

Hypocrisies of Democracy: Existence of Community Organization and State Control

Anggie Parawitha Lucca¹

Email: anggie.p.adneg@upnjatim.ac.id¹

¹FISIP, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur

ABSTRACT

The study of democratic hypocrisy is mainly related to state control of people's freedom to associate and assemble, and Strategies to overcome them in Indonesia have not been comprehensive in analyzing qualitatively and identifying the emergence of social movements and what makes community organizations strong. This article aims to describe and analyze the causes of a country with a democratic system that guarantees freedom of association and assembly, plus the statement of the President Joko Widodo regime, which urges the public to be active in criticizing the government instead to act repressively and the causes of social movements through community organizations to become strong. This research was conducted by observing community organizations (Ormas) and studying literature. The results showed that repressive actions until the dissolution of mass organizations were carried out because the more significant the threat of a social movement, social movement organization, or protest activity against the government and government elites, the more possible repressive actions will be carried out. Meanwhile, what makes mass organizations exist is analyzed based on the theory of the political process, in which the mass organizations make movements because they see political opportunities and then add the strength of popular organizations. Even though political and organizational opportunities alone do not quickly produce social movements, someone with his leadership is needed to fill the political opportunity and the organization's strength, such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), which owns Habib Rizieq Shihab. The low level of public satisfaction with the regime also causes mass organizations' social movements to exist increasingly, overlapping often inconsistent policies, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic, making community satisfaction decrease.

Keywords: Community Organization, Hipocrisy Democracy, State Control

ABSTRAK

Kajian tentang hipokrisi demokrasi terutama terkait dengan kontrol negara atas kebebasan rakyat untuk berserikat dan berkumpul di Indonesia belum komprehensif dalam menganalisis secara kualitatif dan mengidentifikasi munculnya gerakan sosial dan apa yang membuat organisasi masyarakat kuat. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan dan menganalisis penyebab negara dengan sistem demokrasi yang menjamin kebebasan berserikat dan berkumpul, ditambah pernyataan Presiden Joko Widodo yang mendesak masyarakat untuk aktif mengkritik pemerintah namun bertindak represif. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan mengamati organisasi masyarakat (Ormas) dan studi literatur. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tindakan represif hingga pembubaran ormas dilakukan karena semakin signifikan ancaman suatu gerakan sosial, atau aktivitas protes terhadap pemerintah dan elit pemerintah, maka semakin besar kemungkinan tindakan represif yang akan dilakukan. Sedangkan yang membuat organisasi massa eksis dianalisis berdasarkan teori proses politik, dimana organisasi massa melakukan gerakan karena melihat peluang politik kemudian menambah kekuatan organisasi kerakyatan. Meski peluang politik dan organisasi saja tidak serta merta menghasilkan gerakan sosial,

namun dibutuhkan seseorang dengan kepemimpinannya untuk mengisi peluang politik dan kekuatan organisasi, seperti Front Pembela Islam (FPI) milik Habib Rizieq Shihab.
Keywords: *Organisasi Masyarakat, Hipokrisi Demokrasi, Kontrol Negara*

Introduction

The spirit of democratic values present in every soul of Indonesian society makes the dynamics of social life very volatile. The belief that full power is in the hands of the people is highly respected. The consequence of a state will give birth to a power structure so that the government and the governed emerge, how the pattern of relations between the two is very dependent on the principles held, democracy is believed to be the best alternative in maintaining the harmony of the relationship between the government and the governed. There is a lot of literature and definitions related to the theory of democracy, and there are always exciting debates in the constellations, so there is no firm consensus on this matter. The concept related to democracy which is very famous and well-known comes from the "Gettysburg Address" or Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg speech on November 19, 1863, which states that democracy is the Government of the People, By the People and For the People. Meanwhile, according to (Sodaro 2004) the essential idea of democracy is that the people have the right to determine who governs them. In most cases, they select government officials and hold them accountable for their actions. Democracy also imposes legal limits on government authorities by guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to its citizens.

