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Conflict Resolution in the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan: A Case Study of Conflict Within A Party in the Leadership Era of Suryadharma Ali in 2014

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Abstract

Political communication in the form of political statements such as political supports that have been delivered by competent actors, in the right forum to hit the target might in fact trigger a conflict, therefore it needs a resolution to overcome such conflicts for it not to go further and waste our energy. This research used a case study to reveal a conflict resolution within the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in the leadership period of Suryadharma Ali in 2014. The method and approach used in this research was qualitative with descriptive approach. Data collection used direct observation on field as well as deep interview with the resource and key informants. The research result shows that the conflicts occurred since there were many internal and external factors ahead of the 2014 general election. The effort for conflict resolution in PPP did not result in a satisfying solution for the conflicting parties. Ideally, political communication within PPP would run well if it was carried out by the right party actor, contained a clear message, and was transmitted through a good channel as well as hit the right target. However, in fact, the conflicts went on since there were some rules and ethical values that were breached. The conflict resolution effect should end in the interest and the goal of a party, instead of short term interest as taking over the power or changing the leader.

Keywords: PPP, Conflict Resolution, Political Communication, Party Actors

I. Introduction

Political parties were established to reach a certain goal and aspiration and it could not be separated from the democracy. Political parties sit in a position as one of the facilities for people to participate politically and to be an intermediary between social powers and the government. A political party is a political group participating in the general election and through such general election, is able to put its candidates to sit in public positions (Budiardjo, 2008). The existence of political parties in Indonesia has various dynamics since the first general

election in 1955 until the last general election in 2019. Since 1955, Indonesia has been following multi parties so that the number of political parties are many.

The phenomena of the rise and fall of political parties have become common in Indonesia, either it was because of internal or internal factors. In the history of the development of political parties in Indonesia, many have had found parties that experienced internal conflict ended in fragmentation so that it disturbed the solidity of its cadre and slowed down the run of the party. Therefore, conflict reality in political parties is a challenge, not only for the future of the political party but also for the party leadership in the central level down to the local level. One of the political parties that had organizational conflict is the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP).

PPP is one of the major parties in Indonesia which was declared on January 5, 1973 or 30 Dzulqo'dah 1329 H, by KH. DR. Idham Cholid (Nahdlatul Ulama), Mintarja (Partai Muslimin Indonesia), H. Anwar Tjokrominoto (Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia), Rusli Halil (Partai Islam Taarbiyah Islamiyah) and KH. Masykur (Nahdlatul Ulama). PPP that was established in the new order era is a fusion of the Nahdlatul Ulama Party (NU), the Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Parmusi), Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (PSII) and the Partai Islam Tarbiyah Islamiyah (Perti). PPP became the base of 3 large Islamic parties during the New Order era which had quite a large mass (Hasyim, 2002).

Since its inception, the existence of PPP has been full of turmoil, because the pressure from the New Order authorities forced the fusion of Islamic parties. The results of the PPP national conference in Jakarta on 6-8 November 1975 explained that the balance of power obtained by each element in the general election in 1971 was used as a benchmark in the distribution of PPP leadership power and the division of PPP seats in the house of representatives. Various complex internal problems have made the management of the PPP Central Board (DPP) of the results of the conference, the majority of which came from NU, experience turmoil. Before the internal PPP conflict was over with the NU element, a new conflict arose that was triggered by Soedarji (one of the leaders in party management) at the discretion of the PPP General Chairperson Naro, who was considered tyrannical. PPP internal conflicts continued and found no consensus, resulting in the formation of rival party management (Hasyim, 2002). This condition has a negative impact on PPP organizations and PPP cadres.

Post reformation, internal PPP conflict reoccurred. In the 1999 elections, PPP was again divided into several new parties, but PPP still had a base of mass so that it could go through *the electoral threshold*. Past internal conflicts within PPP have represented a failure to build cooperation within organizations, so that the internal conflict turmoil is repeated. The continuation of PPP's internal conflict reoccurred ahead of the presidential election in 2014. This conflict began on March 23, 2014, when the General Chairperson Suryadharma Ali together with Djan Faridz and Nur Muhammad Iskandar attended the grand campaign of Gerindra Party at Gelora Bung Karno Stadium (GBK) Jakarta. Not only attended the campaign, Suryadharma Ali also gave speeches, so that it was covered and published by the media. This was interpreted as a form of support for the candidate for President Prabowo Subianto. Activities without passing through organizational mechanisms received a negative response from the Deputy Chairperson of the PPP, Emron Pangkapi. This disagreement was followed by the Regional Leadership Council (DPW). The widespread conflict is not limited to the DPP, but also amongst the DPW and DPW, until eventually a firing of the Deputy Chairperson and Chairperson of the PPP DPW occurred.

