

## Framing Analysis of Putin Political Communication in Tempo Magazine

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### Abstract

This article discusses the political communication of Russian President, Vladimir Putin who is influential in the European region to dominate world politics along with the United States. This competition repeats the history of the Soviet Union when President Mikhail Gorbachev took office. During Gorbachev's reign, Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union. Political competition between the West, the United States and the Soviet Union, makes Putin a communicator of world politics rivaling European and American leaders. Following the split of the Soviet Union, there was a cold war between the United States and Russia, leading to the emergence of a single American superpower. By the end of 2021, Russia will have military units stationed close to the border with Ukraine. The reason behind the incident was Ukraine's desire to join NATO. Putin sent forces to assault Ukraine on February 24, 2022, as a result of this political phenomenon. Conspiracy theory is employed in this study. Agenda Setting uses a sustaining theory and Theory News construction from Bennett is considered suitable. According to research, Tempo's international political news demonstrates Russia's commitment to regaining its former prominence through a variety of characteristics, including its economic and military prowess. Russia is concerned about NATO-US threats, and vice versa Thousands of civilians were murdered and maimed as a result of US-NATO paranoia about Russia, leading to Russian military incursion into Ukraine. There was a global food crisis as a result of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

**Keywords:** Agenda Setting; Framing; Conspiracies; Communication; Tempo

### Introduction

Russia as a big country has military and economic power. The United States and the European Union do not want Russia to dominate politics, economy and global power. The mutual influence between Russia and Europe has great significance for Ukraine. After the collapse of the Soviet Union many states broke away and founded new states. For

various reasons, Russia politically, economically and militarily wants to restore the glory of Russian civilization in the past. The battle for influence led to Russia launching military operation in Ukraine on February 24, 2022.

One of the reasons why Russia wants to control Ukraine is because its neighboring

countries want to be included in the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) unit which is headquartered in Brussels, Belgium. Leaders of European Union member states on June 23, 2022 agreed to accept Ukraine as a member of the European Union (Tempo, 2022e). On October 3, 2022, Ukraine officially became a member of NATO. European countries and the United States imposed sanctions on Russia, but did not provide military assistance to Ukraine. Ukraine suffers greatly because their military power is not comparable to that of Russia.

The real enmity is the suffering that the Ukrainian people suffer. This phenomenon is said by the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy. The Ukrainian president said our resistance has shown you that we will not give up, because this is our home. This is our family. We will fight until we can win back our land. However, Russian President Vladimir Putin said "current leaders need to understand that if they continue to do what they are doing now, they are risking the future of the Ukrainian State (Kurniawan, 2022b)

Symbolically the language exped by the President of Ukraine and the President of Russia shows that the resistance to Russian expansion in Ukraine is being fought in such a way, because they have defended their land and territory. On the other hand, the Russian President has shown world leaders that the future of Ukraine is at stake. The phenomenon of Putin's political communication has become the concern of world leaders so that Ukraine is not included in the NATO unit. Based on this problem, the researcher wants to study "Putin Political Communication" (International News Study of Tempo Press Magazine January-September 2022).

### Theoretical Framework

The theory used is Conspiracy. Conspiracies give meaning and nuance to society and raise very broad doubts and have carried out more diverse functions. We (us) are threatened by their (them) (Knight, 2020). The conspiracy study begins on the conflict of interest in America that killed President Kennedy in Dallas in 1963. Kennedy's shooting was related to the Communist-influenced Cuba issue. As a supporter of the theory, Agenda Setting is used. The degree to which a social issue is severe as determined by what academics refer to as a real-world indicator

brought up with regard to global issues (Dearing & Rogers, 1996 in, (Lee, Lynda et al., 2015). Important issues like COVID-19 Pandemic, conflict, and war are examples. The Russo-Ukrainian War issue is regarded as a global, regional, and national concern.

The researcher examines Tempo's weekly news from January 2022 to September 2022. The reason for choosing March-September is because those 6 months always bring up the Russia-Ukraina issue. Researchers took Tempo magazine because it serves as a reference for scientific readers, academics and the upper middle class. The investigation conducted by this magazine is very representative in the field of international politics. The issues raised are considered balanced, especially when it comes to the study of global politics. However, the trend and agenda of the Tempo Magazine is also reflected in the political analysis of the language used. Based on this reason, the researcher examines the Tempo journal in looking at Vladimir Putin's political communication. The researcher uses Bennett's supporting theory, namely news construction. Bennett looks at news ratings, news routines, economic constraints and news formats (Lee, Lynda et al., 2015).

