
| RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Journey of Political Parties in Indonesia in the State System

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| ABSTRACT

Democratic country like Indonesia usually generates healthy, growing, and rooted from below political party. In Indonesia, political parties have long been known before Indonesia's independence. At that time, the political party became the medium of the founding father's struggle to fight against colonialism. Since Indonesia's Independence Day, the existence of a political party was admitted and supported by the government. This study needs to do from a political point of view. It will enrich learning and understanding the existence of political parties concerning the development of Political Science in Indonesia. The focus of this study is to describe how the political party's history and its role from Orde Lama until the Orde Baru era in Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative research method, and data interpreting will be analyzed using the descriptive analysis method. In the meantime, data validation will be checked and rechecked after collecting data. This study concludes that Indonesian politics has experienced a significant shift in values and practices. Indonesia must begin to review the political system, nation, and state.

| KEYWORDS

Indonesia, Political Party, State System

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1. Introduction

Experts said that the management of a country would be formed into democratic if the preconditions of the political party were fulfilled. As a result, a country without a political party cannot become a democracy. A democratic country is indicated with healthy, growing, rooted from below, making the political party a channel for society aspiration. The political party is a legitimate mechanism for recruiting politicians who run the legitimate government.

In Indonesia, political parties have long been known before Indonesia's independence. At that time, the political party became the medium of the founding fathers' struggle to fight against colonialism. The existence of a political party was admitted and supported by the government. The democratic governmental system is the legitimate general election as a mechanism of leadership regeneration. On the other side, there will be injuries if the management of the party system developed aims to disintegrate. As a result, the application of a multi-party system inflicted conflict of each party in Orde Lama.

Some countries have applied the multi-party system for decades in the West and generated a stable political system. Unlike the Indonesian version, they emphasize the combination of party and governmental systems. The multi-party system of western countries is in the form of the parliamentary governmental system instead of Indonesia's form of government applies presidential system in democracy era, although Indonesia had been applied parliamentary system for a moment. According to experts, the parliamentary governmental system is more compatible with a multi-party system. In the meantime, the presidential governmental system is more compatible with a country that applies a two-party system or multi-party.

Learning by the ideas of experts said above, the governmental system applied is inversely proportional to the reality of political party. As a result, a multi-party system generates an unstable governmental system and conflict between each party.

This research study is about the existence, responsibility, and destructive impact of political parties since the revolution era, Orde Baru period, until this reformation era in Indonesia. It is valuable, strategic, and evaluative for us as Indonesian to learn and discuss

the political party. In addition, it also gives us moral value from Orde Lama until the Orde Baru era. According to Orde Lama, the party system has similarities and reformation era period, and they have the same multi-party system mainly in the democracy era that collaborates it with the presidential governmental system. According to Liberal Democracy, from 1945 until 1959, the domination of the political party in Indonesia existed in the reformation era. As a result of several similarities interpreted above, this research hopefully can help give moral values in that period and give us moral values in this era.

2. Literature Reviews

In general, it can be said that politics, according to Miriam Budiarmo (2008, p. 15), is an attempt to determine regulations that are acceptable to the majority of citizens to bring society towards a harmonious coexistence. Efforts to achieve the good life involve various activities that include determining the goals of the political system, and this involves the choice between several alternatives and the order of priority of the goals that have been determined.

However, these activities can cause conflict because the values (both material and mental) pursued are usually rare in nature. On the other hand, in a democracy, this activity also requires cooperation because human life is collective. In this context, politics can be seen as an effort to resolve conflicts (conflict resolution) or consensus (consensus) (Miriam Budiarmo, 2008, p. 15).

According to Ramlan Surbakti, there are five views on the meaning of politics (1992, p. 1-8). First, the classical view, Aristotle sees politics as an association of citizens whose function is to discuss and organize matters concerning the common good of all members of society. In the classical view, the highest moral basis lies in matters concerning the common good rather than in matters involving private interests.

Politics is the activity of discussing or defining the situation of a political phenomenon (Cholisin, 2007, p. 6). Politics is a competitive definition of the situation. A definition that can become public opinion and become a political issue which ultimately becomes a decision maker's discussion and becomes a political decision is the winner. From the various understandings of politics above, the author concludes that politics is the authority's power over citizens to influence (supporting, changing, opposing) a state/public policy.

