

GARBI IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (NEW DIRECTION MOVEMENT OF INDONESIA), PROSPEROUS JUSTICE PARTY (PKS) CONFLICT STUDIES IN THE ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURAL STRAIN PARADIGMS

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze how the formation of GARBI and the elements that became the movement of GARBI. This study uses the theory of social movements with the paradigm of structural strain. GARBI or New Direction Movement of Indonesia is a movement born of the internal dynamics of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The emergence of GARBI became an interesting phenomenon studied because it was formed from the PKS Tarbiyah movement which had militant cadres, was solid and loyal. PKS is one of the largest Islamic da'wah parties in Indonesia. PKS itself is a party that is very clever in resolving internal party problems. Rarely do internal problems spread to external parties because PKS has an organized and neat management structure. When there are internal problems, PKS tends to resolve it through the Syuro Council. However, this is what later became the question of why the PKS was so solid that it became fragmented into two groups.

From the results of the study, it was found that internal conflicts within the PKS gave rise to two major factions namely the Justice Faction and the Prosperous Faction. These two factions contradict each other. The Justice Faction tends to be ideological and much supported by a social basis which has conservative and militant characteristics, but is less flexible in expanding party penetration. While the Prosperous Faction tends to be more progressive and opportunistic. The culmination of the two factions conflict was that before the 2009 elections, the Prosperous Faction announced that PKS was an "*Open Party*" which could accept all segments to join PKS including providing access for non-Muslim legislative candidates to run for office (catch-all party). This then got strong resistance from the militant and conservative Justice faction or the Harakah Groups. For them, membership and nomination of non-Muslim candidates cannot be trafficked, because this is not in accordance with the party's principle that holds tightly to Islamic principles. The conflict finally made the Prosperous Faction or the Hizb faction represented by Anis Matta and Fahri Hamzah marginalized from the PKS. From this conflict, Fahri Hamzah and Anis Matta gathered new powers by inviting Prosperous Faction cadres who were expelled from PKS to create a new movement called GARBI.

GARBI then became a movement that focused on realizing Indonesia's ideals, namely "*creating Indonesian civilization*" by applying pillars or elements: Islam, Nationalism, Democracy and Welfare. The four elements become a driving force for GARBI to become one of the strongest countries in the world as the goal of GARBI is to make Indonesia the "Top 5 Strongest" country in the world alongside America, China, Russia and the European Union.

Keywords: PKS, GARBI, Conflict, Factions, Civilization

INTRODUCTION

The initial history of the formation of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) originated from the Tarbiyah movement. The Tarbiyah movement itself was originally a missionary movement that emerged in the early 1980s in the New Order era. This movement became an alternative to Islam at the time when the New Order rulers were repressing the activities of Political Islam. Political Islam is the choice (majority) of Muslims who are active in the political sector by bringing religious aspirations (Qodir, 2013).

The Tarbiyah movement was inspired by the Ikhwanul Muslimin Movement in the Middle East. In 1998, the Indonesian Ikhwanul Muslimin movement was driven by Hilmi Aminudin along with fellow alumni from the Middle East, Yusuf Supendi and Salim Segaf Al-Jufri and succeeded in making one of the contestants who enlivened Indonesia's democratic party in 1999 by using directly to help the Party (PK). However, because in the 1999 general election, PK did not meet the minimum vote, until the PK was transformed into PKS in 2004 (Hamayotsu, 2018).

In the midst of political turmoil in the early 2000s, PKS became one of the young parties that emerged with the basis of Islam as its foundation. Since its first appearance in Indonesia, PKS has become one of the Islamic parties that has been successful in gaining more votes from emerging parties such as the Crescent Star Party, the National Awakening Party and the United Development Party. This is a PKS moderate strategy that is able to carry out a universal political ideology that likes the ideological foundation that comes from Islamic values. In addition, PKS cadres always have high integrity principles and values because they are educated from the campus environment and tarbiyah education both on campus and off campus (Waluyo, 2005).

The appearance of the PKS in the Indonesian political arena, is noted to be able to color democracy and attract the attention of its voters, this can be seen from the PKS track record that took part in the election. At the beginning of its appearance in the 1999 election, PKS which was still called PK collected votes with a total of 1,436,565 or about 1.4% of the votes. In 2004, PKS was able to get a significant vote of 8,325,020 or around 7.34% of the vote, then in 2009 the votes obtained by PKS tended to stagnate, namely only 8,206,955 or around 7.88% of the vote (Waluyo, 2005). Although there was a slight increase in the percentage of votes due to a decrease in the number of legitimate votes, this was also due to internal problems that occurred within the PKS at that time.

