Leftist Narratives in Tempo Books: Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Perspective

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A R T I C L E   I N F O

A B S T R A C T

The text in a narrative has hidden meanings. It is necessary to dismantle and reconstruct the new meanings using critical discourse analysis (CDA). Related to that, this study aims to explore leftist narratives in Indonesia as contained in two books published by Tempo through van Dijk's perspective of critical discourse analysis (CDA). This study used a descriptive-interpretative method which refers to CDA. The results reveal: First, the structure of the topic's discourse raises the subject that Tempo is on the leftist side through diction, which depicts them as religious, kind, diligent, intelligent, and having a strong sense of nationalism. Microstructurally, in terms of setting, the leftists are those who were close to Sukarno, often recited the Quran (Muslims), repeatedly discussed with the public, and defended them. While in terms of graphics, Tempo books tend to be printed in red, symbolizing communism. Second, social cognition reporting in Tempo tends to side with the PKI and criticize Suharto concerning the G30S/PKI Movement. The two books reveal the ideological conflict between communism (Russia and China) and capitalism/colonialism (the United States and its allies). Third, from the aspect of context, leftists are innocent people and are the only victims of the regime in power.

1. INTRODUCTION

The September 30 Movement is a controversial and mysterious discussion in Indonesia (Farid, 2005; Hasworo, 2004; Pohlman, 2014; Roosa, 2006; Suparjan, 2016) that resulted in the assassination of seven Indonesian Army generals. The leftists called this as G30S movement. The people favoring Sukarno referred to it as *Gestok* (October 1 Movement; Indonesian: *Gerakan Satu Oktober*). Suharto's right-wringers/ government supporters called it G30S/PKI because the suspected perpetrators/ culprits were PKI (*Partai*

Komunis Indonesia or Communist Party of Indonesia). During the Suharto regime, the suspected PKI or leftists were murdered, tortured, imprisoned, and marginalized (Kurniawan; 2013).

The leftists were also categorized as "demonic groups" (Pohlman, 2016) and were considered deluding/ terrorizing and became the scourge of mass fear. Besides, books seen as controversial and containing leftist content were banned because they were deemed to disrupt the stability of national security. The suspected leftist authors were also pressured and marginalized by the ruling regime (Zulkifli, 2014).

The September 30 Movement remains the subject of debate concerning who was responsible for it, with robust ties to Aidit and Musso, two names in PKI who had significant roles in the movement. In this regard, research on leftists in books (references or monographs) is interesting from critical discourse analysis. The critical discourse explores deeply how the narrative is hidden behind and outside the text. In writing a book about leftists, the author cannot be separated from the author's text, context, and social life. Text related to the information narrated by the author. Context related to the information contained in the text. The context relates to aspects outside the text and context that support the narrative created by the author, both related to language and non-language (politics, government, and culture). From the perspective of critical discourse analysis (CDA), the media narrated by the author cannot be separated from politics and power in a country (Ahmadi, 2017; Kareem & Rijia, 2023; Statham, 2022; Vaara & Whittle, 2022). Therefore, the media as discourse cannot be interpreted objectively because the media cannot be separated from politics and power. The narratives in the media are not empty but tend to be created by the author. For this reason, a researcher must be able to dismantle the narrative through a critical paradigm so that he is able to understand the meaning hidden behind the media narrative. One of the big narratives in Indonesia is the narrative about the PKI. Until now, the study of the narrative of the PKI still attracts the interest of researchers, especially researchers in politics, anthropology, and sociology.

Let us take closer to what is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is closely related to the dimensional discourse of abuse of power, injustice, and inequality, and "ideology is a prominent theme in CDA" (Gabsi, 2015). Unlike other discourse analyses that comprehend discourse implicitly, critical discourse analysis requires an explicit social-political attitude: by stating their points, perspectives, and purposes, both within their discipline and society. The target of discourse analysis is dismantling how the power elite enforces, defends, authorizes, forgives, or ignores social inequality and injustice (van Dijk, 1995; van Dijk, 1993). By doing so, the result of this study is expected to bring equality and justice in social life.

Dijk stated that there are nine contexts a critical discourse analyst has to comprehend, including (1) the context of the subjective translator, (2) the context of a unique experience, (3) the context of a mental model, (4) more specific context than mental experience, (5) the context of the schematic model, (6) the context of production control and comprehension, (7) social-based context, (8) dynamic context, and (9) frequent, majority, and planned context (van Dijk, 2008).

An analyst can interpret a discourse reproduced and recontextualized by the authority through integrative context. Dijk termed critical discourse as something that begins from common sense heading toward theory. A discourse deemed as having the context of ordinary language, speech act, and spoken language that contains propaganda, inequality, hegemony, domination, deviation, racism, and sexism. For that matter, discourse studies require formulating theories of language use, beliefs, and interaction (van Dijk, 1997) to

interpret beyond words. Common sense would mean ordinary because it is interpreted that way, but deep meanings would be acquired when a theory is used. Thus, it requires decent theories and methods to analyze discourse. Dijk came out with principles that must be understood in critical discourse analysis that is explained as follows.

First is power and domination. An essential point in critical discourse studies is understanding social power and domination. Social power is based on special access to resources with social value, such as wealth/prosperity, income, position, status, power, groups, education, and knowledge. Power includes control, either towards members in the same group or the others, that can be related to attitude and cognition, such as the strong groups having the power to limit the action of other group members and influence their minds (van Dijk, 1993).

Power and domination appear in what authority does to its subordinate, a general to his corporal or a lecturer to his student. It also appears in households, like a husband controlling and dominating his wife. In understanding this domination, Dijk referred to Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony (control by [the leader of] a dominant group over a less dominant one using consensus/ control by a leader over his submissive). This hegemony is also called subtle persuasion as if it does not feel like being controlled/ dominated. It also applies in critical discourse; domination uses consensus, quiet words, and hidden persuasion.

