Revitalizing The Regeneration System Of Political Parties In Building Pancasila Democracy

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Abstract

Problems with recruitment and regeneration systems and patterns that are carried out instantly can contribute to the community's negative perception of political parties. Political parties are more likely to recruit ready-made cadres rather than cadres who have been raised and have experienced the process of party life from a difficult period to the achievement of the party's goals, resulting in recruitment patterns and patterns of Cadre of Political Party Members who are less loyal and competent. The revitalization of the Political Party Cadre System had implications for the development of the democracy of Pancasila, which includes the development of the constitutional life order as well as all aspects of life, including the establishment of economic, social, political, cultural, defense, security, and legal systems. An adequate political party cadre system includes political parties with a clear ideology, state direction in politics, an obvious curriculum and cadre, trainers, guidelines, and, finally, a system for tracking and assessing progress. Aside from that, the implications of the cadre of members of the candidate pair have 4 (four) impacts in the cadre system: the first is that party cadres have sufficient competence to carry out their duties; the second has devotion while being a party cadre and a good track record while active in the political party; the third has achievements, dedication, discipline, loyalty, and irreproachable (PD2LT); and the fourth meets the provisions required by law. The novelty of this research lies in the quality of democracy which is only placed on the electoral candidate pair or the power of the candidate pair's political dowry to be able to buy the electorate, but the quality of democracy needs to be placed on the ideology of the political party, the state's direction in politics, clear curriculum and cadres, and trainers as such. So political parties are expected to represent society in making choices in line with the development of Pancasila democracy.

1. Introduction

Political parties are organizations formed in order to organize and characterize public policy within the framework of specific ideological principles and interests, either through direct power or popular participation in elections.[1] Political parties are one of the elements that must exist in a democratic society. Political parties

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[1] N. Hagopain Mark, *Regimes, Movement and Ideologies A Comparative Introdaction to Political Science* (Longman Universitas Michigan, 1978), 73.

contribute to democracy by serving as actors in the political process.[2] Political parties are used to gain power. Miriam Budiarjo defines a political party as an organized group of people who share a common vision and mission in order to gain power.[3] Political parties are formed to fulfill a variety of purposes. According to Nassmacher, political parties' functions are[4]:

1. *Parties mediate or arbitrate between a pluralistic society and its political institutions of government.*
2. *Parties organize political campaigns in order to mobilize voters to participate in an election.*
3. *Parties recruit political personnel by selecting and nominating candidates who stand for public office in an election.*
4. *Parties aggregate a plurality of interests into a reasonable number of political alternatives or policy options, and thus channel conflicts between government and opposition.*
5. *Parties enable people to generate a plurality of opinions in public debate, elaborate projects or.*

The function of political parties, based on Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning political parties, is that political parties' function as a means of:

a. political education for members and the wider community to become Indonesian citizens who are aware of their rights and obligations in the life of society, nation, and state;
b. creating a conducive climate for the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation for the welfare of the community;
c. absorbing, collecting, and channeling the political aspirations of the community in formulating and determining state policies;
d. the political participation of Indonesian citizens; and
e. political recruitment in the process of filling political positions through democratic mechanisms with due regard to gender equality and justice.

Political parties, in addition to having the above functions, are expected to be able to play a role in the recruitment process of political leaders.[5] The recruitment system used by political parties had not been in line with what the people want, making the current elections uninteresting to watch, given that party recruitment at the moment fails to take into consideration the quality of prospective leaders both academically, intellectually, as well as in terms of integrity. Furthermore, the development of law, social economy, and culture frequently does not follow the community's wishes, as political parties recruit candidates who are loyal to political parties. There are community figures, which may include public figures or celebrities, who lack the necessary academic and intellectual abilities to create a grand plan for the development of the Indonesian nation's welfare. According to

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[2] K. Kumar, "A Role and Functions of Political Parties in Democracy Issue," *1 South-Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies (SAJMS* 4, no. mor 1 (2017): 2349–7858.

[3] M. Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2008), 18.

[4] Karl-Heinz Nassmacher, *Introduction: Political Parties Funding and Democracy Dalam Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns*, ed. oleh Reginald Austin Maja Tjernstrom (Stockholm: IDEA, 2003), 2.

[5] Sianturi K. A, "Memperkuat Fungsi Rekrutmen Partai Politik (Strengthening The Recruitment Function of Political Party," *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 1, no. mor 1 (t.t.): 1–22.

