

# Nationalism and Political Parties

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**Abstract:** So far, the functions and roles of political parties have been more intense in the matter of electoral elections and power changes. This is a necessity, because political parties exist to influence and even change power. On the other hand, problems in the socio-cultural and political domains often cause differentiation which leads to inequality and intolerance. The tendency of widespread rejection and even discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, religion, and other social barriers has not received much response from political parties as part of the crisis of nationalism. This paper analyzes the response of political parties in Indonesia to the issue of nationalism by looking at the level of seriousness of political parties in developing tolerance and rejecting corruption. Through a qualitative approach, this study found that political parties have no conception, let alone commitment, which is strong enough for tolerance and anti-corruption. The elitism and oligarchy which are symptomatic in political parties in Indonesia are one of the factors contributing to the neglect of the problem of tolerance and the strengthening of corruption.

**Keyword:** Political parties, nation-states, diversity, tolerance, multiculturalism, and anti-corruption.

## 1 Introduction

One of the biggest problems in a pluralistic society like Indonesia is tolerance and respect for Differences. The building of citizenship in diversity becomes the basic principle upon the establishment of a country called Indonesia. When intolerance is rife, the Republic of Indonesia as a representation of diversity is threatened. These phenomena have recently begun to emerge along with the existence of a space of freedom as part of democracy which is interpreted as an arena for the actualization of various ideologies, understandings, and even movements that threaten diversity.

Democracy as the chosen system in running the life of the state in Indonesia is not merely celebrated in the form of routine leadership changes through the General Election and Regional Head Election to directly elect the leaders. Democracy was chosen as an endeavor to strengthen the life of the state which is centered on the participation and togetherness of citizens. Participation and togetherness of citizens will be strong if supported by the work of the elite (government and politicians) in accordance with their functions and have an impact on people's lives. This is where political parties can portray themselves as the entry point for the birth of leaders who meet the standards of the people's expectations, so as to strengthen togetherness and national building.

In the middle of the space of freedom that is available so broadly, a reverse flow emerges in the form of phenomena of group strengthening and confirmation of other groups. The

aspect of tolerance as the foundation of the building of a nation state with very diverse citizens began to be eroded by the strengthening of groupings with various interests. This can be seen from several research findings that show the fragility of tolerance among people in various aspects of life. In the case of construction of places of worship, for example, 42.3% of the public expressed objections to the construction of other religious worship [1]. This is confirmed by the results of a survey of Islamic religion teachers in schools. According to the survey results of the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), there are more than 50% of teachers from the kindergarten-high school level who are intolerant [2].

Political parties as an important pillar of democracy, in fact have a great responsibility to participate in growing nationalism through strengthening tolerance not only in each contestation, but provide a solution to the tendency of intolerance that occurs in society. Tolerance is needed so that each citizen, whatever his religion, can contribute to the development of the nation together. The power of intolerance and radicalism can naturally shrink along with the strengthening of the role of political parties as a force that not only moves in the realm of power but is also based on the mass with all its diversity. In a pluralistic society like Indonesia tolerance is not only a prerequisite in democracy, but also in strengthening the nation state.

On the other hand, political parties have not yet succeeded in appearing as the frontline in upholding people's welfare. In some approaches, welfare becomes one of the ways for strengthening tolerance as an important part of democracy [3]. Political parties do not have a direct relationship with the issue of public welfare, but through their representatives in the legislative body, political parties can encourage policies that provide broad opportunities for the creation of welfare by ensuring that all state budgets can be used according to their purpose. This is not only a procedural responsibility, but also related to the commitment of political parties not to commit acts of corruption.

Based on the background of the problem, this study focuses on analyzing the response of political parties to the nation-state in the context of tolerance and anti-corruption actions. In general, this study aims to look at the correlation of roles played by political parties, as political organizations that have a very strategic role related to national platforms. Specifically, this study aims to determine the response of political parties to the concept of the nation state (nation-state) as the main basis for the existence of the Republic of Indonesia, finding a correlation between the principles and platforms of political parties with the practice of tolerance in a pluralistic and multicultural society, knowing the steps of political parties in developing tolerance in a multicultural society and its commitment to eradicating corruption as a threat to collectivity as a nation.

## **2 Literature Review**

So far, political parties are seen as an instrument of circulation of power that causes political parties to become institutions that have a strategic role because they can structurally determine the direction of policy for the public interest. This role with a top down and elitist perspective can be seen in some literature which sees political parties as oligarchic social institutions [4]. Literature that examines the role of political parties is overwhelming. It even tends to be classically related to the initial role of political parties which are considered as a bridge that connects the community and the state on one side, and is considered as an obstacle to the integration and unity of the nation state [5].

