

"POLITICAL CONFLICT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: A CASE STUDY OF POST-MUNASLUB LEADERSHIP DUALISM IN DELI SERDANG, NORTH SUMATRA"

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INFO ARTIKEL	ABSTRACT
<p>Accepted : 05-08-2023 Revised : 11-08-2023 Approved : 12-08-2023</p>	<p>This journal broadly discusses one of the recurring issues that often befall political parties, especially in Indonesia, which is political conflict and factionalization. The case study referred to in this context occurs within the internal dynamics of the Democratic Party, particularly after the extraordinary National Congress (Munaslub) held in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra. The theoretical perspectives utilized are political conflict theory and factionalism theory. Political conflict theory, as proposed by Prof. Maswadi Rauf, posits that political conflicts arise from three factors. Firstly, the desire to compete for political positions or power. Secondly, differences in political policies. Thirdly, divergent views on political institutions. Meanwhile, factionalism theory, based on the ideas of Raphael Zariski, defines factions as intra-party groups whose members share the same identity and goals, and they collaborate to achieve those objectives. The research methodology employed is qualitative, supported by in-depth interviews and literature review techniques.</p>
<p>Keywords: Women's Representation; Gender Representation; Affirmative Action; Political Parties; Elections.</p>	



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Introduction

The problem studied in this study is to see the phenomenon of political conflict and factionalism that occurs within a political party. Meanwhile, the problem then wants to be reviewed specifically through the case of leadership dualism experienced by the Democratic Party, namely between the leadership of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) and the leadership of Moeldoko. In this case, the reasons underlying the raising of the problem can at least be formulated into two main things (Arianto, Zetra, & Fadhilah, 2021). First, the turmoil that occurred within the Democratic Party began with a statement delivered by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono in his press conference on February 1, 2021, which stated that there was an attempted coup or takeover of the leadership of the party he commanded which allegedly involved five perpetrators. The five perpetrators were then described by AHY as consisting of one active cadre, one cadre who has been inactive for six years, one former cadre who has been dishonorably dismissed nine years ago because of corruption cases, one cadre who has declared his departure since three years ago, and one other person identified as coming from an external party who is suspected to be an important official in President Joko Widodo's government (Guritno & Erdianto, 2021). Later in its development, the external party in question finally began to be revealed to the public and referred to the figure of Moeldoko who served as Chief of Presidential Staff for the 2019-2024 period. While

second, the chaos then continued to become a new problem when several parties on behalf of themselves as Democratic Party cadres held an Extraordinary Congress (KLB) at The Hill Sibolangit Hotel, Deli Serdang, North Sumatra on March 5, 2021 (Syahrian, 2021). Meanwhile, one of the important decisions made in the KLB then resulted in the new management of the Democratic Party under the leadership of Moeldoko as general chairman. In addition, in the KLB, it was also decided that the management of the Democratic Party under the leadership of AHY as chairman of the 2020 Congress results had been decommissioned (Robby, 2017).

Furthermore, after the implementation of the KLB, the Democratic Party then had management dualism at the same time. It also raised a dispute between the two administrations when the leadership of the Democratic Party as a result of the KLB wanted to officially register with the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Meanwhile, the management plan of the KLB results then drew strong protests from the management camp led by AHY because it was considered to have no legal standing (Suryarandika & Yulianto, 2021). The validity of the implementation of the KLB was also questioned by the management camp led by AHY because it was considered not by the provisions stipulated in the Democratic Party's Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD / ART) officially registered with the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. In addition, the AHY management camp also questioned the legality of the KLB participants because they were considered not legal voters (Navasari & Nuralim, 2022). This is because the provisions stipulated in the Democratic Party's AD / ART have stipulated that parties who are considered to have valid voting rights in congress forums are those who are recorded as daily administrators of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) and Branch Leadership Council (DPC) of the party throughout Indonesia. In addition, the AHY management camp also questioned the legality of the KLB because it did not meet the requirements stipulated in AD/ART, especially regarding permission to hold a congress from the Chairman of the Upper House of the Democratic Party held by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as chairman of the 2015-2020 period (Umam, 2021).

