

# Anti-Communism Politics: The Study of Communism Discourse on the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front (FAKI) of Yogyakarta City

Journal of Government and Political Issues  
Volume 1, Issue 2, November 2021 (73-86)  
© The Author(s) 2021



Article reuse guidelines:

[creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

DOI: 10.53341/jgpi.v1i2.20

[journal.mengeja.id/index.php/JGPI/index](http://journal.mengeja.id/index.php/JGPI/index)

Alam Mahadika<sup>1</sup> ; David Efendi 

## Abstract

This research tried to raise the issue of communism regarding anti-communist politics in the perception of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City and its strategy to understand and the movement of communism. This field research with a qualitative approach in this research is outlined using qualitative descriptive methods. The research findings showed that the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City has a strategy of resistance to communism by organizing rallies and even rallies always collaborating with other nationalist community organizations. FAKI Yogyakarta also always holds an annual event that commemorates Pancasila day by watching G30S/PKI films together to grow the nation's knowledge, especially the younger generation of strategy. The next is to oversee discussions that smell communist and views on politics and religion, The Discourse of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta city given the political movement of communism is In the power struggle my words about the Indonesian Communist Party is the goal of justifying various ways to achieve the desire for power (Politics), the goal of justifying all means. The discourse of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta city views communist social viewpoints and beliefs consistent with its historical methods. Communists view religion as a result of the history of human development. Based on historical materialism, the beginning of religion was designed by man as an institution containing all aspects of goodness, beauty, justice, and the realm of Communists viewing religion as a human creation. Religion is an imaginary world. Communism, which has a very heinous problem with theology, causes distrust of God and even causes them to be anti-God, anti-Religion, and even aggressive towards religious groups. But part of the Indonesian Communist Party cadre is Islamic, so what the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front says does not represent a diverse reality about PKI and communism.

## Keywords

communism; study discourse; community organization

## Introduction

This study conducted readings and analyzed anti-communism discourse from the perception of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front community organization (Ormas) in Yogyakarta City and the Yogyakarta city anti-communist front's resistance strategy against communism. By the end of the New Order era, the culture of leftist understanding had begun to have open space. Freedom in the reform era has had a wide impact on people's lives, including new leftist movements that tend to be based on socialist, humanist, and democratic (Novianto, Kurniawan, & Wibawa, 2018).

After the era of reform, communists gained new wind and rose again in various ways. The rise of communists should be prevented because it proved that the communist movement tried to bring about movements in the State of Indonesia, such as signs attributes of sickle hammer emblems, books-communism, symposium and literary festivals of communism and discussion studies (Sekhu, 2018). Like the 1965 victim seminar event, which started in the present, it is more appropriate to show our true identity on Saturday, September 16, 2017, which was reported by media BBC.com the event was stopped because there was no permission, while the Anchor Youth Movement community organization assisted the authorities (BBCnews, 2017).

## Corresponding author:

<sup>1</sup> Alam Mahadika, Government Studies, University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

E-mail: [hendysetiawan357@gmail.com](mailto:hendysetiawan357@gmail.com)

Such as the National Symposium entitled securing Pancasila from the threat of the rise of the Indonesian Communist Party and other radical ideologies, the combination of community organizations such as Pancasila Youth, Ansor Youth Movement, Kaaba Youth Movement, Islamic Defenders Front, and other community organizations conducted June 1-2, 2016 aims to protect the threat to the Indonesian nation (McGregor, 2002). On Sunday, July 5, 2020, a coalition of community organizations voiced the anti-communism pledge. The pledge was discussed as serious as there was no gap for the communists to change Pancasila (Prabowo, 2020).

The movement of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City has been seen since 2013 ago. On October 27, 2013, the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City dissolved the discussion in Pedepokan Santi Dharma, and the dissolution was carried out due to a discussion study event by the cadres former group of the Indonesian Communist Party peacock confirmed there were no activities - activities of the communist movement in the city of Yogyakarta (Kusumadewi, 2013).

Community organizations that prevent the movement of communism, namely the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City, balked at bringing up communist ideology. The Anti-Communist Front of Indonesia voiced rejection must be done so that the public does not want bad history to repeat itself because Pancasila cannot be replaced. The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front stated, The Communist Movement is different. They do not make violent movements but in writing, discussion, and even action (Andira, 2020).

The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City movement also made a protest movement providing policy criticism and hearings in front of the Yogyakarta Special Region DPRD Office on June 20, 2020. In the demonstration against the emergence of communist movements in the middle of society and revoked the decree of Mahkamah Constitution about the right to vote and choose communist cadres, this rally was filled by theatrical by stomping and burning the communist flag (Narto, 2020).

In the view of the Anti Komunis Indonesia Front, Yogyakarta city on the struggle to prevent the development of the communist movement is therefore bold and very firm and opposes some things that are always counter to the communist movement. They do not hesitate to execute all forms that damage the name of Pancasila and replace the basic system of the State of Indonesia.

In the discussion of the background above, researchers will formulate the problems in this study, namely how the Discourse of Anti-Communism against the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Community Organization of Yogyakarta City and how the strategy of resistance of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City in the understanding of communism, as well as the determination of variable objects in this study, are discourses of communism in the political and religious sphere.

In this study, before conducting deeper research and then compiling it into scientific work, researchers first grow to review previous research that discusses mass groups that maintain nationalism. The purpose of reviewing this is to find out that what the authors are researching is not the same as previous studies that looked at the difference between each study.

The findings of the first study by Kusuma (2010) entitled Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) Da'wah Strategy in Overcoming the Negative Impact of Globalization, the results of the study's findings FPI resistance strategy in the face of globalization is that initially FPI always uses confrontational ways when going to the field and the street pulpit, raiding the place of maximal. Even FPI also uses the second way, namely the method of study or tablig Akbar.