Suryadharma Ali's support for Prabowo Subiyanto was immediately responded by the PPP DPP by holding a daily meeting of the board chaired by the Secretary General Romahurmuzi who saw that it violated the Statutes and Bylaws. On April 20, 2014 the PPP National Leadership Meeting (Rapimnas) was held and decided to temporarily dismiss the General Chairperson, Suryadharma Ali and hand over his position to Emron Pangkapi as the executing officer (PLT) until the conference was held. According to Suryadharma Ali, the Rapimnas decision was invalid because it had to go through the PPP extraordinary conference forum.

The conflict became more complicated, after the faction of the Secretary General held a national conference (Mukernas) on October 28, 2014 in Surabaya and appointed Romahurmuzi as PPP's Chairperson. On November

2, 2014, a counter-conference was held by the Suryadharma Ali faction in Jakarta, which resulted in the designation of Djan Faridz as PPP's Chairperson. Each claimed to be the legitimate general chairperson. Dualism of leadership in PPP not only exacerbates the conflict, but also complicates the efforts to realize reconciliation. The effort to compromise became increasingly difficult, after the Minister of Justice and Human Rights (Menkumham) Yasonna Laoly ratified the management of the PPP version of the Surabaya Congress. Suryadharma Ali's faction filed a lawsuit to the Jakarta State Administrative Court (PTUN) and decided that the ratification of Menkumham was cancelled because it violated the authority in issuing policies. The conflict has not diminished, because Romahurmuzi's faction will appeal to the PTUN High Court. This conflict dragged on until the presidential elections in 2019.

The series of conflicts within PPP seems to never stop and require more permanent conflict resolution so that the organization is healthy and can move optimally. This study tries to explore what factors caused the conflict in the late era of Suryadharma Ali's leadership and how the conflict resolution was carried out at that time. By scientifically studying this problem, it is hoped that this will become an important material for the continuity and integrity of the party so that it does not recur and also removes the community's stigma against PPP who are used to experiencing turmoil and conflict. Based on the description above, the problem was formulated as follows:

1. What internal factors and external factors caused the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) conflict in the era of Suryadharma Ali's leadership?
2. What are the efforts and steps taken by PPP in realizing party conflict resolution?

II. Literature review

Political Communication

Political communication is communication that refers to political activities. Political communication is the process of conveying opinions, attitudes and behavior of people, institutions, or political power, in order to influence political decision making. Flexibly, political communication is communication that refers to political activities (Nimmo, 2007; 2011). Political communication is any type of delivery of messages, especially those containing political information from a source to a number of recipients of the message (Arriane, 2010). Rush and Althoff explained that political communication is a dynamic element of the political system of political communication as a political function, together with the functions of articulation, aggregation, socialization and recruitment contained in a political system. Political communication is a prerequisite needed for the functioning of other functions (Anwar Arifin, 2011). While Angelita, Kholil, Titi Widaningsih and Jamalullail (2019) stated that communication is the most thing in all activities, included business and non business institutions.

The several functions of political communication according to Arifin, (2011) include the following:

- a. Political communication has a very important role in sensitivity to clearly capture the existence of something that is caused in politics.
- b. This political communication will later be needed in international communication, international relations, and in the international sphere of political communication.
- c. Political communication also has a chain of disciplines, which will then relate to social media, culture, religion, and so on.

Political communication is an interdisciplinary study. Because there are various kinds of scientific disciplines namely communication and politics. However, when the field of communication is linked to politics, sometimes there is recognition of the political aspects of public communication. So it is often associated with activities such as political campaigns, persuasive elections, to debates of government candidates by using mass media as a tool.

