

The Latent Danger of Communism Threatens Indonesia

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Abstract

The communist ideology is threatening the Indonesian state. This threatening is based on phenomena that have emerged recently, such as the red and white flag crossed out by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) logo and the emergence of the PKI flag bearing the hammer and sickle logo. This study aims to analyze the latent danger of Communism that is threatening the life of the Indonesian people. The method used in this research is the historical method with four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The historical method is an instrument to reconstruct historical events (history as past actuality) into history as a story (history as written). Interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) methods are also carried out. The results show that there are two different perspectives in viewing the latent danger of Communism in Indonesia. The first is to believe that no reliable indicators show Communism will rise because there will be obstacles. These obstacles are because Indonesia has laws and provisions of the MPR (Tap MPR), which still prohibit the ideologies of Communism and Marxism. The revival of communist ideology in Indonesia is improbable because Communism in the world has been paralyzed, which affects Communism in Indonesia. The second perspective believes in the dangers of the communist ideology growing and developing in Indonesia. Communism is a common enemy, and Communism will never be extinguished in world political movements.

Keywords: Latent Danger, Communism, Threatening, Indonesia

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Introduction

The expansion carried out by the Chinese state in the form of investments in various countries is motivated by economic influence and politics. This motivation is possible because of the rapid development of the private sector in China. According to Kerry Brown, the growth of the private sector in China has been one of the most significant socioeconomic changes in China since the start of the post-Mao reforms. Since the early 1990s, the number of private companies has increased 35 percent annually, and in 2007, private companies numbered more than 5 million. The private sector is the primary source of economic growth in China. In 2007 it accounted for 66 percent of gross domestic product and 71 percent of tax revenues (Brown, 2012). The increasing cooperation between Indonesia and China in various fields and many human resources from China working in Indonesia are considered an indication of the rise of communist ideology in Indonesia. This increasing cooperation is because China is known as a communist ideology country.

Academics, researchers, and politicians consider that the communist ideology in Indonesia does not exist, and that ideology is dead because the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) has been banned by TAP MPRS XXV/1966. As is the case in European countries, as Rick Fawn points out, the state ideology of Marxism-Leninism is declared dead throughout the post-Communist space (Fawn, 2004). However, for some academics, researchers, and other politicians, and even observers, there are indications that the communist ideology appears amid Indonesian society. Admit it or not, at this time, the latent danger of communist ideology has begun to emerge in the political constellation of Indonesia. Even their supporters often carry out movements to declare their existence. Although still secure, they quickly sought to make more and more people influenced by communist ideology.

After the reformation in Indonesia, communist ideology got a breath of fresh air to re-emerge. This condition is also the same as what happened in Europe. As Natalia Letke said, the communist parties that reformed in Europe enjoyed the loyalty of their old followers and members before when the regime changed. Because of the often-open hostility towards anyone associated with the previous power, these senior members saw the reformed communist party as the only potential protector of their interests (Tavits & Letki, 2009).

The rise of communist ideology in Indonesia is inseparable from the ruling regime's policies. When Abdurrahman Wahid became president of Indonesia, one of the horrendous policies was President Abdurrahman Wahid's plan to revoke TAP MPR No. 25 of 1966 concerning the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (Andy, 2011). The issue of the revival of communist ideology was also hot during the leadership of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). In October 2017, the case of communism and the PKI strengthened again due to forum 65 to conduct a discussion on historical alignment, which anti-communist parties opposed until a reaction emerged from the TNI AD to instruct the replay of the film *Pengkhianatan G.30.S/PKI* (Sanita, 2018). This film stopped broadcasting in 1998 to remind the public about the bitter history of the Indonesian nation.

Symptoms related to the emergence of the latent danger of communism that has threatened the Indonesian state. Protests Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in Bandung in May 2016 in response to the arrest of several communist propagandists. The statement by Kivlan Zein, former Chief of Staff of Kostrad, which shows evidence of the communist revival, is a seminar at the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, which ended in chaos and was accused of discussing the PKI. Kivlan even mentions the PKI's tens of millions of followers in Indonesia. Another indication of the emergence of communism in Indonesia is the removal of historical material, especially for the PKI in Madiun 1948 and the G30S/PKI 1965 from the school curriculum. Today, the PKI continues to infiltrate all lines of the nation's life. Infiltration has entered strategic institutions in Indonesia. The infiltration is quite reasonable with the emergence of the polemic of the Draft Law on the Direction of Pancasila Ideology (RUU HIP) by the DPR, with the concept of extorting Pancasila into Ekasila. Other signs such as the recent use of hammers and sickle symbols among young people. This research is essential because the communist ideology has threatened the life of the nation and state in Indonesia, based on the indications of the latent danger of communism in this context.

