

Jajasan “Pembaruan”: Propaganda discourse through its printed products

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to describe Jajasan “Pembaruan” as a publisher that produced printed materials in the form of magazines and books in Indonesia (1950-1966). This study might be categorized in the history of communication as a political frame. This article examines particularly on how Jajasan “Pembaruan” as a political agent carried out propaganda with printed material productions in the form of book and magazine publications. As an agent of trans-nationalism, through the content in the publication, Jajasan “Pembaruan” as well as being a medium in shaping the concept of identity politically and culturally through discourse politics. This research shows that the publications by Jajasan “Pembaruan” were agents of political propaganda pioneered by several young people (political activists and leftist thinkers), the Indonesian Communist Party. Thus, the productions by Jajasan “Pembaruan” were at the same time a strong foundation in providing theory, politics, and practices regarding the idea of a “new way”, especially among the cadres of the Indonesian Communist Party about Indonesian political identity. Propaganda spread through books or magazines published by Jajasan “Pembaruan” was one of the discourse efforts of “decolonialization” in spreading various communist political views. Production or printed materials by Jajasan “Pembaruan” received

support in a fluid communication network between countries in the context of the cold war.

Keywords: *Printed Products, Leftist Thinking, Jajasan "Pembaruan", Indonesia, twentieth century*

INTRODUCTION

Printed products, whether books, magazines, or newspapers, are materials that can be used in understanding the history of communication. Several researchers have conducted research in communication science using historical contexts, including Wartela (1996) and Glander (2000). According to them, it has contributed to the dominant paradigm, especially in the use of propaganda during World War II and the Cold War (Berger et al, 2016). Of course, these researches were carried out with a war propaganda approach in view of the needs and interests of the time. Historical perspectives in communication studies can provide a framework for explanations that are of a continuity that has ever existed.

Studies on the history of mass media and the production of printed goods in Indonesia have been carried out by many researchers in various approaches. Two media studies that are relevant to this research are the historical approach and the media in political interpretation. Historically, media studies in Indonesia have been carried out by Adam (2003). Adam examined how the press, print media, were present politically as a base in instilling Indonesian identity awareness in 1855-1913. In the political framework press, he highlighted the mass media in a racial framework as a differentiator in the world of newspapers. Politically he emphasized the function of the press as a means of information and politics, namely as a medium for spreading the idea of nationalism. The idea of nationalism was proclaimed across national borders and followed by a spirit of movement in other countries such as India, Japan, Egypt, and Young Turks. Adam did not seem to emphasize specifically that the print media, press, era did not only carry the political ideas of nationalism, but also imported various ideas and ideologies that developed in various parts of the world, such as pan-Islamism and the spirit of asianism which also became a part of politics that gave pedestal on the spirit of Indonesian independence.

Printed media as a foundation for political spread continued in the following eras. Under the Cold War situation, in the 1950s, the media played a role as a tool to "influence" both politically and culturally. Not only through

the press (newspapers, magazines, radio, and television) but also through printed materials such as books of translation. Socialist countries, for example, used literary works and translations as a means of cultural diplomacy. Maya Liem's research indirectly shows through her study of translation in Indonesia 1950-1965 (Lindsay & Liem, ed, 2011). The article also highlighted Jajasan "Pembaruan" as a production house by printing translated works from socialist countries. In her writing Maya H.T. Liem mentioned that the Jajasan "Pembaruan" was established in 1951 (2011), meanwhile in the author's data is 1950. Liem's research is important to show that the production of printed matter is not "neutral", but has a "political" message both from the ideology of the translator and the production house.

This research sees the same thing, namely the cold war period in which the media as part of political propaganda "subtly" provided a perspective and ultimately a more fundamental thing which affected the identity of the readers. However, this research will look in a more specific way, namely the printed products of Jajasan "Pembaruan". Jajasan "Pembaruan" in this case as an institution with all the practices that produced information through its printed materials.

