❐   24

Studying The Role of Political Parties in The Implementation Of Democracy in Indonesia

Abdul Malik[1]
[1]Faculty of Economic, Universitas Muslim Nusantara, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Political parties are an important element in democracy. There is no country with a democratic system without a political party. Political parties in Indonesia have gone through a long history since the Old Order to the current Reform Order. Political parties have functions, among others, as a means of political communication, a means of political socialization, a means of political recruitment, as a regulator of conflicts. The four functions of political parties have actually been running, but in reality many people are dissatisfied with the performance of political parties, causing public trust in political parties to decline. In the perspective of society, political parties are no more than an attempt to gain power, and after power is seized, the people are abandoned.

Keywords: role, political parties, implementation, democracy

Corresponding Author:
Abdul Malik,
Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Muslim Nusantara Al Washliyah Medan,
Jl Garu II A, Medan 20147, Indonesia
Email : abdulmaliknst@gmail.com

1.   INTRODUCTION

August 17, 1945 was an important moment for Indonesia, because on that date the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. In the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia it is stated that Indonesia is a democratic country. Countries with a democratic system are characterized by one of them being the recognition of the existence of political parties as one of the pillars of democracy, besides freedom of the press.

The existence of political parties actually plays an important role in the history of the Republic of Indonesia. Political parties since the Old Order, the New Order, the Reformation Era, experienced ups and downs along with the politics desired by the ruling president in a certain era. The Old Order gave everyone the freedom to form political parties with any affiliation, for example religious, nationalist and even communist, so that the number of parties was so large in that era.

In the New Order there was a streamlining of political parties by combining several political parties in harmony so that there were only 2 parties namely the Indonesian Democratic Party, the United Development Party, and 1 Work Group. When the reform era began in May 1998, the faucet to establish a political party was reopened along with demands for freedom which were an important objective of the reforms at that time. To this day hundreds of political parties, both national and local (specifically Aceh), often participate in various elections held after the reformation.

Political parties which are expected to embody democracy, apparently also have weaknesses as motors of democracy. Corruption and collusion practices carried out by individual parties, have reduced the community's electability to gradually. There are indications that the party is a means used to enrich themselves plus an extension of the president's hands to gain legitimacy towards various policies that are actually not accepted by the people.

Based on the discourse above, it is necessary to study more deeply related to the role of political parties in the effort to implement democracy in Indonesia. There are indications that democracy that is running in Indonesia today is not very healthy, because the existing political parties are not optimal in carrying out the function of democracy, thus leaving the people who should be a reference in determining the policies to be taken by the government.

2.   DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRACY OF THE PANCASILA

Democracy is a system of several systems that exist in the context of carrying out community and state activities in several countries of the world. Another system is the system of monarchy or kingdom also adopted by several countries. Democracy as a social and state system has made democracy as a fundamental principle in the world. Democracy has also provided various directions for the role of the community for the organization of the state as its highest organization, which is why a comprehensive knowledge and understanding is needed for the community to understand the meaning of democracy. (Jonah, 2015: 157)

Democracy comes from Latin, namely demos which means people and kratos which means government, which literally means government from, by, and for the people. Democratic terminology began to be used in Athens Greece around the 5th century AD In the history of democracy, the spectacular achievement of the Greek period was the emergence of what came to be known as "city states (polis)". The policy is the first form of democracy. In the book Funeral Oration written by Pericles says that the government of Athens is called democracy because its administration is in the hands of many parties. Aeschylus even said that there was no government in Athens because the people were the government. (Schmandt, 2002: 37)

In the perspective of Amin Rais, democracy means that it is the people who provide provisions in the main problems related to their lives, including assessing the policies taken by the government, because the policies taken determine the people's lives. In a narrower meal, democracy means government which is held based on the will and power of the people. (1986: 5)

In the perspective of Bonger quoted by Ismatullah, democracy is divided into two aspects, first, namely the formal understanding of democracy as a theory, and the second, namely material democracy which means democracy in practice, which is influenced by two factors namely independence and equality, and also social and economic. (2016: 75)

Democracy in the city states in the Ancient Greek era in the 6th century to the 2nd century BC was a form of direct democracy, which is a form of government in which the right to make various political decisions is carried out by all citizens who act according to the majority procedure. It must be remembered that the implementation of direct democracy in the era of Ancient Greece took place in conditions that are still simple, a territory that is also limited (a country that only consists of cities and the surrounding area) and a small population. It should be noted, that democracy at that time only applies to official citizens ie only a small portion of the population. For the majority population consisting of foreign slaves and foreign merchants, and also democracy children do not apply. (Budiarjo, 2008: 109)

The essence of democracy is as a system of society and state and government emphasizes the existence of power with the people, both in the administration of the state and government. Power in the hands of the people means 3 things: first, government of the people, second, government by the people, third, government for the people. This means the essence of democratic governance if all three of these things can be upheld and enforced in a country's governance.