Subsequent research by Masridwan (2019) entitled Dawah Strategy of the Nahdlatul Ulama Branch Representative Assembly in Tackling Radicalism in Curahdami Subdistrict in Bondowoso Regency, the results of the study MWCNU Of Bondowoso Regency's Bulkdami District determine da'l criteria in tackling radical understanding in several ways, namely: considering the educational background of Da'l participants, testing the mastery of knowledge and paying attention to the morals of Da'l participants and the following opposite bent It's about holding seminars or discussions (Masridwan, 2019).

Furthermore, research by Yando, Muradi, & Ali (2019) is the Youth Organization Strategy of Pancasila Student Unit DKI Jakarta in Counter Radicalism, the findings of the Sapma Pemuda Pancasila DKI Jakarta strategy have a strategy that is a form of continuous cauterization pattern that emphasizes the values of Pancasila, counter-strategies against other radicalism are outlined by the Student Unit organization, Pancasila youth students in the work program in the management san DKI Jakarta area (Yando et al.,

2019).

From the three literatures above briefly discuss the handling of the movement of radicalism and globalization that entered Indonesia. Even researchers have not found an organization that focuses on counteracting the understanding of communism. This study becomes new research that the community's organization is indeed focused on eradicating the understanding of communism.

### Politics of Anti-Communism

Goodfellow (2003) viewed anti-communist discourse as an instrumentalist, a vehicle as a political function that was in accordance with the political dynamics of the New Order, anti-communist discourse as an ideological tool for the military to maintain national vigilance. In addition, they also talked about educating the understanding of communism in atheism. Goodfellow also interpreted the anti-communist discourse from a nationalist perspective (Budiawan, 2004).

In the theory of anti-communism from the view of Tarifa & Weinstein (1995), who describes discourse as a tool to achieve a common goal/group. Some requirements must be met for something called discourse or discourse. Habermas moved from his critique to a philosophy that truth must be determined by the proof of logic (Ratio) and the philosophy of the subject, the philosophy of a person who thinks the essence of something very deeply. Jurgen Habermas criticized the second philosophy for looking at subjects who studied or saw objects monolingually, thoughts assumed by an individual (Hardiman, 2009).

Practical proof (Ratio) itself is the basis of morality and law. The concept of the ratio is the idea that the subject of the action is the one who weighs individualistically what is done. The treatment that should be taken from the procedural ratio is taken through the philosophy of practical ratios. Then it will cause communication or interaction that arises in the public room between subjects is an individual hypothesis. So that Habermas cannot consider this practical ratio in the philosophy of the subject because it is far from the word consent between groups and individuals (McCarthy, 1994).

Agreement between groups and individuals is characteristic of Habermas's anti-communism discourse between subjects in a room called a public space with the same opportunity to ask a question. The question presented in the form of a subject in a public space is referred to as truth. So that what moved it is all procedural ratios where alignment is obtained through intersubjective consent (Hardiman, 2009).

Once confronted with anti-communism, discourse in the context of Habermas theory is a discourse made through praxis ratios rather than procedural. Practical ratios do not need to pay attention to every group concerned in forming a discourse. It is very prone to be created and used in individually assumed thoughts (Hypotheses). The same understanding as religion is very sensitive to every person. Although religion is absolute, it is capable enough to condition a society. Therefore, according to Habermas, an anti-communism discourse created a built ideology based on materialism (Hardiman, 2009).

Suharto's unity brought many important changes in the official anti-communism discourse. Changes during the transitional government appeared more as a consequence of euphoria de-Suhartonization, rather than from the desire to include communists and communism in the national sphere. This is in contrast to the changes in money that occurred in the early months of Gus Dur's administration set out on the idea of the need for national reconciliation. However, changes in Habibie and Gus Dur's administration were noted to reveal the formation of anti-communism discourse (Budiawan, 2004).

The MPR's refusal to repeal TAP MPRS/XXV/1966 has stopped the pulik controversy over this idea. This reflects the dominant voice in society, and it is predicted that the MPR will make such a decision. It is hard to imagine what would happen if the MPR approved the idea of repealing tap and was seen as the anti-climax to any attempt to tolerate communists and communism. In the Europhoria Of The Reformation, the general view of communists and communism remained unchanged. This means that changes in official discourse have no effect on the general discourse of society about anti-communism. Indonesian society, or certainly some of it, seems inclined to maintain the discourse (Budiawan, 2004).

### Methods

This type of research is qualitative research descriptive, data collected in words and images. As quoted

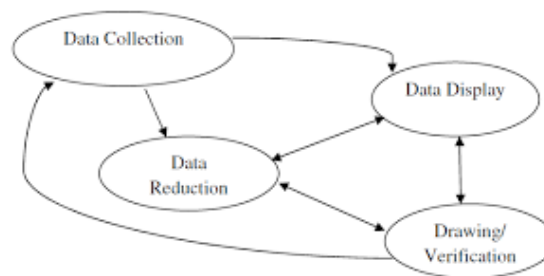
by [Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña \(2014\)](#), descriptive research is a method for making observations in which indicators are answers to questions given orally or in writing and provide an overview of the object and subject of the study ([Miles et al., 2014](#)).

This study aims to get clearer, complete information and make it possible and easy for researchers to conduct observational studies. Therefore the author determined the location of the study is the place where the researchers conducted in this case the research location is located in the residence of Burhan Zainuddin Rusjiman brontokusuman village, Mergangsan subdistrict, Yogyakarta, and the house secretary of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta city and its members jipangan area, Bangunjiwo, Kasihan Bantul subdistrict, Yogyakarta.