Other studies see political parties from the perspective of voters as a determinant of the existence of political parties. Voters' participation and votes are an important part of political parties and an important part of democratic consolidation [6]. While studies linking political parties with tolerance and the problem of corruption as a threat to nationalism or the nation's collectivity have not been many, even in the case in Indonesia there is not yet. Among the research that links tolerance with politics in a broader context (read; democracy) can be seen in the dissertation of Saiful Mujani at Ohio State University. However, these findings refer more to the macro conception of strengthening democracy based on the level of political tolerance of citizens [7].

On the other hand, tolerance is more emphasized as a cultural realm initiated by the power of civil society. Some studies on this subject are usually associated with multiculturalism or multicultural citizenship or other psychological factors. There are also those who associate religious tolerance with the activities of the organization that they are involved in as one of the factors that influences one's outlook and attitude towards adherents of other religions [8][9].

### **3 Political Parties on Tolerance**

The conception of political parties on the issue of tolerance can be seen from the formulation of its articles of association as a basis for party movement. In general, all political parties place nationality and diversity as an important part of party movements with various terms they use. The Golkar Party, for example, said that the development carried out must be based on the interests of all groups, without discriminating between tribes, religions, races and groups. (Golkar Party Articles of Association, Article 9 paragraph b).

The Golkar Party's paradigm on the issue of tolerance is placed as part of the development process, while in reality problems in society cannot be solved solely through development, let alone only be part of the development process. That development must be based on the interests of all groups is all necessity in the context of the nation state, but pluralistic cultural realities are also an important part that must get parallel attention to the attention of the state towards development, so that development can proceed over the values of togetherness in pluralism, including to minimize gaps. Development that emphasizes material development alone, has an impact on the upholding of social values, such as equity and care that is increasingly lame and away with the concentration of capital in a handful of people.

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) states even more emphatically as a defense of the people for the realization of a religious life without religious egoism. The Gerindra Party in general emphasized the existence of the same citizens in the eyes of the law. This is stated in the mission of the Gerindra Party which states the urgency of law enforcement by promoting the principle of presumption of innocence and equality before the law and protecting all Indonesian citizens in a fair manner regardless of ethnicity, religion, race and/or group background. (Articles of Association of the Gerindra Party, Article 10 paragraph 4).

The Democratic Party places the problem of tolerance as part of the explanation of party ideology, namely nationalism-religious. For the Democratic Party, nationalism-religious is interpreted as working hard for the interests of the people with a moral and religious foundation and paying attention to aspects of nationalism, humanism, and pluralism in order to achieve the goals of peace, democracy, and people's welfare. (Democratic Articles of Association, Article 3).

United Development Party (PPP) as a party based on Islam has a specific view related to tolerance as an appreciation of diversity. In its articles of association, PPP mentions six principles of its struggle. For the National Awakening Party (PKB) the issue of tolerance is not specifically mentioned, but emphasizes the issue of nationality. For example about the nature of the party, PKB mentioned in its articles of association that the party is national, democratic and open. (Articles of Association of the National Awakening Party (PKB), Article 5).

The National Mandate Party (PAN) is a party that is synonymous with reform because it was founded by one of the figures who voiced out loud the urgency of reform at the end of the New Order, namely Amien Rais. This spirit seems to be seen from the PAN statutes which are concerned with the issue of people's control of the country. (Articles of Association of the National Mandate Party (PAN), Article 7). This is correlated with the spirit of the birth of PAN to end the New Order authoritarianism with democracy. Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is an Islamic-based party that was born in the reform era and is known as the propaganda party. In the matter of tolerance and equality (equality) for citizens of the PKS does not specifically and firmly place as an important issue. The Democratic National Party (Nasdem) places diversity as part of the party's function. In Nasdem's articles of association, it is stated that one of the functions of the party is to fulfill human rights and the rights of citizens, and to develop the nation's personality in an egalitarian socio-cultural life based on the principle of Unity in Diversity. (Democratic National Party Statutes (Nasdem), Article 9 paragraph 6 and 7). People's Conscience Party (Hanura) emphasized the importance of nationalist-religious as a characteristic of his party and togetherness as the basic value of his struggle. (Articles of Association of the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), Articles 12 and 13 paragraph 4). One of the basic values of the Hanura Party's struggle is to maintain harmony from the diversity of ethnicity, ethnicity, religion, language, and customs.

#### **4 Political Parties on Corruption**

Overall, political parties have a tendency to reject corruption with various expressions of their conceptions in their articles of association. If all political parties that have seats in the Indonesian Parliament are grouped based on their conception against corruption, three categories emerge. First, political parties which explicitly and explicitly say that they reject corruption. Second, political parties that implicitly reject corruption through clean language. Third, political parties that do not show implicitly even have a strong commitment to eradicating corruption.

