



**THE MOVEMENT OF STRUGGLING OF NEO-COMMUNISM RISING
IN POST-REFORM.**

(A Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia)

Ahmad Suhaimi

State Islamic University of North Sumatra, Indonesia

ahmadsuhaimi@gmail.com

Pagar

Professor at State Islamic University of North Sumatra, Indonesia

Prof.pagar@yahoo.com

***Abstract.** The trauma of the nation's children has not been able to recover from the betrayal many times for the same cause by the PKI. The events of Madiun in 1948, and G.30S PKI became monumental witnesses of the martyrdom of thousands of scholars and students of PKI's savagery, as well as the death of the nation's heroes because they were kidnapped, slaughtered, sliced and dragged into crocodile holes. The reform era, which tends to care about human rights, democratization, and freedom of thought, expression and opinion, has been misused for the growth and re-emergence of communism in Indonesia. Thus the research was proposed: "The Post-Reformation Neo-Communism Struggle Movement. (Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia). This research is specifically to discuss Neo-Communism and its relation to the possibility of a revival in Indonesia. The problem formulation is the movement for the struggle for the rise of Neo-Communism after Reformation in Indonesia, especially from the ideological aspects and the struggle movement. This type of research is qualitative and presented in descriptive exposures. Regional sample; North Sumatra, Aceh, DKI and West Java. Research findings; "Neo-Communism in Indonesia has emerged despite a small movement.*

Keywords; Neo-Communism, Movement, internalization, religion.

INTRODUCTION

History has recorded that where communism began to flourish there was a dark record of human tragedy. Communism has ruled in a number of countries such as the People's Republic of China (PRC), Myanmar and Russia, precisely so they have a black historical record of humanitarian tragedies and massacres. In essence communism coincided with a bloody tragedy.

Not so for communism in Indonesia. Before coming to power, the Indonesian Communist Party together with mass organizations and its undertow socio-political instruments were crushed in 1965, after the 'coup' which was deemed a failure. Following up, in 1966, the issuance of MPRS Decree Number XXV of 1966 concerning the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party, the statement of the PKI as a banned

organization in the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia, and the prohibition on spreading or developing the understanding or teachings of Indonesian communism / marxism-Leninism. Strictly speaking, communism is completely eroded to the roots of the Indonesian land.

During the New Order, PKI and communism were stigmatized negatively. Throughout 1966-1998, through various political and cultural strategies, the New Order regime carried out historical propaganda and memories of the PKI and the 30 September events to the detriment of the PKI, sympathizers, and their families politically and culturally (Hearman, 2013: 15; Pellegrini, 2012 ; Adam, 2008: 5; Heryanto, 2006).¹

In 1998, the Indonesian people no longer believed in an authoritarian-militaristic New Order. People who are members of the Civil Movement (Reform) are like a big storm that rolled away everything that hinders it, including the New Order, which is known to be quite resilient because it has been in power for 32 years (a very long measure for a regime). Real reform can also be interpreted as resistance to military hegemony, and the success of reform actually means civil victory over the military.²

After the reformation, especially after Gus Dur's open attitude, several times were called for rehabilitation of victims' rights in 1965. In 2003, Megawati Soekarnoputri who served as president was asked to issue a decision related to this matter. Discrimination is still a very difficult and felt as a vague form of violence for the families of victims of 1965 who were labeled communist. However, this appeal withers before it develops. There are many parties who oppose. One of them is Amien Rais, who rejected the plan with a very emotional statement. July 24, 2003, at the Nusantara III Building when receiving the Indonesian Patriot National Movement, Amien said that it was foolish for the Indonesian people to re-allow the spread of Communist / Marxism / Leninism teachings, after being proven to have twice committed betrayal, namely: the PKI rebellion in 1948 Madiun and betrayal ' G30S / PKI '. Cong Even a goat won't bang its head twice. If we have not been able to take lessons from these two historic events, we are more stupid than goats, 'he said at the time.³

¹ Parahita, Gilang. 2015. *Jurnalisme Retrospektif Majalah TEMPO Orde Baru & Reformasi*, Yogyakarta: UGM. P..1.

