
REVIEW OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Highlights of the Election Campaign

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AS AN ELECTION YEAR, the first quarter of 2014 was particularly dominated by all aspects of the parliamentary election, which took place on 9 April 2014. Much, if not all, of the activities of Indonesia's major political parties have been geared towards this particular date. Through their legislative candidates, political parties spent billions to win over popular votes in order secure seats in the parliament. Parties have also been engaging in various political maneuvering in preparation for July's presidential election. This review focuses on the campaign activities of six political parties in Indonesia.

Partai Golongan Karya

As the dominant party in the New Order, Partai Golongan Karya (hereafter abbreviated as Golkar) continues to be a force to be reckoned

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with in Indonesian politics. It was the ruling party from 1966 to 1998 under Suharto and briefly from 1998 to 1999 under B.J. Habibie. It has also been part of the ruling coalition in the 2004-2009 and 2009-2014 government.

According to its publicized statement, Golkar aims to uphold the ideals of the country's founding fathers by strengthening and defending Pancasila as the state ideology.¹ If it wins in this year's elections, the party has publicized several promises to be achieved from 2015 to 2025², which include: (1) annual economic growth of 8-9%; (2) Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of US\$ 10.000-12.000; (3) unemployment rate of 4-6%; (4) poverty rate of 5-8%; and (5) Human Development Index of 0.80.

Golkar reported its campaign fund to the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU) amounting to IDR 174 billion.³ It is the second largest campaign fund among 12 parties. Most of the campaign fund came from its legislative candidates, with the largest individual contribution reaching IDR 500 million.⁴

As one of the oldest and most established political parties in the Indonesia, Golkar's party machinery has been busy to build up electoral support among its constituency. Various party campaign rallies are held across the country. Besides form unveiling its ideal vision for Indonesia, Golkar has used New Order nostalgia in order to gain the sympathy of electorates on several campaign occasions. On one of its campaigns in Central Borneo, posters with pictures of Suharto suggesting the good old days of the New Order era were put up.⁵

Previously, party officials have maintained that celebrities will not be used for campaign rallies. Golkar Secretary-General Idrus Marham maintained that the party's campaign is an intelligent campaign that will provide political education for the people.⁶ Yet, popular music and entertainment have utilized to draw crowd. For example, Reggae music was the centerpiece of entertainment in a Golkar campaign rally at Cilegon,

1 "Visi dan Misi," in the official website of Partai Golkar, <http://partaigolkar.or.id/golkar/visi-dan-misi/>

2 "Visi Indonesia 2045: Negara Kesejahteraan," in the official website of Partai Golkar, <http://partaigolkar.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Visi-Indonesia-2045-Negara-Kesejahteraan.pdf>

3 Fauzul Muna and David Eka Issetiabudi. "Dari Kertas Suara Hingga Kicauan Dunia Maya." *Bisnis Indonesia*, 4 April 2014.

4 "Tambah Rp 99 M, Dana Kampanye Golkar Capai Rp 174 M," *Republika*, 2 March 2014

5 "Kampanye, Golkar Pajang Poster 'Piye Kabare, Enak Zamanku toh,'" *Kompas*, 25 March 2014

6 "Ical Hadiri Kampanye Golkar di Serang Siang Ini," *Tribun News Online*, 16 March 2014, <http://www.tribunnews.com/pemilu-2014/2014/03/16/ical-hadiri-kampanye-golkar-di-serang-siang-ini>

Banten.⁷ Unfortunately, it was reported that the same campaign rally ended with clashed among the crowd. Performances of traditional cultural groups were also held. At a Golkar campaign rally in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara, a parade known as Gendang Belek was conducted.⁸ It was a traditional *gamelan* music performance from Lombok. Unfortunately, the performance and subsequently, the rally had to be immediately halted due to heavy rain.

In the final days of the open campaign period, the party held massive campaign rallies in East Java as a last push to gain electoral support. One of them was held on March 27, 2014 at Malang.⁹ It was attended by its chairman and presumed presidential nominee Aburizal Bakrie. Speaking at the East Java Expo, he urged voters to use their voting right. He stated that a victory for Golkar would be a victory for Indonesia as the party is the ‘engine of development, prioritizing people’s ideas and aspirations.’¹⁰

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan

A historically prominent opposition party in Indonesia during the New Order, Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan (hereafter abbreviated as PDI-P) has been expected to acquire the top position this year’s parliamentary election, according to various surveys. In a survey conducted by Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia on 7-17 March 2014, PDI-P was projected to win around 20% of the popular vote and 33% when its presumed presidential nominee was mentioned.¹¹

A renowned nationalist party, PDI-P is strongly rooted in the state ideology of Pancasila. It aims to achieve the realization of ideals in August 17, 1945 Declaration of Independence and a society based on Pancasila under a democratic, just, and prosperous Indonesia.¹² Throughout its campaign, the party has often appealed to populist sentiments. On various occasions, its legislative candidates and party officials often promise “not

7 “Sempat Ricuh, Musik Reggae Golkar Hibur Ribuan Pemilih Pemula,” *Berita Cilegon*, 4 April 4 2014.