Literature Review

Contemporary Indonesian history writing tends to be dominated by state authorities, including reporting the historical events of the September 30th Movement, 1965. Several essential and secret documents have not been opened to anyone who interprets and understands them according to their point of view to explain these events (Suwirta, 2000). Of course, these secret documents have not been opened, affecting the public's perspective on communist ideology and its spread in Indonesia. In addition to writing history, the mass media also played a role in spreading the rise of communism in Indonesia. This rising is because the news that is formed should be a construction of reality in a process. However, the news is seen as a drama, not describing reality, but a portrait of the arena of battle between various parties related to events (Eriyanto, 2007). As a drama, some parties are defined as heroes (heroes), but some parties are defined as enemies and losers (Turistiati, 2017).

Similarly, with the latent danger of communist ideology threatening the Indonesian state, some people who do not believe in this phenomenon believe it is overdramatized and exaggerated. However, some parties believe that by observing the symptoms, indications, and evidence of the emergence of communist ideology in society, this phenomenon poses a severe threat to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia's sustainability.

In ideology, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) has launched efforts to change Pancasila fundamentally, namely Belief in One Supreme God, with the formula: "Religious Independence," as stated by Nyoto in the Constituent Assembly in 1958. According to the PKI,

not all Indonesian people are monotheistic. Many of them are polytheists, and some even have no religion at all. The PKI, from the beginning, tried to replace Pancasila with a communist ideology (Runalan Soedarmo, 2014). The misleading view of religious freedom spread by the PKI, or the followers of the communist ideology can nourish and develop communist ideology in Indonesia with specific political strategies.

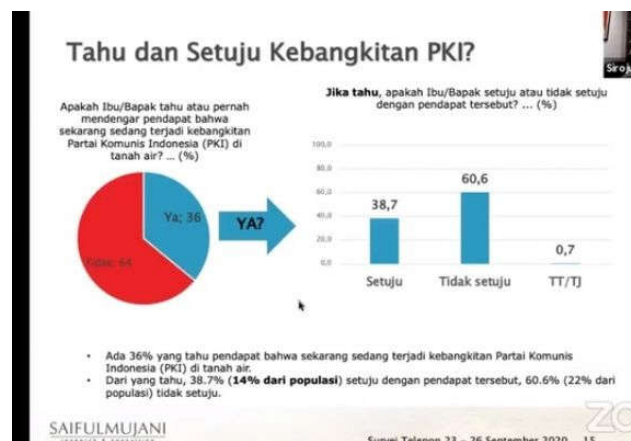
The PKI established a political strategy to realize a communist system in Indonesia (Sutoyo & Srinivasan, 2009), modified for the Fifth Congress in 1954. They dubbed this political strategy the Three Forms of Struggle Combination Method (MKTBP). The three methods of struggle are:

1. Guerrilla struggle in the village, the perpetrators of which are farmworkers and poor peasants.
2. The revolutionary struggle by the workers in the city, especially the workers in the transportation sector.
3. Work intensively among the enemy, especially among the armed forces.

Aminudin Kasdi, a professor of history from the State University of Surabaya, emphasized that the public must remain aware that the PKI is not cruel, is not anti-religious, and is fighting for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Aminudin even claimed that he had found a small document, in the form of a pocketbook on "ABC Revolution" written by the Central Committee of the PKI in 1957, which contained a plan to establish a communist state in Indonesia (Jingga, 2017).

With the Three Forms of Struggle strategy and plans to establish a communist state in Indonesia, the PKI and its supporters of communism have dared to show themselves by openly using communist attributes such as t-shirts and painting communist symbols in several locations, including places of worship. One of the living witnesses to the PKI's atrocities in West Nusa Tenggara stated that the emergence of communist signs began with discovering several cases in various areas, including NTB, where the TNI, Polri, and BIN. I found several residents who had communist flags and clothes with communist symbols. In East Java, Madura, mosques are painted with the Communist logo. This act, of course, proves that the communist ideology has emerged and is resurrecting.

