

HOW POLITICAL PARTY HANDLE THEIR INTERNAL PROBLEM? COMPARATIVE STUDIES BETWEEN THE NATIONALIST PARTY AND ISLAMIC PARTY IN INDONESIA (GOLKAR AND PKS)

Addin Khaerunnisa Juswil, Eko Priyo Purnomo, Aulia Nur
Kasiwi

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Addinjuswil27@gmail.com, Eko@umy.ac.id,
Aulianurkasiwi@gmail.com

Abstract

In recent era, we can see so many party trapped into an internal conflict, one of them is Golkar and PKS, see two parties with different ideological foundations, which of course has a mechanism of different conflict resolution processes, but falls within the same internal conflict circle that is still related to the existence of party elites especially when the conflict is up to the binding decision of the Supreme Court then the author seeks to dig the political party in Indonesia in resolving the internal problems of the party so as not to affect the internal party. This paper use a qualitative methods with most of the data came from literature review and from secondary data from the party itself. The result of this paper is that party internal conflict aren't causes by ideological things, but causes by elites needs. This can be solved by strengthen the position of party court and increasing the amount of member in party court.

Keywords: Political Party, Conflict, Golkar, PKS

Abstrak

Dalam era terakhir, kita dapat melihat begitu banyak Partai terjebak dalam konflik internal, salah satunya adalah Golkar dan PKS, melihat dua pihak dengan Yayasan ideologis yang berbeda, yang tentu saja memiliki mekanisme proses resolusi konflik yang berbeda, tetapi jatuh dalam sama lingkaran konflik internal yang masih berhubungan dengan keberadaan para elit Partai terutama ketika konflik sampai pada keputusan yang mengikat dari Mahkamah Agung maka penulis berusaha untuk menggali partai politik di Indonesia dalam menyelesaikan masalah internal Partai agar tidak mempengaruhi Partai internal. Makalah ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan sebagian besar data berasal dari kajian literatur dan dari data

sekunder dari partai itu sendiri. Hasil dari makalah ini adalah bahwa konflik internal partai tidak menyebabkan dengan hal ideologis, tetapi penyebab oleh elit kebutuhan. Hal ini dapat diatasi dengan memperkuat posisi Pengadilan partai dan meningkatkan jumlah anggota di Pengadilan partai.

Keywords: Political Party, Conflict, Golkar, PKS

Article History: Received 26 February 2020, Revised: 05 March 2020, Accepted: 30 April 2020, Available online 01 June 2020

Introduction

In the concept of democracy, one key concept that must be there is a political party. Indonesia, as a democracy-savvy country, has a long history with political parties. Starting from the information no X year 1945 about the importance of the establishment of the party, in the first Indonesian elections in the year 1955 is still the most democratic elections in Indonesia to date, Indonesia has 172 political parties (Gaffar 1999). The world's parting in Indonesia then suffered a decline when Soekarno's political ambitions began to rise, which caused his downfall, then went into a new order which had a system that was no better than Sukarno at the end of the old order. Things that have been the consequence of a political party is that there is internal conflict, the conflict that if not resolved, will had a harmful effect to the party solidarity (Zartman 2019). Later in the day, a conflict would have resulted in a change in the organisational structure (Parkinson and Zaks 2018). This research tries to analyse how the political party in different ideology manage their internal conflict.

In order, although in fact according to the internal divisions of Sarekat Islam became the red and the white, the outbreak of Masyumi continued to create a recent conflict of the Reformation era such as the internal PAN conflict that caused Their cadres ' Hijrah to other parties (Pora et al. 2018), and the conflict of dualism of the conferences and leadership of PPP (Arawan 2016) is the exact example of political party internal conflict that happens in Indonesia for the past years.

One of the parties that are quite often chastening into internal conflict is the party of Works (Golkar). Usually, internal party conflict causes by the decolonisation process, ineffective conflict management, and recruitment process (Romli 2011; 2006). Golkar has a long history of conflict; even this party called to make internal conflicts as a source of power (Tirto.Id 2019). Golkar has initially been an organisation formed to stem the influence of the Communist Party of Indonesia in 1964, which then experienced the function of the political party and began to follow the first elections in 1971 (Reeve 2013). Over the last five years, Golkar's internal conflict is not only at the central level, but it is spreading to the local level. For example, in the Golkar dualism conflict, the impact has been spreading into several regions, including the region that becomes a basis of Golkar voters.