Marcus Mietzner, "democratization in Indonesia demonstrates more the visual representation of the popularity of figures than people as a whole." The meaning of democracy goes far beyond political performance; it leads to individual performance. The public has placed a lot of trust in the leader's ability to uphold democracy rather than the political system or the performance of political parties.[6] What actually happened in Indonesia was not dissimilar to what is happening in other countries going through transition. The majority of countries emerging from authoritarian regimes have begun to implement the North-West Passage, as Przeworski calls it.[7] The cadre and recruitment system have been an attempt by political parties to create a political ladder for each candidate, given that there is no clear cadre system in today's world; an individual who recently became a member of a political party is immediately appointed party chairman. Even more intriguing is the fact numerous individuals who have never became part of a political party is instantaneously nominated to vote in presidential, legislative, governor, district, and mayoral elections.

The existence of political parties ideally cannot be separated from the democratic system.[8] Our democracy today is frequently defined as a general election, which is a form of democracy used to implement democracy through popular sovereignty and had been conducted directly, honestly, and fairly in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945.[9] Every five years, general elections are held in a transparent, honest, and fair manner.[10] Honesty and fairness must be interpreted in the context of Pancasila democracy, which means that democracy is lived by the Indonesian nation and state as well as has been imprinted and integrated with Pancasila precepts or values. Pancasila democracy, in broad terms, refers to the sovereignty of the people constructed according to Pancasila values in politics, economics, and society.[11]

Indonesia has implemented a democratic system, which is synonymous with popular sovereignty. The theoretical framework of democratic government positions the people as the ultimate decision-makers in the implementation of a nation's government. First and foremost, democracy is an idea that holds that power belongs to, by, and for those who are citizens. In a more participatory sense, democracy is also known as the philosophy that power comes from, by, for, and with the people. This implies that political power is essentially recognized as emanating from the people, and thus it is the people who determine and direct state affairs.[12] In line with this, Mohammad Hatta asserts that the democracy of Pancasila[13] is as follows:

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[6] Moch Ridho Hartoni, *Pola Kaderisasi Partai Politik Di Provinsi Lampung Skripsi Ilmu Pemerintahan Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* (Universitas Lampung, 2021), 1.

[7] Adam Przeworski, *Sustainable Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3.

[8] R. Istania, "Menumbuhkan Kegairahan Politik Lokal? Split Ticket Voting," *Jurnal Borneo Administrator* 5, no. 1 (2009): 1–16.

[9] Anonim, "Kumpulan Undang-Undang Pemilihan Umum (Sekretariat Jendral Kepaniteraan Mahkama Konstitusi Republik Indonesia Tahun 2008," t.t., 3.

[10] Yasir Arafat, *Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia 1945 Amandemen* (Pertama Press, 2014), 19.

[11] Badan MRP Republic Indonesia, *Naskah Akademik Penegasan Demokrasi Pancasila* (Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Padjadjaran dan Badan Pengkajian MPR, 2018), 3.

[12] Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Hukum Tata Negara Dan Pilar-Pilar Demokrasi* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2012), 293.

[13] Muhammad Yamin, *Proklamasi dan Konstitusi Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 1982), 67.

1) Pancasila democracy is a democracy based on kinship and mutual cooperation aimed at the welfare of the people, which contains elements of religious awareness based on truth, love, and noble character, Indonesian personality, and sustainability;
2) In Pancasila democracy, the state organization system is carried out by the people themselves or with the consent of the people;
3) In Pancasila democracy, individual freedom is not absolute but must be balanced with social responsibility. In Pancasila democracy, the universality of democratic ideals is combined with the ideals of the life of the Indonesian nation, which is imbued with the spirit of kinship, so that there is no domination of the majority or minority.

Pancasila democracy must be understood as the spirit, inspiration, as well as the substance of local values that reflect excellence in the creation of a state life order that encompasses all aspects of life, including economic, social, political, cultural, defense, security, and legal systems. The ultimate goal of building the order of state life articulated through Pancasila Democracy serves the purpose of all practices of Indonesian democratic life in everything that happens to be based on Pancasila values, which include divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and civilized justice.

If the cadre system is not in accordance with the above provisions, what happens is that the cadre system has no political career path, and what happens is that those who have the power of capital and are able to build public opinion and electability will easily gain trust, or even those who have never been involved in the party can become an option in the election concentration.[14] Indeed, the formation of political parties are supposed to be the result of ideological clashes between societal forces. This implies that political parties should ideally emerge as representations of all citizens' interests.[15]

The urgency of revitalizing political parties that were previously confronted with challenges in their processes of regeneration should ideally focus on a clear regeneration system to ensure that the source of recruitment does not involve an oligarchic tendency.[16] If the idealism of this formation is not realized, the public's belief that political parties are capable of establishing Pancasila democracy will be wishful thinking.[17] Given that high political dowries are the primary cause of the regeneration system's failure, it causes distrust among the public in the candidate's proposal, implying that the party's representation is not conveyed, as candidates with high political costs always provide solutions to vote acquisition. Furthermore, high political dowries will have an impact on electoral control, and this negative impact is going to become a culture or habit which possesses the potential to change cultural values and disrespect local wisdom, thereby undermining the value of ideology in the development of Pancasila democracy.

