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The Ideologizing of The Golkar's "Work and Concrete Service" Characteristics

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Abstract

Key words:
*Politics, Ideology,
Works and
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Party, Golongan
Karya*

The Golkar Party has well-established historical, ideological, sociological, and socio-political roots in the social formation of the nation-state of Indonesia. As an old political party with an influential role in every era of the Indonesian political system, the Golkar Party managed to keep its existence, position, and contribution in national politics and statehood. However, after the 1998 Reformation, "traditions grew within the Golkar Party, manifesting in a culture of "pragmatic-transactional politics" and "money politics" in every election. The Golkar's adaptive political dynamics have drawn our interest in examining the depth of its ideology or characteristics or traits as so-called "Work and Concrete Service." This study argues that Soekarno is the first and principal initiator of the birth of "concrete service-politics" in Indonesia. This paper uses qualitative research methods to explain that the conception of the ideology of functionalism has built the nation with an alignment and arrangement system geared towards achieved desired harmony, allowing all political and state systems to function harmoniously.

Introduction

"Golongan Karya" (Golkar) was first known on February 21, 1957 (Kurniaty, 2020), when President Soekarno explained his conception of leaving Liberal Democracy. "Golongan Karya: Golkar" is a ruling party which competes in electoral competition (Haris, 2021; Lee & Magenda, 2019; Mudhoffir, 2022). The President invited the public and the political elite to form a "Mutual Cooperation" cabinet consisting of four major parties, including the PKI (*Indonesian Communist Party*). He also introduced the National Council's new body with workers, peasants, youth, and women representatives. He even agreed to lead this council. Born out of this concept and driven by increasingly fierce competition with PKI, in October 1964, General Nasution and his colleagues at the Indonesian National Army (TNI) had a plan to form the Golkar Joint Secretariat, an organization to maintain the authority of the anti-communist group (Bulkin, 1985). This joint secretariat was initially a loose federation aimed at balancing the strength of the PKI, sheltering several groups, including the Student Army Movement, scholars, and soldiers. Golkar Secretariat had components consisting of ABRI and three mass organizations sponsored by ABRI (the Indonesian National Armed Forces), namely Soksi (Central Indonesia Self-employed Organization), Kosgoro (Mutual Assistance Cooperative Savings), and MKGR (*Musyawahah Keluarga Gotong Royong*) (Suryadinata, 1992). The power transition between the Old Order and the New Order marked a different political constellation. In the early New Order era, there was not a single political party that represented military interests. In Sukarno's time, political parties were contestations of civilian power. Therefore, during Suharto's New Order era, Golkar realized the ideals of the political elite. ABRI and the technocrats were the dominant forces in the New Order era, which replaced political

contestation by civilians in the Old Order. During the New Order era, this party, formerly known as Golkar, has become a kind of "one-dominant party" in several Asian, African, and Latin American countries. We do not generalize similar political parties in these regions, but we may describe such a phenomenon as "similar, but not the same." These political parties have similarities in terms of the length of time in power, and the size of government stability realized. They are also similar in the social structure of political parties that resembles the "miniature" of the nation-state as well as in terms of the resilience of these political parties in the face of political turbulence, playing a stabilizing and aligning roles for the political system of each nation-state.

Literature Review

New Order's Golkar did not label itself as a political party but a socio-political organization. Political trauma in the era of the liberal democratic system of 1945-1959 was marked by ideological conflicts, vested interests of political parties, frequent ups and downs of cabinets for the 14 years (1945-1959), and ideological struggles during Soekarno's Guided Democracy system from 1959 to 1965 (Sanit; 1981). The Golkar Party is important to study for several reasons. Firstly, this party has grown into a significant, influential, and rooted political party in every era of the Indonesian political system with a long history. Secondly, Golkar is a typical political party that has managed to survive long term, as in certain countries in Asia, Africa, Central America, and Latin America. Thirdly, based on empirical evidence, Golkar has been one of the pillars of the three regimes in Indonesia, namely Sukarno's Guided Democracy regime (1959-1965); Suharto's Pancasila Democracy regime (1968-1998) Post-1998 Reformation Liberal Democracy regime. Overall, this history makes the Golkar Party an exciting phenomenon in Indonesia's political study. This paper will focus on the internal macro-political dimensions of the Golkar Party, namely the philosophical and ideological aspects of the birth of the Golkar Party and the roots of the working-class movements with its social and power relations among functional groups, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Golkar Party. Thus, this study attempts to examine the ideological roots of Golkar as a functional group movement and its formation as a political party, the shifting social base of the leadership of the Golkar Party, the diminishing role of ideology, the strengthening of the symptoms of pragmatism, and the weakening spirit of the cooperation and the strengthening of individualism within the Golkar Party. The central research question is; What are the ideological roots that shaped the journey of the Golongan Karya from a functional platform into a party? What is the social context, and what influences the development of ideology within the Golkar Party?

