



## A NEW WAY OF COMMUNISM UNDER TAN MALAKA (Pierre Bourdieu's Sociological Analysis on Tan Malaka Communism Thought)

### Social Science

**A. Zahid**

Department of Sociology, Postgraduate Program, Universitas Sebelas Maret

**Drajat Tri Kartono**

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Sebelas Maret Indonesia

**Argyo Demartoto**

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Sebelas Maret Indonesia

### ABSTRACT

Tan Malaka was the agent of creating a pro-people based-social practice, so that his thought contributes to Indonesian independence. Tan Malaka's thought became virus for Indonesian communism under Musso's command at his time; his contradictory thought was seen during rebellion in 1926 becoming the prospect name of Tan Malaka as the enemy and traitor in the rebellion. Tan Malaka's thought always built on Minangkabau culture so that its embodiment was based on Indonesian. Considering his education experience, Tan Malaka was a smart, agile and critical figure. Having Lived in Minangkabau left ideological movement, he did not live clumsily in Harlem, Netherland, encountering socialism and communism discussion. Based on the problems above, the objective of research was to find out the background affecting Tan Malaka's thought.

### KEYWORDS:

Thought, Communism, Tan Malaka, New Habitus.

### Introduction

The polemic of left discourse has been highlighted primarily in Indonesian history since the establishment of Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party, thereafter called PKI) in 1920, characterized with the breakdown of Sarekat Islam (thereafter called SI). Different views in determining the revolution pattern made Sarekat Islam broken into two parts: Sarekat Islam Putih and Sarekat Islam Merah. Sarekat Islam Putih was pioneered by Tjokroaminoto and Haji Agoes Salim. Meanwhile, Sarekat Islam Merah was represented by Semaoen and Darsono, later marginalized from Sarekat Islam (SI). The figures existing in Sarekat Islam Merah circle were the proponents of PKI's establishment in East Hindi in 1920 (Munasichin, 2005).

Communism was the way of movement to expel imperialist existing in Indonesia, using deterministic-materialistic mindset – in socialism jargon called materialism and dialectic materialism. Dialectic materialism is the occurrence of dialectics in real and material worlds. Meanwhile, historical materialism is that human being can be understood as long as it is put into historical context.

Marx, through his historical-materialism conception, saw that there has been a class contradiction between capitalist and proletariat. Marx argued that an age will be born when there will be no social classes: no contradiction, no imperialism and power monopoly. Marx stated that this age is called communism. Communism was Marx's ideal in his life, as any discussion concerns class contradiction, and Marx always wanted to build a massive revolution in the class. The proletariat was represented by Marx as a group of prometheus. It can be seen from Marxism revolution tenet actualized in Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

Tan Malaka is a proponent of Marxism-Leninism, but he received this ideology with critical view. It can be seen from his book entitle Madilog (Materialisme, Dialektika, Logika). In addition, communism was labeled atheism not believing in God and religion, as Marx wrote in Manifest Der Kommunistischen Partey "religion is an opium for the society" (Marx and Engels, 1959). However, it is noteworthy that a leading Marxism philosopher in the present, G.A. Cohen, stated that we should pay attention to the same paragraph of Manifesto written as "religion is the oppressed class' scream", according to Cohen meaning that Marx and Engels realized that it is through religion that the oppressed people can voice their dissatisfaction (Cohen's 2001).

Tan Malaka is an Indonesian communist figure, but his political belief side was still replete with Islamic nuance (Malaka, 1951), that was inseparable from Minangkabau culture replete with Islamic values where he lived since he was so young. Tan Malaka's mindset in contradiction with Musso's made him considered as having strange movement perspective. Meanwhile, communism is an ideology paying less attention to religion in revolution. In his political thought, Tan Malaka proposed an idea that not only socialism-Marxism can be the basis of social transformation and revolution, but also Islam can do so. For that reason, in the fourth International Communism Congress, Tan Malaka proposed a cooperation with Muslims in the world to fight against capitalism. However, this idea was not supported by the congress and only got great applause from the participants of congress (Hidayat, 2008).