In addition to causing disputes between the two existing administrations, the problems experienced by the Democratic Party are also often associated with allegations of intervention carried out by the government. This at least cannot be separated from the status and position of the Democratic Party which is outside the administration of President Joko Widodo. As a result, this then led to various speculations that considered that the appearance of Moeldoko, who is one of the important officials in President Joko Widodo's administration, was an effort to make the Democratic Party part of the government's supporters. Meanwhile, this tendency is then reflected in a study conducted by (Romli, 2018) which states that the tendency of internal conflicts in political parties in Indonesia is not caused by differences in vision/mission, platforms, and ideologies, but rather influenced by pragmatism over the choice of political party coalitions to support the government and the interests of gaining power (Romli, 2017). In addition, the study also states that the factor of coalition choice or opposition is also an important variable in explaining conflicts within political parties. The trend that then

develops is marked by the emergence of divisions that can eventually lead to the birth of new parties or dual management.

As for referring to the historical context of the founding of the Democratic Party, the problem of political conflict and factionalism that occurs internally is not new. This has long been an open secret of the Democratic Party which for a long time was thought to consist of certain groups or factions, such as the founding faction chaired by Subur Budi Santoso as the first general chairman of the Democratic Party, the supporting faction of Hadi Utomo as the second general chairman elected at the congress in Bali in 2005, the faction supporting Anas Urbaningrum who was elected as the third general chairman in the 2010 congress in Bandung and the pro-Marzuki Alie faction who listed as the former Secretary General (Secretary General) of the Democratic Party for the period 2005-2010 and chairman of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia for the period 2009-2014 (CNN Indonesia, 2021). Further, in reality, these factions often engage in confrontations both openly and privately about the direction of party policy both before the mega scandal of corruption cases that ensnared several well-known Democratic Party cadres was revealed to the public and afterward. Especially after the Democratic Party is outside the government, it then often becomes a discourse that eventually raises the seeds of conflict between these existing factions. The reason is the dynamics that come to the surface then often show a very strong rivalry between these factions in fighting for influence and control over the Democratic party.

Then since the succession of leadership within the Democratic Party with the election of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) as the new party leader, it gave rise to new seeds of conflict due to dissatisfaction from several existing factions. The reason is, it cannot be separated from the dimming of the existence of these factions due to not being given more positions and space in the party management structure because in general it is dominated by new figures. This was also accompanied by disappointment from these factions in seeing the electoral achievements of the Democratic Party after the 2019 election considering that the former ruling party had twice failed to win the presidential election and the presidential election. As a result, this reflects that the political conflicts that arise within the Democratic Party are caused by political policies that in this case are considered less accommodating to existing faction groups, especially since the regeneration of party leadership after the election of AHY as the new general chairman.

In addition, the problem of political conflict and factionalism experienced by the Democratic Party is also related to differences in views in responding to the future of the Democratic Party, especially in the face of simultaneous elections in 2024. Especially if you look at the current position of the Democratic Party which is still outside the government, what happens often raises concerns among these factions because they feel that the party's performance is becoming increasingly eroded. It is also accompanied by the low level of electability of AHY which from the beginning has been predicted to become a candidate for future leaders. For this reason, these existing

factions are then encouraged to carry out several political maneuvers to realize the things that are their views on political institutions. One of them was then realized by planning to replace the position of party chairman and nominate a new figure who was considered more capable of helping them realize their interests. Finally, the choice was then dropped to the figure of Moeldoko who currently serves as Chief of Presidential Staff and at the same time is a former TNI Commander in the era of SBY's leadership while still serving as president. With this status, these factions then consider that Moeldoko is a realistic option to be nominated as a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 presidential election in the hope that it can help restore the glory of the Democratic Party as it had achieved when delivering SBY to become president and become the ruling party for two terms (Abdullah et al., 2021). For this reason, based on the explanations above, this study wants to see the form of political conflict and factionalism in the case of the dualism of Democratic Party leadership between the AHY and Moeldoko camps.