Methodology

This paper uses a qualitative approach (Aspers & Corte, 2021) with philosophical-political and historical analysis of this phenomenon to get an in-depth view of the ideological roots and ideological growth of the Golkar Party and to estimate to what extent the role of ideology has faded in the present situation. This philosophical-political study will look at the basic construction and ideological building of the Golkar Party in terms of its ideological roots, thoughts and growth, and the functional group movements as a reflection of ideological power in the scope of the phenomenological approach. This ideological power metamorphosed into the Golkar Party, whose ideological role is fading and occupied with various internal problems. Qualitative methods are based on the phenomenon studied, a phenomenon with accentuation-analysis on specific aspects of qualitative dimensions. They include, first, the philosophical roots, ideological roots, the roots of the movement of functional groups, and the growth and development of available groups to become the Golkar Party. This phenomenon, of course, needs an in-depth description and interpretation and not a test of measuring the relationship between distinct phenomena or aspects. Second, qualitative methods can provide a more complete, thorough description and analysis of these phenomena.

It is expected to reveal in detail the views of informants and key figures competent in giving information about the historical roots of ideology/characteristics/traits of the "works and concrete service" of the Golkar Party, the interpretation of the ideology of work, and concrete service within the Golkar Party as well as the history of the growth, development, and metamorphosis of functional groups in 1957 into the Golkar Joint Secretariat in 1964, which later became Golkar in 1973 and ultimately, the Golkar Party in 1999. Moreover, the current qualitative work seeks to be an academic effort to streamline the history of the Golkar Party, including conflicting aspects, tension, and consensus during internal conflicts within the party. Such phenomena are unique, so it is not easy to explore quantitative methods of inter-variable relationship tests. Therefore, we use qualitative research methods to analyze, understand, and interpret these phenomena and provide contextual and conceptual interpretations of various empirical phenomena.

Result and Discussion

Golkar Party has existed with well-established historical (Alamin et al., 2020), ideological, sociological, and socio-political roots informing the social construction of a nation-state named the Republic of Indonesia following the August 17, 1945, Proclamation. Institutional terms, its existence began when non-affiliated functional groups emerged in 1957 to counter political parties (Reeve, Triwira, Nugraha, Ni'am, & Fallickard, 2013). Entering the Guided Democracy

era (1959-1965), functional groups found their institutional form as a socio-political force when "manifested" in the Joint Secretariat Golongan Karya on October 20, 1964 (Bahasoan, 1981; Muhaimin, 1982; Pratigny 1982; Reeve, 2013). At the beginning of the New Order era, specifically at the 1973 National Conference of Golkar Secretary in Denpasar, Bali, the Golkar Secretary changed to Golkar (Effendy, Thohari, Novianto, & Alfian, 2012) and in its development became one of the New Order "main pillars" (Boileau, 1983; Suryadinata, 1992; Bahasoan, 1981; Effendy, 2012). This party experienced "turbulence" in the early 1998 Reformation era due to the intense backlash from the reformists (Safi'i & Tanjung, 2020). Dirk Tomsa's study on Golkar in the post-Soeharto era illustrates a tendency to dominate traditional patron-client practice among the party apparatus. Their existence in the formal structure of the party is influenced by the conventional hierarchy-based social design characteristic of the party. Tomsa attributes this tendency to the case of the Yasin Linpo family in South Sulawesi, which firmly controls the structure of the Golkar party of the area. Tomsa also mentions the battle of three familial powers in South Sulawesi, namely the Yasin Limpo, Halid, Baramuli Brothers, and the Kalla (Nurhasim, 2013). In the next phase, this phenomenon has grown and become "a tradition." It has even become a sort of "pragmatic-transactional politics" and "money-politics" culture that reaches the sub-district and village levels. After the Convention, this phenomenon was seen getting stronger. We can see it through the Golkar Party's VII National Conference on 17-19 December 2004 in Bali, Jusuf Kalla vs. Akbar Tanjung, and the VIII National Conference on October 6-9, 2009, Abu Rizal Bakrie vs.