About the phenomenon of the rise of communist ideology, a survey conducted by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) revealed that 14 percent of the total Indonesian population agreed on the issue of the PKI's rise in Indonesia. According to the survey results, as many as 36 percent of Indonesians are aware of the problem, while 64 percent are unaware. Of the 36 percent who were aware of it, 38.7 percent agreed on the case of the rise of the PKI, while 60.6 percent disagreed, and the remaining 0.7 percent did not respond (Ashari, 2017).



Picture 1. This survey was started when SMRC tried to ask about the respondent's knowledge of the current issue of the rise of the PKI. /RRI /

The primary source on the rise of communism in Indonesia is Kivlan Zen, a retired Major General from the Suharto era. In early June 2016, the PKI had formed party structures from the central to the regional levels. As many as 15 million people are suspected of having become supporters. Not only that, Kivlan openly stated that members of the PKI had entered several political parties (Hakim, 2016). Kivlan also noted that the PKI had risen, led by Wahyu Setiaji, the son of Nyoto, Deputy Chair of the PKI Central Committee (Wisnubrata, 2016). Thus, every element of the nation and society must remain vigilant about this latent communist danger.

Research methods

The method used in this research is the historical method. The historical approach is an instrument to reconstruct historical events (history as past actuality) into history as a story (history as written). The historical method is a process to examine the truth of records and relics and to analyze them critically (Poerwantana, 1992). The historical method consists of four stages, namely data collection activities (heuristics), source criticism (testing), data interpretation, and historiography or writing (Gottschalk, 2010). The first stage (heuristics) is seeking and finding historical sources or data (Zed, 2003). The interview method was carried out with resource persons who understood the research topic. In addition to interviews, FGD (Focus Group Discussion) was also conducted.

Research result

a. Communist ideology

What is ideology? The term ideology is still debated in Western discourse, especially in China. According to one definition, ideology maps the political and social world for us. Terry Eagleton, a British cultural theorist, offers different meanings of ideology as follows: ideology is a collection of ideas that are characteristic of a particular social group or class; ideas that help legitimize dominant political forces; forms of thought motivated by social interest, power, media in which conscious social actors understand their world; an action-oriented set of beliefs; and the indispensable medium through which individuals live out their relationships with social structures (Brown, 2012).

Communist ideology is a pattern of atheist, secular, and materialistic thought. Life is believed to progress if there is sufficient material. Material is everything. This thinking then develops dynamically and contextually in each of its followers. First, God is considered non-existent, religion is regarded as the opium of society. Both are seen as interfering with the achievement of material sufficiency and the realization of social justice. Therefore, they are both removed. Second, for the sake of realizing social justice, it is deemed necessary to overhaul the system of ownership of materials, natural resources, and means of production which should not be in the hands of individuals but must be in the hands of the state. The reforms must be carried out in a revolutionary manner, if necessary, by force, authoritarianism, dictatorship. Third, to achieve the ideals of struggle, namely a classless society, equality of existence and position needs to be guaranteed. The slogan "equal taste, equality" was developed. If class differences have disappeared, then social justice is believed to manifest itself.

In the context of the state, communist ideology originated from the thought of Karl Marx. By Friederich Engels (1820-1895), the idea of Karl Marx was standardized under the name of Marxism. Furthermore, Marxism was actualized by Lenin and Stalin, practiced in Russia, so Communism, Marxism, and Leninism became state ideologies. This ideology is implemented in the political, social, economic, legal, cultural, and all other aspects of life. Resistance to the ruling group, which represented the bourgeoisie who controlled many assets, sparked the establishment of the communist state, such as the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia, which marked the establishment of the Soviet Union. Martin Malia interpreted the Soviet phenomenon as "the greatest utopian adventure of modern times." He described it as a tragedy, emphasizing the "superiority of ideology and politics over social and economic forces in understanding Soviet

phenomena" (Malia, 1984). In contrast, Ronald Grigor Suny argues that the Soviet experience was not a tragedy but an "extraordinarily successful" experiment in modernization under non-capitalist conditions. However, "this real socialism left much of a genuine socialist utopia" (Atanasova, 2004; Suny, 1998). In the extreme case of Stalinism, David Joraxsky notes, "The Stalinists did so much in such a brutal and extravagant manner that outside observers considered their ideology to be a mad ideology whose minds were not stifled by dreams of total power and utopia (Wolff et al., 2017).