8 “Cultural parade at Golkar rally hit by heavy rain,” *The Jakarta Post*, 2 April 2014.

9 “Tiga Kampanye Akbar Partai Golkar Digelar di Jatim,” *Surya Online*, 21 March 2014, <http://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2014/03/21/tiga-kampanye-akbar-partai-golkar-digelar-di-jatim>

10 “Kampanye Terakhir di Jawa Timur, ARB: Ojo Golput...” *Liputan 6*, 6 April 2014, <http://m.liputan6.com/indonesia-baru/read/2032978/kampanye-terakhir-di-jawa-timur-arb-ojo-golput>

11 Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Press Release: CSIS National Survey March 2014,” available at <http://www.csis.or.id/post/press-release-csis-national-survey-march-2014>

12 “Visi dan Misi PDI Perjuangan,” in the website of DPC PDI Perjuangan Kabupaten Lamongan, <http://www.dpcpdi-perjuangan-lamongan.com/organisasi/visi-misi/visi-dan-misi-pdi-perjuangan.html>

to leave the people behind.” For example, during the open campaign at Riau Islands, a PDIP campaigner cited—although not specifying—policies by the party that supported what she called “little people” (“*wong cilik*”),¹³ which is evidence that “PDI-P does not betray the people.”

As regulations required by KPU, all parties participating in the election must report their respective campaign fund. Per the deadline of its reporting, PDI-P reported to KPU that the party’s campaign fund for this election season has reached IDR 90 billion.¹⁴ A relatively small campaign fund for a major political party, as it was not even among the top five largest funds in this year’s parliamentary election.

It was worth noting that PDI-P and its chairwoman, Megawati Sukarnoputri, were at the center of speculations concerning the nomination of Joko Widodo, popularly known as Jokowi. Speculations were swirling around whether or when Megawati would nominate the wildly popular Jakarta Governor. Jokowi topped various presidential surveys conducted nationally. The March CSIS National Survey found that if nominated, Jokowi could receive around 32% of the popular vote.¹⁵

It eventually culminated with Megawati giving her blessing for Jokowi as PDI-P’s presidential candidate on 14 March 2014. Widely known for his *blusukan* approach to campaign—in which he came to and discussed matters directly with the people, Jokowi begun not to rely too much in his campaign for the party using this approach after his official nomination.¹⁶ Instead, he mostly used the traditional party campaign rallies. Yet, he maintained his humble style and image that are evidently effective in charming the electorates, as shown in various PDI-P rallies. As a case in point, in a campaign rally in Malang, Jokowi specifically requested that he was to be driven in a Kijang, a more affordable model of Toyota car that is beloved to Indonesian middle-class families.¹⁷

In its campaign for this year’s election, PDI-P has also reached out to regions that are not its traditional strongholds. For example, Jokowi visited West Papua and Papua to meet party members there. He did so because “..the sun rises in the east, in Papua. That’s how important is Papua to

13 “PDI-P Janji Tak Berkhianat,” *Republika Online*, 22 March 2014, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/pemilu/berita-pemilu/14/03/22/n2ucho-pdip-janji-tak-berkhianat>

14 Muna and Issetiabudi. “Dari Kertas Suara Hingga Kicauan Dunia Maya.”

15 Centre for Strategic and International Studies, “Press Release: CSIS National Survey March 2014.”

16 “Resmi Jadi Capres, Jokowi Tak Lagi Blusukan,” *Detik News*, March 16, 2014, <http://news.detik.com/pemilu2014/read/2014/03/16/151645/2527192/1562/resmi-jadi-capres-kampanye-jokowi-tak-lagi-blusukan>

17 Liam Gammon, “Jokowi the Party Man,” *New Mandala*, 1 April 2014, available at <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/2014/04/01/jokowi-the-party-man/>

Indonesia.”¹⁸ PDI-P still maintained held major rallies in its traditional strongholds, though. It held massive rallies in Klaten and Sukoharjo, Central Java -traditional provincial stronghold of the party, where it has always won legislative elections since 1999- on 5 April. Megawati attended these two massive rallies to meet thousands of party supporters and urged them to closely monitor nearby polling stations in order to avoid election fraud.¹⁹