The first group, the parties that explicitly stated that they refused corruption were the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), and the People's Conscience Party (Hanura). PDIP explicitly states refusing or prohibiting any form of giving or receiving money or material for personal gain. (PDIP Articles of Association, Article 22 F). Likewise PAN is explicitly trying to create a government free from corruption, collusion and nepotism. PAN's commitment to eradicating corruption as conceptualized in its articles of association cannot be separated from the existence of its birth from the womb of reform with strong and mainstream issues in 1998, namely corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN). (PAN Articles of Association, Article 7 paragraph 20). While the Gerindra Party emphasized eradicating corruption as part of the identity of party cadres. In the identity of party cadres, it was stated

that cadres vowed to abstain from corruption. In addition to specifically mentioning the rejection of corruption, the Gerindra Party also stressed the refusal to cheat, to refrain from stealing party money and state money. (Articles of Association of the Gerindra Party, Article 60). The Hanura Party also gave special emphasis to corruption as part of the party's mission. Corruption eradication for the Hanura Party is an absolute prerequisite for the realization of Indonesia's progress, independence and dignity. (Statute of the Hanura Party, Article 17 concerning Party Mission verse 7).

The second group, parties which implicitly show their concern for a clean, accountable and trustworthy government. In this context, the meaning of these terms can vary because each indicates a common word. Clean for example can be in the context of meeting standards or procedures, while corruption itself is not more specific to the problem of deviation. Likewise accountable has a procedure laden meaning. In other words, the implementation of work that is in accordance with procedures and can be accounted for through existing mechanisms, including accountability, while corruption is not merely a deviation in the procedure, but related to values and honesty. For example, some institutions are assessed by appraisers, including those that are accountable, but in reality there are apparatuses involved in budget misconduct by manipulating or closing the gap so as not to be read by procedural mechanisms. Therefore, the terms clean, accountable, and the like are more meaningful implicitly and do not always indicate parallels with anti-corruption. However, these terms can refer to anti-corruption, the problem is why not directly to the term anti-corruption. In this case several political parties that use the implicit term are the Democratic Party, the National Awakening Party (PKB), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the United Development Party (PPP), and the Democratic National Party (Nasdem).

The third group, political parties that do not address the issue of corruption as an important part of elimination, even in the context of the use of language that is closer to the problem of eradicating corruption. In this case the Work Group (Golkar). The Golkar Party only mentions in its household budget (ART) the problem of party funding sources by stating that financial income and expenditure are reported to the competent authority according to regulations. (House Budget Date of the Work Group (Golkar), Article 51 paragraph 2). This standard is very formalistic legalistic with various interpretations. There has even been a tendency for the Golkar Party to defend its cadres who were named as suspects by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

The three groupings of political parties based on their conception of the problem of eradicating corruption apply to the formal legal domain, namely the statutes and by-laws of political parties. With all the different levels of emphasis, even at an "absurd" level in the context of anti-corruption attitudes, in fact, there are no political parties that are holy from corruption, even from political parties which are the first to participate in elections and get seats in the Indonesian Parliament, namely Nasdem Party. Corruption is a reality that easily befalls institutions which have very broad domains of authority, in this case political parties. The function and role of political parties in Indonesia is the door to all interests, even to become the national leader of the country, through political parties. Such hegemonic power gives birth to inequality or inequality as a paradoxical reality with democracy.

Corruption, according to Transparency International, is related to inequality or inequality [10]. In the context of this inequality there are two meanings with all forms of impact. First, inequality as a hierarchy. Hierarchy causes the dominant to act as they wish on determinants, thus allowing deviations to occur, including corruption. Inequality causes corruption to be controlled. Second, inequality as a consequence or result. Inequality shows the existence of discrimination due to corruption which is more selfish and its group. Inequality can ultimately

culminate in jealousy and distrust among nationals. In other words, the threat of division or instability due to corruption can occur and can even shake the building of a nation state.

Corruption, which has been understood as a form of deviation from state finances. Actually the logic is the beginning to enter further that the state is a symbol of citizens. Therefore, corruption can be understood as a form of deviation from the will of citizens symbolized by the nation state.