The Multigated Theory News construction from Bennett is considered suitable because of the professional assessment of news, sequentially and the format of the news and the news page in question. The theoretical model built is as follows:

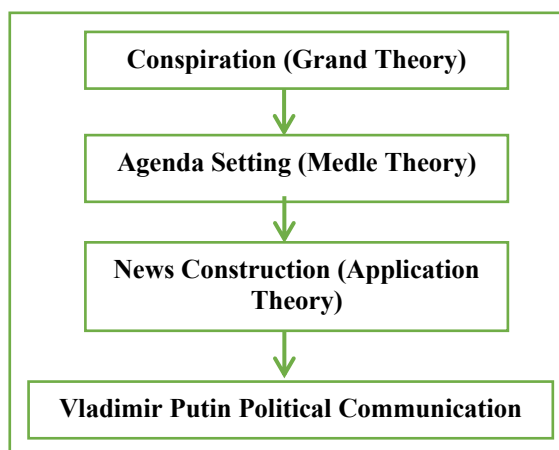


Figure 1. The theoretical model built

### Material and Methodology

This research uses framing, which is the media frame as the basic organizing idea of news content. According to Entman, framing is

choosing aspects and reality and making issues that highlight the communication text (Lee, Lynda et al., 2015). Frame as a regulator of news ideas that will be highlighted in order to be published in the media in question. In other words, news is selected, selecting and defining and evaluating which ones will be published. Researchers will see the salient issues analyzed according to the research theme, namely Political Communication of Vladimir Putin published in the weekly magazine Tempo. Framing that will be analyzed is related to political and economic struggles of superpowers, such as the United States and the European Union. An interesting phenomenon is analyzed by this news because it is closely related to the Political Communication of the Russian President in influencing the international community to build global power from unilateral to multilateral power.

Criteria for selecting the object of study were based on an analysis of the selected editions of Tempo magazine published from January to September 2022 with regard to the theme of the news, namely reporting the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. After that, the researcher will analyze the content to study more deeply

### **Result and Discussion**

Tempo magazine is a weekly media which was first published on March 6, 1971. Tempo magazine was founded by Goenawan Mohamad and Yusril Djalinus. This magazine was banned in 1982. However, it was republished. In 1994 it was banned for the second time. After the Reformation, since October 12, 1998, Tempo Magazine has republished its journalism style following the era of the digital era. Tempo's investigative reports often present nuances of world politics. Political communications that are often exposed are international communicators, including American Presidents, Chinese Presidents and Russian Presidents. This study examines the Political Communication of Russian President Vladimir Putin published in Tempo Magazine from January to September 2022.

Tempo magazine began to report the Russia-Ukraine conflict in January 2022. One of the developing issues related to the conflict was Ukraine's wish to become a member of the

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Tempo magazine reports the world's rubric for a week, page 94 entitled The United States Rejects Russia's Demands, (Tempo, 2022c). US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said there should be no doubt about the seriousness of our goals in terms of diplomacy and that we are acting with equal focus and strength to strengthen Ukraine's defenses and prepare for a swift response to further Russian aggression. Before the Russian-Ukrainian War occurs, it had been predicated by the US-NATO for its intelligence dexterity.

The United States, which is Russia's political opponent responded diplomatically to Russia's demands that the US-EU should not accept Ukraine as a member of NATO. Framing Tempo, 10-16 January 2022, in the International Rubric, entitled Crisis in the Russian Terrace. Tempo said that Vladimir Putin's political communication has not yet shown a solution. Putin's anxiety and confusion was seen so that Russia sent 100,000 troops and heavy equipment to its borders with Ukraine.. Tempo's investigation shows that political communication between US President Joe Biden and Russian President Vladimir Putin has not been effective. Evidence of NATO's involvement in the Russia-Ukraine conflict is seen in this news frame. Tempo on January 10-16 also reported that the arrival of Josep Borrell was a signal of NATO's involvement in the Russia-US dispute. Tempo's news framing is balanced in text, but its analysis shows that NATO's involvement in Ukraine is proven. Because the US-NATO have different views of the global atmosphere, especially in influencing developing countries to follow the military pattern of the Eastern and Western blocs.

Putin's diplomacy in mid-December 2021, which Tempo reported on January 10-16, 2022, proposed a treaty proposal to the US and NATO to ensure the security of Russia and NATO members. All members are prohibited from carrying out military activities in Ukraine and other countries in Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia. All parties are also prohibited from sending troops and weapons to the territory of other countries in Europe. The activity of annexing territory and expanding NATO territory is proof that Putin's communications are ignored by the US-NATO. Tempo's war of information framing, after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, NATO will not expand its membership. However, according to

Putin's Political communicator, NATO is still interfering in Ukraine's domestic politics, for example. The global political phenomenon emerged so that Putin did a political lobby with the US-NATO so as not to expand his influence to Ukraine.

