Deconstruction of Nur Holis Madjid's Thoughts on "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No": an Attempt to Answer The Reality of Indonesian Islamic Parties in The 2024 Elections

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Abstract
Deconstruction of Nur Holis Madjid's Thoughts "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No": Efforts to Answer the Reality of the Indonesian Islamic Party in the 2024 Election is an analysis of a Slogan of the Thoughts of the Muslim scholar Nur Holis Madjid which was coined in the 1970s at the Ismail Marzuki mini park in Jakarta. Its content classifies and criticizes Islam and Islamic Parties. This slogan has shocked the Indonesian world because of the pros and cons of this thought slogan, along with contemporary developments by looking at the existing reality that Islamic parties are now increasingly unable to compete with nationalist parties, so with this approach Concept will be able to analyze Nur Holis Majid's thoughts with the current situation regarding Islamic parties, so that with the Concept approach to Nur Holis Majid's thoughts we can answer why Islamic parties are increasingly lagging behind and by using a conceptual approach we can analyze the relevance of Nur Holis Majid's thoughts on the situation of political parties. Contemporary Islam is increasingly not gaining the trust of the Islamic community itself.

Keywords: Islam, political parties, general election

INTRODUCTION

In the old order era, during the leadership of president Soekarno, many emerging Islamic parties were present in the contestation of Indonesian politics when Indonesia was still new to becoming an independent country, even occupying the political parties that gained the largest votes in Indonesia at the time of the first election in 1955. Masyumi gets 20.9% votes, Nahdlatul Ulama gets 18.4% votes, PNI gets 22.3% votes, and PKI gets 16.4% votes. Syarikat Islam gets 2.2% votes, the Indonesian Christian Party gets 2.6% votes, the Catholic party gets 2.0% votes, the Indonesian Socialization Party gets 2.0% and the rest are votes, IPKI gets 1.4% votes, tarbiyah islamiah gets 1.3% votes, and the rest are small parties that get less than 1% votes. With the election results in 1955, the Islamic party really controlled the political scene in Indonesia (Santoso and Budhiati, 2019). However, when compared to the current Indonesian political development after the reformation where the Indonesian political system in the elections, to obtain legislative representative seats uses the parliamentary threshold system contained in the Election Law, namely Law Number 7 of 2017 with a threshold of 4% of all party votes and candidates in a particular party to qualify and place their candidates in the House of Representatives. The results were very surprising, Islamic parties fell and even only represented one Islamic party in its representation that exceeded the threshold (Andrianto, 2024). The difference in the results from the pre-reform era, namely the old order where the first elections were held, which placed Islamic parties in strategic positions because they gained the largest number of votes at that time and compared to the results of the 2024 elections, certainly makes a justification speculation that political parties with religious views, or religious parties, or even Islamic parties, are certainly experiencing a period of total degradation, so there is no good growth of Islamic parties in the history of Indonesian politics.

The speech statement by Nur Holis Majid delivered in the 1970s, that’s "Islam yes, Islamic party No” which he said in the park ismail marzuki (Bhagaskoro, 2018). This is the statement that appeared and became the subject of public discussion at that time, the slogan "Islam yes, Islamic party No” at that time reaped various criticisms both pros and cons because at that time it was very resistant to political statements that smelled of religion. The pros and cons certainly have their own reasons, and
the statement of the slogan "Islam yes, Islamic party no" is not necessarily said at that time, there are background factors. If it is related to the condition of the current Islamic party, of course Nur Holis Majid's statement is very interesting to be studied more deeply. Because whether it is true that Nur Holis Majid's statement correlates with the current state of Islamic parties and whether Nur Holis Majid's thoughts answer the paradigm of society about Islam, political parties, and the state will certainly be a hot topic if it is related to the degradation of Islamic political parties in the elections that have just been completed. Therefore, it is interesting to study Nur Holis Majid's thoughts with the statement “Islam Yes, Islamic Party No” to answer the degradation of Islamic political parties in the reform era.

