

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2014 AND INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY

By Dr. Igor Dirgantara

Abstract:

Indonesian foreign politics are closely related to the issue of its national pride, position, and role in the international affairs. The fact that a peaceful election in Indonesia should be a major capital and stimulus to improve the active role in regional and global arena, as mandated by opening of the Constitution 1945 paragraph 4 to participate in creating a world order, as well as to resolve issues and security challenges. The question that a distinguish prof. Anis Bajrektarevic has recently asked in his luminary work "Europe of Sarajevo 100 years later", 'Was history ever on holiday?' – is nearly answered, at least this time in Indonesia – the 3rd largest democracy in the world.

Keywords :

Indonesia Presidential Elections 2014, Foreign Policy Performance, Security Challenges, Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa, Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla

The Indonesian Presidential general election has been underway on July 9th. There were 2 pairs of strong candidates for Presidential and Vice-Presidential position: Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa (Prabowo-Hatta) and Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla (Jokowi-JK). There will be numerous challenges for the elected pair, and one of the more important challenges will be regarding Indonesia's future foreign politics policy. This article will try to foresee the type of leadership of each couple and also their foreign politics performance.

The official results of legislative elections on 9 April 2014 General Election Commission put PDIP at the ranked first with 23,681,471 votes (18.95%), followed by Golkar: 18,432,312 (14.75%), Gerindra: 14,760,371 (11,81%), Democrats: 12,728,913 (10.19%), PKB: 11,298,957 (9.04%), PAN: 9,481,621 (7.59%), PKS: 8,480,204 (6.79%), Nasdem: 8,402,812 (6.72%), PPP: 8,157,488 (6.53%), Hanura: 6,579,498 (5.26%), PBB: 1,825,750 (1.46%), and PKPI: 1,143,094 (0.91%). The bottom two political parties, PBB and PKPI are declared did not pass the parliamentary threshold (3%) and did not get any seats quota in parliament. Since no single party had votes above 20% (the Presidential threshold to be able to carry a pair of candidates for president and vice president), the coalition of political parties is a must. In the presidential system in Indonesia, election of coalition partners is also directed by the vote or seats in parliament (at least 50 percent +1), which is then tied in a mutual political platform.

The legislative elections resulted in maneuvering the political elite to form a coalition at the presidential election May 9, 2014. Because the public orientation to the above figures of a political party is still a presidential election winning political formula, then the composition of the Presidential Candidate - Vice Presidential Candidate is very important to the victory of the candidate pair. Two strongest candidate pairs for this election are Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla. Prabowo-Hatta named their coalition as the Red White coalition carried by Gerindra, PAN, PPP, PKS, Golkar and PBB; and their total votes are 48.93%, or 292 seats in parliament. Jokowi-

Jusuf Kalla, through a coalition party of PDI-P, Nasdem, PKB, Hanura, and PKPI, have a total of 39.97% of the total votes in 2014 legislative elections, or 207 seats in the House.

After receiving the serial number of the National Election Commission, the duo Prabowo-Hatta (serial number : one), and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla (serial number : two), two sets of candidates on June 3 at Bidakara Hotel signed an integrity pact for the peaceful election in Indonesia later dated July 9, 2014. In the Peace Election Post-Declaration, each contestant campaigned to all corners of Indonesia to share their vision and mission to the community including national and global issues considered to be of importance and urgency. The question that a distinguish colleague and dear frined of mine, Prof. Anis Bajrektarevic has recently asked in his luminary work “Europe of Sarajevo 100 years later”, ‘*Was history ever on holiday?*’ – is nearly answered, at least this time in Indonesia – the 3rd largest democracy in the world.

Two variant of Leaders

Borrowing the term of Herbert Feith, there are two types of political leadership in Indonesia, "manager type" (administrator) and "unifying type" (solidarity maker). Leaders with the administrator type are those who have the technical ability to govern the state. This type is generally represented by educated leaders who master a particular field. While the leaders of the solidarity maker types are the ones who are able to approach the masses, influence them, as well as gain wider sympathy and support from community.

If viewed from the Presidential candidates, Prabowo and Jokowi, both are the solidarity maker types because of their capacities to make both of them not only popular among their supporters, but also have a relatively high electability in the public eye. The difference is that Prabowo, as a solidarity figure, has high performance characteristics, while Jokowi is more low performance. High performance of Prabowo is confident, assertive and bold, while the existing low performance of Jokowi lies in everyday simplicity.

Meanwhile, Vice Presidential Candidate of Hatta Rajasa and Jusuf Kalla, can both can be characterized as figures considered expert in managing government (administrator) for some experiences as bureaucrats and state officials. The difference is that Hatta Rajasa is more low profile, while Jusuf Kalla is high profile in his performance.

Both pairs have benefits and deficiencies of each. But the leader of solidarity maker type with high performance, Prabowo could further demonstrate his capabilities as a leader because he has better political communication, including attracting public support, while Jokowi looks weaker for political communication. The high profile image of the Presidency seems too strong to be on his shoulders. His "on leave" status as the governor also indicated that Jokowi is judged by many as not being confident in contestation to face Presidential Election 2014. Currently, he campaigns as a Presidential Candidate while the tasks of Jakarta Governor are undertaken by the deputy governor, Basuki Tjahya Purnama (Ahok). This means that, if Jokowi lost the battle for the number one seat in Indonesia later, he could take back his position as Jakarta Governor.