Jajasan "Pembaruan" became important because it was one of the organizations supported leftist ideas and the Indonesian Communist Party which was part of the cold war. In this context, Jajasan "Pembaruan" will also be seen in the perspective of trans-nationalism agents. This, at the same time, shows a key problem, namely apart from being an agent of cold war propaganda (Jajasan "Pembaruan" in Indonesia) as well as showing that the nature surrounding the "propaganda communication" process is "fluid", penetrating barriers across geographical boundaries, perhaps even ideology. In the cultural and social context, printed products, especially magazines and newspapers in the 1950s, were very important aspects for the Indonesian people in obtaining information.

In the early days of Indonesian independence (1950s), a variety of more diverse publications emerged along with "openness", both in ideas and in the translation books, that characterized Indonesia at that time (Lindsay & Liem, ed, 2011). Hong Liu's research showed that in the era China had an institution handled books sent to Indonesia and translations into Indonesian (Liu, 1996). Of course, procurement for the expansion was supported by the existence of modern printing technology at the time. The delivery of the books was also in collaboration with local organizations or publications, for example the Jajasan

“Pembaruan”. Jajasan “Pembaruan” often received libraries from abroad such as Czechoslovakia, China, and Russia (interview with Trikojo, Jakarta, 2010).

Jajasan “Pembaruan” was one of the foundations concentrated on books publishing founded by young members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in their “fugitive” in the 1950s. Through the Jajasan “Pembaruan” they produced and printed their ideas and disseminated leftist thinking. This article discusses how the trans-idea of leftist thinking through the production of book and magazine publications by the Jajasan “Pembaruan” then shaped the concept of identity politically and culturally.

Production by Jajasan “Pembaruan” as a publishing business, both books and magazines, was a political communication tool which, besides having a communication function, also a function of influence which, in this case, will be seen as transnational that produced and became agents of change in discourse. How did Jajasan “Pembaruan” as an agent communicate its “propaganda politics”? And, how the character of transnationalism can be seen, and emerged through the “political communication” of its products? Also, where did these ideas come from? What ideas were actually promoted by Jajasan “Pembaruan”?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The historical perspective in the study of communication science has been conducted by several researchers, including Wartela (1996) and Glander (2000) (Berger, et.al, 2014), which implied the media is part of war propaganda. The approach in this study is not much different from the two researchers mentioned above, namely seeing the media and their institutions as agents, and their products as producers of propaganda. However, this research does not leave the context of its time, that is the historical context of the cold war which was fluid and had a large space in the flow of information.

The political communication approach referred to in this study also includes intercultural communication, namely communication that promotes political ideology propaganda through the media. In this context, institutions that produce discourse through printed materials are positioned as institutions that have dominant power as well as agents in discourse change (Thomas & Wareing et al, 2016). As an agent of discourse change, the approach to the communication process contains elements of political communication that emphasize propaganda.

Propaganda in communication is carried out through printed materials

that have the potential to disseminate social meaning, having a major role to represent certain groups in which emphasize cultivation techniques (Lasswell, 1927). Meanwhile, media institutions such as Jajasan "Pembaruan" determined and played a role in selecting production or dissemination (Linda Thomas & Shan Wareing, 2006). In political theory, propaganda is a technique that uses significant symbols to achieve goals (Lasswell, 1927). In the context of this research is the production of printed goods selected by Jajasan "Pembaruan". Some propaganda can fit into several criteria. Among them are carried out by certain institutions, conditioned by organizations such as community or political organizations that have certain goals, and organizations that are general in nature with broad / spreading objectives. Some of the propaganda is done temporally and some are permanent. There is also intra-group propaganda and extra-group propaganda. The content in propaganda depends on the objective with the controller being either professional or amateurish (Lasswell, 1927).

Model propaganda in journalism refers to Comeforo's opinion, for example, who argued that model propaganda has two incompatible points of view when describing journalists' activeness and agency. This includes; Journalistic routines, newsroom hierarchies and editorial influence, the organizational culture of news companies, the patterns of their sources of information, and other elements outside the control of journalists are far more important and influential than the active subversion by or inherent subjectivity of journalists (Branaman in Caranana & Broudy, eds, 2018). Referring to this opinion, in the context of this research, Jajasan "Pembaruan", as an agent and institution, having control over the discourse presented to the wider community.