The type of data needed in this study is divided into two, namely, primary data sources of results obtained directly from the research object. Therefore the primary data is the result obtained directly ([Miles et al., 2014](#)). The primary data source in this study is the result of an interview with the founder of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta city and general secretary and members of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta city. after that, the secondary data of this study as supporting data to complete the results of the study as a data source that can provide additional information or data to strengthen primary data ([Miles et al., 2014](#)). The secondary data sources in this study are drawn from previous writings on the strategy of resistance to communism and anti-communism discourse.

To find out the data and information needed in this study, researchers use tools to collect the following data: interviews are intended to obtain data orally and directly from information and studies to collect data sources through media or previous research. Research data obtained through interviews and studies literature, according to the type of research above, this research data analysis technique uses an interactive model from Miles to analyze the research results.

**Figure 1.** Interactive Model Data Analysis Component



Source: [Miles et al. \(2014\)](#).

The component of interactive model data analysis in this study, namely the reduction of data obtained by researchers in the field in interviews, will be reduced by summarizing choosing to focus on things that are by the purpose of the study, at this stage of data reduction researchers make concepts from field records. After the presentation of the data that has been presented in the form of interview text, the field text is given a sign of organizing the data so that researchers can analyze the data effectively, each data in the analysis in the form of reflections and presented in the form of writing (text). The final part of interactive qualitative data analysis is withdrawal from verification. Researchers make conclusions supported by very strong evidence at the data collection stage ([Miles et al., 2014](#)).

## Results and Discussion

### Front Anti Communist Indonesia Yogyakarta City

The Anti-Communist Front of Indonesia Yogyakarta anti-communist organization located in The Territory of Indonesia as the majority of the military wing of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) and the Police of the Republic of Indonesia based from its organizational ideology on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, Burhanudin alias Burhan Kampak as the founder of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta city which tells the history of the establishment of the Anti-Communist Front of Indonesia Yogyakarta City as

follows:

“The Anti-Communist Front of Indonesia Yogyakarta city stated that its organization has the right and obligation to defend the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia from a threat, interference in various forms of movement, and communism Neo-Communism in Indonesia. The history of the formation of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front in large areas of Java island, especially the city of Yogyakarta, a few months after the eruption of the failed 30 September Movement / PKI coup until finally, the group fought for truth and justice based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, breaking down dictatorships and political abuses that led to communism.” (Interview, 2021).

The Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City stood on the basis of resistance to communism in 1965 - 1966 which in that year also had an impact in the city of Yogyakarta, what was conveyed back from members of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta City:

The history of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City stands to stem all the beliefs that violate Pancasila, one of which is communism, the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City stands on Ikhtiar one point when the people of Yogyakarta in military circles were first formed and led by Mr. Burhannduin known as Burhan Kampak. The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front stood based on implementing the 1945 Constitution, which explained that the understanding of violating Pancasila should be prohibited, in anticipation of the movement starting FAKI stood, FAKI stood in 1965 involved greatly to anticipate communism in Yogyakarta because at that time Yogyakarta was generally a lot of PKI sympathizers. The situation in 1965 FAKI must exist, even FAKI itself entered the University - University. FAKI in 1965 - 1966 is still unstructured because it is still military-based, even FAKI partners and the military, where FAKI activities at that time directly execute and have a strong military base can directly execute PKI people (Interview, 2021).

## **Resistance Strategy**

In this section, the data presented based on the results of primary and secondary data research, the results of this research data were conducted to look for data on how the anti-Communist Resistance strategy of Indonesia Yogyakarta City in anticipation of the development of communism movement. In the perspective of the strategy organization of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City in maintaining the basis of the Indonesian State of Pancasila, from the understanding or movement of communism by organizing a demonstration that is often carried out by the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City, in recent months there have been frequent rallies to ward off movements and communism. Basically the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front in carrying out a strategy of resistance against communists is always different from time to time, how explained by members of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta City:

From the days of the Old Order, the New Order to the present Reform every condition is different, the current strategy of resistance, pseudo and abstract but real, one of the strategies of resistance to communism is that we suppress the belief of FAKI in the State of Pancasila, FAKI does not adhere to secular, liberal, pluralism. FAKI also has a strategy to be present in the midst of society and the flow of information and communication and dokrinal efforts to the community in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. FAKI will also block directly if there are people who are open in spreading communism. (Interview, 2021).

The resistance of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City to the understanding of the movement of communists remains through several series of holding mass action for communist Ganyang, the action of Ganyang PKI at Point Zero Kilometer Yogyakarta led by the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front (FAKI) Yogyakarta City along with dozens of elements which are members of the United Jogja Alliance. Monday's action was held to show the pro-communists that it will maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia by maintaining the State Direction and Pancasila Ideology. The action period declared that the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) had been dissolved organizationally but still believed communism and its supporters existed. The action was also a form of rejection of the Pancasila Ideological Direction Bill ([CNN Indonesia, 2020](#)).

Several Community Organizations that joined the rally, such as PAKSI Kato, Islamic Jihad Front, Barisan

Bela Negara to The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta city that led the action, those who expressed aspirations to reject the Pancasila Ideological Direction Bill, which is considered to have the potential of returning communism in Indonesia. The action departs from ignorance in the current conditions similar to 1965, where the government and society seem apathetic or silent with the condition and status of the communist revival (Harminanto, 2020).

The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City also collaborated with community organizations throughout the Yogyakarta Special Region by holding an action to convey aspirations and hearings at the Yogyakarta Special Region DPRD Office, community organizations incorporated in it are the Indonesian Youth Brigade (BMI), Pancasila Youth (PP), Paksi Katon, The Communication Forum of Putra Putri Purnawirawan Indonesia (FKPPI). In the protest against the symbolic emergence of the Indonesian Communist Party in the middle of society, some community organizations, including the Anti-Communist Front of Indonesia, carried out a dramatic action by stepping on the flag of the Indonesian Communist Party with a sickle hammer.

