

Understanding Indonesia's first direct Presidential elections 2004

By Mohammad Fajrul Falaakh

(Vice Dean GMU Law School; NLC Member)

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Highlights of presentation

- **Post-1999 political arrangement**
- **Important of Islam, military and remnant of previous regime**
- **Presidential candidates**
- **Challenges: electoral design & tight presidential elections; plurality outcome & minority government**

Some political contexts

- 220m pop. 150m voters.
- Voter distribution by regions (approx.): 60% in Java, 20% in eastern parts and 20% in western parts of Indonesia
- Only parties passed 5% electoral threshold eligible to nominate presidential candidate: 6 parties eligible but only 5 tickets are qualified
- Golkar has now met future requirement of 20% pop. support to nominate president

Result of 2004 Parliamentary elections

Parties	% Popular votes	% Parl. seats
Golkar- former ruling party	21.58	23.27
Incumbent PDI-P	18.53	19.82
Nation's Awakening Party	10.57	09.45
United Dev. Party	08.15	10.55
Democrat Party	07.45	10.36
Justice & Prosperity	07.34	08.18
Nat'l Mandate Party	06.44	09.45
PBB, PDS, etc	< 5%	< 3%

General features prior to Presidential elections 2004 (1)

- **Fragmented outcome of 2004 election similar to 1999: no party gained majority**
- **Civilian leaders with both Islamic and nationalist credentials: Amien Rais (P), Hamzah Haz (P), Hasyim Muzadi (VP), Salahuddin Wahid (VP), Jusuf Kalla (VP)**
- **Civilian leaders with less Islamic credentials: Megawati Soekarnoputri (P), Siswono Yudo (VP)**

General features (2)

- Retired army generals: Wiranto (P), SB Yudoyono (P), Agum Gumelar (VP); alleged past human rights abuses are directly presented to and be decided by voters
- From Java: all of the candidates except Hamzah Haz (P) and Jusuf Kalla (VP)
- Islam remains an important element in politics and it gains more nationalist credential (more de-confessional) and therefore less ideological. But, Islam power base is highly decentralised on figures

General features (3)

- **Former ruling party (Golkar) regains; the incumbent lost significant popular support by 15.23 %**
- **Military retains popular support, but requires Islamic and civilian credentials. It is also fragmented on persons-figures**
- **Each of presidential candidates needs to form coalition**

Presidential candidates

Parties	% Popular votes	P-VP Candidates
Golkar- former ruling party	21.58	Wiranto Solahuddin Wahid
Incumbent PDI-P	18.53	Megawati Soekarnoputri Hasyim Muzadi
United Dev. Party	08.15	Hamzah Haz Agum Gumelar
Democrat Party	07.45	SB Yudoyono M. Jusuf Kalla
National Mandate Party	06.44	M. Amien Rais Siswono Yudohusodo
PKB	10.57	Disqualified
PK-S	07.34	None

What candidates symbolize?

P-VP Candidates	Factors Symbolized
Solahuddin Waid Wiranto	Technocrat, Java, NU/PKB Military, past regime, Java, Golkar
Hasyim Muzadi Megawati Soekarno	Ulama-politician, Java, NU Gender, nationalist, PDI-P
M. Amien Rais Siswono Yudo	Intellectual-politician, Java, PAN Business, technocrat, nationalist
Jusuf Kalla SB Yudoyono	Business, non-Java, NU, Golkar Military, past regime, Java, DP
Hamzah Haz Agum Gumelar	Politician, non-Java, NU, PPP Military, past regime, Sundanese

Challenges (1) - Electoral design

- Fragmented outcome of 1999 elections shaped electoral design: Two Round FPTP (absolute majority required for 1st Round; plurality for 2nd Round)
- Presidential candidacy by party, needs coalition to win – VP candidacy was traded
- RI 1st direct election: 2Rounds – expensive. Alternative: Single Round with plurality? FPTP-PV?

Challenges (2) - Minority government?

- Very tight Presidential elections of 2004; very likely to result in plurality
- A possibility that a minority presidency, relative to party origins, will establish a cabinet (government) with limited coalition
- How can it stabilise itself immediately; how it can achieve political and economic goals in the short term: e.g. law enforcement (human rights implementation, combating corruption), 20% budget for education, job creation, direct election at regional levels, etc.?