

# **TRANSFORMATION OF STUDY CLUB INTO POLITICAL PARTY: RADICALISM OF DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE PARTY IN INDONESIA**

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## **Abstract**

In the New Order era, in the late 1970s and early 1990s, the student movement was confronted with repressive actions by the government, a policy to restrict students' political activities. So the search for a new format of movement is a necessity, the study group is chosen as a new format of student movement. This research explains how the process of changing the formation of student movements from the study group to the Democratic People Party (PRD), as well as explaining the radical political activities of the PRD from the New Order until post-reform. This study is a literature study using written data. The objective of the study was to raise the role of non-mainstream party politics in the contemporary Indonesian political stage. In the context of the social movement that became the object of this study, transformation takes place in several forms. First, the change from study groups that examine critical social literature and marxism, underground, transformed into a "formal institution" movement in the form of an Action Committee and a non-governmental organization (NGO). Second, the change from the Committee of Action and Non-Governmental Organizations into a political party (PRD). Third, the change of movement format from the "resistance" party to the electoral party after the fall of the New Order government. And Fourth, change back into social movement of political party.

**Keywords: Democratic People Party; Radicalism; Social Movements; Study club.**

## **Introduction**

After the 1977/78 student movement at the ITB campus, the New Order government under President Soeharto responded to the anxiety of these youth by issuing a Student Council freeze policy (Dewan Mahasiswa/DM) to be replaced by Campus Life Normalization (Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus/NKK) and Student Coordinating Board (Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan/BKK), The Student Council is an intra-campus organization, which throughout the 1970s became a means of student mobilization in the conduct of protests against the government.

The concept of NKK / BKK is thought formulated by the Minister of Education and Culture at that time, Daed Joesoef, with the aim of organizing campus life to be more conducive, because according to him, student activists through DM behave more than a politician than as an individual who is studying in college. This happens because the curriculum in universities does not lead students to be human analyzers.

According to Adi Suryadi Culla (1999:125-126), as a result of this NKK / BKK policy made the student lose its main character as a critical force against the ruler, apathy also hit some students. Nevertheless, this tendency of apathy does not extend to all circles of students. As an alternative to the apolitical atmosphere of intra-campus life, a new field of struggle was developed that students would not have touched the repressive powers of the rulers through the hands of the campus bureaucrats, the new field of struggle, the study clubs, these groups of studies emerged in the early 1980s on campuses in Indonesia.

There were two major currents of the student study club at that time, a group of students studying the critical social sciences and a group of students who studied Islamic

social discourse. The group of critical social science studies then transformed into a radical movement against the New Order government in the mid-1990s, forming the Democratic People Party (Partai Rakyat Demokratik/PRD), while the religious social studies group established the network of Dakwah Institution Kampus (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus/LDK) scattered in almost all universities in Indonesia. From the LDK network, this religious social group established the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia/KAMMI) at the end of New Order rule and established the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan/PK) at the beginning of the reform era (Ali Said Damanik, 2002).

Entering the year 1989, the existence of these study clubs did not last long, some student activists diverted the struggle activity by establishing community empowerment containers in the form of NGOs and Action Committees.

The emergence of NGOs and Action Committees was the result of a contemplation of study clubs that succeeded in fostering awareness and understanding of the political realities facing society when the New Order, that changes in the political system could not be done through a series of discussions, but had to be mobilized in concrete actions, defense (advocacy) against the masses of people who experience systematic marginalization by the state.

The form of student solidarity toward the suffering of the people is indicated by sending some activists to be deployed as organizational of the people to the conflict area whether it is agrarian or industrial conflict, one of the organizational task of the people is giving political education to the people, the form of political education such as mediation technique, mass organizing and training demonstration. The real form of action by NGOs and action committees is the defense of land evictions of peasants in the Kedung Ombo case, this is the initial case that has successfully stimulated the integration between students and the community.

The union of students with the people has made the New Order government worried about creating a people power movement that will undermine its power, the way the government halts the process of integration of these students by recalling students to engage in on-campus activities. The policy of NKK / BKK is revoked, instead of appointing the College Student Senate (Senat Mahasiswa Perguruan Tinggi/SMPT) through Decree no. 0457/U/1990, as an on-campus student organization consisting of Faculty Student Senate (Senat Mahasiswa Fakultas SMF) and Student Activity Unit (Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa/UKM).