Conflicting

The reality of conflict in society has existed since the presence of human beings on earth. As long as there is human life, the problem of conflict will always present. Both conflicts between individuals, between groups, between organizations and nations. Conflict is a relationship between two parties or preferably individuals or groups who feel they have incompatible goals (Fisher, 2001). According to Wirawan (2012: 59) conflict as a matter that must exist and its presence can not be negotiable. Potential conflicts in a social system are inherent. If traced historically, conflict theory was developed by Karl Marx and Max Weber. Marx saw social conflicts occurring between groups or classes rather than between individuals. While Weber placed the conflict in a central position in analyzing the society. For him, conflict is a basic element of human life.

Conflict theory is a theory which considers that social change does not occur through a process of adjusting values that bring about change, but occurs due to conflicts that produce compromises that are different from the original conditions (Raho, 2007). Insights into conflict theory provide inspiration and motivation for later generations, such as Rendhal Collins who built his conflict theory "more" synthetic and integrative, because it tends to be micro (Wirawan, 2012: 77). This approach is divided into three basic principles, namely (1) the population lives in a self-constructed subjective world; (2) other people have the power to control one's subjective experiences; and (3) other people continuously control someone who is against them. Then the conflict theory must depart from a reality not a fantasy and strength and social position must determine and influence the factors and degrees of interaction can even force the system of ideas to the entire social community.

Another figure who offers conflict theory is Rolf Dahrendorf. Dahrendorf acknowledged that the formation of a society cannot be separated from the existence of two elements namely consensus and conflict which are the requirements of each other (Ritzer, 2008). Dahrendorf criticized Marx's theory with the following reasons: (1) conceptually weak; (2) ownership of production facilities in the narrow sense; (3) capitalism has undergone a transformation; (4) capitalism is only one subtype of a post-industrial industrial society; (5) class conflict is more complicated, because it involves economic and political factors and then social phenomena. In Dahrendorf's view (Ritzer, 2008; Wirawan, 2012) conflict theory has the following functions:

- a. To help cleaning the atmosphere that is chaotic.
- b. The rescue valve serves as a way out that calms hostility.
- c. Aggressive energies in reality conflicts and non-reality conflicts may accumulate in other interactions before the dependence on conflict situations is alleviated.
- d. Conflict does not always end with hostility.
- e. Conflict can be used as an indicator of the strength and stability of a relationship.
- f. Conflict with various *outgroup* can strengthen the internal cohesion of a group.

Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is an effort to deal with the causes of conflict and try to build new relationships that can last long between the hostile groups (Fischer, 2001). Liliweri (2014) said that conflict resolution is a set of theories and investigations that are experimental in order to understand the nature of conflict, examine the conflict strategy, and then make the conflict resolution. Weitzman & Weitzman (2000) defines conflict resolution as a joint problem-solving action (*solve a problem together*). Eben A Weitzman & Patricia Flynn Weitzman (2000) developed a PSDM conflict resolution model (*problem solving and decision making*) which consists of four general phases, namely diagnosing conflict, identifying alternative solutions, evaluating and having a solution that is mutually acceptable and committing the conflicting parties to a joint decision and implementing it.

Conflict resolution methods are very helpful for us to find out the nature and the function of conflict, distinguish the productive and destructive forms of conflict, and identify the conflict resolution strategies. Conflict

resolution focuses on the basic source of conflict between two parties, so that they together identify more real issues. If we don't agree, then we need a negotiator (Liliweri, 2014).

III. Methodology

Research Paradigms and Approaches

The researcher chose the post-positivism paradigm, which is the improvement of positivism which is considered to have weaknesses and is considered to rely only on the ability to directly observe the objects. The approach used is qualitative. The research approach used is a qualitative approach. Qualitative approach is an approach taken in a reasonable situation and the data obtained is generally collected in a qualitative manner (Creswell, 2010; Neuman 2013).

Research Time and Location

The study was conducted from January 15, 2014 to January 15, 2016. The research location took place in DPP PPP in Jakarta and several leaders were involved during the conflict.

Research Design

Qualitative research, carried out in natural conditions, descriptive, emphasizes the process, conducts analysis inductively, and emphasizes more meaning (Creswell, 2010; Neuman, 2013)

Data Collection Technique

Data collection techniques used were interviews, observation, documentation studies, written media, electronic media, and FGDs which were expected to be able to describe it fully and applicably. Data obtained through in-depth interviews, to gain information as complete as possible and as deep as possible (Bungin, 2013). Also study documentation, to explore data and *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) as an effort to explore the data and information needed according to the focus of the problem (Sugiyono, 2009).

