

*Hegemonic and Counter-Media Frames of the Unsolved-Past Tragedy*¹

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Abstract

Tempo magazine has brought the memory of the unsolved-past tragedy of Indonesia, “1965/66 Event” in some ways in both New Order era and Reform era. The collapse of New Order has clearly influenced the framing of “1965-Event”. During New Order, the event was remembered as the effort of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to ‘*coup d’etat*’ the state in which many victims in the aftermath were barely reported. *Tempo* Reformation framed the event from the perspectives of once-marginalised groups such as the family of PKI followers, witnesses and the assassins.

Keywords: retrospective news, collective memory, framing, ideology

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A. Introduction

IN New Order era, PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) and communism were stigmatized. In the period of 1966-1998, the regime of New Order through any political and cultural strategies³ did a historical and memorial propaganda on PKI and the event of 30 September that later had led a number of adverse consequences to PKI, sympathizers, and their families politically and culturally (Hearman, 2013:15; Pellegrini, 2012; Adam, 2008:5; Heryanto, 2006). In the meantime, the mass assassination to 500.000 followers or sympathizers of PKI and incarceration of almost one million people without any jurisdiction during the period of October 1965 - March 1966 not merely done by military but also a group of civil societies seem to be vanished from public memory (Wardaya, 2013; Hearman, 2013; Pellegrini, 2012; Adam, 2008).

Reformation, in turn, gives a hope for the ones adversely affected by the historical narrative of New Order to “justify” the history and memory. However, the collapse of New Order in 1998, in fact, does not undermine the negative stigma for PKI and communism. In response, many historians attempt to make any explanations about this anomaly⁴. Based on the explanation above, media perspective has not been a concern in academic or praxis course discussing about the persistence of anti-communism in Indonesia in the Post-Soeharto era.

This research was started from thoughtfulness for the lack of studies in Indonesia on mass media as an institution constructing the past events such as the Tragedy of 1965/66. In this case, mass media is still viewed as “the first manuscript in writing history” (Budiawan, 2004; Wieringa, 2010). A textual study on the retrospective news at international level, concurrently, views the construction on the past events as a negotiating process between media and social and political actors that have certain interest in the memory of the past event (Lorenzo-Dusdan Bryan, 2011; Simonetti, 2008; Edy, 2006; Twomey, 2004; Nimkoff, 2009) in one era of certain political regime (Sorensen, 2009). In other word, the dynamics approach of memory (Mistzal, 2003) has been more reflected through those researches. Meanwhile, the approach of critical theory is rare in use to the research on the retrospective news on past tragedy.

³Those strategies include the enactment of the provision of MPR No. 25/1966, production of historical text books with single perspective, production of propaganda film of Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI (Treason of G30S/PKI), campaigns such as “*bersihdiri, bersihlingkungan*”, and any memorialization and ritual forms such as Commemoration of 1 October of Kesaktian Pancasila.

⁴*First*, many physical evidences such as dead bodies, prisons and buildings becoming the shelter of PKI have been vanished caused by nature or nurture (Hearman, 2013:19).

Second, memory that PKI is a state enemy has already been a part of narration of establishing national identity; thus, the clarification about the event will be a threat for identity of Indonesia entirely (Pellegrini, 2012).

Third, discrimination, stigmatization, and memory on PKI are no longer under the control of state or regime but they have been rooted in society. Thus, the collapse of New Order does not significantly change the public memory developed in society towards PKI (Adam, 2008:18-19).

Fourth, the idea of communism in general is viewed as atheism. Thus, the acceptance for the idea will threat the religion base particularly for Islam (Budiawan, 2004).

Fifth, communism is imaged as the most dangerous political and cultural movement that can threat democracy by the Indonesia intellectuals pro-west through the spin of West liberalism ideas (Herlambang, 2013: 302).