METHODS

The methodology used in analyzing Nur Holis Majid's thoughts in this paper is to use a Conceptual Approach, what is meant by a conceptual approach is an approach that is carried out through observations and experiences that are presented to present a concept so that there is no error in the concept. The conceptual approach is obtained from a person's thoughts and life experiences where these thoughts and life experiences refer to a person's ijthad in publishing a brilliant thought. So the thought can be accepted and recognized by many people, therefore it is very important to juxtapose the thought or concept with reality, then the concept can still be maintained the truth.

Conceptual Approach is an approach that is carried out by constructing a person's thoughts / concepts that are used as a basis for research or analysis, understanding of views and doctrines is the basis for researchers in building an analysis of argumentation (Adriaman et al, 2024). The concept approach refers to the principles of legal principles that can be found in the view of legal doctrine, research with a concept approach identifies the principles / concepts of a person's thoughts to understand them through perceptive and existing theories. ¹

With Conceptual Approach, it’s expected to examine the thoughts and brilliant ideas of a thinker named Nur Holis Majid, and can analyze the truth of the concept using the concept of analysis knife that created by Nur Holis Majid about Islam and Islamic parties. It’s also expected open up insights into the truth of the concept in relation to the current reality. So, the concept can answer whether it is relevant or not to existing developments.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Development of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia from Time to Time

a.  The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1955 Elections

As stated earlier, the development of Islamic political parties during this period was the old order period where Islamic political parties first entered the world of politics in Indonesia. Because at that time, there were so many Islamic political parties that participated in the contest to put their representatives in the legislative seats and had produced two large and powerful parties because they got the second and third most votes under the nationalist parties, the two major parties were the Masyumi Party and the Nahdatul Ulama party, Masyumi got 57 seats and won in 10 electoral districts, PNI got 57 seats, NU got 45 seats and PKI got 39 seats, so these 4 parties got 77% of the total votes that existed when the first election was held (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2000). The victory of masyumi and NU is a victory based on certain bases and not absolutely evenly distributed throughout Indonesia, masyumi won in 10 electoral districts and NU won in East Java and South Kalimantan.

At this time, people still tend to give full trust to Islamic parties to represent them in politics in Indonesia. People saw religious symbols attached to political parties, because
in the post-independence era, people knew that the independence of Indonesia could not be separated from Muslim figures who participated in winning independence, such as Abdurrahman Sjihab, KH Abdul Wahid Hasyim, Mohammad Natsir, all of whom were Muslim intellectual figures in liberating Indonesia (Mahendra et al, 2022). KH Wahid Hasyim, who was the father of KH Abdurrahman Wahid, was a figure who played a very important role and influence on the magnitude of the NU party vote at that time, because he was not only an independence fighter he was also a founding figure of the NU organization at that time (Miftahuddin, 2018). So that the large number of NU party votes during the first election in Indonesia was inseparable from the support of NU members and administrators at that time. So with the historical connection between freedom fighters and Islamic political parties at that time, the public trust was full of Islamic political parties and gave rise to the Masyumi party and the Nahdatul Ulama Party as the winner of the Political Contestation at that time.

b. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1971 Elections

The general election in 1971 was the general election in which the new order era after the leadership of president soekarno, the election that was held four years after soeharto was inaugurated as president (Chaq, 2022). In this election, the Golongan Karya party (Golkar) emerged as the winner of the election contestation party and was undisputed with an astonishing acquisition of 325 seats out of a total of 360 seats contested. Golkar is a nationalist party that won the election contestation at this time (Verianty, 2024). Regardless of how the implementation system was and whether there was government domination that intervened in the elections in 1971, the results still placed the Nahdatul Ulama Party as the second winner party in this election contestation then followed by Parmusi and PNI, Nahdatul Ulama obtained 89 seats and was followed by Parmusi 11 seats. In the 1971 elections, Islamic parties in Indonesia had received votes that tended to decrease from the previous elections.

c. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1977 Elections

The general election in 1977 had begun to change from the previous system and began to narrow down to only a few political parties, Islamic political parties that used to have many political parties had now experienced the fusion of political parties so that all of them merged into one party, namely the PPP (United Development Party) with the symbol of the Ka’bah, as for the Islamic parties that united and became one unit, namely the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) party, the Indonesian Islamic Party (Parmusi), the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII), and the Islamic Tarbiyah Association (Perti). In the 1977 elections, the United Development Party, which was a combination of several Islamic parties, received 27.12% of the votes under the Golkar party, which was a nationalist party with 62.80 percent. The results of the 1977 elections did not change the paradigm of the people and the people still gave confidence to the Islamic party even though in fact the votes of the Islamic party which was a combination of several other Islamic parties were second to the nationalist party. If several Islamic parties were united, the votes of the Islamic party should have increased significantly, but the results of the elections illustrated that the votes of the Islamic party even though it was number 2 in the 1977 elections but in fact had decreased from the previous elections.

d. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1982 Elections

The 1982 election was the fourth election held after independence and was the third election in the leadership of the soeharto period, namely the New Order period, in this election there were three parties participating in the election, namely the work group party as a party fully supported by the government, the Indonesian Democratic party (PDI) as a nationalist party, and the United Development party (PPP) as an Islamic representative party, the results of this election were not far from the previous election, golkar still won absolutely with 64.34% of the vote, then followed by the PPP party which received 27.78% of the vote and PDI with 7.88%. In the 1982 election, there was no significant change in the vote of the Islamic representative party, namely the development unity party, and there tended to be no increase or stagnation from the vote in the previous election.

e. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1987 Elections

The 1987 election results were not much different from the previous elections, the 1987 elections still placed Golkar as the winner of the election, the party bearing the banyan symbol won as the largest vote contestation even more than the previous elections, the Golkar
f. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1992 Elections

In the 1992 elections Golkar remained the winner of the elections, the Islamic parties still did not show a significant increase and remained stagnant, only the struggle democratic party experienced an increase in vote results, in detail the Golkar party obtained 68.10%, the PPP party obtained 17.01% and PDI obtained 14.49% of the votes. At that time the PPP experienced a decrease in votes but not significantly from the previous election votes, although it could still increase 1 seat from 61 in the previous election in 1987 to 62 seats in the 1992 election. However, outside Java, the votes and seats of the United Development Party declined. In the 1992 elections, the PPP lost many seats outside Java, so that the PPP party, which was a combination of Islamic parties, still did not experience an increase from the previous election (KPU, 2014).

g. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1997 Elections

The general election in 1997 was the last general election in the new order era, this election was held simultaneously throughout Indonesia on May 29, 1997. In 1997, the nationalist government party represented by the work group party again won the election contestation at that time. This was also influenced because another national party which was a fusion of several national parties, the Indonesian Democratic Party, was experiencing a leadership dualism between Megawati and Suryadi (Jayus, 2019). The elections in 1997 provided an increase but not significant and still occupied the second position (a position whose vote difference was far less than the ruling party at that time, the Golkar party) towards the development of Islamic political parties that competed, this was evidenced by the results of the red Golkar party 74.51%, the United Development Party won 22.43% of the votes and the Indonesian Democratic Party won 3.06% of the votes (Adryamarthanino & Ningsih, 2021).

h. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 1999 Elections

The elections in 1999 were the first elections after the collapse of the New Order (President Soeharto) who resigned from the presidency and were the elections that began the reform era. The elections at this time were won by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), which was a new manifestation of the previous PDI party. The 1999 elections were followed again by many parties and Islamic parties did not return to the container of one party that had previously merged through fusion into one party. The number of parties based on and carrying the name of Islam in the 1999 elections was very unfavorable to the position of Islamic political parties, as evidenced by the PPP, which used to vote more than 20% of the national vote, In 1999, it got 10.71% of the votes, and was followed by another Islamic-based party, PAN, with 7.12% of the votes. The split of the Islamic Party in Indonesia in the 1999 elections was not favorable to Islamic parties in Indonesia, because the Islamic parties in the 1999 elections became co-opted and divided into several other parties. This makes the power that should be large centralized to the development unity party is now changing to other parties where the vision and mission of the party although based on religion is not necessarily in line and in line with the PPP party. Thus, by looking at the vote acquisition of the PPP in the 1999 elections illustrates the Islamic party which is a container of other Islamic parties has decreased drastically.

i. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 2004 Elections

In the 2004 elections, the Development unity political party, which became a political party that used to be a forum for all Islamic political parties in Indonesia are declined. The winner of contestation in the 2004 elections remained the party bearing the banyan symbol, which used to be a party supported by the government, while the...
development unity party only received 8.15% of the votes of all voters and the rest were in other Islamic parties but below the vote of the development unity party (Saptohutomo, 2022). This makes the development unity party even more inconsistent and decreases its vote share.

j. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 2009 Elections

The Democrat Party was the winning party in the 2009 election with 20.85% of the total votes, while the United Development Party only received 5.32%. The United Development Party lost votes compared to the PAN and PKS parties in the 2009 election (Antara, 2009).

k. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 2014 Elections

The development of elections in 2014 was colored by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle PDIP which is a nationalist party in Indonesia, in the 2014 elections in this era of reform, Islamic parties no longer get the most priority votes in the election contestation, as evidenced by the results of the 2014 elections PDIP received 18.95% of the votes, After Golkar, Gerindra, Democrat, PKB, PAN and Democart were above PPP, PPP's vote share in the 2014 election was 6.53% of the total votes obtained, in the 2014 election there was an increase in the vote share of PPP but it did not show significant progress from the party which is the jargon of the Islamic party.

l. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 2019 Elections

In the 2019 elections, Islamic parties still did not experience significant changes in the vote. Islamic parties were still the parties that received small votes in the elections. The winner in the 2019 elections was the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), followed by Golkar, Nasdem, PKB, and the Democratic Party. Meanwhile, the vote of the United Development Party in the 2019 elections, which is a party that embodies a combination of Islamic parties, only obtained 4.52%. Because the 2019 elections used a threshold value of 4% to pass its representatives to the legislative seats, the PPP was the Islamic party with the smallest and critical votes at that time which contributed to placing its representatives in the Legeslatif seats.

m. The Development of Islamic Political Parties in the 2024 Elections

The 2024 election is an election that has just been conducted and carried out in Indonesia, the 2024 election is an election that is participated in by many parties, the winner of the election in 2024 remains the PDI struggle which is a nationalist party, in the 2024 election the election system still uses the threshold as in the previous election in 2019 with a threshold of 4%, and the development unity party only obtained 3.87% of the valid votes, so that PPP did not pass the threshold and could not place its representatives in legislative seats (Mantalean, 2024).

If we observe it from PPP party, which is a forum for the fusion of Islamic parties from election to election period, does not experience promising progress in the development of votes, and even the vote acquisition of the PPP party has degraded from the previous election.

**Diagram 1.** Statistics of Islamic Party Vote Gains before and after fusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Vote Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955 General Election</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 1971</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 1977</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 1982</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 1987</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 1992</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 1997</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 1999</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 2004</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 2009</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 2014</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election 2019</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2024 Election</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The decreasing number of votes for Islamic parties did not necessarily go down without reason. Since 1955 elections to the 2024 elections, the public trust was certainly not the same, the difference in the number of votes showed the skepticism of the public towards Islamic parties, the paradigm paradigm against Islamic parties made the public dissatisfied with the performance of Islamic parties, of course this decline in votes was closely related to Nur Holis Majid’s brilliant slogan concept of Islam Yes, Islamic parties No, because the decline in the number of votes was discussed by Nur Holis Majid as far back as his 1970 speech.

