

Media and Social History: *Duta Masyarakat* Newspaper Response Towards PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*) in The Post-Gestapu (*Gerakan September Tiga Puluh*) Tragedy of 1965

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ABSTRACT

This research is entitled 'Media and Social History: *Duta Masyarakat* Response Towards PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*) in the Post Gestapu (*Gerakan September Tiga Puluh*) Tragedy Of 1965'. This research aims to examine how *Duta Masyarakat* newspaper, as one of the Islamic mass media, responded to the PKI after Gestapu event and how this response shaped public opinion at that time. The approaches used in this research are sociological approach and critical discourse analysis, using agenda setting and framing theories. The results showed that *Duta Masyarakat* played a crucial role in shaping public opinion towards PKI by emphasising the perspectives of Islam and Nationalism. The media used framing that favoured anti-communist and pro-national stability narratives. by setting a selective news agenda and providing certain framing, *Duta Masyarakat* succeeded in shaping public opinions and providing legitimacy to repressive action taken by the military and some people's militia after the Gestapu event.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the mid-20th century, there was an ideological upheaval in Indonesia. Marxism, Socialism, Nationalism, Communism, Marhaenism, and others adorned the ideological horizons of Indonesia, whose independence was only a few years old. This then led to the dynamics formed as a result of ideologies clashed each other. This phenomenon was strongly felt when the various ideologies were transformed into a political party to fight for their respective ideologies. In the pages of Indonesian history, political parties have a very crucial role in fighting for independence, such as political parties that existed in the pre-independence period, namely Indonesian Islamic Union Party/*Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* (PSII), *Indische Partij*, and Indonesian Communist Party/*Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI), all of these parties fought for independence using their respective ideologies. The development of these political parties continued until after independence, many new parties emerged fighting for their respective ideologies, including *Nahdlatul Ulama'* (NU), Indonesian Nationalist Party/*Partai Nasionalis Indonesia* (PNI), Murba Party, Indonesian Socialist Party/*Partai Sosialis Indonesia* (PSI), and others (Kristiadi, 2023).

In the period of 1950s to 1960s, the dynamics of various ideologies in Indonesia were increasingly felt, each party tried to strengthen its influence in various sectors in society, one of the ways done was strengthening ideology through the mass media. At this time, many newspapers emerged that represented the power of a political party, such as *Suluh Indonesia* newspaper owned by PNI, *Harian Abadi* under Masyumi Party, *Harian Rakjat* which is under the auspices of PKI, and *Duta Masyarakat* newspaper which became the mouthpiece of NU Party (Suwirta, 2008). In this case, the variety of news and opinions from the mass media is an extension of the voice of the political party affiliated with the mass media. The phenomenon of political parties voicing their voices made the ideological dynamics become increasingly heated and culminated in the first PEMILU (*Pemilihan Umum*) (General Election) in 1955 which became a battleground for various political parties. In the 1955 general election, there were four parties that won the most votes, namely the PNI which received 8,434,653 votes, Masyumi as many as 7,903,886, *Nahdlatul Ulama'* as many as 6,955,141, and the PKI received 6,176,914 votes (Feith, 1971). The number of votes obtained from these parties shows the strength of these political parties in the community.

The rivalries between the parties continued, although eventually the Masyumi Party disappeared from the ideological scene in Indonesia as it was dissolved by President Soekarno in 1960 (Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia No. 200 Year 1960, 1960); the disbandment of the Masyumi Party in relation to its opposition to Soekarno's political manifestations NASAKOM (Nationalist, Communist, Religious) and its alleged involvement with the rebellion of PRRI-Permesta (Pratiwi, 2016). The climax of the chaos and friction between ideologies in Indonesia occurred during the incident that became Indonesia's dark history, namely *Gestapu* (*Gerakan September Tiga Puluh*) or in English is called September Thirty Movement which killed six high-ranking officers and one first officer of the Army including Lieutenant General Ahmad Yani, Major General R. Soeprapto, Major General M. T. Harjono, Major General S. Parman, Brigadier General Soetojo, Brigadier General D.I. Panjaitan, and Lieutenant General P. A. Tendean. In addition to the seven people above, General A. H. Nasution was also targeted, but managed to escape (Damm, 2017).

