ISLAMOPHOBIA AND COMMUNISM: PERPETUAL PREJUDICE IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This study aims to explain the relationship between Islamophobia and the issue of Communism in Indonesia today.

Methods: This research is a type of Data collecting was carried out on the mass media and social media and a literature review to discover this; then, the analysis was carried out using a philosophical approach.

Results and Conclusion: This study found that the government policies that were seen opposing Islamism aspirations were considered a form of Islamophobia. The tendency of Islamophobia is resulted from the government and the winning party's closeness to China, especially the Chinese Communist Party, which results in the chaos of the law and efforts to reduce the ideology of the Pancasila (Five Principles). This condition presents a classic contestation between Islamism and Communism in the socio-political realm of contemporary Indonesia. In the contestation, Islamophobia continued in the form of negative imagery of Islam, Arabic, and Islamic politics. The response of Islamic groups to this condition is the strengthening of Islamism under the pretext of defending the state ideology.

Research implications: The Development of Islamophobia: This research can provide insight into how Islamophobia develops and is maintained in the Indonesian context, which can provide a better understanding of its root causes and potential consequences in society.

Impact on Interereligious and Intertought Relations: The implications of this research may go beyond political issues and touch aspects of interreligious and interthought relations in Indonesia. This can strengthen or weaken social relations between different groups.

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Public Policy: This study can provide a basis for the development of better public policy in addressing issues related to Islamophobia and society's understanding of communism. Policies created based on this research can be aimed at promoting tolerance and social justice.

Further Research: This research may spark interest in further research on the same or related topics. Follow-up studies could dig deeper into the specific aspects revealed in this research or broaden the scope to understand a broader phenomenon.

Global Influence: The implications of this research are not only limited to Indonesia, but can also provide valuable insight into how the phenomenon of Islamophobia and the stigma against communism is developing at the global level. This can help in understanding the impact of globalization and interconnectivity in spreading ideologies and perceptions.

Originality/value: Insights into Political Dynamics: Through its examination of the perpetuation of prejudice, the research offers valuable insights into the political dynamics of contemporary Indonesia. By uncovering how certain narratives and ideologies are utilized and perpetuated for political purposes, the study provides a critical perspective on power dynamics and manipulation within the Indonesian context.

Keywords: Islamophobia, Communism, Contemporary Indonesia.
desenvolver-se a nível global. Isto pode ajudar a compreender o impacto da globalização e da interconectividade na difusão de ideologias e percepções.

**Originalidade/valor:** Insights sobre a dinâmica política: Através do exame da perpetuação do preconceito, a pesquisa oferece insights valiosos sobre a dinâmica política da Indonésia contemporânea. Ao descobrir como certas narrativas e ideologias são utilizadas e perpetuadas para fins políticos, o estudo fornece uma perspectiva crítica sobre a dinâmica e a manipulação do poder no contexto indonésio.

**Palavras-chave:** Islamofobia, Comunismo, Indonésia Contemporânea.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Muslims accuse that the rise of Islamophobia in Indonesia today as a indication of the revival of the communist movement. It is different from the global tendency to link Islamophobia with radicalism and terrorism. Islamophobia globally appears as a reaction to terrorism after the 9/11 Tragedy (Dellarosa, 2022). In the context of contemporary Indonesia, Islamophobia related to radicalism and terrorism has been pretty much anticipated by various Islamic movements, both from conservative fundamentalist groups, as well as moderate and liberal Muslim groups (Alkazemi et al., 2021). However, Islamophobia as the effect of Communism is still a great issue that seizes public attention because this dynamic raises fears of the return of the classic conflict between the two stronghold, Islamism and Communism, as had happened in the early period of Indonesia since the emergence of Indonesian Communist Partij (PKI) until 1966 when the party was officially banned by the New Order administration (McMahan, 2024; Pintak et al., 2022; Shaheen et al., 2023).

In this study, Communism is defined as an ideology (in the political sphere), that usually adheres to the teachings of Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, that abolish individual property rights and replace them with joint property rights controlled by the state (Pirmohamed, 2021). It is a concept that emphasizes the shared ownership of the means of production (such as land, labor, capital) that aims to achieve a prosperous society, a classless communist society and the equality of all people (Cantori, 2021). Communism is an ideology that bases everything on the material, therefore it does not accept mythical, superstitious, and religious beliefs (Taras, 2019). To communism, religion is considered as opium which makes people daydreaming and irrational. This kind of opinion is typical among Indonesian Muslim.

