

RINGKASAN

Konflik Maluku merupakan tragedi kemanusiaan yang paling parah di Indonesia pasca robohnya Orde Baru. Konflik tersebut terkait dengan runtuhnya sistem pemerintahan otoriter yang berpusat di tangan Suharto yang bermukim di Jakarta. Olehnya, membicarakan konflik Maluku maka perlu melihat kaitannya dengan konstelasi sosial politik ekonomi yang terjadi di Jakarta.

Realitas berikutnya yang mesti diperhatikan dalam membicarakan Maluku, khususnya kota Ambon adalah terjadinya perubahan-perubahan yang revolusioner di wilayah tersebut. Kepadatan penduduk, sempitnya lahan, arus migrasi, teknologi informasi, globalisasi serta konflik yang menderanya maupun pengaruh lainnya telah membentuk identitas baru masyarakat di sana. Dalam artian tertentu masyarakat di Ambon dapat dikategorikan sebagai masyarakat pos- kolonial.

Isu utama tulisan ini adalah pers dan 'politik persaudaraan'. Persaudaraan dipahami bukan sekedar soal moralitas, melainkan menyangkut proses negosiasi kekuasaan, yang melibatkan dimensi politik, sosial, budaya, dan ekonomi. Melepaskan nilai persaudaraan dari realitas kekuasaan – ekonomi politik dan budaya, bukan tawaran tulisan ini. Sebaliknya, membicarakan persaudaraan berarti membicarakan proses negosiasi dan transformasi secara terus menerus. Persaudaraan perlu terus diperjuangkan karena bukan konsep yang final dan imun.

Diasumsikan bahwa konflik yang berkepanjangan di Maluku membuat nilai persaudaraan makin menipis, bahkan nyaris sirna. Nilai persaudaraan yang diwadahi dalam kultur setempat semisal *Pela* dan *Gandong* dipertanyakan kembali. Pada lain pihak pergulatan kekuasaan seputar usaha mengembalikan perdamaian di Maluku nyaris sia-sia. Dalam kondisi putus asa ini pergelaran pertemuan yang diselenggarakan di Malino (selanjutnya disebut Perjanjian Malino II) memberi 'modal sosial' kepada masyarakat untuk memulihkan kembali ikatan persaudaraan antar sesama warga Maluku bahkan sesama warga bangsa Indonesia. Menariknya pula pasca perjanjian Malino II terdapat berbagai insiden dan guliran isu yang membuat wacana persaudaraan menjadi problematik.

Penelitian terhadap empat (4) surat kabar Jakarta yaitu *Koran Tempo*, *Kompas*, *Republika* dan *Suara Pembaruan* melihat sejauhmana pers Jakarta berperan dalam mewacanakan persaudaraan dalam konflik Maluku. Dengan mengambil studi kasus pada pemberitaan pers Jakarta pasca Malino II (masa waktu Pebruari-Mei 2002) ditemukan adanya ambivalensi peran pers. Pada satu pihak, pers Jakarta cukup intens memberitakan peristiwa-peristiwa yang terjadi di Maluku pasca Malino II, hal mana mempunyai dampak positif bagi

pembuatan kebijakan pemerintah pusat. Namun pada pihak lain, pers Jakarta terjebak dalam agenda pemberitaan yang elitis dan kurang memberitakan agenda transformasi masyarakat.

Tema ‘politik persaudaraan’ dalam tulisan ini didekati dari tiga poros isu yakni wacana separatisme, militerisme dan masyarakat sipil (*civil society*). Masing-masing isu mempunyai korelasi dengan pendefenisian dan pemaknaan persaudaraan. Ditemukan jawaban bahwa Maluku pasca Malino II bergumul bukan saja dengan persoalan bagaimana menciptakan perdamaian dan keamanan di wilayah tersebut, tetapi juga pentingnya upaya merekonstruksi masyarakat setempat agar memiliki pilar-pilar yang kokoh yang membangun masa depannya kembali.

Dalam konteks ini pers diharapkan turut membangun masyarakat sipil (*civil society*), menggerakkan perubahan di daerah dengan model pemberitaan yang dipandu oleh etos persaudaraan dan berpegang pada etika jurnalisme. Olehnya, tawaran pemberdayaan pers lokal, penerapan jurnalisme investigasi dan jurnalisme persaudaraan menjadi suatu keniscayaan.

ABSTRACT

The Moluccas conflict is a tragedy of humanity to be the most serious thing in Indonesia post overthrow of New Order. This conflict is associated with the fall of the authoritarian system of administration focusing on the hand of Suharto in Jakarta. According to him, talking about the conflict in Moluccas needed to see its association with the social, economic, and political constellation occurring in Jakarta.

The next reality had to be paid into attention in talking about Moluccas especially the town of Ambon was the revolutionary changes in that territory. The population density, scarcity of land, flow of migration, information technology, globalization and conflict impinged on it as well as other influences have shaped a new identity of the society there. Under the certain understanding, the society in Ambon can be categorized as a post-colonial society.

The focus of this writing is press and “politics of friendship”. Friendship is comprehended not simply as amoral issue, but things associating with the negotiation process of authority, involving the political, social, cultural and economic dimension. Releasing the value of friendship from the reality of authority – economic politics and culture, are not included in this writing. On the other hand, talking about friendship means talking about ongoing process of negotiation and transformation. Friendship is necessary to be continuously owing to it is not a final and immune concept.

It is assumed that a protracted conflict in Moluccas has made the value of friendship become scarce and almost vanished. The value of friendship contained in the local culture like Pela and Gandong, is again questioning. On the other hand, the wrestling of power around the effort to return the peace in Moluccas is almost futile. At this sorrowful state, a meeting held in Malino (recently called Malino II) has given “a social asset” for the people to restore the link of friendship among the people of Moluccas even with the some citizens of Indonesia. What is more interesting after the Malino II meeting, there has been a variety of incident and rolls of issues that makes the discourse of friendship become problematical.

The study on four newspaper in Jakarta, the *Tempo*, *Kompas*, *Republika* and *Suara Pembaruan*, is meant to see how far the press in Jakarta has played the role to report the discourse of friendship occurring in the conflict of Moluccas. By taking the case study of the press broadcast if Jakarta after the Malino II (the period of time from February to May 2002), it was found that

there was an ambivalence of press roles. In one hand, the press in Jakarta was intense enough to broadcast incidents occurring in Moluccas after the Malino II which contained the positive impact on the policy making of central government. However, on the other hand, the press in Jakarta was trapped into the broadcast of the elite's agenda and did not fully broadcast in the transformation agenda of society.

The theme 'politics of friendship' in this writing has three approaches of three poles of issues, the separatism, militarism, and civil societal discourses. Each issues has the correlation between the definition and the meaning of friendship. The answer has been found that Moluccas after Malino II has struggled not only about issue of how to create the peace and security in that territory, but also about the importance of efforts to reconstruct the local people in order to have firm pillars to build the future condition of Moluccas.

In this context, press is expected to participate in building the civil society, to mobilize changes in the local territory with the model of broadcasting integrated by the ethos of friendship and to hold the ethics of journalism. With this reason, the offering of local press empowerment, application of investigating journalism and friendship journalism, will be able to become a reality.