

THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN GENERAL ELECTIONS OF
THE NEW ORDER ERA: 1971-1992
(ABSTRACT)

This thesis tried to describe and at the same time to study issues on political dynamics and general elections during the New Order era of 1971-1992. Based on such studies, the questions covering two points have been put forward as well as focused to find out the answers. Firstly, how should we explicate the political dynamics in Indonesia during the New Order era. Secondly, it tried to reveal what factors influencing the fluctuation of vote-getting by the Socio-Political Organizations contesting in General Elections during the New Order era.

From such topics, a political dynamics was construed as the dynamics of conflicts within the communities, that was transformed into political parties, mass organizations, or even inter-political parties as those appeared in 1950s and culminating onto the gory tragedy of 1965. Or, in other words, a political dynamics constituted the whole process of political life in order to improve the common decision-making quality as a nation. Meanwhile, a general election could be defined as the dynamics of people's participation in casting their votes for the general election contestants constituting the reflection of a people's sovereignty principle or vehicle for democracy in order to establish a state ruling system based on a people's sovereignty principle.

Based on above mentioned limitations, it was presumably evident that no country in the world which did not choose general election as an integral part of her political development programs. Likewise, there was no political rival power willing to take over control of a country which did not promise a general election. Thus, after proclaiming her independence on August 17, 1945, the government of Republic Indonesia stipulated that general elections constituted programs that should be implemented. Nevertheless, such a target has not been realized until 10 years later, precisely in 1955. The same target has also been set after coming the New Order into being in 1966. Through the TAP/MPRS No. XI/1966, among others, this regime stipulated that a general election should be held on the fifth of July 1968. But such a plan has not been implemented until three years later, namely on the fifth of July 1971. Since then, the general elections could be implemented periodically on the basis of direct, general, free and confidential principles, and recently have seemed to be more institutionalized in nature.

General elections held during recent time have rather been mass mobilization than the reflection of people's participation. Furthermore, their implementation have not been considered as democratic or held under less democratic circumstances, in view of the prevailing irregularities, unfair attitudes, suppression, terror, and intimidation, all of which being exerted to support the GOLKAR to win the election. Thus, in such a way, the general elections during recent time still annoyed the conscience of the people hoping for the establishment of democracy and people's sovereignty in accordance with the message of the 1945 Constitution.

For this reason, it was not surprising that the GOLKAR during these last five elections have become the absolute winner





or become the single majority. The victory of the GOLKAR was initially commenced at the favorable psychological conditions during the post-gory tragedy of 1965 era which played a significant role in determining the next political paths in Indonesia. Being favoured by the implementation of the REPELITA (the Guidelines for Five-Year Development Plan), the popularity and encouragement for President Soeharto, depolitization, political restructurization, civil bureaucracy and Armed Forces of Republic Indonesia close connections to the GOLKAR, a large amount of fund support for the GOLKAR, technocrat, professional group and intellectual class, Islamic leaders as well as State capital artists supports, then there appeared to be complete and comprehensive political power and victory to post the GOLKAR at the vantage point to win the political contest during the New Order era. Meanwhile, the PPP (Development United Party) vote-getting in the elections of 1977-1982, considered as being successful during the post-fusion period, among others relied on Islamic party identification, including the contestant symbol of Ka'bah and a single vehicle for Moslems, all of which could collect the traditional votes based on Islamic religion in Java and outside Java. Thus, the prevailing competition in the two elections was the PPP vis-a-vis the GOLKAR. Meanwhile, until the election of 1982, the PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party) has been trapped into the acute internal conflict in such a way that it could not reach the votes for more than 30 seats at the DPR (the House of Representatives or the Parliament). Nevertheless, since the 1987 and 1992 elections, the PDI seemingly found a new force by self-identifying as the grass-roots party and the youth party or *metal* party, could reach 32 seats at the DPR of Republic Indonesia. Thus, there was a shift in rivalry among the contestants, namely, not between the PPP and the GOLKAR, but between the PDI and the GOLKAR. The winner was the PDI. Why? Because during the 1992 election, the PDI could get 16 more seats at the DPR, while the GOLKAR lost 17 seats, and the PPP only got 1 more seat at the DPR.

