

Political Propaganda: Indonesian Communism & Anti-Communism in the Mass Media

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Abstract

After the Indonesian reformation, communist and anti-communist propaganda debated each other, and the digitalization of mass media enabled the speed of propaganda transmission, so this research points out that communism still often appears in Indonesian mass media. For the purposes of the research, 260 news items were collected, the data of which was processed using NVivo Pro and RStudio software. Text mining and Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) methods were used and data were analyzed using tools such as Strip Plot, Scatter Plot, Timeline and Word Frequency. The results of this research conclude that in the last few years in Indonesia, anti-communist propaganda has become irrelevant and is no longer a concern. Analysis of the time sequence reveals that anti-communist propaganda consistently occurs in September and October each year. Even repetitive narratives play a role in propaganda. Communist propaganda was tracked through analysis of the frequency of words, news narratives about Marxism and figures of the Indonesian communist movement, and through reports on communist massacres and human rights violations from the end of 2023, to which the Indonesian government provided access.

Keywords: Propaganda, Politics, Communism, Anti-Communism, Media Mass

1. Introduction

Communism as an ideology and regime system was established by Karl Marx and Engels in 1848 through the "Communist Party Manifesto". It began to take shape when the Bolshevik revolution broke out in Russia on November 7, 1917, and has since spread to various countries (Krementsov, 2017). Likewise, communism entered Indonesia in the period 1914–1927 through labor leaders from the Netherlands (Poesponegoro & Nugroho, 1990). 1926–1965 the communism movement in Indonesia then carried out several rebellions and failed. The tragedy of the 30 September movement in 1965, the Indonesian communism movement, which killed 7 generals and 1 officer, made the communism movement a propaganda that still exists today because, according to Indonesian history involving communism, it is framed to prove that the history of communism is narrated as a form of violence.

Quickly, on October 16 1965, General Suharto decided to kill the communist movement, its sympathizers, and the former families of the communist group. From the events of the 30 September 1965 Movement, finally in 1966 during the New Order era, the ideology of communism was banned in Indonesia with the enactment of the TAP MPRS policy Number XXV/1966, even prohibiting the spread and development of communism and Marxism-Leninism, during the New Order era which was in power for 32 years, prohibited all activities related to communism and spreading anti-communist sentiment (Herlambang, 2013).

After reform, there were many pros and cons to the Indonesian communism movement through various journalistic reports conveying the massacre of 1965/1966, which was used to increase social memory media coverage and was disseminated through various new media platforms (Ikhwan et al., 2019), such as Tempo Magazine, which often raised the issue of victims of New Order political atrocities that the Indonesian government needs to fulfill the demands of political victims to apologize (Rikang, 2023). Apart from that, several Indonesian media journalistic reports narrate communism—Marxism to improve literacy skills to think critically and revolutionarily.

Despite the ban and disbandment of the communist-Marxist movement since 1966, Lukmantoro (2017) argues that the propagation of communism-Marxism in the Indonesian mass media has instilled a fear, known as communism-phobia, about the potential rise of the Indonesian communist movement. The mass media's fear of the communism movement also increasingly emphasizes the number of lies produced, giving rise to algorithmic polarization on social media (Duile & Tamma, 2021), one of which is the production of news that Indonesian President Jokowi is a descendant of the Indonesian Communist

Party (Bachari, 2019). The Indonesian mass media continues to engage in widespread discussions about the rejection and revival of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Communism Movement in Indonesia.

The problem in this research is to describe how the communist movement still frequently appears in the Indonesian mass media, such as in anti-communism and communist news information. From the background that has been explained, mass media propaganda allows a new speed and scale to describe how the communist movement in Indonesia; in fact, communist propaganda in Indonesia always talks about human rights, nationalism, the rise of communism and communist phobia (Setiyawan & Lestari, 2020). So, this research will find new findings related to communism propaganda in the mass media.

2. State of the Art

The term communist propaganda broadly refers to publications or campaigns aimed at promoting those primarily oriented towards the ideology of communism and communist society (Fitzpatrick, 2018). Communism propaganda is disseminated in various ways, ranging from traditional to contemporary. The most common distribution of communist propaganda is through the use of newspapers, books, and research. In contemporary times, the spread of communist propaganda is also carried out through news platforms and social media, such as creating creative content (Sotirovic, 2019). Likewise, the spread of communist propaganda in each region or country is different. This study also describes several previous studies that discuss how communist propaganda works.