President Vladimir Putin warned that if NATO installed advanced weapons in Ukraine, such as missile systems, it would be seen as violating Russia's "line of fire". Putin's political communications through Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov accused the US and other NATO members of sending military aid and weapons to Ukraine (Tempo 10-16 January 2022). The power struggle by NATO makes Putin negotiate with the US-NATO. According to the Kremlin NATO has sent military forces to Ukraine. Suspicion and distrust are a political dynamic associated with conspiracies. Fear of people, forces outside of us is a public issue for both NATO and Russia. That conspiracy is what Tempo is framing, January 10-16, 2022. As the two forces seize influence between the two powers, a conspiracy develops between the two East-West powers. However, a balanced setting places the news in a row.

Framing Tempo in mid-January 2022 features the Picture of the Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, on page 94. The framing clearly shows the harmony between Russia and Indonesia. But at the end of the interview Lyudmila Vorobieva said "When NATO claims that Russia is aggressive, they mean we are deploying troops on our territory. The border is our territory. Where's the aggressiveness? We train in our territory. Our safety is important to us. NATO started making preparations to move troops for expansion to our borders because they said they would accept Ukraine as a NATO member. According to Lyudmila Vorobieva NATO wants Ukraine to be included in its unity. This deep anxiety is a problem for Ukraine. Fear of their threats (them) against us (us) is the main cause of the Ukrainian conflict.

Framing Tempo January 31, February 6, 2022 analyzed the issue of Ukraine's entry into the NATO unit. Russia's diplomacy with the US-EU is not effective, because the US-EU already knows Russia will invade Ukraine by placing military forces on the Russia-Ukraine border. Putin's diplomacy reminded that after the Warsaw Pact was dissolved, NATO would not expand its membership. Vladimir Putin's concerns were not addressed by NATO. Putin has become an icon in the Balkans, because

Russia is a big country and masters technology, especially nuclear power. Russia's anger towards Ukraine is also accompanied by wanting to help the states of Donetsk and Luhansk which want to separate from Ukraine.

Tempo reported that the international column 28 February-6 March 2022 on page 100 featured the news lead "Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an attack on Ukraine. NATO and Western countries did not intervene for fear of triggering a global war." Global political dynamics triggered the Russia-Ukraine conflict and humanitarian crises including world food. Another reason why Russia invaded Ukraine was that there were provinces in Ukraine that wanted independence. Ukraine considered them to be a separatist group to establish the Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and the Luhansk People's Republic (LPR). Both regions declared independence after the 2014 referendum. However, the Ukrainian government did not recognize them and declared them terrorists.

Kurniawan, I (2022a) displays Putin's political communication very firmly and clearly "I decided to launch a special military operation," Thursday 24 February 2022. Putin's goal is to protect the people of Donetsk and Luhansk who are the targets and genocide of the regime in Kyiv". Putin's reason for humanity, he said, was asked by the DPR and LPR to protect him. The phenomenon of separatism and terrorism has become a global issue in the world. If there is an uprising it always has something to do with terrorists and separatists. However, separatists and terrorists will not stand alone, but are closely related to foreign interference. The political atmosphere in Donetsk and Luhansk is a problem for the Ukrainian government. Culturally, Ukrainians have an emotional relationship with Russia, especially during the Soviet Union.

Putin's communication and assertiveness sticking his nails in Ukraine has a reason, because Putin views Ukraine as a nation that is closely related to Russia in terms of history and culture so that it cannot be separated from Russia, because of ethnic similarities. According to Gilang Kembara quoted by Tempo, Putin's ambition is to change the pro-Moscow regime in Kyiv. Russia argued that in 2014, the people of Donetsk and Luhansk held a referendum on joining Russia or Ukraine. But 97 percent joined Russia. The Crimean High Council and the Sevastopol City Council

declared independence but were not recognized by the world (Kurniawan, 2022a). The Framing Tempo at the end of February shows Russia's power to dominate Ukraine for humanitarian reasons. Putin's political communications are clearly set up almost every week to explain the dynamics of the conflict in the Balkans. But the logic of history, culture, ethnicity and civilization became the main reason for Russia to annex Ukraine.

The information war broke out, (Tempo, March 1-6, 2022), reporting on the campaign to garner international support by the Ukrainian Ambassador to Indonesia, Vasyil Hamianim, citing people's concerns about the Putin terrorists and the Russian terrorist state. Nothing justifies the killing of civilians and children, and the destruction of our country. Hamianim asked for support from all nations, including Indonesia.. Indonesia's statement, which is not so sharp, is closely related to the upcoming G20 conference in November 2022.