In Indonesia, the ideology of communism was brought about by a Dutchman named Henk Sneevliet in 1914. Several dockworkers' activists formed the Dutch East Indies Social Democratic Association (Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging / ISDV). By adhering to the concept of Marxism, this group called for resistance to colonial rule. As time went on, more and more community groups became interested in the idea of ISDV.

b. Signs of the Latent Danger of Communist Ideology in Indonesia

The communist revival in Indonesia has not yet manifested itself in a mass organization or political party because it was not possible by the MPR Decree number 25 of 1966. However, the symptoms and evidence surfaced as an indication of the communist revival. Like the Red and White Flag crossed out with the PKI logo on the Unhas Makassar Campus, it signifies the rise of the communists.



Picture 2. The red and white flag was crossed out by the PKI logo on the Makassar UNHAS

Sumber: (Albanna, 2020)

In addition, flags bearing the hammer and sickle logo appeared, and then communist followers often showed sadistic and brutal behavior towards ulama. Such as the assailant of Sheikh Ali Jaber's stabbing, who claimed to be a communist, and the recent murder and shooting of a cleric in Tangerang after an unknown person completed the evening prayer. The ustad's death and the most recent attack on Ustad Chaniago while he was giving a lecture at the mosque in Batam on September 20, 2021, and the perpetrator claimed to be a communist. On September 17, 2020, the Anti-Communist Community Alliance rallied in front of the district government office in Sragen, Central Java, because the Student Worksheet (LKS) for junior high school students quickly contained thought material to lead to communist teachings. The demonstrators demanded that the teacher who posed the questions be investigated, with Ekasila referring to President Soekarno's idea of "gotong royong" (mutual cooperation). Ekasila became a hot topic after mutual cooperation was included in the Pancasila Draft Bill on Ideology.



Picture 3. Communist symbol

Sumber (Antara, 2016)

According to the latent danger of communism, according to Major General (Ret.) TNI, Kivlan Zen, from the information he received directly from the children of the PKI, there were already many people who wanted communism to develop and grow in Indonesia. "According to information, there are 15 million PKI followers and sympathizers, 60 million with their children and grandchildren (who want the PKI to rise)," said Kivlan. According to Kivlan, if the government ignores the rise of communism, they will slowly gather the masses to change the understanding and ideology of Pancasila into a communist ideology in Indonesia. The rising of communism, of course, was very dangerous for Indonesia's sovereignty. "The PKI is dangerous, its motivation is to want to rule, to turn Indonesia into a communist country, to become a dictatorship, forbid democracy, and there is no God," he said. Therefore, if someone claims to be the PKI but loves Pancasila and has God, that lies. This lie is because the PKI does not recognize the existence of God and Pancasila (Kasuistika, 2017)

The circulation of communist-themed books is another indicator of communism's rise in Indonesia.



Picture 4. One of the books was seized by the Sukoharjo Police Department in connection with the raid on books suspected of containing communist teachings

Young people nowadays are not afraid to openly display the PKI symbol on their shirts



Picture 5. The young man wearing a hammer and sickle shirt was arrested by the army

Sumber : (Kurniawan, 2015)

Recognition of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle or PDIP, Ribka Tjiptaning, admitted that all the children of members and sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) joined the PDIP. Ribka Tjiptaning also wrote the book "I am proud to be a Child of the PKI." Member of the Indonesian Parliament, Arteria Dahlan, confirmed that the party bearing the bull logo contained several cadres of PKI descent. The PDIP politician said several party cadres joined the PDIP who were descendants of the PKI. Arteria argued that the reason PDIP recruited them was that PDIP was an open party. "When asked whether PDIP has a PKI? Yes, it is clear because we are an open party," said Arteria (Bhayangkara, 2020).

From the evidence regarding the rise of communist ideology in Indonesia, such as the Red and White flag with the PKI logo crossed out, the emergence of the PKI flag bearing the hammer and sickle logo, brutal acts of persecution and killing of ulama, youth wearing a hammer shirt, and the number of children of members and sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) joining. To PDIP, proving that it is possible that there is a revival of communist ideology in Indonesia and endangering the Indonesian state.

c. Pros and Cons of the Latent Danger of Communist Ideology in Indonesia

The issue of communism emerged and developed, among others, due to several things, first, ideological factors. Ideology never dies, including communist ideology. Second, the condition of the global strategic environment has resulted in the opening of ideological wars and the emergence of China as a military and economic power that threatens western domination. Third, political factors. Utilization of the communist issue as a political maneuver by various groups used to pressure the government (Kusuma, 2013).