Surya Paloh. The IX National Conference on November 30 - December 4, 2014, in Bali, which later led to the IX National Conference in Jakarta on 5 - 7 December 2014, organized by the Golkar Party Rescue Team (TPPG) due to the "political deadlock" in the IX National Conference in Bali. As a consequence, there were dual management, namely the central executive board (DPP) of the Jakarta's IX National Conference version, which the Indonesian Ministry approved of Law and Human Rights, and another central executive committee of the Bali's National Conference on November 30 - December 4, 2014. This dual management was then harmonized according to national conferences to be later approved by the Indonesian Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Moreover, it was decided to organize the Extraordinary National Conference (*Munaslub*) from 14-17 May 2016 in Bali. It was, politically speaking, the culmination of the work of the Transitional Team. Significant changes in the "money-politics" culture were found later in the Munaslub on 19 - 20 December 2017 in Jakarta, along with the unanimous election and appointment of Airlangga Hartarto as Chairman of the 2014-2019 Golkar Party's DPP. At the same time, he became the Sole Formator for the revitalization of DPP management to complete the remaining term of the leadership of Setya Novanto elected in the 2016 Bali Munaslub. Setya Novanto was absent due to E-KTP (electronic ID Card) case being handled by the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission). The Golkar Party continued its

Convention on the 2004 Indonesia Presidential Candidate, which was considered transactional-pragmatic. The VII National Conference on 17-19 December 2004 in Bali was the first National Conference of the Golkar Party that gave voting rights to the regional board at the district/city level. The aspirations of Regency/City's regional councils to have voting rights in the National Conference had been raised since the National Conference on July 9 – 11, 1998, but in vain. There were even five national conferences in the 2014-2019 period, an astonishing number for a single five-year term of the Golkar Party's regional board. Without exaggeration, it can be said that Golkar is a political party with the highest number of National Conferences in one period compared to all political parties, even throughout the world. It seems that the "pragmatic transactional politics" in every Golkar Party's national conference has accumulated and spread to various *slag-orde* trapping the party into its fading ideological role and political-transactional culture and behavior-oriented model during the 1998-2017 period. In fact, since its embryonic period, the Golkar Party has been a socio-political force based on Pancasila (Five Principles). It has the Works and Concrete Service Doctrine - called Karya Siaga Gatra Praja (Article 5 and Article 10; Golkar Party AD/*Articles of Association*, 2016). As a result, the image and authority of this party were in the continuous "declining-electability" - and in November 2017-2019 ranked third after PDI-P and Gerindra (various polling institutions for electability surveys for political parties 2017-2019).

In the 2019 Legislative Election, although the Golkar Party was the runner-up, the number of seats for the Golkar Party in the House of Representatives decreased by five seats with 91 seats in the 2014 Legislative Election to 86 seats in 2019. Karl Marx (1818-1883) is the philosopher responsible for popularizing the concept of ideology. According to Marx and Engels (1974: 64), the ideas of the ruling class, which is the class that controls the material in society, are at the same time the verdict intellectual power. This class holds power over the means of mental production, so those who do not have the standards of the mental output will submit to it. Marx argues that there are two versions of ideology that legitimize the ruling class's interests. First, ideas as coherent statements about the world. Second, the dominance of the bourgeoisie and the global perspective is the fruit of capitalism's systemic structures, which leads us to an inadequate understanding of the social world (Barker, 2005). As Gramsci (1971) understands ideology as ideas, meanings, and practices that, although they appear to be universal truths, but are, in fact, maps of meaning that support the power of certain social groups (1971:349).

In line with Althusser's opinion, ideology is not something separate from the practical activities of life but a material phenomenon that has roots in everyday life. Ideology has a role in organizing diverse social elements and binding them together, providing an applicable code of conduct, moral behavior, and offering a particular conception of the world. Ideology also serves to build a "historical block" by which hegemony can be achieved. Ideology manifests in the material practice of every person and every

organization or institution. For Gramsci, the existence of an organization lies in its ideas. They signify the relationship between its concepts and its statements and material practices. Individuals who have similarities in these elements will build organizations to gain hegemony. Ideology, for political parties, is the bearer of ideas (Vassallo & Wilcox, 2006). In a democratic system, ideology will be implemented in the party manifesto, and party programs will become the party's essential attitude in managing state policies (Sugiono & Mas'udi, 2008). The ideological urgency for the party departs from its formation, which is a form of organizing people with similar ideas. As defined by Edmund Burke, political parties are a body of men united, for promoting joint endeavors towards national interest, upon some particular principle as to which they are in agreement (Vassallo and Wilcox, 2006:79). In Indonesia, political parties tend to base their existence on social and political groupings rather than ideological clustering (Dhakidae, 1999).

Golkar's ideology in this study can be interpreted as a systematic set of ideas with several actions that aim to serve the organization's purpose and creation and use. As Schurmann said, the connection between thoughts and activities can be direct or indirect. Several ideas were developed to provide organizations with a mode of understanding their identity and aspirations - these ideas Schurmann called "pure" thoughts. Others are designed to produce direct action consequences, mobilize, - Schurmann calls these "practical" ideas (Mortimer, 2011). Feith (1988) wrote that there were 5 (five) major political ideologies in Indonesia from 1959-1965, namely Radical-Nationalism; Islam; Javanese-traditionalism; Socialism, and; Communism. This ideological footprint remains strong today, as evidenced by the emergence of various social organizations and political parties, which are considered to have inherited the ideological line in the ideological configuration of Feith and Castles (1970; 1988). However, since the political context is very different nowadays, the political ideology of the 1950s is not identical with the political ideology of the 2000s. The description of the ideological configuration, according to Herbert Feith and Lance Castles (1970; 1988), is a "section" of traditional concepts, Hindu concepts/Javanese concepts, western concepts, Islamic concepts, influences from inside and outside the Indonesian political system, as elaborated in: Map of Five Schools of Political Thought in Indonesia According to Herbert Feith and Lance Castles 1959-1975.

