



ISSN Print: 2541-5298
ISSN Online: 2541-6464

Editorial Office: Faculty of Law, Sriwijaya University Jalan Srijaya Negara, Palembang, South Sumatra 30139, Indonesia.

Phone: +62711-580063 Fax: +62711-581179

E-mail: sriwijalayawreview@unsri.ac.id | sriwijalayawreview@gmail.com

Website: <http://journal.fh.unsri.ac.id/index.php/sriwijalayawreview>

Intra-party Democracy: The Practices on the Election of Prosperous Justice Party President

Jamaludin Ghafur ^a, and Saifudin ^b

^a Faculty of Law, Universitas Indonesia and Faculty of Law, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. E-mail: jamaludin.ghafur@uii.ac.id

^b Faculty of Law, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. E-mail: saifudin@uii.ac.id

Article	Abstract
<p>Keywords:</p> <p>Intra-Party Democracy; Prosperous Justice Party President; Election; New Order Regime; Reformation Era.</p> <p>Article History Received: Jun 14, 2019; Reviewed: Jun 22, 2020; Accepted: Jul 12, 2020; Published: Jul 31, 2020</p> <p>DOI: 10.28946/slrev.Vol4.Iss2.638.pp154-171</p>	<p>This paper will analyze the arrangements and practices for the election of chairperson (president) of the Prosperous Justice Party as one of the party's instruments in implementing intra-party democracy. There are two main issues to be discussed, namely: (i) has the regulation of the election of the president of the Prosperous Justice Party reflected democratic arrangements? (ii) has the democratic election been conducted in the Presidential Election for the Prosperous Justice Party? To answer this question, researchers examine all the laws and regulations relating to the legal issue in question. The laws and regulations referred to fall into two categories, namely primary and secondary legal materials. The results showed that both in terms of formulation of rules and practice, the election of the president of the Prosperous Justice Party is still far from democratic values. It is caused by the following five factors: (1) the right of nomination is not open to all party members but is nominated by the chairman of the Advisory Council, (2) the right to vote does not involve broad party elements but only becomes the authority of the members of the Advisory Council, (3) presidential candidates parties are not elected through a voting mechanism, but by appointment (acclamation), (4) the nature of the election is not competitive because it is always only followed by a single candidate, and (5) there is a limitation of the term of office of five years, but there is no limit on how many times. It has the potential for a party presidential position to be held by one person for an unlimited period.</p>

©2020; This is an Open Access Research distributed under the term of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original works is properly cited.

INTRODUCTION

After the change of government of the New Order regime to the democratic regime of the Reformation era, the position of political parties was seen as increasingly important in sustaining democracy. One of them is marked by the strengthening of guarantees for every citizen to establish a political party. The implication is the creation of a multi-party system

wherein 1999; forty-eight political parties followed the first election reform era. In the 2004 elections was followed by twenty-four political parties, the 2009 elections there were thirty-eight political parties (including local political parties), and the 2014 election participants were followed by 15 political parties (including local political parties). The 2019 elections were enlivened by 16 national political parties and four local political parties. Compared to previous elections -except for the 1955 elections- the Reform era elections were very competitive which provided many choices for the people. The multi-party system, on the one hand, is positive because it shows a signal that the state guarantees the right to freedom of association and assembly. On the other hand, especially when connected with a presidential government system, a multi-party system is considered to be able to cause many problems.¹ Another adverse effect is the waning role of political party ideology because parties are more inclined to raise significant issues for practical political interests rather than ideological values.² The implication is that even though Islam has become an ideology, this does not automatically lead to an increase in the attractiveness of voters towards Islamic parties. The results of research conducted by Moch. Nurhasim, et al precisely pointed out that Islamic voters tend not to be "interested" in supporting political parties that carry Islamic ideology or use Islamic religious symbols.³ One reason may be because the community considers that Islam is only used as a political tool or manipulation of society and not purely for the struggle of Islam.⁴

The vibrant life of political parties in Indonesia after the collapse of the New Order regime forced the government to renew the legal basis for regulating political parties so that they were always in line with the development and aspirations of the people. Since the beginning of the reform until now, it has been noted that the government has issued several laws on political parties. The first political party law that was successfully enacted in the reform era was Law Number 2 of 1999 concerning Political Parties. This law was then amended several times through Law Number 31 of 2002 concerning Political Parties and was revised again through Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties and amended by Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Laws Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties.

One of the spirit and values contained in perfecting the legislation in the field of political parties is to strengthen the internal democratic process of political parties, as stated in the General Explanation of Law Number 2 of 2008:

“This law accommodates several new paradigms along with the strengthening of the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia through a number of reforms that lead to the strengthening of political party systems and institutions, which involve internal democratization of political parties, transparency and accountability in financial management, enhancing gender equality and leadership in the parties.”

¹ Kuswanto, “Consistency of the Presidential System in Indonesia,” *Sriwijaya Law Review* 2, no. 2 (2018): 180.

² Ach. Basyir, “Ideologi Politik Dilematis Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Antara Gerakan Tarbiyah Dan Pragmatisme,” *Jurnal Agama Dan Hak Azazi Manusia* 3, no. 2 (2014): 238.

³ Moch. Nurhasim, Syamsuddin Haris, and Lili Romli, “Resume Penelitian Masa Depan Partai Islam Di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 13, no. 2 (2016): 228.

⁴ Gonda Yumitro, “Partai Islam Dalam Dinamika Demokrasi Di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 17, no. 1 (2013): 2013.

Efforts to realize the democratic process in the internal political parties are then strengthened in several articles. For example, Article 15 paragraph (1) and (2) of Law Number 2 of 2008 stipulates that “The Sovereignty of Political Parties is in the hands of its members which is carried out according to the political party statute (AD/ART). Members of Political Parties have the right to determine policies and the right to vote and be elected.” Then, Article 22 of Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties is declared “Management of Political Parties at every level is democratically elected through consensus under AD/ART.”⁵ All regulations governing political parties, both internal party rules and external state regulations of parties, are all referred to as “party law”. This is consistent with Kenneth Janda’s explanation that:

The term “party law” is sometimes used in reference to internal rules, such as party charters or bylaws by which parties govern themselves. “Party law” also refers to the body of state law concerning what parties must and must not do—what is legal and illegal in party politics: Generally, this includes law concerning what constitutes a political party, the form of activity in which parties may engage, and what forms of party organization and behaviour are appropriate.⁶

Besides, according to Wilhelm Hofmeister and Karsten Grabow that “Intra-party democracy is necessary in order to increase the influence and contribution of the politically involved citizens in a party. A democratic state cannot be governed by parties with undemocratic structures.”⁷

The internal party democratic process can be observed from two things, namely the democratization of the selection of prospective public officials (legislative and executive) by political parties and the democratization of the election of candidates for the party’s general chairman.⁸ Thus, to assess whether there has been an intra-party democracy or not one of them is by analyzing the arrangement and process of leadership succession in a political party. This article tries to comprehensively photograph the arrangement and practice of electing the chairperson of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) which is formulated into two problem statements, namely: First, make the rules regarding the election of the PKS President reflect democratic rules? Second, has the PKS presidential election been conducted democratically?