AAhmad Hanafi, "Mahar Politik dan Problem Kaderisasi Partai," ipc.or.id, diakses 12 Februari 2024, https://ipc.or.id/mahar-politik-dan-problem-kaderisasi-partai/.

[15] Firman Subagyo, *Menata Partai Politik dalam Arus Demokrasi* (Jakarta: RMBOOKS, 2009), 57.

[16] Septi Nur Wijayanti, "Peran Organisasi Sayap Partai Politik dalam Kaderisasi Partai Politik di Indonesia," *SASI* 27, no. 4 (Oktober – Desember 2021): 76.

[17] Schattscneider Elmer E, *Party Government.New* (York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1942), 1.

2. Method

The approach used in the study applied to address the issue of revitalizing the cadre system on the coast is the use of normative legal research methods, also known as normative juridical research. Normative juridical research methods are those that differ from the nature of law. This is consistent with the views of Philipus M. Hadjon and Tatiek Sri Djatmiati, who make the argument that normative legal research methods deviate from the scientific nature of law by focusing on doctrinal studies or literature studies.[18] According to Peter Mahmud Marzuki, legal research is legal research that employs an approach, either a statutory approach (*pendekatan perundang – undangan*) or a conceptual approach (*pendekatan konseptual*)[19], implying that the statutory approach (*pendekatan perundang – undangan*) is a method for understanding hierarchy and principles in laws and regulations in accordance with Article 1 point 2 of Law No. 12 of 2011. 12 of 2011, laws and regulations are written regulations that contain legally binding norms in general and are formed or stipulated by state institutions or authorized officials following procedures outlined in laws and regulations. Regulations are used to approach the situation.[20] By departing from the views and doctrines that emerge in legal science, we can take a conceptual approach.[21]

3. Analysis or Discussion

3.1 Problems of the Political Party Cadre System in Legal Perspective

In countries that embrace democracy, political parties are one form of institutionalization of democracy, which is considered the official representation of the aspirations of the people of Mac. Iver[22] argues that a political party is an association organized to support a principle or formulation of policy that, according to constitutional channels, is tried to make it the determining basis for government.[23] In addition, a political party, according to Miriam Budiarjo, is defined as an organized group whose members have the same orientations, values, and ideals, which aim to gain political power and seize political positions (usually) by constitutional means to implement their policies.[24] In accordance with the preceding, Robert K. Carr defines a political party as an organization that seeks and maintains control over the government.[25]

Political parties are the link between the processes that occur in government and the social dynamics that occur in society. Therefore, political parties can be said to actually determine democracy in a country. According to Law Number 2 of 2011

[18] Philipus M.Hadjon Tatiek Sri Djatmiati, *Argumen Hukum* (Surabaya: Gadjah Mada University Press Cetakan Ke 7, 2016), 3.

[19] Johnny Ibrahim, *Teori dan Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Normatif* (Malang: Banyumedia, 2010), 93.

[20] Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Penelitian hukum Edisi Revisi* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005), 136.

[21] Marzuki, 177.

[22] Mac Iver memiliki nama lengkap Robert Morrison Mac Iver merupakan seorang sosiolog dan ilmuwan politik kelahiran Skotlandia 17 April 1882 dan meninggal pada 15 Juni 1970. Lihat htttps://biography.yourdictionary.com

[23] H.Abu Daud Bushroh, *Ilmu Negara* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2017), 155.

[24] Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: penerbit Gramedia, 1988), 38.

[25] Robert K.Carr Merver H.Bernstein Walter F. Murphy, *American Democracy in Theory and Practice: Essentials of National State and Local Government* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston. Inc, 1965), 42.

concerning Political Parties, Political Parties are organisations that are national in nature and formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of a common will and ideals to fight for and defend the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945[26] Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, political parties are often said to be a boat to deliver someone to power, in this case political parties have a recruitment and regeneration mechanism where political recruitment is a method used for the selection and selection or selection and appointment of a person or group of people to carry out a number of roles in the political system in general and the government in particular. rom political parties, it is hoped that there will be a process of regeneration of leaders or individuals who have the ability to carry out their duties properly in accordance with the positions they hold. In the realm of democracy, although individuals here are given the same opportunity to achieve a certain degree or to get something, there are rules on how the individual achieves this through existing laws or regulations. With the existence of political parties, these individuals will find it easier to get their desires in the political field, in the sense that even without political parties they can get them, but of course it will be more difficult.[27] The weakness of a clear regeneration system has the potential to give birth to the arbitrariness of determining candidate pairs based on individual and group interests and has the potential to give birth to candidates who can win elections with their political dowries. This has the potential to create four conditions, including the following:

