




Leadership of the Golkar Party after the New Order (Comparative Study of Leadership Patterns of Akbar Tandjung [Period 1999-2004] and Muhammad Jusuf Kalla [Period 2004-2009] in the Golkar Party)

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Article history:</p> <p>Received Feb 05, 2022 Revised Feb 26, 2022 Accepted Marc 03, 2022</p>	<p>In this study, the author focuses on the discussion on the leadership of the former chairman of the Golkar Party, Akbar Tandjung, who was the general chairman of the Golkar Party for the 1999-2004 period and Muhammad Jusuf Kalla, who was the general chairman of the Golkar Party for the 2004-2009 period. This the author does so that the discussion becomes the focus and does not expand to a longer period due to the limitations of the author. This study uses a qualitative approach, using the results of interviews as the primary source. The secondary sources were obtained from various literatures, both from books, magazines, and articles on the internet. Interviews were conducted with the two figures, namely Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla using an interview guide (interview guide). This is done by the author so that the interview does not expand to things outside the discussion and becomes a focus on the core problems that want to be analyzed in this thesis. Based on the results of the research and analysis that the authors have done, it can be concluded that Akbar Tandjung's leadership style is more paternalistic. This can be seen from how Akbar Tandjung made decisions regarding the policies of the Golkar Party which prioritized harmony among fellow administrators by involving many seniors to get direction. Meanwhile, Jusuf Kalla's leadership style is democratic. Jusuf Kalla's background as an entrepreneur is not surprising if the policies taken by Jusuf Kalla are efficient, straightforward, and straightforward.</p>
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1. INTRODUCTION

In several stages of democratic general elections since 1999, the Golkar Party has become one of the most reckoned parties (Ishaqro & Nurcahyo, 2013). This, in particular, can be seen from the fact that the Golkar Party is always in the top three in every general election process. This achievement was achieved through the struggles and strategies of the party elite to keep it as a major party as well as the dominant party.

Many observers view that the success of the Golkar Party in maintaining its position as the dominant party is not only supported by the sophistication of tactical strategies, but also by an

effective, efficient and strong party leadership. At least from another perspective, this party is in control of the government. The large number of Golkar Party elites occupying important positions in the government is clear evidence of this statement. The strength of the Golkar organization and the sophistication of the ruling party elite is evidenced by the fact that the Golkar Party has been and has been the ruling party (Denny, 2006).

After the fall of the New Order under the Suharto regime in 1998, Golkar faced very strong political pressures from various community groups. In fact, when the wheels of reform rolled on, the issues and pressure on the dissolution of the Golkar Party was so strong because the reformists included the Golkar Party in one pillar with Suharto and ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) (Windarsari, 2012).

Many elements of society and students demanded the disbandment of the Golkar Party. The Golkar Party is considered responsible for the chaotic condition of the Indonesian nation, especially the economic condition. In addition, the Golkar Party also became the political engine of the New Order, so that almost all government sectors were controlled by Golkar officials. The demand for the disbandment of the Golkar Party was marked by rampant actions and burning of Golkar buildings, leaving the Golkar Party on the brink (PATARAI, 2012).

In the midst of a situation where there are many elements of society and students who demand the disbandment of the Golkar Party, the Golkar Party is required to work extra hard from its cadres, especially the central figures, so that Golkar remains afloat and does not get dissolved, and remains a big party and has solid cadres. At the most critical point between being disbanded or not, a Golkar figure emerged, namely Akbar Tandjung with the slogan "New Golkar". So that the Golkar Party could be saved by Akbar Tandjung (Purwosusanto & Sumadyo, 2014).

Under the leadership of Akbar Tandjung with the idiom of "New Golkar", the Golkar Party was finally able to be brought out of the chaos. As an initial political step, Akbar Tandjung made the Golkar Party more democratic and open, as evidenced by the selection of candidates for president and vice president within the Golkar Party in the 2004 election. The Golkar Party made an internal party convention. Akbar Tandjung was able to image the Golkar Party as a new party that had no political relations with the New Order (Jatmiko, 2010).