During the five periods of general election of New Order era (1971-1992), although the government has been successful in establishing political structure, but it was considered as not being successful yet in developing democratic political product and culture as those stipulated by the 1945 Constitution. Thus, there appeared to be some critical evaluation and communities' demand for development of democratic political system, including reestablishment of political structure both at political supra and infra-structures, and the demand for some changes (including among others, reformulation of the Laws on political sectors), and all of them should be responded properly and proportionally. It was because the duties of the government and the state rulers to recognize and grasp prudently all types of changes occurring within the communities. Such changes and developments should be transformed into inputs, matters of consideration and studies for the formulation of public policies. Thus, the suggestion by President Soeharto that the political dynamics should not be tumultuous would be fulfilled, in view of the definition that the political dynamics was a process to improve the quality of common decision-making as a nation. This was the substance of the thesis entitled "The Political Dynamics of in General Elections of the New Order Era: 1971-1992."



DINAMIKA POLITIK DALAM PEMILIHAN UMUM ERA ORDE BARU: 1971-1992

(INTI SARI)

Tesis ini menggambarkan dan sekaligus mengkaji perihal dinamika politik dan pemilihan umum era Orde Baru 1971-1992. Berdasarkan kajian itu pertanyaan yang diajukan untuk sekaligus ingin dijawab meliputi dua hal. Pertama, bagaimana menjelaskan dinamika politik di Indonesia selama Orde Baru. Kedua, ingin melihat faktor-faktor apa yang mempengaruhi naik turunnya perolehan suara bagi Organisasi Sosial-Politik peserta Pemilihan Umum dalam pemilu-pemilu Orde Baru, 1971-1992.

Dari topik itu, dinamika politik diartikan sebagai dinamika konflik dalam masyarakat, yang terjelma dalam partai politik, Ormas atau bahkan antar partai politik seperti dekade 1950-an dan puncaknya tragedi berdarah tahun 1965. Dapat pula dikatakan bahwa dinamika politik merupakan keseluruhan proses kehidupan politik untuk mempertinggi mutu keputusan-keputusan bersama sebagai bangsa. Sementara Pemilihan umum dapat diartikan sebagai dinamika partisipasi rakyat dalam menentukan pilihan politik terhadap kontestan peserta pemilu sebagai cerminan atas asas kedaulatan rakyat atau sebagai sarana demokrasi guna membentuk sistem kekuasaan negara yang berkedaulatan rakyat.

Berdasarkan batasan di atas, kiranya dapat dipastikan bahwa tidak ada negara di dunia yang tidak menetapkan pemilihan umum sebagai bagian dari program pembangunan politiknya. Begitu pula tidak ada kekuatan politik tandingan yang ingin merebut kekuasaan suatu negara yang juga tidak menjanjikan suatu pemilu. Karena itu setelah Indonesia memproklamkan kemerdekaannya pada 17 Agustus 1945, pemerintah menetapkan bahwa pemilu merupakan program yang harus dilaksanakan. Namun keinginan itu baru terlaksana setelah 10 tahun kemudian, yakni pada tahun 1955. Keinginan yang sama juga berlangsung setelah kelahiran Orde Baru tahun 1966. Melalui TAP/MPRS No. XI /1966, antara lain memerintahkan agar pemilu dilaksanakan pada tanggal 5 Juli 1968. Tapi rencana tersebut baru terlaksana tiga tahun kemudian, pada tanggal 5 Juli 1971 sebagai pemilu pertama Orde Baru atau kedua pasca kemerdekaan. Semenjak itu secara periodik pemilu dapat diselenggarakan berdasarkan asas langsung, umum, bebas dan rahasia, dan kini terasa semakin melembaga.

