Politics of Memory and Legitimacy under Indonesia's New Order and After

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Abstract. This research delves into the intricate politics of memory and legitimacy during Indonesia's New Order era (1967-98), focusing on the roles of identity, economics, security forces, and mass media. Identity politics played a pivotal role in fostering national unity, yet also carried the risk of fueling conflicts. While the New Order regime's economic growth bolstered its legitimacy, it also deepened social inequalities and gave rise to alternative historical narratives. The security apparatus, particularly the military and intelligence agencies, ensured political stability and maintained control over the historical narrative. Moreover, its control of mass communication system enabled it to come up with government approved stories that influence societal thinking. Implementing political changes during the reforms era were nothing compared to changing the beliefs that people hold since time immemorial. This study goes a long way in understanding conflict resolution in history and national cohesion hence calling for suggestions such as transformation of the military, inclusive economic policies and freer media. One must understand the significance of promoting information literacy, fostering national reconciliation and encouraging civil society participation so as to guarantee a future that is inclusive and democratic in Indonesia. This way, wisdom will help the country to face its past, bridge gaps and pave a way for a united future.

Keywords: Politics of Memory, legitimacy, New Order, Indonesia.

1. Introduction

Suharto's government in Indonesia elaborated this narrative so as to impose itself on history and as the narrative became operational political methods aimed at stabilization and control. Throughout the rejustifications of locations taken from popular memory, artists work in the same ways that formal educational institutions, television programs, and movies did. That was done in such a way that past authoritarian or just revolutionary aspirations were covered by state messages. There are research findings which have shown how crucial education, mass media, and art are for framing historical memory as well. Particularly, education was a battleground for recollections in terms of politics in which the government could win or lose [1] [2] [3] [4]. Scholars rewrote school curricula in a manner that promoted the regime narrative on what happened in history, sometimes praising Suharto as a heroic man while playing down the role played by student movements and other opposition leaders [5] [6]. This article examines the impact of this historical narrative on the younger generation, who grew up in an environment of restricted information and a uniform interpretation of history.

Memory by a people is what is defined as collective memory in social science. The past is preserved, remembered and passed on to future generations through memory. According to a group's culture, collective memory denotes recollections and thoughts that are accepted by all members of that community. Analysts of collective memory theory argue that people do not only keep their own memories but also form one general memorable image where everyone participates shaping it internally. Memory is seen in this theory as representing the past truly and at the same time having a social character. This implies that people reorganize, understand and modify their past experiences together so that they can get a similar description of their shared past. The way in which collective memory is developed is dependent on the culture, politics and ideology present in a given society.

Maurice Halbwachs, a prominent French sociologist of the early 20th century, is widely regarded as one of the foundational thinkers of collective memory theory. In his influential work On Collective Memory (1992), he focused on the crucial part played by social groups in shaping collective memories. According to him, [7] personal recollections cannot be isolated from their social settings since people belonging to the same community should depend on each other in order to create and maintain common remembrances. He claims that for people to build and retain public reminiscences they need one another, insisting that the memories cannot exist without teamwork. As time goes by, collective memory has expanded into a crosscutting domain that encompasses sociology, psychology, Cultural Anthropology, Political Science and History. This has led to different theories being formulated which seek to explain what collective memory is all about.

Described as lieux de mémoire, these stand as places or tangible things through which particular historical occurrences are represented or symbolized. These entities may consist of historical monuments like statues, museums and tourist destinations within a country that retain some memorable significance. The idea was first made popular by Pierre Nora, [8], one French historian who wrote Realms of Memory between years 1984 and 1992 in order to understand how they work as tools for constructing French nationalism. "Frame analysis," a theory developed by sociologist Erving Goffman [9], is one more significant theory relating to collective memory. It deals with how personal and social experience are organized into interpretive frames, which are used to give a sense to the memories shared collectively. Understanding these frames can help us to see more deeply into the ways in which societies come to be and remain as stores of collective memory.

It is important to understand that collective memory is dynamic and can change due to re-interpretation, arguments and changes in social and political contexts. For example, political conflicts or change of ideologies can affect what events are remembered in a society. At the international level, collective memory evolves depending on issues such as globalisation and technology revolutions among other factors. For example, quick spread of information using technology alters the manner in which individual people or whole societies see particular historical occurrences.

A stable means of making sure people's thoughts align with those that are deemed favorable by this authority was through censoring and prohibiting journalists from reporting on what they wanted; hence they resorted to enforcing strict measures to curb content that did not conform to their expectations is crucial in comprehending this approach to grasp the fact that mass media has the power to influence how society perceives key occurrences while ensuring that positive impressions about administration are kept in check [10]. Also, government had a close eye on arts and culture. A painting or sculpture can be banned if they have anti-regime implications. People demanded that artists only produced what was in line with the government's perception of things. Conversely, The artists who had new ideas and would challenge the authority that be would not be allowed to show their work [11].