Apart from remaining on the Indonesian political stage, the Golkar Party can also be accepted by the public. This opens the faucet for democratization within the Golkar Party. Akbar Tandjung, as the general chairman, worked hard to instill motivation in party officials and cadres so as not to lose heart in the face of various political pressures. Even Akbar Tandjung often visits areas in the context of consolidating the Golkar Party (Hartini, 2015).

Many political observers predict that under the leadership of Akbar Tandjung, the Golkar Party will not be able to survive (Rohmah, 2010). This is related to people's perception that the Golkar Party is the main political force supporting the New Order regime. Despite losing the 1999 election, with the expertise of Akbar Tandjung, the Golkar Party was able to quickly introspect and consolidate which eventually won back the 2004 general election.

After Akbar Tandjung's leadership in the Golkar Party for a period 1999-2004, the leader of the Golkar Party was replaced by Jusuf Kalla at the VII National Conference through the Golkar congress in Bali 28-30 November 2004.⁷ Jusuf Kalla's leadership style is certainly very different from Akbar Tandjung's leadership style. Akbar is a genuine politician, while Jusuf Kalla is a businessman. His family is a businessman who grew up from the bottom and lived a difficult life. Jusuf Kalla's blood and customs are very strong. In association, they are known to be warm, talk openly and not infrequently, as is the habit of South Sulawesi people, they are explosive (Chalik & Bahar, 2013).

Jusuf Kalla's leadership style which tends to be pragmatic is not without risk. Even his predecessor, Akbar Tandjung, criticized Jusuf Kalla's leadership style in the Golkar Party when he answered the doctoral exam at the Graduate Program of Gajah Mada University (Weda, 2015). Akbar Tandjung's criticism of Jusuf Kalla's leadership style

Kalla is as follows: "Jusuf Kalla's leadership is only oriented towards short-term power without paying attention to three important things in leading the party, namely strengthening party institutions, intensity of party consolidation and recruitment to find the best cadres. "That's the difference between party leadership under merchants and party leadership by warrior politicians. I

am a fighting politician who of course has aspirations to grow the party," said Akbar Tandjung, adding that the merchants who led the party also tended to think briefly about the implications of the recent steps taken".

Each leader has their own leadership style. Likewise with the style of Akbar Tanjung and Jusuf Kalla, the leadership style inherent in a person is formed from a long process based on the environment in which he was born and raised, family background, education, friends, work environment, values, and influences. other influences.

Leaders are one of the most important parts of an organization. Leaders or leadership are the driving force of the organization (Pramudyo, 2013). The direction and goals of the organization are greatly influenced by the leadership style. The leader holds significant control in every policy that is about to be issued on an issue.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

2.1. Types of research

In this study, the researcher uses qualitative research, namely research procedures that produce descriptive data, where the author describes matters relating to the problem being studied, as well as examines and examines further the leadership patterns of Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla in the post-New Order Golkar Party.

2.2. Data collection technique

The data collection techniques for this research are first, documentation which includes study materials in the form of written works in the form of books, articles, journals, seminar papers, books, Golkar Party documents and data from the mass media. The second interview was a question and answer process in the ongoing research,13 in which two or more people met face-to-face, digging directly for information or information from several sources who understood the leadership patterns of Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla in the post-New Order Golkar Party.

2.3. Data analysis technique

While the analysis technique is one of the techniques in research by conducting analyzes of the data obtained. This analysis aims to explain in as much detail as possible with matters relating to the post-New Order leadership pattern of the Golkar Party. So the analysis that will be used is descriptive analysis, namely the efforts made by working with data, digging up data and information, organizing data, sorting it into manageable units, with the aim of finding a systematic, factual, actual picture of the facts and activities related to the leadership pattern of Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla in the post-New Order Golkar Party.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 The Political Leadership of Akbar Tanjung

a. Democratic and Paternalistic Leadership Style

When a person goes into politics, he must be prepared to bear all the consequences that follow. There are no exceptions to various conflicts or disputes, both within the internal political parties that are followed and with political opponents with different interests (interests) to be realized. This is because political parties have different visions and missions as well as platforms. Even if there are similarities in terms of ideology and principles, each party still wants to maintain its own characteristics.