According to Habibie (2018), the media is "an institution and political actors who have rights, with freedom of press, as well as weak oversight, which allows the press to be used as a political tool (Habibie, 2018)." The media is a political communication tool that indeed has a "close" relationship with politicians to express ideas and ideologies. An example of a media and political study is the work by Hidayati, that explains the process of political communication through mass media which also influenced public opinion in the 2012 governor election (2019) (Hidayati, 2019).

As explained by Effendi, printed matter (newspapers, magazines and books), as a means of mass communication, has functions as information, education, and influence (Ardianto et.al, 2010). In the context of providing information, education, and influence, of course the content is related to the thought/ideas of the author and the institution that publishes. In the research

concept of political ideas conveyed through the media by institutions, especially in this study, “Jajasan Pembaruan” will be seen in the context of propaganda approach.

METHODS

This research is qualitative, using the history method and political propaganda concept. Propaganda is conceptual to look further about the institutions that produce printed goods. In other words, printed materials such as magazines, books, newspapers, are means of communication to convince the wider public about the aims of the institution at. This material is used to dig deeper and see what and how the propaganda was conducted.

Historical knowledge is knowledge about the past, which can be revealed in varied ways. Documents are used as other sources for this research. The document sources are newspapers (articles and news), magazines, and photographs. The writer has collected all those documents from the National Library of Indonesia, the City Archives in National Archives, KITLV Archives in Leiden, and IISG Archives in Amsterdam.

One way to recognize the past that is quite recent, in addition to documents, is to recognize the past from a witness (oral source) (Purwanto , 2011). Oral sources are important because they are not only about people’s past experiences, but also what they want to do, what they believe in, and what they think about something. The oral sources for this research were obtained from interviews with: Trikoyo, one of the founders of Jajasan “Pembaruan” (Jakarta, 2009) and Ibrahim Isa, one of the readers of BM Magazines (Amsterdam, 2010).

Interviewing was a very difficult part because the writer obliged to dissect the narrations given by the respondents in order to get a historical fact. This, of course, required another skill since it had been quite a while that some of the respondents experienced the event. Besides, some of the respondents also experienced some psychological stress during periods of Old Order and New Order.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After Indonesian independence, in addition under unstable situation, there were a lot of private publishing companies, such as CV Gunung Agung Lawu (Solo, 1950s), Oesaha Penerbitan Goentoer (Yogyakarta, 1947),

PT Pembangunan and Magic Center, Bulan Bintang and Pustaka Rakjat, Pembimbing and Indira, Jajasan "Pembaruan", etc.

It is important to note that the presence of printings with certain ideological backgrounds adopted by its founder were common in the 1950s. The Masyumi Party, for example, had the publication "Bulan Bintang", and "Jajasan Pembaruan" supported the publication of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

As explained in the introduction that Jajasan "Pembaruan" was an institution produced printed goods. Agency or institution in journalism is an important aspect that determines the way and direction of propaganda, in this case is Jajasan "Pembaruan". In order to understand the direction of propaganda itself, the identity of Jajasan "Pembaruan" needs to be understood from its origin, as will be explained in the following section.

Identity of Jajasan "Pembaruan"

Jajasan "Pembaruan" was born amid uncertainty of political situation. The Madiun incident in 1948 led members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to be on the run and chased by the Hatta government. Avoiding arrests and moving underground with the threat of Raids of August 1951, youths like Aidit, Njoto, and Lukman sought to rebuild the PKI with the *Jalan Baru* ("New Way") of Marxism-Leninism in 1951 (Mortimer, 2006: 9-464). Without huge capital, said Trikojo, moreover under complicated situation, they decided to establish the publication of the "Bintang Merah" ("Red Star"), or BM, magazine which would later followed by the establishment of the Jajasan "Pembaruan".

The idea of publishing the "BM" central magazine came from Aidit, assisted by Central Committee members such as Lukman, Njoto, and Pardede (Njoto, 1958). According to Njoto, the publication of the magazine was not easy due to internal turmoil in which Tan Ling Djie, party secretary, did not approve it and only agreed to publish "Berita Parlemen" ("Parliament News") (Njoto, 1958). While Aidit, Njoto, Lukman, and Pardede believed that "BM" was the central magazine of politics and organization (Njoto, 1958).