Azyumardi Azra, historian and political observer from UIN Hidayatullah Jakarta, believes that no reliable indicators show that communist ideology and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) will rise. "From a national perspective, for example, there are no strong reasons to convince the PKI to rise because there will be several obstacles." Until now, Azyumardi admits that he most rejects the issue of the rise of the PKI. Because, according to him, the PKI in Indonesia would be complicated to re-emerge. For Azyumardi, the case of the height of the PKI was just a seasonal 'political fry.' He gave an example, the opportunity for the PKI to exist as a political party is challenging. The challenge is because Indonesia has laws and provisions of the MPR (Tap MPR), which still prohibit the ideologies of communism and Marxism (Sumantri, 2020).

Professor Salim Said, Professor of Political Science at the Indonesian Defense University, suspects that it is not the rise of his communist ideology that 'rises from the grave,' but revenge related to the G30S PKI incident. He asserted that communism was 'out of business and bankrupt.' This statement is supported by the lack of a superpower capable of responding to contemporary challenges through this ideology. "That explains why the Soviet Union disbanded and returned to its original state, Russia. In China, communism is no longer sold," said Prof. Salim was quoted by Mind-Rakyat.com from the Indonesia Lawyers Club YouTube channel. "The only difference is that Russia is not as smart as China. By disbanding the Soviet Union's communist party, Putin's dictatorial control tool does not exist. In China, the communist party is maintained; its ideology is not," (Maulaa, 2020)

In China or China, the communist ideology, besides having its characteristics, communist ideology, and communist cultural heritage, are used as tourism objects and patriotic education for the younger generation. As explained by Yuping Li: While communism has become a distant memory of the western 'bloc' countries since the fall of the Berlin Wall, communism has continued as the ruling ideology in China by developing a socialist state characterized by China (Li et al., 2010). Yuping Li further explained that 'red tourism' in China, on the one hand, is considered a strategic engine to promote the country's economic growth and, on the other hand, is mainly promoted to Chinese domestic tourists for patriotic education of young people (Li et al., 2010).

Former TNI Commander General (Ret.) Gatot Nurmantyo, on the Youtube channel Hersubeno Point, stated that the Indonesian Communist Party movement cannot be seen in its form but can be felt. For example, since 2008, all schools have excluded lessons on the history of the G30S/PKI. This situation is a dangerous thing. "Gatot said. Knowing this, Gatot claimed that the growing strength of the PKI revival movement made him decide to order his staff to re-watch the communist atrocities in the film G30S PKI (Jakarta, 2020).

Regarding the dangers of this communist ideology, the Coalition for the Action to Save Indonesia (KAMI) sent an open letter to President Joko Widodo dated September 22, 2020. WE accused the PKI's children and grandchildren of having risen and infiltrated the legislative and executive circles. "This is no longer a myth or fiction but has become evidence," the letter said. WE even firmly believe that the descendants of the PKI are now starting to open up about their identities.

What some parties are worried about is the dangers of the communist ideology. On the other hand, Deputy Chairperson of the MPR from the PDI-P Faction (PDIP) Ahmad Basarah said there is no need to worry about it and exaggerate the rise of the communist party, a forbidden ideology in Indonesia. Ahmad Basarah gave a press statement at the PDIP DPP Office. His comment was related to the concerns of several parties regarding the discussion of the Pancasila Ideology Bill (HIP), which was the initiative of the DPR. "There is no room for the rise of the Communist Party in Indonesia so that all parties, including politicians, academics, and the general public, need not worry," said Basarah, Monday (18/5/2020). Basarah explained that the MPRS TAP was about the disbandment of the Indonesian Communist Party, a statement as a prohibited organization throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia for the Indonesian Communist Party, and the prohibition of any activities to develop the understanding or teachings of communism/marxism. For him, some parties misunderstood the reality. TAP MPRS Number XXV/1966 is still valid and has binding legal force (Oktaveri, 2020).



Picture 6. Unjuk rasa penolakan Rancangan Undang-Undang Haluan Ideologi Pancasila (RUU HIP) di depan gedung DPR/MPR Jakarta.
Sumber: Liputan6.com)

There was something quite interesting during the demonstration in front of the Senayan parliament building. One of the groups of demonstrators voiced the issue of the Draft Law (RUU) for the Pancasila Ideology (HIP) by carrying a poster that read "Dissolve PDIP." The polemic of the HIP Bill itself became a hot ball when many parties suspected that there was an attempt to harass Pancasila, which is the basis of the state and the ideology of the nation. Minor accusations gave to PDIP as the party responsible for initiating the draft regulations released.