To the next stage the idea of ancient Greek democracy was lost when the Western world when the Roman Banga was defeated by Western European tribes when entering the Middle Ages (600-1400 BC). In this medieval era an important event in the world of democracy was born, namely the Magna Charta (Great Charter), which was a semi-contract between several nobles and King Jhon of England where for the first time the ruling king bound himself and guaranteed several rights and privileges of his subordinates as rewards for handing over funds for war purposes and so on. Although this charter was born during a period and in a feudal atmosphere and does not apply to ordinary people, but is considered an important momentum in the development of democracy. (Budiarjo, 2008: 109)

Ideas and ideas about democracy have met and interacted dialectically with various social contexts, cultural, style, levels of economic development. Meetings and interactions that occur between democracy with the social context, culture, style and then develop in such a complex. The point is that the practice of democracy has evolved to encompass the entire world community with all its features and variations including in Indonesia. Finally the idea of democracy often has to adapt to its new environment.

In the Indonesian context, democracy is adapted to ideas and philosophies that exist in Indonesian local wisdom. Indonesia has proven that democracy cannot always be carried out in accordance with the constitution. The fact that the succession of democratic systems in Indonesia began from the beginning of independence until the birth of Presidential Decree Number X of 1945, there was

guided democracy, Pancasila democracy, until the emergence of reforms actually showed how dominant the role (government) of the state in giving color to the democratic system in Indonesia. On the other hand the people who actually as holders of state sovereignty are forced or forced to follow the will and power of the political elite that are in power in carrying out democracy. (Irawan, 2007: 55)

Indonesia adheres to the Pancasila democratic system. Pancasila democracy is based on the principle of kinship and mutual cooperation aimed at the welfare of the people, its elements consist of religious awareness, truth, love and noble character, Indonesian personality and sustainability. (Hatta, 1998: 87). The organizing system in the Pancasila democratic system is carried out by the people themselves or with the people's consent. (Nasution, 2010: 3-4). In Pancasila democracy individual freedom is not absolute, but must be harmonized with social responsibility. (Latif, 2011: 383). The universality of democratic ideals is combined with the ideals of life of the Indonesian people, imbued with family spirit, so that there is no majority or minority domination. (Latif, 2011: 250)

The term Pancasila Democracy itself was popularized after the New Order was born in 1966. Pancasila Democracy was born as a counterpoint or reaction to Guided Democracy introduced by Sukarno. The ideas and ideas of Guided Democracy have been legalized legally in the form of MPRS Decree No. VIII / MPRS / 1965 concerning the Principles of Deliberation for Consensus in Guided Democracy as a Guide for Consultative / Representative Institutions. The concept of Guided Democracy introduced by Sukarno was strongly opposed by the New Order government. Finally in 1968, the MPRS re-issued Decree No. XXXVII / MPRS / 1968 concerning Revocation of MPRS Decree No.

The concept of Pancasila democracy is taken and explored from local values that live and grow in native Indonesian society, so that the values are attached to it, namely the values of democratic villages, collectivism meetings, deliberations, consensus, help, help, and other related terminology with that. The purpose of Pancasila democracy is to provide an empirical-sociological basis on the concept of democracy that is suitable and in accordance with the nature of personality that lives in native Indonesian society, so that Pancasila democracy is not something that comes from foreign elements, especially from the West and is forced on the reality of Indonesian life . (Agustam, 2011: 85)

The purpose of the indigenous people of Indonesia above is a form of community life that has long existed on various islands in the archipelago starting centuries ago and is composed of the smallest different life units such as villages in Java, nagari in West Sumatra, villages in Lampung or subak in Bali. In the present context, the term used to describe the original life of the community is local wisdom.