² Suparjo 2010, *Pertarungan Politik antara Kekuatan Militer, Islam, dan Nasionalis di Indonesia dalam Sosio-Religia*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Mei 2010, P. 1001-1003.

³ *Rakyat Merdeka*, 25 Juli 2003 dan <http://www.indoprogress.com /2013/08/kekerasan-pasca-1965-dan-proyek-pengkaburan-sejarah-formal/>.

**The Movement of Struggling of Neo-Communism Rising in post-reform.
(A Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia)**

DOI: 10.30575/2017/IJLRES-2019050810

LITERATURE REVIEW

Movement of Struggle

According to the Dictionary of Sociology (2010), social movements are a form of joint action aimed at social reorganization, both neatly organized and liquid and informal.⁴

Karl Marx described the history of humanity colored by struggles or battles between human groups. Marx himself acknowledged that the class struggle or revolution that was sparked did not begin as a class of society, but he functioned as a representative of society to express the demands and mutual benefits of all experts in society (McLellan 1977: 169).⁵ Class theory was initiated as a response to the perception of classical economists who characterize the capitalist system as eternal and continuous. Marx encouraged the realization of the awakening of consciousness and power possessed by the proletariat⁶

New Communism

After the reformation, the communist ideology has changed to a new left that tends to be socialist, but the movement has been replaced by the People's Democratic Party (PRD). The PRD is a form of existence of the PKI in addition to movements or underground groups that are supported by the International Communist Network (Komintern). ... Communism is a latent danger that needs to be watched out for because its movements do not exist such as extreme right groups or terrorist groups. They tend to move quietly or underground, by embracing the community, especially laborers and farmers through various advocacy, one of which relates to social issues such as land disputes.⁷

⁴ Abercrombie, Nicholas, ect. 2010. *Kamus Sosiologi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

⁵ Marx, Karl, 1977, *Selected Writing*, ed. David McLellan, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

⁶ Indriaty Ismail & Mohd Zuhaili Kamal *Karl Marx dan Konsep Perjuangan Kelas Sosial*, dalam *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, Vol. 1: (June) 2012, P. 27-32.

⁷<http://www.jurnalintelijen.net/2016/07/25/prd-dan-pergerakan-komunis-indonesia/>

Professor of the University of Indonesia, Prof. Salim Said, said Indonesia must be aware of the birth of the New Style Communism (KGB) movement. This movement will incorporate the values of communism into other movements without mentioning the name of the communists. Institutional communism in Indonesia has gone bankrupt. The PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) developed within an authoritarian not democratic regime.⁸

According to Antonio Gramsci, civil society is a world where people make changes and create history by first creating class awareness for them. (Fakih, 2004: 23).⁹

Marxist theorists tend to pay attention to movements that are revolutionary, while adherents to the theory of resource mobilization tend to study renewal movements. (Mirsal, 2006: 74)¹⁰

So, from the description above it can be defined that, neo-communism is a revolutionary movement of the values of communism into other movements, perhaps without mentioning the name of the communists themselves.

Ideology

The term ideology is used in various meanings. The term ideology is a word consisting of *ideo* and *logic*. The word *ideo* comes from the Greek *eidōs*, in Latin *idea*, which means "understanding," "idea," or "idea." The verb in Greek *oida* which means to know, to see intently. In Javanese we find the word *idep* with the meaning of know, see. The word "*logi*" comes from the Greek *logos*, which means "idea", "understanding", "word", and "science." So, etymologically it can be explained that ideology means "knowledge of ideas," science of ideas or teachings about basic understandings. Ideas can be interpreted as ideals that are permanent and must be achieved.¹¹

According to W.White, as quoted by Kansil (2005: 27), ideology is a matter of ideals regarding various political and economic problems of social philosophy that are

⁸ <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/14/10/01/ncrfd2-salim-said-waspadai-wajah-baru-komunisme>

⁹ Fakih, Mansoer, 2004. *Analisis Gender & Transformasi Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Belajar.

