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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

2004

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INDONESIA MAP



<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/>



Indonesian Legislative and Presidential Election 2004 (First Round)

ANFREL Observation Mission Report

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Acronyms

Election Administration

KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum)	National Election Commission
KPUD (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah)	Election Committee at District Level
PPK (Petugas Pemungutan di Kecamatan)	Polling Station Staff at Kecamatan level
PPS (Petugas Pemungutan Suara)	Polling Station Staff
TPS (Tempat Pemungutan Suara)	Polling Station
KPPS (Ketua Petugas Pemungutan Suara)	Head of Polling Station Staff
Panwaslu (Panitia Pengawas Pemilu)	Election Supervisory Committee

Legislative Organization

MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat)	People's Consultative Assembly
DPR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat)	People's Representative Council (House of Representatives)
DPD I (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Tk. I)	Provincial Level Legislature
DPD II (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Tk. II)	Regency/ City Local Government Legislature
DPD (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah)	Regional Representative Council

Local Administration

Propinsi	Province
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Kabupaten (Kab.)	District/ Regency
Kotamadya/ Kota	Municipality/ City
Kecamatan (Kec.)	Sub-District in Kabupaten/ Kota
Kelurahan (Kel.)	Village in Town Area
Desa	Village
RW (Rukun Warga)	Neighborhood Group (consisted of RTs)
RT (Rukun Tetangga)	Neighborhood Group

Political Parties

Golkar (Partai Golongan Karya)	Golkar Party
PDI-P (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan)	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional)	National Mandate Party
PD (Partai Demokrat)	Democrat Party
PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)	United Development Party
PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa)	National Awakening Party



Preface

1. ANFREL AND ITS MISSION TO INDONESIA IN 2004

The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) was established in 1997 as Asia's first regional network of civil society organizations to promote and support democratization at national and regional levels in Asia. ANFREL is a special project under the regional Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Forum-Asia, and since it was founded, it has served towards strengthening the democratization of countries such as Sri Lanka, Nepal, Thailand, Malaysia, Cambodia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, East Timor and Indonesia.

Considering that elections monitoring contributes a great deal of significance in greater democratization efforts, Asian Network for Free Elections-ANFREL was formed in 1997, being a special project under the parent NGO, Forum Asia. Since the formation, all the election-related activities of FORUM-ASIA were turned over and undertaken by ANFREL. Among ANFREL's network members in Indonesia are the Committee for Independent Election Monitoring in Indonesia (KIPP), AJI and the Legal Aid Foundation (YLBH).

From 1997 until today, ANFREL has also been active in contributing other efforts to capacity building of member and non-member organizations on issues related to election observation, voter/civic education, electoral reform and public awareness for good democratic governance. Research activities on electoral reform, democracy and good governance were also conducted jointly with civil society organizations in several countries.



ANFREL's Involvement in Indonesia

ANFREL has also organized a comparative study of election laws in Asia, with specific focus on Indonesian election laws. A seminar-workshop on the election laws in Indonesia was held in November 1998, participated in by election experts from selected Asian countries. The critique and the recommendations of the seminar-workshop were submitted to the Indonesia authorities for consideration in finalizing the election law. A statement was also sent to the authorities to pressure them to adopt reforms in the election law¹. Meetings with Indonesian embassy in Bangkok were initiated by ANFREL leaders to convey the Asian people's concern for meaningful reforms as a prerequisite for a free and fair election in Indonesia.

Recognizing the role of the media during elections, another seminar-workshop was held for journalists on: *The Role of Journalists on Elections*. The event provided venue for journalists in the region to share their experiences with their Indonesian counterparts to help them improve their role during the election. It also served as an opportunity to organize their ranks and to plan ways on how they could support each other and work together on a regional level. Two separate reports on these activities have been produced and are available on Forum Asia's series of publications.

1999 General Elections

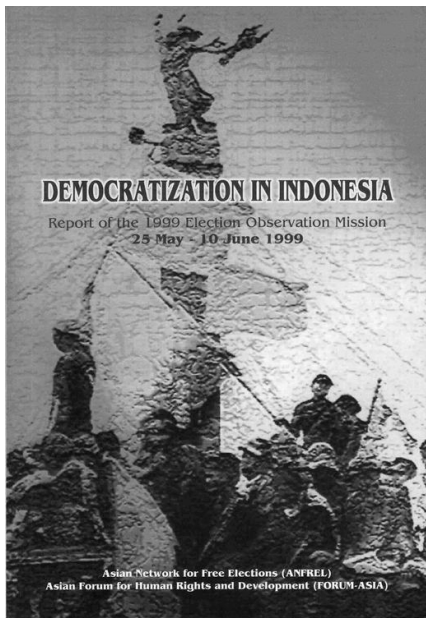
Through the request of ANFREL's network members KIPP, AJI and YLBH, including ANDI, Forum-Asia and ANFREL organized an observation mission for the 1999 Indonesian

¹ Balais-Serrano, Evelyn and Ito, Takeshi, *Democratization in Indonesia; ANFREL and Forum-Asia, Thailand 1999*



General Election. The basic strategies for the said mission were divided to three major activities:

- Deployment of observation missions on the major phases of the election process;
- Conducting trainings and seminars to help build the capacity of local NGOs and;
- Undertaking the regional-level campaign to generate international support for the democratization issues in Indonesia.



One of the basic tasks of an election monitoring body is ensuring an environment that is conducive to holding of a free and fair election. The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) is trying to contribute to the creation of this environment prior to the general elections in Indonesia. It has mobilized its network in Indonesia and has forged new partnerships with some local organizations in carrying out its various programs and activities.



The creation of a democratic space is a prerequisite to allow the people to exercise their rights, particularly their right to free expression and to freely participate in the electoral process; basic rights denied them in the past by the Suharto regime. ANFREL, together with other FORUM-ASIA's projects focusing on Indonesia, undertook series of activities in preparation for the election. A campaign Against Violence was conducted, involving various sectors in the region to engage their counterparts in Indonesia in dialogues and discussion on how to address violence in the country. Meetings with President Habibie, General Wiranto and other key government officials in the Parliament, Human Rights Commission, National Election Commission and other government agencies were arranged to create pressure to stop the violence occurring in the run up to the election. Representatives from trade unions, political parties, ethnic and religious groups, academics, military and students from different countries in the region were mobilized to contribute towards this effort.

Objectives of the Election Observation Program

Electoral process is one of the basic needs for citizens of a country to enjoy their freedom to exercise political rights in choosing representatives to organize and manage the country's democratic political system. Because the relations between politics, economics and social justice are tight, election thus plays a major role in determining the future direction of a country. ANFREL believes that the electoral system of a country must be coordinated and monitored carefully to assure the sovereignty of the processes, which shoulders its autonomous results.



The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 21) states that:

“The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government. This will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.”

Relative to the complexity of the society, the Indonesian electoral system is unique and complicated that no same electoral system can be found in other countries. From experience, ANFREL has learnt that Indonesia is a fertile ground to enhance political understanding. Nevertheless, such thorough mission to study the evolution, cause and effect of Indonesian Political changes is too huge a task, and might not be achievable in a short period of time. Understanding all these factors, ANFREL has limited its mission in Indonesia to focus at certain areas which will undoubtedly produce valuable data's to open doors for further future researches. The objectives that ANFREL has set for the observation mission for the Indonesian General Assembly and Presidential elections in 2004 are simplified below:



A kid stood in front of Wiranto's campaign in Kendari, Sulawesi



- To examine the integrity of the electoral process in terms of procedures and human rights regulation.
- To provide accurate and impartial information and analysis on issues related to the National Assembly elections in particular and prospects for democratic development in general.
- To study the strategies adopted to enhance and sustain the capacity of civil society organizations to ensure an environment conducive for the conduct of free and fair elections as well as for the development of democracy and democratic practices.
- To enhance understanding of the increasing civil societal activity among participating nations through training and promotion of democratization values among members of the observation mission.
- To understand local networks of elections monitoring bodies in organizing, training, information gathering and data exchanging activities during the mission which will enhance the results of the mission for both local and international participants of election observation missions.
- To develop research materials delving into issues on Indonesian social and political environment in relations to the election.



- To publish a report upon completion of the mission. This report will be distributed to the Indonesian public and all interested parties in the spirit of information sharing.

Methodologies and Strategies

Methodologies

ANFREL's activities on election monitoring are rooted in the Framework for Future Efforts at Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Periodic and Genuine Elections adopted by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1989. This principle provides a universal and equal suffrage, as well as setting up an impartial administration to ensure the reliability of the electoral process. Apart from independent administration and supervision of the electoral process by related agencies, there has to be appropriate voter registration methods, reliable balloting procedures and effective measures for preventing frauds and resolving disputes.

Election observers will play an important role in the pursuit of democratic elections that should have the following minimal conditions: franchise is genuinely universal; political parties and individual candidates are able to enjoy their legitimate rights to take part in the election; there is freedom of expression allowing possible criticism of the incumbent government; there is the right to free movement and assembly; all contesting parties and candidates have reasonable access to the media; and there is freedom of choice for voters to cast ballots.



As a rule, ANFREL observation missions do not operate against the will of the host country. Since its first presence in Indonesia in 1997, ANFREL has been welcomed by the government of Indonesia, civil society organizations and the general public. It must, nevertheless, be noted that the mandate of ANFREL observation missions rules out any kind of interference.² The mission has no authority to change, improve or correct any shortcomings during the election process. ANFREL only has the mandate to collect, verify and analyze information concerning election-related issues. After the conclusion of observation activities, preliminary and final reports will be produced and disseminated. These reports will include an assessment of the electoral process based on international standards for free and fair democratic elections as well as recommendations.

Election observers observe the entire electoral process as it takes place in order to make an informed and accurate assessment of both the conduct of elections and the surrounding environment. ANFREL believes that the use of election observers can provide

² *There is a clear distinction in the mandate of a supervisory mission, a monitoring mission and an observation mission. A supervisory mission is in control of electoral process and has administrative and executive power, while monitoring gives a mission the mandate to interfere in case electoral process derails. Contrary to that, the mandate of an observation mission rules out any kind of interference. The mission has no authority to change, improve or correct any shortcomings in electoral process during the election period. The observation mission only has the mandate to collect and verify information concerning election-related issues, to analyse the observations and to publish its observations including assessing the findings against international standards for free and fair democratic elections and make recommendations.*



effective means of verifying the integrity and fairness of the electoral process and its outcomes. In addition, the presence of observers will create an atmosphere that decreases the likelihood of intimidation, violence or fraud. Well-planned observation missions can significantly instill confidence in voters and increase not only their willingness to seriously participate in the electoral process but also their ability to freely express political wills at the polls without fears of reprisal.



Afghan and Canadian observers joined the LTO observation team for Legislative election.

It is therefore essential that election observers come from non-partisan organizations with proven records and reputations for professional and ethical qualifications in areas related to the technicality of electoral process and the promotion of democracy.

Balloting and vote counting process usually form the focal point of election observation activities of ANFREL. But apart from that, election observers are also active in examining other aspects of electoral process such as the appointment of electoral officers, the registration of political parties and voters, the verification and designation of candidates, the demarcation of constituencies, the enforcement of election campaign regulations, the conduct of voting and vote counting, the review of complaints and the installation of election winners. The authority and the media



deserve special scrutiny given their potential for improperly using their status to manipulate electoral process and influence election outcomes. At the end of the polls and after preliminary results are released, election observers examine the way in which complaints about cheating and irregularities are handled by related agencies.

Strategies

The complexity of politics in Indonesia and importance of Indonesia to the regional political stability is the main consideration in tailoring the strategies of ANFREL's observation mission. ANFREL believes that a greater understanding of the culture and politics in Indonesia is widely needed in order to have a deeper realization on the needs of the nation. Understanding these demands, ANFREL will divide its mission into TWO (2) different groups, tackling two different objectives. The diversification of these groups is elaborated below.

The Legislative Election Observation Mission

Among many civil society organizations in Indonesia, ANFREL will primarily work in cooperation with the Indonesian Commission for Independent Observers (*KIPP*), the Independent Journalist Association (*AJI*), the Legal Aid Foundation and other human rights organizations. These local partners will be the centre points for ANFREL to conduct missions to observe, investigate, assess and document situation and conditions that affect the creation of political conditions necessary for the conduct of free and fair elections in Indonesia. Moreover,



ANFREL will also cooperate with the Indonesian Government and the Elections Commission in observing, investigating and documenting human violations that may affect the integrity and fairness of the 2004 General Assembly Elections such as killing, armed attack, arbitrary arrest, abduction and detention.

Such an extensive cooperation with both Indonesian civil society organizations and international agencies will allow ANFREL to observe and assess, with accuracy and on a continuous basis, the extent to which freedoms of association, assembly, expression and the right to freely participate in political exercises via electoral process will be truly respected.

Actual observation activities of ANFREL for the 2004 Legislative Elections in Indonesia was carried out through short-term observation.

Short-Term Observation

A team of 8 short-term observers from ANFREL's network in East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia will be deployed in selected constituencies for a period of ten days from 28 to 8 April 2004. Based on information collected and analyzed by long-term observers, these short-term observers will cooperate with KIPP in observing, investigating, assessing and documenting the final stage of electoral campaign as well as the actual polling, counting and tallying process.

The selection of both short-term-observers and areas of deployment will again be based on consultation with KIPP as well as long-term observers' analysis of pre-election situation.



The credentials of short-term observers are carefully chosen based on their experiences in areas related to election monitoring and local governance work. Moreover, they must have a sound understanding of current situations in Indonesia. These short-term observers will be dispatched to sensitive constituencies that have established records of violence, fraud and irregularity. During the mission, short-term observers will also meet representatives of the Election Commission (*KPU*), candidates, political parties, and government officials at different levels, community leaders, civil society organizations and voters.

ANFREL is very proud to host two Afghanistan prominent civil society members to be part of its mission in Indonesia, thus engraving ANFREL's mission in Indonesia in 2004 for the Legislative Election the first to be attended by Afghan nationals as election observers. This surely will help the Afghans in preparation for their coming first democratic election scheduled in September 2004.



1.1 2004 General Election

ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION REPORT INDONESIAN LEGISLATIVE ELECTION 10 MARCH – 20 APRIL 2004



CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY OF PARTAI PELOPOR IN DENPASAR, BALI

The Political Environment

Much has been said about the Indonesian politics and much more will come in the future. It takes complete ignorance to simplify and generalize the political fragmentation and ideological beliefs that



have plotted many of the political history and ideological foundations to many groups in the Indonesian society. ANFREL therefore is clambering on a very thin offshoot in trying to understand these twigs of a fertile political tree. It is thus imperative to first try and understand what ideology is generally accepted as. Ideology is a set of interrelated assumptions, values and beliefs that gives meaning to and helps explain one's political world. Ideology offers a view not only to site function but also how a society should operate.

Although there were many 'Ideologies' that was introduced to the Indonesian society over time, let's look at two most dominant thinking or ideological wisdom that have survived and supersede the rest. The two most supported ideological alignment of Indonesian politics since independence has been one of "nationalism," in support of the Pancasila ideology, versus Islam, which strives for the establishment of an Islamic state on the basis of Islamic Law (*Syaria*). Interestingly, it can reasonably be assumed that most of the members of the "nationalist" parties are also Muslims.

A clear expression of such an ideological division between Nationalism and Islam was manifested in the result of a voting in the Constitutional Assembly established through the election of 1955, to determine a permanent constitution. The final vote was on whether the provisional 1945 Constitution or the Jakarta Charter, its original draft, was to be the Republic's permanent Constitution, which would have made the Indonesian republic an Islamic state. The result was a large majority in favor of the former choice, although the required 2/3-majority vote was not obtained. In the end, the Constitutional Assembly was dissolved by a Presidential decree of July 9th, 1959 for its failure, which for many transcends the unsettling ideological foundation to the Republic.

The ideological dichotomy, however, was briefly interrupted during the less than a decade of President Sukarno's rule of "Guided Democracy".