The presence of SMPT attracted some of the extra campus student organizations to compete for this student organization. The "moderate" campus-controlled college students try to gain control of the senate and student activities unit, with the aim of enlarging their influence within the campus, their moderate orientation, and the pro-bureaucratic tendency of the campus, forcing radical student groups to withdraw from campus politics and accusing them which moderates the agenda of the New Order regime into campus. In contrast, the extra campus student organization, especially the Islamic Students Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam /HMI) accused the radical opponents of SMPT as the organization of the communists (Rudy Gunawan, et al., 2009:78).

Some of the radical groups of students who originally from this study club, still choose the path of struggle with berintergrasi with the people, in Yogyakarta radical student activists and then set up Solidaritas Mahasiswa Yogyakarta, generally its members come from the campus of UII and UGM, with a fixed concentration the activity of organizing progressive powers in the midst of society. Organizations such as SMY then develop in a number of cities, these organizations then conduct congresses that form the Unity of the Democratic People (Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik/PRD).

On May 2, 1994, Unity of the Democratic People (PRD) was chaired by Sugeng Bahagijo, this three-day student organization congress, in addition to forming a PRD, also formed mass sectoral organizations such as the Indonesian Student Solidarity for Democracy (Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia Untuk Demokrasi/SMID) to among the students, the workers established the Indonesian Labor Struggle Center (Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia/PPBI), the farmers are consolidated into the National Peasant Union (STN), while for the artists stands the People's Arts Network (JAKER) (FX Rudy Gunawan,1999:21)

However, the PRD under the leadership of Sugeng Bahagijo turned out to have a tendency as an elite Indonesian politician, expressed his criticism of the New Order government through verbal rhetoric through the media, rather than with the awakened mass action of the people, thus inviting the dissatisfaction of other PRD members. So the PRD Congress was held in April 1996, the congress took place in secret, because it was impossible for an opposing power to openly conform to the rule of the New Order regime, one of the most important decisions of the congress, to change the PRD form of the "unity organization "Being a" political party ", Budiman Sudjatmiko was elected Chairman of the PRD. (FX Rudy Gunawan,1999:80-81)

The Democratic People's Party (PRD) was declared on July 22, 1996 at YLBHI Office of Jakarta, in the declaration, the PRD issued a manifesto of struggle known as the "PRD Manifesto", which contained:

1. Revoke the package of Political Law and all regulations that contradict Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.
2. The right to establish a political party other than the present, and the party is given the freedom to implement its programs.
3. Free assurance of threats of military violence with the inauguration of civil supremacy (abolition of the dual function of ABRI), returning the military to the barracks.
4. Urge the MPR to hold a Special Session to hold Soeharto accountable during the lead of the Republic of Indonesia.

After the events of July 27, 1996 the youth-based party was officially banned by the government, the ban was issued after the PRD was accused of being the mastermind behind the riots that set Jakarta on fire for several days, in addition to banning the PRD, the New Order government also hunted its leaders and members. In fact, until now the key figures of the PRD have not been known to exist, such as Wiji Thukul, Herman Hendrawan, Suyat and Bimo Petrus Anugrah.

After the collapse of the New Order, the PRD again became a legally engaged political party, and had been a participant of the 1999 election, but the vote was small, the party had only a few seats in the DPRD, unable to surpass the national electoral threshold brothers, became an election participant in 2004. The 1999 election became the first and last election to be followed by the PRD, although party institution, PRD is no longer an electoral party, politically this party still exist until now, it proves they are still doing political activity. From the above short narrative of the PRD, the author is interested in making this party an object of study, there are several reasons underlying the author makes it as the object of research. First, the pros and cons interpret the PRD's ideology and movement, there are two general opinions about the ideology embraced by the PRD, according to Daniel Dhakidae (2003:724), The PRD intellectually applied Marxism as the basis for thinking, ie, thinking against, practically, the PRD took all avenues of resistance from demonstrations and strikes to fight for its political interests.

Meanwhile, according to Franz Magnis Suseno (2006:5), the manifesto of the PRD, though very radical and violent, does not contain Marxist and Communist elements, there is no sentence for the destruction of the capitalists, instead the PRD demands a multi-party

system, whereas communism embraces monopoly, and explicitly supports the existence of private business, with a Communist system that wants economic centralism by the state. Of the two arguments above contradiction, the author wants to re-explore the ideology and movement of the PRD. Secondly, contemporary Indonesian political literature in general, narrating large political parties, there is a lack of reference to the role of "small" political parties in national politics, whereas the PRD includes phenomenal political parties when the New Order came to power, the only brave political party openly made his political programs go against the political policies of the New Order government. Third, there is a scarcity of studies on the political role of the PRD in reform, generally the Indonesian political public only recognizes the political existence of the PRD when the New Order comes to power. There are no studies that explain the political gestures of this party when the democratic regime was formed in the country after the collapse of the New Order.