¹⁰ Mirsel, Robert. 2006. *Teori Pergerakan Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Resist Book.

¹¹ Gunawan Setiardi, 1993. *Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia Berdasarkan Ideologi Pancasila* Yogyakarta: Kanisius. P. 17.

**The Movement of Struggling of Neo-Communism Rising in post-reform.
(A Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia)**

DOI: 10.30575/2017/IJLRES-2019050810

often carried out for a systematic plan of ideals carried out by groups or layers of society.¹²

Thus it can be defined, ideology is political ideals that are carried out by groups or layers of society consciously, consistently, planned and systematically to be disseminated and guided.

METHODOLOGY

This type of research is a qualitative study, which is presented in the form of descriptive exposure, hence this research is called a qualitative descriptive study. Research in this form actually only intends to describe a situation or event. Moelong (2006: 11). He stated that, descriptive is the data collected in the form of words, pictures and not numbers, from this opinion explained descriptive research to obtain data that may come from manuscripts, interviews, field notes, photos, video tapes, personal documents, notes or memos and other official documents. In addition, the question that is often asked is why, what reasons and how they occur are always used by researchers. Thus the researcher will not view that something is already the way it is.

This research takes place in Indonesia, therefore Indonesia is stated as the population of the area to be studied. Considering the vast area of Indonesia, and in the framework of efficiency, this study is limited to 4 (four) provincial areas only as a sample, namely; North Sumatra, Aceh, DKI Jakarta and West Java. The determination of samples for these 2 (two) regions is understood as something representative. Medan as the region with the harshest culture, West Java as the region with the most delicate culture, Dki Jakarta as a multi-cultural region, and Aceh as the most Islamic and mono-cultural region.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Communism Ideology

The research findings say that, communist ideology still exists in Indonesia. 95 percent of the 20 respondents said that communist ideology still lodged in Indonesia. Both academics, practitioners, scholars and the public consider the communist ideology as an element that has not been eliminated from Indonesia. Although not by pointing out concrete evidence of the existence of these communist ideologies, in the journey of

¹² C.S.T Kansil, 2011. *Op.cit.* 27.

life they went through, and the experiences they felt, even the monitoring of the logic and senses that existed in them, concluded that communist ideology could certainly still exist in Indonesia. Communism has indeed been too long in this country, it has been engrained and rooted so it is really difficult to erode it.

Prof. DR. Arrafi`i Abduh, MA, Lecturer OF UIN Sultan Syarif Qasim Pekanbaru, said that the communist ideology was certain to exist in Indonesia. Communism as an idea will be the same as, Capitalist, Liberalist, Khilafah, and other ideologies still exist in Indonesia, all of that is part of the wealth of the nation's children for thinking and ideology, and that is in the head and in the heart of the nation's children. This is not a problem, and we must accept it as a trigger and trigger for us to be even stronger with the ideology of the Pancasila Negara Indonesia which is adopted today.

Syahrial Ams, SH., North Sumatra PWNU figure who was involved with the PKI in 1965-1966, said; The PKI physically disbanded, but PKI ideologically still existed, and its movement was hidden underground, and until now it is still a latent danger for the Indonesian people. The ideology of the PKI was the same as the black ant that walked on the black stone, and at night. The characteristics are; fighting sheep, agitation, slander, and like to play against people, if it is lively then the communist must have existed. Communists, still have a strong desire to be able to play their tricks in Indonesia.

