



POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE 21st CENTURY: Definitions, Functions, and Practices in Indonesia

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I dedicate this book to my three young children:

Hieronimus Halashon Samosir,
Eduardo Daomara Samosir, and
Rose Ika boru Samosir, also to my wife: Gorette Manurung.

I hope they are PROUD of being Indonesian.

Greetings From The Author

We've been dreaming of this book for a long time as one of the important books. The presence of political parties in the earth's archipelago and progress from time to time are seriously unique and very different from the development that occurred in the original hemisphere, the birth of democracy, namely Europe and the United States. Until now, I must honestly say that I firmly believe that a democracy that is currently being fought for its growth in Indonesia is not a democracy or seeds that have long existed in the archipelago. I believe that democracy is currently the state's political choice in Indonesia. It is a democracy that is embraced and grafted from the west to the earth's archipelago. Culture and traditional power in Indonesia are domination kingdoms, which until now are still very strong in the archipelago. Our tradition is not a democratic tradition, but a traditional kingdom. I will hold on to this until there is proof that it was truly the motherland of Indonesia, with history and traditional democracy as understood at the time.

Two leadership presidents, President Soekarno for 21 years (1945-1966) and President Soeharto for 32 years (1966-1998), provide evidence that Indonesia does not have a democracy or that Indonesia was heavily influenced by the traditions and customs of the kingdom archipelago. The second type of power, which has a very long history, is the type of power played by the genuine king, because he does not want to back off before being forced/couped to resign. Even the grains of democracy were destroyed sincerely in

the New Order era since the fusion/merger of the parties in 1973. This was followed by the New Order government's political strategy to establish a government pattern kingdom with the saying that only two parties are Party Unity Development (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* - PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* - PDI). Then the second attempt of the New Order government was that the whole party political must be far from the affairs of daily civil society, so that political parties are only allowed to a level of regency or city, and may not go down to the sub-district level or the lowest, so that people do not have to deal with things that smell political.

This political trick was then strengthened by placing *Golongan Karya* (GOLKAR), which throughout the elections of 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997 participated in the elections but the government did not participate in party politics, as the group devoted itself to work. Inhabitant countries can enter and be involved deep inside until districts, on the level of the Neighborhood Association (*Rukun Warga* - RW), the level of the Neighborhood Association (*Rukun Tetangga* - RT), or even possess until the inhabitant country's doors in *Golongan Karya* (GOLKAR). Supported by the bureaucratic government and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI), Golkar becomes part of what touches daily life in the country. Even if you do not vote for Golkar in the election, you will not be siding with ABRI and will be suspected of supporting PKI.

History blurs Indonesia's history in time, starting from 1945 until 1998. For about 53 years, it has been a real fact of our state that the substance of democracy in Indonesia experiences times of "turn off" with all its installed reflux. Whereas in a democratic country, political parties are one of the pillars of democracy that must exist in every country. We can't anymore regret the history and traditions of our kingdom. When we choose democracy as the state format that we will adopt, then we have to use the rail/track on guard because democracy really respects human rights. Then studying this book that speaks specifically about party politics in Century 21 becomes very important for the present.

Jakarta, October 2022

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Introduction

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(Rector of the Christian University of Indonesia, Jakarta)

Party politics is the pillar of our main democracy. A country in this world calls itself a country that adheres to a democratic state system if there is no political party. The presence of functional party politics is one proof that a country adheres to a democratic format or is opposed to democracy, although not all countries put functional party politics into proportion. Why is the existence of political parties so important? in democracy? Because political parties are tools (tools) for all citizens to compete (to compete) with other citizens to fight over power by taking turns through the election process.

Joseph A. Schumpeter (1883–1951) describes very good competition to win the voter's vote by defining democracy as “the method by which people elect representatives in competitive elections to carry out their will [...]. It means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them. “ According to Schumpeter, democracy is a means or method by which an inhabited country loses its choice of representative—their representatives competing in the general election they hope to win will carry and fight for the citizens' will. So the general election, which, of course, simply because there is a political party or figure promoted by political parties, becomes an opportunity for citizens to either accept by agreeing to the presence of competing candidates or reject with no choice other than that which the inhabited country considers unworthy of becoming a leader.

In a strong and deep understanding, as conveyed by Schumpeter above, political parties are present in general elections to be meant for the inhabitants of a country to compete and fight over power by taking turns. By definition, a political party becomes an organization or gathering of people who have interests that deal with civilized state political powers and are measurable. So, for democratic countries, particularly those already endowed with

high-quality substantive and procedural democracy, the presence of party politics becomes a sine qua non (no can, no must). As per every strong and deep understanding, as conveyed by Schumpeter above, political parties are present in general elections to be meant for the inhabitants of a country to compete and fight over power by taking turns. By definition, a political party becomes an organization or gathering of people who have interests that deal with civilized state political powers and are measurable. So, for democratic countries, particularly those already endowed with high-quality substantive and procedural democracy, the presence of party politics becomes a sine qua non (no can, no must). Every country's population fights for power, limiting their chair position and working time.

In a more dignified format to today's more modern times, political parties come in various forms and models, as well as in various faces, which from time to time increasingly find patterns and forms that develop. If in the patterns of the 19th and 20th centuries, political parties were very ideological, especially between socialist and liberalist ideologies, slowly but surely ideological issues have lost their place in the 21st century. If you follow the views of Allan Ware, a professor of political science at Oxford University, it is almost difficult to find political parties today that have very strong ideologies that are able to convince voters' choices. Perhaps among the few political parties that still adhere to a strong ideology, it is worth mentioning the Peronist Party in Argentina, although it is also doubtful that voters will slowly abandon it.

In the modern party system, ideology is no longer a political selling point that is able to attract great interest from the voters. Voters are more interested in the real programs of political parties that are offered to voters to be fought for as public policy if they win the general election. The facts about the real programs of the parties make voters in developed democracies such as the United Kingdom and the United States choose one of the two major parties in each general election in turn. Both the Labor Party and the Conservative Party in Great Britain, as well as the Democratic Party

and the Republican Party in the United States, have always offered concrete and real programs that deal with the real needs of citizens, and if elected, there will be consistency of promises that will be billed to the party rulers to become a political policy of the state. It seems that the real program policy issues of political parties are more attractive to citizens, especially for citizens who have not yet made a political choice or are still with swing/undecided voters. The victory of one of the major parties in Great Britain and the United States in each election is not determined primarily by the ideological voters of one particular major political party, but rather by the pendulum of the floating voters. In Alan Ware's view, in addition to the ideology and programs of political parties, the voters' greatest interest in political parties is actually largely determined by the presence of a figure or figure from the candidate or candidate promoted by a political party (Alan Ware, 1996). Citizens are more interested in the presence of a figure or figure of a potential leader, which, of course, the past history or the results of his political work became the most important assessment of citizens long before.

The very strong phenomenon of the presence of political figures or figures in determining citizens' political choices has swept almost all faces of the world of democracy, including politics in Indonesia, of course, since the enactment of the presidential election system in 2004 and the direct election of regional heads in 2005. The track record of every politician who will hold state positions becomes very sensitive and very important for every voter to make his political choice in the voting booth. Political parties that carry candidates who are considered to have no track record or an admirable commendable track record for citizens will be abandoned by voters.

In the context of the presence of political parties in realizing democracy, it is important to photograph the presence of political parties in Indonesia. Indonesian democracy experienced a rebirth after the fall of the authoritarian New Order government in 1998. If you observe the birth and growth of political parties in the early days of the Reformation, you can see the political enthusiasm of citizens who gave birth to the birth of political parties, with at least 48 political parties that met the requirements as participants in the first election of the Reform Era in 1999. The number of 48 parties is only a quarter of the 184 political parties that had registered with the government ahead of the 1999 national elections.

The very large number of political parties in the Reformation Era compared to only three election participants during the New Order government was certainly due to citizens' awareness that politics is a dignified system to take turns holding the power of state political positions. Citizens are well aware that political parties are the only means for every citizen if they want to have a turn to compete for political positions, whether as president, head of a regional or national organization.

Dr. Osbin Samosir, M.Si's book entitled "POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE 21st CENTURY: Definitions, Functions, and Practices in

Indonesia" becomes very relevant to be read and discussed. The need for books or similar literature that discuss political parties and relate directly to the Indonesian political context will enrich the treasures of discussion to find the most appropriate democratic figure for Indonesia. Reflection and the search for democratic points are becoming increasingly urgent, especially when the political history of the Indonesian nation has faced difficult challenges with issues of identity politics that were worrisome in the two presidential elections in 2014 and 2019. So this political party book is very worthy of being present in the midst of the public who love democracy.

Jakarta, October 2022

Chapter 1

Definition Of Political Party

1. Understanding of Political Parties

In simple terms, a political party can be explained as a collection of a group of people who are organized with the aim of obtaining and carrying out positions in which there is political power. If traced to their origins, political parties are recognized as having originated in their modern form in Europe and the United States since the 19th century, along with the presence of electoral and parliamentary systems. This presence shows a process that reflects the party's development and further evolution in its current form. Since then, the term "party" has begun to be applied to all organized groups whose purpose and presence is to seek political power, either through elections whose process and substance are carried out democratically or even most likely through revolutionary means.

If we refer to the format that emerged in the pre-revolutionary regimes as well as the previous aristocracy and monarchy, which had existed long before the democratic system emerged, the political process only took place in very limited circles. This limitation is seen where cliques and factions are grouped around certain aristocrats or influential figures in society where they are opposed to each other and compete for influence, position, and power. Therefore, efforts to establish a parliamentary regime and the emergence of parties in the beginning hardly changed this long-entrenched and entrenched situation. For a group of parties and special groups, the circle of power is often centered around princes, dukes, nobles, or those characterized by royal lineage and nobility by birth.

In later developments, there were additional cliques or power groups formed around capitalists or bankers, traders, industrialists, and entrepreneurs. Slowly, the regime supported by the nobility was replaced by a regime supported by other elites. Parties based in this narrow space are then transformed into a larger circle or even a smaller one. The pattern chosen depends on the ability of the parties to manage themselves, because in the 19th century in Europe and America, there were parties that depended on the support of the masses.



Parties in the 2019 European Parliament elections (photo: www.alinea.id)

Of course, unlike in previous times, what happened in the 20th century gave rise to the phenomenon of the spread of political parties throughout the world. Countries that are still underdeveloped or whose democracy is just growing or because they have just escaped colonial rule, have given rise to the practice of the presence of large modern political parties. However, sometimes such countries are bound by the basics of old ties that are based on traditional relations such as ethnic or ethnic affiliation, or religion, and even other ties such as customs and norms that live and grow in traditional societies. In addition, as countries that are just growing, have just escaped from colonialism, or have just accepted the democratic system as a state system, it is very visible that many political parties have emerged in less developed countries.

Some of the power and authority are due to political forces, but not a few are also in power with a militaristic character. This pattern has previously also occurred with certain socialist and communist parties in Europe, which had previously experienced the same trend of strength. The political images and practices, which are evidently carried out by the parties in Europe as mentioned above, have demonstrated the same ability to function in multiparty democracies.

However, in different forms at the same time, there are still forms of the presence of a single party system as the only political party in power with a dictatorial character as a feature used in managing power. The format of a multiparty system with a better democratic format was initially developed within the framework of liberal democracy in the 19th century, but the purpose of the presence of political parties to strengthen human freedom in the language of liberalism was overturned in the following century. Political parties have actually been used since the 20th century by dictatorial interests for purposes which, of course, are not at all democratic.

The basic differences in the presence of political parties that have existed so far can be made into fundamental differences in at least two more extreme forms. The two types referred to are types of political parties, cadre parties on the one hand and mass-based par-

ties on the other. In their general form, these two forms of parties coexist in many countries that adhere to both democratic and socialist systems. This pattern is found to be especially true in Western Europe, where communist and socialist parties have emerged alongside the older conservative and liberal parties. Indeed, many parties do not fall into one of the two categories above, but the parties still combine some of the characteristics of the two types of parties.

2. Cadre Party

The cadre party can be understood as a party dominated by a group of elite political activists from a party that developed in Europe and America during the 19th century. Except in a few states in the United States, France from 1848, and the German Empire since 1871, this cadre party pattern gave voting rights largely limited to taxpayers and property owners. And even if the right to vote is given to more citizens, the political influence is not widespread because it is basically limited to a very small segment of the population. The majority of the voting community do not have broad political authority, other than being limited to the role of spectators, and do not have any authority as citizens within the scope of power and as politically active participants as understood in today's era.

The 19th century cadre parties reflected a fundamental conflict between two classes, namely: the aristocratic class, on the one hand, which described itself as a social class, which in most social orders was considered the highest class in society. The aristocratic class has an inherent identity because of the specific inherited rank and title often associated with the more knowledgeable class. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie, with their enormous power of capital and wealth, is often contrasted with the aristocratic class.

Aristocratic groups tend to consist of landowners or those who depend on rural plantations, where farmers or workers in the fields or plantations are generally illiterate people who are often detained for work by a priest or traditional religious figure. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie came from a group of people consisting of industrialists, traders, bankers, financiers, and professionals, depending on the lower class of clerks and industrial workers in the cities. In the later development of their political interests, these two classes, both the aristocratic class and the bourgeoisie, each developed their own ideology to fight for their respective interests.

a. The Cadre Party's Ideology

In terms of ideology, the birth of bourgeois liberal ideology first developed during the 17th century British Revolution in the writings of John Locke, a famous British philosopher and one of the founders of democracy. This idea was later developed by French philosophers in the 18th century. In its demands for the equality of formal laws and acceptance of the injustices of the social conditions of the society that emerged at the time, liberal ideology reflected the interests of the bourgeoisie on a line that imagined wanting to destroy the privileges of the aristocracy. It is also hoped that the demand for equality will remove the economic barriers of feudalism and mercantilism that are still inherent. Feudalism and

mercantilism are two economic theories and practices that dominated Europe in the previous century, which aimed to increase its power by weakening national power and power over rival countries.



Conservative Party in England. (Photo: www.bbc.com)

Although it may be somewhat contrary to the principles of the bourgeoisie as we understand it today, in its early understanding, bourgeois classical liberalism expressed the same aspirations for everyone because its principles revolved around the struggle and the pursuit of egalitarian ideals and demands for freedom. On the other hand, conservative ideology has never succeeded in presenting a definition or theme that appeals to the public because the ideology they present seems to be more closely related to the interests of the aristocracy. However, for a long period of time, conservative sentiment did maintain a considerable influence among a number of ordinary people when the aristocratic school was able to express itself as an incarnation or power obtained as an expression of God's will.

Countries that are predominantly Roman Catholic which show the presence of religion is based on the great influence of the priest / priest of the Catholic Church. All of its rules and obedience stand in a pyramidal hierarchy with the power of the supreme leader of the Catholic Church led by a Pope in the Vatican, Rome, Italy, which is considered as the will of God which greatly influences state policy. This expression of power as God's will is certainly closely related to a highly structured hierarchical pattern and a single line of command from top to bottom to the smallest churches in distant villages. So leaders who often join conservative parties are often representatives of Church figures, namely priests or priests as religious figures who are highly respected as seen in countries such as France, Italy, and Belgium.

Conservative and liberal cadre parties dominated European politics in the 19th century. The party thrived during periods of great social and economic upheaval and party leaders exercised power largely through the electoral process and being elected to parliament. As most powers tend to use their maximum power to stay in power again, once this party is in power, their leaders involve the use of military or police force even though the party itself is

generally not organized for violent activities. Smaller groups at the regional level or local units are tasked with ensuring political including moral and financial support to candidates at election time, as well as establishing mutually beneficial communication relationships by maintaining constant contact between elected officials and voters.

An interesting example is that national party institutions always try with various efforts to unite party members who have been elected, including at lower levels with fellow members of the assembly. It is also very important to study for the context and the present era, which is the general application that committees or party officials at the local level are still given the authority to maintain their respective basic autonomy. In addition, each elected legislator is given the right to have great independence for each to act politically to give what he considers best for the people, because there is no party authority to punish or dismiss an elected legislator. This freedom makes every legislator have the free authority to fight for what the legislator deems right for the people without being afraid of threats.

Party discipline in voting is established by British parties, which are indeed older in existence due to the fact that the British Parliament has been around for a long time, and is hardly imitated in Continental Europe at all. What happened to the presence of the first US political parties in the 19th century was not very different from that of the European cadre parties, except that the confrontation between political parties in America was less violent and less ideological.

The first form of the US struggle was between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, or between conservatives and liberals, while the struggle in Europe was carried out in the form of the Revolutionary War. For example, it can be seen that Great Britain manifested the power of the king and the nobility, and there was strong resistance to the bourgeoisie and liberalism. Such an interpretation is, of course, simplified.

There were some aristocrats in Southern Europe who particularly adhered to an aristocratic spirit based on the institution of slave ownership and paternalistic ownership of land. In this sense, the Civil War of 1861–1865 can be considered the second phase of violent conflict between conservatives and liberals. Meanwhile, the politics of power in the United States was based on the rise of bourgeois civilization from the start, which was later replaced by a growing awareness based on a deep sense of equality and individual freedom.

The Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, including Republicans, all belong to families with a liberal character. The principle is that all parties have the same basic ideology and the same system of fundamental values. Their only difference is in the ways they go about achieving what they believe in.



Boris Johnson's Conservative Party wins a landslide in the 2019 UK election.

(Photo: www.tempoco.com)

In understanding the matter of party structure, parties in the US initially differed slightly from their European counterparts. The presence of top executives or core administrators of parties in the US consists of local figures. This is what makes the bond between party officials at the local level and the organization at the national level tend to be weaker than in Europe. At the state level, there is some effective coordination from local party organizations, but when viewed at a higher level, at the national level, there is no such coordination. More original structures could only be formed for the better after the Civil War ended, such as what happened in the American Southern Territory to exploit African-American voices and along the East Coast to control the voices of citizens with immigrant status. The pattern of decentralization, i.e., the extreme extension of local authority in the United States, allows a party to establish a quasi-local dictatorship in a city or county by seizing all key positions in an election. Not only mayoral positions, but also in police institutions, in national and regional financial institutions, and even the power in the courts are under the control of the political party machine, and thus the political party machine is the development of the capabilities and hard work of the political party. genuine party cadres.

Party administrators at the local level are usually made up of adventurers or gangsters (political thugs) who seek to control the distribution of wealth and to ensure that they remain in power. These people themselves are controlled by the power of the party chairperson at the central level, as well as the political leaders who control the machinery at the city, county, or state level. Under the direction and control of the party officials according to their level of authority, each electoral district is divided carefully, and each area is closely monitored by party officials who have been appointed by the party, a kind of captain who is responsible for securing votes for the party.

Various profit opportunities as prizes are offered to voters in exchange for their pledge of votes. The party machine can offer inducements such as employment in organizations or trade unions, permission and authority to run a number of businesses or merchants, immunity from police-related matters, and a number of

other possibilities. Operating in such a way allows a party to often guarantee a majority in the election of the candidate it chooses. And after controlling local government, police, courts, and public and their clients are given an unwritten guarantee of impunity or immunity in illicit activities such as prostitution and gambling, and the awarding of public contracts to favorite businessmen.

Such a decline in the party mechanism is not without benefits and always provides new ways for a number of parties who really need it at that time. For example, the presence of European immigrants who arrived in the United States was lost and isolated in the vast and large American world with all the differences in culture and social life from where the immigrants came from. With this somewhat less commendable system, they may be able to find work and a place to live in return for their commitment to the party.

In a system of almost pure capitalism at that time and at a time when social services for the life of the wider community were practically not available at that time, the party organization or machine with the bosses or the general chairman of the political party management at their respective levels took over the very responsibility necessary for social life. But we must say that the moral and material costs that must be sacrificed for the use of such a system are, of course, very expensive because such attitudes and character patterns can only be implemented. The reason is that there is a system and work pattern that is very purely exploitative in character, not purely providing services to the wider community as the party's objectives should be presented.

b. The Cadre Party's Structure and Power

At the end of the 19th century, the effect of such party management with the main figure being a bossier character and the main pattern being a closed character from the party led to a change in the main election, changing from dominant power to a pattern where all candidates for party management who will take office will go through a process. and selection mechanisms. The main movement that developed later was to reject or stop the position of party leaders' authority to dictate candidates for elections.

The majority of states adopted this main system in one form or another between 1900 and 1920. The purpose of this system is to make parties more democratic by opening the widest possible opportunities to the wider community in the hope of counterbalancing the influence that tempts party administrators who wish to rule more broadly and for longer. In practice, this moral goal did not materialize, as party committees still had the upper hand when elections were held openly for the public wishing to run in the primaries. In its original form, the Labor Party in England was a new type of cadre party that established intermediary relations with mass-based parties. This pattern of relations was formed with the support of trade unions and left-wing intellectuals.

In the governing body of the party's main base, each local organization sends representatives to the district labor committees, which in turn are represented at the national congress. The early Labor

Party (pre-1918) was thus structured around many local and regional organizations, making it impossible to join the party directly because membership came only through affiliated bodies, such as trade unions. Thus, each member represents a new type of party he represents and is not dependent on highly political individuals whose only interests are to gain and use power.

Membership becomes a pattern of organized representation of the broader interests of the working class. Several Christian Democratic parties were formed on a number of European continents, including the Belgian Social Christian Party in Belgium (Belgian Social Christian Party) during World War I and World War II, as well as the Austrian Popular Party (Austrian Popular Party). Similar structures include federations of trade unions, agricultural organizations, middle class movements, employers' associations, and so on. After 1918, the Labor Party in England developed a direct membership policy on the Continental Socialist Party model, with individual members being allowed to join local constituent branches. The majority of the membership of a cadre party is confirmed to continue to be affiliated with a local organization or delegate from one of the organizations rather than directly joining on behalf of an individual, which has been started since the early 20th century. At the annual conference in 1987, the limit on the proportion of trade union delegates was later set at 50 percent.



The Conservative Party wins in the Austrian Election 2019. (photo: www.dw.com)

3. Mass-Based Party

If cadre parties usually organize a small number of party followers as mentioned above, then mass-based parties, on the other hand, unite hundreds of thousands of followers, sometimes millions, with as many citizens as possible. However, the number of members is not the only criterion for a mass-based party. The essential factor of mass-based parties is that parties that call themselves mass-based seek to base themselves on mass appeal. This type of party tries to organize not only those who are influential or famous or those who represent special interest groups, but also every citizen who wants to join the party. If such a party only manages to amass a few followers, then it is potentially just mass-based. However, it is still different from the cadre-type party.

a. Pattern Of Mass Party Organization

In the late 19th century, the socialist parties on the European continent organized themselves en masse to educate and organize the

growing population of workers and wage earners, which characterized them as a party that became more and more politically important. Its presence is an extension of the voting rights of the citizens, while also trying to raise the money needed for propaganda by regularly mobilizing all the resources at their disposal. The party also involved the poor, which made their number very large.

