POLITICAL UPDATE 2010

Dirk Tomsa, La Trobe University
Presentation Outline

- Change or Continuity in SBY’s Second Term?
- The Bank Century Scandal and Sri Mulyani
- The Joint Secretariat and Parliament-President Relations
- National Party Congresses
- The Passive President
- Concluding Remarks: Civil Society to the Rescue?
The Impetus for Change

- **President**
  - Often seen as indecisive and overly cautious
  - Nonetheless, unprecedented mandate in 2009

- **Parliament**
  - Neglect of core functions; poor legislation record
  - High turnover of DPR members after 2009

- **Parties**
  - Weakly institutionalized
  - Losses for Core Parties in 2009
The Bank Century Scandal

- The main players
- The charges
- The defence
- The outcome
- The consequences

Photo: Vivanews
Setting the Tone for 2010

- In many ways, the Bank Century scandal was exemplary of political dynamics in Indonesia throughout 2010
  - President’s failure to demonstrate leadership
  - Parliamentary paralysis
  - Lack of unity in coalition due to weak parties
The Dawn of a New Era?

- Establishment of joint secretariat in response to Bank Century scandal
- Aburizal Bakrie appointed chairman
- Quasi-PM?
Business as Usual in the DPR

- Joint secretariat hardly improved coalition unity
  - Dana aspirasi, Indonesia-Malaysia relations

- Consequence: parliament continues to neglect its core functions, especially legislation
Political Parties: Got the Message?

- 2009 results showed losses for all core parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDIP</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKS</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKB</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerindra</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanura</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Party Congresses in 2010

- Leadership succession on top of agenda

- Programmatic renewal absent
The New and Not so New Leaders
## Any Impact?

### Support for political parties in 2010 (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>April 2009</th>
<th>January 2010</th>
<th>April 2010</th>
<th>August 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDIP</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKB</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerindra</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanura</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: LSI
The President as Onlooker

- During most of the important developments in 2010 SBY watched passively from the palace.
- Enduring popularity indicates that most Indonesians don’t mind.
- But criticism increased in recent months and passiveness had at times had negative consequences.
SBY and the Bank Century Scandal

- Mulyani’s resignation setback for fight against graft
- SBY’s reluctance to defend her
- Attacks on Mulyani exposed SBY’s failure of judgement about rainbow cabinet
SBY and the Problem of Religious Intolerance

- High number of attacks on churches and Ahmadiyah
- Perpetrators rarely prosecuted
- Minister’s call for Ahmadiyah ban
- Danger of ministerial decrees
SBY and Papua

- Growing awareness that special autonomy has failed
- Financial vs. political autonomy
- Renewed protests and mass mobilization
- SBY’s hands-off approach
- Towards further escalation?
Explaining the Passive President

- Prevalence of political culture steeped in compromise and cooperation
- Successful first term
- Strategic positioning as benevolent father figure
- Benefits of electoral system

Photo: ABC.net.au
Concluding Remarks

- Continuity, not change marked Indonesian politics in 2010
- 2009 election results failed to generate reformist momentum amongst Jakarta elites
- But civil society groups have risen to the task and challenged president, parliament and parties over various policies
- Still, greater impact on elites necessary, otherwise prospects for coming years not bright