CHAPTER III

ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY

A. Islam

The term *Islam* derives from the three-letter Arabic root *s-l-m*, which generates words with interrelated meanings, including "surrender," "submission," "commitment" and "peace." Commonly, *Islam* refers to the monotheistic religion revealed to Muhammad ibn (son of) Abdullah between 610 and 632 of the common era. The name *Islam* was instituted by the *Qur'an*, the sacred scripture revealed to Muhammad. For believers, Islam is not a new religion. Rather, it represents the last reiteration of the primordial message of God's Oneness, a theme found in earlier monotheistic religious traditions.[50]

Though Islam can be described as a religion, it is viewed by its adherents in much broader terms. Beyond belief in specific doctrines and performance of important ritual acts, Islam is practiced as a complete and natural way of life, designed to bring God into the center of one's consciousness, and thus one's life. Essentially, by definition Islam is a worldview focused on belief in the One God and commitment to His commandments.

Muslims follow the teachings of the Qur'an and their last Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him), who was born in 570 AC in Makkah (Mecca) in Arabia. He came of a noble Arab family, the Quraysh, the descendants of

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[50] Hammudah Abdalati, *Islam in Focus,* New Delhi;Crescent Publishing Company, 1975, p. 31

Abraham through his fi rst son, Ishmael. He received the fi rst revelation at the age of forty. As soon as he started preaching Islam, he and his followers were persecuted and had faced severe hardships. He was therefore commanded by God to migrate to Madinah (Medinah), a city north of Makkah. During a short span of 23 years, he completed his prophethood and died at the age of 63. He was put to rest in the city of Madinah, leaving no wealth or property. Muslims believe that he led a perfect life and set an example for all human beings. His biography illustrates in real life, the meaning and implications of the Qur'anic teachings.[51]

Islam contains complete guidance for all aspects of human relationships, and for all nations and ages.[52] Unlike any other religion, which, because it was confined to one nation, and to a certain period only, lacks the principles to control the whole of life, Islam contains complete guidance for all aspects of human relationships, and for all nations and ages. Islam is a system of faith related to behavior which combines action, intention, and faith, and takes the totality of life of the complete man into consideration. Although it gives much emphasis to the spiritual aspect of man's existence, yet it never neglects the social, administrative and economic aspects of life. Thus, the Qur'an expresses the qualifications of the guides appointed to educate men, and describes the foundations of a perfect community as follows:

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[51] "Diversity of islam" www.omi.wa.gov. pdf . access 8 Februari 2010

[52] "My pipade" www.islam.gov. Access 8 Februari 2010

كما ار سلنا فيكم رسولا منكم يتلواعليكم ءايتنا ويزكيكم ويعلمكم الكتب
والحكمة ويعلمكم ما لم تكو نوا تعلمون

Thus, We appointed for you a Messenger from amongst you so that he will recite to you Our signs, purify you, and teach you the Book, wisdom and teach you what you know not.[53]

Islam is the way of love, knowledge and action, therefore, as expressed in the verses quoted above, man needs signs. Every event in the universe and human life is a sign, on which man is to contemplate and through which he can find ways to the Sublime Creator.

There are some basic concept of Islam; concept of faith, concept of rightoeusness (*Birr*), the concept of Piety (*taqwa*), The concept of Prophethood, the concept of life, the concept of religion, the concept of sin, the concept of freedom, the concept of equality, the concept of brotherhood, the concep of peace, the concept of community, the concept of morality, and the concept of universe.[54]

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[53] Al-Baqarah (2):151

[54] See: Hammudah Abalati, "*Islam in Focus*",Crecent Fublishing co, page. 23-52,

B. The Universality Of Islam

Within the central principle of Islam and in its definition, (the surrender of one's will to God) lies the roots of Islam's universality. Whenever man comes to the realization that Allah is one and distinct from His creation, and submits himself to Allah, he becomes a Muslim in body and spirit and is eligible for paradise. Thus, anyone at anytime in the most remote region of the world can become a Muslim, a follower of God's religion, Islam, by merely rejecting the worship of creation and by turning to Allah (God) alone. It should be noted however, that the recognition of and submission to Allah requires that one chooses between right and wrong and such a choice implies accountability. Man will be held responsible for his choices, and, as such, he should try his utmost to do good and avoid evil. The ultimate good being the worship of Allah alone and the ultimate evil being the worship of His creation along with or instead of Allah. This fact is expressed in the final revelation as follows:

ثم توليتم من بعد ذالك فلول فضل الله عليكم ورحمته لكنتم من الخسرين[55]

ولو انهم اقاموا التورة والانجيل وما انزل اليهم من ربهم لاكلوا من فوقهم ومن تحت ارجلهم منهم امة مقتصدة وكثير منهم ساءما ىعلمون [56]

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[55] Al-Baqoroh (2):63.

[56] Al-Maida (5):66

C. Democray Concept And History

The beginning of wisdom in such disputes is to see that democracy, like all other human inventions, has a history. Democratic values and institutions are never set in stone; even the meaning of democracy changes through time. During its first historical phase, which began in ancient Mesopotamia (c. 2,500 BCE) and stretched through classical Greece and Rome to the rise and maturation of Islamic civilization around 950 CE, democracy was associated with the creation and diffusion of public assemblies. During these centuries, nobody knows who invented the term or exactly where and when the word 'democracy' was first used. It is commonly thought that it is of classical Greek origin,[57] but new research shows that the feminine noun *dēmokratia* (meaning the rule of the people: from *dēmos*, 'the people', and *kratein*, 'to rule') has much older roots. It is traceable to the Linear B script of the Mycenaean period, seven to ten centuries earlier, to the late Bronze Age civilization (c. 1500-1200 BCE) that was centred on Mycenae and other urban settlements of the Peloponnese. Exactly how and when the Mycenaeans invented terms like *damos* (a

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[57] David Held, *Model of Democracy,* (California, Stanfort University Press, 1996), p. 1

group of people who hold land in common) and *damokoi* (an official linked to the *damos*) is unclear, but it is probable that the family of terms we use today when speaking of democracy have Eastern origins, for instance in the ancient Sumerian references to the *dumu*, the 'inhabitants' or 'sons' or 'children' of a geographic place.