RESULT

The Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia emerged as a response to the New Order regime's oppression of Muslims. This ghiroh spirit originated from the Salman ITB Mosque, where small groups began (Usrah) to foster the spirit and value of Islam for young intellectuals on campus. Public spaces such as prayer rooms and campus mosques are considered as the right place and conducive to spreading fighting spirit in preaching among students. This place is also a forum for meeting Islamic nursery ideas that are ideal for students. Campus mosques are also considered as the stronghold of rabbani generation students who become the driving factor of their movements. It was from this small group or the Salman Mosque of ITB who then began to bloom other usrah groups in campus mosques such as UI, IPB, UGM and other campuses.

Jamaah Tarbiyah, as one of the Islamic movements born in the New Order era, this movement has transformed in a more powerful and structured virtual form. The beginning of the establishment of the Congregation Tarbiyah began when Hilmi Aminudin began to bring understanding of IM to Indonesia. Together with Middle Eastern alumni colleagues such as Yusuf Supendi and Salim Segaf Al-Jufri, Hilmi began to invite the younger generation, especially students, to form the "liqo" recitation, Arabic language training, murojaah, and other activities aimed at forming true Muslim character (Muwashofat). Slowly but surely the movement of the Tarbiyah Jamaah began to develop in the campus environment, moreover the understanding of Jamaah Tarbiyah began to enter on campuses with more orderly and structured. The Indonesian Muslim Student Action Unit (KAMMI) and the Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK) are indicated as the wing of the Jamaah Tarbiyah movement (Muhtadi, 2012). With the support of these wings, the Jamaat Tarbiyah movement began to develop and spread throughout the campuses in Indonesia. In 1998, the Jamaat Tarbiyah represented by KAMMI contributed to the collapse of the New Order regime.

After the collapse of the New Order regime, this became a breath of fresh air for the Jamaat Tarbiyah to begin flapping its wings to a wider arena and later the movement was transformed into the "PK" Justice Party in 1999. However, because of the 1999 Justice Party election does not reach the vote threshold, in accordance with the provisions of the election, the party must change its name. In 2004 PK replaced the nomenclature as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Surprisingly, PKS gained a significant vote compared

to the election in 1999. If its initial appearance in the 1999 election, PKS, which was still called PK, only collected votes with 1,436,565 or around 1.4% of the votes, in 2004, PKS was able to obtain votes significant at 8,325,020 or around 7.34% of the vote. In the 2009 elections the votes obtained by PKS tended to stagnate, namely only 8,206,955 or around 7.88% of the vote (Waluyo, 2005).

The success of the PKS in the 2004 election was not followed in the next election. In 2009, PKS vote acquisition had a tendency to stagnant curves. This stagnation occurs because of the dynamics and conflicts in the party's internal body (Muhtadi, 2012).

The stagnation of votes in the 2009 election was due to the emergence of two camps in the PKS internal body. The dichotomy of the two conflicting camps is at the root of the rift in the PKS structure. The two camps in question are "the Harakah camp" which tends to be ideologically idealistic and pragmatic-realistic "Hizb Fortress". The idealist-ideological camp is supported by a social base which has conservative and militant characteristics, but is less flexible in expanding party penetration. While the other faction, the pragmatic-realistic "Hizb" (party) was represented by Anis Matta, Fahri Hamzah, Mahfudz Siddiq, Andi Rahmat and supported by the Chairman of the Syuro Council Hilmi Aminuddin (Muhtadi, 2012).

The spread of internal conflicts within the PKS body between the two factions made the scent of competition within the PKS increasingly tapering. This then affected the emergence of unhealthy contestation between the two factions. The feud began with Kubu Hizb supported by the Prosperous Faction stately stated that PKS was committed to being an electoral "*Open Party*" in order to meet the maximum vote target in the 2009 elections. This was done so that PKS not only received votes from a fanatical religious social base, educated and city born of the Islamic movement but also to reach out to the voices of the secular, non-Muslim and rural voters. Meanwhile, the Justice faction supported by the Harakah faction opposed this. In the PKS regulation, this is clearly not in accordance with the party's regulation. Moreover, the Prosperous Faction plans to provide support to non-Muslim candidates when joining the PKS, this point then becomes counter productive among the two factions. On the one hand, efforts to make the PKS an open party as a strategy to expand vote support from all circles, on the other hand this openness is also not in accordance with the party's "Khitah". Of course the issue of non-Muslims being candidates from PKS is very sensitive for some cadres who are orthodox and trigger resistance from cadre harakah (Muhtadi, 2012).

