

Internal Conflict of Political Parties Post Reform (Case Study of Conflict Romahurmuziy - Djan Faridz in United Development Party)

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Abstract—Since the birth of the United Development Party (PPP), the party bearing the Ka'bah symbol has often been beset by conflict, both in the form of individual conflicts or giving birth to factions in internal party conflicts. Both during the New Order era and up to the current reforms, the conflict that engulfed PPP was due to differences in opinion of the elites, especially about the prospective leaders who would be carried forward before the general election or the change of party leaders through the PPP Conference. Aside from differences of opinion on the internal elite side, conflicts are also caused by party institutionalization which tends to be formal in resolving conflict problems, including when PPP is often difficult to solve internal problems, thus giving an opportunity for external parties (government) to intervene or intervene in PPP conflicts. This has implications for the progression of the continuity of the PPP conflict after the New Order between Romahurmuziy and Djan Faridz.

Keywords—*political party, united development party, internal conflict*

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the discussion related to conflict and fragmentation or disintegration within the internal body of the Islamic party, especially the United Development Party not only occurred because of issues of ideological differences in Islamic groups, or the existence of intervention and interference from the government towards this party, but also differences of opinion between actors or personal of the elite within the party, especially in terms of fighting over the leadership position of the party.

Academics believe that the phenomenon of political party split is a result of a situation where the party fails to respond to the growing dissatisfaction among members through dialogue. According to Hirschman [1], in the study of state and company management as an organization, the decision of a person or group of people to leave an organization is related to the belief or awareness of the non-usefulness of the dialogue. While the study of political divisions shows differences in ideological understanding and personal presence among elites is the main roots of division [2].

PPP in the New Order era showed various factors that created serious problems in the party in dealing with internal conflicts. First is the existence of an elitist and exclusive leadership, which dwarfs alternative input or views and does not tolerate differences. This situation creates resistance and ultimately disharmony among party members and cadres. Second is the distribution of strategic positions that are disproportionate and just, both within the party and government. This division disparity creates an uncomfortable atmosphere, especially for the other party (Nahdatul Ulama) camp, as a majority group that during certain periods actually gets fewer positions, and becomes a sensitive issue continuously in this party. The third is an irrational organizational structure with branches that have the right to make policies independently, which often causes not only overlapping in the policy-making process but later results in internal disintegration. The fourth factor is government intervention [3]. This happens mainly due to the inability to solve internal problems and trends, especially in minority groups, inviting the government as a political patron to help resolve the problem.

Some of the factors causing the conflict above actually have become a problem in any. The classic problem of PPP conflict in 2014 was due to the lack of communication in the structure of the PPP party in the determination of the 2014-2019 Presidential Candidate at the time, resulting in disharmony between officials of the PPP structure, namely between the PPP General Chairman, Suryadharma Ali and the PPP Secretary General, M. Romahurmuziy.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses data collection methods and literature review studies. This research will use literature review or document analysis, which is collecting secondary data obtained through a number of literature such as books, magazines, articles, journals and newspaper news through electronic or non-electronic media or other types of writing has relevance to research problems. This approach uses a qualitative approach as an academic instrument to reveal research problems. Some of the criteria for this study are classified as qualitative research. This research also

constructs a reality of the internal conflict of the post-reform PPP party (after the 2014 Presidential Election).

III. RESULT

A. Elite PPP Opinion Differences

Dissenting opinions are often the cause of conflict within political parties. Similarly in the body of PPP, where differences of opinion occur between Surya Dharma Ali and Muh. Romahurmuziy. The difference between them was triggered by the decision of the PPP Chairperson who was considered to take the position and choice of the Presidential Candidate namely Prabowo Subianto without going through the PPP party mechanism that was available and regulated in the PPP (political parties), so that the reason for the unilateral decision of General Chairman Suryadharma Ali was violating the existing party mechanism. As a result, the PPP Secretary-General took a position not to support Surya Dharma Ali's choice at that time. This is what precedes dissent and conflict in the internal PPP. According to Ramlan Surbakti [4], conflict contains the meaning of "collision," such as differences of opinion, competition, and conflict between individuals, groups and groups, which are non-violent.

