The Existence of The International Anarcho-Syndicalism Movement Based on Indonesian Law Perspective

Ledy Nelsih Rumala¹, Jeffry A. Ch. Likadja¹, Viktor Eben Sabuna²

¹Department of Law, Law Faculty, Nusa Cendana University, Kupang, Indonesia

Email: ledynelsih15rumala@gmail.com, jeffrylikadja@gmail.com,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Received on</th>
<th>Revised on</th>
<th>Accepted on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 04 2023</td>
<td>28 08 2023</td>
<td>14 09 2023</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abstract

Anarchosyndicalism is an ideology in which workers want to work freely, not bound by rules. Anarchosyndicalism is an ideology that wants the dissolution of all political power institutions that are narrated to oppress and exploit workers to be replaced by free communities bound by socio-economic interests. This research aims to find out the existence of the anarchosyndicalist movement based on international law and the readiness of national law in facing the threat of anarchosyndicalist ideology in Indonesia. The research method used in this research is normative legal research (library research) which has relevance to the research issues studied. Sources and legal materials used are primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. Based on the results of the research that has been carried out, it is known that the existence of the anarchosyndicalism movement in terms of International Law has an impact on the application of the Right to freedom of association for workers/laborers as regulated in ILO (International Labour Organization) Convention No. 87 of 1948 concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organize. Furthermore, the State has regulated people who join organizations to commit criminal offenses or prohibited organizations will be subject to imprisonment or fines, namely by what is written in the Criminal Code/KUHP (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana) Article 261 concerning Participation in Organisations to commit Criminal Offences.

Keywords: Anarchosyndicalism, Labour, ILO Conventions

INTRODUCTION

Labor is a term known and labeled for all groups of workers in Indonesia. It cannot be denied that laborers are the main motor driving the wheels of a country's economy. Without the presence of workers, it is certain that the country will be paralyzed because it cannot produce and cause enormous losses for the entire nation. The existence of laborers and the spirit of their struggle to obtain fair labor rights for a better life is common and natural. But it becomes negative when their struggle is aimed at disrupting security and order in a country, even aiming to destroy a country's order and system of civilization based on the Law.
The ideological journey of anarchism in the country began long before Indonesia was proclaimed. During the colonial era, some young Indonesians made contact with Dutch anarchist groups and developed links with other left-wing political forces. The arrival of syndicalist laborers from Europe, as well as the circulation of newspapers with anarchist propaganda (for example Soematra Po, and Zhenli Bao in Semarang), helped bring anarchism to the Dutch East Indies at the time. In some popular references, the writings of Douwes Dekker and his grandson, Ernest Dekker, are also considered to have played a role in the development of anarchism. This ideology developed alongside other leftist ideologies such as communism and socialism in Indonesia. However, since the crackdown on communism in 1965, the development of other leftist ideologies such as anarchism has been practically silent. This eradication also made anarchism and socialism often labeled as the same as communism.

Every May 1 (mayday), riots often occur in several major cities in Indonesia. The trigger for the riots was allegedly carried out by a group of people who are members of an organization known as the "Anarcho Syndicalism" movement who entered and joined other labor groups when conducting "Peaceful Demonstrations", but instead committed acts of vandalism. Vandalism, arson, beatings, and other acts of violence characterized the movement of this Anarcho-Syndicalist group when carrying out their actions in commemoration of International Labor Day. Historically, Anarcho-Syndicalism is an international movement that began in Barcelona in 1910. The movement then spread throughout Europe. Initially, this movement focused on labor issues and anti-capitalism and then developed until finally, this movement was ANTI to the norms and rules of law that applied in the country at that time.

The commemoration of Labor Day every May 1 cannot be separated from the actions of anarchists. Historically, May 1 was agreed upon by various leftist groups as a date to commemorate the Haymarket Affair in Chicago which claimed dozens of lives, as well as honoring the sacrifices of four anarchists who were executed by the United States government in 1887, namely Parsons, Engel, Spies, and Fischer. In addition, A man named Lingg committed suicide in prison. The five were union organizers, newspaper editors, and activists who were framed on false charges of throwing bombs at police who were breaking up a demonstration that was part of a mass strike demanding an 8-hour workday involving 400,000 workers since May 1, 1886. The real perpetrators of the bombing were never uncovered and brought to justice.