The indigenous people of Indonesia actually have a homogeneous, structural and collective set of values, mental and morals, all of which have their own cultural values and have turned out to be democratically slender, namely direct democracy as found in the ancient Greek city states of around 25 a century ago. (Agustam, 2011: 85-86)

The birth of Pancasila democracy is a new form of foundation for implementing democracy in Indonesia. For the New Order government under Soeharto's leadership, Pancasila Democracy was seen as a violation of national integration. Based on MPR Decree No. II / MPR / 1983 concerning the Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN), Pancasila Democracy is strengthened and Pancasila as the only principle that colors the political system in Indonesia. The principle formulation is contained in Law No. 8 of 1988 concerning Community Organizations and Political Organizations. (Irawan, 2007: 61)

Mahfud MD said that in whatever form the canalization of political power, the necessity to accept Pancasila as the only principle actually does not reflect the idea of pluralism that requires diversity in the implementation of democracy. (1999: 236-237). This means that Pancasila democracy itself actually does not fully reflect democracy as desired by democracy.

The collapse of the New Order in mid-May 1998 also turned out to be the day of the abolition of the concept and implementation of Pancasila democracy in Indonesia. The implementation of democracy in Indonesia currently rests on the 1945 Constitution after the amendment. Editorially the duties, functions and authority of the DPR as a manifestation of people's aspirations are still the same as the old 1945 Constitution. Changes only concern the systematic regulation, but not the substance of the regulatory material. Basically the DPR has the functions of legislation (regulation), supervision and budgeting (budget).

3.   THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

Political parties have an important role in the growth and development of democracy in Indonesia. Long since before Indonesia's independence, political parties have existed in Indonesia. In the early days of independence, political parties did not yet have a maximum role as a forum to channel people's political aspirations. The emergence of various shocks and dissatisfaction of a group of people due to their

aspirations are not fulfilled and contained, so that it appears in the form of separatist movements such as the Islamic State led by Kartosuwiryo in 1949, and the formation of bonek states with nuances of regionalism. (Subijanto, 2000: 2)

During the Old Order era, political parties played a role in channeling people's political aspirations and were not carried out as expected. Political parties at that time tended to be trapped by the interests of their respective parties and / or groups and not for the interests of the people as a whole. This is as a result of instability in the political and social system which is marked by the frequent changes in the cabinet. As a result, political parties do not function, so politics is made commander, people's aspirations are not channeled due to political policies issued at that time more nuanced political interests than economic interests, disturbed sense of justice and dissatisfaction increasingly thickens. Democracy during the Old Order was only used as political jargon, but not accompanied by efforts to empower people's political education. Political parties ignore the rights of the people to get political education which should be the basis for the formation of political parties.

When the New Order came to power in 1966, the role of political parties was regulated and regulated through the issuance of Law No. 3 of 1973. Political parties during the Old Order were very much divided into 3 (three) socio-political forces consisting of 2 (two)) political parties namely PPP and PDI and 1 Group of Work. The reality is that the arrangement of political parties does not make political parties a channel for channeling people's aspirations to be realized, so that political parties that are expected to accommodate the people's political aspirations that must crystallize into populist publicist policies also do not appear on the surface. The public policy adopted by the New Order government apparently did not pay attention to the political aspirations of the people and tended to be a means of legitimating the interests of certain rulers and groups. The impact is that national development becomes uneven, causing inequality and social inequality in various aspects of national and state life. The New Order government does not place political parties as a place for people's political aspirations and is not placed as a political power of the nation, but is only placed as a political machine for rulers and democratic accessories that aims to legitimize power. This means that the role of political parties during the New Order era was sterile and almost did not function at all. (Subijanto, 2000: 3) The New Order government does not place political parties as a place for people's political aspirations and is not placed as a political power of the nation, but is only placed as a political machine for rulers and democratic accessories that aims to legitimize power. This means that the role of political parties during the New Order era was sterile and almost did not function at all. (Subijanto, 2000: 3) The New Order government does not place political parties as a place for people's political aspirations and is not placed as a political power of the nation, but is only placed as a political machine for rulers and democratic accessories that aims to legitimize power. This means that the role of political parties during the New Order era was sterile and almost did not function at all. (Subijanto, 2000: 3)

Over time, the political parties after Indonesia's independence, experienced a metamorphosis to this day. The reform era in 1998 provided the widest possible space for everyone to establish political parties. Stands are dozens of political parties which enliven the election chain in Indonesia. The reform movement that was driven by students then issued Law Number 3 of 1999 concerning Political Parties. the issuance of the Political Party Law provides the widest possible opportunity for the re-birth of the multiparty system.