Notably, there is an "inaccuracy" in the work of Feith and Castles (1970, 1988) for not including work ideology as an analysis object. The idea had many supporters, especially among workers, civil servants, teachers, farmers, fishers, industrial workers, plantation workers, cooperatives, combat veterans, and the military. The latter proved to be becoming more significant and prominent during the New Order era (1967-1998). Without strong roots, the ideology of concrete service would not develop rapidly and therefore, will not be able to rank at the top in the highly competitive general election after the New Order era. Although the party consistently

ranks second, it won the Legislative Election in 2004. Indeed, there were no major supporters of this ideology in the 1950s which submerged in the jargon of great or conventional or mainstream political ideologies such as nationalism, Islam, socialism-democracy, and communism. However, ideas about concrete service-politics have been springing up since the 1930s through Soekarno's thoughts and ideas about groups, includes groups of workers, farmers, teachers, and others (Soekarno; 1926).

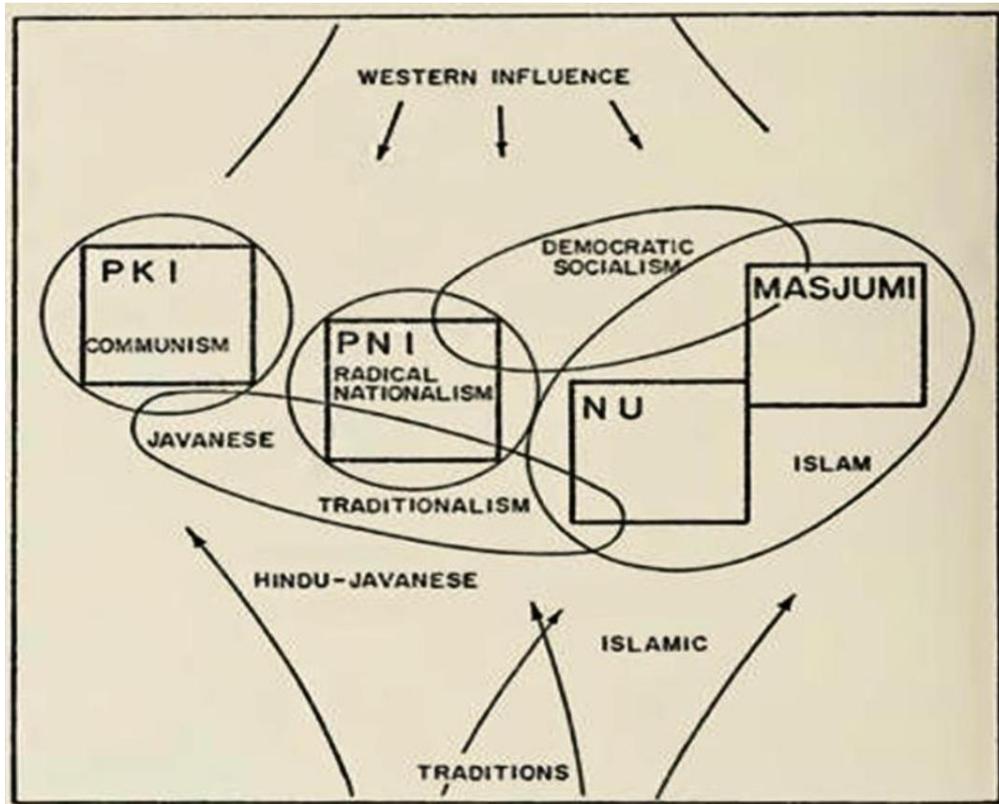


Figure 1. Political Parties and Streams of Political Thinking

In this context, Soekarno propounded that the fundamental conception of the democratic system in Indonesia is about what is referred to as socio-democracy or democracy with a social character and not a democracy with a bourgeois character (Soekarno; 1945 and; 1933). Implementing the basic principles of socio-democracy or democracy with a sociable character is the incarnation of all elements of the nation's body, which means a sort of direct "miniature" of the nation's empirical configuration as a unified political, economic, and cultural body or entity. The concept of incarnation is more comprehensive compared to the idea of representation. In this incarnation, other elements of the nation are manifested, which are socio-empirically referred to as groups. These groups may be distinguished from the phenomenon of political dynamics partly based on the five schools of political thought in Indonesia, as explained by Herbert Feith and Lance Castle's in their study resultsre (1970). In addition to socio-democratic understanding, Soekarno also popularised the idea of socio-nationalism,

namely nationalism, with a social character. Socio-nationalism is different from 19th-century European nationalism.