The problem of corruption relates to the problem of building a nation state, because it can damage the established values, especially in the issue of togetherness as a nation's children. Corruption is a narrowing of the space of togetherness as well as insulation against the public's collective interests. James Zagel, a judge in Illinois, United States, in deciding sentencing for corruptors (2011) is based on the excessive impact of deviant (corruption) actions on social order. "When it is the governor who goes bad, the fabric of Illinois is torn and disfigured and not easily repaired. You did that damage." Corruptors are not just looters of property. He was also a destroyer of social buildings. That is the indictment of Judge Zagel against the former governor of Illinois, USA, Rod Blagojevich. Zagel sentenced 14 years to the governor of the Democratic Party that led the 2003-2009 State of Illinois [11].

Corruption is not only about financial manipulations, because it can be returned or seized again; or only related to deviant behavior (misuse of public power) as defined by JJ Senturia (1993) which can be resolved legally. Corruption, according to Zagel, is related to the destruction of cohesive social compounds. Corruption has the effect of damaging social synergy that has been functionally interwoven [12]. It inhibits, disconnects, and decomposes a series of social life that actually gives each other positive effects and energy for a better life. The presence of corruptors is a thorn that has the potential to distort the social order from within. And this is something we should be concerned about as the collapse of public confidence in the fight against corruption in this country. Released by the Indonesian Survey Institute, public opinion on anti-corruption enforcement in 2011 has declined compared to 2010 [13].

Several times we were shocked by the defendant's release of corruption. Judicial Commission notes, dozens of corruptors were convicted of Corruption Court. Indonesia Corruption Watch said, until November 2011 there were 40 corruption defendants sentenced to be free. The legal logic of the judges is powerless to touch the corruptors. The freedom of the corruptors more or less provides a breath of fresh air for the candidates and perpetrators of corruption who have not been detected to continue to be reckless in corruption. Let alone the deterrent effect, they are actually increasingly cleverly looking for gaps to corrupt systemically.

Ironically, this "got wind" from members of the DPR. Interpellation efforts on the tightening of granting remissions to corruptors and terrorists more or less rock the effort to truly eradicate corruption. The DPR questioning the moratorium policy is trapped in a formalistic-legalistic problem which has often been used as a guise of corruptors for corruption. As representatives of the people, they should see the excessive impact of corruption on the people and fully support the logic and efforts to eradicate corruption.

A weak anti-corruption commitment by law enforcement and legislative bodies is a complement to the chaos of corruption in all lines of life in this country. This massive corruption has an impact on the deviations of life hidden behind the euphoria of procedural democracy. This sociological impact tends to be forgotten and ignored. At some point, corruption becomes a place for celebrations of the scoundrels. Even if you can fight back.

Awareness about the destructive effects of corruption on social order has not yet fully grown in society. This is evident from the absence of a significant correlation between

negative public perceptions of corruption and corrupt attitudes. Perception does not always correlate with action. Corruption is seen more as an economic and legal (structural) crime, not a social (cultural) burden. As a result, social sanctions and massive operations on the potential for corruption do not exist comprehensively.

Furthermore, this has an effect on permissiveness towards corruption. Corruption is seen as not something strange and unclean, because it does not need to be eliminated and excluded. Even in some cases, corruptors still get sympathy (votes) from constituents for public office both in the legislature and in the executive. In the period 2008-2011 there were eight inaugurations of regional heads with the status of suspects and defendants [12].

In fact, morally, corruptors behave outside of social fairness and personally suffer from psychiatric deviations. At some point, if left unchecked, this can spread and spread. Therefore, it needs exclusion, strict separation, both categorically and sociologically to corruptors. This exclusion is important to ensure the domino effect of the corrupt destructive acts of the corruptors and social order that has not been completely contaminated.

Exclusion must be a massive civil society movement and supported by mass media, amid the collapse of the clean image of state institutions. As emphasized by Michel Foucault, the deviant (crazy) identity of corruptors is not merely an empirical or medical problem. This is also related to social values and discourses formed in society. Exclusion was formed because of the people's needs for the sake of social formation that is clean of corruption. At the very least, there is a massive commitment to emphasize the distance between us (the people) and those (corruptors). We as people do not want to be victims, and they are as strange and different, because that must be excluded.

Some corruption cases in Indonesia involve people who have strategic positions, especially the heads of political parties. The position of chairman of a political party becomes very strategic because political parties determine the opening of power, especially at the national level. This fact strengthens the adage, even power tends to corrupt, the stronger the power, the tendency to become corrupt is also stronger. This can be seen in cases of corruption that hit political parties. Until now, there are at least 5 (five) general leaders of political parties who are entangled in corruption or entangled in corruption while serving as chairman of political parties [14].

First, the Chairman of the Democratic Party, Anas Urbaningrum. Anas got caught up in the Hambalang project case. Anas was named as a suspect in a corruption case involving a sports center construction project in Hambalang. Anas allegedly received a gift from the project when he was chairman of the Democratic Party faction in the House of Representatives before becoming chairman of the Democratic Party. Anas is charged with Article 12 letter a or b or Article 11 of the Corruption Eradication Act. Anas was declared proven to have committed a criminal act of corruption and money laundering related to the Hambalang project and other APBN projects. His appeal actually increased the sentence to 14 years.