Despite the so-called "Madiun Affair" of 1948, a rebellion by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the party was never banned. Indeed, under the new leadership of D.N. Aidit, the party regained its membership and sympathizers, and in the 1955 election came out as one of the "big four", along with the PNI, the Masyumi, and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

As a result, the common perception of "ideological map" of nationalism versus Islam did not really constitute an unbroken pattern. The PKI was becoming a political force of such influence that during Sukarno's "Guided Democracy," it eventually led him to conceive his idea of "NASAKOM"³, a coalition among the three main ideologies -- nationalism, religion, and communism in Indonesian politics.

The momentum of the PKI was disrupted and soon buried after its alleged involvement in the "Gestapu Affair" (Sept. 30 movement) of 1965, understood as another coup attempt masterminded by the PKI. The NASAKOM was discredited, and the PKI banned. Hence the birth of the Army-dominated "New Order" regime led by General, later President Soeharto.

Indeed, there were expectations on the part of the Muslims, that with the banning of the PKI, it was time for the Islamic parties (except the Masyumi, which had earlier been banned by Sukarno for its alleged involvement in a series of Islamic rebellions), to play a more important political role. It was assumed that many among those opposed to the Jakarta Charter in the Constituent Assembly were members of the PKI, which now did not count anymore. So the Islamic parties would renew their struggle for the imposition of the Syaria. Moreover, many

³ *NASAKOM is acronym to Nasionalis, Agama dan Komunis, an idea trying to integrate nationalism, religion (Islam) and communism.*



Muslims felt that the Muslims had been the main victims of the communists and that the Muslims played a significant role in fighting the communists.

Failing in this, many of Muslims felt "marginalized under the Soeharto regime. Only later, when at some point Soeharto was beginning to be disappointed with at least some part of the military, did he provide the Muslims with a wider opportunity to play a bigger role, particularly following the emergence of Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) especially with B.J. Habibie coming into office as Minister of Research and Technology, and later as Vice President. It was then that there was some degree of "Islamic revival".

Nevertheless, it was impossible for the Islamic parties to achieve their goal of adopting the Islamic syaria by constitutional means, for since 1983 Soeharto, through a decision of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), required that all political parties and mass organizations could only have Pancasila as their ideological basis. Moreover, all decisions had to be made by unanimity (*mufakat*).

However, unity among the Muslims, particularly among Muslim parties and organizations, is always a far cry. As recent as the latest election of 1999, the Muslims were split into a number of parties. Indeed, in Parliament, the Islamic-based political parties set up "Central Axis. It was meant to be some kind of an alliance, a united front or perhaps united forum, rather than a merger, for cooperation and mutual consultations among Islamic based political parties, each of which, alone, would constitute a minority. However, the Central Axis did not include the National Awakening Party (PKB), which is NU-based, thus strictly speaking, Islamic-based, especially the NU being the largest Muslim organization in the country.

It was the forces of the Central Axis that formed a strong and united opposition to Megawati Soekarnoputri of the Indonesian Democratic



Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan), biggest winner of the election, and thus the strongest presidential candidate. They used her gender as their main weapon to bloc her election as President.

It was also the Central Axis, ironically, that catapulted Abdurrahman Wahid to the presidency, thus relegating Megawati to the vice presidency. More ironically, however, that it was also the withdrawal the support by the Central Axis for Abdurrahman Wahid that in the end forced him out of office, thus paving the way for Megawati's presidency.

The 1999 elections introduced a multi-party system that has been one of the dominant demands of the Reformasi Movement. Interestingly, to many political observers in Indonesia, the multi-party system was used to uphold the dominance of the big parties, namely GOLKAR, PDIP, PPP and PKB. The truth to these assumptions remained unjustified, as it was not observed that these parties later formed coalition⁴ after the election result were announced.

The 1999 election resulted in an interesting compromise between PDI Perjuangan and Golkar in relations to the electoral law. The Golkar first proposed that a presidential candidate should be a university graduate, which would prevent Megawati's nomination for the presidency.

On the one hand, the PDI Perjuangan's first proposal was that no one found guilty of a crime with a sentence of three years imprisonment

⁴ Coalition here refers to Political Party Coalition that is made through a Political Party General Assembly and made known to the public. It is understood that political parties always tries to form coalitions in the MPR after the 1999 elections, but none of them were institutionalized.



should be nominated to the presidency, clearly aimed at preventing Akbar Tandjung from presidential nomination.

Finally they reached a compromise: A presidential candidate should at least be a senior high school graduate, thus making the way open to Megawati's nomination. At the same time, the PDI Perjuangan agreed to a condition that one with a sentence of three years imprisonment could be a presidential candidate, which would then pave the way for Akbar's presidential candidacy.

These compromises were however only a dominate factor post 1999 elections as the President was elected through the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). In other words, the President was elected through a strategic coalition effort made in the MPR.

The 2004 Legislative Election does not pose such kind of possibilities (in the MPR) as the President will be elected directly by the people in the coming Presidential Election. Through the new system, political parties are unlikely to strategies a coalition (in the MPR) for the said reason. However, the new system (through the election law) requires a threshold from the result of the Legislative Election for a person to be a candidate in the presidential election. This means that logically, political parties will start strategizing its coalition plan if they feel that they won't get enough seats to directly elect a representative for the presidential election. The threshold set by the election law is however very low, which is 3% from the total number of votes.

ANFREL observes two interesting debates through the new electoral system implemented for the 2004 Legislative Election. One, from the Legislative Election, the threshold being very low for parties to nominate a presidential candidate, there is almost certain that there will be a second round Presidential Election as it will be tough to gain a majority of 50% in the first round of the Presidential Election. Two, the election law requires a threshold for a presidential candidate to be



nominated from the result of the Legislative Election. This means only a political party member can contest in the presidential election. Statistics from political parties shows that only 20% of the total Indonesian population is a political party member. Interestingly, the electoral system denies the right of independent candidates to contest in the presidential election, although they can represent the majority of the population.

The Changes

The 2004 Indonesian elections are regarded to many as the most complex and challenging elections to have faced by any democracy. The challenges are not only those of size -- although the statistics are daunting to even the most hardened election administrator or politician. There will be at least two and likely three election days between April 5 and Sept. 20, 2004⁵. These elections will be held in close to 2,000 electoral districts. There are potentially up to 475,000 candidates that could be nominated by the 24 parties contesting the April 5 national (DPR), provincial and regency/city (DPRD) legislative elections. Parties and candidates will be competing for the votes of 143 million



Ballot papers for Legislative election

⁵ Elections days here refers to all legislative and the presidential elections 2004



voters. For each Election Day, around 500,000 voting stations will be needed, whose 3.5 million staff and one million security officers will need to be recruited and trained. Overall, around 900 million ballot papers will need to be printed, distributed and retrieved.

For the Legislative Election 2004, there are several major changes that were implemented to the electoral system. This was a structural respond to the public outcry since the forming of the government after the 1999 election. The Indonesian public generally feels that the representatives or elected candidates fail to perform well and that the system needs a fresh make-up to better represent their aspirations. To be specific, the public was demanding for a better electoral system in order for the people to be involved directly in choosing their representatives.

After discussions and debate over the matter, a combination of three systemic factors related to representation could be regarded as contributing to the perceived problems⁶:

- A closed system of candidate selection controlled by central party executives with little regard for local interests;
- electoral districts from which very large numbers of representatives were often elected—for the DPR up to 82 came from the one electoral district; and
- A closed-list proportional representation system, in which the parties control which of their candidates take the representative positions the party has won in each electoral district.

⁶ WALL, Alan, *IFES Indonesia; Some Questions on Indonesian Election Answered*, 2004



ANFREL however expands the discussion into a broader manner and based on its observation mission in 1999, there are a few other factors that contributed to the misrepresentation problem. Voter education for instance was one of the most worrying factors, where ANFREL observed that there was a serious lack of public discussion on the roles of representatives, ironically, killed by strong sentiments backed by great emotions for the *Reformasi* movement. The changes that were demanded at that time generally tend to focus on a very broad perspective on the government's role for the nation rather than touching the micro level of responsibilities of the representatives to the people. Furthermore, ANFREL is also concerned of the fact that political party candidates and agents are often outside the framework of any kind of electoral training that can educate and prepare them for better governance and strengthen their roles and identity as representatives of democracy. This similar environment was again observed during the recent Legislative Election, however, a positive change in the electoral system is hoped to lessen the under performing representatives scenario in the future.

The 2004 Legislative Elections (for the DPR and the DPRD's) was conducted using a form of open-list proportional representation. The basic aim of a proportional representation system is to produce a representative body in which the proportion of seats won by each party closely reflects the proportion of the total vote that each party has obtained.

Reacting to the under performing representatives problem, the open-list proportional representation system is tailored to give voters control over both the number of seats each party wins in the representative body and the candidates from those parties that will represent the voters. Through this system, voters are able to choose from a list of candidates from each party as their representative. However, the system adopted in Indonesia has placed relatively strong restrictions on how much influence the voters have on which



candidates will be elected to represent them from the party of their choice. From ANFREL's critical point of view, an open list system is a step towards introducing the voter's in Indonesia to choose directly their preferred representatives but on the other hand, observations during the polling day shows that voters lack of knowledge of these candidates are due to lacking of personal involvement of most candidates in their society.

Electoral districts in the 2004 Legislative Election.

Besides the changes that were made to the electoral system, there were also changes made in regards to the electoral districts. In the 1999 general elections, provinces were the electoral districts for the DPR and Provincial DPRD whilst regencies were the electoral districts for Regency DPRDs. In the 2004 general elections new electoral districts for the DPR and DPRDs were formed. These electoral districts are determined over the number of seats to contest in the election rather than the geographical boundary. To permit reasonable proportionality in awarding seats to successful political parties, the KPU determined in July 2003 (under the election law) that electoral districts for the 2004 elections, should, wherever possible, have between 6 and 12 seats⁷. Generally, these electoral districts are smaller in population and geographically. This decision was made primarily to:

⁷*The Election law specifies that between 3 to 12 representatives shall be elected in each DPR and DPRD electoral district. The law also stated that no province have fewer representatives in the DPR than it did after the 1999 elections and that provinces created since the 1999 elections have a minimum of three representatives.*



Voters were checking the list of contesting parties before the opening of a polling station (TPS) in Tabanan.

- encourage a larger district total and in order to limit the number of votes that are not converted into seats;
- promote the representation of women and minority groups
- to promote competition between new and established parties;
- Make election administration less complex.

Apart from the above said factors, the decision on new electoral district was also catered to promote better links between representatives and the people by scaling down the span of control for each representative. The success of such relationship between the representatives and the people under this system should however not only depend to the scaling down of the size of electoral districts. ANFREL is supportive towards this effort, however stresses the need to other form of political reforms in order to achieve greater sense of responsibility in representatives. Apart from that, a direct effect from the smaller geographical area to the number of elected representatives will also be felt in this new electoral districts arrangement, as fewer numbers of representatives will be elected in election.



To permit reasonable proportionality in awarding seats to successful political parties, the election law specifies that between 3 to 12 representatives shall be elected in each DPR and DPRD electoral district. In between this 3 to 12 number of representatives elected, at average, the fewer the number of representatives elected from each district, the more likely it is that the elected representatives will be concentrated to a smaller number of parties. On the other hand, the greater the number of representatives elected, from each electoral district, the more proportional the electoral system will be overall. Whether district totals should tend more towards 3 or 12 is not defined in the law, and the KPU's decisions in this regard will have a significant effect on future political relationships in Indonesia.

The DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*) - People's Representative Council.

For the DPR, the legislative election will stage an election to 550 DPR representatives, which have been formed from 69 districts in all provinces (in less populated regions) or parts of provinces (in more populated regions). Average population per DPR representative may vary between 325,000 (in less densely populated provinces) and 425,000 (in more densely populated provinces).

The KPU's guidelines for districting require that wherever provincial populations were sufficient, electoral districts should



All candidates of Partai Pelopor joined the party's campaign in Denpasar.



contain between 6 and 12 seats. The average district has 7.97 seats—almost the maximum practically possible under the terms of the election law. Population per seat in each province varied between 130,433 in West Irian Jaya (the lowest) to 422,884 in West Java (the highest). The KPU's fulfilling of the minimum number of seats per province required by law has meant that 9 of the 32 provinces have a population per seat under the legal minimum of 325,000.

The DPRD (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) – Regional people's Representative Council.

For provincial DPRDs, a total of 211 electoral districts have been created for assemblies of between 35 and 100 members (depending on provincial population) from individual regencies/cities or combinations thereof. For regency/city DPRDs, electoral districts for assemblies of between 20 and 45 members (depending on regency/city population) have been formed by the KPU from individual sub districts (*kecamatan*) or combinations thereof. A total of 1,745 electoral districts have been determined for the 440 regencies/cities. The preliminary totals resulting from the collection of population data by the P4B project⁸, in April 2003, were used as the basis for allocating seats within the DPR and the DPRDs. One later adjustment to the DPR seat allocation was made on the basis of revised population figures for Maluku, resulting in the gain of one seat for Maluku and the loss of one seat to NTB.

⁸ P4B is in short for *Pendaftaran Pemilih dan Pendataan Penduduk Berkelanjutan* (Voter Registration and Progressive Population Census), a project supervised by the BPS - Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistical Department of Indonesia).



DPD (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah*) - Regional Representative Council.

The Legislative Elections will include voting for the new Regional Representative Council (DPD), using a system known as the Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV). Voters will vote for one candidate only. The entire province is a DPD electoral district. Each province will elect four DPD representatives—the four highest vote winners in the province. ANFREL observes that the *SNTV* system raise interesting associated strategic issues for alliances of candidates. This system could encourage candidate strategists to determine the ideal number of allied candidates to be nominated and the ideal way to encourage supporters to vote for different candidates in order to maximize the number of like-minded candidates elected. ANFREL however notes this as a possibility of political sidestep, in which (for obvious reasons) would be most difficult to prove.

The Electoral Administration

KPU (KOMISI PEMILIHAN UMUM)

Under the law number 12 of 2003 on general elections (article 25 and 26), the KPU shall have the following duties and authorities:

- a. To plan the conduct of the election;
- b. To determine the organization and procedures for the conduct of all stages of the election;
- c. To coordinate, conduct and control all stages of the implementation of the election;
- d. To determine the electoral participants;



- e. To determine electoral districts, the number of seats and candidates for membership of the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD;
- f. To establish the time, date, campaign procedures and voting procedures;
- g. To determine the result of the election and announce the elected members of the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD;
- h. To evaluate and give a report on the implementation of the election;
- i. To implement other duties and powers regulated by law.

Under Article 26 of law number 12 of 2003 on general elections, the KPU shall have the following obligations:

- 1. to serve and treat participants to the election in a fair and equal manner to ensure the success of the election;
- 2. to determine standards and requirements for goods and services for the implementation of the election in accordance with the applicable legislation;
- 3. to maintain election archives and documents and manage KPU inventories in accordance with the applicable legislation;
- 4. to deliver information related to its activities to the public;
- 5. to submit reports on the implementation of the election to the President no later than 7 (seven) days after the taking of the pledge/oath by members of the DPR and DPD;



6. to be accountable for the utilization of fund received from the national budget - APBN (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara*); and
7. To implement other obligations regulated by law.

In 2004, for the first time in Indonesia, elections will be managed by a General Election Commission (KPU) that is independent, nationally hierarchical and permanent at national, provincial and regency/city levels. The KPU has built a reputation with the public as a credible and effective institution.

Recent polling by IFES shows that the KPU is known by around 60 percent of the Indonesian public -- substantially more people than are aware of other institutions such as Komnas HAM, the State Audit Board (BPK), and the Ombudsman. Of those aware of the KPU, 69 percent were satisfied with its work, as against only 15 percent who were dissatisfied. This is by far the highest level of public satisfaction with any of the government institutions surveyed in this poll.

The Indonesian people are also relatively optimistic that their KPU is an impartial organization that will manage the 2004 elections in a fair and honest manner. Sixty-five percent of all respondents to the IFES poll believed the 2004 elections will be fair and honest (compared to 15 percent who did not), whilst 64 percent of those who knew of the KPU regarded it as a neutral organization (compared to 19 percent who did not).