Tempered the discovery by contemporary archaeologists that the practice of self-governing assemblies is not a Greek invention. The custom of popular self-government was born of the 'East', of peoples and lands that geographically correspond to contemporary Iraq and Iran. Assemblies were later transplanted eastwards, towards the Indian sub-continent; they travelled westwards as well, first to city states like Byblos and Sidon, then to Athens, where during the fifth century BCE they were claimed as something unique to the West, as a sign of its superiority over the 'barbarism' of the East. By the 5th century BCE, in Athens and scores of other Greek city states, democracy meant self-government through an assembly of equal male citizens who gathered in a marketplace or town district for the purpose of discussing some matter, putting different opinions to the vote and deciding, often by a majority of raised hands, what course of action was to be taken. According to the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BCE), democracy was self-government among

equals, who rule and are ruled in turn. Democracy was the lawful rule of an assembly of male citizens - women, slaves and foreigners were normally excluded - whose sovereign power to decide things was no longer to be given over to imaginary gods, or an aristocracy, or to bloodthirsty tyrants.

So understood, democracy implied that within the political order questions concerning who gets what, when and how should remain permanently open. That in turn required certain political customs and institutions. These included written laws, the payment of elected officials, the freedom to speak in public, voting machines, voting by lot, and trial before elected or selected juries. It also required efforts to stop bossy leaders in their tracks by using such peaceful methods as limited terms of office and in an age yet without political parties, or recall and impeachment procedures the ostracism of demagogues from the assembly by majority vote. The first phase of democracy also saw the earliest experiments in creating second chambers (called *damiorgoi* in some Greek city states) and confederations of democratic governments co-ordinated through a joint assembly called a *myrioi*, as proposed by the Arcadians during the 360s BCE. Towards the close of its first phase, the democratic tradition was enriched by contributions from the Islamic world. It was

responsible for the spread of a culture of printing and efforts to cultivate self-governing associations, such as endowment societies (the *waqf*) and the mosque and, in the field of economic life, partnerships that were legally independent of rulers. Islam also cultivated the defence of shared virtues like toleration, mutual respect among sceptics and believers in the sacred, and the duty of rulers to respect others' interpretations of life.

D. Model Of Democracy

1. Representative Democracy

Representative democracy is a form of government founded on the principle of elected individuals representing the people, as opposed to either autocracy or direct democracy.

The representatives form an independent ruling body (for an election period) charged with the responsibility of acting in the people's interest, but *not* as their proxy representatives; that is, not necessarily always according to their wishes, but with enough authority to exercise swift and resolute initiative in the face of changing circumstances. It is often contrasted with direct democracy, where representatives are absent or are limited in power as proxy representatives.[58]

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[58]"*Democracy and Representative*" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Representative democracy access January13, 2010

2. One-Party System

One-party system: a one-party system cannot produce a political system as we would identify it in Britain. One party cannot produce any other system other than autocratic/dictatorial power. A state where one party rules would include the remaining communist states of the world (Cuba, North Korea and China), and Iraq (where the ruling party is the Ba'ath Party). The old Soviet union was a one party state. One of the more common features of a one-party state is that the position of the ruling party is guaranteed in a constitution and all forms of political opposition are banned by law. The ruling party controls all aspects of life within that state. The belief that a ruling party is all important to a state came from Lenin who believed that only one party - the Communists - could take the workers to their ultimate destiny and that the involvement of other parties would hinder this progress.[59]

3. Direct Democracy

In general, the term "direct democracy" usually refers to citizens making policy and law decisions in person, without going through representatives and legislatures. The classic example of this is the New England Town Meeting where anyone from the town who wants to show up to debate and vote on town policy can do so. Until recently, this worked for scores of communities, but low attendance at

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[59] "Party systems" www.historylearningsite.co.uk. Access January 20, 2010

many modern town meetings has raised questions about whether they are truly democratic.

More recent direct democracy proposals tend to focus on voting schemes (usually high tech) that would allow widespread, virtually continual voting by millions of citizens on whatever proposals surfaced. While useful in building up a buffet of voting methodologies for possible use in other contexts, the lack of organized public deliberation about the issues in question makes such proposals look more like opinion polls than exercises of citizenship. Wise solutions to public problems won't likely come off the top of a hundred million heads.[60]

4. **Democracy *Permusyawaratan***

Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives **"*Kerakyatan yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan/Perwakilan***: Pancasila democracy calls for decision-making through deliberations, or *musyawarah*, to reach a consensus, or *mufakat*. It implies that voting is not encouraged as long as deliberation is possible. It is democracy that lives up to the principles of Pancasila. The head of the wild bull at top left stands for this sila.[61]

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[60] "Direct Democracy" http://www.co-intelligence.org/CIPol_directdemocracy.html. access Januariy 15, 2010

[61]" Demokrasi Pancasila" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pancasila_(politics) acses Januari 12, 2010

E.   Islam And Democrcacy

Islam, as Harun Nasution notes, can be viewed and studied from various perspectives.[62] It contains mu Hi -aspect It is not only a theological system but also a way of life which consists of a number of ethical and moral standards as well as of law adopted to life in society and slate. Many Western scholars also strengthen such *a* statement, H. A R. Gibib for instance, says "Islam is indeed much more than a system of theology. It is *s* complete civilization. While Edward Mortimer says: "Islam, we are told, is not mere religion: it is a way of life, a model of society, a culture, a civilization."

As a way of life, Islam contains a set of general principles that can be considered as guideline for life in nation and state Islam normatively explains the values that coincide with modern political or democratic system,[63] and of course democracy is not only a Western idea, because there are some basic democratic values of a universal character based upon religious beliefs. In this context, Aswab Mahasin, for instance, states that Islamic values and principles support *a* universal notion of democracy, although there is no special Islamic version of democracy.[64]

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[62]   Harun Nasution, *Islam Dilihat Dari Berbagai Aspeknya,* (Jakarta   UI   Press 1956), Vol. I god II

[63] M. Kasir Tatnara and Elza Peldi Taher, eds, *Agama dan Dialog Antar peradaban.* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996).