DPD Golkar of West Sulawesi, for example, a conflict caused by a unilateral dismissal by DPP Golkar, which is still associated with the existence of the leadership dualism in the centre (Asmadianto; Nurmandi 2015). The same was the case in Riau Province (Friscilia 2017), both of which led to the focus of Golkar cadres to internal problems, which resulted in an adverse effect on the electability of the Golkar party in the region. The same was the case for Golkar's vote in the regional head elections Level 2. Factionalization made Golkar fail to win in some areas because it could not show its best performance, for example when Golkar finally lost His hegemony Gowa, the area that became his voice base (Syamsuri, Reza; Eko 2018). It is the same, with other provinces, the conflict DPP also caused a split in the area that is one of the sound bases of Golkar, namely South Sulawesi, although the fate of this area is still better because of the existence of the character of Syahrul Yasin Limpo (now Nasdem politician) is in control of determining the direction of the party's motion in addressing the conflict of dualism in the centre (Tella 2016).

The change of leadership in Golkar's body seems to have not been able to stop the existence of internal conflicts that continue to erode this party body. The election of Airlangga Hartarto as chairman in peace, apparently still triggered the next internal conflict. The debate over the time of the Munas was the initial trigger of the outbreak of this ongoing conflict. This internal conflict occurred between Airlangga and Bambang Soesatyo. The conflict had subsided when Bambang Soesatyo said he had been reconciling with Airlangga; this was in the post on the official Golkar Party (<http://instagram.com/PartaiGolkar/>) Instagram page, which also smoothed Bambang's step into the chairman of the MPR with full support by DPP Golkar (IDNTimes 2019). However, in a few media, the declaration of Bambang Soesatyo as the candidate for the chairman of the Golkar party in Jakarta, caused the conflict to heat up, mutually Chelsea between the two loyalists to be inevitable (CNNINDONESIA 2019b; DETIKNEWS 2019b) both strongholds had been claimed support by President Joko Widodo as well as the support of DPD in the Golkar party. This conflict led to the reported of Airlangga Hartarto and several people in the Golkar party ranks by several Golkar cadres to the party court, although the party court had previously given a tendency of alignments to Airlangga Hartarto (DETIKNEWS 2019a; MerdekaCom 2019).

Golkar Party at the moment, if we see the mechanism of an election, the Chairman has been using intra-party democracy theory. This theory can be implemented differently by each party, but there is a tendency to suggest that the system often has no long-term view (Borz and Janda 2018). In the case of the Golkar Party, the application of intra-party democracy through direct selection often shows a tendency to trigger internal conflicts, ranging from the occurrence of unrest in national deliberations to the dualism of leadership. Internal elections will look very democratic if the electoral process is doing openly; however, the closed elections do tend to create more stable

internal conditions (Abdar 2014), the political party should have been thinking of which way is best for his party.

In addition to the issue of leadership dualism, Golkar cadres tend to have a certain standard regarding the performance of the Golkar people, and this standard often makes Golkar chairman at the central or regional level should work hard to fulfil its cadre demands if Not want to be dilated. This conflict also happened recently at DPW Golkar Yogyakarta, Haryadi Suyuti, who is chairman of Golkar DIY as well as the mayor of Yogyakarta asking to withdraw from his position as chairman related to declining Golkar electability in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Republika 2019). This case is very different from the general trend wherein public conflict conditions are likely to choose a leader who has the appearance of more enter (Laustsen and Petersen 2017). Golkar cadres tend to prefer track record and achievement.

The Golkar party, known as the party that became the forerunner of the new party's growth, is caused by the many factions that exist in this party caused by the fusion or merger of the party that occurred in the new order. Many influential figures in the Golkar party caused the party to be a party that was vulnerable to conflict. According to Huddy, internal conflicts will be prone to occur if individual individuals in an organisation tend to have strong personal identification values (Huddy 2015), this is of course very apparent in the internal Golkar party, so saying that this party's primary strength source is internal conflict can be the right thing. Although of course, this became a red light for the continuity of this Banyan mining party in the future.