From Tan Malaka's view on the communism existing in Indonesia, it is very interesting to find out the background underlying Tan Malaka's communism thought thereby in contradiction with the polarization of communism thought in Indonesia. In addition to communism ideology, Tan Malaka's successful critique against Marx's materialism philosophy proved that Tan Malaka was a true communist.

### Theory

Pierre Bourdieu's thickest theory is habitus. Habitus is a mental or cognitive structure by which an individual is related to social world, equipped with a series of internalized scheme they use to perceive, to understand, to appreciate, and to evaluate social world. Through this scheme, an individual produces their practice, perceives, and evaluates it dialectically; habitus is the product of internalized social world structure. Habitus can be defined as common sense (Navarro, Z, 2006). The use of habitus concept in Bourdieu's theory becomes the solution to the analysis of individual-society and agent-social structure dichotomy problems; Bourdieu trying to deconstruct the mechanism and the strategy of domination. Domination, according to him, is no longer observed through external consequence but internal consequence (habitus). Revealing such the mechanism to social behavior, sociology expresses an argument that can activate the political action. Then, political and social transformation can be understood as the encounter between self effort and collective action. In Bourdieu's view, it is created in autonomous domains, so that the definition of domination can be seen within society.

Bourdieu's theory concentrates on habitus, discusses habitus adequately presupposing a form of historical epistemology in the

sense of revealing a discourse's practical relevance. Bourdieu defines habitus as the conditioning activated with a class' existence preconditions. The results of habitus are: time-resistant and inheritable disposition systems and created structures, serving as the creating structure. It means the principles activating and governing life practices adjustable to the objective without relying on directing the objective consciously or dominating deliberately the attempt to achieve it collectively without the need for being the result of self-regulation. The system produced by habitus is inheritable and implementable to the created structure domain. Thus, habitus is the product of mutualism symbiosis of practical action skill that is then manifested into an ability apparently created naturally in a social environment.

Bourdieu puts an individual into a social space (room) he defines as the member of social class who should have some types of capital. Capital, in Bourdieu's theory (1948) should support the production of social practice. Those capitals include:

1. Economic capital: material things (that can be possessed by symbolic value) and a variety of intangible attributes, but has cultural significance, such as prestige, status, and authority (referred to as symbolic capital).
2. Cultural capital: cultural capital defined as the cultural-valued taste and consumption patterns.
3. Social capital: in social interaction domain, the important thing to be an individual living in social space is the relationship between human beings.
4. Symbolic capital: symbolic capital includes any form of prestige, status, authority and legitimacy.

The part of Pierre Bourdieu's generative theory (1948) is field, a relation network between objective stances within it. Such the relation is inseparable from individuals' consciousness and wish. It is not inter-subjective bonds between individuals. Bourdieu sees the field as the battle field requiring structure to organize strategy in putting an individual's or a group's position in order to determine the invasion or defense system plan in a battle.

Field is the strong power of relation in social practical room, it serves as the means of governing the dominant position to master source (capital) becoming the bet in the arena. The source (capital) intended – as aforementioned – includes economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals. The explanation above serves as the objective definition showing the harmonious relation of capitals, so that the existence of arena explains the function of the arena condition in creating a capital legitimacy to be the bet in the arena. It is possible that there is an interest of generating an historical process in the arena itself (Bourdieu, 1990).

Bourdieu's generative theory is expressed in the following formula (Habitus X Capital) + Domain = Bourdieu's Practice (Harker, 1990). Practical theory is on of Bourdieu's thought to develop a formula in analyzing social practice. Habitus is the initial foundation of development toward social practice; after habitus has accumulated, there should be a second formula, that is, capital like foot and hand to realize an accumulation in habitus. Domain is of course required as the place in which the pattern or result of habitus accumulation is executed with capital help to occupy the domain. Thereafter, finally practice serves as the final conclusion of Bourdieu's thought thereby resulting in social practice.

