July 4, 2022

International Seminar Political Parties and Democracy
"The Political Parties Role in Promoting The World Peace and Justice"

Political Parties and Democracy: The Role of Political Parties in the Struggle for Justice and World Games

Hasto Kristiyanto

School of Strategic and Global Studies, University of Indonesia

Abstract

Political parties play an important role in promoting world peace and justice. This means that political parties must have geopolitical insight as Soekarno's view. To fulfill this role, political parties need to be institutionalized. This paper intends to analyze several dimensions of institutionalization of political parties, namely: leadership, ideology, culture, and organizational transformation. In this context, the author only focuses on the dimensions of ideology and leadership. To analyze the two dimensions of the institutionalization of political parties, this paper methodologically relies on a critical paradigm and uses a mixed-method. The research time is one month, which is carried out from 1-30 June 2022. The data collection technique uses a literature review (library research) and surveys with a total of 1,538 respondents and 1522 respondents who were successfully interviewed spread over 81 districts/cities, 34 provinces. The results show: first, ideology in the context of democratization is a beacon of political parties. Ideology becomes a political stance for each party to discuss and debate matters of state life. In a democratic system, ideology comes down to manifestos and programs that help society. In the context of public cognition, the ideology of political parties becomes an important parameter to see the vision, foundation, commitment, and consistency of a party which in turn has implications for the realization of democratic ideals. The community's favorable assessment of the ideology of nine political parties, the highest was obtained by PDIP with a score of 12.7%. Second, strategic leadership as a step towards organizational transformation. In this context, political parties are expected to be able to project the future, prosperity, peace, uphold the rule of law and science and technology. According to public cognition, the best political party organizational transformation, 13.3% is occupied by PDIP.

Keywords: *Democracy, Party Ideology, Strategic Leadership, Political Culture, World Peace and Justice, Political Parties, Organizational Transformation*

I. Introduce

Indonesia became independent in the midst of World War II. The founding fathers realized that the anarchic system that led to the European Wars, World War I, and World War II had destroyed human civilization. Soekarno, as the founder of the nation, believed

that Indonesia's independence was an effort to fight "imperialism, the father of capitalism" to not only achieve the ideals of an independent Indonesia, but also to realize world peace which can only be realized if the roots of imperialism and capitalism can be eradicated. In Soekarno's view, as in a speech in 1960, the root of the problem of world injustice is,,

"[...] imperialism and colonialism in one of its many manifestations is the source of that tension or dispute. Imperialism and colonialism and the continued forcible separation of nations are the source of almost all the international crimes that threaten our world."

When the world was divided into Western and Eastern blocks, the founding fathers of the nation also underpinned Indonesia's independence not only to be free from colonialism, but to become a nation with a strong ideological basis. With that, the desire to realize world peace is not a dream in broad daylight. Sukarno reaffirmed,

"The flow of history shows clearly that all nations need a conception and ideals. If they do not have it or if those conceptions and ideals become blurred and obsolete, then the nation is in danger. Our own Indonesian history shows it clearly, and so does the history of the whole world."

On this basis, Pancasila was born as a further stage of capitalism, li On this basis, Pancasila was born as a further stage of capitalism, liberalism, socialism, and communism. Pancasila is a revolutionary answer to the world social order that sucks, full of injustice. In this context, Pancasila becomes a discourse, as well as an alternative of view in dealing with world geopolitical dynamics. Pancasila, which was born from Soekarno's critical thinking, became the antithesis of the understanding or theory of realists and neorealists in projecting world peace. Pancasila is the philosophy of the nation, the basis of the state, the ideology of the state, a static table and a dynamic leidstar towards the future direction of the nation, as well as the ideals of the struggle for a new world order that is free from all forms of colonialism, realizing eternal peace on the basis of independence, humanity, internationalism, and justice. . The ideology of Pancasila then also became the basis for the principles of democracy in the life of the state.

 After the end of the Cold War – and the context of a dynamic world – realism said that peace occurs in the balance of power between countries, or in the presence of hegemony (Bell, 2017; Boucher, 1998). Peace can be obtained if all countries in the world use a democratic system. Democracy – combined with a liberal economy – is considered a solution to create world peace because it can create dependence between one country and another – especially the economy – minimizing the possibility of war.

July 4, 2022

International Seminar Political Parties and Democracy
"The Political Parties Role in Promoting The World Peace and Justice"

This idea departs from the thought of Immanuel Kant in Perpetual Peace in the 18th century, that democracy does not like war. According to a number of scholars, since the emergence of modern democracy in the early 19th century, two established democracies have never experienced intense violent conflict with each other (Rousseau et al., 1996; B. M. Russett & Oneal, 2001). Even today, democracy is accepted and trusted almost all over the world as the best system compared to other systems of government (Figure 1).
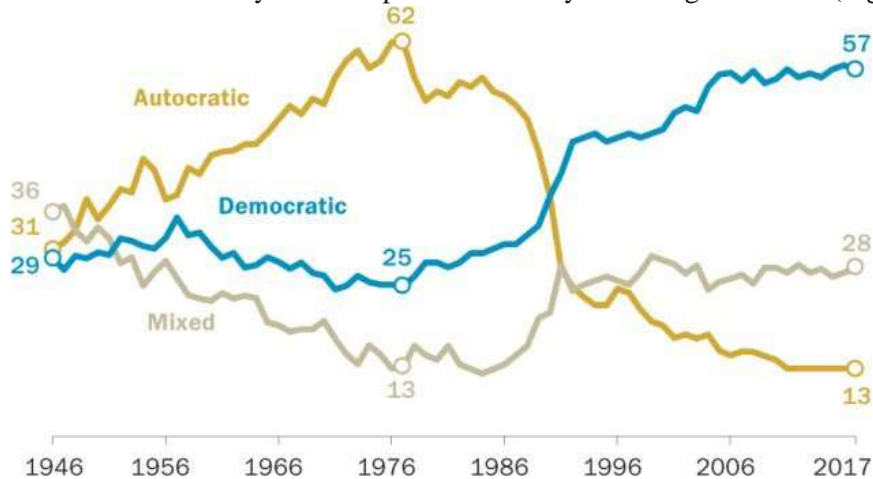
Graph 1. Democratic Countries 1947-2017