The choice to make PKS as the object of study is because the leadership succession process is very closed and far from public scrutiny. It is common knowledge that the PKS presidential election is different from the election of most parties. If political parties usually elect a chairperson generally through a congressional forum, national deliberation, or open conference (*muktamar*), in PKS the election of the chairperson is generally conducted by the *Majelis Syuro* (Advisory Council). Unfortunately, PKS Advisory Council meetings in making essential policies such as the party presidential election always take place in secret. As stated by Tifatul Sembiring (former PKS president), the first PKS Advisory Council meeting which took place in Bandung, West Java, August 10-12, 2015, which one of the agenda was the PKS presidential election, was held in private. According to Tifatul, let alone the public audience,

⁵ Kenneth Janda, *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives* (Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2005).

⁶ Janda.

⁷ Wilhelm Hofmeister and Karsten Grabow, *Political Parties Functions and Organisation in Democratic Societies* (Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011).

⁸ Giulia Sandri, “Perceptions of Intra-Party Democracy and Their Consequences on Activism: A Comparative Analysis of Attitudes and Behaviours of Grass-Roots Party Members” (Madrid, 2012).

some PKS members may not know there was the Advisory Council meeting. PKS also deliberately did not invite the media during the meeting.⁹

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is normative legal research, which is a type of legal research whose object of study is about the rule of law. Normative legal research examines the rule of law as a system related to a legal event that is intended to provide legal arguments as a basis for determining whether an event is right or wrong and how it should be according to law. The approach used is the legislative approach, namely by examining all regulations relating to legal issues with this research. Research sources consist of primary legal materials, namely legal material that is authoritative and secondary legal material, namely all publications on the law that are not official documents. It will also use non-legal material sources. Data collection is carried out through a literature study by referring to the sources of primary and secondary legal materials and non-legal materials.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)

One phenomenon which emerged after the New Order is the emergence of Islamic parties, one of them is PKS. According to Lili Romli's observations, at least, there are four factors that encourage the establishment of Islamic political parties, namely: theological, historical, sociological, and reform factors.¹⁰ The PKS is a reincarnation of the Justice Party (PK) which in the 1999 election, the PK did not pass the electoral threshold (ET), causing this party to dissolve because it was impossible to be a participant in the next election. The birth of PKS was inspired by two reasons, namely international and domestic factors. Internationally, PKS was born from the womb of the Islamic Revivalism wave which is a movement that calls for the making of Islam as a political ideology that originated in the Middle East and continues to flow to other parts of the Islamic world. While domestically, the birth of PKS is a response to the wave of reform and political openness championed by the 1998 Reform Movement,¹¹ which gave birth to political liberalization. Therefore, it is not surprising that in its vision and mission, this party combines two goals, namely nationality and religion. As stated in the AD/ART, PKS Vision is to be a pioneer party in realizing the national ideals of the Indonesian nation as referred to in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.¹² While its mission is to make the party as a means of realizing a just, prosperous civil society and the dignity that God has given to the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).¹³

⁹ Ahmad Toriq, *Cerita Tifatul Sembiring Soal Khidmatnya Musyawarah Majelis Syuro PKS*, in <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2988932/cerita-tifatul-sembring-soal-khidmatnya-musyawah-majelis-syuro-pks>, accessed on 2 February 2020.

¹⁰ Lili Romli, "Partai Islam Dan Pemilih Islam Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 1, no. 1 (2004): 29.

¹¹ M.Imdadut Rahmat, *Ideologi Politik PKS: Dari Masjid Kampus Ke Gedung Parlemen* (Yogyakarta: Lkis, 2008).

¹² Article 5 AD PKS of 2015

¹³ Article 6 AD PKS of 2015

In terms of its origin, PKS is a new phenomenon in Indonesian politics. It was formed by campus activists who were marginalized during the New Order era. According to Burhanuddin Muhtadi, in many ways, PKS is an unusual party. PKS was born through a social movement called Tarbiyah which then mutated into a political party. The party's social base is the educated, young, and urban middle-class Muslim group.¹⁴ Also, ideologically, unlike other political parties in Indonesia that emerge and have deep roots in the so-called "local traditions", PKS is strongly inspired by ideological influences from the Middle East, especially the *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (the Muslim Brotherhood),¹⁵ at least in two aspects namely ideology which is based on *Syumuliyatul Islam* and historical aspects that seek to find a model of Islamic governance, especially after the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate.¹⁶ Although institutionally and structurally the PKS organization does not have a relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood, they are very similar in thought. Evidence that the Muslim Brotherhood and PKS have the same thought and ideals between them is that both fight for Palestinian independence and want Islam as a solution in the nation and state.¹⁷ PKS, together with the Crescent Star Party (PBB), is a political party that is different from other Islamic based parties because both of them reject the separation of state and religion.¹⁸

PKS is called an unusual party and is different from most parties, according to Greg Fealy at least it can be observed from several elements, namely:¹⁹ First, in terms of ideology, PKS does choose Islam as the principle, but PKS tries to emulate the ideology of foreign organizations, the Muslim Brotherhood. Second, a stringent regeneration system. The party regeneration tools are divided into two parts, formal and informal regenerations. Formal cadre formation includes Party Orientation Training, Basic Training, Advanced Training, Party Trainings, Management and Social Leadership Training, Personal Capacity and Integrity Analysis, Party Routine Learning, Cadre Routine Learning, Social and Political Sciences Study and Party Internal Activities. As for informal cadre formation such as learning group (*halaqah*) or routine learning, *usrah*, *daurah*, *mabit*, *jalsa ruhiyah*, and *rihlah*.²⁰ Third, in responding to natural disasters, PKS is always present in the community, and this is rarely done by most political parties.