The Paradigm of “Islam Yes, Islamic Party NO” and Relevance to the development of Indonesian Islamic parties

The emergence of Cak Nur’s slogan about "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" is an attitude of anxiety from Cak Nur seeing the phenomenon that occurred in Indonesian politics in the 1970s, in the 1970s the government opened a wide faucet for Islamic parties to contest in the world of politics, so that the open / accommodating attitude of the government placed many politicians in important government positions through Islamic parties that existed at that time, many Muslims who occupied important positions in the government and were representatives of Muslim parties did not make significant progress in the development of the Indonesian state. cak Nur argued that Islamic parties were not the only means to fight for the aspirations of Muslims. Thus, the idea of "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" emerged at that time to sensitize politicians not to be narrow-minded about ijtihad in fighting for the aspirations of Muslims not only through political parties (Yusuf & Mawalidin, 2022).

Cak Nur's idea of "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" also contains a diction of thought that between Islam and religion are two things that must be separated. When Islam became a forum that was widely followed and embraced by the Indonesian people, Islamic parties should be able to control Indonesian politics, in fact based on election results before 1970, Islamic parties were not election winners but remained the second winner in the Indonesian election contestation. There is a significant difference between the advancement of Islam as a religion and the downfall of Islam as a party (Majid, 2008). Islam as the holder of the majority of the largest religious adherents in Indonesia should be able to dominate politics through the representation of Islamic parties. But in the reality, many adherents and followers of Islam do not represent and entrust their votes to Islamic parties. This is because the winner of the election contestation before the slogan of “Islam Yes, Islamic Party No” was still not an Islamic party but a nationalist party.

Cak Nur also said that the distrust of the Muslim community towards Islamic parties. So, not all Muslims support and vote for Islamic parties. According to him, it’s influenced by two important factors; the first one is because the nature of the thoughts offered and spread actively by these organizations, and the second one because Islamic parties and their leaders have lost trust in the eyes of the community (Barton & Tahqiq, 1999). This certainly can’t be separated from the existence of elections before 1970, that’s the election of 1955. In the 1955 elections, when the first elections were held in the old order era, Muslims tended not to want to unite to form a solid party that could compete with the government party. This was evidenced by the number of Islamic parties that competed at that time, so that the party's votes were certainly defeated to the nationalist party, the division of Islamic parties into several parties occurred because there was no continuity of thought between Muslim leaders. They had different visions and missions but still used Islamic parties as vehicles to achieve these different visions and missions. The differences in thoughts and views between Muslim communities certainly made public trust decline and made the community divided, so that Islamic parties couldn’t win against nationalist parties.

Nur Holis Majid's thoughts is certainly relevant to the current situation where Islamic parties have now begun to be abandoned by the Indonesian people who are the majority of Muslims. Based on recent statistics of election results as mentioned above, and seen from the election results in 2024, where PPP has a history of the container party of various other Islamic parties, is actually mired and doesn’t get a seat to place its representatives in the central legislature because it does not get a percentage of votes of 4%
of the total valid votes. This makes the Islamic party which is supposed to be a big party because the majority of Muslim population is abandoned by the Muslim population. The Muslim community has lost trust in Muslim parties because the Muslim community considers Muslim parties not in line with the breath of Islamic teachings.

Aisah Putri Budiarti, a political researcher from the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), mentions three reasons why Islamic political parties are bound to lose the competition to nationalist political parties. First, average medium Islamic parties often only become mediocre parties in elections in Indonesia and even divided because the Muslim community itself is divided into several Muslim parties and not united into one Muslim party. Second, Muslim parties don’t have popular nationally figures from Islamic parties because Islamic party figures are limited to party administrators and are not evenly distributed throughout Indonesia, there are no representatives of figures in Islamic parties that are evenly distributed in every region in Indonesia, so that the base of Islamic parties is uneven and only exists in a certain region. Third, failed strategies from Islamic parties. Islamic parties fail to carry out good regeneration in their parties and set the right campaign strategy in every election, Islamic parties do not carry the breath of Islam in the struggle in Indonesian politics so that they tend to join other nationalist parties and do not have independence in determining the direction of political policy, "Islamic parties tend to stagnate and divide into medium and small parties so that Islamic parties fail to formulate the right political strategy to reap votes and this is what makes the stagnation of Islamic parties in Indonesia,” he said (Simanjuntak, 2023).