This study seeks to unravel the links between Islamophobia and the issue of Communism in Indonesia today. With a qualitative study, this study was carried out using the latest data from the mass media and social media combined with a literature review (Labidi, 2023). The study of the media is mainly used to capture current issues in the dialectics between Communism and Islamism (Abdalla & Chen, 2023). Data from the literatures are used for historical and philosophical research. The philosophical approach is used to analyze the narratives of Communism and Islamism (Brotherton, 2023).

Studies on Islamophobia in Southeast Asia in general, and Indonesia in particular, have had several works. Some explain that Islamophobia arise due to national politics, especially through conflicts between Muslim and other religions (Husain, 2021). But it can occur because of international terrorism in the local realm (Terrana et al., 2022). The response to Islamophobia in Indonesia has always been in the form of Anti-Americanism by Islamists. Other studies see Islamophobia as a result of the historical traces of radicalism since the
beginning of Indonesian independence which continues to metamorphose into contemporary Indonesia (Foody, 2021). Islamophobia also arises because of the role of the media which spreads fear and impacts on the inferiority of Muslims (Takacs, 2021). Meanwhile the study of communism in relation to Islamophobia is still difficult to find. Some of them are quite relevant, for example, explaining communism as one of the forces of mass mobilization in the face of Islamic power (Weber, 2020). Communism in Indonesia is also seen as a movement against capitalism and as a legacy of the Cold War but at the same time it must deal with Political Islam (Fritzsche & Nelson, 2020). The connection between the issues of communism and Islamophobia that emerged during the Joko Widodo administration could not yet be found. Therefore, this study found its significance.

1.1 Ghost of Communism in Indonesia

The rise of Communism in Indonesia is a really concern for Muslims. The existence of Communism is like a ghost, between a being and not, but it is genuinely feared, feared for the apprehension of historical repetition that claimed many lives (Ouassini, 2022). As a ghost, some people believe that Communism still exists in Indonesia. Communism has only turned into a latent and secret movement, no longer a party, because the Indonesian Communist Party has become a banned political party so that the communist people hid behind official political parties and other mass organizations (Reagan, 2020). As people perception on ghosts, Communism is also considered not exist (Schwarzenthal et al., 2022). It is only a political trade that is deliberately exhaled to ignite emotions and attract the sympathy of the masses. Therefore, the existence of Communism in the context of contemporary Indonesia is only a conspirative illusion (Yazdiha, 2020).

The reoccurrence of communism issue in Indonesian public discourse space was caused by several successive cases after the fall of President Soeharto and the New Order Government in June 1998. The first case was the cessation of the G30S film screening. A film about the alleged involvement of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the bloody tragedy of 1965. During the New Order era, every September 30, the national television station, TVRI, always airing the G30S film (Chatterjee, 2020). It was first released in 1984. Since then, the film has always been a compulsory spectacle for elementary schools, junior high schools, and high school students throughout Indonesia (Brennan, 2023). In September 1998, the film stopped airing. Although this film's accuracy is questionable, it is deemed necessary to remind the danger of Communism's belief, so when it is stopped, it was regretted by some anti-communism parties (Beaman, 2021). The public narrative then developed into a concern that new Communists would deliberately forget the collective memory of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) rebellion.

The second case related to the emergence of the New Communists is the publication of a book entitled "Aku Bangga Jadi Anak PKI (I Am Proud to Be a PKI Child)," written by Ribka Tjiptaning Proletariaty, that caused controversy because it was considered to be ‘taboo’ politically (Nami, 2022). 2002 was only five years from the end of the New Order, anti-Communist administration. In general, Muslims in Indonesia are also anti-Communist. Therefore, when a book showing the pride as a Communist child appeared, the public was shocked (Kefallinos et al., 2006). In her book, Ribka openly admits that she is the daughter of a member from the Special Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party, Raden Mas Soeripto Tjondro Saputro.

The third case is the softening attitude from the government towards the PKI. The 4th President of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, was softened towards Communism. From apologizing to the victims of G30S Tragedy to Abdurrahman Wahid’s efforts to revoke MPRS (The Temporal People's Consultative Assembly) Tap Number XXV of 1966 regarding the
banning of the PKI and the prohibition of spreading the teachings of Communism and Marxism/Leninism in Indonesia (Ristiani et al., 2022). However, in the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee II of the Workers Body (PAH II BP) of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), the entire MPR Faction refused. Nevertheless, Abdurrahman Wahid succeeded in making Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia Number 39 of 2000 concerning Revocation of Presidential Decree Number 16 of 1990 concerning Special Research for Government Servants of the Republic of Indonesia (Vovchenko, 2023). The revoked Presidential Decree contains restrictions or prohibitions for Civil Servants who have involvement with the G30S/PKI, made by President Soeharto. The softening attitude of the state towards Communism since Abdurrahman Wahid’s administration was considered to provide fresh air for those who sympathize with Communism, even enough to provide a reason for the rise of the PKI.

