

ABSTRAK

BENTUK-BENTUK PERLAWANAN JURNALIS TEMPO TERHADAP PEMBREDELAN PADA ERA ORDE BARU (1994-1998)

Oleh

ZALFA IZZATI HADINI

Pers adalah pilar demokrasi yang mengawasi kekuasaan dan membentuk opini publik, tetapi pada masa Orde Baru kebebasannya dibatasi melalui sistem SIUPP. Pembredelan Majalah Tempo 21 Juni 1994 menjadi wujud represi negara terhadap pers kritis. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis perlawanan jurnalis Tempo periode 1994–1998 dengan metode historis meliputi heuristik, kritik, interpretasi, dan historiografi dengan pengumpulan data kepustakaan, dokumentasi, dan wawancara.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan dua bentuk utama perlawanan, yakni jalur litigasi dan pendirian Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI). Gugatan hukum terhadap pencabutan SIUPP, meskipun berakhir kalah di tingkat kasasi, memiliki makna simbolik dan moral karena membuka kesadaran publik atas praktik otoritarianisme negara. Di ranah masyarakat sipil, AJI menjalankan strategi melalui penerbitan buletin bawah tanah, pendidikan dan pelatihan jurnalistik, kampanye anti-amplop, advokasi wartawan yang ditangkap, serta penguatan solidaritas nasional dan internasional. Aktivitas ini menghasilkan dampak konkret: lahirnya wacana tandingan, jurnalis independen investigatif, Kode Etik Jurnalistik Independen (KEJI), perlindungan hukum kolektif, dan meningkatnya tekanan politik-moral global pada rezim.

Dengan perspektif hegemoni Antonio Gramsci dan konsep *war of position*, penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa perlawanan jurnalis Tempo bersifat ideologis, kultural, dan akumulatif, serta berkontribusi signifikan dalam melemahkan hegemoni Orde Baru dan membangun fondasi kebebasan pers pada era Reformasi.

Kata Kunci: Majalah Tempo, Orde Baru, Pembredelan, Hegemoni

ABSTRACT

FORMS OF RESISTANCE BY TEMPO JOURNALIST AGAINST THE BANNING DURING THE NEW ORDER ERA (1994–1998)

By

ZALFA IZZATI HADINI

The press is a pillar of democracy that functions to oversee power and shape public opinion; however, during the New Order era its freedom was restricted through the SIUPP system. The banning of Tempo Magazine on 21 June 1994 represented a form of state repression against the critical press. This study aims to analyze the resistance of Tempo journalists in the 1994–1998 period using historical methods, including heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography, with data collected through literature study, documentation, and interviews. The findings show two main forms of resistance: the litigation route and the establishment of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI). The legal challenge against the revocation of SIUPP, although it ended in defeat at the cassation level, held symbolic and moral significance by raising public awareness of authoritarian state practices. Within civil society, AJI pursued strategies through underground bulletin publications, journalistic education and training, anti-envelope campaigns, advocacy for detained journalists, and the strengthening of national and international solidarity. These activities produced concrete impacts: the emergence of counter-discourses, the rise of investigative independent journalists, the creation of the Independent Journalistic Code of Ethics (KEJI), collective legal protection mechanisms, and increased global political and moral pressure on the regime. Drawing on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, particularly the concept of war of position, this study concludes that Tempo journalists' resistance was ideological, cultural, and accumulative in character, contributing significantly to the erosion of New Order hegemony and to the establishment of normative foundations for press freedom in the Reformasi era.

Keywords: *Tempo Magazine, New Order, Press Banning, Hegemony*