Elaboratively, Burhanuddin Muhtadi explained the historical aspects of the emergence of PKS could be explained in three phases: (i) the da'wah phase on campus; (ii) the formation of

¹⁴ Burhanuddin Muhtadi, *Dilema PKS: Suara Dan Syariah* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, Third Edition, 2012).

¹⁵ Muhtadi.

¹⁶ Adi Prayitno, *Paradoks Partai Modern : Studi Kasus Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, dalam Muhammad Hanifuddin, *Literasi Politik: Dinamika Konsolidasi Demokrasi Indonesia Pasca Reformasi* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2019).

¹⁷ Mohamad Riza Widyarsa, "Pengaruh Ideologi Politik Islam Di Indonesia Terhadap Partai Politik Di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Partai Keadilan Sejahtera," *Jurnal Al-Azhar Indonesia Seri Pranata Sosial* 1, no. 1 (2011): 31–32.

¹⁸ M. Faishal Aminuddin, "Reorganisasi Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan* 1, no. 1 (2010): 130.

¹⁹ Greg Fealy, *Pengantar*, dalam Yon Mahmudi, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Wajah Baru Politik Islam Indonesia* (Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005).

²⁰ Rusdiyanta, Muh. Umar Wirayuda, and and Doddy Wihardi, "Transnasionalisasi Ideologi: Kasus Ikhwanul Muslimin Terhadap Partai Keadilan Sejahtera," *Jurnal Transnasional* 4, no. 3 (2009): 30.

a student movement; and (iii) the phase of the political movement.²¹ Ali Said Damanik stated the same thing that the transformation of PK(S) could be divided into three stages, namely:

First, from an underground missionary movement with a strict usrah system, it became a religious activity that tended to be loosely accepted by students. It later became known as the campus missionary movement. The periodization that marked this transformation was the early 80s to the mid-90s. Secondly, the transformation of the da'wah movement which was considered "exclusive" in places of worship in the campus was transformed into a mass movement at the student level that succeeded in occupying formal student organizations until the establishment of the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Unit (KAMMI), along with its socio-political activities in the Reform era. The periodization that marked this transformation was from the mid-90s to 1998, and third, the most phenomenal transformation was when the movement legally established a political party called the Justice Party, in August 1998. It was the most crucial point for the movement's journey where they come out to the public frankly by carrying a flag.²²

If traced based on historical facts, PK(S) is a continuity of the Islamic ideological movement inherited by the Masyumi Party²³ which existed in the Old Order era and then was dissolved by President Soekarno because some of his figures were considered to support and even involved in the DI/TII separatist movement. During the New Order regime, several former Masyumi activists tried to rise again, but President Soeharto still did not allow him to be active in politics. Because of this, Masyumi leaders, one of whom was Muhammad Natsir, decided to work and pursue a career through other channels, namely *da'wah* (preaching) and *tarbiyah* (education). In 1967, Natsir formed the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII). Together with ex Masyumi figures, Natsir politicized through *da'wah*.²⁴ Political missionaries became the spirit of the former Masyumi figure targeted educational institutions, especially universities. The spirit of DDII then became a Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK) when it entered the campus. LDK made a reasonably massive movement through mosques in various campuses.

Conceptual Framework for the Election of Democratic Political Party Chairperson

Before analyzing the level of democratization of the PKS presidential election arrangements and practices, a theoretical framework will be presented concerning the parameters for electing a democratic party chairperson as a tool of analysis. According to the expert, there are at least five criteria to assess whether democratic or not the mechanisms and practices of the election of political party chairpersons, namely: First, the criteria for voters or *selectorate* holders. Ofer Kenig, for example, suggested six categories. These are, from the most to the least inclusive: the electorate, party members, delegates of a selected party agency, the parliamentary party group (PPG), party elite, and a single individual (Picture 1).²⁵ In conclusion, the more open the opportunity for all members and sympathizers of political parties to give their voting rights, the more democratic an election will be. Conversely, if the right to vote is only reserved for the elite of a particular party or even only becomes the authority of

²¹ Muhtadi, *Dilema PKS: Suara Dan Syariah*.

²² Ali Said Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002).

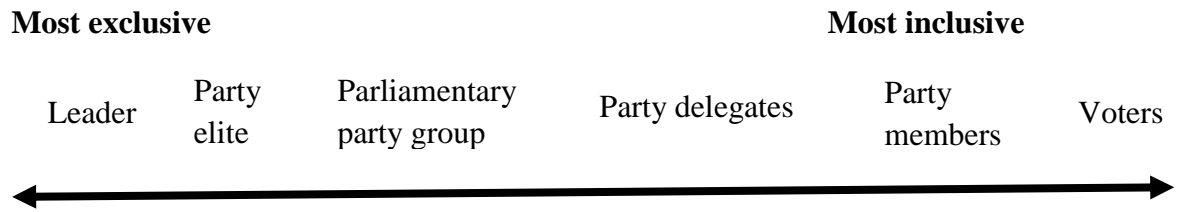
²³ Rahmat, *Ideologi Politik PKS: Dari Masjid Kampus Ke Gedung Parlemen*.

²⁴ Tim Penulis Tempo, *Natsir: Politik Santun Di Antara Dua Rezim* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2011).

²⁵ Ofer Kenig, "Classifying Party Leaders' Selection Methods in Parliamentary Democracies," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 19, no. 4 (2009): 435.

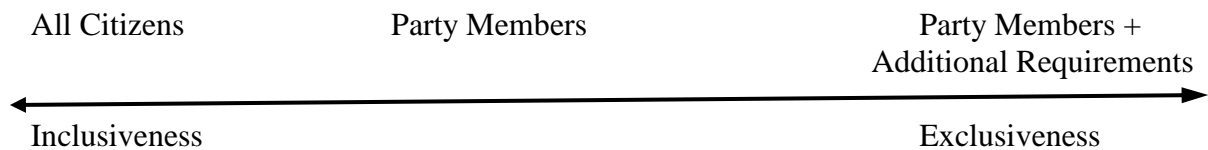
one individual, then it is not democratic. So, who is included in the selectorate, is a decision that needs to be made prior to the actual selection process.²⁶ Schematically, the variant of the selectorates in the election of political party chairpersons can be described at Picture 1.