Hegemony contradicts coercion which is obtained through legislative and executive power. In capitalism analysis, Gramsci intended to know how several intellectuals cooperate to achieve cultural leadership and mass obedience in the name of capitalists (Klikauer, 2021; Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2020). In the development, Gramscian hegemony is physical and discourse hegemony. It leads to hegemonizing texts embedded in mass media. Stereotype appearance, superiority, inferiority, and racism are closely tied to discourse hegemony, which subtly appeared in media texts.

Second is discourse and access. An analysis of various ways of discourse access revealed shocking parallels between social power and discourse access: genre discourse, contexts, participants, audience, scope, and text characteristics. The shocking parallels might actively control and influence texts. Indeed, discourse access can be outlined by every group, position, or rank. Thus, a chief manager has exclusive access to the executive board meeting. The most substantial access is usually related to chairs, agenda managers, acts of speech, allocation changes, decision-makers, topics, and consequential institutional dimensions.

At the same time, a chief manager can access business reports and documents or have credit for what has been written. In addition, a chief manager should have access to news media and negotiate with top-level politicians and other managers. Similar profiles can also be related to presidents, prime ministers, leaders of political parties, news editors, employees, judges, professors, and police officers (van Dijk, 1993).

The third is communication discourse, action forms, and interactions monitored by social cognition. In terms of social psychology, social cognition refers to the mental process of language information produced by society/the public (Condor & Antaki, 1984). The same applies to understanding social events or institutions and their relationship with power. Thus, social cognition mediates micro and macro within society strata, discourse, action, and individual and group.

Despite being concretized within individual thoughts, it tends to be social because it is shared and interpreted by groups and monitors social actions and interactions. Also, it is

based on social organizations and holistic society culture (van Dijk, 1993). Unfortunately, society barely knows the structure and soft or hot activities, such as opinions, attitudes, ideologies, norms, and values. In this case, it represents social evaluative, schematic, and categorical (males' scheme of females, white people's scheme of black people). The schematic attitude content is shaped by general public opinion with evaluative belief. General norms and values that base this belief are more complex, abstract, and ideological, as in immigrants, freedom of the press, abortion, or nuclear weapons. For this purpose, ideology is the base social cognition representing primary purpose, importance, and group values (van Dijk, 1991) within society. An analyst must be able to touch the core of critical discourse analysis, that is, a detailed description, explanations, and critics of how to dominate which influence social knowledge, attitude, and ideology through their roles in building concrete model. Specifically, we need to know how certain discourse structurally creates mental structure and represents specific social representation formation (van Dijk, 1993). If a critical discourse analyst can accomplish those, the understanding of discourse becomes more comprehensive.

Fourth is discourse structure. When a group brings its power into discourse, we want to determine how that is done. If it can persuade or influence its audiences, we also want to know the discursive structure and strategy in the process. Hence, the reproduction of dominative discursive in a critical discourse object has two main dimensions: production and reception.

The reproduction of dominative discursive has two dimensions. It means that it separates the expression or legitimacy in the (production of) various text structures and conversation from the function, consequences, or result of the structures in the audience's mind. It also means that discourse analysis in both cases deals with the relationship between discourse and cognition in which both cases of structures form the important role of mediation (van Dijk, 1993). The discourse structure is specified in detail into three dimensions (1) macrostructure (the observable object is the topic being put forward [thematic]), (2) superstructure (how parts and orders of news scheme in a whole new text [schematic]), and (3) microstructure (the emphasized meaning in a news text [semantic]) (Eriyanto, 1996).

In van Dijk's view, social cognition is closely tied to social psychology study. Van Dijk's social cognition concept refers to the conceptualization of social psychology. He relates discourse to social psychology, either text or talk discourse (van Dijk, 1984, 2014). Dijk's view indicates that the combination of social psychology and cognition is mostly reproductive in society (van Dijk, 2014) in terms of social psychology. The essence of social cognition is consciousness. In this case, individual knowledge, belief, and faith in a unique situation, event, and experience –which is represented as a model in episodic memory– is separated from the system of the group's knowledge, attitude, norms, and ideology– which is expressed in semantics or is called social memory (van Dijk, 1991). Understanding social cognition in society is required so that the interpretation is not limited to discourse structure.

Context is essentially needed to understand everything, "context as the definition of the communicative situation" (van Dijk, 2015). Through context, discourse representation can be linked to a whole discourse and have a clear meaning. Dijk stated that the characterization of discourse refers not only to the features of structure/ text strategy but also to the people related to the contexts. In this case, context is defined as circumstances, situations, surroundings, and the environment where the discourse is produced(van Dijk, 1998; van Dijk, 2008).

Dijk used context to view the phenomenon, events, actions, or discourse that requires observation or study in interacting with the environment. It includes situations and consequences (van Dijk, 2008). Context is indeed not a text, but it initially was. It contains implicit lingual (van Dijk, 2015), manipulative, and vague texts. Hence, the verbal language within the context is being broken down to dismantle hidden ideology meaning, power, inequity, and hidden connection.

This study explores leftist narratives in the Tempo book by using CDA. This CDA explores the text, context, and narrative context of leftist narratives in the Tempo books. The two selected books were written by Zulkifli, Arif, et al. (Ed.), namely (1) *Aidit, Two Faces of Dipa*, and (2) *Musso: The Red at the Intersection of the Republics*. The books were chosen because Aidit and Muso were considered the most dominant PKI figures. In this regard, the contexts within these two books are connected to two main things, (1) the context when these books were published and (2) the context of authority in which the books were published. Both contexts were viewed from van Dijk's CDA on discourse structure, social cognition, and contexts.

