



## The Chinese Ethnic Political Participation In Indonesian Political Development In Soe Hok Gie Film (Semiotics Study by Charles Sanders Peirce)

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**Abstract.** *The post-reform era became public and government awareness of ethnic Chinese. This is evidenced by President Abdurrahman Wahid's decree to relax ethnic Chinese activities. Because in the Old Order, there was a government policy that was anti-Chinese sentiment. There is even a ban on foreigners to trade in Indonesia, as well as ethnic Chinese who become looting and mob rage, victims of sexual violence and so on. Through this Soe Hok Gie film, it depicts the participation of ethnic Chinese in solving the problem of government authoritarianism and saving Indonesia from the economic crisis. In this study This type of research uses library research, with a communication approach that uses media text analysis. The data collection technique in this study uses the semiotic analysis research method of Charles Sanders Peirce. The method uses Sign, Object and Interpretant to explain the content of a film. From the film Soe Hok Gie, this research has found the meaning of Sign, Object and Interpretant of ethnic Chinese political participation in the film Soe Hok Gie based on Charles Sander Peirce's semiotic theory. Finding an analysis of Sign, Object and Interpretant of ethnic Chinese political participation in political developments in Indonesia in the film Soe Hok Gie.*

**Keywords:** *Participation, Politics, Chinese, Indonesian.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is a country with a high level of multiculturalism. Indonesian people come from various different ethnicities. Many ethnic groups often lead to grouping, exclusion and even conflict. Even from a political point of view, it is not uncommon for the public to vote for a candidate who is advancing from a cultural and ethnic background that is attached to him or in accordance with the ethnic and cultural background of the electorate.<sup>1</sup> One of the immigrant ethnic groups that plays a major role in Indonesia is the Chinese ethnicity.

Chinese people came to Indonesia since the Han Dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) for trading purposes, spreading Buddhism, and knowledge such as literature. Most of the Chinese in Indonesia come from four ethnic groups, namely the Hokkien tribe who live by trading, the Hakka tribe who work in mining, the Tiu-Chiu tribe who do a lot of business in plantations, the people of Cantonese cities in Indonesia.<sup>2</sup>

However, anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia still occurs frequently in the history of the journey of the Indonesian State. This sentiment has existed since the Dutch occupation of Indonesia and continued during the Old Order and New Order eras until after the reformation. This anti-Chinese sentiment was caused by the stigma attached to the ethnic Chinese by the natives who considered that the Chinese were not yet a complete part of the Indonesian nation.<sup>3</sup>

However, in the post-Reformation era, the awareness of the Indonesian people got better and the perception of the Chinese ethnicity changed. This can be seen from the government policy of President BJ Habibie's era which prohibited the terms native and non-native. President Abdurrahman Wahid issued a Presidential Decree stating that all Chinese cultural, social or religious activities no longer require permits.

Even during the course of his administration, the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia was appointed from a Chinese descent, namely Kwik Kian Gie. In addition, Chinese descendants also began to gain access to be actively involved in politics. During the era of President Megawati, many Chinese descendants joined major parties such as PDIP,

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<sup>1</sup>Melinda Adi Pratiwi, "Identity Politics in the Perspective of Surabaya Chinese Politicians (Case Study in the Surabaya City Council)," (Sunan Ampel State Islamic University, Surabaya, 2017), 1.

<sup>2</sup>Kong Yuanzhi, *Chinese-Indonesian Cross Culture*, (Jakarta: Bhuana Popular Science, 2005) 23-25.

<sup>3</sup>Alvian Apriano & Binsar Jonathan Pakpahan, *Building a Theology of Heteronomous Alteritas: Efforts to Eradicate the Remains of Anti-Chinese Stigma in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: College of Theological Philosophy, Journal of Christian Theology and Education, Vol. 6, No. 2, April 2022), 5 .

PKB, and PAN.<sup>4</sup>Not a few ethnic Chinese people in Indonesia were involved in the world of national movements, they took part in achieving independence. For example, in the "Youth Pledge" in 1928, he became a BPUPKI committee member, a member of parliament and abused critics of the government.<sup>5</sup>

This Chinese ethnic struggle attracted a young man who also came from ethnic Chinese descent, namely Soe Hok Gie. Gie is an observer of national issues who is diligent and passionate about writing because of his thoughts. Gie's awareness of the world around him made him involved in Indonesian political expression.<sup>6</sup>His struggle against the government and his idealism has been told in a film entitled "Soe Hok Gie" which will be analyzed in depth using Charles Sanders Pierce's Semiotics study of Chinese Ethnic Political Participation in Indonesian Political Development.