Under uncertain economic and political situation they also decided to establish Jajasan "Pembaruan". Trikojo revealed that Njoto on the construction of the PKI *Jalan Baru* once said, "The current party is different from the past, no longer dependent on the people's contributions." So the production of magazines, newspapers, and Jajasan "Pembaruan" would function economically in addition to politics. The use of the media as a political tool

for the “dissemination” of the communist “Jalan Baru” was an effort not so much different from the Communist Party in the Soviet Union to spread and strengthen the communist ideology, namely through the press and literature.

Jajasan “Pembaruan” was established after a discussion by Aidit, Njoto, and friends (unnamed) intending to found an official association in the form of PT (Perseroan Terbatas/Limited Company). However, the form of Jajasan “Pembaruan” was finally approved on the grounds of low taxes. Jajasan “Pembaruan” was authenticated by notary after paying a pretty decent price of five thousand rupiahs at that time (interview with Trikoyo, Jakarta, 2010).

Jajasan “Pembaruan” published various types of books (will be discussed on the next section) with a logo of a bull, as below:



Fig.1. Logo of Jajasan „Pembaruan”

This logo of the Jajasan “Pembaruan” appeared after 1960s. The books published before were not affixed with the bull logo.

First task for Jajasan “Pembaruan” was publishing books, such as “Introduction to Economics” and “Marxism”. Jajasan “Pembaruan” also functioned to publish books especially those were in line with the party and party programs (*Risalah Perundingan Partai Jilid II*, 1959). Jajasan “Pembaruan” often received literatures from Czechoslovakia, China, and Russia (interview with Trikoyo, Jakarta, 2010). Sending readings in the 1950s had indeed become part of the activities planned by several countries. Hong Liu’s research explained the distribution of Chinese books delivered their magazines to agencies, institutions, and middle-class intellectuals (Liu, 1996). The delivery and diplomacy of cultural exchanges conducted by China, which at that time

was also in a "difficult" condition (developing itself), can be found in Harold C. Hinton's explanation on the Chinese domestic determinants of Mao's foreign policy in a third country namely "ideology", including the anti-imperialist spirit (Hinton, 1998).

Propaganda Product of Jajasan "Pembaruan"

The propaganda model run by Jajasan "Pembaruan" was through printed products. From the frequency of publications there were two types of products by Jajasan "Pembaruan", namely in the form of periodicals as magazines and printed books. Of these types of products, the propaganda designed by Jajasan "Pembaruan" through its printed materials also covered propaganda that was temporal in nature, namely through the production in the type of book and propaganda which was sustainable (continuous) through the publication of periodical magazines.

1. Periodicals Products

The data collected by the author showed there were at least two types of periodicals published by Jajasan "Pembaruan", namely *Indonesia Review* and *Bintang Merah* (BM). The author did not get access to data of "Indonesia Review" magazine at this time. Therefore, this section will discuss BM magazine as an example of a periodical publication by Jajasan "Pembaruan".

BM was first published with the Royal typewriter. Physical proof of the publication with the typed version of the Royal typewriter's letters can be seen in the IISG Amsterdam collection. The idea of publishing the central magazine BM, according to Njoto, came from Aidit assisted by Central Committee members, such as Lukman, Njoto, and Pardede (collection of IISG Amsterdam) (Njoto, 1958). However, in the BM issue there were inconsistencies from 1950-1952. The Agitation-Propaganda Secretariat was stated as the publisher with the temporary editorial address in Djalan Kernolong No. 4 Gambir 4525 Djakarta. Afterwards around 1953s it was written Jajasan „Pembaruan" with the address in Djalan Perunggu J.4-Galur Djakarta. This change was at the same time followed by replacing the jargon of this magazine, which was originally "Madjalah Untuk Demokrasi Rakyat" ("Magazine for People's Democracy") became "Madjalah Teori dan Politik Marxisme-Leninisme" ("Magazine of the Theory and Politics of Marxism-Leninism") (1953), in accordance with its function. An interview with Trikoyo gave a different explanation that initially "BM" not only had a political function, but also business and economic one to support the lives of its editors (Njoto, 1958).

