

Collaboration Between LKAAM and *Sekbergolkar* Raising the Voice of the People of West Sumatra in the 1971 Election

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the history of the Minangkabau Nature Adat Density Institute (LKAAM) and the history of the West Sumatra Karya Group in the victory of *Sekbergolkar* in the 1971 Election in West Sumatra. LKAAM was founded in 1966 and the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* was established in 1965. Basically, these two organizations had the same interest, namely, to eradicate the influence of the PKI in West Sumatra. When the New Order government in 1969 decided to hold a general election, the government included *Sekbergolkar* in the election. In the end, LKAAM played an active role in helping *Sekbergolkar* win the 1971 Pamilu in West Sumatra. The writing of this article is different from previous studies that have seen the process of winning the *Sekbergolkar* West Sumatra as a whole. In this article, the discussion will be more focused on the efforts made by LKAAM in winning the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* in the 1971 elections. This writing is the result of historical research using historical methodology with four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography.

Keywords: LKAAM, *Sekbergolkar*, West Sumatra, General Election, New Order

1. INTRODUCTION

One organization that represents the interests of local peoples in West Sumatra is the Minangkabau Nature Adat Density Institution (LKAAM). LKAAM, which was founded in 1966, is a forum for channeling community aspirations towards Minangkabau customary values. The formation of the LKAAM organization did not arise from the community, but was an initiative of the government apparatus, which originated from the idea of the Regional Command Commander Lt. Gen. Ahmad Yunus Mokoginta and the Commander of Kodam III/17 August. In 1965 the Commander assigned his subordinate Major Ahmad Syahdin who was the Head of Military History of Kodam III with Captain Saafroeddin Bahar to hold a meeting between local officials and Niniak mamak West Sumatra. Saafroedin Bahar was assigned to condition the Niniak mamak to attend this meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to invite West Sumatra officials and Niniak Mamak to eradicate PKI influence in West Sumatra.

In 1966 through the West Sumatra Niniak Mamak Conference, the Niniak Mamak Box of Struggle was formed. This agency later changed to LKAAM (*Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau*) as the Niniak mamak organization and the head of all of West Sumatra. Initially, the purpose of establishing LKAAM was to clean up the *adat* leaders who were involved with PKI activities. Not only LKAAM, ABRI also participated in eradicating PKI in West Sumatra. LKAAM also plays an active role in solving customary problems in West Sumatra. LKAAM is chaired by Chaidir N. Latif, a Head

of PJKA and a member of the Regional People's Representative Council-Gotong Royong (DPRD-GR). Chaidir N Latif S.H. only served as chairman of LKAAM for two years before being replaced by Baharuddin Dt. Rangkayo Basa, who at that time served as the Head of the West Sumatra Information Bureau. Meanwhile, the position of LKAAM General Secretary was held by Saafroeddin Bahar who also served as the Chairperson of the West Sumatra Group of Work DPD in 1965. In its journey LKAAM was also inseparable from the political influence during the New Order era. Where at that time LKAAM played an active role in winning the *Sekbergolkar* in the 1971 Election.

The Joint Secretariat of the Working Group (*Sekbergolkar*) was inaugurated in 1964, chaired by Brigadier General Djuhartono. *Sekbergolkar* is a forum for functional groups/work groups that are not under any political influence. The idea of the Functional Group was put forward by President Soekarno, considering the emergence of a crisis that hit the cabinet followed by upheaval in the regions. Soekarno proposed political thinking to "bury the parties". However, Soekarno proposed to replace the parties with Golongan Karya, or what was then known as the "Functional Group". This idea was realized by the formation of the National Council whose members consisted of Workers, Farmers, Youths, Former Fighters, Entrepreneurs, Artists, Journalists, Women, 45 Generations, Ulama, Protestant Priests, Balinese Hindu Priests, Buddhist Priests, Foreign Descendants, Regional Representatives, and the ABRI Group. The situation began to change, after the emergence of martial law in 1957, which led to the

domination of the ABRI Functional Group over other groups. This domination continued until the 1965 coup and the change of power from the old order to the new order. This Functional Group was organized into the National Front by ABRI circles, with the aim of not being easily attacked by parties. The National Front united the Functional Groups into one forum, which was later known as *Sekbergolkar*. This organization becomes a cadre organization to realize development, where the basis of social and political power is the work group. With the formation of *Sekbergolkar* at the center, it is also necessary to revive this organization at the regional level, so that the *Sekbergolkar* truly is a living and organized reality.

In 1965 in West Sumatra a *Sekbergolkar* was formed, led by Major CKH Iman Soeparto. The *Sekbergolkar* in this area has the same function as the Central *Sekbergolkar*, which is to coordinate among members of the regional mutual assembly (DPRDGR) who are not affiliated with political parties. However, for activities within the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* community, they are free to carry out the organization's activities themselves. In January 1970 the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* already had branches in the second-level regions. The West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* conducted a consolidation to support national tasks.