Sixth, support of state for the completion of case of 1965/66 ran down in light of the cancelation of Law No. 27/2004 on Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KRR) in 2006 by Mahkamah Konstitusi (Constitutional Court) (“Elsam dan Media”, at [Elsam.or.id](http://www.elsam.or.id) at <http://www.elsam.or.id/new/index.php?id=641&lang=en&act=view&cat=c/301>, downloaded in 11 December 2013)

Indonesia is seeing an interesting phenomenon about the retrospective journalism. *Tempo* has published the news on the past event reconstruction that is the event of 1965/66 in Reform era since 2007 to 2013 in the format of *LiputanKhusus* (Special Reportage). Looking at the past time, *Tempo*, in fact, also published a number of equal news in New Order era. Through the study on media, the main factor of the alteration or the memory sustainability of New Order was still relative in Indonesia society in Post-Soeharto era and it can be explained that media becomes the mirror of values and contributes to stimulate the change of values in society. In the perspective of Gramscian (Williams, 2003), media text can be one of indicators for the sociological and political changes or the persistence of status quo in relation to the event of 1965/66 as represented through media texts. Hence, a research to see the construction of the media framing and its transformation on the violence occurred in the era of New Order through the retrospective news of *Tempo* magazine in both New Order era and Reform era is deemed essential to do.

A. Problem Formulations

How did *Tempo* construct the frame of 1965/66' event through its retrospective news released in New Order era and Reformation era?

B. Theoretical Framework

C.1. Critical Theory and Framing

The application of the perspective of Critical Theory to analyse the retrospective news of *Tempo* was backgrounded by a number of theoretical and methodological advantages. First, the analyses on the retrospective news would be most suitable to use framing theory (Edy, 2006). It is in relation to that since the framing theory is used in this research of the retrospective news, hegemonic thesis in Critical Theory can complement it (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Thesis on media hegemony directly correlates the framing process to the power elements between news media and social changes (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Thus, the dynamics of power influence on framing can be more clearly seen. In contrast, framing thesis provides a tool for the hegemonic thesis to prove the congruence between the construction of news media and the interest of dominant group (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Carragee&Roefs (2004) viewed that recent researches on hegemony of media find them difficult to explore the hegemonic traces in the texts and audiences. In addition to this, the hegemonic thesis comes to be an alarm for the researchers to observe the so dominant frames that then are considered suitable as a "*common sense*" (Carragee&Roefs, 2004:223).

Second, the perspective of Critical Theory is able to answer the research questions in term of the transformation of framing and ideology on the retrospective news of *Tempo* in New Order era and Reformation era. Critical Theory assumes the existence of experience contradictions becoming an indication of the emergence of "hegemonic crisis". This is the hegemonic crisis of New Order occurred in the end of 1990s in Indonesia. At the beginning of the initiation of Reformation, it could assumptively be said that the new hegemony began to be formed. Hegemony is at the weakest level when it is born that is when they have naturalized the discourses and practices, before they have consolidated their grips to the control mechanisms in society, and when they have grown older and weakened (Louw, 2001). Third, as the paradigm of Critical Theory is dialogic and dialectical, the Framing Theory with the combination of Critical Theory can be applied by the researcher by not claiming his or her own truth with the tight and limited measures but the truth is obtained through the dialect process of the researcher with the research object (Guba& Lincoln, 1994).

The paradigm of Critical Theory understands that the reality is formed by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnical, and gender factors. Subsequently, it is crystalized or reified to be a series of structure that now (inappropriately) is viewed as something “real”, natural, and unchanged (Guba& Lincoln, 1994). In the context of media, the perspective of Critical Theory believes that media functions ideologically – meaning that it operates in accordance with the ideology or symbolic mechanism stimulating cohesiveness in society (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Based on such ideology, media does “definition of situation” and provides a label towards any groups and individuals considered as deviant. Media strengthens the values *taken for granted* and constructs hegemonic reality (Croteau, Hoynes& Milan, 2011; Curran, Gurevitch&Woollacott, 2011).