The initial process of publishing BM was not easy. There was an internal upheaval in the form of disagreement Tan Ling Djie, the Party Secretary, who had the opinion that the “Berita Parlemen” should become a party (PKI) forum (Njoto, 1958). While Aidit, Njoto, Lukman, and Pardede believed “BM” magazine as the central political and organizational magazine. This happened until finally BM was published by several people, namely Aidit, Njoto, Lukman, Kartinah, and others, in preparing the first edition in 1950 (interview with Trikoyo, Jakarta, 2010).

In BM editorial statement (1953), it appeared that they were not only printed on one printing press only, but also in another place. Trikoyo explained this happened due to financial difficulties, not to mention the debt to the printing press (Trikoyo, 2010). This condition was also explained by the editor as follows:

“Achir2 ini „Bintang Merah” kita sampai kita tjetak di dua pertjetakan. Usaha Redaksi dan Administrasi untuk mengedjar kelambatan penerbitan „Bintang Merah” kita itu sudah hampir tertjapai, djika tidak terlalu terganggu oleh kesukaran keuangannja.”

“Lately, our „Bintang Merah” has been printed on two printing presses. The efforts of the Editor and Administration to pursue the lateness publication of our „Bintang Merah” almost achieved, if not too disturbed by financial difficulties.” (*Bintang Merah*, 1953).

BM was printed limited, around 2.000 copies. They were distributed to Java and Sumatra. Sumatra (Jl. Serdang No. 22 Medan) was the center for distribution to Aceh, Serdang and South Sumatra and Kalimantan (Pontianak) which are communist followers (interview with Trikoyo, Jakarta, 2010).

Periodical publications by Jajasan “Pembaruan” used for propaganda that was sustainable in nature. The main objective of periodical publications such as BM and “Indonesia Review” was propaganda conducted intra-group to strengthen Marxist political theory in readers in one ideology but still controlled by an institution called Jajasan “Pembaruan”. This, in turn, provided benefits for a larger organization, namely the Indonesian Communist Party.

However, the propaganda run by Jajasan “Pembarua” also transcended cross-ideological boundaries. This can be seen from the readers of BM magazine to its readers who are also from outside the organization. We know this from the narration by Ibrahim Isa, a teacher at the school during the KRIS (interview with Ibrahim Isa, Amsterdam, 2010):

I walked in Keramat Raya, where I entered the Kernolong alley and found a bookstore that sold the *Bintang Merah* magazine. This was the CC PKI propaganda agitation department's magazine. I read there and found an editorial article about the KMB (Round Table Conference)¹... I felt interested in this article, explaining why it was not solely propaganda. I was looking for the editor's address on the Kernolong street. I headed there and found a house. I looked around wondering why was no one there. Continuing to next to it, that's where I met first time a young man, in shorts, wearing glasses, a short shirt too, very friendly. I said I want to meet *Bintang Merah* editor. Oh, we're here, please come in. We talked about the contents of the editorial writing of the results of the Round Table. And he explained it very well, clearly, not agitating ones, just how the facts were.

Ibrahim Isa's experience can be interpreted as BM's efforts as a political propaganda magazine by showing the PKI's political attitude and ideology. Ibrahim Isa did not officially join the PKI, but later interested in some of the party and affiliates' programs and activities.

2. Books

The publication of a book by Jajasan "Pembaruan" was a propaganda model that is both temporal and contains transnationalism. This was because Jajasan "Pembaruan" did not only publish, but also translated books from various countries. The books printed by Jajasan "Pembaruan" were the work of domestic and foreign writers. Those foreign writers whose books printed and translated were Lenin, Jang Sien-tjen, Blas Roka, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Alvaro Cunhal, W. Gomulka, L. Harry Gould, Mao Tse-Tung, Annabelle Bucar, Janos Kadar, S. Boriskin, Walter Ulbricht, Kim Il Sung, M. Susjkov, and others. All these writers were those whose ideas were in line with communism. Likewise, with writers from Indonesia such as Aidit, Njoto, H.R. Bandaharo, and others.