In 1969, when Law no.15 of 1969 on Elections was enacted, President Soeharto chose Sekbergolkar to be his political vehicle. This led to the *Sekbergolkar* being fostered as a political group, which resulted in the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* giving its support to Suharto. The existence of *Sekbergolkar* in Indonesia at that time was still not widely known by the wider community, because it was still new, and its strength was still weak. Therefore, the *Sekbergolkar* will face new challenges, especially the challenges it faces, namely as a political subject to participate in the 1971 General Election.

To overcome this, the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* held a meeting and arranged a preparation strategy for the 1971 election to expand its existence to all regions in West Sumatra. The election of the new West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* management is expected to be able to help expand the existence of the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar*. Saafroedin Bahar as Chairman of the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* who is just starting to carry out his strategy, namely by choosing LKAAM as a partner in helping spread their existence in rural areas of West Sumatra.

2. ANALYSIS

2.1. The establishment of the Minangkabau Natural Adat Density Institution (LKAAM)

Starting from the idea of the Commander of the Inter-Regional Command, Lieutenant General TNI Mokoginta, who wanted to eradicate PKI influence in West Sumatra. Major General A.Y. Mokoginta Pengandahan is an inter-regional commander/Deputy

KASAD for the Sumatra Region (Deyah). initially on December 17, 1965, a meeting between officials and Niniak Mamak West Sumatra was held in the Tri Arga building (now Bung Hatta Palace), Bukittinggi [1]

This meeting was attended by officials and Niniak mamak from all over West Sumatra. The purpose of the meeting was to provide direction to officials and Niniak mamak in eradicating PKI influence in West Sumatra. General Mokoginta gave direction and argued that one of the effective ways to eradicate the influence of the PKI in West Sumatra was to combine these Minangkabau officials in a single forum. These officials consisted of Niniak Mamak, Alim Ulama and Cadiak Pandai. According to General Mokoginta, if the strength of these high-ranking officials were united in a forum for the Niniak Mamak Contact Body for Struggle and the Ulama to unite in the Muslim Community Contact Body, this strength would be of great use to eradicate the influence of the PKI. Therefore, General Mokoginta hopes that the existing strength will be well organized.

When the briefing was finished by General Mokoginta, there was a response from a customary leader/retired Cultural Office of Central Sumatra Province, namely Z.A. Dt. Pam Peak Alam from the Lintau area. He said that all the hopes from the briefing will be realized soon. Due to something that did not work, your father was not able to do our work, the Niniak Mamak Minangkabau of West Sumatra, Pucuk loved by Ulampun Tibo. Z.A. Dt. Pam Peak Alam also said that "we will hold a large meeting of the Minangkabau/Niniak mamak from Pariangan Padang Panjang, from Sipisak Pisau Hanyuk in Silukah Pinang Tungga, to Durian Ditakuak Rajo, Sikiliang Ala Bangih, Kariak nan Badabua, to Pintu Ka. Rayo Hilia. That is the response given by Z.A. Dt. Pam Puncak Alam represented the Niniak Mamak who were present at Tri Arga at that time. This response was given the name 'style *basambuik, kato bajawab*'" [2].

After the response was expressed, Brigadier General Panudju closed the event by paying respect and reporting militarily and the event was over. Before leaving Tri Arga, the Niniak mamak who represented the second level regions had a chance to chat for a moment to set a large meeting of traditional leaders with the agreement that the Niniak mamak in Dati II were ready at any time to be invited to Padang for the Big Meeting which was later called the Mubes or Great Deliberation. The Niniak mamak directly agreed with the ideas put forward by General Mokoginta.

After the meeting was over, Mr. Chaidir N Latif S.H. as Dt. Bandaro, and as the head of PJKA West Sumatra, immediately took the initiative to design a forum for the Minangkabau Niniak mamak. In order to eradicate the influence of the PKI in West Sumatra. In principle, Chaidir hoped that the role of Niniak mamak to participate in eradicating the PKI to its roots. Upon his return from Bukittinggi Chaidir N Latif S.H with Drs. Hasan Basri Dt. Majo Indo, immediately discussed the

results of the briefing meeting from General Mokoginta. They discussed it at Chaidir N Latif S.H's house in the Simpang Haru area, Padang. At that time the existing Niniak Amak organization was named MTKAAM (High Council of Minangkabau Adat Customs). This organization was founded by Mamanda Dt. Simarajo Simabur. However, this organization has become an Orpol and participated in the 1955 election which already has a symbol. As well as already having an agreement with Masyumi St penetrating Accord in the election. because of that in 1958 it was hit by the PKI so that this indigenous people's organization disappeared from circulation and was no longer active. In considering this, a new forum for Minangkabau Mamak Niniak is really needed [2].