C.2. Counter-Memory in Media

The raw material used by news media to reconstruct the past event includes the primary sources such as historical artefacts and historical witnesses that have been directly involved. Through the historical artefacts and the witnesses, the collective memory will be alive and represented. How the historical witnesses becoming the frame sponsors memorize the past event is not always be accurate in describing such event. Moreover, the news media is still possible to be able to access the historical witnesses. More often, media has to be reliant on the secondary sources such as those inherited from the ones involved in historical studies, historians and elites of government in which the secondary sources are possible to have shared the hegemonic collective memory.

Edy (2006:2) affirmed that memory is an incomplete representation from the past though we always treat the memory as the past itself. In fact, many scholars of memory antagonize the history from memory study either as collective memory or as individual one since this study have been more on the surface. Gray and Oliver (2004) stated that the scholars of memory frequently contrast the history by correlating the memory to the archaic, organic, and spiritual quality differentiating the memory with the analytical practices on history. In addition, Zelizer (1995, 2006) viewed one key that differentiates the collective memory and history is that “the collective memory is more mobile and mutable compared to the history. Memory is the mobile history on the different track and acceleration in comparison to the traditional history”.

A collective memory can be hegemonic in one society. Public believed in certain collective memory as the only right thing. The term of “hegemony” is clearly used by Barbara Misztal in the narration in her books in three times only (2003). One of them is in term of her definition about the hegemonic.

The all-embracing cultural and social dominance of a ruling group that legitimates its leadership by creating and sustaining an ideology presenting its dominance as fair and in the best interests of society as a whole.(Misztal, 2003: 159).

In the definition of Misztal, hegemony contains the element of social and cultural domination, ruling group, and the attempt to rule all social elements through an ideology that can be accepted by all social elements. Hegemony according Misztal has inspired a typology he compiled in term of the perspective of the scholars on the collective memory.

Such typology indirectly illustrates an understanding between the analysts on the collective memory that the hegemony of the collective memory exists. Hegemony of memory refers to “memory of society programmed and controlled by the ruler; thus creating a past time

perspective that is agreed, well-established, and continually reproductive (Misztal, 2003: 62).”

The hegemonic memory is a manifestation of the hegemonic ideology Misztal (2003:15), citing Terdiman, mentioned that ideology is materialized through memory. Memory functioned as the organized practices is designed to reproduce a social and political order as a factual material for propaganda (Misztal, *ibid.*). The task of the memory is to provide an identity and belief or uniting values. On those identity, belief and values, the programmed political objectives and the actions are sourced (Misztal, *ibid.*). Similar with hegemonic ideology, the hegemonic memory is created through a real process of contestation in historical field leading a part of memory to be marginalized and isolated, while other memories that can be in line with the ideology of rulers can be sustainable (Misztal, 2003: 65). State and a variety of cultural or educational institutions are the strongest institutions in making the construction of hegemonic collective memory imperishable (Misztal, *ibid.*).

The alteration of the hegemonic memory is the counter-memory. Misztal (2003: 156) defined *counter-memory* as “*an alternative view of the past which challenges the dominant representation of the past.*” Studies on alternative memory showed a memory constructed in the grass roots that can have a variety of relational forms with the dominant or official past time representations started from being contrastively sharp to being equal (Misztal, 2003: 66). An equal event that can be formulated in any various versions by various groups that make the images of the past event and the participation of the groups has changed as time passes (Misztal, *ibid.*).

D. Framing Analysis Method

The technique of framing analysis applied in this research was framing analysis in accordance to Gamson and Lasch (1980), stating that media framing will be seen when the analysis is emphasized on observing and interpreting the elements of the prominent news texts. The elements of the idea in culture do not appear discretely but are gathered in one interpretive package (Gamson and Lasch, 1980: 3). Those different elements support and strengthen to each other. Commonly, the establishment of a full package can be supported by a prominent single element.