The fourth case is the distribution of films that sympathizing PKI, by depicting the PKI as merely a victim of a national political conspiracy, even global politics. Films about it have appeared since the beginning of the Reformation Era. For example, The Poet by Garin Nugroho in 1999, and Shadow Play: Indonesia's Year of Living Dangerously by Chris Hilton in 2002 (D’Urso & Bonilla, 2023). However, lately, two works of Joshua Oppenheimer sparked controversy in the public sphere and were considered as signals of the revival of Communism in Indonesia. Oppenheimer’s first work was The Act of Killing (Jagal). A documentary about the mass killings of people accused of being members or sympathizers of PKI. The film features an adaptation of the 1965 massacre. Anwar Congo, a former thug in Medan, was the main actor in this film. He told how to lead his men to kill accused PKI members. Including how they got weapons to execute them, like slaughtering animals. The film received positive appreciation from the international world. In Indonesia, the film was banned, even the effort for mass views was also under pressure from government officials and Islamic organizations. The second Oppenheimer film is The Look of Silence, which tells the 1965 tragedy from the perspective of the survivors and their families. This film shows the reconciliation effort between the killer and the families of the victims. The 103 minutes-length film also received international appreciation, but again received an insult from Indonesia.

Some of the previous cases make Communism indeed a ghost. If the PKI is considered dead, the PKI ‘spirit’ is now haunting and looking for a new body to possess. Therefore it is feared that an old ideology will emerge with a new body (Ali et al., 2022). Although many people were trying to rewrite history, mainly to position the PKI as a victim of Suharto's political ambitions and victims of an international conspiracy as a result of the Cold War, this did not change the relationship between Islam and Communism. The trauma of Islam to Communism is not a political problem. The incompatibility of Islam with Communism is a matter of basic principles and religious rights. Communism is seen as anti-religion, especially Islam. Communism was the first Islamophobia in Indonesia after the departure of the colonial version of Islamophobia.

1.2 Philosophical Reasons for Communist Islamophobia

Islamophobia in the colonial period was driven by Dutch agents, both Orientalists, and Zending or Missionary workers, but its countrymen, namely the PKI, drove Islamophobia during Indonesian independence. The Dutch Colonial Government gave fairly wise treatment to Islamic Worship and Social Islam. Allowing mosques, prayer rooms, Islamic boarding schools to grow even though it remains within certain limits; however, it was conscientiously opposed to Political Islam (Sloan & Haner, 2023). Colonial Islamophobia against Muslims in Indonesia is determined more by the presence or absence of political resistance from Muslims.
against the Dutch colonial government (Vandenbelt, 2021). Whereas Communist Islamophobia is driven by an ideology of materialism that is anti-divine.

The antipathy of Muslims towards the PKI is a form of historical trauma caused by several cases of its cruelty to non-PKI, especially Muslims. Some essential cases, such as Mr. Jusuf's group rebellion in Tegal, Pemalang, and Pekalongan in 1945 (Foody, 2022). The massacre of 108 people buried in two old wells in Soco Bendo, a village in Magetan, East Java, when PKI members and its sympathizers arrested and abducted Muslim figures and government officials while shouting, "Right Wing closed, Left Wing alive". Additionally, their rebellion in Madiun in September 1948, which massacred many ulemas and their students and destruct several Islamic boarding schools (Wasif, 2023). The narrative of the Indonesian Communist Party's atrocities against Muslims is very much scattered so that hatred towards them has become a collective memory.

There are philosophical reasons for every tendency for Islamophobia. Although it appears more as a social and political phenomenon, there is always a robust philosophical construction. As a political understanding, Communism has a philosophical foundation that is very much at odds with Islam.

The early PKI figures were cadres of the Sarekat Islam (SI), and since the ideology of Communism influenced young SI figures such as Semaoen, Darsono, Tan Malaka, and Alimin Prawirodirdjo, SI was split into two, SI Putih (white) and SI Merah (red). Those two paths began to split towards socialism and then led to Communism for the Red SI, while the White SI remained in the Sharia Islamic guidelines (Ponce, 2020). The Red SI rejected the combination of religion and state and opposed the idea of Pan-Islamism. The Red SI figures later became PKI figures.

PKI was hostile to Islam not because of Muslims' resistance to them, but because Islam was seen as an ideology that was contrary to Communism's. Philosophically, Communism can be explained as follows:

1.3 Religion is not essential (Materialism)

The root of Communism is Marxism, while the root of Marxism is Materialism. Materialism puts material first, not ideas. Marx thought that ideas are unable to describe empirical reality in society because they are abstract. Religion is also seen as an idea. In Karl Marx's view, religion does not contribute materially to the progress of society. Therefore, for materialism, religion has no significance.