This article will investigate how New Order regime was able to get a support from the people and maintain it. This topic is largely dependent on policy instruments like economic development, identity politics, and military strengthening. The New Order Political Legitimacy Baseline Economic Growth [12]. The government's development plan is intended not only to create economic growth but also to buy political support from the public.

The government's strategy of legitimising itself also includes identity politics. To resonate national solidarity, the government aggressively apply the nationalism and nationhood cards [13] [14]. It manufactures a sense of national identity predicated on beefing up the kind of Indonesian characteristics the regime wants, which gives an illusion of harmony amidst Indonesia many forms–ethnic diversity, cultural and religious multiplicity [15]. This is an analysis of the way in which identity politics controls national perception and creates state incentives. Developing the army is additionally required in sustaining authorities authenticity [16]. Under the New Order, army presence continually increased in the institutional structure of the government.

We will delve into the past in this article, and analyze some of the influences that are made by the politics of memory as well as to question how it shapes our understanding of whether New Order-ism is considered 'legitimate' today. Examining the political trajectory of this historical legacy, how it affects issues of national identity and the recognition and redistribution of social justice today in Indonesia is crucial. In a related commentary), the analysis is whether Indonesian society is making efforts to break away from historical manipulation and establish a more inclusive national narrative. Through an examination of Indonesian politics during the New Order period (1965-98), this article offers a comprehensive explanation for why the politics of memory and legitimacy were such prominent lenses and tools with which to view, study, and interpret political dynamics in Indonesia under his rule. This article helps to shed light on the character of history creation and national identity, as a more relevant policy in (current) changing social and political Indonesia

2. Research Method

The research method used in this article does not aim at enunciating the politics of memory and legitimacy of New Order era Indonesia, it just tackles one aspect with its complexity. The methodological approach is both in document analysis and interviews, archived record and interdisciplinary that details the strategies of Suharto Government to make use of historical narrative for its legitimacy [17]. Methodology first used Document Analysis The first part of this research uses document analysis. Their work involved scouring official government records, news articles, school textbooks, and historical literature all produced during the New Order era. The goal is to target crucial alterations of the national historical narrative, manipulates that fall under propaganda; and policies, which serve in creating a collective memory desired by the regime.

Document analysis, (eg., browsing through the educational curriculum introduced by the government; recent modifications in history textbooks and other learning materials) We also refer to official government documents like presidential addresses, policy statements and draft legislation to find out how the govt. built up the official historical narrative. The relevancy of the mass media in forming public opinion is also investigated through news reports, editorials and opinion columns published at this time. Examines how issues the government deems critical or controversial are expressed (or not) in media coverage, uses extensive content analyses to explore patterns in news presentations that could bolster the administration's story.

To support the above claim, the statement was second: interviews with parties who had experienced directly in the time of the New Order. Interviewees were former government officials, academics, activists and an ordinary member of the public who lived through those times. We used a structured interview guide developed ad hoc in order to assure content and data relevance across interviews. How government influences the production of historical fictions, its impact on society, and how ordinary citizens experience and think about regime attempts to construct political legitimacy are explored more in-depth in these interviews. Interview data are then analyzed, but are also integrated with the findings on document analysis to construct a broader picture.

Third, archival research is employed to gather data. It be examined critical decisions, policy strategies and political dynamics behind the scenes in New Order era by historical archives, personal documents and policy records found in national archives as well other institution. In a similar light, archival research can capture the ways in which governments set historical narratives, designed and actioned select policies and citizenry reactions to such. The archival research data both corroborates and deepens the insights from document analysis and interviews.

It is the foundation of a multidisciplinary study within which data from multiple sources are collected and analyzed. Working together, historians will be able to provide a more comprehensive overview in the politics of memory and legitimacy during (the era) of the New Order, political science that focuses now only on formal

question related with democracy will expand its spectrumd on how it is enacted upon these industries. We analysed data from both these sources in an integrated manner to produce a coherent account of what the government had done, and sought patterns, contradictions and implications across methods. In this research, ethical issues were the topmost concern. Privacy of the respondent, accuracy in information and data security is taken up with due gravity. The researcher aimed to honor the viewpoints and experiences of each participant providing them with a safe place in which to record their stories.

Then the data produced in these three ways were analyzed with a qualitative process. The thematic analysis of document data, interviews and archival research are used to systematically identify the common themes, relationships between causes and effects and stories of change. Each method provide some findings that were then assembled together to build a comprehensive narrative of the politics of memory and legitimacy in New Order Indonesia. One of the advantage technique in this particular study is that it can provide a deep understanding by looking holistically at political dynamics when New Order regime. Employing an interdisciplinary methodology and qualitative methods in concert provides a more comprehensive and nuanced comprehension. But limitations include the fact that there's only so much in ways of archival questions, and qualitative research is obviously subject to bias.