Even though the PKI had been crushed at the hands of the New Order, which had been in power for 32 years in Indonesia, their ideology still could not be extinct at all. Prof. DR. Fahrudin Azmi, MA. said that Communist ideology certainly still existed in Indonesia. Although since March 12, 1966 the PKI had been officially disbanded by the New Order Officials, even now it was stated that the PKI still remained a forbidden party, but their ideology still resided in the recesses and hearts of the leaders. Ideally the PKI cannot be eradicated by relying on physical violence.

The PKI was officially disbanded from Indonesian soil. In accordance with the PKI ban issued by the New Order at the beginning of his power on March 12, 1966, when Suharto on behalf of President Sukarno officially dissolved the PKI, by issuing Presidential Decree (Kepres) Number 1/3/1966 regarding the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). From this moment on, the PKI had to leave Indonesia, because it had been declared the Forbidden Party in Indonesia.

Even though communism has been dissolved from Indonesia, ideologically or understandably, it is estimated that communism still exists. Prof. DR. Fahrudin Azmi

**The Movement of Struggling of Neo-Communism Rising in post-reform.
(A Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia)**

DOI: 10.30575/2017/IJLRES-2019050810

said that the dissolution of the PKI meant the dissolution of his party, while his ideology could not be dissolved, bearing in mind that ideology was in the hearts and minds of people. Whoever the person is, and in any way, that ideology cannot be destroyed easily, people may say "no", even though their heart is "yes", other people still do not understand what is in their hearts. Ideology is a patent for everyone to own it, and cannot be intervened, even disbanded by anyone, because it is hidden and hidden in the hearts of humanity. While an organization is a formal form of an association of people who have the same view of something, this is what the Government has dissolved. Communist ideology in Indonesia does not die. Thus, this ideology of communism can develop and re-exist in Indonesia.

Prof. DR. H. Abdullah Syah, MA., Chairman of the North Sumatra MUI said; Communist ideology really exists in Indonesia, and the mere existence of ideology does not matter. As with communist ideology, ideology cannot be separated from a person, and no one has the right to intervene. Its existence also does not need to be questioned, as long as it is only limited to ideology, it cannot be punished, and cannot be sanctioned, a false ideology can only be sanctioned if carried out in the form of an act. This is the same as the study of intentions in Islamic studies, so if there are only those who have bad intentions, then it has not sinned, yet if he is aware and determined not to do it anymore, he is actually rewarded. The problem of ideology is an abstract problem, and matters like this do not need to be taken care of and there are no legal consequences.

Regarding the allegation that the Communist ideology is developing in Indonesia, he said that it could happen, but should not accuse people of being communists. We must be good suspects (*huzn al-zhan*) to others. There may be people whom we suspect of being PKI, but we should not accuse them of this as long as there is no adequate supporting evidence. We may be suspicious because it is part of self-respect, but we cannot accuse directly.

Responding to the current election problems, Prof. DR. H. Abdullah Syah, MA., Reminded him not to spread PKI slander to bring down others. It must not slander anyone by accusing him of being a PKI, let alone to the point of accusing the PKI of accusing one another. Statements which accuse others of being PKI must have proof, and there is a process, as well as a place and competent parties against it. Neglecting this will make it slander.

In line with this, Prof. DR. Djafar Sidik, MA. Say; The PKI had been disbanded, but its offspring still felt the family of the PKI. Indeed they have never had a chance to rise, but if they are fellow children and descendants of the PKI meet 2 people, or 3 people, or 4, and so on, it is very possible they form the same feelings, then from this new community will be born of the PKI, and we have heard the expression of those who say "I am proud to be a PKI child". This is the seed of the birth of the PKI in Indonesia.

He continues again in his expression; This PKI descendant felt hurt to the Government of Indonesia. Previously, the massacre of the PKI was carried out on a large scale, every garden person was considered PKI, if not. Maybe they are not PKI, maybe they are just joining in, so they can get a big salary, then they are finished. His descendants say; before we were killed. It was this hurt that made them want to continue the struggle of their elders first.

