

Monthly Security Update

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Indonesia presidential election:

Star wars of oligarch and general

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Profile

The Center for National Security Studies (Puskamnas) Bhayangkara University of Jakarta (UBJ), is a strategic think tank which actively contribute to advice the government, academia, society, and media concerning national and international security policy. We conduct a research, training, advocacy, academic publication, conference, and other academic activities in regards with the issue of terrorism, security, conflict resolution, human rights, rule of law and democracy. Hereby, we release a security update to give an insight to public sphere. We have some researchers with widely multidisciplinary approach and academic background.

Problems and Political Challenges

On May 13, 2019, The General elections commission's information system of real count reports that in total vote recapitulation gains 79,4 % which contains that Jokowi and Amin obtains 56.30 % or 68.525.125 voters and Prabowo-Sandi 43.70 %, or 53.181.811 voters. Meanwhile, the Prabowo's team claims victory despite this count showing loss. Prabowo and his supporters penetrates to fight against the result of general election. Political tension is escalated in public sphere nowadays.

Amien Rais, a senior politician who supports Prabowo, declares to encourage 'people power' once Prabowo loss in the election. Whilst, Rizieq Shihab, a priest who influential figure from Islamic right wing, protests against the General Election Commission, to stop the real count. While online real count system is needed to monitor the electoral process. At the same time, the political party coalition supporting Prabowo (BPN) has reported KPU's real count system into the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu).

Of course, the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) has authority to adjudicate the problem of administrative violation against the Election Act. BPN claimed that the KPU's real count system is an administrative violation and make a restlessness in the middle of public sphere. Then, the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) conducts judicial hearing whilst surrounding the demonstration mass who supporting appellants to stop the KPU's online real count system. During the hearing, Bawaslu has invited the KPU, expert witnesses, appellants, and other parties who involved with the issue of online real count system.

On the other side, Jokowi and his team seems to be calmed. However, the Ministry of Coordinator of Politics, Security and Justice stipulates the assistance team of the Ministry which comprises some 'giants' of legal scholars such as Prof Muladi, Prof Romli Atmasasmita, Prof Moh Mahfud, Prof Indriyanto Seno Adji, etc. Accordance with the Ministries' Decree No 38 of 2019, the task of this team is to study and providing advice related to deviance act or potential activities which have violation of the law after the general election of 2019. Not only the 'giants' of legal scholars included in this team, but also some strategic government institution has joined here such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, National Police, General Attorney, etc.

Public has reacted on this team within two sides. On the one hand, hate speech on social media and slanders has escalated after the general election. Indonesia politics is facing the inflation of hoax, fake news, and racism. Yet, on the other hand, public tend to put this Ministries' decree under 'question,' why this assistance team is really demanded? Especially, after the general election when the people try to watch the quality of democracy with the principle of fairness and freedom. The political participation has increased during the Election of 2019, people participated in the election amount of 80,90 % which beyond the government target of 77,5 %. Nevertheless, despite the political participation has grown the freedom space has seemed to be limited.

The General Elections Commissions will announce the official real count on 22nd of May. Some possibilities may be happened from chaos to judicial and media battle. We analyse some potential riots from the losers, appealing through constitutional court, political manoeuvres, hate speech on social media, and so on and so forth.

Furthermore, any of the measures taken by Jokowi, especially approaching to the election, are qualified to be short-term goal such as the disclosure of the HTI. It is something without an impact to long-term goal because it is breeding underground extremism, which is harder to be detected.

At the same time, Golput is seen as a threat, not as allied that can strengthen the position of Jokowi especially in improving the position. Even, some organisations tend to criminalise golput, which then being counter by LBH. As Allan Nairn said the bigger the golput is the greater chance for Prabowo to win.

Activists in pro-democracy are many in Jokowi's presidency: Mugianto, Hilmar farid, Budiman Sudjatmiko, etc. It can be seen both side: good and bad. Good because it shows the president supports the democracy. Bad, if they did not make any 'voice' to any measures taken by Jokowi that can hamper democracy and human rights. It is likely the direction goes into the second one. It creates room for organisation such as FPI uses this opportunity to claiming supporting human rights and democracy and building the conception of 'Pemimpin yang Dzalim'.