## **METHOD**

This type of research uses library research, with a communication approach that uses media text analysis. Data collection techniques in this study used semiotic analysis research methods from Charles Sanders Pierce. This method uses Sign, Object and Interpretant to explain the contents of a film. And then it is analyzed according to what is the research objective.

Charles Sander Pierce's Semiotics uses a Triadic semiotic approach (three basic elements), namely representation [sign=T;something], object [O; something in human cognition], interpretation [I; interpretation process. According to Pierce, human life cannot be separated from signs, and signs always have a meaning. Furthermore, the meaning has a message content as a communication to the audience/appreciator of visual objects. From the data that has been collected in the film Soe Hok Gie, it is then analyzed according to the research objective, namely the political participation of the Chinese ethnicity in the development of Indonesian politics.

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<sup>4</sup>Mirah Pertiwi, The Development of Anti-Chinese Sentiment in Indonesia, (Bandung: Communication Studies Study Program, Telkom University, KAGANGA KOMUNIKA Journal, Vol. 3, No. 1, May 2021), 5-6. <http://jurnal.uts.ac.id/index.php/KAGANGA> accessed on 23-06-2022 at 20:53

<sup>5</sup>Leo Suryadinata, State and Ethnic Chinese, "Cases in Indonesia," (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2002), 26.

<sup>6</sup>Muhammad Rifai, Soe Hok Gie: Biography of a Demonstrator (Sleman: Garasi, 2014), 128-129.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **1. Definition of Political Participation**

#### a. participation

Slameto said that participation is the concentration of psychic energy that is fixed on an object, and includes much or less awareness that accompanies an activity that is being carried out.<sup>7</sup> Participation is a person's mental and emotional involvement in a group situation that encourages them to support the achievement of the group's goals and take responsibility for the group.<sup>8</sup> To grow and mobilize the spirit of participation, prerequisites are needed that can generate social energy in society. In growing this, Pasaribu stated the following:

- 1) A sense of shared destiny, responsibility, dependability and orderliness, if in a society there is this feeling, then it is hoped that high participation will arise in the community.
- 2) Attachment to life goals, attachment to taste alone does not bring the strength to participate. Real evidence in this case, the goal is clear then the accuracy of the heart, endurance and strong will will arise in achieving goals. Adaptability.
- 3) Proficiency in adapting to circumstances is critical to creating participation.<sup>9</sup>

According to Myron Weiner, there are five causes for the emergence of a movement towards wider participation in the political process, namely:

- 1) Modernization in all areas of life causes people to demand more and more to participate in political power.
- 2) Changes in social class structure, issues of who has the right to participate and political decision-making become important and result in changes in patterns of political participation.
- 3) The influence of intellectuals and modern mass communication, the idea of democratization of participation has spread to new nations before they have developed sufficiently mature modernization and industrialization.

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<sup>7</sup>Sahya Anggara, *Indonesian Political System*, (Bandung: CV. Pustaka Setia, 2013), 141.

<sup>8</sup>Andi Uceng et al, *Analysis of the Level of Community Participation in Human Resource Development in Cemba Village, Enrekang District, Enrekang Regency*, (Moderate Journal, Volume 5, Number 2, May 2019), 5.

<sup>9</sup>Herman, *Level of Community Participation in Development Planning for Ulidang Village, Tammerodo District, Majene Regency*, (GROWTH Scientific Journal of Development Economics, Volume 1, No. 1, 2019), 78-79.

- 4) Conflicts between groups of political leaders, if conflicts arise between elites, what is sought is the support of the people, there is a struggle between the middle class against the aristocracy that attracts the workers and helps expand people's suffrage.
  - 5) Widespread government involvement in social, economic and cultural affairs, widening the scope of government activity often stimulates the emergence of organized demands for opportunities to participate in political decision-making.<sup>10</sup>
- b. political

Politics according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) is all matters and policy actions, tactics and so on concerning the government of the country or against other countries.<sup>11</sup> Merriam-Webster defines politics as activities or actions that have a relationship to influence the actions and policies of a government or to gain and maintain power in a government. Through this understanding, Sukarna explained that talking about politics is talking about the state. The state as an entity certainly has its constituent elements.

c. Political Participation

Samuel P. Huntington and Joan Nelson in their research work *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries* provide a different note, namely mobilized (forced) participation, which is also included in the study of political participation. Voluntary participation and mobilization only in principle aspects. Not real action. In essence, whether voluntary or forced, citizens continue to participate in politics.