### Research Method

This study was a qualitative research aiming to conceive and to see a phenomenon the subject experiences, processed in the form of words based on scientific writing norms. The method employed was descriptive one because this research aimed to get answer related to perception and argument thereby requiring detailed discussion

qualitatively based on Tan Malaka's work. Descriptive research looks for an accurate description of any activities, objects, processes thereby capable of explaining it in detail (Cresswell, 1994). The analysis of data was carried out using Miles and Huberman's approach encompassing data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. In validating the data, the author employed source triangulation.

### Result and Discussion

Considering the result of research, it could be found that Tan Malaka's communism idea was inseparable from the development of his life. Firstly, it occurred when he was in Minangkabau as the foothold of habitus creation. Minang culture and strong Islamic tenet contributed to every measure he took. His ideas arose as the correction against Marxism-Leninism theory in order to be implemented to Indonesian culture. It was that made Tan Malaka the unique person, as he was a true Marxist who could translate Marxism tenet according to the context where he was.

Secondly, education realm in Bukit Tinggi and Harlem, Netherlands, solidified the creation of Tan Malaka's new habitus. The birth of Tan Malaka's communism idea was initiated with the creation of new habitus he acquired during his life journey. Tan's communism idea lied on the initial foundation of materialism philosophy adopted from Marx and adjusted with Indonesian context. Tan Malaka's idea leading him to be a communist, nationalist, Islamist, and other labels are considered as less important. To him, the most important thing in his movement and idea is to keep idealizing his nation's freedom and the welfare for his people.

### Minangkabau realm, the context of Nation Creator's Idea Birth

Just like habitus involving Tan Malaka's knowledge and conception in seeing the world he faced, as his contribution to seeing the reality. Tan Malaka as the agent had fundamental knowledge as the creator of never changing pattern applied to himself (Bourdieu, 1984), the behavior created is of course related to the position where Tan Malaka was. One of them is Tan Malaka's birth place as the manifestation of interaction and socialization with family, neighbor, custom, norm, and traction will create Tan Malaka's conception structure. Bourdieu called this process with "typical habitus" (Bourdieu, 1992).

Geographically, Minangkabau was one of world activity centers including economic, political, religious and cultural activities. This potency was utilized as the gate to obtain social, income and education network. Living in critical society atmosphere and thick culture naturally affected Tan Malaka's character. One factor affecting him was Islamic feature in Minangkabau. Islamic fundamental movement initiated by Abdul Wahab living in Makkah, led to the advent of movement in Minangkabau land.

Contemporary of Abdul Wahab, Haji Miskin, Haji Abdur Rahman and Haji Muhammad Arif were the main actors transmitting Islam in Minangkabau land. Those three persons studying in Makkah had different thinking patterns: Haji Muhammad Arif leaned to Wahabism tenet (Kahin, 2008). Meanwhile, Haji Miskin and Haji Abdur Rahman leaned to local culture so that these two views became the pioneer in Paderi war against the Dutch.

Tan Malaka's disposition was reflected on his attitude and thinking originating from the result of internalization of social environment replete with Islamic culture, Minangkabau philosophy, and Islamic tenets applied to Tan Malaka's family. This disposition shaped Tan Malaka's practice, and the interaction of Tan Malaka with social world impacted on his attitude unconsciously (Bourdieu, 1990a).

Minangkabau community's philosophy was included into its tenet of going to other places to earn living. Minangkabau philosophy taught how to see the social reality different from their residence, thereby capable of valuing the environment where they live as good or bad. Finding out the social condition where they live, some thinking arises

to treat the condition where they live, such as dissenting opinion leading to conflict so that it is considered as reasonable in social life. The contradiction occurring in social domain teaches the people to deal with social problem more wisely and prudently, of course with rational way not harmful to themselves or others as the solution. Such the thinking automatically refuses dogmatism or parochialism thereby requiring the freedom of thinking (Alfian, 1998). This view became Tan Malaka's basis in acting on, in order not to be harmful to the society as the guidance of philosophical tenet of Minangkabau people.

