

Waiting for a New Leader ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election: Reflection of Indonesian Political History

Muhamad Husein Maruapey^{1*}, Tora Akadira²

¹Universitas Djuanda Bogor, Indonesia

²Universitas Terbuka, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: maruapey.husein@gmail.com

Received: January 17 2022 Revised: March 27 2022; Accepted: April 5 2022

Abstract. *The article is a study of constructive thinking about the political rights of citizens of all ethnic groups in Indonesia to hold power. power in our beloved Republic. Through qualitative research methods with a descriptive analysis approach, positive responses from informants through structured and systematic interviews and supporting literature can explain the phenomenon under study. The results obtained through the research show that the government and related state institutions respond to the political rights of citizens to assume the position of President based on the mechanism of democratic principles and rules in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The constitution and ideals of the Proclamation of National Independence by looking at the figure of a candidate for leader without distinction of race, ethnicity, or culture.*

Keywords: *Leaders, Pancasila & the 1945 Constitution, Integrity, Unity*

Introduction

Reflection on the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia from a cultural perspective is an important aspect in evaluating the long journey of 76 years of the nation's independence from various aspects of life. The aspect that is in the spotlight of the reflection of the nation's independence is the manifestation of the mechanism of the national leadership recruitment pattern, which to this day seems to be politically discriminatory and has been institutionalized into a culture. It is said that, because of the problems faced by the nation's children today, representatives in the DPR/MPR are not able to represent race, ethnicity, religion,

and ethnicity scattered throughout Indonesia in ensuring the running of a Pancasila democracy based on the commitment of the nation since the founding of the state. It should be noted that, the pattern of recruitment of the national leadership/President is in the writer's spotlight, as a reflection of the 76 years of the nation's independence.

Despite the differences in our understanding of the meaning of power within the framework of the unitary state and its becoming a polemic among us, according to researchers, an equal understanding of the history of the formation of the state needs to be known to all citizens of the nation. At that time,

determining the basis of the state, who will become the leader of the state is a matter of discussion and commitment with the founding fathers of the nation. The central issue of the founding fathers' thought is that in a democracy, everyone has the same political rights regardless of race, ethnicity, and religion, as implied in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the text of the Proclamation read by Soekarno and Hatta on August 17, 1945.

The first stanza in the text of the proclamation states, "We, the Indonesian people, hereby declare the independence of Indonesia." This indicates that there is respect for the ethnic groups who at that time expressed their readiness to join the country, which was named "Indonesia". The leaders of the nation place great importance on unity and integrity, regardless of race, ethnicity, and religion. It is only natural that the first precepts of Pancasila, which initially contained the sentence "with the obligation to carry out Islamic law", with greatness of heart and soul based on unity and integrity, be abolished. The big problem during the 76 years of this independent country, the politicization and discrimination of the political rights of some citizens of the nation, was ironically carried out by some elites, even institutionalized it into a culture in decision-making institutions, for example, the DPR and MPR. In the third stanza, "Things concerning the transfer of power and others are carried out in the same exact manner." quoting what is implied in the third stanza of the proclamation text above, that legal and procedural certainty is desired at the second of independence will lead the country (Indonesia)? What is the basis of

the state and what form of government? The nation's leaders realize that the form of government and who will lead the country in the first place are very vital and will become a ticking time bomb if they are not discussed together.

In fact, the pattern of recruitment of presidential candidates is problematic and even discriminates against the political rights of the nation's citizens. What was felt during the presidential candidate market's 76 years of independence was centralized in certain ethnic groups and even institutionalized into a culture injustice made the former member of Komnas HAM from Papua, Natalius Pigae, make a very strong statement recently: "If the President and Vice President are from Java, then those outside the tribe are slaves or babu" (Suara.com, January 30, 2021). This statement should not be considered Natalius' dislike of the President and Vice President of the Javanese Tribe, but should be underlined that all ethnic groups from Sabang to Merauke have the same right to be elected as President and Vice President. Maarif et al. (2010) identity politics culture aims to build group awareness so that together they can fight for the rights that are taken away to realize power and justice. Wood, et al. (2001) said that organizational culture is a system of beliefs and values developed by the organization that guides the behavior of members of the organization itself. Tosi et al. (2001) said that organizational culture is a way of thinking, feeling, and reacting based on certain patterns that exist within the organization or those on the part of the organization. According to Robins (2001), organizational culture is a shared

perception held by members of the organization. According to Robins, the functions of organizational culture are to: a] create differences between organizations; b] provide the same feeling among organizational members; and c] increase mutual commitment compared to individual interests. A good example is that equitable and fair welfare can actually affect the behavior of each member. Max Weber, as in Raphael RM (2001), defines power as the process of influencing the behavior of others by forcing them to follow their will. Weber also argues that power must bring prosperity to the community and not bring domination and discrimination against political rights, which can lead to injustice for the people.

