Research Article

Escalation of Political Conflict in the Management of the West Sumatera Hanura Party Regional Representative Council

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Abstract. This research discusses the political conflict in managing the Regional Executive Board of Hanura Political Party in West Sumatera. The method used in this research is a qualitative approach with descriptive type. The theory used in this research is the theory of conflict-causing factors from Simon Fisher and the concept of political conflict from Ramlan Surbakti. From the research that was conducted, it was found that some factors caused the political conflicts. Firstly, a sense of distrust from the management of the regional executive Board of Hanura Political Party in West Sumatera towards Osman Sapta Odang. Secondly, the Chief of Regional Executive Board of Hanura Political Party in West Sumatera was disappointed about Wiranto's inability to take an outright stance regarding the conflicts that occurred in the management. Thirdly, a lack of mutual respect between senior and junior figures of the Hanura Political Party in West Sumatera. Fourthly, different opinions about party management between Osman Sapta Odang's side and Daryatmo's side. The political conflict in Hanura has implications for the replacement of the chairman of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia and the dismissal of 10 Hanura Political Party members from the Regional House of Representatives in West Sumatera, who are on Daryatmo's side; therefore the dismissed cadres chose to switch parties.

Keywords: Political Conflict, Hanura Political Party, Implication.

A. INTRODUCTION

Political parties (Parpol) are a common phenomenon in democratic life, and their existence has a significant meaning. A democratic system can't run well without political parties. Political parties as intermediaries linking social forces and ideologies with official government institutions and linking them to broader political action in society to obtain political power by constitutional means.

In a country that does not have a political party, it can be called a country that does not have the institutional means in leadership succession to encourage continuous change and absorb all the turmoil of changes that occur in society. The Party plays a very strategic liaison role between government and citizens. Therefore, political parties are pillars in a democratic political system.

Many even say that it is political parties that actually determine democracy. With the strengthening of the role of political parties in the life of a democratic country, conflicts within the political parties have begun to arise, both social conflicts and political conflicts. Conflict is a relationship between two or more parties (individuals or groups) who have or feel they have incompatible goals.
Political conflicts within political parties are increasing, both at the central and regional levels. One of the parties being hit by conflict problems is the Hanura Party. This conflict occurred because of differences in interests between the general chairman and the secretary-general.

This conflict also affected the management of the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council. The decree evidence this, Osman Sapta Odang, on behalf of the party leadership, dismissed Marlis and revoked the party membership card, and asked Marlis to return all the assets of the Hanura Party.

One area that was clearly affected by the conflict, namely the management of Hanura in West Sumatera, the dualism that occurred in the Hanura Party in West Sumatera, made 10 cadres who are now sitting in Regional People’s Representative Assembly seats, have to be vacant for a moment because their membership status was dismissed by the general chairman Osman Sapta. Because previously, they supported the dismissal of Osman Sapta Odang, who was promoted by the secretary-general Saifuddin Sudden.

The critical role of political parties in today's government makes political parties inseparable from conflicts of interest both externally and internally. On the one hand, this conflict may create a dynamic situation within the political Party itself. Still, on the other hand, political parties may experience setbacks due to instability within their Party.

The idealism of political parties, which requires parties to act as locomotives in socio-political change, has turned out to be a mere means of achieving power. The Party's struggle orientation is no longer rooted in the people, but more dependent on ability.

The power struggle that occurs, often individuals in political parties have different interests. It is not uncommon for tensions (tensions) to arise, and even further stages can become internal conflicts of political parties.

The conflict that occurred within the Hanura Party led to the dismissal of 10 Regional People’s Representative Assembly members from the West Sumatera Hanura Party. The ten fired people include Marlis, a West Sumatera Regional People’s Representative Assembly member, Yendril, Zaharman, and Osman Ayub, a Padang City Regional People’s Representative Assembly member the Pesisir Selatan Regional People’s Representative Assembly, Syarianto and Erniwati. From the city of South Solok, Marwan Efendi and Afdal, members of the Dhamasraya Regional People’s Representative Assembly and the last member of the Tanah Datar Regional People’s Representative Assembly, Yuni Darlis.

From the explanation of the phenomenon that occurred, the researcher assumes that the internal conflict that occurred within the Hanura Party has not been completed at the Regional Representative Council level in West Sumatera because after the management agreement at the central station, however, there were still dismissals of the cadres of the Daryatmo camp at the West Sumatera level.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. The Concept of Political Conflict

Ramlan Surbakti asserts that political conflict is defined as differences of opinion, competition, and opposition between several individuals, groups, or organizations to obtain and maintain the sources of decisions made and implemented by the government.