The incident really shocked the entire Indonesian society, the people were busy looking for the truth of who masterminded the terrible events that night. In fact, until this day, who was the mastermind behind the Gestapu incident is still a matter of debate. There are four versions of history regarding the Gestapu events, such as the historical version of Lieutenant Colonel Ismail Saleh who stated that the PKI was the mastermind behind Gestapu, then the version of Cornell University scholars who stated that the Gestapu events that occurred were internal problems of the Indonesian Army, then the Antonie C. A. Dake version who stated that Soekarno was the mastermind behind the event, and the work of the historian W. F. Wertheim who gave a statement that the perpetrator behind the Gestapu was Soeharto (Suwirta, 2000). However, behind the theoretical debate, it has been recorded in history that at that time the PKI was named as the main suspect and led to various crackdown agendas against PKI sympathisers.

In connection with the series of PKI crackdown agendas that occurred after the Gestapu incident, several studies have been conducted, such as Siddarth Chandra in his research entitled "The Indonesian Killings of 1965-66: the Case of Central Java" which states that various political parties opposed to the PKI along with the local society and the Army were involved in the incident (Chandra, 2019). Then, Geoffrey Robinson's research entitled "Down to the Very Roots: The Indonesian Army's Role in the Mass Killings of 1965-66" which states that the various crackdowns that occurred were not spontaneous acts of public anger, but had been systematically organised with the crucial role of the army (Robinson, 2017). In addition, there is research that discusses the active involvement of the people's militia in various actions against the PKI, Greg Fealy and Katharine McGregor in their research entitled "Nahdlatul Ulama' and the Killings of 1965-66: Religion, Politics, and Remembrance" which describes the active role of one of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama' with its youth wing GP Ansor (*Gerakan Pemuda Ansor*) (Fealy & McGregor, 2010). In this case, related to the placement of the PKI as the main mastermind of the Gestapu event and the massive crackdown on the PKI, of course it would not have happened without someone framing and forming public opinion about the event. At that time, there was one sector that was strongly suspected of having a crucial role in doing this, the mass media.

The mass media, which at that time became the most crucial source of information in society, played an important role in shaping perceptions of the Gestapu tragedy. Erving Goffman, a Canadian sociologist, stated that mass media can shape social reality by framing information. (Goffman, 1974). Furthermore, McCombs and Shaw said that the mass media not only spread various kinds of news randomly, but also prioritise certain issues that will be used as headlines on the main page, so that this can also influence public opinion (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). In the corridor of response to Gestapu, the mass media can direct public opinion towards the tragedy and who is involved in it.

Research on the mass media response to the Gestapu event has been done before. Katharine McGregor in her research entitled "Framing the 1965 Coup in Indonesia: The Problem of Communism in the Official Narratives and Media Representations" examines how the Gestapu events were narrated by the government and media representations. The government's narrative that the PKI was the main mastermind behind Gestapu. In this case, the government instructed various media that were close to the government to consistently portray the PKI as an enemy of the state and must be destroyed. In this study, the mass media played a key role in shaping public opinion (Mcgregor, 2007).

The Gestapu incident at that time received various responses from various mass media. At the same time, the PKI suddenly became a national enemy and was declared the mastermind behind the Gestapu tragedy. This research will focus on the response of Duta Masyarakat newspaper as a mass media that brands itself as a Muslim newspaper and also the newspaper of one of the political parties, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a large party that has fanatical followers, certainly has a great influence in the community in shaping public interpretations. This research will explain how social structure, power, and ideology in producing and distributing news are carried out by Duta Masyarakat newspaper. Then, this research also reveals the crucial role of Duta Masyarakat newspaper in shaping public opinion about the PKI, which was accused of being the main mastermind of the Gestapu events, and revealing the crucial role of Duta Masyarakat newspaper in affirming the crackdown on PKI sympathisers after the Gestapu tragedy.