The statement of attitude of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City and other community organizations demanded the government restore the 1945 Basic Shrimp law as its original form. In organizing the action that the action on May 23, 2020, was the communist's birthday. At the end of the action, the first response of the Council that strongly agrees with this action is about anti-communist ideology contrary to the teachings of Pancasila and Religion, then sent to the center of the DPR RI about the action of the organization in Yogyakarta which held an anti-PKI revival movement institutionally (Narto, 2020). The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City has always used the means of protests to eradicate the communist movement, the founder of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City said:

Communist rejection actions that are often carried out to get support from the public, in this day and age with the information media, can use as information material to counteract communist understanding or movements, from every protest our rejection requires the existence of media (press) which includes our strategic action in countering communist understanding and movement, the advancement of information and communication technology must also be utilized as well as possible and remain in good standing. a similar inter-fellow society and the government, even community organizations that vehemently reject communists (Interview, 2021).

Burhanuddin also explained that the annual auction that is always routinely carried out is the Indonesian national day, Pancasila day which is commemorated every October 1 in accordance with Presidential Decree No. 153 1967, which occurred after the September 30 Movement event known as G30S/PKI, then the effort was:

All elements of community organizations that are fairly The Volunteer Organization Communication Forum followed by the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City held a peaceful mass rally followed by dozens of community organizations in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The annual auction is a statement of attitude from all community organizations to eradicate communism, radicalism, and separatism, which essentially solves the Kesatuan Republic of Indonesia, in the hope that the annual action of the people can be more concerned and understand the dangers of communism or other understandings that are contrary to Pancasila (Interview, 2021).

Before commemorating pancasila day, the annual activity that is routinely carried out is to watch with the film Movement of September 30 or known as G30S/PKI film directed by Arifin C. Noer. Burhannudin aka Burhan Kampak as the founder of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City also explained about the screening of the film Movement 30 September G30S/PKI:

G30S PKI films are usually aired every year. At this screening, we collaborate with the Indonesian National Army (TNI) ranks to watch this G30S PKI film, and we always invite openly the general public who want to watch. The activity of watching together with this reason to provide knowledge about communism that was once a bad record in The history of Indonesia, through watching together the film G30S PKI aims to educate the nation by providing knowledge, so that the younger generation is aware of the dangers of communist understanding, which is expected through the film later the sense of patriotism and nationalism love the homeland, unity, and

unity will continue to grow for all circles, especially for greasy-the younger generation (Interview, 2021).

According to members of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front, Yogyakarta City says it always conducts surveillance on discussions that smell communist (left) that can damage nationalism:

The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front has a program that oversees directly or acts directly into the study of discussions on Marxism/Leninism/Maoism/PKI. Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta City, we always keep an eye on discussions - discussions that can spread communist understanding in the city of Yogyakarta, how to supervise the discussion FAKI members call the discussion representative to be asked questions about the discussion event (Interview, 2021).

Member of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta City also collaborates with the community and works with competent law enforcement authorities, in anticipation of the development of communism and FAKI also socializes verbally about how the criteria of communism to the community, as explained by members of FAKI Yogyakarta City:

Collaborating with the community is very necessary for both individuals and groups, because collaborating with the community so that communists do not develop rapidly therefore collaborating with our community is needed. The Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City socialized the criteria of communism orally to the public so as not to develop communist understanding, there are criteria - criteria of communist understanding that always wants to change the Indonesian state system, eliminate the basis of the State of Indonesia (Pancasila), counter to belief, and the Anti-Communist Front of Indonesia Yogyakarta City can not act anything - what without the help of the authorities, Front Anti Komunis Indonesia Kota Yogyakarta cooperates with police and army officers (Interview, 2021).

In order to prevent the rise of communism, the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City declared: First, discipleship Re-understanding Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian state that is not implemented by the government, but with a conscious community movement by showing religious, social and cultural values. Second, enhance cooperation between government agencies, community organizations and governments through morality and propesionality in the elements of service and justice. Third, revisiting the history of the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement and the March Eleven Warrant.

Fourth, approaches with religious figures and educators accompanied by efforts on the development of the ideology of communism, vigilance against the development of communism. Fifth, disseminate information about the communist movement that can damage the life of the nation and state. Sixth, preventing alleged violations of human rights, therefore to the perpetrators of communist movements, carried out by legal action consistently accompanied by disseminating to the national and international community. Also prevent human rights violations in the academic field about communism, therefore there are institutions that are responsible.

Communism which is currently also utilizing the space for freedom of expression reform such as ex-communist groups or supporters, is currently still carrying out activities to reflect and realize the goals of the struggle and political agenda until the future. This reform momentum that has rolled since the 20s in Indonesia has contributed to the very large "entrance" of the rise of communism in Indonesia. This cannot be dispossessed if many religious figures still establish communism is a national threat to Indonesia.