Chaidir N Latif S.H's official house was used as a post for discussion and planning the formation of a new container for Niniak mamak equipped with a typewriter. At that time Mr. Syafruddin Bahar took part in planning the formation of a new forum, he became the secretary at the post. One day in 1966, information was obtained that the Panuju commander would move and be replaced by Kasdam Poniman. One week after the inauguration of Kasdam Poniman, Chaidir N Latif and Hasan Basri went straight to the Kasdam. It was at that time that Chaidir N Latif and Hasan Basri conveyed their idea of creating a new platform for Minangkabau Niniak mamak in eradicating PKI influence in West Sumatra. Chaidir N Latif and Hasan Basri explained in advance of the direction that General Mokoginta had given in Bukittinggi so that Niniak mamak would play a role in eradicating the influence of the PKI to completion. Then they explained that there was no longer the Niniak mamak organization in West Sumatra because of the PKI. So Chaidir N Latif and Hasan Basri put forward their idea of re-forming a new forum for Minangkabau mamak Niniak who was free from PKI influence.

At the next meeting Chaidir N Latif and Hasan Basri explained about the meaning of *Niniak Mamak* in the tribe, Nagari and Luhak in Minangkabau. This was done because Poniman was not from West Sumatra, so he had a different understanding of customary stakeholders. The concept of Niniak, the Minangkabau traditional name, explained to Poniman, has the following meaning:

Niniak mamak is every traditional leader and builder (both in Matrilineal/Tribe and Nagari as a unit of customary law community).

Urang Nan Ampek Jinih are 4 *Niniak mamak* who hold traditional positions in the tribe/matrilineal namely: Pangulu adat (head), Manti adat (minister), Dubalang (hulubalang) Adat (traditional parents), and Malin Adat. The leadership of *niniak mamak* is collective (egalitarian).

Each autonomous village in its Adat is known as the Adat Salingka Nagari, Another Lubuk. There is a saying *beda ikan beda ladang, beda juga belalainya, beda nigari beda adat*, which means each *nagari* have their own customs and are distinctive from one to another.

Prioritizing deliberation to reach consensus or it is said to also learn to reach consensus. This means that everyone obeys in their position if the consensus has been reached/consensus on the results of these deliberations must be obeyed equally (consistently) [1].

Mamak in leading his nephews and nephews are often referred to in *mamang minang: kemenakan barajo to mamak, mamak barajo ka pengulu, pengulu barajo* to reach a consensus. *Mufakat barajo ka nan bana* (correct), Nan bana tagak itself (Allah S.W.T). We also illustrate that the Minangkabau customary area is Luhak and there is a chain area. This area will become the structure of the LKAAM area later. This has been explained by Chaidir N Latif S.H and Hasan Basri so that Poniman understood and finally understood and blessed LKAAM as the new platform for Niniak mamak in West Sumatra.

The long-awaited day arrived on March 18, 1966. *Niniak mamak* from all over West Sumatra had a large meeting in Padang at the Sasana Karya building, in the military complex of KODAM III/17 August, Jl. Sudirman, Padang. The opening ceremony was opened by inviting the *Niniak mamak* to sit cross-legged on the floor as if sitting in a Rumah Gadang. On the platform (the Sasana Karya stage) sat the commander of the III / 17 August, Colonel Poniman (replacing the Panudju brigjen), elements of Panca Tunggal Chaidir Nien Latif, S.H. Dt. Bandaro, Drs. Marwadi Yunus Dt. Rajo Mangkuto, Dr A. Wahid Salayan, S.H., Sinyar Dt. Mangkuto Sati and Major A. Syahdin.

This big deliberation resulted in an important decision which was successfully triggered by *Niniak Mamak*. This decision was the birth of an organization for the struggle of indigenous peoples in this area as the Niniak Mamak Contact Body for Struggle which was transformed into the Minangkabau Natural Adat Density Organization (LKAAM). The management of this LKAAM is based in the provincial capital with branches throughout West Sumatra and the lowest part of the region, namely in all sub-districts. LKAAM itself formulates a work program that is directly related to the development of rural areas, so that it is faster to cover all areas of West Sumatra. These *Niniak mamak* must formulate an ideology for Minangkabau adat which will be re-enforced, with an appropriate organizational structure and a work program that will be implemented to support the rehabilitation of the West Sumatra area.

In its ideology, this organization also made a decision to eradicate the influence of the PKI to its roots, so the Mubes also took a firm decision against *Niniak mamak* and other traditional leaders who were involved in the PKI. The next decision was that the adat leaders/stakeholders involved in the PKI were left with their *kepenghuluan* title, dismissed by their respective groups as leaders of the clan. Then he was replaced by one of his nephews, who was clean from communist influence, who was not a member of the PKI and its lackeys.