European nationalism is a product of the power of individualism-capitalism and liberalism, while in the end, the "full" capitalism was transformed into colonialism and imperialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Feith and Castle did not observe the politics of concrete service that overshadowed these groups--later called functional groups in 1957. Socio-nationalism, socio-democracy, and culture-embedded divinity serve as the alternative and synthesis of the ideologies that Feith and Castle philosophically examine, and which later became an alternative political institution in the form of functional groups in the years 1957-1965, in the sense of institutional growth. Socio-nationalism, socio-democracy, and the culture-embedded divinity constructed by Soekarno are the substance of Marhaenism. According to Soekarno, "Marhaenism" was principally Indonesian-style socialism (Soekarno, 1957). The main essence of the three main ideas in the construction and substance of Marhaenism is what Soekarno called mutual cooperation (Soekarno; 1957). The principle of kinship and mutual cooperation is one of the principles of the Pancasila-based doctrine of the Golkar Party (1983; until now; 2019). Golkar/Golkar Party ideologues (1983) explain the ideology of concrete service as follows: "...it has become a fact that political groupings based solely on the level of social class, sect, religion, and belief in God Almighty and on ethnic groups will always lead to protracted conflicts. Concrete service is the only good possibility, which can channel commonalities and creatively overcome the existing conflicts of interest within society.

The concrete service-based grouping is a formation that fits human nature and responds to the demands of the times. It becomes a creative channel since it is centered on a clear division of labor between each service form based on power, creativity, initiative, and work. Through concrete service, the pattern of reciprocity can also be harmoniously aligned towards the fulfillment of common needs." In this context, although New Order's concrete service ideology is theoretically included in the ideological concept of developmentalism, and is a species of Weyner's (1976) modernization theory. In the Indonesian context, the concrete service ideology is a species of socio-democratic doctrine; socio-nationalism and culture-embedded divinity to correct the course of the Indonesian Revolution in the 1957-1959 period that had been trapped in political-liberalism of the Liberal Democracy era from November 3, 1945, until 1959. It was conveyed in President Soekarno's Speech before the VIII PGRI Congress and later coming to be known as the Presidential Conception dated February 21, 1957, and announced through RRI (Radio of the Republic of Indonesia) at 20.05 o'clock (Toto Rahardjo and Herdianto; 2001).

Feithh (1984) reveals the thoughts of the Indonesian political elite in the mid-1960s, which encouraged the strengthening of the ideology of

[concrete service \(1984\)](#). Under the military leadership, the "New Order" brought the spirit of anti-party politics and anti-political instability, especially in regional areas. The experience of the generals in quelling regional insurgencies and being repeatedly "swerved" by civilian politicians in making essential decisions has shaped the political stance that underlines the idea of concrete service. [David Reeve \(2013\)](#) added that Sukarno in 1957 had proposed to "bury the parties" and replace them with functional groups ([Soekarno; 1957](#)). The concept was initiated to distinguish it from ideological groups attached to political parties. The active group is a concept that refers to a group of people in society positioned based on their function or work or strategic role in society, such as laborers, farmers, fishers, teachers, and not on primordialism. However, this begs the question of what is the substance of the work or concrete service? Is this ideology the same or similar to the workers' ideology?

usually promoted by the workers' party and the working people's party? According to [Tanjung \(2007\)](#), Golkar still holds on to the Work and Concrete Service Doctrine in continuation the Golkar Joint Secretariat's struggle even though it has become a political party. Golkar's doctrine is commonly called Karya Siaga Gatra Praja. Work or concrete service is the main activity of humans to fulfill physiological and sociological needs in life, as stated by [Maslow \(1980\)](#). It is a medium for human existence since their existential role in society is also necessary. Every human being works, and the work aspired is capable of influencing more and more people. In other words, according to [Tanjung \(2007\)](#), Golkar's ideology can be called the ideology of work or defined as parties that put forward ideas and development programs. Golongan Karya/Golkar Party, since its inception, has been based on Pancasila ([Article 4 AD; 1983](#)).