The Golkar Party, one of the existing parties in Indonesia, is an old party that has existed since the New Order era. The existence of this party is enough to color politics in Indonesia, and even became the ruler under the Suharto regime. Akbar Tandjung, one of the leaders of the Golkar Party, is well aware of the existence of his party which faces many obstacles in order to stay afloat in fighting for the party's vision.

When the author asked about Akbar Tandjung's motivation to become the general chairman of the Golkar Party, he explained that it was his choice of conscience. Because of his background in the world of activists, becoming a political party administrator is one way that activists who want to fight for the aspirations of the people can take by getting directly involved in political life. Being a member of the council or executive officer is part of the political role that must be taken by those

who care about the people. Without being directly involved, it is very difficult to convey the wishes and aspirations of many people. As he revealed to the author.

"If there are questions about my motivation to become chairman of the Golkar Party, I can answer that it is an activist or politician instinct. Because by being in the middle of the field, both in the legislature and the executive, the struggle to convey people's aspirations is more open, compared to being outside. In the past, when my students tried to fight for the aspirations of the community by taking to the streets or demonstrations, now the route is through the system itself. Being the head of a political party, I can interpret it as a way to fight."

Akbar Tandjung further explained about his role as general chairman of the Golkar Party. In this position, according to him, the thoughts and energy required are greater than when he was still a daily administrator or administrator of a certain department in the party. For this reason, he stated that special strategies were needed to save the Golkar Party from the bad image that already existed in the minds of the people. One of them is by providing new ideas in democratic life. For example, with the convention within the Golkar Party. Although this method is quite long and tiring, according to him, it is not a reason to raise the image of the Golkar Party in the midst of society. As Akbar Tandjung told the author:

"So the general chairman needs more energy and thoughts. It is different if we are still serving as daily administrators or certain departments, such as the regeneration department for example. Moreover, being the general chairman of the Golkar Party, which has already received a negative stigma in society because it is considered a legacy of the authoritarian New Order. Here I am trying to fight for how I can raise the image of the Golkar Party, so that it can get another place in the hearts of the people. One of the strategies I took was to make a breakthrough in democratic life. Conventions are the real thing. This is indeed tiring, requires a lot of money, and takes a long time. But the consequences must be taken, given the existing conditions. The slogan "Golkar Baru" must really be implemented, not just bullshit. Later, if there is no realization, then the assumption that politicians just say without doing will take root in the minds of the people."

Although the result of the convention did not win the general election in 2004, appreciation for the breakthrough of the Golkar Party should be given. Given the culture of political parties that are not yet transparent in their cadre and nomination mechanisms, the Golkar Party provides fresh air for democratization in Indonesia. Harmoko considered the results of the convention conducted by the Golkar Party as positive. At least the Golkar Party gets a fairly large portion of publications. The mass media inevitably have to pay attention to all stages of the convention that are running.

When the author asked about the strategies or tips used by Akbar Tandjung in leading a large organization such as the Golkar Party, he explained clearly about these tips. One of them is to maintain the harmony and integrity of the organization by minimizing conflicts between members. For more details, here are the answers given to the author:

"This is what's interesting. The dynamics that occur within the Golkar Party require extraordinary abilities and capacities from the leader or general chairman. When I became chairman of the Golkar Party, I tried to maintain harmony among party cadres by prioritizing the unity and integrity of the party. I try to minimize conflicts within the party, while maintaining critical power. In addition, for certain cases, I do not hesitate to ask for input or advice from the party's Board of Trustees as well as from senior party figures. Thus, what I decide in the organization, I get not only from my personal thoughts, but also from sharing or consulting with more experienced parties."

Furthermore, the author finds out about Akbar Tandjung's activities in order to maintain the harmony of cadres in the region. From the answers given, Akbar Tandjung admitted that he tried to take the time to make visits to local administrators to absorb their aspirations. In addition, visits to regions were conducted to find out the problems of cadres in the regions. As expressed to the author:

"To maintain the harmony and integrity of the party, I also frequently make visits to provincial and district/city administrators, even to the sub-district and sub-district levels, to obtain accurate information. So it's not just based on input from reports. By visiting cadres in the regions, I can hear the aspirations and problems they face and find solutions to the existing problems."