Tan Malaka spent his most time in other places, but he kept holding tightly on Islam tenet, because to him, Islam is the foundation in making decision and in his movement. To Tan Malaka (2014), Islam is the tenet underlying his life:

"I was born in family environment holding on Islam religion in early morning, an Islamic scholar was born in our neighborhood, considered as sacred until today. When I was so young, I was able to interpret Qur'an and trusted to be assistant teacher. My mother often retold the stories of Adam and Hawa and Prophet Yusuf. She also often told about Islamic scholars and Prophet Muhammad who was orphan, and I did not know why my tear wetted my eyes".

The quotes above reflect one of Tan Malaka's typical habitus, because habitus is integrated entirely into the values held on by the agent, event in his/her movement. Thus, system, rule, and value are the agent's self interpretation in daily life and the agent's perception on social reality. Bourdieu (1990) stated it as "the forgetting of history which history is self produces". The result of Tan Malaka's habitus product can be seen in his view on Indonesian revolution leading to Tan Malaka's thought to seize independence with slogan "100% independent".

The idea of "100% independent" was taken from Islam tenet's spirit given by Tan Malaka's family, just like the story of Prophet Muhammad's struggle of life. Another view supporting Tan Malaka's thought is Bolshevik revolution in 1917 providing his revolution style with new perspective. However, to Tan Malaka, it is Islam tenet that became the original foundation affecting his thought (Malaka, 2014). Tan Malaka's revolution thought culminated when he attended the fourth world communism congress on September 5-December 5, 1922. At that time, Tan Malaka was given opportunity to make his speech about boycotting movement and at the same time, he explained Pan-Islamism as the movement of 250 millions Muslims who tried to be freed from imperialism by proposing some data and history of Islamic movement in some places (Malaka, 1992). Before closing his speech, he concluded that Pan-Islamism means national independence struggle and Islam religion is the Muslim's ideology rather than religion only, but state, economic system and everything. Pan-Islamism is a means of uniting the Muslims to make their nation independent, not only Arabic, but also Hindustan, Javanese and all oppressed Muslims. That unity is practically called struggle for independence now, not only against Dutch capitalism but also British, French, and Italian capitalism, against the capitalism throughout world; that is the meaning of Pan-Islamism (Malaka, 1992).

### **Harlem Netherland and Habitus, Capital and Arena Accumulation**

Tan Malaka's thinking contestation culminated when he was in Harlem, Netherland. Minangkabau culture and Islam religion guided him to modify his thinking when dealing with the social condition existing in Netherland country. Of course, culturally East Indi and Netherlands were very different; the demarcation line was very wide between the colonizer and the colonized. Naturally, it really affects the psychological and mental condition of colonized people. In contrast, Tan Malaka was not a typical inferior or submitted person; it can be seen from his habit of reading Nietzsche, Th. C. Arlyle, Karl Marx, Engels, and Karl Kautsky's book during his education in Netherland. This habit led him to the revolutionary spirit he applied

to the imbalanced social reality. The books Tan Malaka had read affected significantly his mindset, moreover left ideology.

The result of his experience with Western though does not mean submitting everything to Western law, but it serves more as the attempt of studying the Western values and culture, because to defeat the enemy, we should understand its strength and weakness. That is the result of new habitus indicated in Tan Malaka's mindset in viewing western culture where he lived.

Madilog is Tan Malaka's original thought based on Karl Marx's materialism philosophy (Malaka, 2014), while Madilog mindset corrected Indonesian conservative mindset with the view replete with mysticism. The materialism Tan Malaka offered in Madilog focused more on human's mental existence to get out of non-fundamental mindset complexity and authentic evidence. Madilog is like realism focusing on human's mental condition in relation to its environment, meaning that Madilog is a conception emphasizing on the resistance against a problem without scientific foundation.