The campaign to gain membership was carried out as something very important, and each member made regular contributions to the party. As the number of party members increases, the party emerges as a strong organization, managing funds from large sources and spreading its ideas among segments of the population according to the interests of each citizen. This practice was followed by the German Social Democratic Party, which in 1913 had more than one million members, whose followers were ideologically present with the same zeal and were massively bound.

A party with a mass-characterized organization like that is, of course, strictly structured and already has a standard format. For example, the party needs proper membership registration; the preparation of a treasurer to collect dues from all members; a secretary to call and preside over local meetings; and a hierarchical framework for the coordination of thousands of local sections. One of the forms of gathering mass support is through the tradition of collective action and group discipline, which tends to be carried out within workers' groups through labor organizations. These categorical groups within the party sphere tend to be more developed among workers as a result of their participation through prosecuting them in strikes and other union activities, supporting the development and centralization of party organization.

Complex party organizations tend to exert great influence on those with responsibilities at various levels in the hierarchy, giving rise to certain oligarchic tendencies. Socialist parties seek to control this trend by developing democratic procedures for electing leaders. At each level, those who hold responsible positions are elected by party members. Each local party group will elect delegates to regional and national congresses, where party candidates and party leaders will be selected and party policies decided.

The type of mass-based party described above is widely imitated by nonsocialist parties. Several cadre-type parties in Europe, both conservative and liberal, are trying to change themselves along the same path. Christian Democratic parties often develop organizations that are more directly imitating the mass-based model. But non-socialist parties have generally been less successful in building strict, disciplined organizations.

b. Organizational Structure Of The Communist Party

The presence of the Communist Party, especially in Eastern Europe and then spreading to various parts of the world, such as Asia and a number of other countries, is a form of splinter groups from the existing socialist parties, which initially adopted the pattern of organization of these socialist parties. As a result of the decision of the Comintern (the Third International) to become a federation

of working class parties in 1924, all communist parties changed according to the model practiced in the Soviet Union. This model of change developed later into a mass party based on the membership of as many citizens as possible, although its membership was limited to those who adhered to and adhered to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.



Celebration of the Chinese Communist Party in 2021
(photo: www.kompas.com)

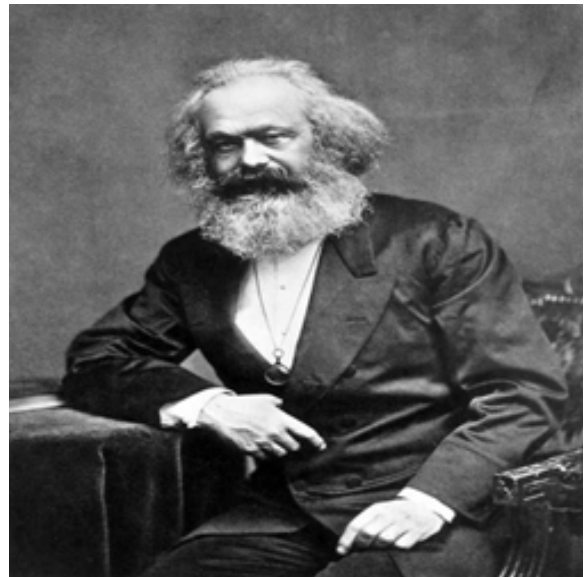
The communist parties at the central level developed a new structural organization, while the local committees consisted of cadres. The socialist parties focused their organizing efforts and drew their support from certain geographic areas, also engaging communist groups to form their cells in the workplace. The workplace cell would later become the earliest original element in the organization of the communist party. This pattern is created by grouping all party members who depend on the same company, workshop, or shop or professional institutions that are of the same type (school or university, for example). Thus, party members tend to be tightly organized, their solidarity being their main bond, and the success of a goal resulting from working together with a pattern of ties within the party and organization is felt to be much stronger than that based solely on residence.

The workplace cell system has proven to be effective and others have tried to imitate it, although generally it doesn't work as well as the cell system in the past. Such an organization insists on directing each cell to focus on issues of a more professional nature than corporations or organizations that are more professional in nature than just problems of a more political nature. However, these basic groups, which, of course, are smaller in organization and therefore have a greater number of organizations than the socialist sections, tend to separate them from one another without any coercive ties. So the important lesson from this situation is the need to have a very strong party structure and for party leaders to have broad authority if such groups in the future face resistance, or resistance that is characterized by centrifugal pressure, or that leads directly to the source of power of such an organization.

Because the will to have centralized power (centrifugal) on one hand increasingly has very strong authority, the second characteristic of communist parties was born, namely the desire to have a high level of centralization in the hands of the administrators of the

central level organization. Although all massbased parties tend to be centralized, the communist party has more centralized authority than other parties. The centrifugal principle of the Communist Party is that it is given a principle that allows it to conduct discussions at all levels of the organization. All the results of the discussion forums in each organization are the results of discussions at each level of the organization, so there is a proposal at each level before a decision is made. The proposal is only an input to be considered at the central management level, but the final decision or final decision remains in the hands of the central body, and all parties, even at the lowest level, must follow the decisions made by the central agency.

This principle is certainly something different from the system of democratic centralism, which emphasizes joint decisions discussed at the central level that must be carried out by all parties. The experience of creating opportunities for divisive efforts that, from time to time, divide or paralyze socialist parties has been a very valuable lesson for the Communist Party. For that reason, all practices or endeavors experienced in the Socialist Party are prohibited in the Communist Party. The result is that the trend in the Communist Party is that it generally manages to maintain its unity very tightly and rigidly.



Karl Marx, the founder of Marxism
(photo: www.harianindonesia.id)

A further characteristic that distinguishes the communist party from the other parties is that the communist parties greatly uphold the so-called respect for the importance of an ideology. The Communist Party's treatment of ideology as something great that should not be discussed has forced the party to act and move in the name of an ideology that appears sacred or untouchable by anyone. In the name of ideology, all party administrators must submit to the decisions of the central committee because only the party's central committee understands the ideology, and the rest must obey without exception. All parties must have a doctrine or

at least a platform to adhere to the ideology that has become the basis for the movement of all members of the Communist Party under it. In fact, earlier European socialist parties also adhered to a doctrinal pattern and character before 1914 and between World Wars I and II.

However, in subsequent developments, socialist parties have actually developed to become more pragmatic and even seem opportunistic in the midst of demands for liberalism, which are also developing in all civilized countries, especially in Western Europe, America, and all other countries, including in the United States, Asia, South America and Africa. But in communist parties, ideology occupies a much more basic place and becomes the focus of everyone's steps and attitudes in acting, especially in policy making in lower-level party organizations. The main concern of the party is to create a pattern of indoctrination for all its members with the teachings of Marxism. These patterns of indoctrination with the flow of Marxism, even though they do not use the flow of Marxism, can be seen very easily around the 1920s and 1930s in a number of European regions because they are considered to be able to create very high levels of obedience and loyalty.

Quite a number of countries in Europe practice the phenomenon of seeing the emergence of fascist parties which try, like the communist and socialist parties, to organize the maximum number of members but do not claim to represent a large mass. Their teaching has a similar attitude and character, which is authoritarian and elitist in style. They think that society should be directed by the most talented and capable people, i.e., by the elite themselves. The party leadership, grouped under the absolute authority of a supreme head, is placed as a figure who is an elite who is talented, capable, and must be obeyed unconditionally. The party structure is formed to have a pattern of goals, namely guarantees of absolute obedience to the elite.

c. Organizational Pattern Of Fascist Party

The pattern of obedience and structure carried out by fascist leaders is similar to that which is common among militaries around the world, namely the pattern of obedience and a single line of command in one direction to the lower levels. The pattern in the military does use a system of obedience that is regulated in such a way as to ensure that through strict discipline will create the obedience of a large number of individuals to elite leadership. The party structure of fascist leaders is to utilize a military-type organization consisting of a pyramid composed of essentially very small units. However, when these units combine with other units, they form a net that forms an increasingly large group that cannot be separated from one another by a single line of command.



Benito Mussolini founded the Fascist Party in Italy in 1919 (photo: www.liputan6.com)

Practices that use patterns of uniform, rank, order, respect, marches, and other obedience are something that really must exist so that there is no question that all of these practices are taken over unanimously in all aspects of the fascist party. The similarity between the leadership practices of the fascist pattern and the military pattern can be explained by another factor, namely the spirit and pattern of indoctrination. Fascist doctrine always teaches that power must be seized by an organized minority using patterns and characteristics of violence. It is for this reason that the fascist parties make use of the militia, which is meant to guarantee victory in the struggle for control of the disorganized masses.

The big parties, built on the fascist model as developed between the two wars in Italy and Germany, brought the fascist parties to real power. Fascist parties also emerged in most other countries in Western Europe during this period but did not succeed in gaining power, as did the fascist parties in Italy and Germany. The less developed countries of Eastern Europe and Latin America were equally infected by the fascist movement. The result that can be felt is the conquest of fascist forces in the middle of the 20th century when most of the countries in the world were colonized by more advanced countries, namely the victory of the Allied forces in 1945.

The victory became an opportunity to reveal the terrible and frightening attitude towards humanity of the practice of Nazism, which temporarily stopped fascist growth. Efforts like this, of course, slowly trigger the decline of fascist parties at the same time that more democratic patterns are also growing throughout the world, especially in countries that feel themselves as civilized countries. Yet, in the decades since the end of World War II, neo-fascist political parties and movements have emerged with many similarities to their fascist forefathers. These movements emerged in several European countries, even though at the beginning of the 21st century, no one had come to power.#

Chapter 2

POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL POWER

The general pattern that always occurs everywhere in terms of parties and political power is the existence of the same function for each party. It doesn't matter whether they are conservative or revolutionary in character, whether they are linked to aristocratic union groups or mass organizations, or whether the parties succeed in carrying out their functions in a pluralistic democracy or in a monolithic dictatorship, all parties have one function in common, namely that parties must participate to some extent in its implementation. In relation to political power, either by forming a government or by carrying out the function of the opposition, a function that is often very important to be carried out by every political party is how it plays a role in determining national policies.

1. Power Conflict

In theory, it is possible to distinguish revolutionary parties, which in the general picture are always trying to gain power through patterns characterized by violence, such as patterns of conspiracy strategies, patterns of guerrilla warfare, and other patterns. These patterns are used by parties working within the legal framework of elections to win the sympathy of voters. But the distinction is not always easy to make because similar parties can sometimes use both procedures simultaneously or sequentially depending on the current political situation at a time when it is necessary and profitable to do so. In the 1920s, for example, the communist parties sought power through elections, but at the same time they developed underground revolutionary activities that convinced the public of the ideology and persuasion that the revolutionary character they were doing was in the interests of the people as well.

On the other hand, at the end of the 19th century in a number of European areas, liberal parties emerged in the same situation that sometimes used conspiracy techniques to convince a large and broad population, as happened in Italy, Austria, Germany, Poland, and Russia; but at the same time, liberal parties also sometimes limited or withheld part of their struggle to convince voters to take electoral matters to the ballot box, as happened in Britain and France.



Labor Party in the UK (Photo: www.okezone.com)

The revolutionary methods of each party, of course, vary greatly. The division of groups based on clandestine plots, namely the existence of a minority group who seizes the centers of power, of course presupposes that there is a power characterized by a monarchy as a one-handed and hereditary power like a king, or a dictatorship in which the masses of the people have little voice in the government and are even forced to obey and submit to the orders of the ruler. But if the activities of terrorists who do not agree with the policies of the current government and the presence of a group of rebels who interfere with the situation of the ruling government can certainly serve to encourage the presence of the mobilization of citizens who do not agree with the current government system, and if the strength of the rebels increases, enlargement will certainly ensure all parties' presence and, at the same time, show the powerlessness of the government in power. This pattern is a common one in any country.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, trade unions classified as leftist political wings often praised the revolutionary general strikes carried out by the workers, including for the complete cessation of all economic activities that would paralyze society completely, eventually succeeding in placing the government at the mercy of the people. revolutionary. While resistance activities with rural guerrilla systems were often used in countries with agrarian societies and while urban guerrilla warfare was effective in the 19th century European revolution, developments in police and military control techniques have made such guerrilla activities even more difficult.

Revolutionary parties are fewer in number than parties that work in areas that deal with legal matters, namely patterns that place candidates or contestants at election time as the usual means of gaining power. This activity is common because it is in accordance with the original nature of political parties, which involved three factors, namely: propaganda organization, candidate selection, and campaign financing. The first characteristic, propaganda, is the party's most frequently seen first name. The party first puts a stamp or label on each candidate, which serves to introduce each candidate to the electorate and seeks to identify the position of those candidates. Because this party label is clearer, voters can better differentiate between candidates. Promises and declarations that come from an individual candidate are rarely taken seriously because the candidates come from different parties.

The second characteristic is the determination of candidates, namely when the general election places some political candidates or candidates from communist party groups, other candidates are socialist, while the third candidate is fascist, and the fourth candidate is from liberal circles. In the final stage, parties also equip their respective political candidates with workers in an effort to raise funds, help put up posters, distribute literature, ensure steps to arrange meetings, and ask door to door for political support.

The function of selecting political candidates is carried out in a

general pattern, namely in three ways: general screening at all levels; then each level conducts screening; and then it is proposed to be determined, usually depending on the authority of the political party, whether it is determined by the central level or given authority to the lower level. According to the level of each candidate, it all depends on the policies of the political parties. Cadre parties use efforts by placing candidates selected by party activist committees that make up the party, which is commonly known as the caucus system, as is commonly used in the United States. In general, local committees played an important role in the selection of these candidates. However, in a number of countries, elections are often centered on national caucuses, as is the custom of the Conservative Party in the UK and the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) party in the Netherlands.

In mass-based parties, the election of political candidates is actually carried out by members of Congress both regionally and later on at the national stage in stages according to a more democratic procedure. In common practice, the central-level party leadership committee plays an important role, while lower-level constituent members in the local clumps generally ratify their choices. Another practice that can be seen in the United States as a reference to the practice of democracy, which is often regarded as one of the best in the world, is the mechanism for selecting political candidates through a preliminary election pattern. The election pattern with this preliminary system establishes a system for selecting candidates through the votes of all party members or all voters in a particular electoral area.

However, the various candidate selection processes did not differ significantly in their outcomes, as party leaders almost always played an important role. This introduced oligarchic tendencies into party politics, a trend that has not been overcome by mass-based party congresses or primaries such as those in the US, which placed only a partial limit on the power of governing committees.

The third characteristic, campaign financing, is an important aspect of power struggles between political parties. The cadre party has a pattern that there will always be in their organizations or committees, either at the central level or at lower levels in the regions, the presence of several key figures who are indeed responsible for collecting aid funds or financial support obtained either from the provision of companies that have enthusiasm and the same ideology or from among individuals who are rich and have intentions and interests in political affairs.



Labor Party in a mass action in the UK.
(Photo www.mediaindonesia.com)

While in mass-based parties, they adopt a different pattern, namely the idea that instead of seeking large amounts of money from a few people, the leaders are more likely to collect smaller amounts. This method is considered more effective because it involves obtaining it from a large number of people who regularly and continuously provide financial assistance to political parties on a monthly or annual basis. This method is seen as one of the distinguishing features of mass-based parties. Sometimes, the legal domain is often used to intervene in the financing of elections and parties. Legislation is often formulated to limit campaign financing and seek to limit party resources, but in practice, these strict legal arrangements generally do not function properly.

This is good because it allows parties to look for aspects that are often not regulated in the law so that these rules and formulations for financing political parties can be circumvented. In some countries, other forms of pattern are even different from the patterns carried out by a number of parties above, where the state is required by law to donate a part of public funds to political parties. At first, such financial participation was limited to spending on campaigns and based on uniform treatment of candidates, as was the case in France, but in Sweden and Finland, countries even contributed to the general finances of political parties.

2. Political Participation in The Power System

In a democratic government regime, which, of course, is not meant to be a single party in a dictatorship of a government system, the common impression is that once a political party wins an election, the question always arises of how much influence that party has on the government in power. The influence of the party on members in election offices is often considered to be quite weak. This understanding defines a general line of activity for political parties, but

the lines of this role can be very blurred, especially when decisions are made at regular meetings between holders of government positions and the leaders of their political parties. Each member of the legislature has personal freedom to act in participating in debates, participating in government, and, of course, especially in voting. Parties may, of course, seek to enforce party lines, but members of the parliament or congress cannot be forced to vote as the party wishes. It is this understanding and fact that always works in the political and governmental situation in the United States as well as in most liberal and conservative European parties, especially in cadre parties in general.

So, if there is a question about how disciplined a party is and the extent to which a party will always present a circle or stronghold of unity, it is very possible to make two distinctions between each party. The striking difference is what is made by the party line, which is called a rigid and flexible party, namely the existence of a party that always applies efforts among those who try to always be united and disciplined, following what is most often an ideologically based party line; and on the other hand, the existence of parties that represent various interests and broader perspectives and the opportunity to form a legislative body that is an individual assembly rather than a party.

The possibility that parties operating within a particular system will be rigid or flexible is certainly highly influenced and highly dependent on the constitutional provisions that determine the circumstances under which the government can continue to serve. This format and picture of government is clearly illustrated by comparing the political situation in the United States with the political situation in Great Britain. In the United States, the president and government continue to serve for four constitutionally defined years without necessarily having to look at whether the majority of the legislature supports the president or not. In political practice in the United States, it is very clear that a united party is thus unimportant for the survival of the government, while the existence of two major parties is because they can accommodate a wider coalition of interests with a voting agenda placed on very important issues that do not infrequently divide the existence of each party.



Community participation in politics (Photo: www.kabar24.bisnis.com)

In England, the situation is quite different in that the government can continue in office only as long as it retains a majority of seats in the Legislature. The presence of even one vote deemed detrimental can result in the dissolution of Parliament and general elections. For this reason, party discipline and unity are very important, and the fact of the importance of party discipline and unity has far-reaching consequences for the composition, organization, and policies of each party. The consequences of a party split within such a constitutional framework are well illustrated by the weakness and instability of the governments of the French Third and Fourth republics.

The distinction between flexible and rigid parties applies equally to those in power and to parties that form the opposition. The voices of criticism or distrust, the votes that appear at the time of drafting a proposed law or at a meeting on budget matters, questions posed to ministers or challenges posed to the ruling party are all invariably characterized by the so-called all functions of the opposition party, which run differently in flexible and rigid party systems.

In a flexible party system, the absence of strong discipline is often a big consequence for opposition parties because only hard, strong, and strict parties with rigid characteristics can form an opposition force strong enough to balance the power of the ruling party. At the same time, party discipline allows the opposition to present its solution proposals as an alternative to the majority party. And if that happens, the logical consequence of the political situation of power and the presence of opposition like this is the birth of a “shadow cabinet,” as is common in Britain with the idea that voters have always carried with the idea that a new group is always ready to take over the reins of government, which is considered less successful.

In addition, parties provide a channel of communication between opposition legislators and the wider voting community. The governing party performs a similar service to the government, although less is needed because the government has many means of communicating with the public. The presence of the opposition party in such a situation is to provide a means to express negative reactions to the government’s decision and propose alternative solutions. This role justifies the official recognition given to opposition parties, as was the case in Great Britain and Scandinavia.

3. Power And Representation

It is difficult to imagine how representative democracy could function in a large industrial society without political parties. So that citizens can make smart choices as to who will be their representative in the legislature or who will be the leader of their country, whether President or Prime Minister or the like, it is very important for citizens to know the true political orientation of each political candidate. Membership in a political party provides the clearest indication of this citizen’s possible choices. The programs and promises of each individual candidate are not very significant

or informative because most political candidates, in their pursuit of obtaining the most votes, often try to avoid difficult problems. Such candidates all tend to speak relatively similar standard languages in order to disguise their true opinions.

The fact that one candidate is from a socialist party, the other conservative, the third liberal, and the fourth communist, provides a much better clue as to how the candidate will appear when he takes office. In the Legislature, party discipline limits the possibility that elected representatives will change their minds and political views, and thus the label of party sect acts as a political guarantee that at least there will be a match between the promises of each political candidate and their future performance. The voters just need to determine which representation is most appropriate for them from the various nuances of the existing streams by synthesizing different positions, which will be the attitude adopted by each representative both at the central level and even at lower levels.



Conservative Party Prime Minister Theresa May of the United Kingdom

Photo: CNN Indonesia

But there is always a habit that parties as well as organizations have a tendency to manipulate their members by bringing them under the control of the circle of key leaders with the aim of perpetuating their leadership in the form of co-optation and keeping their own circle untouched by other parties. If you look at the practices seen in the cadre parties, very often members are manipulated by strong party committees that contain people in the inner circle of influential party leaders. In mass-based parties, although the leaders are elected by the members, the incumbent party administrators are very often reelected because they control the party apparatus and use it to ensure the continuation of their power.

Whereas a democratic political system requires that when carrying out the function of political representation or representation, the power and leadership of political parties should rely on competition between competing oligarchs. But this oligarchy must consist of an open-to-all elite with political ambitions. No modern democracy can function without political parties with the

intention that oligarchic tendencies compete with each other and convince internal party voters that they are the best candidates for the leadership.

4. The Future of Political Parties

It has often been said that the political system in Europe has made the existence of political parties often go downhill. This idea has become an assumption or view that has long been echoed by certain conservative circles, which was born as a result of the emergence of latent hostility between fellow political parties. The divisions between these political parties have had the effect of being one of the factors that gave rise to serious sociological and political divisions and rifts among citizens, which, of course, poses a serious threat to national unity. This division is very likely to create a temptation for some parties to be persuaded to commit corruption and the possibility of inciting each other.

In certain European countries, such as France, right-wing political organizations even refuse to call themselves political parties, so they prefer to use names or terms for these organizations, such as movements, trade unions, federations, and centers. It cannot be denied that, to some extent, the major parties in Europe and in America in the contemporary era do appear to be parties that seem old and rigid compared to their conditions, which should have been more elegant and turned more modern at the turn of the century or at least immediately after the war. I paused in the world. Relatively new parties, such as the Christian Democratic Union in Germany, founded in 1945, appear somewhat less lively and tend to be very rigid.