The number of copies printed per edition was unknown, but based on the data collected by the authors of books printed in Jajasan "Pembaruan", the majority were targeted for general readers and a small number for children in their teens. Targeted readings for adolescents include "Hak bangsa-bangsa untuk menentukan nasib sendiri" ("The right of nations to self-determination")

¹ *Bintang Merah* read by Ibrahim Isa was the first edition, as it had been said, and published in the revelation article of Njoto stated that the *Bintang Merah* was first published by raising the issue of KMB.

(1957) by Lenin and “Sedjarah Partai Komunis Uni Soviet” (“The History of the Soviet Union’s Communist Party”) (1961). This can be interpreted that the books were intended to capture the wider community.

As a broader propaganda effort through the appeal of books, Jajasan “Pembaruan” also engaged artists in making their covers. For example, was Basuki Resobowo. He was a painter joined the Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat/ Lekra (People’s Cultural Institute) and participated in making of the cover of the book translation of Mao Tse-Tung’s “Tentang Seni dan Sastra” (“About Art and Literature”) from the original title “Lun Wensie ‘Ji Jisu” (Tse-Tung, 1963). The publication of books printed by Jajasan “Pembaruan” advertised on each BM’s issue. This was likely because “BM” spread to various places/regions.

Propaganda of “Leftist” Ideas

The dissemination of leftist ideas by Jajasan “Pembaruan” was carried out in two ways, namely periodical printing (BM) and books. They did it in several forms: (1) to print and translate books and articles; (2) to print writings by PKI officials; (3) to print PKI program and session reports; and (4) to print books of literary works and printed images/photographs. Sources of the materials were obtained from magazines, books, and other printouts from China, Czechoslovakia, and Russia. All prints by Jajasan “Pembaruan” used to spread the ideas and thoughts of communism, both to strengthen the understanding of Marxism by their members and sympathizers, or to the wider community. Besides that, the dissemination of leftist ideas was also related to the views and political attitudes of the PKI.

Printing translated books, literatures, and articles

Sources of translated books and articles came from magazines and books submissions from China, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Translations in the form of articles did by “BM” for each edition of this magazine, for example Paul de Groot’s work taken in Kominform magazine No. 14 translated in the title “Menghadapi Satu Musuh Bersama” (“Facing a Common Enemy”) (Bintang Merah, 1953), Hong-Ha’s work was translated from “People’s China-December 1950” with the title “Kemenangan Rakjat Vietnam dan Tentaranja” (“Victory of the Vietnamese People and Army”), written by Pero Popivoda from “For a Lasting Peace for a People’s Democracy” No. 37 Sept 1950 with the title “Untuk Memperbarui Partai Komunis Yugoslavia” (“To Renew the Yugoslav Communist Party”), and others (Bintang Merah, 1953). The article chosen to

be translated in line with the ideology of communism.

While the translated works in book form include literary works that are in line with PKI ideology, for example "Tentang Pengalaman Perjuangan Klas di Hongaria" ("About the Class Struggle Experience in Hungary") by Janos Kadar, translated by Gunadi, "Membangun Hari Kedua" ("Building the Second Day") by Ilja Ehrenburg, translated by Armijn Pane, "Lun Wensie 'Ji Jisu" by Mao Tse-Tung translated by anonymous. Of all the translations produced, both in the form of books and articles, Lenin's works were the most widely printed. This was because Lenin was the most inspiring figure in the construction of a communist new road by Aidit and his friends.

Printing books and literatures written by PKI leaders

Jajasan "Pembaruan" published Aidit's most works as PKI chairman. While Njoto, who was also active in writing, his works were mostly published in "Harian Rakjat" ("People Daily"). Other PKI officials did not have the intensity to write like Aidit or Njoto. Some examples of Aidit's works published by Jajasan "Pembaruan" were "Dekon dalam udjian" ("Decon in testing"), "Pilihan Tulisan" ("Writing Choices"), "Menempuh djalan rakjat" ("Taking the way of the people"), "Untuk bekerja lebih baik di kalangan kaum tani" ("To work better among the peasants"), "Lahirnja PKI dan perkembangannja (1920-1955)" ("Birth of the PKI and its development (1920-1955)", "PKI dan Alri / D.N. Aidit" ("PKI and Alri / D.N. Aidit"), "Indonesian society and the Indonesian revolution" by D.N. Aidit (1958), and others.