Similar to that in the body of the Golkar party, another party, which is calling as the party with the best regeneration system, as well as the most solid party, namely the prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is also a conflict. The dismissal of some party figures at the central level is Fahri Hamzah and Anis Matta and the effort "cleaning" the cadres that reach the level

of the district. The dismissal conflict occurred in this PKS's body, culminated with the demands of Fahri Hamzah in the Jakarta state court, which then lasted until the next level which all won by Fahri Hamzah in victory. The material amounted to 30 billion Rupiah and seized the assets of PKS officials including the Central Leadership Council of the PKS (CNNINDONESIA 2019a)

This conflict also triggered the emergence of a new party with a similar ideology that was held by Fahri Hamzah and Anis Matta, the Gelora party. The internal conflicts later re-opened the faction that existed in the PKS's body, primarily the Justice faction and the prosperous faction. (Kresna 2018). The stronghold that is then in the body of PKS. The same cases, which are in the body Golkar does not often heat the internal condition of the party political party. The internal conflict will undoubtedly be the challenge of PKS's regeneration in the future, considering one of the main characteristics of the PKS that has existed since it is still a Justice party (PK), that is democracy reached using representation or deliberation (Triono; Kartini, Dede Sri; Sulaeman 2018). PKS is currently considered to be in a conflict where the PKS is currently considered to have abandoned the value of Da'wah party and is increasingly pragmatic-oriented considering the close of this party with the Nationalist Party party (Basyir, 2014), the internal conflict nuanced this final pragmatic end of course will erode public confidence deeper against this party. The PKS could have survived in the 2019 political contestation, but the PKS would of course have to prepare in the face of the possibility of a sound proliferation due to the increased electability of the only party being seized by the Internal conflict.

In the institutional theory of political parties, a political party can be declared successful in adapting well with if it manages to unite all existing social forces caused by the development of the Times (Romli 2017). In the context of the internal conflict management of the internal political party in

Indonesia, the arrangement is set out in LAW No. 2 of 2011, political party conflicts resolved through 3 primary mechanisms, the first is through the ARTICLE OF ASSOCIATION of the party, the second is through the internal party court and the third is through reporting to the state court that can be continue to the level of cassation in the Supreme Court (MA) (Al Ghifari, M Abidzar; Hananto, Untung dwi; Herawati 2017), but if it sees two parties with different ideological foundations, which of course has a mechanism of different conflict resolution processes, but falls within the same internal conflict circle that is still related to the existence of party elites especially when the conflict is up to the binding decision of the Supreme Court then the author seeks to dig the political party in Indonesia in resolving the internal problems of the party so as not to affect the internal party.

In article 32 of LAW No. 2 of 2011 on the amendment to LAW No. 2 of 2008 about the settlement of political party conflicts, the mechanism of internal conflict resolution of the political party settled in the internal party through a party court or similar institution whose mention and position is governed by the party's Article of association. This conflict must be complete in the maximum period of 60 days and the decision issued by the institution is final and binding. The next article explains that when the party court cannot solve the problem, the conflict can be continuing to the state court to the highest level of the Supreme Court.

Methods to solve internal party problem

One of the foundations of thinking for the people of Indonesia is the value stated in Pancasila. Pancasila as the way of life most Indonesians have the value that can be adopted in various activities, including those in the party. One of the values adopted by the party in Indonesia is deliberation.

According to the second AD/ART party, the article was published on deliberation. This deliberation mechanism is usually translated in various forms, ranging from national

deliberations, work meetings, and so on. In the Golkar party, conflict resolution efforts when referring to AD/ART is divided into three ways; the first is deliberation that in the form of the on critical is extraordinary deliberation, then arbitrage and judiciary, while the PKS only knows one mechanism in their AD/ART that is deliberation, this deliberation is governed by the Majelis Syuro which is held with the help of the entire range of the party.

From the above, it can be noted that there as three conflict resolution pathways used by Golkar, if referring to the theory of conflict resolution then the conflict resolution path used by the Golkar party are negotiation, arbitration and litigation. Unlike the PKS that prioritises negotiations.

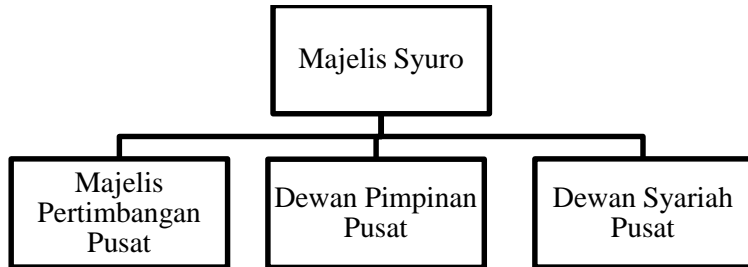
The mechanism of problem-solving by Golkar and PKS is certainly also related to the ideology that was used as the party's basis. Both of them prioritise the principle of deliberation as a form of the implementation of Pancasila ideology, but Golkar more leading to nationalists and democratically does not prioritise the religious value of livestock but rather prioritise the principle of meritocracy through the competition path conducted both inside and outside the court. PKS as a party based on the basic principle of Islam, PKS enters the value of Islamic values in it, among them is the forward of dialogue or in the concept of Islam commonly called Al-Hiwar (Malik et al. 2018).