Framing (Kurniawan, 2022b). in the International section on page 114, shows a comparison of the military strength of the two countries. But Russia's power is not comparable to that of Ukraine. Tempo features Vladimir Putin's face on page 115 with the current leader's statement risking the future of Ukraine. Framing analysis that Russia blames on world leaders is risking Ukraine's future. Likewise the comparison of statements by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, will fight to return their land. The victims of the Ukrainian side were more than the victims from the Russian side. In other words, Framing Tempo shows that Ukraine lost the war in February 2022.

Putin is a member of the Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti Committee (KGB), a Russian intelligence organization. The KGB trained him to become a mature secret agent so that his role in politics was superior. Putin's political communication was formed with the power of intelligence, diplomats to military science. Putin's credibility shaped his tough and ambitious character, especially wanting to restore the past glory of the Soviet Union. Proficiency in German makes him ready for diplomacy and communication with various nations. According to Putin, as Goenawan Mohamad wrote, in a marginal note (Mohamad, 2022a). declaring the collapse of the Soviet Union "the biggest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century". He regretted

that 1,000 years of Russian history collapsed. He imagined Russia as a continuous entity from 1,000 years ago—as if the Socialist Revolution of 1917 was merely a link to Tsarist power. Tempo's framing during January to March 2022 only focused on the Ukraine-Russia war. This means that Russia is a superpower as compared to US-NATO. Global political dynamics range between US-NATO and Russia.

Russia is culturally and institutionally very depressed if Ukraine joins NATO. Various reasons can be seen by framing (Kurniawan, 2022c). reported in the international section on page 118 that one of the reasons why Russia invaded Ukraine on 24 February 2022 is to protect Donetsk and Luhansk. Putin also said that Russia's military operations were aimed at demilitarization and denazification (liberating Ukraine from neo-Nazis). Denazification refers to the ideology of the pro-Western Ukrainian regime which is anti-Russian. For the Kyiv regime, people who speak Russian are inhumane, they oppress what they consider to be Russians in Ukraine. The Framing Tempo of March 28, April 3, shows that Russia and Ukraine are very unethical and even racist because they perceive those who are pro-Russian as being oppressed. And Ukraine is also very concerned about the demilitarization and denazification of Ukraine. Because there are so many demands on both sides that the negotiations have reached a dead end and each country considers it correct.

The battle of views and ideologies occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, namely between socialists and capitalists. After the second world war, the nation states were faced with the Western-American European bloc and the Eastern Bloc, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The phenomenon of difference is interpreted by Goenawan Mohamad in a marginal note, April 11-17 2022. Goenawan Mohamad explains that war involves intensely things outside of military combat. Both "West" and "East" considered the confrontation not to be a clash of two armies, but a clash of two views on history, attitudes to life, and values that spread to various nations. One is called "liberal" the opposite is dubbed "socialist". The adherents of the views reject one another, without necessarily destroying the other with weapons. The only noise is the mobilization of the people and the endless propaganda (Mohamad, 2022b). Confrontation according to Goenawan Mohamad is a clash of two views.

According to Huntington, this dynamic is a clash of civilizations.

Differences in views of life or what is called ideology are the motivation for the adherents of the nation to justify all means to achieve the goals and ideals of the ideology in question. The analysis of Tempo's framing in Goenawan Mohamad's marginal notes is proof that the difference as a cold war became a real war. Russia's suspicion of US-NATO is a scourge for Ukraine. US-NATO suspicion of Russia is also disastrous for Ukraine. The political game of ideology is clearly visible in the framing of the marginal notes on April 11-17 2022. Political, ideological, and economic upheavals from big countries have an effect on small countries. The political dynamics of small countries seek protection from large countries both from the West and the East. The inability of the State concerned to handle conflicts in the country prompts it to seek protection from other countries. The countries that are not asked to give protection then mention organized demands called separatists and terrorists. The phenomenon is happening today in the country of Ukraine. This means that each party considers the other party guilty and even terrorist.