Based on the above background, there are two main questions that become the focus of this paper: (1) How the process of transformation of social movements (group study) into the People's Democratic Party (2) How the political gestures of the People's Democratic Party in the reform era.

## **Methods**

The author uses descriptive method with a qualitative approach, analyzing data shown or presented not in statistical form, but in the form of describing or narrating a political phenomenon that occurs. The author also uses the literature data, ie data arranged in written form, such as books, newspapers, articles and journals. In this paper the author uses the social movement theory framework.

To process the data obtained, the author uses several stages. First, in collecting this data, the researcher uses data collecting technique with literature study, collecting data from the literature by reviewing the contents through books, notes, manuscripts and documents. Second, test and analyze the data critically, with this criticism expected to obtain the validity of data sources (both primary sources, secondary sources, historical sources and theoretical sources) used in the study. Third, connecting one event to another so it becomes a whole political sequence.

## **Result**

The social movement according to Miesel (2004), defined as a set of institutionalized beliefs and actions undertaken by a group of people to promote or impede change within a society. The emergence of social movements can not be separated from mass society and collective behavior. The key element of any social movement, according to him, is movement organizations, not individuals, these organizations are the mobilizing units of a social movement and are the main and most important object in a study.

The members of the social movement group are identified as dissatisfied and disenchanted people, those who are marginalized in the life of marginalized groups in the community, to the depressed minorities. Moreover, the people involved in social movements themselves always have considerations acceptable to common sense, so it can be concluded that a social movement will always involve a well-organized and tidy individual or group of people to make a touching change moral, social, political and economic dimensions. (Muhammad Umar Hasibuan,2008)

In David F Aberle's study (dalam Damsar, 2010,133-135), explains there are four types or types of social movements, namely: (1) Alternative social movements, movements aimed at changing certain behaviors within the individual. In this type includes various

activities such as anti-drug campaigns, anti-free sex and so forth. (2) Redemptive social movements, movements aimed at changing the overall behavior of individuals, this movement has the same goals as the alterative social movements, but differs in scope. Redemptive social movements change old behaviors into new behaviors completely different from the old ones. For example the proposed movement is usually a religious movement such as the religious fundamentalist movement. (3) Reformative social movements, movements of change or reformation in terms of particular segments of society. This social movement is clearly different from the two earlier called movements that emphasize the individual. (4) The transformative social movement, the movement to transform the social order itself, its members have the will to change the social fabric of society into a better order according to their version.

According to Takwin (2009. p: 5), in the context of social movements, ideology is often used as the basis for the effort of human liberation, in this case the ideology has a sense as a set of ideas that guide to a group of humans in behaving toward a particular goal. By bringing down ideological ideas into a number of action frames and rules of action, a group of people acts to free themselves from what is perceived as restraint or oppression. Ideology gives direction to the liberation movement, and becomes a belief for the group.

According to Singh (2010), social movements are: (1) Expressing the collective efforts of society to demand equality, social justice, reflecting the struggles of society to defend their identities and cultural heritage. Collective actions are an ensensial reality and always exist in social movements, collective action according to him as a joint effort of a group of people to achieve short-term goals, medium-term goals and shared values, in the face of opposition and conflict. (2) Mobilize community members to try to voice a complaint against the enemy whether it is a state, institution or other part of society. Social movement also according to him must be characterized by the existence of an ideology shared by members.

According to Fakhri (2008), in his study of social movements, he cites several definitions of social movements: (1) Social movements are essentially a pillow of non-institutional collective political behavior that potentially threatens the stability of established ways of life, (2) Social movement is part of a new generation fight for recognition and the need to make opposition to their parents and the "establishment" who do not give such recognition to them. (3) Social movements represent a new generation of higher needs, precisely because they arise in the joy of the middle class, are in a position to seek out post-material values, relating to the purpose of self-fulfillment and a more alsoctycal purpose related to the quality of life and (4) Social movement as an alienated middle-class movement.

According to Aswab Mahasin (1983) suggests that social movements are more often mediated by the middle class, furthermore it says social movements driven by the lower class are only a myth. The middle classes can be study groups, student associations, cohesive groups, merchant communities and urban workers. These middle-class groups try to capture constituents by bringing together as many followers as possible, because a movement is largely determined by the base of the masses involved.

