

## ABSTRACT

The anti-communism discourse in Indonesia is discursively and contingently shaped by other discourses through its various disciplinary instruments and process. This study divides the time span of the formation of anti-communism discourse into 5 (five) sequences based on significant events as markers of the transformation of the dominant discourses. During the aforementioned period, the discourse of caliphate and Pan-Islamism always emerge in their respective sequences as the main discourse, which then infiltrates and intertwines with other discourses as a way of adapting to the socio-political changes that occur in each sequence period. The emergence of these two main discourses in anti-communism discourse have shaped and given subjective meanings to the subjects of anti-communism discourse, which turn anti-communism discourse practices into political Islam practices, which are characterized by: (1) the establishment of an exclusive Islamic identity; (2) the formation of a fantasy about the superiority of Islam and the system of state administration based on Islamic values; (3) the use of formal and informal political economic space to perform the practice of Islamic politics. Such practice of political Islam shows the subjective dualism of democracy in various democratic practices in Indonesia, which is reflected in several ways: (1) the use of Islamic identity politics; (2) the application of the double standard of Islamic democracy by politically positioning the subjects who are considered communists as enemies, not adversaries; (3) carry out democratic practices that rely on the orders of certain individuals who are perceived as religious figures (ulama). Such democratic practices confirm the dominance of the power of Islamic knowledge (which is considered an ideal absolute) in the social practice of the state. These “democratic” practices are identical with totalitarianism. Thus, they will perpetuate the discourse of anti-communism as a process towards a totalitarian state

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