Aside from Surya Dharma Ali's unilateral and individual decision, both the rules and mechanisms for decision making and conflict resolution in the internal PPP, which are unable to accommodate the resolution of the existing differences of opinion. Although in fact in the rules of the PPP contains the Sharia Council and the Party Court as the completeness of the Party organization in resolving internal problems faced.

But the existence of duties and institutions in the internal PPP, namely the Party Court and the PPP Sharia Assembly cannot reconcile the conflicting groups, especially the Suryadharma Ali and Romi factions. This can be seen from the instructions of the Party Court and the PPP Syariah Assembly which are interpreted in a different manner by the two factions. So that the Political Party Law which regulates the mechanism for resolving internal conflicts within political parties through the Party Court cannot run ideally because of differences of opinion, views, and interests [4].

In the case of the elite PPP conflict and faction in 2014 between Surya Dharma Ali and Romi, also related to the implementation of PPP Mukernas II in Kediri (PPP National Working Conference), East Java in February 2012. The Mukernas implementation was in addition to discussing the planned implementation of the PPP program, also discussing the Presidential nomination criteria that will be supported or be nominated by PPP in 2014. Even though at that time there was also a difference between the elites regarding the support of the presidential candidates who would be carried by PPP. The difference is not only coming from the DPP board but also the Regional Leadership Board (DPW) management at that time.

In the reporting of online media Central Board (DPP), the National Working Conference (Mukernas) of the United Development Party (PPP) in Kediri, East Java, invited a number of potentially advancing figures to the 2014 presidential candidates. Those present included Jusuf Kalla, Mahfud MD, Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Anies Baswedan. Meanwhile, in the Mukernas arena, the South Sulawesi PPP DPW circulated support for Jusuf Kalla as

PPP candidate. It was also said that 18 DPWs had joined the ranks of supporters of the General Chair of the Indonesian Red Cross.

Differences of opinion regarding the presidential candidate holding the PPP not only happened to PPP Mukernas in Kediri in 2012. But also continued in PPP Mukernas in Bandung in February 2014. In the Mukernas, the PPP elites and DPW also discussed the criteria and presidential candidates to be carried forward 2014-2019 Presidential Election.

Efforts to resolve differences of opinion within the PPP have dragged names, not only Presidential candidates who will be promoted by the PPP who have an interest in advancing in the Presidential Election, but also elite groups in the PPP who are trying to make the proposed candidates become PPP candidate candidates.

The faction's conflict situation and the differences of opinion that occurred in the Mukernas Kediri and Bandung cases in the PPP's body, according to Noor [5] revealed the reasons for the failure of Islamic political parties to come out in internal conflicts which then led the party towards internal divisions. One of them is the inability of each warring group to compromise interests. In addition, the party's inability to solve internal problems independently. As happened in cases of splits of Islamic political parties, including PPP today.

When viewed from the mechanism of dispute resolution in PPP Congress (Mukernas), both in Kediri, as well as the determination of the PPP Mukernas decision in Bandung in 2014, it was seen that the internal conflict resolution mechanism in the PPP was carried out through deliberation and consensus. Moreover, Mukernas Bandung produced a decision that gave Surya Dharma Ali a chance as a candidate for President or Vice President, including open another space for other candidates who were deemed qualified as candidates for PPP candidates in the 2014-2019 presidential election. So that it can be seen, in the PPP Second Congress results in Bandung basically PPP can regulate and manage conflicts towards a just settlement according to the internal mechanism of the Party.

B. Party Institutional Disfunction.

In addition to differences of opinion between leaders of the PPP elite, what causes conflict is a rule in the political party institutions both in decision making and in resolving conflicts. The dysfunction or non-functioning of institutions and institutions and the rules of authority that have been set out in the PPP Articles of Association cannot resolve differences of opinion and decisions between the Suryadharma Ali and Romi factions. So that stability and conflict increasingly lead to truth claims and their opinions.

In the study of the institutional system and institutional democratization of political parties, Samuel Huntington [6] was the first political expert to offer definitions and criteria for institutionalization, namely "the process by which organizations and procedures acquire and stability." In this definition, it implies the meaning that institutionalization is the process by which all arrangements and procedures (rules of the game) get value (or become a value) and achieve stability (or run consistently).