In the period 1999-2009, anarchist collectives sprung up one after another, especially in Bandung and Yogyakarta. These collectives tried to counter opinions circulating in the mass media that they considered to have distorted and twisted the facts of anarchism. One of their efforts is to disseminate and ground the discourse of anarchism by publishing a periodical journal that contains perspectives on anarchism in everyday life.

However, the group is also known for its acts of destruction of property, supermarkets, and police posts. In the context of this labor liberation struggle, anarcho groups do not only fight for normative labor rights such as living wages, menstrual leave, and others. They are also aggressively campaigning for the idea of self-autonomy. Anarcho groups also do not hesitate to criticize union elites who are considered to be using their members. The hope is that this criticism can be a reflection for workers.

The momentum of the 1998 reformation and its euphoria led to the re-emergence of anarchist groups in various cities. Anarchism has been revitalized along with the growth of punk and skinhead subcultures in Indonesia. They actively held discussions, printed journals, and distributed them in music festivals while campaigning for anarchism and anti-authoritarian messages through songs.

Based on the description in the introduction above, there are two fundamental issues that are important to study in this paper, namely the Existence of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement in terms of International Law, and the Readiness of National Law in facing the Threat of Anarcho-Syndicalist Ideology in Indonesia. Then the research used is Normative Legal research. Normative Legal Research the data required is secondary data. Secondary data is distinguished between legal materials derived from the law, namely laws, legal documents, legal reports, and legal records derived from legal science, namely legal teachings or doctrines, legal theories, legal opinions, and legal reviews consisting of primary and secondary legal materials.

**METHOD**

The method used is Normative Legal research (*library research*). Normative Legal Research the data required is secondary data. Secondary data is distinguished between legal materials derived from the law, namely laws, legal documents, legal reports, and legal records derived from legal science, namely legal teachings or doctrines, legal theories, legal opinions, and legal reviews consisting of primary and secondary legal materials.

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

**The Existence of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement Under International Law**

The International Labor Organization (ILO) was formed for several reasons. First, the ILO has been a trendsetter among international organizations in standard setting creating labor by setting standards through conventions and recommendations as well as in international technical cooperation and expertise related to labor issues. Therefore, the ILO has tried to improve the daily working lives of people around the world. Secondly, the ILO organization brings together governments, employers, and trade unions at all levels of decision-making. This combined structure of government and non-government constituents has proven to be

---


very stable as it has not changed to this day. The founders of the ILO were committed to the promotion of humane working conditions and the fight against injustice, suffering, and poverty. ILO members built on these goals by implementing the Philadelphia Declaration by declaring that workers are not commodities and establishing human and economic rights based on the principle that poverty threatens prosperity everywhere.

Indonesia as an ILO member country has been working closely with the ILO to promote decent work for all. This is one of the mechanisms that can bring Indonesia to achieve the welfare of workers who until now continue to be voiced in order to demand justice. Indonesia has ratified 19 ILO Conventions consisting of 8 core Conventions and 11 other Conventions. The ILO Convention is one of the legal products of the ILO. The ILO is one of the multilateral organizations under the auspices of the United Nations. There are two kinds of ILO instruments, namely conventions, and recommendations. There is a difference between conventions and recommendations. Conventions are meant to be ratified. There are binding legal obligations. There is regular international supervision of the fulfillment of its obligations. Recommendations are not intended to be ratified, are non-binding, and only provide guidance for national policies and actions.

The right to freedom of association for workers/laborers is a basic right that is constitutionally protected and guaranteed. It has been regulated in ILO Convention No. 87 of 1948 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and has been ratified into Law No. 21 of 2000 concerning Trade Unions/Labor Unions. The right to organize is part of human rights. The existence of human rights guarantees cannot be separated from the principle of the rule of law. The meaning of the right of association as a "right" is a juridical concept, which contains the limits of rights and obligations, the meaning of association as "freedom of association" is a philosophical concept that leads to justice. The right to organize labor is a labor right that is inherent in every individual worker. The right of association exists to ensure the running and functioning of labor organizations in defending their members, useful to facilitate the fulfillment of labor rights. In exercising this right, workers are required to be responsible for maintaining broader interests, namely public order, and the interests of the Nation and the State, therefore the use of the right to freedom of association is carried out within the framework of harmonious, dynamic and equitable industrial relations. Its formation must also be carried out democratically, independently, and responsibly without any interference from any party.