Source:Desilver (2019)

World peace has become an international problem in the two-faced wave of globalization. On the one hand, the disappearance of national boundaries – due to advances in technology and transportation – contributes to the spread of the spirit of freedom and democracy, promotes economic development which indirectly reduces economic inequality, as well as accelerating the exchange of knowledge and technology. On the other hand, it can develop intra-state conflicts into international problems, local problems quickly turn into international problems, and become a major threat to the nation-state's ability to maintain democratic legitimacy (Eichengreen, 2006; Shangquan, 2020). For the context of world justice, Habermas (1996) calls for a fundamental reform of the current legal and political institutions. The call departs from the fact that the nation-state no longer has the regulatory capacity to face the challenges of globalization. Existing political institutions are rapidly losing their ability to maintain democratic legitimacy and correct the injustices caused by competition between countries for the will of global markets. In such a context, how ideally do political parties play a role?

Political parties are political institutions whose role is to combine interests by translating "mass preferences into public policy" (Key, Jr., 1964, p. 12) and as a means of representation and "channels of expression" (Sartori, 2005, p. 253). In "fragile" countries – referring to the weak state capacity which usually refers to post-conflict situations or after periods of authoritarian regimes – political parties have the potential to deliver citizen political expression that may be expressed through violence; articulate citizens' interests during peace negotiations and transition processes, and more broadly post-conflict (Castillejo, 2016). However, in fact, political parties often do not take this positive role and, in some contexts, tend to damage peace – both because of the political context and the internal weaknesses of the party itself (NIMD, 2015). Furthermore, Castillejo said that some of the internal weaknesses of political parties that hinder their contribution to peace are: (i) not strong institutionally, (ii) limited organizational or political capacity, (iii) limited membership; (iv) only active during elections, (v) lack of ideological or coherent policy agendas that citizens can hold accountable for, (vi) lack of internal democracy, and (vii) presence of personalization through charismatic leaders who monopolize power and do not tolerate differences opinion.

After the fall of the New Order, considering the tragedy throughout 1998-1999, Indonesia managed not to get caught up in a prolonged conflict. Many political parties were born to oversee the transition to democratic consolidation. The outstanding success of Indonesia's democratization is the implementation of an important pillar of democracy, namely general elections (elections). The 1999 election started Indonesia's political journey with the number of contesting parties reaching 184 parties – although only 48 political parties were eligible to participate in the election. Since then, Indonesia has strived to build a reliable and robust electoral system – by holding 5 legislative elections and 4 direct presidential elections. Elections have been widely accepted as the only legitimate way to distribute formal political power (Tomsa, 2010) with free, fair and competitive electoral procedures (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019). Until 2006, Freedom House (2006) placed Indonesia from a Partly Free country to a Free country because, "peaceful and mostly free elections for newly empowered regional leaders, an orderly transition to a newly elected president that further consolidated the democratic political process."

However, after more than 20 years of reform, Indonesia's democratization has stagnated, even degraded (Aspinall et al., 2020; Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019; Muhtadi, 2019; Tan, 2015; Tomsa, 2010; Ambardi, 2008; Ufen, 2008). Without being able to turn a blind eye, political parties in Indonesia have contributed to the decline of democracy. Political parties also bear a number of problems. In general, Sparringa (2012) identified the problems faced by political parties in Indonesia as follows: (i)

organizational capacity; (ii) maintain integration; (iii) practicing democracy internally; (iv) ability to win elections, and; (v) development of party ideology. Meanwhile, according to the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, there are four problems faced by political parties related to the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI), namely: (i) corruption, (ii) money politics, (iii) failure of representation, and (iv) institutional strengthening (patronation, clientalism). , and policy oversight by the government) (Ditpolkom, 2016).
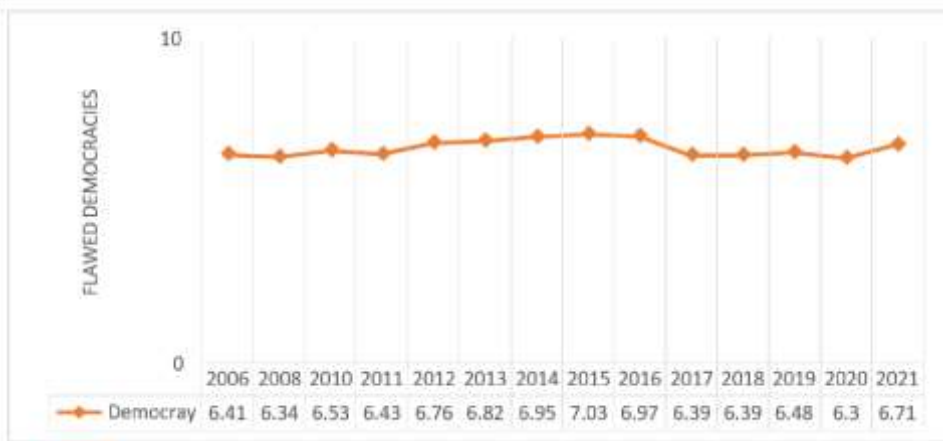
Curve 1. Indonesian Democracy Index up to 2021
Source: (EIU, 2021)

To fulfill its ideal role, political parties need to be institutionalized (Randall, 2006). Party institutionalization is a key feature behind the success and stability – or destabilization and destruction – of political parties, which Yardimci-Geyikci (2015, p. 528) well summarizes, "have a common thread in that political parties that form stable relations with the public and have a strong organizational existence, in other words institutionalized parties, are one of the chief requirements for the consolidation process." The better the institutionalization of the party, the more likely the party is to fulfill its function in democratic consolidation (Panebianco, 1988).