As can be seen in the Fishbone diagram below, the President of the Republic of Indonesia who has ruled since 1945 until now is as follows:

Figure 1: The President of the Republic of Indonesia from Time to Time



Source: Khaoru Ishikawa (1968)

The fishbone diagram above shows that since the country's independence on August 17, 1945, there have been seven changes in the power of state leaders for various reasons as shown in the diagram.

Six of these figures come from Javanese ethnicity, namely Soekarno, Suharto, Abdurahman Wahid, Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo. Meanwhile, Habibi is the only State Leader from Eastern Indonesia (Sulawesi) who has taken over for Suharto, who has resigned.

In order to be answered and focus on research, the researcher uses organizational culture theory (Pacenowsky and O'Donnell Trujillo, 2008). The organizational culture theory presented has three variables, including the following: 1. Variable "Reality": Members of the organization create and maintain feelings that are owned by two variables. The interpretation of symbols is important for organizational culture. 3. Variable Cultural diversity in the organization. Many studies on national leadership have been conducted, including by Bambang Wahyudi (2018), "National Leadership in a Strategic Environment". The results of the study indicate that a solution from the national leadership is needed that has strategic insight and has commitment and competence within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, Faisal Ismail (2004): Exemplary in the Context of National Leadership. The study's findings show that national leaders are striving for more than just power; they also have the capacity, integrity, and vision to manage a diverse nation. A. Subagyo (2017): National Leadership for the Millennial Generation in the Digital Age. The results of the study are a model of a leadership figure who masters millennial behavior and tends to master digitalization in the development of nation-building. SK Syarif (2005), Reformulation of National

Leadership in the Flow of Demands for Democratization of Local Communities, Research results show that there needs to be appreciation for the younger generation who are critical and management of national leadership that considers local wisdom. The results of the study are a model of a leadership figure who masters millennial behavior and tends to master digitalization in the development of nation-building. SK Syarif (2005) Reformulation of National Leadership in the Flow of Demands for Democratization of Local Communities, Research results show that there needs to be appreciation for the younger generation who are critical in the management of national leadership that considers local wisdom. The results of the study are a model of a leadership figure who masters millennial behavior and tends to master digitalization in the development of nation-building. SK Syarif (2005), Reformulation of National Leadership in the Flow of Demands for Democratization of Local Communities, Research results show that there needs to be appreciation for the younger generation who are critical and management of national leadership that considers local wisdom.

Method

The approach in this research is to use qualitative methods, namely "research methods by producing descriptive data in the form of written words from the behavior of respondents who are observed in depth." According to Bogdan and Taylor in Meleong (2000), using this approach makes it easier for researchers to reveal interactions between

researchers and respondents, so that they can interpret social phenomena that occur that are obtained through observation, interviews, and documentation. In order for this research to be directed, the researcher uses a purposive sampling technique, as stated by Sugiyono (2012). The purposive sampling technique is a method of determining the sample based on certain considerations, meaning that the informants who are the targets of the research are those who understand the problems being studied.

Result and Discussion

To ensure that this study is measurable, using the theory of organizational culture by Pacanowsky and O'Donnell (2008), the researcher tries to dig further by observing the individual and equal variables, complying with provisions without ignoring minority rights, with an approach to informants who have competence to answer research problems.

Creating & Maintaining a Feeling of Power Through Joyoboyo's Divination.