As the majority religion in Indonesia, Islam is no different from other religions, highly dominated by the world of abstract ideas or concepts. The abstract makes people unacquainted with empirical (material) reality (Mansson McGinty, 2020). Therefore, religion is no more important than the ideology of Communism. Every teaching is always based on the reality of society, namely defending the workers or the proletariat, focused on the real problem of economic assets, from ownership, management to distribution.

1.4 God does not exist

Negotiations between religious values and modern atheism were common in Indonesia during the Sukarno era. It is because Communism is indeed close to the idea of atheism. In understanding the Deity, Marx was influenced by atheistic writings of Ludwig A. Feuerbach. In his book, The Essence of Christianity, Feuerbach refers to religion as the highest aspiration of humans towards the cosmos (Creighton & Jamal, 2020). God is nothing more than human essence and projected aspirations to the outside. Thus, religion, he asserted, was "the
separation of man from himself." Therefore, Marx views the concept of God as a result of human alienation.

1.5 Religion breeds Class Conflict

Marx saw the extreme inequality between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and then opposed it. The bourgeoisie is only a handful of elites who hegemony many proletarians because of their capital supply. With control of the capital, the elite can rule. This unfair condition can only be deciphered by class resistance (Roose & Turner, 2019). In the perspective of Marxism, religion is only a kind of tool (which also means capital) for its elites (religious leaders) to control the masses and even oppress them. Therefore religion breeds class opposition, which makes it unneeded.

1.6 Religion is just an Opium, Not Revolutionary

Poor people with religious beliefs fool themselves into thinking of a world free from all cruelty and difficulties. That is the reason why religion is called opium. According to Timo Duile, D.N. Aidit, as the PKI leader, had tried to make sure that the PKI accepted Pancasila as a whole, including the first precepts of the 'Belief in the one and only God.' The notion of religion as the opium of the people only applies when religion pushes people towards apathy in politics. Aidit also appreciated the contribution of religious groups in the struggle for independence (Moore-Berg et al., 2023). However, the reading from the right-wing on the ideology of Marxism plus the confrontation of PKI members and its sympathizers towards the religious circles was more convincing than Aidit's claim.

1.7 Contemporary Issues on Communism in Indonesia

The issue of Communism strengthened during President Joko Widodo's administration. Several factors encourage the strengthening of the communism issue in Indonesia.

1.8 Indonesia has closer relationship to China

The government seems to be more serious in establishing relations to China. Although China has become an increasingly capitalist country, for the Indonesian public, China continues to be synonymous with communism (C. P. Scheitle & Howard Ecklund, 2020). Muslims in general simply associate cooperation with China as a government affinity with the ideology of Communism. Especially in the last few years, China was hit by controversy about their repressive attitude towards Uyghur Muslims. It further confirms that China is a communist country that does not like Islam (Sirgy et al., 2019). Therefore, Indonesia's closeness to China raises fears of Communism and increased Islamophobia.

Concerns about the influence of Communism arose because the foreign debt to China increased. Indonesian foreign debt data released by the Ministry of Finance shows that the amount of Indonesia's foreign debt of April 2020 reached 400.199 million USD. Out of the amount, Indonesia's debt to China is only 20,544 USD. Slightly below Indonesia's debt to the USA, which is 26,074 USD. On top of that, there are still Japanese that provide loans of 30,143 USD, while the country that gives the most loan to Indonesia is Singapore, which tripled more than the debt to China, to be exact 69.918 USD. Thus, Indonesia's debt to China is not too significant (Clemons et al., 2020).
However, the problem is that debt to China in the public narrative refers not only to the debt to China. But more to the assumption of debt toward the Chinese people. Singapore has also been known as a country that is heavily influenced by China. As a prominent city-state in Southeast Asia and a close ally of the United States, Singapore is in a primary strategic position near the global trade route (Wicagsono et al., 2023). The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has many capabilities to utilize this main ally, which allows US warship access to the Changi naval base, and hosts a significant logistical planning facility for the US Navy's 7th Fleet. With a 76.2% ethnic Chinese population, Singaporeans are also uniquely vulnerable to the operation of the CCP's influence (Rizal Munir et al., 2023). As such, Singapore has become very attached to China. Indonesia's high debt to Singapore is feared to be tantamount to an engagement with Chinese Communists (Hafez, 2020).