Research Subjects and Objects

The research subjects were DPP PPP, the members of House of Representative who were both still active and no longer active, including political observers and community leaders who have ever been the historical actors/witnesses. The object of research was under the leadership of the SDA.

Data analysis technique

The data analysis used was descriptive narrative form. Following the concept of Miles and Huberman (Sugiono, 2009: 207-208), it was carried out interactively and continuously so that it was completed until the data was saturated. Data analysis activities consisted of *reduction* (selection process) *display* (presentation), and *conclusion drawing/verification* (interpretation/verification). All the three were something that was intertwined before, during, and after the data collection (Creswell, 2010)

Data Validity

Data validity can be seen from the credibility (using primary data from interviews), transferability (showing whether the results of the data can be used in other parties with the same ideology), and dependability (trying to be consistent with connecting theories in making interpretations, discussions, and conclusions) (Neuman, 2013).

IV. Discussion

The History of PPP

At the time of its establishment in 1973, PPP represented itself as the sole channel for the political aspirations of Muslims in Indonesia. The legitimacy of PPP as a single forum was so strong, because PPP was a political party that was born and stood up from the political fusion of the four considerable Islamic parties at that time. The four parties are based on Islam, they have national perspective, were humanity-oriented, democracy and justice. This reflects the level of awareness and responsibility of community leaders and party leaders to unite and work together to foster the community to enhance their faith and devotion to Allah SWT further.

PPP Has a Vision: "The realization of a justice and prosperous civil society, blessed by Allah SWT, *baladatul thoyyibatun wa rabbun ghofur* in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila. " While the PPP mission is

1. Striving to realize and foster humanity, faith, and devotion to Allah SWT and prevent the development of the ideology of Atheism, Communism, Marxism, Leninism, Secularism and religious silverion.
2. Fight for human rights and obligations according to Islamic teachings and prevent and oppose the development of neo-feudalism, harassment of human dignity, dehumanization, discrimination and a culture of violence.
3. Striving to maintain a sense of security, maintain and strengthen national unity and integrity and prevent and oppose the process of disintegration, division and social conflict that endangers the integrity of the Indonesian nation.
4. Fighting for democracy as a reflection of true people's sovereignty with the principles of deliberation and consensus as well as preventing and opposing authoritarianism, fascism, dictatorship, hegemony, and arbitrariness.
5. Fight for *balдах thayyibah*, a prosperous fair society that is blessed by Allah SWT and prevent the development of various forms of socio-economic and cultural gaps, consumerism and hedonistic, permissive, and materialistic lifestyles.

PPP has six frontier principles which become the cadre's spirit in its political activities. PPP holds several main principles, they are principles of worship as wide as possible to achieve the pleasure of God SWT; principle of truth, honesty, and justice who oppose all forms of evil; the principle of deliberation in collective decision making ; the principle of equality, unity, and togetherness as a fundamental belief; principle *istiqomah* in struggling; and the principle of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* in carrying out the functions of absorbing, accommodating, channelling, fighting for, and defending the aspirations of the people in social control. (Chumaidy, 2011; 2013)

The history of PPP since its establishment until now is full of internal and external dynamics, considering that it is not easy to unite several factions that have existed since the beginning of its establishment. When the reforms rolled out, the PPP continued to try to reform itself by formulating a new paradigm that was decided in the PPP Mukernas in 2000. The new paradigm includes at least some strategic aspects, namely returning to its original identity as an Islamic-based party, asserting it as an Islamic party that adheres to the principle of *ummah wasathan*, and party consolidation that promotes the principle of togetherness, unity, and constitutional path to avoid conflict and party divisions that are prolonged. (Badjeber, 2000)

In order to build a strong cadre base for public relations, PPP began to reform its cadre management. Cadre formation is one of the main activities that signifies the sustainability of party life. Cadre formation is one of recruitment media, strengthening political commitment and ideology, developing personal capacity, and strengthening institutions with a long-term orientation. Without regeneration, the party is like an organism that is difficult to breathe let alone produce. As a result, sooner or later will be destroyed because there is no

regeneration. Cadre formation in PPP since the reformation began to be planned, tiered and sustainable both formal, informal and integrated.