Pemilu yang diselenggarakan selama ini sebenarnya lebih merupakan mobilisasi massa dan belum menunjukkan bentuk partisipasi rakyat. Bahkan masih dinilai belum demokratis atau masih diselenggarakan dalam suasana yang kurang demokratis, seperti muncul berbagai kecurangan dan ketidakadilan, tekanan, teror dan intimidasi yang semuanya ditujukan untuk membantu kemenangan Golkar. Dengan demikian, dapat dikatakan pula bahwa pemilu selama ini masih mengusik nurani yang mengharapkan tegaknya demokrasi dan kedaulatan rakyat yang sesuai dengan amanat Konstitusi 1945.

Karena itu, tidak mengherankan jika Golkar selama lima pemilu terakhir ini selalu menang mutlak atau menjadi mayoritas tunggal. Kemenangan Golkar itu pada mulanya diawali dari kondisi



psikologis pasca tragedi berdarah tahun 1965 yang ikut menentukan perkembangan politik Indonesia selanjutnya. Ditambah dengan pelaksanaan REPELITA (rencana Pembangunan lima tahun), popularitas dan dukungan terhadap presiden Soeharto, depolitisasi dan restrukturisasi politik, keterirakatan birokrasi sipil dan ABRI terhadap Golkar, dukungan dana yang sangat besar untuk Golkar, dukungan teknokrat, kelompok profesional dan cendekiawan serta alim-ulama dan artis-artis Ibukota, kesemuanya mengakibatkan lengkaplah kekuatan politik dan kemenangan Golkar selama pemilu-pemilu Orde Baru. Sementara perolehan suara PPP dalam pemilu 1977-1982 yang dinilai berhasil pasca fusi, antara lain terletak pada identifikasi partai Islam termasuk gambar Ka'bah dan wadah tunggal umat Islam, semua itu mampu menjaring suara tradisional yang tertumpu pada Islam di Jawa dan luar Jawa. Sehingga, pertarungan yang muncul dalam dua pemilu itu adalah antara PPP dan Golkar. Sementara PDI sampai pemilu 1982, masih terperosok dalam konflik internal yang akut sehingga tidak mampu meraih suara lebih dari 30 kursi di DPR. Tetapi semenjak pemilu 1987 dan 1992, PDI bagaikan menemukan kekuatan baru dengan mengidentifikasikan diri sebagai partainya wong cilik dan partainya anak muda alias parti metal, mampu meraih kemenangan 32 kursi di DPR-RI. Dengan demikian, pertarungan yang terjadi dalam dua pemilu 1987 dan 1992 sudah bergeser, yakni bukan lagi antara PPP dan Golkar, melainkan antara Golkar dan PDI. Pemenangnya adalah PDI. Mengapa? Karena dalam pemilu 1992 PDI mampu menambang 16 kursi di DPR, sementara Golkar turun 17 kursi dan PPP hanya naik 1 kursi di DPR.

Selama kurun waktu lima pemilu Orde Baru (1971-1992), meski pemerintah telah berhasil menata struktur politik, tetapi dinilai belum berhasil mengembangkan produk politik dan budaya politik yang demokratis seperti yang dicita-citakan oleh UUD 1945. Karena itu, munculnya berbagai penilaian kritis dan tuntutan masyarakat untuk mengembangkan sistem politik yang demokratis, termasuk penataan kembali struktur politik baik di tingkat supra maupun infra-struktur politik, dan tuntutan berbagai perubahan (termasuk penyempurnaan UU di bidang Politik) semua perlu ditanggapi secara wajar dan proporsional. Karena sudah menjadi tugas pemerintah dan para penyelenggara negara untuk mengenali dan menangkap secara cermat berbagai bentuk perubahan yang terjadi dalam masyarakat. Perubahan dan perkembangan itu akan menjadi masukan, pertimbangan dan bahan kajian bagi perumusan kebijaksanaan publik. Dengan demikian, akan terpenuhi anjuran Presiden Soeharto agar dinamika politik tidak menjadi hingar-bingar, mengingat dinamika politik adalah merupakan proses untuk mempertinggi mutu keputusan-keputusan bersama sebagai bangsa. Itulah substansi tesis berjudul *Dinamika Politik dalam Pemilihan Umum Era Orde Baru: 1971-1992*.