One of the Indonesian people concerned about human rights enforcement, Indonesia in the Netherlands, issued a statement related to the case of the dissolution of the PKI youth meeting in Yogyakarta conducted by the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front. So one of the mistakes alleged to the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta is to have violated human rights. The target of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front resistance of Yogyakarta City is an understanding that will one day threaten Indonesian statehood, in this reform era is indeed a new era of ideas about understanding such as communists, liberalists, secularists where their movement space is very closed, especially associated with the nation, facing communism requires careful preparation in every field, especially equality in maintaining the basis of the Indonesian state Pancasila. Factors that support the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City in anticipation of the development of communism and movement:

**Table 1. Supporting Factors**

Internal Factors	External Factors
Access to a strategic location is the city of Yogyakarta	There is community participation in the policy of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City
Have adequate human resources (mass)	There is support and assistance from the government and authorities
Easy access to all media in search of communist issues	

Behind the supporting factors, there are also factors that hinder in anticipating the development of communist ideology and movement. External factors that inhibit performance movement described and criticized by members of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City are:

The obstacle to the movement of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta city is a lower movement that takes refuge from the government, so that the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front cannot map and cannot conclude that people and organizations are communist or not, because it is as if the communist movement has now entered the realm of the government, meaning that when the FAKI conducts opinion publish campaigning anti-communist in the media or video content against communists, Suddenly it will disappear, so the FAKI database in the media can be controlled, the picture of the news - media news that FAKI spread it will be erased by itself. The weakness of FAKI is data - data that the government weakens. The third obstacle is that the government maintains distance from FAKI, such as formal activities to remember the services of the hero are not allowed, and the government only has a cautious attitude towards FAKI. (Interview, 2021).

**Table 2. Inhibition Factors**

Internal Factors	External Factors
Still lacking in funding	The government has not been able to provide assistance
Not maximal in the presence of stewardship	The media is controlled by the government
Lack of youth in management	

From the external inhibition factors of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front, the most important problem that is currently the performance of the Anti-Communist Front of Indonesia will be used as several points, namely. That whatever it is the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front, Yogyakarta City still views the government as a legitimate government, FAKI does not want to carry out makar activities, so that the current government should be protected and must be maintained, but when the government is eroding, the government must accept criticism. Because the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City still needs performance from the government.

### Anti-Communism Discourse

The communist understanding that emerged in Europe was one of the reaction responses to conditions and situations in people's lives. As for the terminology in the social sciences, the ideology of communism is interpreted as an anthology of Marxist doctrine ideology in the form of criticism of capitalism and liberal theory by seeking change (revolution) that will later create a new society, namely communist society (Wicaksono, 2020). Many changes (revolutions) from the communists who made bloodshed to achieve the communist state. As the Cambodian state led by Pol Pot was a Maoist ideology in Cambodia during his four years in power, Pol Pot organized the Khmer Rouge to live out the radical communist revolution by removing Western influence in Cambodia and forming an Agrarian society (Nadira, 2021).

Next was the mass destruction by the regimes of Lenin's Bolsheviks and Stalin's Soviet Union, where Lenin's leadership crushed important Russian figures opposed to the communist regime, the change of

power by Stalin's Communist regime which sought to eliminate Bolshevik influence from Lenin's Communist government by rioting and arresting and eliminating the Bolsheviks (Nugroho, 2014).

The mass killings of the Communists were the People's Republic of China led by the Chinese Communist Party regime led by Mao Zedong, initially eliminating traditional Chinese values such as Lao Tzu, Taoism, and Confucianism, with three stages: cleansing, planning, and assassination. The story of the communists was also responded to by the founder of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta city:

On the other hand we also reflect on the cruelty of the Indonesian communists who want to take power, in essence I see the history of the communist world to the Communists of Indonesia, what they want (change) by changing the system to bloodshed. It is necessary to know that communists have a side, the side in question is the Political side and the Religious side that is not suitable to be applied in Indonesia (Interview, 2021).

In Indonesia the Indonesian Communist Party has its own distinctive political game, the Party that was once the largest party captivated many small Indonesian people in 1955, in 1955 the idea of communism began to rise as Burhan Kampak said during the Old Order:

In 1955, in the first democratic elections, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was in the top four winners of the general election, after which the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) developed very quickly. Its proximity to the ruler and its promises that are captivated by the small people especially with the evenly land-blocking make the Indonesian Communist Party the life-saver of the small people and the lives of small farmers. Because the Indonesian Communist Party promises, if it has taken control of the country, workers are no longer jobs but become owners of the factory itself, the word attracted the small community (Interview, 2021).

Looking at the Political side or known as the 30 September 1965 Movement is a political power struggle between the Army and the PKI, where the PKI was once the largest in Indonesia number four, the first the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI), the second Masyumi Party, the third Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) which happened to be very close to the power of President Sukarno even Sukarno had a position of political flow that shifted to the left that was Make the PNI becomes Broken, namely the PNI that is pro to the communists and the PNI that is counter to the communists. By 1963 Sukarno's health had declined, and Sukarno's life would not belong. That's why the Indonesian Communist Party rushed to pursue power with competitors from the PKI, as the political force was the Army. Burhan Kampak's views on the historicity of communist politics in Indonesia are:

In the power struggle, my words about the Indonesian Communist Party is the goal of justifying various ways to achieve the desire for power (Politics), the goal of justifying all means, namely bloodshed from 1926, 1948, and 1965 and that greatly facilitates their work, I estimate that communist teachings are not appropriate even dangerous, because it is not a consensus that violates Pancasila, even knows only one party (Single Party) policy that is only in the Decide your party. (Interview, 2021). As for the tactics or threats that the communists had carried out after the Madiun 1948 event in the form of strikes, secret instructions, provocations, and counter-nationalist, and even anti-religious attitudes (Interview, 2021).

An example of research from Galih Agung Wicaksono (2020) explains that the Indonesian Communist Party in Yogyakarta itself tries to instill its strength among the government and various agencies. They succeeded in influencing several TNI officials, namely Kodam VII / Diponegoro. Kodam / Diponegoro TNI officials who have been affected by the PKI include Colonel Sahirman (Assistant I Kas Dam VII Diponegoro), Colonel Marjono (Assistant III Kas Dam VII Diponegoro), Lieutenant Colonel Idris (73rd Regimental Treasury), Lieutenant Colonel Usman (Assistant VI Kas Dam VII Diponegoro), Major Suherman (Assistant V Kas Dam VII Diponegoro), Major Karsidi (Deputy Assistant II Kas Dam VII Diponegoro) and so on. They acted as part of the PKI's betrayal in Central Java and the Yogyakarta special region (Wicaksono, 2020).