[64] Andeis Uhlin, *Oposisi Berserak, Arus Deras dan Demokrasi Gelombang Ketiga di Indonesia,* Translated by Rofiq Suhud, Bandung: Mizan. 1998, p. 75

F.   Islamic Principles And Values In The Democratic Perspective

Although the Koran and Sunnah do not depict a concrete intruction about the pattern of relationship between Islam and the modern political system, Islam provides relevant ethical principles ruling the modem political system. The principles cited in the Koranic verses and Sunnah are: *amanah* (trust), *'adalah* (justice), *ita'ah Allah wa al-rasul wa uli al-amr* (Jaw obedience or rule of law), *shura,* (mutual consultation), *ta'addudiyyah* (pluralism), *musawaah* (equality), *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood), *silm* (peace), and *al-amr bi al-ma 'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* (social control),

In particular, regarding attitudes toward power, Muslims are categorized into two groups, those who actively participate to rule and who consistently exercise control over the power. Each of them upholds the principles based on Qoranic verses and Sunnah, like Gudrun Kramer mentions the principles which are usually invoked in *the* modern political context: the Qoranic command to actuate the trust or *amanah,*[65] the leaders or ruler must be accountable to be the people for their policies and to enjoin good and prohibit evil *(al-amr hi al-ma'ruf wa an-nahy 'an*

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[65] Political accouctability in Islam means a Muslim leader is responsible to rule the state on internal affairs, namely politics to rule Muslims life, and on external affairs, namely lo build good relationship with other states. See: Ali Abdul Hakim Mahmud, *Fikih Responsibilitas:Tanggung jawabMuslim dalam Islam,* translated by Abdul Hdyyie al-kattani and M. Yusuf Wijaya from "Fiqh al-Masu'liyat Fi al-islam", fist ed., (Jakarta: Gama Insani Press. 1998). P. 225

al-munkar) the prophet's appeal to give counsel *(al-din at-nasiha),* as emphasized in the Koran and the Sunnah. Allah says in verses of Qur'an:

كنتم خيرامةاخرجت للناس تامرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر وتؤمنون بالله ولوءامن اهل الكتب لكن خيرا لهم منهم المؤمنون واكثرهم الفسقون [66]

والمؤمنون والمؤمنت بعدهم اولياء بعض يؤمرون بالمروف وينهون عن المنكر ويقيمون الصلوة ويؤتون الزكوة ويطيعون الله ورسوله اؤلئك سير حمهم الله ان الله عزيز حكيم [67]

يايهالذين امنوا اطيعواالله واطيعواالرسول واولي الامرمنكم فان تنزعتم في شيءفردوه الي الله ورسول ان كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الاخر ذالك خيرواحسن تاويلا [68]

والعصر , ان لانسن في خسر , الاالذ ينءامنواوعملواالصلحت وتواصوا بالحق وتواصوابالصبر [69]

The both principles cited above, to him, even are interpreted by Muslim scholars in such a way as to make political responsibility, commitment, and participation the religious duty of every single individual *(fard al-'ayn)* which he or she cannot devolve to those in command or better able to understand what is good to the community as a whole (which, according to legal theory, would make

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[66] Ali Imron (3): 110

[67] Al- Taubah (9): 71

[68] Al- Nisa' (4): 59

[69] Al- Asr (103): 1-3

it a collective duty, *ford (al-kifaya).* These, however, could be practiced in all public spheres,[70] but most Muslim scholars confine them to the so-called political sphere. Every Muslim has the duty of control over the power which historically was exerted by the state or ruler. Even where the state is retained as the chief agent, *hisba* (control) is largely used as an instrument of moral control, and the enforcement of moral and religious conformity in public, that is to say an instrument of control directed 'downward', from the ruler toward the people, and not vice versa. Consequently, Islam has a close relationship to politics, including relationship between Islam and power. Based on those two principles, Islam probably involves into the government, but it also opposes against the power[71]

Under the impact of modem political thought, the limited involvement of the community in selecting the ruler via consultation and oath of allegiance *(bay'a)* as it was laid down in classical treaties and intermittently practiced in Islamic history, particularly under the four rightly guided caliphs, is a constitutional system based on a social contract. This obliges the rulers to consult the community and/or their elected representative on all public matters and makes the

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[70]Anders Uhlin, *Oposisi Berserak, Arus Deras dan Demokrasi Gelombang Ketiga di Indonesia,* Translated by Rofiq Suhud, Bandung: Mizan. 1998, p 70.

[71]Jalaludin Rakhmat, "*Islam dan Kekuasaan Aktor Atau Instrumen*" in M Imam Aziz et al.eds, *Agama, Demokrasi, dan Keadilan*, (Jakarta PT Gramedia, 1993), p 71.

ruler not only, like any other believer, subject to the law and responsible before God, like oilier believer but also held accountable to the electorate.

Practically, *(al-Khulafa' al-rashidun* implemented the crucial principles and they held high responsibility in carrying out the trust, even at the first time of *bay 'a,* they recomended people remind -to control and criticize- them. Abu

Bakar delivered the speech of inauguration and said:

> I am indeed elected to lead you, 1 am not the most virtuous man among you. If I do right or virtue, please support me and if I do vice or wrong, correct me,.. please obey me as long as I adhere to Allah and His prophet, they do wrong and vice to Allah and His prophet, thus there is no loyalty to me,[72]

In addition, Umar Ibn al-Khatab said in his speech:

> O, humankind, those who look at me do wrong and vice, correct me. Suddenly one of the audiences answered: if we find something wrong of you, we will correct it through our sharp sword. Umar just added: praise belongs to Allah, to those who correct my mistakes through their sword.[73]

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[72] Fahmi Huwaidi, *Demokrasi, Oposisi dan masyarkat Madani: Isu-isu Besar Politik Islam*, translated by Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar, (Bandung. Mizan. 1996), p. 135

[73] Ibid

Such traditions indicate that Islamic values cannot be applied without people's participation and that Islam teaches in order thai leaders must be responsible for the trust they hold Nurcholis Madjid views that social and political participation constitutes a manifestation of the principle *'al-amr bi al-ma'ruf wa al-nahy al-munkar'*. While Muhammad Tahir Azhari states that political participation - ideally placed as an Islamic political principle - is categorized as balance of people's loyalty toward the power.

People must obey the government as long as he does not do wrong and vice; on the contrary, if the ruler does it, they must not obey him. They reserve the right to correct, and to advice and to criticize him, in order that he awakes the guilty They bring it to God's rules Then, the ruler must be overthrown from his position, if he always does wrong. Consequently, because of significance of people's obedience to the ruler and of critical altitude toward what he does, political participation can be actuated through cooperative, or critical, and confrontational activities. Otherwise, the confrontational activity is applied as response to oppose the despotic regimes.[74]

In addition, Muslim groups, according to Eep Saefullah Fatah, should consistently play a role as inherent controller over all kinds of power abused by apolitical system. They have to behave fairly without any exception toward all kind

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[74] Masykuri Abdillah. *Demokrasi di Parsimpangan Makna: Resfon inftlektual Muslim Indonesi Terhadap Konsep Demokrasi,* Translated by Wahib Wahab, 1 ed., *(*Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1999), p 169.

of the abuses either acted by a Muslim and Muslim groups or by others The Muslim groups should critically establish the political system based on ethical values, morality, and law They may not look at who is in authority or what government is. These attitudes and behaviors are compatible with the previous Koranic command to enjoin good and prohibit evil,[75] besides the Muslim rulers arc commanded to be accountable to the people for their policies

G. The Meaning of Democracy and Democratization

There are two different approaches to the concept of democracy[76] It can be viewed either as a goal or as a tabel for existing political systems. Normative theory deals with democracy as a goal (a prescription of what democracy should be), whereas empirical theory is concerned with existing political systems (a description of what democracy is now).[77] Much theorizing about democracy has been concerned with the normative level, while the literature on democratization is characterized by an empirical approach.