From the results of the interview above, it can be concluded how Akbar Tandjung leads the Golkar Party. By maintaining the harmony and integrity of the organization, as well as minimizing existing conflicts, and maintaining communication with senior figures, Akbar Tandjung's actions can be categorized as a paternalistic leadership style.

b. Akbar Tandjung the savior of the Golkar Party

Cadreization is one of the important elements in organizational life. Without the regeneration process, an organization will experience extinction, because there is no regeneration. The Golkar Party, as a party that has a lot of experience, has a cadre pattern that has been structured and traced. It is rare to find cadres in the Golkar Party, which many people call "karbitan" cadres, because they suddenly appear without their track record being known. Almost all Golkar Party cadres had to move from the bottom, to be able to occupy a position above it. This is as stated by Akbar Tandjung regarding the question of the pattern of recruitment and regeneration in the Golkar Party. While serving as chairman of the Golkar Party in the critical political phase of the early transitional era, Akbar Tandjung tried hard to instill motivation in party officials and cadres so as not to be discouraged or democratized, and remain confident in the face of such political pressures. hard.

Akbar Tandjung's professionalism and commitment was also shown when he stated that he was not willing to be proposed as a presidential candidate from the Golkar Party. This was done in order to avoid division within the Golkar Party. Akbar Tandjung also made efforts to maintain the unity and avoid division of the party, and in the interest of the nation, when he declared that he was resigning from his candidacy for vice president at the 1999 SU (general session) of the MPR.

An important moment that should be noted was during the Golkar National Conference on 9-11 July 1998, which Akbar Tandjung used as a strategic momentum to organize the Golkar Party's organizational system by giving birth to what he called a new paradigm concept. The essence of the new paradigm includes: expecting Golkar to be built with new values in line with the demands of reform; make Golkar an open, independent, democratic, moderate, solid, rooted, and responsive party to the problems of society, nation and state – by consistently carrying out the functions of political parties.

c. Grand Tips of Tandjung in Leading the Golkar Party

As a senior politician from the Golkar Party, Akbar Tandjung's experience in understanding and exploring political dynamics in the country is undeniable. As the political constellation changed after Suharto's resignation, Golkar was criticized and even demanded to be disbanded. Akbar Tandjung expressed his commitment to maintaining Golkar to the best of his ability. He considers that the more that the public has put against him is a challenge to reform Golkar into a reformist party, by making Golkar an open party. This is proven by Akbar Tandjung's ability to lead Golkar to win the 2004 General Election.¹⁰

What is interesting according to the author is his opinion about Jusuf Kalla's leadership in the Golkar Party. Quoting one of the results of an interview conducted by Political Biography Magazine which asked about how Akbar Tandjung saw the position of the Golkar Party under Jusuf Kalla's leadership, the answer given was quite surprising. Akbar Tandjung replied:

"Golkar was originally a balancing party. Suddenly Mr. JK (Jusuf Kalla) was elected vice president, and Golkar turned into a party supporting the government. The National Conference (Munas) in Bali said Golkar was a balancing party. Regardless of who becomes the general chairman, party officials must comply with the National Conference decision. But, in fact not. Even the Golkar people didn't do anything."

Jusuf Kalla as vice president, did not have enough time to lead the party. In addition to managing the party, he also has to carry out state duties that are bound by protocol.

"One of the breakthroughs made by the Golkar Party, a party that has been considered as the vehicle for the New Order in preserving power, is to hold a convention to recruit people who want to run for president but are not registered as members or administrators of political parties. In other words, Golkar has become a pioneer party in fulfilling the wishes of the people who want to channel their political desires to become a presidential candidate with this convention."