Based on historical records, Indonesia has experienced many changes in the democratic order ranging from Liberal Democracy, Guided democracy, and Pancasila Democracy, which are unique, and the changes that occur are due to a change in the regime in power so that the direction of democracy also changes according to the hopes and goals of the ruler. By what is expressed by (Campbell 2008) democracy represents a form of domination of a regime in principle. After the destruction of the two previous democratic systems, Liberal and Guided in Indonesia, during the New Order era, a democratic order was built called Pancasila democracy based on the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. However, in practice, the New Order regime under the leadership of President Soeharto was very repressive. Politics and community organization are very narrow. It was only when the euphoric reform era entered into the spirit of democracy flowing in all elements of society. The mechanism for the presidential and vice-presidential elections previously carried out by the People's

Consultative Assembly (MPR) was deemed irrelevant. Therefore, the direct election process was carried out by the people, as well as regional head elections.

At the beginning of the reform era with the Pancasila Democracy system, various kinds of organizations and political parties were formed, in the 1999 general election, which was the first general election after the collapse of the New Order, followed by 48 political parties. This indicates that the regime provides space for people's freedom to associate or form organizations. The presence of these social organizations is a manifestation of democracy in which the community is the full holder of power so that various mass organizations with various identities and aspirations have emerged. Based on data from the ministry of home affairs, up to 2020, the number of existing mass organizations has reached 431,465 organizations. Of that number, the lists are spread out in various government institutions.

Table 1. List of Distribution Community Organization

No	Registered	Total
1	Ministry of Home Affairs	1,891
2	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	71
3	Ministry of Law and Human Rights	403,379
4	Provincial Governments	8,170
5	Provincial Governments	16,954

Sources: Ministry of Home Affairs

The presence of community organizations is the spirit of freedom of association and association guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution. Communities through mass organizations can influence various policy-making processes by the government with various social movements. According to (Dimock 1960) an organization is a union in interdependent parts and forms a complete unit of coordination, authority, and control to achieve goals. With freedom of association, the community forms an organization as a forum for social movements. According to (Pranadji 2012) Community Organization is an embodiment of the principles of democracy, partnership, self-reliance, and public participation. Through Ormas, various public problems can be managed, such as social, political, poverty, economic resources, environmental quality degradation, and education. Meanwhile, Law 16 of 2017 concerning social organizations explains that Ormas are organizations that are established and formed by the community voluntarily based on the same aspirations, desires, needs, interests, activities, and objectives to participate in development for the achievement of the objectives of the Unitary State of

the Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Ormas existence extends to the legality of registration with the government, but more than that, the issue of social movements carried out to fight for what they aspire to. In a democratic society, the phenomenon of freedom of association becomes a normal condition because every human being wants to be fulfilled his demands, and it is realized that this cannot be done alone, so that it requires a social movement that has the same goal. As explained (Campbell 2008) Regarding freedom, an organization Freedom House (based in the United States) underlines the statement that “Freedom is only possible in a democratic political system where the government is accountable to its people; the rule of law applies; and freedom of expression, association, and belief, as well as respect for the rights of minorities and women, are guaranteed. Practices that occur in Indonesia, not a few mass organizations encounter obstacles in each of their activities. Community organizations that have received much attention are Labor and Religious Organizations, especially Islam. As happened when the government issued the Omnibuslaw Law, various labor alliances were about to hold a demonstration of resistance, several workers who were members of the United Banten Workers Alliance (AB3) and the Bekasi Workers Alliance Against (BBM) did not get permission from the police to hold a demonstration. Rejection of the Omnibus Law on the Work Creation Bill (RUU) to the DPR Building.

The head of the Bali Regional Police also threatened to suspend mass organizations. Currently, there are 108 mass organizations in Bali. The Bali Police asked three mass organizations to be frozen Laskar Bali (LB), Baladika, and Pemuda Bali Bersatu (PBB), based on anarchism acts thuggery. It is different from what was experienced by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), which the government dissolved. The Covid-19 pandemic is an excuse for the police always to disperse mass organization actions, and even the FPI chairman has been named a suspect in violating health protocols. It is an anomaly for the community amidst various mass organizations that their existence is blocked because of the pandemic, but on the other hand, the government has held many activities with large numbers of people, such as the Election of Regional Heads. The democratic space by mass organizations in Indonesia is seen to be filled seriously, giving rise to various symptoms that make the regime pay serious attention to mass organizations that are

considered disturbing national stability. However, what Winston Churchill said needs to be noted that “That democracy is the least bad of all the systems of government-produced out of the human experience.”