This paper analyzes several dimensions of party institutionalization by adjusting the context of parties in Indonesia, namely: leadership, ideology, culture, and organizational transformation – although in the discussion the author only describes the dimensions of ideology and leadership. The dimensions of party institutionalization are (i) derived from the concept of party institutionalization. Harmel et al. (2019), (ii) further developed to be applied in the field, (iii) a "highlight" of party institutionalization that will outline the

role of political parties in post-reform Indonesia in justice and world peace, and (iv) serve as points of reference. meeting scientific research and practical interests.

II. Theoretical framework

World peace is a human dream of all time. Johan Galtung, as the Father of Peace Studies, explained that peace is not only a condition without personal or direct war, but also structural and indirect. Galtung emphasizes that peaceful conditions are conditions without violence and there is no social injustice in society (Galtung, 1996). He defines peace in two ways: first, negative peace, which is characterized by several characteristics: (i) there is no conflict between two or more parties trying to achieve their own interests, (ii) there is no asymmetric fear, (iii) there is no conflict of interest, (iv) no show of force – not only no war, but also social injustice and economic oppression. Second, positive peace, which is characterized by non-coercive conflict prevention and resolution tools. This, in a broad spectrum, includes the absence of oppressive or abusive conditions, guarantees of physical needs (safety from violence and hunger) and mental needs (safety from fear, security of worship, and freedom of thought and speech). Democratic and non-coercive conflict resolution tools, a situation without war, social justice, economic prosperity, and without broad political divisions are the first steps in creating positive peace (Galtung, 1996).

World peace can be realized through the implementation of a democratic system. Democracy is believed to be a system capable of creating world security and justice with several considerations. First, starting from Kant's idea in "Perpetual Peace" - also reinforced by supporters of classical liberalism such as

Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill – proposed a constitutional republic to ensure universal peace. The basic idea behind the idea is this: the more freedom people have to regulate their own lives, the more powers of government are constitutionally restricted. The more responsible the leader is through free elections to the people, the more controlled the leader will be in war. Second, the diffusion of democratic governance power, such as the separation of powers, slows the ability and willingness to fight (Reiter & Tillman, 2002; B. Russett, 1993). Third, normatively, democratic political culture emphasizes non-violent ways of resolving conflicts, using law and courts, elections, and freedom of speech to resolve disputes. This culture permeates foreign policy to resolve democratic disputes, such as mediation, diplomacy, and international law.

Taxonomically, the term democracy comes from Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address (Gettysburg Address) in 1864, namely, "democracy for the people, by the

people, and of the people." Until the mid-20th century, scientists defined democracy as a form of government related to (i) sources of power, (ii) objectives of government activity and (iii) government procedures (Huntington, 1991; Lipset, 1963). Barker (1942, p. 63) understands democracy as a method, "... does not mean the well being or prosperity of the people, but a method of government of the people." Meanwhile, Schumpeter (1943, p. 242) defines it as, "... institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote." Schumpeter's thinking influenced Huntington (1991, p. 7), among other things, explicitly embracing the emphasis on competitive elections for effective power as the essence of democracy.:

" ... defines a twentieth-century political system as democratic to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes, and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote."

Of these several democratic concepts, political parties are a prerequisite for a democratic political system (Aldrich, 1995; Downs, 1957; Duverger, 1954; Key, Jr., 1964; Schattschneider, 1942). Key noted that only through party competition does succession of government take place as a function of popular decisions. Political parties enable different groups to pursue their interests in a peaceful, legal, and systematic way within a political system. Historically, political parties are closely related to interest groups, functional groups, and various other social organizations that exist in society. Some scientists specifically view the nature of the existence of political parties is to seize political power to be able to carry out group policies. For example, Soltau (1961, p. 199) who understands political parties as,

"A group of citizens more or less organized, who act as a political unit and who, by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carry out their general policies."

Similarly, Campbell et al. (1960, p. 121) provides a formulation by understanding that the party, "the individual's affective orientation to an important group object in his environment." As for Mainwaring & Scully (1995, p. 4) defines the party system as "a set of patterned interactions in the competition between parties." Meanwhile, Michels (1962, p. 2) relates his definition to the existence of parties and electoral institutions:

"[...] party is an organizational tool for the voters. This organization has a desire to gain a number of members as much as possible. The existence of the representatives in parliament indicates a strong desire to get as many votes as possible. The main aim of party activities is affecting the people in the elections and the society in order to recruit the new members."

The existence of political parties is significant for democracy, if only they are institutionalized, "… the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability," which is measured "… through the nature of adaptation, complexity, autonomy, and coherence" (Huntington, 1968). , p. 12). Randall & Svåsand (2002)'s concept of institutionalization is specifically intended to be applied in "new democracies": "How this process is affected by the circumstances of democratic transition in those regions that have conventionally been grouped together as 'Third World'" (Randall & Svåsand, 2002, p. 14). The concept of institutionalization Harmel et al. (2019) is based on the assumption that the development of the theory of institutionalization of political parties can be substantially improved by recognizing that institutionalization is a multidimensional concept whose respective components are theoretically related, but not a redundant concept.