LIPI political researcher Siti Zuhro assesses the communism rejection cannot separate the communism rejection from historical factors. Muslims, he said, have a terrible memory of the communist movement. For example, in the 1948 tragedy in Madiun. Siti said that Muslims still remember the massacre of clerics and students at the Takeran Islamic Boarding School led by the PKI. "Muslims, NU also have bad memories because the NU community has also massacred," said Siti when contacted by CNN Indonesia.com. Siti said that memory could come

back at any time, as has happened in recent years. "Communism is a common enemy (Humas, 2020)

Meanwhile, a survey by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) published on Wednesday, September 30, 2020, showed that 26 percent of survey respondents stated that Indonesia's business relationship with China impacted efforts to revive communist ideology. This survey became public after the SMRC released the survey titled Public Assessment of the Issues of the PKI's Awakening. SMRC Executive Director Sirojudin Abbas, when the survey results announced, "26 percent believe the relationship is related to the rise of communism and the PKI in Indonesia".

Another phenomenon is the existence of PKI cadres who covertly move to various existing institutions. The DPR is a prominent hiding place. The submission of the Pancasila Ideology Policy Bill (HIP) is proof of existence towards a change in the direction of the state's ideology. The parties, especially the election-winning parties relied on by PKI cadres, should be wary of infiltration, espionage, or perhaps political asylum. There is an assumption that now is the moment to rise for the communist ideology.

Ribka Tjiptaning wrote the book *I'm proud to be a Child of the PKI*, and she also became a female representative of the DPR from the PDIP. This fact confirms Rákosi's argument that women have a better chance of developing a genuine communist consciousness than men because they come from the experience of double oppression, not only based on their class but also their gender. According to communist ideologies, capitalism oppresses women. The source of their pressure is no different from class-based oppression, coupled with women's lack of ownership of the means of production and lack of control over their labor processes. (Fodor, 2002)

Despite the collapse of communist ideology in some countries, communism remains a powerful and autocratic form of government in others. Perhaps, with the capital of communist authoritarianism in the post-Cold War world, a form of electoral dictatorship will emerge (Levitsky & Way, 2010; Schedler, 2013). However, the remaining communist regimes have shown remarkable resilience (Dukalskis & Gerschewski, 2020). Recent efforts to comprehend the non-collapse of the remaining communist regimes have identified four domains that underpin their strength: economic reform, measures to co-opt beneficiaries, institutional and ideological innovation (Dukalskis & Gerschewski, 2020).

Communist behavior in Indonesia can be compared to that of communists in Europe, as explained by Andreaspanayiotou below. When the Communist Party emerged in the 1920s, it openly proclaimed political and cultural radicalism, its support for independence, and its criticism of religion as a form of mystification. To broaden their appeal, communists lowered the banner of confrontation with the church. And also the "sacred ideals" of nationalism in the 1940s. However, the Left still represents a radical provocation for the established power, as seen from the rhetoric and reality of the conflict and its confrontation with local cultural-political structures (Panayiotou, 2006). Throughout its history, Soviet propaganda portrayed the Soviet Union as a completely egalitarian country with no class or power divisions, equal income distribution. It guaranteed access to social benefits, free education and health care, housing, and employment for all. However, the Soviet Union was not as egalitarian as its propaganda claimed. (Obydenkova, Alexander Libman, 2019)

The chairman of the MPR RI, Zulkifli Hasan, reminded the public to be aware of the possibility of a revival of communist ideology. The rise of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) is accurate. Once history has given birth to the PKI, it will remain standing until the completion of its historical task, namely, to lead the Indonesian proletariat to liberate the nation, to build socialism and communism." an essential document of the CCPKI politburo, 1971. The Indonesian ruling class thought that they had buried Marxism in 1965 when they dissolved the PKI. They felt that by massacring millions of communists and communist sympathizers, the idea of Marxism would not revive. However, they had to do what we know is that the rottenness of capitalism is fertile ground for Marxist ideas, and if there are beggars on the streets, the spirit of Marxism will always haunt Indonesia. In his memoirs, Rewang, a Politburo member of the

CCPKI, revealed that PKI had been defeated many times. Nonetheless, every time this party rises again, its fallen forces in the struggle are replaced by new forces that grow and nourish by the country's objective conditions (Waskito, 2017).