Several criteria for understanding political participation:

- 1) Concerning observable activities and not attitudes or orientation. So, political participation is only related to matters that are objective and not subjective.
- 2) Political activities of ordinary citizens or individuals as ordinary citizens which are carried out directly or indirectly (intermediary).
- 3) The activity aims to influence government decision-making, both in the form of persuasion and in the form of pressure, and even denial of the existence of political figures and government actors.

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<sup>10</sup>Budget, Indonesian Political System, 142-146.

<sup>11</sup>KBBI

- 4) These activities are directed at efforts to influence the government regardless of the effects that will arise if it fails or succeeds.
- 5) Activities carried out can be through reasonable and non-violent procedures (conventional) or in ways that are outside of reasonable procedures (unconventional) and in the form of violence (violence).

## **2. Social and Political Conditions of Chinese Ethnicity in Indonesia**

### **a. The social conditions of the Chinese ethnicity**

Based on support from Abdurrahman Wahid as the 4th President of Indonesia, he gave freedom to Chinese citizens to express themselves and legalized Confucianism as a belief system adhered to by ethnic Chinese to become a recognized religion in Indonesia. The ethnic Chinese live in harmony and tolerance.

Policies that have been established since 2001 show and give a message to the wider community that the area is inhabited by people of various ethnicities and religions, all of whom have an equal position.<sup>12</sup> According to several open political observers, the development of interaction between ethnic Chinese and natives up to the last 20 years. Many young generations of Indonesians of Chinese descent understand modern Indonesian history, and have even followed the history of migration.<sup>13</sup>

### **b. The Political Condition of the Chinese Ethnicity**

Since the reform, the climate of democracy has opened up space for citizens of Chinese descent to participate in politics, although it seems slow and slow. With the involvement of the Chinese ethnic group on the national political stage, there will be political interaction between Indigenous Chinese ethnic politicians who can transmit the ethos and mentality of the Chinese people to fellow politicians, in which trade principles promote mutual trust and efficiency are expected to build genuine representation, not false between the people and their representatives in parliament. Public policies are also expected to side with the people at large.

Mustofa Lien, an advisory board for the Chinese network for equality stated that: "Power or party politics by becoming a legislative candidate, is actually only a

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<sup>12</sup>Nursapia Harahap, Community-Based Cultural and Social Adaptation (Case Study of Chinese Ethnicity in Palembang City), *Journal of Social Sciences Education*, 12(1) 220, 223-224.

<sup>13</sup>Irwanti Said, Relations between Chinese and Natives (A Sociological Review), 2May 2019, 6-7

small area for Chinese citizens. Due to human rights attitudes and non-discriminatory attitudes, since BJ Habibi, through Presidential Instruction No. 26 of 1998 concerning stopping the use of the terms indigenous and non-indigenous, all government apparatus have also been ordered not to use the terms native and non-indigenous to distinguish between residents of 'Chinese' descent with the Indonesian state.

However, in practice, the Chinese did not necessarily take this opportunity to enter the world of practical politics. There are at least 5 models of Chinese perspective regarding practical political participation, namely: (1) those who feel the need to highlight their ethnic identity and fight for their rights as a group, for example by establishing a Chinese party, (2) those who do not want to make ethnicity or religion a movement based, but through a platform of equal rights, for example by using the Bhineka Tunggal Ika party, (3) groups that prefer a forum whose main goal is more as a pressure group, (4) they form group associations because of feelings of the same fate, for example the establishment of a clan social community 'Indonesian Chinese', (5) those who join open political parties.

The political journey of the Chinese ethnic in the political regulations in the country is full of dynamics which make the ethnic group allergic to the word 'politics', but since the reform, to be precise, after President Abdurrahman Wahid, with various policies, put forward the idea of the need to form a National Reconciliation Committee due to the repressive politics of the New Order.