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## Discussion

## Transformation of Social Movement to Political Party

As a result of NKK / BKK policy, students lost their main character as a critical power against the authorities, apathy also hit students's attitudes, they no longer have a real reflected concern through protests against sociopolitical issues that developed outside the campus, this apathy may be overshadowed by fears of strict academic sanctions, but others due to the lack of containers (Student Council) that can be used as a vehicle for critical student articulation (Culla,1999, p.126).

As an alternative to the apolitical campus atmosphere, a new field of activity was developed among the students, who were considered not to be touched by the repressive power of the New Order regime. The new field is the study club, through these study clubs the students intend to keep caring for critical awareness amidst the political system that does not provide them with a space of freedom (Culla,1999, p.126-127).

The pressure that the New Order rulers against students through the NKK / BKK policy encourages the birth of a new format of movement within the student body, if the campus no longer provides a safe space and space for idealism growth, the off-campus arena provides a vast place for growth the attitude of idealism. Entering the 1980s new format of student movement through discussion groups began to bloom in some cities in Indonesia, this form of non-formal forums became the choice of student activists, due to its flexibility and not easily touched by the hands of the ruler (Rahmat and Najib, 2001, p.60-61).

The 1980s period could be noted as a student action concentrating as a reading group to strengthen the theoretical base for the study club they developed (Urbaningrum ,1999, p.175). For the study clubs studying western social theories, they tried to find theoretical answers to the problems of capitalism that grew up in Indonesia, in the end they were obtained in leftist theories which were then very difficult to obtain openly, given the New Order government issued a policy of banning socialism, Marxism and Communism.

These groups of western social studies then examine much of the leftist thinking such as New Left Theory, Theory of Addiction, Liberation Theology, the Idea of the Revolution of Lenin and Mao Tse Tung and other left readings. Left theory is read by this study club to find the scientific-materialistic basis of the process of oppression that occurred, the left theories seemed to give way out of the problem of oppression of capitalism development run by the New Order, their reading of left theories as a form of searching for alternative discourse outside the ideology capitalism developed by the state (Gunawan, 2009, p.10-11).

Study clubs gathered in various cities, especially in Yogyakarta, there are two famous study clubs at that time, namely (1) Study club that gathered FH-UII student activist located in Gang Rode. This discussion group examines the thoughts of Marxism, Neo-Marxist and Frankfurt School, and (2) the Palagan Social Study club (KSSP) which gather students of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences UGM, the theme of discussion in KSSP focuses more on issues of political economy, Arief Budiman's Harvard dissertation entitled "The Democratic Way to Socialism: The Chilean Experience Under Allende" became one of the key references to activist references in this study club (Sujdatmiko, 2013, p.263-264).

In later developments, this study club did not last long, being considered too elitist to discuss only theories of the sky, distanced the students from the real reality of society, they trapped the romantic ideas and revolutionary ideas, but were unable to turn those ideas and ideas into energy of change, so that the group movement format of study is considered failed to encourage the transformation of the New Order political system towards a more democratic. Thus entering the 1990s there was a significant change in student movement patterns, from study clubs discussing theoretical discourse of thought in theoretical closed spaces, to the student movement on the practical path, through the formation of the Action Committees (KS) and the Community Organizations (mass organizations).

In organizing these protests, students use the name of the committee as an identity, the names of the committees aimed at identifying the issues that they protest, as well as avoiding campus pressure that does not allow students who are off campus to use their campus alma mater name. Meanwhile, several social issues voiced by students through action committees include corruption cases, human rights, the environment, labor rights and land issues. In addition, there are several other more specific cases such as Kedung Ombo Dam, Belangguan, Kacapiring, Cimacan, Badega and Cilacap. On May 2, 1994, about 40 activists from inter-sectoral action committees and mass organizations gathered at the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) office in Jakarta to declare a new political organization, Unity of the Democratic People (PRD) that embodies various student resistance organizations, laborers and farmers. In its declaration of establishment, the PRD demands for the improvement of democratic rights, civil supremacy and the distribution of social welfare (Lane, 2014, p.192). When the formation, who was appointed as chairman is Sugeng Bahagio (Chairman of the Student Senate Faculty of Philosophy Gadjah Mada University (UGM) at that time), while Tumpak Sitorus became its Secretary, Andi Arief sits as Research and Development Section and Ambar Managed the Fund Section (Fatah, 2000, p.99).