President Jokowi's administration closeness with China is more visible to the increasing number of Chinese investment in Indonesia. The Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM), conveying the achievement of investment realization throughout 2019 with the total of investment realization during 2019 (January-December) was Rp 809.6 trillion. Judging from the achievement of investment realization, China became the second-largest country. In addition to the investment sector, the government's attachment to China is also seen in infrastructure projects funding in Indonesia (C. Scheitle et al., 2023). BKPM noted China as the country of the most significant investment source in the 4th Quarter (October-December) of 2019, with an investment of 1.4 billion USD. Moreover, investment is also problematic because it requires the entry of foreign workers into Indonesia (Anurogo, Sasmita, et al., 2023). This is a clause which also gets a lot of protest.

Foreign investment in Indonesia targets strategic sectors such as electricity, gas, water, transportation, warehouses, telecommunications, primary metal industry, metal goods, non-machinery and equipment, housing, industrial estates, offices, and mining. Some sectors include assets that "control the lives of many people (menguasai hajat hidup orang banyak)" which in the 1945 Constitution should be owned by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people, not allowed to benefit foreigners. It triggers much internal resistance, making many people suspect that the government has been deeply involved with China's interests. Indonesia has been entangled in China's big agenda, ‘The Belt and Road Initiative,’ or also known as the Modern Silk Road (Meziane, 2021). It promises to reduce dependency to the US and creating new markets for Chinese products, exporting excess industrial capacity, and integrating commodity-rich countries closer to the Chinese economy.

Accordingly, the closeness of Joko Widodo's government to China indicates that Indonesia has voluntarily entered the effort to succeed the Chinese government's foreign agenda. Because China is identic to communism, the Indonesian government is accused of taking sides with Communism (Tesler, 2022). In essence, the issue of Communism in Indonesia is strongly influenced by the increasingly intimate relationship between Joko Widodo's administration and China's communism.

1.9 Communism in Contemporary Indonesian Political Party

As an individual, President Joko Widodo is a cadre of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). Meanwhile, the PDIP, as a nationalist party, in recent years, has been imaged to close with Communism. Among the many political parties in Indonesia, PDIP seems to be most familiar with The Communist Party of China (CPC). CPC's relationship with Indonesia is quite good, as evidenced by the frequent visits of CPC delegations to Indonesia, both Party figures and diplomats of the Chinese government (Hughes, 2020). The visit was recorded as having been received by various political parties in Indonesia, such as Democrats, Golkar, Nasdem, Gerindra, and even Islamic parties such as PPP and PKS. However, the
image portrayed in public, it is only PDIP which has the intensity and quality of close relations with CPC.

PDIP and CPC have long-established cooperation and visit each other. In 2011 several CPC officials came to the DPP of PDIP Office in Lenteng Agung, South Jakarta. On October 12, 2015, the leading figure of PDIP, Megawati Soekarnoputri, also went to China to inaugurate the Indonesia-China Cooperation Center Building, named Sukarno House. At that time, she was accompanied by CPC officials from the Shenzhen region. In 2013, PDIP sent 15 cadres led by Eva Kusuma Sundari to China. In September 2019, President Joko Widodo received a visit from Song Tao, a CPC figure who served as an advisor to the Foreign Relations of the Chinese President. On the same day, Song Tao attended a lunch invitation from the Chairperson of PDIP, Megawati Soekarnoputri at the Mandarin Oriental Hotel, the Roundabout area of Hotel of Indonesia, Central Jakarta.

The image of PDIP's closeness to Communism is affirmed by its cadres. For example, Ribka Tjiptaning confirmed that PDIP was a shelter for PKI descendants. Ribka, who was the Deputy Chairperson I of the West Java DPD, stated that the majority of New Order political detainees’ children and political prisoners channeled their aspirations through PDI (previous name of PDIP). Whereas it is possible that PKI children were at another party. PDIP itself did not forbid anyone, including children from PKI sympathizers, to join PDIP on the condition that they did not bring the ideology into PDIP and agreed to become nationalists, even Soekarnois, namely recognizing the precepts in Pancasila including the 'Belief in the one and only God.' The New Order Government's repression of Communism for more than 30 years made the PDI the best political channel for the children of PKI members and its sympathizers. This impression did not disappear, even when the New Order had fallen. Until now, PDIP has become the most often associated political party with Communism in Indonesia.

1.10 Communism Abusing and Destroying Pancasila

The issue of Communism also arose due to the Pancasila ideological crisis, which was allegedly infecting dominant parties of status quo supporters. Pancasila has become a ‘sacred’ ideology for the Indonesian people, so disturbing Pancasila is the same as tearing down the nation. Pancasila's sacredness lies in two things: first, Pancasila is considered an agreement document that unites various diverse components in Indonesia. Second, the values of Pancasila are considered to be under the values of all religions in Indonesia, especially Islam, which is embraced by the majority of its citizens (Wiranto et al., 2023). Therefore, disruption of Pancasila means an interruption of agreement documents of all components of the nation and disruption of religion, especially Islam.