Golkar is a socio-political organization oriented towards work and concrete service ([Article 3 paragraph 1 AD; 1983](#)). The Golkar Work Meeting in March 1972 was successful in formulating in detail the organizational doctrine and Golkar Work Program covering ideology, politics, economy, society, and defense and security. Regarding ideology, Golkar strengthened Pancasila as the only state ideology. Golkar supports the democratic life of Pancasila and restores the functions of the state's highest institutions under the 1945 Constitution. It encourages the renewal of the political structure by simplifying the party's operational and socio-political forces. The party changed the ideological orientation pattern into programs, liberating the people from the shackles of practical politics, mobilizing them in economic development, and promoting the state apparatus to achieve a clean and robust government. Through this doctrine, it is clear that Golkar intended to play its role as a political reformer in Indonesia, that is, a program oriented socio-political power, rejecting politicking among the people, which is later known as the floating mass policy. The ideology of concrete service is often "contrasted" with Islamic ideology in that this ideology is equated with Pancasila ([Suryadinata, 1992](#)). [Boileau \(1983\)](#) also embraces this basis of thought when explaining the rapid development of the doctrine of concrete service

in Indonesia, which replaced the ideologies that had previously existed. According to Boileau, Golkar's rapid growth in Indonesia was due to the cultural approach that reaffirmed the patron-client relationship for hundreds of years in Indonesia. Golkar changed the pattern of this relationship into a modern society and modern organization.

However, whatever position or regardless of the cost it takes, everything is determined by the "father" in Jakarta, who acted as the patron. Nevertheless, Golkar's modernity is characterized by its articles of association, by-laws, a clear and firm organizational structure, a regeneration system, the distribution of functions in its design, and orientation towards development. The previous works of [Moertopo \(1974\)](#), [Bahasoan \(1981\)](#), [Suryadinata \(1982\)](#), [Boileu \(1983\)](#), and [Akbar Tanjung \(2014\)](#) paid little attention to or even completely ignored Soekarno's role in his concrete service politics. This article, on the contrary, highlights Soekarno as the first and principal initiator of the birth of definite service politics in Indonesia. At the same time, he is the initiator and driver of the formation and entry of functional groups into the state structure and organization of the "vanguard party" or "Staat-Partij" in the National Front (Presidential Decree No. 13 of 1959). Finally, the functional group became the Golkar Joint Secretariat on October 20, 1964, part of the National Front (Gazette of State and Party Institutions; 1961, pp. 345-421). [David Reeve \(2013\)](#) places Soekarno's idea in the context of state organization, namely state corporatism or collectivism. How are political groups and parties organized to participate in government to reflect the "incarnation" of Indonesian society? In the organizational pattern of western countries, only political parties are legitimately competing for political positions. In both parliamentary and presidential systems, public offices are only distributed among political parties. Meanwhile, Indonesia has various ethnic groups, subcultures, religions, races, and groups such as workers, farmers, students, employees, etc. If the legitimacy or path of political participation is only through political parties, many groups and classes in Indonesia are not represented.

For [Reeve \(2013\)](#), Soekarno initiated Golkar in organizing a society through a state administration system. Meanwhile, this paper places Soekarno's ideas deeper, namely as "the ideological roots and whose operations are through concrete service organizations or groups or called functional groups not affiliated to political parties. Soekarno's idea of Golkar's concrete service-politics was formed with the strong support of three work organizations, namely Kosgoro, MKGR, and SOKSI. These three organizations were also established with Soekarno's support for Achmad Yani ([Ramadhan KH and Sriwibawa; 2000](#)) as part of the implementation of the Presidential Conception dated February 21, 1957, on politics, especially parties in the era of Guided Democracy system 1959-1965. Through their respective activities, these three organizations played a role in supporting the birth of the Golkar Joint Secretariat in 1964 ([Imam Pratigny; 1982](#)), which later became Golkar in 1973 ([DPP Golkar; 1973](#)).

While at the peak of its power, the military played a more dominant role. According to Surjadinata (1992), Golkar had a strong position in Indonesian politics of the period because the ideology of concrete service they fought for has its roots in the culture of the Indonesian people. Indonesian political culture is dominated by a concept called *abangan*, introduced by Geertz (1983), which refers to a group of people who formally adhere to the religion (Islam) but do not practice Islamic rituals obediently. Along with the *priyayi*, the *abangan* political culture dominates Indonesian politics through nationalist and other non-religious parties.

Suryadinata followed Geertz's argument by saying that the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and later, the Golkar controlled the bureaucracy and the military; Indonesian political elites with *abangan* political culture for the military *priyayi* political culture for the bureaucracy. Having the military and bureaucracy as its main strength, the New Order Golkar was also supported by mass power through a single organization, which Mas'ood (1989) referred to as state-corporatism, or what political science terminology referred to as interest-representation. This concept is taken from the idea of Italian fascism, which places the state as the sole authority holder for the representatives of interests (Mas'ood; 1989 and Surbakti; 1992) or called a Corporate-Bureaucratic state. State corporatism only forms one mass organization for fields of work or hobby. This organization is fully controlled by state officials who automatically become Golkar cadres to give full support to the party. In this manner, the New Order Golkar gained broad support throughout Indonesia and ensured long-term political stability. Empirically and historically, political groupings based solely on grouping social class levels, conflicts between classes, political sects, race, ethnicity, religion, and belief in God have often led to protracted conflicts in society and divisions within the nation. They result in instability politics and insecurity in society and the country (Golkar; 1973 and Moertopo; 1978). Concrete service is one of the alternative ideologies that can strengthen and synergize on the basis of similarities or overcome the existing conflicts of interest in society.