In addition to this, the political participation of the Chinese ethnic as politicians are those who are well-established from an economic standpoint, so their orientation in the political arena is not to seek economic resources. The motivations for the behavior of the Chinese ethnic group to engage in practical politics are: (1) existence, dedication and service, (2) the will to be represented in government so that they can channel their aspirations, (3) as a reinforcement of the business world, (4) eliminating discrimination in all fields, so as to create harmony, (5) expect to live in harmony with other communities within the territory of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Juliastutik, Post-reformation Chinese Political Elite Behavior, humanity, Volume 6, Number 1, September 2010, 45-56

### 3. Soe Hok Gie Movie

#### a. Soe Hok Gie film profile

The film entitled "Gie" is a film directed by a young director named Riri Riza and produced by Mira Lesmana. This film has the same title as the main character's name. This film is a biographical or reality drama genre. Tells the history of the life of a Gie who was an activist against injustice from Chinese descent. This film is based on the book "Notes of a Demonstrator" written by Gie himself.<sup>15</sup>Gie is a critical person with the thoughts of major world figures and seems innocent compared to his other friends. From these thoughts Gie was driven to be a person who is full of concern and has a high patriotic and nationalist spirit.<sup>16</sup>Curiosity about the problems that occur in his country makes him brave to uphold justice.

The film "Gie" has a duration of 2 hours 20 minutes 57 seconds (including the opening and film credits). This film was produced by a fairly old and large film production house, namely Miles Creation. This film premiered on July 14, 2005 and has been watched by more than 350 thousand people. Through this struggle, this film has won three awards in different categories, best film, best actor (Nicholas Saputra), and Best Cinematography Director (Yudi Datau).

The writer of the situation for this film is Riri Riza who also serves as the director. The players from this film were quite famous artists at that time. Nicholas Saputra is believed to play the role of Gie. Then Sita Nursanti plays Ira, Wulan Guritno plays Sinta, Thomas Nawilis plays Han, Robby Tumewu plays Soe Falsehood Phet, Tuti Kirana plays Nina, Joenatan Mulia plays teenage Gie, Christian Audi plays teenage Han, Lukman Sardi plays Herman Lantang , Indra Birowo as Denny , Surya Saputra as Aris, Doni Alamsyah as Jaka, Soultan Saladin as Soekarno and Ella Gayo as Suharto.

#### b. Synopsis of the film Soe Hok Gie

Indonesia in the late 1950s and early 1960s was a country caught between a cold war. Whether Indonesia under Sukarno's lifelong leadership will follow the communist ideology is a question for everyone. All elements of society are

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<sup>15</sup><https://www.retorika.id/pop-culture/2022-03-30/film-%E2%80%98gie%E2%80%99-a-tontonan-wajib-untuk-mahasiswa-fisip.html> accessed on October 20, 2022.

<sup>16</sup><https://www.kompas.com/hype/read/2020/10/12/121102566/sinopsis-gie-perjuangan-melawan-kentakding-streaming-di-mola-tv?page=all> accessed on October 20, 2022.



politicized and all factions in society, including Indonesian students, are active in political games which then determine the future of this nation. Soe Hok Gie is a young Indonesian of Chinese descent who grew up in this upheaval and records it in his diary.

You can call me Soe or Gie. That is one of the nicknames given to young people of Chinese descent, children of the couple Soe Lie Phet and Nina. Soe Hok Gie grew up in a not-so-rich Chinese family who lives in Jakarta. Since his youth, Gie has developed an interest in idealistic concepts presented by world-class intellectuals. Gie is a very different child from his siblings, he got a talent for writing from his father who was a writer at that time, which he developed since he was in high school. Gie has a rather tough character but seems critical of every incident or thing that happened during the old order. warrior spirit,<sup>17</sup>

Gie's teenage and college years were spent under the regime of Indonesia's founding father of independence, namely Bung Karno, which was marked by conflict between the military and the PKI. Gie and his friends insist that they are not siding with any group. Even though Gie respects Soekarno as the founding father of the Indonesian state, Gie hates Soekarno's government which was dictatorial and caused the rights of the poor people to be trampled on. Hok Gie knew a lot about social injustice, abuse of sovereignty, and corruption under Soekarno's government, and was firm in speaking out, writing sharp criticisms in the media.