The political dynamics in Indonesia after the reformation posed special challenges for PPP, including the challenges of the cadre level, faction consolidation, amid the reopening of multiparty taps and direct presidential elections. The presidential election in 2014 gave a rise to a conflict in PPP which was then led by Suryadharma Ali (SDA). There were several internal and external factors that caused the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) conflict in the era of Suryadharma Ali's leadership which is briefly explained as follows:

Internal factors

The presence of the SDA in Gerindra Party campaign at the Jakarta GBK Stadium, which was not only a ceremonial meaning carried out by political party leaders, community organization figures, interest groups, and the government. Nor was it because it was seen by hundreds of thousands of people and received mass media coverage. However, it has enormous political significance and even quality. Especially when SDA is given the opportunity to make speeches and delivered political statements containing a support for the PS Presidential Candidates in the 2014-2019 elections. SDA Said "this support is a support that represents the aspirations of *ulama, kiai, pesantren*, PPP constituents, PPP administrators at the central, regional, branch, sub-branch and unit-branch level." For the PPP's elite (PPP's deputy chairman) who disagreed with the political steps of SDA, among others stated: "At that time we were all shocked and questioned that. I was there, and many DPW and DPC officials were asking why the General Chairperson was in the Gerindra's campaign". The statement of the informant does not intend to defend one of the parties, because the informant's background is now in the DPP.

While Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Gerindra Party, Prabowo Subianto (PS) as noted by Kompas Daily (3/23/2014), claimed to be confused by the arrival of the SDA. Nevertheless, PS appreciated the arrival of SDA. "Today, I see an unusual development. There is an abnormality, namely Gerindra Party campaign was attended by the Chairperson of the PPP, "Prabowo said when delivering his political speech at Bung Karno Main Stadium.

SDA considered that the accusations against him who considered breaching the rule were groundless. Then the split in the PPP camp does not need to be continued. "If my visit to Pak Prabowo's campaign is to become a base of chaos, let's look at it rationally together (Detik, 04/20/2014). Political maneuver by SDA, a problem that can trigger the conflict. Through the statements in the mass media, PPP leaders and top administrators rejected the essence of SDA's claim for the actions taken, one of which was to support PS Candidates that were contrary to party rules.

According to the informant, SDA was considered to be very confident that with this attitude the position became clearer and stronger because there were no challengers who could shake it up because the second person at PPP, Romahurmuziy (Romi) was his 'protégé,' who had been considered to participate in and agree with the word of SDA. Romi, although as the Secretary-General is one of SDA's people and not yet considered as a serious challenger. While other political figures were deemed not to have a strong support base, including a number of PPP deputy chairmen such as Emron Pangkapi. The reality is different, momentum occurred when SDA's people made mistakes that can ignite internal conflicts which ultimately brought SDA down.

External factors

The fact that there was a conflict in the internal of PPP after SDA's statement viewed from the perspective of political communication can be seen as a bullet that was deliberately fired at internal and external parties. The existence of PPP leadership dualism made the government unable to remain silent because it was considered to be disturbing the development of a healthy and constructive democratic and political climate. Especially when

the Surabaya Congress party clearly gave a signal to support Jokowi's government, while SDA became a suspect by the KPK, it was difficult to deny whom must Jokowi's government support.

The firmness of support was even clearer when the Surabaya Congress faction led by Romi won the management dispute in the Supreme Court (MA) and soon followed by official support for the Jokowi-JK government. Back to the political statement communicated by the SDA. With clear language, it could be considered as a political statement that was right on the target, especially if it was intended to provide assertiveness to other parties (those opposed to PS), that the PPP's position was clear in its direction and support, so there was no need to attempt to find support and attract PPP to Jokowi's side.

When an external party turns out to be the party that won the 2014 presidential election contestation, the likes and dislikes of that external party automatically become a very important actor in the PPP conflict. External parties who were previously expected to keep their distance or passive in responding to the PPP internal conflict by some groups in PPP seemed to be forced into or become part of the PPP conflict. By inviting or cooperating with the government, it is expected that one of the camps will have a stronger bargaining position. Likewise the government has an interest in resolving conflicts which at the same time also means overcoming the problem of national political chaos in general.