Discussing the leadership of the state cannot be separated from the ancient Javanese history of the prediction of Joyoboyo, which is widely interpreted as the provisions of Sang Hyang Widi Wase, the forerunner of the leadership of the State of Indonesia. The figure of Joyoboyo, who ruled around 1135–1159, was very wise and able to unite the kingdom of Kediri, and even his power covered Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and North Maluku (Ternate). The history of ancient Java, as written by Martini Fisher from Mackurie University (2016), says that many ethnic

Javanese believe in Joyoboyo's prediction as an absolute necessity. Whether the prediction is true or not, at the implementation level, it shows that No-to-no-go-ro is really beyond the limits of ordinary creatures. It doesn't mean that Joyoboyo's prediction must be our guide and role model as citizens who uphold togetherness, equality, and the values of democracy that are embraced. Responding to the prediction of the legendary Joyoboyo, it was even designed to perpetuate the power of certain ethnic groups. When interviewed, Dr. H. Wahab Tuanaya, M.Si, Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Pattimura University, Ambon, when asked, explained, "The independence of this country has not been for hundreds of years and the number of Presidents who lead the country has not been more than 10 people, but please note that in Indonesian constitutional history, Habibie, who came from Eastern Indonesia (Sulawesi), once led the country, even though it was only for a year." Likewise, with Yusuf Kala, who had held the position of Vice President for up to two terms. It's less relevant when Katong says that there is discrimination against the political rights of figures from other ethnic groups. Tuanaya went on to say that figures from other ethnic groups who want to compete in the national political arena must have their integrity and character known and popular throughout Indonesia. For example, Yusuf Kala's character needs to be questioned, and he is well known in the national political arena. However, there is no guarantee that he will be the number one person in this beloved republic, as evidenced in the 2009-2014 presidential election, where his vote fell in Eastern

Indonesia. Tuanaya does not deny the existence of identity politics during elections; sometimes it is even followed by money politics (Interviewed on March 1, 2022).

Related to the reformation that demands an equal distribution of justice for all citizens, including the distribution of power, Dr. Hadi Tuasikal, SH.MH (Lecturer of the Law Faculty of Muhammadiyah University of Sorong) explained that it is unlikely and impossible for a figure from outside Java to become President of this Republic. Even if elected, they must have integrity and moral skills, as well as the process of regeneration of national leadership in political parties. At the implementation level, there is no such thing as identity politics. A figure like Yusuf Kalla, who once led a large party and is already well-known in the national political arena, cannot do anything, and lost in the 2009 Presidential election (Interview on March 27, 2022).

From what was stated, it can be interpreted that democracy, according to Abraham Lincoln in Sugiyanto (2018), is "as a government of the people, by the people, and for the people". This implies that democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Jimly Assidique (2005), "explained that when power comes from the people, then in determining the direction and implementation of state life, it is also determined by the people."

What Abraham Lincoln and Jimly Assidique explained and the opinions of the two informants above actually determine that the leadership of the country comes from the people's desire to see a leader who is truly capable of prospering the people while acting fairly and wisely.

Leaders must not become political objects of a certain party's power, let alone determine that only Javanese ethnic candidates can be elected as candidates with the suffix "No-To-No-Go-Ro."

Interpretation of Symbols in Organizations As stated in the Meaning of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia

In the text of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia, the implied meaning is actually the basis for the DPR and MPR Institutions as well as the government to ensure that the process of nominating the national leadership must be a joint effort and commitment in determining the leadership of the state. It doesn't have to be ethnic Javanese who feel most worthy to lead the country. For all the people, DPR and MPR institutions, the government and all elements are committed to changing the pattern of recruitment of national leadership that is equal and just for the realization of unity and the benefit of the nation and state.

How to interpret the proclamation as an interpretation of a unifying symbol that has not been embodied equally and fairly, especially in relation to power? Today's problem is different when it comes to independence in 1945. The nation's founders, with high fighting spirits, only wanted to expel the invaders and declare independence throughout the world. There is no such thing as pursuing power to become head of state. Although the text of the proclamation implies that power must be discussed thoroughly and together. In fact, the founding fathers of the nation gave up on anyone who had the

ability, skill, and high integrity to fight for the rights of the people in the eyes of the colonizers. An agreement was reached by appointing Soekarno and Hatta to lead the nation through the General Assembly of BPUPKI. (Interview, March 21, 2022).

Dr. Bedy Iriawan M.Si, Former Dean of Fisipkom, Juanda University, Bogor, conveyed that interpreting the Proclamation as a symbol of unifying the nation has not yet been realized. According to him, today's institutionalized identity politics in a culture is very difficult to eradicate. Democracy is only a tool to perpetuate the power of certain groups and ethnicities, as well as castrate minority rights. (Interview, March 24, 2022).