What is certain is that Communism is in Indonesia. Now they have twisted in their cages, reforms still seem to wake them up, later they will rise up and move in clearer activities, whether the name is PKI, or others, it is not clear, they are certainly communists. This communist can show his appearance in a different form in order to achieve the desired goal.

The seeds of the PKI remained because they assumed the truth was in them. I heard firsthand the saying that; "The PKI was never wrong", meaning that the PKI was right, the PKI had never made a mistake, but suffered slaughter and extermination because it was first slandered by an Islamic group, said Prof. DR. Djafar Sidik, MA ... When this is heard by their children, grandchildren and descendants, it is very likely that they support and continue this very big. The influence of parental figures on children will have a very high exemplary value.

They easily remember this. They had heard from his father the sentence about their truth, then their father left and never returned home until now, the whisper of the truth was resumed by his mother, even their friends in the same boat whose parents were lost. With illustrations like this, the ideology of communs is still strong in society.

Killing ideology, including communist ideology, is not easy. Just as the possibility of growth, development and fertility, as well as the chances of death, ranging from thin, sick, and dying, eventually die, the communist ideology can take quite a long time in its dynamics. Thus we cannot see from its appearance alone.

**The Movement of Struggling of Neo-Communism Rising in post-reform.
(A Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia)**

DOI: 10.30575/2017/IJLRES-2019050810

However many PKI members were killed, their ideology did not necessarily die. There may be PKI members who escaped death by saving themselves, or some were not monitored so they were suspected to be not PKI members even though there were actually official members, or there were members whose names were not listed in the document, and so on, so that the person became a growing seed and the proliferation of communist ideologies. These opportunities might be possible.

Although all PKI members have been killed, their ideology is not certain. Their ideology may have been entrusted as a legacy in a safe place, for example, it has been well presented scattered everywhere, because it has been published in books, journals, majallah, etc., both elektronik and print, this will be a document life that will still hatch in time. Inheritance in this form will be the best inheritance that can still leave the ideology to the next generation, even though the heir is gone.

This child and descendant of the PKI could also be part of the successor to the ideology of his parents' communism. In the form of reality, the next generation, in the form of children and grandchildren of the PKI members, continues to be a large number in Indonesia today. Among them are many who have become academics, politicians, bureaucrats, business people, and ordinary people. They feel the same fate and continuity, because their parents were both slaughtered by the New Order, they have communicate between each other. Maybe they build a veiled communication related to the communist ideology that their parents adopted.

The informants of this study prove the solid existence of the communist ideology in Indonesia by examining the ideology with the reality of people's lives that exist today. These are as follows; Paling tidak ideologi komunis itu ada 2 (dua) macam, yaitu; Tidak suka agama, dan Ekonomi sosialis.

1. Dislike on Religion

This ideology of marxism has the teaching that "religion is opium", or "religion is opium", and this can make people drunk (unconscious), and things like this should be shunned. As such, communism is an ideology that negates religion in all its forms, and this is called atheist.

The ideology of Communism turned out to be contradictory to theological aspects. Communism as an ideological stream cannot coincide with religion, further

than that, the doctrines of communism lead people to hate, even tend to be hostile to religion. As an ideology and movement brought by Marx, he has described his aprior to religion, seen in his famous expression, he said: "Religion is the opium of the masses" (Religion is the opium of the people). The outburst of hatred towards adherents of this religion was also reflected in Lenin's attitude, after the revolution he confiscated property and discriminated against church and temple clerics, if they put up a fight then he did not hesitate to eradicate them because they were considered counter-revolutionary through Cheka forces.¹³ Likewise, Joseph Stalin, from the time he came to power, has banned religious activities in his country because he considers religion as a group that threatens the state from within. Mao Zedong banned all types of religious activities and beliefs because they were considered to be pro feudalism.¹⁴

2. Class and Economic Status

Among the ideologies of Communism is with regard to the elimination of class tyranny and economic status. In line with this, Poerwadarminta said that communism is an understanding or effort in the political field that intends to abolish individual property rights, equally and so on. This view is at the same time a class collapse between them.

