

ABSTRAK

Sejak terjadi pergantian kekuasaan dari era Demokrasi Terpimpin di bawah Sukarno ke era Orde Baru Soeharto Indonesia telah mengalami pergantian hegemonik dari antikolonialisme ke antikomunisme. Hegemoni antikomunisme selama masa Orde Baru menjadi cara pemerintah membangun konsensus dari masyarakat luas yang diteror oleh ketakutan akan adanya bahaya laten komunisme yang digambarkan, salah satunya lewat film dokudrama propaganda *Pengkhianatan Gerakan 30 September* yang menjadi film wajib tonton bagi siswa sekolah dasar sampai sekolah menengah atas dan diputar di semua stasiun televisi setiap tanggal 30 September malam selama 13 tahun.

Tesis ini mencoba menjelaskan bagaimana hegemoni antikomunisme Orde Baru dibangun dan bertahan bahkan sesudah Orde Baru secara resmi berakhir. Tesis ini juga berusaha menjelaskan bagaimana hegemoni negara ini berusaha digugat lewat sebuah film dan gerakan Indonesia Menonton *Senyap* (IMS), sebuah gerakan pemutaran film yang mengorganisasi masyarakat untuk menciptakan sendiri jalur distribusi film karena jalur-jalur distribusi konvensional dan komersial ditutup oleh tindakan koersif pemerintah. Dengan menggunakan pandangan Gramsci mengenai hegemoni dan masyarakat sipil, tesis ini berusaha menganalisis peran kontra-hegemonik film *Senyap* dan gerakan IMS dalam sebuah perang posisi menghadapi hegemoni antikomunis serta dampak yang ditimbulkannya.

Dengan membaca rangkaian peristiwa pemutaran dan pembatalan film dalam IMS serta pertarungan kekuatan lembaga-lembaga penyelenggara negara yang diwakili tiga surat ditemukan bahwa perlawanan kontra-hegemonik IMS, walaupun mendapatkan dukungan dari Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia dibendung dan dihambat dengan tindakan koersif negara lewat Lembaga Sensor Film juga Tentara Nasional Indonesia. Perang posisi yang tidak seimbang ini tidak dapat meruntuhkan hegemoni antikomunis tetapi telah menunjukkan beberapa dampaknya serta membuka jalan bagi perlawanan kontra-hegemonik lain. Gerakan IMS dan distribusi filmnya ini bukan hanya menjadi sebuah kampanye kesadaran hak asasi manusia tetapi juga memulai sebuah pengorganisasian masyarakat, melahirkan intelektual organik, dan memperluas gerakan sebagai upaya menegakkan demokrasi.

Kata kunci: hegemoni, kontra-hegemoni, Gramsci, film, perang posisi

ABSTRACT

Since the change of power from the Guided Democracy era under Sukarno to Suharto's New Order era, Indonesia has experienced a hegemonic shift from anti-colonialism to anti-communism. The anti-communism hegemony during the New Order era became a way for the government to build consensus from the wider community who were terrorized by the fear of the latent dangers of communism depicted, one of which through the propaganda docudrama film *The Betrayal of September 30th Movement* which was a compulsory film for elementary school to high school students and aired on all television stations every night of September 30 for 13 years.

This study tries to explain how the hegemony of the New Order's anti-communism was built and persisted even after the New Order officially ended. This study also tries to explain how this country's hegemony is being challenged by a film and the Indonesia Watching *The Look of Silence* (IMS) movement, a film screening movement that organizes people to create their own film distribution channels while the conventional and commercial distribution channels were closed by the government's coercive action. Using Gramsci's view on hegemony and civil society, this study attempts to analyze the counter-hegemonic role of the *The Look of Silence* and the IMS movement in a war of position against anti-communism hegemony and the impact it created.

By reading the series of film screenings and cancellations in the IMS movement and the contestation of state institutions represented by three letters, I found that the IMS counter-hegemonic resistance, despite getting support from the National Human Rights Commission was blocked and hindered by coercive actions by the state through the Film Censorship Body and also the Indonesian National Army. This war of position which was fought with unequal power, has not been able to undermine the anti-communist hegemony but has already shown some of its effects and paved the way for other counter-hegemonic resistance. The IMS movement and the distribution of *The Look of Silence* has not only become a campaign for human rights awareness but also started a community organization, gave birth to organic intellectuals, and expanded the movement as an effort to uphold democracy.

Keywords: hegemony, counter-hegemony, Gramsci, film, war of position