The problems that arise from democracy are also emphasized by (Cunningham 2002), where several problems, including the emergence of the Tyranny of the Majority, Conflict, and Demagogy, and the Empty Space of Democracy. This article will analyze the impact of democracy with mass organizations in Indonesia according to Frank Cunningham's theory and use the political process theory to explain how mass organizations exist.

Method

This study used qualitative research methods. The object of research is State Control of the Existence of Civil Society Organizations in Indonesia. The data collected is obtained through data collection such as observation, literature study, and existing archives/documents or written literature closely related to the research title. The collected data were analyzed descriptively qualitatively by describing and explaining through words and sentences the research results obtained in quantitative and qualitative data. The data analysis process was carried out through the identification stage according to the research objective group, managing and interpreting the data, then carried out abstraction, reduction, and checking the validity of the data. The results of the analysis are then categorized and discussed according to the research concept.

Result And Discussion

The gap between ideals and the reality of democracy is widening. Democratization campaigns in all elements of government and massive activities are carried out. However, the reality is inversely proportional. As in the general election process, the practice of money politics organized by the elite is prevalent, and various public policies are made by populist governments but closing the spaces for public participation to monitor and criticize them. Hypocrisy is a territory where the antipathy to democracy is permanently rooted. The life of democratic institutions is always vulnerable to various kinds of forces. According to (Keane 2008) The word hypocrite is an expression of insult to those who fail to practice what they teach. When used in

colloquial language, people usually know nothing of its origins in the world of ancient Greek drama, where the noun *hypocrisies* refers to 'pretending,' 'hiding,' 'and acting out. It is a descriptive term used for speaking in dialogue, playing a role on stage, using histrionic art; *Hypocrites* is an actor who officially hides on stage.

Of course, affiliation with community organizations is not without reason because the social movements that are the ideals of the struggle can be with these platforms. Moreover, in a democratic country like Indonesia, freedom of association is protected by law. Supporting this, the President of Indonesia, when delivering remarks at the End of Year Report of the Indonesian Ombudsman (8/2/2021), stated that he asked the Indonesian people to criticize the government. This message is, of course, good news for the community, especially mass organizations, which have played a role in criticizing the government. Because so far Indonesia as a democratic country has a dark history of social movement activities or criticism of the rulers, the New Order regime for 32 years has not provided spaces for criticism of society, so the ruler's narrative becomes a truth to be followed.

However, the big question is whether, with the president's statement, the practice of democratization through the space of criticism is guaranteed? If you look at the data from (The Economist Intelligence Unit 2020) where they make a report on the democracy index of countries in the world by categorizing them into four, namely, Full Democracy, Flawed Democracy, Hybrid Regimes, and Authoritarian Regimes. Indonesia got a score of 6.8 (position 64), and this is the lowest position in the last 14 years. In the report, the EIU also released five other important element values, namely the electoral process and pluralism, government functions, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties. The score for civil liberties is only 5.59. Looking at this data, it is not egalitarian with what the government has promised to the community. The development of democratic conditions in Indonesia is quite concerning. This is proven by the large number of mass organizations that have been disbanded. Several mass organizations were disbanded for reasons that were not too clear and seemed only to be a political narrative. Two Ormas are interesting enough to be seen as evidence that the Indonesian government is still allergic to criticism, namely the dissolution of HTI and FPI organizations.

Dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)

Hizbut Tahrir is a political party movement that was first established in Palestine by Sheikh Taqiyuddin An Nabhani in 1953, which had the vision to uphold the Islamic caliphate system. As time went on, this political movement continued to expand. It spread throughout the world, which in 1983 was the first time Hizbut Tahrir entered Indonesia through Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi, an Hizbut Tahrir activist based in Australia and often taught his understanding to several campuses in Indonesia. Indonesia became one of the movements that became known as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). As the founder of Hizbut Tahrir, Sheikh Taqiyuddin then wrote two large books, which were later used as guidelines in the Hizbut Tahrir political movement around the world, namely the Daulah Islam Book and the Mafahim Hizbut Tahrir Book. The book has been translated into Indonesian by HTI Press since 2004, but at that time, the enthusiasm of the Indonesian Muslim community regarding the concept of the caliphate was not too high.