The research methods employed in this article provide a strong framework for examining the politics of memory and legitimacy within the context of Indonesia's New Order. By thoroughly exploring the strategies and mechanisms implemented by the government, this study aims to offer valuable insights into the intricate nature of Indonesia's political history and its profound influence on shaping the nation's identity.

3   Results and Discussion

3.1. The Constructions Politics of Memory and Legitimacy in Indonesia's New Order

The topic centers around describing the analysis of document collection, interview, and available records which reveal how power struggles at Suharto's time dictated popular mindset for instance.

How the New Order government systematically redesigned the national historical narrative to support its political legitimacy is revealed by document analysis. The educational curriculum was meticulously revised so that it reflected the version of history that was aligning with the regime's narrative casting Suharto as some kind of hero while reducing importance given on student movement and opposition figures. According to the revised history textbooks, filtering and adapting historical facts were done in a way that favours political interests [18]. Notably, through document analysis the paper shows that the Indonesian Government has been manipulating historical stories about major events as such as the 1 March General Strike; the 30 September

Movement (G30S); the Eleven March Order (Supersemar); and the stripping of Sukarno's powers. This has seen exclusion of contested or undesired narratives, [19] [20], hence; leading to a distorted history. Therefore, it depicts how memory politics have influenced people's understanding about such incidents in the past, thereby making sure that a specific kind of history backing New Order regime transfer authority has prevailed in our society.

Interviews integrated with historical actors, former government officials and activists give a clear understanding of how political strategies memory were practiced by those who lived in the new order era. This was how participants narrated their specific experiences on limitations to expression, forcing artists or intellectuals, and controlling mass media. Former government officials present an exceptional outlook on government level decision-making and the designing of policies to attain desired political goals. Numerous interviews have shown the importance of controlling historical narratives for political stability and regime legitimacy. Conversely, narratives presented by activists and others who disagree with the government outline some obstacles involved in making alternative narratives and criticizing the authorities.

With an understanding of current government policies, archival research complements the results obtained through interviews and document analyses. They are repositories that disclose political considerations, decisions taken internally and debates within government ranks. Both show the processes through which policies which have had effects on the history of our country came into being and were executed. Furthermore, through surveillance records it is evident that during the New Order regime security apparatus collaborated with intelligence agencies in order to support memory politics strategies such as brainwashing or rewriting history in their own style. Also, the regime ensured that its preferred narrative was always imposed against all odds despite facing political criticism from opponents around artists, authors among other influential people that provided informed views in national issues.

The research findings emphasized that economic development constitutes a fundamental factor upon which the New Order hinges its credibility as a political authority. Under the New Order era, economic development policies led to remarkable growth rates especially in the industrial and infrastructure areas. However, this growth has been uneven across social and economic lines [21]. On one hand, economic advancement tends to create loyalism to the government from various individuals; however, on the other hand there are issues related to equality and distribution of resources related to this same economic development. The analysis conducted through interviews revealed that the economic programs introduced by New Order benefited political cronies or people with some kind of power connections within government at the expense of ordinary citizens. This shows that economic revival is geared towards creating political authenticity by way of restricted economic advancement.

According to this research, identity politics also helped in creating unity during the New Order time. The government actively promulgates Indonesianess as their vision

of national identity. This involves the promotion of national languages, official culture, and national symbols that support the political narrative of the regime [22]. Even though identity politics has in fact given rise to an impression of unity amidst Indonesia's diversity in ethnicity, culture, religion and other aspects, conflict and disagreement are still possible. Excessive focus on a single national identity can make it harder to see the various ethnic and cultural identities within Indonesia. According to people interviewed during research, all these could lead to hidden contradictions that may snowball into misunderstanding among various social classes resulting into strife within communities. Interviewees expressed worries over the likelihood of ignoring the actual reality of diversity and multiplicity which is supposed to represent the wealth of Indonesia if only one national identity is strongly emphasized while imposing limitations on freedom of expression for different people with respect to their own cultures, religions or any other aspects may lead to misunderstandings among members in society.

One of the foundations of a national identity policy should be to take pride in our diversity and unite our nation. The unity should not necessarily be based on being similar but recognizing and appreciating the differences that exist amongst us. This necessitates states to have laws or regulations that protect freedom of expression as well as respecting human rights where people feel acknowledged in their difference which comes in different forms such as religions and tribes. Additionally, civil society, NGOs and human rights advocacy groups also play significant roles. They can be watchdogs for diversity and champion its cause by pushing governments make concrete efforts towards preventing identity-based conflicts. This collaboration between the government and civil societies can lead to joint actions which enhance integration while at the same time reducing chances for wars.

One must consider the significance of ensuring that pluralism and tolerance are embedded among the values acquired through educating people. It is necessary for development programs like textbooks, language instruction materials among other media forms used by students have elements from various cultures so they can know understand respect and embrace those who are unlike them [23]. It's possible to prevent future identity conflicts and develop resilience towards different kinds of discrimination. This way, Indonesia will get the right balance between building unity within it and recognizing the differences. Strong national identity does not depend on sameness, but on the power that comes out of its diversity. In fact, with the world becoming more connected day by day, it is important for us to note that one of Indonesia's strengths internationally is embracing diversity while still holding onto our national unity.