The existence of internal conflicts in the face of the party is a common thing. It is not easy to combine different types of fish in the same hole and container. Likewise with PKS, the different ways of looking at party movements, then raises friction in PKS. So this is what caused the emergence of GARBI seeds which later became popular in coloring PKS political paintings.

GARBI or what is known as the New Indonesia Movement, is a new body that was born because there was no more harmony between the internal parties. GARBI initiated by Fahri Hamzah and Anis Matta has lately been linked to internal conflicts between the Prosperous Faction represented by Anis Matta, Fahri Hamzah and other opportunistic progressive cadres with the Justice Faction supported by Untung Wahono, Mutammimul Ula and conservative and militant cadres.

STRUCTURAL STRAIN PARADIGM

The structural tension paradigm is a paradigm that places structural tension, where certain levels of tension are more than individual experiences. In this context, tension is understood as a condition that exists objectively and also describes a tense situation between conflicting social actors (Rusmanto, 2017). The first generation of social movement theory is rooted in the tradition of functionalism and focuses on structural and psychological causes of mass mobilization (McAdam, 1982). These classical models presuppose a linear causal relationship in which structural tensions produce psychological discomfort, which in turn results in collective action.

If there is an existing tension objectively, what is needed to explain how and when these actors come together, to form a movement? In various forms, structural tension models are designed to explain how tensions are responded to and communicated. Robert Ted Gurr, is one of the theorists who formulates a model of movement analysis at the structural level, in his work, "Why Men Rebel?" (1970), explains that the basic concept of Gurr is deprivation. Deprivation triggers resistance or resistance. Resistance occurs when people feel that something they value and is more useful for them is taken away. This feeling of being deprived is called Gurr, "relative deprivation". Relative deprivation means a perception of the gap between the expected value (value expectation) and the capability to achieve value (capabilities) that are needed.

According to Gurr, value is an event, goods and conditions desired by humans to have. While the value of expectations are things and living conditions that people believe they are legitimate owners. While the value

of capabilities is objects and conditions that they think are capable of obtaining or maintaining them, agreed upon social assets are available to them (Gurr, 1970). Various tensions, such as industrialization, modernization, or economic crises, disrupt social life and general routines. Thus raises a degree of normative and social ambiguity about how to respond to changing conditions. Theories about mass society, states that the erosion of intermediary groups that integrate individuals into society and politics results in a growing sense of anomy, despair and social anxiety. Feelings of alienation and inability to deal with various social changes are believed to encourage individuals to carry out social movements (Wictorowicz, 2018).

The existence of the GARBI phenomenon when examined in structural tension theory has similarities and relevance, namely the existence of something that is taken away from an individual or group by another group. This deprived thing then becomes a form of loss for individuals or groups who are disappointed. Disappointment comes when what the group wants to achieve cannot be fulfilled by the group. Initial disappointment was only allowed and then began to accumulate in a more tangible behavior or form, namely individuals or actors will make resistance to groups that take something that is very valuable to him (Tribowo, 2006).

The tension between the two factions in the PKS grew stronger when a bribery quota of beef import quotas emerged which required several PKS cadres from the wealth faction to also have a big contribution as one of the factors in GARBI's emergence. The quota bribery case for beef imports carried out by Lutfi Hasan Ishaq, which also involved Ahmad Fathonah, was then revealed to the public on January 29, 2013 through the capture operations carried out by the KPK. With this incident, Lutfi Hasan Ishaq, who was then asked as the President of the Prosperous Justice Party from the Welfare Faction, then adopted being caught in a legal case. This case makes internal conditions fragile and strengthens the structure within the party. The condition of the two factions which had from the outset had a different view in seeing the direction of the party was increasingly accelerated by a scandal over bribery cases from the top of the party leadership.