During Joko Widodo's administration, issues related to Pancasila arose in the public sphere. First, the establishment of the Pancasila Ideology Development Board (BPIP), which is considered as a waste of state money with unclear work functions besides providing recommendations. BPIP is an institution under and responsible to the President and has the task of assisting the President in formulating the policy direction of Pancasila’s ideology (Anurogo, 2023; Anurogo, Hardin La Ramba, et al., 2023). The controversy arose because the 11-member Steering Board received a salary of more than one hundred million rupiahs each month. Whereas the Steering Committee is chaired by Megawati, who is also a significant figure in the PDIP.

Second, the phrase ‘the greatest enemy of Pancasila (is) religion’ is sticking out and is considered part of Islamophobia. Yudian Wahyudi, the BPIP Chairperson stated that there is a minority religious groups which often claim to represent the majority. This religious leaning group is considered an enemy of religion, so the Chairperson of BPIP said, "the greatest enemy
of Pancasila is religion, not ethnicity." Although the majority groups—Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama—have confirmed that they are not included in the category of enemies of the Pancasila, the phrase that has been mentioned is becoming a concern to religious people because it seems to have a communist tone which is known as anti-religious (Firmansyah & Fadli, 2023). The Secretary-General of the Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Executive Board Helmy Faishal Zaini assessed that Yudian Wahyudi's statement as inconsequential. While Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Anwar Abbas asked the President to dismiss Yudian from the position of Chairman of the BPPIP.

Third, BPPIP presents several controversial recommendations, such as Salam Pancasila (Pancasila Greetings). Although there has been a clarification said that Pancasila Greetings does not replace religious greetings, however, resistance continues to emerge because a satire accompanies the idea of greetings that religious greetings containing peaceful messages sometimes are not accompanied by behaviors describing peace-loving. For BPPIP, Pancasila Greetings, which was controversial in early 2020, is not new (Mahmudulhassan et al., 2023). Megawati Soekarno putri once introduced Salam Pancasila at the Bogor Palace on August 12, 2017. It can even be referred to as the Salam Merdeka (Merdeka Greetings) modification introduced by Bung Karno through the Government Notification on August 31, 1945, and took effect on September 1, 1945 (Fatimah et al., 2023). The Pancasila Greetings is done by lifting five fingers on the shoulders with arms upright. The meaning of lifting the five fingers above the shoulder is a symbol of respect for all elements of society towards Pancasila's five precepts. This symbolism is also associated with the habits of several figures who raised five fingers, namely D.N. Aidit (PKI leader), Ho Chi Minh, Mao Zedong, Xi Jinping (Lingga, Salminawati, et al., 2023; Oktatianti et al., 2023; Rahim & Alqahoom, 2023).

Fourth, the latest and most phenomenal controversy about Pancasila is the idea of squeezing Pancasila into Trisila (Three Principles) and Ekasila (One Principle). This idea was contained in the Bill of the Pancasila Ideology Bow (HIP Bill) (Muhtar Arifin Sholeh et al., 2023). The biggest problem in the bill is the potential loss of the meaning of Pancasila's first principle on 'Belief in the one and only God'. That anxiety refers to article 7 of the HIP Bill, which states that all Pancasila values can be crystallized into gotong royong (mutual cooperation) values. Hundreds of Muslims who are members of the National Anti-Communist Alliance (ANAK) held rally in front of the Parliament Building on June 24, 2020. The rallies also occur in many other cities. They urged the People's Representative Council to revoke the Bill of the Pancasila Ideology Bow (HIP) from the National Legislation Program so that the HIP Bill can be discontinued (Lingga, Mustaqim, et al., 2023; Sanyoto et al., 2023; Shobron et al., 2023).