Literary works in the form of books printed by Jajasan "Pembaruan" were "Dari daerah kehadiran : lapar dan kasih" ("From the area of attendance: hunger and love") (1958) by H.R. Bandaharo and "Batu Merah Lembah Merapi" ("Red Stone of Merapi Mountain Valley") (1959) by Bachtiar Siagian. Bachtiar Siagian's writing was a drama telling the story of Buya Rasad, Sutan, Samadi, and Rida who were captured by the rebel army. Sutan was killed and left his pregnant wife. In the end they were able to escape at the expense of Samadi. The drama written by Bachtiar Siagian was also a popular drama which was later made into a film directed by Tan Hsing Hwat (Setiawan, 2014).

Printing program and meeting reports of PKI including the results of the PKI congress printed by Jajasan "Pembaruan", such as "Djalan baru untuk Republik Indonesia : rentjana resolusi polit-biro untuk dimadjukan pada Kongres ke V dari Partai Komunis Indonesia 26 dan 27 Agustus 1948" ("The New road to the Republic of Indonesia: a plan of political-bureau resolution to

be promoted at the 5th Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party 26 and 27 August 1948”). The aim of printing party programs was to expand PKI activities, particularly among its sympathizers.

Printing images or pictures

In every edition of BM, they often put the images or pictures of international communist leaders with the purpose to introduce and popularize them in Indonesia. The photos were generally communist figures such as Stalin, Marx, and Mao Tse-Tung (*Bintang Merah*, 1953).

Joining Book Fair

Book exhibition was a promotional event conducted in the 1950s. Jajasan “Pembaruan” made use of it not only for economic, but also “political” motives. For example, in the exhibition stand, Jajasan “Pembaruan” described itself as leftist and aggressive revolutionary publisher (Yuliantri & Dahlan, 2007). This can be seen from the publication of the exhibition participated by Jajasan “Pembaruan” with the organizer, namely, the Indonesian Bookstore Association (PTBI/Persatuan Toko Buku Indonesia). Jajasan “Pembaruan” was recorded participating the PTBI exhibition since 1958, the first time it was held. Even so, the exhibition was not the only book display event taken by Jajasan “Pembaruan”. Distributors of books published by Jajasan “Pembaruan” entered the bookstore located in several regions such as Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Jakarta. According to a respondent’s statement that the displays in the bookstore were not only “leftist” books, but also books of translation from literary works from “America” that were interesting to explore further.

“Language Power” as the Dominant Discourse

The following will describe the propaganda objects chosen by Jajasan “Pembaruan”. The object of propaganda chosen at the same time showed their “opposing” allies. Propaganda strategies can easily be described in stimulus-response language that also springs into action.

Propaganda was a part of communist doctrine that has a specific purpose. Some of the points which communist propaganda aim at were to distribute the party’s work, continue to attract the masses of the proletariat to its membership and to, more broadly, in the revolutionary movement. Meanwhile, at the same time, the communist propaganda was also to maintain the leadership authority. Communist propaganda through communication channels, and the distribution

of literature, the work of the press for communist organizations, were part of the reorganization put forward in the 1921 Third Congress of the Comintern (www.marxists.org). The most important aspect of communist propaganda was the revolutionary effect of its content. Slogans in easy-to-understand language were part of ongoing and comprehensive instructions, so that they can reach a wider audience. It was these points of propaganda that Jajasan "Pembaruan" clearly seems to be carrying out.