The first research by Won Yon Jang (2015) regarding communism propaganda through the reporting of China and North Korea showed that the respective head offices of China and North Korea implemented mutualism, and the institutions of both countries reported communism propaganda simultaneously, reflecting the ideology of communism becoming the dominant ideology in that country. Bixiao's next research (2022) is to create propaganda on the Chinese communist revolution with its turbulent economic and technological progress, then create a poverty alleviation project and spread it through Tik Tok, which is managed by the Party, State, and Communist Youth League. So the aim is very clear: those who create welfare projects are part of the Chinese communist ideological movement.

The third research by Xurshidjon Boymirzaev Karimdjonovich (2019) explains the history of the success of communism propaganda in Uzbekistan that science and culture, literature and art, as well as the mass media, were fully involved in the Communist Par-

ty's propaganda work as a result of national culture, deviation from national spirituality, and the development of communist ideas. Jung Woo Lee's (2009) research explains the success of communism propaganda, which emphasized women's representation through North Korean communist media, so that the representation of women's social status in North Korea increased. The case of subsequent research regarding the success of communism propaganda in Soviet-era Armenia through various mass media, such as posters, revealed that poster media played a major role in the development of contemporary and prosperous Armenia (Türk et al., 2022)

In Romania, which was supported by the Soviet army for its propaganda mission to spread communism, children became the main target through magazines dedicated to children, whose initial movement was through the media and press. These children's magazines narrated an escape from poverty and shallow daily life (Tagsorean, 2017). Thu Luoung Le (2024) exploring the communication propaganda strategies used by the Vietnamese communist government, which has been successful in overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, shows that the government adopted a communication style with good appeal to avoid skepticism of COVID-19 propaganda. The Vietnamese communist government tends to inform in the form of patriotism, solidarity, and collectivism to win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people.

Likewise, the resistance movement against communism ideology made propaganda about anti-communism an important intellectual element in many contemporary political movements until it became an organized movement (Davey & Ebner, 2017). In the United States, the government formed public opinion by using television as a tool for anti-communist propaganda. One of the most effective forms was United States television, which created opinions in cold war films that the Soviet Union carried out very brutal massacres (Sayasone, 2014).

Even anti-communist propaganda was created through video games with the aim of communicating stereotypes and ideology, such as cold war videos from the perspective of the United States that utilized anti-communist ideas (Seiwald, 2021). South Korea also carries out anti-communist propaganda through films, the anti-communist films shown in South Korea give communism a dimension of oppression against its opponents (H. Lee, 2016). In Thailand, anti-communist propaganda was carried out by the United States through the novel *A Complete Idiot*, which depicts the evil communist movement. Janit Feangfu's 2016 research argues that the novel subverted the Thai government's projections of communism and challenged them at that time. United States, this novel opens up a new space for Thailand's alternative cultural identity.

Wai-Siam Hee's (2017) research examines anti-communist films using Malay for Singaporean society sponsored by the United States, anti-communist films that are depicted starting by robbing and confiscating rich people's property to feed the poor. Films are distributed free of charge through mobile cinemas so that they can be delivered quickly and easily. Finally, Ching Yi Huang's thesis (2013) discusses anti-communist cultural propaganda in Taiwan. Due to the defeat of China, the Taiwan Nationalist government utilized anti-communist political campaign propaganda through visual and verbal representations such as dramas, films, documentaries, news, and textbooks.

From several studies above, it is clear that communist and anti-communism propaganda movements through the mass media have different narratives and targets; there are communist propaganda movements that go through the government and target children directly, and then anti-communism propaganda is successfully carried out by the state. The United States is unique because it can influence local society through films and video games. As explained from the background of post-reform Indonesia, communism and anti-communism propaganda movements debated with each other so that this research will provide two direct debates on communism and anti-communism propaganda movements in Indonesia through the mass media. This needs to be studied in research as an update because the differences between communism and anti-communism propaganda in Indonesia in the mass media are dynamic and continue to develop.

3. Propaganda Ideology In Media Mass

The propaganda model can be understood as one component of critical studies that existed before electronic communication, but in contemporary times propaganda is closely related to channels such as digital media (Auerbach & Castronovo, 2013). Due to Herman and Chimsky's opinion that propaganda cannot exist without the use of mass media, those who control and have access to the media have access and potential control over public opinion, with the help of mass media the spread of propaganda gets and seeps into everyday life. - day. So that in this contemporary era, propaganda is not only for political interests and power but also empathy and support for the pros and cons that are integrated into people's lives.