However, the existence of parties is growing in relation to the size of the authorities and in number. The existence of political parties is not decreasing but is always growing, including in countries that have not previously adopted a party system. At the turn of the 20th century, parties were limited mainly to Europe and North America, so that in other countries the existence of parties was quite weak or even non-existent. On the other hand, with the existence of parties entering the early 21st century, the existence of political parties is found almost everywhere in the world. In general, on the European continent and in the North American region in general, it was found that the number of political parties was indeed able to convince more people to become party members than in the years before 1914.

The parties at the beginning of the 21st century looked stronger, more agile, bigger, with a modern character that put forward the needs of the times in a better organized pattern than the parties at the end of the 19th century. In industrialized countries, such as in Western Europe, it will be found that the existence of parties that seem to be less revolutionary and less innovative has become a factor that can explain the rigid and outdated image that political parties sometimes present. However, this phenomenon may only be found in a limited number of countries or regions, and this pattern of political parties does not have much effect.

The growth of the party into a very large organization must also be able to account for the feelings of powerlessness on the part of the many individuals involved in the party. This feeling of helplessness on the part of party members is a problem experienced by people who are part of any large organization, whether in a political party, business enterprise, corporation, or trade union. Difficulties in reforming or changing political parties that have grown to be large and institutionalized, coupled with the almost impossible will to form new parties, may make it very difficult to compete with the existing major parties in gaining the votes of voters who are already very ideologically bound. The emergence of one or a number of political systems that have already been established, has become a serious challenge for members of political parties who are frustrated and compounded by the emergence of voters' impatience with the existing party system. But it must be difficult to imagine how democracy could function in a large industrial country without the presence of political parties.

In today's modern world, the existence of democracy and political parties are two sides of a reality that cannot be denied. They are exactly the same as the two sides of a coin or metal, where one side is only meaningful when the other side is also present, and vice versa. Democracy only becomes more meaningful when there are political parties, and the existence of political parties is only meaningful when there are parties in a democracy.#

Chapter 3 PARTY SYSTEMS IN POLITICS

The existence of political parties in each country is different. In general, they can be grouped into three broad categories, namely: a two-party system, a multi-party system, and even a one-party system. Such a classification is based not only on the number of parties operating in a given country but also on the various characteristics exhibited by the three systems. The two-party and multi-party systems are a means to regulate political conflicts in a pluralistic society and thus are part of the democratic apparatus and officers. Single party systems usually operate in situations where the actual political conflict is so severe and intolerable that it does not allow other parties to attend.

In common practice, single parties present a subject to qualifications that must be met, even though single parties usually do not allow the expression of fundamentally different political viewpoints. Moreover, if it goes against the line or ideology of a political party, it is not permitted at all because it will allow for intense conflict within the policy boundaries of the party itself. And even in a two-party or multi-party system, debates often arise that can become an obstacle to making certain decisions and policies. This obstacle is caused by a coalition of certain interests on each side that are deeply rooted in differences, so that the democratic process seriously often has to take a compromise route.

If we refer to the difference between the two-party system and the multiparty system, it is not as easy as it looks from the naked eye. In any two-party system, there are always smaller parties in addition to the two major parties, and there is always the possibility

that a third party has the opportunity to prevent or hinder one of the two main parties from obtaining a majority of seats in the parliament or legislature. Cases like this are common in democratic countries, such as the case with the Liberal Party in Great Britain, for example.

Other countries in mainland Europe are not included in the two-party category as intended above, so the existence of political parties such as in Austria and Germany only approximates the two-party system because these countries still do not stand out for their two-party systems. Of course, it is not only the number of parties that determines the nature of the two-party system; there are many other important elements as well, including the great influence of the two parties and how the level of party discipline is the basis for the choice of citizens in determining their choice of one of the two major parties.

1. Multi-Party System

In Anglo-Saxon countries, there is a tendency to regard the two-party system as something ordinary, while the multi-party system model is seen as an extraordinary fact. In reality, however, the two-party system operating in the United Kingdom, the United States, and New Zealand in particular is something that does not happen much compared to the multiparty system model that can easily be found throughout most of Western Europe.



Political parties participating in the general election (photo: www.republika.co.id)

In Western Europe, a model with three main categories of parties has developed since the early 19th century, namely the conservative party model, the liberal party model, and the socialist party model. Each party exists to reflect the interests of a particular social class and outline a particular political ideology. After World War I, other categories of parties emerged that were partly the result of the split or transformation of older party forms. The Communist parties were born as the embodiment of splinter groups of socialist parties, while the Christian Democratic parties tried to unite moderate socialists and conservative socialists, as well as some parties with liberal nuances.

Other distinctive types of parties have emerged in some countries, such as in Scandinavia, where liberal rural parties developed in the

19th century and came to reflect the long tradition of a system of representation that was separate exclusively from the rural population. In many countries, ethnic minorities are more likely to form the basis of nationalist parties, which then merge with existing parties or divide them. The emergence of socialist party schools in the 19th century disrupted the previous battle line between conservatives and liberals and tended to make these two party groups a force supported by the flow of capitalism.

It can simply be said that these two parties have become a force that should lead to the fusion of conservatives with liberals into one bourgeois party that will present a united stance against socialism, a fact that happened in Great Britain after World War I. The electoral system of each country is one of the most important factors that determines how many political parties can exist in each country. Representation with a proportional system tends to support the development of a multi-party system because it guarantees political representation in the legislature, even for small parties, to be present in parliaments. In the Indonesian context, this electoral system occurred at least in the 1999 and 2004 national elections, when smaller parties had representation in parliament.

In the majority, the use of district-specific electoral systems that use a single voting system, also known as “first past the post” or “the winner takes all,” tends to result in a two-party political system in each country. The reason is that the system will only benefit the big parties and will completely eliminate the rights of small parties to get seats in parliament. This system will thwart parties that may get a lot of votes, but because they are not a majority of voters and are not the winner of the election, they will lose all the votes. The results obtained by a political party that did not become the number one winner even though the votes were very large, but the party’s votes did not allow it to be converted into a parliamentary seat. This happens because only one political party is allowed to take all the seats contested by each political party in an electoral district.

The proportional majority system by voting a second time (also known as the two-round system) favors a multiparty system reinforced by alliances between parties. The German Empire (1871–1914), the Third French Republic (1870–1940) and the Fifth (since 1958) adopted this system for legislative elections. France also uses a two-round system to elect its head of state, as do Austria and Portugal. In developing countries, the two-round system is most commonly found in former French colonies such as Vietnam, Togo, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Voters are given the opportunity to choose among the parties that are included in the first and second best counts in the first round of voting. Results like this do make small parties disadvantaged, but nevertheless, such a system gives them the opportunity to strengthen the role of each party in the second round of voting as long as the small parties are in alliance with the parties that entered the second round of the general election.

Another factor that produces a multiparty system is the intensity of political conflict in a country. If in a certain political situation in a country, there are too many extremists, it will be difficult for the moderates in that party to join the extremist party in an alliance or joint venture for unity. In this situation, two competing parties are likely to be formed. This situation gave rise to the birth of Jacobin power among 19th century French liberals, which contributed greatly to the inability of the moderates to form one large liberal party, as was achieved in Great Britain. Similarly, extremist forces that have emerged among conservatives are an obstacle to the development of a strong conservative party.

The difference between a multiparty system and a two-party system is largely to do with the difference between the two types of regimes, as is the case in Western politics. In a two-party situation, the government in power basically dominates the seats in parliament as a form of domination by one of the winning parties, of course. That is why all government agendas have a majority guarantee in the legislature, which guarantees the sustainability of development agendas and the effectiveness of the government system during the period they last. Such a system is often referred to as a parliamentary majority.

On the other hand, in a multiparty situation, it is very rare for one party to have a majority of seats in the legislature. As a result, governments must be based on coalitions, which are always more heterogeneous and more fragile than the power held by a single majority party, with at least half of the parliamentary seats held by one government-owned political party. If a coalition occurs, the result will be that stability will not run smoothly, and political power will lead to persuasion and promises of office to parties participating in the coalition. As a result, the government is not strong enough. Such a system can be called a non-majority parliament.

In practice, majority and non-majority parliamentary systems are not exactly the same as two-party and multi-party systems. Because if each party in the two-party system is less strict and less strict in managing its party, for example in controlling the voting patterns of its members (as happened in the United States), the majority of one party becomes less meaningful. Moreover, it can happen that one party in the format of a multi-party system will control an absolute majority of seats in the legislature, so that no coalition is needed. Such situations are not uncommon but did occur in West Germany (1949–90), Italy, and Belgium at various times after 1945.

It is generally the case that coalitions will be the only way to achieve a parliamentary majority in a country using a multiparty system. Coalitions are inherently more heterogeneous and less stable than the one-party pattern, but their effectiveness varies greatly according to the discipline and organization of the parties involved. In the case of a flexible party that is undisciplined and that allows each legislator to vote independently, the coalition will be weak and perhaps short-lived, in which case the instability and

weakness of the government will reach its peak, as experienced by the collapse of the Third French Republic, for example. The parties can easily get out of a coalition that is not strict and disciplined.

On the other hand, if the parties involved in the coalition are too rigid and disciplined, creating a system that is almost similar to the two-party system, this pattern may develop. It often happens that two opposing alliances are formed, one on the left and one on the right, when each of the two parties is strong enough to survive through political policies in the legislature. This type of coalition, referred to as bipolarized, actually introduces elements of the two-party system into a multiparty framework. This kind of situation developed in the mid-20th century in Sweden, where conservative, liberal, and agrarian parties allied themselves against the Swedish Social Democratic Party, which was allied with the Communist Party (now the Left Party).

This two-party (bipolar) alliance system can be contrasted or contrasted with a centric alliance system. It is a general trend that parties on the right form center-right coalitions against centre-left coalitions. It is possible that the centre-left coalition and the centre-right coalition will join forces and reject extremes at both ends of the political spectrum, i.e., both the far-left coalition and the far-right coalition. Such a situation occurred in Germany during the Weimar Republic, when the government rested on a majority formed from a coalition of centrist Catholics and social democrats, while opposition came from communists and nationalists on the extreme left and right.

Central coalitions or center coalitions all tend to give the average citizen a sense of political alienation. In rejecting both extremes, the coalition may isolate or place radical or unstable elements in a position that does not need to be considered. But such a coalition government system may tend to be unresponsive to new ideas, tending instead to be pragmatic, uninspiring, and too ready to compromise. This situation creates a split that can become permanent between practical political attitudes and idealistic political ideals. The advantage of this bipolarization, or two-party system, is that moderates from both political parties must cooperate with those who are more extreme in their views, and extremists must be willing to work with those who are more moderate. Pressure from extremists prevents moderates from being trapped, while collaboration with moderates brings a touch of realism to policy among extremists.

2. A System Consisting of Two Parties

A fundamental distinction needs to be made between two-party system formats such as those found in the United States and other two-party formats such as those found in the United Kingdom. Although there are two major parties that dominate political life in each country, the two-party systems in the two countries actually operate in very different ways.

a. America's Two-Party System

The United States has a two-party system, both in opposition between Federalists and Anti-Federalists and later in competition between Republicans and Democrats. There have been many third-party movements in the history of this country to use the two-party system, but these attempts have always failed. The presidential election seems to have played an important role in the formation of the two-party system in America. The national electoral mechanism in America is such a large country that it requires enormous political organization and, at the same time, allows relatively simplified choices for voters.

Parties in America are different from their counterparts in other Western countries. American parties are not bound in the same way as the major social movements and ideologies that have so influenced the development of political life in Europe over the last two centuries, from the late 19th century to the early 21st century. There have always been socialist parties smaller than the two major parties that have dominated at various times in the history of the United States, but they have never challenged the dominance of the two major parties, Republicans and Democrats.



Democrats and Republicans in the United States (photo: www.unpad.ac.id)

It could be argued that the main reason for the failure of the socialist parties in America was the high mobility towards state policy of allowing economic opportunities for the rich, and this pattern continues to grow. The consequence of this kind of mobility is that the class consciousness that would encourage the formation of large socialist or communist parties will never develop in the United States.

Therefore, compared to European political movements, American parties have given rise to two types, both of which originate from one liberal party, and within each party can be found various opinions from right to left. America's parties have a flexible and decentralized structure with powers vested in the regions but are characterized by a lack of discipline and rigid hierarchies. This pattern is a reflection of the structure of most 19th century cadre-type parties, a structure that most liberal parties maintain.

Federalism and concern for regional autonomy highlight the absence of rigid structures and weak lines of authority within the parties. Organizations may be relatively strong and homogeneous at the local level, with the impact of such controls being much weaker at the state level and practically nonexistent at the national level. There is some truth in the observation that the United States actually has not just two parties but hundreds of parties and places two major party parties in each state to compete. But it is also true that each party develops a certain level of national unity for presidential elections and that presidential leadership within a party gives the winning party a cohesion or common bond with all party members.

The lack of a rigid party structure has historically encouraged bipartisanship between Republicans and Democrats in Congress. Throughout the 20th century, liberal Republicans and Democrats tended to align themselves against conservative Republicans and Democrats. However, no block remains and these alignments vary from one vote to another. As a result, despite the existence of a two-party system, there is no stable legislative majority. In order for his budget to be adopted and his laws passed, the President of the United States is forced to carefully gather the necessary votes for each question. The President bears the grueling task of constantly forging alliances.

The two-party system in America is thus a pseudo-two-party system, because each party provides only a loose framework within which shifting coalitions are formed. However, against this general trend, voting has become more and more partisan since around the first decade of the 21st century, meaning that citizens' elections to parties are increasingly blocked according to the preferences of each citizen between the Republican bloc and the Democratic bloc. As a result, the votes of the smaller parties in coalition with the winning presidential candidate party determine the determinant of a presidential candidate's election.

b. British Two-Party Democracy

Another form of the two-party system prevails in Great Britain and in New Zealand. The situation is somewhat similar in Australia but seems to be influenced by the presence of a third party, namely those who are members of The Nationals (formerly the Australian Country Party). The close alliance between the Nationals and the Australian National Party introduced a bipolarized political system with a very rigid relationship with the Labor Party. As such, the two-party system that exists in Australia tends to operate on a two-party basis.

Canada also has what is essentially a two-party system; the Liberals and the Conservatives, both of which are usually able to form a working majority without the help of smaller, regionally based parties. However, the country has deviated from the usual pattern of two-party systems since the 1990s with the election of the Québécois Bloc (1993) and the New Democratic Party (2011) as the country's official opposition.

Returning to Great Britain, the country has had two successive parties: the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party before 1914, and then the Conservative Party and Labor since 1935. The period from 1920 to 1935 was a transitional phase between these two parties. The British Conservative Party was actually the Conservative-Liberal Party, resulting from the fusion of important elements of the two major parties of the 19th century. Despite its conservative name, its ideology is consistent with political and economic liberalism. Similar observations can be made of other major European conservative parties, such as the German Christian Democrats.

The UK's two-party system relies on the existence of strict and rigid parties, i.e., parties that promote effective discipline regarding parliamentary voting patterns. On every ballot, it is essential that all party members vote for a bloc and follow directions that they collectively agree on or are decided for them by party leaders. Relative flexibility is sometimes tolerable, but only to the extent that the policy does not jeopardize government action. Some party members may be allowed to abstain from voting if their abstention does not change the outcome of the vote.

As such, the leader of the majority party who is also prime minister is likely to remain in power throughout the session in Parliament, and his proposed law is likely to be adopted. There is no longer a real separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches, as the government and its parliamentary majority form a homogeneous and solid bloc in which the opposition has no power other than to make its criticisms known to the public. During the four or five years that Parliament meets, the ruling majority appears to be in complete control, and only internal difficulties or constraints within the majority party can limit its power.



Political parties in England (photo: www.voaindonesia.com)

Each party is founded by a highly disciplined group with a widely recognized leader who will become Prime Minister if his party wins the legislative elections. So this general election serves the function of selecting both members of the Legislature and the ruling government. In a vote that sees one party leader as head of government, Britain guarantees the leader of a parliamentary majority who leads a parliamentary majority with discipline. The result is a very stable, democratic and strong political system. Many argue

that the system is more stable, more democratic, and stronger than the system practiced in other countries.

This situation presupposes that both parties agree on the basic rules of democracy. Of course, if there were opposing forces of the fascist party and the communist party in Great Britain, the two-party system would not last long. The winner will vigorously suppress the opponent and rule alone. The system, of course, has its weak points, mainly because it tends to frustrate innovative elements on both sides. But it is possible that this situation is preferable to what it would be if more extreme elements within the parties were allowed to engage in unrealistic policies.

The risk of immobility is actually a problem for anyone in modern industrial society, and not just for those in a two-party situation. The problem relates to the difficulty involved in creating a new organization that is deemed worthy and worthy of being taken seriously by an important segment of the population. It is hoped that this effort will be able to revitalize an organization that has long been burdened by established practices and the interests of a group of entrenched parties.

3. Single Party System

Historically, there have been three historical forms of single-party systems: communist, fascist, and those found in less developed countries.

a. Communist model

In the communist countries of the twentieth century, the party was seen as the spearhead of the urban working class and other workers who united with it either as farmers, intellectuals, or in other occupations that were considered employees. The party became the spearhead that was used because it did not agree with the presence of a liberal system and wanted to replace it as soon as possible with a purely socialist system.

The role of the party is to assist in the building of a socialist regime/government during the transitional phase from disapproved capitalism to an aspired system of pure socialism. It is the will of the whole working class towards pure socialism that is called the dictatorship of the proletariat or the power of the workers. An understanding of the proper role of the party requires a proper understanding of the evolution of the state, as in the conception of the Marxists, namely the Marxists.



Vladimir Lenin initiated the flow of Communism in the Soviet Union. (photo: www.pikiran-rakyat.com)

In countries based on private ownership of the means of production, state power, in the Marxist view, will be used to the maximum extent possible to advance the interests of the capitalists. The capitalists control the whole process of production and suck the energy, minds, and hearts of the workers. So, in the first stage, a revolution against the state is needed so that capitalist power is broken.

However, power must still be used to prevent counter-revolution and to facilitate the ongoing transition from liberalism to communism, in which the stage of coercion is no longer necessary. Thus, for a communist state, political parties basically only carry out state coercive functions during the process of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or more precisely, as long as the dictatorship of the party on behalf of the proletariat is carried out as an ongoing process.

In all communist countries, the structure of the political party is largely determined according to the need for the party to govern firmly, while at the same time, the political party must maintain its contact or communication with the masses of the people. Party members are part of the general public, and are chosen by them as the most active and politically conscious members. Thus, party members keep in touch with the masses through the ubiquitous network of party cells.

For this reason, party leaders will always “listen to the masses,” and the masses will always be informed of the party leaders’ decisions as long as the communication network runs in two directions, namely between the masses of the people and the party leaders. The party is not only a means of permanent contact between the people and the party leader, but also a political party that is used as a propaganda tool by the party leader to reach the entire people. This is what is called political indoctrination. It is something that is very important for the survival of communist parties, and a lot of resources are always devoted to this indoctrination effort.

Indoctrination is carried out in all fields and from all angles without exception, including the indoctrination of the teachings and ideologies of the communist party in the teaching and learning

process in training schools, through “education” campaigns, and through censorship. This indoctrination has become increasingly powerful because it is carried out through the tireless efforts of political party militants who play roles such as the role of a priest or imam in organizing their religious affairs in an organized manner. Thus, the party has become a central figure that functions as a guardian of orthodoxy in teachings or ideological purity, and even has the power to condemn and excommunicate anyone who contradicts its teachings.

In the traditional communist political party model, both party hierarchies and non-official hierarchies of the state always have real power and impact on every citizen. The main/first secretary of the party is placed as the most important figure in the regime. In terms of leadership, whether a political party’s leadership is in the hands of one person or several people, the position of political parties remains the center of political power. The People’s Republic of China is a perfect example of the communist party system model in question.

However, there were important shifts and changes in the appearance of each political party in a number of countries towards the end of the 20th century. For example, the communist party model in the European region began to change as the center of power shifted more and more towards a broad hierarchy of publicly elected states by the masses of the people.

The younger generation of communist party leaders have an open mind and think critically about the management of the party government, which is considered to be inefficient. This inefficient attitude is considered not even to have an adequate responsive character with principles that tend to hegemony or the will to power, especially those that only dominate in economic affairs. For this reason, the younger generation of party leaders are actually looking for the original concept that Lenin had in mind about democratic centralism and socialism.

As a result, in a number of developing countries, there is a rejection of the concept of democracy and the opportunity to make changes or amendments to the constitution. The change effort was intended to eliminate the party’s official control so as to pave the way for the birth of a multi-party system, as is the case in many democratic countries with more advanced civilizations. Although political reforms such as glasnost, namely the politics of openness born in the Soviet Union and carried out by Mikhael Gorbachev, the hope for the birth of a truly competitive party in communist countries, has never emerged even after the fall of communism in the former Soviet Union and in eastern Europe.

b. Fascist Model

Fascist parties in one-party countries have never played as important a role as the communist party in similar situations. In Italy, the Fascist Party was never the single most important element in the regime, and its influence was no more than a secondary role. In

Spain, the Falange Party never played a significant role, the same role in Portugal as the National Unity Party, when it was only a very weak organization even during the height of the power of the dictator António Salazar.

The National Socialist Party wielded such state power only in Germany. But in the end, Adolf Hitler’s dictatorship actually depended on two special forces he formed for himself, namely the SS troops (Schutzstaffel) as an element that was separate from the party and closed to outside influence, and the existence of the Gestapo organization, which was a state organization and not a party organization. Fascist parties in one-party states have more authority that focuses more on patterns such as police or military functions than ideological functions.



Benito Mussolini, founder of the Fascist Party in Italy.
(photo: www.republika.co.id)

After coming to power, the fascist parties in Germany and Italy gradually ceased to carry out the function of maintaining contact between the people and the government as a function that parties normally perform in single-party situations. And slowly, it becomes very possible to observe the tendency of a single political party to close itself down while suppressing its members who are considered deviants. The renewal or regeneration of political parties is then ensured through recruitment from youth organizations, which is also where the most fanatical elements come from. Efforts for this are carried out through the results obtained from a gradual selection process that begins at a very early age to become a party member. Therefore, a single party will tend to form a very closed order.