3.2 Jusuf Kalla's Political Leadership

a. Democratic and Egalitarian Leadership Style

The figure of Jusuf Kalla can be said to be a quite phenomenal figure in the world of Indonesian politics. Especially when Jusuf Kalla became vice president of the Republic of Indonesia for the period 2004-2009, accompanying Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The phenomenon of this pair began when they won the presidential and vice presidential elections directly for the first time in Indonesia. Although not supported by the party that raised him, namely the Golkar Party, in the second round the pair, better known by the initials SBY-JK, outperformed the other pair, namely Megawati-Hasyim Muzadi.

When he was vice president, Jusuf Kalla was known for his statements that were spontaneous, straightforward, courageous, and prioritized the interests of the people. This was coupled with the election of Jusuf Kalla as chairman of the Golkar Party, defeating Akbar Tandjung at the Golkar Party National Conference in Bali. The presence of the figure of Jusuf Kalla gave a new color in government and politics in Indonesia.

When the author asked about Jusuf Kalla's background as chairman of the Golkar Party, he explained that this had been his desire from the start when he decided to join Golkar (before becoming a Party). Jusuf Kalla's presence in the Golkar Party did not appear suddenly, which many political observers refer to as "instant cadres". He started his political career from the ground up, when he became a member of the youth organization Golkar in Sulawesi 40 years ago. In addition, according to him, the pressure from cadres in the regions to run for the chairmanship of the Golkar Party also motivated the achievement of this desire. By listening to these aspirations, Jusuf Kalla felt that he did not run for office, not with reckless capital or just because he followed political passions. Coupled with the semi-parliamentary presidential system used in Indonesia, executive power will not be effective without power in the legislature. So that this has become one of the triggers for several members of the legislature or executive who concurrently become party leaders. Like Jusuf Kalla, he feels that the policies he will take will not work without the support of the legislature. For this reason, he feels the need to become chairman of the Golkar party in order to support the programs that have been launched by the government. As conveyed to the author: So that this has become one of the triggers for several members of the legislature or executive who concurrently become party leaders. Like Jusuf Kalla, he feels that the policies he will take will not work without the support of the legislature. For this reason, he feels the need to become chairman of the Golkar party in order to support the programs that have been launched by the government. As conveyed to the author: So that this has become one of the triggers for several members of the legislature or executive who concurrently become party leaders. Like Jusuf Kalla, he feels that the policies he will take will not work without the support of the legislature. For this reason, he feels the need to become chairman of the Golkar party in order to support the programs that have been launched by the government. As conveyed to the author:

As a Golkar Party cadre and administrator for almost 40 years in Makassar, starting the youth election in 64, his dream was to become party chairman. As vice president in 2004, the regions asked me to be chairman and asked me to bring Golkar into an allied party with the government, so that this government could run. Because without the support of the party, which has a significant role in the legislature, all government policies and programs will not work.

Regarding the motivation of Jusuf Kalla to become the general chairman of the Golkar Party, one of them was also triggered by the culture of the Golkar party itself which has a development culture or government culture. Thus, even though the Golkar party is not the winner of the legislative or executive elections, the party always supports the policies issued by the government while maintaining a critical attitude. Quoting one of Jusuf Kalla's lectures in front of participants of the Lemhanas 37 Regular Course in Jakarta, July 26, 2005, he stated bluntly:

Why did I become the General Chair of the Golkar Party? The considerations are simple; without a political stability, it is very difficult for us to make a good economic policy. However, there is one thing that is very important. Golkar's culture is the culture of development or the culture of government. In contrast to the PDIP culture. The PDIP culture is an opposition culture. When Megawati was in power, the PDIP people felt they were still in the opposition (as a party). (they) still criticize the government, even though the government belongs to the PDI-P. On the other hand,

although Golkar does not have an important role in the government, it is still friendly with the government”.

When discussing the Golkar Party, the public cannot let go of the role of the party, which used to be a work group before the reform era. Golkar at that time was a very dominant group in the government. This is understandable, considering that Golkar is Suharto's vehicle in perpetuating his power. Almost all the bureaucracy in Indonesia is a member of Golkar, so it is very difficult to compete with the existence of Golkar at that time.