Harmel's approach is rooted in the function of the concept of institutionalization in developing a theory about political parties that distinguishes internal, external, and objective aspects of institutionalization. There are three dimensions of institutionalization based on the role of the party, namely: (i) as an indication of internal behavior or reification of the party (internal institutionalization), which is indicated by routine organizational behavior (routisation) and internal party non-personalization loyalty (value infusion); (ii) as perceptions and implications for the behavior of other actors (external or perceptual institutionalisation); and (iii) as an objective record of survival, namely, objective institutionalisation..

III. Research methods

Methodologically this research uses a critical paradigm that puts forward an emic perspective (qualitative approach) supported by descriptive quantitative data (Denzin and Lincoln Eds, 2009; Neuman, 2013). The research method used is a mixed method and the research time is one month, which is carried out from June 1-30, 2022. The data collection technique uses a literature review (library research) and a survey using a questionnaire.

The literature review is used to explain the cases of political parties in post-reform Indonesia. The use of this technique also makes it easier for researchers to study the problem to be solved or compare the problem with existing research (Danial & Wasriah, 2009). Regarding the survey, the sampling technique used is multi-stage random sampling. The number of samples or respondents determined according to the Slovin formula was 1,553 respondents. Meanwhile, the margin of error of 2.5% is spread over 34 provinces which are netted in 81 regencies/cities. Furthermore, related to data analysis, qualitative data analysis by reducing data, presenting data,

and drawing conclusions (Miles and Huberman, 1992). Quantitative data analysis was carried out descriptively by presenting the distribution of frequencies and averages. Tools used in analyzing using Microsoft Excel and SPSS.

VI. Discussion Analysis

Context of Democratization: Ideology as a Beacon of Political Parties

Indonesia successfully started the transition in 1998 to return to the democracy that the founding fathers aspired to. Many political parties were born with the aim of guarding the democratic transition towards democratic consolidation – which means being involved in realizing world peace in the global geopolitical arena; although the journey was not easy and was almost tarnished by the events surrounding the 2019 Presidential Election. The political parties in the 2019 presidential election – which have been felt since the 2014 presidential election – were divided which resulted in violent conflict. Many scholars say that the 2019 election conflict is an identity politics that tapered off during the campaign period..

Table 1. Results of Seat Gaining in the 1999-2019 Parliamentary Election

| Partai	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)	154	109	94	109	128
Partai Golkar	120	127	106	91	85
Partai Keadilan (PK) / Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	6	45	57	40	50
Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	35	53	46	49	44
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	59	58	38	39	19
Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)	13	11	-	-	-
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	51	52	28	47	58
Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem)	-	-	-	35	59
Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra)	-	-	26	73	78
Partai Demokrat	-	56	148	61	54

Source: BPS(2021)

Election campaigns – which are mediating political processes that are ongoing and evolving – increase attention to party leaders or elites (Lobo, 2014), which then creates problems in Indonesia's democratization (Budiatri, 2018; Ekawati & Sweinstani, 2020; Mietzner, 2021). Personalization is accepted as the party's response to the electoral system and the party system to increase the chances of electing candidates and internal changes occur that strengthen the role of party leaders. Thus, the role of the leader is

identified as important not only from an internal perspective, but also for understanding electoral competition – especially in a party system that is still looking for an unstable electoral and form (Karvonen, 2010; Farrell & Webb, 2000).

The game of identity politics is different from ideological polarization. Polarization is a consequence of democracy that functions to mobilize political participation, simplify political choices for voters, and strengthen political parties. However, polarization also has the potential to cripple democracy (McCoy et al., 2018). In the findings of Labolo & Ilham (2015), from 1999 - 2004, many political parties lost their ideological orientation which is the identity, values, and goals of the party as a differentiator between one party and another. Ideology becomes a political stance for each party to discuss and debate matters of state life. In a democratic system, ideology comes down to manifestos and programs that help people determine political party affiliation. People choose based on the suitability of their interests with political party programs which are the basic attitudes of political parties in managing state policies (Firmanzah, 2011). For Harmel et al. (2019) ideology is manifested by the existence of rules that bind party members/cadres, programs that are in line with party ideology, actual actions of elites and/or party cadres. The programs and policies that are made should reflect the values and ideology of political parties that can be implemented by their members/cadres. Thus, the party is able to develop its legitimacy and rootedness (party rootedness) – a form of acceptance by the public or party cadres that the party elites lead the party in line with the party's ideology.

In simple terms – the binary opposition which is widely used by scholars – Indonesian political parties are divided into two ideological groups, namely (i) pluralist/nationalist parties and (ii) Islamic parties. However, there are no substantive differences between parties from the pluralist/nationalist party group and Islamic parties. A number of research findings suggest that between one party and another in responding to a number of issues – social welfare, economic and fiscal policies, locality or regional autonomy – there are no significant ideological differences (Fossati & Warburton, 2018; Ambardi, 2008; Liddle & Mujani, 2007).). In his thesis, Ambardi (2008) found that during the 1999 election campaign, three Islamic parties: the United Development Party (PPP), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the Welfare Party (PK) attracted Muslim voters with relatively the same strategy: (i) using distinctive Islamic symbols that indicate that they represent the Islamic community, (ii) rhetorical identity of Muslims (ummah) and portraying them as victims of past politics, with which Muslims are expected to support them to seize their political rights, and (iii) a more substantive strategy, namely, the desire to incorporate Islamic principles into certain laws. Slater (2018) observes behavior and interactions between parties, stating that the ideological divisions of Islamic and non-Islamic parties are not related to program differences. This observation is based on the