The social economic principle is an economic principle that completely eliminates individual ownership rights from the community and is given to the state. Thus the state regulates, controls, and distributes the basic rights of the people.

This communist ideology will become more fertile in the weather which creates disparity. The more widespread poverty, the difficulty of getting justice, and the more gaping of inequality, become fertilizer which triggers the fertility of communism. In communist ideology, the gap between the social status of society will not occur, above the existing system of class equality and economic status.

Considering the vast fertile ground for the growth of communism idealism in Indonesia, it is estimated that communism idealism still exists in Indonesia. The poverty rate is still high, data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in March 2018, the number

¹³ V.I. Lenin, *Lenin Collected Works*, Volume 26, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1077), 258, 374-376, 511.

¹⁴ Muhamad Yakub Mubarak, judul, *Pondok Pesantren Ta'mirul Islam*, Surakarta, Universitas Darussalam Gontor, *Tsaqafah*, (Gontor: 2017, Vol 13, No 1), P. 47.

**The Movement of Struggling of Neo-Communism Rising in post-reform.
(A Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia)**

DOI: 10.30575/2017/IJLRES-2019050810

of poor people in Indonesia reaches 25.95 million people equivalent to 9.82 percent of Indonesia's population, justice is very difficult to obtain, and economic inequality is still quite high. In the cracks of citation now, as illustrated, the PKI ideology was housed.

The disparity given to the descendants of the PKI in the past also contributed to the strengthening of Communism in Indonesia. The closure of "PKI children" which then seeped into neglected human rights, because their status is different from other citizens, then they feel pressured and wronged, and this has made them become more grouped and together. In this place it is certain that the communist ideology has crystallized.

CONCLUSION

Although the PKI was officially dissolved by President Soeharto on March 12, 1966, communism cannot be eroded ideologically from Indonesia. Ideology is something abstract, and becomes part of thoughts and beliefs that are separated from humans. Therefore, ideology cannot be tried, even acted. The current reform era, in addition to its many benefits, but on the other hand has also been accused of encouraging the return of communism back to Indonesia. The research findings say that the communism movement has begun to proceed, although it is still at an early stage and is still quite simple, but the rise of communism raises vulnerability. The distinctive feature of the communism movement this time is its internalization as New Style Communism, namely the Indonesian Communist Movement which incorporates the values of communism into other movements without mentioning its name as communist, making it difficult to detect, because it has integrated with its ride. This communism's freedom to rise is due to the increasingly strengthened human rights (HAM), democratization, and freedom of opinion in this reform era. However, it is estimated that it is still very difficult for communism to continue its movement, due to Abri's continued strength, and the community's allergy which is still very strong, in connection with the black and bitter history of the past.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdul Mun'im DZ., *Benturan NU-PKI 1948-1965*, (Depok: Langgar Swadaya, 2014).

Abercrombie, Nicholas, ect. 2010. *Kamus Sosiologi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