The effectiveness of party court in managing conflict

In the institutional structure of the PKS, there are at least four main institutions located in the central management of the Prosperous Justice Party, among them the Majelis Syuro, Dewan Syariah Pusat, Dewan Pimpinan Pusat and Majelis Pertimbangan Pusat. PKS organisational structures can be described as follows:

Figure 1

Dewan Syariah Pusat PKS position in the organisational structure



The Central Sharia Board settled conflict resolution in the Prosperous Justice Party according to the Article Of Association of prosperous Justice Party. Central Sharia Board, is an institution formed by the Dewan Syuro as the highest institution in the PKS management structure, which has the authority to take care of matters related to the fatwa and fasts Matters related to the organisation, society, and so on, which will then be accountable to the Dewan Syuro. So if referring to the PKS Article of Association, it can be assessed that the Sharia Board is an implementation of the mandate of the establishment of a party court in the body of the PKS.

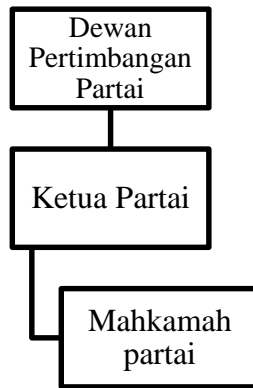
When referring to the PKS organisational structure, the Sharia Board's position is aligning with the position of the PKS Central Board which means that the chairman of the PKS Sharia board has an equal position with the PKS president as well as the central consideration Assembly, so that all three are similar to the Trias Politika concepts. Nevertheless, the use of the Board in the resolution of the problem is also the same concept as the concept of Islam is the Council of Shoora and Muslih (mediator) (Abdul Cader 2017).

It is different from the position of party court in the organisation structure of the Golkar Party. If the news reported

online coil, in April 2018, Airlangga Hartarto, the general chairman of Golkar who appointed seven leaders of the Golkar party court (Coil, 2018), then it can be concluded that the court position of the Golkar party is under the supervision of the party chairman. If referring to that, the existence of the Golkar party court will be as follows:

Figure 2

Mahkamah Partai Golkar's position in the organisational structure



In the organisational structure, when compared with the concept of Trias Politika, it can be seen that the Golkar party does not use the concept well, this can be seen with the judiciary in the internal party has a position that is weak enough because it is under the executive.

Some research related to the Court of the party, in general, two main problems lead to ineffectiveness of the party court, the first is not strong position of the conflict resolution institution Party/Party court (Firdaus; Kurniawan 2017), the second was the distrust of the party cadre due to often the main intervention of the Coordinating Minister for Law and Human Rights, it is, of course, related to political interests (Permana 2016). This intervention is if it is left certainly will incriminate

our system of justice, considering the court will not settle the case of the internal case of the party unless it has been through an internal mechanism (Saruksuk 2018)

If referring to the two problems above, it can be seen that the Golkar party court has a weak position in the structure of the party, this, of course, will make the party court will be difficult to move. The position of the institution that took on the role of judicial in this party was under the executive who was the object of the law of the party court so that it was very likely to happen a profitable bias that party leadership board and caused the magnitude of the party PKS tends to have a stronger institutional structure compared to Golkar, the position of the central Sharia Board that functions similarly to the party court are in a position parallel to the Central Board of Directors who act as a daily implementers create a more extensive space for the central Sharia Board to make decisions on internal party-related decisions on party executives. The highest institutions that are above the Central Sharia Council and the Central Board of Directors caused the decision to be more accountable.

The second problem is to intervene outside parties in the conflict resolution process, thus raising distrust of the party cadre against the party court's role. The party cadre tends to be challenging to accept Party court decisions given the outside intervention of party conflict resolution. Golkar had experienced this situation in the conflict resolution effort between Aburizal Bakrie and Agung Laksono although it was disputed by the two camps and the elders of the Golkar Party namely Akbar Tanjung (Kompasnews 2014). PKS tends to have more resilience in the face of external interventions, and this condition is influencing by the number of people who are in essential posts in the PKS's own body. Besides, the existence of the existing Majelis Syura is placed in the highest position of the organisation, and the members of at least 35 are also able to create internal stability of the PKS.