Partai Demokrat

Partai Demokrat is the dominant party in the current (incumbent) ruling coalition. It has been part of the ruling coalition under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono since 2004, although it emerged as the dominant party after it won the largest number of popular vote in 2009. However, the party is expected to lose this position after April’s legislative election due to several factors that drove down the party’s popularity.²⁰ CSIS National Survey on March projected that Partai Demokrat would receive only 5.8% of the vote in 2014, a large decrease from its 20.9% share in 2009.²¹

Unveiling its visionary ideal for the country, Partai Demokrat states that its purposes are “to fulfill the wish of the people in order to reach enlightenment in an independent, united, just, and prosperous nation and to uphold nationalist, humanist, and internationalist spirits in accordance to the one and only God in a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous world order.”²²

For this year’s legislative election, the campaign fund of Partai Demokrat reached around IDR 129 billion, as the party reported to KPU.²³ This placed the party in the ranks of one of the top spenders for this year’s elections. As with other parties, it held various campaign rallies across the

18 “Parties show force in campaign warp up,” *The Jakarta Post*, 6 April 2014.

19 *Ibid.*

20 The indecisiveness of President Yudhoyono and the involvement of top party members in various graft cases are among the factors cited in various reviews. See, for example, Neil Chatterjee, “Former ruling party treasurer guilty of graft in Indonesia,” *Reuters*, 20 April 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/04/20/uk-indonesia-corruption-idUKBRE83J08820120420>

21 Centre for Strategic and International Studies, “Press Release: CSIS National Survey March 2014.”

22 “Visi & Misi,” in the website of Partai Demokrat, <http://www.demokrat.or.id/visi-misi/>

23 Muna & Issetiabudi. “Dari Kertas Suara Hingga Kicauan Dunia Maya.”

country, for example with party banners, posters, and T-shirts.²⁴

The Democratic Party held a well-publicized convention to determine its candidate for July's presidential election. The party publicized 12 names that are to take part in its presidential convention on August 30, 2013.²⁵ 11 of them officially kickstarted their political campaign on September 15, 2013.²⁶ Several of the Democratic Party presidential convention participants are 1) former Indonesian Army chief Lieutenant General Pramono Edhie Wibowo, 2) Indonesian Ambassador to the United States Dino Pati Djalal, 3) Paramadina University Rector Anies Baswedan, 4) House of Representatives Speaker Marsuki Alie, 5) Chairman of the Regional Representatives Council Irman Gusman, 6) State-owned Enterprises Minister Dahlan Iskan, and others.

These diverse candidates bring diverse views and platforms for the party. For example, one of the convention participants Anies Baswedan pledged to promote equality and non-discrimination. "This nation should protect every single citizen, regardless of faith, race, or background," he said.²⁷ Another participant brought the issue of self-sufficiency in food production. Gita Wirjawan pledged the initiation and strengthening of land reform in order for Indonesia to achieve food self-sufficiency.²⁸

The winner of the party's presidential convention will be determined by independent surveys conducted by three polling institutes.²⁹ Former Religious Affairs Minister Maftuh Basyuni said, "...the power to determine the party's presidential candidate is held by the head of the party's Supreme Assembly."³⁰ The head of the Democratic Party's Supreme Assembly is President Yudhoyono, also the party's chairman.

It needs to be noted, however, that due to the Democratic Party's expected low showing in the legislative election, the way forward for the party's presidential convention is unclear. One of the party's presidential convention participants Marzuki Alie even said called for its cancellation due to the difficulty for the party to nominate a candidate from its low electoral support.³¹

24 "Foto SBY Diinjak-injak di Kampanye Demokrat," *Tempo Online*, 30 March 2014, <http://pemilu.tempo.com/read/news/2014/03/30/269566476/Foto-SBY-Diinjak-injak-di-Kampanye-Demokrat>

25 "Major blunder, problems for the Democratic Party convention," *The Jakarta Post*, 30 September 2013.

26 "Candidates start campaigning for the Democratic Party convention," *The Jakarta Post*, 16 September 2013.

27 *Ibid.*

28 "Visi Misi," the website of Gita Wirjawan, <http://www.gitawirjawan.com/visimisigw.php>

29 "Candidates start campaigning for the Democratic Party convention."