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[75] Eep Saefullah Fatah, *Zaman Kesempatan: Agenda-Agenda Besar Demokrasi Paska Orde Baru, 1St Ed.,* (Bandung: Mizan, 2000), pp. 264-265

[76]Democracy laterally means "power of people", that the people belong to the power. The term is derived from the word *democrate.* meaning *demons* (the people) and *kratos* (the rule.). "Historically, the meaning of democracy undergoes transformation from its origin. To Greece philosopher (5 Th and 6th century B.C.), democracy is defined as a form of government. Since that century in which previously the rich WAS qualified to hold position in public sphere, every Athena's citizen had served the equal righi to take part in discussion and expression on law and public policy in the house of representative.

[77] Andeis Uhlin, *Oposisi Berserak, Arus Deras dan Demokrasi Gelombang Ketiga di Indonesia,* Translated by Rofiq Suhud, Bandung: Mizan. 1998, p. 08.

Democracy includes all kinds of governmental doctrines and political systems, A useful definition of democracy for normative and empirical level, that is broad enough to include different interpretations, needs to be cited here. David Bentham defines democracy as "a mode of decision-making about collectively binding ruler and policies over which the people exercise control". The most democratic arrangement is "where all members of the collectivity enjoy effective equal rights to take part in such decision-making directly" Hence, the key components of Beetharn's definition on democracy are popular control and political equality. To some people, true democracy means liberty, equality, fraternity, effective citizen control over policy, responsible government, honesty and openness in politics informed and rational deliberation, equal participation and power, and various other civic virtues.

The writer asserts here a certain values of democracy, like citizen controil over policy, responsible government and equal participation, because the values are also considered compatible with a pan of Islamic principles and significant to analyze the role of Islamic political party.

Such values or ideal connotations will have no significance for democracy, when they are not be implemented. In this sense, all components of people should take

part. Therefore, democratization is a very important measure for countries which are bringing about transition toward democracy, like Indonesia.[78]

Meanwhile, democratization means the processes toward democracy or the means to achieve democracy.[79] People belong to significant position to participate within it through social organizations or political parties That democracy is a form of government and contradict to authoritarian regime, people's participation have the vital role to control and overthrow power, because the power naturally tends to corrupt The authoritarian regimes rule arbitrarily These coincide with the research on processes of democratization that focus on the role of the political party in the democratic system

Indonesia, in this case, recently undergoes processes of democratization. The processes are focused on the structural, functional, and behavioral change of governmental institutions, such as how the political party can play an effective role in democratic system. In this context, democratization is intended as transitional process toward fulfillment of some criteria of democracy. Furthermore, democratization, as Najib Ghadbian quotes from Hudson, "is the process through which

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[78] A. Ubaidillah, et al., *Pendidikan Kewargaan: Demokrasi, Ham, dan Masyarakat Madani, 1st ed, (Jakarta. IAIN Jakarta Press, 2000), p. 191*

[79] Democratization differ from liberalization According to O'Donnell and Schumitter, liberalization means "the process of making effective certain rights That protect both individuals and social groups from arbitrary or illegal acts committed by the state or third parties", liberalization refers to a change that limits that power of the state to intervene life of people and allows some Fret expression and oppositional activities. While democratization refers more specifecally to the process of change toward free election, popular participation and freedom of masses. See www.ireyogya.org access November 27, 2009

the exercise of political power by the state becomes less arbitrary and exclusive".[80]
Huntington also depicts democratization as a prolonged and complex process bringing
an end to the non democratic regime, establishing the democratic regime and finally
consolidating the democratic regime.[81]

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[80] Najib Ghadbian, *Democratization and Islamist Challenge in the Arab World,* (L.L.C West view Press, 1997), p. 5

[81]Samuel P Huntingdon, *Gelombang Dunia Ketiga,* translated by Abadi A. Setiawan. Jakarta: Grafiti, 1997. p 9.

CHAPTER IV

DIRECT DEMOCRACY OF MUAMMAR QADHAFI

RELEVANTION IN INDONESIA

A. Direct Democracy Of Muammar Qadhafi

Qaddafi's vision of the new Libya, known as the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, rested on a combination of socialism and Islam derived in part from tribal practices, and implemented by the Libyan people themselves in a direct democracy. [82] Qaddafi's new vision of Libya had both domestic and foreign agenda. Yet, this domestic agenda would lead to the source of Qaddafi's sanction vulnerability.

Domestically, Qaddafi sought a total restructuring of the Libyan society as an Arab-Socialist paradise with himself as the "Brother Leader". Loyalty to the regime was to be established through social programs, an increase in Libyan living standards, and when necessary political instruments of control. The centerpiece of Qaddafi's domestic policy was the Green Book, and in 1977, Qaddafi published his

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[82] Muammar Qaddafi. *Green Book*. Part one: The Solution to the Problem of Democracy. P.6-22. A text version of Qaddafi's Green book can be found at: http://www.qadhafi.org/the_green_book.html The term *Jamahiriya* is difficult to translate, but American scholar Lisa Anderson has suggested "peopledom" or "state of the masses" as a reasonable approximation of Qaddafi's concept that the people should govern themselves free of any constraints, especially those of the modern bureaucratic state. Library of Congress. Accessed on August 1, 2009

"Green Book", a three-part volume serving as a guide to implementing his vision for Libya's future[83].

The First part, Qaddafi reformed the Libyan political structure. In the first chapter of the Green Book, entitled, "*The Solution of the Problem of Democracy: The Authority of the People*", Qaddafi presents his view that previous forms of representational democracies were, in fact, "false democracies". Qaddafi argued that since parliaments and political parties in fact are the consolidation of power by a small group surrounding particular issue or point of view, they do not represent the will of the masses.