4. A Single Party In Less Developed Countries

The few ruling communist parties in less developed countries do not differ significantly from their single-party counterparts in industrialized countries. This fact can also be found in the Communist Party in Vietnam and the Workers’ Party in North Korea. However, not all countries that adhere to a single party can be matched with countries that adhere to traditional parties in Europe. This observation holds true for, for example, the former Arab Socialist Union in Egypt and the Democratic Constitutional Demonstrations

(formerly the Neo-Destour Party) during Tunisia's period of political domination (1956–2011). These two capitals have a marked difference in character from the traditional single-party parties that have ever existed in Europe.



North Korean leader Kim Jong-un celebrates 100 years of the Chinese Communist Party. (photo: www.pikiran-rakyat.com)

Most of the countries that adhere to this single-party system claim to be less socialist or more socialist or at least progressive in character. Even though these claimants appear, their character remains far from communism, and in some cases, in a number of single-party countries in less developed countries, they have become serious enemies of communism. President Gamal Abdel Nasser sought to build a moderate and nationalistic socialism in Egypt. In Tunisia, the Constitutional Rally Demo was more republican than socialist and inspired more by the example of reforms born in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk than by the Nasserism that took place in Egypt. In sub-Saharan Africa, single parties often claim to be socialists, but with few exceptions, because in fact they rarely practice it.

Single parties in less developed countries are rarely as well organized as communist parties. In Turkey, for example, the Republican People's Party is more of a cadre party than a mass-based party. Meanwhile, in Egypt, efforts are needed to organize the core of professional politicians within the framework of creating a pseudo-party (shadow party) to be able to influence the mass of voters. In sub-Saharan Africa, the parties are clearly and rightly so, by nature, truly mass-based.

However, membership appears to be primarily motivated by personal attachments between citizens and charismatic figures of certain leaders or by loyalty (loyalty) due to ties of tribal primordialism, so that the existence of party organizations is usually not very strong. It is this weakness in organization that explains the secondary role played by these parties in government.

Some government regimes are always tempted and try to develop the party's role as much as possible. Atatürk's politics in Turkey is an interesting case study of this political practice. Of course, Nasser was tempted to increase the influence of the Arab Socialist Union so as to make the single party the backbone of the regime.

This process is important because it is an attempt to distance itself from traditional dictatorships supported by the army or based on tribal traditions or charismatic leadership. Nasser's hope was to shape state power into a modern dictatorship with the support of a single political party. Single-party systems can institutionalize dictatorships by allowing them to last a very long time as the sole dominant figure.#

Fourth Chapter

POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDONESIA: The Struggle For Independence And The Old Order

1. Introduction

The presence of political parties, which continues to grow, especially in the midst of civilized countries that increasingly respect the political rights of citizens, has been seen as one of the pillars in the realization of an increasingly democratic society. The presence of political parties long ago was intended to strengthen the authority of citizens to participate in political policies that are in direct contact with the wider public interest. In a modern democratic political system, political parties have become important institutions and their existence is characterized by a *sine qua non* (must exist as a principle) in implementing the principle of popular sovereignty. The existence of political parties is an important point for every democratic country in the context of implementing the will of the people.

If viewed from the point of view of the organization, a political party means an organization carried out by citizens in a country to carry out a common will. As important as the presence of political parties is, in the context of Indonesia, which is still in the colonial period and in the early days of Indonesia's independence, namely the Old Order, the presence of political parties has become one of the important instruments. Of course, the presence of political parties at that time could not be equated with the role and function of political parties today after Indonesia reached the age of its independence, which is around 80 years old.

Moreover, the practice, role, and function of political parties during the struggle for independence and the early days of independence were still turbulent. Of course, it cannot be equated with the existence of political parties as one of the main forces as understood as it is today. In its true meaning, of course, a democratic political system is a concept of the realization of popular sovereignty in a country where there are, of course, political parties. On that basis, political parties are the most important part of operationalizing democratic principles. The journey of a nation's democracy is largely determined by the extent to which the dynamics of the life of political parties occur in a country. The point of this discussion is, of course, the Indonesian context.

Political parties, as one of the pillars of a democratic state, are the "life or spirit" of realizing the concept of popular sovereignty. Po-

litical parties are considered a link between the will of the people on the one hand and the will of the state or government on the other, and both need mutual benefits, such as a mutualistic symbiosis. Seeing how important it is to maintain the dynamics of the life of political parties, efforts to maintain these dynamics have always been a serious challenge for every political actor.

The dynamics of the life of political parties greatly determine political stability in every government. The institutional mechanism of the government system will also be very much determined by the situation and the existence of political parties in realizing democracy itself. Within that framework, the dynamics of political parties will always need to be improved because political parties have become pillars in every country that calls itself democratic.

It is simply understood that a political party is a collection of groups of people who deliberately form a forum, which, of course, is engaged in politics. What distinguishes it from other organizations is the common vision and mission of the groups that gather in order to gain political power in the life of the state. Political parties will become a bridge connecting the desire of a number of people to be involved in state political affairs in accordance with their respective scopes and in accordance with the initial ideals of the political party that was founded.

And in simpler language, the importance of establishing a political party is in order to compete with other parties in a political arena through what is called a general election. In the general election, each party competes (to compete) to gain the broadest sympathy for public support, the outcome of which will be largely determined in a democratic general election process in the form of seats of political power.

General elections have become the most appropriate means and place for every political party to demonstrate the support and sympathy of voters for each other. Political parties will only produce how much power will be achieved and how many seats can be obtained from the results of the people's choice through general elections. The conversion of voters' votes into seats of power has become a dignified process in determining who is the most appropriate people's leader and who is the candidate for people's leader who is rejected by the citizens as future leaders.



Political Parties in the Old Order. (photo: www.id.wikipedia.org)

In a reasonable situation, of course, the principles that must always be adhered to are the democratic principles themselves, so that the power obtained must always come from democratic processes. This principle is important because political parties are organizations of political activists who seek to control government power and win popular support through competition with one group or other groups who have different views. So, at a minimum, political parties are long-term organizations with a measurable organizational structure formed for the purpose of ruling, and their presence is supported by how much broad public support they have as a means of gaining power.

Political parties have emerged as organized groups of citizens who later expect power to determine the course of government. So it becomes very natural that the existence of political parties is a place for managing various political ideas, ideas of power, citizens' interests, and political goals in one organization. The presence of every political party is in the context of participating in general elections to seize and later maintain power itself, its existence as a support system in realizing the ideals of nationality and statehood.

If you briefly refer to Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning political parties in Indonesia, it can be explained that political parties are recognized as national organizations whose existence is formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of the same will and ideals. The purpose of forming a political party is to fight for and defend the political interests of its members, society, nation, and state, and to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

The dynamics of political parties that occur are so strong in the country because political parties are fighting for each other's interests. A serious problem, of course, is that it is not uncommon for the interests that are first defended to be the interests of members and groups. Only then will the broader interests of the nation and state follow. At least that's the opinion and thoughts of the public on the existence of political parties when the satisfaction of the community towards the performance of political parties puts the interests of the party and its members first.

2. Political Organizations Before Independence

The existence of political parties in the archipelago can be traced back to the colonial period, namely the Dutch colonial era. At that time, political forces had begun to develop in the grouping stage, followed by polarization, expansion, and institutionalization. Political parties in the archipelago were born along with the growth of the national movement that marked the era of national awakening. Various modern organizations emerged as a forum for the national movement to achieve independence.

Although various organizations did not initially identify as political parties, each organization has its own set of political programs and activities. The emergence of various political organizations can be seen as a result of modern education when ethical political policies were enforced by the Dutch colonial government.

Although the purpose of education organized by the Dutch was actually only to meet the demands of the low-level colonial administration and bureaucracy, the situation as a colonized nation had raised national awareness and the ideals of independence through political movements. One of the peaks of changes in Dutch colonial rule was the formation of the Volksraad in 1916. The council initially only had powers as advisors, not as legislators.

It was not until 1925 that, under the Dutch East Indies Governance Act, the Volksraad had the power to petition, discuss, and approve laws. However, the Governor-General has a veto power, so this power cannot be used much. The political organizations that existed at that time were cooperative, and some took the non-cooperative way.

At that time, the basic law in force in the Dutch East Indies was Regeerings-Reglement (RR) 1854. Article 111 of the RR stipulates that gatherings or meetings that discuss government matters or endanger public security are prohibited in the Dutch East Indies. In 1919, RR was replaced by Indische Staatsregeling, which in Article 165 also contained a prohibition on political organizations and associations. The existence of these provisions causes political organizations to not openly show themselves as political organizations in their goals, programs, and activities.

So it is acceptable that the presence of political parties in Indonesia in its very simple form has actually started since the time of the struggle for independence, although of course no general election was held at that time. As a country in the situation of being colonized by other nations, the archipelago at that time still had a regional character, not in a single state as the Republic of Indonesia, as it is known today. The existence of the Indonesian state as it is today only started when the two proclaimers, Soekarno and Moh Hatta, signed and read the text of the Proclamation on August 17, 1945, in public.

This means that throughout the history of the struggle for independence, it is impossible to expect the existence of political parties, let alone general elections, as is generally known in civilized countries. The reason is clear, apart from the fact that the situation in the archipelago was still under colonial rule, but also because the Indonesian state had not yet been formed at that time because everyone was still struggling locally.

Political parties are understood as a means for citizens to participate in the management of the state, which is a new organization in human life compared to state organizations, but the history of the birth of political parties is quite long. Political parties were first born in Western European countries. With the widespread idea that the people are a factor that needs to be taken into account and included in the political process, political parties have been born spontaneously and have developed into liaisons between the people, on the one hand, and the government, on the other.

In the context of the struggle for independence, political parties in Indonesia were first born in the colonial era as a manifestation of the rise of national consciousness. Various modern organizations emerged as a forum for the national movement to achieve independence. Although initially, various organizations did not explicitly identify themselves as political parties, they had political programs and activities.

In that context, the birth of Boedi Oetomo during the struggle for independence is an example of the formation of a national organization during the colonial period, which later became the forerunner of the birth of a modern organization in Indonesia. So it is not surprising that the birth of Boedi Oetomo is identified as a milestone for the national awakening. The birth of Boedi Oetomo was initially caused by the condition of the Indonesian people, who at that time were in a situation as a colonized nation, which, of course, suffered and suffered economically, freedom of the state, and mentally.

In the situation as a colonized nation, only a small number of youths and students managed to enjoy education. And what is amazing, of course, is that among only a small number of youths who enjoy this education, there are actually a number of educated young people who are aware of the plight of the Indonesian people. So, on that basis, the youths established the Boedi Oetomo association with the aim of advancing the people in the fields of economy, education, and culture.

The presence of organizations engaged in politics can be seen from the founding of Boedi Oetomo on May 20, 1908 and the Sarekat Islam (SI) in 1911. Both organizations do not expressly declare themselves as political organizations. However, in its development, the programs and activities of the two organizations have penetrated into the political sphere. This can be seen from the involvement of the two organizations in the Volksraad.

Even on July 23, 1916, Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Islam carried out political activities that demanded the obedience of the Dutch East Indies government to admit that the Indonesian people at that time had thought independently. The action is known as the Weerbaar Actie. Representatives of Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Islam were also members of the radical concentratie coalition within the Volksraad, which demanded the existence of a National Assembly as a preliminary parliament to establish a provisional basic law for the Dutch East Indies.

The existence of these two political organizations was followed by the emergence of various political party organizations. These parties include the Indische Partij, Insulinde, Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (ISDV), the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the Greater Indonesia Party (Parindra), the Indonesian Party (Partindo), the Indische Sociaal Democratische Partij (ISDP), Indische Katholieke Partij, the Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo), and the Indonesian People's Party (PRI).

Apart from various political parties, a federation of political organizations has also been formed. On December 17, 1927, the Indonesian National Political Association (PPPKI) was formed, which was formed by the PNI, PSI, BU, Sarikat Pasundan, Sarikat Sumatra, and Betawi. PPPKI seeks to align the direction of action and cooperation and avoid disputes that weaken national action. In 1939, the Indonesian Political Association (GAPI) was formed. One of GAPI's political demands is the formation of the Indonesian parliament, which is a legislative body with a two-chamber model. Even at the end of December 1939, GAPI held the Indonesian People's Congress, which also involved the Civil Servant Vakbonden Association (PVPN).



The Boedi Oetomo organization was founded in 1908 as an early organizational revival before independence. (photo: www.republika.co.id)

Not all of the political parties that existed before independence got legal entity status from the Dutch colonial government. SI did not gain recognition as a legal entity until 1923. Likewise, the Indische Partij, which was founded on March 4, 1913, was rejected by the Governor-General because it was seen as a radical political organization and a threat to public security. The Indische Partij was the first political party in Indonesia, and it was a pioneer in the emergence of political organizations, both illegal and legal, in the preindependence era. Considering the mission carried out by the founders of this party was very strong in criticizing the existence of the colonial government, the party was under great pressure and was forced to disband after only eight months since its birth.

The main leaders of this movement were exiled to a number of other areas in Indonesia, such as Kupang, Banda, Bangka, and even exiled to the Netherlands. After returning from exile, a number of Indische Partij leaders, such as Ki Hajar Dewantara and Doctor Setiabudi, returned to Indonesia and in 1919 founded a political party, the National Indische Partij (NIP). The birth of this new party later became a pioneer for the birth of a number of other political organizations, namely the Indische Social Democratische Verening (ISDV), the Indonesian National Party, the Indonesian Party, and the Greater Indonesia Party.

The political parties that existed before independence did not all get legal entity status from the Dutch colonial government. Even a

number of these parties were not allowed to operate because they were considered a threat to the colonial government. Then the parties that move or oppose the Dutch colonial government will be banned, their leaders arrested, then imprisoned or exiled.

One of the political figures before independence, for example, can be called the name of Soekarno, who later became the Proclaimer of Indonesian independence. In 1927, Sukarno founded and became the leader of a political organization called the Indonesian National Party (PNI), which aimed to achieve full independence for Indonesia. However, this subversive political activity led to his arrest and imprisonment by the repressive Dutch colonial regime in 1929.

For Indonesians at that time, Soekarno's exile only strengthened his image as a national hero and freedom fighter. After his release, Sukarno was in ongoing conflict with the colonial government during the 1930s, leading to Sukarno's being imprisoned many times. When Japan invaded the Dutch East Indies in March 1942, Sukarno considered collaboration with Japan the only way to achieve independence successfully. This was demonstrated later in his struggle for Indonesian independence.

In a very special note about Indonesian independence: throughout the history of Indonesia, the Indonesian people have greatly respected and admired Soekarno, who, of course, was there along with other freedom fighters such as Moh Hatta, Prof. Soepomo, KH Muhammad Yamin, KH Wahid Hasyim, and others. The presence of Soekarno, along with other independence figures, has become the originator of Indonesian nationalism because he dedicated his life to Indonesian independence and brought a new political identity to the Indonesian state.

During the Japanese occupation, the existence of political parties as an organization was not recognized at all. No political organization should exist and move. All national circumstances are completely in the hands of the Japanese government, so the existence of political parties or organizations of a political nature is strictly prohibited. Nevertheless, a number of political figures still strive to realize Indonesia's independence with their various ways of working.

With the goal of independence that will soon be achieved, some of them have ties to the colonial government, while others have a strict system of refusing to cooperate with the colonizers. The effort to realize and formulate independence was seen when the BPUPKI and PPKI were formed, which were permitted by the Japanese government, whose membership was filled by national figures who were previously leaders of political parties at that time.

In summary, it can be stated that political organizations or those that directly referred to themselves as political parties that existed before independence were generally ideological in nature. The main function and program of these organizations and parties is to achieve Indonesian independence. These parties carry out the

function of aggregating and articulating the aspirations and ideologies of the people. The goal is clear, namely to achieve independence as well as to carry out the function of political recruitment, which raises national figures and representatives of the people who will become members of the legislature in the future in the Volksraad institution.

In the history of the party before independence, it can also be pointed out that the presence of a party that was very extreme against Dutch colonialism. One of them was the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which carried out a rebellion against the Dutch East Indies colonial government. In November 1926, for example, the PKI rebelled in parts of Java and in January 1927 on the west coast of Sumatra, although in the end the rebellion was thwarted by the Dutch colonial government. As a result, after the 1926-1927 uprising, the colonial government declared the PKI a banned party and a number of its leaders fled abroad, while a number of leaders who were caught were sentenced to death, and others were imprisoned or exiled to detention camps in Digul, Papua.

However, this does not mean that the PKI was completely extinct at that time. In 1930, this party again carried out political activities secretly and underground. And its emergence later is very clear. When the Indonesian nation gained its independence, PKI activists immediately revived party activities, especially after the issuance of the Government Decree of November 3, 1945, concerning the freedom to establish parties. And in Indonesia's dark history with the death of the Revolutionary Heroes in the G30/S PKI incident in 1965, this party has been rejected to this day and is considered not to be present in Indonesian politics.

3. The Political Party of The Old Order

Since the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945, the Indonesian nation has entered a new phase of life as an independent and fully sovereign nation. In the course of history, the Indonesian people have experienced various changes, hopes, hopes, understandings, ideologies, and doctrines in the life of society, nation, and state. Along the way, Indonesia also faced various obstacles and threats that endangered the struggle of the Indonesian people to maintain and fulfill independence.

The real manifestation of the obstacle is national disintegration and instability since the Old Order period, which culminated in the PKI rebellion on September 30, 1965, until the birth of Supersemar as a turning point for the birth of the New Order government. The birth of the New Order was a total correction to the culture and political system of the Old Order, where traditional political mechanisms, functions, and structures were still visible. The political configuration during the Old Order was the fruit of the political situation that occurred at that time after Indonesia broke away from the situation of the colonized nation.

A political configuration implies an arrangement or constellation of political power which is dichotomously divided into two di-

ametrically contradictory concepts, namely the authoritarian political configuration. The political configuration that existed in the Old Order period brought the Indonesian nation into an authoritarian government regime with a variety of conservative legal products and a shift in the structure of government to a more centralized government. At this time, party politics dominated the political configuration, as seen through physical revolution and an authoritarian system as the essence of feudalism.



Bung Karno in one of the campaigns of the Indonesian National Party (PNI).

(photo: www.portal-ilmu.com)

The history of political parties after independence can be traced to when Indonesia's independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945, which then raised the awareness of national figures about the importance of the existence of political parties in the life of the state. One example is on August 18, 1945, when PPKI held a trial, one of the decisions of which was to ratify the 1945 Constitution as the Indonesian Constitution. In the 1945 Constitution, there is no regulation regarding political parties. Provisions related to the existence of political parties are contained in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution, which states that freedom of association and assembly, expressing thoughts verbally and in writing, and so on are stipulated by law.

The next step that we can call occurred on August 22, 1945, when the PPKI held another meeting in which one of the decisions was to approve the birth of a party, namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI). The PNI is expected to become the single party that spearheads the life of the Indonesian state.

Soekarno's idea of the need for a single party was Soekarno's idea, which was stated in his writing entitled "Mentjapai Indonesia Merdeka" in 1933. In this article, Soekarno emphasized that to achieve mass action, one vanguard party was needed, not two or three, because if there was more than one party, it would confuse the masses. In terms of politics in today's modern era, of course, Soekarno's view can be judged that Soekarno has thoughts that are anti-Western model of multi-party system and parliamentary democracy system. In Soekarno's mind, political parties were only a source of division that would weaken the struggle against colonialism and the pursuit of independence.

But in a country that wants to be independent or newly independent, a single party system can be a solution because it requires a joint national agreement, especially if there is no authoritarian leader who can force that there is only one right view to start managing the country. In the history of Indonesia, and then in the early days of independence, Soekarno's view became evident when the birth of many political parties greatly weakened the Indonesian constitutional system. The presence of a multi-party system in the early days of Indonesia's independence gave rise to a change of prime minister and cabinet from one to another in a parliamentary democracy. There are even prime ministers who only serve for three months and are replaced by other prime ministers.

Soekarno's view of the presence of a single party presented conflict among the nation's leaders. The rejection of the idea of a single political party was put forward by another national figure, Sutan Sjahrir, who at that time was the Chairman of the Working Body of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP). Sjahrir argued that a single political party would only use the party as a tool to control and discipline dissent. Sutan Sjahrir's view as the Chairman of BP KNIP influenced BP KNIP's policy proposal that in the interests of Indonesia, which adheres to democracy, it is not sufficient that there is only one political party, namely the Indonesian National Party, which it is necessary to unite all sects in society in order to defend the country.

However, in the development of Indonesia, a state institution is urgently needed that is able to unify all schools of thought in society that will emerge in the form of political parties. The unifying body must be a National Committee. In other words, it is the National Committee that unites the various different sects whose role has changed to the People's Representative Body since October 16, 1945.

The enthusiasm for providing opportunities for every citizen to form political parties arose from the idea of the importance of the presence of different thoughts and streams of spirit from the larger community, as well as the need for a reservoir, namely the National Committee. This idea is in accordance with the spirit of upholding the principle of democracy, which is the right of every citizen to establish a political party. The existence of political parties will make it easier to estimate the strength of the struggle and hold its leaders accountable. The manifestation of all ideas of granting the right to every citizen to form a political party is seen in the birth of the Government Declaration on November 3, 1945, which contains a statement that the government supports the existence of political parties related to the holding of general elections.

This announcement was delivered in Jakarta by Vice President Mohammad Hatta. This edict was signed by the Vice President when President Soekarno was on a visit abroad. Of course, it can be argued that the idea of issuing this Government Declaration by Vice President Moh Hatta was one of the sources of the feud between the two proclaimers of Indonesia, which in the course of

Indonesian political history ended with the split of the political ideas of the two proclaimers.

In full, the Government Declaration of November 3, 1945 is as follows:

GOVERNMENT DECLARATION

In cooperation with the staff of the Working Board of the Central National Committee to the Government, in order to give the widest possible opportunity to the people to establish political parties, with the restriction that these parties should strengthen our struggle to maintain independence and ensure the safety of the people, the government affirms its stance which has been taken some time ago that:

- 1. The government favors the formation of political parties because, with the existence of these parties, it is possible to lead in an orderly way all currents of understanding that exist in society.*
- 2. The government hopes that as soon as these parties are completed before the election of members of the Board of Representatives of the People in January 1946,*

*Jakarta, November 3, 1945.
Vice President, Mohammad Hatta*



Mohammad Hatta, Vice President (photo: www.id.wikipedia.org)

The government's announcement on November 3, 1945, is a message that encourages the formation of political parties as part of democracy. This edict was issued in preparation for the planned general election in 1946. The announcement of November 3, 1945, can be called the initial milestone of Indonesian democracy. With this government statement, the government hopes that political parties can be formed before the election of members of the people's representative body in January 1946.