3.1.1 Problems with Political Party Ideology.

Political parties have an important meaning in a representative democratic system in Indonesia, where political parties are believed to be a strategic instrument for the development of Indonesia's current and future democracy. However, since the collapse of the New Order regime or the reform era, there has been a decline in the level of public trust in political parties. Political parties began to lose their direction and purpose. Since the reformation, political passion in Indonesia has been high. Many groups in society have established political parties as a consequence of the freedom of political rights that are believed to bring change to this country. Although there are various reactions to the existence of political parties today, various parties hope that democracy will be better if political parties can be more professional, democratic, and accountable.[28]

As a result, political parties Ideally ought to possess an ideology, which is a set of beliefs, ideals, and rules that guide the behavior of an individual or group. Ideology refers to the set of ideas that shape a political party's goals and programs. Political parties with opposing ideologies typically take different positions on issues such as foreign policy, social policy, and economic policy. Ideology is essential for political parties because it supports the establishment

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[26] Yishai Yael, "Bringing Society Back In: Post-Cartel Parties in Israel Dalam Party Politics," 2001, 667.

[27] Imam Yudhi, "Pergeseran Peran Ideologi Dalam Partai Politik," *Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Ilmu Pemerintahan*, vol.1, no.1 (2011), 31.

[28] Arfan Fadhillah Danuwidjaja dkk, "Hubungan Antara Kaderisasi dan Ideologi dalam Partai Politik: Studi Kasus Aktivitas Internal PDIP," *Indonesian Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4 (April 2023): 46.

of their identities and missions.[29] However, there is a shift in the role of ideology in political parties, especially in the scope and framework of recruitment for a political party as a regeneration process for prospective members and/or prospective administrators of the political party itself.[30] It has an impact on where this political party will play its function, what will be socialized to the community, what kind of political attitudes and orientations will be formed, what kind of society is the basis of the party's struggle, with what kind of values the struggle will be carried out, what kind of society will be formed, and so on. This means that the party's ideological foundation will be carried through to the party's policy program, which will then become a tangible work program for the community to feel and enjoy. Starting with the implementation of this program, the ideals of realizing or forming the desired society will be realized. Political party ideology is used as a guideline or measure when dealing with societal issues, which means that the values of political party ideology are related to the welfare, education, health, tranquillity, and comfort of the community that will be formed if the party gains power.[31]

With the ideals and ideology of political parties, it can be used as a foundation for political parties to address every policy made by the government, both within and outside of the government. In every response, criticism or rejection of a policy as an implementation of political parties' control functions can be rationalized both academically and politically so that it can be accounted for by the community as a whole, which is the foundation of the struggle, or the opposing party. Each political party is going to develop its own ideology, giving it a distinct identity.

The criteria that we can use to determine the weakness of political party ideology are seen in the behavior and character of political parties. Which can be known, namely the ideology of a political party based on the Articles of Association (AD (*Anggaran Dasar*)) and Bylaws (ART (*Anggaran Rumah Tangga*)) of the party. The AD/ART document is a formal statement of a political party that contains ideological statements, abstract principles, the main objectives of the party, and a series of specific programs.[32] Sometimes the ideology formally written in the AD or ART does not accurately reflect the party's ideology. In reality itself, a number of political party behaviors tend to be inconsistent with the established ideology; political parties frequently fail to adhere to their own ideals, resulting in problems. This can cause doubts and dissatisfaction among those who support the party, who may feel duped or misled by the party's efforts. This can lead to a loss of trust and support for the party, undermining its electoral position and performance.

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[29] P. Pasaribu, "Peranan Partai Politik dalam Melaksanakan Pendidikan Politik," *JPPUMA: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Sosial Politik UMA (Journal of Governance and Political Social UMA* 5, no. 1 (2017): 51.

[30] Prasetya I. Y, "Pergeseran peran ideologi dalam partai politik," *Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Ilmu Pemerintahan* 1, no. 1 (2011): 30.

[31] Yudhi, "Pergeseran Peran Ideologi Dalam Partai Politik," 34.