This kind of definition serves as a guide to understanding one of the meanings of institutionalization, namely when

rules and procedures become so valuable and consistently enforced. By the organization this is interesting from the definition of institutionalization is that Huntington calls a process. This indicates that institutionalization is related to an activity or activity that is (middle) occurring and not just the final form.

In this position, the decision making by Surya Dharma Ali while supporting Prabowo Subianto as the presidential candidate on the 2014 presidential election, was seen not through the institutional processes and mechanisms in PPP. This also led to Romi's strong reaction to the SDA's decision, that the decision-making mechanism in the party, including organizing joint decisions regarding the party's strategic decisions was not carried out by (Suryadharma Ali).

The rules of the game and the constitution of the political party institutions above which is the debate between the leadership of both PPP Surya Dharma Ali and Romi as the Secretary-General of PPP in making decisions in the body related to the nomination of Prabowo Subianto by PPP is a problem in the institutionalization process, including in political parties in Indonesia. In the study of the Science Research Institute (LIPI), it was observed that almost all parties in Indonesia experienced this problem. According to Romli [7], in the 2009 elections, both PDIP, Golkar, PKB, PPP, PD, PKS, PAN, PBR, and PDS, LIPI concluded that only PKS could be categorized as an institutionalized party, while the other parties were half institutionalized. Especially PDIP and PKB are considered as parties that have serious problems in the institutionalization process. It can be seen that institutionalization of parties in the PPP body is still a serious problem, especially regarding opinions and interpretations in making important decisions in a party in the case of Prabowo's nomination as a candidate from PPP in the 2014 presidential election.

C. Differences in the interpretation of the constitution of the organization

It can be said that differences in views that arise in internal conflicts and elite factions at the start of PPP in 2014 and ahead of the election are the results of differences in interpretation of the party organization's constitution. Although all mechanisms and rules of play through the constitution of the Articles of Association (AD ART) PPP have been explained in detail (2013 PPP ART AD). However, it always creates disagreements and differences in decisions and attitudes of each faction namely Surya Dharma Ali (SDA) and Romahurmuziy.

In the rules of the game and decision making related to strategic decisions, including the determination of candidates for PPP President and Vice President, according to the results of Mukernas II Bandung, that is carried out after the implementation of the Legislative Election and carried out through the National Leadership Meeting (Rapimnas) together with the Sharia Assembly and the PPP Party Court. The National Meeting was organized by the DPP Daily Executive Board to discuss and coordinate the implementation of various specific Party decisions attended by the DPP Daily Management Members and the Chair of the DPW Daily Executive Board (Article 50 of the PPP ART 2011-2015).

The presence of Surya Dharma Ali in the declaration of support for Prabowo Subianto by the Romi

faction along with Emron Pangkepi and Rahmat has been rejected from the beginning. This was considered a unilateral step by the Surya Dharma Ali in making strategic decisions related to presidential candidates who would be promoted by PPP. Disagreement with the steps taken by the Surya Dharma Ali eventually led to the dismissal of the natural resources carried out by Romi through National Rapimnas. The National Rapimnas results also appointed Emron Pangkepi as Acting Chairperson of the PPP Chair who was then given the mandate to prepare for the PPP Conference.

In searching through tribunews online media (2015), Romi's dismissal of Surya Dharma Ali and several PPP daily administrators indicated along with Surya Dharma Ali also occurred to the DPW level and the DPC which in fact were affiliated with the Surya Dharma Ali faction. This dismissal process did not help further enlarge the elite conflict which initially occurred only at the DPP level spread to the DPW and DPC levels.

In an interview with Ahmad Gozali (October 28, 2016) after the presidential election and Prabowo were declared defeated, the Daily Plenary held on September 9, 2014, was actually the decision was to determine the date and venue for the Congress. Instead of dismissing Surya Dharma Ali through the Daily Plenary Meeting, it was also said to be a coup attempt carried out by Romi against SDA.

Efforts to maintain the party structure to be more harmonious and avoid conflict, according to Syamsuddin Haris [8], the party structure tends to be designed with the assumption that party harmony and solidarity will be internally maintained if all administrators are subject to party decision. In fact, such assumptions are clearly inappropriate in connection with the experience of internal PPP conflicts that occurred during the New Order era, as well as in the post-Soeharto era. As a result of these incorrect assumptions, the AD / ART PPP does not regulate dispute resolution mechanisms or internal conflicts, nor does there exist a unit within the PPP structure whose authority relates to the resolution of internal conflicts.