Furthermore, do not forget to arrange the initial management of this LKAAM by way of deliberation. Chadir Nien Latif Dt. Bandaro, S.H. at that time he served as the Head of the West Sumatra Exploitation PJKA, alongside Captain Drs. Saafrudin Bahar As General Secretary. As Chair of the Workers' Agency, namely Drs. Mawardi Yunus Dt. Rajo Mangkuto. And the other names who sat in the management of LKAAM for the first period were Major A. Syahdin Dt. BAndaro, R. Dt. Tunbijo Dirajo (Angku Gadang Batipuah), Idrus Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu, HZN Dt. R. Nan Gadang, Sutan Mansur Dt. Sati, Drs Rustam Efendi Dt. Mangguang, Drs Azwar AB Dt. Rajo Palembang. The names mentioned are the Niniak Mamak of West Sumatra.

2.2. Golongan Karya / Sekbergolkar West Sumatra

Golongan Karya (GOLKAR) is a political party that was inaugurated in 1964. GOLKAR's birth cannot be separated from the role and support of the military. The military mobilized political power through elements of functional groups (groups not affiliated with a party, including the military) which were then united in a federation called the *Sekretariat Bersama Golongan Karya* (Sekber Golkar). The formation of the Golkar Secretariat was initially aimed at merging non-affiliated Functional Groups, not as a political party that governs the State. This organization is a cadre to realize development. (Pratigny: 1982,95)

In its growth, Golongan Karya exhibits certain stages and characteristics. These stages range from the realization as a functional group to the organization known today as Sekbergolkar. Actually, as a functional group (to distinguish it from the term Golongan Karya which was developed in 1959) the history of this organization can be traced long before independence. The concept of functional groups has actually been seen in the Dutch era, namely a school of Dutch legal thought, as well as Japanese ideas during the occupation. Then the idea of functional groups was put forward by President Soekarno considering the emergence of a crisis that hit the cabinet, followed by upheaval in the regions. Soekarno developed a political discourse proposing to "bury the parties". But basically Soekarno proposed to replace the parties with Golongan Karya, or what was then known as the "Functional Group". It can be said that Soekarno was the person who launched the idea of Golongan Karya into Indonesian politics in 1956-1957. Soekarno's idea came from Prof. Djokosutomo who mainly explained to Soekarno about constitutional forms. Djokosutomo is a close friend and has published a book together. Then this idea also emerged because of Soekarno's experience abroad. (Yulianto: 2002,253)

The realization of this idea is the formation of a National Council whose members consist of Workers, Farmers, Youths, Former Fighters, Entrepreneurs, Artists, Journalists, Women, 45 Generation, Ulama,

Protestant Priests, Balinese Hindu Priests, Buddhist Priests, Foreign Descendants, Regional Representatives , and the ABRI Group (Pratigny: 1982.103). The situation then changed, after the emergence of martial law in 1957, which led to the domination of the ABRI Functional Group over other groups. This domination continued until the 1965 coup and the change of power from the old order to the new order. Then this Functional Group was organized into the National Front by ABRI, with the aim of not being easily attacked by parties.

The action of several parties which attempted to isolate the non-affiliated Karya Group outside the National Front, provoked reactions from non-affiliated work groups. In this case the National Front will unite the Functional Groups into one forum. On October 20, 1964, at the secretariat building of the Executive Board of the National Front, held a meeting regarding the formation of a forum for non-affiliated work groups. The initiators of the formation of this forum are; Brigadier General Djuhartono; Drs. Imam Pratignjo; J.K. Tumakaka; Dominggus Nanlohy; Pandu Kartawiguna; Cabbage. Dr. Amino Gondohutomo; Sutomo Honggowongso SH; Efendi SH; and Anwar Rajid BA. The nine people are known as the committee 9. In the meeting, they can produce the composition of the "Employee Basic Statement" and compile the Articles of Association and Bylaws of the Joint Secretariat for Work Groups. In connection with this, it was determined on 20 October 1964 as the birth of the Joint Secretariat of the Working Group (Sekbergolkar). at that time the Sekbergolkar was led by Brugjen Djuhartono and accompanied by the secretary general, Lt. Col. Wang Suwandi SH [3].

With the formation of *Sekbergolkar*, at the beginning of 1965 the balance between the National Front and political forces was generally balanced. In addition to the importance of establishing a coordinating body regarding the types of Karya Groups at the center, it is necessary to revive the *Sekbergolkar* organization at the regional and branch levels, so that the *Sekber* can truly be a living and organized reality. In implementing the formation and preparation of the *Sekbergolkar* at the regional and branch levels, an instruction was issued from the *Sekbergolkar* daily leadership on June 10, 1965, to instruct each region and its branches in spearheading the formation of regional and branch *Sekbergolkar*.