Basically, politics always contains conflicts and competing interests. A match usually starts from a controversy that arises in various political events, where the discussion begins with abstract and general things, then moves and proceeds to become a conflict.

A political conflict is a form of social conflict, both of which have similar characteristics; the only thing that distinguishes social and political conflict is a political word
that carries a specific connotation for the term political conflict, which is related to the state or government, political or government officials, and policies.

According to Surbakti, political conflicts are grouped into two types. First, positive conflicts are conflicts that do not threaten the existence of the political system, which are usually channeled through conflict resolution mechanisms that are mutually agreed upon with the constitution.

The two harmful conflicts are conflicts that can threaten the existence of the political system, which are usually channeled through non-constitutional means, such as coups, separatism, terrorism, and revolution.

2. Institutionalization of Political Parties

According to Scott Mainwaring, there are four dimensions of institutionalization of political parties. First, in a party system that has undergone institutionalization, there is a stable pattern of political party competition. There is no personal domination of a political elite. Second, in a system that has undergone institutionalization, political parties have strong roots in society. There is a solid ideological bond between voters and political parties. This bond then fosters loyalty in the hearts of voters to make political parties firmly rooted in society. Third, there is an acknowledgment from elites and citizens that political parties are fundamental and essential for democratic life. Fourth, in a system that has undergone institutionalization, political parties have clear internal structures, procedures, and routines. (Mainwaring, 1998: 67-81). According to Huntington, the institutionalization of political parties is an organizational process and system to obtain specific values and stability.

3. Factors Causing Conflict

To analyze the factors causing conflict in this study, the researcher used the contribution theory proposed by Simon Fisher. Fisher contributed several ideas to investigate the causes of war, including: First, the public relations theory.

This theory argues that conflict is caused by ongoing polarization, distrust, and hostility between different groups in a society. This theory aims to improve communication and mutual understanding between groups experiencing conflict. This theory also seeks tolerance so that people are more accepting of the diversity in it.

The second is the principle of negotiation theory. This theory assumes that conflict is caused by positions that are not in harmony and differences in views about war by the parties experiencing conflict. The goal of this theory is to help conflict parties to separate personal feelings from problems and issues. Third, the idea of human needs assumes that deep-rooted conflict is caused by basic human-physical, mental, and social needs that are not met or blocked; security, identity, recognition, participation, and autonomy are often at the heart of the conversation.

Fourth, identity theory, this theory assumes that conflict is caused by a threatened identity, which is often rooted in the loss of an unresolved past suffering. The goal of this theory is that through dialogue between the conflict parties, it is hoped that they can identify the threats and fears that they each feel and build empathy and reconciliation between them. This theory also aims to improve long-term relationships and attitudes between parties experiencing conflict.

C. METHOD

In this study, the researcher will use a qualitative approach with a descriptive type. This research is more focused on the political conflict in the management of the West Sumatera
Hanura Party Regional Representative Council. The role of the researcher as a research instrument so that researchers can process information by conducting interviews to explain the factors that cause conflict and the implications of conflicts that occur in Regional Representative Council Hanura West Sumatera.

In selecting the informants, this research used the purposive sampling technique to obtain the correct data from the right people. The informants studied have several criteria determined by the researcher; this is necessary. If the selected informants cannot be interviewed, they will be replaced with other informants who meet the requirements so that the research can be carried out correctly.

In analyzing this research using ethical and emic analysis. Honest data is the view of the informant on the results of interviews or data obtained. While emic is data obtained in in-depth interviews from informants, transcripts that have been selected and qualified according to the needs and abilities of the author.

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Conflict Chronology

The beginning of the conflicting turmoil that occurred in the management of the Hanura Regional Representative Council was motivated by a loss of trust in the direction of the Hanura Party Regional Representative Council towards the control, which had an impact on the management of West Sumatera after the change of leadership from Wiranto to Osman Sapta Odang.

The replacement of Wiranto's position as general chairman who has been appointed as Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs which is following President Jokowi's political commitment. The hope of most Regional Representative Council chairpersons in Indonesia asking Moeldoko as deputy chairman of the Hanura Party to replace Wiranto's position as general chairman, then built intense communication, both with fellow Regional Representative Council chairpersons or with Moeldoko.