Second, the President of PKS, Lutfi Hasan Ishaq. Member of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia from the PKS is ensnared in the case of bribery importing cattle. Lutfi was charged with giving a meat import quota recommendation to the agriculture ministry which is also a PKS cadre. The KPK Public Prosecutor assessed that Lutfi and his colleague, Ahmad Fathanah, were proven to have received a bribe of Rp 1.3 billion from the President Director of PT Indoguna Utama, Maria Elizabeth Liman, related to the management of the beef import quota increase. On this charge, Lutfi was convicted and received a sentence of 16 years in detention.

Third, PPP Chairperson, Suryadharna Ali. PPP Chairperson who also served as minister of religion in the second period of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration was indicted as a suspect in a suspected corruption case related to the implementation of the hajj in the Ministry of Religion for the 2012-2013 fiscal year. Suryadharna is considered detrimental to state finances amounting to Rp.27,283,090,068 and 17,967,405 Saudi riyals for appointing certain people who do not meet the requirements to become pilgrimage organizers in Saudi Arabia. When viewed from the PPP platform related to anti-corruption it does not explicitly indicate a strong desire to eradicate corruption. The clean aspects and accountability that are the emphasis of this have not shown explicit commitment to the problem of eradicating corruption. But as a party based on Islam, the true PPP, let alone the general chairperson as the leader of the leadership becomes the frontline in eradicating or acting and acting decisively to reject corruption. Suryadharna Ali's dissatisfaction with the outcome of the court's decision which sentenced him to 6 years and therefore appealed, thus increasing his sentence to 10 years.

Fourth, the General Chairperson of the Golkar Party, Setya Novanto, who was allegedly involved in the e-KTP procurement project case. The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) named Setya Novanto as a suspect in an e-KTP corruption case. In the first case as a suspect Novanto conducted a pretrial and won. But the KPK re-named him as a suspect through new evidence. Novanto was allegedly involved in the financial deviation of electronic-based resident card project which caused the country to suffer a loss of Rp2.3 trillion from the project value of Rp 5.9 trillion. Novanto is suspected of violating Article 3 or Article 2 paragraph 1 of Law Number 31 of 1999 as amended in Law Number 20 of 2001 concerning Eradication of Corruption in conjunction with Article 55 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code 1. The Novanto case as a suspect in corruption attracted a lot of attention because of his position aside from being the chairman of the second largest party, the Golkar Party, as well as the chairman of the Indonesian Parliament. When he became a suspect for the first time, through a long debate, Novanto finally stated that he resigned from his position as chairman of the Indonesian Parliament, until finally the pretrial decided Novanto was innocent and returned to being chairman of the Indonesian Parliament. The return of Novanto to become the chairman of the Indonesian Parliament showed strong support from Golkar's inner circle for Novanto to occupy the leadership of the Indonesian Parliament without questioning several cases that had happened before. The Novanto case which received support and defense from colleagues in the Golkar Party further emphasized that the Golkar Party as a political party did not have a strong platform for the problem of corruption. Even in several surveys, the Golkar Party is one of the parties whose cadres are heavily involved in corruption.

Fifth, General Chairperson of the United Development Party (PPP), Romahurmuziy is a suspect in a bribery case by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). The KPK pinned the status of the suspect to Romahurmuziy for allegedly receiving Rp300 million from two officials from the Ministry of Religion in East Java.

## **5 Analisis of Tolerance and Anti-Corruption**

The description of the conception of tolerance and anti-corruption that exists in each political party is a foothold in ensuring its role in a society that is celebrating democracy. Political parties with a very strategic position become the foundation to get great benefits from the democratic process in the life of a plural society. The diversity of society into fertile land



that can foster various interests on the altar of freedom in the name of democracy. Therefore, in the realm of democracy there is a growing variety of interests, both institutionalized through social organizations and political parties with all their agendas and actualizations, even at some point growing into counter-democratic forces. That is why some views say that democracy digs its own grave because it allows the birth of individuals or groups who oppose the existence of democracy itself. This is very susceptible to occur in a society that is ethnically, religiously, ethnically diverse or very diverse. This is where the urgency to strengthen the foundation that can take care of the building of the nation state with all its diversity.

State as a territory is final. Cluster of islands united in a bond called the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). But the country as a dynamic series of a number of entities is very unstable. Nation as imagined community is getting older. Old can be a symbol of growing up, but also a symbol of forgetting because of old age. Both depend on how to foster the diversity of entities present in the country.