Ideology, history and prestige as mentioned by Goenawan Mohamad became a struggle between the nation and the state. Framing April 18-24, 2022, in the main report page 88 (Manan, 2022c) , According to the Ukrainian Ambassador, Vasyl Hamianim: Putin's goal is to erase Ukraine from the world map, kill its citizens, and take all of its territory. Putin wants to rebuild the Soviet Union empire, because according to him the biggest geopolitical disaster of the 20th century is the collapse of the Soviet Union. In a balanced manner, Tempo reported the investigation on April 18-24 2022, confirming the report of the Ukrainian government, that there were 400 bodies in Bucha, however, the Russian Ambassador, Lyudmila Vorobieva, denied this. Instead Vorobieva accused Ukraine of killing her. Framing Tempo in this Main Report on April 18-24 shows a picture of the Russian Ambassador. This means that the might and strength of Russia is more influential in conveying information to the Indonesian public. This means that the framing tempo becomes clear that Russia is in power in various fields.

Tempo reported its investigation from April 18-24 2022 regarding the deployment of Russian troops near the Russian-Ukrainian border. The Russo-Ukrainian war killed tens of thousands of people. More than 4 million people fled to other countries. The President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin ordered the attacks on Donetsk and Luhansk 24 February 2022 (Kurniawan, 2022b) The Russian invasion of Ukraine led to conflict and civil war in Ukraine. Putin as the ruler of the Russian federation wants Ukraine not to be included in NATO's unity and does not expect the United States and the European Union to interfere in Ukraine's internal affairs. Political dynamics states that if Ukraine is included in the NATO unit, Russia will be threatened in terms of politics, economy and military, because NATO has unity in helping fellow members.

The Russo-Ukrainian feud is closely related to the issue of classical semiticism. According to Aztyom, activist Azov, one of the command units of the Ukrainian National Guard since 2018. Moments before carrying out the attack on Ukraine Political Communicator, Putin advised Russia to try to demilitarize and suppress the growing Nazi movement in Ukraine. What the Kremlin means is the existence of Azov, a right-wing militia group that is considered ultra-nationalist. Aztyom considered, linking the Azov operation to the anti-Semitic movement was a strange thing. Especially if Russia associates it with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky's background as a Jew (Manan, 2022c). Racial issues are also developed by political communicator, Russia Putin in order to seize influence in Ukraine and in the Balkan region in general.

In the Framing Tempo, April 18-24 2022, the President of Russia as a communicator of world politics associates Jewish issues as a central issue. This means that the issue of semis and Jews is very sensitive for the Russian state, especially Putin. This means that Putin associates the President of Ukraine as being of Jewish descent. Russia's fears of a Jewish revival became an important issue in Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Another activist, Danylo, said the accusations against Azov of being pro-Nazi were Kremlin propaganda. The April 18-24 2022 edition of Framing Tempo made a political issue for Putin who claimed that the Azov regiment was pro-Nazi. Framing

Tempo shows that Putin's anxiety about extremists in Russia and in Ukraine was one of the reasons for the invasion of Ukraine. Politically, Putin raised the issue of denazification and terrorism as central issues in order to gain influence in Ukraine.

The issue of Jews and Nazis in Russian politics became a central issue in order to make the Russian Federation grow and strong. Putin's political communication plays its part in the world on semi-synthetic issues. Nazis and racism became interesting themes in uniting the communist system that had triumphed under Mikhail Gorbachev. However, the logical consequence of Putin's propaganda makes him strong geographically, economically, politically and ideologically. Another framing that Russia does not want other powers to control Ukraine.

The central issue that is the substance of Tempo's framing is that Russia does not want Ukraine to be included in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This means that in a conspiracy with Ukraine being included in the NATO unit, Russia will be threatened by the West. In 2008, Ukraine volunteered to become a member of NATO. But Russia objected. If Ukraine joins NATO then Russia will be surrounded by the American military alliance (Manan, 2022b) The issue of the prestige and status of the prestige of Russian civilization and the grandeur of Gorbachev made Putin's motivation to develop his power for various reasons. This phenomenon can be seen by the deflection of Viktor Yanukovich, shifting his political and economic direction to Eurasia or pro Russia.

Putin's political communication that worries the Russian Federation is Ukraine's proposal to join NATO. In 2021 Russia asked for security guarantees including a NATO commitment not to accept Ukraine as a NATO member. Russia's anxiety about the West is causing the Ukrainian people misery. The global phenomenon against Russia is that there is still a power that plays an important role in the world political arena, which is still controlled by the West and the European Union, while the Eastern direction of Russia wants to return to the glory of Russian civilization and restore the glory of the Soviet Union. The West-East struggle is still on the global political agenda.

Political communication driven by Putin became a motivation for the Russian

Federation apparatus, including the Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, Lyudmila Vorobieva. Vorobieva denied the mass killings in Bucha. Tempo weekly investigates mass killings in Ukraine. But according to Vorobieva, it was an information war against Russia, which the United States used to push the European Union to impose tougher sanctions on Russia. This kind of fabrication fuels hatred against Russia and makes it easier to push the EU to impose more sanctions on Russia (Manan, 2022c). Framing Tempo clearly depicts Russian diplomats as strongly condemning the US-NATO.