- Adam Kupper & Jessica Kuper (Eds.), *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, (New York: Routledge, 2004)
- Alwi, Hasan, dkk. 2007. *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Anna N. Makhova-Gregg, "Leninisme, Komunisme, dan Maoisme", dalam John T. Ishiyama & Marijke Breuning (Eds.), *Ilmu Politik...*, 1071.
- Aritonang, Diro. *Runtuhnya Rezim dari pada Soeharto* (Jakarta: Pustaka Hidayah. 1999)
- AS. Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, (London: Oxford University 1995)
- Asian Financial Crisis: *When the World Started to Melt*. *EuroMoney*. Diakses tanggal 16 November 2015
- Asvi Warman Adam, *Beberapa Catatan Tentang Historiografi Gerakan 30 September 1965*, (<https://journals.openedition.org/archipel/604>)
- Bertell Ollman, *Alienation, Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971)
- Bryan Magee, *The Story of Philosophy*, (Yogyakarta: 2008, Penerbit Kanisius)
- C.S.T Kansil, 2011, *Sistem Pemerintahan Indonesia*, Jakarta: Penerbit Bumi Aksara.
- Donald M. Borchert (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Michigan: Thomson Gale & Macmillan Reference, 2006), 361-363.
- Elizabeth Chandra. (From Sensation to Oblivion: Boven Digoel in Sino-Malay Novels." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde*, 2013, Vol. 169, No. 2/3)
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, *"Democracy Against Capitalism Renewing Historical Materialism,"*(Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Erik van Re, *The Political Thought of Joseph Stalin*, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002)
- F Engels, "Preface by Frederick Engels to The Third German Edition, 1885", dalam Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, (New York: Socialist Labor of America, 2003)
- F M Suseno, *Pemikiran Karl Marx dari Sosialisme Utopis ke Perselisihan Revisionisme*, (Jakarta: 2001, PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama)
- Fakih, Mansoer, 2004. *Analisis Gender & Transformasi Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Belajar.
- _____, *Masyarakat Sipil Untuk Transformasi sosial, Pergolakan Ideologi LSM Indonesia*, Yogyakarta : Pustaka Pelajar, 1996.
- Firdaus Syam, *Pemikiran Politik Barat*, (Yogyakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2010), 279.
- Foster, 'Class' dalam John Eatwell, Murray Milgate & Peter Newman (ed.) *Marxian Economics*, (W.W. Norton & Company, 1990)
- Frederick Engels, "Principles of Communism", dalam Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Marx-Engels Collected Work*, Volume 6, (New York: International Publishers, 2004)
- _____, "Socialism Utopian and Scientific", dalam Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Marx-Engels Collected Work*, Volume 24
- George Thomas Kurian, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*, (2011, Withering Away of the State CQ Press. doi:10.4135/9781608712434. ISBN 9781933116440.
- Gunawan Setiardja, 1993. *Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia Berdasarkan Ideologi Pancasila* Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Hery J. Schmandt, *Filsafat Politik (A History of Political Philosophy)*, Terj. Ahmad Baidlowi, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009)

**The Movement of Struggling of Neo-Communism Rising in post-reform.
(A Study of Ideology and Struggle Movement in Indonesia)**

DOI: 10.30575/2017/IJLRES-2019050810

Idil Akbar, 2016. *Demokrasi dan Gerakan Sosial (Bagaimana Gerakan Mahasiswa Terhadap Dinamika Perubahan Sosial)*, Fisip Unpad dalam, *Jurnal Wacana Politik* (ISSN 2502-9185) Vol. 1, No. 2, Oktober 2016.

Idzam Fautanu, *Filsafat Politik*, (Jakarta: 2013, GP Press)

Indriaty Ismail & Mohd Zuhaili Kamal *Karl Marx dan Konsep Perjuangan Kelas Sosial*, dalam *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, Vol. 1: (June) 2012.

James S. Coleman, *Dasar-Dasar Teori Sosial*, (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2010

Jimly Asshiddiqie, dkk. 2004, dalam *Pengantar Redaksi*, *Jurnal Konstitusi*, Volume 1 Nomor 1, Juli 2004

Joyomartono, Mulyono dkk. 1990. *Jiwa, Semangat, dan Nilai-Nilai Perjuangan Bangsa Indonesia*. Semarang: IKIP Semarang Press.

K. Marx & F. Engels, *Marx-Engels on Religion*, (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1957).

_____, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977)

_____, *The Holy Family*, (University Press of the Pacific, 2002).

Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right", dalam David McLellan (Ed.), *Karl Marx Selected Writings*, (Oxford: 2000, Oxford University Press)

_____, "Critique of Gotha Program", dalam Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Marx-Engels Collected Work*, Volume 24, (New York: International Publishers, 2004)

_____, "Letter to O. Zapiski", dalam Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *MarxEngels Collected Works*, Volume 24.