The hope for the presence of an ideal political party in democratic life so as to be able to channel political aspirations is getting better, until now it has not yet demonstrated the expected reality. This was evident in several election campaigns that included many political parties that did not actualize people's aspirations in the various party programs that were championed. This means that political parties only like to promise political slogans that are hard to believe. Although it has entered the era of reform, the development of democracy has not been well directed and the aspirations of the people have not been maximally fulfilled until now.

Political parties are important instruments in a democratic system because the main motive and goal of politics is indeed to get legalized power. The emergence of a democratic system in the world, making power struggles and the fulfillment of interests lead to conflict, it is necessary to have an institution that becomes a means for these 2 (two) goals, namely political parties. (Budiarjo, 2008: 398). In today's modern era, the existence of political parties in various countries that use a democratic system, shows a crucial role for its political goals. Based on these facts, political parties are transformed into important means for the interests of the people and power struggles among the elite as well as to break up conflicts. (Mawazi, 2017: 138)

(Abdul Malik)

A political party in Mark N. Hagopian's view is an organization formed to influence the shape and character of public policy within the framework of certain idiological principles and interests through the practice of direct power or people's participation in elections. (Charity, 1996: xv)

According to Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, what is meant by "political parties is an organization of a national nature and was formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of the common will and aspirations for fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation and state, and maintain the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

The sociological basis of a party is its ideology and interests directed at various attempts to gain power. Ideology is the most important thing for political parties, every political party must have an ideology that functions not only as a unifying identity, but also as a party struggle goal. (Surbakti, 1992: 115). Political parties are a form of political organization outside the state structure and have a position as an intermediate structure between the superstructure of the state government and the infrastructure of shared life in society. (Elfriza, 2019: 21)

Haris said that political parties have an important role so it is reasonable to assume that there is no democracy without political parties. This assumption is based on the fact that political party institutions are one of the important pillars in a design of democracy in addition to the institutions of election, executive, legislative, judicative, and free press institutions. (Haris, 2014: 45). In a democratic system, without a strong political party there can be no strong democracy. (Salang, 2007: v)

Political parties generally have four main functions, namely the articulation and aggregation of interests, political education, regeneration and recruitment. Between one function and other functions are related, and has a considerable influence on the expectations and interest of members and the general public on a political party. (Salang, 2007: 8). Jimly Ashshidiqie said that the function of the first political party, namely the means of political communication and absorbing political aspirations; second, the means of political socialization and political education; third, as a means of political recruitment; and fourth, as a means of regulating and reducing conflict in society. (2017: 35). If examined further the four functions of the party, then everything does not run optimally and as an ideal the purpose of the political party is formed.

Political parties in the perspective of Robert Michels are representations of ideas that must exist in modern democratic political life. The orientation of political parties inherent in representation of ideas is intended to represent heterogeneous interests of citizens, provide a compromise for competing opinions / demands, and provide sufficient space for the succession of political leadership in peace and legitimacy. Political parties are concrete manifestations of various political interests championed by a group of people so that political aspirations can be channeled and their interests can be achieved.

Examining the role of political parties in Indonesia can be done by examining the functioning of the political parties. The first function of political parties is to absorb people's aspirations. Political parties must have the ability to absorb aspirations which means they are able to explore and translate information about how the community feels and about the problems faced by the community. (Hutabarat, 2005: 316). The function of political parties absorbs people's aspirations can be interpreted in 2 (two) ideas, namely:
1. Community aspirations in the context of policy formulation;
2. Community aspirations in the context of meeting community needs. (Hutabarat, 2005: 317)

When viewed from what has happened so far, a lot of people's aspirations are not channeled by political parties. Many examples can be used as a comparison. The Draft Omnibus Law is related to job creation, which is widely protested by students, workers because they are impartial and disadvantages workers and only benefits employers. Likewise, the revision of the KPK Law has drawn criticism from various parties, because it is suspected that it will weaken law enforcement against corruption in Indonesia.

Whereas the principle of Pancasila democracy contained in the fourth precepts, namely: "Democracy led by wisdom wisdom in deliberation / representation", and the basis of Pancasila democracy is people's sovereignty. This means that the people determine the form and content of government in accordance with the conscience and interests of the people in order to achieve the prosperity and welfare of Indonesian citizens.