[32] Francesca Vassalo dan Clyde Wilcox, Part as a Carrier of Ideas, dalam Muhadi Sugiono dan Wawan Mas'udi,, "Peta Ideologi Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2009 Laporan Penelitian Hibah Riset Fakultas Yogyakarta Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik UGM," 2006, 6. Francesca Vassalo&Clyde Wilcox, Part as a Carrier of Ideas, dalam Muhadi Sugiono dan Wawan Mas'udi,

A party may also be more susceptible to outside pressure or influence if the organization does not adhere to its own ideology, limiting its ability to properly represent the interests belonging to its supporters. This can further erode the support for the party by creating the impression that it is untrustworthy and unreliable. Finally, political parties must adhere to their principles in order to maintain the trust and support of their constituents.[33] The behavior of political parties in Indonesia tends to be compartmentalized, which means that party ideology and programs are secondary to pragmatic interests.[34] In the context of ideology, party politicians tend to be ambivalent and inconsistent. On the one hand, they formally support an ideology, either the ideology of the state or the ideology of the party, but in their behavior, they often use that support for the sake of power.

In the end, it is personal and group interests that become the "ideology" of our party politicians today. Meanwhile, in the context of tactics and strategies, in general, parties are trapped in efforts to fight for public positions rather than struggling to win public policies, while the function of political education for the community has almost never been touched and has become the agenda of political parties. Instead, our political parties tend to hide behind ideological clothes, behind the personal charisma of their elites, and behind big issues that are never contextually- operationalized. As a result, party competition tends to be more physical than competition based on physical advantages, platforms, and political programs.[35]

3.1.2 The quality of political party regeneration.

Cadre aims to create a dedicated and effective group of party members to achieve the party's goals and objectives. Regeneration is a common technique used by political parties and other organizations to strengthen their internal structure as well as develop a core group of loyal and dedicated members. It may also contribute to ensuring that the party's views and goals are consistently supported and encouraged within the party.[36] We can see that instant regeneration and high electoral rates are inextricably linked to the influence of money politics, which is not only an aberration but has spawned the rise of a dirty civilization in Indonesian political culture. This is because people believe that transactional politics in elections is unimportant or trivial. Meanwhile, the more frequently someone is offered money or goods or witnesses the practice of money politics, the more accepting they are of it. "The more you experience the practice of money politics or see the event in question, the more commonplace the practice of money politics becomes."[37]

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[33] Efriza N.F. N, "Eksistensi Partai Politik Dalam Persepsi Publik [The Existence of The Political Parties in Public Perception," *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional* 10, no. 1 (2019): 17.

[34] Muhadam Lalobo Teguh Ilham, *Partai Politik dan Sistem Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia* (Jakarta:Rajawali Pers, 2017), 263.

[35] Haris Syamsuddin, *Partai Pemilu Dan Parlemen Era Reformasi*, 1 ed. (Jakarta: Buku Obor, 2014), 51.

[36] Ferdian R.Cahyadi R.Krisbintoro S. dan Indrajat H, "Model Kaderisasi Partai Politik melalui Sayap Partai," *Wacana Publik* 14, no. 1 (2020): 35.

[37] Burhanudin Muhtadi, "Politik Uang dan Dinamika Elektoral di Indonesia : Sebuah Kajian Awal Interaksi Antara Parti-ID dan Patron-Klien," *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 10, no. 1 (2013): 47.

Recruitment and regeneration systems and patterns that are carried out instantly can add to the negative assessment of the community towards political parties. Political parties are more likely to recruit ready-made cadres, not cadres who are truly raised and feel the process of party life from a bitter period to a period of achieving the party's goals, resulting in recruitment patterns and cadre patterns of political party members who lack loyalty and quality. Many politicians also tend to utilize the big name of their new party to win elections when the old party fails to deliver itself as a winner.[38]

3.1.3 Funding of political parties that are still problematic.

In the provisions of Article 34 of Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, it is stated that the source of political party funds comes from the dues of political party members, lawful donations, and assistance from the APBN and APBD. It needs to be realized that for political parties, when approaching the general election, more and more funds are spent to get victory in the election. This is certainly a note that needs to be taken into account by a political party regarding the funds owned by the party.

Moreover, if contributions from party members are very minimal, then parties tend to depend on the state budget (APBN) and regional budget (APBD), where these funds become the main income of the party. Donations of funds from the APBN and APBD are given based on the proportion of votes of political parties in the acquisition of seats in the DPR RI (Regional Representatives Council), Provincial DPRD (Provincial Legislatives Council), and Regency/City DPRD. The donation is made with the intention of providing political party education to political party members and the community, but in reality, political party education is not carried out on the ground because the source of funds is unable to meet the minimum needs of party funding, which means it is difficult to expect legal sources of funds for political parties. This budget requires careful consideration given the existence of transactional politics, which is reciprocal politics in which candidate pairs at the central and regional levels win elections or regional elections and then return services to oligarchs, who provide funds by issuing policies, regulations, and licenses that are beneficial to the oligarchs but harm the state finances.