In recent years, when HTI has started to gain a large following, the Indonesian government has seen HTI's existence as a threat because it wants to change the Pancasila ideology. HTI has two ways of indoctrinating its understanding with its followers, especially for students on several campuses in Indonesia; First, HTI opens campus branch activities directly, and secondly, building affiliations by placing its cadres in strategic positions at the Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK). In addition, HTI has a relatively well-ordered organizational structure with management starting from the mid-level (Central Leadership Council) to the sub-district level (Branch Leadership Council). In 2017, the Indonesian National Police had begun to actively monitor the preaching movements of HTI, which were considered anti-Pancasila and anti-NKRI. In May 2017, the Indonesian government, represented by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (Menkopolhukam) Wiranto, announced that the government would immediately disband the organization to maintain the stability of state security by the corridors of the law on mass organizations in force in Indonesia. There are several crucial points regarding the government's statement regarding the dissolution of HTI:

1. HTI as a mass organization is considered not to have made a positive contribution to Indonesia's development process.

2. Almost all HTI activities are considered to be against the fundamental values of the Indonesian nation's ideology, namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.
3. Some of the activities carried out by HTI often cause unrest in the community to disturb public order and the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.
4. Based on reports and public aspirations, the government will take firm legal steps to dissolve HTI.
5. The decision regarding the dissolution of HTI is a form of government preventive action in maintaining stability, security, and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

On the 19th of July 2017, Society Organizations Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia officially disbanded the government by the Minister of Law and Human Rights No. AHU-30.AH.01.08 2017 concerning the revocation of the Minister of Justice and Human Rights-0028.60.10.2014 AHU numbers on the ratification of the establishment HTI association legal entity. The government has also issued Government Regulation Number 2 of 2017 Article 80A, which replaces Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Community Organizations. The issuance of government regulations in place of this law was carried out after announcing the dissolution of HTI, which was considered a radical political organization against the Indonesian nation's ideology. The dissolution process was met with legal resistance from HTI, which appointed Yusri Ihza Mahendra as HTI's legal representative in a judicial review of the Perppu Ormas. However, in May 2018, the Jakarta State Administrative Court (PTUN) rejected the lawsuit filed by HTI against the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and also in 2019, the Supreme Court issued a decision rejecting the cassation filed by HTI regarding the government's decision to revoke HTI's legal status.

The most substantial evidence from the Panel of Judges to reject the cassation is due to the concept of HTI, which wants to create a Khilafah Islamiyah state in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia without a democratic process and to participate in general elections (elections) which are essentially contradicting the Pancasila ideology and the concept of nationalism (Ihsanuddin, 2019). The panel of judges also explained that the act of revoking the previous decision regarding the Ratification of the Establishment of HTI Legal Entities does not contradict the principle of *contraries actus* (state administrative bodies or officials that issue state administrative decisions automatically have the authority to cancel). The decision to

dissolve HTI received a lot of criticism and questions from journalists and activists, but the government represented by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights did not explain in detail the data and facts regarding the reasons for the disbandment of the Islamic political organization. Indonesian President Jokowi only presented to the media that the decision to disband HTI was a policy taken based on input and suggestions from many parties, including the Indonesian ulama. The HTI legal team led by Yusril Ihza Mahendra criticized the government's decision by saying that the Perppu Number 2 of 2017, which amends Law Number 17 of 2013, does not explain in detail the interpretation of ideas that are contrary to Pancasila, where many rubber articles has the potential for multiple interpretations, overlaps with legal regulations and creates legal uncertainty. This implicitly shows that the government, as the ruler, often uses power through the Perpu and laws to overthrow and dissolve mass organizations considered to be opposed to the government.

Dissolution of The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI)

The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) is an Islamic organization founded in 1998 to coincide with the collapse of the new order period, in which this organization has the principle of enforcing 'Amar ma'ruf nahi munkar' led by Habib Rizieq Shihab. Three things became the primary basis for the birth of FPI. Namely, the government has committed many human rights violations morality is increasingly rampant in all aspects of life, and there is an obligation to maintain and maintain the dignity of all Muslims. As is the case with HTI organizations, the FPI organizational structure has many administrators ranging from the Central Executive Board to the Branch Leadership Council, which deals with the sub-district scope.