In Indonesian democracy, the people are the subject of democracy, that is, the people as a whole have the right to participate in determining policies through representative institutions to be carried out by executive institutions for the welfare of the people themselves so that the policy is not at the wish of

the ruler of the state (in absolute form). (Artist, 2012: 65). Ignoring the people's aspirations in making a policy means betrayal of the people.

These two facts actually describe that political parties that exist in parliament, do not follow the aspirations of the people who have rejected unfair laws or bills, and are feared that they will cause misery for the people, especially for workers, when the Omnibus Law Bill is passed. Political parties that are supposed to be channels for people's aspirations are instead entangled in entering power circles by supporting the president. The essence is that political parties are only "friendly" to the people when they want to enter the election, but when they are elected, the people are simply left behind.

Likewise with the people's aspirations for the needs of the community. Many cases can be used as examples, for example there are still many villages that do not have schools, school buildings that are not feasible, poor road conditions that make it difficult for community access to daily activities, the provision of clean water facilities that are minimal. For years people suffer because their basic needs are not served and their aspirations are not heard, even though the people have paid taxes to the state. Members of political parties should express the aspirations and desires of citizens and then convey it to the executive to be implemented.

The next function of political parties is political socialization. Political socialization is a way to introduce political values, attitudes and political ethics that apply or are adopted by a country. The formation of political attitudes or political ethics certainly takes a long time and goes through an ongoing process. (Khoiruddin, 2004: 94)

The facts presented turned out to be party elites and also their members including ministers, regional heads who became party cadres, many were involved in legal cases, especially corruption. Then the question is which ethics are taught by political parties? So if further traced what political attitudes are taught to the people, if what is discovered are only rotten political intrigues, which are selfish. At present the public / public trust in party institutions is at its lowest. There is almost no positive value that can be taken by the people related to the morality of the people contained in the party parties. The people only watch the slapstick style of the party elite without wanting to know that the people are actually fed up with the show. Under these conditions,

Political parties also function as a means of political communication. That is, that political parties actually have a very important role as an effort to articulate interests (political interest) or political interest that is sometimes hidden in society. These various interests should be able to be absorbed by political parties which then become ideas and materials for making policies both for political parties and for the government. The intended political communication can actually be done in two directions, both political information from the government to the community and vice versa from the community to the government.

Political parties should not take a stand as those who are more aware of the needs of society than the community itself. The task of political parties is to listen to the people's complaints, what is needed by the people. If you could say that there are actually many layers of society that are smarter, more qualified than members of political parties. Members of political parties should serve the interests and needs of the people, and not vice versa.

The function of other political parties is as a means of political recruitment (political recruitment). Political parties are indeed formed to become a legitimate vehicle for selecting cadres of state leaders at certain levels and positions. Political parties are the most responsible parties when putting their cadres in certain positions, but the quality is very poor when holding a position in the government. Many party cadres have a moral and legal defect scandal. Behavior of corruption, bribery, collusion, and infidelity, involved in narcotics crime, are crimes that often involve members of political parties.

Based on these facts, the political parties should select strictly related to the quality and integrity of the recruits. Mistake in recruiting people means the same as betraying the people. Public distrust of the executive and legislative branches, indicates the mistakes and mistakes of political parties when recruiting cadres without integrity. Political parties should also recruit people outside of their qualified cadres who are supported by the people.

In a number of elections that have been passed after the reform, many people are disappointed with the quality of the members of the council who are completely unable to answer the people's aspirations. Various surveys conducted by several institutions indicate that public mistrust of the members of the council is at a high level. This indicates that community disappointment is at its nadir. Based on these facts, political parties have a very important role in efforts to uphold democracy.

(Abdul Malik)

In countries that embrace democracy, political parties are a form of institutionalization of democracy, and as official representatives to respond to people's aspirations. Political parties play a role as a link between the processes that occur in government with the social dynamics that occur in society. This means that political parties can be called very determine democracy in a country. (Ristyawati, 2019: 711)

The last function of political parties is as a regulator or conflict management, in which political parties act as aggregations of interests that channel various different interests through institutional channels of political parties. Political parties as conflict managers are associated with the function of political party integration. Political parties aggregate and integrate various interests by channeling them as well as possible to influence state political policies. (Many, Knapp, 1998: 124)

Based on the argument above, that political parties still have a lot of homework to be done so that democracy can be maximally implemented. The homework includes recruiting cadres to go through a rigorous process such as academic quality, integrity and not moral defects. Political parties must be able to accept sharp criticism from the public, because it is indeed the function of political parties to absorb the aspirations of the people.