This announcement also legitimized the political parties that had been formed previously since the Dutch and Japanese eras and continued to encourage the birth of new political parties. However, the process of strengthening Indonesia's newly born democracy through the plan to hold the general election in 1946 could not be realized. This effort was considered important because the Indonesian people focused on the struggle to maintain independence due to the arrival of the Allied military forces. At that point, elections are no longer a priority.

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia issues an announcement containing recommendations to form a political party on the condition that the party must participate in increasing the struggle for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The decision was issued in response to the KNIP Working Body's proposal to the government. The announcement on November 3 became the main regulation governing political parties in Indonesia for fourteen years before it was repealed by Presidential Decree Number 7 of 1959 concerning Party Requirements and Simplification, issued by President Soekarno on December 31st, 1959.

4. The Purpose And Impact Of The Government's Declaration

The formation of political parties based on the Declaration of November 3, 1945 was to "strengthen our struggle to defend our independence and ensure the security of the people." Political parties are defined as state instruments by these provisions. However, political parties are not just tools for achieving political stability and encouraging community participation, as the managerial paradigm believes, but also for ensuring independence and security. The purpose of establishment in the Declaration is stated as a restriction or limitation. As a limitation, this provision can actually be the basis for the dissolution of political parties that interfere with or hinder the struggle for independence.

In addition, the establishment of political parties is intended as a means to regulate the aspirations of various groups of people. With the existence of political parties, different aspirations become systematic and orderly thoughts and programs to be fought for as public policy. Thus, the party functions as an intermediary for ideas as well as a pioneer for the community, and, of course, the party will eventually function to manage existing differences.

What is the impact of the presence of the Government Declaration signed by Vice President Mohamad Hatta? The government's announcement on November 3, 1945, received an enthusiastic response so that in a short time, around 40 political parties were formed. Various political parties that existed before independence later revived themselves. Several parties that may experience rebirth after a long period of inactivity occurred on November 7, 1945, when the Indonesian Muslim Sjiro Council (Masyumi) was reestablished in Jogjakarta.

The same revival was on January 29, 1946, when the PNI was founded in Kediri by the Indonesian People's Union (Serindo),

PNI Pati, PNI Madiun, PNI Palembang, PNI Sulawesi, People's Sovereignty Party, the Republic of Indonesia Party, and several other smaller parties whose main leaders were S. Mangoensarkoro. Another party that was born on November 18, 1945, for example, was the Christian National Party (PKN), which, together with the Indonesian Christian Party (PARKI) at the Parapat Congress in North Sumatra on 9–20 April 1947, was merged into the Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo).

On November 22, 1945, the United Tarbiyah Islamiah Party (Perti) was founded in Bukit Tinggi, with its history starting with the Tarbiyah Islamiah Movement (PERTI), which was founded on May 20, 1930 in Bukit Tinggi. On December 8, 1945, the Congress of political activists from Catholic circles gave birth to the Catholic Party of the Republic of Indonesia (PKRI), and in the next congress on December 17, 1949, the PKRI changed its name to the Catholic Party.



Sutan Sjahrir, as Chairman of KNIP, is chairing the KNIP meeting. (photo: www.anri.sikn.go.id)

Some of the other emerging parties, both newly born parties and continuations of political parties that existed before independence, include the Indonesian People's Party (PRI), the Greater Indonesia Party (PIR), the Bull Party of the Republic of Indonesia, and the National People's Party (PRN). There is also the Indonesian Socialist Party (Parsi) led by Amir Sjarifuddin, who later became one of the Prime Ministers during the Parliamentary Democracy period, the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), the People's Sovereignty Party (PKR), the Indonesian National Party (PARKI), the Indonesian People's Unity (PKR), and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Other parties such as the Chinese Democratic Party as a party that breathes ethnicity and culture, the Murba Party, the Indonesian Marhaen People's Union (PERMAI), the Indonesian Labor Party, and the Indo-National Party, the Ordinary People's Party (PRJ), and the Indonesian Farmers Party (PTI).

The plan to hold a general election one year after independence, namely in 1946, could not be carried out because there were still many domestic problems, so that the general election could only be held in 1955. Although the general election was only held ten years after independence and only once during the Old Order, political parties still contributed to giving color to national and state

politics in an effort to form a state system. As we know, political parties have become very dominant and have influenced the Indonesian state administration system, including the changes of prime ministers from one cabinet to another in very short terms of office.

The great influence of political parties can be traced to the existence of those who are very influential in parliament and in the government, namely the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP). The role of KNIP was originally based on Article IV of the Transitional Regulations of the 1945 Constitution, which was established to assist the President in exercising power before the formation of the MPR, DPR, and DPA. However, on October 16, 1945, the Vice President's Decree No. X changed the authority of the KNIP from a government servant to a legislative body, which meant that its position changed to parliament.

Regarding the KNIP, which later became very involved with the early parties in Indonesia, it can be explained that, at first, as a newly independent country, there was an awareness that Indonesia needed an agency or institution that could represent the aspirations of the people. The meeting of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) on August 22, 1945, agreed to establish the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP). A total of 137 members of the KNIP were inaugurated by President Soekarno on August 29, 1945. And at the second plenary session of the KNIP in Jakarta on October 16, 1945, Vice President Mohammad Hatta issued Vice President's Declaration Number X, dated October 16, 1945.

The contents are very clear, namely based on political considerations so that Indonesia can be accepted as a democratic country that has a complete apparatus. The presence of the Vice President's Declaration decided that KNIP's duties from being assistant to the president changed to being equivalent to the president, namely drafting laws and participating in establishing the Outlines of State Policy. The next day, on October 17, 1945, the KNIP Working Body was formed to take care of the implementation of the duties and responsibilities of the KNIP, and Sutan Sjahrir was elected as chairman and Sjarifuddin as deputy chairman.

In a "dilemma" situation, President Soekarno on November 14, 1945, issued a Government Decree which gave authority to KNIP, namely as an institution with a parliamentary character, even ministers were no longer responsible to the president but to KNIP, as well as an acknowledgment of the importance of forming political parties. It was called a "dilemma" situation because President Soekarno was under pressure from the BP-KNIP veto on November 11, 1945, which did not believe in the cabinet, thus proposing that the responsibilities of the ministers be submitted to the KNIP, which was recognized as parliament. Moreover, a few weeks earlier, the Government Decree dated November 3, 1945, signed by Vice President Mohammad Hatta related to strengthening the existence of political parties, could not be ignored as political pressure for President Soekarno, who from the outset wanted a single party, the PNI, as the only party in Indonesia.

Returning to the Vice President's Declaration dated November 3, it was stated that before the MPR and DPR were formed, KNIP was trusted to hold legislative power and help determine the outlines of state policies, and it was agreed that the day-to-day work of KNIP was carried out by a working body elected from and by its members. KNIP. The composition of KNIP members from elements of political parties was originally Masyumi 35 people, PNI 45 people, Socialist Party 35 people, PBI 6 people, Parkindo 4 people, PKRI 2 people, and PKI 2 people. Based on PP No. 6 of 1946, political party representatives increased to Masjumi with 60 members, permanent PNI, permanent Socialist Party, 35 PBI members, 8 Parkindo members, 4 PKRI members, and 35 PKI members.

The influence of political parties is also very strong in the government, in line with the parliamentary system, which is implemented based on the Government Declaration dated November 14, 1945. Based on a parliamentary system of government, the government is then run by a cabinet led by a Prime Minister. In that context, the formation of the cabinet was carried out with the approval of KNIP, as the Indonesian parliament at that time, so that ministers, as cabinet members of the party or as individuals, were responsible to KNIP. In the course of the next government in the parliamentary democracy system, KNIP became very strong because it became the decision maker for the formation of a new cabinet and included dropping or stopping the authority of a prime minister during a certain cabinet period.

5. Political Parties In The 1950 RIS And UUDS Constitution

As one of the implementations of the results of the Round Table Conference, on December 31, 1949, the state of Indonesia, which was originally a unitary state, became a united state with the name of the United States of Indonesia (Republik Indonesia Serikat-RIS) and the Constitution used was the RIS Constitution. In the RIS Constitution, there are more provisions that regulate human rights. However, as in the 1945 Constitution, there are no specific provisions regarding the existence and regulation of political parties. The related human rights articles are Article 20, which states, "The right of the population to freedom of assembly and peaceful assembly is recognized and only needs to be guaranteed in statutory regulations."



In 1945, the Central Indonesian National Committee (photo: www.kompas.com)

The RIS constitution is valid for less than one year. Due to strong demands for a return to a unitary state, finally based on the Charter of Approval of the Government of the United States of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia dated May 19, 1950, the Provisional Constitution of 1950 (UUDS 1950) was finally passed on August 15, 1950. The agreement charter marked the return of the form of the Indonesian state back to the form of a unitary state. The 1950 Constitution is in principle an amendment to the RIS Constitution, which is adapted to the form of a unitary state. Therefore, there are no special provisions regarding political parties. The provisions on freedom of association are regulated in Article 20, which reads, "The right of the population to freedom of assembly and assembly is recognized and regulated by law." While Article 19 of the 1950 Constitution related to the same topic stated as follows: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression."

During the enactment of the RIS Constitution, the role of political parties remained large, both in the legislative and executive institutions. At the time of the RIS Constitution, what was meant by "parliament" consisted of two institutions, namely the House of Representatives and the Senate, whose membership was unequal. The RIS DPR consists of 60 (sixty) members, and the RIS Senate consists of 6 (six) members. The membership of the DPR during the validity period of the RIS Constitution was determined at the 7th KNIP plenary meeting held on December 14, 1949. The calculation is done by stipulating that from each group of twelve (twelve) members from one party or from the workers and peasants in the KNIP, the party or group gets a share of 1 (one) representative in the DPR RIS.

The name of the member who will be elected to be the representative of the party or group in the RIS DPR is completely left to the party concerned, but on the condition that the person concerned is not permitted to be one of the members who is already a member of the KNIP. If the party or institution/organization in question is not able to reach the number of twelve members in the KNIP, then each organization or party can be combined with other parties or groups to fulfill the same quorum. So the results achieved based on the KNIP decision regarding the membership of the DPR RIS found that the names of parties that submitted candidates and met the requirements were obtained as follows: Masjumi 5 members, PNI 4 members, PSI 2 members, PKI 2 members, PBI 2 members, BTI 2 members. Meanwhile, parties or other organizations that do not meet the number of memberships in KNIP only get one membership seat in KNIP, including: PKRI, Parkindo, PSII, Murba, Socialist Party, STII, and Labor Party, each having one member in KNIP. DPR RI.

The strong influence of political parties in government is accompanied by the emergence of conflicts between political parties trying to gain power. Even though in the early days of independence, Indonesia was still constantly facing the threat of re-colonization by the Dutch through Military Aggression I and II, as well as the

Indonesian government's continued efforts to gain international recognition for its independence, which was not so easy to obtain, domestically it continued. There are disputes between political parties. Often, the disputes between the parties actually cause domestic tensions which greatly disrupt the stability of the government, which is still looking for the most suitable form of government system.

Several controversial issues that often arise among political parties include: tensions between parties to encourage the addition of KNIP members, which will certainly benefit a number of parties; debates on the substance of the Linggarjati Agreement; the Renville Agreement; and acceptance of the findings of the KMB. Without shame, it is suspected that there are political parties that use illegal means to achieve their own goals, which have an impact on the benefit of the party.

One of these efforts was a physical rebellion carried out by the People's Democratic Front led by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) on September 19, 1948. Legal action was taken against the leaders of the participating parties, while the communist party (PKI) itself is not subject to legal sanctions. Then the Minister of Justice issued a statement that only people found guilty of crimes would be brought to justice for organizations involved in past rebellions. The PKI re-emerged on the national political scene on September 4, 1949. As a result, at that time, not a single party was disbanded by the government.

During the promulgation of the RIS Constitution and the 1950 Constitution, political parties continued to act as very influential political forces. The DPR, whose members are still filled through appointments, cannot be separated from the influence of political parties. The newly formed cabinet cannot control the parliamentary majority. On the other hand, the power of the President and the Armed Forces is slowly waning. At that time, military figures began to appear wanting to be involved in state political affairs. This situation occurs because the military's trust in political parties is decreasing in running the government.

The parties that were born and grew in the early days of independence until the 1955 general election were parties that had actually existed since the time of the struggle for independence. These parties are ideologically strong parties (*weltanschauungspartei*) whose respective main functions and programs are to maintain and care for the independence that has been fought for a long time. These parties are able to carry out the function of aggregation that encourages what appears in the minds and minds of the people and articulates the aspirations and ideologies of these citizens in order to maintain and fulfill independence. These parties are able to create a pattern of political recruitment for every citizen, the results of which can be seen from the emergence of reliable national-class public figures as representatives of the people, some of whom have filled important positions in government positions.



Some political parties participated in the 1955 general election. (photo: www.harakah.co.id)

In general, it can be said that these parties tend to be mass in character. As is generally understood, the types of political parties that emerged in the mid-20th century were characterized by two types of parties: mass parties and cadre parties. In the context of Indonesia, which is currently euphoric from independence to freely express thoughts and political wills, then what is born and grows are parties that are able to win the hearts of as many people as possible, involving the masses of citizens according to sects and groups and their respective understandings. -each. It is very similar to the political situation in Indonesia in the early days of the Reformation after the fall of the authoritarian New Order government in 1998, which gave birth to many parties with large mass involvement, so that political parties such as religious sects from minorities could also gain seats in parliament.

The same political and psychological situation occurred during the 1955 elections, namely the birth of mass-based parties, the results of which can be seen from the presence and gain of quite a large number of seats by parties of both religious sects. For example, Parkindo (Indonesian Christian Party) was able to win a significant number of 8 (eight) seats in the DPR RI and the Catholic Party was able to win 6 (six) seats in the DPR RI. Something that the two small parties will be unable to achieve in the political environment of the National General Election in 2024 and in the future. Indeed, it cannot be denied that these parties are also trying to create politically qualified cadres with the main objective of focusing more on the ability of their cadres to influence policy (policy-seeking party) and occupy positions in government (office-seeking party). seeking parties).

6. Limitation of Parties in Guided Democracy

Limiting the role of political parties begins with the increasingly unfavorable political situation in the country. The results of the 1955 General Election, which gave full authority to the Constituent Assembly to make amendments in the context of reformulating the most appropriate Constitution for Indonesia in the future, ended in failure. The situation can be explained when, on March 14, 1957, President Soekarno, as the Supreme War Ruler, explained the state of the country in a state of emergency. President Soekar-

no exercised his authority by forcing the formation of the Juanda Cabinet with the status of a working cabinet unrelated to political parties. Although it is referred to as a non-political cabinet, in fact, there are also representatives of parties in the cabinet, except for representatives from three political parties, namely: the Masjumi Party, the Catholic Party, and the PSI.

The attitude of the government that forced the formation of a cabinet gave birth to new disappointments both in the central political situation and at the regional level. Of course, it was very unacceptable for political parties that were mass-based but did not get a place in the cabinet. Therefore, the demand for the Djuanda Cabinet to resign as soon as possible and be declared no longer in power in a matter of five days. His successor was also pressed to form a new cabinet as soon as possible, which would later be led as a formator by two figures who were still regarded as trustworthy and neutral in all circles, namely Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Mohammad Hatta, the father of Indonesia's proclaimer. This very disappointing political situation was exacerbated by the emergence of a number of rebellions in the country, such as those carried out by the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) in Bukit Tinggi and the Manguni Council in North Sulawesi.

The PRRI rebellion was even alleged to have involved a number of Masjumi and PSI figures, including Moh. Natsir, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, Burhanuddin Harahap, and Soemitro Djojohadikoesomo. Some uprisings can be quickly dealt with by the military. This situation gave birth to a new political structure controlled by President Soekarno and the military leadership. This power was strengthened by the expropriation of all Dutch property in December 1957. This condition marked the end of liberal democracy and the weakening of political parties and parliament, which were replaced by the presence of guided democracy.

In the increasingly uncontrollable national political situation, a very sharp debate is taking place in the sessions of the Constituent Assembly between proposals from adherents of nationalist ideologies. The ideological battle between those who want to return to the 1945 Constitution and adherents of Islamic ideology who demand that the Constitution be amended as soon as possible so that the Djakarta Charter is returned includes the seven words in the first precepts of the Djakarta Charter of Pancasila. A total of three votes were cast against the two major sects, namely on the first ballot on May 30, 1959, with 269 votes supporting the nationalist ideology and 199 votes supporting the Islamic ideology. The vote count did not result in a decision because the winner had to win at least 2/3 of the votes of the 474 members present.

The second ballot was held on June 1, 1959, with a total of 201 votes in favor of the amendment to the version of the Djakarta Charter and a total of 265 votes against the change, thus requesting a return to the 1945 Constitution. The results have not yet been determined in accordance with the requirements of at least 2/3 of the votes present. The third ballot was held on June 2, 1959, with

263 votes in favor of returning to the 1945 Constitution and 203 against a return to the Djakarta Charter. The valid votes needed to determine the winner between the two ideologies are 312 votes.

With the failure of the constituent assembly to decide on a constitution that is needed for Indonesia, the sharper national political divisions are a matter of great concern. The Army Chief of Staff issued an order to ban all political activities and seek to bring the country into a calmer situation through regulation Prt/Peperpu/040/1959 dated June 3, 1959. President Soekarno also took over an important policy that would later become a long history of the Republic of Indonesia until the time of writing this book, namely the Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959, which reaffirmed the enactment of the 1945 Constitution. Another content of the decree was the President's statement to dissolve the failed Constituent Assembly and the 1950 Constitution was declared null and void, in addition to the need for the establishment of the MPRS and DPAS as soon as possible. This is the full text of Presidential Decree No. 5, July 5, 1959:

THE DECREE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA, THE HIGHEST COMMANDMENT OF THE WAR FORCE, CONCERNING THE RETURN TO THE BASIC ACTIVITIES OF 1945

*By the grace of God Almighty,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA/
HIGHER COMMANDMENT OF THE ARMY*

Hereby solemnly declare:

'Whereas the recommendation of the President and the Government to return to the 1945 Constitution, which was conveyed to all the Indonesian people with the Presidential Mandate on April 22, 1959, did not obtain a decision from the Constituent Assembly as stipulated in the Provisional Constitution;

Whereas, in view of the statement by most of the members of the Constitutional Assembly not to attend the session again, it is no longer possible for the Constituent Assembly to complete the tasks entrusted to it by the people;

That such an action jeopardizes the state's, Nusa's, and the nation's unity and safety, and impedes the universal development of a just and prosperous society;

With the support of the majority of the Indonesian people and driven by our own convictions, we are compelled to take the only way to save the State of the Proclamation;

*Whereas we believe that the Djakarta Charter of June 22, 1945, animates and is an integral part of the 1945 Constitution;
So, on the basis of the above,*

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA/HIGHER COMMANDMENT OF THE ARMY

*Determine the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly;
To stipulate that the 1945 Constitution shall be valid again for the entire Indonesian nation and for all Indonesian bloodshed as of the date of the stipulation of this Decree, and the Provisional Basic Law shall no longer come into force;*

The establishment of a Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, consisting of members of the People's Representative Council plus delegates from the regions and groups, as well as the establishment of a Provisional Supreme Advisory Council, will be held in the shortest possible time.

Stipulated in: Jakarta on July 5, 1959 On behalf of the people of Indonesia,

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA/
SUPREME COMMANDMENT OF THE ARMY**

SOEKARNO.

The Presidential Decree will become an important historical document for Indonesia in the future because it uses the 1945 Constitution as a valid constitution. The highly unstable national political situation ended with a return to the presidential system as mandated in the 1945 Constitution. But this situation does not create a better authority for political parties, even if presidential power becomes stronger without democracy with the term used as Guided Democracy. And finally, the authority of political parties in the broadest sense to compete for power through general elections is lost. The DPR becomes a tool and is under the control of the executive government. The authority of the DPR is regulated through the stipulation of the President, not through a law. We mention, for example, the Presidential Decree (Penpres) Number 1 of 1959, which is to restore the authority of the DPR to carry out its duties and authorities as stated in the 1945 Constitution.

Listening to President Soekarno's speech on August 17, 1959, the President stated that the program and agenda for change were to implement Guided Democracy. In the speech known as the Political Manifesto (Manipol), Soekarno emphasized the need to create a system of liberalism and place guided democracy and guided economy in the management of the Indonesian state. The management of Guided Democracy and Guided Economy is managed under a new order which is termed "retooling for the future". The retooling must become a means of struggle for all institutions and bodies of power, including in parliamentary institutions as stated by President Soekarno:

“In the legislative sector, I hope that retooling will also continue: Whoever does not swear allegiance to the 1945 Constitution is expelled from the DPR; whoever joined the rebellion is fired from the DPR and will be punished. Who doesn’t understand what it means to “return to the ‘45 Constitution”? In fact, they should just leave the DPR. [...] Only with such self-retooling will the DPR be able to become an instrument of development, a tool of struggle, a tool of the Revolution.”

Great power over all state institutions, including the parliament, makes the existence of political parties completely meaningless. Whereas, as is generally understood, political parties should be a means of connecting the will and intentions of various political currents that are growing in society to compete for power. The competition opportunity is obtained in a forum called the general election, in which the people will largely determine which parties or which candidates are considered by the people to be worthy of being their leaders. In addition, the most important function of the general election is that it becomes a space for all citizens to reject candidates or political parties that are considered not in accordance with the wishes and intentions of the citizens. The functions and roles of political parties in aggregating public interests are then brought to a national forum called parliamentary institutions according to the number of seats for each political party. This is an opportunity for political parties to bring public ideas to be submitted to the legislature.

However, during the Old Order, with a very unstable political situation, general elections were only held once, namely in 1955. Political parties even after the Presidential Decree became meaningless until the end of the Old Order’s rule by student protests. The new chapter of national politics, including in the affairs of political parties, began with the birth of the New Order government, which replaced the Old Order government for 21 years from 1945 to 1966. The large number of political parties at that time could be said to repeat the early period of independence until the 1950s, when there were so many political parties. If you look at the existence of quite a lot of political parties as seen from the general election in 1955, it can be reflected that the presence of these parties is a reflection of the heterogeneous character of the structure of Indonesian society.