Propaganda always has a relationship with the practice of moral pros and cons with big propagandists such as communist and fascist ideological propaganda which often creates images of deception, manipulation and lies. Nicholas Jackson (2004) sees propaganda as the deliberate persuasion of people using slanted and selective information. Meanwhile,

counter-propaganda, called Counter propaganda, analyzes relevant facts related to dis-information from the perspective of moral authority to oppose and counter-propaganda (Bjola, 2018).

To be more specific, this research combines two basic theories according to Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell (1992) and Elizabeth Briant Lee & Alfred McClung Lee (1979) defining several basic propaganda, namely (1) Name - Calling gives a bad label to an idea and rejecting and condemning it without examining the evidence, (2) Glittering Generality reminds something with good words and creates acceptance and approval without examining the evidence, (3) Transfer gives respect so that the propaganda can be accepted, (4) Testimonials of someone's propaganda statements that respected or hated, (5) Plain Folk which is propaganda played by a society of ordinary people, (6) Card Stacking propaganda which involves the selection and use of facts or lies, illustrations or distractions, logical or illogical statements, (7) Bandwagon tries to convince group members that their colleagues accept propaganda and must follow that propaganda, (8) Fear Technique which exploits deep feelings of fear.

From several points of theory narrated by Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell and Elizabeth Briant Lee & Alfred McClung Lee, this will be a variable for this research, and then in order not to be too generalist, the researcher determines independent indicators by adjusting the cases of communism and anti-communism propaganda. Indonesia in the mass media. To answer these indicators, the researcher narrates through hypotheses. Firstly, in the case of Indonesian anti-communist propaganda in the mass media, it often depicts communism as a threat or enemy; mass media distribution gives negative labels to adherents of communism, such as traitors and radicals; the hammer and sickle symbols are narrated using a frightening or threatening context. Finally, mass media narratives form anti-communist propaganda into formal education in Indonesian schools, which presents the bad history of communism in Indonesia (Besman et al., 2023; Pahrun Wadipalapa, 2023; Waston et al., 2024).

In Indonesia, the mass media also provides communism propaganda to fight and refute the anti-communism narrative that has been portrayed for 33 years. The communism propaganda strategy is built through a revolutionary approach and criticism of social inequality, propaganda that tends to support the empowerment of marginalized groups in building solidarity, then communism propaganda in the mass media is mostly aimed at students in universities as critical reading literature. Lastly, the distribution of documentary films on victims of violence and human rights violations by anti-communism groups during Indonesia's New Order government.

4. Research

4.1. Methodology

In the sub-methodology, researchers discuss analysis techniques, themes or narratives used in disseminating propaganda material. However, the researcher presents a method of self-designed narrative which is used to create a propaganda object. This research does not use data involving human subjects, but the data for this research was collected from mass media platforms randomly. The aim of this research is to focus on the activities of mass media platforms connected to any country that discuss communism and anti-communism propaganda in Indonesia. This research data consists of 260 (N=260) news stories from 1998 post-reform to 2024.

This research used a two-stage process, after collecting all the data, the researcher carried out coding using the NVivo Pro software tool. The coding technique in this research includes investigations in the form of narrative words or phrases. This research uses coding techniques according to Johnny Saldana (2009) Qualitative Research Coding codes and categorizes data based on what the researcher talks about which can be characterized by similarities, differences, frequency, sequence, correspondence and cause and effect. For example, "there is no place for the communism movement in Indonesia", one of the narratives shows anti-communist sentiment and communism propaganda narratives that tell the story of the spread of Marxist ideology.

The second stage of this research carried out data analysis using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) with Rstudio software tools, according to Diane J. Hu (2009) specifically aimed at finding a brief description of a data collection. LDA believes that one way to quickly summarize document content is to look at the group of words it uses. LDA analysis can utilize algorithms to identify analysis topics, so that in this research summarizes propaganda news between communism news and anti-communism news and presents the data visually by modeling the relationship between data images and descriptive information. Because in Jining Han's (2023) research, which uses the Latent Dirichlet Allocation model, it can help identify heterogeneous topics and then build sentiment analysis, comparing narratives of pros and cons.

This research also uses a text mining analysis method produced by NVivo and RStudio, which extracts it automatically with a series of algorithms to convert unstructured text into structured data and produce numerical data. According to Sholom M. Weiss and Nitin Ikdurkhya (2005), there are analytical methods in text mining techniques such as data

preprocessing, the use of clarification algorithms, text clustering, and sentiment analysis to determine the feelings contained in the text.