The activities carried out by FPI are often controversial, such as holding demonstrations in front of the DKI Jakarta DPRD Building, sweeping or raids on nightclubs, prostitution places to food stalls. Every FPI action often clashes with security officers or the police. Therefore, Habib Rizieq Shihab as the high priest of FPI must be responsible for every act of its members, which is proven to have violated the rules and caused unrest in the community. Habib Rizieq was convicted twice, namely; First, in 2003, Rizieq served a sentence at the Salemba Detention Center because the Panel of Judges at the Central Jakarta District Court had sentenced him to seven months in prison for being legally proven to have persuaded, incited, opposed security

forces and ordered the destruction of several entertainment venues in Jakarta. Second, Rizieq served a prison sentence of one year and six months in 2008 because he was found guilty of the attack on the mass of the national alliance for freedom of religion and belief gathered at the Jakarta national monument.

Habib Rizieq is also frequently reported because the FPI often clashes with the Indonesian Lower Society Movement (GMBI) located in Bandung. However, Rizieq also criticized and reported back on the abuse of power in the Indonesian police institution. When visiting the Indonesian Parliament in 2017, Rizieq reported on the alleged abuse of the position of the West Java Regional Police Chief Inspector General Anton in the case of a clash between the Indonesian Lower Society Movement (GMBI) and FPI in Bandung. Because the West Java Regional Police Chief is the Chairperson of the GMBI Supervisor, this is considered contrary to the rules that prohibit active Polri members from holding positions outside the Police institution.

Since June 20, 2019, FPI has been disbanded de jure by the government, but FPI is still carrying out activities that violate and contravene applicable legal provisions. In 2020 the government officially issued a Joint Decree (SKB) on the Prohibition of Activities, Use of Symbols and Attributes, and the Termination of Activities of the Islamic Defenders Front, which was signed by six Ministers and Institutions, namely the Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Law and Human Rights, Minister of Communication and Informatics, Attorney General, Chief of Police of the Republic of Indonesia and Head of the National Counterterrorism Agency. Based on the official documents in the Joint Decree, there are at least six crucial points that are the main reasons for the disbandment of FPI:

- a) To maintain the existence of the Pancasila ideology, the 1945 Constitution, the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Ormas has been issued as amended by Law Number 16 of 2017 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in place of Law Number 2 of 2017 concerning Amendments to Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Ormas into Law.
- b) The contents of FPI's Articles of Association contradict Article 2 of Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Ormas as amended by Law Number 16 of 2017 concerning the stipulation of Perppu Number 2 of 2017 concerning amendments to Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Ormas into Law Invite.

- c) Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 01-00-00 / 010 / D.III.4 / VI / 2014 dated 20 June 2014 concerning the Registered Letter of Employment (SKT) for the Islamic Defenders Front as an Ormas is valid until 20 June 2019, and until now, the FPI has not met the requirements to extend the SKT.
- d) Ormas activities must not conflict with Article 5 letter g, Article 6 letter f, Article 21 letters b and d, Article 59 paragraph (3) letters a, c, d, Article 59 paragraph (4) letter c, and Article 82A of Law Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Ormas as amended by Law Number 16 of 2017 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in place of Law Number 2 of 2017 concerning Amendments to Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Ormas into Laws.
- e) Management and members or those who have joined FPI, based on the data, there are 35 people involved in criminal acts of terrorism, and 29 of them have been convicted, besides that, a total of 206 people were involved in various other general crimes and 100 of them have been convicted.
- f) If, according to their judgment or suspicion, there has been a violation of legal provisions, FPI management and members often carry out various acts of the raid (sweeping) during society, which is the duty and authority of the Law Enforcement Officials.
- g) Based on the considerations referred to in letters a to f, it is necessary to stipulate a Joint Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Law and Human Rights, Minister of Communication and Information Technology, Attorney General, Chief of the Indonesian National Police, Head of the National Counter Terrorism Agency on Prohibition of Activities, Use Symbols and Attributes as well as the Cessation of the Activities of the Islamic Defenders Front.