The Green Book states that Parliaments have become a means of plundering and usurping the people, and the party is a dictatorial instrument of governing that enables those with one outlook and a common interest to rule the people as a whole. Compared with the people, the party is a minority. [84]

Under the Green Book, Libya was to be a direct democracy, rather than a false representative democracy dominated by political factions, and interest groups.[85]

Following the September 1969 Revolution, the centerpiece of this political system was the Revolutionary Command Council.[86] Yet the 1973, Cultural

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[83] Mahmoud Ayoub, *Islam dan Teori Dunia Ketiga*, Bogor: Humaniora Press, 2004, p. 29

[84] Muammar Qaddafi . *Green Book*. First Part, p.6

[85] Ibid. p.13

[86] Library of Congress offers a complete description of Libyan Revolutionary Politics.

Revolution established the Basic People's Congress (BPC), a compulsory local level polity that reported to the General People's Congress (GPC), as the legislative and governing body in Libya, replacing the RCC. In effect, establishing what Qaddafi terms a direct democracy.[87]

Unicameral General People's Congress (members elected indirectly through a hierarchy of people's committees).6 The unicameral General People's Congress (GPC), or Mutamar al-Sha'ab al-'Aam, established in 1976, exercises the legislative power in Libya. The GPC is made up of 760 members. The members of the GPC are elected indirectly for a three-year term of office from a complex and changing network of popular congresses and committees that theoretically involve all Libyan nationals over 18 years of age.

The Green Book, which is based on a speech delivered by the Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi in 1975, asserts, The mere existence of a parliament means the absence of the people, but true democracy exists only through the participation of

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RCC: The Supreme organ of the revolutionary regime from September 1969 to 1977 , based around Qaddafi's officer cadre. General People's Congress. GPC: Body combining executive and legislative functions that became the formal supreme organ of government in March 1977. All legislative and executive authority was vested in the GPC. This body, however, delegated most of its important authority to its general secretary (Qaddafi, relinquished the secretary general post, for the title "Leader of the Revolution". Accessed on February 13, 2010. Available at: http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/lytoc.html.

[87] Ray Takyeh, "Qaddafi's New Political Order". The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. *Policy Watch.* March 9, 2009. Given the lack of administrative guidelines, all key decisions are relayed to Qaddafi and must await his verdict. Despite his claims that Libya enjoys direct democracy, the Muammar has succeeded in making himself indispensable to the machinery that he has created. As the revolutionary guide, Qaddafi adheres to no limits and countenances no institutional restraints. In no other regional state is political power so closely intertwined with individual leadership. Accessed on August, 2009. Available at: http://www.washingtoninstitute.org.

the people, not through the activity of their representatives. In other words representative democracy corresponds to "the denial of participation."

The Green Book, which is a manifesto of a system of pure democracy and a main source of legislation in Libya, declares that only people's congresses and people's committees can accomplish popular democracy. It rejects direct democracy based on referenda on the grounds that plebiscites do not express the people's true will. The legislative system embraced by the Green Book and by the People's Declaration of 1977 is a hierarchical one in which all citizens at the base are expected to participate in Basic Popular Congresses.

Each Basic Popular Congress chooses its own secretariat and its administrative bodies called People's Committees. The People's Committees are responsible to the Basic People's Congresses, and the Basic People's Congresses are responsible to thirteen Municipal People's Congresses.

At the top of the hierarchy the GPC is composed of the officials of all the congresses and committees at the bottom of the chain. The GPC has the power to issue decrees with the force of law. The GPC chooses a secretary (speaker of parliament) to preside over its sessions, to sign the laws by order of the Congress, and to accept the credentials of the representatives of foreign countries.[88]

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[88] "Great socialist people's Libyan arab jamahiriya Public administration Country profile" www.google.com. Pdf. Acses Januari 20, 2010

The GPC also elects a five-member General Secretariat to make policy and serve as its permanent body. The General Secretariat prepares the sessions of the GPC and draws up its agenda. The Secretariat consists of a secretary general and a number of secretaries. These include the Secretariat for Women's Affairs, the Secretariat for Affairs of the People's Congresses, the Secretariat for Affairs of the Trade Unions, Syndicates and Professional Associations, and the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

B. Indonesia's Experience With Three Types of Democracy

Indonesia has been struggling with democracy for decades. It has experience with three types of democracy, all of which failed. First was the failed attempt at parliamentary democracy (1949-1957) which led to the transition from parliamentary democracy to guided democracy (1957-1959), in which President Sukarno established the so called *Zaken* or Functional Cabinet, a business cabinet which consisted of members of political parties, economists and the military. Second, there was another attempt at 'Guided Democracy' under President Sukarno (1959-1965). The third and longest period was that of 'Pancasila Democracy' under President Suharto from March 1966 to May 1998.[89]

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[89] See, Ikrarnusa Bhakti *the transition to democracy in indonesia: Some outstanding problems*, Daniel Dhakidae, 'The Long and Winding Road: Constraints to Democracy in Indonesia', in R. William Liddle, ed., *Crafting Indonesian Democracy* (Bandung: Mizan in Cooperation with PPW-LIPI and The Ford Foundation, 2001), pp.67-74. See also, M. Syafi'I Anwar, ed., *Menggapai Kedaulatan Untuk Rakyat. 75 tahun Prof. Miriam Budiardjo* (Bandung: Mizan in cooperation with Ummat, 1998), pp.132-158.

Writter seems that the leadership model of Muammar Qadhafi same with Soekarno leaderships model aspecialy in Soekarno's guide democracy, who lead the government in one comand, its mean not to contrast to the leader or president. But Soekarno leadership was not a long periode becouse the were many problem in the periode.

1. Constitutional Democracy

The period of Parliamentary democracy has various names. Herbert Feith calls it 'constitutional democracy'.[90] Most in the Indonesian political community, writers and commentators call it 'liberal democracy', the term popularized by President Sukarno. However, 'liberal democracy' was used by Sukarno, more to mock Western democratic practices such as voting, which he criticized as 'fifty percent plus one democracy'.

Feith defines six distinct features characteristic of constitutionaldemocracy. First, played a dominant role; second, parties were of great importance; third, the contenders for power showed respect for 'rules of the game' which were closely related to the existing constitution; fourth, most members of the political elites had

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[90] Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973 (1962). http://books.google.co.id Access February 27, 2010

some sort of commitment to symbols connected with constitutional democracy; fifth, civil liberties were rarely infringed; six, government used coercion sparingly.[91]

It is still a subject of unending debate in Indonesia as to whether 'liberal democracy', 'parliamentary democracy' or 'constitutional democracy' really did fail in 1957. Many political scientists are of the opinion that liberal democracy did not fail; it was killed by Sukarno and the military. If there is a failure, then it is a logical consequence of a power game between the army and the president's office vis-a-vis the social and political forces within the civil society. The dissolution of the *Konstituante* (Constituent Assembly) and the reinstitution of the 1945 Constitution have been taken as watershed events in the end of constitutional democracy and the beginning of the next period in Indonesian political history, that of Guided Democracy.