3.1.4 Democracy has been hijacked from the start because political dowries are seen as political investments that must eventually be paid for with policies that do not benefit certain groups as capital providers.

A survey of 820 South Tangerang residents who have the right to vote found that 56.8% accepted money politics. Money politics in the 2020 simultaneous regional elections is quite large. The results of the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) survey on Sunday, January 10, 2022, stated that 22.7% of respondents in the 2020 regional elections admitted that they were offered money or goods to vote for certain regent or mayor candidates. 5.7% of respondents stated that they were repeatedly offered money or goods to vote for certain regent or mayor candidates. LSI found that 21.9% of respondents in regional elections were offered money or goods once or twice in 2020 to vote

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[38] Aprista Ristyawati, "Penguatan Partai Politik sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Pengadministrasian dan Pelembagaan Demokrasi," *Administrative Law & Governance Journal* 2, no. ue 4 (November 2019): 710.

for a particular governor candidate. 4.7% of respondents claimed to have been offered money or other goods several times to vote for a particular gubernatorial candidate.

Not only that, in every stage that each candidate passes, each candidate needs to prepare political costs that are not small; this can be described as follows:

a) Screening Stage

This stage is the most prone to money politics and political dowries. The weakness of this stage is the monopoly of political parties as supporters of the nominated presidential candidates. Because presidential candidates can be nominated if they have a 25% threshold, it causes money politics and political dowries. According to Ari Dwipayana, by using party services, each regional head candidate spent a minimum of 7-8 billion rupiah. So that there is transactional politics involving candidates, political parties, and stakeholders.

b) Campaign

Money politics are most commonly found during campaigns. Various types of covert money politics seem to be unstoppable because of the increasingly creative actors who carry out vote-buying actions or "binding" campaign funds (abusive donations). The amount of the 2024 Election Campaign Fund, namely: First, campaign funds for the 2024 elections can be obtained from individuals and groups, companies, and/or non-governmental business entities. However, campaign fund donations that may be received from a number of sources are limited in nominal value. Second, in detail, campaign fund donations for presidential candidates (presidential candidates) and vice-presidential candidates (vice presidential candidates) originating from individuals are a maximum of IDR 2.5 billion. Meanwhile, the maximum campaign funds for presidential and vice-presidential candidates from companies are IDR 25 billion. For candidates for DPR and DPRD membership, campaign fund contributions are also limited to a maximum of IDR 2.5 billion from individuals. Third, the DPR campaign funds from companies reach a maximum of IDR 25 billion. Continued, campaign fund donations for candidates for DPD members are a maximum of Rp750 million from individuals. Finally, the campaign fund donation for DPD candidates from companies is a maximum of RP1.5 billion.

c) Voting

Voting is vulnerable to money and political violations. Such violations include vote-buying and dawn raids. Another problem noted in voting is the lack of quality candidates offered to voters. This is closely related to the lack of regeneration in political parties, political parties not preparing qualified candidates, and the centralized determination of candidates to be promoted by political parties, so that the candidates promoted are not candidates who are the aspirations of the people in the region. The irony is that there is almost no serious effort by party leaders in the reform era today to improve themselves. Instead, politicians are increasingly preserving the structural problems of parties and "enjoying" the unhealthy situation for the sake of personal and/or group power continuity. A similar tendency can also be seen

in the context of the party system, so that the direction and format are unclear—except in terms of numbers—about whether they are coherent with the choice of government system, representation system, and electoral system. There has been no serious debate among party elites in the DPR as to the real direction of the party system in the post-New Order era, so what has emerged is a law on political parties that is not commissioned and tends to let parties formulate their own format for their contribution to the scheme of presidential democracy.[39]

Problems regarding the quality of political party regeneration are influenced by the unclear ideology of political parties, the funding of political parties that are still problematic, and democracy that has been hijacked from the start because political dowries are seen as political investments that must ultimately be paid for with policies that do not benefit certain groups as capital providers, this is a phenomenon of the unsuccessful election system starting from the recruitment system, cadre, Pancasila democracy which has been praised to be able to solve the nation's problems to this day has not reached its peak, meaning that Pancasila Democracy which is a democracy based on the principles of kinship and mutual cooperation aimed at the welfare of the people, which contains elements of religious awareness, truth, love and noble character, Indonesian personality and sustainable.[40] Not implemented because of electoral factors that are usually formed practically with high political dowries, which are seen as political investments that must ultimately be paid for with policies that do not benefit certain groups, and in Pancasila democracy, the state organizing system is carried out by the people themselves or with the consent of the people.[41] So far, the recruitment or cadre system has been controlled by certain elites; the hegemony of power is influenced by certain families or certain circles; and the universality of democratic ideals is combined with the ideals of the Indonesian nation, imbued with the spirit of kinship, so that there is no domination of the majority or minority.[42] The community is faced with choices determined by political parties, so many candidates are not known and are chosen only based on the strength of the attacks by each candidate pair. This has an impact on the freedom that is taken away, where individual freedom in Pancasila democracy is not absolute but must be harmonized with social responsibility.[43] Meaning that choosing a candidate pair today is a social responsibility considering that if the community abstains, the potential for oligarchy or even this government system cannot run because there is no government born from democracy.