Picture 1: Selectorate



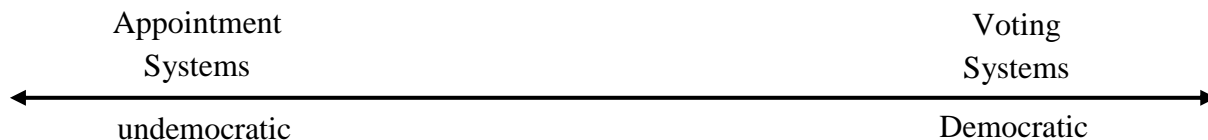
Second, the candidacy requirements (Picture 2). In this aspect, an election will qualify as a democratic election if all members and sympathizers of political parties are without exception granted the right to be elected. Conversely, when there are restrictions for party members and sympathizers to run in elections, for example through additional requirements such as having been a party administrator at the central level, then this is less democratic. Based on these parameters, the political parties' policies on who can become candidates for the general chairman of a political party are classified on a continuum according to the level of inclusiveness or exclusivity as illustrated in Picture 2.²⁷

Picture 2: Candidacy



Third, the mechanism of voting procedures (Picture 3). Election mechanism through voting is more democratic than the appointment method. According to Jorge M. Fernandes, et al., the appointment mechanism is a selection process that starts from the top, so this procedure implies the existence of subordination between candidates against voters. Whereas voting is a selection process that comes from the bottom, which is a procedure that connects the subordination of voters with candidates.²⁸

Picture 3: Voting procedures



Fourth, the level of competition refers to the number of candidates (Picture 4). If there is only a single candidate, then it is undemocratic. Conversely, if the number of candidates is more than one indicates the election takes place democratically. Concerning the number of

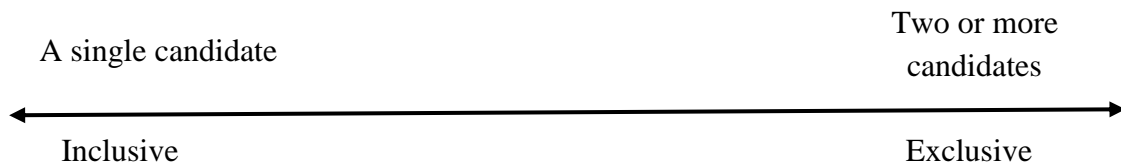
²⁶ Fabio Wolkenstein, "A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 24, no. 3 (2016): 304.

²⁷ Gideon Rahat and Reuven Y. Hazan, "Candidate Selection Methods: An Analytical Framework," *Party Politics* 7, no. 3 (2001): 300–301.

²⁸ Benjamin Akzin, "Election and Appointment," *The American Political Science Review* 54, no. 3 (1960): 705.

candidates competing in an election for political party chairman, two kinds of terms are contested and uncontested selection. Election of chairman in the form of a contest if more than one candidate competes. Instead, it will be referred to as 'designation' if only one competitor appears. By its nature, the election of party leaders contested with two or more candidates is more competitive than elections without contestation where there is only a single candidate.²⁹

Picture 4: Competitiveness



Fifth, limit the period of power. Democracy, unlike other political regimes, has “rules of limitation for terms of office” to protect the public from the birth of incompetent or authoritarian leaders. In a democratic political system, limiting the term of office is not only aimed at how long the period of power that requires periodic elections, but also involves limiting the number of periods a person may occupy a particular position. Therefore, the existence of regulations regarding term limits will be an indicator of democratic elections.

PKS Presidential Election Arrangements

Article 22 of Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties mandates the election mechanism of the management - including the party chairman - who is democratic to be further regulated in each of the party's statutes/articles of association. Based on the PKS AD/ART, the institution authorized to elect the PKS President (chairman) is the Advisory Council, the highest institution in the PKS that has the function of the "*Ahlul Halli wal- 'Aqdi*" (Party Consultative Assembly).³⁰ Membership in this institution consists of permanent members and non-permanent members.³¹ Some of the authorities are: (a). At the suggestion of the chairperson of the Advisory Council, discuss and determine: (1) Secretary of the Advisory Council, (2) Chairperson of the Central Advisory Council, (3) Chairperson of the Central Sharia Council; and (4) President, Secretary-General, and chief treasurer of the Central Management; (b). Select and appoint Members of the Advisory Council from leading experts and/or figures; (c). Amend and stipulate the Party AD/ART; (d). Establish permanent and/or temporary commissions at the Advisory Council; (e). Accepting the resignation of leaders and/or members of the party management who are appointed based on the decision of the Advisory Council; and (f). Determine prospective candidates for President and/or Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia on the recommendation of the central council.³²

²⁹ William P. Cross and Jean-Benoit Pilet, *The Politics of Party Leadership: A Cross-National Perspective*, eds (UK: Oxford University Press, 2015).

³⁰ Article 14 Paragraph (1) AD PKS of 2015.

³¹ Article 14 Paragraph (2) AD PKS of 2015.

³² Article 14 Paragraph (4) AD PKS of 2015.

If referring to the five categories of rules governing elections for democratic political parties, the PKS AD/ART that has been in effect and is currently in force can be described in table 1.

Table 1: Development of PKS Presidential Election Arrangements in AD/ART

Criteria	2002 AD/ART	2005 AD/ART	2011 AD/ART	2013 AD/ART	2002 AD/ART
Candidancy	Unregulated	Party member and had been a central level administrator	Party member, a member of the Advisory Council, and had been a central administrator	At least an Adult Member with a membership period of at least two years and has been a central administrator	At least an Adult Member with a membership period of at least two years and has been a central administrator
Voters	Selected and determined by the Advisory Council	Proposed by the chairperson of the Advisory Council, and decided by the Advisory Council	Proposed by the chairperson of the Advisory Council, and decided by the Advisory Council	Proposed by the chairperson of the Advisory Council, and decided by the Advisory Council	Proposed by the chairperson of the Advisory Council, and decided by the Advisory Council
Election mechanism	Election	Appointment and Designation	Appointment and Designation	Appointment and Designation	Appointment and Designation
Competitiveness	Does not regulate the guarantee that elections will occur competitively	Does not regulate the guarantee that the election will take place competitively	Does not regulate the guarantee that elections will occur competitively	Does not regulate the guarantee that elections will occur competitively	Does not regulate the guarantee that elections will occur competitively
Term of office	The management period is five years, but there is no limit on the number of times	The management period is five years, but there is no limit on the number of times	The management period is five years, but there is no limit on the number of times	The management period is five years, but there is no limit on the number of times	The management period is five years, but there is no limit on the number of times

Voters (Selectorate)

On the voter dimension, the successive levels of democratization are as follows: Most democratic is when the owner of the vote is given to all party members, including sympathizers (the electorate). At the second level, the owner of voting rights is only given to party members (party members). The third level, voters are only for delegates of a selected party agency. The fourth level, the right to vote, is reserved for party members who are members of the parliament (the parliamentary party group/PPG). The fifth level, the right to vote is only controlled by a handful of party elites, and the lowest level where the right to vote is only the authority of a single individual.