From the idealist's perspective, the failure of constitutional democracy was the result of a lack of sufficient institutional backup for democracy, namely a lack of education, a lack of democratic culture, and an insufficient economic base.

2. **Guided Democracy**

Demokrasi Terpimpin (guided democracy) concentrated power within the executive, particularly the president. Guided democracy was a great contrast to liberal democracy. While liberal democracy put the emphasis on the process, guided

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[91] Ibid

democracy emphasized the attainment of one major objective; 'a just and prosperous society', only to be achieved by a 'systematic and planned democracy'. President Sukarno loved to call it 'democracy with leadership'.

Guided democracy was implemented in Indonesia from July 1959 to October 1965. After six years, however, the 'systematic and planned democracy' failed to achieve a healthy economic system. Indonesia's economic situation was dire in 1965. Production had slowed dramatically. Exports and imports came to a halt and hyperinflation of more than 600 percent crippled the country. This economic collapse was followed by a struggle for power between the army and the Indonesian Communist Party. The murder of six army generals and one lieutenant by a left-wing elements in the Army[92] capped the political and economic chaos and led to the Army *coup d'etat* on 11 March 1966 to bring down President Sukarno and his guided democracy.[93]

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[92] Sukarno referred to the movement on the early morning of 1 October 1965 as *Gestok*, an abbreviation of *Gerakan Satu Oktober*, while the Suharto regime called it *Gestapu*, similar to the Gestapo in Nazi Germany or G-30-S/PKI, an abbreviation for *Gerakan 30 September* (September 30 Movement), which the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was accused of masterminding. See http://erensdh.wordpress.com, accessed February 29, 2010

[93] On 11 March 1966 President Sukarno was forced by the Army generals to sign a letter transferring power to General Suharto. In Indonesia, Sukarno's letter was known as 'Super Semar', an abbreviation of 'Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret' (Letter of Order of the 11 March). However, from a Javanese Shadow puppet (*wayang*) story, *Semar* is a royal servants known for a powerful spirit and strength. See Pipit on http://www.kabarinews.com accessed February 27, 2010

3. Pancasila Democracy (1966-1998)

Pancasila democracy is a form of democracy guided by five principles of national ideology (Pancasila). When General Suharto came to power he used the term *Orde Baru* or the 'New Order' and called Sukarno's guided democracy *Orde Lama*, or the 'Old Order', the latter implying a rotten, bankrupt system. At first, the New Order seemed set to inaugurate a fresh new era when it freed political detainees, and freed the press by lifting restrictions on newspapers, closed down by Sukarno. In other words, a process of liberalization was introduced by Suharto.

As the years passed, however, the New Order moved slowly and surely in the direction of dictatorship. The Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian Nationalist Party could still make their voices heard and thus compete with the Army. The New Order, in reaction, drifted toward a full military regime to stifle such dissenting voices. The Army created the so-called Functional Group (*Golongan Karya,* or *Golkar*) as a political tool to gain legitimacy from the people through general elections.[94] Suharto's ties to the Army started to weaken when he asked B.J. Habibie to establish and chair the Association of Indonesian Moslem Intellectuals (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*, or ICMI) in 1991. During the early period of the 1990s, the rise of ICMI to power highlighted the division of the military into so-called 'nationalists' officers, nicknamed 'red and white officers' (after the colors

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[94] During the New Order period, *Golkar* was not seen formally as a political party but as a functional group, a strategy aimed at discrediting political parties.

of the national flag), as opposed to 'green officers', a color associated with Islam.[95]
After that, the political interests of the 'red and white' Army became clearly different
from those of Suharto.

During the New Order period, Suharto's regime was outwardly a success.
There was a long period of security and the maintenance of political and economic
interests between Suharto and the Army. After the Indonesian economy collapsed in
July 1997, national security and stability were upset by mass killings and riots in
Jakarta in May 1998. At that point, military interests inexorably diverged from those
of the Suharto family, leading to his down fall.

C. Islam and Democracy in Indonesia

Indonesia is the largest Muslim-majority country in the world. Home to
approximately 230 million people of which more than 85% follow Islam, there are
almost as many Muslims living in Indonesia as in the entire Arab-speaking world
combined.1 Sunni Islam is the predominant branch of Islam, with only around one
million Indonesians being Shia. There is a wide array of other forms of Islam,
including significant numbers of Sufi communities.2 The major fault line, however,

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[95] Since Endriartono Sutarto, from the group of officers commissioned in 1971, became the Army
Chief of Staff, he has successfully united the Army.

lies between *santri* who adhere to orthodox forms of Islam while the *abangan* practice more syncretic versions of Islam.[96]

Indonesia is also the world's third largest democracy after India and the United States of America. Since the authoritarian regime of President Suharto collapsed in 1998, the most immediately visible change in Indonesian politics has been the implementation of an extensive regulatory framework that directs both executive and legislative elections. In April 2009 Indonesia conducted the third legislative election of the post-Suharto era. As in 1999 and 2004, the recent election featured a nationwide legislative election for the national parliament, the senate-like Regional Representatives Assembly, and for the parliaments at the provincial, district and municipal level. Furthermore, direct elections for regents and mayors were held in 486 out of 510 regencies and municipalities and governor elections in 15 out of 33 provinces throughout the last few years. By the end of 2008, all the leaders of sub-national executive governments had been directly elected by the Indonesian people.4 Finally, presidential election took place in 1999, 2004, and 2009.

In addition to the introduction of elections, which were all regarded as reasonably free and fair, the independence of the media was restored while various reform initiatives strengthened human rights and increased opportunities for the political participation of civil society. In short, overall developments throughout the

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[96] Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 7. Can be accessed in http://books.google.co.id

last decade point towards ever expanding democratic freedom for Indonesian citizens.[97]

These developments are reflected in the position Indonesia currently holds in democracy ratings where it was given the highest ranking of all Southeast Asian countries in the latest reports from both Freedom House and Polity IV.6 In fact, Indonesia is an 'electoral overachiever' in the Muslim world overall.[98]

Against this backdrop, Indonesia presents itself as an interesting case study in a broader debate about the relationship between Islam and democracy. The two are said to rarely go together, due to a theological lack of state-religion separation, as Ahmet T. Kuru shows in his discussion of the recent literature on this topic in this volume.[99]

The ease with which democracy is thriving in Muslim-majority Indonesia is usually ascribed to the moderate forms of Islam Indonesians have adopted. "Much of

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[97] Michael Buehler, *Countries at the Crossroads: Indonesia,* www. Google.com accessed November 21, 2009

[98] Modernization theories state that the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances it will sustain democracy. In other words, as a country's wealth increases so does the degree of electoral contestation. It is therefore important to control for GDP when comparing cross-nationally. Against the backdrop of its relatively modest GDP, Indonesia is an 'electoral overachiever'. See Stepan and Graeme B. Robertson, "An 'Arab' More than 'Muslim' Electoral Gap," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 33.