30 *Ibid.*

31 "Democrat party told to abandon its presidential election," *Antara News*, 10 April 2014, <http://www.antaranews.com/cn/news/93608/democrat-party-told-to-abandon-its-presidential-convention>

Partai Gerindra

Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (hereafter abbreviated as Gerindra) is one of the youngest major parties in the Indonesian political scene, founded only in February 6, 2008. Even though it claimed only 4.5% of the popular vote in the 2009 legislative election—in itself an achievement for such a young party at the time, the party is expected to achieve large gains in this year's legislative election. A survey projected Gerindra to gain 11.3% of the popular vote this year.³²

In its manifesto, Gerindra conveyed that its party goal is to “become a political party that can create social prosperity, social justice, and political order based on nationalist and religious values under the Republic of Indonesia.”³³ For 2014-2019, the party has conveyed a 6-point action program: (1) build an economy that is strong, sovereign, fair, and prosperous; (2) implement a social economic system; (3) develop food and energy sovereignty and secure water resources; (4) increase Indonesia's human resource development through education, health, social, cultural, and sports programs; (5) build infrastructure and preserve nature and the environment; and (6) build a government that is free of corruption, strong, resolute, and effective.³⁴

Gerindra has also nominated its frontman, a former Indonesian special forces commander Prabowo Subianto, as its presidential candidate for this year's presidential election. Based on its report to KPU, Gerindra's campaign fund amounted to IDR 306 billion for this year's legislative election.³⁵ It was the largest campaign fund among the 12 KPU-registered political parties.

Far from escaping from the penchant of Indonesian political parties to utilize entertainment performers to attract crowd support, Gerindra seemed to join the bandwagon. *Dangdut* singers took to the stage between speeches by legislative candidates in the party's campaign rallies.³⁶ One of its largest campaign rallies was held in Gelora Bung Karno, Senayan on 23 March 2014. Attended by thousands of party supporters, the highlight

32 Centre for Strategic and International Studies, “Press Release: CSIS National Survey March 2014.”

33 “Manifesto Perjuangan Partai Gerindra,” in the website of Partai Gerindra, 2014, <http://partaigerindra.or.id/manifesto-perjuangan-partai-gerindra>

34 Badan Komunikasi Partai Gerindra. “6 Program Aksi Partai Gerindra,” in the website of Partai Gerindra, <http://partaigerindra.or.id/6-program-aksi-partai-gerindra>

35 Muna & Issetiabudi. “Dari Kertas Suara Hingga Kicauan Dunia Maya.”

36 “Artis Dangdut Goyang Kampanye Partai Gerindra,” *Tribun News*, 23 March 2014, <http://www.tribunnews.com/images/editorial/view/1081161/kampanye-partai-gerindra-di-gelora-bung-karno#.U051fhy9FDQ>

of the rally was the speech by its presidential candidate.³⁷ Fully loaded with party rhetoric, Prabowo Subianto also wore his signature elaborate attributes in the rally such as red beret, horse steed, and *keris*. One of the “highlights” of the open campaign, which was the horse he steed during the rally, was reportedly worth around IDR 3 billion.³⁸

Partai Nasional Demokrat

Partai Nasional Demokrat (hereafter abbreviated as Nasdem) is also one of the youngest major political parties in Indonesia. Established on 26 July 2011, the party chairman is Surya Paloh, a media tycoon who owns the Media Indonesia daily newspaper and Metro TV news channel.

Acting as an ideal to strive towards and guide for policies, the goals of Nasdem is to “return the goal of the state based on the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution” by “supporting people’s awareness and power through Indonesia’s change and restoration.”³⁹ Towards this end, the party has publicized several pledges, including agricultural subsidies for farmers, Rp. 1 million direct cash transfers for poor households per month, infrastructure development, 10 million new jobs per year, 100.000 scholarships for high school students annually, and wage raise for civil servants. On the first day of the Nasdem’s open-campaign period, Surya Paloh has even promised that the party will disband itself if it does not fulfill these pledges when elected.⁴⁰

Nasdem reported a campaign fund of around IDR 140 billion to KPU, making it the third largest spender among the 12 political parties participating in this year’s election.⁴¹ The party also employs various spectacles to attract crowds. Usual entertainment tools such as *Dangdut* singers have been employed in order to attract crowds in various Nasdem campaign rallies across the country. Uniquely among the political parties,

37 “Pidato Prabowo, Puncak Kampanye Gerindra di Senayan,” *Tempo Online*, 23 March 2014, <http://pemilu.tempo.co/read/news/2014/03/23/269564594/Pidato-Prabowoi-Puncak-Kampanye-Gerindra-di-Senayan>

38 “Prabowo Tunggangi Kuda Scharga Rp 3 Miliar,” *Tribun News*, 24 March 2014, <http://www.tribunnews.com/pemilu-2014/2014/03/24/prabowo-tunggangi-kuda-scharga-rp3-miliar>