In accordance with the theory according to Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell and Elizabeth Briant Lee & Alfred McClung Lee, this research combines the two theories to determine the indicators and only uses four variables for reasons to match the hypothesis that has been explained and the main content of communism and anti-communism propaganda, the first variable is Name - Calling with three indicators; negative stereotypes and sentiments, avoidance of rational arguments and facts, nationalistic rhetoric. Glittering Generality with its narrative indicators that can create a positive impression tends to be rational and scientific. Testimonial, researchers measure this only from personal testimony from victims or their families who were involved in anti-communist politics. Lastly, Fear is an indicator of propaganda played by individuals or groups who narrate threats and very frightening images.

From the news data that has been collected, the researcher tested the data using a cross-tabulation type technique which was imported into the NVivo Pro 12 software, which will display the results of the frequency or proportion of news data observations (N=260) in each news story. The combination of categories for each of the 4 variables was tested through auto-coding of reference results on the news page.

TABLE 1. Crosstabulation Data Testing

Reference	Reference Type = Web Page (260)
Fear	19,24%
Glittering Generality	33,08%
Name-Calling	33,5%
Testimonial	14,18%
Total	100%

SOURCE: Analysis NVivo Pro 12

From the test table above, the results of the propaganda variables Glittering Generality and Name - Calling are the ones that are most widely informed in news coverage. As part of the pre-research stage, the researcher also explained the results of data validation

which was carried out by checking the consistency of news data (N=260) collected from each variable. Data consistency checks were carried out using the NVivo Pro 12 software tool to calculate all data that had been coded, because this type of calculation uses case processing summaries, therefore each variable is included in the case category.

TABLE 2. Case Processing Summary

Variable Case	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	percent	N	percent
N=260						
Fear	62	100%	0	0%	62	100%
Glittering Generality	86	100%	0	0%	86	100%
Name-Calling	90	100%	0	0%	90	100%
Testimonial	22	100%	0	0%	22	100%

SOURCE: Analysis NVivo Pro 12

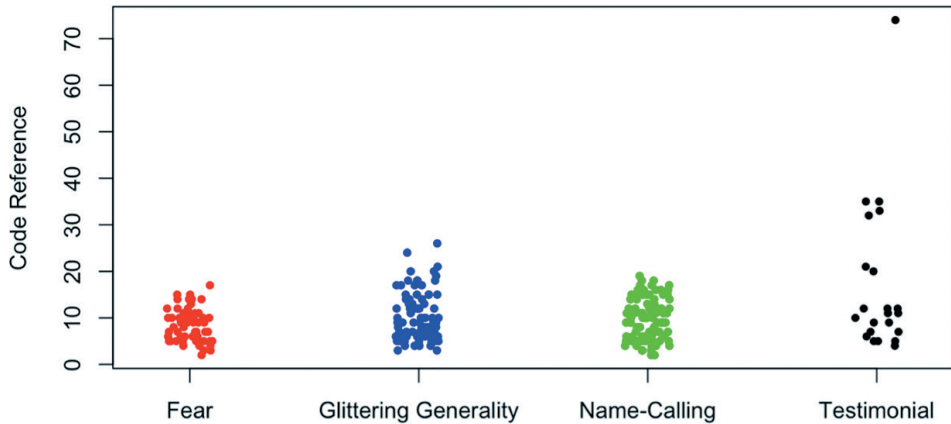
From the four variables, this research expands the phenomenon of propaganda reporting on communism by adding two pro and anti-communism variables whose indicators also come from all narratives of news data (N=260). In determining the indicators, researchers manually coded every news content that contained narratives of communism and anti-communism against reporting on communism. Researchers identify parts of the narrative that are relevant to stating that the narrative is communism and anti-communism, for example, the anti-communism narrative as an ideological tool for the military to maintain the doctrine of national vigilance - fear, as well as the pro-narrative stating that the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and the communism movement in Indonesia will not rise again.

4.2. Results

To continue this research, it is necessary to analyze the data collected to answer research questions and problems, as shown in the research methods section. The data results were interpreted in descriptive form using quantitative and qualitative approaches. Data analysis and interpretation was carried out in several stages. The first part is based on the results of coding calculations from 260 news stories related to quantitative data, the second part is based on the results of data processing which is interpreted descriptively qualitatively.