The stronger the transcendence of primordiality of each entity, shows this country managed to foster a diverse population. Conversely, when primordialistic demands grip, imagined communities will be increasingly threatened. In the perspective of democracy, the maturity of a nation is determined by the extent to which the state is able to cultivate diversity within the framework of togetherness and uphold togetherness without tearing diversity.

The mistaken maturation process towards the state can accelerate the state's senility. The New Order treated the country as a totalitarian monster for the sake of national stability. The result is not the stability of the state, but instead pouring gasoline on the altar of primordialism. No wonder the primordial plates began to threaten the country when euphoria became an idol.

Some are moved to reinforce the existence of the nation state (nationalism), some are so engrossed in building demarcation based on primordial interests. Primordialism and nationalism are two words that cannot be compromised. Primordialism refers to exclusivity and homogeneity, while nationalism glorifies inclusiveness and plurality. Compromise is only possible through a process of transcendence. This is where the political will of nationality becomes important because politics in this country has carved a history of swimming as a result of the personification of power. Nationality is only a sermon echoed every August. After that we seemed to return to living in a no-man's land.

The existence of political parties is truly the frontline for political empowerment that attaches diversity to citizens. This will be determined by the party's platform and its actual visibility. However, because the consideration is the level of behavior of political parties, the political platform (political platform) among the political parties tends to be monolithic and legalistic-formalistic. They tend to wrestle on big issues and uniforms that are considered behavior. The consequence is an inflation of issues which eventually gives birth to cheap issues. The courage to be different is a ghost for political parties for fear of not being marketable and acceptable. At this point, political parties which should be pillars of democracy that are based on respect for plurality, trap people into thinking linearly, pragmatically without alternatives.

There are no political parties that have consistently actualized their specific platforms, such as environmental issues, labor, farmers, or other specific identities. Even if there are political parties that identify themselves on one of these issues, they are usually more symbolic and charitable. Their concentration and orientation remain on power, not on empowering specific issues. Political fact in this country shows that power orientation is more prominent than national orientation. At least the discourse that is often brought up by

politicians shows that power is everything. The issue of cabinet reshuffle (both streamlining and the addition of young ministers), the need for a prime minister, acceleration of elections and other issues of power are more dominant than the social community. Even the colors of the parties surrounding each cabinet arrangement in each regime are suspected as triggering the slow performance of the cabinet. Each is burdened by the interests of his party.

This platform's weak footing has implications for the vulnerability of political parties' solidity. Political parties break easily and wrestle in a prolonged conflict. In such conditions, the agenda of community political empowerment is clearly only a dream. It would be reasonable if political parties find it difficult to get a place in the hearts of the people. Strangely, in the midst of self-esteem political parties continue to decline in the eyes of the people, some people compete to establish political parties in the name of the interests of the people.

This reality is a challenge for the consolidation of democracy in this country. The political party's fragile reality because it does not stand in the hearts of the people can threaten the existence of democracy. Not to mention the personification of power (position) carried out by political parties. The job personification based on political parties can distort public service as the main mission of the position. And this seems difficult to avoid in the midst of such a strong power orientation and weak national vision. Especially before the election, the consolidation of party cadres both in the legislative and executive will be intensively carried out in the interests of mass mobilization. At some point, there are certainly victims of consolidation like this. Namely the removal of political minorities. This step also emphasized the interests of political parties over the interests of national citizens.

We should worry about this fact, because we have just ratified the Citizenship Law which is considered by some to be a new breakthrough for the existence of citizens without caste. However, all of these products will be in vain if political parties still play primordialism (group interests) as the party's power base.

The political plots carried out by political parties became an opening for the annexation of other public domains. Each politician struggled to obtain the maximum economic resources for the benefit of his group. political party for the sake of group facilities. As a result of the distortion of national orientation, members of the House of Representatives use aspirational absorption funds only to strengthen their party's constituency and existence, not for the political empowerment of citizens without caste. The more complete the pengellingan this country. Hopefully this is not a symptom of the emergence of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). This is the challenge of democratization in a pluralistic society. If democracy only grows strongly in an equal national system, then political parties as a vital element of democracy require co-existence. Co-existence is not a party coalition, let alone fusion. Co-existence actually gives room for the existence of political identity as a gamble for strengthening the nationality of citizens. This is important, not only for citizens, but also for the party not to become what John Keane calls viral politics that propagates democracy [15].