Hogewerf stated that the object of political science is government policy, the process of its formation, and its consequences. What is meant by public policy here according to Hogewerf is to build society in a directed manner through the use of power (doelbewuste vormgeving aan de samenleving door middel van machtsuitoefening) (Budiarmo, 2008, p. 21).

Thomas R. Dye defines state policy as whatever government chooses to or not to do (Fauzan, 2000, p. 25).

3. Research Method

This research uses the qualitative research method. Qualitative research is a method used for exploring and understanding the meaning derived from social issues. This qualitative research process involves fundamental measures, such as submitting questions and procedures, collecting specific data from participants and informants, and analyzing and interpreting data. This qualitative research method aims to construct meaning based on phenomena derived from Participants and information (Fawaid, 2016).

In other views, Moleong said that the qualitative method aims to understand phenomena experienced by research subjects, such as attitude, perception, motivation, and other behavior holistically and descriptively in the form of words and language in a particular context. The qualitative method also directly gives the essence of the relationship between researcher and respondents. This method is more sensible and adapted to many values (Moleong, 2011).

The qualitative research method is used in this research because of some reasons. First, the research object used in this issue is compatible with the dynamic state of Indonesia's political issue, which tends to change temporarily. Second, this research tries to give a broad explanation about the issues of using the district system in the general election in Indonesia.

Some data used in this research will be data sources and will be fundamental for developing analysis. The data will be classified as primary and secondary data. Primary data derives from Local Leaders Election's Law and in respect with Local Leaders Election. In the meantime, secondary data will use books and magazines that describe the Local Leaders Election implementation process.

The data collected from both primary and secondary will be classified and categorized into particular aspects regarding the research dimension. Then, it will be elaborated in order to make structured data. In conclusion, the researcher analyzes and enlarges into the systematic arrangement in the form of words and statements.

The data collecting method in this research involves measuring the limitation of research and collecting information through data collecting of documents and interviews. Next, the number of informants nominated in qualitative research refers to Creswell's idea. The sample indicator depends on the qualitative design used (e.g., ethnography or case study). According to Creswell's review towards much qualitative research, he found 1-2 informants in narrative qualitative research, 3-10 informant in phenomenology qualitative, and 20-30 informant in grounded theory qualitative. The ethnography method can only analyze one particular cultural

group regarding a case study involving 4-5 cases (Fawaid, 2016). In this research, as the qualitative research method is categorized into phenomenology, there will be 3-10 informants.

The data elaboration and analysis method begin with analyzing whole data obtained from research results in several sources and information obtained earlier. Next, the data will be learned and analyzed to earn the essential derives from informant should be kept keeping the existence and the research conclusion will be obtained.

The data elaboration and analysis method in this research consists of: First, data processing; This process begins with collecting data from the field of study and analyzing whole data obtained from several sources. Next, the research instrument classifies the information and will be summarized and described narratively. Second, Categorization; Categorization is a data summary arranged based on thought, intuition, and opinion that refers to specific criteria and will be placed into each category. The researcher forms an information category and gives code. This process involves what is called an information breakdown. Third, Data Interpreting; Data Interpreting is interpreted/BREAKDOWN using a suitable descriptive analysis method with the aim of the study. Next, it will be interpreted towards analysis results regarding related theory. The result hopefully can be responsible to principle. Data interpreting in this research cannot be separated from guidance derived from theory conceptualization.

Rechecking the data is an activity that cannot be separated from researchers' level of satisfaction using data sources collected previously. Therefore, ensuring the correctness of data is necessary. The data validation activity is to be carried out by examining the data that has been collected, then confirming it again with the data that has been collected, and then carrying out further data compilation or categorization. This activity is carried out repeatedly until the appropriate research is obtained, the researcher considers it. This data validation is also related to checking and rechecking activities on the collected data. If problems are found in the data in the middle of the research process, the researcher is obliged to improve the data from the latest findings.

4. Research Results and Discussion

The characteristics of the political parties' birth during the nationalist movement was their vision that the national struggle would be more effective if carried out through existing associations, which they gradually organized in a modern way with the form of political parties—starting with the establishment of the Sarekat Islam, which was the pioneer of Indonesia's national awakening in 1905 (Rambe, 2008), Boedi Oetomo, Muhammadiyah, Indische Partij, Indische SocialDemocratische Vereniging (ISDV), and Indische SocialDemocratische Partij (ISDP), two parties which were the precursors to the growth of the Marxist in Indonesia, Jamiat Khair, Al Irsyad, Youth Association, Islamic Union (Persis), Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesian National Party (PNI), Indonesian National Education (PNI Pendidikan), Indonesian Party, the Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo), the United Indonesia Party (Parpindo), the Indonesian People's Party and the Great Indonesia Party (Parindra).