Therefore, so that the public knows that the PKI is a latent danger, they are rebels. How can anyone who wants to plot against the country facilitate, and the state apologize? The PKI is now in sight, the signs are evident, said TNI Lieutenant General (ret) Kiki Syahnakri, Chair of the National Symposium Committee "Securing Pancasila from the Threat of the Awakening of the PKI and Other Ideologies," to Tempo Magazine, Issue 16-22 May 2016. The symposium document will answer and clarify the confusing issue of the rise of the PKI and the Left Movement, based on the documents they have compiled and strengthened with facts revealed on the ground so that we have early vigilance in dealing with the explosion of communist ideology (Makbula, n.d.)

Prof. Din Syamsuddin MA stated that communism is an ism (understanding) or ideology present in the human mind and penetrates consciousness so that ideology is not easy to kill, silence, or eliminate. He will grow, especially from generation to generation. Moreover, if the ideology experienced a fatal attraction in the course of history, especially when they rebelled, staged a coup d'etat, and were then defeated, exterminated, and eradicated. So psychologically, it is possible to turn to the next generation, children, and grandchildren, who then hold grudges, then make efforts for revenge, said Din.

At this stage, said Din, all should be wary of any actual ideology, such as communism and others. What is against our religion and fundamental Indonesian values are Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. We must not be careless, he said. Din assessed that recently there had been many narratives coming from scholars, not least from Muslim scholars. They argued that communism couldn't rise, the PKI couldn't grow, and the PKI and communism to be dead. He wrote such arguments, even though I know they were fanned by the supporters of communism and the PKI, to lull us and keep us off guard.

As an academic, Din reads that there are signs that the PKI's children and grandchildren are very likely to rise if the list is extraordinary. I have gathered and met many times, even with the halal bi halal mode. There was a direct use of symbols and book publishing. There are attempts to distort history or events and many other things that are real, he explained. So, he said, steps need to be taken to prevent it. First, we must be firm, both the government and the community, to reject these symptoms and signs because they are contrary to the decisions of our state. Second, the Pancasila state is unlikely to be threatened if this continues. Din argues that the communist state poses a threat to everyone, not just Muslims. even though many Muslims have been victims of it in the past, in both 1948 and 1965 (Syamsuddin, 2020) . However, communication has permeated every nook and cranny of the state. Including the parliament, the palace, and even the legal system. As a "dark" or "secret" movement. However, many also do not believe in this view. For example, LIPI researcher Dr. Asvi Warman Adam has consistently repeatedly called the rise of the PKI or the threat of neo-communism mere nonsense.

A political observer from the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), M Aminuddin, said that the rise of communism in Indonesia is worrying. The notices of that also added to the infiltration of Chinese people into Indonesia. "Thousands of Chinese people suspected of being red soldiers who could become the PKI generation's new energy," Aminudin said. According to Aminudin, books about PKI are currently widely available in Indonesia. The TNI successfully raided some of the books in Kediri, East Java, and West Sumatra. These various books demonstrate that communication has begun to rise and become a threat in Indonesia, particularly the communist ideology, which is difficult to eradicate at the root.

Aminudin suggested that communist ideology should not develop in Indonesia, so there should be books that explain the PKI in practice its evil ideology, which ends up making people miserable. He emphasized that the search for communist-themed books must continue because it is part of law enforcement, specifically the MPRR Decree, which forbids the spread of communist ideology in Indonesia. Furthermore, efforts to apprehend people suspected of inciting

communism to continue. Above all, all Chinese workers who enter Indonesia should deport right away (Safari, 2019).

Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) researcher Syamsuddin Haris said the revival of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) is not real. From the results of a public opinion survey conducted by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC), he said that the issue of the rise of the PKI is only a virtual world phenomenon, not the real world. Public opinion back up the public opinion survey, which opposes the PKI's rise. The SMRC survey revealed that 86.8 percent of respondents did not believe in the rise of the PKI. So, this is not something real. In other words, something invented, created. Something that mobilizes for a specific purpose can be political, economic, said Syamsuddin in the presentation of the results of the SMRC survey, Jakarta, Friday (29/9/2017). Regarding actors who used the issue of the rise of the PKI to mobilize public opinion, Syamsuddin said that anyone could do it. There are many parties. There are anti-Jokowi, rotten politicians, black businessmen, religious radicals, and the ones who take advantage of the issue of the rise of the PKI (Suryowati, 2017).