Before describing theories about political conflicts and factionalization within political parties, this paper needs to be preceded by an explanation of institutional problems that often occur in a political party in Indonesia, especially since the Reformation era. According to a study (Farida & Setiawan, 2021), there are three important problems in the institution of a political party, namely ideology or platform, cohesiveness or conflict management, and recruitment and regeneration. In addition, (Farida & Setiawan, 2021) also explained that several factors need to be considered in explaining the condition of political parties in Indonesia in general. First, it refers to the inability of political parties to become public institutions that can have accountability to their voters. Second, there is oligarchic domination that often shackles the strategic decision-making process of political parties. While third, the implementation of functions that have not been able to take place optimally.

Research Methods

To obtain the necessary data, this study used qualitative methods. The qualitative method itself is a research method conducted to describe a phenomenon more specifically and comprehensively (Neuman, 2007). Meanwhile, this research is broadly included in the type of social research that is projected to collect and analyze various research findings obtained, to provide answers to the research questions asked (Payne & Payne, 2011). Then, related to data collection techniques, this study uses an in-depth interview method with several informants who are considered to have sufficient competence and are relevant to the focus of this research problem, so that the output obtained will be included in the type of primary data. In addition, this study also uses secondary data that refers to related literature, be it in the form of books, journal articles, scientific publications, and institutions as well as online publications. For this reason, the following is a list of informants that will be used as references.

Results and Discussion

1. Institutional Issues of Political Parties

As a basis, the institutional problems of political parties in Indonesia can be understood through the arguments put forward by (Manggalou, 2017). There are three problems related to the institution of political parties in Indonesia, including; ideology and platforms, cohesiveness and conflict management, and finally recruitment and regeneration. First, it is related to ideologies and platforms where an ideology that is not only an identity but also a political stance or political position has not been formed clearly and maturely. This is evidenced by the ideology of political parties that have not been translated into concrete political party platforms. Both become vital to the basic foundations of a political party. Ideology becomes a value guideline for party cadres and administrators in carrying out programs, decision-making bases, and positions on policies and political work activities in society. While the platform can be interpreted as a blueprint or proposal offered to the community originating from an ideology which is then interpreted as the basis for the preparation of tangible things in the form of programs and policies. In Indonesia, the ideology espoused by political parties (Islam, nationalism, democratic socialism, Islam-nationalism) has not been fully translated into a real policy or program. Many of the resulting policies are still general in nature and do not contrast one party with a similar ideological base. Thus, it can be seen that there is unclear asceticism and bias in the ideology and platform of political parties in Indonesia.

Second, related to cohesiveness and conflict management in political parties, where political parties should be one of the agents of conflict management, what often arises is the internal conflict of the political party itself. One source of that conflict is factionalism. Political parties should ideally be able to resolve their internal conflicts without interference from third parties through internal mechanisms that have been created and mutually agreed upon in the form of articles of association/bylaws. The problem of cohesiveness and conflict management in political parties in Indonesia is still considered unsuccessful to see rather than the end of the existing conflict, namely in the form of division. It is also a reflection that the party's internal democracy is not working as it should. The institutional problems of political parties in this context can at least also refer to the perspective of Boucek (2012) which shows that if there is competition between factions within a political party, it is considered to cause conflict. Moreover, it is also explained by David Hine (1982) that internal conflicts in a political party are closely related to the emergence of factions contained in it. The reason is, the conflict will not occur if it is not preceded by the emergence of factions within a political party. In addition, the occurrence of political conflicts within a political party can also be influenced by misalignment in terms of strategy, policies, and ideologies owned by each faction. Even if it is related to the perspective expressed by Boucek (2012), political conflicts can only occur within a political party, if the prevailing factionalization pattern is categorized as competitive and degenerative. Especially if referring to this explanation, it can be said that research on factionalization within political parties is important to do because it can be used as one of the parameters in

assessing the quality of institutional aspects and democratization processes that develop in a political party. Although the context emphasized by this study is more focused on its relation to the context of regional elections.

Then in identifying the cause of the emergence of a faction, the perspective of Raphael Zariski is at least recorded as categorizing it into five factors. First, it refers to the similarity of values and ideological attributions between party members which then encourages the emergence of a faction to fight for certain things within the party. Second, related to the sociological complexity experienced by party members, such as due to factors such as class structure, ideology, age, education level, and so on. Third, through the prevailing political system, including the party system and the electoral system. Fourth, due to the prevailing organizational structure of the party. While the last is due to the leadership of party elites, where the presence of factions in a political party tends to be often capitalized on to achieve certain goals or interests, such as gathering support for decisions or policies to be taken (Ariffin, 2019).