Even with the successful employment of identity politics to portray Indonesians as a people commonly tied together by ethnic, religious and cultural bond, there is a need to realize that they are sitting on a time bomb of latent conflicts. Both the government and the society must come up with programs that support diversity, allow people to maintain their distinctiveness and at the same time develop an all-inclusive national identity. Only by adopting such an inclusive strategy can Indonesia move towards a peaceful tomorrow without forsaking its well-defined cultural composition.

3.2. Resistance and Opposition: Public Responses to the Politics of Memory and Legitimacy

Even as the New Order government crafted its political strategies of memory and legitimacy so meticulously, research findings indicate that it was at odds with these efforts. This paper will address how different community groups have mobilized against the government's monopoly on historical narratives. In the interviews conducted among activists, students, among other sectors, various forms of opposition come out well. The student movement which is well known for its critical role took the lead on this. The constraints of free speech and authoritarianism were opposed by students who rejected a totalizing official history. Student protests, at their height in the early 1990s, emphasized on a new national history approach and freedom of speech requirements.

The resistance movement includes those who pursue social justice, such as advocates of human rights and representatives of community-based organizations interested in physical and cultural diversity. They speak up against phenomena not acknowledged by official histories, defend the rights of different ethnic groups, and underline the significance of embracing cultural differences as integral to national identity development. It is important therefore, that when reading this paragraph, one should keep in mind that what the study findings reveal is that opposition to memory politics in post-Suharto Indonesia represents not only resistance against authoritarian rule but an attempt at acknowledgement plus preservation of historical multiplicity together with national self-identification.

The findings of the study offer a profound comprehension of the consequences of the political memory's legacy as well as the New Order's legitimacy on the contemporary national identity of Indonesia. Herein lies a discussion on how narratives from the past influenced by the New Order administration have affected individuals' sense about what it means to be Indonesian. One of the key outcome areas relates to nationhood. Despite the increment of being open to alternative views and misrepresentations, Indonesian society is still limited by the New Order memory politics in terms of historical discourse and national identity. The basis of a national identity during the New Order regime remains part of the total mind's eye despite efforts to alter it.

In the formation of a truly inclusive national identity, there is complexity in official histories conflicting with alternative ones. How Indonesian society responds to and accommodates conflicting histories is crucial in the country's national identity development. Acknowledging variety while establishing a firm and united identity are some of the challenges Indonesian culture faces. This study suggests the necessity of historical reconciliation if there is to be any hope of remedying past grievances or achieving social change. The subsequent analysis considers what we might learn by revisiting and revising these national historical narratives in light of our own contemporary drive for more equality, less social tension between different groups within society, and fewer conflicts between individual self-conceptions.

Historical acknowledgement requires acknowledging that damaging policies and actions were committed during the New Order and appreciated diversity and historical facts. The ceremonies to identify key events in the New Order period as human rights violation also honour innocent souls who were affected by these harmful policies. Moreover, the process of historical reconciliation requires a comprehensive strategy that takes into account all players, including those community organizations which were often sidelined or ignored when it comes to discussion of official history. Opening an arena where different voices can be heard and appreciated would ultimately ease strife while enhancing the essence that make up the whole identity of given country.

This research underscores the convolutedness of politics of memory and legitimacy in New Order Indonesia. At the same time, there is an intricate web of re-imagined historical narratives, economic development policies, identity politics and societal resistance. These then lead to an extensive reflection which has policy recommendations for Indonesia's transition into more openness and inclusivity.

Giving recognition and praise to the diverse histories and national identities should be given attention. Policies in education which give room to different historical perspectives thus increasing the availability of accurate information that are impartial can solve social disparities during formation and writing of national history. This is in line with the educational objectives which underscore the pluralism of the nation-State. It is also important to consider historical reconciliation within the policy framework. Giving room for discussion and promoting reconciliation among social groups that have been negatively affected by the New Order policies would help lay a stronger basis for national identity building. In this situation, mass media and education have major roles. The press should act as gatekeepers of historical truth, giving impartial and unbiased facts and allowing voices that have been sidelined previously. Education must be used as a means to achieve greater comprehension on the intricacies that exist within our respective national pasts and also as a way of promoting respect for differences in societies.

By acting out these steps, Indonesia has the ability to come to terms with its history without fear, learn its lessons and work toward a future that is more inclusive. When different viewpoints are acknowledged and honored when establishing a national identity for themselves; they are able to develop one which is vibrant enough to remain relevant in any particular epoch.