2. METHODS

The shaping of public opinion by Duta Masyarakat newspaper towards the PKI and Gestapu, which led to a massive crackdown, is a phenomenon that occurred in the past. In order to analyse what Duta Masyarakat newspaper did in shaping public opinion regarding the PKI and Gestapu in 1965 which led to the mass murder movement, this research uses the historical method. Historical research methods are used to reconstruct an event, describe historical traces, and identify the causes and effects of history (Kartodirdjo, 1991). The historical research method consists of four stages, namely Heuristics, Verification, Interpretation, and Historiography. (Abdurrahman, 2011).

2.1. Heuristics

This research uses Library Research to find written sources that can be used. In the process, the primary source obtained and will be used is the Duta Masyarakat newspaper archive published after the Gestapu incident; from October to December 1965. The archive was obtained from the audiovisual collection centre of the national library of the Republic of Indonesia with roll number 121/PN/M/94.

2.2. Verification

This research uses external criticism and internal criticism of primary sources that have been obtained to obtain source validity. The Duta Masyarakat newspaper archive obtained is a direct copy of the original document that has been made into a roll film. During verification, the spelling and language style used did indicate that the archive was an original copy of the Duta Masyarakat newspaper published in 1965.

2.3. Interpretation

The information and data that have been obtained are combined into one to obtain a historical fact. In this research, interpretation is carried out using the Sociology approach and critical discourse analysis. Peter Burke in his book entitled "History and Social Theory" states that analysing the social structure that existed in a certain period can understand the context of how an event can occur and how various social forces can affect the outcome of history (Burke, 1993). In this case, sociologically, Koran Duta Masyarakat carried out its movement by utilising the obedience hierarchy of traditional Islamic society that sacralises the figure of the Kyai to

strengthen the narrative that was built. Thus, it did not take long to form public opinion regarding the PKI and Gestapu. This is also evidence that the figure of the Kyai, who is characterised by the community, is voluntarily actively involved in shaping public opinion carried out by the Duta Masyarakat newspaper.

Subsequently, the critical discourse analysis approach in this study is used to analyse the issues in Duta Masyarakat newspaper to reveal the ideology and influence of power contained in the various articles in Duta Masyarakat related to the response to Gestapu. Norman Fairclough in his book entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language" states that the language presented or used is never neutral, in this case the language used is always related to the process of maintaining or fighting power. Power and ideology are conveyed, produced, and also questioned through the discourse presented (Fairclough, 2010).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Socio-Political Conditions of Society and the Event of the September Thirty Movement (Gestapu)

In order to discuss the chronological series of events of the September Thirty Movement/*Gerakan September Tiga Puluh* (Gestapu), this certainly cannot be separated from the various national conditions that occurred before the outbreak of the Gestapu. The various conditions that occurred were closely related to the socio-political conditions of Indonesian society, which also became a factor that influenced the outbreak of the Gestapu.

In the 1960s, Indonesia experienced severe inflation. The country's foreign exchange position was minus 0.1 billion, making it difficult to import goods. At that time, money circulation reached 70 billion rupiahs, while the total budget in 1962 was 98 billion rupiahs with a planned deficit in the nominal range of 34 to 40 billion rupiahs. Meanwhile, at the same time the state debt that had to be paid was 12.4 billion rupiah. This was compounded by considerable expenditure on operations in West Irian. (Anwar, 2007).

Indonesia's economic conditions continued to deteriorate until 1965. Inflation experienced by Indonesia reached 600 per cent, this led the government to cut the value of the currency (Sulastomo, 2006). The poor economic conditions are felt by the people, especially the lower classes. People were disappointed with the ineffective economic policies and the government's inability to counter inflation and poverty. At the same time, social inequality in society is becoming more visible, with the elite living well, while many people from the lower classes are suffering from inflation and declining purchasing power (Nurhidayat et al, 2024).