In terms of organizational structure, anarcho-syndicalist actors do not have a chairman or general secretary but have functional management, namely a treasurer and secretary, which are voluntary and alternate for one

---


11 Ibid.
or two years. Syndicalist anarcho-members then form collectives of 5 to 7 members. Communication between members generally utilizes social media, especially WhatsApp and email whose intensity is not routine.12

The anarcho-syndicalist group is present as a participant who is involved in acts of destruction, beatings, and riots, because it is attached to verbs such as doing, beating, and making. The role of the anarcho-syndicalist group represents that the group is identified with the events of destruction, beatings, and riots in demonstrations.13 Anarcho Syndicalism is known for the identical symbol of the initials "A" where the symbol is always left behind in every activity.

Figure 1. International Anarcho Syndicalism logo
[Source: wikipedia.org]

The A-in-a-circle symbol has until recently been a surefire symbol of anarchy. It is a monogram consisting of the capital letter "A" surrounded by a capital letter "O". The letter "A" is taken from the initial letter of "anarchy" or "anarchism" in many European languages as well as Latin and Cyrillic scripts. The letter "O" stands for Order. The combination becomes "Anarchy is Order".

Figure 2. Black Flag
[Source: wikipedia.org]

The color black has been associated with the anarchist movement since the 1880s. Many anarchist groups used the word "black" in their movement name. There are also several periodicals of the anarchist movement that use the term Black Flag. The uniformity of the black color of the flag is a form of implementation of the anarchist movement to break through all boundaries. The black flag can also be seen as a symbol of never giving up. Another view of the use of the black flag is that it symbolizes a warning to anarchist fighters who are less fortunate in their struggle.

Figure 3. Anarcho Syndicalism
[Source: nasional.tempo.co]

The anarcho-syndicalist movement is now understood by the public as a mass of people dressed in black who actively trigger riots at demonstrations. This situation is exacerbated when the state begins to map members of the anarcho-syndicalist group like a terrorist network. Anarcho-syndicalism in the eyes of the state seems to have become a new state security threat.

Anarcho-Syndicalism was originally an ideology that wanted trade unions to be a potent force for social revolution, replacing capitalism and the state with a new independent and democratic society run by the working class. It is a derivative of anarchism, the idea that there is no need for institutions of power. It often affirms established values that are taken for granted by society. This school of thought even goes so far as to deny legitimacy to power, including to the state. The goal of anarcho-syndicalism is to liberate the labor movement that has always been bridled by capitalism and create a decent life for workers.\(^{14}\)

Anarcho-Syndicalism argues that trade unions are a potential force for social revolution, replacing capitalism and the state with a new independent and democratic society run by the working class. Anarcho-Syndicalism sees trade unions as a potentially revolutionary force for social change, Anarcho-Syndicalism seeks to abolish the wage-labor system and the state or private ownership of the means of production, which they believe leads to class division. Anarcho-Syndicalism is a popular and active stream of the anarchist movement to this day.

**The Readiness of National Law in Facing the Threat of Anarchosyndicalist Ideology in Indonesia**

The condition ofarchy involving adherents of the ideology of anarcho-syndicalism in Indonesia is massively identical to the stigma of violence. In fact, if examined in depth, it should be noted that anarchism is a certain intellectual current in social science thought in which its followers always fight for the elimination of economic monopolies and all coercive political and social institutions in society.\(^{15}\)

Looking at the American feminism magazine the second wave, Peggy Kornegger writes that Emma Goldman said: "Anarchism, then, really means the liberation of the human mind from the domination of religion; the liberation of the human body from the domination of property; the liberation from the shackles and restraints of government."\(^{16}\)

However, in practice, anarcho-syndicalism is synonymous with chaos and violence, which is far from the true meaning of anarchy. Anarchists prefer to engage in direct action, both occupations, and blockades, as well as engaging in and supporting street battles against capitalist and state repression. Indonesia's major cities contribute to the ranks of radical anarchists. Since 2007, there has been a growing wave of resistance by anarchists in Indonesia. Some have faced arrest and imprisonment.\(^{17}\)

---


Law Number 9 of 1998 on Freedom of Expression in Public Article 1 paragraph (3) states that "Demonstration or demonstration is an activity carried out by a person or more to express thoughts orally, in writing, and so on demonstratively in public". With the establishment of this law, it is hoped that the community can carry out activities to express opinions in public freely but still uphold responsible freedom.\(^\text{18}\)

