its duties, responsibilities, and obligations to the community was to make them united because prior to this regime, the Indonesian community was divided into groups and this division caused many negative problems. The national integration in the New Order regime was based on consanguinity, jobs, harmony, unity, union, without any option in order that unite all community elements on the basis of *Pancasila*. Through the slogans in mass media, the New Order regime government did its best and convinced the community that this government had succeeded in solving the national integration which has actually been a big problem. This failure has been proved by the fact that various conflicts have taken place upon the regime was steppled down.
The above historical background led us to do the analysis on the variety of slogans in regard with the national integration intentionally created by the New Order regime and distributed through the mass media from 1968 to 1998. The research questions regarding this study are as follows: (1) How and why did the issue of the national integration occur and were they presented in printed and electronic mass media during the New Order regime?; and (2) What slogans were used and widely distributed in the number of mass media in relation with nation integration during the New Order regime?

Through the analysis of the existence of the gap between normative aspects in political slogans with empirical aspects regarding the fact and national integration in the New Order regime, this paper is expected to answer the real policies of the regime in dealing with the ways to solve the integration problems: was the regime able to solve the problems or not?

**RESEARCH COVERAGE: SPATIAL AND THEMATIC LIMITATION, RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE, AND LIBRARY RESEARCH**

A specific reason why this study deals with slogans is that the research on those dealing with other media on Soeharto’s speeches, Soeharto’s language styles, illustrations on financial notes and coins, diorama, national and military institutes, has been conducted by other Indonesian and foreign historians. After we had searched for library and field research on the the New Order objects, we found one topic which has not yet been conducted, i.e. the use of political slogans in connection with national integration. For that reason, this research focuses on the implied meanings and uses of slogans in relation with national integration during the New Order regime in printed mass media due to the fact there is a connection between the national integration policies and the use of the slogans, both in written and oral texts in written, and electronic mass media during the New Order Regime.

The media are chosen on the basis of several considerations, some of which were presenting a number of slogans in connection with the research topic and as a comparative study various media were selected. Almost all communication and information mass media, one of which was TVRI (Televisi Republik Indonesia or Television of Republic of Indonesia) monopolized and hegemonized by the regime through Deppen (Departemen Penerangan or Ministry of Information), were used by this regime for the sake of propaganda. The printed media used for this source research are the newspapers considered independent, such as Kompas, Sinar Harapan, and Suara Pembaruan. The data containing the slogans were taken from
the years of 1968 to 1998 whose contents and realationship are connected to the New Order regime on the national integration.

This research also consists of the understanding of slogan texts as a note recordings of a government, in this case is New Order regime. The reasons why this research was conducted are that: (1) there were so many slogans in the New Order regime which have not yet been well documented; (2) generally, the research on the analysis on the political slogans has not yet been done; and (3) it means to add the previous studies with the one on the New Order regime with Soehartos roles in his policies regarding the national integration problems. This research can also be used to compare whether Soeharto was stepped down, the forms and models of the slogans used by Soeharto disappeared or were still used or there might be other regims in other countries using the model.

The histography on the New Order regime upon the Reformasi (Reform) era has been studied more than that of the previous regimes due to the length of this regime and the appearence of problems. Upon Soehartos era, new alternative histography types showing the contradictory sides with Soeharto have appeared to improve those of the New Order regime. Generally, these types stress on new interpretation which is more open and brave to reveal the issues strongly hidden, such as the topics of Soeharto, New Order regime, military perspectives from various themes and points of views.

One of the resources is taken from Katharine E. McGregor published in 2007, with the title of Ketika Sejarah Berseragam: Membongkar Ideologi Militer dalam Menyusun Sejarah Indonesia (translated by Djohana Oka) in Sleman, Yogyakarta, by Penerbit Syarekat, describing the fact of oneness and uniformity of Indonesian histography produced or reproduced in Indonesia in depth. The writer argues that the military power as an institution and ideology has confidently built up a good image to legitimate itself and the power supports through the only understanding about Indonesia utilizing diorama media in various museums. This book analyzes how the military institution illustrates the past of Indonesia found in various facilities, such as museums, monuments, ceremonies for remembrance, films, written texts, the histography prepared by the government and searches for the shifting taking place in the history representation from the Guided Democracy (1959-1965) to New Order (1966-1998). Similarly, the book argues that history was used to justify the ideology of the time and analyzes how the military built up its own image.

the speeches of Soeharto, the organizations of his speeches, lexical choice, sentences, rhetorics, and language styles to understand political events. The main argument of the book is that the speeches delivered by Soeharto changed to become a pattern where each government officer could use any speech available. This study consists of the institutions and policies determining what Indonesians write and what Indonesians read in books, newspapers, and television, speech texts and documents of a government.