The poor social conditions of Indonesian society at that time were accompanied by increasingly complicated political conditions. The social conditions of the people at that time were also closely related to the political chaos that occurred. One part of the Indonesian history that clearly shows the connection between the two elements is when the government began to implement the Principal Agrarian Law/*Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria* (UUPA) made in 1960 and the Production Sharing Agreement Law/*Undang-Undang Pokok Bagi Hasil* (UUPBH). In its implementation, this law often caused polemics in the community. For example, the religious community considers that this law is not in accordance with the provisions of Shari'ah. This is based on the concept that states that land ownership rights that have been obtained from inheritance cannot be released, especially for land that bears the status of waqf (Achdian, 2008).

The government realised that there was a polemic in the community, so in the end a regulation on maximum and minimum ownership was made; based on Government Regulation in Lieu of Law/*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang* (PERPU) number 56 of 1960 the maximum land ownership was 20 hectares and the minimum ownership was 2 hectares. However, the implementation of the law was far from conducive, the effect of a conspiracy between elite government officials and wealthy farmers.

The implementation of the law which was not conducive, received a response from Indonesian farmers' row/*Barisan Tani Indonesia* (BTI) which is a peasant organisation under the auspices of the PKI asserted to the farmers that in order to implement the law, they did not have to depend and wait for the direct intervention of the government, but the farmers had to take part in obtaining their rights with their own hands, this then often led to conflicts and physical clashes between communities (Kasdi, 2009). During the process, BTI often launched radical actions that often ended in conflict. The clashes always involve landless peasants and landowning peasants. Land conflicts in the community became more severe when the conflicts occurred involving political parties. At that time, the majority of landowners were members of the NU and PNI parties; this included the previously mentioned inherited land and waqf. Meanwhile, landless peasants received support from the PKI (Afghani, 2024).

Moreover, in order to analyse Gestapu, the national political situation in 1965 must be discussed. During that year, it became a year full of tension, this was because that year became the culmination of the political dynamics that had occurred before. Political tension peaked when the Gestapu tragedy occurred, which killed several high-ranking Army officers. In particular, in the year 1965, the PKI, led by D.N. Aidit, had a strong influence on Soekarno's government, due to the implementation of Soekarno's political concept of NASAKOM (Nationalist, Religious, Communist). In the same period, ABRI (*Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia/Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*) also had a strong influence on Soekarno's government (Dwi Cahyono, 2014).

The NASAKOM concept introduced by Soekarno was an attempt to create a balance of power and unite the divided groups. However, on the other hand, the concept of NASAKOM was also considered to betray the non-aligned movement that had existed before, this was closely related to the inclusion of communism in the concept (Dwi Cahyono, 2014). The separation that occurred between groups caused by the various ideologies that existed also occurred within ABRI. Peter Kasenda stated that at that time ABRI was divided into three groups, namely the KSAB group of General A.H. Nasution, Lieutenant General Ahmad Yani, and Major General Soeharto (Kasenda, 2013). The split within ABRI was closely related to the polemical policies issued by President Soekarno, especially the concept of NASAKOM.

ABRI and the PKI, which both had a strong influence in Soekarno's government, were often involved in conflict. For example, when Aidit proposed the formation of the Fifth Armed Forces to President Soekarno. The PKI received a good response from President Soekarno but was strongly rejected by General Ahmad Yani because it was considered ineffective and inefficient, then it could harm the country (Ahmad Yani, 2007). This worsened the relationship between President Soekarno and ABRI leaders.

At the same time, in the midst of the escalating conflict, President Soekarno fell ill in August 1965. This led to speculation among the army, PKI and other parties as to whether Soekarno's illness could be used as an excuse to relinquish his presidency. News of Soekarno's illness prompted Aidit, who was in China, to return home with a medical expert from the country known as the Bamboo Curtain. The medical expert brought by Aidit said that President Soekarno would probably die or be paralysed for the rest of his life (Edman, 2005). At the same time, there was widespread rumour of a coup d'état by the Council of Generals that never actually existed. This led to the bloody tragedy of Gestapu.