Major challenges to the KPU's administrative capacities have been confidently responded to. The determination of electoral districts has proceeded smoothly, given the immensity of the task. Since July 2003, the KPU has created close to 2000 electoral districts. While the original very tight deadlines for this task have not been met, its completion is a significant achievement. Districting processes in



advanced democracies, such as the U.S. and Australia, take very much longer to determine a much smaller number of districts.

Similarly, the verification of those political parties eligible to contest the 2004 election, involving checking of party branches and membership throughout Indonesia, has been completed by the KPU close to the original schedule and using a process that has been widely accepted.

Significant administrative challenges remain for the KPU. These include the finalization of voter registration using new, automated systems (one of the biggest scanning-based projects attempted in the world); the procurement, distribution and retrieval of election materials for three election days; and the development and implementation Indonesia wide of computerized systems to collate centrally all election results from each voting station.

These are the largest and most complex single day, nation-wide elections attempted in any emerging democracy. So far, preparations for the elections have progressed peacefully, and, considering the volume of work, relatively to schedule. Much remains to be done, however -- not only in administrative preparations, whilst in preparing the Indonesian people for the significant changes in their election processes and elected institutions.

HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITION

The 2004 Indonesian legislative Election has seen remarkable positive advances in terms of human rights condition, comparing to the 1999 Indonesian Election. Generally, ANFREL observed that politically motivated killings and intimidation in terms of voter's decision making is almost inexistence. The progress to Indonesian democratic society should be an example to developing democratic nations. ANFREL observed that the expansion of the number of local civil society



organizations have helped the progress of democracy in Indonesia. It is important to note here that the tremendous efforts done by the Indonesian people in upholding democratic values are highly praised by ANFREL.

ANFREL however promotes that the Election Commission of Indonesia (KPU), forge a stronger and a more positive coordination and relationship with all local civil societies involving in democracy



KIPP demonstration after they denied accreditation for election observation by National KPU. KIPP is one of the largest local observation organizations.

related activities. ANFREL observed that there has been unnecessary tension between local election observation organizations with the KPU during its observation period in Indonesia. Local civil societies must be regarded as an important element that works closely with the KPU, helping each other hand in hand in promoting democracy.

Starting from the 25th of April 2004, a local observation organization, KIPP (Komite Independent Pemantau Pemilu) was under constant pressure from the Election Commission after it made a strong comment on its findings of the delayed



logistics preparation by the Election Commission. KIPP recommends that the Indonesian Legislative Election 2004 be postponed because of this hiccup in logistics coordination by the Election Commission. Under the election law, all materials to be used on polling day (such as ballot paper, ballot boxes, ink and all other related materials) must arrive in the provinces 10 days prior to polling day. ANFREL, investigating the claims by the local organization, and from its observation, ANFREL found out that there has been a delay in transporting the election materials to the provinces. This has resulted in a chaotic provincial election commission's preparations.

The case escalated from just media war between the Election Commission with KIPP, to legal claims by the Election Commission to drag KIPP to court to defend its position regarding the matter. ANFREL coordinator was present at the constitutional court during KIPP's submission of a statement to clarify its position.

As a result, the constitution was amended on the night of 4th of March 2004 (before polling day, 5th March 2004), which enables the Election Commission to postpone the dates of election in two provinces, namely Aceh and West Papua. The Constitution before this amendment only allows the election to be postponed (nationwide/provinces) if there is an element of insurgency or natural disaster. The amendment was made to add another category, which is major logistics handling or transportation error. The result from this late amendment caused provincial chaos, when voters turned up on polling day only understanding that the election has been postponed in their area the morning of the polling itself. This happened because the amendment was made late, and information about the delay of elections in these provinces failed to reach the masses.

Learning from such experience, ANFREL strongly suggests that the Election Commission should accept comments made by local observation organization as positive and act on the matter faster, rather



than getting into unnecessary tension that will not benefit either party in the end.

PRE ELECTION PERIOD

ANFREL observers observed several problems during its pre election observation period; however the two major problems observed are logistics preparation and training of election officers.



ANFREL observer in Bali writes:

ANFREL observer from Taiwan interviewed people in Bali before polling day.

“The **delay of logistics** distribution and qualities of the items (voter cards, ballot papers, inks) remains a major problem, but officials expect things to be ready on April 5. **Voter education** reaches out and quality varies. Its penetration in rural areas worries election officers, observers and local organizations. Voters in addition **barely know the political platforms of parties and candidates**.

The **training of election officers is apparently insufficient** for proper handle of the complex voting process. There are election officers that bluntly spoke about the poor training and information they received.

Money politics prior to campaigns seem prevalent in Bali. But this may not significantly impact voters’ decision because they receive money and gifts from various parties anyway. Voter’s apathy towards the elections due to disappointment for reformasi and fear for conflicts might be more of a concern. Some will go to vote because it’s an obligation, while lacking understanding of why it is an important matter”.



ANFREL observers in East Jawa write:

“Logistics is the major problem area. KPU has been rushing to deploy all ballot papers and TPS materials to the local level, although they reported nearly 100% distribution to PPS level by 30 March. Sampang Regency KPU (Madura) confirmed this situation, and remote islands observed by JICA were also receiving materials. Three specific problems:

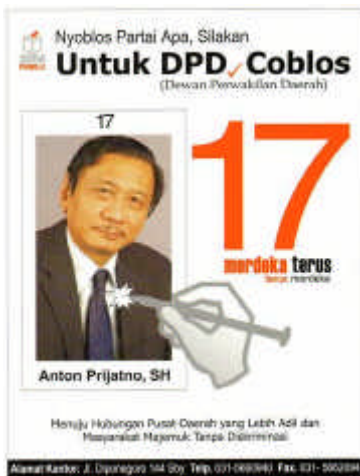
1. **Seals for transportation of ballot papers/boxes to TPS** did not arrive from Jakarta KPU. Prov. KPU decided to distribute with local seals, but apparently some areas were distributed without sealing.
2. In Pamekasan and Sumenep Regencies, KIPP reports very large numbers of **voters did not receive their voter cards** as of 31 March. If cards are distributed by village heads, there could be a risk of manipulation.
3. Unusual numbers of extra ballot papers held by KPU in one regency (Sampang).

Provincial KPU is working hard, but overloaded, especially with logistics issues and transmitting changing directives from Jakarta regarding valid/invalid ballot papers, etc. to local level.

ANFREL also observed strict regulation of time and location of campaign activities, especially in Surabaya but also at local level, which reduced disturbances. Very frequent technical violations of election rules by all parties swamping Panwaslu, which received more than 1000 cases of such election complaints as of 29 March”.

ANFREL observer in Banten writes:

“People feel indifferent about the coming results of the elections. Most people think that money politics are serious, and that politicians care about communities only during election periods. Under such cognition, most interviewees still want to vote. They seem to cherish their democratic rights anyway. The turnouts are expected by local NGOs and officials to be higher than 80%, even 90%”.



Independent candidate no 17 showed how to coblos.



Coupon of No. 18 were distributed to voters and members before election days in Kendari.



1.2 ELECTION DAY

Anfrel's observation indicated that the Election Day in general went peacefully. Most problems observed are about the technical matters and lacking of voter education and election official's training. ANFREL observed many problems on organizing the election process starting from setting the equipment inside polling station until counting process. Many KPPS at all TPS has no experience and did not receive enough training from KPU. ANFREL also observed a serious lack of interest and seriousness in party's agents' observation.

ANFREL's observation during polling day shows that it is quite obvious that voter education is not only insufficient for eligible voters but also members of the local NGO community. Instead of all stakeholders should be keeping an eye on each other in order to make the election credible, free and fair, but they seem not to be serious on the election process. KPU left the task of voter education to the political parties and NGOs which all parties have taken opportunities to give education only partly to voters or villagers and do not fulfill the will of having this new system for democratic voting development and choice. As Indonesia have high illiteracy rate and the election process is quite complicated, parties then told voters to vote for a particular party only, making the voter education process distorted.

Polling Stations (TPS) Setting and Location

ANFREL's observation on the setting up of the Polling Stations shows that there is a serious problem related with equipment and a standard quality for polling stations.

ANFREL observer in Madiun writes:

“All TPS in Madiun have some similar problems of setting polling



equipment and location. For example, ballot booths at TPS no 12, Jiwan village, Jiwan sub-district at Madiun regency are not set up against the wall. Voter's secrecy is at stake since people can see their vote from the exit door. The same problem happened at the TPS No. 11, Mangunbarjo sub district, Nambangan Village, Madiun City in addition to the table setting for the party agents which was quite far distant. Polling stations at TPS no. 1, 2, 3 in Mejayan village and at the TPS I Jerule Gulung, Balerjo, were set up in houses. Some owners of the houses are KPPS themselves. Some houses are quite dark inside. Provincial KPU explained that there is no regulation prohibits about this. Observer saw that there are some suitable spaces at all villages for setting the tent for TPS but they said that it is cheaper to take people house for TPS. This is seriously against the neutrality of the TPS. At the station NO. 10 and 11, Madiun city, polling stations were set up in the compound of PDIP party”.

ANFREL observers in Lampung write:

“In many polling stations, the vote booths were set up too closely to each other. Other voters had to walk behind a person who was currently voting to go to a free voting compartment. There were certain areas of the polling stations where you could see from which side of the ballot (upper left, upper right, lower left, lower right, center) the person was voting for. (Vote booth too small for the size of the ballot paper). In Rajabasa jail, a cameraman took a picture of a person while voting”.

ANFREL observers in Bali and Jakarta observed that many TPS were left unguarded and empty by and around 12:00 noon, as the polling station officers take lunch break.

Coblos (Method of Punching ballot papers)

It is quite a significant problem for voting by punching nail on ballot



paper. This way of voting has caused delay in the counting process in all TPS and gives high potential for mistake of counting as well. This is because it is very difficult to see the punched holes, as it is very tiny. Besides, this method could also caused serious voting problems as voters often spoil their ballot papers by accidentally tears it while trying to punch a hole (this happens when a voter punch the ballot paper too hard). KPU should change the way of voting to be marking by ball-pen or using stamp like implemented in other countries in Asia.

The Registration Process and Survey by Statistic Bureau

ANFREL observed that the number of eligible voters is very much inaccurate and it had brought an unrealistic calculation to the number of ballot papers of each PTS in each village. While the voter turn out is high (85%), it could have been better if the registration process were done efficiently. It was observed that the statistic bureau made significant mistakes in including migrant people, deceased, under-aged, polices and militaries in the voter lists. ANFREL strongly suggests that the KPU and statistic bureau to re-check the voter list and comes out with a new registration method before the presidential election, to have an election that is transparent and credible.



ANFREL and KIPP observers visited Kandari prison to observe prisoners casting their ballot papers inside the prison.



1.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Voter Registration:*

The currently available voter list of the legislative elections contains the names of migrants, deceased individuals, underage persons, as well as military and police personnel whose voting right is retained in the 2004 parliamentary elections in accordance with the election laws.

As the presidential election is approaching, prudent review and cross-check of the voter list by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) and KPU shall be immediately carried out. This is critical to the prevention of phantom votes and multiple voting of any voter. In addition, the presence of a more precise voter list will benefit the control of election logistics expenses by reducing unnecessary preparation for ineligible voters whose names are wrongly placed on the list.

ANFREL observers found that the ineffectiveness in reaching out to voters had attributed to the failure to register eligible voters in the legislative elections. To safeguard the right to vote of every eligible voter, ANFREL highly recommends that voter census data collection be jointly conducted by the central government agencies and local community administration with door-to-door visit to enhance its accuracy.

2. *Rewards to Voters to Boost Participation in Campaign Activates:*

During the election observation, ANFREL observers' interviews with voters found that many have either accepted money or gifts offered by political parties themselves or seen and heard others do



so as a reward for their participation in campaign activities. The National Election Supervision Committee (Panwaslu) at central and local levels had also predicted and confirmed such practice by political parties.

Luring voters to join campaign activities by offering money or other materials, however, is barely considered as vote buying in Indonesia. This is even the perception of some local Panwaslu members, although it can potentially make those who have received money and materials from parties feel obliged or intimidated to vote for the latter. ANFREL strongly recommend all stakeholders of the Indonesian society, including the KPU, the Panwaslu, the civil society and all voters to identify the aforementioned activities as vote-buying that shall be prohibited so as to minimize any impact to voters' free will during the elections.

3. *Verification of Voter Identification:*

Due to the absence of the holder's photo, the voter registration cards issued by KPU for the legislative elections cannot prevent one person from using the other's voter card to cast a ballot. The KPU should decide on ID cards that will be valid for voter identity verification. All election officers and voters must be informed of types of valid ID cards to present on the polling day before ballot papers are given. A voter should then be requested to present both the registration card and proper identification card with its holder's photo to the polling station officers. This is to ensure the credibility of the voting process with accurate confirmation of a voter's identification, while the KPU may not have enough time to prepare for registration cards attached with voters' photos for the upcoming presidential elections.

On the other hand, ANFREL observers had observed prevalent



delay in handing registration cards to voters prior to the voting day due to the logistics production and transportation problems. A registered voter who cannot timely receive the card or has lost the voter card should be allowed to vote with the ID cards approved by the KPU. The KPU should guarantee their right to vote by informing the election officers and all voters of this.

4. ***Checking Indelible Ink on Voters' Fingers':***

The purpose of applying the indelible ink to a voter's finger after he/she cast the ballots and checking the trace of ink on a voter's finger before voting is to prevent multiple voting by a voter. The failure to check voters' fingers for indelible ink before voting is prevalent on the polling day of the legislative elections.

The fact that some polling station officers would replace the indelible ink with usual ink or mix the indelible ink with other ink due to the insufficient supply of indelible ink indicates a poor understanding of the rationale behind the use and check of indelible ink during the voting process .

To assure the transparency of the elections and prevent multiple voting by one voter, the significance of this ink-checking procedure should be clearly explained to all election officers and voters. The aforementioned procedure should then be tightly adhered to.

5. ***Punching on Ballot Papers:***

In Indonesia, a voter is requested to make his/her choice for the elections by punching on the ballot paper with a nail. The punched holes were oftentimes found as being too small to be identified or



too big that they tore the ballot papers. This had led to difficulties in deciding whether a ballot is valid during counting, and thus made counting unnecessarily time-consuming.

To avoid confusion on the validity of ballots cast by voters and improve the efficiency of the counting process, ANFREL suggests that marking with a pen or stamping on the ballot paper be considered to replace punching.

6. *Delay of Logistics:*

The delay of logistics to the provinces, the sufficiency of supply and quality control of election materials of the April 5 elections, are a major concern of ANFREL. The rush to settle logistics within a short time is an indication of the election management flaws. The elections were prone to manipulation, which could dampen electoral integrity as a result.

As the highest election management authority of the country, the KPU should be responsible for enhancing logistics arrangement and quality control of election materials. This will help build up better creditability of the election management body. In addition, it will strengthen voters' confidence in the elections by reducing ongoing and widespread speculations that the elections may be postponed.

7. *Location of Polling Stations:*

ANFREL found polling stations (TPS) being set up in private houses for the April 5 elections. This should be avoided because of the potential intimidation effect which can be brought about by the political orientation of the individual who owns the house.



It is highly recommended that all TPS be established in public places and schools to ensure the neutrality of polling station officers (KPPS members) so as to minimize the intervention in a voter's free will during the polling process.

8. *Voter Education:*

While voter education prevalence and quality has been a major issue during the legislative elections, political parties were active in carrying out voter education for the April 5 elections. Political parties, however, would always provide only limited or biased information to voters so as to make the latter recognize and support one specific party on the polling day. Therefore, it is very risky to leave voter education to political parties.

As Indonesia's highest election management authority, the KPU should take the lead in extensively intensifying voter education, reaching out to the very grassroots level. It should properly coordinate with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to effectively extend the coverage of voter education in the forthcoming elections.