The idea of Madilog resulted in many conceptions related to life, political philosophy, and social condition of Indonesian typical life, so that the key to understanding Tan Malaka's thought is to understand Madilog. One of Tan Malaka's thoughts can be seen from the conception of ideal country ala Tan Malaka. To him, the ideal country (state) as idealized by Marx is the one without social classes and the production instrument is dominated by the proletariat; this idea became the basis of Tan Malaka to be a true communist.

It is the arena to struggle for resource (capital) and to get access and domination in political sector, because by entering into politics, Tan Malaka could realize his communism view and thought. It is well-established that the capital Tan Malaka has is very important to get arena, because the strong capital accumulation, according to Bourdieu, naturally will win the intended arena.

From the elaboration above, it can be concluded that capital should be in the domain, to make the domain has consistency in social life. Thus, the relationship between habitus, field and capital is one overlapping unity in order to explain social practices. The presence of capital in social domain becomes the connector complementing the structure in Bourdieu's generative formulation scheme, as the rule mode of action. Meanwhile, the domain itself becomes the center of objective social relations based on the form and type of capital used by habitus.

Tan Malaka's very prominent capital dimension is social capital; although social capital is inherent to symbolic capital in political field (arena), it aims to promote Tan Malakanism cadre. However, capital us related to Tan Malaka and they share capital accumulation, because capital is dynamic and interchangeable (Jenkins, 1992). Thus, capital will be one factor reinforcing in winning the contestation in arena.

Tan Malaka's social capital built relation with Horesma, as the gate to education in Harlem (Malaka, Vol.1, 2000). In addition to with Horesma, the relation built in Harlem increased, as he met Fabius becoming the prospect next relation. It can be seen from Tan Malaka who was in critical condition and should be moved to more comfortable place in Bussum. Owned to Fabius, Tan Malaka got a reasonable place and adequate treatment in his new town. This relation was established because Fabius and Tan Malaka had similar mindset and criticality; the difference lied on that Tan Malaka was a revolutionary one living in colonizer country, while Fabius was the host in Wind Fan Country (Malaka, Vol.1, 2000).

In addition to the capital above, cultural capital Tan Malaka had during studying in Kweekschool became his distinctive added-value. It can be seen from his high intellectuality and music taste making him the focus of attention to Horesma. This intellectuality level, according to the author, is one of Tan Malaka's capitals making his

thought different from the communists' in Indonesia.

Education as Tan Malaka's symbolical capital was getting stronger when he successfully enrolled in Rijkweekschool in Netherlands. It proved Tan Malaka's consistency and intellectuality and sincerity in achieving his ideal. It is because symbolic capital is a strong instrument to expand domination (Bourdieu, 1990). It means that symbolic capital includes any form of prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy. It is inherent to Tan Malaka figure. High education media becomes the symbol of a smart and agile figure. Similarly, ethnicity or custom is the symbolic capital of Tan Malaka as sacred name, and Datuk degree reflects that the symbolic capital of Tan Malaka is the figure having high prestige among Minangkabau society. Capital accumulation of Tan Malaka inside himself can be seen in Figure 01.

**Three practical items proposed by Tan Malaka**

The presence of initial foundation in social life through social classes resulted in slavery, feudalism and finally capitalism (Malaka, 1952). When capitalism proliferated in society environment, and at that time the largest explosion was massive slavery and work exploitation. There was no longer more humanism in life but economic competition and pervasive exploitation, so that there should be social revolution to recover the essence of humanism like what occurring in Indonesian in the past, in which there was no social stratification, work exploitation because Indonesian humans had mutual help attitude; it is this that is called social revolution.

Tan Malaka's communism thinking practice in economic revolution emphasized on the welfare of Indonesian revolutionaries to maintain their action in taking the strategy of fighting against the imperialist and the most important thing is that Indonesian economic system should be processed and utilized by Indonesian society without other nation's intervention.

From the statement above, there should be native-based schools. In this case, Tan Malaka developed program in people school system included into three main points that should be realized in education (Malaka, 1912):

1. Providing sufficient weapon to look for livelihood with some competencies (arithmetic, writing, geography, Dutch, Javanese, and Malayan languages)
2. Giving the students the rights to: life joy by means of intercourse (Vereenniging).
3. Showing their obligation later to millions kromo.