This research displays strip plot data analysis to distribute the results of coding data from 260 news stories and clarifies 4 variables through point distribution and compares the differences in the four variable points in distribution and distribution points. The code reference number shows the results of the narrative count for each news story. The higher the number, the more numerous and complex the story is narrated.

PICTURE 1. Narrative Propaganda From Four Indicators



SOURCE: Strip Plot Analysis RStudio

In the Testimonial variable, the results of the distribution of the highest coding references tend not to be as homogeneous as other variables. The Fear reference code is concentrated on certain numbers, ranging from 3 to >70, in fact the news from the Testimonial variable is the least propagandized, but every narrative content reported is very complex and clear, for example news content that comes directly from victims or perpetrators of communism propaganda, even news content is combined with the results of several studies, the highest point of which is identified as an output that shows the level of efficiency produced by the coding machine that filters the data.

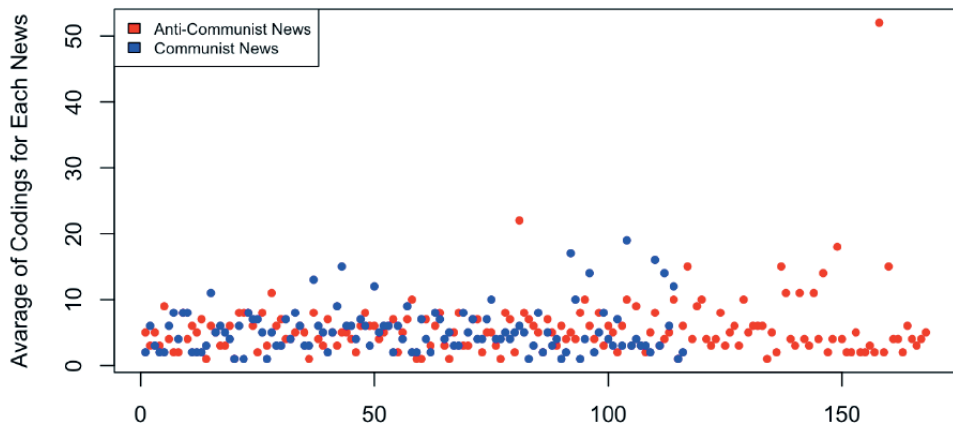
The results of the code reference calculation on the Fear variable, the level of distribution of distribution points is very low and does not even reach the number 20 starting from number 3 and the highest is 17. Because Fear propaganda narrates news information with a very concise presentation pattern, most of which is presented clearly in the emphasis of the news title but the content The source narrative used tends to lack credibility even without a source, so it has a particular interest in strengthening a narrative similar to the

Name - Calling variable.

The Glittering Generality and Name - Calling variables are the most widespread points in the distribution, the results of the Glittering Generality coding reference count have the lowest points ranging from 3 to 26, in the news the Glittering Generality variable does not show a bad stereotype at all, the source referred to comes from research until it is compared with theories. Finally, the majority variable Name - Calling shows a very low distribution point from number 2 to number 19, because the communism propaganda narrated by Name - Calling is like a narrative that is repeated again with different media channels, then the source is narrated by figures or politicians the same one.

Then for additional variables, researchers used scatter plot analysis to find out the average number of coding's from 260 news stories (Y) and all coding results (X) and graphically see the pattern of distribution of correlation points. It should also be noted that in every news story there is a narrative of communism and anti-communism, so that it is clear to distinguish between communism and anti-communism, researchers review the news from the title to the content of the news.

PICTURE 2. Distribution of Narrative Coding for Reporting Communism and Anti-Communism



SOURCE: Scatter Plot Analysis RStudio

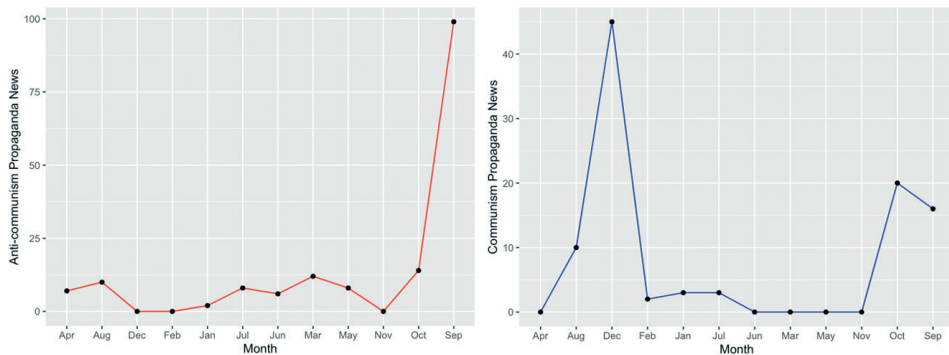
Reading the scatter plot analysis on variable Y (Vertical Axis) the average coding for each news item is from 2 to >50 and, on variable X (Horizontal Axis) the total number of news items that have been coded is more than >150. In general, if you look at the distribution

of dot patterns, there is no correlation between the points between has similar numbers, namely the average result of 6 in the X variable is 53 and the average result of 3 in the X variable is 105.