dominance of the party "cartel" which is characterized by the desire of the parties to share positions, not by ideological or policy differentiation. This is what appears from the very broad and ideologically heterogeneous formation of the "rainbow coalition".
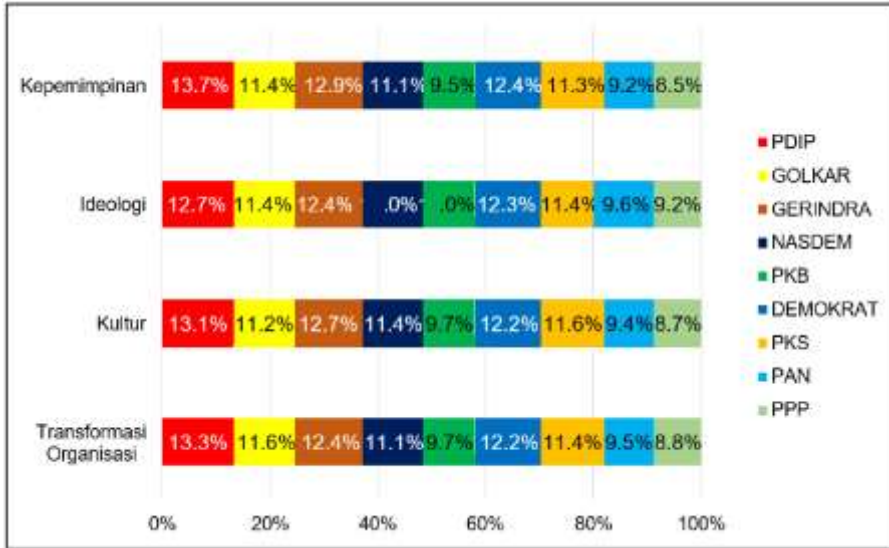
Graphics1. Public Cognition of Political Parties

Source: Author (2022)

.

Ideologically, almost all political parties in Indonesia are catch-all parties.This transformation of political parties departs from the study of Downs (1957) on the perspective of rational behavior. Downs argues that the more modern a society, the more it prioritizes the principles of pragmatism and rationality. Catch-all parties offer general programs and policies, not ideological ones, that fundamentally change the position and function of the party and dilute the tension between the "left" and the "right." This type of party accepts pluralism, is inclusive, non-sectarian, and prioritizes horizontal development – accommodating various issues and agendas from various groups in society. In modern democracy, the positive value of catch-all party Downs worries Kirchheimer (1966). According to him, modern democracy eliminates the principle of opposition in parliament and citizens. In addition, politics is reduced to the management of the state which leads to the collusion of political parties and the state, the severance of social relations in party organizations, and the erosion of the classical separation of powers. The loss of opposition, cartelization, and political professionalization allowed citizens' political cynicism and apathy. This is evident from a survey conducted by the

Indonesian Political Indicator (Indicator, 2022) which shows that political parties have the lowest level of public trust (54.2%) compared to other state institutions.

However, there was one step that was taken by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) after the 2004 elections and the PDIP candidate, Megawati - Hasyim Muzadi, did not succeed in becoming president and vice president. PDIP then took the distance in the government by becoming the opposition. In the 2005–2009 PDIP Opposition Format PDIP stated, "Opposition is carried out against the government's performance in the form of criticism of things that are detrimental to the interests of the people (not pro-people) and proposing alternatives that benefit the people (pro-people)." The emphasis on "pro-people" or siding with the "wong cilik" explains the political orientation of the PDIP as the basis for becoming the opposition. This ideological affirmation was emphasized in the discussion of the Second PDIP Congress in Bali in 2005, namely: (1) the formulation of the party's ideology as stated in the Party's Articles of Association as the Party Principle, namely, Pancasila on June 1, 1945 as stated in the Preamble to the 1944 Constitution; (2) the policy of becoming an opposition party as a reinterpretation of popular values and nationalistic economic orientation; (3) aims to be a balancer and carry out checks and balances on the running of the government through parliament, especially for policies that are not pro-people. The steps taken by PDIP are significant – not only for strengthening party institutionalization – but for Indonesian politics.

This is also in line with Soekarno's view, that the existence of political parties must be able to realize the goals of the Indonesian state. To understand the purpose of the state, understanding the essence of Pancasila as the Indonesian nation's view of life for the world, it is important for political parties to carry out their strategic role in realizing the new world order as pioneered by Soekarno. Thus, political parties with strategic leadership and inherent ideological strength can act as institutions that strengthen the nation's democratic process. More broadly, from a geopolitical perspective, political parties can play an active role in building awareness of various injustices that can pose a threat to the sovereignty and independence of nations, as well as actively participate in fighting for world peace and order.

Strategic Leadership Steps Towards Organizational Transformation

Another important internal dimension to examine party institutionalization is leadership – which looks at the extent to which the party leadership is able to institutionalize the set of values (ideology) and validate the political program and ideological basis within the party – thus enabling the party to occupy a unique political position (can be distinguished from the party). other). Many post-reform Indonesian

July 4, 2022

International Seminar Political Parties and Democracy
"The Political Parties Role in Promoting The World Peace and Justice"

parties are identical with party leaders, so Aspinall et al. (2020) and Tomsa (2010) state that political parties in Indonesia function as political tools of their founders. If it continues, this condition can trap political parties into fighting for the interests of elites or leaders, so that they experience a process of party personalization (Budiatri, 2018), which is a condition when elite individuals have a more important position than their party organizations or other collective identities; The elite becomes very influential in all party policy-making processes, in fact it also becomes the party's image and/or identity, and enables the elite to become the party's ruler for a long period of time.