9. *Training of Election Officers:*

The training of election officers had been worrisome in the 2004 legislative elections. It has been observed that many election officers did not receive timely and sufficient training prior to the polling day, and therefore appeared confused with their duties on April 5. Some of them were not familiar with the technical guidance prescribed by the higher election administration. The significance of election officers' knowledge of the voting procedures and their duties to guide voters as well as ensuring the transparency and credibility of the electoral process cannot be overemphasized.



ANFREL must reiterate that adequate training of election officers at all levels has to be timely given prior to the elections. This is to consolidate their clear understanding of duties and the polling and counting process. A simple yet comprehensive manual to help KPPS members clearly understand their duties and each step to take on the polling day for each officer should be timely provided.

10. *Confusion in Election Officers' Duties:*

Confusion of KPPS members' perception of their duties was observed during the 2004 legislative elections. Responsibilities of these officials shall be made clear so as to avoid any confusion or abrupt withdrawal of election officers from their posts.

11. *Intervention of Voters' Free Will:*

Intervention in voters' free will was observed during the April 5 elections. To ensure that the future elections of the country could be free and fair, the KPU shall request all community heads, village chiefs and religious leaders to remain neutral during elections. Voters' free decisions should by no means be "guided" or influenced in any way.

12. *Election Management Authorities' Confrontation with NGOs:*

It is a pity that the unnecessary confrontation between the KPU and local NGOs during the legislative election process took place prior to the 2004 legislative elections, while the latter only intended to expose electoral problems to request timely and necessary resolutions.

NGOs working at local and grassroots levels are capable of



offering delicate observation of problems of the electoral preparations, which might not be perceived at the central administrative level. The comments and suggestions from local election monitoring NGOs, therefore, should be considered by the authorities as constructive and indispensable to complement preparations for the elections. Local NGOs' opinions should be welcomed and taken serious in the future. An open mind to incorporate the civil society into the assessment, decision making and evaluation of all government work demonstrates the country's genuine respect for democracy, as civil society input is a form of people's participation.

13. *Voters' Informed Decision on the Polling Day:*

Voters of the 2004 Indonesian legislative elections were generally unaware of the political party or DPD candidate agenda. Some voters did not perceive the understanding of the platforms of a party or candidate as an essential reference to their decision making on the polling day, either. For the DPD or DPRD elections, a number of voters even admitted that barely knew any candidate on the list. This phenomenon could then lead the new open list system to encourage choosing a candidate rather than simply a political party to the practice of a close list system in actuality.

To enhance voters' knowledge of real democracy and to help them make an informed decision, ANFREL recommend all stakeholders of the Indonesian elections, including the KPU, the civil society of Indonesia and the international community to develop programs assisting voters to understand the significance of their informed decisions on the polling day.



CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

2004 DPR, DPD, and DPRD Election and ANFREL's Mission Time Schedule

Activities		2003										2004			
		Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Marc	Apr	
01	Voters Registration	1	15												
02	Determination on Provincial, Regency/City and Sub District number of population				1-7										
03	Registration on individual DPD candidates				8-12										
04	Registration on individual DPD candidates				8		15								



05	Registration of contesting Political Parties				9			9						
06	Determination on the number of electoral districts and the number of seats for each electoral district				14 - 28									
07	Examination of contesting political parties				19				20					
08	Determination of electoral district mapping						1	13						
09	Examination of individual DPD candidates						16		30					
10	Announcement of preliminary voter register							30	1					
11	Determination of contesting Political Parties									2				



12	Determination on the numerical order of Political Parties who are electoral participants, conducted by lottery by KPU									8				
13	ANFREL second visit to Indonesia for the preparation of the mission and preliminary observation									8				
13	Determination of individual DPD candidates									9				
14	Determination on the numerical order of individual DPD candidates who are electoral participants									16				
15	Announcement of individual DPD candidates									17-18				
16	Announcement of final vote register									31				



17	Nomination of legislative candidates from contesting political parties to KPU									22-29				
18	Examination on the administrative requirements of legislative candidates									23	5			
19	Legislative candidates examination report from KPU to participating political parties									27	12			
20	Completion and/or rectification of administrative requirements or the submission of replacement candidates from participating political parties									29	19			
21	Determination and Announcement of Legislative Candidates List										27-29			
22	Announcement of Supplementary Voter Register												5	



	ANFREL first visit to Indonesia for the preparation of the mission and preliminary observation												8	
23	General Election Campaign												11	1
24	ANFREL mission members arrives to Jakarta												25	
25	ANFREL mission members deployed to provinces												28	
26	ANFREL First statement												30	
26	Silent Period													2-4
27	Election Day													5
28	ANFREL Press Release													7
29	ANFREL mission ends													8



APPENDIX TO THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTION REPORT

ANFREL CALLS FOR BETTER MANAGEMENT OF INDONESIA's UPCOMING ELECTIONS BY ALL PARTIES

29 March 2004

The integrity of electoral process for all citizens to fully enjoy the freedom in exercising their political rights is significantly critical to forming and consolidating a country's democratic system. As a regional election observation network dedicated to the promotion of regional democratization, the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) is pleased to acknowledge the joint efforts of various stakeholders in introducing new elements to the country's election management comparing to 1999, such as emphasizing on the independence of KPU composition and Panwaslu, as well as fairer media coverage of political party activities, which is indispensable to democratic campaigning and reducing violence during elections.

ANFREL, however, would like to reiterate the importance of voter education, as whether voters are well informed and educated of the electoral procedures and laws plays a key role in assessing the electoral system. ANFREL has observed Indonesian voters' prevalent confusion in the new open list electoral system, and is highly concerned that insufficient voter education would prevent the precise reflection of voters' choices, dampening down the aforementioned efforts to promote democratization of Indonesia by encouraging citizens to choose their desired representatives.

Considering the large number of voters, ANFREL recommends the Election Commission (KPU), to further its efforts in promoting voter



education, rather than fully depending on civil society's relevant programs. Comprehensive voter education requires KPU to form an official body that specifically works in this area. On the other hand, as KPU may not be able to shoulder all voter education efforts, it is KPU's responsibility to properly coordinate governmental and non-governmental organizations' (NGO) programs in this area to effectively enhance voters' knowledge.

In addition, ANFREL would like to express its concern on the training of officials of provincial KPU, the sub-district election committee (PPK) and village election committee (PPS), who have remained uncertain of some electoral laws and voting procedures. Adequate training of election officers is crucial in reducing technical problems that can hamper the accountability of the elections.

An example that indicates more training of the officers should be timely given is that national KPU claims that provincial KPU are all informed to allow registered voters holding a confirmation receipt to vote despite the absence of their voter cards. This is to cope with the problem that many voters have not yet received their voter cards. However, ANFREL has found that some provincial KPU and election committee members were unable to confirm on this matter. ANFREL, therefore, recommends the National KPU to make a clear list of ID cards that can be used to verify voters' identification as valid voter IDs. KPU should then timely inform its election management officers at all administrative levels of the list. This will help set a standard to minimize the confusion among election officers, as well as help them better perform their duties on the polling day. ANFREL warns that the failure in coordinating and training election officers will escalate the confusion of voters on the voting day.

Last but not least, ANFREL's is concerned about whether election logistics could be timely completed in accordance to the electoral law. ANFREL recommends KPU to carefully assess the progress of



logistics and the quality of related arrangements, while many ballot papers are reported as having been damaged during the transportation process.

Based in Bangkok, ANFREL is the largest regional network of non-governmental election observation missions in Asia. ANFREL's election observation in Indonesia began in 1999. Its election observation of Indonesia's 2004 elections began in March 2004. A team of eight observers from six countries has been deployed to different provinces on March 28. Together with ANFREL's local partner, KIPP, ANFREL visions its mission in Indonesia to help build stronger democracy values.

For more information, please contact ANFREL Election Observation Program Coordinator Mr. Herizal HAZRI: 081-311-373-558 (Jakarta, Indonesia); ANFREL Research and Information Program Coordinator Ms. Chi-ting Serena CHUANG: 081-514-088-892 (Bali, Indonesia).

[29 MARCH 2004]

ANFREL pre-election observation mission statement

(3rd APRIL 2004)

ANFREL is deeply concerned by the logistics, administrative, voters education and electoral officers' training in preparation for the Indonesian Elections 2004 by the Election Commission (KPU) such as transportation of voting equipment, boxes and ballot papers, the identification of valid and invalid ballot papers, the counting process and issuance of voter's cards as the Election Day is scheduled to be organized in less than 3 days. ANFREL calls on the KPU to demonstrate its fullest commitment and accountability in ensuring a free, fair and well-organized Indonesian Elections 2004.



Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), the biggest regional network of election monitoring and human rights organizations in Asia, is deeply concerned by the disturbing truth of the inefficiency in the preparation of the Indonesian Elections 2004 as the Election Day draws near. In this connection, ANFREL requests in the strongest terms that the Election Commission (KPU) takes action to quickly, decisively and impartially address this serious situation and acts to prevent further frustration of voters and political parties which carries the possibility of violence on the Election Day and post Election Day. The impartiality, decisiveness and fairness of the KPU and government agencies in the handling of election administration and in the upholding of law and order will be an essential factor that can make the Indonesian Elections 2004 a free, fair, peaceful and successful event.

Over the last 2 weeks, local and international election-observation organizations have voiced and reported their concerns that the administrative and logistics problem might scar the vigorous preparation effort done by the KPU in organizing the Indonesian Legislative Election 2004. However, ANFREL observed that there was a strong guarantee that the shortcomings will be mend in time before the Election Date, which is scheduled on the 5th April 2004. A local NGO, Komite Independan Pemantau Pemilu (KIPP) was however reluctant to accept this guarantee, thus making a press statement suggesting that the Election Day be postponed to the 15th of April 2004. This has triggered various reactions from the public and officials, resulting to a tension between the KPU, local NGOs and Government Officials. In the midst of debating the issue, ANFREL observed that KPU has increased the awareness to the public that the preparation of the election is almost done and is organized in an unchaotic manner. To much of ANFREL's disappointment, in rushing the preparations especially in terms of logistics, more deficiencies were observed.



In Jakarta, there have been cases of more than one voter's cards sent to the same person. Furthermore, ANFREL also observed that voter's cards are being sold to "*politically motivated unregistered voters*". The absence of voter's photos on the voter's cards makes it possible for the card to be transferred and used by another person on Election Day.

The regency KPU in Sampang (Madura) expressed their concerns mostly about the transportation of voting equipment, boxes and ballot papers, the identification of valid and invalid ballot papers and the counting process. According to the officers ANFREL met in these areas, the Provincial KPU has just gave them a new instruction on the validity of ballot papers to be counted as casted votes. According to the officers, if the voters punch the nail to the party in the right place but do not punch the candidate to right space, the ballot still valid. Ballot papers with tiny marks or holes near the edges will not be considered spoiled. They expressed their concern that they might not be able to send this information to the polling station officials (*KPPS*) level as they have already finished their training program. ANFREL is concern that there would be discrepancies in vote counting in these areas.

Anfrel's observers in Bali and Madura observed that the transportation of polling equipment and ballot papers were done without sealing them in boxes. Nobody can estimate how many ballot papers will be missing before the polling day. ANFREL is concerned that if it turns out to be that many ballot papers missing in many polling stations (*TPS*), the counting result could be strongly doubted by parties/voters. Furthermore, the perpetuation of this problem will seriously undermine the principle of secret ballot.

In the areas of Lebak and Pandeglang in Banten, the Sub-district Election Committee (*PPK*) delivered unfolded ballot papers to Village Election Committee (*PPS*). These ballot papers were folded at villagers' home without security and monitoring. Ballot papers are easily missing or damaged under such conditions. The payment of



folding each 5 pieces of ballot paper is 100 Rp. This means these ballot papers may easily be bought.

In the regency of Madiun in Jawa Timur, ANFREL observer observed many names in the voter's list as to belong to deceased member of the society or minors. ANFREL questions this phenomenon and is concerned that it can undermine the results of the election in those affected areas.

ANFREL also observed that there appears to be a lack of commitment to enforce to uphold election laws and regulations during the campaigning period. Young people were seen campaigning and cases of traffic violations as well as dangerous acts by political party supporters on public roads were recorded everywhere in Indonesia during the campaigning period. ANFREL suggests that the Election Commission (*KPU*) introduces a strict Code of Ethics that is able to govern the conduct of candidates and political activists as well as everyone else that involves in electoral process.

The level of violence has dramatically decreased in the run-up to the polls on 5th of April 2004 in comparison to the Indonesian Elections of 1999. Generally, no political violence case was reported to have affecting the surrounding atmosphere of election contests in all the provinces of ANFREL's observation. ANFREL highly respects the effort taken by all parties that have worked together in creating a more democratic electoral environment in Indonesia. ANFREL hopes that this spirit and principles of tolerance, fair play, mutual respect, rule of law and good citizenship will continue and grow stronger throughout the Indonesian Elections 2004.

In support of the Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilu in Indonesia (KIPP), ANFREL has positioned 8 observers from Malaysia, Thailand, Taiwan, Afghanistan and Canada in provinces of Lampung, Banten, Jakarta Timur, Bali and Jakarta. The focus of ANFREL observation



includes: the situation of violence and corrupt practices, the preparation of electoral process by the Election Committee (KPU) and related agencies, the enforcement of election laws and regulations, the participation of people's organizations, the media and the voting public and the political climate in general.

For more information, please contact ANFREL's Election Observation Program Coordinator Mr. Herizal HAZRI tel. 081-311-373-558 (Jakarta, Indonesia) or ANFREL's Research and Information Program Coordinator Ms. Chi-ting Serena CHUANG tel. 081-514-088-892 (Bali, Indonesia).

[April 03, 2004]

Presidential E. 2004


SERTIFIKAT
NOTICE: 67AKREDITASI-PP-ANFREL/2004
KOMISI PEMILIHAN UMUM
menyatakan bahwa:

ANFREL-ASIA NETWORK for FREE ELECTIONS
telah memenuhi persyaratan Pasal 86 ayat (4 & 5)
Undang-undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2003 dan karenanya diberikan

AKREDITASI
sebagai

**PEMANTAU PEMILU
PRESIDEN DAN WAKIL PRESIDEN**

Jakarta, 17 May 2004


Prof. Dr. Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin

 2004


2. Path to the First Direct Presidential Election

ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION REPORT

INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

6 MAY – 10 JULY 2004

(FIRST ROUND)

2.1 Presidential Elections before 2004

Before the 2004 Direct Presidential Election, the President of the Republic of Indonesia used to be elected at People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, MPR), the country's highest legislative body. During the authoritarian era, MPR was merely the President's political machine. Sukarno was appointed as the President for life until he was driven from office by Suharto. Suharto, on the other hand, was reelected by MPR as the President 6 times in a row and was in the office for over 30 years in the end.

Especially under Suharto regime, MPR could never be free from the influence of the President because of its very structure. MPR was



Poster for Voter education



composed of three groups: (1) the member of People's Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR), (2) regional delegates elected by provincial legislature, and (3) functional delegates appointed by the President. While Suharto was in power, the number of non-elected members reached 600 out of 1000. Furthermore, DPR was composed of not only popularly elected representatives but also of military that had their own reserved seats. Under the 1945 constitution the President was the head of the military, and as long as he was in complete control of military, the seats reserved for military promised his stronger influence in MPR. Among three groups in MPR, only some part of DPR was directly elected by people, however, until 1999 General Election, DPR was mostly dominated by Golkar party (Partai Golongan Karya), which was the President's ruling party. In short, the election of president at MPR had been merely a ceremony for a long time. Because of this, MPR had not been democratic legislative body for long.

After the overthrow of Suharto in 1998, MPR belatedly began working as an independent body in relation to the President's authority. After the General Election, which was the first competitive election since the ending of parliamentary democracy in 1959,¹ MPR had the first competitive Presidential election in the history in 1999. Although it was criticized that the President was elected behind the closed door,² MPR autonomously elected Abdurrahman Wahid as the 4th President of Indonesia. However, Wahid failed to construct a good relation with military and other important politicians in MPR.³ The change in power balance between MPR and the President became apparent to anybody when the President Wahid was impeached by MPR in 2001. After the impeachment of Wahid, then-vice president Megawati Sukarnoputri came into office as the President, taking over the remaining term of office of Wahid's.