From the bribery case for beef import quota which was also carried out by PKS leaders from the Welfare Faction, in the end the cadres from the Welfare Faction were increasingly marginalized. Many opinions arose because of events, this embarrassing event did not need to be carried out by the da'wah party officials who had been planning intensively to eradicate the corruption eradication agenda. With this slogan, PKS is also the party that most agrees and mandates the interests of the ummah. However, Luthfi Hasan Ishaq made the public's eyes more open and the community became another party to argue that political parties demand an intense PKS to echo the corruption eradication agenda. The bribery case of important cattle quotas does not only involve Luthfi Hasan ishaq, but also involves the son of Hilmi Aminuddin, who is also a PKS party cadre from the Welfare Faction, who is increasingly marginalized and enters the faction of the Welfare faction.

After the scandal in the bribery case for beef import quotas, PKS became focused by increasing factionalisation. Moreover, the dominance of the Welfare Faction was very strong due to the highest position of the party structure filled by cadres from the Welfare Faction. Starting from Hilmi Aminuddin, Lutfi Hasan Ishaq and Anis Matta were PKS officials who had occupied the highest position of the party namely the Chairperson of the Syuro Council and the President of the PKS. In PKS, the position of Chair of the Syuro Assembly is very vital. The decisions and policies of the Chair of the Syuro Assembly cannot be contested when they have been determined. Especially after the case that happened to Lutfi Hasan Ishaq, since his status as party president was removed, in the internal body of the PKS there was an unstable condition. The bribe of imported meat quota that happened to Lutfi Hasan Ishaq, in the end made the Hizb faction of the Welfare faction increasingly marginalized, because this became a moment of revival for the Justice Faction which had long wanted to return the khitah party to its establishment. Even so, after the resignation of Lutfi Hasan Ishaq as party president, there was also a conflict within the PKS. The justice faction had promoted the name Hidayat Nur Wahid or Muzammil Yusuf as candidates for the party president, although in the end Anis Matta was chosen because the opinion emerged that he was closer to Hilmi Aminuddin who was the Chair of the Syuro Council of the Welfare Faction.

In the end, according to Webster (2000), the conditions that make marginalized groups give birth to social movement responses to changes in political opportunities after authoritarian regimes that tend to expand their political space to channel interests and demands to political actors and expand development public discourse regarding these demands. Similar to GARBI, the demands that cannot be accommodated by the PKS internally, eventually expand the political space that is owned by seeking or forming new containers that are able to accommodate their aspirations and demands. GARBI in the perspective of structural tension can be seen as a phenomenon of accumulated disappointment and mounting tension, when individuals or groups feel something very valuable from them is taken away, there will be two possibilities, first those who feel disappointed choose to be apathetic, shut up and stay away. People like this are categorized as

individuals or groups who feel subordinated and alienated so they do not have the strength and space to do resistance. Secondly, the group that felt disappointed, was contra, at this point the group would fight which Gurr called resistance. This group will gather strength from individuals who have the same experience with him and struggle to take what must be his. Thus the paradigm of structural tension tends to encourage individuals to take more concrete actions to fight for something valuable from them. Actions are carried out regularly and organized as a strategy to achieve their goals. When strategy and strength have been gathered together, this will trigger a new movement to emerge.

These movements are thus seen as escape mechanisms through which individuals regain a feeling of unity and empowerment (Turner & Killian, 1957). Although there are various variants and theories of early social movements, all have the same understanding of social movements as mechanisms for dealing with pathological discomfort caused by structural tensions.

McAdam in (Wictorowicz, 2018) sees social movements emphasizing what is called a "micro-mobilization mechanism". In this concept, McAdam looks at how movement leaders forge and maintain relationships with prospective members. This study of mobilization at least contains two main recruitment theories, which rely on different assumptions about the various motives that encourage collective action. One branch of this mobilization study is to emphasize the "rational actor" of human behavior which states that movements attract new members by offering individual interests. These movements do this by providing "selective incentives", various material, psychological, and / or emotional benefits that depend on participation. These incentives for GARBI cadres can be material or non-material. Material incentives, for example, benefits that can be measured by numbers, while non-material incentives are benefits obtained by the emergence of a sense of security and comfort when joining GARBI.