Dissemination of communist ideas through printed media by Jajasan "Pembaruan" was a trans-idea from various countries under the sphere of the cold war in that era. The trans-idea discussed in the printed products by Jajasan "Pembaruan" was also a discourse attempt on "decolonialization" in spreading various views of communist politics. Broadly speaking, the discourse was packaged in the text of books and magazines or in political slogans, such as:

- Anti-imperialism movements and propaganda
- Anti-feodalism
- Spreading an anti-"KABIR" jargon (KABIR = Kapitalis Birokrasi)
- Spreading "reaksionis"
- Spreading neocolonialism, "Manipol-munafik" or "Pancasila Munafik"
- Spreading an anti-"manipolis", anti-"fasisme".

Those terms contain words that become symbols that ignite the imagination, which are produced by practical attitude manipulators in an effort to "convince" in the middle of the propaganda process. They are important symbolic forms which manifested to reach the public through writing impacting an infinite number of stimulus carriers, just as the propagandist, Jajasan "Pembaruan", through printed matter identified himself imaginatively to awaken the masses.

To measure the success of "discourse politics" through print and media products from Jajasan "Pembaruan" at that time, we can see the effect of the "discourse" in evoking the masses. In this case, the researcher exemplifies events related to the influence of propaganda from the discourse politics from Jajasan "Pembaruan", that was anti-imperialist demonstrations followed by the burning of books. The action took to the streets carried out by the masses of the people in the burning of books in 1965 with a spirit of "anti-imperialism". One of the slogans packaged in the production of printed matter by Jajasan "Pembaruan".

The 1965 book burning in Jakarta (11 January 1965), Yogyakarta,

Surabaya, and some other cities, should be seen in light of the political context of the time (the Old Order) and any related events before. The year 1963 saw the culmination of political power struggle in Indonesia including so-called anti-imperialism (America and England). The anti-America and -England doctrines were triggered by the confrontation with Malaysia that escalated to the withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations (UN).

The aforesaid confrontation, according to Mortimer (2006) was one of the political moments used by PKI to dismember foreign dogmas in an effort to instill the mutual enemy slogan the mass could easily understand. The Communist Party mobilized the public by taking advantage of the issues of confrontation and opposing imperialism to unite the radical spirits in silencing its domestic political rivals (*Harian Rakjat*, 19 February 1965).

It took some time before the confrontation with Malaysia had to end. When Malaysia was accepted into the United Nations, Soekarno felt betrayed and decided to walk away from the world body. Exactly at 10.30 p.m., 7 January 1965, in the general meeting of the national committee for the anti-foreign military bases, Soekarno announced the withdrawal (*Bintang Timoer*, 1965).

Soon, the withdrawal ignited a new wave of anti-American and anti-English sentiments that was now expressed in concrete actions like the burning of USIS books, the sweeping of "Playboy" magazines considered part of the American garbage, the expropriation of the buildings of American Movie Picture Association of Indonesia (AMPAI), and a strict control over the imperialist music (rock and roll songs, Beatle, boogie-boogie, and that of Elvis Presley). According to Bachtiar Siagian, considering that US and the UK had as the imperialists been doing an effective cultural aggression, there was no way to "hit them back" but mobilizing mass actions (*Harian Rakjat*, 1964). People were just acting explicitly to get rid the country of any imperialist symbols. In this perspective, every sentiment against imperialism was equally nationalistic, patriotic, and revolutionary.

CONCLUSION

Propaganda discourse politics by Jajasan "Pembaruan" with their printed products also covered the idea of decolonialization, as was the political context at that time. Discourse politics was also raised in slogans such as anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism movements and propaganda, spreading anti-"KABIR" (Kapitalis Birokrasi/Capitalist Bureaucracy), "reactionary", neo-colonialism, "Manipol-

hypocrisy" or "Hypocritical Pancasila", and anti-"manipolis", anti-"fascism" jargons. The author tries to see the effects of the discourse politics by Jajasan "Pembaruan" through the discourse of anti-capitalism and the experience of readers of magazine products published by Jajasan "Pembaruan". Surely, these two examples must not be seen merely as the success of the discourse politics, but also in the context of the political situation surrounding that era. This research is important to increase research knowledge in the field of media communication. The research on similar topics can be expanded by focusing on audiences and the success of media propaganda.

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