Conceptually, the concern of political parties to eradicate corruption and efforts to uphold tolerance is read in its articles of association. Some parties even explicitly declare "war" on corruption. Likewise in terms of tolerance, political parties in the Republic of Indonesia DPR have passed laws to eliminate racial and ethnic discrimination. Although there was a debate especially in the discussion of the law eliminating racial and ethnic discrimination, in general, all parties agreed with respect for differences as a manifestation of natural law (sunnatullah), even Islamic political parties, such as PPP and PKS in the initial view of the discussion of the law The law strengthens with the Qur'anic verses about the creation of tribal and grouped God

to know and respect each other. (Minutes of discussion of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination, DPR RI, 2008).

Conception related to corruption and tolerance possessed by political parties is not directly proportional to implementation in the field. In the case of corruption, political parties, especially through their cadres in the Indonesian Parliament, are in the forefront. Even in the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) survey compiled by Transparency International, 65% of Indonesians consider the level of corruption to increase in the last 12 months and place the Indonesian Parliament as the most corrupt institution in Indonesia. This result shows an increase in the corrupt bad image of the DPR RI compared to the previous year which placed the police as the most corrupt institution [16].

The ideal framework embedded by political parties has not yet succeeded in moving their cadres to show a number of factors. First, the weak institutionalization (institutionalization) of political parties. Political parties appear like service providers to gain power in both the legislature and the executive. Political parties do not care whether those who want to gain power understand the party's vision and mission, as long as they fulfill the pragmatic demands of the party. This is where political parties provide space for the occurrence of money politics through mutually beneficial power transactions between the two parties (parties and power enthusiasts).

Second, high political costs. The steps of political parties in gaining public support are carried out in various ways, one of which is by providing political coffers. Community support is calculated based on the amount of material provided. Voting is so easy to give by the public with the lure of money and other coffers with all the consequences, including high political costs. This condition encourages political parties and power seekers to only think about how to make money in various ways to continue to get support from voters and exist as politicians.

Third, weak regeneration. Political parties are not yet an institution that selects meritocratic cadres so that they can fill strategic leadership positions both in the legislative and executive branches. Cadre recruitment and recruitment which are actually the entry point for the selection of qualified and capable leadership have not run optimally because the party often gives entry for new people who have absolutely no connection, let alone understand the party's vision, but because of consideration of facilities or donations (coffers) to political parties.

Fourth, the lack of public political awareness. Political awareness of the community is still at the level of what Almond and Verba call parochial, at least subjects who are aware of differentiation, but do not have the strength or enthusiasm to be involved in the input and process processes [17]. Control over the political system has not been running optimally, so that the opportunity for deviation or deviation in the process that takes place between the legislative and executive is easy. In addition, the community places the deviation of politicians not as destructive defects, so that social sanctions against a variety of irregularities, especially corruption, are not optimal, even at a certain point there is a permissive attitude of the community over irregularities accompanied by assistance. This condition seems to strengthen the public perception that politics is a source of facilities and money. Society understands politics as a way of power to get large funds and be distributed to the community. This condition is used by political parties to attract support from the community based on temporary coffers. The symbiosis of mutualism between politicians and society takes place deviatively and distortively.

So is his attention to tolerance. Cases of violence involving the majority against minorities in terms of religion, ethnicity or ethnicity did not receive strong attention. Even if involved, some parties are more concerned with the interests of the majority than the minority

who are victims. This can be seen from a number of cases, such as the attitude of political parties towards Ahmadiyya which tends to justify community actions that discriminate against their existence. Likewise in the Shiite case in Madura which indirectly involved regional heads who were promoted by political parties with more importance to the will of the majority of the people who wanted shunning of Shiite followers.

The consideration of the will of the majority becomes a dilemma in the midst of the understanding of some people towards democracy. On behalf of the majority and freedom, minority groups in terms of religion, ethnicity, and others tend to be victims. However, if we return to the basic values of democracy and diversity that are upheld in the life of the nation state, every person (individual) has the same right to live his beliefs and obtain the same life under the auspices of a nation state called Indonesia.

There is a tendency of omission by political parties in responding to cases of majority-minority relations. This is usually motivated by the importance of community support in contestation. Political parties are more concerned with winning the contestation rather than trying to build a national life that promotes togetherness in diversity. The importance of electability overcomes the unity that is actually built up in the nation state. In fact, not infrequently, social relations are divided by the interests of a handful of party elites who have lost in contestation. The severity of the debate in the legislature is based more on each other's interests, not on the interests of the community as the reality it represents.