Democracy will be much better in Jokowi's presidency according to Allan but if Jokowi does not careful to manage it, the opposition will take over and they see the current election is as that opportunity.

Election seems that people elect the president. Unfortunately, it is only choices provided by oligarchy (the proven: presidential trash holds 20%). Two candidates have mining business and supported by military generals. Military has so called 'Hak Guna Usaha' but just recently a deputy in government release a letter to not publish and share any info especially to NGO about HGU. This can create conflict because HGU is public information and obtaining info is actually guaranteed under Indonesia law. Finally, there is an intention of making the announcement of KPU, if wining the Jokowi, to be like the case in 1998 (kasus 98). It can be listen to what Probowo's supporter: Amin rais said as people power (kedaulatan rakyat). They believe it legal because none of activists in 98 is detained.

Prediction and analysis

BPN insisted that many cheating and scandals involved into the general election despite they claimed a victory. They encourage people to join with a mass demonstration fighting against the KPU's real count and celebrated Prabowo's victory. Political tension gets a large degree. Furthermore, they claimed that KPU's online real count system is violation of the law.

For sure, online real count is mentioned in accordance with Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general election. Hence, Article 536 does not only stipulate online real count, but also provide the legal ground of criminalization over activity which disturbing this electronic system. One hacks the online real count system, he or she can be punished within three years and fine 36 million rupiah. As we know, the legal ground of online real count system is adequate to be implemented and supported by the main Act of general election.

After regulating online real count system in national statutory, the online real count is also stipulated by the KPU's regulation, namely: KPU's Act No. 11 of 2017 concerning of voting and counting system in the general election. Hereby, we can see that the online real count system is strong enough legally which means that it is not violation of the law in regards with BPN's complaint.

However, the legal approach may not solve the demand of BPN's faction. They know that playing the game in legal field is quite difficult due to the lack of evidence and their legal reasoning to attack the final result of general election. Political propaganda and manoeuvres will be the only one option. Mass demonstration protesting in the front of KPU's office and other electoral bodies will be a favourite strategy of BPN and Islamic right wing to confront against the result of general election.

Nevertheless, the reaction of government seems to support status quo and incumbent. Through Ministries' Decree No. 38 of 2019, government tend to use repressive law rather than communicative action and procedural justice. The Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) released a statement which mentioning the government action looks like violation of the principle of 'rule of law.'

The government uses the Article of Coup d'etat to handle critical group. Non-voting behaviour would also be criminalized under anti-terrorist Act, ICT Law, and Criminal Code. These actions tend to opposite with the principle of democracy, good governance and rule of law.

This situation is almost the same in regards with thesis written by Thomas P Power. That Jokowi may turn to authoritarian and make his regime to generate Indonesia's democratic decline. Power revealed that Jokowi ahead of his 2019 re-election seemed to create the manipulation of powerful law enforcement, security institutions, and administration.

Last but not least, two candidates of president have military or ex-military support which must be delineated to analyse from security approach. Because military or ex-military group, of course, has strategic and influential position to create 'peace' or 'war.' Jokowi has supported by some ex-generals such as Try Soetrisno, Wiranto, Moeldoko, Luhut Panjaitan, Marsetyo, Hendropriyono, Lodewijk F. Paulus, etc. Whilst, Prabowo has also fostered by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Djoko Santoso, Tedjo Edhy, Moeklas Sidik, etc. Political military must be taking into account to analyse security approach hereby.



Recommendation

After describing a political picture above, we conclude with some resumes on security update below.

1. Government should conduct in line with democracy, rule of law and democracy after general election; To try looking impartiality among escalating political tensions;
2. Government needs to consider more long-term goal and uses legal mechanism to more proportionate and synergies that aiming to achieve the real goal of Indonesia desire as stated in preamble of constitution.
3. Independent pro-democracy needs to be exist and supported by giving room for discussion.
4. Not easily criminalised people and not making 'super legal' power over the current of law enforcement (the establishment of sort of legal advisory under polhukham to analyse whether something is hoax or not. So, what is the role of law enforcement?).
5. The society and/or community are not well aware of law, so people needs to be aware first so that they are not easily to be manipulated, instead of using legal procedure to criminalised people.