The Gestapu incident that occurred on 30 September 1965 became a dark chapter in the history of the Indonesian nation. At that time, all the attention of the national mass media was focused on the bloody tragedy; some called it Gestapu, G30S, or Gestok. On that night, the lives of six high-ranking officers and one first officer of the Indonesian Army were taken. General Soeharto, who at the time took over the leadership of ABRI, declared that the Gestapu incident was a rebellion orchestrated by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). In addition, Soeharto also ordered regional military leaders to immediately organise a movement to eliminate anyone involved in the Gestapu incident (Melvin, 2018).

In responding to the Gestapu event, PBNU (*Nahdlatul Ulama' Executive Board/Pengurus Besar Nahdaltul Ulama'*), an Islamic organisation and an Islamic political party, at that time experienced a dilemma situation and condition. The reason is, the PBNU's internal camp is divided into two in responding to communism; in this case Greg Fealy and Katharine divide it into two groups, namely accommodationists (Old Group) and militants (Young Group). The accommodationist group was more inclined to open a dialogue with President Sukarno and leftist groups, while the conservative and militant groups chose to radically oppose the PKI and considered the presence of communists would threaten religious identity in Indonesia; this group would later play an important role in the stance chosen by the PBNU (Fealy & McGregor, 2012). Then, on 1 October 1965, Indonesians were shocked by a radio broadcast stating that the Working Cabinet led by Soekarno was dissolved and that the country was under the rule of the Revolutionary Council led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung. At the time this happened, the accommodationist group or the old NU faction including Kyai Wahab Chasbullah and Kyai Idham Chalid were not in Jakarta, this was utilised by the NU militant group to immediately provide a statement of NU's stance, the NU militant group immediately approached Soeharto and the military to collaborate which led to broadcasting to the public via radio that the PKI was the mastermind of the rebellion that occurred (Fealy & McGregor, 2012). In addition, PBNU then gave a statement in response. First, it strongly condemned the act of seizure of power carried out by the party calling itself the '30 September Movement'. Second, it rejected and opposed the formation of the Revolutionary Council. Then, the PBNU prepared a Resolution Condemning Gestapu which was signed by organisations under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Mun'im, 2013)

The Gestapu incident triggered anger in the community, a statement issued by Soeharto blaming the PKI succeeded in directing public anger towards the PKI. This then triggered a massive crackdown on PKI sympathisers. PKI leaders began to be arrested, such as Njoto who was shot on 6 November 1965, then PKI chairman Dipa Nusantara Aidit on 22 November 1965 and then the deputy chairman of the PKI, Lukman, was also shot to death (Said, 2015). The crackdown on PKI sympathisers that occurred everywhere involved ABRI and civilian militias,

such as the Anco Amok incident in Pamekasan, the Black Crow Operation incident in Banyuwangi, and so on. The massive crackdown on PKI sympathisers would not have happened if public opinion was not in one frame. In this case, the mass media is assumed to have a crucial role in shaping public opinion.

3.2. Reporting Patterns of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper Towards Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) After the Tragedy of the September Thirty Movement (Gestapu)

The Gestapu incident at that time shocked the entire Indonesian society, the whole public was overwhelmed by questions about who was behind the murder of the Army officers. The Gestapu incident instantly became the centre of public attention, and people were busy searching and speculating who was behind the heinous incident. In addition, the outbreak of Gestapu also became the centre of attention of various mass media published at the time; all mass media covered the fateful event, including the Duta Masyarakat newspaper.

As explained above, the primary source in this research is the original manuscript of Duta Masyarakat newspaper kept at the National Library of Indonesia in the form of microfilm. Based on the Duta Masyarakat newspaper archive kept at the National Library of Indonesia, the news about the Gestapu tragedy was published in the publication of 07 October 1965; that is six days after the bloody event erupted. In the issue of that date, the editorial team of Duta Masyarakat made PBNU's statement regarding Gestapu the main headline "*PB Nahdlatul Ulama dan Ormas-Ormasnja : Bubarkan PKI dan Ormas-Ormas jang mendukung dan jang membantu Gerakan 30 September*" (PB Nahdlatul Ulama and its Organisations: Disband the PKI and the organisations that supported and assisted the 30 September Movement) (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965d) It can clearly be seen that the Duta Masyarakat newspaper had strong ties with the PBNU, which at that time was still actively involved in the national political scene with its party, the NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) party. This statement can certainly be supported by an article published a few years earlier on 02 January 1959 which clearly states the position of the Duta Masyarakat newspaper, here is a part of the article:

"...Personalita koran adalah personalita Partai. Partai antara lain berbicara kepada publik melalui koran. Kami tidak bisa berkata lain dari pada ini. kalaupun kami pada suatu waktu membuat kekeliruan-kekeliruan, maka kekeliruan itu berarti juga kami telah membuat kekeliruan terhadap partai..."