In the last ten years, research on PKI in Indonesia has been categorized as follows. First, the PKI regarding the names of PKI figures and their role in developing the PKI in Indonesia (Crawford, 2022; Lin & Galway, 2022). Second is the PKI concerning its crimes in Indonesia, namely committing atrocities and killings against generals and *Kiai* (the preachers) (Julia, 2017; Laili, 2016; Nami, 2022). Third, the impact that the PKI had on Indonesian society (Lundry, 2022; Pradheksa, 2021; Zafri, 2022). Fourth, the development of the PKI in the present (Ashbourn, 2023; Ikhwan, Yulianto, & Parahita, 2019; Patra, Anatona, & Narny, 2022; Wijaya, Wike, & Novita, 2023).

Unfortunately, no previous research has discussed PKI from the perspective of CDA, especially those focused on van Dijk's perspective. The CDA discourse is very interesting when it relates to the PKI, especially the PKI's discourses in books circulating among the public. For that, the researcher chose a book published by Tempo. Tempo Publisher is a major publisher in Indonesia that narrates the PKI in the discourse context. For this reason, CDA has an important role in dismantling this discourse. Books discussing leftists are starting to arise along with Jokowi's presidency, which provides a fresh new chapter on free speech. The books that have been banned are being republished. Even so, they still do not blatantly state that they take the side of leftists. Books, as a form of mass media, according to Wodak (2015), utilize subtle words as a representation. Thus, critical discourse analysis is required to unravel the meaning behind the words so that it is holistically comprehensive.

Motivated by van Dijk's CDA theory and the lack of studies about leftist narratives with critical discourse analysis, this study, therefore, examines (1) discourse structure, (2) cognitive system, and (3) context of leftist narratives in the Tempo books. The problem statements were observed through Dijk's perspective of critical discourse analysis.

2. METHOD

This study used qualitative methods because researchers used more descriptive data exposure based on interpretation (Saldana, 2018). The data sources used are books published by Tempo Publishers related to leftists. The researcher used a book written by Zulkifli, Arif, et al. (Ed.), namely (1) *Aidit, Two Faces of Dipa*, and (2) *Musso: The Red at the Intersection of the Republics.* The books were chosen because Aidit and Muso were considered the most dominant PKI figures. In addition, books published by Tempo were

selected since Tempo has published many books on leftists, which until now have rarely been published by publishers in Indonesia. The researchers carried out the data collection technique in a documentary way. The data analysis technique was carried out using van Dijk's critical discourse analysis technique, namely (1) identification of text structure, (2) identification of social cognition, (3) identification of context, (4) classification, and (5) description of main data exposure (Neuman, 2018).

For data validation, the researchers carried out internal and external validity (Creswell, 2015). Internal validity is carried out by re-checking theory and methodology; for external validity, the researchers held discussions with discourse analysis experts to get input from theoretical and methodological aspects. The stages in this validation are carried out through three aspects, the first is discussion, the second is improvement based on input from practitioners, and the third is exposure to data analysis based on input from practitioners.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Macrostructure is related to the topics. Both books published by Tempo (1) *Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik* (Zulkifli, 2015b) and (2) *Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara* (Zulkifli, 2015a) brought up enormous ideas that the suspected the leftists were, unlike what society believed, not genuinely guilty.

Table 1
Macro Structure

No	Books	Topic	Notes
1.	*Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik*	Musso was not at full fault regarding his involvement in PKI because he stood up for people experiencing poverty.	The defense in the book is presented in Muso's life as a young religious man from a good family who had a dream.
2	*Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara*	Despite being the culprit behind G30S/PKI, he was not the most wicked.	The defense in the book is presented in how (little) Aidit was eloquent in reciting Al-Quran and carrying the sound of *azan*; and how he was not the mind master behind G30S/PKI but was conned.

Through the topics above, it appears that the books published by *Tempo* orated that those involved with PKI (either directly or indirectly) were not a hundred percent at fault regarding their relationship with the party. Both books prompt the readers to believe that the figures involved with PKI also had a humanity, religious, and kind-hearted side. They also longed for a similar goal for Indonesia's sake. From a macrostructural perspective, Muso and Aidit were narrated as good and religious figures. For this reason, the two people were not considered guilty in the G30S PKI. Although, the two names, namely Muso and Aidit, were mentioned as the main figures in the G30S PKI rebellion in 1965 in Indonesia. During the rebellion, 7 generals were killed. The G30S PKI rebellion has become a big narrative in Indonesia, which until now has never resolved the real facts.

3.1 Superstructure/ Schemata

In Dijk's view, superstructure or schemata are essentially related to how schematization of discourse is produced by the person/ group/ party in power. It leads to creating whole discourse text. The entire discourse text is schematized following what the text producers desire.

Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik consists of three main parts, that are *Si Merah di Simpang Republik*, *Meniti Jalan Radikal*, and *Akhir Perjalanan sang Ketua*. In the beginning, it is told that Musso was a smart kid from a wealthy family who diligently studied Al-Quran. The second part describes the story of Musso studying in Moscow abroad. It exhibits his view of himself as a brilliant young man eager to study. He was also depicted as a young man who took the issue of the life of the working class, which the employers would overpower. Therefore, his idealism was communism - justice is for society, not bourgeois. The third part, his last journey, was about how the Indonesian army shot down Musso.

Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara is schematized as follows. First, Aidit was a boy from a wealthy family; he was eloquent in reciting Quran and carrying the sound of *azan* in the nearby mosque. Second, young Aidit started to feel the discomfort of the lower class. His meeting with Musso triggered his passion for expanding PKI in Indonesia. Third, Aidit thought that he was not fully aware of the assassination of the generals (because, in the scenario, it was kidnapping the generals to be reunited with Sukarno instead of assassination). Fourth, Aidit and his colleagues found a school and a daily newspaper in Jakarta. Fifth, Aidit was shot dead by the Indonesian army. The scheme that shows that Muso and Aidit as leftists who are not completely guilty is in line with the view of Gie (2005) that the leftists are figures who want to reform the condition of Indonesia which at that time was still chaotic. They, the leftists, are actually religious people.

3.2 Microstructure

3.2.1 Setting in *Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik*

The setting is related to locations, scenes, and events that support the meaning the communicator/ manipulator desire. It appears in the text as subtle language, so breaking down the language is required. The settings in *Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik* appears as follows: Musso was a nice little boy who studied the Quran and would go to the mosque frequently; he befriended a character who later was known as *Kiai* Kemendung (Zulkifli, 2015b: 2); he was also in a close relationship with President Sukarno and had a special place in the president's heart (Zulkifli, 2015b: 7); and Musso was studying communism in Russia (Zulkifli, 2015b: 28); Paul de Groot, the leader of the Communist Party of the Netherlands supported the independence of Indonesia (Zulkifli, 2015b: 31); Musso returned to Indonesia at the beginning of August 1948 and generated the communism that had been shattered (Zulkifli, 2015b: 32); and his arrival changed the national political map.

The power of the Communist Party of Indonesia, after all the left-wing opposition parties and organizations merged, was multiplied (Zulkifli, 2015b: 36); Musso came up with a new concept of the Soviet Republic of Indonesia that had to entrench the country. A labor mass meeting was held in Solo attended by Alimin and Musso (Zulkifli, 2015b: 48-49); not more than three months, at the end of October 1948, Musso's tale ended. He was shot dead by the army chasing him down in Ponorogo. A merciless anti-communist purge catapulted

the fame of the Republic of Indonesia in the Western world. The impact was significant: The United States compelled the Netherlands to recognize Indonesian sovereignty. However, the tale of PKI was not yet ended. Ensuing from Musso, trio leaders of the Communist Party: Aidit, Lukman, and Nyoto, arose (Zulkifli, 2015b: 101); he left the beauty of adolescence life and instead chose to be an activist in *Sarekat Islam* and Indische-Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging, the pioneer of PKI. In the arena of his rebelling life, the army's bullets end his failed rebellion (Zulkifli, 2015b: 102).

The book's setting prompts the readers to understand the other side of Musso. Through this setting, he is depicted as an Islamic character displayed in the description of his childhood. Little Muso was growing up actively studying Quran, and even several of his friends succeeded in becoming *Kiai.* He was considered intelligent since he graduated junior high school and continued his study abroad to expand the horizon of his knowledge.

Regarding politics, he had a special place in Sukarno's heart. As a big-hearted personality, he felt that Indonesia should be a country without social stratification to achieve social equality. Returning from gaining his knowledge of communism in Moscow, he reinforced Communist Party in Indonesia to be more solid and powerful. He devised a new concept for Indonesia and mobilized the masses and workers to solidify PKI. One of the climaxes was Madiun Affair which could be ended. Several years later, Musso was executed by the Indonesian army. The setting describes Muso's life journey in PKI and on the other side.

3.2.2 Setting of *Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara*

The book *Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara* contains the following settings. Aidit inspected women's troops during the 45th anniversary of the PKI in Jakarta in May 1965. Forty-five years passed, and now we remember the man with hatred and admiration. He, *Nusantara* Aidit, led the Communist Party of Indonesia at the tender age of 31 years. It took only one year to foster PKI into four major categories in Indonesia.

PKI claimed 3.5 million supporters and became the most prominent Communist party after Russia and the PRC. Aidit dreamed of a classless Indonesia (Zulkifli, 2015a: 3); Aidit came from a distinguished family, and the communist value lies within him while witnessing the fate of a small tin mining company in Belitung (Zulkifli, 2015a: 8). However, educated at the Dutch school Abdullah's (Aidit) child grew up in a religious family. Abdullah is a prominent figure in Islamic education in Belitung. He is the founder of Nurul Islam in Belitung. After going home from school, Aidit and his younger siblings learned to recite Quran. The people around Aidit recognized him as an *Azan* reciter (Zulkifli, 2015a: 11); Murad said that if he had asked for something, it meant that Aidit's determination was anonymous (Zulkifli, 2015a: 21); younger Aidit was interested in politics upon arrival in Jakarta, he established *Antara* and renamed it (Zulkifli, 2015a: 20); Aidit's leadership talents and flaring idealism sprang up prominently among his peers (Zulkifli, 2015a: 22); the ever-exciting situation of the capital city attracted Aidit from the beginning.

Aidit initially joined the Association of Eastern Youth or *Pertimu,* which Amir Syarifuddin and Adenan Kapau Gani led. In just a short time, Aidit was appointed to be the Chief of Pertimu (Zulkifli, 2015a: 24); Hatta was found of Aidit's intelligent and courageous traits (Zulkifli, 2015a: 36); in the mid-1948 Aidit was assigned to coordinate the party's labor section. Though he was still 25 years old, experienced seniors noticed him (Zulkifli, 2015a: 40); president Sukarno declared that Gestok occurred due to the assassination of the PKI

leader, to the Western or Nekolim (Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism) powers and the existence of an "improper person (Zulkifli, 2015a: 59); about Aidit's major role in the G30S was rebuffed by Soebandrio (Zulkifli, 2015a: 58).