39 “Visi dan Misi,” in the website of Partai Nasional Demokrat, <http://www.partainasdem.org/partai/page/4>

40 “NasDem Pilih Bubar Andai Tak Bisa Realisasikan Janji,” *JPNN*, 17 March 2014, <http://www.jpnn.com/read/2014/03/17/222481/NasDem-Pilih-Bubar-Andai-Tak-Bisa-Realisasikan-Janji->

41 Muna & Issetiabudi. “Dari Kertas Suara Hingga Kicauan Dunia Maya.”

the party once organized a football match in Surabaya.⁴²

Not unique for Nasdem, however, were the warnings it received from the Elections Monitoring Committee (*Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum / Bawaslu*) due to alleged campaign violations. Bawaslu warned Nasdem against providing gifts for its party supporters.⁴³ It is worth noting that President Yudhoyono -by extension, Partai Demokrat- also received similar warnings due to his alleged use of state money in financing his party's campaigns.⁴⁴

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (hereafter abbreviated as PKS) is one of the prominent Islamic political parties in Indonesia. Although the party leadership does not promote the mandatory implementation of sharia law, the party is closely associated with religious teachings based on Islam. Most, if not all, of PKS campaigns are rooted in conservative religious interpretations.

As a case in point, the party vehemently support for the highly controversial anti-pornography bill, although actions of several PKS legislators seemed to contradict this.⁴⁵ Another example is the party's stance on corruption. Although its strong stance against corruption landed PKS a strong showing in 2004 legislative election, a string of corruption scandals involving prominent party members—including the current party chairman, Anis Matta—has done much to tarnish the image of PKS platform.⁴⁶

PKS has manifested that its goal is “to achieve a civil society that is just, prosperous, and dignified.”⁴⁷ Towards that goal, the party seeks to: (1) pioneer reforms to the political system, government and bureaucracy, judicial system, and the military to be committed to strengthening democracy; (2) address poverty, reduce unemployment, and improve

42 “Asyik, Bakal Ada ‘Perang Bintang’ Dalam Kampanye Nasdem,” *Republika*, 29 March 2014, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/14/03/29/n36226-asyik-bakal-ada-perang-bintang-dalam-kampanye-nasdem>

43 “Bagi-Bagi Hadiah, Kampanye Nasdem Disempit Bawaslu,” *Liputan 6*, 18 March 2014, <http://m.liputan6.com/indonesia-baru/read/2024727/bagi-bagi-hadiah-kampanye-partai-nasdem-disempit-bawaslu>

44 “SBY reported to Bawaslu for alleged campaign violation,” *The Jakarta Post*, 29 March 2014.

45 “PKS member trapped by anti-porn stance,” *The Jakarta Post*, 9 April 2011.

46 “Alleged cases of graft shaking up ostensibly clean PKS,” *The Jakarta Post*, 28 March 2011.

47 “Visi and Misi,” in the website of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, <http://www.pks.or.id/content/visi-dan-misi>

the prosperity of all elements of society through a strategy to equalize incomes, high value-added growth, and sustainable development; and (3) move towards just education by providing the maximum possible opportunities for all the Indonesian people.⁴⁸

The campaign fund of PKS was around IDR 50 billion, as it reported to KPU on 2 March 2014.⁴⁹ Various spectacles were hired to draw crowds. In a campaign rally attended by around 5,000 people in Pekanbaru, Riau, Indonesian band *Gigi* was invited to perform.⁵⁰ It is worth noting that in the same campaign, male and female attendees were segregated; further proof of the party's Islamist characteristics.

Concluding Notes

The parliamentary election has taken place on 9 April 2014. As we wait for the official count to finish, it will be very interesting to learn how the parties fare, especially if compare the results with the money and effort the parties have spent during the campaign period. Whether Indonesia's political parties have learned the ways of "effective campaigning" remains to be seen.

48 "Falsafah Dasar Perjuangan dan Platform Kebijakan Pembangunan PKS," in the website of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, <http://www.pks.or.id/content/falsafah-dasar-perjuangan-dan-platform-kebijakan-pembangunan-pks>

49 Muna & Issetiabudi. "Dari Kertas Suara Hingga Kicauan Dunia Maya."

50 "Kampanye PKS, Atraksi Genteng Dipecahkan di Kepala," *Tempo Online*, 30 March 2014, <http://pemilu.tempo.co/read/news/2014/03/31/269566718/Kampanye-PKS-Atraksi-Genteng-Dipecahkan-di-Kepala>