Non-material benefits are a very important incentive for GARBI cadres. GARBI cadres who benefit from this feel more protected and protected because in the past GARBI cadres who were part of the PKS frictional felt alienated and marginalized. From this point of view, access to these benefits motivates prospective participants to join a group or movement and these benefits explain their continual involvement from time to time.

The second study, that movement mobilization also occurs because individuals who want to join a group or movement are to express commitments, values, and beliefs that are deeply believed and thus often motivated by more than interests - narrow self-interest and desire for profit. Therefore, movement leaders are able to mobilize individuals into politics by announcing a "call for struggle" or normative reasons for collective action as a motivational frame of movement. Thus, a movement might encourage participation in response to a moral duty or obligation, whether driven by "moral surprise" or by the values and beliefs that are deeply believed, regardless of costs and benefits that might affect those involved.

GARBI MOVEMENT PILLARS

To drive GARBI movement certainly requires strong values in order to create the continuity and existence of GARBI today and tomorrow. These values are formulated in the form of pillars or elements as delivered by Fahri Hamzah in the GARBI Oration in Bangka Belitung last December 2018. These elements are at least divided into 4 (four) elements, including the following:

a. Islam

As a movement formed from the da'wah party embryo, GARBI does not necessarily eliminate Islamic principles even though GARBI itself is the result of the formation of the Prosperous Faction which carries the concept of an open party. It is precisely in its movement that GARBI places Islam as the top pillar to achieve the khittah of this movement. Moreover, Islam has a standard of noble values which is a blessing for the whole universe (*rahmatan lil 'alamin*), so the choice to make Islam as the main pillar is a must. Islam and GARBI cannot be separated from each other. Meanwhile, as stated in "nubuwat" it was said that Islam would rise from the East, for the founders of GARBI, Islam could have risen from Indonesia since Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world. Therefore GARBI leaders want to start the movement by placing Islam as its main foundation. As stated by GARBI figures that:

"Islam is a religion that is a blessing for the universe (rahmatan lil 'alamin", in nubuwat it is explained that Islam will rise from the East. These characteristics are found in the Indonesian state, thus Indonesia may be the one who will evoke values Islam to the corners of the world"(interview January 15, 2019).

The results of the interview were reinforced by a hadith delivered by the Prophet Muhammad who said that Islam would rise from the East. The hadist had also been explained by one of the Palestinian Shaykhs while

visiting the Jogokariyan Mosque when he had a discussion with Ustadh Salim A. Fillah. According to Shaykh Dr. Abu Bakr Al 'Awidah, Deputy Chairperson of Palestinian Ulam Rabithah quoted in the Islam Pos online portal, that:

"Indeed, Allah chose to endeavor this Islamic religion for what He chose among His servants. He fulfilled to fulfill the conditions, then He glorified them with that religion and glory. Indeed, among the great nations that accept Islam, your nation is a bit short, brown-skinned, and has a snub-nosed nose and has never been appointed by Allah to lead this penzhahiran of his religion".

Syaikh Abu Bakr then continued his explanation by quoting the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, which reads:

"Rasulullah SAW once said that the bearers of the last glory of the age will come from the East with their black flags."

From the hadith excerpts and the explanation of Syaikh Abu Bakr above then reinforces the notion that Islam might rise from the East, which is none other than the Indonesian people as long as Indonesian Muslims must fulfill the conditions mentioned earlier. This then became one of the driving factors for GARBI to create world civilization, namely by bringing the concept of Islam rahmatan lil amin alamin that is able to protect the world.

Islam is a blessing for the universe, therefore Islam must be a enlightenment for the universe according to Muslims. One of the problems of modernization in the Islamic world is a clash of cultures that has not been fully completed (Matta, 2014). A thick religious base in one society cannot be uprooted by modernization. The state cannot resolve this cultural clash with a structural approach. In terms of relations between Islam and the state, from the experience of many countries, tensions that arise instead lead to battles that harm both parties (lose battle).

Religion, in this case Islam, gives an orientation based on the fundamental value of "peace and safety". The individual does not need to feel alienated and deprived of the root of his existence because there is a religion that will give him direction. At the community level, religion is a catalyst for progress and not a hindrance, because of the universal values of the obligation to study, collaborate and seek prosperity.