The histography about the New Order objects was also written by S. Arief Adityawan in 2008 with the title of Propaganda Pemimpin Politik Indonesia: Mengupas Semiotik Orde Baru Soeharto in Jakarta by LP3ES publisher. This study focuses on how symbolic images are built up on the basis of cliche national integration. The New Order regime manipulated and distorted the national integration in multi-ethnic, multi-religions, multi-cultural, multi-societal and multi-interest community. Another focus of this study is to deal with propaganda strategies and mechanism systematically done by the New Order regime through various ways presented by printed and electronic mass media.

Another important book dealing with national integration was written by R.E. Olson in 2008 with the title of The Idea of Indonesia: Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gagasan, published by Penerbit Serambi in Jakarta. This book is questioning why Indonesia exists as a nation and state, despite a lot of challenges and its analysis presents the chronological narration discussing the politics of Indonesian integration which never reaches its ending. It is stated that the history of Indonesia is really filled with in-depth internal conflicts as a result of ideological, ethnical, religion differences and various interests whose formations still go continue up to the present time.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research methodology of this paper is descriptive-qualitative with textual analysis approach used to digest the Indonesian political policies through slogans. To so doing, hermeneutic interpretation, an interpretative analysis critically questioning why such slogans exist, is needed and it is expected that their meanings, implied messages and the relationships of the slogans with empirical aspects in the community are understood. Therefore, the contextualization in connection with social, political and cultural aspects needs to be bridged. All textual data were collected, selected and then interpreted to avoid subjectivity, anachronism and bias and the selection result and interpretation will be historical facts which can then be reconstructed as a historical event.
As other historical research activities in history studies, a series of steps were done by using history method (Kuntowijoyo, 2005:90-107). Searching for the sources was done comprehensively by collecting primary sources of newspapers and secondary sources from magazines, books, and website in relation with the research topic. As well as having a look at the rhetorics of each slogan analysed, this study used discourse analysis to see and understand the message structures in communication in order that we can understand how texts are produced by the ideology underlying them (Kuntowijoyo, 2003).

This part presents various data from Perpustakaan Nasional (National Library) and Kompas-Gramedian newspapers, in particular taken from various magazines in 1968-1998, as the research findings or the trace obtained from daily and weekly newspapers. The data collected from Kompas daily newspaper are those published in 1968-2000. The sources from Perpustakaan Nasional are mostly from Tempo weekly magazine. The research data from other magazines are not that significant regarding this research topic. As additional sources and comparison, the data were also collected from other newspapers. Out of more than 300 news articles from weekly magazines, 72 are about national integration slogans; meanwhile, out of 4,000 news articles, 200 fulfilled the criteria to be the data for this research. The slogans used by Tempo magazine and Kompas newspaper were taken from statements as direct slogans or implied ones done by the regime.

In this research, we found various rhetoric slogans occurring in the New Order regime, directly stated by the President Soeharto or his subordinates. The slogans generally contain the rhetoric series expressing their hope to invite, encourage and even threaten the community.

The New Order regime kept on producing symbolic images regarding the national integration through unity and union of Indonesia systematically. The model was created on the basis of binary opposition, meaning that the ruling government is the right party who is able to lead the community wish in line with what intends to be done. The non-government party or the community are wrong-doers, cruel and those doing wrong things which can cause bad things for the community. These groups of people are labeled as intruders, against Pancasila, left-extremists, and disrupting security stability (Elson, 2005).

The New Order regime implemented clean-dirty principles in implementing its policies normatively and empirically and this became the manual for the community to behave. This sacred principle was legitimated and believed as a clean dogma and one way to make it sacred and
disseminated the slogans, directly or indirectly appealing the community to follow this principle proposed in any situations and opportunities.

The New Order regime built the national integration on the basis of consanguinity, harmony, unity and refusal to opposing parties due to unifying all elements in the community into an agreed place, Indonesia, with its national ideology of *Pancasila*. The New Order regime can be an authoritarian because of its control over media, political parties, education, employment, government employment, General Elections, and social organization forcing the community to be united through the slogans.

**ANALYSIS ON VARIOUS NATIONAL INTEGRATION SLOGANS**

History means social memory and cultural mentality of a community and leaves a number of symbolic meanings appearing in the New Order regime as slogans fulfilled with the intention to unite the community in differences.