Ever since, political parties have sprung up, experienced ups and downs, but their influence is felt to our present-day (2009). However, many people did not know that the emergence of political parties shortly after the independence proclamation was driven by incidents sequence of events. On the other hand, the Presidential cabinet, which was formed after the Proclamation, which was relatively strong thanks to the relationship with Japan, along with the entry of Allied troops, began to cause several difficulties for the Soekarno-Hatta cabinet. The Dutch were hostile and accused this cabinet of being led and filled by Japanese "collaborators." They propagated that the government was illegitimate and said that Soekarno-Hatta was a war "criminals" who must be arrested.

Under these conditions, there is a consensus among politically aware circles in Jakarta that this conservative government must end immediately. This condition can only be done by overhauling the existing government with a new government that can take swift action to compensate for the changing situation. The man behind these movements was Sutan Sjahrir, who had a strong influence among the youth.

The first step that Sjahrir took was on October 7 to organize 50 members of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP) from 150 of its members to sign a petition to Soekarno-Hatta granting legislative status to the Indonesian Legislative Election (DPR) (Noer, 1991). The second step that Sjahrir has prepared to the transition of the Presidential government system can be more compatible with the Parliamentary, which is prepared by preparing the existing party system infrastructure from a single party to a multi-party system.

Hatta issued a new Declaration No. X dated November 3th, which urges the people to establish political parties to accommodate the existing political currents and the struggle for national liberation, which the people are actively fighting. This announcement was indeed heard as a blessing from the government to establish existing political parties. However, this was just a formal announcement for political figures who had previously founded several parties. When Hatta proclaimed his recommendation to establish political parties, the three most important parties that represented the three major sects had already been established. However, after the recommendation of the X Declaration, more and more political parties emerged, and this marked a new era with the introduction of the multi-party system along with the transition from the Presidential to Parliamentary government system with the appointment of Sutan Sjahrir as the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia.

Ever since the existence of political parties has automatically become important. If observers want to point out a period in which political parties played an important role, liberal democracy is the answer. This period also inspired the multi-party system we adopted in this reform era. Fortunately, we used a presidential system of government, not parliamentary.

This period is when the emergence of political parties and their role takes a central position in the Indonesian political system. In addition, this period is also referred to as the "trial period" or "experimental democracy" for the Indonesian people. These periods of experimenting certainly require mature-minded figures in addition to those who have sufficient intellectual skills in applying other people's ideas in changing conditions (Karim, 1983). Feith said that this period is a period when "the world of political thought" and "the world of political reality" are very close together, a political thinker at the same time acting as a politician who is trying to apply the big ideas they think (Yubhar, 1988).

According to Arbi Sanit, it was not easy to reach a consensus among the existing political parties because it was triggered by the thick ideological ties surrounding each party. No ideology moves the elites to cooperate based on fundamental agreements in politics, state, and nation. In the end, the ideology expected to bring people to an ideal condition that they aspired to is inversely proportional to what they want. The existing ideologies not only provide an overview of the ideals to be achieved but, in the end, also function as laws that judge the right or wrong of other ideologies without trying to assess their ideology (Nuswantoro, 2001) critically. Not to mention the competition between parties/groups in fighting over certain positions that are more of personal interest and parties/groups, also sharpening the conflict in society.

However, what is far more dangerous than just clashes among the elites is how the conflicts at the national level have also penetrated to the mass level in rural areas, which has made the previously maintained communal order often torn apart by conflict. The culmination of this ideological dispute occurred during the lengthy 1955 election campaign, after enacting the Election Law. The elections, held for the first time since Indonesia's independence, were enthusiastically responded to by political parties. However, they forgot that the involvement of the masses in the political arena—more significant than in the revolutionary era, had caused the masses at the grassroots level to become often turbulent. Neither the elite nor the masses are aware that excessive and blind political participation has confirmed what Geertz said is a polarization of religiosity and political culture that is vulnerable to conflict. As Geertz points out, the *santri* and *abangan* variants increasingly face each other.