4.   CONCLUSSION

Political parties have an important role in democracy. As one of the links in the democratic system, the party should be able to provide enlightenment through its functions. Political parties that have carried out their functions properly and optimally, the public will be educated to democracy well too. Political parties should contribute to the welfare of the people, because political parties are born from people's aspirations that are not fulfilled by other parties. Therefore the party must be filled with people who understand the people's aspirations so they are not abandoned by the people.

REFERENCES

Abd. Rahman Mawazi, "The Dynamics of Political Parties in the Presidential System in Indonesia", in In Right: Journal of Religion and Human Rights, Vol. 6, No.2, 2017.

Adnan Buyung Nasution, 2010, Constitutional Democracy, Jakarta; Compass.

Agustam, "Conception and Implementation of Pancasila Democracy in the Political System in Indonesia", in the Journal of TAPIs, Vol. 7, No. 12, January-July 2011.

Amin Rais, 1986, Introduction to Democracy and the Political Process, Jakarta: LP3ES.

Aprista Ristyawati, "Strengthening Political Parties as a Form of Administration and Institutionalization of Democracy", in the Administrative Law & Governance Journal, Vol. 2, Issue 4, November 2019.

Artist, "The Existence of Political Parties and Direct Elections in the Context of Democracy in Indonesia", in the Journal of Socio-Culture, Vol. 9, No. 1, January-July 2012.

Benny Bambang Irawan, "Development of Denocracy in the Indonesian State", in the Journal of Law and Community Dynamics, Vol. 5, No. October 1, 2007.

Bijah Subijanto, "Strengthening the Role of Political Parties in Increasing Community Political Participation", in Manuscript Journal, No.20, June-July 2000.

Deddy Ismatullah, 2016, Comparison of Constitutional Laws, Bandung: CV Reader Media.

Elfriza, "The Existence of Political Parties in Public Perceptions", in the Politica Journal, Vol. 10, No. 1, May 2019.

Henry J. Schmandt, 2002, Ahmad Baidlowi, Imam Bahehaqi, Kamdani, Political Philosophy: Historical Studies from the Ancient Greek Period to the Modern Age, Jakarta: Student Library.

Ichlasul Amal (ed.), 1996, Political Party Theories, Revised Edition, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya.

Jimly Ashshiddiqie, "Strengthening and Structuring of Political Parties in the Future", in the Journal of State Administration, No. 5, November 2017.

Khoiruddin, 2004, Political Parties and Democratic Transition Agenda, Yogyakarta: Student Library.

Mahfud MD, 1999, Political and Legal Struggle in Indonesia, Jakarta: Gama Media.

Miriam Budiardjo, 2008, Fundamentals of Political Science, Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Main library.

Mohammad Hatta, 1998, "Indonesia Merdeka" in the full work of Bung Hatta. Book I: Nationality and Folk, Jakarta: LP3ES Publisher.

Nur Rohim Yunus, "Actualization of Pancasila Democracy in National and State Life", in Socio-Didacticism: Social Science Education Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2015.

Ramlan Surbakti, 1992, Understanding Political Science, Jakarta: Grasindo, 1992.

Ramly Hutabarat, "The Role of Political Parties Absorbing the Aspirations of Society and Non-Semantic Political Law", in Journal of Law and Development, Year 35, No. 3, July-September 2005.

Robert Michels, 1984, Political Parties: Oligarchic Trends in Bureaucracy, Jakarta: Rajawali.

Sebastian Salang, 2007, Portrait of Political Parties in Indonesia: Assemen on Institutions, Gait, and Party Systems, Jakarta: Friedrrich Naumann Stiftung.

Syamsuddin Haris, 2014, Reformation Party, Parliament and Parliament, Jakarta: Indonesian Pustak Obor Foundation.

Yudi Latif, 2011, Negara Paripurna; The historicity, rationality and topicality of Pancasila, Jakarta; Gramedia Library.

Yves Meny, Knapp, 1998, Government and Politics in Western Europe: Britain, Italy, Germany.3rd edition, Oxford: Ofxord University Press.