When new parties are born, the emergence of prominent leaders is a natural thing, some people still stutter in different conditions. They identify political positions through strong figures rather than party ideology. Many cases show this and many party leaders function as, "little more than the personal mobilization instruments for ambitious politicians" (Randall & Svåsand, 2002, p. 12). Although in the early development of the party, the image of the leader contributed to the cohesion and survival of the party, the personalization of the party was effective "severely hindering institutional development" (Randall & Svåsand, 2002, p. 19). In the long run, the absence of a systematic internal leadership system will harm the party (Panebianco, 1988). Thus, modern parties are challenged to find ways to respond to internal and external demands.

In Tomsa's (2008) study, for several dimensions, the Golkar Party is a party with strong institutionalization. The Golkar Party – a direct consequence of its long history as a hegemonic party in the New Order regime – is the party with the best organizational reach and infrastructure. This is what later made this party able to win a large vote in the 1999 General Election, which incidentally, the crisis of public confidence was high in the New Order regime; in fact, in the 2004 general election, it managed to get the most votes with 21.59% (24,480,757 votes). However, continued Tomsa, the Golkar Party experienced de-institutionalization which did not appear in the vote gains in the general election due to the weakness of the parties.

The Golkar Party is almost never identified with a certain figure or figures. Each of these party leaders has made great efforts to rectify history, so that the Golkar Party becomes a "modern political party in its truest sense. That is, it is no longer "the ruler's party" which is only an election machine or a political tool to legitimize power" (Golkar, 2019). Just like the Golkar Party, PKS also almost never refers to a particular figure. PKS as a new party has become a dark horse in almost every election. Its success in gaining votes is due to PKS's success in developing a well-organized and coherent party apparatus and trusting its members and supporters with real values. PKS has not been able to get a bigger voice, more because of its limited territorial reach and relatively low

recognition rate. PDIP, Gerindra Party, and the Democratic Party – the three parties that have seats in the 2019 parliament – whose parties are always associated with certain figures.   However, since the 2019 Presidential Election, PDIP has made a major breakthrough for its party.   Megawati Sukarnoputri handed over the presidential candidate's mandate to cadres who were considered to have leadership abilities, according to Megawati, "The leader must also have commitment and concern for the welfare of the people." (Tempo.co, 2014). The release of the mandate became an important process in strengthening the institutionalization of the PDIP party, so it is not surprising that the PDIP managed to stabilize the results during the two elections and maintain its electability as shown in Table 2

Table 2. Trend of Party Electability in 2021

Partai Politik	Pileg 2019	Litbang Kompas Jan	LSI Jan	New Indonesia Feb	SMRC Maret	Indikator April	Parameter Mei	SMRC Juni	Charta Politika Juli	Indikator Indonesia Agust
PDI Perjuangan	19,33	19,7	24,5	23,1	24,9	25,3	22,1	25,9	22,8	24,4
Gerindra	12,57	9,6	12,6	12,2	11,6	13,1	11,9	10,9	17,5	12,8
Golkar	12,31	3,4	10	9,1	11,6	9,2	10,8	10,7	6,6	9
Demokrat	7,77	4,6	5,4	8,2	7,7	8	8,4	6,6	6,6	9
PKB	9,69	5,5	9,7	6,4	7,5	7,2	8,2	9,7	9,4	8,2
PKS	8,21	5,4	7,6	7,7	5,2	7,2	7,5	4,6	6,8	7
PPP	4,52	0,5	2,4	2	2,7	2,4	5,5	2,6	2,5	3,9
Nasdem	9.05	1,7	3,4	3,5	4,1	2,3	5	3,7	4,8	3,5
PAN	6,84	0.8	3	1	2,5	1,5	4,3	1,8	1,7	2,2
Perindo	2,67	0,5	1,4	0,2	1,2	1,2	1,5	1	0,7	1
Hanura	1,54	0,2	0,4	0,4	0,2	0,3	0,9	0,3	0,3	0,7
PSI	1,89	0,2	1,5	4,8	0,3	0,4	1,6	0,3	1,2	0,4
Tidak menjawab		*47,3*	*17,3*	*19,6*	*19,2*	*21,1*	*12,9*	*20,2*	*18,5*	*1,7*

Source: processed from various sources

PDIP gains political influence regardless of party leaders and party ideology not only stopping at party leadership, but descending into programs and policies, first investigate its power structure: how power within the organization is distributed, how it is reproduced, how power relations get modified and   with what organizational consequences," as the classic Panebianco (1988) puts it.

V. Conclusion

In modern political theory and practice, political parties can help create world peace and justice, because among the institutions that can generally mediate or resolve conflicts, the position of political parties is unique, namely the key to the development of democracy in any country. Political parties are articulators and inventors of peace solutions for citizens. In a multiparty democracy, parties create and strengthen citizens'

trust in political institutions and government systems. A functioning representative democracy can bridge and reduce conflicts of interest that arise so that a sustainable peace can be achieved. However, the involvement of political parties is often not optimal due to the internal weaknesses of the parties themselves. Thus, the strengthening of party institutionalization in democracy and world peace becomes significant. The strengthening of the party, among others, is in the form of strengthening the ideology - which is embedded in the party's strategic policies. However, it must be realized that strengthening the party's ideology must be based on an understanding of the purpose of the state and Pancasila as the Indonesian nation's view of life for the world, as pioneered by Soekarno.