So that the case of the difference of interpretation between the factions within the PPP's internal elite, either the members of the Suryadharma Ali board or Djan Faridz and the Romi faction, is evident in the PPP Article 10 A which always becomes the reference article in seeing the internal problems of PPP. As a result of differences in interpretation between the two factions, settlement efforts related to "defamation" and "suspects" of corruption cases committed by Surya Dharma Ali reaped dismissal from Romi to Surya Dharma Ali on September 9, 2014.

Although, at this time Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties wherein it regulates the mechanism for resolving conflicts that occur internally in political parties. In Law No. 2 of 2011 referred to in Article 32 Paragraphs 1 and 2 explained that political party disputes were resolved by internal parties through the Party Court. And in Article 5 of the Law, it is further explained that the decision of the Party Court is final and binding internally in terms of disputes relating to management.

However, with the Law No. 2 of 2011 which regulates the management of internal party conflicts, is not enough to resolve the faction conflict that occurred between Suryadharma Ali and Romahurmuziy. But instead, the PPP Party Court has issued a decree relating to internal conflicts

between the two factions, coupled with the decision of the Sharia Assembly so that the two factions hold *Islah* (Decree Number 49 / MP-DPP.PPP / 2016), have not been able to reduce the conflict. In fact, the conflict continued until each of the two factions held a separate Congress to win the leadership of the PPP.

D. Failure to Institutionalize PPP Party and External Intervention (Government) Court

Institutionally, a political party is actually a civil legal entity established by a group of people who have the same ideals and goals but are functionally publicly oriented and become a forum for the struggle for political aspirations in government. For this reason, the institutionalization of the party is very important in creating stability in democratic governance. A basic capital in building the efficiency and effectiveness of governance on the one hand and the accountability and responsiveness of government on the other.

In its development, political parties as organizations are always confronted with the ups and downs of conflicts which often lead to divisions. Party institutions often fail to relocate conflicts by consolidating various interests facing each other. Conflict and division of parties is not a positive and productive thing that benefits the people and the state. The party split at least weakens the institutionalization of party functions which can disrupt the balance and control between the state, political parties, and civil society.

This is also evident in the disunity and internal conflicts between PPP between Surya Dharma Ali and Romi factions, where the two factions find it difficult to resolve differences of opinion, especially in relation to the support for the 2014 Presidential General Election. Surya Dharma Ali on September 9, 2014. Then continued the holding of the VIII PPP Congress in Surabaya by the Romi and Mukatamar VIII Jakarta factions carried out by the Surya Dharma Ali faction or Djan Faridz.

In an effort to maintain the institutionalization of the party as a pillar of democracy from the threat of disintegration due to internal disputes that occurred in the past both the New Order and post-reform that befell political parties including PPP, then Law Number 2 of 2011 which regulates the mechanism of internal party disputes is carried out by Political Party Court. In fact, every political party has an internal institutional mechanism in managing various problems and disputes that arise. All of them are designed to build party autonomy in handling and solving various problems.

But party autonomy related to the institutionalization of the PPP DPP Party Court which has the authority to resolve conflicts has not been able to work optimally as it should. This is evident in the existence of the PPP Party Court chaired by Chozin Chumaidy that the efforts and decisions of the PPP Party Court that were issued were clearly not yet obeyed by the Surya Dharma Ali faction and the Djan Faridz camp.

After the ruling of the Party Court regarding the dispute between the conflicting factions in the PPP, the PPP Court, in this case, Cozin Chumaidy asserted, the Congress was considered valid if signed by the General Chairperson of the PPP Surya Dharma Ali and Secretary General Romi. Therefore, the invitation letter and other correspondence

relating to the implementation of the PPP VIII Congress in Surabaya will also have to be signed by Surya Dharma Ali and Romi. All party policies and activities at the national level, are only valid if they are carried out by the DPP PPP's daily board, including the organization of PPP VIII Congress.