Regarding the G30S movement, the president gave his blessing. Aidit did not know about the motions before, so he could not channel his revolutionary potential in a natural direction (Zulkifli, 2015a: 70-71). Yasir met Suharto in Gedung Agung, Yogyakarta. After reporting on his work, including his decision to kill Aidit, the colonel asked, "What do you mean by fixing it like now, sir?", Suharto smiled (Zulkifli, 2015a: 77).

The setting established by Tempo about Aidit leads the readers to think that Aidit is an Islamic figure. As a child, he diligently read the Quran and echoed the call to prayer in the *musala* (small mosque). Through the picture, it appears that Aidit is a religious figure. During his time at school, he was a clever and intelligent child. Aidit did not know about the general's abduction, which led to the general's killing. In the setting, Suharto was a raised figure who took part in the killing of Aidit.

3.2.2 Graphics in *Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik*

The graphic structure is not natural and without meaning. In van Dijk's view, the graphical structure has several cognitive, social, and ideological functions. In the social context, the graphical structure, including photographs, has a large domain of associations, e.g., with a group of organizations and subculture styles, such as the difference between popular and thoughtful tabloids. Likewise, to show the news, types of advertisements in luxury magazines, street billboards, subway or supermarket leaflets.

Installing images, photos, tables, colors, or laying news in the headline or below represents an ideology (van Dijk, 1998). Through graphics, a person is infiltrated by hidden, subtle, and invisible ideologies. Therefore, it is also called the infiltration of a lateral ideology instead of the manifest.

Graphic structure in the usual context, called literal language, does not have the ideological meaning conveyed naturally by the producing text of the discourse. However, in the conventional or original metaphor context, the graphic has a particular ideological purpose. Cognitive meanings that must be dismantled can be found in the graphic's hidden ideology (hidden).

The graphic structure in Musso's book: *Si Merah di Simpang Republik* was dominant and covered with red. In Goatly's (2007) terms, the original color is a metaphor (note: in this case, Goatly leads more to the color of race). The dominant shade of red in Musso's book: *Si Merah di Simpang Republik,* shows us that it is considered a red book. In the right-left margin, the top-bottom is covered with white. Musso figure used as a title is a figure of a red person. Red is a metaphor for the PKI, the symbol of the PKI, the color of the PKI. The symbol of PKI as a party in Indonesia dominates the red color with the image of the sickle hammer. The book's graphic shows that Musso is indeed a leftist person. This view is in line with Sufyan (2018), who shows that red is a stamp/sign of communists. A red sign is a communist

The photograph in the book shows that Musso was on the podium (Zulkifli, 2015b: 1); Musso with President Sukarno (Zulkifli, 2015b: 6); A poky and smiling Musso (Zulkifli, 2015b: 29); Musso together with Sukarno and Soeripno (Zulkifli, 2015b: 40); Musso by raising his hand to give speeches (Zulkifli, 2015b: 43); Musso and Suripno in a meeting in Cairo (p.45); Musso held a labor mass meeting in Solo (Zulkifli, 2015b: 49). Musso's

resistance trail with Musso's photo raising a finger (Zulkifli, 2015b: 125). These photographs represent that Musso is the figure of a great man in Indonesia; no one doubted his experience of studying abroad and his closeness to the people.

The graphic structure in the book *Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara* is described as follows. On the front cover is shown Aidit sketch photo waving with a smile. Like Musso's book, the front cover is dominated by a soft red, and on the margin right-left, the top-bottom is wrapped with white. Aidit figure used as the title is a figure of a red person. Red is a metaphor for the PKI, the symbol of the PKI, the color of the PKI. The symbol of PKI as a party in Indonesia is the dominant red color with a picture of a sickle and hammer. This graphic structure of the book indicates that Aidit is the same person as Musso.
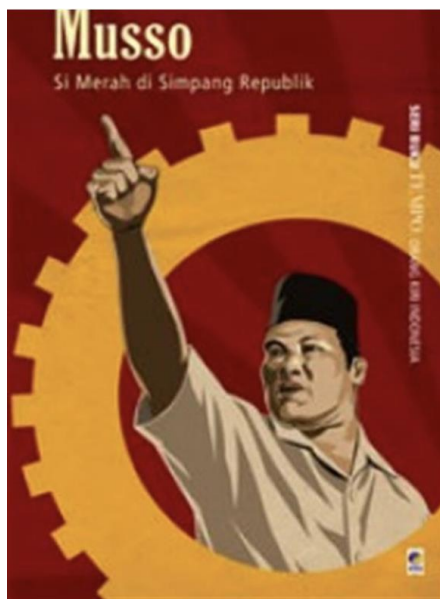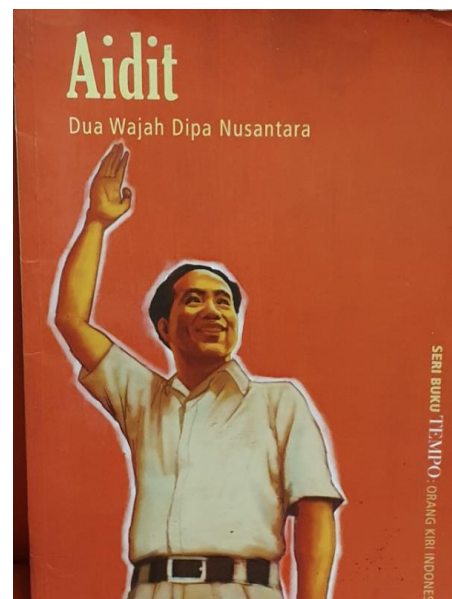
Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik   Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara

Fig. 1. Book covers of *Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik* and *Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara*