Third, the issue of recruitment and regeneration of political parties is still considered less institutionalized. This can be seen from the emergence of the phenomenon of "instant cadres" that arises due to the unreadiness of political parties in carrying candidates for legislative and executive members. This phenomenon will also allow other phenomena such as the phenomenon of party cadres "jumping fences". This is due to the lack of role of the party in instilling ideology and values, vision-mission of the party to foster the loyalty of its cadres. These problems are evidence that political parties have not sought a firm and systematic system in terms of recruitment and regeneration patterns.

As an organization, problems related to the internal cohesiveness of political parties become vulnerable to political divisions. Referring to the writing written by Sri Suryanti (2018), conflicts or divisions within the party body can be triggered by the scarcity of positions and resources. The fewer positions or resources each member or group of a political organization can afford, the sharper the conflict and competition between them for those positions and resources. This is evidenced in political parties in Indonesia that experience internal conflicts and then form factions until it leads to secession and creates new political parties.

The process of succession to the party leadership is often the initial trigger of internal party conflicts, where there is dissatisfaction among some cadres over the organizational mechanisms and decisions of the party. This is then exacerbated by the factors of elite oligarchy and personality figures in political party organizations; In this case, conflicts can arise due to the rejection of the domination of elite power within the party. The centralization of the party's organizational structure is also a problem, which requires that the management of the party at the lower levels must be subject to central decisions, where the central decisions rest with the elite. This makes the autonomy of the party system not happen.

To strengthen Sri Suryanti's argument related to elite oligarchy and personality figures in political party organizations, (Setiawan & Nainggolan, 2004) indicated that

political parties in Indonesia after the New Order began to shift their pattern which was originally a pattern of personality parties to elite-based parties. The appointment of the founder of the party with the full power of the political party that is irreplaceable shows the pattern of strengthening political parties towards clientelistic parties. Such as PDI Perjuangan with the figure of Megawati Soekarnoputri as the irreplaceable general chairman, Gerindra Party with Prabowo Subianto, Democratic Party with SBY's strong figure in it, Surya Paloh and Wiranto with their parties namely Nasdem and Hanura and other parties. In such conditions, the strength of the party is no longer based on the strength of its institutions, programs, and ideologies but rests on the strength of the leader or patron figure of the party.

Institutional problems of political parties in Indonesia occur not without reason, referring to a study by (Musa, Ibieta, & Deinde-Adedeji, 2020), argued that existing party regulations have not had a significant effect on strengthening party institutions because they are caused by the lack of modern internal party systems. In addition, the study also explains that several obstacles must be faced by political parties in Indonesia in realizing ideal institutional aspects, such as the need for large funds to be able to win elections which then burden politicians who are cadres to behave corruptively, the inability of political parties to perform political recruitment functions in a democratic, transparent and meritocratic basis, The failure of political parties in building a regeneration system, ideologization, and political education functions which ultimately has an impact on the emergence of pragmatism in the institutional aspects of political parties, as well as the tendency of pragmatism that is rife in party life which eventually eliminates the sense of militancy of cadres and in dilemmatic conditions, political parties tend to be encouraged to use instant methods to attract voter sympathy and do money politics.

Teguh Irmansyah's argument is also strengthened by (Bhayangkara, 2019) where the institutional problems of political parties in Indonesia are evidenced by the emergence of the phenomenon of cartel patronage politics. The motive of the cartel patronage phenomenon is to direct the party's behavior in maintaining the existence of its interests. The basic assumptions that construct the political logic of cartels are; The state is the source of party finance, then the party will depend on state money. With this logic, the party that was originally oriented towards providing services to constituents or the people then shifted towards approaching the government. If the party's politicians do not get the resources of the state directly, then they will seek rent and commit other corruption. This phenomenon is caused by the weak institutions of political parties with the lack of entrenchment of party ideology, which has implications for the decline in integrity standards of political party cadres, coupled with problems in the party recruitment and regeneration system that is not commensurate with the meritocratic basis at the organizational level.