_____, *Capital*, Volume 1, 3, (New York: International Publishers, 1959)

_____, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1959)

_____, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, T.Th.)

_____, 1977, *Selected Writing*, ed. David Mclellan, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Loren Bagus, *Kamus Filsafat*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005)

Michael D'amore & John T. Ishiyama, "Marxism", dalam John T. Ishiyama & Marijke Breuning (Eds.), *Ilmu Politik dalam Paradigma Abad Ke-21*, (Jakarta: 2013, Kencana, Jilid 2,)

Mirsel, Robert. 2006. *Teori Pergerakan Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Resist Book.

Muhamad Yakub Mubarak, judul, *Pondok Pesantren Ta'mirul Islam*, Surakarta, Universitas Darussalam Gontor, *Tsaqafah*, (Gontor: 2017, Vol 13, No 1)

Nikoli Bukharin, *The ABC of Communism*, (1920, Section 20, 21).

Novi Andrianthy. 2009. *Aktivisme Gemkara-BP3KB Dan Pengaruhnya dalam Mewujudkan Kabupaten Batubara*. Medan: Universitas Sumatera Utara.

Parahita, Gilang. 2015. *Jurnalisme Retrospektif Majalah TEMPO Orde Baru & Reformasi*, Yogyakarta: UGM.

Phil Gasper (ed.), *The Communist Manifesto A Road Map to History's Most Important Political Document*, (Haymarket Books, 2005)

Philip P. Wiener, 'Dictionary of the History of Ideas Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas,' (Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers, NY)

Poesponegoro, Marwati Djoened. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia VI* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka. 2010)

Preface dalam Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1904)

Raines, John. 2002. "Introduction". *Marx on Religion* (Marx, Karl). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Ralph Milliband, "Analisis Kelas", dalam Anthony Giddens & Jonathan Turner (Eds.), *Social Theory Today*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008)

Sekretaris Militer Presiden Mayjen Jasril Jakub dan ajudan Presiden. Ricklefs. M.C. *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004* (Jakarta: Serambi. 2007)

Suparjo 2010, *Pertarungan Politik antara Kekuatan Militer, Islam, dan Nasionalis di Indonesia dalam Sosio-Religia*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Mei 2010.

Syafie, Inu Kencana. 2001. *Pengantar Ilmu Pemerintahan*. Bandung: Refika Aditama.

Syarif Hidayat, 2015. *Bahaya Komunisme Gaya Baru*, (Makalah Narasumber) disampaikan pada JITU PP Pemuda Persis di Masjid PP Persis, Sabtu 7 Februari 2015/ 17 Rabi'ul-Tsaniy 1436 H.)

Thomas Kurian, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*, (2011, Withering Away of the State CQ Press.

Tom Bottomore (Ed.), *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001)

Triyono Lukmantoro, Departemen Ilmu Komunikasi FISIP Undip Semarang, judul; *Menertawakan Fobia Komunis di Era Reproduksi Digital, pada, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Profetik: Jurnal Komunikasi*, (Yogyakarta: 2017, Vol 10, No 1)

V.I. Lenin, *Lenin Collected Works*, Volume 26, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1077)

_____, *The State and Revolution*, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1973)

_____, *What is to be Done?*, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1973)

W.J.S Poerwadarminta, *Kamun Umum Bahas Indonesia*, (Jakarta: 1985, PN. Blai Pustaka, Cet. Ke-VIII)

Wal Ardi. Kronologis jatuhnya pemerintahan orde baru. (diakses pada tanggal 31 Mei 2014, pukul 11.30)

Wiki Pedia, *Ensiklopedia Bebas*, Judul; *Krisis Finansial Asia 1997*, https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Krisis_finansial_Asia_1997

Yamazawa, Ippei, *The Asian Economic Crisis and Japan*, (September 1998 *The Developing Economies*, 36, 3)