The photo structure in the book *Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara* is described as follows. On the first page is Aidit's photo with his friends, including President Sukarno (without a caption, p.1); Aidit's photo inspects women's troops. In the picture, Aidit stood firmly surrounded by bodyguards, and he saluted the women's army. (caption: Aidit inspects women's troops during the 45th anniversary of the PKI in Jakarta, May 1965, p.2); Aidit's photo with his family (caption: Aidit's extended family Aidit sat next to his father, p.8); Aidit's standing photo staring forward (caption: Aidit, chairman of the PKI CC, June 1963, p.10); Aidit family tree drawings (caption: distended twigs, p.18) photos of Soetanti (wife) and Aidit; photos of Aidit and the 1945 Revolution (caption: a main meeting on Ikada Square, p. 33); Photo Aidit gave a speech (caption: DN Aidit, speech as CC PKI 1955, p.41); Aidit's photo with two friends was sitting together in a meeting (captions: Communist trio, Lukman, Aidit, and Nyoto 1962, p.44); Aidit with friends (caption: DN Aidit with Nyoto and Lukman, Kemayoran Jakarta, 1955, p 47); Aidit's speech (caption: Aidit speaks in front of the masses, PKI turba program, 1965 (p. 55), photo of Aidit's house (caption: Aidit's house in Pegangsaan, burned by mass people, p. 61), family photo of Aidit (caption: Aidit family, Jakarta, 1962, p. 63), Aidit's travel pictures (captions: Aidit's last trip, p. 72-73), Aidit's photo in handcuffed and armed handcuffs (caption: Aidit's capture by ABRI, p. 75); the wells where

Aidit was buried (caption: the last place of Aidit, the old Boyolali's house, Central Java, p.80), the family photo of Abdullah Aidit (caption: Abdullah Aidit's family), the photo of Aidit's sister (caption: Murat Aidit, p.87); Asahan Aidit and S Aidit (caption: Asahan Aidit and Sobron Aidit, when meeting together in Amsterdam, 1983); photo of Aidit's sister, Ibaruni (caption: Ibarruni Aidit, p. 92); Photo Ilham Aidit (caption: Ilham Aidit), p.94).

The graphic structure in this book shows that Aidit was from a good and honorable family. In the following step, he became a clever young man who led the workers, and he had great close friends, such as Musso, Sukarno, and Nyoto. Finally, Aidit was shot dead.

3.3 Stylistics

Stylistics is related to the language style raised by the production of discourse. In this case, the stylists are associated with the lexicon in the title, subheads, and captions directed at the subtitle. The stylists in the *Tempo* book are described as follows.

Stylistics in Musso's book bring up lexicons that lead to the point of view that Musso is not completely guilty of his rebellion. He has the ideology that winning the revolution must be radical. It appears in the *Si Merah di Simpang Republik*, he (Musso) has a good idea about communism but deviates in its implementation. The lexicon of the *red people from the underground* shows the success of Musso awakening communism in the suspended animation. The lexicon paved the way radically to indicate that Musso was a radical figure of communism in the lead.

Based on the description above, it stylistically elicits a lexicon that reveals Aidit is a good, clever, and tragic figure. It appears in the lexicon, "Coming from a distinguished family, the seed of communism grew in Aidit while witnessing the fate of a small worker in a tin mining company in Belitung; Forty-five years passed, and now we remember the man with hatred and admiration. Dipa Nusantara Aidit led the Indonesian Communist Party at the tender age of 31 years. It took only a year to foster the PKI into the four categories of Indonesia's major parties.

The PKI claimed to have 3.5 million supporters and became the largest Communist Party in the world after Uni Soviet and China. Aidit dreamed of the revolution; he fantasized about Indonesia without class. But he was crushed in 1965. After that, he became a myth. Like the G30S, his story of him was filled with myths and superstitions. Who Aidit is; Aidit is said to have been buried in Boyolali, Central Java. His son had a pilgrimage to it. The lexicon shows that Aidit is not completely blamed and is at fault in G30S. In addition, the 30S is not called rebellion or massacre but is seen as a mere event.

3.3.1 Social Cognition of Leftists in the Tempo Books

It is necessary to dismantle the production of discourse in interpreting the leftist in the Tempo book. In this case, discourse production is associated with journalists and Tempo media. In both books, namely (1) *Musso: Si Merah di Simpang Republik* and (2) *Aidit: Dua Wajah Dipa Nusantara*, the discourse producer vaguely shows that the leftists involved in the PKI were not entirely at fault in the G30S/PKI events. The two books by Tempo show that the involvement of PKI was not separated from the involvement of the New Order, with its character of Suharto.

Tempo magazine has its unique history concerning the New Order. Tempo, established in 1971 with Goenawan Muhamad (a current main commissionaire) as the editor-in-chief, was a strongly opinionated magazine that was once closed down by the

government of the New Order. In 1982, the magazine was first banned because it was too bold in criticizing the New Order regime and its political vehicle, Golkar (Golongan Karya Party). Dhakidae (2003) provided a further explanation for the banning. Banning Tempo was not a matter of boldness or fearfulness in reporting. At that period, Tempo only published an investigative report about dozens of former East German naval warships sold at a higher price. Information regarding that issue came to Tempo, and Tempo covered it. However, what was the result? The Tempo was shut down, and there was no legal protection, although the Press Law prohibited the shutting down of the press in Indonesia and the banning of mass media by the state.

When looking at the closing down of Tempo, Editor, and Detik from the repressive tautology point of view, the case of Tempo becomes more interesting because it was the only media that sought justice through the legal procedures until the last phase. The Supreme Court finally decided not to grant Tempo's lawsuit, although Tempo initially won it.