In the heterogeneous nature of society, it can be understood that a number of political ideologies and a number of political streams will be present to become a bridge for conveying the aspirations of citizens. Of course, in the context of Indonesia and in general, countries that have a high level of heterogeneity, there will be a large number of parties with their respective political streams and political ideologies. In this study, two Indonesianist political thinkers such as Herbert Feith and Lance Castle provide an analysis of the post-independence Indonesian political society from 1945 to 1965. In Feith and Castel’s study, it was found that the Indonesian political community is divided into five sects, which are not completely independent of each other but have slices of common with each other.

The five political streams are: first, the Islamic political school, which is based on Islamic notions and teachings; second, the Radical Nationalism school, which sees that the issues of nationalism as Indonesia are the only purpose of the existence of a political party that must be sought first; while the third is another political school is communism, which is genuinely promoted by the Communist Party, the fourth is the Democratic Socialism school, which carries issues of socialism but is influenced by issues that have been established democratically. The fifth school is Javanese Traditionalism, which sees that traditional ideas that have grown up in villages on the island of Java that have been passed down from generation to generation become political issues that are considered appropriate to be fought for and promoted in political campaigns.#

Chapter 5

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE NEW ORDER PERIOD: Soeharto’s Authoritarian Government

1. Introduction

The second period of government in Indonesia’s political history occurred after 21 years of independence. The end of the period of the Old Order government, which was very ideological with very dynamic political conditions and even tended to be preoccupied with the hustle and bustle of the practical political interests of political parties and ideological struggles, marked the birth of a new chapter, namely the New Order. The birth of the New Order was considered as an answer to the domestic situation, which during the Old Order period was economically destabilized and unstable by political party disputes and ended with the G30S/PKI incident in 1965, in which a number of generals were kidnapped and killed. A national revolution that changed the face of Indonesia into a new face ruled by a military general, President Soeharto,

The most important hope of citizens in terms of politics is, of course, to restore the dignity of political parties to a more democratic path. As already mentioned in previous Old Order related topics, the President’s lifelong rule with the term “Guided Democracy” has shut down all political affairs related to political parties. Whereas in a true democratic system, it is only through political parties that citizens can enter an organization that deals with state political issues and compete in the general election. Throughout the years since the 1955 elections until the end of the Old Order government in 1966, the hope of political parties to compete for power was never realized again through general elections.

Whereas in the true meaning, just repeating material about political parties and the functions they play, the function of political parties is in a central position to become a bridge between citizens and the government in power. Political parties will perform the function of aggregation, which is a function that encourages the most important and most needed ideas and programs from citizens to their leaders. The aggregation of these ideas will then become input for the parties as an extension of the citizens, to be later formulated into policy ideas that will be submitted to the government.

The ability of parties to convince the government of the ideas and real hopes of citizens towards their leaders will be fought for in meetings with the government in the legislature. Including, of course, it will be an idea for every political party that will invite an assessment from the public on which parties actually side with the people's interests. The results of the assessment of the citizens in a normal civilization according to the substance of democracy will be obtained from the amount of public support for each political party and the candidates it will carry in the general election.

Why political parties have always been important is included in the Indonesian context because from the very beginning, the existence of political parties was filled by a group of people who were stably organized for the purpose of seizing or maintaining government power. In political parties, political activists gather who are trying to control government power by seizing the support of the citizens of the electorate, namely the people's votes through competition with other groups that have different ideologies or programs. Political groups within these political parties hope to participate in general elections in the future as a way to place their candidates in public positions.

Second, political parties also function as a means to socialize political issues and policies. In their efforts to gain broad support from the voting community, political parties will always try to show themselves as fighters for the public interest. So, like it or not, political parties must educate and develop the thoughts of their members and, of course, also the wider community who are expected to become voters for that party in the future, so that the citizens concerned become aware of their responsibilities as citizens. This process is called political socialization, which can take the form of lectures, cadre courses, seminars, and others. Even in a deeper understanding, political socialization can be interpreted as an effort by political parties to instill in the wider community so that it is more deeply in the minds of citizens what really becomes the ideology, vision, and strategic policies of political parties to the voting public.

What efforts are always made by political parties to win the sympathy of voters? Of course, the political parties will perform the main functions of their respective parties. A number of general functions, as mentioned in the first chapter of this book, can be briefly repeated to see how important the role and existence of political parties are for citizens. For all countries that are democratic or are moving towards more democracy, a number of functions of political parties can be mentioned, among others: *first*, the function of political parties as a means of political communication, namely the ability of each political party to channel the aspirations of citizens and manage the confusion of opinions and ideas that always arise in the midst of citizens. Political parties become a forum for combining similar aspirations from all citizens (interest aggregation) so that later they can be formulated in a structured manner to become ideas conveyed (interest articulation).



The Eleven March Warrant from President Soekarno to Lieutenant General Suharto. (photo: www.merdeka.com)

This knowledge becomes very important so that citizens from the very beginning already have a kind of pre-understanding later in the general election regarding parties that are compatible with their constituents. The biggest difficulty for citizens is not knowing the political parties that are competing, so when the general election comes they are reluctant or do not feel the need to attend the voting booth at the polling station (TPS). Another difficulty is that even if voters come, it is not uncommon for citizens to just vote or even become parties. They are very likely to be tempted to get involved in money politics to vote for a particular party or candidate.

Third, other functions of political parties can be mentioned as a means to carry out political recruitment with the aim of finding and inviting citizens who are considered talented to be involved in political affairs through involvement as party members by being active in politics as members of the political party (political recruitment). This effort is an attempt to expand political participation. This recruitment function is very suitable to be directed to the younger generation, especially those who have the potential to be further involved in practical political affairs, so that other young generations can also be involved in political issues. If the younger generation becomes indifferent or does not want to know about politics, then the continuity of the democratic process can turn into just a matter of a group of people, which is certainly very undesirable in the democratic state system. The younger generation will be the successors to the baton of each country's political journey, which will give birth to the regeneration of new leadership within the structure of the state in the future, both within the political parties themselves and in state public positions.

Fourth, the function of political parties can be mentioned as a means of managing conflicts that occur in the community. Social disputes among citizens, especially in countries with a very high level of heterogeneity such as Indonesia, will very likely cause conflicts between citizens. These conflicts can be of various types and located in various regions. The very high level of heterogeneity makes frictions between citizens more sensitive, whether because of religious issues, ethnic issues, social inequality issues, background issues, or many other issues that are very likely to be the cause. For example, on religious issues, for example, minorities are very likely to always feel hampered or deliberately make it difficult to build houses of worship; or in terms of social inequality. Another example is that it is very possible to see that

migrant workers live more prosperously because they work harder than local residents who are increasingly left behind and trapped in economic poverty.

There are so many social issues that can be the cause of the emergence of social conflict. In a situation where people experience such conflicts, the function of political parties is to participate in managing conflicts, which serves as a bridge between interests. Apart from being a bridge, political parties can also be a solution for the weak, giving hope so that the rights and hopes of citizens who are in conflict caused by injustice will get answers and hope.



The Supersemar manuscript is circulating in the public. (photo: www.google.com)

In managing social conflicts, political parties can be a means for citizens to fight for conflict resolution issues both at the social level of the community and when they are related to government policies. For example, social disputes that always occur on the matter of clean water for household affairs in an area that is always problematic every time there is a long dry season. In cases like this, it is very possible for the presence of political parties to participate in managing conflicts by being a bridge for solutions to the relevant ministry level, so that social conflicts end because of the presence of the state as a solution provider.

At least with the four simple functions of these parties, the presence of political parties during the New Order era became a demand. The New Order government, which was in control of the aftermath of the failed revolution on September 30, 1965 (G/30S PKI), ensured that domestic security and order were guaranteed first. In a more stable country, of course, the presence and importance of the involvement of political parties becomes very necessary.

2. The Renaissance of Political Parties

The history of the birth of political parties in the New Order cannot be separated from the political situation which required the presence of political parties to be immediately reorganized. However, considering the events of the G30S PKI/1965 revolution, In a very difficult state situation both politically and domestically, a wave of

demonstrations also began to approach the government of President Soekarno at the end of 1965. The difficulty was because the President refused to dissolve the PKI, which was accused of being the mastermind behind the September 30 bloody kidnappings, while the disappointment of other people was due to the collapse of the economy, which recorded inflation reaching 650%.

The legality of the birth of the New Order government can be traced to the issuance of the Eleventh March Order (Supersemar) in 1966, which was signed by President Soekarno. (In the course of history, it was suspected that there were several versions of Supersemar, but the one that was always used was the version of the New Order Government.) The birth of the New Order was intended to run the government based on corrections from the historical course of government in the Old Order by using the language of the New Order. The presence of the New Order was considered as an effort to put back all the lives of citizens to implement Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in a pure and consistent manner.

If we trace the birth of Supersemar, the sequence can be traced to March 11, 1966, when the Dwikora Cabinet Session was chaired by President Soekarno.

In the midst of the ongoing trial, the presidential guard reported that an unknown number of troops had gathered around the palace. So, to anticipate the occurrence of a state event that was really unwanted, then President Soekarno asked Deputy Prime Minister (Waperdam) II, namely Dr. Johannes Leimena, to continue presiding over the trial.

In a meeting at the Bogor palace, three generals, namely Major General Basuki Rachmat, Brigadier General M. Yusuf, and Brigadier General Amir Machmud, asked President Soekarno to meet with him and asked the president to take firm action to address the national situation. The meeting of the three generals was held after they first met with the Minister of the Army Commander and Commander of the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (Pangkopkamtib), Lieutenant General Suharto. In the circulating history, it was obtained that President Soekarno signed a letter in which he ordered Lieutenant General Suharto to act to ensure internal security and government stability so that the integrity of the nation and state was guaranteed. This supersemar became very decisive in the course of Indonesia's history in the New Order government power for 32 years later.

Lieutenant General Suharto also took action to dissolve the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and its mass organizations, which was one of the three demands of the people (Tritura). The demand, called Tritura, was called for by the demonstrators, led by students in the Indonesian Student Action Unit (KAMI). The three demands that were called for were: first, the disbandment of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which was accused of being the mastermind behind the kidnapping and murder of generals and a number of civilians. Second, the cleaning of the Dwikora Cabinet from elements involved in the events of the September 30th Movement,

1965. Third, lowering the prices of goods, which were indeed very high at that time.

3. Simplification of Political Parties

The experience of political chaos during the Old Order became a source of learning for the New Order government, which saw that the culprit of the chaos that caused political stability to be so disturbed in the past was the presence of political parties. It is strongly suspected that political parties have played a very strong role in the struggle for political power in the past. For example, during the Parliamentary Democracy period, when the government and its cabinet always changed in only a short time, which caused great shocks in the government system. In the turmoil, there was even a cabinet that was only a matter of three months as prime minister, all of which were suspected to be the source and origin of the presence of political parties.

In addition, in a number of discussions in various media and seminars, there was a very heated debate about a democratic government system and rebuilding a new political structure by overhauling the existing political structure. The most prominent criticism has focused on the quality and maturity of democratic politics possessed by political parties. Political parties are considered the source of sharp political divisions that occur as a result of the party's sectoral ego, which only pays attention to their respective ideologies and interests.

So the step that must be taken immediately, according to the New Order government, is to simplify the political parties that already existed during the Old Order era. The process was held after the first general election of the New Order in 1971, when there were still 10 parties participating in the election. But the sorting process had already started before the election when the parties were grouped, except for the Working Group (Golkar). The Golkar Party became a political organization formed by the government as the only party belonging to the government during the New Order era for 32 years. For example, on March 9, 1970, the Development Democracy Group was formed, which consisted of five political parties, namely the PNI, the Catholic Party, Parkindo, IPKI, and Murba. Subsequently, on March 13, 1970, the United Development Group was formed, which included four political parties, namely: NU, PARMUSI, PSII, and Perti.



Ten political parties in 1971 (photo: www.kompas.com)

The official fusion of the nine political parties was only held after the 1971 general election because political parties were suspected of being the source that always disturbed the stability of the government, and it is true that throughout the New Order government there were never serious disturbances from the existence of political parties. Of course, this idea creates political turmoil between those who support and reject it because it will limit the freedom of political parties, which is one of the substances of democracy, namely the freedom for citizens to form political parties to be involved in political issues and compete in every general election. However, the objections of the supporters of democracy did not make the government change its mind because what the New Order government prioritized from the very beginning was national stability in various fields, including politics.

The word “stability” has become a jargon or magic word and has always been a reference and reference for the New Order government, even though the actions that supported stability were very contrary to the main idea of democracy, which glorified the human dignity of everyone, including in the political affairs of the state. One of the democratic ideas is the freedom for all citizens to form political organizations or political parties in an effort to be involved in state politics in the context of competition for power. For the purpose of creating national stability, any action will be taken by the government, including the fusion of political parties, and this action will continue until the end of the reign of the New Order government. The act of fusion/simplification of political parties was carried out on January 5, 1973, which later received legality through Law No. 3/1975 concerning Political Parties and Groups.

The government's action to simplify political parties during the New Order period was first marked by the disbandment of the PKI on March 12, 1966, as the government's first step to further developing efforts to foster political parties. The strength of the New Order government was increasingly visible when the military's role was very strongly involved in supporting the government. One of them was on December 8, 1967, when President Suharto stood before the leadership of all ten political parties (including Golkar) and firmly requested that, in the context of the 1971 General Elections, each political party begin to organize themselves and create groupings of parties. President Soeharto ordered that every political party be included in groups by gluing together the identities of political parties that are more or less the same.

In front of the leaders of ten political parties (including Golkar), President Soeharto was very firm in threatening all political parties to group themselves as soon as possible so that campaigning in the 1971 General Election would be easier without each party losing its authentic identity. Parties that do not comply with this order are threatened with forcible dissolution by the government. Of course, the government's actions that threaten political parties like this are contrary to the intention of democracy, which actually gives freedom to everyone to form a political party, and every political party is allowed to participate in general elections as required by the law that regulates them to compete with each other for political power.

President Suharto's actions at that time should be concluded as contrary to the principles and main principles of democracy.

The government took advantage of this simplification by grouping the existing parties. The government divides them into three groups of parties. The first group is called "parties whose ideology is spiritually material," namely, parties whose program focuses on developing spiritual or spiritual affairs. This group should include all parties related to religious elements and the like, but also parties involved in material and physical affairs for the real needs of human life. The second group is parties with a nationalist wing, which are classified as parties whose focus of programs is more on material or physical affairs for the development of the Indonesian nation and people but do not neglect spiritual matters as well. This means that in work programs that always deal with real and physical state technical policies, these parties always do not forget about spiritual and spiritual matters.

Actually, there is a third group, namely the work group, which consists of parties whose work and programs are solely concerned with national and state affairs. The party in this third group does not refer to itself as a sect related to material or spiritual matters but a group that is specifically owned by the government. The main support of this party is not material and not spiritual, but purely using the Pancasila ideology as its spirit and work program. It is confusing that there is a third group, because it turns out that the third group is not political parties but only a political organization called Golkar, which was formed by the New Order government.

However, this political organization has become a political force that has participated in general elections since 1971, whose roles, functions, and involvement in general elections are exactly the same as those of political parties, including in generating seats in parliamentary institutions. So, in this sense, the Working Group must also be said to be a political party, even though the New Order government never called it a political party. (Golongan Karya, officially named as a legal political party, has only existed since 1999, when the Reformation Era was born.)

The idea of merging political parties into one new party group, of course, destroys the identity of each party. It gets messy. Every party that has been established from the start with its ideology, visions, the mission of the parties and their respective work programs to get votes from voters is damaged because each party that actually has to compete with each other to find voters is forced to join a camp that does not have clear ideology. Of course, the principle of unification of such coercion is one of the New Order's biggest mistakes in its authoritarian system of government during 32 (thirtytwo) years of power for destroying ideology, each party's politics into a very vague ideology and not clear. Because from the very beginning of the establishment of each party in a very heterogeneous country like Indonesia, of course there will be very heterogeneous groups and interests that exist, and because of that, a number of political parties emerged that could actually be found in the 1955 General Election.



Two political parties fused in 1973 and one *Golongan Karya* participated in the elections during the New Order. (photo: www.google.co.id)

Heterogeneity is the wealth of a country and a mirror of Indonesia's face that can never be erased, let alone forced to disappear unless forced to hide or rejected by an iron fist authoritarian power. The result of the iron fist of power is the fusion of political parties with the purpose of ensuring that the jargon of a conducive political stability situation is realized. Result: A new party called the United Development Party (PPP) was born from a group of political parties that are spiritual-material. There are four old parties who were forced to join this new party, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi), Sarekat Islam Party Indonesia (PSII), and the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association (Perti). One more new party forced to be born is the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), which is forced to gather preexisting parties, namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI), Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo), Catholic Party, Murba Party, and the Indonesian Independence Supporters Association (IPKI). While the work group is filled by the only newly formed party by the New Order government, namely the Working Group (Golkar). Supporters Association (IPKI). While the work group is filled by the only newly formed party by the New Order government, namely the Working Group (Golkar).

Regarding Golkar, it can be explained that this party has existed since 1964, when the New Order government claimed to be an organization of people who did not participate in politics but who prioritized work according to their individual backgrounds, whether as a fisherman, a soldier, a civil servant, a merchant, an academic, and others. In practice, the people who are considered not to be in politics are the people who actually fill the seats in the offices as members of the DPR RI, as the candidates promoted by the Working Group in every general election during the New Order era, and they became government agents at every level of office and government structures, including being governors, regents-mayors, and members of the DPRD in the province and city districts. Even the army and police have a special faction in parliament, namely the ABRI Faction, as members of the DPR/MPR during the New Order era. Again, this is a serious democratic accident when there is a lie when the government claims that Golkar is only an organization that has nothing to do with politics and its people do not have anything to do with politics, but as a result, they became political rulers during the New Order's rule.

4. Golongan Karya (GOLKAR)

The New Order Government's depoliticization policy is stated in Law No. 3 of 1975 concerning Political Parties and the Working Group, which clearly states that Golongan Karya/Work Group (Golkar) is not a political party but merely an organization. "Political Parties" are social and political power organizations such as the Indonesian Democratic Party and the United Development Party. "Golongan Karya is an organization of socio-political power called the "Work Group" so that Golkar is not included in the category of a political party and will not be subject to restrictions on the existence of a political party that is currently running, attempted by the New Order government. Of course, this effort is a political trick of President Soeharto's government. Policy efforts characterized by depoliticization were carried out by the New Order Government, namely by applying the "floating mass" pattern for the purpose of deparpolisation.

The term "floating mass" has the same meaning as "allowing citizens not to interfere with political affairs," so that citizens focus on matters that are characterized by work, namely real work in accordance with their respective jobs to support themselves and their families in order to build the economy. The wider country without the need to enter into one of the two political parties mentioned above. Citizens' task is to create as many works as possible that serve their own interests as well as the interests of other citizens, and whose outcomes are more tangible and can be enjoyed and felt in real terms by citizens. According to the New Order Government, such work tasks will not be managed by political parties. It is sufficient for the affairs of political parties to be handled by a number of people without the need to involve the wider community.

With the term "floating mass," the broad citizenry is not involved in practical political affairs carried out by political parties. The goal is for the wider community to focus on working on real projects and not involve themselves in the affairs of political parties. Of course, the role of political parties is very weak. The pattern of weakening political parties is to prohibit the formation of party administrators at the sub-district level, especially at the village/kelurahan level and in smaller cells. The existence and management of political parties may only exist up to the district/city level. Citizens who do not join political parties will only be involved in the general election period to cast their votes. The management of the PPP and PDI political parties, which only up to the district/city level, of course, is meant to keep the party away from and not belong to a wide range of citizens, but only to a few people. Political party activities may never be carried out at the sub-district or village level, or at any lower level, whether they are social, religious, cultural, or political party activities.



Golongan Karya (GOLKAR) campaign in the New Order era. (photo: www.kumparan.com)

In contrast to the existence of the Working Group, which has always competed in every general election since the 1971 election, by the government it is not categorized as a political party but only a non-political party political organization. Golkar is free to enter all lines, including the smallest lines in the sub-district, villages, and kelurahan, as well as the smallest cells in the RW and RT, to carry out the country's initiatives. Because the two political parties are not allowed to enter the level sub-districts and lower levels, Golkar is very free and is known as the only political organization on behalf of the state. Moreover, the existence of Golkar is strongly supported by two other forces, namely the bureaucracy and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI).

The state bureaucracy can be understood as state institutions in which there are State Civil Apparatus (Aparatur Sipil Negara - ASN) or formerly known as Civil Servants (Pegawai Negeri Sipil - PNS) and other civil servants, all of whom receive income or salaries from the state budget and whose duties are related to the interests of the state. Citizens who work in the government bureaucracy exist at various levels, from the central government level in the ministries to the RT/RW level at the lowest level. Meanwhile, ABRI is a state defense tool authorized by the state to hold weapons for external defense against possible threats from other countries and for internal security affairs.

At that time, ABRI consisted of three military dimensions, namely the Army, Navy, and Air Force, as well as the Indonesian National Police, which should be considered as part of the civilian population to ensure domestic security. The existence of the bureaucracy and the Armed Forces (ABRI), which have supported all of Golkar's political policies down to the village cells, has made Golkar the only political organization that has daily contact with the wider community. So GOLKAR's victory during the New Order election, which was always above 75 percent, ensured that this "party" was deliberately created by the government to hegemony power from possible competition with any party.

5. People's Progressive Party (PPP)

In the difficult situation of political parties in the midst of the government's efforts to depoliticize, PPP continues to struggle to maintain its ideology by implementing Islamic law with the awareness

that the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim. Even in the early days of its birth, PPP had dared to differ from government policy by rejecting the government's policy of removing religious lessons from the 1973 draft GBHN to be replaced with Pancasila Moral Education in public schools. PPP membership can be divided into two categories: traditional groups (PPP members from NU and PERTI) and modernist groups from the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi) and PSII. These two groups became the beginning of difficulties within the internal party when deciding to use the party symbol and a number of other decisions, such as determining the management and division of seats ahead of the general election.

The difficulties experienced by this party were very clear when the Law on Political Parties in 1975 stipulated that PPP and PDI could not carry out their political activities at the village/kelurahan level and lower levels. In the first general election in 1977, which was attended by only three fusion election participants, PPP as an Islamic political party carried a religious theme by garnering support from various elements of Islam in all its limitations. For example, the national figure Nurcholis Madjid (Cak Nur) was one of the prominent PPP national campaigners in 1977 in a campaign held on April 10, 1977 in the Tambaksari area of Surabaya in front of around 75,000 people.