E. Data

E.1. Hegemonic Frame and Collective Memory towards the 1965/66 event in *Tempo* of New Order Era

Tempo was established seven years after the tragedy of 1965/66. If *Tempo* exposed the tragedy, it means that *Tempo* treated a past event – not a *contemporary* event actually reported. Thus, framing the tragedy of 1965/66 means memorizing it. Ideology worked as an attempt of *Tempo* to memorize the tragedy. It is necessary to analyse the frame, memory, or ideology of *Tempo* towards the event through the news texts related to the 1965/66 event. In accordance with the category of the sort of the retrospective news according to Zelizer (2008), a part of edition of *Tempo* in New Order positioned the event of 1965/66 as a story that has an equal essence as in the recent story (*journalistic form invites memory*) in which those editions discussed the historical context from the *contemporary* events (See **Table 1**). In other words, the 1965/66 event would be exposed if the *contemporary* event would not occur.

Table 1.The *Contemporary* Events in the Editions of *Tempo* in New Order Era

No.	Edition Number	Title of Edition	<i>Contemporary</i> Events
1	30 September 1972	PKI di Atas dan di Bawah Tanah (<i>PKI On and Uunderground</i>)	Underground movement of PKI in any areas
2	24 December 1977 Year VII/No. 43	10.000 Tahanan Dibebaskan (<i>10.000 Prisoners To Be Released</i>)	Releasing the Political Prisoner related to PKI
3	No. 11 Year XX 12 May 1990	Bersih Diri tentang PKI (<i>Self-Cleaning about PKI</i>)	The issue of President Decree on the Special Research for ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) and State Officers

In those three editions above, *Tempo* in New Order era discussed more about the present time rather than the past, but it still referred to the past time to provide a historical context in a *contemporary* event.

In contrast, in other three editions, *Tempo* of New Order made the past time as the main reportage. Those editions did the reconstruction and reinterpretation towards some parts of the event related to 1965/66. The edition of *Tempo* in 1980, 1988, and 1990 intentionally exposed some issues such as why PKI chose September to do rebellion; what motive did stimulate and why the rebellion could easily be failed (see **Table 2**).

Table 2.The Retrospective Issues on the Editions of *Tempo* of New Order

No.	Edition	Title of Edition	Retrospective Issues
1	No. 32 Year X 4 October 1980	PKI 15 Tahun yang Lalu (<i>PKI 15 Years ago</i>)	Why did PKI choose September to do its rebellion?
2	No.31 Year XVIII-1 October 1988	Apa yang Kaucari PKI (<i>What are you looking for, PKI</i>)	What motive did stimulate PKI to do rebellion?
3	No. 32 Year XX 6 October 1990	CIA dan PKI: Menengok Kembali Peristiwa G30 S (<i>CIA and PKI: Looking Back the Event of G30S</i>)	Why could the Rebellion of PKI be failed easily?

Deeply analysing the issues exposed by the *Tempo* of New Order, it seems that *Tempo* did not take the narration of the 1965/66 event as described by New Order for granted. *Tempo* provided some spaces among its sentences to show some contradictive frames. Such frames were not merely provided in *Tempo* in New Order era exposing the retrospective issues (Table 4.3) but also in *Tempo* of New Order focusing on the *contemporary* issues (Table 4.2.). However, *Tempo* was not explicit to criticize that narration. Hence, many frames that appeared during New Order era competed and were contradictive in each edition. At last, what is more prominent is a set of analyses shaping the hegemonic frame that tended to confirm the narration of the New Order.

In the news of *Tempo* published during the New Order era, the event of 1965/66, in common, tended to be placed in the frame signaling PKI as a negative party and focused on G30S-PKI – not in further events. Here, PKI was discussed in the perspective of the rulers; thus providing no space for the ex-PKI to speak (unless in the edition of May 1990 in which the families and the heredities of ex-PKI started to be given a space as the informant/source). It is only in the edition of October 1990 *Tempo* started to open a discussion about the bold bath towards the members/sympathizers of PKI but it is framed as a mistake of PKI itself in which PKI, far from the blood bath event, has embedded the hatred from other social groups. The frames are summarized in **Table 4.4**.