Then on the other hand, according to findings from a study by Arya Fernandes and Noory Okthariza (2020), it is shown that one of the problems faced by political parties in Indonesia over the past decade is related to internal political conflicts. The

political conflict referred to by Fernandes & Noorsy (2020) is explained as an implication of political differences within political parties which eventually lead to divisions. In addition, political conflicts within political parties are also described as phenomena caused by undemocratic policy-making processes that apply within a political party. For this reason, it can be said that the problem of internal conflict in a political party has a close relationship with institutional problems and democratization in the political party. Although other factors also need to be looked at, such as the degree of political fragmentation (factionalization) and internal leadership models. The reason is, political parties with a high degree of political fragmentation are generally considered to have more democratic tendencies than parties with a single leadership or several people. Several experts use different approaches to gauge the level of internal democracy in political parties. However, in general, two things can at least be used as a reference. First, it refers to how inclusive the decision-making process and electoral process are within a political party. Second, related to how decentralized and distributed the policy-making process is within a political party. Especially if it is related to the phenomenon of factionalization and specifically reviewed in the prevailing reality in Indonesia, it can be said that parties with strong factions usually have an orderly level of competition and their policies accommodate other factions. The reason is, the existence of factions also encourages the emergence of healthy internal competition to get several political incentives. The perspective of Cox (2000) mentions several political incentives that motivate party members to join certain factions such as political endorsements, and financial backing, to fill positions. In addition, other factors that are also important to look at are related to the level of political fragmentation and leadership models that develop within a political party. Parties with a high degree of political fragmentation usually have a more democratic tendency than parties with a single leadership or several people.

History Formed, Central Figures, Successes, and Challenges of the Democratic Party

The Democratic Party, which was established on September 9, 2001, cannot be separated from the background of its establishment on the initiative of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who had suffered defeat in the election of vice presidential candidates at the MPR session in 2001 (Kompas.com, 2021). His defeat then inspired several figures, one of which was Vence Rumangkang who planned to push for SBY to become president. From this initiative, assisted by Sutan Bhatogana, a Team of Nine was formed was tasked with designing the establishment of the Democratic Party which consisted of ten people, including; Vence Rumangkang, Ahmad Mubarak Yani Wahid, Irzan Tanjung, Subur Budhisantoso, RMH. Heroe Syswanto Ns, Rizald Max Rompas, RF. Saragjh, Dardji Darmodihardjo, and Rusli Ramli. On September 10, 2001, the draft formation of the Democratic Party was registered with the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, then successfully ratified on September 25, 2001, as a political party (Kompas.com 2021).

The initial success in the 2004 legislative election (with 7.45 percent of the vote or 57 DPR-RI seats) cannot be separated from its support base in urban areas and around the southern coast of East Java, this huge support is also influenced by media branding of the Democratic Party as "SBY's party" (Yuniarto, 2021). The success of this party is also increasing, evidenced by the victory during the two-round presidential election in 2004 with SBY as the figure he carried. The peak of the Democratic Party's success occurred during the legislative and presidential elections in 2009, where SBY was also brought forward again to continue his leadership as president of the Republic of Indonesia together with Boediono, the pair managed to get 60.80 percent of the votes (Yuniarto, 2021).

However, in the 2014 and 2019 elections, the Democratic Party experienced a significant decline in votes. Initially, in 2009 this party was able to get 20.85 percent of the vote with the acquisition of 148 DPR seats, in the 2014 election only got 10.9 percent of the vote then decreased again in the 2019 election with 7.7 percent of the votes. The decline in the number of votes in the Democratic Party cannot be separated from the dynamics that occur within the democratic party, such as the fight for party leadership seats, as well as corruption cases committed by Democratic Party officials (Yuniarto, 2021).