Is ideology play a role in political party internal stability?

If we see the above explanation on how political parties are making decisions based on their ideology, it can be concluded that unstable conditions in the body of political parties are the result of the implementation of the ideology. Decision-making process in the party which has a religious base of Islam is more likely to have strong legitimacy because of the position of the majelis syura in the organisation and institutions that have a collective nature with many members. Also, although often considered undemocratic, decision making without involving many party cadres is likely to minimise the possibility of internal fragmentation. However, is it true that it does play this role is the ideology used by the party?

According to Firyal, who played a more role in the internal conflict is not a matter of the party ideology used, because of some of the conflicts of the present, the conflict is based on the interests of the party elites (Akbar 2018). From this condition, it is very natural if the method of conflict resolution carried out by the PKS by adopting the value of the Islamic value plays better than the value of the value adopted by the Nationalist Party, in this case, Golkar, but the matter is not due to Because of the adopted ideology. The strengthening of these internal problem resolver agencies is the number of party institution members used more. Golkar who suffered a surplus of figures often takes the importance of the elites of his party, so that the party court should be strengthened by adding its members so that it would be harder to be entered by external political intervention.

Conclusion

Conflict, especially internal conflict is inevitable, but it can be prevented, and if it is already happening, it can be controlled if an institution has a suitable method of conflict of religion. Conflicts tend to damage if institutions conflict resolution institutions do not work well. There are several methods in

conducting conflict management but the usage will be very relative.

Internal conflict that happen between the party member isn't caused by the ideology, but it related to party elite's political agenda, but the ideology obviously will affect the organisation decision-making process, PKS using islamic value as a foundation on running their organisation while Golkar use more secular value in running their organisation, the islamic ideology proved that the create more settled system in managing those internal conflict. The first one is caused by the number of member that involving in the conflict management, the second one is caused by the position of the party court in the organisations.

Golkar has to adopt this system to resolve their conflict, adoption of this system can be done without changing the basis of value or ideology of the association, but rather merely strengthening the internal judicial system of the party with two main things, the first is to increase the number of people in the Court party, given the least, The number of people involved in the internal judicial process will make a party more easily intervened by the other party. The second is to move the position of the party court to a stronger position so that the resulting decision will become more objective and convincing.

Reference

- Abdar, Yusrijal. 2014. "Provinsi Aceh Yang Dilakukan Oleh Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Pks) Dan Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem)," 111–14.
- Abdul Cader, Akram. 2017. "Islamic Principles of Conflict Management: A Model for Human Resource Management." *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* 17 (3): 345–63. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470595817740912>.
- Akbar, Muh Firyal. 2018. "Lunturnya Fungsi Partai Politik Sebagai Sarana Pengatur Konflik Di Perpolitikan Indonesia."
- Arawan, Feri. 2016. "Konflik Partai Persatuan Pembangunan

- 2014-2016” 5 (June): 1–15.
- Asmadianto; Nurmandi, Achmad. 2015. “Konflik Internal Dan Rekrutmen Politik Partai.”
- Borz, Gabriela, and Kenneth Janda. 2018. “Contemporary Trends in Party Organization: Revisiting Intra-Party Democracy.” *Party Politics*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818754605>.
- CNNINDONESIA. 2019a. “Fahri Hamzah Minta Pengadilan Eksekusi Aset 5 Petinggi PKS,” 2019.
- . 2019b. “Kubu Airlangga Pertanyakan Kontribusi Bamsoet.” *CNN INDONESIA*, 2019.
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190709082416-32-410371/kubu-airlangga-pertanyakan-kontribusi-bamsoet-untuk-golkar>.
- DETIKNEWS. 2019a. “Airlangga Dilaporkan Ke Mahkamah Partai.” *Detik.Com*, 2019. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4673836/airlangga-dilaporkan-kader-golkar-ke-mahkamah-partai>.
- . 2019b. “Pro-Bamsoet Kritik Kubu Airlangga Soal Sumpah Dukungan Pakai Alquran.” *Detik.Com*, 2019.
<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4691870/pro-bamsoet-kritik-kubu-airlangga-soal-sumpah-dukungan-pakai-alquran>.
- Firdaus; Kurniawan, Nalom. 2017. “Kekuatan Putusan Mahkamah Partai Ditinjau Dari Sistem Kekuasaan Kehakiman Menurut UUD 1945 The Power of the Party Court ’ s Decision : Review From Judicial Power System According to the 1945 Constitution.”
- Frisclia, Maya. 2017. “Dinamika Konflik Partai Golongan Karya Tahun 2013-2015 Di Provinsi Riau.” *JOM FISIP* 4 (2): 1.
- Gaffar, Afan. 1999. *Politik Indonesia: Transisi Menuju Demokrasi*.
- Ghifari, M Abidzar; Hananto, Untung dwi; Herawati, Ratna Al. 2017. “PENYELESAIAN KONFLIK KEPENGURUSAN PARTAI PERSATUAN PEMBANGUNAN BERDASARKAN UNDANG - UNDANG NOMOR 2 TAHUN 2011 TENTANG PERUBAHAN ATAS UNDANG - UNDANG NOMOR 2 TAHUN 2008 TENTANG PARTAI