The condition of political parties that have not been maximally focused on the national agenda, especially in terms of strengthening tolerance and anti-corruption, has an impact on the weakening of the community's closeness to political parties. In the realm of political science it is stated that one proof of the closeness of political parties with the public is the existence of citizen identification of the party or party identification (partyID). This closeness will move citizens to get involved in various party activities and agendas because they are proud and feel the impact of the role played by political parties. But on the contrary with the reality which shows the lack of concern of political parties to the problem of tolerance as an important basis for strengthening diverse social integration and the growing strength of corruption carried out by political party cadres, the community is increasingly distant from political parties. A more dangerous impact is the failure of political parties to build social cohesiveness because they prioritize their personal and group interests. Community participation in every election is just a routine that is built based on pragmatic and momentary interests, not based on the existence of partyID ties. This is where the urgency of revitalizing the functions of political parties in contributing to strengthen the national building by fostering pride as a nation that has a democratic system that respects one another and therefore participates with tolerance.

## **6 Conclusion**

Based on an analysis of the attitudes and actions of political parties related to two main issues, namely the problem of tolerance and the enforcement of corruption as an important pillar in strengthening the nation state, shows the distance between conception (*das sollen*) and realization (*das sein*), between idealized and actions taken by political parties. Conceptually, especially what is stated in the statutes and by-laws of political parties shows a strong commitment to participate in developing the nation state. But the practice of some political parties has not shown a concrete attitude in resolving or providing solutions to problems of

social conflict. Some even make primordial issues as part of efforts to attract mass support. Likewise in the case of corruption as a form of deviation, no political party is free from corruption. Some political parties even involve their general chairperson in acts of corruption that affect party electability.

The existence of political parties in the era of democracy such as the door as well as the foundation of a building called the nation state (nation state). Political parties become a place for the selection of people who are capable of caring for the country through selection and contestation of leadership. Political parties also become an entry point for policies that strengthen values that grow in a pluralistic society.

The success of political parties is both the door and the foundation of the nation state depending on how the nation state is perceived. From the reading of the political party platform contained in the statutes and bylaws of political parties in general shows a strong commitment to strengthening the nation state. At the very least, all political parties, especially those who get seats in legislative bodies and have positions in government, place an actualized nation state in the form of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as a choice that receives strong support from political parties. The inclusion of the terms diversity, diversity, diversity, and the like shows the views of political parties towards the reality that must be treated in the context of national and state life.

Conceptually, the capital of political parties to strengthen nationality can be seen from the various expressions contained in its Statutes/By-Laws both in political, economic, cultural, legal, and other aspects. There are two categories that form the basis for assessing the level of relations between political parties for strengthening the nation state. First, at the level of conception contained in the Statutes/By-Laws related to tolerance and anti-corruption. Second, at the level of actualization of tolerance and anti-corruption of political parties.

Associated with the problem of tolerance, political parties do not have the same language expression with all the consequences included in the meaning of the terms in this study have similarities with the problem of tolerance. The use of the term plurality, diversity, and unity in diversity in the Statutes/By-Laws of political parties ultimately depends on the perspective and perspective of party cadres in its application, because there is no detailed explanation related to the problem.

The ideal conception of diversity which demands tolerance has not been fully realized. In a number of cases of conflict and violence that occurred that were motivated by differences in flow or understanding, even ethnicity still occurred several times. Ironically, no political party intensively seeks to resolve it comprehensively based on its strategic position in both structural and cultural contexts. Even in some cases, regional leaders who come from or get support from political parties are part of the problem of intolerance, both because of their failure to issue policies that are friendly to diversity and the existence of policies that actually strengthen antagonism in the lives of their citizens. Consideration of the interests of community support often pushes political parties to act in accordance with the wishes of the majority or dominant without seeing the real root of the problem. This happens because the perspective of political parties prioritizes the existence of their parties rather than the interests of the nation as a whole. This consideration of political pragmatism can backfire for the existence of a minority who has lost its catalyst in a life that promotes majoritarianism.

While in the context of corruption, most parties have a strong concern for the creation of a better government, one of which is a clean, non-corrupt government that provides equal economic access for the whole community.

The issue of corruption is an important part of strengthening the nation state because corruption is an actualization of actions that are more concerned with self and group interests

and at the expense of other individuals or groups. While the nation state is a building that protects all social components without distinguishing ethnicity, race, religion, class, and all other primordial forms. As such, acts of corruption constitute a form of narrow selfishness both in the name of self and group interests. Corruption has cut the opportunities of other people or groups of citizens who actually have equal opportunities and opportunities (equaliter) as part of the spirit of democracy.

The tendency of political parties to become oligarchic forces is due to the fact that the party's orientation has not yet been fully based on the ideal conceptions contained in the Statutes/By-Laws. In the case of corruption, no party is free from this deviant act [7]. Even the political parties newcomers in the election did not escape the snare of corruption. This happens because the people in the party are the same person only on different party labels.

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