2.2 Amendments to the 1945 Constitution

MPR did not only become autonomous but also started to promote the democratization of the country by gradually changing the political system. As part of democratization process, MPR amended the 1945 Constitution few times since 1999. One of the significant steps to the democracy embedded in these amendments was that MPR yielded its right to elect the President to people. Based on this constitutional amendment, the first-ever direct Presidential election came to be held in 2004, the year when Megawati's term of office became expired. Another important advance was observed in the change of composition in MPR: the 2001 amendment settled that MPR should consist of fully popularly elected representatives. Following this amendment, MPR became consisted of newly structured DPR, which does not have military/ police representatives any longer, and with newly organized legislative body, Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPD) from 2004 General Election.

The framework of the Presidential election was also discussed at MPR and as a result, the amended constitution regulated the framework of the Presidential election. In the third amendment in 2001, it was settled that the President and the Vice President shall be elected as a pair directly by people (Article 6A (1) of the 1945 Constitution). It further set that the candidate pair who received more than fifty percent of the vote from the total votes shall win the race, in condition that they also receive at least twenty percent of the vote in more than half of the total number of provinces (Article 6A (2)). In the following year, the forth amendment added that the pairs who won the first and second place in the election will face each other in a runoff in case that no pairs meet the requirement settled in Article 6A (2) of the constitution (Article 6A (3)). With regards to the runoff system, there was a heated argument at MPR: some insisted that the runoff should still be held at MPR, not at the people's level. However, MPR finally settled that both first and second round shall be a direct election by



people. This re-organization of MPR and 2004 Direct Presidential Election marked one of the significant steps in Indonesia's democratization process.

3. Election System

As discussed above, the presidential election was firstly regulated by the amendment of the constitution while further details were regulated by election laws and KPU decrees. The basic reference of law for this election is *Law Number 23 of 2003 on the General Election of the President and Vice President* (hereinafter "Law No. 23"). In addition to that, many KPU decrees were frequently issued to set more details about the election processes and procedures. *KPU Decree Number 37 of 2004 on Voting and Vote Counting* (hereinafter "KPU Decree No. 37") and *KPU Decree Number 38 of 2004 on Recapitulation of Votes Obtained at the General Election of the President and Vice-President* (hereinafter "KPU Decree No. 38") are the main decrees concerning the procedures on polling day. Election system was simpler compared to the one during the Legislative Election. In Presidential Election, the whole country was regarded as one big electoral district and voters were only asked to choose one pair of the President and the Vice President.

3.1 Candidacy of the President and the Vice President

According to Law No. 23, candidate pairs shall be nominated by political parties or a coalition of political parties which earned:

- (1) At least 15% of the number of DPR seats or
- (2) 20% of the all valid votes in the election for DPR.

In addition to that, to run for the election, the candidates nominated by political parties must meet the requirements set in the Article 6 of Law



No. 23. Article 6 in Law No. 23 regulates candidates to:

- (a) Have faith in God;
- (b) Be native citizens of the Republic of Indonesia by birth;
- (c) Have never committed treason against the state;
- (d) Be physically and mentally able to perform their duties and obligations,
- (e) Resides in the territory of Indonesia;
- (f) Have reported their assets to the institution authorized to audit the assets of state officials;
- (g) Not individually and/or as a legal entity be responsible for a debt that has resulted in a financial loss to the state;
- (h) Have never held the office of President or Vice-President for two consecutive terms of office in the same office;
- (I) be loyal to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution;
- (j) Be at least 35 (thirty five) years of age;
- (k) Have a level of education of at least Senior High School or similar level;
- (l) Not be former members of the banned Indonesian Communist Party and or any illegal political party.

Political parties and candidates are required to submit the necessary documents to KPU to prove the pair is eligible to run for the



presidential election. KPU shall then examine these documents; screen candidates based on the criteria set in Law No. 23, and determine the eligibility of candidate pairs. In case of 2004 election, KPU required political parties to submit the documents by 12 May 2004. Six pairs of candidates were initially nominated by political parties; however, during the screening process at KPU, the candidacy of the former president Abdurrahman Wahid, popularly called as '*Gus Dur*', was dismissed for not meeting the health requirement set in Article 6. This case caused an intense argument and in some places caused the turmoil among the enthusiastic supporters of '*Gus Dur*'.

The five pairs of candidates run for the presidential election are shown below (in the order of candidate pair number assigned by KPU):

Candidate pair # 1

(nominated by Golkar party)

President Candidate: H. Wiranto, SH

--- former General of Indonesian Army, and former Coordinating Minister of Politics and Security

Vice President Candidate: Ir. H. Salahuddin Wahid

--- brother of former president Abdurrahman Wahid, Vice chairperson of Komnas HAM

Candidate pair # 2

(nominated by Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, or PDI-P))

President Candidate: Hjh. Megawati Soekarnoputri

--- incumbent President, daughter of first Indonesian President - Sukarno

Vice President Candidate: KH. Achmad Hasyim Muzadi

--- Chairperson of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Islamic religious group

Candidate pair # 3



(nominated by National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN))

President Candidate: Prof. DR. H. M. Amien Rais

--- Chief of MPR

Vice President Candidate: DR. Ir. H. Siswono Yudo Husodo

--- Head of The Indonesian House of Representatives

Candidate pair # 4

(nominated by Democrat Party (Partai Demokrat, PD))

President Candidate: H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

--- former General of Indonesian Army, former Coordinator Minister of Politics, Social and Security

Vice President Candidate: Drs. H. Muhammad Jusuf Kalla

--- Coordinator Minister of welfare

Candidate pair # 5

(nominated by United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP))

President Candidate: DR. H. Hamzah Haz

--- incumbent Vice President

Vice President Candidate: H. Agum Gumelar, MSc.

--- Minister of Transportation

In the formation of candidate pair, two major secular or nationalist parties (Golkar and PDI-P) backed up figures with Islamic background, trying to attract Islamic population. Golkar nominated Salahuddin Wahid, whose brother is the founder of National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) and former chairperson of NU. On the other hand, PDI-P nominated KH. Achmad Hasyim Muzadi, the current chairperson of NU, which is a parent organization of PKB. As a result, it was expected that NU supporters would be divided between these two candidates. Although PKB, NU, and Gus Dur officially voiced their own supporting candidates, it drew attention of



political observers whether their official statement might affect voter's decision.

As the division among NU supporters shows, it was concerned that voters might be confused by the pair of candidates. One analyst predicted that voters would only note president candidates when they make choice in the first round but they would take notice of both president and vice president candidates further in the second round.⁴

Another point that should be noted is the hollow out effect of administration during the election period. Almost all candidates resigned their position as civil servants based on Article 27 f. of Law No. 23, apart from the incumbent President and vice President and some other ministers. Therefore, there was concern that administration might be temporarily disturbed because of the absence of important ministers and split within the administration. In fact, in response to the uncertainty of the political situation and uneasiness of foreign investors during the election period, the Indonesian currency (Rupiah) showed ongoing decline despite measures taken by the central bank to stabilize the money market.

As for military's role in politics, candidates with military background stirred up arguments on the sensitive issue of ex military members' participation in politics. In the stream of democratization, Indonesia has gradually excluded military presence from the political scene; military lost all reserved seats in DPR, and their voting rights were suspended for 2004 election (their rights will be restored from the next election), as one of a transitional measurements to exclude military presence. Nomination of two former General as presidential candidate and popular support to these candidates illustrated that people are in one way persistently attracted by military leadership.



3.2 Campaign and Campaign Fund

The first round of the Indonesian Presidential Election was scheduled on 5th July 2004. The campaigning period was programmed for a period of one month starting from 1st June 2004 to 1st July 2004, having 3 days quiet period before the Election Day. Campaign of each candidate was organized by their campaign team, not by political parties (Article 35 of Law No. 23). Campaign fund can be obtained from candidates, political parties, and individual or private entities, with restriction of contribution amount (Article 43 of Law No. 23). However, no limit was set as for expenditure.

Campaign Schedule was decided at the National KPU based on drawing of lots by each candidate. According to this, on 1 June 2004, the concerted campaign, in which all the candidates were permitted hold an open campaign, was held. The period from 2 June to 1 July was divided into five short periods (2 – 8 June, 9 -14 June, 15 – 20 June, 21 – 26 June, and 27 June – 1 July) to allocate one period to each candidate pair for their open campaign (open public meetings, procession, etc). For each candidate to be able to canvass in as many provinces as possible, all provinces Were divided into groups per five to six provinces, and in each provincial group, candidate pairs Were allocated different short periods for their campaign. (For example, Riau and Jambi Were grouped as zone 1, where Megawati & Hasyim pair Were permitted to do the campaign from 2 to 8 June, Amien & Siswono from 9 to 14 June, Yudhoyono & Kalla from 15 to 20 June, Hamzah & Gumelar from 21 to 26 June, and Wiranto & Wahid from 27 June to 1 July, while in zone 2, which includes DKI Jakarta and other five provinces, Hamzah & Gumelar Were given 2 to 8 June for their campaign period, Wiranto & Wahid from 9 -14 June, etc.) Outside their allocated campaign period, candidates were still permitted to organize closed public meetings.



3.3 Election Administration

Election was administered by hierarchical election administration body, at the top of which was National Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, the KPU) and supervised by Election Supervisory Committee (Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, Panwaslu). Panwaslu is a state organization very unique to Indonesia, which ANFREL regarded as a unique effort of the country to maintain the transparency of the election. However, in this election the conflict between the KPU and Panwaslu came to surface, and Panwaslu's independency was threatened by the KPU. Panwaslu was not permitted to enter into the polling station this time, unlike during the legislative election in April. In addition to that, Panwaslu was required to submit the report to the KPU before reporting the administrative violation to Constitutional Court.

1 In June 1959, Sukarno stopped the 1950 constitution which had been a basis of Indonesia's parliamentary democracy and brought back the 1945 constitution. In the following month he dissolved the Parliament, reestablishing MPR filled with his supporters.

2 For example, see "World: Asia-Pacific Indonesia election shock," BBC News, BBC online network, 20 October 1999, Available from World Wide Web: (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/480080.stm>)

3 Shiraishi (2001, 129-140).

4 Dr. Indraneel Datta's presentation in ANFREL LTO briefing at Hotel Indra International, Jakarta, 5 June 2004. Dr. Datta is a project manager of International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) Indonesia office.



4. ANFREL mission

4.1 Objectives

Primary objectives of ANFREL's observation mission are to help promote the democratization of the country as well as protect people's Civil and Political Rights by monitoring election and where necessary, reporting or advocating to the concerned national authorities and/or international community. When international community tries to support implementing democratic system to Asian countries, some people often assert that Democracy is just incompatible with Asian values. What is remarkable in ANFREL observation and differentiates from other international observation is that ANFREL mission members are all from neighboring Asian countries. ANFREL, as a consortium of Asian NGOs, believe that Democracy in its own and distinct form is achievable in ANFREL region. It is now a universal consensus that democracy with an electoral system should be the platform for people to participate in naming their leaders. However, it has been a constant battle to find the best suited electoral system which translates the values of different democracies of the world, particularly in Asia. In many Asian countries, the democratic system applied has always been regarded as to be authoritative. ANFREL regards the Indonesian experience of democracy is very interesting to learn from. As fellow Asians, ANFREL share a common value with the people in the host country. Benefiting from this, ANFREL was accepted largely to share ANFREL perspectives, ANFREL severe comments which ANFREL sometimes venture pursuant to greater democratization of Indonesia. All these points characterize ANFREL's special and particular roles in democratization in Asian countries.

ANFREL usually work closely with the local partner NGOs, which in most cases are ANFREL network member, while trying to create



friendly relationships with other local NGOs as well. This is because ANFREL secondary objective is to encourage and support the development of local civil society. During ANFREL observation activities, ANFREL frequently communicate with local NGOs, exchanging information and sparking up the debate with them over such topics ranging from election systems, on-going campaign, to voter's awareness of their role as citizens. With the help of local network members, ANFREL have easier and deeper access to people within the local societies. In return, ANFREL share with these local NGOs on ANFREL experience in election observation, mobilization of civil society, and management and development of volunteer-based grass-root organization. Also, ANFREL helps bridge local NGOs to NGOs in other countries and encourage their collaborative work together in future activities, through sending international members from foreign NGOs to the field. ANFREL is aware that democratization efforts cannot be completed within a short period of time. By transferring ANFREL knowledge and experiences which ANFREL acquired through activities in many other countries, and by vitalizing local civil society, ANFREL mission will remain as a great contribution to the democratization of the country even after the scheduled election observation period.

In addition to that, in the context of 2004 Indonesian Presidential Election, it was essential for us to make sure that this election would be held without major disturbances. ANFREL was established as continuing effort at the time of Cambodia's election in 1998 as a consequence of collective aspiration for democracy from all over Asia. Starting from that election, ANFREL strives to observe continuously be present I the country for its future elections to monitor the development of its democracy and electoral system. In this Indonesian chapter, ANFREL presence during the 2004 Legislative and Presidential Elections shows ANFREL transparent commitment in supporting the further democratization of Indonesia and in expressing ANFREL support for the Indonesian people for a historic and



successful first direct Presidential Election. It is prominent to the Indonesian democracy that ANFREL's longstanding attitude of support became especially important, considering the recent trend of democratic societies that are shifting quickly to newly targeted places of democratization, easily ignoring and forgetting about the persisting difficulties and needs in societies in transition. Having said that, it was also simply very constructive and educational for ANFREL to witness how the election was performed, because it is the first time for Indonesians to have the Direct Presidential Election. Observing people's responses and reactions in entering this new democratic phase would also surely become one of ANFREL precious experiences that ANFREL will surely share with the people in other countries in future election observation missions.

4.2 Observation Framework

ANFREL's observation mission in Indonesia composed of seven (7) Long Term Observers (LTOs) dispatched from six different election observation/ human rights NGOs from Asia. After two full days of training in Jakarta, observers were deployed to each province and stationed there for the duration of one month until the polling day to do a pre-election observation. ANFREL pre-election observation was mainly conducted by doing interviews with voters, campaign teams of each candidate's, election authorities such as KPU and Panwaslu, other local/ international observers, etc. On the polling day, observers started their activity before the polling station opens to observe preparation and opening of the station. Once the polling started, they circulated some polling stations in the area until the closing time. Finally the observers were stationed at one polling station where they observed closing and counting to the end. The observers also followed the polling station staffs carrying ballot boxes to the PPS. They came back to Jakarta where ANFREL headquarters is to report all their findings two days after the polling day. ANFREL submitted ANFREL preliminary report to KPU and then presented ANFREL findings and



recommendations at a media conference. (For the detailed observation schedule, please refer to the appendix attached at the end of this report.)

The observation in the field was conducted in cooperation with KIPP, one of ANFREL's network member and founding NGO. ANFREL are grateful of all their supports of helping us find ANFREL interpreter/ translator in the province and providing us with initial observation information from the field. ANFREL closely cooperated with KIPP as ANFREL local partner; however, ANFREL kept the appropriate distance to maintain ANFREL independent observation activities. The independence of ANFREL's mission from any other organization is translated in this report; however, it is important to note that ANFREL shares certain views and values as national/ international observers.