Unity of the Democratic People (PRD) under the leadership of Sugeng Bahagijo, did not carry out the role that had been outlined in its founding congress. According to Budiman Sudjatmiko, the PRD was not able to push the potential for popular resistance, nor failed to build an anti-dictatorial alliance between President Soeharto and other opposition forces. Moreover, oppositional cultures are developed as mere political statements, such as elite politicians, whereas most of the PRD cadres believe the Soeharto government can only be overthrown with the mass movement of the democratic people, not through statements through mass media (Gunawan, 1999, p.22).

The soft tendency of the PRD's political opposition model led to the emergence of disagreements among its members, finally under the initiative of Budiman Sudjatmiko, the PRD formed the Organizational Rescue Committee. It was this committee who collected signatures from PRD members to hold the PRD Congress in Kaliurang Yogyakarta in April 1996. At this congress in Kaliurang Budiman Sudjatmiko finally appointed as Chairman, then the PRD was declared the second time at YLBHI office, Jakarta on July 22, 1996, with change the format of the organization into a political party (Fatah, 2000, p.100.)

According to Budiman Sudjatmiko, some of the PRD's political programs are: (1) Revoke the discourse of the revocation of five laws, namely the Law on General Election, Law on Political Parties and Work Groups, the Law on the Composition, Position, Duties and Authorities of DPR / MPR, Law on Referendum and Law on Mass Organization. The five laws for the PRD are the greatest obstacle to the democratization process (Sudjatmiko, 2013, p.421). (2) Revoke the Subversive Law of PNPS no. 11 of 1963, which is considered deadly critical attitude of citizens against the policies of the New Order government. (3) Demand for civil supremacy by annulling the dual function of ABRI, returning military institutions back to the barracks. (4) The discontinuance of all forms of discrimination against women. (5) Requesting an International Tribunal to try the New Order government for massacres in 1965. (6) To pressure the New Order government to account for the invasion and occupation of East Timor and to conduct a referendum under the supervision of world bodies. (7) Urge the MPR to hold a Special Session (SI) to inconstate Soeharto's accountability during the lead of the Republic of Indonesia (Gunawan, 1999, p.85-88).

On July 27, 1996, the People's Democratic Party (PRD) was accused by the government of being the actor behind the riots that burned Jakarta, through mass media and electronics, the New Order government repeatedly repeated propaganda that the riots and arson actions were orchestrated by the PRD, a party considered to be the reincarnation of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Five days after the July 27, 1996 riot, the government

instructed the arrest of PRD leaders. In addition to arrest and detention, the New Order continued to broadcast propaganda that the PRD was a communist party.

One of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) at that time, Assistant Social Politics (Assospol) Major General Suwarno Adiwijoyo, explained that the PRD is one of many organizations of communists. According to him communists usually use the iceberg theory, which appears surface only a small part, while most others are under the surface (Kompas, 1996, August 1)

Interestingly, support for the New Order's propaganda of the PRD was widely supported by some national figures, such as Amien Rais, Chairman of the Muhammadiyah at that time, in one of his articles he wrote that the signal of communist comeback came back to ABRI and the government but something that is real. According to the PRD movement, when seen from the slogans used similar to communism, but according to Amien Rais, the PRD has not yet become a true communist still pseudo communism, which means not yet communist, but the elements have led to communism (Rais. Risalah. 1996).

Furthermore, according to Amien, there are three social and political forces in Indonesia. First, the power of the status quo, this power only wants to retain power (establishment), it refers to the authoritarian supporters of the authoritarian regime. Second, anti-status quo power, which rely on the power of the people, they always speak in the name of the people, but have a scorched earth political strategy, by means of radicalizing the masses of the people. Third, the reformative power, the group that wants to change critically, openly and democratically but does not justify any means. Although in his comments Amien Rais did not position the PRD in which position, according to the authors indirectly Amien Rais criticized the strategy of the PRD movement against the New Order regime (Rais. Kompas. 1996, 7 August).

Anas Urbaningrum expressed similar opinion (1997:173), one of the HMI figures, in one of his articles he writes that although the PRD manifesto is closer to the ideology of social democrats (societies) whose parties are now ruling in Western Europe, methodologically the actions of the PRD seem more consistent with the doctrine of class struggle Leninism, meaning according to Anas, there is a contradiction within the PRD body between the ideological conceptual level and the action agenda undertaken.