However, the situation changed after the reforms took place in 1998 with Suharto's resignation and Habibie's replacement. Since then, the Golkar Party has been in the spotlight of many parties. Some people want Golkar to be disbanded, because it is not in line with the spirit of reform, considering that Golkar is a legacy of the New Order. Others wanted Golkar not to be allowed to take part in the general election.

So, based on the agreement of the Golkar politicians, Golkar finally became a political party, no longer a work group as in the New Order era. Here the Golkar Party is challenged to prove that the Golkar Party has changed, that the Golkar Party is no longer the Golkar it was during the New Order era.

As Jusuf Kalla put it: Politics has changed a lot. The New Order was very centralized, authoritarian, so that Golkar became the main party that supported and was supported by parties in order to run the government. Very dominant. After the new order, after the reformation, democracy was more open, more liberal. And three parties emerged and then 48 parties in 1999. So there was intense competition between the parties so that Golkar had to be able to compete. Multi-party. Here Golkar turned into a political party.

When the author asked about the reason for the change of Golkar into a political party, Jusuf Kalla explained that this had become a necessity. If Golkar wants to survive in the midst of reform, then Golkar must change itself to follow a political organization, like other parties. Jusuf Kalla explained that there are three functions of political parties in the realm of democracy, including: running the government if they are in the executive, carrying out legislative functions if they are members of the DPR, and the third is how a political party contributes and plays a role in society. As Jusuf Kalla said to the author:

The party's duties were threefold: first, to run the government if it became a government party, at that time Golkar always had ministers in government. Golkar presidential candidate. Secondly, how is the role of parties in the DPR so that they can carry out their national political mission and also the party's mission. A party in the DPR, the legislature. Third, what is the role of the party in society?

With regard to the opinion of many people who state that as the general chairman of a well-respected party in Indonesia, Jusuf Kalla is too firm and outspoken in addressing a problem, this according to him is a must. Because so far he considers most politicians to be too convoluted in responding or reacting to a problem. Jusuf Kalla tried to change that image, by always being frank and straight to the point. As expressed:

"That has become my character. I can not beat around the bush in giving a response or decision on a problem. If it can be solved immediately, why take so long, mutermuter everywhere first. It's ineffective, a waste of time and effort. Straight to the point, what's the solution, do it! Don't play around."

What Jusuf Kalla said above, may be influenced by the business environment, where he spends a lot of time. An accurate and quick decision is needed in addressing a problem. As an idiom known in the world of Time is Money, the moment is very decisive and meaningful. According to Jusuf Kalla, leadership is the art of influencing others to do something good and uniting many opinions. In addition, according to him, leaders must also be willing to do popular and unpopular jobs. If he only wants to do what he likes, then he is not a leader but a coordinator.

b. Jusuf Kalla a Progressive Figure

When he was vice president for the 2004-2009 period and chairman of the Golkar Party, Jusuf Kalla was known as a leader who was responsive to the situation. Not much consideration, action first, think later (act first, think later). The various problems faced by the Indonesian people, which required an immediate decision, were immediately executed by Jusuf Kalla. This kind of situation

often occurs without the knowledge of SBY, as the president. Thus, among observers, the term "twin suns" often appears, which makes an analogy for Jusuf Kalla, who is like a president, the same as SBY. Because so many policies were taken directly by Jusuf Kalla.

Maybe today's society misses a leader like Jusuf Kalla, who always talks as he is, without having to go round and round. A straightforward leader, agile in making decisions, efficient, is a picture of Jusuf Kalla's leadership. One example of Jusuf Kalla's progress is in the issue of the vice president's official speech. According to him, the contents of the texts were simply copy and paste from previous speeches. He explained in more detail, in every speech, whatever the forum and audience, the word multidimensional crisis always exists. Also the word globalization.

Another aspect of Jusuf Kalla's progress is the reasons he put forward when he refused to implement the Golkar Party convention. According to him, conventions are just a waste of time, energy, and thoughts, the results of which are not necessarily satisfactory. In addition, the implementation of the convention will also allow the entry of various groups whose capacities and capabilities have not been measured.