Seeing the dynamics that occur in the management body regarding the candidate who will replace him, Wiranto tried to accommodate this interest by holding a closed meeting with Regional Representative Council leaders throughout Indonesia at Wiranto's private residence. During the meeting, several Hanura Party Regional Representative Council leaders questioned Wiranto's decision to choose Osman Sapta Odang as the Party's general chairman. In a meeting held by Wiranto in private. Wiranto only attended this meeting as the general chairman, and all Regional Representative Council heads without a single Party Board of Trustees administrator. So, in this closed meeting forum, the researchers considered that Wiranto was coercing his will on the mechanism for selecting the Hanura Party general chairman to be held in the Munaslub forum.

In the process of selecting Osman Sapta Odang as the general chairman of the Hanura Party, the researchers based on 2 assumptions of Osman Sapta Odang's capital, namely symbolic and financial capital. The first capital is symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is a type of resource that is optimized to achieve symbolic power. With the position as chairman of the Regional Representative Council RI as well as deputy chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia of course with the symbol of the leadership of the high state institutions of the Regional Representative Council Indonesian Republic and the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia, Wiranto certainly thinks it can boost the Party's flexibility if it is led by the chairman of the Regional Representatives Council.

The second capital owned by Osman Sapta Odang is the economic capital. Economic capital is a resource that can be a means of production and financial means. This economic capital is a type of capital that is easily converted into other forms of capital.
Apart from being a public figure who has a leadership position in high state institutions, Osman Sapta is also a successful businessman who owns the OSO group of companies with a wealth of USD 350 million and positions himself as one of the wealthiest people in Indonesia.

After being appointed as general chairman of the Hanura Party, Osman Sapta began to make controversial policies, namely by including members of the Regional Representative Council Indonesian Republic in the management of the Party Board of Trustees and Regional Representative Council, sacking several Regional Representative Council leaders and replacing them with colleagues of Osman Sapta. Furthermore, it is forbidden to put Wiranto's photo on every billboard to be installed, including pictures at the Regional Representative Council and DPC secretariats throughout Indonesia. For the rules for making billboards, it is enough to attach a photo of Osman Sapta as the general chairman, the chairman of the Regional Representative Council, or the chairman of the DPC.

This policy was the beginning of a vote of no confidence against the general chairman. The Regional Representative Council management then met with Wiranto to ask for a solution to the problems that occurred in the direction of Hanura; Wiranto recommended carrying out the Munaslb as a legal and constitutional forum.

This forum is intended to discuss the mechanism for resolving the issue of distrust in this management. Representatives of the advisory council and the honorary council of the Hanura Party were also present at the plenary held by most of the Regional Representative Council heads and Party Board of Trustees administrators.

The results of the plenary meeting approved the dismissal of Osman Sapta Odang as the legitimate general chairman and had been signed the day before, namely on Sunday, January 14, 2018. The main reason was the motion of no confidence from 27 Regional Representative Council and 400 DPC asking for a change of general chairman. The dismissal of Osman Sapta Odang gave rise to leadership dualism, because after the plenary meeting forum sacked Osman Sapta Odang as chairman of the conference, he also appointed deputy general chairman Daryatmo as the acting general chairman (Plt).

Since the birth of the entire decision that was agreed upon by most of the Regional Representative Council and Party Board of Trustees administrators of the Hanura Party regarding the dismissal of the general chairman Osman Sapta Odang, this decision even became the beginning of a split in the Hanura management body at the central level, which had an impact on the regional level, including West Sumatera, because after all, Marlis was at the forefront to overthrow the power of Osman Sapta Odang.

**2. Factors Causing Conflict**

The research findings on the factors that cause conflict, including first, the theory of public relations. This theory argues that war is caused by ongoing polarization, forms of distrust, and hostility between different groups in a society.

In terms of managing the party Party Board of Trustees secretariat, Osman Sapta began to make policies that benefited himself, namely moving the location of the party secretariat to The City Tower building. Still, after being moved, he was ordered to pay rent for the new administration. Initially, the location of the Hanura Party Party Board of Trustees secretariat was on Jalan Raya Hankam Headquarters No. 69, Bambu Apus, Cilandak, East Jakarta.

However, there is something that makes the Regional Representative Council management heart disappointed. The disappointment started when I heard the news that the current Party Board of Trustees secretariat office was not free but was rented because one of the staff of the OSO Group company came to ask for a building lease from the Party Board of Trustees management.
This theory assumes that conflict is caused by positions that are not in harmony and differences in views about war by the parties experiencing conflict. The replacement of the chairman and secretary of the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council by Osman Sapta Odang made several senior figures of West Sumatera Hanura feel unappreciated.