3.3. Economic Dynamics and Social Impact: Development Gaps

This study accentuates the paramount significance of econ omic growth policies in forming remembrance politics and validation chapter during the era of New Order administration in Indonesia. A subsequent discussion is about the effects of the socioeconomic strategies supported by the regime and how historical narratives and political support are impacted by development disparities. It emerged that the most fundamental reason for consolidating his political legitimacy was the rapid economic expansion which characterized the Suharto administration. This growth has not been

uniform; any favorable benefit has gone to friends of political regimes although this particular government has realized steady economic growth marked by its enhanced investment in the industrial and infrastructure sections.

The government has created many mega projects and emphasized industrialization as a way of making lives better for the people in order to earn their trust. Various classes in the society were satisfied with this prosperity thereby becoming a strong supporter of Suharto's government. Thus, these findings show that the strategy for economic growth is nothing but a means of enhancing political legitimacy.

Even though rapid economic progress decorated the scene, it did not come without making the voices of some sections of the society be heard. However, documents and interviews show that the gap between the rich and the poor was widened during the reign of the New Order regime. During the New Order era, the gap between the rich and the poor widened rapidly, interviews and document analysis show. During the New Order era, the rich got richer and the rest were left struggling. The social impact resulting from this gap tells the story on how the society will remember new order era. Majority underscore that those who squarely bore the brunt present a different historical narration of acrimony connected to the disparity defined. Instances of socioeconomic injustices, oppression and lack of contentment with oppressive economic measures make up this story.

The findings of the study seem to support the argument by Kaku that cultural and political factors relating to identity have been instrumental in the restructuring of public affairs. Given that societies are divided into various levels, discrimination often emanates from the most powerful groups. Very often, these groups who are also mistreated based on their political affiliation engage in violent actions to express themselves. Complex and challenging political dynamics can arise due to conflicts between identities. In order to demand for fairer social and economic rights, those community groups that feel economically marginalized may resort to using their identity as a basis. This in turn builds another layer of memory politics where historical narratives are intricately linked with experiences of economic inequality and identity conflict.

On the other hand, the results indicate some regional initiatives in the field of local economy promotion, which can serve as alternatives within such regional development and identification. Many parts of Indonesia are currently undertaking local economic projects which mainly focus on community empowerment and sustainable economic development in general. The procedure has brought positive economic outcomes as well as give meaning to the local past hence creating a unique narrative in history that appreciates the contribution of community in determining their fate. Local economic empowerment creates a regional identity. It also gives community groups a direct role in development processes leading to creation of strong local identities which are also good. As a result, we have various historical stories in our area that do not necessarily agree with the national ones we have been told.

It is critical for building inclusive economic development and balancing societal identities that policymakers take into account the following findings. Initially, the government should concentrate on policies promoting economic growth alongside reducing economic inequality by bridging wealth disparities. Such measures might involve promoting local economic empowerment, funding education and encouraging training to enhance individuals' competencies as well as employment-led strategies. Besides, identity policy formulation must consider specificity at both local and regional levels. Utilizing a local identity as an empowering tool is crucial to enhance diversity and acknowledge the rights of the community in managing development in their territory. Governments should encourage local projects fostering regional identity but not jeopardizing national unity. Thirdly, economic development and identity politics should blend fully. Therefore, it is imperative for efforts aimed at creating a sense of belonging at a national level to be synchronized with economic policies addressing equity and environmental conservation. Creating a balanced and holistic approach demands cooperation between government, civil society, and the private sector. Inclusive economic growth that is both strong and unified nationally can be achieved by Indonesia if it's able to deliver upon these strategies. Thus, by creating policies that enhances fair economic development as well as identity supporting diverse the future where we are living together harmoniously and sustainably in Indonesia can only be realized after achieving the above mentioned objectives.

3.4. Political Control through Military Power and Intelligence

In order to design the memory politics and preserve the legitimacy of power during the era of the New Order, the significance of security forces cannot be underestimated. On this note findings from researches into enhancing security apparatus, military involvement and intelligence policies under Suharto will be expounded.

The research shows that the Indonesian military played a vital role in promoting and maintaining political stability throughout the era of the New Order. The government employs state armed forces to inhibit all kinds of opposition–especially the active types. For this purpose they use Indonesian army in punishment of student's disobediences in addition to closing down of political parties judgedly wrong and all such like that endangers the regime. By analyzing documents and interviewing former government officials, it was discovered that the military was involved in shaping and dominating the historical narrative. According to this perspective, the military guarantees physical safety while protecting the historical narrative that supports the regime. Through this ability, the military enables the government to come up with a set of memory politics that favours the interests of the regime.

Recognizing the military's role aside, political memory of New Order is largely based on intelligence policy, as shown by the research findings. For this reason, intelligence organs are employed by the state to manage information and the public minds ensuring that the historical narrative is favorable. Therefore, acts such as espionage, censorship among others key in silencing dissenting voices besides ensuring that the

regime maintains its grip over history-making process. Artists, writers, musicians or anyone else known for going against the official narrative or policies that were meant to keep them in check faced severe interrogation. It is from there that expression became limited and many work from artists did not reach the public if they failed to carry the right message. The intelligence policy concerning rebels and spies infiltrated art, literature as well as mass media according to documents kept in store called archives for future reference.