In short, the seven points contained in the SKB can be interpreted as follows:

1. Declare that FPI is an organization that is not registered as a mass organization as regulated in statutory regulations so that it has de jure been dissolved as a mass organization.
2. FPI as a de jure mass organization has disbanded. It continues to carry out various activities that disturb peace, public order and are against the law.
3. Prohibits the activities, use of FPI symbols, and attributes in the jurisdiction of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

4. If there is a violation, as indicated in the third dictum above, the Law Enforcement Officials will stop all activities that FPI
5. Ask the public not to be influenced and involved in the activities, use of symbols and attributes of FPI; and ask the public to report to Law Enforcement on any activities, use of FPI symbols and attributes.
6. Ministries / Agencies that sign this SKB are to coordinate and take steps to enforce the law by the provisions of laws and regulations.
7. This Joint Decree comes into force on the steps that have been determined, namely December 30, 2020.

Discontinued Ormas Violated Rights of Associated

The disbandment of these two large Islamic organizations caused polemics and various responses from the community. Several community organizations that are concerned with upholding human rights values in Indonesia, including Amnesty International Indonesia, also gave their critical views on the government's political decision. Usman Hamid, as the director of Amnesty International Indonesia, stated that the government's action regarding the dissolution of all activities of the FPI organization has the potential to discriminate against violating the right to association and expression so that it can further erode civil liberties in Indonesia. In the process of dissolving these mass organizations, the government is considered to have cut the procedural law procedures for prohibiting and dissolving mass organizations by removing the mechanism of warning and court hearings whereby social organizations should only be dissolved after a decision is made by an independent and neutral court, and not from a unilateral decision by the Indonesian government. Amnesty International Indonesia criticized and advised the Indonesian government to improve legal mechanisms that are more just in accordance with international legal standards.

Because human rights, including the right to organize, must be protected by a fair law that protects mass organizations from arbitrary actions by the state. Furthermore, the Head of FPI Legal Aid considered that the dissolution of Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia was carried out as a form of transferring human rights violations of the shooting of six FPI troops by the Indonesian National Police (Simanjuntak, 2020). The Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) has also been active in investigating the shooting of the six FPI troops. The

conclusion of the investigation carried out by Komnas HAM related to the shootout case of the FPI paramilitary group with the police at KM 50 Tol Jakarta-Cikampek was that there was an unlawful killing. Still, no grave human rights violations were found. However, it turns out that the results of the Komnas HAM investigation have not been able to satisfy the public because the report on the results of the investigation is considered incomplete and appears to be just a formality so that it has not been able to meet public expectations. Team of advocates for the six shooting victims had reported the incident to the international court in The Hague, Netherlands.

In addition, the FPI Murder Incident Control Team (TP3) will also report the incident to the United Nations Human Rights Council (UN Human Rights Council) because the police action in killing FPI members is considered to have exceeded their limits authority, violating laws and regulations. Applicable This means that it should be included in gross human rights violations because it takes human life intentionally and without guilt. Freedom of association and assembly should be an essential component of human rights and, of course, protected by applicable law. The Indonesian government should understand that Indonesia as a democracy is obliged to protect and guarantee the right to freedom of expression, association, and assembly in community organizations.

However, sometimes the ideal democratic governance system does not work well so that the government often uses its power to overthrow and dissolve mass organizations that are considered a threat. As is the case with Law Number 16 of 2017, which gives the Indonesian government the authority to provide strict penalties and sanctions, including revocation of legal entity status to mass organizations that are deemed and perceived as "problematic/threatening" to the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, the government needs to revise several law on mass organizations that are currently in effect and explain that the material substance of the regulation regarding the prohibition and dissolution of social organizations is by the basic principles of the Indonesian constitution and not based on the desire to maintain power alone, which is very contradictory to the main essence in a democratic government system.

The tyranny of the majority

After the 2019 presidential election, there are still divisions in the community due to different choices. We can see that the Community Organizations listed in the discussion of this article are affiliated with Prabowo-Sandi as the challenger to the selected President Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. So that after the election, the majority group who won the election was born. The majority group will be tyrannical if they behave unfairly towards minority groups regarding the resources of democracy. FPI and HTI have been criticizing the government since long ago until after the election, so that the peak was the dissolution of the Organization by the government, while the right to organize is the right of all citizens.