Table 3.Frame on the 1965/66 Events in *Tempo* of New Order Era

No.	Edition	Types of Retrospective News	Emergence Frames	
			Hegemonic Frame	Candidacy of Counter-frame (If any)
1	30 September 1972	Historical Context	<p>Past Time: G30S/PKI refers to an event danger for security</p> <p>Present Time: G30S/PKI still remains the latent danger</p> <p>Future Time: G30S/PKI can reappear</p>	<p>Future: The disturbances are purely as common crime</p>
2	24 December 1977 Year. VII/No. 43	Historical Context	<p>Past Time: The 1965 event is a friction of PKI and Islam</p> <p>Future: Government can its commitment towards the guarantee the human rights</p>	(None).
3	No. 32 Year X 4 October 1980	<p>Historical Context</p> <p>Historical Reconstruction</p>	<p>Past Time: 30 September 1965 is the failed rebellion of PKI</p> <p>Present Time: Any underground political movement addresses to PKI</p>	(None)
4	No.31 Year XVIII-1 October 1988	Historical Reconstruction	The Seditious Force of PKI is brittle	(None)
5	No. 11 Year XX 12 May 1990	Historical Context	Government Regulation related to 1965 alleviated the burden of families and all people	Government Regulation Discredited Ex-PKI and all people
6	No. 32 Year XX 6 October 1990	Historical Reconstruction	PKI is guilty, PKI spread conflict and becomes the target of revenge	PKI was not guilty, PKI was the victim

The characters of frames around the event of 1965 through the news of *Tempo* during the New Order era were different based on the genre of the retrospective news both in historical context and in historical reconstruction. In the retrospective news on the historical context, the tragedy of 1966 has been rememorized as a bad collective experience and memory in which the *contemporary* impacts legitimated the contemporary government policies. Meanwhile, in the retrospective news of historical reconstruction, the event of 1965 was constructed as an event initiated by PKI and the failure occurred in view of both the internal mechanism of PKI itself and the relation of PKI with other groups in society. In *Tempo* in October 1990, the reconstruction of G30S-PKI has started to concern with the further events

particularly the mass murder towards the followers of PKI. However, the roots of the mass murder towards PKI were as a result of the bad relation of PKI with the social elements in any areas.

Both in the genre of historical context and in the genre of historical reconstruction, the frames in *Tempo* in New Order tended to have an equal essence to the event of 1965/66 that is with the event of 1965/66 as an event of the action of PKI that attempted to usurp the authorized power. The term of PKI followers or the sympathizers of PKI or suspected PKI were rare used to refer the level of closeness of an individual to PKI. The label of “G30S-PKI” was used to mention the action of 30 September 1965 itself or to mention all people both as committee, sympathizers, relatives or anybody that directly or indirectly were involved in G30S-PKI, with the phrases of “those involved in G30S-PKI”, or “the remainders of ex-G30S-PKI” to mention a group of people that had a close or far relationship or even had no relationship with PKI. In other words, PKI and Communism in Indonesia are more known as the actors of G30S rather than as the victims of the mass murder in the post-G30S.

In the edition of 1972, 1977, and 1980, the frames regarding G30S-PKI were still stable to expose the situation in post- G30S-PKI in Indonesia, particularly in the genre of the historical context (1972, 1977, some parts of the edition 1980). Meanwhile, in the edition of 1988 and 1990, the frames started specifically to again discuss about the events towards and at the day of G30S-PKI. Table 4 illustrates the elements of the frame of *Tempo* of New Order.