Based on the historical record, Goenawan Mohamad and a group of his friends founded Tempo magazine in 1971, and he became the editor-in-chief. The commissionaires of Tempo at that time were mostly of Chinese descent; hence, it was not unusual that the produced discourses in Tempo were of the Chinese perspectives. However, the discourse production was softly created, requiring a discourse analysis. The mental structure of Tempo's reporters in writing books of the leftists also contributed to the discourse production. The writers or reporters, who wrote the fifth book of Tempo, possessed a mental structure framed within the ideology of Tempo. The understanding of leftists and PKI (The Indonesian Communist Party) in Tempo's fifth book was of the knowledge of its writers or reporters about the leftists and PKI.

Nevertheless, the book is undoubtedly inseparable from Tempo's ideology. As a media, Tempo has an ideology to become the leading voice in increasing freedom of thought and freedom of expression as well as creating a civilization that values intelligence and diversity (Tempo media); an easy-and-necessary-to-read media (Tempo magazine); an easy-to-read and trustworthy media (Tempo portal).

Since 2008, Tempo.com has been reborn with a new appearance and quality news. It aims at setting a high journalism standard in reporting an occurrence and writing it sharply, intelligently, and fairly. "Easy and necessary to read" is one of its principles, which includes humorous coverage. Tempo has always been known for its critical coverage. Thus, it is no wonder that Tempo was banned twice in the New Order era.

Regarding that matter, the social cognition of the writers/reporters who wrote two books about the leftists is closely associated with the history of Tempo. As a media, Tempo attempts to provide a balanced and quality discourse in its coverage of the leftists that belong to the communism category in Indonesia. As Tempo tries to be an easy-and-necessary-to-read, fair, critical, and independent media, it is grounded on professional value. The writing style of the leftists in the five books tries to create a balance in which the leftists are not always wrong. One of the cited wise words is the words of Sukarno "praised and rebuked."

In addition, the leftists had a religious background, possessed revolutionary minds, and fought against Japan-Dutch. Unfortunately, they had to end up being shot or detained in isolation in jail for years. Nevertheless, the social cognition of the writers/ reporters of Tempo cannot be separated from the media's ideology. Tempo has a historical story with the New Order regime. Therefore, the two books of the leftists are closely tied to the publication of the New Order's actor, who was Suharto as the influential person in the PKI

matter. Some other books even uncovered that Suharto was the one behind the incident of G30S/PKI. According to Tempo, behind Suharto was the CIA, although there was no sufficient evidence about the CIA's involvement in the incident of G30/PKI, which America backed up. One of the books unveils that Suharto was laughing when his subordinate, Soemarsono, killed Musso.

There are contrasting arguments in the discourse of PKI and the tragedy of G30S/PKI. Firstly, PKI was guilty of murdering the generals. The second reason was the navy, and the last one was Suharto. Hence, Tempo always illustrates Suharto plotting everything in the "September 30 Movement" or G30S/PKI. The writers/ reporters of Tempo strengthened their arguments in their writings by interviewing the close relatives that died because of PKI and G30S/PKI (children, wife, grandchildren, husband, family, and the victim). The interview revealed that the communist people were not entirely guilty. Some interviewees shared stories that they were the victims. After G30S/PKI, with the reign of Suharto, the families and people accused of having ties with PKI could not do anything –they were murdered, tortured, jailed, and crippled of their rights as Indonesia citizens (such as the right to become civil servant).

The writing or report in Tempo's book tends to be on PKI's side and blames Suharto concerning the tragedy of G30S/PKI. The two books explain an ideological war between communism (Russia and China) and capitalism/colonialism (the USA and its allies). When reading the books, the readers were steered to the discourse that America disagreed if Indonesia became a country with a solid communist ideology. As a result, all measures were attempted, influencing Suharto to stand by the West.

3.4 The Context of the Leftists in Tempo Book

3.4.1 The Context of Time/Situation in the Second Rebirth of Tempo books

Indonesia, if drawn historically, is divided into three major periodizations. The periodization accounted for the growth of the leftists and PKI directly and indirectly. The periodization is categorized into Sukarno's leadership period, Suharto's leadership period, and Jokowi's leadership period. After the reign of Suharto ended, there were Habibie, Megawati, Gus Dur, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The strongest periodization of communism in Indonesia is the period of Sukarno's leadership (called the old order period) (Ahmadi, 2017). The rest three, however, were not discussed in this paper because the issue and discourse of the leftists and PKI in those days were not as prominent as they are today. However, the writer does not deny that at the time of Gus Dur's presidency, the TAP MPRS XXV/1966 on the Dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party, the Statement "As a Prohibited Organization throughout the Territory of the Republic of Indonesia for the Indonesian Communist Party and the Prohibition of Any Activity Disseminating or Developing Communist Beliefs/ Doctrines/ Marxism Leninism" was revoked. With the repeal of the law, communism is not a forbidden ideology in Indonesia (Firdaus, 2021).

Although reaping controversy, including from the groups of Islamic parties, the revocation of the MPRS TAP was still carried out. In Gus Dur's view, the people labeled PKI are not forever PKI. The revocation was carried out in order not to harm the innocents. During Jokowi's current leadership, the flow of communism is beginning to appear on the surface smoothly.

3.4.2 Leftists, Tempo's Books, and Government's Power

Media is not an autonomous entity. It is embedded and overshadowed by the dominance of the ruler. In this case, the one that dominates and controls is government. The research of Kurasawa (2015) described that Sukarno was not completely guilty in the events of G30S/PKI. Kurasawa is very cautious in the use of language. Therefore, in chapter 5 of his book, there is a sub-section entitled "Dewi Sukarno's Interpretation of the September 30 Movement". Kurawa led readers to the idea that Suharto was the mastermind behind G30S/PKI. However, Kurasawa did not use his own words but took them from Dewi. The following is the explanation of Dewi (Kurasawa, 2015).