1.11 Criminalization of Ulema

The issue of Communism also arose because some ulemas were excluded from their da’wah and political activities, either eliminated because they were spending time in prison or going abroad. The recapture of Bahar bin Smith set a bad precedent for the government, and further emphasized the efforts to criminalize the ulema. Bahar bin Smith is a preacher with a provocative style. Not all Muslims like his style, so when he was first arrested for a child abuse case, the public could justify it. However, the second arrest under the pretext of violating the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) rules during the COVID 19 Pandemic, was considered a cliché excuse. Moreover, the arrest of Bahar bin Smith on May 19, 2020, was carried out excessively (Hartati et al., 2023). According to the students’ testimony, there were fully armed Mobile Brigade Corps (Brimob) troops, with 30 vehicles and five trucks. An excessive force to catch a preacher who violates the PSBB. Although this is disputed, the pickup was carried out by the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights staff, while the police...
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were only in charged to escort the staff (Fauziyyah et al., 2022). Bahar bin Smith was put in Batu prison, Nusakambangan—a prison with high security—which is commonly used for convicts of terrorism. The excessive attitude of the authorities gave the appearance of an attempt to criminalize the ulema. It is similar to the Riziq Shihab case, who is still in Saudi Arabia due to the constraints of returning home. Although Riziq Shihab had controversy during his leadership of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) mass organization in Indonesia, the complicated immigration problem has raised suspicions among Muslims so that it appears as a form of deliberate inhibition. Criminalization of ulema is done by those who have concerns regarding the movement and influence of the ulema (Tamami et al., 2023) (Setiawan & Dahliana, 2022). Therefore, it is included in the category of Islamophobia as well. Complicating ulema, extinguishing political Islam, are a form of Islamophobia that has existed from the time of the Colonial Government until Indonesia’s independence. The Netherlands, the Old Order, Communism, and the New Order were unfriendly to the ulema movement (Alqahoom, 2023; Mainiyo & Sule, 2023; Zaman et al., 2023).

2 THE IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ISSUE TO RECENT ISLAMOPHOBIA

2.1 Stigmatization of Islam

The expression of Islamophobia appears vulgarly in public space, although hatred towards Islam is expressed in a written and symbolic way. Especially by insulting Islamic symbols (Sule, 2023). Islamophobia, in the form of insults to Islamic symbols and Muslim personalities, is not new. For example, when about to give a speech, H. Agus Salim was mocked by the leftist (Fadli, 2023). Not the contents of the speech but appearance shaming since he owned beard. As he was about to go on stage, the audiences shouted, “mbek, mbek, mbek” (the sound of a goat) (Robiansyah et al., 2022). Realizing he was ridiculed, he started the speech by asking to separate animals and humans in the meeting arena. “I can now speak in animal language (Rohman et al., 2023). Then the goats, please go out first because I will talk to humans. Later on, will be the goats’ turn, and I will talk to them in the same language,” said Salim from the podium (Nurmansyah et al., 2023). This example is just a proof that the expression of Islamophobia is common when Muslims live side by side with communists.

Nowadays, a similar form of Islamophobia has also emerged in Indonesia. For example, the term Kadrun appears, which is directed against Muslims. Kadrun is an acronym for the kadal gurun (desert lizard). The meaning of the desert here is the Arab world (Anis et al., 2022). Kadal gurun means reptiles from the Arab world. The main target of the kadrun predicate is Indonesians who have Arab kinship, especially Muslim ulema. However, this term later developed to refer to wider Muslims. Although there are claims that the term kadrun has been used by the PKI to give a negative stigma to Islamic ulema and religion, this term in a contemporary context has only emerged since 2012 during the Jakarta’s Regional Election. The term reappeared in the 2019 presidential election and became often mentioned since the issue of Communism associated with PDIP became trending on social media (Amry et al., 2023; Kelkusa et al., 2023).

The use of the term Kadrun is very political. In general, the word Kadrun was directed at Muslims who criticized Joko Widodo’s government, and Islamic movements that were considered vigilante. Included in this case are Muslims who are pro-Shari’ah, pro Khilafah, and Muslim organizations that are considered intolerant.

Arif Poyuono, General Secretary of the Gerindra Party and Chairman of the BUMN Workers Union raised the term kadrun in several interview sessions, including the latest one by Eko Kuntadhi on CokroTV channel. According to Poyuono, kadrun are those who like to
spread hoaxes and slander to impeach President Joko Widodo. Kadrun, according to Poyuono, is like a virus that infects human thought, even some Gerinda cadres themselves. Therefore, kadrun is more dangerous than the Coronavirus because it can damage the country (Saprudin et al., 2023). According to Deny Siregar, Kadrun is a group of people using the name of Islam and doing destruction everywhere with the same average characteristics, for example, dressed in a robe, talking in an Arabian accent, having a beard, fanatical, less intelligent, but consider themselves the most correct one (Armita & Saad, 2022). The mention of physical identity as a feature of political alignment risks trapping to Islamophobia. Certainly, not everyone with the physical characteristics of wearing a robe, have a beard, or be fluent in Arabic accents means the Kadrun group.