When viewed from the process of conducting the Congress between the two factions, both the PPP VIII Congress in Surabaya carried out by the Romahurmuziy faction on 15-18 October 2014, as well as the PPP VIII Congress in Jakarta on 30 October - 02 November 2014 officially and acclaimed elected Djan Faridz as General Chairperson of the PPP DPP replacing Surya Dharma Ali made this conflict even sharper and difficult to resolve. This is because the two factions have different and justified views and reasons related to the legality of the implementation of the two factions' Congress.

With the two versions of the Congress, the Romahurmuziy Version and Djan Faridz's version resulted in two major powers within the internal DPP PPP and increasingly formally divided the conflicting elites in this party. This uncontrolled internal situation causes opportunities for external intervention to be entered into and settled through legal processes as regulated in the Political Party Law.

According to Romli [7], if you want to unravel the conflicts that occur in the body of political parties in Indonesia this reform era. Generally, conflicts that occur are caused by power struggles when leadership succession at the congress or congress. The conflict that affects political parties because there is no tradition of partying among our elites. Every difference always ends with the division, not by consensus. It seems that divisions have become part of the behavior of the political elite. Whereas in politics the aim of the differences is to reach consensus rather than division because what they stand for is the interests of the people.

After PPP VIII Jakarta Congress which produced a new PPP Chairperson, namely Djan Faridz, the claim of the validity of the management between the two factions could not be resolved again through internal channels. But the legality problem of Djan Faridz's management must be approved by the Minister of Law and Human Rights, but Minister of Law and Human Rights has already ratified the management of the Romi faction through a Decree dated October 28, 2014.

On the other hand, an internal mechanism that causes protracted conflict in political parties to be the entry point for external parties, in this case, the government as an opportunity to include its agenda in the political party. According to Lei [9], third-party intervention, especially from the government is not a real solution. Such interventions do not help political parties to solve problems because they tend to reduce the choices that conflict groups can take to build bargaining positions in order to reach an agreement, as part of conflict resolution, before the intervention occurs. In other words, according to Firman Noor [5], this situation, in the end, tends to prevent a win-win solution based on a natural process and interests of each group.

Seeing the elite battles and PPP DPP leaders who have formed their respective management through Congress shows the tendency that the conflict will only involve the

interests of a handful of elite PPP groups. So that in the conflict between the two factions, it did not involve the majority of cadres and administrators at the lower level who actually had rights and were part of the composition of the party's management in general.

The phenomenon of elite fighting in political parties as happened to PPP, according to Michels [10] that political parties born from the will of the masses are unlikely to be able to directly lead political parties both mechanically and technically. So according to Michels that the consequences of political parties will form an elite class and expert leaders within the party. The above consequences resulted in the reduction of the right of the majority of the masses to a handful of elites in party organizations.

The formation of an oligarchy in the body of a political party according to Michels, can be said to be symptomatic of the conflict of the elite faction of the PPP DPP between the Suryadharma Ali faction or Djan Faridz and the Romahurmuzyi faction. This can be seen from the beginning of the conflict chronology and the management structure of the PPP DPP version of the Surabaya Conference and the Jakarta Congress. Conflicting elites have a strategic position in their respective management structures based on the Management Structure of the PPP DPP Structure created by the two conflicting factions.

But the autonomy of political parties as a basic principle of democracy is often faced with an undemocratic internal mechanism. Access to justice among party members sometimes encounters a deadlock between the will of the majority or vice versa a minority of functionaries who are sitting in the party management structure impose their will on the aspirations of the majority, leading to conflicts and divisions.

E. PPP Syari'ah Assembly Formality

The function and authority of the PPP Sharia Assembly in resolving the issue of dissent between Suryadharma Ali and Romi is not working properly. Likewise, Chairman of the Sharia Assembly, KH. Maimoen Zubair as a charismatic Ulama who should be able to become a unifying party and the glue of the conflict group in the Ka'bah party is only a symbol of the party.

Charisma and the authority of the clergy KH. Maimoen Zubair who should be able to be unifying in preventing the impact of greater harm. With the disintegration of the PPP party into two conflicting groups, it seems as if it shows that the person who is the symbol of glue and unifying in this party are only complementary. In an interview with KH. Maimoen Zubair (7 November 2016) that the warring groups were difficult to stop because of differences in views and disagreements in seeing the PPP problem. So that efforts to reduce faction conflict between the two groups through the Party Court and mediation efforts through *Islah* are only temporary, such as *Islah's* efforts carried out by the Sharia Assembly at PPP Mukernas in Bogor in April 2014.

