

## Negara dan Pengusaha Pada Era Reformasi di Indonesia: Ekonomi Politik Kebijakan Persaingan Usaha Pada Industri Tepung Terigu Nasional (Periode 1999-2008)

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### Abstrak

[Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh terjadinya pengalihan penguasaan pengelolaan komoditas tepung terigu dari negara kepada swasta pascaliberalisasi pangan, yaitu dari Bulog kepada Bogasari Flour Mills. Saat ini, komoditas tepung terigu di Indonesia tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai komoditas pangan, tetapi juga berfungsi sebagai komoditas politik (political goods), dimana harga dan ketersediaannya dapat mempengaruhi tingkat kepercayaan masyarakat terhadap pemerintah. Sebagai pijakan teoritis, penelitian ini menggunakan teori Negara Birokratik Otoriter dari Guillermo O'Donnell, teori Persekutuan Segitiga (Triple Alliance Theory) antara Negara, Burjuasi Nasional dan Modal Asing dari Peter Evans. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif, sedangkan teknik analitis data menggunakan deskriptif analitis. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan studi pustaka, penelusuran terhadap dokumen resmi negara seperti Undang-Undang No. 5 tentang 1999 tentang Larangan Praktek Monopoli dan Persaingan Usaha Tidak Sehat, Keppres No. 19 Tahun 1998 tentang Liberalisasi Pangan, Peraturan Menteri Perindustrian, Peraturan Menteri Perdagangan, Peraturan Menteri Keuangan dan wawancara mendalam dengan anggota KPPU. Temuan di lapangan menunjukkan bahwa pascaliberalisasi pangan, terjadi konflik dan tarik-menarik kepentingan antarlembaga negara, yaitu antara Bappenas dengan Depperindag menyangkut penetapan BMAD (Bea Masuk Anti Dumping) bagi tepung terigu impor. Bappenas berargumen bahwa penetapan BMAD hanya akan menguntungkan produsen dominan yaitu Bogasari Flour Mills. Sedangkan menurut pihak Depperindag, penetapan BMAD dilakukan untuk melindungi produsen beskala kecil. Selanjutnya terjadi konflik kepentingan terjadi antara KPPU dengan Depperindag menyangkut penerapan SNI Secara Wajib Tepung Terigu. KPPU berpendapat penetapan SNI secara wajib merupakan bentuk hambatan masuk (barrier to entry) bagi tepung terigu impor. Sedangkan menurut Depperindag, kebijakan SNI wajib pada tepung terigu ditujukan untuk menjaga kualitas tepung terigu sebagai bahan pangan. Implikasi teoritis menunjukkan bahwa teori persekutuan segitiga antara negara dan burjuasi nasional dari Peter Evans masih berlaku dan relevan dalam pengelolaan industri tepung terigu pada era reformasi di Indonesia. Persekutuan antara Departemen Perindustrian dengan APTINDO, atau Persekutuan antara Departemen Perdagangan dengan Bogasari Flour Mills, terjadi dalam pengelolaan industri tepung terigu di Indonesia, meskipun melalui negosiasi politik dan konflik kepentingan. Intervensi negara melalui kebijakan penerapan SNI dan BMAD, maupun penanggungan PPN impor gandum oleh Departemen Keuangan, ditujukan untuk melindungi industri tepung terigu nasional dan memperkuat program ketahanan pangan nasional. Intervensi negara dalam stabilisasi harga empat bahan pangan pokok termasuk tepung terigu, dapat dijadikan sebagai alat politik APTINDO dan Bogasari Flour Mills dalam menekan pemerintah.;

This research of background by transfer of power of managing wheat flour commodities from state to corporate, from Bulog to Bogasari Flour Mills after food liberalitation. Now, wheat flour commodities just not food commodities, but as a political goods, where rate of its prices and supplies can pressure the government. As theoretical stepping, this research use Authoritarian Bureaucratic State from Guillermo O'Donnell and Triple Alliance Theory between State,

Local Capitalist and International Capitalist from Peter Evans. Research use the qualitative method, is while technique analysis the data use analytical descriptive. Technique data collecting by library studies, searching document of states like Undang-Undang No. 5 Tahun 1999 about Antimonopoly or Competition Policy, Keppres No. 19 Tahun 1998 about Food Liberalitation, Regulation from Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Finance and interdepth interview with members of KPPU. Research result indicate that after food liberalitation, there were conflicts of interest on state institution, the conflict between Bappenas with Depperindag about BMAD for wheat flour imported. Bappenas argue that BMAD just give a privilege for dominant firm like Bogasari Flour Mills. But Depperindag claimed that BMAD would protect the fringe firms. The next conflict between KPPU with Depperindag about SNI policy for wheat flour mills industries. KPPU argued SNI as a barrier to entry for wheat flour imported. But Depperindag claimed that SNI policy to wheat flour mills industries made to protect quality of wheat flour as food commodities. Theory implication show that Triple Alliance Theory especially between State and Local Capitalist is relevan in managing wheat flour mills industry in Indonesia. Cooperation between Departement of Industry with APTINDO, or cooperation between Departement of Trade with Bogasari Flour Mills is a real fenomena in wheat flour industry in Indonesia, although with political negotiation dan conflict of interests. State intervention with SNI and BMAD policies, or handle of Value Added Tax policies for wheat imported by Departemen of Finance indicated to protect national wheat flour industries and support food security programe. State intervention on price stabilitation of four food commodities include wheat flour, can used as political tools by APTINDO and Bogasari Flour Mills to pressure the government.;

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