The red dot pattern clearly shows that the anti-communism propaganda narrative dominates the most, if taken in total the average coding narrative for anti-communism propaganda reaches 947 and the narrative coding for reporting communism reaches 624. Anti-communism propaganda has a vertical pattern of points reaching >53, the highest above average, while the highest pattern point for the issue of communism news covered only reached 19.

Timeline mapping is also included as an analytical tool for this research, to reveal and explore chronologically propaganda events that are often identified in the timeline. From the 260 news stories collected, researchers identified a timeline through the themes of anti-communism and communism propaganda. Because the news data was taken from the last 25 years, this research process will provide a comprehensive picture in the form of a monthly time period, which month the two pieces of propaganda are often informed each month.

PICTURE 3. Time (Timeline) of Propaganda Reporting



SOURCE: Analysis RStudio

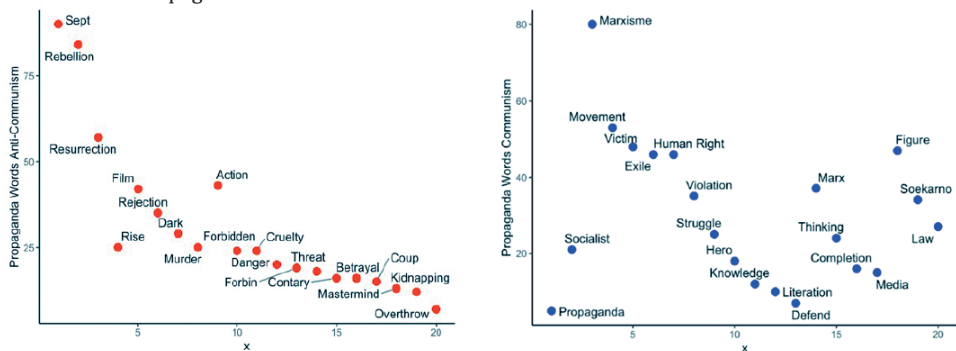
Of the 260 news stories, you need to know that anti-communist propaganda really dominates, the red timeline identifies anti-communist propaganda in Indonesia which tends to be reported every September, followed by October and August. Based on news data obtained in September which tends to record the history of the events of the 30 September 1965 movement (G30S – PKI) and the Indonesian Communist Party rebellion in Madiun Regency

in 1948 which occurred in September. For example, finding more than 20 news portals at detik.com have informed about the atrocities of the Indonesian Communist Party through the 30 September movement which massacred a number of high-ranking Indonesian military officials and the Indonesian Communist Party rebellion in Madiun Regency which wanted to change the Republic of Indonesia into the Soviet Republic of Indonesia.

In October, anti-communist propaganda continues to be narrated again, because the sacred day of the Pancasila ideology is October 1, one day after September 30, which is celebrated as a day to commemorate the death of the Indonesian military in the September 30 rebellion movement (G30S PKI). Communism propaganda in the blue timeline image on the right, the majority of the propaganda of which is also reported in the same months such as September, October and December, on the timeline of these months does not have a day that must be commemorated as a moment for a theme. This communism propaganda tends to concentrate on the form of anti-communist propaganda resistance that was propagated for 57 years, for example, the BBC.com portal shows its news sources directly to victims affected by violence by the Indonesian anti-communist movement after the September 30 movement (G30S PKI).

All anti-communist propaganda and communism propaganda news certainly has its own keywords and narrative. Researchers use text geometric analysis of news content which involves analysis techniques to explore keywords contained in propaganda news. Researchers classify two news variables, anti-communism propaganda and communism propaganda. In identifying keywords, researchers extracted from 1000 keywords to 20 keywords for each variable, then displayed using a word space vector model because it can help identify dominant keywords in all news through two variables.