Factions or sides that were previously inclined to Jokowi seemed to be gaining support or benefited from the Jokowi-JK's victory, so that they directly or indirectly tried to drag the government into the internal PPP conflict cycle. The government actually also had an interest in quickly resolving the internal PPP conflict and clearly showing the direction in which PPP support was anchored, whether to take the position of opposition or counterweight or become part of the government. The government certainly hoped that the PPP will become part of the government, as can be seen from the appointment of the Minister of Religion from the PPP element (Lukman Hakim Saifuddin), even though at that time the direction of PPP support was not yet clear.

PPP Conflict Resolution

Regardless of who and what factors are causing the collapse of PPP votes in the 2014 legislative elections, SDA was one of the people who was considered as the most responsible, even if SDA did not deliver a statement supporting Prabowo Subianto (PS) or even support for PS was taken through a forum that had been agreed upon. The statement of SDA's support for PS increasingly showed the role of SDA in internal conflicts and the decline in PPP votes. As stated by a DPP PPP's executive informant "PPP has not yet determined the coalition to any presidential candidate, what SDA said is thus null and void." SDA political ethics and *fatsun* in the campaign was a wrong step. If it refers to the Dahrendorf's conflict theory (Ritzer, 2008) then in the case of PPP, the conflict actually made the party's atmosphere more uncomfortable, and tended to be "hostile" among cadres so that it disrupted the organization from the central level to the regions.

According to the PPP cadre, if SDA immediately revised or even revoked its statement after receiving criticism and rejection from a number of cadres and figures, then the polemic that emerged would not be prolonged. The facts showed the attitude of SDA that did not seem that he felt guilty or wrong, so the polemic that started from different points of view of the political support and the strategies used led to a prolonged internal conflict. This was the importance of knowing the effects of political communication as a means to achieve the objectives. Conflict resolution is part of the effort to achieve the objectives of political communication.

Understanding the effects here needs to be broadly understood to include impacts (*impact*) and result (*outcome*). The purpose of the political statement put forward by the SDA is certainly not to divide the party or cause conflict, but to strengthen solidity and promote the party. If the effect was different from the original purpose of a political statement, then it can be stated as a political communication that fails to achieve the mission or goal. "Instead of adding to the party's solidity, what happens is precisely to divide and drain party energy."

Legal mechanisms or channels are an option for resolving conflictual problems, but often the consequences are actually deepening the existing problems because legal mechanisms are often *zero sum game*, and no *win-win solutions*. Conflict resolution that takes the path of legal settlement is usually taken after negotiation and reconciliation, because each party is unwilling to change or shift his opinion. The ability to manage conflict and communicate the political action are the keys, where not all leaders can do it appropriately and productively.

As stated by the expert council/DPR PPP Ahmad Yani as follows: "There will not be a protracted conflict if every leader understands the principles of the PPP struggle. Even though the Sharia Council and the Advisory Council have tried to abandon it. But SDA did not immediately revise it or did not want to revoke its political statement, even though it could divide and drain the energy and authority of the party. And in fact this is evidence of his failure to lead and manage the party".

Seeing the reality of PPP internal conflicts that still continue both formally and informally, researcher offers a conflict resolution with the PSDM model (*problem solving and decision making*) Eben A Weitzman & Patricia Flynn Weitzman (2000) which consists of four general phases, namely diagnosing conflict, identifying alternative solutions, evaluating and having a mutually acceptable solution and the commitment of the conflicting parties to a joint decision and implementing it. Researchers have made a diagnosis and analysis of conflict resolution efforts, both from internal and external factors that are successful in resolving a conflict. The results need to be re-evaluated the roots of the emergence of conflict in the body of PPP. Where the SDA's decision to support PS candidates without going through a meeting of the party leadership council caused conflict in the body of party officials who were dissatisfied. This is due to the SDA leadership style which does not adhere to the party's statutes and articles and seems to be arbitrary by firing some central and regional officials who are not in line.

An alternative solution is to do reconciliation or peace by sitting together to find common ground. Then, choosing a solution that can be accepted together with favorable internal party conditions through Mbah Moen's figure, then a number of follow-up efforts are made to seek more permanent and substantive conflict resolution. The implementation phase of conflict resolution through a party mechanism through a predetermined decision should be acceptable to all parties within the conflict. However, these efforts have not yielded results in the implementation because many internal and external factors that emerge and increasingly protracted.