Politically, the aftermath of strengthening the security forces is heavily felt most notably in the affairs of government as well as affecting everyday lives of the people. The paper seeks to demonstrate that stiff security measures and the crackdown on opposition create an atmosphere of fear in the society, thereby making individuals to keep quiet afraid of being arrested or victimized for their views against the administration. Thus, the impact of repressive security policies on peoples' psyche and social life cannot be overemphasised. There is widespread fear and uncertainty within the community which serves as a threat against freedom of speech and political involvement. Fear and restraint engulf people's lives due to authoritarianism and hyper surveillance, which in return denies human rights and freedom.Practically, the accounts of human rights activists and opponents' captivity have stressed the need for resistance as arrests intensified.The so-called New Order regime made attempts to control the accounts of history and silence those who disagreed with it, but some still retained their defiance through keeping an alternative history.

It is important to know that, according to investigations, resistance is not about big protests only. Locally, people have also found other ways to act against the powers-that-be. One such method is recording information they consider worth preserving, which has been altered by the authorities through various means. In defending our own history, we can resort to insurgent ways of expressing it–through drawings or hand-inscriptions–because such means are invaluable in maintaining what must be kept. The emerging policy implications from the findings is that it is necessary to overhaul the security apparatus and protect human rights. A poorly regulated strengthening of the security apparatus can destroy democracy in that nation. Hence some actions should be taken to reverse this trend.

First we have to reform security organs. The government has to audit and restructure military departments redirecting them to keep national safety on democratic principles bases. To decrease military involvement in politics and historical narrative to lessen while creating a wider room for civilian participation and pluralism of perspectives! Second on the agenda is protection of human rights while focusing on them at length. This means that intelligence policies which deprive people their right to free speech through censorship need immediate control and supervision. Guarantee protection for creative persons, journalists, and other advocates who dare to criticize government policies.The establishment of independent oversight mechanisms towards the security forces that would prevent them from abusing their powers and maintain rule of law.Call for national reconciliation in order to have a more cohesive nation.Open dialogue between the government, security forces and opposition groups can facilitate

understanding of historical events thereby laying foundation for addressing social injusticeseffectively expose what happened and bring about reconciliation in society.

3.5. Mass Media and the Manipulation of Public Opinion: An Important Role in the Politics of Memory

This research also indicates that mass media played an important role in determining the memory politics and shaping the public opinion during the New Order era. In this subsection, we will discuss some aspects related to the control of the media, manipulation of data and how they influence historical accounts and public opinions. The results from research show that as a political strategy the New Order regime was very strict on the use of mass media. Suharto-friendly factions ensured that the official government's historical account came out publicly through controlling mass media. The use of the military and intelligence agencies to control media operations has become an efficient strategy in controlling information and preventing the growth of opposition sentiments against the regime.

Analysts have discovered through archives and interviews with former journalists that the mass media was not an independent institution but merely a conduit for official policies and messages promoting government interests. This position reiterates the overriding necessity of various memory regimes in reinforcing the positions of those at the helm. Several tactics were involved in the manipulation of information by the government of the New Order. These included censorship, restrictions on freedom of press and the creation of historical narratives that favored the regime. It has been found through research that different historical happenings particularly those which connected with repression measures by security forces are usually altered or kept out of media reports. This way information vacuum is created thus ensuring that the dominant version becomes the official one.

That the media are the fourth pillar of a democracy is an oversimplified concept. Media pluralism is not only the multiplicity of media markets, but also reflects the absence of governmental interference and the existence of a permanent right of access to information. In the long run, only few individuals who work for the media and who dare to criticize and be critical about government policy are prosecuted. The role of shaping public views on history and government performance falls primarily on mass media in memory politics. It is through media's historical narratives that people get to understand significant events and personalities in history. Findings indicate that in those days, most people would tend to regard what mass media presented as the ultimate truth.

The effect from remembering various episodes - for instance the coup attempt on 30 September and post-1965 events–is a case in point. Mass media provided and propagated an official version about these occurrences which often seems confused and equivocal [11]. People can only see the selected views which make them formulate opinions without awareness. Indonesia has experienced a transition period in the mass communication system with the change from the New Order to the Reformasi era in 1998. This has put press liberties and media pluralism on the

forefront with the establishment of several new media outlets aimed at giving more critical and objective news stories. Nevertheless, there are obstacles that need to be addressed specifically concerning altering public attitudes that have been shaped over time through different regimes.

In post-Reformation interviews, media practitioners underscored the difficulty & chances affiliated with using media as a tool for memory politics that is democratic. Freedom of the press may be on the increase but efforts are continuously being made to modify or omit historical truth. The primary task involves creating news organization that is independent enough to present facts objectively as well as ensure that the public possesses a sense of discernment on issues concerning news. Through implementation of this idea, Indonesia will enable mass media act as a watchdog of historical truths and as a platform where different viewpoints can be aired. Involvement of the masses in articulating public opinion and supporting the free media will make room for a memory-infused politics that is more democratic and all-encompassing.