If we look at the existence and capacity of the PPP Sharia Assembly in this sub-unit of the Ka'bah Party institution, in fact, there are efforts to make this party avoid the divisions and build the loyalty of PPP officials and members by placing the ulama as advisors and able to maintain unity. This is according to Samuel Huntington [6] that the capacity

to create unity esprit de corps, confidence, and discipline is very important in institutionalizing parties.

This is different from when we see other institutional vertical positions in the PPP, namely the Party Court (MP). Explicitly explained the duties of the Party Court in the PPP Article 20 paragraph 4 concerning the duties and authorities of MPs who can decide disputes, dismiss members and decide cases of alleged misuse of authority by the Board of Directors of this party. The MP's decision to resolve the internal conflict between Suryadharma Ali and Romi also came to a dead end due to the two factions that had not made peace and followed the MP's decision which was final and binding for the disputing members.

In addition, according to Turmudi [11] changes in Kyai's politics are also contextual. That is, it does not occur without the influence of the political situation surrounding it. The most important factor here is the absence of Islamic political parties. according to a Kyai, changes in the kyai's politics at that time could occur due to the loss of elements from an Islamic party. the religious obligation to support PPP ended after this party was no longer based on Islam. Therefore, in political matters which are often loaded with opportunistic tendencies, changes in the attitude of the kyai must be understood more as paradigmatic, not merely opportunistic.

IV. DISCUSSION

From the results of reference that have been conducted on the problem of factionalization of elites in the internal PPP conflict above, it can be found that the cause of the elite conflict of PPP DPP where there are three factors causing the post-reform PPP conflict Firstly, the difference factor of Elite Opinion. This difference between elites is a problem that always appears in decision making or party strategic policy. Especially in the case of PPP conflict between the Surya Dharma Ali / Djan Faridz camp and the Muhammad Romarumuziy or Romi stronghold, it started not only from the decision of the presence of Suryadharma Ali in the declaration of Prabowo Subianto in the nomination of the Presidential Election at Gelora Bung Karno (GB) March 23, 2014, but the seeds of split in the internal PPP far ahead of the DPP PPP National Working Meeting (Mukernas) in Kediri, precisely on February 21-23,2012.

Furthermore, differences of opinion also appeared in the Mukernar DPP PPP on February 7-09, 2014 in Bandung, West Java. Although in the implementation of the Mukernas, there were several agreements between establishing Surya Dharma Ali as the best cadre of PPP to be the Candidates of the Indonesian President or the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2014-2019 period in the 2014 Presidential Election later. Secondly, institutional factors of PPP political parties and elite disagreement factors that often occur in decision making at the PPP DPP level. Specifically, in this internal conflict, the Party Court and the Sharia Assembly only worked formally, through *Islah* decisions and peace against the two conflicting factions, but were unable to substantially and completely reconcile the two factions.

Institutional disfunction in the internal DPP PPP, both the Party and Sharia Courts are actually also influenced by several factors, so that they are not able to carry out the function of resolving conflicts that occur internally in the PPP DPP as amended by Law No. 2 of 2011, concerning Political Parties.

Third, External Intervention (Government) As we know that an important factor in the existence of the Government is to legalize the management of the PPP DPP from the decision of the PPP Party Court, but this never happened. It seems that the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia tends to make policies that are in accordance with the internal will of the party, in the sense that the ministry contributes to increasing conflict between the two factions. This can be seen from the inconsistency decision in ratifying the PPP DPP Structure.

Even though the authority to reconcile the conflicts between the two factions including the authority to resolve conflicts is the Sharia Court and Party. So that the Government in charge of only ratifying the internal decisions of the PPP, actually dissolved in the conflict and took part in intervening in internal decisions, including legal decisions which were at the time of the entry of this issue in the legal sphere and mutually sued between the two camps, including between the Djan Faridz faction sued Menkumham's decision.

V. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

The results of the study show that internal party conflict (PPP) is caused by 3 factors, namely difference factor of Elite Opinion, institutional factors of PPP, and External Intervention (Government). As a result of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights intervention in the PPP faction's

conflict, the implementation of the lawsuit took place until the Supreme Court's decision.

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