In the framing of Tempo, it can be seen that the information war between the United States and the European Union has become the enemy of Russia. Anxiety and fear of each side, both the European Union and Russia, made civil society victims. Framing is an information war spread by both the US-EU and Russia. Seeing the sharpness of the analysis of the Russian ambassador Lyudmila Vorobieva, the substance is that Russia's real enemy is America-Europe. Precisely according to information received from Vorobieva, she blamed the Ukrainian troops. Blaming each other from the US-EU, Russia and Ukraine has become a symbol of the prolonged conflict in Ukraine.

The Russo-Ukrainian war resulted in an economic crisis for Europe, because European imports were highly dependent on Russia. However, the European Union imposed sanctions on Russia. The Russian-Ukrainian war triggered a global food and energy crisis. The Ukraine-Russia war lost 2 percent more than the forecast for European economic growth. Globally, the war in the Gulf of the Balkans affects the world's economic growth. According to Vincent Piket, EU Ambassador to Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, the EU is against the Ukraine-Russia War (Kurniawan, 2022d). This Tempo framing shows that the European Union is very supportive of the Ukrainian people and helps stop the war with economic sanctions. Vincent Piket said that a ceasefire was something that Russia had to do, because Russia started the war and Ukraine automatically followed it.

Another reason why the European Union supports Ukraine is for the sake of security stability at the borders of the European Union. According to Vincent Piket, who was framed by Tempo from 20-26 June 2022,

Europe is very interested in the security of EU member states. "Safety, security and stability in Ukraine have a direct effect on our security and stability," said Vincent Picket, who was investigated by a Tempo reporter in mid-June 2022. Due to increasing gas, oil, and electricity prices, the European Union's economic sanctions against Russia have put a strain on the continent itself.

Another impact of the Russo-Ukrainian war is neighboring NATO units, which borders Ukraine, such as Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. NATO bears the risk of the effects of the Russo-Ukrainian War, which bears the burden of living for 6 million Ukrainian refugees. The impact of the Ukraine War, according to Vincent Picket, apart from Europe, Asia also had an economic impact, including Indonesia. In other words, the substance of the Ukraine war had an impact on the European Union as well as on the world, including Indonesia. The European Union's determination to impose sanctions on Russia is to break the supply chain of gas and oil from Russia and replace it from the Gulf States.

According to the Tempo Journalist Investigation, May 23-29 2022, the Russo-Ukrainian War triggered a world food crisis. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres, has warned that conflicts in the Balkans are exacerbating food insecurity in poor countries. According to the UN Secretary General, Ukraine and Russia supply nearly a third of the world's wheat and half of the world's cooking oil. This war has led to an increase in the prices of fertilizers, wheat and cooking oil which has affected the prices of other food oils including rice (Tempo, 2022a). Poor nations after they have recovered from the epidemic made worse by the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The effects of war triggered a world food crisis. The European Union which has good resilience has a serious impact until a 2 percent recession. This phenomenon is more because the supply of gas and oil comes from from Russia. The European Union sanctioned Russia by excluding Russian energy sources.

Regarding the Russo-Ukrainian war, Indonesian President Joko Widodo met with Russian President Vladimir Putin on June 30, 2022. The meeting was reported by Tempo in the world rubric for a week. Putin said Russia is ready to fully meet the demands of agricultural producers from Indonesia and other friendly countries for nitrogen, phosphate,

potash fertilizers and raw materials for production. For the sake of humanity, Putin said that Jokowi gave a guarantee to supply the world (Tempo, 2022b). The President of Indonesia as Indonesia's political communicator met with Russian President Putin to ensure that Putin supports the reintegration of the world food community. Indonesia's role can be seen from Tempo's framing in early July 2022, Indonesia plays a role in world peace.

Along with the world food crisis, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) investigated human rights violations in Ukraine by Russia. OHCHR recorded 4,889 people were killed and 6,263 others were injured as of 4 July 2022 (Tempo, 2022d). The issue of the Russo-Ukrainian war has become a global issue, from human rights to the world food crisis. The world recession due to the war in the Balkans was a catastrophe for the rest of the inhabitants. Human rights violations in Ukraine have become a hot topic in the world, but the fate of civil society and the military is a battle in developing the mission of civilization and ideology.