Gie also really hates how many students who are in the senate make promises that are just empty words that cover up their efforts to manipulate the political situation for personal gain. This opposition won Hok Gie much sympathy, but also provoked many enemies. Many interest groups seek to lobby Gie to support his campaign, while Gie's enemies eagerly use every opportunity to intimidate him.

Tan Tjin Han, Gie's childhood friend, has long admired Gie's tenacity and courage, but he doesn't share the warrior spirit himself. In the age of two heads, the two men are reunited even if only briefly. Gie discovers that Han has been involved with the PKI but doesn't know what the real consequences await him. Hok Gie urged Han to abandon all ties with the PKI and hide, but Han refused this pressure.<sup>18</sup>Hok Gie and his friends spent their free time hiking in the mountains and enjoying the

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 65.


<sup>18</sup>Ibid, 66.

beautiful nature of Indonesia with Nature Lovers Students (MAPALA) at the University of Indonesia. In addition, they also enjoy watching and analyzing films, enjoy traditional arts and avoid parties. This film depicts the adventures of Soe Hok Gie in achieving his goal of overthrowing the Soekarno regime and the changes in his life after this goal was achieved.<sup>19</sup>


## RESULTS OF DISCUSSION AND DISCUSSION

### 1. The Meaning of Sign, Object and Interpretant in the Movie “Soe Hok Gie”

#### a. Scene 1 Freedom of Expression

Signs	
Objects	Soe Hok Gie participates in class with his friends, in the discussion Gie expresses criticism.
Interpretant	Soe Hok Gie expressed criticism of the policies of the Soekarno regime in 1959, regarding the guided democracy system. According to Soe Hok Gie, this policy actually suppresses democratic freedom in Indonesia. As proof, the Indonesian government has banned people's daily magazines. This criticism was conveyed by Soe Hok Gie during a discussion in the classroom with the teacher and other students.


#### b. Scene 2 Analysis of the PKI and the Army's Conflict

Signs	
Objects	Soe became the speaker in a small discussion, then Soe Hok Gie conveyed about the political struggle between the PKI and the military which then had an impact on worsening conditions of economic stability.
Interpretant	Gie in his analysis predicts that there will be a class when this conflict peaks. Soe's analysis is not just an assumption. There was extraordinary conflict between the PKI and the military. The PKI tried to gain a strategic place in the government by becoming a full supporter of every policy and maneuver of the Soekarno government. In fact, one of the

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.tribunnewswiki.com/amp/2020/05/27/film-gie-2005>

	missions of the PKI was to arm the 5th generation, which consisted of workers and peasants. The military, of course, strongly disagreed with the proposal for the 5th generation and began to think that the PKI would stage a coup movement or take over the top of the government.
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**c. Scene 3 Gie's Involvement in Political Movements**

Signs	
Objects	Met with Sumitro who was a movement activist who was exiled by Soekarno's government. Gie was invited to participate in the movement to publish underground catalogs that discussed the problems of the Indonesian people.
Interpretant	In this position Gie has to be careful in choosing the organs of any movement with political content. This was done by Gie because in that era it was very difficult to ensure that a movement that emerged spoke purely about the interests of society and the state. Most of the movements that have arisen have interests related to certain political groups in Indonesia.

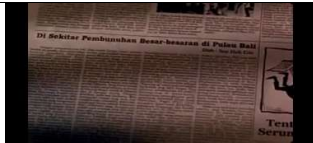
**d. Scene 4 Gie's Involvement in the Assimilation Program**

Signs	
Objects	Soe Hok Gie was asked to join the Chinese youth delegation who agreed with the government's assimilation program for ethnic Chinese.
Interpretant	In this meeting, Soe Hok Gie actually disagreed with Sukarno's intention to call representatives of Chinese youths, which Soekarno termed as a form of permission. For Soe permission was not needed because the assimilation program itself was a program of the Soekarno government.


e. **Scene 5 Gie's involvement and support for the TNI**

Signs	
Objects	Soe Hok Gie met with the army including Suwanto (the officer in charge of SESKOAD) during the political crisis of 30 September 1965.
Interpretant	Soe Hok Gie attended a meeting with the military to discuss the coup that took place on September 30, 1965. This meeting was held between the military and the students with the aim of cleaning up the PKI and its influence on campuses.