History records, when Indonesia was fighting Dutch colonialism in 1948, the PKI staged an uprising coup in Madiun East Java to form the government of the Soviet Republic of Indonesia in sheep fighting and violence even many victims were killed. In 1965 the PKI returned to action that claimed the legitimate government by killing six generals and one officer. The Indonesian Communist Party recorded in history has several times carried out rebellions in Indonesia before independence or after independence, and it

can be said that the Indonesian Communist Party in Indonesia has a political tradition of power struggles. The originator of the communist Karl Marx was relentless - ceaselessly hostile to religion and its activities and religious institutions through speeches or his writings, but Marx himself neither initiated nor advocated tactics designed to destroy religion forcibly. However, by embedding a statement to destroy religion forcibly.

Furthermore, Marx had no religious doctrine from any source - regarded as true, Marx often argued that religion was epiphenomenal, stating that the phenomenon of the mind is produced by physical processes taking place in the brain that both are the result of a concurrent cause, to the effect that the mind and feelings causing physical effects can be regarded as illusions. Marx also argued that objects of religious belief serve as external objects for humans who exercise control over religion as an ideology and therefore confuses and controls its producers and developers (Rachmawati, 2020).

The ideological, political, social, and economic context of communism is very contrary to the principles of Pancasila values consistent with its historical method of materialism. Communists view religion as a result of the history of human development. Based on historical materialism, the beginnings of religion were designed by humans as institutions that contain all aspects of goodness, beauty, justice to maintain the balance of man and nature (Rosser, 2007). Communists view religion as a human creation. Religion is an imaginary world. Some of the thoughts and doctrines of communism's teachings on religion: First, communists consider that religious scriptures were compiled during the reign and have undergone several changes. Second, religious acts have no value at all other than material efforts and business productivity. Third, it is believed that there is no reward for deeds in the Hereafter except in the world. Fourth, reject idealism.

The study of some of the ideological doctrines of communism is anti-religion, and ever seen by them in a country they can enter and master. Sometimes unconsciously, many humans who adhere to it even apply it in everyday life. Communism has a very heinous problem with theology. It not only causes distrust of God, it even causes them to be anti-God, anti-Religion, and even aggressive towards religious groups. Founder of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City shouted at the existence of the PKI, Burhanuddin said:

The party with the hammer and sickle symbol is contrary to religion, especially Islam, believing in Allah. PKI who are contrary to their religion must be anti-God, while all religions must be godly. Communists are enemies of every religion. For example, PKI members sacrificed various ways so that their political goals were great in the Old Order era and even achieved power in various ways. If it is anti-God must be anti-humanity, history has mentioned various ways the PKI does not blame shedding blood with the problem of them justifying all means, even PKI political games also do infiltrate various elements of the government, in the ranks of the army, police, bureaucracy, and politicians. (Interview, 2021).

To achieve such a materialist communist society by taking all means that ignore the values of religion and decency. Another feature of communist teachings is an attempt to spread hatred and hostility towards those of different views.

Therefore, communism, based on the belief in historical materialism, views spiritual problems as the effect of material conditions, including the economy of communism, does not focus on matters of spiritual development, including the moral development of godly people. So from the analysis of the interview, the ideology of communism does not believe in God; religion is forbidden to stand and smooth all means for power; therefore, communists also consider religion as a way of inhibiting the political movement of communism.

This view of life is certainly very contrary to life in the majority of Indonesia. Because communism is not appropriate to live in the State of Indonesia, which recognizes the existence of a religion where what has been stated in the first Pancasila is the "Supreme Divinity," the theoretical aspects and ideas of communists that are viewed from the theoretical historical materialism have been so widely refuted by and proven the error of life is believed to be advanced if the material, the material is everything. We also always research as a society against the PKI is atheist, the explanation of the Founder of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta City Burhan Kampak, who lived following politics in the Old Order era explained:

Actually, the members of the Indonesian Communist Party are also religious and the majority of their religion is also Islam, which being an anti-religion communist is where they do everything, if you look at the history of the PKI always use violence to seize power, such as the habits in Jakarta the high-ranking army officers were targeted and in Yogyakarta also the heinous murder of Colonel Sugiyono and Colonel Katamso (Interview, 2021).

When compared to the above explanation is very contrary to religious teachings. The majority of Indonesians are religious by the prevailing humanity. Those of us who know God still do not violate the rules. We know their opposition is very authoritarian, and the party is very powerful. We feel democracy and deliberation while the PKI is authoritarian. Likewise, the concepts of communist justice and Pancasila justice are different. They are equally equal in taste, while fair in Pancasila is to put something in its place to understand the conditions and situations in a region. All over the world, communists have not gained many places anymore, and their teachings are no longer practiced.

Although there is officially a tap MPRS rule Number XXV/MPRS/1966 on the Prohibition of The Teachings of Communism/Marxism which contents the Dissolution of the Communist Party of Indonesia, The Statement as a Prohibited Organization In all Regions of the Republic of Indonesia for the Communist Party of Indonesia and Prohibition of Any Activities to Spread or understand the teachings of communist/Marxism-Leninism. The explanation of TAP MPRS/XXV/1966 that the understanding or teachings of Marxism related to the basics and tactics of struggle taught by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong contain elements of dictatorship that oppose the philosophy of Pancasila. Communism embraced by the Indonesian Communist Party in Indonesia's political life has been proven to create Bata and a situation that endangers the survival of the Indonesian nation that memorizes Indonesia. Based on these considerations, it is natural for the Indonesian Communist Party and activities to develop and spread the understanding or teachings of Communism/Marxism (Munthe, 2015).