The West Sumatra regional *Sekbergolkar* was formed in September 1965. Chaired by Major CKH Iman Soeparto, S.H. In accordance with the history of the birth of the work group at the national level, the focus of this organization's activities is to coordinate among members of the mutual cooperation regional parliament (DPRDGR) who are not affiliated with political parties, especially at the provincial level. Activities in the community are mostly left to the activities of each member organization itself. West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* board immediately attended, the first *Sekbergolkar* Mukernas whose implementation was postponed to 9-11 December 1965 in Cipayung. The postponement of the implementation of the *Sekbergolkar Mukernas* was due

to the September 30, 1965 movement, which kidnapped and killed several army generals. Move on September 30, 1965, all accusations have been transferred to the PKI. With the G30S incident, the *Sekbergolkar* was directed to rid the National Front of the PKI and its mass organizations as well as the elements involved in the incident and come out to help the government to restore security and order [4]. It was this *Sekbergolkar* regional board that between 1965-1969 was actively involved in actions against the 30 September 1965/PKI movement and mobilized support for the New Order community.

In connection with the G30S/PKI incident, the government issued MPRS Decree NO. Tap-XXV/MPRS/1966 dated 5 July 1966, concerning the prohibition of Marxism / communism and the Indonesian communist party. So, the need arose for internal consolidation, if this organization wanted to play a more important political role in the atmosphere of the New Order. The impetus for the consolidation of *Sekbergolkar* came from the provisional People's Consultative Assembly Decree No. Tap-XI/MPRS/1966, also dated July 5, 1966, regarding general elections. Article one of this decree states that general elections which have a direct, general, free and secret character are held by voting no later than 5 July 1968. Article 3 of the accuracy states that the composition of DPR and DPRD consists of political and work groups. As is the case with the National situation, the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* faces difficulties internally, both because of the large number of members, and because of the very diverse nature and orientation of the member organizations. In December 1966, there were 53 organizations that were members of this organization. The loyalty of members to their respective original organizations is much stronger than loyalty to *Sekbergolkar* [4].

Five years after the formation of the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar*, in January 1970 Iman Soeparto reported that the management of the second-level regional *Sekbergolkar* was only formed in five of the 14 existing level II regions, namely in the municipalities of Padang, Padang Panjang, Solok, Padang Pariaman and Batusangkar. The West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* must also carry out internal consolidation. The point is to support National tasks which are sourced from the statement of the MPRS No. TAP-XI/MPRS/1966 and Laws No. 15 and 16 of 1969. Basically, the consolidation that will be carried out includes two areas, namely consolidation and insight to unify perceptions. *Sekbergolkar* member organization which is very diverse in West Sumatra. Furthermore, the consolidation of the organization to organize *Sekbergolkar* into an organization that is more compact and easier to move to achieve common goals. To hold the consolidation, the regional administrators of the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar*. On 30-31 January 1970, a regional working meeting was held to the I *Sekbergolkar* West Sumatra [4]. As chief executive of the first Mukerda (Regional Working Forum), chaired by major Inf. Saafroedin Bahar, Deputy Assistant 6/kekaryaan Kaskodam III/17 August. General Chairman

Iman Soepartolah who appointed Saafroedin Bahar as chairman in this Mukerda. To give direction to this Mukerda, from the DPP *Sekbergolkar*, there were two top management members, namely the Secretary General Colonel Inf. Saparjo and Deputy Secretary General Drs. JB Moerdopo, in order to explain the problems of function, history and the process of employment growth in the socio-political pattern of the Republic of Indonesia. Saparjo stated that the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* was the first region to conduct a real consolidation. Then Saparjo also explained and emphasized the three short-term tasks of the Karya Group in general, namely the consolidation of the organization, winning the 1971 general election and streamlining the *Sekbergolkar* struggle in the legislature from the central to regional levels I and II. Then in this Mukerda I deliberation the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* urged for the elimination of the PKI and its henchmen and declared it a banned party and mass organization.

In the first day of the hearing on January 30, 1970, Pangdam III/17 August Widodo delivered a speech which had a good meaning to the *Sekbergolkar* ranks, this speech was the clearest statement regarding ABRI's position as the Karya Group in West Sumatra. In this case, it is very necessary because it is necessary to convince other elements of the Karya Group to support this organizational consolidation program. The speech explained for those outside the ranks of the *Sekbergolkar*, about laying a very important basis for political policy regarding the complementarity of the Political Group and the Karya Group in West Sumatra so that there would be no clash between the two groups. In the hope that this organization can become a vehicle for rebuilding the future of the region. In the second day of the session, which was chaired by Agus Taib SH, this Mukerda succeeded in arranging the management of the new West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* for the 1970-1972 term.