ANFREL's deployment area for this mission was done in consultation



with KIPP Jakarta and provincial KIPP members. ANFREL deployment area is primarily the place where few other international observers were expected, and where national observers, in this case KIPP, hoped to have international observers' presence for an effective observation in the area. Table below shows ANFREL observer's deployment area:

Province	Observer's name	Organization
Jakarta	Mr. Herizal Hazri	Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL)
Jogjakarta	Ms. Maiko Shimizu	InterBand, <i>Japan</i>
Jawa Timur	Mr. Abdul Malek Hussin	Malaysians for Free and Fair Elections (MAFREL), <i>Malaysia</i>
Jambi	Ms. Maria C. D. Pascual	National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), <i>Philippines</i>
Riau	Ms. Chiting Serena Chuang	Taiwan Association for Human Rights, <i>Taiwan</i>
South Kalimantan	Mr. Indika N. Jeewandara	People's Action for Free and Fair Election (PAFFREL), <i>Sri Lanka</i>
South East Sulawesi	Ms. Somsri Hananuntasuk	ANFREL



5 Observation and Findings

5.1 Characteristics of Observation Areas

The characteristic and background of each deployment area are as follows:

- ◆ ***Jakarta (Jawa Island):*** the famous capital city of Indonesia Jakarta has a heterogeneous society which is known for the many facets of different interests, which is very dominant in the formatting of Indonesia's economic and political interests. For the Indonesians, Jakarta is famously known as 'the centre for everything'. Being the capital state, Jakarta automatically becomes the most important point for the concentration of politics, socio-economic, cultural and the general security of Indonesia. All the political parties have their office in Jakarta; furthermore, the single biggest Islamic Organization in the world which is very dominant in East Java has its central office in Jakarta and not Surabaya. So as to the Muhammadiyah Organization, the second biggest Muslim based organization, which shows strong dominance in Jogjakarta but still having its central office in Jakarta and not Jogjakarta. In short, Jakarta has always been and will continue to be the trend setter for the political environment in Indonesia.

- ◆ ***Jogjakarta (Jawa Island):*** Jogjakarta (commonly called as Jogja) province is known as the electoral turf of PAN and Amien Rais. This is especially true in city area having a lot of universities. Many students, especially those who are from Gajah Mada University where Amien Rais used to teach, are supporters of PAN and Amien Rais. However, in some areas, the presence of other political party in Jogjakarta plays a significant role in the political climate. For instance, in Kabupaten Bantul which is bordering with the southern part of Jogja city, a mayor who is a



very active member of PDI-P had great political influence to the electorate. In the rest of the province the Golkar has been widely supported, but ANFREL found healthy party support fragmentation. Apart from that, being an old capital city where the influence of Sultan is still strong, it is widely accepted that the Sultan has influence in the political environment. Being a staunch supporter for GOLKAR, it is very likely that his political affiliation will contribute to a popular support for GOLKAR during the election.

- ◆ ***Jawa Timur (Jawa Island):*** Jawa Timur is a base of the biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and PKB, a political party created by NU. The exception was the western interior, where there has been a strong presence of PDI-P supporters. Many enthusiastic supporters of Gus Dur Were not very much satisfied with the disqualification of his candidacy determined by KPU. It was feared that NU and PKB supporters would be divided between Wiranto-Wahid pair and Megawati-Hasyim pair. Campaign strategy here is how to collect votes from those supporters. In relation to this, five PKB members were expelled from the party by reason that they involved in Megawati-Hasyim campaign in Surabaya, the provincial capital city.
- ◆ ***Jambi (Sumatra Island):*** Located in South East Sumatera, Jambi is a natural paradise populated by many indigenous tribes. Two main tribal groups in Jambi are the 'Anak Dalam' tribe and the 'Talang Mamak' tribe. The political dimension in Jambi is very well influenced by the migrant population who are present in Jambi. It is a fact that during the Suharto regime, there has been a planned migration program of the Javanese to Jambi. This was planned to infiltrate the local political scenario. Today, the political dominance of these leaders of migrant groups is still very important in Jambi.



- ◆ ***Riau (Sumatra Island):*** The original Riau province was separated into the new Riau Province (a part of Sumatra Island) and Kepulauan Riau Province (the archipelago part stretching to the border with Singapore) in 2002. ANFREL observer mainly stationed in the Riau Province in Sumatra. The capital of Riau Province is Pekanbaru City. As there were no KPU and Panwaslu in Kepulauan Riau, KPU and Panwaslu in Riau Province covered both provinces. Riau Province is consisted of majority indigenous Malays and other ethnic minorities, most of whom are immigrants from other areas of Indonesia. Riau is basically a rich province having rich natural resources and strong oil industry. Nonetheless, most people remain poor because of imbalanced distribution of resources, causing conflicts between different ethnic groups. Golkar has been strongly supported by people in this province, winning both the legislative elections in 1999 and 2004, although each ethnic group tends to have their own party affiliation.

- ◆ ***South Kalimantan (Kalimantan Island):*** South Kalimantan has a very big Muslim population which accounted to 94.8 %. The NU organization has a dominant political influence in this province where in a lot of areas (especially *Barabai* and *Martapura*); the political atmosphere is strongly influenced by the organization's decisions. Besides the political dominance of NU, clashes between immigrants (from Madura) and the Dayak tribe has taken a lot of lives in these recent years. ANFREL intends to observe whether if political differences will have any kind of effect to the different communities in South Kalimantan.

- ◆ ***South-East Sulawesi (Sulawesi Island):*** South-East Sulawesi covers southeast part of Sulawesi Island, where the provincial capital city Kendari is, plus some other islands spreading toward southeast from Sulawesi Island. Some of the major islands outside Sulawesi Island are Buton and Muna. To observe this province, the main obstacle was transportation between islands.



Sulawesi is the land of Vice President Candidate Jusuf Kalla's origin, thus it was expected that he would get a certain amount of votes in this island. On the other hand, Golkar has been very much influential in Sulawesi for a long period of time. In the last legislative elections, Golkar made a great success winning the first place and PPP, which Hamzah Haz belongs to, the second place.

5.2 During Campaign Period and Quiet Period

- **Political Activities/ Campaigning**

Throughout the Campaign Period (1 June – 1 July) and Quiet Period (2 – 4 July), ANFREL LTOs found that the election has been held peacefully in general. ANFREL observers found that voters received information on the candidates mostly from TV coverage and radio. They learn about the candidates also from campaign display materials, such as posters, banners, stickers, and so on. Open field campaign was also held but it was in general calmer and less enthusiastic compared to the one during the Legislative Elections in April. Among the seven provinces where ANFREL LTOs were stationed, Surabaya city looked exceptional in that both campaigning by candidates and demonstration by voters were relatively active¹.

Open Campaign

ANFREL LTOs observed candidates canvassing in their provinces and found that candidates and their teams were rather preoccupied by entertaining voters than explaining voters about their programs. Some candidates invited famous entertainers to their campaign to entertain the voters. Others even sang a song and danced by themselves after a very short speech, which made their campaigning seemed just like a musical concert.



Children were still seen participating in election campaigning everywhere. During the legislative elections, there were some cases in which children got injured or even died, being embroiled in the legislative campaign². Despite this, ANFREL observed that the law prohibiting the involvement of children in campaign was not enforced by the concerned authorities at all. Furthermore, Panwaslu showed concerns over the safety of voters in open campaigning sessions where trivial security violations such as the use of open truck and dangerous act during campaigning sessions were prevalent³.

Mobilization of “Traditional Voters”

Although it was unclear to predict that supporters who show affiliation to a certain party would vote really translate their votes, the prevalent strategy of the campaign teams was to primarily count on the party's traditional supporters' votes. In some provinces as in S.E. Sulawesi, door-to-door visit to voters was held by political parties to make sure that the party's traditional supporters will vote for the candidate designated by the party. In other provinces as in Jogjakarta, unlike during legislative elections, door-to-door campaign was not organized even in the last days of the campaigning period. On the other hand, in Jogjakarta, campaign teams were approaching influential figures in villages, such as RT or RW, to indirectly influence on villagers and effectively garner votes from them.

Candidates backed by religious organization took full advantage of the organizational structure in consolidating the followers. In one Muhammadiyah community in Jogjakarta, campaigner from neighboring Kecamatan came to *Pengajian*, the regular prayer, to campaign for Amien Rais every week⁴. In Riau, some junior and senior high students in Muhammadiyah funded schools were asked to join the election campaign for Amien Rais by their teachers. The school even prepared buses to take them to the campaign field. One girl from a Muhammadiyah-funded high school, *Sekolah Menengah*



Ekonomi Tingkat Atas (SMEA Muhammadiyah), told to ANFREL LTO that their civic education teacher had “suggested” the students to vote for Amien Rais, because he was from Muhammadiyah and that “Amien is part of us; we are in Amien.”

Abuse of Special Status as Government Officials

ANFREL observed cases where some candidates were abusing their power as government officials. The law provides that the use of government, religious and educational facilities during campaign is prohibited (Article 38 of Law No. 23); nevertheless, Panwaslu in South Kalimantan Province remarked that they received a report from Transparency International, one of local NGOs, about the use of government-owned vehicles in Hamzah Haz campaign.⁵ In Jogjakarta, incumbent President Megawati’s “official” visit to the city confused the Panwaslu officials of how to treat her visit, because as one of Presidential Candidate, she was only allowed to campaign in another area (Kabupaten) on that day.⁶

Negative Campaign (*Black Campaign*).

As the polling day approached, negative campaign, which is locally called as *Black Campaign*, began to heat up. In Indonesia, negative campaign is prohibited by law, while ordinary people and media were basically free to discuss anything about the candidates. The definition of *Black Campaign* is in fact ambiguous. In Article 38 of Law No. 23, it is indeed prohibited to “insult any person, any religion, ethnicity, race, and groups, another candidate and/or Candidate Pair” and “provoke or lead any Political Parties, individuals and/or social groups into dispute.” Those who are bound by this provision should be in principle limited to the candidate and registered campaign teams that conduct the campaign, as it is defined in the Article 35 that “The



campaign... shall be organized by a campaign team, established by a Candidate Pair together with the nominating political party or coalition of political parties.”

In practice, some negative voices against candidates issued by civil groups were considered as violation of the regulation. For example, Panwaslu of Surabaya City pulled down 16 banners of Forum Penegak Keadilan reportedly considered as provocative. 10 of the 16 banners purportedly displayed anti-Wiranto wordings, such as “Jadi Pangab Saja Tidak Bisa Meredam Kerusuhan, Apalagi Jadi Presiden” (As armed forces chief could not deter riots, what more being president). The rest were written “Jangan Pilih Capres Pelanggar HAM” (Don’t vote human rights violator for president). Through ANFREL’s observation, ANFREL found it sometimes difficult to distinguish whether the campaign is simply malicious or trying to point out the important fact relevant to candidate’s qualification as the President/ Vice-President. If it falls into the latter case, it should be important for voters to discuss the matter.

In most cases, Black Campaign messages were anonymously spread through chain SMS or distribution of leaflets in the street. ANFREL observers in Jawa Timur and Jogjakarta especially noted that slanderous leaflets and pamphlets targeting Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Wiranto were circulating widely in the provinces. In Jogjakarta, these cases were reported by the voters who received such leaflet in the street, and were under investigation by Panwaslu and Police at the time of interview. Still, it is usually very difficult to find the masterminds of *Black Campaign*: Neither Provincial Panwaslu nor Police in Jogjakarta had any clue about who plotted the above cases.⁷ In addition to the aforementioned cases, according to Provincial Panwaslu in Jogjakarta, Black Campaign messages were also disseminated through anonymous VCDs left in the street by unidentified people. The VCDs basically contained the movie of singing contest, but after the movie of contest ends, the images of



Suharto's overthrow appeared. Panwaslu could neither identify the people who distributed these VCDs, nor their objectives. KIPP and local interpreter in Jogjakarta further explained to observer that the images of Suharto's overthrow might imply the slander against Wiranto, because the movie was showing the scene which Wiranto has been rumored to be involved in. Police and military intelligence were also investigating this case at the time of interview.⁸

Another prevalent violation in relation to *Black Campaign* was damaging and/or removing election materials. Although Article 38 of Law No. 23 provides that destroying and/or removing another Candidate Pair's election campaign visual display materials are prohibited, this provision was widely ignored.

Money Politics

Candidates' attempt to gain voter's support by the influence of money or provision of goods, which is commonly called as *Money Politics* in Indonesia, was still widely observed by ANFREL LTOs. ANFREL observed that both parties (the candidates and the general public) were involved and receptive of money politics, making it a very difficult phenomenon to curb. A chairperson of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's campaign team in Jogjakarta noted that some voters actually made a request to his team members for campaign goods, such as T-shirts, in return for their participation to Yudhoyono's campaign. He added that his success team did not and would not respond to such a request, because it is their policy to do "clean campaign"⁹. In spite of this, it clearly shows voters were also encouraging *Money Politics* in the campaign.

The definition of *Money Politics* in the Law is in fact very general and ambiguous. There are a lot of loopholes in the concept of *Money Politics*. Campaign teams usually assert that distribution of medicine or a package of key commodities such as rice, sugar, and so on (or in



Banner inviting people to watch football (European cup Final) at a Presidential Candidate Campaigning Office (Tim Sukes Office) the morning before the election



ANFREL Observed the Presidential Candidate's Office during the live telecast of the football (European Cup) final, the morning of the election. Food and drinks were given out to the public for free.

Indonesian language commonly called as *Sembako*) is part of their regular welfare programs or a program which was planned a long time ago irrespective of election campaign schedule. ANFREL observer in Jogjakarta met some villagers who received free medicines from a member of Amien Rais Campaign Team, and also another villager who actually helped the Campaign Team distribute medicines to fellow villagers. In response to LTO's questions, villagers feel that they are not obligated to choose a particular presidential candidate even though they received the offerings from them.¹⁰ However, ANFREL doubt whether such offerings do not affect voter's decision on polling day at all.



Distribution of goods was very visible during the campaign. ANFREL observers in South Kalimantan witnessed that the participants to the campaign were provided free food parcels and water cups. In Jogjakarta, observer saw people crowded around the stalls in the city's main street to get free food and drinks around the time when President Megawati's official visit was scheduled. Local newspaper, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, reported that the food and drinks at the street vendors were all paid by Megawati's Campaigning Team.¹¹ In poorer communities, whether or not they can receive something from campaign teams becomes even more essential and crucial, and sometimes the battle for campaign goods is very severe. In Riau, ANFREL observer saw a crowd of voters very viciously and aggressively snatching T-shirts from a distributor at the entrance of Amien Rais' campaign venue. A crowd repeatedly blocked the way of a campaign van trying to get more T-shirts from the van.

Another type of *Money Politics* often takes a form of "donation." In a fishermen's village in Muna Island, S.E. Sulawesi, one family in the village admitted that the villagers received 500,000 Rp. of contribution from Golkar to repair their mosque during the last legislative elections. In the Presidential Elections, they planned to ask Golkar to contribute some money to repair a wooden bridge in their village. According to this family, Golkar had already distributed T-shirts to them by the time of observer's visit to the village. Vice Chairperson of NU Kendari, S.E. Sulawesi, told observer that campaigners usually distribute cash saying that this was just a donation to repair the road, bridge or mosque. According to him, they never tell villagers to vote for a certain person, because the T-shirts they wear already indicate which party they came from.¹²

Aside from the alleged "donation" cases, finding hard evidences of cash distribution or "vote-buying", direct deal of getting votes in exchange of money, is always very difficult. However, based on ANFREL's continuous effort in election observation in Indonesia, cash



distribution had been a practice over the years. Villagers have always been waiting for the campaigning period to leverage on Campaigning Team's efforts to win votes by collecting money from them. ANFREL observer in Jambi was mistaken as to be part of a candidates campaigning team, and the residents of the village followed the ANFREL observer to the place of interview with KPPS, hoping to get their share of the loot.¹³

Campaign During The Quiet Period

During the Quiet Period from 2nd to 4th July, ANFREL observed that almost all banners and posters except for small stickers were removed from the streets in the city areas. Yet, ANFREL observer saw some exceptions: in Jambi, the big Megawati banner across the Panwaslu office was only removed on July 4 together with the Wiranto banners at the headquarters. On the morning of the polling day, the huge Megawati poster at the PDIP headquarters was still there. In remote areas, most materials were left untouched even after the campaign period.

- Election Administration Readiness

TPS Settings in Various Places

TPS were set in various places to meet voters' needs. KPUs in Riau set up some special TPS at prison, hospitals, bus stations and ports, which was new comparing to the last election.¹⁴ Considering that Riau has great amount of mobile population such as fishermen, contract workers and travelers, this new special measure shows a positive advancement at the level of provincial management of the election.