Since the first attempt was made in 1946, the long-awaited general election was finally held on April 4, 1955. Many surprises occurred, which were an anomaly to the alleged potential strength of the existing political parties. Perhaps the biggest surprise was NU increasing its seats in parliament from 8 to 45 people. It is even more surprising that the PSI, whose influence during the ten years of Indonesia's independence was huge, even had some of its figures crisscrossed to fill important positions in the cabinet. The vote was only 2% that was very a small gain.

Even though the election has filtered out as many as 40 parties, political instability persists. Dissatisfaction with the cabinet continues. Burhanuddin Harahap's cabinet, which successfully delivered the election, still fell. His successor to the Ali Sastroamidjojo II cabinet also did not last long, only until March 1957. After that, the mandate was returned to President Soekarno (Karim, 1983). Disappointment throughout parliamentary democracy with its practices and consequences quickly spread to many circles. In this case, Soekarno was the one who showed the most resistance to the idea of Western democracy. In one of his speeches, for the first time, Sukarno put forward his idea of a new system, which would later be known as Guided Democracy. Indeed, Soekarno said that he did not want to be a dictator. However, he said the importance of Guided Democracy. 1 year later (1957), Soekarno then went even more clearly when he criticized liberal democracy, which he said was the culprit for the destruction of the government system that was built.

Soekarno's concept referred to what he put forward in his June 1, 1945 speech. It is about cooperation. He stated that there were two offers that he thought were a way out to resolve the spread of sectarian groups and parties, namely the *Gotong Royong* Cabinet and the National Council. Both ideas must be seen in the context of Soekarno's skepticism towards political parties. As we will see in the following years, the role of political parties is getting less and less. Three years later, in February 1959, the power of political parties was finally disarmed. He suggested that Indonesian people return to the 1945 Constitution as their Guided Democracy. Furthermore, he asked all the people that the Constituent Assembly, which had been convening for three years but could not finalize the new Constitution, should immediately disband and use the 1945 Constitution again.

After implementing the Guided Democracy cabinet, Parliamentary turned into a Presidential cabinet, unlike the previous period where the cabinet was led by a Prime Minister (who headed the government). Nevertheless, now the government is directly held by Soekarno himself as the President (Head of State) who is concurrently Prime Minister (Head of Government). The role of political parties and parliament gradually shifted to Soekarno as he tried to concentrate power in his hands. Leaders of high state institutions such as the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS), House of Representatives for Mutual Cooperation (DPR GR), and Budget Execution Documents (DPA) who, according to the Constitution, are equal to the President, but Soekarno is positioned as ministers.

The collapse of the Old Order, which the New Order later replaced, has brought about significant changes in the Indonesian political system. The New Order emerged to implement Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution purely and consistently. In the early days of the New Order, the classic debate about which should take precedence between political development or economic development resurfaced. Political and economic development are two things that cannot be separated and are two main elements that must always be present in national development (Mas'ood, 1989).

In this case, the General Election is the main focus considering that the people's representatives who sit in parliament are not elected based on elections but are appointed directly by President Soekarno. Several strategies have been prepared to support this plan. Several regulations concerning the General Election and the composition and membership of the parliament were being discussed. The Election Law was passed in 1969. The government benefited from the fact that several people were elected, and some were appointed as members of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the People's Representative Council (MPR). The compromise between the government and all existing political parties is stated in Article 10 of Law no. 16 of 1969, which states, "There are 460 members of House of Representatives (DPR), 360 people are elected through elections 100 people are appointed".

Realizing the disapproval of the Masjumi revival, the leaders concluded that they should be more flexible in responding to the existing developments. They finally decided to form a new party called the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi) which would accommodate the aspirations of the ex-Masjumi people and try to communicate them with the government. Suharto stated that he had no objection to the formation of this new party as long as this party was not a continuation of the Masyumi party (Aminudin, 1999).

The early period of the New Order was also marked by a strong desire from the government to carry out political stabilization. Thus, during this period, the government must organize political party arrangements. Political parties are often criticized as the most significant factor behind political instability (Soekarno often said (1956). The New Order government did not like many parties and preferred to replace them with functional groups, to remove religious and ideological influences from the national political system.

In 1966, the Army offered the concept of a way out for the simplification of political parties by distinguishing five groups; Islamic groups, Christian-Catholic groups, nationalist groups, Pancasila socialist groups, and finally, the non-affiliated Golkar (with a note that affiliates are required to join political parties). A Party Bill also suggested the formation of three groups; nationalist, religious, and socialist Pancasila. Then in March 1967, Suharto, who had only been inaugurated for two months as President, publicly proposed that the existing parties fuse.