From the narrative that was conveyed by the secretary of the Regional Representative Council Hanura West Sumatera, the Muslim version of Harun under the leadership of Daryatmo did have a sense of solidarity amid the political conflict that plagued his Party. Negotiations that both parties should have carried out did not produce satisfactory results, so many senior figures from the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council under the leadership of Marlis did not want to be included in the management of Marzul Veri.

Third, the theory of human needs assumes that deep-rooted conflict is caused by primary human-physical, mental, and social conditions that are not met or blocked; security, identity, recognition, participation, and autonomy are often at the heart of the conversation.

Fourth, identity theory, this theory assumes that conflict is caused by a threatened identity, which is often rooted in the loss of an unresolved past suffering. The political conflict that occurred in the Hanura Party became a hot discussion at the beginning of 2018 because this would impact the electability of the Party.

In the process of selecting Osman Sapta as general chairman of the Hanura Party by acclamation, there was a process of instructions carried out by Wiranto to all Regional Representative Council heads, even though the Regional Representative Council Chairmen wanted Moeldoko as general chairman.

### 3. Conflict Implications

The political conflict in Hanura had implications for the replacement of the Regional Representative Council chairman and the dismissal of 10 members of the West Sumatera Hanura Regional People’s Representative Assembly from the Daryatmo camp, so that the fired cadres chose to change parties. However, this conflict also had a good impact on developing the Party's organizational structure to the sub-branch level.

In addition, the new Regional Representative Council management can carry out the primary care plan, which has never been carried out, since the 12 years the Hanura Party was founded in West Sumatera. The political conflict of the Hanura Party is a reflection of how damaged the sub-system of the Party in Indonesia is because the Party has evolved into an economic institution that requires interests and financial capital transactions.

### 4. Institutionalization of the Hanura Party in West Sumatera

In the discussion regarding the institutionalization of the Hanura Party in West Sumatera, there are four parameters that the researcher uses as a reference in analyzing the institutionalization process of the Party, including:

First, in well-standardized parties, there is a stable pattern of competition. The loss of party stability in the context of management is apparent; the change of chairman of the Regional Representative Council by Osman Sapta Odang is considered a trigger for new conflicts. Marzullo Veri's activeness in the world of parties is untested. Since being elected as chairman of the new Regional Representative Council, Marzul Veri has also received a rejection from DPC administrators throughout West Sumatera due to the leadership succession in West Sumatera.

The organizing process carried out by Marzul Veri to get value and stability in his management is undoubtedly a good indicator. In the course of the administration, Marzul Veri is no longer running for chairman of the Regional Representative Council Hanura West Sumatera; he prefers to recommend Zulfadri, who was chairman of Bapilu during Marzul Veri’s
tenure as chairman of the Regional Representative Council. Zulfadri is also an HMI Alumni Kors, a friend of Marzul Veri’s organization at HMI. The researcher concluded that the stability of the management of the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council occurred because of the strengthening of the group network to fill strategic positions in the administration.

The second dimension of the institutionalization of political parties is that they have strong roots in society. Party ideology and jargon can become roots in the community. In the matter of the conflict that occurred in the Hanura Party, researchers considered that Hanura at the West Sumatera level did not yet have strong roots; this was evidenced by the decline in the number of supports obtained in the 2019 legislative elections.

In the 2019 election, Hanura lost its slogan and support for the 2019 legislative election. The presidential election also exacerbated this condition. We at Regional Representative Council have tried hard to get help from the community, starting from socialization to debriefing the campaign team and witnesses at each polling station.

The Hanura Party does not yet have roots in the community because the Hanura Party management has never carried out political education and the introduction of party ideology in West Sumatera. This training has just become a discourse in the administration led by Marzul Veri. Parties that are rooted in society have strong ideological ties between voters and parties. This bond will foster loyalty in the hearts of voters to make the Party firmly rooted in the community.

The third dimension is recognizing elites and citizens that political parties are fundamental for democratic life. Political parties are the only vehicle that elites can use to compete in filling political positions. Political conflicts that occurred in the management of the Hanura Party added to the decline in public confidence in political parties.

Low public trust in political parties makes the recognition of political parties also decline. People only think of political parties as institutions that live at the moment of election contestation; this is in line with the findings of the Indonesian survey institute, which places political parties in the lowest position. This condition was also confirmed by the Executive Director of Indonesian Politics, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, that "trust in political parties is only 47 percent or less than half of the people who trust this institution. Political parties rank the lowest compared to other public institutions.