In the opinion of researchers, the inspirational spirit through the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* gave true strength to the founders of the nation who came from various ethnicities, tribes, religions, and races, and were willing to sacrifice their body and soul and their respective egos to expel invaders from the archipelago regardless of what position they would hold after independence on August 17, 1945. In fact, identity politics is not institutionalized as a culture, let alone used as an arena to suppress the political rights of minorities in a democracy.

Specific examples that were felt by us from the Soekarno to Suharto eras, even Gusdur, Megawati, and Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, prioritized physical development in Java (Jawasentris) or recently, which has become a hot topic of discussion.

Diverse Culture and Action

The facts show that the period of state leadership from Soekarno to Jokowi was a democratic system that was institutionalized into a culture and politicized so that it ignored the political rights of other figures from various ethnicities, races, and religions in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In the 76 years of the country's independence, there have also been 7 changes in the leadership of the state. Almost all of the figures for heads of state come from Java. Even if the position of President has been held by Habibie, it is because of the Order of the 1945 Constitution before the Amendment, namely in Article 8, "If the President dies, stops, or is unable to carry out his obligations during his term of office, he is replaced by the vice president until his term expires." The chaotic political system and state security in May 1998 forced Suharto to step down and be replaced by Habibie. Thus, history proves that the state leadership (President of the Republic of Indonesia) until the 76th year of the Republic was established always came from Javanese ethnicity. This is "what makes our nation fail to become a developed country, and its steps are hampered" (Catur Nugroho, 2021). The question is, can the Republic of Indonesia only be ruled by ethnic Javanese? Could the President of the Republic of Indonesia come from another ethnic group besides Javanese?

Presented by Dr. Colonel Effendi M. SH.MH (Head of Babinkum TNI): that the possibility of a presidential candidate from another ethnic group must exist as long as the figures from the regional heads (bureaucrats), the military and the police,

and those from parties are able to develop an integrity zone system. One of the zones in question is the Public Service Zone, which is truly a superior program and has become an example for the development of public services in other areas. What is happening today is that regional figures are always busy with non-superior programs and personal interests rather than national interests. Effendi said that even if there is a good program, for example in Maluku with the "Tabaos Program," the Regent of Central Maluku, Abua Tuasikal. This program is only for Maluku and surrounding areas, because it has not been published. No matter how good the program is that is rolled out, when it is less well known, the flagship program is meaningless. In addition, the role of the local media in reporting the superior program is very important. Take, for example, the bureaucratic reform program that was conveyed by Jokowi at the beginning of leading Solo through bureaucratic reform. It was considered successful enough that he got a vehicle from the PDIP Party to become Governor in DKI and subsequently became President in 2014 (Interview on March 21, 2022).

Responding to the possibility of figures from ethnic groups other than Javanese being raised as presidential candidates, Yanhar Jamaludin (Rector of the Islamic University of North Sumatra) explained, "All figures have the same rights as presidential candidates as stipulated in Article 6 Paragraphs 1 and 2." to the government and the state regarding the distribution of state leadership justice for all parties. That the emotional bond between the Sultanate and the world has been very strong since the Dutch colonial era. This power can occur with the

presence of the archipelago's sultanate forum, where there is blue blood (New Social Power) from the sultanate. The figures of these blue-blooded lines have already taken the lead. So if they unite to provide significant strength, it is a social capital that can put pressure on the government and DPR/MPR institutions for the realization of a just and prosperous society (Interview, March 25, 2022).

From what the informant explained above, it can be concluded that the right to be nominated as a state leader is a human right and is regulated in the state constitution. Therefore, anyone should not deny this right as long as the person concerned has met the formal requirements and is able to provide all the strengths and advantages that exist in him for the benefit of the community, nation, and state.