Sekbergolkar's new management composition was specially prepared for the 1971 elections, which would take place on July 3, 1971. The new chairman of *Sekbergolkar* was Major Inf. Drs. Saafroedin Bahar, who has multiple positions, apart from being the 6th assistant assistant/Kaskodam III/17 August, he is also the general secretary of the Minangkabau Natural Adat Institute (LKAAM), and Baharudin Datuak Rangkayo Basa as the Head of the Information Service for West Sumatra Province, and as the General Chair LKAAM 1968 also joined the *Sekbergolkar* membership. Because of this, these two people have certainly been recognized by the *Niniak mamak* customary stakeholders who have been sitting in the management of the LKAAM organization since 1966. In connection with this, it is expected that this will facilitate preparation for the General Election.

The task that will be carried out by the new *Sekbergolkar* in facing this election is to consolidate the views of the West Sumatra *Sekbergolkar* and to the public. This task is considered the toughest task that must be handled by the new regional *Sekbergolkar* management. The consolidation of insights aimed at the

West Sumatra Sekbergolkar is aimed at equalizing the perceptions of all leaders and members of the West Sumatra Sekbergolkar organization, so that their loyalty to the Sekbergolkar as supra organization will grow. Furthermore, the consolidation of insights aimed at the people of West Sumatra is to generalize the perceptions of all West Sumatran people, who are socially and culturally influenced by the Minangkabau customary value system and the Islamic religion. By carrying out the consolidation of these insights, Sekbergolkar hopes that the community will be willing to provide support for their votes in the 1971 general election. Seeing the condition of the community, which is more inclined towards custom and religion, Sekbergolkar takes an approach from the perspective of Minangkabau customs and Islam. This is what makes people accept the idea. The West Sumatra Sekbergolkar also carried out organizational consolidation, where the West Sumatra Sekbergolkar established policies on the procedures and work procedures of the West Sumatra DPD Sekbergolkar in early 1970. In this decree it was used as the basis for the formation of the Sekbergolkar DPD management in all level II regions in West Sumatra as well as controlling elements.

2.3. LKAAM and GOLKAR

Prior to the 1971 election, in West Sumatra there were no dominant political parties due to the PRRI rebellion which made the people of West Sumatra apathetic and almost no political activity. In 1955 the Masjumi party won the election, and this party was disbanded in 1960, and its members were predicted to vote for Parmusi for the next election. PKI has also been banned in West Sumatra. Therefore, it was felt by the people of West Sumatra that the one in power at that time was ABRI. So society is quite difficult to choose any political organization. Meanwhile, to support Sekbergolkar there is no tradition in society.

The West Sumatra Sekbergolkar was not ready to win the election. Because not many people know about its existence. therefore, the West Sumatra DPD Sekbergolkar which has just formulated a strategy to win the West Sumatra Sekbergolkar through six routes, namely:

- Main line I: organizations that have access to rural areas, namely the employee corps of the Ministry of Home Affairs (KOKARMENDAGRI), LKAAM, and the Republic of Indonesia Teachers Association (PGRI).
- Main line II: organizations in the defense and security sector, namely veterans and PEPABRI.
- Main line III: Islamic organizations that are members of Sekbergolkar, such as the Tarbiah Islamiyah association, the Syattariyah Tarikat, and the GUPPI.
- Main line IV: coordination of Golkar members

- Principal V: youth coordination
- Main line VI: Golkar legislator candidate corps [4]

LKAAM, which was established in 1966, had to decide for the support they would give in the 1971 elections. To determine this, LKAAM continued to meet for deliberation. although the General Secretary of LKAAM himself is a person within the Sekgolkar. In a meeting held in the Simpang Haru Padang area, the Niniak mamak deliberated to choose who they would vote for. One of the datuak from batusangkar who led this deliberation asked “vain nan kadipilih? Nyo ado 9 parties plus Golkar ciek lai” which means “who will we vote for? Here are 9 parties and added with Golkar”. When this question was being asked, the *niniak mamak* volunteered to choose Sekbergolkar for their choice. Because the *niniak mamak* think that Sekbergolkar is the only one who gives recognition to the traditional work of Niniak mamak. After the choice was made, in order to make the 1971 election a success, the Niniak mamak and other LKAAM members forced this into the work program of the LKAAM organization.

In connection with the association of the LKAAM organization to the Sekbergolkar West Sumatra, the planned composition will reach the nagari/village/jorong/RT level in carrying out territorial organizing. Where the Sekbergolkar management is arranged hierarchically since the DPD Sekbergolkar region at the first level of West Sumatra, second level regions in 8 districts and 6 municipalities, 80 sub-districts as Sekbergolkar coordinators at the nagari/village level. And underneath there is a jorong/RT coordinator.