f. **Scene 6 Gie's Criticism of the Government**

Signs	
Objects	For Herman William, Herman, thank you for the letters from you that never stop coming, I really need someone to talk to lately. Even writing feels incredibly tired or maybe I'm just fed up and have no inspiration. Time flies fast, more and more of our friends are leaving literature. I really miss the time when me, you, Ira, Deni, and other friends laughed, fought or just chatted. It's true that Ira is still here as an assistant lecturer in Indonesian History but we are still awkward to talk about, of course we understand why.
Interpretant	Soe's criticism of the atrocities and massacres that occurred during the 30 September 1965 incident.

g. **Scene 7 Thoughts contained in an article**

Signs	
Objects	Intimidation of Soe Hok Gie and the publication of articles banned by the New Order because they were considered too harsh in criticizing military rule in Indonesia.
Interpretant	Soe Hok Gie and his friends who were involved in publishing Soe Hok Gie's writings experienced repressive actions, intimidation and banning from the military, so Soe protested against this incident.

## **2. Analysis of ethnic Chinese political participation in the development of Indonesian politics**

Based on the meaning of the Sign, Object and Interpretant above, we can analyze in depth in each scene about the political participation of the Chinese ethnicity in the development of Indonesian politics.

### **a. Analysis of Scene 1 Freedom of Opinion**

In a government system that adheres to a democratic system, freedom of opinion is an absolute thing. This freedom of opinion includes the freedom to voice and express criticism of the government. However, this scene shows how the concept of democracy in Indonesia, which according to Soekarno as a guided democracy, is unable to show the true face of democracy.

When Soe conveyed his criticism that guided democracy was not true democracy to teachers at his school, and followed by submitting data on the banning of people's daily publications which reflected the arrogance of the government which said it adhered to a democratic system. This is of course a contradiction that Gie tries to convey in class discussions with his teacher. The contradiction that arises in this situation is a democratic system of government which has a tendency to become a system of government that adheres to authoritarianism which cannot provide freedom of opinion or freedom of the press.

Where should the government actually guarantee freedom of expression. But on the contrary, the existing government actually shows its arrogance and authoritarianism in responding to criticism directed at the government.

### **b. Scene 2 analysis Analysis of the PKI and the Army's Conflict**

This second scene shows how Soe was able to analyze the condition and political situation in Indonesia, especially the conflict between the PKI and the Army's military. At the same time Gie shows the potential for conflict that will arise when this situation continues to occur. The conflict between the Army and the PKI had actually been going on for a long time since the outbreak of the Madiun Affair incident which ended in bloodshed between the red army (PKI) and the Siliwangi army (Army) which then killed the PKI leader, Muso.

**c. Scene 3 Analysis of Gie's Involvement in Political Movements**

In the scene of the meeting between Soe Hok Gie and a movement figure named Sumitro, Gie shows his own admiration for this character who still has ideals even though he has been eliminated and banned from the government. Although on the other hand, this scene also wants to show Soe Hok Gie's caution in his involvement with certain political movements. Through several questions raised by Soe Hok Gie to Sumitro, such as the form of the movement and what interests it has and what interests are behind it.

This critical attitude made Soe Hok Gie very careful in determining his attitude in joining certain movement organizations. Because Soe did not want to be trapped in the confines of a certain group's ideology which of course would reduce his objective food. This scene also shows Soe Hok Gie's emphasis on the role of the intelligentsia in order to focus on solving the country's current problems, both the political crisis and the economic crisis that is currently focusing on Indonesia.

**d. Scene 4 Analysis of Gie's Involvement in the Assimilation Program**

The appointment of Soe Hok Gie in the process of discussing the assimilation program aimed by the Indonesian government for ethnic Chinese in Indonesia shows Soe Hok Gie's position which has a role and position that has sufficient bargaining value, both among the ethnic Chinese and the Indonesian government . At this moment, Soe Hok Gie also succeeded in showing a critical attitude towards Soekarno's government policies as well as Soekarno's ambitious tendencies.

Soe's statement that defined Soekarno as having the same criteria as the previous Javanese kings was Gie's description of Soekarno's ambitious attitude. What was later criticized by Gie was that the slogans of the revolution then became a new religion that was embraced by the people and government actors in Indonesia.