Source

Interviews with the General elections commission (KPU), Election Supervisory Body, and political-legal experts.

The Ministry of Coordinator of Politics, Justice and Security No. 38 of 2019 concerning the assistance team of the Ministry

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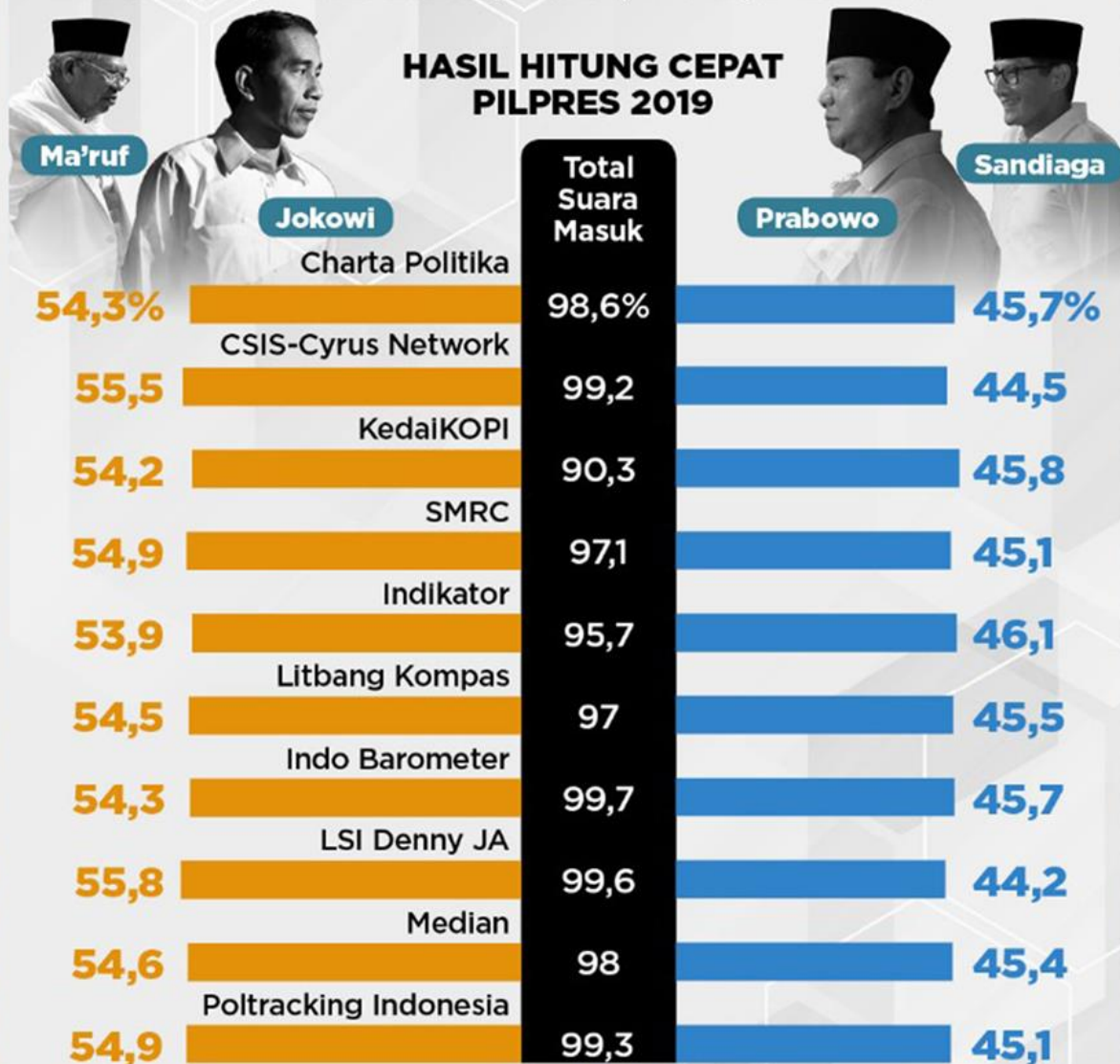
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HITUNG CEPAT DARI PEMILU KE PEMILU

Kubu calon presiden (Capres) Prabowo Subianto belum mau mengakui hasil hitung cepat (*quick count*) sejumlah lembaga yang mengunggulkan pasangan Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Padahal dari Pemilu sebelumnya, hasil hitung cepat tidak meleset jauh dari perhitungan akhir KPU.