The following are various examples of slogans or statements with the content of national integration:

**Pidato Kenegaraan Presiden di Depan DPR-GR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong Rojong): “Perkuat Negara Kesatuan sebagai Wadah Tunggal” (Kompas, 18/8/1969:2).**

Translation: The state speech of the President in front of DPR-GR for strengthen our nation as the only receptacle.

**Presiden pada Peringatan Sumpah Pemuda: “Nyalakan Terus Semangat Persatuan” (Merdeka, 29/10/1990:11).**

Translation: The President at Youth Pledge ceremony that Enlighten the Unity Spirit.

Another example was proposed by Harmoko, as the Minister of Information and the Chief of GOLKAR (*Golongan Karya* or Functional Group), as follows:

**Penguatan Stabilitas dan Integrasi Harus Jadi Agenda Bangsa (Kompas, 29/12/1997:14).**

Translation: Strengthening Stability and National Integration Must be Our National Agenda.

**Golkar bersama-sama kekuatan Pancasila akan rawe-rawe rantas, malang-malang putung, melawan upaya pengkhianatan! (Tempo, 10/5/1986, Thn.16. No.11, p.22).**

Translation: Golkar together with the Pancasila loyal followers hand-and-hand are against the traitors.
Some examples of the slogans in connection with the role of ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or Indonesian Military Institution) in national integration are as follows:

ABRI Masuk Desa dan menyelamatkan lingkungan (Tempo, 10/5/1986, Thn.16 No.11, p.22).
Translation: The Indonesian military troopers are entering the villages to safe the environment.

Translation: ABRI guarantees the leadership continuity of the New Order.

Translation: Ministry of Politics and Security said that ABRI consistently belongs to the community.

In addition, there was an obligation labelling Pancasila as the only state ideology begun by the official decision of MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat) No. II/MPR/1978 on P4 (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila or Ekaprasetya Pancakarsa) and done equally by all governmental officers and universities. This was certainly followed by the slogans following this policy. Here are some slogans regarding Pancasila:

Translation: Through the 1982 General Election, we are leading to the country with Pancasila as the only state ideology.

Orde Baru adalah sikap mental bermoral Pancasila (Kompas, 2/10/1972:1).
Translation: The New Order regime is with the Pancasila moral mentality.

Presiden Soeharto mengemukakan bahwa wawasan nasional Indonesia yang dilandasi Pancasila harus terus disegarkan (Kompas, 2/10/1972).
Translation: President Soeharto states that Indonesian national horizone based on Pancasila must be continually fresh.

Bahwa sebagai ideologi nasional, Pancasila bukan sekadar cita-cita politik, melainkan juga merupakan landasan moral (Kompas, 2/10/1972:1).
As the national ideology, Pancasila is not merely a political idea, but also as the moral foundation.

The national integration is connected to the roles of the united youth, the role of political parties to be simplified, and the roles of state employees to be uniformed. In notation on Kongres I Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (KNPI) and the formation of this organization (Tempo, 2/11/1974, Thn.4 No.35, p.10), here is a relevant example for the slogan:

Bagaimana belajar bersatu sambil berbeda-beda (Tempo, 2/11/1974, Thn.4 No.35, p.6).
Translation: How to be united in differences.

The examples of the slogans regarding the New Order regime and national integration are as follows:

Orde Baru tidak lain adalah tatanan pembangunan dan pembaharuan yang berdasarkan Pancasila dan UUD (Undang-Undang Dasar) 1945, yang mampu mewujudkan cita-cita Proklamasi menuju masyarakat yang adil, makmur, dan makmur dalam keadilan (Kompas, 10/8/1996:14).
Translation: The New Order government is the order of development and improvement based on Pancasila and UUD 1945 that is able to realize the independence's ideals to make society gets the prosperity, justice, and prosperity in justice.

Translation: The Military Institute Chief said that members of Parliaments are timelessly in the hand of the New Order regime.

Ekonomi Kerakyatan, Konsep Pembangunan Orde Baru (Kompas, 26/8/1995:1).
Translation: Community-Based Economy, the Concept of the New Order Development.

Here are examples of other statements:

Demokrasi Pancasila adalah pilihan final rakyat Indonesia (Kompas, 26/8/1995).
Translation: The Pancasila democracy is the final Indonesian community choice.

In this context, Harmoko, as Minister of Information, stated that the political system of Pancasila democracy has proved its benefits to develop
the harmony and happiness together. The Pancasila democratic system has proved undoubtedly to make Indonesia a big country, respected by other nations.