[99] Islamism usually denotes the mobilization of contention to support Muslim causes and is often understood as being anti-democratic in its worldview. Islamization, however, simply means the strengthening of conservative Islam, not necessarily of Islamist elements. It is therefore compatible with democracy. See Andreas Ufen, "Mobilising Political Islam: Indonesia and Malaysia compared,"*Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 3, p. 309.

the literature during the twentieth century portrayed the (Indonesian) Muslim community in largely benign terms. There were several interlinked aspects to this approving commentary. The first remarked on the myriad ways in which local Muslim communities had 'indigenised' Islam, blending it with pre-existing religious practices to produce richly distinctive variants. Moreover, this Indonesianized form of Islam bore none of the severity and rigidity attributed to Middle Eastern forms, earning it praise for its moderation and tolerance. Some scholars even approvingly observed that large numbers of Muslims appeared lax in their devotions and heedless of all but the most basic requirements of Islamic law," Greg Fealy and Sally White note.[100]

The perception that it is mainly the peculiarities of Indonesian Islam that make it compatible with democracy is reflected in a growing number of surveys and studies conducted since 1998 that set out to show that Indonesian Muslim are against the implementation of *shari'a* laws, dislike parties with an Islamist platform, and embrace the ecumenical Pancasila ideology of the Indonesian state.[101]

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[100] Greg Fealy and Sally White, "Introduction". In Greg Feally and Sally White. (eds.), *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008), p. 1. Can be accessed on http://books.google.co.id

[101] Pancasila comprises five principles held to be inseparable and interrelated, namely belief in the one and only God; just and civilized humanity; the unity of Indonesia; and democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives and social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia.

Notwithstanding the fact that many such analyses ignore the radical and sectarian tendencies that have become increasingly visible in Indonesian Islam in recent years, the[102] overall argument that it is the syncretist nature of Indonesian Islam, and the moderation and tolerance that stems from it, which allows democracy to flourish in the archipelago remains popular.[103]

D. Fragmentation of Islamic authority in civil society

One of the main reasons why Islam and democracy have entered into such a joyous relationship in Indonesia is the fragmentation of Islamic authority in Indonesia's civil society.16 The absence of a unified Islamic center is partially rooted in the country's history. The diversity of Indonesian Islam is usually seen as a result of the way the Islamic conversion occurred in the archipelago. Due to the absence of an overarching kingdom with centralized authority, the Islamization of the population was subject to various kinds of influences and accommodations with pre-

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[102] In a recent report, the Wahid Institute in Jakarta identified 232 instances in 2008 alone where individuals or groups, generally of the radical Islamic variety, tried to force their beliefs on others through legislation or violence. This marked an increase compared to 2007 that reported 197 such cases. See Wall Street Journal Asia, "Radicalizing Indonesia," retrieved September 27, 2009 from http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122937199710107957.html. Various discriminatory shari'a by-laws have been passed in recent years. Most recently, in September 2009, the parliament of Aceh province issued a by-law that endorses the stoning to death for adultery and caning of up to 100 lashes for homosexuality. Amnesty International, "Indonesia must repeal 'cruel' new stoning and caning law,"retrieved September 28, 2009 from http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/news/indonesiamust-repeal-cruel-new-stoning-caning-law.

[103] Mark R. Woodward, "*Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy*," *SAIS Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 29-37. See also Bernhard Platzdasch, "*Outlook bleak for Islamist parties*," retrieved August 20, 2009 from http://www.iseas.edu.sg/viewpoint/bp11apr08.pdf.

Islamic beliefs and practices in the different parts of the country. The policy of the Dutch colonial powers to deny Indonesian rulers state-based authority over the institutions of Islamic worship, pilgrimage, schooling, and jurisprudence further prevented a state-based, unified form of Islam to emerge in Indonesia. This pattern has become even more distinct due to developments of recent years. In contemporary Southeast Asia, established ecclesiastical hierarchies...are in crisis, their hegemonies under threat...It is no exaggeration to speak of tectonic shifts in the politics of religious knowledge, or...the democratization of religion. Writes John T. Sidel.[104]

In Indonesia, Sidel continues, this has manifested itself not only in the abolishment of formal and informal restrictions upon religious life but also in the emergence of new sources of religious authority19 and a renewal of forms and patterns of religious practice and clerical mediation. Consequently, religious notables saw their monopoly over religious affairs evaporate and, as a result, their influence has diminished over the last decade in both Java,[105] the heartland of the country, and Outer Island Indonesia.

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[104] John T. Sidel, *"The Changing Politics of Religious Knowledge in Asia*: The Case of Indonesia" in Saw Swee-Hock and Danny Quah (eds), *The Politics of Knowledge* (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), pp. 156-157. Can be accessed on http://books.google.co.id

[105] Religious notables were said to have great political influence in mobilizing the population in times of elections throughout the New Order. The capacity of such figures to establish power bases independent from the New Order state, however, was greatly exaggerated, as is shown in a thesis by Endang Turmudi, 2003, Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java, Canberra: Australian National University, online,retrieved 27 September 2009 from http://epress.anu.edu.au/islamic/umma/mobile_devices/index.html. See especially chapter 7, "Kiai's Political Influence: Post-'Back to Khittah".

The dispersion of power and the "fragility of the social structure"[106] become especially visible during elections. In the gubernatorial elections in the South Kalimantan province in 2005, for example, the influence of religious figures, the *tuan guru,* was marginal*,* mainly due to the excessive proliferation of Islamic 'authority' figures in the province. It is hard to know whether the voters chose particular candidates because (the voters) followed their *tuan guru* or for other reasons...the candidates...applied other strategies, including financial inducement by distributing money directly to the voters or television sets to local village heads, and by financing small infrastructure construction projects, such as...roads,mosques and schools. Apparently, (the candidates) realized that support from *tuan guru per se* would not be enough to attract the voters, especially when every team had a *tuan guru*, Ahmad Muhajir writes.[107] At the same time, Indonesian voters have frequently abandoned religious figures in past years if they disagreed with their political affiliation.