One of Tan Malaka's strategies of inhibiting Dutch education rate was to including Dutch language into the people school's education curriculum, so that it would be the source of resistance against imperialism later using Dutch. These three items of education program underlies the education revolution in Indonesia based on Indonesian society and culture, aiming to intellectualizing the next generation and closing the imperialist's diary in Indonesia.

It is the result of Tan Malaka's habitus and capital accumulation in political field (arena) in Indonesian communist party, like the final conception to see the social reality in Bourdieu's view, constituting the collision of social reality dialectics and habitus pattern implanted inside the agent thereby making the objectively structured process combined with the subjectively one inside the agent. The combination of these structures generated the relation leading to a social practice social (Bourdieu, 1990). Dialectic collision occurred in Tan Malaka's intellectual domain in conceiving social reality, thereby indicating the establishment of new habitus. This process becomes the prospect of social practice leading to three items of social practice in social, economic, and education sectors based on Tan Malaka communism.

**Conclusion**

There were two factors affecting the establishment of Tan Malaka's

communism in Pierre Bourdieu's habitus analysis. Firstly, Minangkabau nature as the birth place of Tan Malaka has very complex culture, philosophy and religion underlying Tan Malaka's mindset. Tan Malaka was born in very religious family, and his mother always told about the stories of prophets and Prophet Muhammad's struggle.

Minangkabau culture was translated into perantauan (wandering/going to other places) for the boys as a lesson for the Minangkabau people in looking for self identity. Tan Malaka's wandering began when he studied in Bukit Tinggi and Harlem, Netherlands, making him has broad insight and correcting Marxism-Leninism successfully in order to be implemented to Indonesian culture. It is this that made Tan Malaka the unique person, because he was a true Marxists who could translate Marxism tenet corresponding to the context where he was.

Secondly, Tan Malaka's education in Bukit Tinggi and Harlem, Netherland solidified the deepest habitus in his life history. The presence of culture, social context, and language will be far different from his life in East Indi. Many references such as Nietzsche's philosophy and French and American's revolution book made Tan Malaka's thought stronger that communism was the way of closing the colonialism's book entrenched in Indonesia. It is these two aspects that contributed to his different view.

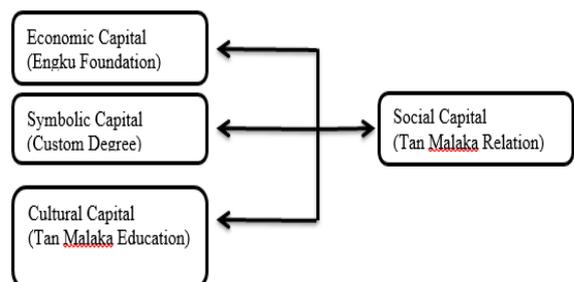
The elaboration of Tan Malaka's habitus in generating communism thought was initiated by the original foundation of Marx's materialism philosophy adjusted with Indonesian context. As included in his work entitled Madilog, it proves that there is a new habitus produced by Tan during his life, thereby underlying Tan Malaka communism thought. It is well established that there was a new habitus leading to Tan Malaka's successful capital accumulation thereby solidifying the creation of his communism thought. The capital includes economic, symbolic, and cultural capitals; it led to the final conception encompassing three practices in social, economic, and education domains.

**Table 1.** Tan Malaka's Habitus resulting from the author's analysis

	Old Habitus	New Habitus
Ideology	Islam	Islam, Communism, socialism, and nationalism
Mindset	Smart, Critical	Critical and revolutionary, materialistic, dialectic and logic
Decision Making	Bond to Indonesian Communist Party and Communist International	Resolute, and making own decision based on the public interest
Insight	Narrow and conservative	Broad insight

**Figure 01**

**Source: Tan Malaka's capital exchange analyzed by the author**



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