In this scene, Soekarno's words at the end of his speech, which said "I condemn racism" seemed to show that Soekarno wanted to have a good image among ethnic Chinese. Although in the end history has proven that the program of assimilation and integration of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia into the ethnic and cultural communities of Indonesia is a form of racism.

**e. Scene 5 Analysis of Gie's Involvement and Support of the TNI**

Soe's involvement in the 1965-1966 incident is shown through a scene where Soe attends a meeting with the military/TNI with several of Soe's friends (civilians). The purpose of following Soe and being involved in the incident was not because Soe supported or sided with the military. However, during this incident, Soe's aim was to overthrow Soekarno, whom he considered to have led Indonesia for too long, and Soekarno's policies, which had begun, did not show any progress in Indonesia. The reality that is happening in society is actually experiencing a crisis in various sectors of people's lives.

In this scene, you can visually see Soe and the military talking about the description of the schemes used by the anti-communists in countering the coup action carried out by the PKI. In addition, this scene also wants to show how tense the conditions were when the incident occurred. It can be seen and observed the rush, the meeting was closed model and only attended by a few groups including a limited number of civilians, as well as the meeting place used to show how the meeting was conducted in an emergency.

**f. Analysis of Scene 6 Gie's Criticism of the Government**

This scene emphasizes Soe's impartiality towards the military even though in the 1965-1966 incident Soe was involved in the incident. Soe's involvement was limited to wanting Soekarno to step down from his presidency. And when the presidential power was taken by the military, namely Suharto, who came to power as a result of the mandate from the March Eleventh Order (SUPERSEMAR). Soe continues to criticize the government. The criticism that Soe did was still inclined to previous criticism activities, Soe wrote criticisms which were then published in newspapers and distributed to the wider community.

Up to this point, we can understand Soe Hok Gie's involvement in political activities in 1965-1966 as a form of Soe Hok Gie's disagreement with Soekarno's leadership which was considered to have deviated from the line of revolutionary aims. For Soe Hok Gie, following the path of revolution means following the objectives of the revolution itself. It is not only limited to following a figure who is considered the leader of the revolution (Soekarno).

**g. Analysis of Scene 7 Thoughts contained in an article**

Soe Hok Gie experienced various intimidation and repressive actions that befell Soe's environment. As a result of Soe's writings containing criticism, the place where Soe's publisher's office was damaged by the military, the publication was then banned and Soe's friends were detained by the military. He was then considered a PKI, moreover Soe came from ethnic Chinese descent who were later said to be Chinese Communists. It wasn't enough to stop there. All of Soe's daily activities were also continuously monitored by the military so that he had to be followed by a figure he suspected of being intelligence.

Then Soe held a meeting with the military to ask for an explanation of the incident. However, Soe received a warning not to criticize the government. The military is considered the end of Soekarno's government and being replaced by the New Order regime, criticism of the government must be finished. However, this was contested by Soe Hok Gie. He then stated the reasons why Soe continued to criticize. Soe explained that he was responsible for accidentally bringing the military regime to power in Indonesia. To account for that mistake he must launch his criticism. This further clarifies the objectivity of Soe Hok Gie's thinking which is not easily trapped in the interests of a particular group. however,

**CONCLUSION**

Based on the discussion from "Political Participation of Chinese Ethnicity in the Development of Indonesian Politics" (Semiotics Study by Charles Sanders Peirce in the Soe Hok Gie Film) can be summed up as follows:

1. Gie's stance criticizes that there must be freedom of expression in a democratic country system, without any authoritarian attitude from the government.
2. Gie's involvement in analyzing the political situation and conditions in Indonesia when there was a conflict between the PKI and the TNI-AD.
3. Gie's involvement in the political movement, however, Gie's emphasis is inseparable from the resolution of the political and economic crisis in this country.
4. Gie's involvement in the Assimilation program became a high value among ethnic Chinese at Soekarno's suggestion.



5. Gie's involvement and support for the TNI by attending joint meetings, aims to save Indonesia from policies that do not show progress, instead of experiencing crises in various sectors of life.
6. Gie's criticism of the government which tends to be militaristic was put into writing so that the wider community would know what he had written in a newspaper.
7. The thoughts contained in an article as well as the Soe Hok Gie movement are purely a form of taking sides with the people, state and nation of Indonesia.

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