Conclusion

The meaning of democracy as conveyed by Abraham Lincoln: government of the people, by the people, and for the people is the momentum to realize the political right of every citizen to be elected as a leader in the presidential election market. Indeed, the state regulates and ensures the procedure for electing the President (Head of State) that is fair to all citizens, regardless of race, ethnicity, and religion. The proposed candidate for state leader must have high integrity, uphold the values of Pancasila, be fair, wise, and be able to carry out his duties and functions as President while realizing the welfare of the people. In order to become a legal umbrella and a common guideline, it needs to be regulated and clarified in the 1945

Constitution, or at least the figures proposed by professionals, bureaucrats/TNI Polri/Politicians have high performance with superior programs that are known to be feasible. Meanwhile, election organizers, the public, and members of the legislature are required to work in accordance with their main duties and functions and not to engage in identity politics to discredit other figures coming forward in the stock exchange for candidates for state leaders.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to all those who helped in the writing of this publication.

References

- A, Subagyo (2017), National Leadership for Millennial Generation in the Digital Era, Journal of Caraka Prabu, Fisip-Unjani
- Asshiddiqie, J. (2005). Constitutional Law and the Pillars of Democracy. Jakarta: Constitution Press
- B, Wahyudi (2018), National Leadership in Strategic Environmental Development, Bogor, Pakuan University Journal.
- Bagir Manan, (1999), Presidential Institute, Center for Legal Studies, UII, Yogyakarta, Graha Media
- Catur Nugroho, (2021), The Figure of the President Always from the Javanese Tribe, Jakarta, Warta Ekonomi
- Denny,JA,(2021), The Fall of Suharto and the Transition to Indonesian Democracy, PT CeraH Budaya Indonesia
- Didik Triomarsidi, (2020), Because Gusdur stepped down from the presidential chair, Banjarmasin Post

- Dwi Bowo Raharjo,(2021) Touches the Javanese, PPKM Reports to Natalius Pigaie, Suara.Com, Jakarta
- Dwi Bowo Raharjo,(2021) Touches the Javanese, PPKM Reports to Natalius Pigaie, Suara.Com, Jakarta
- Gusti Garnis, et al,(2018), Fiber Term Jayabaya Literary Relations, History and Nationalism, Historia Journal Vol:6,ISSN 2337-4713
- Harin Al-Rasid, (1999), Filling the Position of President, Jakata, Main Library of Graffiti
- Indonesia Investment, (2021), Development of Indonesia under an Authoritarian Government, Research Report, Jakarta Composite
- Ishikawa, Kaoru (1968) Guide To Quality Control, Gemba No QC Shuho, Juse Press, Japan
- Ismail, F (2016), Exemplary in the Context of National Leadership, Unisia Journal, UII Jogjakarta.
- Law No. 23 of 2003 concerning the Election of President and Vice President
- Lexi Meleong,(2000) Qualitative Research Methodology, Bandung, PT Remaja Rosdakarya
- Maarif et al (2010), Identity Politics and the Future of Our Pluralism, Paramadina Waqf Foundation,
- Mahfud MD, (2000), Democracy and Constitution in Indonesia – Studies on Political Interaction and State Administration, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Purwadi, (2014), Reading Prabu Jayabaya's Magical Divination Message, Laras Media Prima, Yogyakarta
- Rafael, RM, (2001), Introduction to Political Sociology, Jakarta, Rineka Cipta
- Resti Vani, (2020), Theories That Provide the Basis for State Power, Trisakti University, Jakarta
- Robins, Stephen P (2001), Organizational Behavior, 8th Edition, Prentice Hall, Jakarta
- Rohmat Hidayat,(2020) Suharto's Fall of the End of the New Order Story, Detiknews
- SK. Syarif, (2005), Reformulation of National Leadership in the Flow of Demands for Democratization of Local Communities, Al-Mawarid Journal
- Sugiyono, (2012), Administrative Research Methods, Bandung, CV. Alfabeta
- Tosi, Rizzo, Carrol, in Munandar (2001) Organizational Culture Factors,
- Virdika Rizki, (2020), Trapping Gusdur, PT Numedia, Jakarta
- West, Richard & Linn H Turner, (2008) Introduction to Communication Theory, Theory and Applications, Salemba Humanika, Jakarta
- Widya Lestari, (2021) Jayabaya the King of Kediri Who is Famous for His Predictions, Kompas.Com
- Wood, Wallace, Zefanne, Schermerhom, Hunt & Oshborn (2001), Historical Foundation of Organizational Behavior, John Wiley & Sons
- Zulvan, (2018), Political Thought of Thomas Hobbes, Jhon Locke, and JJ Rousseau, Serambi Akademica, Syiah Kuala University, Aceh