Consensus and more constructive relations between religion and state made the meaning of Indonesianness more alive. Indonesianness is not opposed to Islam, nor is Islam to be contested with modernity. Modernity is the result and at the same time triggers the development of knowledge which is a tool to produce prosperity. A prosperous life is the goal and aspiration of an independent Indonesia. The experience of Indonesian history proves and the phenomenon of the third wave is getting stronger and these three things are productive elements for the advancement of the new direction of Indonesia in the future.

b. Nationalism

Besides Islam, another pillar that became the foundation of the ian GARBI movement was nationalism. If Islam occupies the top position in the GARBI movement motorbike, then nationalism occupies the second position in this matter. Nationalism is something that is absolutely owned by humans if they want to create a nation's civilization. Thousands of islands stretching from Sabang to Merauke should foster a high sense of patriotism towards the homeland or the spread of various tribes and religions should be integrated values that Indonesia is not formed by adherents of just one religion, but more than that. Indonesia is a reflection of the diversity of the face of the world. When welcoming Indonesia's independence, the figures who were members of committees in preparing Indonesia's independence were not only those with Islamic backgrounds, but there were other Chinese figures who took part in preparing for Indonesia's independence, one of which was Liem Koen Hian who since 1929 developed a vision that Indonesia became the land for Chinese descendants. With his vision, Liem later founded the Indonesian Chinese Party which supported the Indonesian independence movement.

The above, shows that a sense of nationalism has been imprinted in a Liem person and this aspect is important for an individual when he becomes part of a country. From the historical events above, we can also learn that "the Indonesian people" not only came from residents who were biologically born from generation to generation in this land. The Indonesian people are those who recognize that Indonesia is their homeland (Matta, 2014). We were born as a nation when declaring the Youth Oath. It's not easy to choose one name to unite many ethnic groups. Indonesia is an agreement born of a big soul, born of a sense of solidarity, a result of a long historical process.

Besides the value of solidarity, mutual cooperation emerged as an expression of solidarity. At a more

physical level, this solidarity and mutual cooperation becomes patriotism, namely the spirit of sacrifice for the common goal, namely an independent Indonesia.

c. Democracy

In a democratic system, the existing political power must obtain the real legitimacy of the people as the highest holder of sovereignty. This legitimacy then generates trust from the people to political institutions. The important question here is how this legitimacy is built. In other words, we must have mutually agreed reasons about why we accept and implement this democratic system.

Usually, the reason for accepting democracy rests on normative reasons. These normative reasons are important arguments for us to adopt democratic values such as equality, equality of rights, freedom of opinion and freedom of association. Of course these democratic values have become a necessity. However, the acceptance of new democratic values is a necessary condition, not enough conditions, so that political institutions gain legitimacy gain full legitimacy from constituents. Acceptance of democratic values is a necessary condition because we can see it as an initial agreement to accept a democratic system. Accepting the value of democracy is the responsibility of all citizens so that we have the same base as the initial capital. Although in reality the acceptance of democratic values varies in degree, it is more of a demand to citizens of political institutions. "Do you want democracy to work? Accept these democratic values. "But that is not enough. In order for the legitimacy of democracy to be intact, we must look at the opposite side, namely the demands of citizens for institutions.

If the demands of citizens are normative, namely in the form of acceptance and application of democratic values, the demands of citizens for political institutions are more practical, democracy must be able to produce what is desired and good for its constituents. "Democracy must work! Democracy must deliver! "Not enough to accept democracy only with normative reasons, democracy needs practical legitimacy.

Practical legitimacy in this democracy can be achieved if politics is run with two main principles: the principle of benefit and the principle of capability (Matta, 2014). The benefit principle means that the value of a political policy is not solely judged by its normative foundation but rather from its effects, both direct and indirect impacts on the life of the nation and state. This focus on benefits requires that we take into account the reality that is the context for a political and government policy. This does not mean that idealism is subject to reality. On the contrary, so that we believe in achieving idealism, we need to know carefully what part of the reality that hinders and encourages the realization of an idealism. Thus we can take appropriate action, erode barriers and support the drivers of our idealism. The attitude that is subject to the principle of benefit is an adult nature that is not only satisfied with having idealism but also working hard to realize that idealism.

d. Welfare

The New Order came as the antithesis of the Old Order after passing a bloody transition period. By promoting "*economy as commander*", the New Order suppressed political freedom in the name of stability. The state emerged as the main economic actor which was later undermined by the practices of collusion and cronyism of its actors.