The research ended in September, because apart from the Russian-Ukrainian war, which has entered its 6th month, the news has also turned to the issue of the world food crisis and human rights violations in Ukraine. Likewise, on August 30 the Russian people mourned the death of Mikhail Gorbachev. This phenomenon is described in Tempo's framing, September 5-11, 2022. Putin did not attend the last Soviet Union leader's funeral because of his busy schedule, said Putin's spokesman Dmitry Peskov. However, Putin received the leader of the Myanmar military junta, Min Aung Hlaing in Vladivostok, Russia, September 7, 2022. Putin's political communications are not only in the Balkans and the Middle East, but also in Southeast Asia, Myanmar.

Putin as a communicator of Communist politics began to look at Southeast Asia as a partner for politics, economy and research in the nuclear field. Myanmar has since invited Russia to develop atomic energy peacefully. Putin's superiority as a socialist began to partner politically and economically, especially to Myanmar. Myanmar's military junta is also influenced by the Russian defense system. Because Myanmar is oriented not only to China but also to Russia. Myanmar's military



equipment is mostly imported from Russia. This means that Russian-Myanmar political relations can promise a military system to both sides. The following is Putin's Political Communication Model in Tempo Magazine.



**Figure 1.** Putin's political news framing model in Tempo Magazine

Political communication between the West and the East has actually been explained in the Al-Quran Surat Ar-Rum, verses 1-7. The political and economic power was held by Rumawai at that time in Constantinople. But in the East also has power, especially in Persia. The phenomenon of the victory and defeat of the Romans is described in the Qur'an. This means that the power of Persia had defeated the power of the Romans. Great civilizations expanded the area while in control of the politics, economy, and military. Fights and conflicts often occurred thousands of years ago. And to this day it still happens.

Great power was once controlled by Islamic civilization at the beginning of the progress of Islam to Europe, especially in the Persian and Ottoman empires. Great powers always want to compete for security, peace, political and military reasons. This phenomenon was seen until the 20th and 21st centuries. In the middle of the 20th century, the strength of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was born. NATO was founded on April 4, 1949 in Washington DC to stem the notion of communism in various countries in the North Atlantic region.

In the 21st century, apart from being capitalist, there was also a Communist force controlled by the Soviet Union at that time. To counter this power, on May 14, 1955, the Warsa

Pact military alliance was established, which was called the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. This organization is a military alliance of Eastern Bloc countries to organize themselves against possible threats from the NATO alliance. However, the Warsaw Pact was dissolved on March 31, 1991, yet, the power and influence of the communists in the world was still very strong. The ideological factor is the motivation for the nation state to develop its economy and politics.

East and West are political and economic forces that influence small countries with their respective ideologies. The Western Bloc is influenced by the Capitalists, while the Eastern Bloc was influenced by Communism. The phenomenon of ideology becomes military and economic power. This phenomenon is the result of the conflict in Ukraine. After the collapse of the Soviets on December 26, 1991, a new unipolar power emerged, namely one power in the world, namely the West.. The ideological struggle becomes a prolonged conflict that seems endless. In the midst of America's confusion with NATO the power of Russia led by Vladimir Putin emerged.

The emergence of Valadimir Putin on the world stage posed rivals for the Western powers and the European Union. The might of Putin wants world power not to be held by one state or one state power. According to Putin, international security is not just issues related to military and political stability. International security includes world economic stability, poverty alleviation, economic security and the development of dialogue between civilizations (Savchenkov & Edison, 2015). Putin's speech on February 10, 2007 at the Munich Conference on security policy meant that international security was not only political stability, but poverty alleviation, including dialogue between civilizations.

This phenomenon has become the focus of Putin's politics as an international communicator, especially in maintaining international security. According to UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres, because of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the world is experiencing a world food crisis. Russia and Belarus are known as the world's second and third largest producers of fertilizers. This war led to an increase in the price of basic necessities such as wheat and cooking oil (Manan, 2022a). After being hit by Covid-19

pandemic, the world is currently encountered with the Russo-Ukrainian war. According to the Secretary General of the United Nations it is necessary to form a crisis response group for world food to tackle countries that are threatened with hunger.

Human rights issues, terrorists, separatists and even war are still global issues that have no end. The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 is a global issue that prompted the then Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to harbor weapons of mass murder. However, the evidence that Saddam Hussein has not been proven to date. Behind it all after the Iraq war was destroyed and ISIS emerged. Political phenomena and the issue of terrorists and separatists can still develop and will become a central issue in the future.