Logistics of Election Materials

The planning for the distribution of the election materials was seen as



TPS built in a busy alley. The polling station area is not according to the provision of the law. Vote secrecy and control over polling station is a main concern this TPS.

instruction from each Kabupaten/Kota. This contradicted to the regulation (Article 10 of KPU Decree No. 37), which sets that the ballot boxes shall be delivered to KPPS no later than 3 days before the polling day. However, ANFREL interview with Election Officials revealed that this delay of logistics was in fact flexibly planned by each Kabupaten/Kota level to ensure the security of ballot boxes at the this level. Therefore, in some Kabupatens/Kota, PPS guarded the ballot boxes until very near to the polling day, while in other Kabupaten/Kota; PPS had KPPS taken responsibility of guarding the ballot boxes, depending on the situation¹⁵.

to have vast improvements comparing to the last Legislative Elections. In S.E. Sulawesi, logistic preparation was already nearly completed even in the small islands away from provincial capital about two weeks before the polling day. Despite this general improvement in logistics handling by the National and Provincial KPU, ANFREL observed that ballot boxes did not reach the KPPS level nearing the Election Day. According to the interview with election officials, the time-frames of delivery by PPS were different, depending on the



Funding For Lower Administration Level

ANFREL observer received complaints from election officials regarding the insufficient funding for polling station management. Their discontent sometimes led to their boycotting of the duties. In Kab. Gresik in Jawa Timur, 231 PPK-PPS officials demanded Rp 250,000 per station and threatened to resign in case KPUD Gresik failed to meet their requirement, meanwhile, in Kab. Situbondo in Jawa Timur, 135 village chiefs threatened to boycott the Presidential Election, demanding that the payment of Rp 250,000 per village chief made by KPUD Situbondo is not enough. Similar case was observed in Jogjakarta, where one Chief PPS complained about low salary, disclosing the amount they receive per month (Chief PPS: Rp 90,000, Other PPS members: Rp 70,000, KPPS members: Rp 40,000).¹⁶ It was prominent that the discontent of election officials comes from the pressures of heavy workload imposed to the officials and low pay which does not sufficiently compensate their pressure. In Kec. Dumai of Riau, PPS members threatened to resign nearing the election citing on the pressure experienced in the legislative elections. A Panwaslu member in Kec. Dumai Timur who revealed this complaint to observer commiserated over the low pay of officers.¹⁷



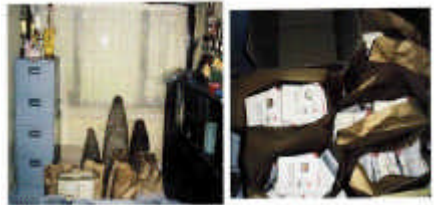
*Logistics distribution without the guard of security personnel.
(Kec Dumai Timar, Kota Dumai, Riau)*



*All logistics were stored at the kitchen near the door (left of photo). The wooden door was very short and that anyone could easily enter the house from it.
(KPPS charman'house, TPS#17, Kel. Purnama, Kec Dumai Barat, Kota Dumai, Riau)*



*KPPS of TPS#4 left logistics unguarded after the reception from PPS.
(Kel. Bagan Keladi, Kec Dumai Barat, Kota Dumai, Riau)*



*Unsealed ballot papers stored in the corner of unlocked PPS secretary's office without any security personnel's presence.
(PPS, Kec Dumai Barat, Kota Dumai, Riau)*



Security of Election materials

The importance of securing election materials was widely downplayed by election officials. While the KPU was still in the process of printing the ballots, authentic ballot papers for the Presidential Election was already unaccountably circulating in the city of Surabaya. This was found and submitted by KIPP Surabaya to Provincial KPU in Jawa Timur. The Provincial KPU recognized the ballot as authentic but invalid, because for the ballot to become valid, it has to be duly signed by the KPPS chairperson at the polling station on polling day. No one in Provincial KPU had any idea how this had happened.

ANFREL observers witnessed the ballot folding process in respective province, and some found that the process was not under proper surveillance by election officers. Mostly the ballot papers were folded by ordinary people such as housewives, children and students, who were hired by the local KPU. Often ANFREL observers saw the folding was done totally unattended by any election officials, creating the possibility for a person to steal ballots for any purpose (these cases were reported from S.E. Sulawesi, Jogjakarta, and Riau). In Riau, observer obtained the information that one PPS member in Kota Pekanbaru was folding ballots from 10:00pm to 3:00am on June 30th 2004 without any presence of security personnel inside and outside the PPS¹⁸. Also, the observer met a Panwaslu Kota Pekanbaru member who were keeping a real ballot paper in his pocket and showed it to ANFREL observer, claiming it was for official training purposes¹⁹.

After the ballot papers were all folded and bundled, they were stored in ballot boxes with other election materials (based on Article 10 of KPU Decree No. 37). The security of ballot boxes containing all the election materials was again widely overlooked. Although some Kabupaten/ Kota KPU decided to keep the ballot boxes at PPS so that they could collectively and effectively guard the boxes, while having

mentioned based on findings above, the security at PPS was insufficient. One PPS in Riau claimed that they had few security personnel on shift in the interview with ANFREL observer; however, ANFREL observer looked around the said PPS and did not find anyone guarding the ballot boxes on site.²⁰ Another PPS in the same province received ballot papers in a carton box, and left them overnight at the entrance of village chief's house without any security guards present.²¹ At the TPS level as well, ballot boxes were left vulnerable for exploitation. ANFREL observer in Jogjakarta made the observation to many TPS nearing the Election Day and found that ballot boxes were left unattended at the entrance of private houses or in someone's bedroom. Some of the houses belonged to village chiefs and others to KPSS members.²²

Over supply and/or Short supply of Ballot Papers

Over supply and/or short supply of ballot papers were confirmed in Jawa Timur and Riau. In Jawa Timur, all KPUDs received ballot papers by 29 June, and three KPUDs reported the shortages of ballot papers to Provincial KPU. As there were still some time to fix the problem, Provincial KPU could arrange that the KPUs in neighboring Kabupatens would send some of extra ballots they received to cover the shortage.²³ In Riau, ANFREL observer noticed that the way in which each KPUD estimated the necessary number of ballot papers varied widely, causing imprecision in preparing the ballots for each TPS. Basically KPUD estimated



Ballot papers without guarding



the number of ballots based on the voter registration list, but in cases where the accuracy of voter list was doubtful, the risk of imprecision became heightened. In the interview with observer, Panwaslu Kota Pekanbaru expressed its concern over possible manipulation of the oversupplied ballot papers from National KPU.²⁴

- Training of Election Officials

ANFREL observers found that training of election officials was seriously inadequate, jeopardizing the whole polling and recapitulation process.

Structural and Methodological Problem in Training

In the interview with ANFREL observer, Indonesian Center for Civic education (ICCE) in Jambi pointed out the structural problem in training for election officials, which was seemingly causing inadequate understanding of some election procedure on the part of lower election officials. The training for election officials were provided hierarchically from top to down. At the lowest level, usually PPS provided training to KPPS chairpersons who were supposed to train other KPPS members of his TPS. In ICCE's view, there were two problems relating to this training structure; one was that not so many officials were capable of providing effective training, and the other was that some parts of important information of the training were not adequately transferred to the officials at lower level. To resolve such problems, ICCE suggested that the training for election officials be conducted by an NGO or another group specialized in personnel training.²⁵

Election officials were focusing on filling up the forms and did not so much care about the significance of each procedure in polling station (such as checking the identification of voters, making sure that voters fingers are inked, etc). One of the reason for this may be attributed to



the training given by KPUD level: according to the chairperson of one PPS in Jambi, the training given by KPUD only focused on how to fill up the forms and the procedures on recapitulation.²⁶ In fact, because there were so many forms to be filled in by KPPS on polling day, KPU members were very much concerned about the training of KPPS in terms of familiarizing them with the forms. One of KPU Riau member revealed his concern saying “they have up to 15 new forms to fill in just for counting. They can’t learn this from the past experiences. KPU gives training, but once is just not enough.”²⁷

The content of the manual for this election was improved than the previous ones, explaining each required step in the polling process in details with illustrations where necessary. Nevertheless, to ANFREL observation, KPPS members did not or could not make full use of the manual, partly because only a few manuals were distributed to each TPS having as many as 7 KPPS members.²⁸ ANFREL observer also found many TPS which received only one manual.²⁹ Besides, the distribution of manual was late, and it was easily conceivable that not all KPPS could have read through the manual before the polling day.³⁰

The method taken by KPUD to train the PPK and PPS were also troublesome in some cases, because available facilities were limited in remote areas. In Kab Pelalawan of Riau, the KPUD distributed one VCD to each PPS for election official and voter education. However, Desa Sering of Kec Pelalawan, a slum area across the river of 30 minutes boat ride, had no computer at all. In addition, the Desa only relies on generators for electricity provided in the night.

On Validity of Ballots

Because of insufficient training, election officials’ understanding of the validity of ballots were seriously defective. Their answer to the questions posed by ANFREL LTOs were sometimes inconstant or volatile, and some KPU officials including the head of KPU did not

know the common types of fraudulent ballots very well. For example, one KPUD chairperson in Jambi first answered that the ballot in which a number was taken out by a voter can still be valid. However, when ANFREL LTO pointed out the past cases of vote-buying which used the piece of ballot paper punched out as a proof of casting a vote for a certain candidate, he flip-flopped his previous answer about the validity of ballot paper saying such a ballot with a big hole should be counted as invalid.³¹ ANFREL observer in Riau found no election officials, including all the chairpersons/members of KPUD, PPK, PPS, who knew that the ballots punched by the tools other than the nail provided by KPU should be recognized as invalid. None of them knew that the ballot with an unreasonably big hole was also invalid. ANFREL believe election officials should also be provided information on the past cases of cheatings during the training, in order for them to prevent and detect similar cases at polling station.



*Finger dipped into inking container.
(Polling station 7 Dusun Dlisen,
Umbulrejo Village, Kec. Ponjong, Kab.
Gunung Kidul, DI Yogyakarta)*



*Use of ink bottle cap to ink the finger:
only very small potion was applied to
the finger
(Polling station 10 Dusun Dlisen,
Umbulrejo Village, Kec. Ponjong, Kab.
Gunung Kidul, DI Yogyakarta)*

On Inking Procedure

Election officials did not recognize the importance of inking in the polling process. During the interview, they gave ANFREL observers different answers with regards to the finger to be inked. Even a few days before polling day, ANFREL observer met election officials who were not sure which finger should be inked.³² Regarding the method of inking, although some officials answered that the voters would be required to dip their fingers into the ink bottle, other answered that the use of stamp pad would be permitted. Common reasons for the latter answer were that the finger would dry up soon if they use stamp pad, or that the ink would finish soon if every voter dips the finger in the bottle.³³ Some were afraid that dipping the finger in the bottle might

mess up the desk. In Jogjakarta, when ANFREL observer asked to the official what he would do in case of spilling the ink, he answered he would add water to the ink bottle to increase the amount.³⁴



Poster to show how to vote (valid and invalid ballot paper).

On Voter's on Duty

One of the improvement in the Presidential Election compared to the Legislative Election was that voters on duty on polling day were allowed to vote in a different polling station from the originally designated one, on the condition that the voter



present his/her voter's card (Article 6 of KPU Decree No. 37). However, because this new KPU Decree was not disseminated to the level of PPK, PPS, and KPPS in a timely manner, there were a lot of officials who did not know that the voters on duty would no longer be required to present a letter from his/her original TPS to vote in a different TPS.³⁵ In Jambi, among the 11 KPPS and PPS officials interviewed by ANFREL observer on 3rd and 4th July 2004, five said that the translator of observer could vote at a different TPS from his original TPS on polling day. Nonetheless, they gave each different condition for the translator to follow. For example, some said the translator must present KTP (national identity card) together with voter's card. Others said he/she needed to obtain permission from KPUD. Majority said that the translator could not vote if he/she did not have a letter from his original polling station as it was so during the legislative election, and/or if he comes from a different Kabupaten.

● Neutrality of Election Officials

In general, based on the extensive hearings from campaign teams, Panwaslu and local observers, election officials were basically regarded as neutral and independent in the provinces such as Jambi, Jawa Timur and Jogjakarta. Yet, in other provinces, ANFREL observer found the cases in which the neutrality of officials was called into question. The most critical issue in such provinces was that the officials who were suspected to be involved in manipulation during legislative election were still in the same position for the Presidential Election. In Kota Kendari of S.E. Sulawesi, the case of KPUD members' involvement in manipulation during the last election was on trial at the time of observer's visit to the Kota while the officials in question were held in the same position until the final decision comes out, thus remaining at work during the Presidential Elections. Observers in Riau also learned many suspected cases of manipulation, which in most cases seemingly happened at the level of PPK and/or PPS during the legislative election, from the solid data and official



Panwaslu documents shown during the interview with Panwaslu and KIPP. Both Panwaslu and KIPP expressed their concerns to ANFREL observers on suspected officials remained in the same position, fearing that they might do the same thing in the Presidential Election.³⁶ As to the suspected manipulation cases at the level of PPK and/or PPS, the similar case was found in Muna Island of S.E. Sulawesi, where Panwaslu, local observers and political parties suspected that some officials might have subtracted the votes obtained by some small parties and added them to Golkar's vote.

● Role of Panwaslu

Although the function of Panwaslu as a national body of election supervisory is very unique and highly supported, its independence from the KPU is questionable. ANFREL observers received reports from many Panwaslu officials that budget restraint imposed by KPU made their staffing and activities tough. The training of Panwaslu members was also hindered because of lack of budget. For example, Provincial Panwaslu and Panwaslu Kota Dumai in Riau both admitted that they were not able to provide training to all members due to the lack of funds. The latter said that no member was trained at all and that only 60 % of the volunteers were capable of observing the election.³⁷

Poor coordination with KPU was also one of the obstacles to Panwaslu's activities. In Jogjakarta, Panwaslu members complained that they had difficulties in finding closed campaign venues, because of lack of coordination with KPU.³⁸ In Riau, Panwaslu Kota Pekanbaru member said that they could not cross-check the voter registration list because KPU only provided them a rough voter data with names without addresses.³⁹ Provincial Panwaslu of Riau asked KPU to provide voter list for voter registration monitoring, yet no data had been given up to late June. Observer also heard that they could only access to the KPU Decrees via KPU's website, because such



information was never passed automatically and regularly from KPU to Panwaslu.⁴⁰

As for the term of office of Panwaslu officials, Panwaslu in Muna Island, S.E. Sulawesi pointed out that their term of office was too short to fully investigate and follow up the election violation cases. Under the current regulation, their term will terminate in November 2004. Once the case is sent to the court and Panwaslu's term of office ends, the case will never be followed up by them. They were concerned of the evidences of violation they found would be distorted after they left the office.

- Voter registration and Voter Cards

Voter Registration by RT/RW

There has been an effort to make the voter's list more precise, taking advantage of local administrative structure such as RT/RW. During the legislative election, the registration was conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), which hired students to do the census. However, as the registration was done without any coordination with local structure, the flawed system left many people unregistered. The use of RT/RW structure was primarily to improve the accuracy of the registration, on the assumption that local leaders should know about the life and whereabouts of his fellow villagers better and that they could repeatedly visit household in case villagers were absent. Unfortunately, there were some cases that showed the accuracy of renewed voter list was still dubious.