Since its establishment, PKS has placed the Advisory Council as the *Ahlul Halli wal-Aqdi* institution, which occupies the highest position in the party. Because of its position, this institution was given several essential authorities and tasks, one of which was to elect the party's general chairman (President). In the 2002 PKS AD / ART, the provisions of this matter are listed in Article 7 number (4) of the PKS ART that reads, the task of the Advisory Council

is to elect, and appoint the General Chairperson, Chairpersons, General Secretary and Treasurer as well as several Central Board Members.

The authority of the Advisory Council to elect a party president is retained in the subsequent amendment to the PKS AD/ART. However, its authority was slightly reduced because it was narrowed only to legalize; there was no more authority to choose. Strictly stated in the AD/ART of the party that the duties and authority of the Advisory Council are: at the suggestion of the chairperson of the Advisory Council, legalize the President, Secretary-General, and General Treasurer of the Central Management Board.³³

Thus, in the aspect of voters, the level of democracy from the arrangement of the voting rights holders in the PKS President election is at the fourth level or even at the fifth level (the lowest). It is because the one who proposes and elects the candidate is the chairperson of the Advisory Council, while the other members of the Advisory Council only just legalize it.

Candidacy Requirements

Who has the right to be a candidate for the general chair is also one of the crucial issues in determining the degree of democracy in implementing leadership succession in political parties. The democratic degree of the general election can be seen from the perspective of the nomination requirements classified into three levels. The highest degree is when the party is open to everyone (whether cadres or sympathizers) to be able to register as candidates for the general chair. While at the middle level, the nomination is only for those who are party members. While at the lowest level, candidacy is only for members who have been administrators at a certain level.

Each PKS AD/ART that has been in force and is in effect at this time regulates different matters related to the requirements of a party presidential candidate. In 2002 and 2005 PKS AD/ART there was no explanation of the requirements for the party's presidential candidates. Specifically, the specific requirements for: (i) the Secretary-General and the General Treasurer must be members of the Advisory Council, (ii) Position of the Chairperson of the Division, Chair of the Agency, Deputy Secretary-General, and Deputy Treasurer must be members of the Advisory Council or at least Expert Member with the approval of the Central Level Leadership Council.³⁴ However, in Article 18 paragraph (1) letters c, d, e, the 2005 PKS ART regulates the requirements that are not specifically aimed at certain positions, namely: having been an administrator in the management of the party's organizational structure at the central level; has abilities that are following the duties and functions of the Central Management Board; provide sufficient time and opportunity to carry out the duties of the Central Management Board.³⁵ Since these last three conditions do not specifically refer to certain positions in some positions in the central board structure, it can be interpreted that this applies to all positions starting from the Party President, Secretary-General, Deputy Secretary-General, Treasurer, Deputy Treasurer, Division and Agencies, as well as Departments.

³³ Article 11 Paragraph (2)(b)(2) AD PKS of 2005, Article 15 Paragraph (2)(b)(2) AD PKS of 2011, Article 14 Paragraph (4)(a)(2) AD PKS Of 2013, dan Article 14 Paragraph (4)(a)(2) AD PKS of 2015.

³⁴ Article 18 Paragraph (1)(a) and (b) ART PKS of 2005.

³⁵ Article 18 Paragraph (1)(c),(d) and (e) ART PKS of 2005.

Different rules are found in the 2011 PKS AD/ART which specifically contains provisions on the requirements for a candidate for president of the party, namely: (i) must be a member of the Advisory Council, (ii) has been a manager in the management of the party organizational structure at the central level, (iii) has the ability in accordance with the duties and functions of the central board, and (iv) provides sufficient time and opportunity to carry out the duties of the central board.³⁶ While in the 2013 PKS AD / ART and AD PKS ART / ART in 2015, the requirements to become party presidential candidates are loosened to: (1) at least an Adult Member with a membership period of at least two years;³⁷ (2) had been one of the management in the management of the Party organizational structure at the central or provincial level; (3) pious, noble, upholding moral values and truth, fair, severe in the benefit and unity of the nation, and far from the fanaticism of personal and group interests; (4) has a social, political, legal and territorial insight that enables it to carry out its tasks; (5) has sufficient knowledge about territorial, organizational, administrative and management matters; (6) has the ability following the duties and functions of the Central Management Board; and (7) providing sufficient time and opportunities to carry out the duties of the Central Management Board.³⁸

Based on the explanation, a conclusion can be drawn that even though the AD/ART of the PKS stipulates that one of the rights of party members is that they can be submitted as candidates for party management, candidates for representative institutions, or candidates for public office, but to become a party presidential candidate, besides having the status as party members, additional requirements are also needed. One of which must have been a Party Administrator at the central. Thus, judging from this aspect of candidacy, the degree of the democratic election of the PKS President is at the lowest level.

Voting Procedures

The mechanism for electing the chair of a political party can be carried out through the determination or election. The election mechanism is certainly more democratic than determination. According to the 2002 PKS AD/ART provisions, the election of the general chairperson was conducted by the Syuro Council³⁹ through the National Consultative Forum as the highest authority in PKS.⁴⁰ However, how the selection mechanism is not regulated at all. Meanwhile, since the 2005 amendment to the PKS AD/ART and subsequent amendments, the meeting in the *Advisory Council* National Conference has been arranged in great detail including the procedure for decision making namely the decision-making mechanism is based on deliberations for consensus, *ijma* (acclamation), or voting.⁴¹ Unfortunately, the decision-making mechanism in the case of PKS presidential election does not recognize voting but acclamation (determination). It can be referred to the provisions of the authority of the Advisory Council which states, at the proposal of the chairperson of the Advisory Council, the Adviso-

³⁶ Article 23 Paragraph (1)(a),(c),(d), and (e) ART PKS of 2011.

³⁷ Article 23 Paragraph (1)(c) ART PKS of 2013 and Article 27 Paragraph (1)(c) ART PKS of 2015.

³⁸ Article 23 Paragraph (2) ART PKS of 2013 and Article 27 Paragraph (2) ART PKS of 2015.

³⁹ Article 7 ART PKS of 2002.

⁴⁰ Article 23 AD PKS of 2002.