Cak Nur did not hesitate to criticize the New Order government, whose development is progressing but the sense of social justice for the community is actually blocked, including criticism of the New Order rulers, who seem quite weak and not strong with the temptation of power, which has even slowly led to abuses of power. Nurcholis, who is not a member of the party and is not a member of parliament, is increasingly irritated by the power of the New Order government and sees that within PPP there is still moral courage to criticize the government despite its weak position in front of the authorities.

Internal party conflicts have existed for a long time and have always been a serious problem for every political party that is not able to manage itself properly. Why do parties often experience conflict? Of course, because political parties were born to gain power, as a result, the powers that are offered and in front of a political party's eyes become a great opportunity to cause internal conflicts in political parties. Differences in ideology, different visions and expectations create opportunities for division and even differences of opinion in supporting or rejecting government policies. The same conflict also occurred in PPP during the New Order era. The history of conflict within Islamic parties is also a common history of parties, even since the Old Order. In fact, during the Old Order era, Islamic political forces experienced divisions, such as in the Nahdlatul Ulama Party (PNU), the Indonesian Muslim Syuro Council (Masyumi), and other smaller political forces, such as the Tarbiah Islamiah Association (Perti) and the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSI). As a result, the 1973 merger of four Islamic parties into the PPP can be seen as one of the efforts to unite Islamic parties in a single container.

Of course, it cannot be denied that with the majority Muslim population in Indonesia reaching more than 87%, it should be politically unreasonable for the voice of Islam to be channeled into one of the mouthpieces of a political party but to be channeled into a number of political parties according to the currents and visions. The mission and ideology of each party are carried out differently. Especially if there are sharp differences within each party in viewing a state policy, for example, the matter of defending minorities in establishing houses of worship and in all its forms, which may be very different between one Islamic party and another. Of course, very different views and ideologies will enable voters to make their choices more easily compared to just one political party.



In the 1992 General Election, he became a member of the United Development Party (PPP). (photo: www.datatempo.co)

The existence of the PPP, which is a combination of four political parties, faces problems in matters of ideology and principles as an Islamic party. At the beginning of its formation, PPP used Islamic principles, but later in 1984, the party was under great pressure from the New Order government, so that every party was obliged to use the single principle of Pancasila, so that PPP was forced to abolish its Islamic principles and replace the party logo with the image of the Kaaba with a five-pointed star. with an image of the five precepts of Pancasila in the Garuda Bird. And Be PPP using the image of the first principle of Pancasila as the Precept of the One Godhead, namely the image of a five-pointed star in the Garuda Bird.

Another problem faced by the PPP is that there were a number of different sects among Islamic parties during the 1955 general election and some of them continued in the 1971 general election. With the formation of the PPP, this party faced differences in internal political parties and opinions, and in fact, that was also the goal of the New Order government by the fusion of political parties, so that the political currents that were very strong during the Old Order were made weaker and more lost. So it can be said that the presence and existence of PPP as an Islamic political party was precisely in the New Order's effort to erase the very strong political flow in the Old Order government. So, of course, internal problems from different political streams became a natural thing to arise in PPP because the party officials who joined were forced to unite into one party, even though each figure from the very be-

gining of the formation of their respective parties identified themselves as figures from more traditional parties while others identified themselves as figures from more modern parties.

Figures from more traditional circles can be called party leaders from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which means the Awakening of Ulama. This party has traditional characteristics and is the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. Its existence existed long before independence, namely in 1926, when it was still a period of the independence struggle. It was formed at that time in East Java with the main objectives of working on religious affairs, education issues, improving the people's economy, and dealing with social problems. So it becomes very common for us to see the presence of Kyai and NU figures who hold positions in the Shura Council. Of course, the presence of NU leaders in the same party, namely PPP, will create a discrepancy with the figures from PARMUSI (Partai Muslimin Indonesia), who mostly sit in executive positions with self-identification as figures from a more modern party.

Masyumi was actually a party that had just been formed in the early days of the New Order, precisely in 1968 as a replacement for Masyumi, which was forced to disband by President Soekarno because of the impact of the PPRI rebellion. A number of Masjumi leaders are considered involved in the 1960 rebellion that supported the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia, or PRRI, which intended to change the policies carried out by President Soekarno. A number of Masyumi figures, such as Mohammad Natsir, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, and Burhanuddin Harahap, were involved in the PRRI rebellion in Padang, and the Masyumi Party, as a political party, was considered to refuse to blame the rebellion movement.

The Old Order government forced Masyumi to be disbanded and imprisoned a number of prominent figures, such as Buya Hamka. Whereas in the 1955 General Election, Masyumi came in second place with 7,903,886 votes, equivalent to 20.9% of valid votes with the number of seats in parliament (57 seats). Considered a more modern organization, Masyumi has a strong presence in Sumatra and Jakarta. In fact, 51.3% of Masyumi's votes in the 1955 elections came from the island of Java, and he became a very dominant party in areas outside Java. Parmusi's existence from the very beginning was an answer to the hopes of Masjumi supporters who felt the need to establish a new party. Parmusi's existence had quite a place in the 1971 general election as the first general election during the New Order era, which was to rank fourth out of ten competing parties with 5.36% of the voter votes, namely 24 seats in parliament.

PPP's internal conflicts should also be noted during the leadership of HJ Jaro, who came from Parmusi by calling himself one of the factions of one party, namely the PPP, namely the Indonesian Muslim Faction (MI), which is a faction that often does not differ very sharply with figures from NU. HJ Naro became the General Chair of the PPP in 1978, which was supported by the New Order government, whose story began when NU figures from the PPP

left the courtroom (walk out) during the 1978 MPR General Session. In a number of texts, it is stated that HJ Naro declared himself General Chairperson of PPP with the support of the government even though he did not hold party meetings or party congresses, as it should normally occur in all organizations, including political parties.

Internal disputes during the leadership of HJ Naro against NU figures occurred in the 1982 elections, which reduced the number of PPP candidates from NU figures and placed the names of candidates from NU figures on a difficult list to win legislative seats. As it is understood that the acquisition of legislative seats for a political party during the New Order period was determined by the serial numbers of the candidates, namely the top candidate who got the first seat, the rest was distributed to the candidate with the second serial number, and the remaining votes, if there were still any, were channeled to the candidate with the third order, and so on, depending on the votes acquired by political parties from each electoral district. The placement of the candidate positions of NU figures on the PPP candidate list caused disappointment among NU leaders, and in 1984, officially NU leaders withdrew from the PPP.

6. Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)

The existence of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) during the New Order as a nationalist party was actually not entirely nationalist if it refers to the ideals of forming two parties resulting from the amalgamation of nine parties, namely: a spiritual-material wing (religious party) on the one hand, and a nationalist wing on the other hand. If you look at the nine parties in the 1971 general election, apart from the existence of the Working Group, there should have been seven (seven) religious parties and only two parties with a non-religious orientation, namely purely nationalists, namely the PNI and the Murba Party. However, not all parties agree with the idea of merging with an emphasis on the division of religion and spiritual, nationalist, and material. If you look at the substance of the division of parties for fusion, the Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo) and the Catholic Party will be included in the group of spiritual religious parties. But of course, such a blind division will be very dangerous because it combines all religions into one political party forum, even though the ideology and, of course, based on the religious theology of each party are very different.

The fellow Christian-based parties from the two parties mentioned above already have different theological principles and dogmatic teachings of each religion, even though the Scriptures they hold/use and the God they believe in are the same. What if the two Christian religions were combined with other religions such as Islam, which are very much different? So when the fusion of parties was forced by the New Order government into only two parties, Parkindo and the Catholic Party refused to join the religious/spiritual party, the United Development Party (PPP). The two Christian religious parties prefer to join the nationalist force, namely the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), which is more in line with the mission and vision of its struggle for an uninhibited nationality.



PDI campaigned in Tapanuli, North Sumatra in the 1992 General Election (photo: www.datatempo.co)

This principle is supported by Christian theology and church dogma, which separate matters of faith in religion from real worldly practical politics. In Christianity, there is a separation of powers; namely, matters of faith in God are held by the authority of the Church, which has the authority to teach the teachings of faith, dogma, theology, and moral ethics that must be carried out by every Christian believer. The church has the authority to determine the moral teachings of religion and the tenets of faith that every Christian should have. The Church determines the dogmas that must be adhered to by every believer, which even corrects the teachings of faith that are considered deviant from the true teachings of faith according to the dogmatic principles of the Church. All Christian teachings, dogmas, theology, and moral principles fall under the authority of the Church as an institution. The Church teaches, encourages, and commands us to follow all the teachings of the faith.

But these institutions do not have the authority to impose the teachings of the faith, dogmas, and ethical moral imperatives into the practice of every Christian. The last affairs of the practice of faith in pure daily life are the full responsibility of everyone, because the affairs of each person's faith are everyone's personal business. In this context, the practical political affairs that the Christian-based party system has traditionally handled are returned to the citizens who initiate and manage the Christian party system. The Church is only at the dividing gate that recommends always obeying and implementing the teachings of the Christian faith and ethical morals in real political practices.

The Church is present as a moral initiator and encourages Christian ethical morals to be the basis of the struggle of every Christian, but there is no real sanction or punishment even if Christian politicians deviate far from these Christian moral teachings. In this context, the adage applies that the affairs of the Church's faith do not become a unified whole with the affairs of the State; each institution is on a different side, not in the same point/stronghold. The hope that is very likely to be conveyed is just a suggestion that all state politics held by Christians should be carried out with Christian ethical morals as well.

In the context of the separation of church power from state power, it was Parkindo and the Catholic Party's right choice to join PDI, not to join PPP. In a certain sense, it can be said that Parkindo and the Catholic Party are nationalist parties and not religious parties because there is no real involvement of church authorities in determining party policies, let alone giving punishments, sanctions, rewards, or anything else to party officials who, if later judged as having gone too far, or even if it is contrary to Christian ethical moral teachings. The rights and authorities of the Church are different from the rights and authorities of state affairs, although both have a bridge as a link that reinforces each other. The Church has always taught that Christian morals should be the capital of every Christian layman in the world of state politics, while the laity always ask for direction and confirmation from the Church hierarchy for efforts to provide political salt in the genuine practice of state politics.

The two Christian parties decided to refuse to be merged into PPP as a place for Islamic parties. The leaders of the two parties intend to form a new party specifically to become a party based on Christian teachings, which, although the two religions are different, have very much in common, especially in the Bible and the concept of the Triune God that they believe in. According to Yusuf Wanandi's notes, Christian parties were asked to join Golkar as participants in the government's election, but Christian parties refused. In Jusuf Wanandi's notes it is said:

“Soeharto asked us to support Golkar. But we object. Golkar's leaders, most of whom are from the army, are disliked by society for corruption, playing with women, or both. Initially, Christians hoped that Golkar would be a political party capable of influencing and providing political policies to President Suharto in order to build a better and more democratically dignified nation, but on the contrary, President Soeharto fully controlled Golkar and used it as a political vehicle throughout his authoritarian rule, from the election of 1971 until the fall of the New Order in May 1998.”

In Yusuf Wanandi's mind, in reality, Golkar was only a very loyal political servant for Suharto and the New Order government to continue to win in general elections for a longer period of time. Policies and political decisions were purely Suharto's authority, while Golkar was only one of the most loyal servants apart from the other two, of course, the bureaucracy and ABRI. And later on in his journey, Christian intellectuals and politicians were very disappointed with Suharto's political attitude in managing the country, which they considered a hero to the efforts to overthrow the PKI in the early days of the fall of the Old Order.

The policy which is, of course, very painful for Christian intellectuals and politicians is the concept of floating mass, which was misinterpreted by the New Order government, which turned the meaning of floating mass into a political strategy to win Golkar solely. Whereas the initial idea of the floating masses was to develop the masses of the people not to get involved with the concepts initiated by the PKI during the Old Order, which often used mass

demonstrations as an effort to carry out a revolution, which at that time became very disturbing for the new government system to be built regarding stability, politics, and national economic development after the fall of the Old Order government. It turned out that the idea of a floating mass was actually used by Suharto only to win the interests of Golkar in general elections during the New Order rule.

The New Order authoritarian government made efforts to depoliticize citizens' politics so that there were no ideological parties or citizens except for the ideology of the Pancasila State. Floating masses were later interpreted as deviant by the New Order government by not allowing PPP and PDI to have management at the sub-district, village/kelurahan, RW, and RT levels. Meanwhile, civil defense (Hansip) is managed by the military from the lowest cells of the bureaucracy to the RT-RT and even from house to house of civilians with one message: choose only Golkar in the general election. If you choose a party other than Golkar, it means anti-military and you are very likely to be suspected of siding with the PKI.

All roads were forced only to try to win the New Order's power throughout the pseudo general elections since 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997 until the New Order's power fell in May 1998. Returning to the PDI, which was more than half the age of the New Order government, there is not much that can be explained about the role of this party other than being a party that does not criticize the government much. The political power of the party is so weak that it is often considered a small party, namely a small party with the least quantity of political seats but also a party that is weak in political quality in responding to the policies of the ruling government.

It is very unattractive that the existence of the PDI is very possible because not many Christian political figures want to join the PDI but prefer to enter the Group of Work, which is more real and has more real political power. Meanwhile, the bloodlines of the Soekarno family chose not to be involved in PDI politics, even though the PNI was the party that Soekarno had formed in the early days as the most dominant party in the PDI. However, because the PDI was a pseudo-party formed by a forced coalition of parties, this party lacked political passion.



The Jakarta riots started at the PDI office on Saturday 27 July 1996. (photo: www.idntimes.com)

The ideology of the different parties makes this party a political torpor. The two other parties that have not been named, namely the Indonesian Independence Supporters Association Party (IPKI) and the Many People's Consultative Party (Murba), have been very conflicted since the early days of the establishment of each party before the party fusion was carried out. The IPKI, whose establishment was initiated by military figures such as AH Nasution and Gatot Subroto, is, of course, very much at odds with the Murba Party, initiated by Tan Malaka, which is always associated with left-leaning parties and tends to direct its patrons to Russia as a communist country. So, in its presence in the PDI, the IPKI's policy of rejecting the existence of communists in Indonesia was always at odds with the political policies of the Murba Party, which were close to communism.

The political revival of the PDI began to be felt when the Soekarno family lineage increasingly felt the need to be involved in politics in this party. At the 1993 PDI Congress, Megawati Soekarnoputri was elected by acclamation as the General Chair of the PDI. Megawati's attitude toward criticizing the New Order government greatly disturbed Suharto's power, which had been in power for 27 years since 1966, so that even the slightest critical attitude that emerged from the public was considered a serious threat to the comfort of the New Order's power.

Just as Lord Acton talked about the pleasures of power, the longer you are in power, the more delicious that power becomes and becomes very anticriticism. The more anti-criticism, the more rampant the practice of corruption, namely stealing money and state assets that should be for the benefit of the people. Included are two other state practices as enemies of democracy that were played very strongly during the New Order era, namely the practice of collusion and nepotism, which became daily attitudes that were practiced openly.

So, the longer a New Order government was in power, the more widespread and rampant corrupt behavior became, just like the proverb from Lord Acton in the original sentence, which said: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Megawati's presence as PDI General Chair in 1993–1998 became a threat that disrupted the stability of the New Order's power. With the support of the New Order government, the PDI forced a congress in Medan to overthrow Megawati on June 22, 1996, and Soerjadi was elected as PDI General Chair only for the remaining two years, namely for the 1996-1998 period. On behalf of the New Order government, the Minister of Home Affairs (Mendagri) was present to open and close the PDI Congress in Medan. Prior to the PDI Congress in Medan, PDI General Chair Megawati issued a decree on the dismissal of 16 PDI functionaries who forced the PDI Congress in Medan, namely the Decree of the General Chairperson of the PDI DPP Number 01-KU/KPTS/VI/1996.

One month after the Medan Congress riots broke out in Jakarta on the gray Saturday of July 27, 1996, PDI's internal divisions became increasingly unavoidable. The black sheet of Indonesian

political history on Saturday, July 27, 1996, began with the forced seizure of the PDI office occupied by Megawati's camp. The riots then spread to bloody riots in various areas of Jakarta. Data from the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) in 1996 explains that as a result of the July 27, 1996 Jakarta riots, 5 (five) people died, while 149 people were seriously injured and 23 people were declared missing.

A new chapter in the disappointment of Megawati's supporters was seen in the 1997 general election when the mass of voters supporting Megawati gave political votes to the PPP, which caused the PDI's vote share to plummet. The end of the PDI's existence was marked by the fall of President Suharto's power two years after the Jakarta riots, namely May 20, 1998, which gave birth to the Reformation Era. Megawati separated from the PDI and gave birth to the PDI-P, which won the first national election in 1999 with General Chair Megawati Soekarnoputri.#

Chapter 6 Political Parties Thrive In The Reformation Era In Indonesia

The Reformation Era became the era of the birth and growth of many political parties in Indonesia after the silence of political parties from the effect of party fusion in 1973 until the end of New Order rule on May 20, 1998. Political parties have flourished since democratic channels were opened in the Reformation Era. Various parties in the name of religion, in the name of certain ethnicities and cultures, and, of course, other new nationalist parties flourished. The public has the freedom to express their views and political opinions freely without fear, as experienced during the New Order era. One of the most appropriate channels to convey the political aspirations of citizens is through the formation of political parties. In a very general sense, it is understood that political parties are a means to seize political power with dignity for nations that adhere to a democratic system. In a democracy, everyone is free to compete and struggle for political power, and the main channel for the enjoyment of political power is through the formation and involvement of political parties.

One of the other functions of political parties is to become a connecting bridge between the interests of citizens to be fought for in public policy through their presence in political parties. The function of political parties as political connectors or bridges has been lost during the New Order government, which silenced all freedom of expression and closed all citizens' access to express their different views. Whereas in a democratic system, individual political freedom gets a high position of dignity so that everyone has the right to fight for their political will in a dignified manner through the existing democratic system, namely political parties. Political parties become a bridge to aggregate the interests of citizens and fight for them to become a state policy.

1. Plurality of Political Parties

Awareness of the birth of various political parties became a great longing that was felt in the early days of the 1998 Reformation

Era. The formation of political parties is felt to be a longing that inevitably must be fulfilled. It must be admitted that the suppression of political freedom during the New Order era with very dominant executive power, namely the very strong authority of the President, has made the existence of political parties, namely the Work Group, and the existence of legislative institutions, namely the DPR RI and MPR, under the full power of the Executive. So, when the reformation era was born, the democratic channel was really used to a great extent by all citizens. Political freedom and the freedom to voice political ideas feel very tight.



The 1998 Mass Action gave birth to the Reformation Era. (photo: www.bbc.com)

At least the data from the early days of the 1998 Reform Era to the first national general election in 1999 recorded a total of 48 political parties that legally and met the requirements in accordance with the laws and regulations to be able to participate in elections. The 48 political parties that took part in the election were only a few of at least 184 political parties that had been established and registered with state institutions in order to gain legal status. However, of the 184 parties, there are 141 political parties that have received official approval as legal entities by the state through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Finally, of the 141 political parties that were declared eligible and fulfilled the requirements outlined in the election regulations to participate in the first election of the Reform Era in 1999, there were only 48 political parties. Of course, this number is far higher than the elections that were held just two years earlier, namely 1997, which were only attended by three (three) election participants, namely PPP, Golkar, and PDI.

As has been explained, during the New Order political party era, the existence of political parties was depolarized and, in the 1996 PDI case, riots broke out in Jakarta. Of course, this experience gave rise to a freer political will in everyone who wants a democratic format to be implemented. The presence of 48 political parties in the 1999 General Election shows that political freedom has become something that all citizens who want a democracy have long hoped for. In the 2019 National Election, there were 16 political parties competing nationally from 74 political parties registered with the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. This number shows the multiparty character of the heterogeneous Indonesian society.

It is also worth looking at the parties that emerged in the early days of reformation from the point of view of the party category of parties. At least 48 political parties that emerged during the early reformation period in 1999 can be grouped into four categories. The first category is political nationalist-based parties, namely parties that do not directly raise religious, regional, or ethnic issues as well as specific professions. Nationalist-based parties have the largest number of political parties that have contested the 1999 national elections. A total of 26 (twenty-six) nationalist-based political parties participated in the first general election at the beginning of the reform.

Of course, the two old parties that participated in the elections during the New Order, namely the Golkar Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), which were supported by the New Order government and later splinter parties that were even more dominant throughout the Reformation era, namely the PDI-P, became part of the party that was dominated by nationalist parties. The PDI-P, formed by Megawati Soekarnoputri, who split from her predecessor, the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), which was backed by the New Order, and the Golkar Party, two political parties that were very dominant from the 1999 election to the 2019 election because they always dominated the voter turnout at the top. Of course, the existence of this nationalist-based party has a segment of nationalists who are not affiliated with any particular segment or political stream that is specific to a particular religion or culture or profession.

Nationalist issues became the main focus of these parties. A number of political parties that are purely nationalist-based parties without categories related to religious, cultural/ethnic sects and professions are the Indonesian Democratic Party, the Indonesian Independence Supporters Association Party, the Republican Party, the Abul Yatama Party, the Many People's Consultative Party, the United Party, the Union Party Indonesian Democracy, Mutual Cooperation Family Consultative Party, People's Sovereignty Party, Peace Love Party, Justice and Unity Party, Indonesian National Party, Indonesian Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Party, Indonesian National Union Solidarity Party, National Democratic Party, Democratic People's Party, People's Choice Party, the Indonesian People's Party, the Indonesian National Party-Front Marhaenis, the Indonesian National Party-Supeni, and the Indonesian National Party-Massa Marhaen.



The masses occupied the Senayan DPR/MPR Building in 1998, asking President Soeharto to step down (photo: www.kompas.com)

The second category of parties that just emerged at the beginning of the reform era is the category of parties that carry a name and identity or are associated with Islamic religious sects. The number of parties in the name of Islam has a large number, namely 15 (fifteen) political parties. It is hoped that the Islamic religious party will become a party that can channel the aspirations of Muslim citizens to convey their political ideas after feeling that the interests and opportunities of Muslims to voice and fight for their political ideas have been completely silenced during the New Order era. As has been explained in the de-parpolization of two political parties during the New Order, namely the United Development Party (PPP) as the only religious political party and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), Muslims felt the need to present a party with an Islamic spirit when the Reformation Era was born.