Apart from the actor's side, in terms of economic concepts and paradigms there was no debate that could surface. The New Order's economic development was fully oriented and fully supported by Western capitalism. Many New Order technocrats were alumni of America to be dubbed the "Berkeley Mafia". Foreign debt and technical assistance from bilateral relations and multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank, are the mainstay of Indonesia's development. International institutions also provide support and praise, for example in the field of food and family planning.

In various places, resistance to the movement of the New Order emerged. But its nature is still local and is related to rice pots and not systematic resistance. Some land cases and peasant conflicts, such as the Rancamaya case, Kedungunmbo, Nipah, or the tragedy of the murder of Marsinah labor activists, are a spark of resistance but still subdued by the solidity of the New Order regime based on military power.

Corruption is an inevitable consequence of a system that lacks checks and balances from the public. Corruption in the New Order era appeared in all its forms: nepotism, collusion and manipulation. Public services which are the basic rights of citizens to be paid merchandise. So is the implementation of state projects. This cancer of corruption will be carried over until we pass the post-reform period.

The four pillars above are the foundation of the GARBI movement. In the description of GARBI, these pillars can only be achieved if the community is integrated with each other. The main characteristic of the third

wave community or society in the future is connectedness. The phenomenon of the third wave is networking phenomena, both cultural, social, political networks to economic networks. The most important implication of increasing this connectivity is the increasing ease of ideas, information and resources to spread. Of course this applies equally well to positive and negative dissemination. The effect of increasing speed and variation in spread is increasing fluctuations in various joints of life. Something came quickly, but it also quickly disappeared. In this increasingly volatile third wave world, a special mindset is needed so that we do not crash but can actually ride this wave of history.

CONCLUSION

From the results of the study, it was found that there were at least a few points which were the researchers' conclusions, including the following:

1. GARBI is a form of virtual transformation from the Tarbiyah Prosperous Justice Party movement. GARBI or the New Indonesia Direction Movement was born out of the complicated and long process of PKS internal political dynamics. There are two major factions in the PKS. The Harakah camp is part of the Justice faction and the Hizb faction is part of the Prosperous Faction. The existence of conflicting concepts in looking at the direction of the party then made the PKS internal contestation increasingly tapering. The Justice faction or the Harakah faction which did not agree with the concept of the Prosperous Faction or the Hizb faction which carried the ideology that the PKS was the Open Party then opposed the concept. This is indeed a dilemma for PKS. On the one hand, PKS is a party born from the womb of Tarbiyah and is very strong in holding Islamic values as its foundation, on the other hand PKS also experiences turmoil because the votes obtained in the majority election are obtained only from the voices of militant cadres, urban Muslims and critical middle class, making it difficult for PKS to reach rural voters, secular and non-Muslim nationalists. Therefore the Prosperous faction seeks to bring the party in a stronger direction in terms of reaching the voter segment outside the base of PKS militant cadres, one of which is by carrying out the PKS concept as an "Open Party". However, this is what becomes counter-productive, because this is not in accordance with the principle of the party, moreover the Prosperous Faction which carries the concept of an open party also states that a non-Muslim can become a PKS legislative candidate. This condition certainly provoked the wrath of the Justice faction as the party's initiator. For PKS, the existence of non-Muslim legislative and non-Muslim candidates cannot be tolerated because this is not in line with the "Party Statement". So that these factors gave rise to the seeds of GARBI. Cadres from the Prosperous Faction who were marginalized by the PKS, then looked for a new forum to unite the felt and capable of accommodating their movement's aspirations. From the internal conflict, GARBI was formed on the ideas of Anis Matta and Fahri hamzah as representations of Kubu Hizb or the Prosperous Faction.

2. GARBI which is a movement and newly proclaimed nationally in 2019 also has elements that drive its movement. Although he had separated from PKS, it did not necessarily make GARBI abandon the values contained in Tarbiyah. It is precisely Islamic values derived from PKS, then complemented by values or other elements that are able to make GARBI a stronger and more universal movement. Elements of Islam that are equipped with elements of Nationalism, Democracy and Welfare are the real results of the conflict of cadres of the Hizb camp with the Harakah camp. With these elements, GARBI makes each of its members "Loaders" to create a more advanced Indonesian civilization. With this pillar, GARBI also made its purpose to make Indonesia as the "Top 5 Strongest" country in the world alongside America, Russia, China and the European Union.

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