Table 1
Democratic Party Central Leadership Council 2001-2025

Department Time	Position	Incumbent
2020-2025	Chairman	H. Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, M.Sc., M.P.A., M.A.
	Secretary-general	H. Teuku Riefky H.,B.Sc., M.T.
	General Treasurer	H. Renville Antonio, S.H., M.H., M.M.
2015-2020	Chairman	Dr. H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
	Secretary-general	Dr. Hince IP Pandjaitan XIII, S.H, M.H.
	General Treasurer	Dr. Hj. Indrawati Sukadis, M.Si.
2013-2015	Chairman	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
	Daily Chairman	Syarif Hasan
	Secretary-general	Edhie Baskoro Yudhoyono
	General Treasurer	Handoyo S. Mulyadi
2010-2013	Chairman	Anas Urbaningrum
	Secretary-general	Edhie Baskoro Yudhoyono

	General Treasurer	Muhammad Nazaruddin
	Chairman	Hadi Utomo
2005-2010	Secretary-general	Marzuki Ali
	General Treasurer	Zainal Abidin
2001-2005	Chairman	Subur Budhisantoso
	Secretary-general	Umar Said
	General Treasurer	I Wayan Gunastra

In addition, other issues that also need to be explained within the Democratic Party can at least refer to the results of Rowdotusya'adah's research (2018) entitled "Institutionalization of Political Parties and Intra-Party Factions (Study of the Emergence of Anas Urbaningrum Factions in the Democratic Party)". Meanwhile, the main argument of the study then states that institutionalized political parties tend to allow the emergence of intra-party factions. In addition, the study also obtained other findings that show that the emergence of the Anas Urbaningrum faction within the Democratic Party is caused by the similarity of values, common strategies, and personal loyalty to the figure of Anas Urbaningrum, the emergence of the Anas Urbaningrum faction functions as a faction on interest and is included in the category of personal or client-group factions (factions influenced by individual leadership factors) and competition that The incident between the Anas Urbaningrum faction and the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) faction illustrates the dynamics of degenerative factionalism, which is a condition where the ruling elite and ruled elite destroy each other (Rowdotusya'adah, 2018).

Furthermore, the turmoil that has occurred within the Democratic Party in recent weeks seems to be a *déjà vu* of a series of political conflicts that have plagued internal political parties in Indonesia. This is because the phenomenon is historically part of events that often come to the surface, especially since the rolling of the Reformation era in the late 1990s. In this case, the public may still remember the events of political conflicts that have hit several political parties in Indonesia, such as the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the era of President Megawati Soekarnoputri and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and the United Development Party (PPP), Golkar Party, National Mandate Party (PAN), Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Hanura Party and Berkarya Party in the era of Joko Widodo's (Jokowi) presidency since 2014 until now .ini. For this reason, it at least shows that during Jokowi's reign, political parties often experienced internal conflicts (Ristyawati, 2019). In fact, of all these political conflicts then not infrequently even gave rise to several new political parties which were splinters of the parties involved in the conflict. Examples can then be seen through the existence of several political parties, such as the Gerindra Party, the Nasdem Party, the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI), the Work Party, the Gelora Party, to the Ummat Party.

As a result, the impression that appears seems to show that the phenomenon of political conflicts that often hit the internal Indonesian political parties is a matter of course.

Theoretically, the participation of political parties in a general election (election) has the main purpose and interest, namely to gain or seize power. Then to achieve victory in an election contestation, political parties tend to be able to take all means and efforts to make this happen. One of them is through the use of pragmatic methods that are often counterproductive to the principles and values of party ideology in general. The use of pragmatic methods carried out by political parties in reality also often violates the prevailing regeneration cycle and process, one of which is marked by a tendency that encourages political parties to prefer to provide support to figures or candidates who are considered popular rather than their cadres. The reason. This is because political parties only tend to be oriented towards achieving victory and can eventually gain power through existing political positions or positions. Especially in the context that prevails in Indonesia in general, this tendency is relatively prevalent in each political party, especially since the rolling of Reformasi. The tendency to prefer popular figures over candidates who are cadres of a political party in an electoral context then reflects that to obtain victory, political parties can often be pragmatic. This is because the orientation of political parties is solely intended to support figures or candidates who are considered to have greater potential for victory than other candidates. For this reason, in this context, it can be used as a basis to explain the turmoil that occurred within the Democratic Party, especially after the implementation of the Extraordinary Congress (KLB) in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra some time ago which then resulted in new management under the leadership of Moeldoko as the new general chairman.