Conflict

In any community group with any state system, the term "*Ubi Societas Ibi Ius*" applies. That is, where there is a community, there is the law. This is, of course, based on the tendency of community members to conflict or irregularities. In fact, according to Schmitt 1988 that democracy requires a relatively harmonious population, but if it is not harmonious, then democracy only worsens the strife. Democracy must be seen as a mechanism that provides a way for each individual to determine policymaking either directly or indirectly to create welfare or a good standard of living for the community so that the potential for conflict is enormous because each group or individual brings different interests and aspirations.

If conflict is unavoidable, then the government must manage democratic life objectively and fairly. Thus the principle of 'popular rule' in democracy does not mean only the ruling majority. State resources must also be distributed to minority groups.

Demagogy and the empty space of democracy

Aristoteles stated that democracy could be tolerated as long as it adheres to the rule of law, but the Indonesian government uses many "rubber articles" or even forming a Government Regulation in place of a Law (Perpu) to suppress certain groups. What concerned Aristotle was that this uncontrolled force could easily be overpowered by individuals playing and manipulating public opinion. In the interpretation of Tocqueville's critique, French democracy theorist Claude Lefort finds an explanation of how democracy is so vulnerable to demagogy and why demagogy is so dangerous. As

Tocqueville has often pointed out, the majority in a democracy is like the king or the ruling aristocracy.

Meanwhile, "empty space of democracy" means that there is no formation of rules or the rule of law in the country because the people who form the rules are authoritarian. Called on the public to convey criticism, but after being criticized, the community was punished. If the Indonesian government expects criticism from citizens, then FPI and HTI should be treated because they are very intense in criticizing the government. Although on the way should be developed against any potential actions that the organization can generate. Given that religion is precious in Indonesia, it can influence community actions so that anarchist actions and community harmony do not emerge.

Existence of Community Organization

The emergence of social movements, according to (Meyer 2004), due to the political process or in other literature is called political opportunities. Social movement activists, like business founders, are overly optimistic about opportunities. They do not care about the possibility of successfully mobilizing or producing policy reforms; the most important thing is to take chances. There are four causes of social movements to emerge, namely:

- 1) Increased access to political decision making power;
- 2) There is instability in the alignment of the ruling elite (or conflict between elites);
- 3) Access to elite allies (who can then assist the movement in its struggle);

Decreased capacity and the state's tendency to suppress differences of opinion In connection with the significant political changes that occurred after 1998, when the state lost its monopoly on power, the space for association rights grew wider in Indonesia, FPI was declared on August 17, 1998, the background of the FPI establishment can be seen because The suffering of Muslims in Indonesia due to the lack of social control by civilian and military rulers as a result of many human rights violations committed by rulers and this condition they think occurred in every presidential regime except Habibie. FPI clashed with President Abdurrahman Wahid (gusdur) at an interfaith discussion event in Purwakarta, West Java, until the former president left the discussion forum.

Likewise, in President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) regime for two periods, there were many clashes due to FPI's actions, which always caused controversy and uproar. Until the time of President Joko Widodo, FPI as a community organization was dissolved by the government. The cause of organizations such as FPI can exist due to the character of their leaders who are considered charismatic; besides that, FPI can win the hearts of the people by echoing the enforcement of Islamic law and taking advantage of people who are disappointed in the government to join together in its movement.

Conclusion

The consequence of a democratic country is to uphold the freedom of opinion and association of its citizens, and Indonesia, which is a democracy that is mature enough to provide space for freedom for its people. However, there is democratic hypocrisy, in which the 1945 Constitution has guaranteed freedom of association, but there are several Community Organizations that the government has dissolved for various reasons. The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) are clear examples of this action; FPI and HTI are very active in criticizing the government, especially in the 2019 election process FPI and HTI are affiliated with Prabowo-Sandi, who is Opponent. president Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Democracy creates the Tyranny of the Majority, where the side that wins the election suppresses the losing group (minority); besides that, there is conflict and demagoguery and the emptiness of democratic space. Political process theory or political opportunity that is used to analyze the existence of community organizations, namely social movement activists, like business founders, have a character that is too optimistic about opportunities. They do not care about the possibility of successfully mobilizing or producing policy reforms; the most important thing is to take chances. Likewise, FPI and HTI, seeing a political opportunity to influence policymaking, took this method. Other factors cause organizations such as FPI and HTI to exist, namely charismatic leader figures, controlling public opinion with a religious approach, and embracing other groups or people who are disappointed with the regime.