3.6. Politics of Memory and Legitimacy in Post-Suharto Era

When compared to the Suharto era, that was characterized by nearly 30 years of dictatorship, the post-Suharto regime in Indonesia has experienced modifications in collective memory approval and changed nation building strategies. In Suharto's era, which was marked by extensive individual sovereignty, there existed a centralized and regulated discourse on the country's past emphasizing governmental success stories while sidelining or inhibiting conflicting viewpoints. However, the post-Suharto Indonesia's era has been marked by a different trend towards collective memory. Different historical narratives, especially those about independence struggles, human rights abuses, as well as ethnic and cultural diversity, have been more accepted in that period. This change is in part due to the pressure for reform that emerged in the late 1990s, which demanded better democracy and more political openness.

The changed collective memory involves the recognition and remembrance of older human rights violations, especially those that happened during the time of Suharto. Suharto's downfall brought about greater attempts to investigate and redress past wrongs from the 1960s anti-communist purges to human rights abuses in East Timor and elsewhere. Advocating for truth and reconciliation has required the crucial involvement of civil society groups, human rights activists, and victims' families. This was achieved through the establishment of the national commission on human Rights (Komnas HAM) in 1993 and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKRI) in 2004. Despite facing challenges, in 2006, KKRI ceased to exist but it epitomized significant endeavor towards addressing past wrongs and creating a broader memory.

Indonesia has attempted to use a broader, more inclusive approach in the period after President Suharto's rule, as far as national building is concerned. Indonesia has been striving to embrace the various ethnicities, cultures and religions that constitute it. The government has decided to grant independence to regions and introduce this policy to a higher extent than was done before, thus enabling people residing in these

territories to have a say in how they are governed. In this process therefore, one of the most important things is promoting Pancasila philosophy which emphasizes pluralism and unity in diversity. Indonesia's diverse social, cultural, and religious landscape is housed within the framework of Pancasila. As this puts much importance on Pancasila, one can see how different it is from the New Order era that was pioneered by Suharto dictatorial regime where Indonesian identity was more centralized and controlled. However, there are still some issues when it comes to the establishment of a fully inclusive and reconciled common memory. Conversations revolving around history-related stories, functions of the army, and how human right abuses were addressed continue up to today. Besides, corruption issues continue to haunt us, social justice and economic disparities shaping our journey as a nation into the future are also vital aspects too. Indonesia's post-Suharto government is seeing a transition to a collective memory that is more accommodating and inclusive by acknowledging various historical accounts and dealing with human rights abuses of the past. The attempts aimed at building a national identity put stress on the Pancasila-based strategy which acknowledges Indonesian diverse nature and addresses challenges that exist in the society particularly involving historical accounts as well as social justice elements.

In 2019 there were questions and debates about the degree to which political divisions in Indonesia, especially during election years, were a deliberate tactic or a natural dynamic within society. Whether the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) remains a common enemy of the public and how Suharto is represented in the national education curriculum are also key issues to consider. In relation to the 2019 elections, some of the factors behind political fragmentation can be discerned. The main factor here is the disparities in ideologies, political visions and policies by the rival parties. This is a common phenomenon in democratic political environments where parties vie for public backing by putting forth their political agendas and promises. Nonetheless, there are also signs that some quarters might seek to exploit these distinctions for political or power gains. Often times sensitive topics including religion, ethnicity among other social subjects are used to arouse an individual's sense of belonging thereby further entrenching this phenomenon within the society.

Noting that, political divisions in elections are not always natural or spontaneous. In such cases political elites or certain groups can exploit particular issues in order to attain their political objectives. Therefore, political divisions can sometimes be taken as a byproduct of intended strategies that have been executed by some parties. Despite the fact that numerous years have gone by since Suharto fell from power and PKI was crushed in 1965, there is still an impact on Indonesian politics and society by this issue. The New Order regime under Suharto considered PKI as an opponent, and even after his demise the negative attitude towards those who had been affiliated to PKI remained. As time goes by and there are changes in politics, some individuals attempt to create room for talking over what happened during PKI times. A number of civil society organizations together with NGOs that deal with human rights issues are demanding for a critical review and acknowledgement regarding the events of 1965. However, despite the ongoingness of this process, more often than not its progression may require support from those who want things to stay as they have always been.

For instance, under the national education curriculum, and especially in the post-reform era, there has been a different representation of the Suharto leadership and New Order history. Discussion about the critical areas of Suharto's government have also been increased. In order to paint a complete picture of Indonesia's political history, some historical literature sources and books try to remain objective. However, Suharto's regime created wealth and peace in Southeast Asia although it used undemocratic ways of ruling. Post-reform historical understanding brings to the fore condemnation of violations of human rights and corruption. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Indonesian society is still grappling with altering perceptions of Suharto's reign as well as the New Order regime. There are factions that continue to admire Suharto for offering them economic stability and wealth, all at the same time as others use the same opportunity to condemn him for denial of political justice and human rights abuses.