"...Newspaper personalities are Party personalities. The Party, among other things, speaks to the public through the newspaper. We cannot say otherwise than this. If we make mistakes at any time, then these mistakes also mean that we have made mistakes against the Party..."

At first glance, the narrative used does not mention the name of a particular party, but as long as the narrative made in the article published by Duta Masyarakat is closely related to Nahdlatul Ulama 'Islamic mass organisation and Islamic political party at that time. The above statement was expressed directly by the editor-in-chief of the Duta Masyarakat, Mahbub Djunaidi.

The article, published on 07 October 1965, contained a statement from the PBNU stating that the PKI was the mastermind behind the bloody events of Gestapu. In line with the position of Duta Masyarakat, which is part of the PBNU and the NU Party, it is certain that the narrative built is closely related to the statements issued by the NU party. As in the issue of 14 October 1965 entitled "*NU Djawa Timur: Bubarkan PKI dalang Gerakan 30 September*" (NU East Java:

Disband the PKI that masterminded the 30 September Movement) which contained a statement from the PWNU of East Java demanding the dissolution of the PKI because it was considered the only mastermind of the Gestapu incident (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965f). Subsequently, in the following days Duta Masyarakat newspaper was dominated by narratives that built a discourse that the PKI was the main mastermind of the Gestapu events. As in an article in the Duta Masyarakat newspaper that provided a narrative to affirm that the PKI was the mastermind behind the Gestapu in its rubric published on 23 October 1965 entitled “*Bukti G30S Didalangi Komunis: Komunis Djepang turut dukung G30S*” (Evidence that the G30S was Masterminded by Communists: Japanese Communists supported G30S) The following narrative written by the Duta Masyarakat team:

“Bukti bahwa gerakan kontra rrevolusi 30 S bukan sadja didalangi oleh PKI, tetapi djuga oleh Komunis internasional dapat dilihat dari gigihnja organ-organ Partai Komunis diluar negeri membela PKI.

Demikianlah selain KB Hsin Hua dengan radio Pekingnja jang terus menerus memfitnah bahwa kaum progresif revolusioner sedang dipetjah oleh anasir reaksioner dengan bantuan ABRI maka djuga Partai Komunis Djepang dalam korannja AKAHATA penerbitan kemarin minggu telah membela PKI dengan mengatakan bahwa PKI jang sudah menjadi dewasa, akan dapat mengalahkan apapun djuga dan dapat mendorong revolusi Indonesia kearah kemenangan.” (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965)

“Evidence that the counter-revolutionary movement of 30 September was not only orchestrated by the PKI, but also by the international Communists can be seen from the persistence of Communist Party organs abroad in defending the PKI.

Thus, in addition to KB Hsin Hua and his Peking radio, which continuously slanders that the revolutionary progressives are being attacked by reactionary elements with the help of ABRI, the Communist Party of Japan in its AKAHATA newspaper published last week has defended the PKI by saying that the PKI, which has matured, will be able to defeat anything and can push the Indonesian revolution towards victory.”