The great loss of Islamic ideas for the development of the nation and state during the New Order era has given rise to a special desire to present a large number of political parties in the early days of the Reformation. These parties will be the answer to the importance of special political channels for the Muslim community to fight for their political interests. Among the 15 (fifteen) parties in question, of course, it can be called the United Development Party (PPP), which became the party participating in the general election during the New Order era after the fusion of political parties in 1973. Other political Islamic parties include the Indonesian Muslim Awakening Party, the Islamic Ummah Party, the Ummah Awakening Party, the New Masyumi Party, the Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party, the Masyumi Indonesian Islamic Political Party, the Crescent Star Party, the Justice Party, the Islamic Democratic Party, the Indonesian Muslim Ummah, the National Mandate Party, the 1905 Indonesian Syarikat Islam Party, the National Awakening Party, and the Nahdlatul Ummat Party.

Of these 15 Islamic parties, at least two can be called dominant in the early days of reform and received great support because they were closely related to each of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia. The two parties are the National Awakening Party (PKB), which has the support of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, namely the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU), and the National Mandate Party (PAN), which is supported by

the Muhammadiyah Central Executive. The 1998 reform leader, Amien Rais, who during the New Order era became one of the most critical figures of the New Order government and became the General Chair of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive, was asked to become the General Chair of PAN. Meanwhile, the PKB was filled by a very influential figure from the Nahdlatul Ulama, namely Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), who became the Chair of the PKB Advisory Board.

It is noteworthy that the fall of the New Order's power spawned new parties, and there were at least three new political parties which at that time were considered very influential because they were led by reform figures, namely the PDI-P led by Megawati Soekarno Putri; the National Mandate Party (PAN), led by Amien Rais; and the National Awakening Party (PKB) by placing Gus Dur as Chairman of the Advisory Council. The birth of the PKB was one of the efforts of the NU community to ask Gus Dur to form a new political party ahead of the 1999 general election as the only way to fight the Working Group in the general election.

The third category is Christian religious parties. Although the percentage of the Christian population is a minority, which is only around 8.7 percent according to 2010 BPS data, Christians feel the need to present a new political party. Of course, this spirit cannot be separated from the presence of Christians who have participated in enlivening the general election since 1955. Even in the 1955 election, two Christian parties had very significant votes. The Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo) had the sixth largest number of votes with eight legislative seats, while the Catholic Party got six legislative seats and was in seventh place out of a hundred participants in the 1955 election.

Of course, the experience of forced party fusion in 1973, which forced the two Christian parties to join the PDI during the New Order era, made the political channels of Christians feel very clogged. In order to create a political channel for Christians in the Reformation Era, three political parties were born to participate in the 1999 elections. The three political parties are the Democratic Love for the Nation Party (PDKB), the Indonesian National Christian Party (KRISNA), and the Catholic Democratic Party (PKD). Of these three political parties, there are two parties that come from Protestant Christian circles, namely the PDKB and the Krisna Party, while the Catholics gave birth to one political party, namely PKD.



President Suharto announced his resignation on Thursday, May 21, 1998

(photo: www.kompas.com)

The fourth category is political parties born from professions, namely: workers or workers. The workers, as a very large mass base in Indonesia, feel the need to be present in political interests to fight for the rights of the workers. One of the prominent figures of Indonesian workers who were noteworthy and very influential during the New Order era was Muchtar Pakpahan, who from the very beginning wanted the involvement of workers in political affairs to fight for their fate. According to Muchtar Pakpahan, the fate of the workers can only be fought for by the workers themselves because, according to the experience of the workers since the independence period, workers are only workers whose labor is taken and paid very low wages, so the existence of workers is always the victim of collusion or collaboration between entrepreneurs as owners of capital and a country filled with bureaucracy.

There were at least four labor parties that were legally legitimized to take part in the first general election of the reform era in 1999, namely: the Workers' Solidarity Party, the All-Indonesian Workers' Solidarity Party, the National Labor Party, and the Indonesian Workers' Party. The struggle of the workers in Indonesia has received serious attention from the government by giving a special national holiday as Labor Day every May 1, better known as Mayday. The national holiday on May 1 has been started since 2013 at the end of the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. If you look at the political parties that were born in the early days, during the reformation era, a number of political parties were born with the desire to repeat the success stories of similar parties or similar parties in the past, which refers to the history and successful ideological political struggles before the fusion of political parties in 1973.

We can mention several political parties that take the name and spirit that are more or less the same or at least related to past parties. For example, we can mention the success story of the Indonesian National Party (PNI) in the 1955 General Election as the winner of the national election with the highest number of votes from all election participants. The election attracted hundreds of voters. The PNI, which puts the figure of President Soekarno as a symbol and figure of the party, received the largest number of votes with

8,434,653 votes, or equivalent to 22.32% of the voter vote with a total of 57 legislative seats. There were at least three political parties in the early days of the Reformation Era that referred to the PNI in the past, namely: the Indonesian National Party-Front Marhaenis, the Indonesian National Party-Supeni, and the Indonesian National Party-Massa Marhaen. Carrying the old PNI name with the Marhaenis spirit is expected to be able to return to the initial spirit when the PNI was formed for the first time in the early days of independence.

Another party that refers to the old party using a fairly identical name is the Indonesian Independence Supporters Association Party (IPKI), as a party that participated in the 1971 general election and reappeared in the 1999 reform era election. Another party that emerged from the birth of the 1998 Reformation Era as a legacy of success from past parties prior to the 1973 political party fusion was the party that carried the name and spirit of the Syarikat Islam Party, which gave rise to two new political parties, namely the Indonesian Syarikat Islam Party and the Indonesian Syarikat Islam Party. 1905 as a participant in the 1999 election. At first glance, it should be noted that the Indonesian Syarikat Islam Party (PSII), which participated in the first general election in 1955, was a party with an Islamic ideology whose birth emerged from the first organization of the independence struggle, namely the Syarikat Da-gang Islam (SDI), which was founded in 1905 in Solo.

Bringing the figure and spirit of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto as the leader of PSII in 1912, the party that was born in the early days of the reformation with a passion for the past, is expected to generate support from the generations/descendants of those who have been involved and win this party again. PSII was indeed one of the strongest parties in the 1955 elections by being ranked fifth out of all parties participating in the general election by obtaining the people's choice of 1,091,160 votes, which was equal to 2.89% of the valid votes. PSII won the same vote again in the 1971 general election before the party fusion was held in 1973, namely by obtaining a vote of 1,308,237 votes, equivalent to 2.39%.

2. Internal Political Party Upload

As in general, political parties always experienced internal party ups and downs. The party system in the Reformation Era also experienced a number of internal party problems. The pragmatic interests of political parties during the Reformation Era became dominant in the emergence of internal political party upheaval, especially when political parties were faced with a situation to join a coalition with the elected President's camp or were outside of power. Difficult party choices forced parties to choose between coalitions or being outside the government. This became the most dominant political party issue in the Reformation Era and, of course, became the dominant issue affecting internal upheaval.

Returning to the internal party conflict, the biggest issue in the internal party conflict is whether to join the cabinet of the elected president or be outside the government. The situation of the party being outside the government can certainly be caused by one of the

following two reasons: the party chooses not to join the government in power, or perhaps because the party is not being looked at by the government in power to be given strategic positions in the government, such as ministerial positions or the like.



A total of 48 political parties officially participated in the 1999 National Election (photo: www.kpu.go.id)

The conflicts that occur within the political parties show that there is no strong ideology capable of uniting every political party. The weak internal cohesion of each party allows these parties to easily get into conflict for power and internal party positions, and not even a few parties eventually give birth to new political parties, and some of them give rise to dual party management. The tendency of political parties to conflict is not because of ideological differences or the party's vision, mission, or program, nor is it because of the presence of a strong figure in a party that is not accommodated. The tendency of the emergence of internal conflicts of political parties is more on the will to be involved in practical political powers that are obtained not only because of the results of hard struggles in elections but rather on the will to form a coalition or not with the ruling power, including the pragmatism of the party's decision to support one candidate for president and vice president in an election.

Almost all political parties that have seats in parliament have experienced internal party conflicts that have given rise to dual party management, and some of them have even spawned new parties. Among the conflicting parties, it can be mentioned that a number of them are the Golkar Party, which was very strong during the New Order era but even gave birth to a number of new parties in the Reformation Era, such as the Gerindra Party, Nasdem Party, Hanura Party, and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI). Meanwhile, another New Order party, the PPP, which experienced internal conflicts, gave birth to a new party, the Reform Star Party (PBR).

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI), which was born from the womb of the old party during the New Order era,

namely PDI, also gave birth to at least three new parties due to internal party conflicts, namely: the Indonesian Homeland Party (PITA), the National Bull of Independence Party (PNBK), and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. Democratic Reform Party (PDP). The PDP was born as a result of internal party conflicts as a result of dissatisfaction with the results of the 2005 PDI-P congress when Admiral Sukardi and Roy B.B. Janis faced off against the PDI-P led by Megawati Soekarnoputri. Meanwhile, the National Awakening Party (PKB), as a party with strong political support from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization, had a conflict that gave birth to at least two new parties, namely the Democratic Victory Party (PEKADE) and the Nusantara Nation Prosperity Party (PKBN).

The internal conflicts of political parties in the Reformation Era mostly occurred because of the issue of political coalitions. It is very commonly understood that a political coalition can be interpreted as an attempt by a number of parties to join together with one common political interest in building a government for the current government or overseeing the current government system. In theory, political science divides coalitions into two major groups: coalitions that are not present due to political policy considerations (policy blind coalitions), and coalitions that are present in order to maximize the presence of political parties in a government that is in power (office seeking coalitions).

The first group is more interested in power regardless of whether the political policies promoted by each party have a similar flow or ideology or not. But what is necessary for the party is to join the power group even though the political party that is the main bearer of the president who is currently governing has a very different ideology or vision and mission from each party. The second coalition is a coalition between political parties that is built because of the similarities in ideology or flow or policies that bind each political party (policy-based coalitions) that see that there are similarities in principles or ideologies that must be fought for together (policy seeking). This second coalition is not centered on whether political power is in the hands of the coalition group or, on the other hand, because what unites these parties is a common political vision and mission.



A total of 24 political parties participated in the 2004 National Election
(photo: www.kompas.com)

One example of internal party conflict that should be noted among other party conflicts is the conflict that occurred within the Golkar Party when it faced the 2009 Presidential Election. The results of the 2009 Legislative Election put the Golkar Party at a far lower level than in the previous 2004 Legislative Election. The Golkar Party won the election, defeating the PDI-P. In addition, during the 2009 legislative elections, the General Chairperson of the Golkar Party, Jusuf Kalla, served as Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia in the first term of the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla administration. The Golkar Party's vote share fell sharply in the 2009 General Election by more than 7% compared to the 21.58% in the 2004 Legislative Election and only 14.45% in the 2009 Legislative Election. This drastic decline in the Golkar Party's vote tally placed it only in third place in the number of political parties' votes nationally, under the votes of the Democratic Party and the PDI-P.

The internal conflict within the Golkar Party became increasingly violent when the General Chairman of the Golkar Party, Jusuf Kalla, stepped forward to become a presidential candidate in partnership with General Wiranto, who was promoted by only two political parties, namely the Golkar Party and the Hanura Party. From the very beginning, the Golkar Party's desire to promote Jusuf Kalla as a presidential candidate was strongly opposed by a number of party leaders, such as Akbar Tandjung, Aburizal "Ical" Bakrie, Fadel Muhammad, Muladi, Theo Sambuaga, and a number of other figures. The results of the 2009 presidential election, in which three presidential candidates ran, showed that the Presidential-Vice Presidential Candidate pair Jusuf Kalla-Wiranto received only 12.41% of the national vote, while the Presidential-Vice Presidential Candidate pair Megawati Soekarnoputri-Prabowo Subianto received 26.79% of the national vote.

Meanwhile, the incumbent, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who was paired with Boediono, an economist, won the 2009 Presidential Election again with a very significant vote of 60.80% of the national vote. After the defeat in the presidential election, the Golkar party paid off the VIII in Pekanbaru, Riau on 5-8 October 2009. The impact of the party's defeat in the legislative election and the presidential election became a very sharp source of conflict that occurred in the VIII National Conference. Jusuf Kalla's camp, which supports Surya Paloh as the General Chair of the Golkar Party, faces off against the Aburizal Bakrie camp, which is supported by Akbar Tandjung.

Golkar Party Vice President Jusuf Kalla, who lost the 2009 presidential election to incumbent President Susilo, really wanted the Golkar Party to become an opposition party outside the government structure that put the Golkar Party "not to be a 'cheap' party begging for power". Meanwhile, the Akbar Tanjung and Aburizal Bakrie camps hope that the Golkar Party will always be in the middle of power because the Golkar Party is a party that always attends to work for the nation and has never been formed from the start as a party that will become the opposition. The results of the National Conference placed Aburizal Bakrie as the General

Chair of the Golkar Party with 297 valid votes, while Surya Paloh lost because he only got 240 votes from the National Conference participants.

The Golkar Party's stance has immediately declared its intention to join the Susilo Government on the grounds that the views and attitudes shown by the government have similarities with the Golkar Party's platform or line of struggle in the framework of fighting for welfare as the main thing for the people. The rewards obtained by the Golkar Party by forming a coalition with the United Indonesia Cabinet (KIB) II are three ministerial seats, namely Fadel Mohammad as Minister of Fisheries and Maritime Affairs; then Agung Laksono as Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare (Menkokesra); and one more ministerial position held by MS Hidayat as Minister of Industry. Even in the formation of the Joint Secretariat (Setgab) by President Susilo for parties in a coalition with the government, the General Chair of the Golkar Party, Aburizal Bakrie, was appointed as the Daily Chair of the Coalition Setgab.



Sejumlah 34 partai politik menjadi peserta Pemilu Nasional 2009. (photo: www.google.com)

In the course of later history, Surya Paloh declared himself out of the Golkar Party and formed a new party, namely the National Democratic Party (Nasdem), which has been participating in elections since the 2014 Legislative General Election. In the 2019 Legislative Election, the Nasdem Party obtained a significant national vote of 12,661,792 (9.05%) voter votes, which placed them in fifth place in the highest number of votes for parties nationally. This party defeated a number of previously established parties, including the PKS, Democrat Party, PAN, and the old PPP party. The complete list of parties in the 2019 Legislative Election that passed the seats in the DPR RI in the Senayan parliament are:

1. Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP): 27,053,961 votes, (19.33%),
2. Gerindra Party: 17,594,839 (12.57%),
3. The Golkar Party (Golkar): 17,229,789 (12.31%),
4. National Awakening Party (PKB): 13,570,097 (9.69%),
5. National Democratic Party (NasDem): 12,661,792 (9.05%),
6. Prosperous Justice Party (PKS): 11,493,663 (8.21%),

7. Democratic Party: 10,876,507 (7.77%),
8. National Mandate Party (PAN): 9,572,623 (6.84%), and
9. United Development Party (PPP): 6,323,147 (4.52%).

Ahead of the simultaneous national elections in 2024, a number of political parties experiencing internal conflicts have created new political parties. For example, the Ummah Party and the Gelora Party. The Ummat Party is a party that was founded in April 2021 by the former Chairperson of the National Mandate Party (PAN) during the early reformation period from 1998–2005, namely Amien Rais. The former chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, Amien Rais, formed the new Ummat party out of disappointment when Amien Rais felt he had no more influence in PAN. That influence has faded since the defeat of the presidential candidate, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiago Uno, who was very strongly supported by Amien Rais and PAN in the 2019 Presidential Election. In a very strong presidential election, religious ideology and almost all stages of the presidential campaign were very strong with issues of religious identity politics and personal attacks, but after the presidential election, all political facts changed.



A total of 12 political parties participated in the 2014 national elections. (photo: www.beritasatu.com)

The biggest change is, of course, after the inauguration of President-elect Joko Widodo (Jokowi) in October 2019, PAN declared as a party that is closer to the coalition government of President Jokowi. Another political twist that can never be predicted is when the presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto, who is also the General Chair of the Gerindra Party, who lost to President Joko Widodo in two elections and was only followed by two presidential candidates, namely Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, was instead appointed by President-elect Jokowi as Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia in the United Indonesia Cabinet (KIB) for the period 2019-2024. In addition, the vice presidential candidate, namely Sandiango Uni, who lost in the 2019 presidential election, was then inaugurated by President Jokowi as Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy/Head of the Tourism and Creative Economy Agency at the end of 2020. In such disappointing political circumstances, Amien Rais has formed a new party which is expected to be able to compete in the simultaneous national elections in 2024.

Meanwhile, the Gelora Indonesia Party is a party formed by former members of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). For example, Anis Matta, who became the General Chairperson, Fahri Hamzah as the Deputy General Chairperson, and Mahfuz Sidik, the Secretary General, were high-ranking PKS DPP officials who later, because of internal conflicts, formed a new party. Anis Matta, for example, in the early days of the 1998 reformation, was one of the figures who contributed to the birth of the Justice Party, which took part as a participant in the 1999 General Election and later changed its name to the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in 2003. Anis Matta became President of PKS in the period from February 2013 to August 2015. The Gelora Indonesia Party was born in November 2019, which is prepared to be a participant in the simultaneous national elections in 2024.

3. Power's Pragmatic Interest

During the two decades of the Reformation Era (1998–2020), the Indonesian party format experienced difficult political choices, which were certainly very different from the New Order era. The difficult choice that is always faced by political parties is whether to be part of the current government that wins the presidential election, which also means opening up opportunities for coalitions with the political parties that carry the elected president. Another difficult choice that is certainly very contradictory is whether certain political parties will become groups outside the government. Perhaps the term opposition to another term that is often identified with the attitude of political parties that are not in the same political car as the ruling political party is not exactly appropriate for the Indonesian context as the term opposition is understood in democratically developed countries such as Britain and the United States.

But in the context of Indonesia, it is very easy to find parties that are different from the kongsi or groups in the presidential nomination that can be in the same group as the winning group for the president-elect. During the presidential nomination period, the party did not participate in supporting the presidential candidate who won the election because it was on the other side of the nomination camp carrying the losing presidential candidate. In the opposition system that is commonly understood in the United States and Britain, the term “opposition” is a term that refers to the political attitude of a party that is outside the government completely, giving an opportunity to the elected president or prime minister and, of course, as the winning party, to fully run the wheel of government until the next general election.

The elected President or Prime Minister who runs the government is always faced with opposing policies offered by the opposition parties and must always provide alternative solutions to every different political policy offered by the opposition. So, throughout the reign of government, citizens will very easily determine their political choices during the general election, whether they continue to support the government in power or are more interested in alternative policies that are always offered by the opposition. Citizens are thick and difficult to separate in the political policies offered

by each party between the ruling and opposition parties, each of which is represented by one of the two political parties.

In the Indonesian context, the term “opposition” as understood above has not been fully categorized with parties in Indonesia, even though these parties are outside the government. In the party system in Indonesia, which is multi-party and there are quite a number of them, parties that are outside the power structure tend to be unable to provide different alternative solutions to a government political policy. The opposition system is very important in the United States and Britain because there are only two dominant political parties in each of these countries. The two political parties take turns holding the government according to the election results. In a two-party system, the opposition party becomes very important as a competitor and always provides other alternative solutions for every policy being initiated or taken by the government in power.

Perhaps the impression of opposition in the context of Indonesian politics is more fleeting with the existence of the PDI-P, which for ten years (2004–2014) decided not to be involved in the circle of government that was in power by choosing to be completely outside the government. So that the policies implemented by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, such as the policy of increasing fuel prices and other political policies are in the spotlight, which are always criticized by the PDI-P as policies that are not in favor of the interests of the wider community. The results of the political decisions obtained by the PDI-P from the choice to become the “opposition” for ten years were the results of the 2004 presidential elections and the 2009 presidential elections, obtained after the passing of President Susilo’s administration with the Democratic Party as the party of the president-elect 2004–2014.

In the subsequent general elections in the 2014 and 2019 national elections, the PDI Perjuangan was very dominantly able to win public sympathy by becoming the winning political party in the national elections in two consecutive national elections. Not only being the party that won the election, PDI-P has also succeeded in carrying out a presidential candidate from its party cadres to become the winner of the Presidential Election twice in a row, in the 2014 presidential election and the 2019 presidential election, namely President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Although no party has continued this tradition since 2014, the political stance shown by the PDIP has provided one of the conditions for the possibility of a feeling of “opposition” in Indonesian politics. The emergence of internal conflicts in political parties in Indonesia tends to be due to coalition factors with office-seeking issues.

The emergence of conflict is based more on the consideration of political parties’ merging with government power to obtain political positions. In such a fluid and tenuous coalition, there is no main interest other than to enter the circle of power and unite with other parties who also want the same power. The cake of power, as far as possible, is to be enjoyed. This very fluid coalition can be found in the first period of the reform era in 1999, when the PDI-P

won the election. However, the PDI-P General Chair, Megawati Soekarnoputri, by the power coalition, was only able to serve as vice president, which was very strongly thwarted by a political coalition called the Central Axis with the motto Origin Not Megawati (ABM).



A total of 14 political parties are participating in the 2019 National Election

(photo: www.antaranews.com)

The president was elected instead from a party that did not win the election, namely KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), the founding figure of the National Awakening Party (PKB), as a medium-sized party. With the election system in parliament as the last presidential and vice presidential election systems in the political representation system, Megawati only won 313 votes from members of the DPR, while Gus Dur won 375 votes, supported by Golkar, PPP, PAN Regional Representatives, Group Representatives, and, of course, all parties belonging to the Central Axis.

The birth of the Central Axis coalition did not have a substantial ideology, but was more of a political response to efforts to reject the nomination of BJ Habibie (Originally Not Habibie-ABH) in his responsibility, which then continued to reject the nomination of Megawati (Originally Not Megawati-ABM). This highly pragmatic Central Axis Coalition is increasingly visible in the division of political positions in the National Unity Cabinet, the first cabinet to emerge in the Reformation Era. Political compromise became very strong in the formation of the cabinet between President Abdurrahman Wahid and his supporters, namely Amien Rais from PAN, Akbar Tanjung from the Golkar Party, and Hamzah Haz from PPP), Vice President Megawati as Chair of PDIP, and General Wiranto as a representative from the military.

The result is that, of the 34 members of the National Unity Cabinet, 23 ministers are representatives of political parties and the military with their respective divisions of seats: The military got five more ministerial seats than all other parties combined. The Golkar Party and PAN got four ministerial seats each. The PDI-P, as the winner of the 1999 national election, only got three ministerial seats, exactly the same as PKB, whose vote was far below the national voice of the PDI-P. Meanwhile, the PPP gets two

ministerial seats, and the PBB and the Justice Party each get one ministerial seat. The pragmatic importance of political parties was felt almost throughout the Reformation Era.# [1-25].

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