The candidate for Vice President has the low profile administrator type (Hatta Rajasa), seeming to be able to work together in government. This type is similar to the figure of the current Indonesian

Vice President, Boediono, who is experienced, courteous, and competent. Jusuf Kalla is also balanced and has plenty of experiences in the government bureaucracy. The difference is Hatta Rajassa is the General Chairman of the Party (PAN); moreover, Jusuf Kalla is the former coriander of the Golkar Party which also relies on the popularity as Jokowi. The problem is that Vice Presidential Candidate, Jusuf Kalla (72 years) is much older than Jokowi (52 years) as a candidate for president.

Foreign Politics Performance

During the campaign period before voting on July 9, 2014, the vision-mission of both pairs are presented to the public, ranging from economics, education, health, environment, food, energy, law enforcement, and fighting corruption. Issues of foreign politics are often a secondary priority compared to national issues but a peaceful election in Indonesia should be able to be a major stimulus to improve the country's active role in the regional and global arena, as mandated by the opening of Constitution 1945 paragraph 4 to participate in creating a world order.

Indonesian Foreign Politics Challenges

In the short and medium term, foreign politics still face two strategic issues. The first is traditional security challenges, such as separatism and border disputes. The separatist Action of Free Papua Movement (OPM), or the work Malaysians who do not appreciate status quo territory at Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu in West Kalimantan border needs to be addressed by the new Indonesian leader. The second is non-traditional strategic issues, such as transnational crime including terrorism, money laundering, climate change, human trafficking, drug trafficking, maritime security, illegal logging, and illegal mining.

In the context of maritime security, Indonesia needs to be a pioneer in ASEAN and bold against China on issues in South China Sea, especially if China enters the water territory of Natuna as part of its claim. Indonesian should enforce the Exclusive Economic Zone and freedom of navigation in accordance with norms of international laws. Therefore, modernizing Indonesia military is also a must.

Performance of Presidential Candidate - Vice Presidential Candidate

As has been described, Presidential Candidates Prabowo and Jokowi are solidarity maker type. The difference is the leadership style off Prabowo Subianto, displaying characteristics of high performance, while Jokowi is more low performance. Meanwhile, Vice Presidential Candidate of Hatta Rajasa and Jusuf Kalla can be characterized as figures considered expert in managing government (administrator), given their experiences as bureaucrats and state officials. However, Hatta Rajasa is more low profile at work, while Jusuf Kalla has high profile type.

At a glance, there are similarities if you look at the vision-mission of foreign relations between Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla. Both pairs equally utilize self-reliance principles of Indonesian people in facing the global challenges ahead. In the maritime sector, Prabowo-Hatta and Jusuf Kalla Jokowi Visions both want to build ports. Each of the Presidential candidate pairings want contract re-negotiation between the Indonesian Government with the foreign companies that

have been operating in Indonesia for quite some time, and who have a number of issues that are deemed harmful to the interest of the Indonesian people; for example, Freeport in Papua and Newmont in West Nusa Tenggara. National needs and interests are articulated through foreign politics of both pairs. Foreign politics from Prabowo-Hatta are more pronounced for protecting the nation, play an active role and confident in facing the global arena (Outward Looking). The hope of Indonesian nationals are more respected by other countries, inside or outside the regions. Prabowo-Hatta is considered to have the competence to anticipate issues and challenges of traditional security Prabowo-Hatta International slogans about 'Revival Indonesian' becoming Asian Tiger is a high performance leadership style in Indonesian foreign politics.

While for the duo of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla, concentration of Indonesia's foreign relations will be more focused inward. Visions-Missions of Jokowi-Kalla are more based on national interest and the desire to strengthen the identity of Indonesia as a maritime nation. The idea is to save Indonesia's marine wealth; that will be done by building the fish processing industries as well as improving transportation links for large ships at strategic locations. The idea for the Indonesian people to have a 'mental revolution' as a guide to the 'Wonderful Indonesia' is the slogan of the foreign politics implementation of a low-performance-high-profile.

Closing

Visions and missions from both pairs of Presidential Candidate - Vice Presidential Candidate actually complement each other and fill the two polugri major issues mentioned above. As head of state and head of government, the elected president will have to have a vital role and influence on the implementation direction of the foreign politics that strived for the prosperity of the Indonesian people, keep maintaining integrity of the Republic, as well as have a commitment to be part of an international collaboration in creating world peace. In 2015, Indonesia will face the ASEAN Community. Indonesia needs to show the attitude of 'do not come home' in agreements towards ASEAN economic society later. When viewed from its history, Indonesian foreign politics are closely related to the issue of its national pride, position, and role in the international world. The fact that a peaceful election in Indonesia should be a major capital and stimulus to improve the active role in regional and global arena, as mandated by opening of the Constitution 1945 paragraph 4 to participate in creating a world order, as well as to resolve issues and security challenges

About Author :

Igor Dirgantara is senior researcher and lecturer Lecturer at the Faculty of Social and Politics, University of Jayabaya, Indonesia.

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