[39] Dwipayana Ari, "Demokrasi Biaya Tinggi: Dimensi Ekonomi dalam Proses Demokrasi Elektoral di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik* 12, no. mor 3 (2009): 52.

[40] Mohammad Hatta, *Indonesia Merdeka dalam karya lengkap Bung Hatta.Buku I: Kebangsaan dan Kerakyatan* (Jakarta: Penerbit LP3ES, 1998), 87.

[41] Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna, Historisitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas Pancasila* (Jakarta, 2011), 21.

[42] Latif, 383.

[43] Adnan Buyung Nasution, "Demokrasi Konstitusional" (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 3–4.

3.2 Implications of Establishing a Political Party Cadre System for Building Pancasila Democracy

Political parties, according to Neumann, are one of the organizations that compete with other organizations for their participation in decision-making and the opportunity to mobilize the people to act. They have the function of taking care of the general will, educating responsible citizens to be a liaison between the government and the people, and electing leaders.[44] Political parties are formed with functions for the sustainability of the party itself in the future. Scientists describe the four functions of political parties as expressed by Miriam Budiardjo, including the means of:

a) Political communication;
b) Political socialization;
c) Political recruitment; and
d) Conflict management.[45]

The functions of political parties, according to Beetham and Kevin Boyle, are as follows:[46]

1) From the perspective of voters in general elections, political parties help simplify and focus their choices on political positions and policy programs that deserve to be elected.
2) For the government, parties provide stable support that allows them to implement programs and
3) For people who have a strong commitment to politics, political parties provide opportunities to get involved in public issues, provide political education, and influence public policy. Syahrial Syarbaini et al. argue that political parties have functions, namely as follows:[47]

   a. Two-party liaison between the people and the government and vice versa;
   b. Educates citizens to be responsible and foster national unity,
   c. Selecting candidates for national leaders,
   d. Maximizes the participation of community members in the political process, and
   e. Managing problems or conflicts within society.

In this case, the successful establishment of the Political Party Cadre System has implications for measuring and assessing the political system of government, which must at least have the following basic principles:[48]

1) The upholding of ethics, integrity, and morality in government politics so that it becomes a working basis for the political, economic, and social systems in the administration of government.
2) The use of the principle of constitutionalism firmly in the system of governance and compliance with the prevailing rule of law.

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[44] Sigmun Neumann Miriam Budiardjo, *Partisipasi dan Partai Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1980), 32.

[45] Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1992), 163–64.

[46] Beetham Dan Kevin Boyle, *Demokrasi* (Jakarta: Kanasius, 1998), 134.

[47] Syahrial Syarbaini dkk, *Pengetahuan Dasar Ilmu Politik* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2011), 134.

[48] Aminuddin Ilmar, *Hukum Tata Pemerintahan* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2014), 64.

3) The implementation of public accountability, where people who hold or occupy public government positions must be held accountable by the people.

The development of the three principles above is expected to have implications for the development of a healthy democracy and Pancasila ideology that can absorb its original culture and then transform it into its own democracy, as well as a Pancasila democracy that resolves disputes peacefully and voluntarily by defending the principles of humanism and upholding justice. This cannot be separated from the establishment of a political party cadre system that ideally implies an intervention process from political parties that aims to increase the individual capacity of its members to be able to carry out party functions. In addition, externally, regeneration is very good for the party's responsibility in conducting political education for the public;[49] this is in line with the opinion of Adrianus in Harahap, who argues that regeneration is carried out to ensure that people who are selected in the recruitment process are competent or have loyalty to the party. The characteristics of the cadre to be produced will also be determined by the type of party concerned. Cadre is important for a political party because it is the core of the continuation of the party's struggle in the future and also the core of the existence of political parties. Without leadership regeneration, it is very difficult to imagine that a political party can move and perform its duties properly and dynamically. Leadership regeneration is an absolute requirement in building an independent and sustainable working structure."[50]

Revitalization of the Political Party Cadre System ideally has educational implications in order to improve the quality of political party human resources, and it is a political education process in which cadres are given new knowledge, understanding, and experience in transforming their values and political orientation towards the ideal system. The formation related to the Political Party Cadre System in Building Pancasila Democracy cannot be separated from their respective platforms; however, in the AD/AART, each political party positions Pancasila as the most important objective in the formation of political parties, namely the realization of a just and prosperous society based on the Preamble of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution.[51]

Revitalization of the Political Party Cadre System based on Pancasila democracy ideally has implications for the cadre of members of candidate pairs who have four (four); the first party cadre has sufficient competence to be able to carry out tasks; the second has devotion while being a party cadre and has a good track record while active in the political party; the third has achievements, dedication, discipline, loyalty, and irreproachability (PD2LT); and the fourth meets the provisions required by law.