At the time of continuity, indeed the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) institutionally and structurally no longer exists with officially there is a tap MPRS rule Number XXV/MPRS/1966, after the collapse of the New Order, the era of the Reform Era of freedom has been used by communists or sympathizers to revive the teachings of communism, what is explained from Burhan Kampak is:

Although the Indonesian Communist Party and its ideology are also prohibited, inevitably we still believe that the ideology of communism still exists today, by using a new style of politics to enter infiltration and seize strategic positions both in state institutions, organizations, and mass media, the communist statement that is visible in the mass media is not to mix religion with politics, Banging religion with Nusantara culture dropped anything related to symbolic religion, anti-Bhineka and anti-Pancasila (Interview, 2021).

On some existing rules and laws that communists remain a latent danger. It means that communists must exist in various forms. In essence, communism is not common because it is an ideology. Communism will never die because an ideology will never die briefly can be said as the Latent Danger of Communists will always remain. Communism only participates as a hiding actor using movements of other groups or parties against the government, developing anarchism, destructive, and mass riots. The characteristics of the new communist movement, especially those that are radically revolutionary and justify as a way of also adjusting to the various organizations it entered. The existence of communist revival with various configurations and variations can be in real physical form and can immediately be physical and non-physical (underground and visible movement). Many issues that the communist movement has utilized (underbow) underground communist movement in protest, actions that are spread by doing several activities such as:

**Table 3.** Ground Communist Movement in Protest

Movement Form
Creating a revolution
Uncovering the ugliness of the New Order regime
Revolution is the violence of reform that is ready to die to carry out the struggle of the people not afraid to face all forms of violence
Unplug TAP MPRS/XXV/1966
Always protest dual function ABRI
History is not played by the interests of the owner of history

For countries that have developed, maybe political ideology is not a problem to be considered, different from the Indonesian state, which is a problem and questioned by the nation. By understanding various aspects of the political game character of the PKI in the past, it takes a level of public sensitivity to the dangers of communists in Indonesia. In Indonesia, related to the symbols of sickle, hammers should still be banned. Some authorities, especially in-police against communism, are still very excessive. This communist language should not be considered trivial. The current situation is still quite concerning for the Indonesian nation because it lacks insight into nationality or nationalism. Therefore the statement from members of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front Yogyakarta:

Currently, Pancasila as a view of the life of the Indonesian nation is rarely implemented, more miserable not religious, so the love of the younger generation today, especially students towards Pancasila, continues to fade. The more latent danger of invisible communists who still want to destroy Pancasila in 1965 should not happen again in Indonesia. We still have to be vigilant children - latent communist children who do not grow up in Indonesia will only realize a danger to threaten the Indonesian state (Interview, 2021).

The thing that must always be reminded is the awareness to “Bhineka Tunggal Ika” to prevent communist teachings to Indonesia because what must be emphasized Indonesia already has Pancasila as the basis of the state. In this case, the government and society must be consistent in supervising and limiting the emergence of the movement of communism by planting the values of nationalism in the community, especially in Indonesian educational and youth institutions. Not forgetting also involves religious figures, community leaders to provide coaching to every community alert to communism.

We don't want the barbarity of the PKI to be repeated. Moral obligations must enjoy our lost brothers and sisters enamored with the communist ideology that currently has propaganda - PKI propaganda of a new style. Especially to the public, scholars, academics, and culturalists have seen various forms of hypocrisy during the current reform era. An ideological war is inevitable. Therefore we consciously face the philosophy of the Pancasila state.

## Conclusion

Based on the analysis of problems with data obtained from the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City, researchers concluded that the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City in anticipation of the development of communism, the author analyzed the data that the author had obtained in the field can be concluded that the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City in opposing the movement of communism. In the perception of FAKI Yogyakarta City by holding rallies and even rallies always collaborate with other nationalism community organizations such as Pancasila Youth, Kak'bah Youth Movement, and Paksi Katon Yogyakarta, FAKI Yogyakarta also always holds annual events that commemorate Pancasila Day by watching together G30S/PKI films to grow the nation's knowledge, especially the younger generation, the next strategy is to oversee discussions - A discussion that smells communist. The factor that inhibits FAKI in carrying out activities is that communism is currently invisible. The second obstacle is regarding information and communication media limited by the Government. The last obstacle on the part of the Government is avoiding the existence of FAKI.

The discourse of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta City given the political discourse of communism in the power struggle, my words about the Indonesian Communist Party, is to have the goal of justifying various areas to achieve the desire for power (politics), the goal of justifying all means, namely the bloodshed of 1926, 1948 and 1965 and that greatly facilitates their work. The policies determined by his party are not deliberative using one party (Single Party). The discourse of the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front of Yogyakarta city views communist social viewpoints and beliefs consistent with its historical methods. Communists view religion as a result of the history of human development. Based on historical materialism, the beginning of religion was designed by man as an institution containing all aspects of goodness, beauty, justice, and the realm of Communists viewing religion as a human creation. Religion is an imaginary world. Communism, which has a very heinous problem with theology, causes distrust of God and even causes them to be anti-God, anti-Religion, and even aggressive towards religious groups. But part of the Indonesian Communist Party cadre is Islamic, so what the Indonesian Anti-Communist Front says does not represent a diverse reality about PKI and communism.