E.2. ‘Counter Frame’ and Collective Memory on the 1965/66 Event in *Tempo* Reformation

Compared to the retrospective news of *Tempo* in New Order era, the characters of the frames and tendency of ideology contained in the retrospective news in *Tempo* Reformation is to the counter frame and ideology criticizing the collective memory of New Order heritage. Frame and ideology of *Tempo* Reformation can be considered to fight the memory of New Order heritage. However, are “the frame and ideology” suitable to be called as counter frame and ideology for the values and memory spread in society in recent reformation era? By considering the tendency of memory about the event of 1965/66 recently spread as the heritage of New Order regime (Budiawan, 2000; Wardaya, 2012) and that the attempt of the government in Reformation era in strengthening the reconciliation was not maximal, the frame and ideology in the retrospective news of *Tempo* Reformation has a value of *counter*⁵.

No single focus on the news of *Tempo Reformation* comes from the contemporary issues/events. *Tempo* Reformation consciously looked at many things from the events of 1965/66 that still remains a 'mystery' and need to be explored. What is implied then is the genre of the retrospective news were mostly the historical reconstruction and character profiles - not historical context. It does not mean that *Tempo* Reformation ignored the *contemporary* issues that are still being faced by the families of the missing, killed, or prisoned PKI actors or the families of the generals that are still becoming the victims.

⁵Some events exposed by media also showed the high-antipathetic attitude of some social groups to the symbols of PKI shown in public places such as the controversy of t-shirt with the picture of hammer and sickle worn by the participant of Putri Indonesia 2015 for some times ago. Similarly, state does not reconstruct the history on the subject in school or in sites such as Monument of *LubangBuaya* and *Pulau Buru*.

However, the *contemporary* events were not the starting points of *Tempo* Reformation in framing the past events.

In the retrospective text, *Tempo* Reformation tended to open up more opportunities for the interpretation of the G30S; one of which was by thrusting some alternative sources in addition to Buku Putih (White Book) and the sources that were agreed with the New Order regime. In a retrospective text of *Tempo* Reformation and in such sources such as the White Book of G30-S/PKI it is mentioned in quotation and presented some other contrast sources - not only the content as if the mere citation of the information is valid by itself, as happened in *Tempo* New Order.

In addition, *Tempo* Reformation also took some angles never presented in *Tempo* of New Order. In addition to military sources, some written sources such as the academic or biographical works and the informants of direct descent of PKI or the ones of General Council members and the actors dominated the journalistic authority sources of *Tempo* Reformation, different from the New Order dominated by government and military sources. The efforts to maintain a balance can be seen in the use of overlapping resources such as the descent of Aidit, PKI and descent of Nasution, Council-General in the same edition issue though in a different article.

Table 5. The Frame on the 1965/66 Event in *Tempo* of Reformation Era

Number/Title of Edition	Genre of Retrospective News	Frame
1-7 October 2007 G30S and Role of Aidit	Historical Reconstruction	The event of G30S that is still unclear.
23 November 2008 <i>SjamLelakidengan Lima Alias</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	There are still many possibilities about the relationship between the leaders and the figures of PKI in the rebellion events.
11 October 2009 <i>Njoto: PeniupSaksofon di Tengah Prahara</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	There are still many possibilities about the relationship between the leaders and the figures of PKI in the rebellion events.
7-13 November 2011 <i>SarwoEdhiWibowo and Mistery of 1965</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	Personal ambition and military played a role in annihilation of the members /symphatizers of PKI during the period of 1965-66
7 October 2012 <i>The Admission of Algojo 1965</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	The event of 1965/66 is a tragedy justified by state
30 September-4 October 2013 Lekra and Geger 1965	Historical Reconstruction Organization Profile	Many innocent persons became the victims in the event of 1965-1966

F. Discussion

The event of 1965/66 can be classified as the event of public tragedy (Doka, 2003; Molotch & Lester, 1974). In terms of genre and the use of past event in the news, Tempo New Order and Tempo Reformation showed some differences. The retrospective news of Tempo New Order related to the event of 1965/66 was dominated by the genre of historical context with an emphasis on the contemporary events (Edy, 1999). Therefore, the tragedy of 1965/66 is an event that was as important as the contemporary events (Zelizer, 2008), but the memories delivered and the way of Tempo New Order delivered were more in line with the willingness of the regime. Meanwhile, the retrospective news in Tempo Reformation was dominated by the genre of historical reconstruction with an emphasis on the aspects of the 1965/66 event itself (Edy, 1999). Therefore, the tragedy was the main important event presented by Tempo (Zelizer, 2008) and memories delivered and how Tempo Reformation delivered more competed memory inherited from New Order that now is still present in Reformation.