Other slogans in connection with the national integration are on the existence of ethnical and cultural pluralism in the Indonesian community. After the multicultural ideology had been united, other problems which still went on are about ethnical pluralism regarding SARA (Suku, Agama, Ras dan Antargolongan or ethnicity, religion, ras and interest group), as seen on the way Depdagri (Departemen Dalam Negeri or Ministry of Internal Affairs) made the youth organizations. Here are some relevant examples:

Satu Nusa, Satu ... (Tempo, 6/8/1977, Thn.7 No.23, pp.6-7).
Translation: One Country, One ....

Notation: These texts are connected to the existence of the cristalizing differences between the native and descendants at that time. This was worsenned by the fact that the descendants were given special privileges from the government as reflected from the next text; therefore, the President had to issue the Keppres (Keputusan Presiden or Presidential Decree) No.14 as follows:

Antara Pemerataan dan Pembauran (Tempo, 4/8/1979, Thn.9 No.23, pp.8-12).
Translation: Between Equity and Assimilation.

Notation: This is about pribumi (native) and non-pribumi (descendants) on equity and assimilation related to Keppres 14. The Presidential Decree was issued due to the fact the development resulted in the social and economic gaps between the rich and the poor, the centre and the local areas, GOLKAR and two othe parties. This can be seen from the slogan taken from Tempo questioning the meaning of harmony in the celebration of Indonesian Independence:

Translation: The sounds of harmony in the 36th year.

Notation: This reviewed the research on national harmony done by Tempo. The President repeatedly appealed the slogan on unity and union
to all components in Indonesia in mass media. The national integration in
the New Order regime was unquestionably sensitive and this can be seen from
the number of statements leading to the national integration expected to
come true. Here is the slogan associated for all:

Integrasi nasional dari atas sampai bawah (Kompas, 14/4/1984:1).
Translation: National integration from the top to the bottom.

The examples of slogans regarding the national development are as
follows:

Semangat pembangunan yang telah ada harus dipelihara (Kompas, 18/8/1975:1).
Translation: The existing spirit of development must be taken care of.

Notation: President Soeharto at the state speech in front of the
Pleno Meeting of MPR RI (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik
Indonesia) urging the community to lift up the spirit of development to
be improved.

Penegasan Presiden Soeharto: “Kualitas manusia penentu sukses pembangunan
nasional (Merdeka, 18/8/1984:10).
Translation: President Soeharto urges that the quality of human beings determines the national
development success.

Notation: President urges that human resources are the key factors for
national success; and he urges also the statements on “Saudara-saudara,
sebangsa dan setanah air” (Ladies and Gentlemen as my national family
members). This slogan was always uttered by President Soeharto during
his countable state speech in front of the MPR members, prior to 17 August
as the independent day.

CONCLUSION

The above search and analysis leads to sum up the paper that basically
the national integration ideas cannot stand alone. The national integration
is unquestionably related to and depends on other aspects supporting and
following the integration: the aspects of the roles of the Presiden himself,
of people representative members, of military institution, of social and
political organizations, of mass media and of the community themselves
who are the subjects and objects of the government’s programs through the
slogans offered. In addition, the aspects of social situations and conditions directly or indirectly influence the appearance of the slogans in the New Order regime.

The analysis above leads to argue that the slogans were often used by the New Order regime to disseminate, inform, urge, and preserve its policies on social and political policies to the community, in particular those slogans in connection with the national integration for the sake of national unity. Similarly, it can be concluded that the New Order regime with its strong intentions produced a lot of slogans on unity on the frame of Pancasila, order, harmony, security, togetherness, care, and independence. The expressions used in the slogans are usually in the forms of normative and abstract statements and this leads to problems of digesting them due to imaginative and illusive meanings. The expressions used tend to lead to integration, development, national stability, and the exposure of New Order regim themes, such as Pancasila, integration, national stability, order, harmony, consanguity, unity, unitedness, controlledness, and constitutional ideas. In other words, the slogans just promote good things of the regime, not reflecting the real situations and conditions.

The above analysis leads us to the idea that the slogans used by President Soeharto were used by his subordinates or those who agreed his policies. Basically, the political policies implemented by the authority aim at securing his/her power. The government officers of the New Order regime consistently consolidated the power in all aspects of life in connection with the power.

The New Order regime can be concluded to use the language politics to preserve its power by using various language symbols reflected through its various slogans. An interesting finding is that the propaganda model used by President Soeharto does not disappear although his regime ended, including in the time of Reform era in Indonesia currently. This model, however, is preserved and used by various community groups in the context of competition in the democratic public space. This phenomenon illustrates that the attitudes and power relation like what the New Order regime performed proves that the community always become the object of the government development projects, instead of the subject of the development.
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