In the narrative that built by Duta Masyarakat, various diction can be found used to refer to PKI sympathisers, such as the ‘Anti-God People’ in an article entitled “*Tidak Ada Kompromi Dengan Orang Anti Tuhan; Amankan negara dengan mental ketuhanan*” (No Compromise with Anti-God People; Secure the country with a godly mentality) and “Atheis” in an article published on 20 December 1965 entitled “*Menko/Ketua Umum PBNU KH Dr Idham Chalid: Kikis Habis Atheisme Dari Bumi Indonesia*” (Coordinating Minister / Chairman of PBNU KH Dr Idham Chalid: Eradicate Atheism from the Land of Indonesia) (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965c). The use of the term anti-religious group for the PKI can certainly make the public assume that the PKI can endanger the welfare of religious people, therefore it should be watched out for. In this case, Duta Masyarakat was quite massive in making articles explaining the dangers of the PKI group; such as the article published on 14 November 1965 “*Menurut Dokumen-Dokumen PKI jang disita: PKI Hendak Singkirkan dan Bunuh Presiden Djuga Golongan-Golongan Agama dan Nasionalis akan dihanturkan*” (According to the confiscated PKI Documents: The PKI intends to eliminate and assassinate the President, and the religious and nationalist groups will be destroyed) (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965h). This article became the main headline and was displayed large on the first page. Then, an article published on 17 November 1965 entitled “*IAIN : G30S Bahajakan Agama*” (IAIN: G30S

Endangers Religion), This article contains a statement made by the rector of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Prof. Drs Soemardjo calling on Muslims to actively participate in the suppression of the PKI to its roots, which he ends with a warning that if it is not suppressed, Muslims will experience misery until annihilation (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965i).

The continued narrative of the PKI's involvement in Gestapu did not stop at labelling them as an anti-religious group. Duta Masyarakat also published articles stating that the movement against the PKI was a call for jihad, such as one published on 18 October 1965 with the title "*Umat Islam Siap Berdjihad fi-sabilillah untuk Mensukseskan Dwikora Menumpas Gestapu dan Kontra Revolusi PKI*" (Muslims are Ready for *Djihad fi-sabilillah* to Succeed Dwikora to Suppress Gestapu and Counter PKI Revolution); Duta Masyarakat in reporting on the alert rally held in Kalimantan used the diction '*Jihad*' to describe the enthusiasm of the participants who enlivened the alert rally. Even in writing the title of the rubric, Duta Masyarakat gave bold and large print to the diction '*Siap Berdjihad fi-sabilillah*' (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965g). It can be assumed that this was done to arouse people's enthusiasm for the movement to suppress the PKI; the bold print in the diction *Jihad* means to emphasise the idea to be conveyed.

In addition to framing the call for the crackdown movement as a call to jihad, Duta Masyarakat in its published articles always linked it to religious narratives, such as the articles published on 03, 13 and 14 December 1965 respectively entitled "*Moral Agama Harus Memimpin Aksi-Aksi Progresif Revolusioner*" (Religious Morals Must Lead Revolutionary Progressive Actions), and "*Lenjapkan Mental Ideologi Gestapu PKI; Jang memandang Agama sebagai Alat Feodalisme dan Sisa-Sisa Alam Keterbelakangan*" (Eliminate the PKI's Gestapu Ideology Mentality; Which views Religion as a Tool of Feudalism and Remnants of the Realm of Backwardness) (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965j) (Editorial Team of Duta Masyarakat Newspaper, 1965b). The narrative that is built, of course can lead public opinion, which is a religious community, that the PKI is a guilty group and should be punished. Linking it with religious narratives can easily make people fully believe everything that is published in Duta Masyarakat and it will certainly be very easy if it is used to mobilise the community. In addition, linking it to religious matters also easily ignites people's anger; this is because the society have considered religion not just a teaching but a part of their lives. Therefore, when Duta Masyarakat published KH Saifuddin Zuhri's statement that the revolutionary movement must be based on religious morals; the revolutionary movement in question was the attitude taken to eradicate the Gestapu ideology, which was considered to be in contrast to religion. This is supported by another statement from KH Sifuddin Zuhri, who stated that the PKI viewed religion as a tool of feudalism and the remnants of backwardness, of course this really hurt the people. Feelings of hurt and hatred towards the PKI go hand in hand to make the community's anger even more peaked, especially since the statement came from a Kyai who was highly sacred by the community. This made the community seem to get religious affirmation to carry out the suppression agenda.