Demonstrations should be conducted in accordance with Law No. 9 of 1998 on Freedom of Expression in Public. If the demonstration runs in an orderly manner, it is often known as a peaceful demonstration. However, in practice, demonstrations often develop into acts of throwing, and vandalism. Throwing and vandalism result in the destruction of objects, as a result of the protesters' excessive desire to show their opinions. The change from peaceful to anarchic conditions is caused by throwing stones or other objects at places that have the potential to cause damage to public facilities, property, or loss of life.\(^\text{19}\)

Not only that, the ratification of the Criminal Code (KUHP) Articles 261 and 262 is also one of the regulations that can eradicate the ideology of syndicalism anarchism where Article 261 of the Criminal Code concerning Participation in Organizations Aiming to Commit Crimes reads:

1) "Any person who joins an organization with the purpose of committing a criminal offense or an organization prohibited under the law or a court decision that has obtained permanent legal force, shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 5 years or a maximum fine of category V (Rp. 500,000,000)."

2) The founder or manager of the organization as referred to in paragraph (1) may have his/her punishment increased by 1/3.

Based on the article above, it can be said that anarcho-syndicalism is one of the organizations reported to be capable of committing criminal acts by being anarchistic. Thus, if someone is proven to follow the organization, they can be subject to a maximum imprisonment of 5 years or a maximum fine of category V (Rp.500,000,000),"\\

Meanwhile, Article 262 of the Criminal Code on Committing Violence against Persons or Goods Jointly in Public reads:

1) Any person who openly or in public and with concerted force commits violence against persons or property, shall be punished by a maximum imprisonment of 5 years or a maximum fine of category V (IDR.500,000,000).

2) If the violence as referred to in paragraph (1) results in the destruction of the Goods or results in injury, he shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 7 years or a maximum fine of category IV (IDR.200,000,000).

3) If the violence as referred to in paragraph (1) results in serious injury, the perpetrator shall be sentenced to a maximum imprisonment of 9 years.


\(^{19}\) Rudi Syaiful Anwar et al., “Pengaruh Customer Relationship Management Terhadap Loyalitas Pelanggan Melalui Kepuasan Pelanggan (Studi Kasus Pada Kedai Kopi He Kafei),” Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Masyarakat Indonesia 1, no. 1 (2022): 89, https://doi.org/10.57235/aurelia.v1i1.34.g38.
4) If the violence as referred to in paragraph (1) results in the death of a person, he shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 12 years.

5) Every person as referred to in paragraph (1) and paragraph (2) may be sentenced to additional punishment in the form of payment of compensation.

Judging from the article above, anarchosyndicalism has indications of violence committed in demonstrations. If guided by these regulations, it can be said that the perpetrators of anarchism can be charged with penalties in accordance with their behavior and actions. This is one of the efforts that is felt to minimize the riots that occur during demonstrations.

Regarding the Readiness of National Law in dealing with the threat of anarchosyndicalist ideology in Indonesia, it is necessary to pay attention to the freedom of democracy that exists in national law so that it can regulate every individual including workers, one of which is how workers give their aspirations during democracy on Labor Day (Mayday).

Freedom is very much related to humans. The tendency of human action to want to control is so strong in individuals that, according to Hobbes, the presence of the state and law is needed to maintain human continuity in an orderly social world, guided by clear, firm, and impartial laws. As a country that has chosen the principle of democracy and combined it with the principle of the rule of law. The Indonesian people will build a common life order in a democratic Indonesian State based on the rule of law. This means that the Indonesian people will put the principles of democracy and the principles of law as a symbiotic-mutualistic synergy in realizing a democratic national legal order in the country.

National law must serve the national interest and become a pillar of democracy to achieve the welfare of the people and sociologically become a means to achieve justice and order in society. The goal of democratic law is not only the achievement of justice but also the achievement of order.

The existence of anarchosyndicalism for workers has two different views where it can be detrimental to workers as well as profitable. In terms of harming, of course, it can be seen from the anarchist actions carried out by destroying public facilities where which is certainly very detrimental and has a negative impact on the assessment of labor. Not only that, but anarchism can also make important issues that the workers want to raise become marginalized because the public is more focused on the anarchism that colored the mayday commemoration.

The violence and destruction of public facilities from the demonstrations made the news focus on the negative actions caused by the workers. This of course can be detrimental to the workers where their aspirations cannot be heard and replaced with a negative image due to damage to public facilities. The bad image for the

---


workers also arises because many assume that the workers are not able to convey their aspirations with a cool head. They chose to take actions that could cause harm.