Political party recruitment receives increased attention, with the cadre system, which includes stages such as competence, devotion, achievement, dedication, and loyalty, being carried out until it meets legislative requirements. Systematic, tiered,

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[49] Syamsudin, *Panduan Rekrutmen dan Kaderisasi Partai Politik Ideal di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LIPI2016, t.t.), 52.

[50] Insan Harapan Harahap, "Kaderisasi Partai Politik dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Kepemimpinan Nasional," *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Universitas Bakrie*, 2017, 17.

[51] Arif Prasetyo Wibowo, *Pendidikan Politik Sebagai Wahana Menumbuhkan Nilai-Nilai Pancasila Dalam Kehidupan Partai Politik*, 2018, 142, repository.upi.edu.

and continuous regeneration processes have the potential to produce good cadre results while also breaking the cycle of power hegemony and money politics. The regeneration process necessitates the commitment of all parties to assist and support the recruitment process for newly formed cadres. The success of the cadre is also heavily influenced by the training model, such as the presentation of material provided during training with the goal of producing quality cadres.

With the ideal political party cadre system, there are implications for the development of Pancasila democracy expected by the public, which is the development of an ideal political party cadre system in realizing the development of Pancasila democracy, which includes the development of the constitutional life order as well as all areas of life, both in terms of building economic, social, political, cultural, defense, security, and legal systems. adequate political party cadre system where political parties have a clear ideology, state direction in politics, a clear curriculum and cadre, trainers, guidelines, and finally a monitoring and evaluation system in each cadre. In addition, the function of education and clearing house needs to be carried out in an effort to create a cadre that is able to represent the needs of the public or society.

The failure of the Political Party Cadre System has implications for the failure to build Pancasila democracy, in which political parties will be controlled by the capitalized elite elite, given that political parties require funding for party development. Political parties frequently fail to represent what the public wants, equality cannot be realized in the current process of building democracy, money politics is becoming increasingly unstoppable, and Pancasila democracy is best suited to overcoming the problems that are prerequisites for the proper implementation of democracy.[52]

The novelty of this research lies in the quality of democracy which is only placed on the electoral candidate pair or the power of the candidate pair's political dowry to be able to buy the electorate, but the quality of democracy needs to be placed on the ideology of the political party, the state's direction in politics, clear curriculum and cadres, and trainers as such. So political parties are expected to represent society in making choices in line with the development of Pancasila democracy

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[52] Idjang Tjarsono, "Demokrasi Pancasila Dan Bhineka Tunggal Ika Solusi Heterogenitas," *Jurnal Transnasional* 4, no. 2 (Februari 2013): 891.

4. Conclusion

Problems with recruitment and regeneration systems or patterns that are carried out instantly may be contributing to the community's negative perception of political parties. Political parties are more likely to recruit ready-made cadres rather than cadres who have been raised and experienced the transition from a difficult period to a period of achieving the party's goals, resulting in recruitment and cadre behavioral characteristics of political party members who lack loyalty and quality. The decline in the quality of political party regeneration cannot be separated from political parties' unclear ideologies, political party funding which appears to be still problematic, and democracy that has been hijacked from the start for the reason that political dowries are viewed as political investments that must eventually be paid for with policies that do not benefit certain groups as capital providers.

The revitalization of the Political Party Cadre System has implications for the development of Pancasila democracy, which includes the development of the constitutional order of life and all areas of life, both in terms of building economic, social, political, cultural, defense, security, and legal systems. An adequate political party cadre system where political parties have a clear ideology, state direction in politics, a clear curriculum and cadre, trainers, guidelines, and finally a monitoring and evaluation system besides that, the revitalization of the political party cadre system based on Pancasila democracy ideally has implications for the cadre of members of the candidate pair who have four (four) The first party cadre has sufficient competence to be able to carry out tasks; the second has devotion during his time as a party cadre and has a good track record while active in the political party; the third has achievements, dedication, discipline, loyalty, and irreproachability (PD2LT); and the fourth meets the provisions required by law

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