It was not only in the transformation of the genre tendencies and the use of past tragedy in Tempo New Order and Tempo Reformation, a transformation also appeared in frames appearing in retrospective news in both two eras. Tempo Reformation clearly showed the extent of the journalism agency in reconstructing memory and frame in terms of the tragedy rather than more presenting the contemporary inducement news (news peg) (Edy 2011).

Based on the existing findings, retrospective news Tempo New Order showed tendencies in the emergence of hegemonic frame and memory. Frames - as well as collective memory - appearing on retrospective news of Tempo New Order (edition 1972, 1977, 1980, 1988, May 1990 and October 1990) tended to only highlight the events of 1965 as a rebellious movement that interfered PKI security and subsequent events (the aftermath) (which is actually a mass murder against the followers / sympathizers of PKI) is referred to as PKI clashes with Islamic groups.

There would be a counter-frame existence (edition of 1972, May 1990, and October 1990), however the counter-frame did not perfectly appear, making it less prominent than hegemonic frame. The weak counter-frame was due to the statements that supported the counter-frame was then followed by a denial and negation statement. Such negation became something common to be practiced by Tempo New Order in order to avoid some accusations of partiality opposed by the authorities (Steele, 2007). In addition, the candidacy of counter-frame did not use a set of the intact and consistent framing, thus making it less prominent compared to the hegemonic frames.

The statements insinuating Suharto regime added the suspense to the narration of Tempo though later this statement was negated by a further statement, later raising the effect of the final version was more powerful and true (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003). At the end, the frames appearing in Tempo New Order still reinforced the hegemony of the memory about 1965/66 in the version of the Suharto regime.

Those frames maintained a consensus that the further events - mass murder was not necessary to be openly discussed openly and should be forgotten. The regime had power over Tempo New Order in terms of which issues that needed to be removed and to be marginalized in public communication circuit (Golding & Murdock, 1997b). Tempo New Order, in other words, was still locked by the power structure (Curran, Gurevitch, Woollacott, 2011).

Counter-frame in retrospective news of Tempo New Order became apparent in Reformation. The memory of the events of 1965/66 was still dominated by the memory of the New Order descendant (Budiawan, 2004; Herlambang 2013). Therefore, it can be said that the retrospective news of Tempo Reformation on the events 1965/66 was counter-frame towards the official view of government that was not changed much from the New Order government, at least from the absence of a formal apology from the state to the innocent victims from the mass murder in post-G30S.

As stated by Misztal (2003: 156), Tempo Reforms offered an alternative view for the past time that opposed the dominant representation on the past events. What are the alternative views? Some of the views coming from the collective memory of the groups in New Order were not exposed to public, for example, the aspiration of the children as the descent of DN Aidit and SjamKamaruzzaman along with his relatives and friends, the slayer of followers/sympathizers of PKI as well as the witnesses of biography of PKI leaders and historians having an alternative view.

Although the official views of the New Order government were not changed much, many alternative sources began to openly circulate in society, say, various publications of the biography of the historical witnesses or academic works that have some views different from official sources. Tempo Reformation utilized the existing moment by exposing the topic of 1965/66 and used these alternative sources for its retrospective news, for example the book of John Roosa entitled *Excuse for Mass Murder in the edition of 2012 ("Recognition of Executioner 1965")*. Counter-frame for the events of 1965/66 in Tempo Reformation swung freely for press freedom upheld by the Constitution.

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