However, this is inversely proportional to the expression of the Chairman of the Indonesian Confederation of Labor Struggle where with that character, the existence of anarcho-syndicalist groups does not harm workers. What they did yesterday by scribbling everywhere, is also understandable. They were accused of being anarchists, destroying public places, and public facilities. Capitalism is much more anarchic. Capitalism destroys forests, destroys mountains, and nature, where humans live. Capitalism is much more anarchic than those of young people.23

**Digital Surveillance, Countermeasures, and Anarcho-Syndicalism**

Specifically, it explores the influence of surveillance technology on the capacity to organize and communicate online within these movements. This paper aims to examine the ethical and legal ramifications associated with digital monitoring, with a particular focus on its relevance within the framework of anarcho-syndicalist ideals that prioritize autonomy and freedom. Furthermore, this study aims to investigate the strategies employed by governments and other entities to address online anarcho-syndicalist activities, as well as the existence of legal frameworks designed to mitigate the dissemination of anarcho-syndicalist ideology on the internet. This inquiry delves at the many measures utilized by anarcho-syndicalist collectives, including the utilization of digital technologies, encryption techniques, and online anonymity, in order to safeguard their undertakings against potential legal or surveillance risks.

The confluence of "Digital Surveillance, Countermeasures, and Anarcho-Syndicalism" holds significant importance for multiple reasons, the topic of civil liberties protection is brought to attention, specifically focusing on the potential encroachment upon individual freedoms and civil liberties resulting from the practice of digital surveillance. The significance of this issue lies in its capacity to prompt inquiries regarding the equilibrium between security and privacy within the context of the digital era. The examination of the influence of government monitoring on anarcho-syndicalist activities sheds light on the wider ramifications of surveillance technologies on activist and social justice movements. This analysis illuminates the potential inhibitory or disruptive effects of surveillance on the operations of these movements.

**Ethical Considerations**: Examining the ethical ramifications of digital surveillance within the framework of anarcho-syndicalism highlights the moral deliberations linked to surveillance conducted by governmental or corporate entities. The aforementioned statement elicits a thorough evaluation of the rationale for the legitimacy of surveillance within a societal framework that places significance on individual autonomy and liberty. The examination of the presence of legal procedures aimed at addressing online anarcho-syndicalist activities holds importance in evaluating the government's approach towards perceived threats. This particular element holds significance in the context of preventive measures, since governments may employ legal mechanisms to restrict or oversee specific online behaviors.

**Countermeasures and Prevention**: The investigation of the countermeasures utilized by anarcho-syndicalist collectives, encompassing digital tools, encryption, and online anonymity, exhibits a direct correlation with

---

proactive measures aimed at averting undesirable outcomes. This observation underscores the strategies employed by activist groups to safeguard their operations against surveillance and legal risks. Gaining an understanding of these countermeasures can provide valuable insights into the potential responses of governments and other groups in various talks.

In essence, this subject holds significant importance as it pertains to fundamental matters concerning civil liberties, privacy, activism, ethics, and legal frameworks within the context of the digital era. Furthermore, it is important to consider the potential ramifications of anarcho-syndicalist activities conducted online on the preventive measures implemented by governments or organizations in response to perceived threats.

CONCLUSION

The existence of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement is reviewed based on International Law with the application of the Right to freedom of association for workers/laborers regulated in ILO (International Labor Organization) Convention No. 87 of 1948 concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organize. Indonesia as an ILO member country has cooperated with the ILO to overcome problems related to the world of work. Although Anarcho Syndicalism is included with labor union activities, in exercising this right, workers / laborers are required to be responsible for the broader interests, namely public order, the interests of the Nation & State.

The readiness of National Law in dealing with the Threat of Anarcho-Syndicalist Ideology in Indonesia, the State has regulated that anyone who joins an organization that aims to commit a criminal act or a prohibited organization will be subject to imprisonment or a fine, namely in accordance with what is written in the Criminal Code (CC) Article 261 concerning Participation in an Organization that aims to commit a criminal act.
REFERENCES


https://tirto.id/anarko-sindikalisi-di-may-day-apa-yang-mereka-tuntut-dnvU.


https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v1n1.41.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859008003568.


https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/54255.

https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203790960.


https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20871/kpjpm.v8i1.209.