Ideally through the organizational mechanism managed by the PPP court by accommodating all the wishes of the parties to the conflict, it should be the right decision solution that must be trusted by all parties without involving external parties, through convention activities together with the conflicting sides and agreeing on joint decisions. Efforts to resolve conflict through this mechanism also face obstacles. Then internal factors in conflict resolution efforts can be realized immediately without having to involve external parties who want to find a moment of support from one of the conflicting camps. In this case external factors increasingly have a big influence on this round of conflict when legal solutions are deemed not to provide justice and tend to favor the pro-government side. Conflict resolution efforts apparently did not produce many common ground, even though the party organizations continued to run. The long impact of this conflict was the weakness of party consolidation which resulted in a decline in party votes.

Communication that was built by the warring parties and the presence of Mbah Moen as an internal factor that could unite experienced a deadlock because of many elite stakeholders and the pressure of a large external factor. The phenomenon of PPP conflict at the end of SDA management apparently continued until 2019. This conflict serves as an example that internal and external factors can actually be solved through a party mechanism regulated in the Statutes and By-Laws and efforts of *islah* which involves a mediator, but it takes time and is not easy to unite elite groups. Because of effort of *islah*, what had been agreed was apparently not going well so the legal efforts were finally made. Conflict resolution through legal remedies apparently did not revoke all the roots of the issue in dispute, because the conflict widened even more in the control of party resources and the interests of controlling other political assets. The legal path chosen or forced to use is actually a way of effective conflict

resolution but it must be realized that this legal effort must be followed by a spirit of reconciliation through the party's internal mechanism, rather than being used as legitimacy to suppress its political opponents, because essentially, these conflicting cadres are in one organization.

So far PPP has enjoyed calm conditions and internal conflicts have begun to subside because there is a clear legal solution, has closeness to the government, and PPP has become part of the incumbent. The 2019 elections gave a surprising result for PPP because ?????. The success of conflict resolution is largely determined by the solidity and internal strength of the party. PPP is still fortunate to have dignified figures such as Mbah Maimun Zubir. It is expected that after the death of Mbah Maimun, PPP regains their solidity and reunited. Although until now the PPP is still divided into two, at least the hot sphere of internal conflict has subsided and the efforts of *islah* re-appeared.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The internal dynamics of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan had taken place since its inception in 1973 because several factions had been formed. There are weaknesses in managing conflicts within the party so that PPP is vulnerable to internal conflicts. In 2014 internal party conflicts re-emerged which at that time was led by Suryadharma Ali (SDA). There are many factors that can be identified in the PPP conflict in 2014 which are grouped into internal factors and external factors. Internal factors, including SDA's leadership style that did not comply with the statute of PPP and acted arbitrary by firing several central and regional administrators who were not in line with him, lacking sportsmanship, and did not want to attract support and revise support despite pressure from the member PPP. External factors, external parties wanted to capture a moment of support from one of the conflicting parties who were very trying to win one of the conflicting parties even intervening PPP party's conflict. Government should play a role as a resolute actor and not in favor of one of the side.

The PPP conflict resolution approach referring to the Weitzman & Weitzman PSDM model begins by diagnosing PPP conflict that leads to the root of conflict, namely SDA support for Prabowo Subiyanto (PS) and SDA actions outside the Party's Statute mechanism so that it impacts on the internal divisions and external factors of elite interests the authorities contributed to prolonging the conflict. The resolution step began to be established by presenting the party court and the presence of a unifying figure, Mbah Moen, in fact the implementation did not take place well. PPP's efforts in carrying out the conflict resolution have not yet reached the realization of satisfactory reconciliation between the two sides, despite the efforts and optimal steps. In the end, the final conflict resolution was carried out with a legal path that had an impact on the organizational division of the party.

From this study, it can be conveyed several suggestions, including academically, a more in-depth study of the new model in conflict resolution of political parties in Indonesia is needed. In practical terms, the authors suggest that the government should be more careful not to get too deeply involved in political party conflicts to create a sense of justice for all parties. For PPP, learning from the conflicts that have taken place at PPP from its inception until now it is necessary to create legal and ethical mechanisms that become the organizational culture that specifically regulates party conflict resolution so that it does not recur in the future. PPP as an old Islamic party must be an example of how a conflict can be managed and find the best solution.

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