E. Analysis

In Indonesia Direct democracy just have done direct elections contain wich heve several advantages. First, it is an instrument to empower local community by 'passing on authority and responsibility' to vote for their best leaders. This is a

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[106] Endang Turmudi, "*Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang*, East Java, retrieved September 27, 2009 from http://epress.anu.edu.au/islamic/umma/mobile_devices/index.html, Chp 9.

[107] Muhajir, "*Tuan Guru* and Politics in South Kalimantan: Islam in the 2005 Gubernatorial Elections", www. Google.com, access Januari 23, 2010

radical change from the past for such event, when Jakarta used to drop local leaders without listening to local aspiration. Secondly, direct election is also a strategic instrument for community capacity building. Third, direct election is an effort to implement 'good local governance. By encouraging local community to make their own decision, direct election is an effort to build democracy by vesting the supreme power in the people and exercising them directly.

There are surely other advantages of direct election, especially when it is analyzed from other perspectives. However, all these advantages may be hindered by various constraints coloring the process of direct election. Such problems seem common in any instruments of democratic procedure; above all, it is the first direct election for local leaders in Indonesian political history. Hence, it is impossible to expect this first democratic event runs smoothly and flawlessly. The most important is finding a solution for each problem in order to prevent the same constraints in the next direct election.

Analyzing the accomplished and on-going direct election in several regions, there are at least six kinds of problems concerning the electoral components: Problems on candidate verivication, problems on population data, problems on electoral logistics. problems on electoral funds, problems on money politics, and problems on horizontal conflict.

1. Problems on candidate verivication

Although it is clear that independent candidates may propose themselves through a political party or group political parties various problems on candidate verivication appear because of misinformation.[108]

a. Some candidates in several regions argue the Comission is not fair, failing them from verivication without clear reasons. This happened, for example, in Jayapura City, and several regencies in North Sumatera, such as Sibolga, South Tapanuli, Labuhan Batu, Tobasa, and Mandailing Natal.

b. Another common problem concerns with fake certification. One of administrative requirements for proposed candidates is a minimum of high-school graduate. It seems that several candidates fail to assure the KPUD about their certificates. This happened because the graduating school was by now closed, not registered in the Office of Education, or never established at all.

2. Problems on population data

Other critical problems concern with population data. The Rule Number states KPUD has to revise the population data to check the new voters, moving or dead population. However, several regions reported that the comission did not carry out th revision completely, which resulted in the lack of population data.

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[108] Peripikasi calon independent sulit, see http://www.beritajatim.com

a. For instance, 20 thousand people in Depok City, West Java, could not join the election because they were not registered as eligible voters. Such cases commonly happen in the regions where several schools or universities exist, such as Sumedang Regency in West Java, or Sleman Regency in Yogyakarta.[109]

b. Conversely, in other regions the population data is manipulated, such as in Ngawi Regency, East Java, where 23 thousand fictive vote letters are found. Such problem happened because the KPUD did not revise the data, but took it from the Office of Population. On the other hand, a lot of Ngawi people who live outside of the regency.

3. Problems on electoral logistics

The Electoral Rule Number 2005 was late to be published, which results in the short preparation for the KPUD in some regions to conduct direct election as scheduled. The problems concern with the vote letters, boxes, and huts.

a. Several regencies, such North Kolaka, Wakatobi, Bombana in Papua, and Padang Pariaman in West Sumatera delay the direct election until uncertain time because of unreadiness of KPUD.

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[109] Walaupun rumit jadi penentu kehidupan bangsa http://issuu.com accessed February 28, 2010

b. The members of KPUD in Cilegon City in Banten province has to work hard to change 5000 broken vote letters, out of 230 thousand for 519 electoral places. The neighbouring regency, Serang, suffers more serious problems. 198 vote boxes and 198 huts are reported to be lost untraceable.

4. Problems on electoral funds

Based on the statement between the Departement of Home Affairs and local governments' representatives, both parties have to provide the funds of Rp 744,3 billion or about US$ 74.43 million to cover 450 direct elections for governors, regents, and mayors within two years. Central government, so far, has provided Rp 344,3 billion, but it seems that some local governments are unable to provide the supporting funds. This results in financial problems to several KPUDs.

a. The KPUD of Situbondo regency in East Java, for example, had to borrow Rp 50 million from a local bank to cover the operational expences.[110]

b. The KPUD of Kendal regency in Central Java had to spend the funds as efficient as possible because of financial crisis.

c. The KPUD of Jemberl regency in East Java refused to conduct the election because their salary was not paid for months.

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[110] Rahman, *East Java Government to Renovate Homes,* http://www.tempointeractive.com accessed February 10, 2010

5. Problems on money politics

Money politics seems to be a common phenomenon in any kinds of election. In previous general elections to vote for the members of house representatives, national or local levels, we once heard the story of someone knocking the doors of village voters early morning on the election day to present a sum money so as to vote for a certain candidate, or a wellknown adage puts it, *serangan fajar* (the dawn attack). Such money politics also happens during the recent election.

a. In an electoral area in Cilegon City last June 2005, for example, someone tried to bribe voters with a coupon for a cup of *bakso* (a kind of traditional food).

b. In Kutai Kertanegara last May 2005, an electronic reporter was terrorized because of reporting a close campaign entailing money politics.

6. Problems on horizontal conflict

Another factor that may influence direct election is the primordial difference, especially ethnic and tribal, that can trigger a horizontal conflict. The ethnic and tribal variety in provinces is generally bigger than in regencies or cities. However, as indicated by Mujani15, in most provinces there is a dominant tribe so that ethnic conflicts can be elimiminated. The situation in regencies and cities should be better

as the population is more homogeneous. Except in the conflict areas, such as Poso, Papua, and Nangroe Aceh Darussalam, horizontal conflicts probably happen.

    a. In Jayapura City, for example, the supporters of an avoided candidate blocked the city main road. They just opened the blocking when the fail candidate, suggested by the tribal chiefs, persuaded them to do so.[111]

    b. Government, however, has tried to anticipate such horizontal conflicts by delaying the election until the condition is back to normal. In Poso regency, the KPUD asked fivecouples of regent and vice-regent candidates to take a peace oath, and to put aside any differences among them.

Such electoral flaws, hopefully, do not lessen the values beyond the direct election, especially the government effort to empower local community. Everybody should be aware that the price to be paid to strengthen local community is too expensive to be defeated by the personal ambition toget a certain position.

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[111] Anwarudin Awan. *Empowering Community through direct Electio.* www.google.com accessed February 29, 2010