⁴¹ Article 24 Paragraph (2) AD PKS of 2005, Article 29 Paragraph (2) AD PKS of 2011, Article 20 Paragraph (2) AD PKS of 2013, and Article 21 Paragraph (2) AD PKS of 2015.

ry Council determines the President, Secretary-General, and General Treasurer of the Central Management Board.⁴² Thus, judging from the dimension of the procedure for voting, the PKS presidential election is also not democratic.

Competitiveness

All PKS AD/ART that have been in effect and that are currently in effect, none of which contain clear and explicit provisions regarding the level of competition in the election of the party's president. PKS AD/ART does not contain a maximum limit or a minimum number of party presidential candidates. Therefore, there is a possibility that there will be more than one competitor in the PKS President election, but it is also possible that there will only be a single candidate. The unclear regulation of the minimum number of nominations ultimately leads to the less democratic nature of the regulation than if there is clarity in the PKS AD / ART which requires a minimum number of Presidential candidates to be two people. The provision of a minimum number of candidates will close the opportunity for the emergence of only a single candidate so that competition will become more competitive.

Term of Office

PKS AD / ART limits the period of leadership at all levels of management, including the Central Board (DPP) to five years.⁴³ That means that every five years, an Advisory Council National Conference must be held to elect a new president and management. However, no regulation was found regarding the limits on how many times a person could hold the office of party president. Thus, PKS AD / ART opens an opportunity for someone to be able to occupy this position repeatedly without any time limit as long as the person is elected every five years. However, no regulation was found regarding the limits on how many times a person could hold the office of party president. Thus, PKS AD/ART opens an opportunity for someone to be able to occupy this position repeatedly without any time limit as long as the person is elected every five years. Such an arrangement, from the viewpoint of democracy, is undoubtedly dangerous because a leader who occupies a position too long will have the opportunity to hegemony and manipulate power in the interests of the group and his personality, which this matter could have plunged himself into absolute leadership and dictatorship.

PKS Presidential Election Practices

PKS AD/ART regulates minimal matters regarding the election of the party's president. Unlike other political parties, such as the Democratic Party, the Golkar Party and the National Mandate Party (PAN) where the election of the chairperson involves many parties⁴⁴ and takes place through a congressional mechanism or *muktamar* on the PKS the authority to elect the president of the party is entirely left to the Advisory Council and even in its development is largely determined by the chairperson of the Advisory Council. The absolute authority possessed by the chairman of the Advisory Council to propose a party presidential candidate had

⁴² Article 11 Paragraph (2)(b)(2) AD PKS of 2005, Article 15 Paragraph (2)(b)(2) AD PKS of 2011, Article 14 Paragraph (4)(a)(2) AD PKS of 2013, and Article 14 Paragraph (4)(a)(2) AD PKS of 2015.

⁴³ Article 19 AD PKS of 2002, Article 14 AD PKS of 2005, Article 21 Paragraph (2) AD PKS of 2011, Article 17 Paragraph (1) AD PKS of 2013, and Article 18 Paragraph (1) AD PKS of 2015.

⁴⁴ AD/ART Democratic Party, AD/ART Golkar Party, AD/ART the National Mandate Party (PAN).

several impacts. First, party members are not permitted to submit themselves as party presidential candidates. In terms of candidacy, the attitudes of party members are passive in the sense of waiting for their 'fate' to be nominated by the chairman of the Advisory Council; Secondly, there is always only a single party presidential candidate so that no competitive election is created; and Third, the aftermath is that all PKS presidential candidates have always been chosen by acclamation.

Related to the succession of the PK (S) presidential leadership, it can be traced back to when the party was still called the Justice Party (PK) where the leadership was held by Nur Mahmudi Ismail during the 1999-2000 period. In its development, in connection with the appointment of Nur Mahmudi Ismail as Minister of Forestry and Plantation in the Government Cabinet KH. Abdurrahman Wahid in 2000, he then decided to resign from his position as party president and the leadership switched to Hidayat Nur Wahid who officially served as President of the PK from 2000 to 2003. When PK merged into PKS as a result of PK not passing the minimum electoral threshold in the 1999 election, Hidayat Nur Wahid was again entrusted to occupy the position of party President replacing the position of Almuzammil Yusuf, although with a short period of time, 2003- 2004 because in 2004, Hidayat Nur Wahid resigned after being elected Chair of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) for the 2004-2009 term. During this leadership period, all of them were appointed as party presidents based on party decisions and not through the National Advisory Council Consultative Forum.

The vacancy of the party president position left by Hidayat Nur Wahid was responded by the PKS by appointing Tifatul Sembiring as the temporary PKS president until finally through the PKS Advisory Council I meeting on May 26-29, 2005, Tifatul Sembiring was appointed as the definitive PKS President for the term of office 2005-2010. The party presidential election in the National Advisory Council Consultative Forum was attended by 93 Advisory Council members consisting of 51 core cadres from the region and 42 expert cadres. Before holding the party presidential election, the Advisory Council Chair election will be held first, the result of which will be to elect and determine the KH Helmi Aminuddin for the third time as chairman of the Advisory Council. There are four candidates for Advisory Council leaders, each representing the region namely Helmi Aminuddin (Sumatra), Aus Hidayat Nur (Jakarta, West Java, overseas, Kalimantan), Ahmad Firman (Central Java, East Indonesia), Ahmad Zainuddin (East Java, Bali, Nusa Tenggara). Helmi was chosen because she received majority support from 51 core cadres.⁴⁵ However, just like his predecessor, Tifatul Sembiring was also unable to complete his term as PKS President because he was appointed by President SBY as Minister of Communication and Information (Menkoinfo) in the Kabinet Indonesia Bersatu. As his successor, the party-appointed Lutfi Hasan Ishaq as a temporary office to fill the vacancy of the PKS President position left by Tifatul Sembiring. Finally, through the PKS National Advisory Council Consultative Forum II on 16-20 June 2010 at the Ritz-Carlton Pacific Place Hotel, Jakarta, Lutfi Hasan Ishaq was approved as the definitive PKS President for the 2010-2015 period.

⁴⁵ Purwanto dan Harun MB, Tiffatul Presiden PKS lagi, terdapat dalam <https://koran.tempo.co/read/nasional/41540/tiffatul-presiden-pks-lagi?>, accessed on 2 February 2020.

The PKS National Advisory Council Consultative Forum II at the Ritz-Carlton Pacific Place Hotel in Jakarta no longer held party presidential elections, but only authorized and legalized him. According to the chairman of the PKS DPP Mahfudz Shiddiq in mid-May 2010, the Advisory Council meeting had produced a decision regarding the appointment of Lutfi Hasan Ishaq as PKS President. Therefore, the agenda of the National Advisory Council Consultative Forum which was held on June 16-20, 2010 was only the inauguration of new management, the socialization of the 2010-2015 strategic plan, and the consolidation of legislative members nationally. Therefore, not many people know how the selection process of Lutfi Hasan Ishaq as party president because it is very closed.