Subsequently, a special regional working forum (Mukerda) was held which took place in May 1971. This deliberation was held to conduct a final check on the readiness of the work groups to face the campaign period. In addition, this Mukerda is also used to monitor the level of political support that has been obtained informally through the activities of the Golongan Karya Coordinator in the nagari/village. The West Sumatra Sekbergolkar plans this special Mukerda as the most important political platform. Where all the ranks of Golongan Karya activists from the provincial level to the village level, as many as 785 people were invited to come to Bukittinggi. For the coordinator of Sekbergolkar nagari/village, the existence of this Mukerda is very important, both for exchanging experiences with fellow Sekbergolkar activists, and for strengthening the ideals and programs of the work class. To expedite the discussion in this special Mukerda, DPD Sekbergolkar prepared 14 draft decree letters, which were sent along with invitations to the village level, with requests to be refined in the Sekbergolkar Nagari Coordinator Meeting. This is also done for the Sekbergolkar board at the sub-district and regional levels at the level II.

DPD Sekbergolkar directs all its existing capabilities and asks for the help of important figures from the national level. From the national level, Dr. Emil Salim, Sayuti Malik and Prof. Dr. Abu Bakar Atjeh. Emil Salim. They provided guidance on why development was only possible under the New Order and on the progress that was made in implementing the first Pelita. Then Sayiti Malik explained about reminiscing about our ideals in proclaiming independence. And the last one is Prof. Dr. Abu Bakar Atjeh who explained about the ideals to build and struggle to unite in the history of Muslims. Scholars also did not forget to invite Drs, Hendra Esmara from the Indonesian Economists Association (ISEI) who was leading the design of the first Pelita for the West Sumatra region, to give a lecture on the progress of regional development in West Sumatra in the New Order and perspectives for the future. Community leaders are given the opportunity to convey their opinions and narratives. Here a LKAAM figure, Amroel Hamid and Dt. Rajo Indo Anso Nan Ratih, conveyed their opinions and experiences about their position as chairman of the committee for the construction of the jorong ubuh koto nan ampek, Payakumbuh, and was followed by an Alim ulama from LKAAM. Ali Akbar Navis as a representative of scholars. As the direction the special mukerda organized by the chairman of the DPD Sekbergolkar is to establish the presence of the Sekbergolkar politically and culturally in the West Sumatra region. If this Special Mukerda succeeds in achieving its goals, it establishes 17 draft decrees covering the fields of religion, politics and government, economy and development, socio-culture, organization, and a charter for the struggle of the West Sumatra Karya Golongan family.

The results of intensive development of the Golongan Karya ranks in the last month, both in *aqidah*, ideology, organization and work procedures were tested in the 1971 general election campaign, which this organization participated for the first time. Due to his inexperience in dealing with campaigns, the chairman of the DPD Sekbergolkar sought assistance from the closest people who were good at making speeches and in public. At that time the Sekbergolkar members were not adept at campaigning. So Saafroedin Bahar began to approach his closest people to campaign for Sekbergolkar. for example Drs. Abrar, director of the Academy of Domestic Government (APDN), whom he previously met while studying in Yogyakarta, and also from the LKAAM, namely Baharudin datuk rangkayo basa, Natsir and Ir. Azwar Annas.

The Chairman of the DPD Sekbergolkar formed teams in the regions to facilitate coordination between regions in campaigning activities. This is also supported by LKAAM members in the regions. In this campaign activity LKAAM always accompanies Sekbergolkar. In the campaign on April 27, 1971, the activity started by the political party and Sekbergolkar was to attach a picture sign. This picture is affixed to the walls of people's houses, trees, buses, public transportation, and

stalls. In the city of Padang, the sign of Golkar, namely the dominant banyan tree, is attached to the walls of houses, trees and community stalls. In Bukittinggi there are also signs with pictures of Golkar in strategic places. Initially only Golkar posted a picture sign in the Bukittinggi area but gradually it was also followed by other political parties. Furthermore, in the city of Agam, the sign of Golkar is also attached. however, in the city of Padang Panjang Golkar was less competitive than the Parmusi party. With the presence of picture signs from Golkar and Parmusi, other political parties have begun to follow them to post picture signs in various regions. However, on April 30, 1971 the residents rushed to open a sign of a party other than the Golkar, then handed it over to their Niniak Mamak, and only the Golkar's picture was left on the walls of the houses, trees, buses, public transportation, and community stalls.

In the campaign in Bukittinggi and Pariaman the president majdjen Ali Murtopo said and emphasized in his speech that Sekbergolkar fights for the world and the hereafter and for all people. He also stated that no one forced him to join Sekbergolkar, but indeed choosing Sekbergolkar was the awareness and belief of the people themselves to choose Sekbergolkar as the right place for them. ABRI did not insist on joining Sekbergolkar. At the meeting Niniak mamak and Alim Ulama West Sumatra which gave birth to the Bukittinggi Charter on June 10, 1971, which contained a statement that Niniak Mamak and Alim their ulama upheld and implemented Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the basis of the unity of the Republic of Indonesia and felt responsible for preparing a more future West Sumatra. well. To achieve this goal, Niniak Mamak and Alim Ulama West Sumatra together in one forum are determined to realize the West Sumatra Sekbergolkar family development program and maintain cohesiveness between Niniak mamak and Alim ulama of West Sumatra. And they stated that in the 3 July 1971 election Niniak mamak invited his nephews from the nagari to jointly win the Sekbergolkar.