Thus, the institutionalization of political parties, especially in the ideological dimensions and organizational transformation in this context, is very important. The institutionalization of political parties must be built from the geopolitical insight and ideology of Pancasila as the world's lifeline. In order to do this, the geopolitical awareness of the founding fathers of the nation, especially the geopolitics of Soekarno and Hatta, must be spelled out in the Party's strategic policies. Indonesia's unique geopolitical awareness is important in awakening Indonesia's leadership to the world. Leadership in all aspects of life. In this effort, Soekarno's seven geopolitical variables and national interests became instruments of national power whose reliability must be built for Indonesia's involvement in maintaining world order. Soekarno's seven geopolitical variables are manifestations of Sukarno's progressive geopolitical coexistence (PGC) theory which describes the overall geopolitical view that puts forward human values, world peace, and how nations can coexist peacefully, without the threat of war. This PGC spirit should be able to color the strategic leadership of political parties in which leadership, ideology, culture, and organizational transformation are institutionalized.

VI. Bibliography

Aldrich, J. (1995). *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago University Press.

Ambardi, K. (2008). *The Making of the Indonesian Multiparty System: A Cartelized Party System and Its Origin.* The Ohio State University.

Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.

Aspinall, E., Fossati, D., Muhtadi, B., & Warburton, E. (2020). *Elites, masses, and democratic decline in Indonesia. Democratization,* 27(4), 505–526. https://doi.org/10.10 80/13510347.2019.1680971

Barker, E. (1942). *Reflections on Government.* Oxford University Press.

Bell, D. (2017). *Political Realism and International Relations.* Philosophy Compass, 12(2), 1–1.

Boucher, D. (1998). *Political Theories of International Relations.* Oxford University Press.

BPS, B. P. S. (2021, July 13). Hasil Penghitungan Suara Sah Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu Legislatif Tahun 1955-2019. https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2009/03/04/1573/hasil-penghitungan-suara-sah- partai-politik-peserta-pemilu-legislatif-tahun-1955-2019.html

Budiatri, A. P. (2018). Personalisasi Partai Politik di Indonesia Era Reformasi. In A. P. Budiatri (Ed.), Personalisasi Partai Politik di Indonesia Era Reformasi (pp. 1–52). Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

Campbell, A., Converse, P., Miller, W., & Stokes, D. (1960). *The American Voter.* John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Castillejo, C. (2016). *Political Parties and Peacebuilding.*

Denzin, N.K. and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds). (2009). *Handbook of Qualitative Research, 2th Edition.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publ. Inc.

Desilver, D. (2019, May 14). *More than half of countries are democratic.* Pew Research Centre. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/05/14/more-than-half-of-countries-are-democratic/

Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy.* Harper.

Duverger, M. (1954). *Political Parties: Their Organisation and Activity in the Modern State.* Methuen.

Eichengreen, B. (2006, September 15). *Democracy and Globalization.* Telos. https://www.telos-eu.com/en/international-trade/democracy-and-globalization.html

EIU. (2021). Democracy Index 2021: The China challenge.

Ekawati, E., & Sweinstani, M. K. D. (2020). Dampak Personalisasi Partai terhadap Demokrasi Internal Partai di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru. Jurnal Wacana Politik, 5(2), 111–123.

Epstein, L. (1967). *Political Parties in Western Democratic Systems.* In R. Macridis (Ed.), Political Parties: Contemporary Trends and Ideas. Harper and Row.

Farrell, D. M., & Webb, P. (2000). P*olitical Parties as Campaign Organizations.* In R. J. Dalton & M. P. Wattenberg (Eds.), Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies (pp. 102–128). Oxford University Press.

Firmanzah. (2011). Mengelola Partai Politik. Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

Fossati, D., & Warburton, E. (2018). *Indonesia's Political Parties and Minorities.* Perspective, 37, 1–14.

FreedomHouse. (2006). *Freedom in the World 2006* (A. Piano, A. Puddington, & M. Y. Rosenberg (eds.)). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. https://freedomhouse.org/

July 4, 2022

International Seminar Political Parties and Democracy
"The Political Parties Role in Promoting The World Peace and Justice"

sites/default/files/2020- 02/Freedom_in_the_World_2006_complete_book.pdf Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace By Peaceful Means*. Sage Publications.

Golkar, P. (2019). Anggaran Dasar Anggaran Rumah Tangga Keputusan Munas X Partai Golongan Karya Tahun 2019 No. VlII/MUNAS-X/GOLKAR/2019.

Gunther, R., & Diamond, L. (2003). *Species of Politikal Parties A New Typology. Party Politics,* 9(2), 167–199.

Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy.* Polity Press.

Harmel, R., & Svåsand, L. G. (2019). Introduction. In R. Harmel & L. G. Svåsand (Eds.), *Institutionalisation of Political Parties: Comparative Cases.* Rowman & Littlefield International.

Harmel, R., Svåsand, L. G., & Mjelde, H. (2019). P*arty Institutionalisation: Concepts and Indicators.* In R. Harmel & L. G. Svåsand (Eds.), Institutionalisation of Political Parties: Comparative Cases (pp. 9–24). Rowman & Littlefield International.

Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies.* Yale University Press. Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. University of Oklahoma Press.

Indikator. (2022). Trust terhadap Institusi Politik, Isu-Isu Mutakhir, dan Dinamika Elektoral Jelang Pemilu Serentak 2024. https://indikator.co.id/wp- content/ uploads/2022/04/RILIS-03-04-22_Survei- Nasional_2022_3_APRIL_2022.pdf

Karvonen, L. (2010). *The Personalisation of Politics: A Study of Parliamentary Democracies.* ECPR Press.