Lutfi Hasan Ishaq's leadership was also not perfect until the end of his term of office because in the middle of his term of office, he was named a suspect by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in the case of corruption in bribery imports of beef so this forced him to resign as president of the party. Luthfi Hasan Ishaq's position was then replaced by Muhammad Anis Matta since February 1, 2013 based on the results of the Advisory Council meeting. Anis Matta served as the President of PKS for the period 2013-2015. He is not a new person at PKS. He also became one of the PK declarators and served as the party's general secretary for four periods starting when the party was still named PK under the leadership of Nur Mahmudi Ismail. It then continued when the PK was transformed into PKS under the leadership of Hidayat Nur Wahid, Tifatul Sembiring and Lutfi Hasan Ishaq.

Anis Matta's position as party president was not renewed because the results of the PKS Advisory Council Meeting III held at the Mason Pine Hotel in Kota Baru Parahyangan, West Bandung Regency on 9-10 August 2015, decided to elect Muhammad Sohiful Iman - who was the sole candidate - as the president of the PKS for the 2015-2020 period. Anis Matta was not re-elected as PKS president because, from the beginning between himself and the elected Advisory Council chairman, Salim Segaf, there were differences of opinion in party management, so that led to factions within the party known as the Justice Faction on the one hand and the Welfare Faction on the other.⁴⁶

Even though the majority of Advisory Council members approve of Sohiful Iman as party president, this does not mean that all cadres participating in the national deliberations are the same. Some want Anis Matta to continue his leadership. However, because the Chair of the Advisory Council was elected, Salim Segaf, only submitted one candidate's name, Sohiful Iman, so there was no other choice for other Advisory Council members except to approve the existing candidates. Regarding the aspirations of most regional cadres who asked Anis Matta to continue his leadership, Tifatul Sembiring stated as follows:

The Chairman of the Advisory Council proposed Muhammad Sohiful Iman, while the aspirations of many regional representatives asked Anis Matta to continue as president. Discussions about the PKS presidential candidates became boisterous. The atmosphere warmed up, and the meeting participants split into two, who supported Sohiful Iman versus Anis Matta supporters. There was a tension in the Advisory Council meeting, but it did not hit the table. The tension did not subside until some time. Until finally Hidayat Nur Wahid proposed a new position for Anis Matta as the ambassador of the mission of the International Cooperation Agency. Hidayat's proposal succeeded in reducing the tension of the meeting

⁴⁶ Zaiyatul Akmar, "Konflik Internal Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Tahun 2016: Studi Kasus Konflik Fahri Hamzah Dengan Pimpinan DPP PKS," *Politika Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 10, no. 1 (2019): 5-6.

participants. Anis Matta was then allowed to speak. However, as is well known, Anis's speech did not make him survive the PKS President. In the end, the meeting chose Sohibul Iman as the PKS President.⁴⁷

The difference in aspirations between some party cadres and the Advisory Council in terms of the party presidential candidates in the PKS Advisory Council Meeting III has caused internal party friction. According to Tempo media reports, based on the acknowledgement of some PKS cadres, the polemic that occurred within PKS was an aftermath of the succession of party leadership which was considered not to satisfy all members fully. After ten years as chairman of the Advisory Council, Hilmi Aminuddin stepped down, replaced by Salim Segaf al-Jufri. This succession was also followed by the election of Muhammad Sohibul Iman as PKS President replacing Anis Matta.⁴⁸ According to Hidayat Nur Wahid, Sohibul Iman was chosen as party president because he was considered capable of breaking the PKS stigma that had been identified with the Middle East party. Though PKS is a party open to anyone.⁴⁹ As is known, Sohibul Iman's educational background is a Japanese graduate from bachelor to a doctoral degree.

The election of Sohibul Iman as PKS president was the result of the appointment by Advisory Council Chairman Salim Segaf al-Jufri and its Vice-Chairman Hidayat Nur Wahid, as well as being considered through an open plenary meeting. Besides, the two also appointed one name each for the position of secretary-general, general treasurer, chairman of the deliberative council, and chairman of the central sharia council.⁵⁰

From the description of the PKS presidential election practice, it appears that the implementation did not take place democratically because besides being very closed and very dependent on one person, namely the Chair of the Advisory Council, alternative candidates never appeared because there was only a single candidate available so that the election mechanism was always done by acclamation, not through voting.

CONCLUSION

The birth of PKS is a transformation of the tarbiyah movement, a missionary movement that emerged in the New Order era. The Tarbiyah Movement itself is characterized by two things: First, its centralistic leadership; and Second, it is organizationally very closed. This closure was initially based on the interests of deception of the repressive New Order regime. These two characters are apparently still maintained in PKS organizations where the leadership is centralized in the Chair of the Advisory Council and decision making by the Advisory Council, especially in the case of party presidential elections are also closed. The implication, both in terms of rules and practice, the election of the party president is still far from democratic values.

⁴⁷ Ahmad Toriq, Pendukung Anis Matta dan Sohibul Iman Tegang di Pemilihan Presiden PKS, terdapat dalam <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2989306/pendukung-anis-matta-dan-sohibul-iman-tegang-di-pemilihan-presiden-pks>, accessed on 2 Februari 2020.

⁴⁸ Tim Penyusun Pusat Data dan Analisa Tempo, *Fahri Hamzah, Politikus Bersuara Lantang Menentang*, (Jakarta: Tempo Publishing, 2019), p. 60.

⁴⁹ Hafizd Mukti, Pilih Sohibul, PKS Ingin Lepas dari Citra Timur Tengah, terdapat dalam <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20150811103124-32-71327/pilih-sohibul-pks-ingin-lepas-dari-citra-timur-tengah>, accessed on 2 Februari 2020.

⁵⁰ Putri Adityowati, Jadi Presiden PKS, Ini Janji Sohibul Iman, terdapat dalam <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/690837/jadi-presiden-pks-ini-janji-sohibul-iman>, accessed on 2 Februari 2020.