To win the West Sumatra Sekbergolkar in the election, 35% of the votes were needed. The strategy used is to present a halal Sekbergolkar. This is because West Sumatra is an area where the people are very strong with religion and customs. Therefore, Saafroedin Bahar presents Sekbergolkar as a lawful group with the argument that he remembers in the Qur'an where every word "ilallazinaamanu" always has "wa amilus shalihati" which means faith and righteous deeds, this is Sekbergolkar. Saafroedin Bahar made cadres in each region to intensify the expansion of Sekbergolkar so that the public would know more. These cadres consist of people in the regions including LKAAM members.

According to Komdak III/West Sumatra records, between 27 April 1971 to 25 June 1971, 679 campaign permits were issued in the following order:

Table 1. Number of Campaigns in the 1971 General Elections in the West Sumatra Region [4]

No	Organisation	Number of Campaigns	%
1	Partai Katolik	18 times	2.65
2	PSII	44 times	6.48
3	NU	99 times	14.58
4	Parmusi	174 kali	25.62
5	Golkar	213 kali	31.36
6	Parkindo	5 kali	0.73
7	Murba	20 kali	2.94
8	PNI	20 kali	2.94
9	PI Perti	64 times	9.42
10	IP-KI	22 times	3.24
		679 times	100.0

If examined in more detail, during the two-month campaign period, it turns out that there is a balance in the number of campaigns between the Parmusi and Golkar two komres, namely in fifty cities and religions. Parmusi outperformed Golkar in the number of campaigns in the Pariaman and Religion Komres. The religious area has traditionally been the center of the *muamadiyah* area of influence. Golkar outperformed Parmusi in Komres Padang, Lubuak Sikapiang, flat land, Solok. From the campaign records above, there is an impression that the golkar activist has acquired the political format he was looking for. However, Governor Harun Zain remains optimistic and confident that Golkar will win the elections in West Sumatra, he said to foreign journalists. Harun Zain also emphasized that the people's spontaneity in welcoming Golkar was not made up and will be proven on July 3.

It turned out that Sekbergolkar won in West Sumatra, with a majority vote, namely 63.8%, higher than expected. Parsumi Islamic Party 22.7% and peri 6.9%. Golkar's first appearance in the 1971 election was quite convincing, gaining an average of 62.8% of the vote at the national level and 63% in West Sumatra. As a region that was previously the basis of Islamic parties, this win by the coalition was quite an interesting political surprise. In the 1955 election, Islamic parties in West Sumatra almost wiped out all voters' votes by collecting 89% of the votes, 49% of which were won by the Masyumi party, and 28% by Islamic parties perti, Parmusi who appeared as an Islamic party, and were expected to channel political aspirations. The former supporters of the Masyumi party which had been disbanded by the Old Order government, were only able to win 23% of the vote in the 1971 election.

3. CONCLUSION

The West Sumatra regional Golkar won the 1971 election in West Sumatra by 63%, exceeding the planned

target. The strategy used by the West Sumatra Golkar is to approach the community by means of consolidating insights and consolidating organizations. This is done both within the Golkar environment itself and outside it, namely the people of West Sumatra. LKAAM also played an important role in winning the West Sumatra Golkar in the 1971 election. LKAAM has assisted the West Sumatra Golkar in their approach to the Minangkabau community, especially those in rural areas. LKAAM also always accompanies West Sumatra golkar in campaigning in West Sumatra areas.

The Karya group (Golkar) which was consolidated in 1970 was clever at placing itself as a cultural intermediary between the Minangkabau ethnic community and the New Order government. Both in organizational documents and in its appearance, West Sumatra Golkar adheres to a low-profile attitude, respecting Minangkabau customs and Islam. This policy was adopted with the full approval of the Central Executive Board. Therefore, even though it only has a relatively short time to consolidate and although its management is led by figures who are relatively less experienced in politics, the population provides strong support to this organization. On an ongoing basis, Golkar as an organization directly controlled by President Soeharto has received high enough votes in the West Sumatra region. This is clearly a form of cultural legitimacy for President Soeharto's leadership.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed to the study conception and design. Material preparation, data collection and analysis were performed by Pradisamia Dwi Putri and Abdurakhman. The first draft of the manuscript was written by Abdurakhman and all authors commented on previous versions of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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