2.2 The Return of Islamism

The dynamics of contemporary Indonesian politics seem to re-display the classic competition between Communism and Islam. Although Communism is still considered a ‘ghost’ and does not have a concrete form of an institution as a mass organization or party, it is still considered a real threat for Islamic groups (Rochmah & Munir, 2023). Likewise, those who feel accused of being close to Communism will also be emerging the term kadrun, which in general has the potential as Islamophobic. Some Muslims responded to the situation with Islamism movements under the pretext of defending the nation from Communism’s threat. Islamism is different from Islam. According to Bassam Tibi, Islamism is a politically-based fundamentalist movement. Meanwhile, according to Assef Bayat, Islamism is ideologies and movements that strive to establish some kind of an ‘Islamic order,’ in the form of a religious state, sharia law, or moral codes (Alhaj, 2023). Islamism is the understanding of religion (Islam) in the form of state order, a state based on Islam. Islamism groups idolized Islam during prophet time in Medina, and they are trying to restore the practice of Islam today to the one during the prophet era. The main agenda of Islamism is to establish an Islamic state. Therefore, Islamism is approached by similar terms such as Islamic fundamentalism, Islamic extremism, Islamic conservatism, radicalism, and political Islam.

The Islamism group believes that Islam is the perfect religion compared to other religions, even the Shari’a is purely from God and can be an alternative to reject the practice of power which, according to them, is not Islamic in Indonesia. This idea was included in the Masyumi Party, which wanted an independent Indonesia based on Islamic law as outlined in the first principle of the Pancasila “Deity, with the obligation to run Islamic law for its adherents” as reflected in the Jakarta Charter. Islamism in Indonesia, since the Soekarno era until today, still wishes to return to the Jakarta Charter. Pancasila with the first precepts ‘Belief in the one and only God’ without includes the next seven words, is a minimum requirement that can be accepted by Islamism until now (Ahmad Izudin, 2015; Akmal Mundiri IAI, 2016; Qodir et al., 2020).

The issue of Communism and the occurrence of a national crisis, including the threat of Pancasila ideology, caused great anger for the Islamism group. The loss of the ‘seven words’ from the Jakarta Charter alone is a disadvantage, so losing the ‘one remaining word’ (i.e., Ketuhanan, Deity) will be the end of the world for the Islamism group (Parwanto & Engku Alwi, 2023). Then Islamism will mobilize all means, although it must be pursued with a bloody revolution (martyred) (Saiin & Karuok, 2022). Therefore, the rallies held by the Islamism group can be understood that psychologically they are ‘entitled’ to be angry. The issue of extorting Pancasila into Trisila or Ekasila Gotong Royong (Mutual Cooperation) is the biggest insult for Islamists who have been part of Indonesian citizenship since the beginning of the republic. Not only a religious mockery but an insult to the historical existence.
of Islamism and the role of Muslims in defending the independence and establishing an independent state.

Islamism views the issue of Communism as a cause of increasing Islamophobia in contemporary Indonesia, which is more liberal in law and legislation. By carrying out the defense narrative of Pancasila, at the same time, Islamism is also trying to fight Islamophobia. A massive demonstration in front of the Republic of Indonesia's House of Representatives building on June 24, 2020, has a demand that one of the points is to urge a Special Session if President Joko Widodo gives an opportunity to turn Pancasila into Trisila and Ekasila and build cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party (Sutrisno et al., 2023). Indirectly these demands accuse cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party as the cause of the idea of extorting Pancasila. In other words, the loss of ‘Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa (Belief in the one and only God)’ in Indonesia's ideology was the result of Chinese Communism. Therefore, the main enemy of Muslims in the perspective of the Islamism of contemporary Indonesian is Communism.

3 CONCLUSION

The issue of Communism returned to sticking out in the era of President Jokowi’s administration. Philosophically, Communism is the root of Islamophobia since it is based on materialism, indeed degrading religion, does not recognize God's existence, and views religion with the perspective of class conflict. However, the objections of Islamic groups to Communism in Indonesia were motivated by historical trauma, namely bloody conflicts from the pre-independence era to the Old Order era. Disputes with Communism have historically faced the Islamism movement in Indonesia. The two strongholds seem to face each other now. The stronghold of Islamism is a tangible form in the contemporary Islamism movement, but Communism is in the form of a ghost because there is no clear physical appearance. The Islamism group only accuses the government of the status quo with PDIP as the associate party as cohorts and protectors of Communism. This accusation is based on several issues related to Communism, namely, the closer relations between the Indonesian government and China, the closeness of the PDIP with the Chinese Communist Party, the efforts to reduce Pancasila, and the criminalization of the ulama. All these signs are seen as evidence of the revival of Communism in disguise. As a result of this struggle, Islam has gotten a negative stigma as a form of Islamophobia, for example, with the term Kadrun (desert lizard), which generally harms Muslims even though it only targets Islamism groups. This struggle also triggered the increasingly active role of Islamism argued in defense of the state ideology.

REFERENCES