## References

- Andira. (2020). Front Anti Komunis Jawa Timur Menolak RUU HIP. Retrieved June 2, 2021, from suarakarya.id website: <https://www.suarakarya.id/detail/112724/Front-Anti-Komunis-Jawa-Timur-Menolak-RUU-HIP>
- BBCnews. (2017). Polisi dan Ormas Cegah Seminar 1965 di LBH Jakarta. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from BBC News Indonesia website: <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-41290897>
- Budiawan. (2004). *Mematah Pewarisan Ingatan Wacana Anti-Komunis dan Politik Rekonsiliasi Pasca Soeharto*. Jakarta: ELSAM - Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat.
- CNN Indonesia. (2020). Puluhan Orang Gelar Aksi Ganyang PKI di Titik Nol Yogyakarta. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from CNN Indonesia website: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200706161658-20-521451/puluhan-orang-gelar-aksi-ganyang-pki-di-titik-nol-yogyakarta>
- Goodfellow, R. W. (2003). *Sing Wis, Ya Wis: what is past is past. Forgetting what it was to remember the Indonesian killings of 1965* (University of Wollongong). University of Wollongong. Retrieved from <https://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2425&context=theses>
- Hardiman, F. B. (2009). *Demokrasi Deliberatif: Menimbang "Negara Hukum" dan "Ruang Publik " dalam Teori Khusus Diskursus Jurgen Habermas*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Harminanto. (2020). Ormas di Yogya Kembali Aksi, Minta RUU HIP Dibatalkan. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from <https://www.krjogja.com/berita-lokal/diy/yogyakarta/ormas-di-yogya-kembali-aksi-minta-ruu-hip-dibatalkan/>
- Kusuma, D. (2010). *Strategi Dakwah Front Pembela Islam dalam Menanggulangi Dampak Negatif Globalisasi* (Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah). Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah. Retrieved from [https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/bitstream/123456789/21466/1/DODIANA\\_KUSUMA-FDK.pdf](https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/bitstream/123456789/21466/1/DODIANA_KUSUMA-FDK.pdf)
- Kusumadewi, A. (2013). Alasan Front Anti-Komunis Bubarkan Diskusi di Yogya. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from viva.co.id website: <https://www.viva.co.id/arsip/454317-alasan-front-anti-komunis-bubarkan-diskusi-di-yogya>
- Masridwan. (2019). *Strategi Dakwah Majelis Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama Dalam Menanggulangi Paham Radikal Di Kecamatan Curahdami Kabupaten Bondowoso*. Institut Agama Islam Negeri Jember.
- McCarthy, T. (1994). Kantian Constructivism and Reconstructivism: Rawls and Habermas in Dialogue. *Ethics*, 105(1), 44-63. <https://doi.org/10.1086/293678>
- McGregor, K. E. (2002). Commemoration of 1 October, Hari Kesaktian Pancasila: A Post-Mortem Analysis? *Asian Studies Review*, 26(1), 39-72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357820208713330>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Edition 3). Los Angeles: Arizona State University.
- Munthe, A. P. (2015). *Pemberlakuan Ketetapan MPRS No XXV Tahun 1966 Dalam Kerangka Undang-undang No 12 Tahun 2005 Tentang Pengesahan Kovenan Internasional Tentang Hak-hak Sipil dan Politik Berdasarkan Undang-undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia*. Universitas Jember.
- Nadira, F. (2021). Sejarah Hari Ini: Rezim Khmer Merah Digulingkan. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from republika.co.id website: <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/qmjecl459/sejarah-hari-ini-rezim-khmer-merah-digulingkan>
- Narto. (2020). Aksi Ormas di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Menentang Bangkitnya Komunis. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from Buser Online News website: <https://buseronlinenews.com/2020/05/20/aksi-ormas-di-daerah-istimewa-yogyakarta-menentang-bangkitnya-komunis/>
- Novianto, A., Kurniawan, L., & Wibawa, S. (2018). Dinamika Gerakan Partai Rakyat Demokratik (PRD) di Indonesia: Analisis Perspektif Pelopor dan Partai Kiri Luas. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 15(1), 31-48. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v15i1.731>
- Nugroho, R. Y. Y. (2014). Pemikiran Ekonomi Dari Lenin, Revolusioner, dan Kiri Baru Serta Relevansinya Di Indonesia Saat Ini. *Media Trend*, 9(1), 1-27. <https://doi.org/10.21107/mediatrend.v9i1.767>

- Prabowo, K. W. (2020). Sejumlah Ormas Serukan Ikrar Antikomunis. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from medcom.id website: <https://www.medcom.id/nasional/politik/Rb102JzN-sejumlah-ormas-serukan-ikrar-antikomunis>
- Rachmawati, F. (2020). Kritik terhadap Konsep Ideologi Komunisme Karl Marx. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia (JSaI)*, 1(1), 66-78. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jsai.v1i1.424>
- Rosser, A. (2007). Escaping the resource curse: The case of Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 37(1), 38-58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472330601104557>
- Sekhu, A. (2018). Pasca Reformasi, PKI Dapat Angin Baru dan Bangkit Lagi. Retrieved June 20, 2021, from Cendana News website: <https://www.cendananews.com/2018/09/pascareformasi-pki-dapat-angin-baru-dan-bangkit-lagi.html>
- Tarifa, F., & Weinstein, J. (1995). Overcoming the Past: De-Communization and Reconstruction of Post-Communist Societies. *Studies In Comparative International Development*, 30(4), 63-77. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02687160>
- Wicaksono, G. A. (2020). Gerakan Kiri di Yogyakarta Tahun 1950-1965. *Walasuji : Jurnal Sejarah Dan Budaya*, 11(2), 273-289. <https://doi.org/10.36869/wjsb.v11i2.151>
- Yando, A. P., Muradi, M., & Ali, Y. (2019). Strategi Organisasi Kepemudaan Sapma Pemuda Pancasila DKI Jakarta Dalam Kontra Radikalisme. *Peperangan Asimetrik*, 5(1), 65-80. Retrieved from <http://jurnalprodi.idu.ac.id/index.php/PA/article/view/369/347>