The grouping based on concrete service is a group that fits human nature and the progress with the times (Golkar; 1973). In this context, the state and its power are not the results of class conflict and the domination of a particular class, leading the state towards realizing its class interests. The ideological conception of concrete service builds nations and states through a system of alignment and regulation towards a particular condition of harmony. Ideally, all political and state systems should function in harmony. The principle of the ideology of work, in the author's view, is congruent with the essence of the mutual cooperation concept based on the harmony and balance of functions within the social system in a constructive, creative and dynamic manner so that the whole system as a totality can be productive and is able benefit all groups within the citizens or the construction of the nation-state. This understanding is in line with the mutual cooperation state concept, which proposes to overcome all

group ideas, regional ideologies, and interpretations based on primordial ties in an integralist state structure.

In the author's view, the systems approach is more suitable for understand the mutual cooperation-state. The concept is more oriented toward the principles of equilibrium in the state system, nationality, and national parties to create harmony from each element for the nation-state system and construction totality. During the course of the oresent study, we observe the nature of the ideology of concrete service, the work in Pancasila, and the concept of the concrete service community as formulated by A.E. Manihuruk and Tim in the early [New Order Golkar era \(1973\)](#) and also by [Ali Moertopo \(1976\)](#). They have become the standard formulation of the Golkar Party in explaining and describing the nature of the ideology of concrete service and the concrete service community. They can be "portrayed" based on structural theory-functional as developed by Talcott Parsons, whose main assumptions are outlined above. By understanding the concrete service ideology in the perspective of structural-functional theory, we understand why Golkar and the Golkar Party have always taken the "middle" position in any situation and often seem compromising in many forms of neutrality. The public can perceive it as opportunists in its extreme form. The construction of the Golkar Party's concrete service ideology that has been adopted to date is indeed vulnerable to the creation of pragmatic thoughts, attitudes, behavior, and actions and even prone to pragmatism.

Pragmatic, defined as thoughts and actions to conform, maybe a tactical step. However, pragmatism has a negative connotation as an unconscionable political attitude. The attitude of pragmatism moves away from the ideals and principles of morality and ethical principles in case of political behavior and actions. Pragmatism causes a decline in morality and militancy towards the cadres' struggling spirit. It is often separated from the principles of the party's struggle. The basic principles of the ideology of concrete service are structures and functions coordinating in the social, national, and state systems to create stability ([Golkar: 1973](#)) like in Marhaenism, which is an example of Indonesian-style socialism. It is a description given in the official document of the Golkar Party from 1973 to the present regarding the Golkar Party Doctrine: "That grouping based on class, ethnicity, religion, race, and others only results in prolonged political conflict. It causes prolonged political instability and disharmony in society, nation, and state. Therefore, the community grouping and empowerment in the ideological assumptions of concrete service will be more appropriate with the alignment mechanism between structures and various functions in society as a whole and totality." ([Golkar; 1973](#))." The 1998 political reforms changed Golkar and its body instantly. Firstly, the loss of formal military and bureaucratic support.

Secondly, since social power is the central pillar supporting Golkar, without these two organizations, whose organizational structures have been built

all over Indonesia, Golkar as a political machine would not be able to mobilize mass support. Golkar needs to create independence by becoming a party that genuinely relies on the help of the electorate. Golkar then required a new identity as a political party. The second change is no less critical: the fading of Suharto's prestige after he fell from power as President, although he still became the Chairman of the Golkar Board of Trustees. Suharto no longer had power and thus was no longer able to influence the Golkar's DPP Management. Suharto completely lost power after the Extraordinary National Conference in July 1998. Even Suharto's sons and daughters left Golkar, and Titiek Hedyati Suharto was the last one to leave Golkar in 2017. To respond to political changes and adjust Golkar in the midst of a rapidly changing political landscape, Golkar held a National Leadership Meeting (Rapimnas) on June 3, 1998. The meeting resolution firmly stated that 1. Under its doctrine, Golkar will keep carrying on reforms in all fields. However, the process is carried out in a constitutional, democratic, orderly and ethical manner, and with strong national unity and integrity; 2. In the spirit of reform, both by the organization and by structure, Golkar remains consistent with the ideological genus of work-based and concrete service based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and national values 3.