Evidence that the PKS presidential election rules and practices are lacking or even undemocratic are measured through five democratic election parameters namely: (i) nomination requirements, (ii) voting rights, (iii) electoral procedures, (iv) competitive electoral characteristics, and (v) there are restrictions on term of office. From all of these parameters, the PKS presidential election does not meet the criteria to be called democratic. First, the nominating aspect can be said to be democratic if this opens up the opportunity for all political party cadres to compete. However, in the PKS, all cadres are prohibited from actively submitting their nominations and must wait to be nominated by the Chair of the Advisory Council. Second, elections are considered democratic if the right to vote is given to a broader circle of political parties, but in reality, the right to vote is only the exclusive right of the chairman and members of the Advisory Council. Third, the election procedure will be qualified democratic if done through voting. In practice, the election of the president of the PKS is always carried out by appointment. Fourth, competitive selection. This means that in every party presidential election it should be attended by more than one candidate, but what has happened so far in the PKS always appears only a single candidate. Fifth, limited-term of office. Indeed, the PKS rules have governed the term of service for five years, but there is no limitation on how many periods a person can serve as party president. Thus, it is possible that someone can serve as party president for more than two periods or even a lifetime.

When the tarbiyah movement has been transformed into a political party institution, the closure and leadership that relies on only one person should be removed and immediately replaced with democratic openness and leadership. This is because political parties are one of the democratic institutions which must be managed in a democratic and open manner. Without this element, the party will easily be distorted only as a political vehicle to achieve the interests of specific individuals and elites and not the public interest.

REFERENCES

- Akmar, Zaiyatul. "Konflik Internal Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Tahun 2016: Studi Kasus Konflik Fahri Hamzah Dengan Pimpinan DPP PKS." *Politika Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 10, no. 1 (2019): 5–6.
- Akzin, Benjamin. "Election and Appointment." *The American Political Science Review* 54, no. 3 (1960): 705.
- Aminuddin, M. Faishal. "Reorganisasi Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan* 1, no. 1 (2010): 130.
- Basyir, Ach. "Ideologi Politik Dilematis Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Antara Gerakan Tarbiyah Dan Pragmatisme." *Jurnal Agama Dan Hak Azazi Manusia* 3, no. 2 (2014): 238.
- Cross, William P., and Jean-Benoit Pilet. *The Politics of Party Leadership: A Cross-National Perspective*. Eds. UK: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Damanik, Ali Said. *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Teraju, 2002.
- Gideon Rahat, and Reuven Y. Hazan. "Candidate Selection Methods: An Analytical Framework." *Party Politics* 7, no. 3 (2001): 300–301.

- Haniffuddin, Muhammad. *Literasi Politik: Dinamika Konsolidasi Demokrasi Indonesia Pasca Reformasi*. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2019.
- Hofmeister, Wilhelm, and Karsten Grabow. *Political Parties Functions and Organisation in Democratic Societies*. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011.
- Janda, Kenneth. *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives*. Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 2005.
- Kenig, Ofer. "Classifying Party Leaders' Selection Methods in Parliamentary Democracies." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 19, no. 4 (2009): 435.
- Kuswanto. "Consistency of the Presidential System in Indonesia." *Sriwijaya Law Review* 2, no. 2 (2018): 180.
- Mahmudi, Yon. *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Wajah Baru Politik Islam Indonesia*. Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005.
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin. *Dilema PKS: Suara Dan Syariah*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, Third Edition, 2012.
- Nurhasim, Moch., Syamsuddin Haris, and Lili Romli. "Resume Penelitian Masa Depan Partai Islam Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 13, no. 2 (2016): 228.
- Rahmat, M.Imdadut. *Ideologi Politik PKS: Dari Masjid Kampus Ke Gedung Parlemen*. Yogyakarta: Lkis, 2008.
- Romli, Lili. "Partai Islam Dan Pemilih Islam Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 1, no. 1 (2004): 29.
- Rusdiyanta, Muh. Umar Wirayuda, and and Doddy Wihardi. "Transnasionalisasi Ideologi: Kasus Ikhwanul Muslimin Terhadap Partai Keadilan Sejahtera." *Jurnal Transnasional* 4, no. 3 (2009): 30.
- Sandri, Giulia. "Perceptions of Intra-Party Democracy and Their Consequences on Activism: A Comparative Analysis of Attitudes and Behaviours of Grass-Roots Party Members." Madrid, 2012.
- Tempo, Tim Penulis. *Natsir: Politik Santun Di Antara Dua Rezim*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2011.
- Widyarsa, Mohammad Riza. "Pengaruh Ideologi Politik Islam Di Indonesia Terhadap Partai Politik Di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Partai Keadilan Sejahtera." *Jurnal Al-Azhar Indonesia Seri Pranata Sosial* 1, no. 1 (2011): 31–32.
- Wolkenstein, Fabio. "A Deliberative Model of Intra-Party Democracy." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 24, no. 3 (2016): 304.
- Yumitro, Gonda. "Partai Islam Dalam Dinamika Demokrasi Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 17, no. 1 (2013): 2013.
- Ahmad Toriq, Cerita Tifatul Sembiring Soal Khidmatnya Musyawarah Majelis Syuro PKS, terdapat dalam <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2988932/cerita-tifatul-sembiring-soal-khidmatnya-musyawah-majelis-syuro-pks>, accessed on 2 February 2020.
- Purwanto dan Harun MB, Tiffatul Presiden PKS lagi, terdapat dalam <https://koran.tempo.co/read/nasional/41540/tiffatul-presiden-pks-lagi?>, accessed on 2 February 2020.

http://www.polmarkindonesia.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=422, accessed on 2 February 2020.

Ahmad Toriq, Pendukung Anis Matta dan Sohibul Iman Tegang di Pemilihan Presiden PKS, terdapat dalam <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2989306/pendukung-anis-matta-dan-sohibul-iman-tegang-di-pemilihan-presiden-pks>, accessed on 2 February 2020.

Hafizd Mukti, Pilih Sohibul, PKS Ingin Lepas dari Citra Timur Tengah, terdapat dalam <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20150811103124-32-71327/pilih-sohibul-pks-ingin-lepas-dari-citra-timur-tengah>, accessed on 2 February 2020.

Putri Adityowati, Jadi Presiden PKS, Ini Janji Sohibul Iman, terdapat dalam <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/690837/jadi-presiden-pks-ini-janji-sohibul-iman>, accessed on 2 February 2020.

The Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Party *jo* The Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning the Amendment of the Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Party.

The Political Party Statute (AD/ART) PK of 2002.

The Political Party Statute (AD/ART) PKS of 2005.

The Political Party Statute (AD/ART) PKS of 2011.

The Political Party Statute (AD/ART) PKS of 2013.

The Political Party Statute (AD/ART) PKS of 2015.