References

- Agus Anjar, Elly Susilawati, Toni, Zunaidy Abdullah Siregar, Gomal Juni Yanris. 2021. "Kontribusi Media Sosial Terhadap Kebijakan Publik Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Penanganan COVID-19." *Jurnal Education and Development* 9 (No 2 (2021)): 168–74. <http://journal.ipts.ac.id/index.php/ED/article/view/2546/1466>.
- Campbell, Dfj. 2008. "The Basic Concept for the Democracy Ranking of the Quality of

- Democracy.” *Vienna: Democracy Ranking* 10 (October 2008): 50. http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/ranking/2012/data/basic_concept_democracy_ranking_2008_A4.pdf.
- Cunningham, Frank. 2002. *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction. Dialogos*. Vol. 43. London: Routledge.
- Dimock. 1960. *Public Administration*. New York: Rineheart Inc.
- Feng, C., R. Ma, and L. Jiang. 2020. “The Impact of Service Innovation on Firmperformance: A Metaanalysis.” *Journal of Service Management* 1. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1108/JOSM-03-2019-0089>.
- Keane, J. 2008. “Hypocrisy and Democracy.” *WZB-Mitteilungen*, no. Juni: 30–32. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511617423.011>.
- Maharani, Dewi, and Lesmana Rian Andhika. 2021. “Rational Intervention Public Policy for Public Service Innovation.” *Policy & Governance Review* 5 (2): 182. <https://doi.org/10.30589/pgr.v5i2.383>.
- Mello, Luiz de, and Teresa Ter-Minassian. 2020. “Digitalisation Challenges and Opportunities for Subnational Governments.” France. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1787/22265848>.
- Pranadji, Tri. 2012. “Naskah Akademik RUU Organisasi Kemasyarakatan.” Jakarta.
- Prasetya, Genta Danu, and Novi Trisnawati. 2021. “Analisis Penerapan Model Pembelajaran Contextual Teaching and Learning (Ctl) Pada Mata Pelajaran Otomatisasi Tata Kelola Humas Dan Keprotokolan Kelas Xi OTKP Di SMK Negeri 2 Tuban.” *Jurnal Pendidikan Administrasi Perkantoran (JPAP)* 9: 143–53. <https://journal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/jpap/article/view/9248>.
- Rodeck, David. 2021. “What Is A Recession?” Forbes.Com. 2021.
- Sodaro, Michael J. 2004. *Comparative Politics. A Global Introduction*. New York: Mc. Graw Hill.
- Baechler, Jean. 1995. *Democracy an Analytical Survey*. USA: Unesco.
- Cook, Brian J. 2007. *Democracy and Administration: Woodrow Wilson’s Ideas and The Challenges of Public Management. The Johns Hopkins University Press*. Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gibson, Ivancevich, and Donnely. 1987. *Organisasi Dan Manajemen: Perilaku, Struktur Dan Proses*. 5th ed. Jakarta: Erlangga.
- Keane, J. 2008. “Hypocrisy and Democracy.” *WZB-Mitteilungen*, no. Juni: 30–32. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511617423.011>.
- Meyer, David S. 2004. “Protest and Political Opportunities.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 30 (2004): 125–45. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110545>.
- Pranadji, Tri. 2012. “Naskah Akademik RUU Organisasi Kemasyarakatan.” Jakarta.
- Schmitt, Carl. 1988. *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Taufiqurokhman. 2014. *Kebijakan Publik. Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Moestopo Beragama Pers*. Jakarta Pusat: Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Moestopo Beragama Pers.

- Team InfoDev and The Center for Democracy & Technology. 2002. "The E-Government Handbook for Developing Countries." USA.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit. 2020. "Democracy Index 2020 In Sickness and in Health?" London.
- Tsebelis, George. 2002. *Veto Players: How Institutions Work*. Princeton University Press. Princeton: Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3816.2004.286_15.x.