To establish self-confidence in identity and in order to realise these goals and ideals, Golkar calls on Golkar cadres to carry out consolidation, including ideal consolidation, consolidation of insight, and consolidation of the organization, from the center to the regions by adhering to Golkar's articles of association, 4. Concerning the life and conditions of national development, especially in the current deplorable economic sector, Golkar calls on its cadres to increase their capacities to help overcome and improve the state of the Indonesian economy, which has urgent needs for overcoming it, 5. To anticipate the political field, Golkar agrees and commits its support to accelerating the expedient implementation of the General Election as well as to organize the Special Session of House of Representatives (MPR) on a constitutional basis from 10 to November 13, 1998. The ideology of work and concrete service remains Golkar's orientation in working in the reform era. Golkar has no interest in prominent world ideologies such as socialism, liberalism, capitalism, etc. But consistent with struggling in the path of work and concrete service. Golkar, of course, has its reasons for its choice amid the proliferation of parties that revive the spirit of liberal democracy, such as nationalist parties, religious parties, and socialist parties. By continuing to put forward the ideology of concrete service, Golkar wants to continue the development that has been initiated since 1969 through the Five Year Development Program (Pelita). As stated in the next section, Golkar's consistency in carrying out real programs made it a runner-up in the elections in 1999, 2009 and 2014, and 2019 (except in the 2004 Election, the Golkar Party won the 2004 Legislative Election).

However, a shifting social basis of leadership has sometimes led Golkar to be "perceived" by the public as a highly pragmatic, even opportunist party. The elimination of the structure of the central executive board, which previously had enormous power at the 1998 Extraordinary National Conference, is a fundamental change. Before the 1998 Munaslub, the central executive committee had the authority to freeze the Golkar's regional boards. The party administrators of the central executive board used to serve as the implementor of wishes of the board chairman, Suharto. The party then had less independence, and the party's general Chairman was not the highest decision-maker. The central executive board was replaced by an advisor whose suggestions and opinions are not binding. Golkar began to step up as a political party after a structural reshuffle that eliminated the position of the central executive board. Golkar also restructured the party from the central to the regional (village) level. This led to the changing of the old structure that only covers districts/cities with the floating-mass policy. Leaders were placed at the sub-district and village/kelurahan with different titles (Article of Association 1998--2019). The Chairman of Golkar in 1998-2004, Akbar Tanjung suggested the internal changes of the Golkar Party in responding to the political situation in the early 2000s as a new paradigm for the Golkar Party. It is expected that Golkar would build new values in line with the demands of reform and make itself an open (inclusive), independent, democratic, moderate, rooted, and responsive political party working to overcome problems of the community, nation, and state. It needs to consistently carry out the functions of political parties with this new paradigm. This type of formulation is not close to the picture of an ideal political party. Nevertheless, this new paradigm can become a driving force for the Golkar Party, a new spirit towards a real political party.

Conclusion

Golkar was seeking to adapt to reform by revitalizing fundamental values and changing paradigms. This reformation entailed changes in the political structure, bringing to fore new socio-political values, such as demands for democratization, political participation, transparency, and social justice, all of which posed severe challenges for the Golkar Party. As a political organization with a stigma due to its closeness to the New Order, which was widely criticized during the reformation period, Golkar must respond to changes in values and order in political life in Indonesia to survive. Following the reformation, it is undeniable that Golkar needs to change or readjust its paradigm. Indeed, the old political structure and culture (the New Order) led to corruption, collusion, and nepotism and a loss of citizens' trust and faith in the system. The political reforms of 1998 marked the end of the patronage relationship between Golkar and power. Consequently, Golkar needed to build a new identity in response to various changes in the democratic transition period. Golkar chose a progressive and reformist leadership policy to create a new identity and culture for the

Golkar Party. With this new paradigm, Golkar's doctrine resulted from Golkar's Joint Secretariat, born on October 20, 1964.

The principle of Work and Concrete Service, *Siaga Gatra Praja*, remains firmly held by the Golkar Party, open to creative and dynamic interpretations according to each era's spirit. With this doctrine, the Golkar Party always sees society from a functional perspective, not an ideological standpoint, let alone teaching. The best community grouping in this party's view is based on its roles and functions. This view has made the Golkar Party program-oriented and problem-solving, not sect-oriented or ideology-oriented. Based on this perspective, the Golkar Party disagreed with making political groupings based on primordialism and sectarianism. The party was worried that it would raise an ideological conflict that would lead to conflict, division, and the nation's integrity. The doctrine of the Golkar Party is understood as a sense of concern for witnessing political life marked by rampant unfair competition among various political parties that lead to political conflicts and contradictions. Competition makes political parties mobilize mass support for narrow interests while downplaying the nation's broader interests. Following this trend, Indonesian people lost the momentum to build themselves up to realize the ideals of the proclamation. The Golkar Party came up with the Work-Concrete Service Doctrine with a view to not wanting to divide the nation along a narrow view that would only threaten the nation's integrity.

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