Seeing how Suharto stepped into the stage of power and removed Sukarno, Dewi finally understood that Suharto had plotted everything. However, until that moment, Dewi still believed the story behind the abduction of the seven generals was PKI and that Suharto emerged as a hero who saved the country from the terror of communism. She is also very confident that Subandrio and Suhartini have deceived her husband. She was excited to seek reconciliation between her husband with Nasution and Suharto and step away from Subandrio's influence.

The people who are considered leftists are not bad or wrong. In Kurasawa's explanation, he further emphasized that Suharto was guilty. During the reign of Suharto, the leftists seemed to be cornered. This is because "Suharto is more Pro-Western," so he did not like President Sukarno, which was assumed to allegedly Pro-China. Kurasawa (2015) cited the explanation from Dewi that revealed Suharto as the suspected guilty figure in the G30S/PKI incident. Suharto was the figure blamed by Tempo's book because it used to be that Tempo was closed down in the Suharto regime.

The Tempo was considered a threat to Suharto. Therefore, the magazine was banned by the Suharto regime. After Suharto's regime concluded, silenced voices sprung up. One of them is the voice of the people who were regarded as leftists in Suharto's era. Nowadays, the leftists begin to voice their thoughts as Jokowi's governance gives room for 'freedom' to the leftist people. They (the people considered leftists in the past) raise their silenced voices through many channels, one of them through Tempo.

The leftists are the ones who have the good side. They are not completely evil, as they also have a sacral side as well. The leftists were the victims of the New Order regime under Suharto's leadership. With his iron arm, Suharto carried out all actions, including repressive acts and law enactments, which were used to eliminate the leftists and the people who tried to perturb his power.

Tempo narrates that leftists in Indonesia are innocent in this context because the G30SPKI rebellion was a conspiracy between Western countries and China that had 'political interests' with Indonesia. Because of this, the West and China are fighting over Indonesia's 'political sympathy.' For this reason, the occurrence of the G3SPKI rebellion in this context cannot be separated from the big narrative of the big countries that have an interest in the Indonesian state. Tempo narrates that leftists in Indonesia are innocent in this context because the G30SPKI rebellion was a conspiracy between Western countries and China that had 'political interests' with Indonesia. Because of this, the West and China are fighting over Indonesia's 'political sympathy.' For this reason, the occurrence of the G3SPKI rebellion in this context cannot be separated from the big narrative of the big countries that have an interest in the Indonesian state.

The results of this study indicate that Tempo as a publisher, narrates things covered by the regime in power during the New Order era. Currently, the New Order regime has been replaced by the Reform Order. Because of this, Tempo, as a publisher, has a critical attitude towards the regime, publishing books related to leftists. In relation to research on critical discourse analysis (CDA), the results of this study universally show that the regime in a country will try to cover up political conditions that are considered harmful to the government. For this reason, the media narrates texts using symbolic, implicit, and/or hidden language so that the meaning in the narrative is not known by the government regime. If the government regime knows that the media narrates the government in a negative perspective, the media will be shut down by the government regime.

4. CONCLUSION

The leftist narratives in the Tempo book cannot be separated from the publisher's interests. In this case, Tempo as a major publisher in Indonesia wants to show that the leftists involved in the G30SPKI rebellion are people who are not entirely at fault. In the great narrative, the G30SPKI rebellion cannot be separated from the existence of a big conspiracy. In this way, the people on the left, Musso and Aidit, are not entirely at fault from the perspective of Tempo's narrative. Related to that, the research concludes; Firstly, the discourse structure of the topic raises the discussion that Tempo's book defends the leftists with reasons that the leftists are religious, good, industrious, clever, and has a high sense of nationalism; in terms of setting, microstructurally, the leftists are the people close to Sukarno, who often recite Quran (for the Muslims), have a discussion with the people, and defend the people; while in terms of graphics, the tendency of Tempo publication is red. It is to show that the 'leftists' are communists because the communist is symbolized with red. The second is social cognition. From the social cognition aspect, Tempo tends to take the side of PKI and blames Suharto concerning the incident of G30S/PKI. The two books revealed that there is an ideological war between communism (Russia and China) with capitalism/colonialism (the USA and its allies). The two books steered their readers that America is perceived as a side that disagrees if Indonesia becomes a communist-based solid country. One of the methods is to steer Suharto to take a side in the West. The third, Based on the context aspect, the leftists were not fully guilty. They were good people. They only became the victim of Suharto's reign. This results in the perspective that Suharto was the one to blame because Tempo magazine was shut off. The Tempo was perceived as a newspaper against Suharto. Thus, it is not surprising that Suharto's regime banned the media. Consequently, people who shut off their voices appeared. One of the voices of the people under Suharto's regime was the people considered leftists. Nowadays, the leftists have started to appear one by one under Jokowi's regime. The leftists opinionated their long shut-off voice through many media, and of them is Tempo.

For future researchers, this research can be used as comparative material related to critical discourse analysis (CDA) that discusses leftists in Indonesia. In addition, the next researcher can conduct a critical discourse analysis (CDA) study from a cross-country comparison perspective. However, the data used in the research is not only text-based but must be supported by interviews with informants who understand leftists or people who are involved as leftists.

Authors' Contribution
Anas Ahmadi designed the ideas and wrote the manuscript draft. Abd. Ghofur designed the analysis and collected the data. Moh. Hafidz Effendy is involved in data analysis and data verification. Nike Kusumawanti helped in data interpretation. Nuria Reny Hariyati provided additional discussion and references.

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