PILPRES 2014



PERHITUNGAN KPU 2014

Total suara masuk : 133.574.277
 Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa : 46,9%
 Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla : 53,1%

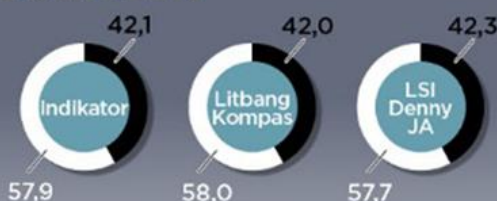
● Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa ● Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla

PILKADA DKI JAKARTA 2017

PERHITUNGAN KPU

Total suara masuk : 5.591.817 suara
 Basuki TP-Djarot : 42,1%
 Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno : 57,9%

● Basuki TP-Djarot ● Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno



PARA MANTAN JENDERAL DALAM PILPRES 2019

Militer dan Politik di Indonesia adalah sejarah yang saling memengaruhi. Secara faktual banyak Purnawirawan Jenderal yang kemudian berpolitik dalam pemilu dan pilpres. Dalam Pilpres 2019 membuktikan semua itu. Lalu, siapa yang akan memenangkannya?

PASANGAN JOKOWI- MA'RUF AMIN



**JENDERAL TNI (PURN)
TRY SOETRISNO**

- Dewan Pengarah tim kampanye sebagai anggota
- Panglima ABRI (1988-1993)



**JENDERAL TNI (PURN)
WIRANTO**

- Pelaksana Kampanye Tingkat Nasional
- Panglima ABRI (1988-1993)



**JENDERAL TNI (PURN)
MOELDOKO**

- Wakil Ketua Tim Kampanye Nasional
- Mantan Panglima TNI (2013-2015)



**LAKSAMANA TNI (PURN)
MARSETYO**

- Anggota Dewan Pengarah
- Kepala Staf Angkatan Laut (2012-2014)



**LETJEN TNI (PURN)
LODEWIJK F. PAULUS**

- Wakil Ketua Tim Kampanye Nasional
- Danjen Kopassus (2009)



**BRIGJEN (PURN)
HERWIN SUPARDJO**

- Wakil Direktur Tim Kampanye Nasional
- Asdep Koordinator Otonomi Khusus Kemenkopolkukam



**JENDERAL TNI (PURN)
SUSILO BAMBANG Y.**

- Koordinator Juru Kampanye Nasional
- Kepala Staf teritorial (Kaster) ABRI (1998-1999)



**JENDERAL TNI (PURN)
DJOKO SANTOSO**

- Ketua Badan Pemenangan
- Panglima TNI (2007 - 2010)



**LAKSAMANA TNI (PURN)
TEDJO EDHY P.**

- Wakil Ketua Dewan Penasehat
- KSAL (2008-2009)



**LETJEN TNI (PURN)
YUNUS YOSFIAH**

- Dewan Penasehat
- Kepala Staf Sosial Politik ABRI



**LAKSAMANA MADYA TNI (PURN)
MOEKHLAS SIDIK**

- Dewan Pengarah
- Wakil Kasal (2008-2010)



**MAYJEN TNI (PURN)
JUDI MAGIO YUSUF**

- Wakil Ketua Badan Pemenangan
- Asisten Pengamanan Kasad



**MAYJEN TNI (PURN)
ARIFIN SEMAN**

- Direktur Monitoring, Analisa dan Evaluasi
- Komandan Penerbad



**LETJEN (PURN)
YAYAT SUDRAJAT**

- Direktur Pengamanan dan Pengawasan
- Sesmenko Polhukam



**MAYJEN (PURN)
GLENNY KAIRUPAN**

- Direktur Teritorial dan Operasi
- Dosen Lemhanas Dan Direktur BAIS

PASANGAN PRABOWO- SANDIAGA



Jabatan Tim Sukses
 Jabatan Terakhir di Militer



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