Regarding the central issue of the 21st century, Makarim Wibisono said that the global situation requires multilateralism cooperation, that is nations need collective responsibility for shared security in the economic, social and humanitarian fields. The political and international landscape is still characterized by unresolved tensions and conflicts using armed forces and foreign interference with an explosion in ethnic and religious conflicts (Wibisono, 2006). Conflicts within a nation often occur with foreign interference, whether ethnic, religious or other racist conflicts. This phenomenon is related to Wibisono's expression that foreign interference in a country causes tension and conflict. Regarding the conflict in Ukraine, it became clear that there was foreign interference from both the European Union and Russia.

The European Union wants Ukraine to join NATO. Meanwhile, Russia does not want Ukraine to join NATO. The phenomenon of the struggle for influence in Ukraine causes the Ukrainian people to be miserable. If Russia dominates power in Ukraine, it is estimated to be a threat to NATO, because many NATO member countries border Ukraine. On the other hand, if Ukraine joins NATO, it will pose a threat to Russia, because Russia is surrounded by a NATO unitary environment. The phenomenon of the struggle for economic, political and military influence is a threat to the security of the Ukrainian state.

As a global political communicator, Putin opposes a unipolar world. According to Putin, unipolar refers to one type of situation, namely one center of authority, one center of power,

and one center of decision making. According to Putin, independent legal norms are even closer to the legal system of a country. A State and of course especially the United States of America has crossed its national boundaries in every way. They impose upon other nations their economic, political, cultural, and educational policies (Savchenkov & Edison, 2015) Putin's political communication interprets resistance to the international security system which is dominated by one power. According to Putin, this power refers to America's dominance in economic, political and cultural policies. This phenomenon has attracted the attention of every segment of Putin's political scene in the international arena. Putin opposes all major powers, including those that control the political, security, and democratic processes.

### Conclusions

Tempo magazine is a reference for political observers and academics in Indonesia. After the Ukraine-Russia War broke out on February 24, 2022 Tempo magazine always frames the news according to the segments desired by its editors. One of them is analyzing news from various sources from world news institutions. Later it conducted investigation and published the news every week according to its framing needs. Since Ukraine formally applied to join NATO, Tempo has reported the issue which is hot news for the people of Indonesia to know. President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin ordered attacks on Donetsk and Luhansk on February 24, 2022. Tempo magazine framed one of the reasons why Russia is in a military conflict with Ukraine because the neighboring country wanted to join NATO. Tempo frames international news on the last page before the marginal notes. International reports sometimes on the columns and pages of the world week and international special reports, and main reports. However, after experiencing a military conflict with Ukraine, international news framing was always related to the Russia-Ukraine issue. Tempo magazine also framed news of Putin's communication with the issue of mystical and Jewish revival, in this case Putin even accused the Ukrainian President of being Jewish descent. Tempo magazine also framed Vladimir Putin's political communication as an event to revive the glory

of the Soviet Union. Tempo also frames balanced news. However, if you look at international reports, Tempo on January 10-16 has featured Russian political figures, the Russian Ambassador to Indonesia who highlighted relations between Indonesia and Russia. Framing shows the role of Russia in the world and Ukraine clearly shows the figure of Russia's power. Likewise, in its international reports on March 14-20 Tempo featured the figure of Russian President Vladimir Putin. However, the news framing and pictures of the Ukrainian Ambassador to Indonesia were displayed by Tempo, 13-19 June 2022.

The sufferings of the Ukrainian people were underlined in Tempo's news frame, which also brought attention to the war and violations of human rights committed by Russia, Tempo News, 13–19 June 2022, with a photo of Vasyl Hamianim, the Ukrainian ambassador to Indonesia. Framing is always balanced with a variety of news, though, Tempo News, 20–26 June 2022, featuring a photo of Vincent Picket, the EU ambassador to Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, framing the penalties imposed by the EU. Framing By featuring political figures from Russia, Ukraine, and the European Union, Tempo creates numerous iterations of the Ukraine-Russia conflict. It's fascinating to note that the ongoing conflict between capitalists and communists is framed in Tempo's foreign news. Russia represents the superior Capitalist to represent Russian civilization as a framing symbol for every Tempo report. Politically, Tempo's framing depicts a plot between US-NATO and Russia to sway public opinion. The US-NATO and Russia's intense dread of a crucial region can be used to understand this political dynamic. Framing of news Tempo frequently reveals Russia's military prowess. Furthermore, it portrays the US and NATO as the world's superpower. The news is organized in a clear, solid, and ethical manner. Following indications of war in Ukraine, news reports concerning the country are published. The news is processed based on segments and the political atmosphere that develops in Russia and Ukraine. But Ukraine's military superiority is shown scientifically so that it seems that Russia is not solely to blame. But it is the anxiety and fear of the development of the communist ideology that worries the US-NATO. Meanwhile, Russia opposes this world to be unipolar.

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