Further related to the turmoil that is currently befalling the Democratic Party, the explanation that can then be given in this context is at least not much different from the explanations proposed to respond to political conflict events experienced by other political parties before. The reason is, if referring to the perspective of the professor of Political Science FISIP UI, Prof. Dr. Maswadi Rauf in his book entitled "Consensus and Political Conflict: A Theoretical Assessment" then it can be formulated that political conflicts are caused by three types of factors. First, due to the desire to compete for political positions or power. Second, because of political policies. Meanwhile, the third is related to differences in views of political institutions. In this case, the desire to fight for political positions or power, one of which can then be reflected in the conflict of interest in each faction within the Democratic Party. This has long been an open secret of the Democratic Party which for a long time was suspected to consist of certain groups or factions, such as the founding faction chaired by Subur Budi Santoso as the first general chairman of the Democratic Party, the supporting faction of Hadi Utomo as the second general chairman elected at the congress in Bali in 2005, the faction supporting Anas Urbaningrum who was elected as the second general chairman in the 2010 congress in Bandung and the pro-Marzuki Alie faction who listed as former Secretary General (Secretary General) of the Democratic Party for the period 2005-2010 and chairman of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia for the

period 2009-2014. Further, in reality, these factions often engage in confrontations both openly and privately about the direction of party policy both before the mega scandal of corruption cases that ensnared several well-known Democratic Party cadres was revealed to the public and afterward. Especially after the Democratic Party is outside the government, it then often becomes a discourse that eventually raises the seeds of conflict between these existing factions. The reason is the dynamics that come to the surface then often show a very strong rivalry between these factions in fighting for influence and control over the Democratic party. However, this was able to be reduced well thanks to the role and dominance of SBY who from the beginning became a central figure in the Democratic Party, so that the potential for division could finally be overcome.

However, since the succession of leadership within the Democratic Party with the election of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) as the new party leader, it has raised new seeds of conflict due to dissatisfaction from several existing factions. The reason is, it cannot be separated from the dimming of the existence of these factions due to not being given more positions and space in the party management structure because in general it is dominated by new figures. This was also accompanied by disappointment from these factions in seeing the electoral achievements of the Democratic Party after the 2019 election considering that the former ruling party had twice failed to win the presidential election and presidential election. As a result, this reflects that the political conflicts that arise within the Democratic Party are caused by political policies that in this case are considered less accommodating to existing faction groups, especially since the regeneration of party leadership after the election of AHY as the new general chairman.

While related to differences in views of political institutions, this can at least refer to the discourse among these factions regarding the future of the Democratic Party, especially in the face of simultaneous elections in 2024. Especially if you look at the current position of the Democratic Party which is still outside the government, what happens often raises concerns among these factions because they feel that the party's performance is becoming increasingly eroded. It is also accompanied by the low level of electability of AHY which from the beginning has been predicted to become a candidate for future leaders. For this reason, these existing factions are then encouraged to carry out several political maneuvers to realize the things that are their views on political institutions. One of them was then realized by planning to replace the position of party chairman and nominate a new figure who was considered more capable of helping them in realizing their interests. Finally, the choice was then dropped to the figure of Moeldoko, who currently serves as Chief of Presidential Staff and is also a former TNI Commander in the era of SBY's leadership while still serving as president. With this status, these factions then consider that Moeldoko is a realistic option to be nominated as a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 presidential election in the hope that it can help restore the glory of the Democratic Party as it had achieved when delivering SBY to the presidency and become the ruling party for two terms. As a result, these

things, whether we realize it or not, have created loopholes for the entry of opportunist and pragmatic external parties, which ultimately contributed to the condition of the Democratic Party becoming divided as it is today.

Conclusion

Based on the findings obtained, it can be said that the dualism of management within the Democratic Party between the management camp led by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and the management camp led by Moeldoko shows the problem of political conflict and factionalization. This is due to the factor of dissatisfaction from several elites within the Democratic Party who have concretely institutionalized into the form of faction groups. In addition, another problem is due to concerns about the fate and future of the Democratic Party, which some factions consider increasingly concerning, especially when referring to the downward trend in votes since the 2014 and 2019 elections. Therefore, these faction groups then tried to make changes or changes in management by holding a KLB forum in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra which at the same time attracted external figures or figures who were considered to be able to help realize their interests, namely Moeldoko who also served as Chief of Presidential Staff (KSP) in the current era of President Joko Widodo's administration.

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