It is easy for various parties to accuse the PRD of being connected to communism, apparently because this party became the only political party in the New Order that did not include the principle of Pancasila as its principle, this is different from the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PUDI) formed by DR. Sri Bintang Pamungkas, who still listed Pancasila as the party principle. In addition, PRD often used terms and slogans that were familiar to the PKI during the 1960s (Mutiara. 1996, 6-12 Agustus).

However, not all circles justify the PRD as a communist, when the trial of Budiman Sudjatmiko in 1997, several expert witnesses from political scientists, one of them was Prof. Dr. Deliar Noer, argues that he does not see the PRD through its manifesto undermining the ideology of the Pancasila state, according to which the language used by PRD activists in its manifesto is the language of young people. For example when the Public Prosecutor asked him or her to agree with one of the sounds of the PRD manifesto: "In Indonesia there is no democracy". To that question Deliar Noer explained that democracy in Indonesia is declining, government tend to be korporatik, it is parent answer, while youth language is not like that, its language "no democracy". Another example according to Deliar, when he banned the New Order government from preaching Eid al-Fitr, the language of young people was different, that "Deliar Noer in the government's arms". In addition to Deliar Noer, another expert witness, Prof. Dr. Frans Magnis Suseno, explains that the whole manifesto of the PRD, not against the Pancasila, especially one of the PRD's political programs, wants to



implement a multi-party system, this is different from communism that is inclined to implement a single party (Kompas.1997, 1 April).

The debate of communism in the PRD is unlikely to be complete, each side has its own arguments and reasons, because it seems that the PRD gives space for all parties to interpret the nature of the PRD movement and ideology. Interestingly, however, is Budiman Sudjatmiko's statement (Kompas,2001. Pendapat PRD dan KAMMI, tanggal 8 Maret), on the PRD's vision, that the platform of the PRD movement is very clear, ie anti-New Order, anti-militarism, anti-economic and political oligarchy. He acknowledges that the PRD movement carries a "left" vision that speaks of workers, peasants and the urban poor. The choice of the left vision is, according to him, a question of human rights, as a consequence of democratic pragmatism, the most important ideas of freedom, equality and justice being the joint formulation of every movement of change. And, most importantly, according to the author, the left is not synonymous with communism, the left is critical, populist and anti-establishment. So any movement against capitalism's oppression with any ideological label can be included as a leftist movement.

After the arrest of PRD figures, such as Budiman Sudjatmiko, Peter Hari Harianto, Jacobus Eko Kurniawan, Garda Sembiring, Dita Indah Sari and others. PRD organizations are underground, so in order to avoid repressive actions by the military, they do not use the PRD's name, symbol and flag. They took the fight, using the name of the action committee. According to Lane (2007. p: 180-185), there are several forms of resistance action carried out by the PRD during underground movements, including: (1) Performing action to paralyze the city of Lampung, December 10-11, 1997 with the strike action of public transport drivers, along with the combined action of students and students. (2) In the run up to the 1997 elections, mobilizing around 20,000 Megawati supporters staged a blockade of Gajah Mada Street in Central Jakarta. (3) Mobilizing pro-Megawati supporters of each PPP campaign during the 1997 election. The form of mobilization by proclaiming the action of "Mega-Bintang", Megawati's word refers to Megawati, while the star is a symbol of PPP. The coalition was in the form of resistance to Golkar's victory in every election, also delegitimizing the "government" version of the PDI. (4) Disseminating 600,000 anti-governmental anti-government clans of the New Order, they contain the demands of the PRD's political program. (5) The PRD movement in the student sector, many formed action committees, such as in Semarang City in the form of the Semarang Student Alliance (AMS), the action committee launched a protest rallying against press reports that cornered the PRD.

## Conclusion

Social transformation is a process of shifting from the institutions that have emerged, the process of transformation in some cases occurs at the level of tactical strategy, sometimes even involving the mass base and ideological orientation.

In the context of the social movement that became the object of this study, transformation takes place in several forms. First, the change from study groups that examine critical social literature and marxism, underground, transformed into a "formal institution" movement in the form of an Action Committee (KS) and a non-governmental organization (NGO). Second, the change from the Committee of Action and Non-Governmental Organizations into a political party (PRD), as a strategy to unite the cross-sectoral movement of the labor movement, peasants and students.

Third, the change of movement format from the "resistance" party to the electoral party after the fall of the New Order government. And Fourth, change back into social movement of political party "elektoralis"

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