The policy of oppression and terror is aimed at political parties that can organize the masses into their activities. Villagers are prohibited from political activity except during election campaigns, and this is the central policy in institutionalizing political passivity (Indrakusuma, 2007). The political world is directed to stay away from the community, and if necessary, if the community's activities are felt to be out of bounds, then the "banning" of the political world will be carried out immediately. The government wants people to be busy in development. The public must be avoided from the frenetic world of politics so that the concentration of the community is maintained. Indeed, that is the main goal so that the community can participate in development. Society is reduced to the same as "robots" who have to work from time to time. They have no desire for politics. Finally, the world of politics became a world that was foreign to most Indonesians under the New Order. This situation is the opposite during the Old Order era in power if we pay attention. During the Old Order, the masses were very familiar with the parties with representatives in the villages. Mass involvement is often very exploitative. From time to time, the masses are gathered in open meetings, agitated, and even directed by party leaders to do things that can increase the party's bargaining price when dealing with other political forces.

With the implementation of the floating mass concept, people are no longer bound to political parties. Their aspirations will be accommodated in functional organizations whose establishment is sponsored by Golkar (but has no formal ties to Golkar). UU no. 3 of 1975 concerning floating mass has created a contradictory situation. On the one hand, the law requires rural communities to be isolated and sterile from the political world. Meanwhile, on the other hand, at the same time, the bureaucracy has even expanded its reach to the countryside through bureaucratic "extension" institutions such as Village Community Resilience Institute (LKMD), Village Mediation Institution (LMD), Village Unit Cooperative (KUD), Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK) and other. These institutions do not only function to mobilize rural communities to participate in development.

On the other hand, they function as institutions that mobilize people's political aspirations, just like political parties. In other words, the independence of the bureaucracy is not maintained. In fact, in the hands of Golkar, the bureaucracy has functioned as an extension of Golkar to the villages.

In the political field, the structuring of the political format is carried out through several strategies; such as the composition of the membership of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the People's Representative Council (MPR) OF the Republic of Indonesia, the arrangement of political parties/mass organizations, the floating mass strategy, the application of a single principle and the canalization of the potential of people's power aimed at supporting the government by establishing corporatist institutions. Corporate institutions such as the All-Indonesian Workers Union (SPSI), the Indonesian Farmers' Association (HKTI), the Indonesian

Youth National Committee (KNPI), the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce (KADIN), the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), and others whose establishment was sponsored by the government in order to blunt the revolutionary potential that exists in these social classes. In addition, this is to polarize it to remain weak when dealing with the authorities.

Lastly, in order to maintain stability, the whole core of controlling people's political participation is supported by the territorial command institutions within the Armed Forces. It is from this understanding that the military in Indonesia perceives their existence. In the 1950s, the origins of the dual function of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) began to be discussed openly when General Nasution formulated the military position into the concept of the "middle way." This concept explains that the Indonesian National Army - Land Force (TNI-AD) is not like soldiers in Latin American countries who play a direct political role, but not like the military in Western countries who position themselves only as a defense and passive defense force in political life. The Indonesian military took a "middle way" to accommodate both, not directly entering into political life such as carrying out a coup d'etat but not being a mere spectator in the political arena. Indonesian National Army (TNI) officers, Nasution said that Army should be allowed to participate in determining state politics, whether in the economy, finance, or other fields. Therefore, the Indonesian National Army (TNI) must also be given a place in government political institutions, not only in the National Council and Cabinet as has been implemented but also in other state institutions.

5. Conclusion

This study concludes that Indonesian politics has experienced a significant shift in values and practices. Indonesia started the state process with the concept of gotong royong. It was oriented to the welfare of the people with the leadership of the assembly institution as the people's representative in the form of deliberation. However, along the way, the concept of representation became ambiguous in the hands of political parties. In practice, political parties have total power over every policy in Indonesia. This situation arises because anyone who will come forward as a policymaker must be approved and follow directions from political parties.

Indonesia must begin to review the political system, nation, and state. Whether this is by Pancasila as the basis of the state and the source of all sources of law must immediately become a central discussion and issue. The risk of losing the Indonesian nation and state on the way to the ideals of the nation and state is a fear that is very likely to occur if the current situation continues and develops in the wrong direction.

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