

# **Emerging Democracy in Indonesia**

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# **Emerging Democracy in Indonesia**

**by**

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# Foreword

With the fall of Soeharto in May 1998, Indonesia entered the era of *Reformasi*. The authoritarian regime was terminated and replaced by a democratic process, as manifested in the 1999 election. Four years later, in 2004, Indonesia had a second democratic election, which was also conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner. With 24 political parties, more than 500,000 polling stations and 150 million eligible voters, the Indonesian election in 2004 was probably one of the largest single-day electoral events in human history. Indeed, it is significant that Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim country, has taken major steps towards the consolidation of democratic institutions and the notion of citizenry participation has begun to take root. Indonesia's new constitutional and electoral process and the effects that the elections may have on the future conduct of Indonesian politics and the neighboring states of ASEAN deserve careful study.

ISEAS held several seminars on various aspects of the Indonesian 2004 election. The behind-the-scene stage play and the twists and turns of the Indonesian elections were closely monitored. However, to make sense out of these developments required analysis by a team of experts who thoroughly understood the Indonesian political scene. At ISEAS, the Indonesia research team, comprising of Dr Aris Ananta, Dr Evi Nurvidya Arifin and Dr Leo Suryadinata, conducted a study on the 2004 election and examined Indonesia's continuous quest for democracy in the post-Soeharto Indonesia. The study compared the 1999 and the 2004 parliamentary elections at the national level, followed by an analysis of the elections at the provincial level. One of the major features of this book is the inclusion of both statistical information and analysis, which will help the reader better understand the political situation in the fourth most populous country in the world.

I would like to congratulate the authors for undertaking their project and publishing it at a time when Indonesian democratization is drawing world attention. A lot is at stake, both for Indonesia and the region, as that country struggles to make economic and social progress amidst the growing manifestation of the “people’s will”.

**K. Kesavapany**  
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# Preface

There is no doubt that the 2004 elections in Indonesia were both interesting and important. We at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) have followed the elections with great interest. On 6 August 2004, soon after the first round of the presidential elections, we held a seminar at ISEAS to present our preliminary findings. This book is partly based on that seminar.

We have been able to complete our work, thanks to the currently mushrooming availability of statistics on Indonesian politics in general and elections in particular.

First of all, the work of the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU, or General Elections Commission) in producing the data has been very instrumental to our work. Without their data and their willingness to share with the public, this book would never have been written. Second, many institutes have conducted polling surveys regularly and the data they gathered have strengthened our analysis on Indonesian politics and elections, otherwise most of our explanations would have been based on “educated guesses” and some anecdotal evidence. Our particular gratitude goes to the Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (LP3ES, or Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education & Information), IFES (International Foundation for Election Systems), Lembaga Survey Indonesia (LSI or Indonesian Survey Institute), and NDI (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs) for providing the public with survey results which have been used in this book.

We would also like to convey our deep appreciation to Mr Kesavapany, Director of ISEAS, for his constant encouragement and Mrs Triena Ong, Managing Editor of ISEAS, for her editorial assistance.

Of course, errors and shortcomings are the responsibility of the authors.

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# Glossary

DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of Representatives/Parliament)
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representatives Council)
DPRD 1	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah 1 (Provincial House of Representatives/Provincial Parliament)
Golkar	Golongan Karya (Functional Group), also known as Partai Golkar (Golkar Party)
Golput	Golongan Putih ("White Group")
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (Association of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals)
IFES	International Foundation for Election Systems
IPKI	Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia (League for the Upholding of Indonesian Independence)
KKN	Korupsi, Kolusi, Nepotisme (Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism)
Koalisi Kebangsaan	National Coalition
Koalisi Kerakyatan	People's Coalition
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Election Commission)
Krisna	Partai Kristen Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Christian National Party)
LP3ES	Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (Institute



	for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information)
LSI	Lembaga Survey Indonesia (Indonesian Survey Institute)
Masyumi	Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims)
Merdeka-Partai	Freedom Party
MK	Mahkamah Konstitusi (Constitutional Court)
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MURBA	Party of Masses
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama (Association of Islamic Scholars)
PAN	Partai Amnat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
PARKINDO	Partai Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Party)
Partai Katolik	Catholic Party
PARTINDO	Partai Indonesia (Indonesian Party)
PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang (Crescent Star Party)
PBR	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Reformed Star Party)
PBSD	Partai Buruh Sosial Demokrat (Social Democratic Labour Party)
PD	Partai Demokrat (Democrat Party)
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party)
PDI-P	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)
PDKB	Love the Nation Democratic Party
PDS	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Prosperous Peace Party)
Perti	Pergerakan Tarbiyah Islamiah (Islamic Educational Movement)
PK	Partai Keadilan (Justice Party)

PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)
PKD	Democratic Catholic Party
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PKPB	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa (Concern for the Nation Functional Party)
PKPI	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (Indonesian Justice and Unity Party)
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party)
PNBK	Partai Nasional Banteng Kemerdekaan (Freedom Bull National Party)
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party)
PNIM	PNI Marhaenisme (Marhaenism Indonesian National Party)
PPDI	Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Vanguard Party)
PPNU	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia (Indonesian Nahdlatul Community Party)
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
PSI	Partai Sarikat Indonesia (Indonesian Unity Party)
PSII	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Union Party)
Sekber Golkar	Sekretariat Bersama Golongan Karya (Joint Secretariat of the Functional Group)
Partai Pelopor	Pioneers' Party
Partai Patriot Pancasila	Pancasila Patriots' Party

# **Introduction**

## **The Road to Democracy**

Although Indonesia declared independence about sixty years ago, there have only been three free elections: the 1955 election under the parliamentary system, and the 1999 and 2004 elections under the presidential system. It has been a long journey towards democracy. The first experiment in democratic elections was in 1955 but was short-lived as it was interrupted by rebellions, the semi-authoritarian government of the Guided Democracy, and the eventual military takeover in 1966. Only after the overthrow of President Soeharto, following the economic crisis and 1998 civil unrest, did the second free election — in 1999 — take place. The third, in 2004, were unique and important as they were peacefully conducted and included the first direct presidential elections in the political history of Indonesia.

### **Prelude: Political Parties and Democratic Elections**

Indonesian political history can be divided into at least four periods: the Liberal or Constitutional Democracy Period (1949–58), the Guided Democracy Period (1959–65), the *Pancasila* Democracy Period (also known as New Order, 1966–21 May 1998) and the *Reformasi* Period (also known as the Post-Soeharto Period, May 1998–present). It was during the first period that there was a free election during which political parties played significant roles. Fifty-two parties contested in the first general election held in 1955,<sup>1</sup> ten years after Indonesia declared independence in 1945. Four parties, namely the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, or Indonesian Nationalist Party), Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi, or Consultative Council of Indonesian