PICTURE 4. Propaganda Words



SOURCE: Analysis RStudio

From the word space vector analysis image above, where the variable vertical line (Y) is the higher the keyword, the more dominant the keyword is in every piece of propaganda reported. The image on the left is anti-communism propaganda. The four most dominant keywords are "Sept" referring to propaganda that presents the events of 30 September 1965 from a biased or tendentious point of view. Next, the keyword "Rebellion" shows that there are 10 keywords in the news title propagated through several cases of the communist rebellion in Madiun Regency and the G30S PKI rebellion. The following keyword is "Resurrection" propaganda which is often narrated by a number of national figures and community organizations that communism in Indonesia will rise again.

The next two keywords are "Film". This propaganda is carried out in film screenings which are shown every September 30 with the aim of strengthening the anti-communist narrative in influencing public perception of this event. In the vector image of the word space to the right of the top five, the first is "Marxism" and "Movement", the other three propaganda keywords such as "Victim" this propaganda brings counter propaganda to the post-1966 New Order government which massacred the communism movement, after there is the keyword "Exile" which is related to the keyword "Human Rights", news that raises the issue of victims of political prisoners and victims of political exile through direct victims, some news also reports on human rights handling services for victims of political exile through the government directly.

5. Discussion

Social and political science research often presents its research results in a table, in methodological advances in political science many also include statistical summaries that attempt to combine the development of narrative data into mathematical statistical data. The results of data analysis in this research are entirely from news information for a thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis, therefore this research presents an interpretation and exploration of data from previous research to produce theoretical advances. Interpretive Valentine Berthet (2023) usually makes a hypothesis about the truth of the data which is focused on analysis and efforts to understand the stages of construction of variants that emerge from the data, so that the four visualization results from the 260 news stories in this study will be constructed using previous research and news related.

Four variables serve as measuring tools in the strip plot analysis, with Name- Calling and Glittering Generality dominating the results. Name- Calling Propaganda disseminates false information about the communist movement and the history of the Indonesian

Communist Party (PKI) through media and news, portraying it as cruel and intelligent in its actions. Propaganda is targeted at the public to reject and condemn the communist movement without having to look at the facts and evidence (Sarmiki, 2016), likewise, the film Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI should be shown in schools. Asserts that society uses and repeats this propaganda as a psychological control tool, ingraining it into people's memories through a variety of mediums like speeches, films, and mass media (Ma'asan Mayrudin & Hikmah Zulfiana, 2017). Of the 90 news stories whose variable is Name - Calling, there are 30 news stories with the same narrative repeating the historical events of the atrocities of the 30 September movement of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Glittering Generality propaganda also dominates 260 news stories, most of which are about communism and Marxism, informing the values and ideas of revolutionaries and science fighters, according to Oliver Crawford (2021) Indonesian communist members use the terminology of communism and Marxism in their writings to demonstrate their mastery of modern science. Writers and researchers in Indonesia penned and refined the work to shed light on social transformation. Indonesia's founding fathers, such as Tan Malaka and Soekarno, were the starting point for the new class classification as Marxist thinkers. President Soekarno insisted on combining the ideologies of Marxism and Marhaenism, while Tan Malaka explained the Party's relationship with the proletariat (Hoogervorst & Schulte Nordholt, 2017).

The red Fear Strip plot variable is like providing information and spreading propaganda about the fear of the rise and threat of the communist movement. Saifulmujani Research and Consulting (2020) conducted a survey of 1,023 respondents, showing that the majority of Indonesians no longer believe in the rise of communism. The Indonesian Research and Public Opinion Association Institute (2021) also conducted a survey with 1,000 respondents, showing that 45.0% did not believe in the rise of communism and 46.6% did. Research has been conducted on the reporting of the rise of the Indonesian Communist Party in the mass media using social semiotics methods based on several documents from the media sites Republika.co.id, Liputan6.com, and Merdeka.com. According to the findings, the media site Republika.co.id created news using the Indonesian Communist Party's word "resurrection," but the images presented did not match the incident. Similarly, the [Liputan6](http://Liputan6.com) media site constructed the news using ambiguous, unclear word choices, and the last multi-interpretation of the Merdeka.com media site contains inaccurate data and tends to exaggerate existing facts (Turistiati, 2018).