- POLITIK.” *Jurnal Hukum Undip* 6 (2): 1–17.
- Huddy, Leonie. 2015. “Group Identity and Political Cohesion.” *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118900772.etrds0155>.
- IDNTimes. 2019. “Gandung Pardiman Klaim Bamsoet Dukung Airlangga Calon Ketua Umum.” *IDNTimes*, 2019. <https://jogja.idntimes.com/news/jogja/daruwaskita/gandung-pardiman-bamsoet-terpilih-ketua-mpr-akhiri-konflik-internal>.
- Ilyas, Yasnimar, and Sri Devi. 2019. “Pengaruh Manajemen Konflik Dan Kepemimpinan Transformasional Terhadap Kinerja Pegawai Pada Bidang Penataan Ruang Di Dinas Pekerjaan Umum Dan Penataan Ruang Kabupaten Bogor” 10 (1): 1–10.
- Kazanský, Rastislav, and Vladimír Andrassy. 2019. “Conflict Resolution Approaches towards Smart Sustainability of Internal Relations *.” *Entrepreneurship and Sustainability Issues* 6 (3): 1468–84. [https://doi.org/10.9770/jesi.2019.6.3\(29\)](https://doi.org/10.9770/jesi.2019.6.3(29)).
- Kompasnews. 2014. “Menko Polhukam: Silakan Munas Golkar Di Bali, Tetapi Jangan Desember.”
- Kresna, Mawa. 2018. “Konflik Internal PKS: Membuka Lagi Faksi Keadilan Dan Faksi Sejahtera.” *Tirto.Id*, 2018. <https://tirto.id/konflik-internal-pks-membuka-lagi-faksi-keadilan-faksi-sejahtera-cPIY>.
- Kukec, Marko. 2019. “Intra-Party Conflict at Grassroots: Party-Councillor Ideological Congruence in Croatia.” *Party Politics*, no. January. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068819836047>.
- Laustsen, Lasse, and Michael Bang Petersen. 2017. “Perceived Conflict and Leader Dominance: Individual and Contextual Factors Behind Preferences for Dominant Leaders.” *Political Psychology* 38 (6): 1083–1101. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12403>.
- Malik, Ahmed Abdul, Muhammad Khairi Bin Mahyuddin, Najib Sheikh Abdisamad, and Mikail Ibrahim. 2018. “An Islamic Model of Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution: Lahad Datu in Sabah as a Case Study.” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 9 (3): 143–50.