Indonesia's memory politics used to take a different shape during the reform era. New platforms are available for sharing information and perspectives on social media as well as advances in information technology. Public debates are more vibrant than ever before, enabling previously marginalized or silenced individuals to voice their opinions. Today, human rights advocates and non-governmental organizations are increasingly demanding openness and accuracy in any narrative about Indonesia's political past; especially when dealing with the Seventeen Years era. What this means is that there can be change in politics of remembrance as well. It is for this reason that we may witness contrary developments with memory issues winding up in some countries. This move calls upon the government to be open with its information sharing, do more investigations and acknowledge historical facts. Such policies include those aimed at promoting reconciliation through legal means, official apologies or erection of monuments honoring victims caught up during human rights abuses. Nevertheless, it must be stated categorically that there are times when the patterns of memory politics change non-linearly while presenting new threats.

Political divisions in the reformation era in Indonesia led to social dynamics in the Indonesian society. Natural dynamics normally lead to political divisions in societies contesting for political offices. During elections, politics can be polarized with sensitive issues being exploited by few elements to gain political mileage, or maintain certain standards of power balance among the ruling elite in Indonesia. However, political stigmatization of it remains sporadic within the confines of certain societies despite the fact that PKI is no longer an official enemy. Efforts to seek justice, truth, and reconciliation with respect to political history of the country have been some of the driving forces behind changes observable in Indonesian memory politics.

4   Conclusion

The study shows how complicated the politics of remembrance and esteem are under Indonesia's new order system. The investigation focuses on the aspects of identity, economy, security agents and mass media all of which interact. There have been other

smaller discussions covering each of these aspects thoroughly hence broadening how individuals interpret, view and apply history to sustain or overthrow power. Identity politics during the regime successfully gave a pretense of oneness beyond the country's differentiations of ethnicity, culture or religion. Despite that, it is not just positive but also has negative side effects such as increased possibilities of covert misunderstandings. Having pronounced attachment to particular national identity tend to kill diversity by causing issues between sections within a society. The only way out is by acknowledging all identities and distinctions to forge a national togetherness that recognizes everyone.

The central pillar for strengthening the regime's political legitimacy was significant economic growth under the New Order. Manufactured development gaps within society have led to immense social disparities. Consequently, poor hyphenated groups within different communities, there are divergent stories that are told which subsequently fuel social tensions and identity conflict therefore solidifying national unity requires an inclusion of economically oriented programs and identity based laws that accommodate diversity. The politics of memory have been influenced by the security forces, in particular, the army and intelligence organs in general. Not only the military is the guardian of political stability but also the guardian of the historical narrative desired by the regime. When government controls security forces and intelligence policies intimidate freedom of expression then it creates a climate of fear that silences opposition voices. By reforming the security organ and protecting human rights, it can ensure there is no misuse of security powers allowing people to influence how history is interpreted.

Memory politics has been shaped significantly by mass media during the New Order Era. An authoritative historical narrative supportive of the governing authority is constructed by the government through its grip on public information. Consequently, the press and reporters often find themselves under immense pressure because they are forced to report what they want people believe therefore constraining freedom of expression as well as free association. But despite the significant changes during the Reformasi period, there are still difficulties experienced with changing perceptions and building independent media outlets. Historical reconciliation in Indonesia and national harmony could be possible if Indonesia understands properly the memory dynamics that are political from the past Security sector reform, inclusive economics, media freedom, and information literacy education are some of the elements necessary for building stronger foundations towards an all-inclusive democratic society.

This research, gathered from a number of studies, suggests that there is need for the government to overhaul the security apparatuses comprehensively, lessen military involvement in national politics, and ensure security forces work only towards the nation's interest not those of a singular regime. Economic development strategies ought to aim at diminishing economic disparities by focusing on empowering local economies through enhancing education opportunities as well as training systems alongside bettering wealth sharing mechanisms. To protect freedom of the press, support independent media and raise the public's level of information literacy,

concrete steps have to be taken. It is essential that information literacy instruction be part of the school curriculum.

To uncover the historical truth, reconcile the society and lay a foundation for social justice, the government could also think of reviving the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. For monitoring the government policies, supporting diversity, making sure that marginalized voices are heard civil society and non-governmental organizations and human rights advocacy organizations are very important. It must be revised, therefore, for a reflective education curriculum which encompasses various cultures and religions of Indonesia which carries the message of tolerant differences and acceptance among diverse cultures in this nation's future generation. Thus, looking at the past without fear or resentments while learning from it will help Indonesia to create a more inclusive future. An integrated approach that engages everyone in society is necessary if harmony and unity are to be maintained even with all the diversities that exist within Indonesia

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