The fourth dimension is that a well-standardized party has a clear internal structure, procedures, and routines. In compiling the management, Marzul Veri involved a team from KAHMI and a team at the KPU. Meanwhile, Muslim Harun is trying to rebuild the direction with the administration during Marlis. In implementing procedures, decision-making, and recommendations, the Regional Representative Council management does not have much right to make decisions. Of course, in a state of conflict, the Party's routine is only busy with internal strengthening.

5. Party Conflict and Resilience

The cycle of conflicts that occurred in the Hanura party will undoubtedly impact the Party's competitiveness in the legislative elections held in 2019. Nationally, the Hanura Party was only able to win 2,161,507 votes (1.54%); this is clearly a decrease of 3.72% from the general election. 2014. In the previous election, the Hanura Party was only able to get 6,579,498 (5.26%). This resulted in the Hanura Party being unable to pass to Parliament.

At the regional level, the results obtained by the Hanura Party are still far from what was expected, one example being in the Regional Representative Council Hanura West Sumatera. In 2014 at the Regional People’s Representative Assembly level in West Sumatera, the Hanura Party could win 4 seats, but in the 2019 legislative elections, none of them were
In the political struggle in the 2014 Central House of Representatives, Hanura could only get the 9th position out of the 8 seats up for grabs.

The conflict that occurred in the management of the Regional Representative Council Hanura West Sumatera was caused by a conflict of interest between two power sources. The Marzullo Veri camp received representative support from Osman Sapta Odang. In contrast, Marlis received support from Saifuddin Sudden.

The clash of interests of these two sources of power made the problems of the Regional Representative Council management even more heated due to the attitude of each administrator not wanting to lower their egos for the good of the Party. Until now, the two managements of the Regional Representative Council Hanura West Sumatera are still running with different secretariat locations and different assets, but the most important thing is that these two managements get legality from two other sources of power.

So as long as their sources of strength have not been reconciled, then the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council management will also not be able to make peace institutionally. The Hanura Party Conflict explains how the Party's organizational system is in disrepair in carrying out its function as a means of conflict management.

The factions in the two management camps must be able to be disbursed by Osman Sapta Odang as chairman. The damaged condition of the Party will also have an impact on the quality of the cadres who become legislators of the Party.

**E. CONCLUSION**

Political conflict means the conflict of political interests to gain political power. In this study, the researcher uses the definition of political conflict from Ramlan Surbakti, which defines political conflict as differences of opinion, competition, and opposition among several individuals, groups, or organizations to obtain and maintain the sources of decisions made and implemented by the government.

The researcher uses Simon Fisher's theory of conflict-causing factors; the results of the research findings conclude that several factors cause political conflict in the management of the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council. First, there is a sense of distrust of the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council management towards the general chairman Osman Sapta Odang.

Second, there is a feeling of disappointment from the chairman of the Regional Representative Council, Hanura Wiranto. He is unable to take a wise attitude in the conflicts that occur in the management of Hanura. Third, the lack of mutual respect between senior and junior Hanura figures in West Sumatera.

Fourth, the difference of views in the management of the Party between the Osman Sapta Odang camp and the Sarifuddin Sudden camp. Fifth, the entry of the Anas Urbaningrum carriage through the Indonesian Movement Association and several members of the Regional Representatives Council in the management of Hanura both at the Party Board of Trustees level and at the Regional Representative Council level.

The researcher also analyzed the implications of the political conflict that occurred in the Regional Representative Council Hanura, West Sumatera, and found several impacts, namely first, the dismissal of 10 Regional People’s Representative Assembly members with details of one provincial Regional People’s Representative Assembly member and 9 Regency/City Regional People’s Representative Assembly members. Second, the damage to social relations among the management of the Regional Representative Council Hanura West Sumatera. Third, there is a renewal in the party management structure down to the sub-branch level.
Then, there was a breakthrough in terms of regeneration in the Hanura party with the implementation of Pratama cadre training. Political conflicts that occur within the Hanura Party are included in the form of positive disputes. After all, they do not threaten the existence of the political system because they can be resolved through government courts even though the decision issued by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights has extreme political elements.

The results of this study can be concluded that the conflict that occurred in the management of the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council was caused by a conflict of interest in the source of authority between Marzul Veri, who received support from Osman Sapta Odang, and Harun's Muslim camp who received support from Daryatmo.

Marlis' seniority's ego exacerbates the conflict, and Muslim Harun views Marzul Veri as a young figure who has no experience in the world of parties. This conflict certainly has implications for public trust in the Hanura Party, especially the West Sumatera Hanura Regional Representative Council management.

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