Even Islamic political parties in Indonesia are made into one through a fusion mechanism, political parties in Indonesia will still not get a place in the hearts of the Indonesian people as a whole, because based on the results of election observations from the 1955 period to the present 2024 period, Islamic political parties have never won the election, Islamic parties have only become complementary in the election. This was proven in 1977 even though all Islamic parties united to form a new forum called the United Development Party with the symbol of the ka'bah, Islamic parties still lost in the Indonesian election contestation.

The loss of public trust in Islamic parties is caused by one of them is that many Islamic political party leaders / administrators deviate in carrying out the party’s mandate. it is not uncommon for many Islamic political party administrators to be exposed to corruption cases and even indicated to commit criminal acts, this certainly eliminates public trust in Islamic parties in Indonesia. the news about the negative management of Islamic political parties will certainly make a change in perception and a crisis of confidence in Islamic political parties, this condition also makes people stay away from Islamic political parties and switch to nationalist parties (Amin, 2022).

The emergence of the slogan Islam Yes, Islamic Party No is Nur Holis Majid’s paradigm of thinking so that Islamic party administrators do not sink into the old pattern of "sacralizing" profane institutions such as: Islamic parties, Islamic ideology, and the idea of an Islamic State. According to Nur Holis Majid, there is no absolute thing except Allah, do not make issues other than worship as sacred, such as the issue of Islamic state, Islamic party and Islamic ideology in political parties, Because in fact the Qur’an does not command its people to form political parties and take care of matters in politics, therefore the emergence of the slogan "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" is a slogan to remind that people to return to Islamic values not to institutional values even though they wear Islamic colors and patterns,

Therefore, the value of Islam as a religion and Islam as a political party must be differentiated. The value of Islam as a religion is a human approach to bring himself closer to the creator and make humans safe in this world and in the hereafter, while the value of Islam as a political party does not exist in the teachings of Islam, the political patterns that are run in the name of Islam are not actually Islamic teachings. Islam does not teach political parties but people are free to imitate the political style of the prophet's companions and previous Islamic royal dynasties, so that Islamic political parties are not the qhiroh of Islamic values but are replicas or recycling of the political style of leadership of previous Islamic figures. So that cak Nur invites people to return to the correct initial hittoh, namely religion correctly and carry out religious values in politics but do not bring religious values as a basis for luring people to gain large votes, because in fact political parties are not part of religious values but religious values can be included in running political parties.
CONCLUSION

Nur Holis majid's conception of "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" is able to answer the development of current political parties even though it was coined in the 1970s, the slogan "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" to remind that Islam is not a political party but the value of Islamic teachings can be adopted in running political parties, nur holis majid's slogan arises because of the development of Islamic parties where the acquisition is small inversely proportional to the number of adherents of Islam which has a lot of quality, public skepticism towards Islamic parties and the dichotomy of Islamic parties into several parties, making Islamic parties divided and one of the factors of not winning Islamic parties in election contestation in Indonesia, even though Islamic parties united to form a new forum still did not make Islamic parties the winners of political contestation in Indonesia, this is because Islamic political parties are not in line with the spirit and breath of the values of Islamic teachings that make people remain skeptical of Islamic political parties. In the current era, of course, with the rise of Islamic political party administrators who have become suspects in various cases, people's thoughts are increasingly skeptical of Islamic parties and people will judge national parties better than Islamic parties. Nur Holis Majid's thinking about the slogan "Islam yes Islamic party No" invites all elements to return to the teachings of Islamic values and incorporate the value of Islamic teachings in politics, this is certainly an alternative solution so that people can foster trust in Islamic political parties and raise Islamic parties to gain the trust of the public and win the election contestation in Indonesia.

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