As explained below, Liu Shaoqi and Anders Sybrandt Hansen strongly believed in the rise of this communist ideology. What is the most basic and common task of us Communist Party members? As everyone knows, the charge is to build communism and turn the world into a communist world. Is the communist world good or not? We all know that it is perfect. There would be no exploiters, oppressors, landlords, capitalists, imperialists, or fascists in such a world. There will be no oppressed and exploited people, no darkness, ignorance, backwardness. In such a society, all human beings will be unselfish and intelligent communists with a high level of culture and technique. Can a communist society be realized? Our answer is "yes."

Regarding this, the whole theory of Marxism-Leninism offers a scientific explanation that leaves no doubt. It explained that as the result of the class struggle of humanity, such a society would inevitably come into being. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union has also provided us with factual evidence. Therefore, our task is to create this communist society from an early age (Shaoqi, 1939). Added by Anders Sybrandt Hansen that communist ideals and single-party government freed from responsibility for immoral behavior (Hansen, 2013). What Liu Shaoqi, a prominent theorist of the Chinese Communist Party who later served as China's head of state after Mao Zedong's retirement, and Anders Sybrandt Hansen said, should serve as a warning to Indonesia to prevent the rise of the communist ideology.

According to historian Anhar Gongong, communism as a party in Indonesia is indeed dead. Still, as an ideology, it will continue to develop and metamorphose amid society looking for forms and loopholes to live and be accepted by society. Therefore, this gap must be closed by providing space to bring prosperity and freedom to eradicate poverty in the community. If this fails to be presented by the government, communists will remain open to being accepted by the community.

Poverty is the nation's greatest foe and must be combated by giving wealth to the country. While many Indonesian people live poor, it will make the people's stomachs hungry, confused, and take radical actions, and new ideas, including ideology, will quickly ride this. Communists who promise prosperity offered to the "little people." Therefore, it is crucial to prevent communism from re-emerging by bringing happiness during society, the fulfillment of the needs of clothing, food, and housing for the people (the presence of prosperity) is expected to be able to silence it, as Bung Hatta said: "only with prosperity can Communist ideology be dammed." The best way for this nation to care for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila, and the existing diversity is to work together to bring happiness and form a religious society. Then the balance of the relationship between the individual and the individual, the individual with the state, the individual with the creator will be formed so that it is hoped that it can stem the notions of terrorism, especially radicalism, of course, is the revival of communism. <https://kominfo.bengkulukota.go.id/prevent-ideologi-komunis-dengan-present-kehapan/>

Every change, however radical, has limitations and possibilities rooted in the past and present. Although we cannot study hypothetical options embedded in history, we may try to read

nowadays (Łoś, 2002). When political power moves symbolically from the ruling party to the opposition, and political institutions undergo a radical metamorphosis, an invisible process of communist power is underway (Kola, 2018; Łoś, 2002). What Maria Los wrote may be true considering the current condition of Indonesia. Every change is rooted in the past and present. When political power shifts from the ruling party to the opposition, political institutions have a radical metamorphosis. All circles of power are entered by the communist ideology that does not look like it's happening.

d. Conclusion

There are two different perspectives in seeing the latent danger of Communism in Indonesia. The first is to believe that there are no reliable indicators that show Communism will rise. For various reasons, when seen on a national scale, there is no pressing need to persuade Communists to expand their influence. Due to Indonesian laws and regulations of the MPR (Tap MPR), which still outlaw Communism and Marxist ideology, this is why this is happening. A revival of communist ideology in Indonesia is improbable since Communism has been destroyed all across the world. Indonesian Communism, too, is affected by this philosophy. The other view is concerned about the hazards of communist ideology spreading across Indonesia. Communism is our shared adversary. There will always be a place for Communism in political movements across the globe.

Similarly, the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) might see a resurgence in Indonesia (PKI). There is a tendency for the communist movement to combine the philosophical ideas of postmodernism, aka postmodernism, with Marxism. Communist-style has evolved into a cultural and ideological movement: a symbol that soothes the people, communists because of the clandestine activity, and only symptoms we can notice.

From these two perspectives, and by observing the symptoms and phenomena that have emerged recently, according to the researcher, the latent danger of Communism is possible to appear and rise again because Communism as an ism (understanding) is not easy to kill, silence, or eliminate. Communism as a party in Indonesia has indeed died. Still, as an ideology, it will continue to develop and metamorphose during society, looking for forms and gaps to live and be accepted again by the community.

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