From some of the evidence that the author has described above, the author concludes that the progressive side of Jusuf Kalla lies in his thoughts on effectiveness and efficiency in organizations, including one of his disagreements with the implementation of the convention. Although there are other indicators that say someone is progressive or not, due to the author's limitations, only a few of the indicators mentioned above can be put forward by the author.

c. Jusuf Kalla's Tips in Leading the Golkar Party

As a leader of a large political party, Jusuf Kalla is required to continue to lead the Golkar Party towards changes for the better. Although the stigma from society as a New Order party is difficult to remove, the existence of the Golkar Party in coloring Indonesian politics continues. This of course cannot be separated from the regeneration process in the Golkar Party itself.

The author tries to find out how the process of regeneration in the Golkar Party to Jusuf Kalla. He explained that regeneration in the Golkar Party took place from the bottom. This means that the cadres in the Golkar Party are not those who have become figures or figures then suddenly enter the Golkar Party and get the position they want. Every cadre who wants to get the desired position must fight from the bottom. In other words, the regeneration of the Golkar party is not a "beard cadre", or cadres entrusted to it from those who have occupied leadership or management positions. As Jusuf Kalla explained to the author:

The cadre within Golkar is from the bottom. There are two recruitment patterns, based on their function, these include coming from youth organizations such as AMPG (Golkar Party Youth), from women's organizations, students, wing organizations such as Kosgoro and so on. The second pattern is from the regions, regions and members of the DPR. The point is that this regeneration process is a level that must be followed by every cadre from the bottom, starting from the management at the village level, sub-district, district/city, province, and then taking part at the national level. Thus, the recruitment process will continue and be tiered, in accordance with the capacity and ability of each cadre. Otherwise, jealousy will occur between cadres and the regeneration process will be discontinuous and chaotic.

As a party that is not new, the process of regeneration within the Golkar Party has been going on for a long time and is stable. In contrast to the new parties which require a pattern of recruitment and cadre that must be maintained, in the Golkar Party this process is well established.

3.3 The Influence of the Leadership of Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla

Based on the studies that the author has done, both through literature searches and interviews with resource persons, there are several common threads that can be drawn from this discussion. Although it is undeniable that each individual has its own character and characteristics, in terms of leading an organization or political party, commitment and integrity cannot be ignored. Likewise with leadership styles, one leader with another leader is very likely to differ.

In guiding the Golkar Party, Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla, according to the author, each gave their own color. During the leadership of Akbar Tandjung, it must be admitted that the Golkar Party managed to get out of the political crisis during the transitional era during the reform era. Various strategies and breakthroughs that existed during his leadership, made the Golkar Party survive and contribute to Indonesia. This can be seen from the changes that have occurred within

the Golkar Party itself, where previously Golkar was considered a tool of the rulers in perpetuating power, anti-criticism, exclusiveness, becoming a democratic, open party, and listening to existing criticism.

The results of Akbar Tandjung's hard work when he was chairman of the Golkar Party can be seen from Golkar's success in winning the 2004 legislative elections, although the number of votes obtained decreased. This is an achievement in itself, given the poor image of Golkar in the eyes of the public. In addition, the confidence of several Golkar cadres to fill important positions in the government can also be used as a measure of how the Golkar Party persists in the midst of criticism and pressure from many circles to disband.

Meanwhile, in the era of Jusuf Kalla's leadership, it can be said that the Golkar Party has gone through a critical period towards a period of consolidation. The bad image of Golkar can gradually be eroded by Jusuf Kalla's leadership style which is progressive, honest, and outspoken. Despite being concurrently vice president, Jusuf Kalla was able to spend time running the organization's wheels in the Golkar Party.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion that the author has carried out, it can be concluded that the leadership similarities between Jusuf Kalla and Akbar Tandjung within the Golkar Party, among others, are that the two former general leaders struggled to maintain the good name of the Golkar Party in the midst of public conditions that gave a bad stigma to the party with the symbol the banyan tree. The condition of the post-reform Golkar Party requires an extraordinary leader in controlling the organization. The difference in leadership style between the two is in running the organization, lies in the leadership style. Akbar Tandjung's leadership within the Golkar Party tends to be paternalistic.

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