- <https://doi.org/10.2478/mjss-2018-0056>.
- MerdekaCom. 2019. "Mahkamah Partai Sebut Airlangga Bakal Dipilih Secara Aklamasi Di Munas Golkar." *Merdeka.Com*, 2019.
- Muspawi, Mohamad. 2014. "Manajemen Konflik (Upaya Penyelesaian Konflik Dalam Organisasi)." *Jurnal Penelitian Universitas Jambi Seri Humaniora* 16 (2): 41–46.
- Osei-Kyei, Robert, Albert P.C. Chan, Yao Yu, Chuan Chen, and Ayirebi Dansoh. 2019. "Root Causes of Conflict and Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Public-Private Partnerships: Comparative Study between Ghana and China." *Cities* 87 (August): 185–95.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2018.10.001>.
- Parkinson, Sarah E., and Sherry Zaks. 2018. "Review Article, Militant and Rebel Organization(S)." *Comparative Politics* 50 (2): 271–90.
<https://doi.org/10.5129/001041518822263610>.
- Permana, Tri Cahya Indra. 2016. "MODEL[1] T. C. I. Permana, 'MODEL PENYELESAIAN PERSELISIHAN PARTAI POLITIK SECARA INTERNAL MAUPUN EKSTERNAL (The Model of Political Party Dispute Settlement Internally and Externally),' J. Huk. Dan Peradil., Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 35, 2016. PENYELESAIAN PERSEL." *Jurnal Hukum Dan Peradilan* 5 (1): 35.
<https://doi.org/10.25216/jhp.5.1.2016.35-52>.
- Pora, Rasid, Abdul Halil Hi Ibrahim, Bakri Lasuhu, and Rahmat Suaib. 2018. "Elite Conflict on Power Contestation of Internal Political Party." *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research* 7 (4): 268–74.
- Rawashdeh, Abas Salem, and Ahmad Hashem Al-assaf. 2019. "Impact of Factors Causing Internal Conflict on the Effectiveness of Managing and Handling Conflict in the Jordanian Banks" 17 (1): 42–56.
- Reeve, David. 2013. *Golkar: Sejarah Yang Hilang, Pemikiran, Dinamika*.
- Rehman, Uzma. 2017. "Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Islam : Toward Reconciliation and Complementarity
Linked References Are Available on JSTOR for This

- Article : Conflict Resol Toward Recon Between” 50 (1): 55–69.
- Republika. 2019. “Walikota Yogya Diminta Mundur Dari Menjadi Ketua DPD Golkar.” *Republika.Com*, 2019.
- Robbins, Stephens; Judge, Timothy. 2017. *Perilaku Organisasi*. 5th ed. Jakarta: Salemba Empat.
- Romli, Lili. 2006. “Masalah Kelembagaan Partai Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru.” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 21–30.
- . 2011. “Reformasi Partai Politik Dan Pistem Kepartaian Di Indonesia.” *Politica 2* (2): 199–220.
- . 2017. “Koalisi Dan Konflik Internal Partai Politik Pada Era Reformasi Coalition and Internal Party Conflicts of Reform Era in Indonesia.” *Politica 8* (2): 95–118.
<https://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/politica/article/view/1138>.
- Rusdiana, A. 2015. “Manajemen Komunikasi.” Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Saruksuk, David Julianus. 2018. “Analisis Keberadaan Mahkamah Politik Di Indonesia Dalam Penyelesaian Perselisihan Internal Partai Politik Berdasarkan UNDANG-UNDANG NOMOR 2 TAHUN 2011.”
- Surono, Agus. 2018. “Conflict Management of Utilizing Forest Resources in Making the Rights of Local People in Partnership in Islamic Perspective.” *International Journal of Civil Engineering and Technology* 9 (4): 903–13.
- Syamsuri, Reza; Eko, Budi Wardhani. 2018. “THE DECLINE OF GOLKAR PARTY’S HEGEMONY. GOLKAR’S PERFORMANCE IN FACING THE SIMULTANEOUS REGIONAL ELECTIONS IN SOUTH SULAWESI.” *Literasi Hukum* 2 (2): 69–82.
<https://doi.org/10.6009/jjrt.KJ00003534360>.
- Tella, Rahmat Ilmi. 2016. “Respon Elit Partai Golkar Makassar Terhadap Dualisme Kepemimpinan DPP Pusat: Studi Tentang Kubu Aburizal Bakrie Dan Kubu Agung Laksono.” *UIN ALAUDIN*.
- Tirto.Id. 2019. “Sering Dilanda Konflik, Kunci Kekuatan Golkar.” *Tirto.Id*, 2019. <https://tirto.id/sering-dilanda-konflik-internal-adalah-rahasia-kekuatan-golkar-ekSz>.

- Triono; Kartini, Dede Sri ; Sulaeman, Affan. 2018. "MILITANSI KADER PKS DALAM PEMENANGAN POLITIK PADA PEMILU LEGISLATIF 2009 DAN 2014 DI LAMPUNG." *TAPIS* 14 (2): 141–64.
<https://doi.org/10.6288/TJPH201433103055>.
- Zartman, I. William. 2019. "Dynamics and Constraints in Negotiating Internal Conflicts," 161–72.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-06079-4_9.