Testimonial variables, directly conveyed through someone's testimony, serve as propaganda, persuading others that an event has occurred. This research obtained 22 testimo-

nial variables, which inform the testimony of people who were victims of human rights violations due to anti-communist actions against President Soeharto's government. Two news stories and two studies, both based on research from the same sources, feature Mr. Sukrisno and Siti Sukrisno, along with their families, who faced political exile after President Soeharto's government revoked their citizenship. Some of the reasons were their rejection of the massacre of communists in Indonesia and their status as those who were studying and working in the former Soviet Union (Parahita & Yulianto, 2020)

To explore the results of the news timeline analysis data, to be precise, approaching the end of September and the beginning of October, the anti-communist issue was very much discussed in the news and on social media. The narratives of national figures from military and political backgrounds also ignited the anti-communist issue (Fajrin, 2018). In addition, the polemic about the screening of the 30 September movement film has filled national news spaces and social media in the last half of September and the beginning of October. There was so much news in September that all news articles invited readers to follow the film of the September 30 movement by passing it on repeatedly (Simon, 2021).

6. Conclusion

This research concludes that over the last few years in Indonesia, the issue of anti-communism propaganda is no longer relevant and has not become a major concern. Of the 260 news data collected randomly, the researchers divided it into four variables, two of which are the Fear and Name-Calling variables, The majority of news collection frames reveal it with narratives that are continuously repeated. It is even clear from the timeline analysis of anti-communist propaganda that every year This propaganda was carried out in September and October, so that communism propaganda in Indonesia became annual propaganda, such as commemorating the 30 September movement of the Indonesian Communist Party rebellion. We can even see from the two-word frequency vector analysis results that simultaneously narrated the September 30 movement.

Meanwhile, propaganda news about communism in Indonesia in 2023 is currently hot, and the Indonesian government has made efforts to provide easy access for exile victims to return to Indonesia and become Indonesian citizens(Pernamasari, 2023). Variable Glittering-Generality and Testimonials When viewed through vector - word frequency analysis, what really dominates are news studies about Marxism and figures of the Indonesian communist movement, followed by reports of incidents of

massacres of communists and violations of human rights. Of the 260 news stories that have been collected and processed using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) analysis on scatter plot analysis images, anti-communism propaganda news still dominates with repeated narratives.

In summarizing the numerical data produced by scatter plot analysis, strip plot and text search from the 260 news stories collected. This strip plot analysis has four variables (Fear, Glittering Generality, Name-Calling and Testimonial). The Testimonial variable shows the distribution and distribution point (outer) of the highest number reaching a point >70 compared to other variables, which are only <30 on average. So, Testimonial propaganda reports are narrated very complexly. In the scatter plot analysis, there are two variables: communism, which is blue and anti-communism, which is red; there are x and y, which do not have the same correlation but have the same distribution of points.

The distribution of anti-communist propaganda points dominates the most if you look at the coding results, which reach >50, indicating that anti-communist propaganda is very prominent in emphasizing the reported narrative sentences. The results of the text search analysis consisting of communism and anti-communism variables concluded that the keywords for anti-communism propaganda that were often narrated were "Sep", "Rebellion", and "Resurrection". Meanwhile, the keywords for communist propaganda that are often narrated are "Marxism", "Movement", and "Victim".

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Politička propaganda: Indonezijski komunizam i antikomunizam u masovnim medijima

Sažetak

Nakon indonezijske reformacije, komunistička i antikomunistička propaganda vodile su međusobne rasprave, a digitalizacija masovnih medija omogućila je brzinu prenošenja propagande, pa ovo istraživanje ističe kako se komunizam još uvijek često pojavljuje u indonezijskim masovnim medijima. Za potrebe istraživanja prikupljeno je 260 vijesti čiji su podaci obrađeni s pomoću softvera NVivo Pro i RStudio. Korištene su metode rudarenja teksta i latentne Dirichletove alokacije (LDA) te su se analizirali podaci koristeći alate kao što su Strip Plot, Scatter Plot, Timeline i Word Frequency. Rezultati ovog istraživanja zaključuju da je u posljednjih nekoliko godina u Indoneziji antikomunistička propaganda postala irelevantna i više nije zabrinjavajuća. Analiza vremenskog slijeda otkriva da se antikomunistička propaganda dosljedno događa u rujnu i listopadu svake godine. Čak i narativi koji se ponavljaju igraju ulogu u propagandi. Komunistička propaganda se kroz analizu učestalosti riječi, narativa vijesti o marksizmu i likovima indonezijskog komunističkog pokreta pratila i kroz izvješća o komunističkim masakrima i kršenjima ljudskih prava s kraja 2023., a kojima je indonezijska vlada pružila pristup.

Ključne riječi: propaganda, politika, komunizam, antikomunizam, masovni mediji