Key, Jr., V. O. (1964). *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (2nd ed.). Crowell Company.

Kirchheimer, O. (1966). *The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems.* In J. La Palombara & M. Weiner (Eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development* (pp. 177–200). Pricenton University Press. https://doi.org/https://doi. org/10.1515/9781400875337-007

Kitschelt, H. (1997). T*he Radical Right in Western Europe A Comparative Analysis*. University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14501

Labolo, M., & Ilham, T. (2015). Partai Politik dan Sistem Pemilu di Indonesia: Teori, Konsep dan Isu Strategis. Rajawali Press.

Liddle, R. W., & Mujani, S. (2007). *Leadership, Party, and Religion: Explaining Voting Behavior in Indonesia. Comparative Political Studies*, 40(7), 832–857. https:// doi.org/10.1177/0010414006292113

Lipset, S. M. (1963). *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Anchor Books.

Lobo, M. C. (2014). *Party and Electoral Leadership.* In R. A. W. Rhodes & P. 't Hart (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook Online of Political Leadership. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199653881.013.015

Mainwaring, S., & Scully, T. R. (1995). *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America* (M. Scott & T. R. Scully (eds.)). Stanford University Press.

McCoy, J., Rahman, T., & Somer, M. (2018). *Polarization and the Global Crisis of Democracy: Common Patterns, Dynamics, and Pernicious Consequences for Democratic Poliities.* American Behavioral Scientist, 62(1), 16–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218759576

Michels, R. (1962). P*olitical Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. Free Press.

Mietzner, M. (2021). Meninjau kembali partai politik di Indonesia: ekslusivisme sistemik, personalisasi pemilu, dan merosotnya demokrasi intra-partai. In T. Power & E. Warburton (Eds.), Demokrasi di Indonesia: Dari Stagnasi ke Regresi? (pp.

267–294). Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Miles, M. dan A.M. Huberman. (1992). Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Source   Tantang Metode-Metode Baru. Jakarta: UI Press.

Muhtadi, B. (2019). V*ote Buying in Indonesia: The Mechanics of Electoral Bribery.* Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-6779-3

Neuman, W.L. (2013). Social research methode: qualitative and quantitative approach.

Needham Heights. MA: Allyn & Bacon.

NIMD, T. N. I. M. D. (2015). Working witha Political Parties in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Settings.

Panebianco, A. (1988). Political Parties: Organization and Power. Cambridge University Press.

Przeworski, A. (1995). Sustainable Democracy. Cambridge University Press. Randall, V. (2006). Party Institutionalization and its Implications for Democracy. In Paper

presented at IPSA Congress.

Randall, V., & Svåsand, L. (2002). Party institutionalization in new democracies. Party Politics, 8(1), 5–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068802008001001

Reiter, D., & Tillman, E. R. (2002). Public, Legislative, and Executive Constraints on the Democratic Initiation of Conflict. The Journal of Politics, 64(3), 810–826. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1520114

Rousseau, D. L., Gelpi, C., Reiter, D., & Huth, P. K. (1996). Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace. American Political Science Review, 90(3), 512– 533.

Russett, B. (1993). Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World. Princeton University Press.

July 4, 2022

International Seminar Political Parties and Democracy
"The Political Parties Role in Promoting The World Peace and Justice"

Russett, B. M., & Oneal, J. R. (2001). Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations. Norton.

Sartori, G. (2005). Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis. ECPR Press.

Scarrow, S. E., Webb, P. D., & Poguntke, T. (2017). Organizing political parties : representation, participation, and power. Oxford University Press.

https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198758631.001.0001 Schattschneider, E. E. (1942). Party Government. Rinehart. Schumpeter, J. (1943). Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy. Harper.

Shangquan, G. (2020). Economic Globalization: Trends, Risks and Risk Prevention (No. 1). http://www.un.org/esa/policy/devplan/

Slater, D. (2018). Party Cartelization, Indonesian-Style: Presidential Power-Sharing and the Contingency of Democratic Opposition. Journal of East Asian Studies, 18(1), 23–46. https://doi.org/10.1017/jea.2017.26

Soltau, R. H. (1961). An Introduction to Politics. Longsman, Green & Co. Sparringa, D. (2012). Kata Pengantar: Partai Politik dan Transisi Demokrasi. In T.

Mayer (Ed.), Peran Partai Politik dalam Sebuah Sistem Demokrasi: Sembilan Tesis (3th ed., pp. 9–14). Friederich Ebert Stiftung FES.

Tan, P. J. (2015). Explaining Party System Institutionalization in Indonesia. In A. Hicken & E. M. Kuhonta (Eds.), Party System Institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, Autocracies, and the Shadows ofthe Past (pp. 236–259). Cambridge University Press.

Tempo.co. (2014). Mega Beberkan Alasannya Pilih Jokowi. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/564513/mega-beberkan-alasannya-pilih-jokowi

Tomsa, D. (2008). Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the Post-Suharto Era. Routledge.

Tomsa, D. (2010). *The Indonesian Party System after the 2009 Elections: Towards Stability?* In E. Aspinall & M. Mietzner (Eds.), Problems of democratisation in Indonesia : elections, institutions and society (pp. 141–159). ISEAS Publishing.

Ufen, A. (2008). *Political Party and Party System Institutionalization in Southeast Asia: Lessons for Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand.* The Pacific Review, 21(3), 327–350. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740802134174

Yardimci-Geyikci, S. (2015). *Party Institutionalisation and Democratic Consolidation: Turkey and Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective. Party Politics,* 21(4), 527–538. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068813487110