The close relationship between Duta Masyarakat newspaper and the NU party greatly influences the articles published. The articles published by Duta Masyarakat are aligned with religious opinions, which can easily shape the opinions of readers who are part of the Muslim community. Moreover, the majority of readers of the Duta Masyarakat newspaper are *Nahdliyyin*, as NU (Nahdlatul Ulama') sympathisers are known, as traditionalist Muslims with strong militancy. In this case, many of the rubrics raised by Duta Masyarakat are writings or coverage

of a Kyai's statement; considering that a Kyai is a very sacred figure for NU circles. As in the article published in 23 December 1965 titled “*G. P. Ansor Harus Selalu di Front Terdepan Membela Agama dan Bangsa*” (G. P. Ansor must always be at the forefront of defending religion and nation) which contains KH. Ahmad Sjaichu's order to GP Ansor (Ansor Youth Movement) the youth wing of NU to always be at the forefront in assisting ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) to crack down on the PKI (Editorial Team of *Duta Masyarakat* Newspaper, 1965k). In this case, the influence of Kyai's power in shaping public opinion about Gestapu and affirming the suppression movement through Community Ambassadors was very strong as a result of the sacredness that the community gave to the figure of Kyai. The strong influence of Kyai in the community was very visible during the PKI crackdown that occurred after Gestapu. The majority of Banser (Barisan Ansor Serbaguna) members who actively participated in the suppression movement carried out these activities on the basis of protecting themselves, their families and Kyai (Fealy & McGregor, 2010). The Kyai's strong influence in society, especially among NU members who were also loyal readers of *Duta Masyarakat* newspaper, makes him even more influential in shaping public opinion.

The various articles described above show that the *Duta Masyarakat* newspaper played a crucial role in building public opinion about the PKI and Gestapu. Not only that, *Duta Masyarakat* also indirectly played an important role in the succession of crackdowns carried out by the community during the last half of 1965. The discourse produced by *Duta Masyarakat* newspaper did not only function as a news reporter, but had a special purpose by carrying out propaganda that placed the PKI as the sole perpetrator of the heinous events of Gestapu; of course this was a result of the ties shared by *Duta Masyarakat* and NU. The *Duta Masyarakat*, which labelled the PKI as anti-god and barbaric, indirectly fostered fear and hatred of the PKI in the hearts of the public at the same time. In addition, framing it as an invitation to jihad also further affirmed the massive suppression movement carried out by the community after the Gestapu tragedy.

CONCLUSION

Duta Masyarakat newspaper played a crucial role in shaping public opinion towards PKI and Gestapu. *Duta Masyarakat*, a newspaper under the auspices of the Nahdlatul Ulama' party, became the mouthpiece of the party. In its various published articles, *Duta Masyarakat* uses a discourse that supports the view that the PKI was the mastermind behind the Gestapu events. This shows that the narrative formed by the *Duta Masyarakat* has a connection with the statement issued by Soeharto. In this case, the *Duta Masyarakat* played a fundamental role in building the public perception that the PKI was the main threat to national conduciveness and state ideology.

In addition, *Duta Masyarakat* played an important role and effectively directed the attention of the wider public to issues closely related to the Gestapu events. *Duta Masyarakat* did this by sorting out topics, quantity of coverage, and emphasis on certain issues. *Duta Masyarakat* prioritized issues that would become the focus of public attention. This can be seen in the consistent focus on the threat of the PKI and support for the military.

Addressing the PKI after Gestapu, *Duta Masyarakat* embedded the designation of anti-god and atheist groups coupled with a narrative stating that the PKI was a threat to religion and the state so that the public was made even more afraid and hated the PKI so deeply. Subsequently, *Duta Masyarakat* in building its narrative is supported by the statement of kyai contained in its publication, therefore readers who are traditionalists islamic groups who sacralise the position of

a Kyai really believe everything that is published in Duta Masyarakat newspaper. At the same time, the kyai calls for a revolutionary movement against the PKI were published in Duta Masyarakat, giving the people religious affirmation to carry out their agenda of killing PKI sympathisers, Especially since Duta Masyarakat newspaper used the diction of *jihad* in describing the crackdown on PKI sympathisers.

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