For example, in some provinces such as Riau and Jambi, where many people who travels to work in other Kabupaten/Kotas, Provinces, or even to other countries such as Malaysia and Brunei, it is still quite difficult to control people's whereabouts and thus hard to determine how accurate the voter lists are. Observer in Riau met some voters



claiming RT/RW never visited their households to verify any voter data.⁴¹ She also met or heard of other voters who remained unregistered despite their aspiration for voting. Some temporarily left home for work and the other were seamen sailing on the sea at the time when RT/RW or the registration staff visited their houses.⁴²

In Jogjakarta, ANFREL observer learned that many students were not registered as voters. According to one of the student associations in Jogjakarta, student's voter registration rate was again generally low because of the following reasons: 1) some students are not interested in election, and 2) voter registration still lacked good coordination, and registrar skipped the one-room apartments where most students live.⁴³

The accuracy of the list may have also been threatened in part because of the corruption at the level of lower administration. In Jawa Timur, 20 people at RT 04/RW 01 Kelurahan Barata Jaya, Kecamatan Gubeng, and Kota Surabaya reportedly declined their registration as voters after being told by Ketua RT to pay a fee of Rp 700. There was also a sense of discontentment from the RT/RW who were involved in the registration work; in Riau and Jambi, some RT/RW refused to turn in the renewed voter list because the promised payment had not been made to them.⁴⁴

Security Measures of Voter Cards against Card Reproduction

Although voter card contained various security measures (such as water-mark, specially designated color which is supposed to be very hard to imitate), the card was still easily reproduced with the use of color photocopy machine, because the cards were not usually verified whether it is

authentic or not at the polling station, and that there is no photo or signature of voter's in the card.⁴⁵ ANFREL observer in S.E. Sulawesi



Ballot box received by PPS – No seal at the slot.

(PPS Purwodadi, Kec. Tepus, Kab. Gunung Kidul, DI Yogyakarta)



Ballot box received by PPS – No seal at the slot.

(Polling station 6 (Ketua KPPS's house), Pucung Village, Kec. Girisubo, Kab. Gunung Kidul, DI Yogyakarta)

witnessed one Chief of KPPS in Muna Island had several photocopied voter cards to given to un-registered voters. The observer found the similar case in another village, where one Chief of KPPS kept many photocopied temporary voter cards at his house with the intention of giving them to new voters (note: temporary cards does not contain any security measures). Both Provincial KPU in S.E. Sulawesi and National KPU confirmed that any Chief of KPPS were never authorized to reproduce voter cards.⁴⁶

Storage of Unclaimed Voter Cards

In Riau, the manipulation of voting using the unclaimed voter cards was worried by Panwaslu, KIPP and KPU. Their worries were based on suspected cases of voter



cards manipulation during the legislative elections. According to them, unclaimed cards were bought, sold or offered to unregistered voters by political parties and election officials at PPS.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the election officials' understanding on how to assure the secure storage of unclaimed voter cards was inadequate. Basically, from the observer's findings, it seemed that the unclaimed voter cards were kept by KPSS or PPS until polling day, returned to KPUD through PPK someday after the polling day, and destroyed after the first round or second round of Presidential Election.⁴⁸ However, one PPS member interviewed was not sure how long PPS should keep the cards.⁴⁹ Although none of voter cards manipulation for the Presidential Election was found during the observer's stay in Riau, Panwaslu, KPU and observers Were all concerned about the recurrence of unclaimed voter cards manipulation, because it was expected that many voters would not turn up to pick up their voter cards especially in transit areas for migrant workers or contract workers as it was so during the legislative elections.

- Voter Education and Voter's Awareness

Voter Education by KPU and NGO

During the election, KPU-sponsored voter education programs were frequently broadcasted on TV and radio. In the interview with voters, ANFREL observers learned that TV and radio program was one of the main sources of information on the election for voters. Nonetheless, ANFREL observers noted that this also created an information gap between those who have TV or radio at their house or can access to such media at friend's house and those who do not. This is most especially for poor people who have to work from early in the morning till late at night for meager income had no chance to be exposed to such program at all, and are likely to be excluded from such educational occasion. On the other hand, for those who have chance to watch such programs, some confessed that they have never seriously



watched them because it was not interesting. Others answered that they immediately switch the channel to other entertainment programs when they happened to select voter education program. Although it is very difficult to measure the effectiveness of voter education program provided through media, it could at least be said that airing voter education program is not enough for having voters well informed, considering the vast number of those who do not have chance to watch or pay attention to it.

In some provinces as in Jawa Timur, KPU was trying to disseminate the information by distributing leaflets, posters and banners. KPU Kota Surabaya said that they distributed voter education materials in many shopping complexes in the city to effectively approach to voters. ANFREL observer in fact saw many posters explaining the process of the Presidential Election everywhere in Kota Surabaya.

Workshops were also organized by KPU for voters. In Surabaya, KPU Kota held voter education programs for 16 times for the period from 11 to 30 June, to educate wide variety of people; ranging from teachers, laborers, youths, civil servants, church-goers, parking



*KIPP's "5 Do's and 5 Don't" Voter Education Programme.
(Bundaran Hotel Indonesia, Central Jakarta)*



attendants, transsexuals, Chinese minorities, local observers, commercial sex workers to fishermen. ANFREL observer attended one of such programs, and saw every participant given a plastic folder containing the followings: polling day poster, presidential candidate poster, specimen ballot paper, and booklet on Law No. 23, booklet on candidates' program, booklet on KPU Decree No. 37, voter's guide leaflet, and a ballpoint.⁵⁰ In South Kalimantan, a chairperson of KPUD said that they provided voter education program using film at the village level through KPPS.⁵¹ However, as mentioned in the above section Structural and Methodological Problem in Training, although KPU distributed voter education materials in the form of VCD to villages, voter education using VCD sometimes looked almost impossible in remote slum areas where there was neither computer nor electricity, and there was no supervision by KPU about whether or not educational program using VCD was really held.

In addition to official voter education programs by KPU, some local NGOs also provided their own voter education at grass-root level, by organizing workshops or distributing posters/ leaflets (e.g. ICCE in Jambi and Parwi Foundation in Jogjakarta). Some NGOs made their efforts to attract voters by organizing socialization programs with theatrical performance and/or music.

Despite this, there were still those who were not reached by KPU or NGOs: in remote areas, official voter education program by KPU was absent, ANFREL observed from election officials and villagers.⁵² NGOs were especially trying hard to cover remote areas, but because there is always budgetary constraint for organizations to hold such program, it is very unrealistic to expect them to cover the whole population in every province. The organizer of education programs in Parwi Foundation told ANFREL that they were expecting the participants to eventually become a mentor for the fellow villagers and share their knowledge and experiences gained at the program. However, it was very rare that follow-ups with the participants were



properly done to promote their sharing of the knowledge and experiences with other villagers.

The content and focus of voter education was also deficient and incompletely integrated. As a whole, official voter education tends to only focus on technical procedure of polling, such as how to nail the ballot, or how to clear each step in the polling station. It did not deal with issues of democracy or help voter's better understanding on such issues as why it is significant to go for vote or why it is important for each person to make fully independent decision on polling.⁵³ Information on candidates was not sufficient, either. Observer in Jogjakarta found the KPU's pamphlet introducing each candidate's profile and comprehensive programs, displayed at the entrance of Provincial KPU office. However, neither the observer nor local people found this pamphlet outside KPU building in Jogjakarta city.

Voter's Understanding/ Confusion on the Election

On ANFREL's interviews on the understanding of the polling procedures and other election related questions, most voters could correctly answer when the polling day was scheduled, but some could not. When it comes to identifying the candidates running for the election, their answers became more uncertain. Most of the interviewees in villages in Jogjakarta answered there were only 3 or 4 candidates running in the presidential election; they Were Megawati, Wiranto, Amien Rais, and Yudhoyono. Some voters in villages in South Kalimantan still did not know who were running for the race even by the end of June. A beggar in Kota Dumai of Riau who lives just at the corner of the busy main street said there were 24 parties contesting in this presidential election, and she did not know any of the candidates.⁵⁴ Voters were even more unfamiliar with each candidate's vision and program, in part probably because election campaign did not sufficiently include the information on each candidate's program. A seaman in Riau, who graduated from only junior high school due to

poverty, told to ANFREL observer that he cannot choose which candidate to vote for because he cannot read newspapers and does not know any policies they proposed.⁵⁵ KPU organized a public debate among candidates and broadcasted it on TV, which should be appraised as a significant step that helps voter's informed choice; however, it may have appealed only to a small number of highly educated people. ANFREL observer in Jogjakarta met some university-educated people who followed the candidates' the public debate on TV; nevertheless, she could not find villagers who mentioned that they watched such program. In Jambi, ordinary voters who were interviewed (e.g. taxi drivers, sales clerks, etc.) were confused to make a decision on whom to vote for. A clerk said that she was confused because all the candidates looked and sounded the same, and another said that she cannot make up her mind because she only liked the presidential candidate but not his vice-president.

Voter's Choice

Not knowing each candidate's program, it looked that voters tended to make a choice by the image of candidate. For example, some voters



Ballot papers for Presidential election

answered that they would choose Amien Rais because he looks closer to ordinary people, or that he has a clean image. Those who expressed their support to Megawati told that their choice was based on her image of nationalist. In fact, Saiman, a faculty member of



political science in the University of Riau explained to observer that the attachment of Megawati to Sukarno is critical to make her nationalist image strong. Others who support Yudhoyono told that it was because they think he should be a strong and disciplined person, judging from his military background, thus can cope with national security matters. High school students in surveys also tend to choose Yudhoyono for his charisma.⁵⁶ Almost none of the voters who Were interviewed by ANFREL observers could explain the program of the candidate whom they choose. ANFREL findings correspond to the result of IFES survey, which revealed the voters' tendency to prioritize candidate's personality in their choice, but further show that voters Were not very much aware of candidate's policy although 50 to 70 % of IFES interviewees think candidate's policy should also be taken into account.⁵⁷

Voter's Voluntary Political Will

Voters, especially the younger generation, talked freely about the politics in general and seem to be able to make their own political choices, but some observers met voters who were hesitant to talk about political issues, although the reasons were not always made clear.

In Riau, the interference by male family members or employers to voters was still identified. Some police officers said although they cannot vote, they would influence other family members to vote for their preferred candidate.⁵⁸ It seems that such interference had been tolerated in the local cultural context. A resident of Dumai Muskyn, proudly said "Batak (one of the ethnic group in Riau) women always follow the men's decision. Of course my wife does, too." On the other hand, it looked that such interference Were not always necessarily made by intimidation. Observer met a couple who had an agreement that male domestic helper would follow the husband and female helper the wife. They added that their helpers in fact "came to them to ask for instructions on whom to vote for".⁵⁹ As for the influence of husbands



on wives and employers on employees, many more similar cases were identified in Riau.

In Jogjakarta, some villagers said they didn't have particular political opinion thus would vote for the candidate whom their fellow villagers were talking about frequently. Most of interviewees answered that they went to vote in April and would go to vote in July, as they think voting is their "obligation". One villager said that in the last election he voted for one party simply because a head of the village told that that party was good. He further told that he hadn't made his mind for the presidential election (at the time of interview), because he was still waiting for the head's opinion. In the same village, other villagers answered that they would vote for "the most popular party" in the village: most of them answered they were not interested in election, had no idea about candidate's programs, and therefore waited and saw the situation in the village.⁶⁰ The voter's mind-set was similar in other parts of Jogjakarta, too.⁶¹

In rural area of South East Sulawesi, observer noted that there were more traditional voters who always vote for the same party without any good reasons, than rational voters who make the informed choice on their own. Also in Kab. Bantul, Jogjakarta, observer found that the residents in one village collectively supported for Megawati and the residents in another neighboring village collectively supported for Amien Rais. Although people in both villages told the observer that there was no political pressure or intimidation to voters, the division of these two villages were unnaturally very clear.⁶² Such divisions between different communities were very visible in many places.

Voter's Apathy

In the interviews with voters, ANFREL observers found that many voters, especially the poor, abandoned their hope that the election can make a difference to fairer politics and their better life.



Regarding this issue, a director of KIPP in Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan, explained that many people were not interested in the election because they think the results would be the same as the previous ones, although the election system was reformed. He further explained that all the candidates have always been present in the Indonesian politics even before the Reformation, thus, the new president will not be able to reform the affairs of state drastically.⁶³ According to KIPP Merangin, there was voter apathy with respect to reports of violations and fraud, too.⁶⁴

The election system also seems to have affected to their apathy. A Panwaslu member in Riau analyzed that comparing to choosing local candidates as in legislative elections, choosing a president that they barely know and will be based in Jakarta is something that is very distant from their life, and therefore these voters were indifferent to the elections.⁶⁵

Students who used to lead the political activities were very calm this time in Jogjakarta due to their disappointment to politics. According to member students of Himmah, student magazine association from Indonesia Islamic University, most students in Jogjakarta were split into two groups: those who support the upcoming election and those who don't. Since students are not united in terms of their stance toward the presidential election, student body could not even issue the official statement which expresses their unified view on the election.⁶⁶

It should be noted that voter's apathy does not necessarily mean that they were not going to vote on the polling day. Even though they answered that they do not have a great hope toward the elections and even though they were not very much interested in the election itself, many voters answered that they were going to go for vote anyway.



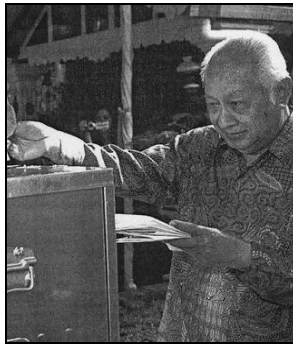
Golput (Abstention)

Golput, an abbreviation for *Golongan Putih* means abstention in Indonesian language, was one of the major pre-election concerns in the Presidential Election. The *Golput* population can be roughly categorized into the following two groups;

- 1) those who do not want to be bothered to go vote because of lack of interests or election weariness due to frequent elections (a part of the indifferent voters mentioned in the above section), and
- 2) those that have strong political awareness and intentionally abstain to express their disappointment at politics and/or nonsupport of the elections.

In Jambi province, ANFREL LTO observed that a handful of university student, was intending to boycott the elections. They believed that the election would be flawed because all the actors were at one time involved with the New Order. They claimed that they were a network of 55 organizations and present in 25 out of 33 provinces. KIPP estimated that they were around 5 % of the total voting population.

In case of Jawa Timur, where Gus Dur gained strong support from people, the dissatisfaction over disqualification of Gus Dur was prevailing, which increased concerns about a large scale of possible *Golput*. He declared to public that he would abstain from voting as a protest against KPU's decision on his Presidential Candidacy. It was feared that his decision to become *Golput* might create more abstention among Gus Dur supporters who sympathizes him.



The 2004 general election attracted the majority of Indonesians to vote for candidates for the Regional Representatives Council (DPRD I) and the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD II). Among those who attended polling stations on Monday were President Megawati Soekarnoputri, who was accompanied by her husband Taufik Kiemas (far left), former president Abdurrahman Wahid, who was accompanied by his daughter Zannuba Arifah Chafsoh Rahman (center) and former president Soeharto (left). The well-known figures cast their votes at polling stations near their respective residences.



5.3 Polling Day and Counting

- General

In general, the whole polling and counting process was held in a peaceful atmosphere and there was no violence reported. It should be appraised that prisoners including those who committed serious crimes were permitted to vote this time. ANFREL observer in S.E. Sulawesi observed prisoners obtained voter cards and happily voted at the TPS set up in prison.⁶⁷

ANFREL observers, however, found many issues to be pointed out in the polling process.

- Although TPS should ideally set up at neutral place to make sure there is no pressure or whatsoever on voters. However, observers found many TPS set up at private houses. Many of them belonged to certain party members, active party supporters, or village chiefs. In Kota Pekanbaru of Riau, both ANFREL observer and Panwaslu Kota member agreed that about 95% of TPS Were located in the yards of private houses.⁶⁸
- Campaign banners, posters and stickers Were still remained at many places very visible to voters. Observers found such materials only a few meters away from the TPS or in some cases even at the next door.
- Observers could not be sure that KPPS were all neutral, considering the fact that many KPPS chairpersons Were consisted of RT/RW, some of whom very actively involved in the last legislative election. In Riau, KIPP coordinator witnessed the move made by KPPS possibly interpreted for voters as vote buying. He saw voters who received money of Rp. 20,000-30,000



on the street near TPS around 5-6pm of 4 July. He interviewed voters and understood that the money distribution was supposedly for Yudhoyono. The KPPS of that TPS was then found speaking in Javanese “Ojolalyo” (Don’t forget) when offering ballot papers to voters on polling day (the following day). Most of the voters registered to that TPS Were Javanese.⁶⁹

- ANFREL is concern that local observation activities looked somewhat inactive compared to the last legislative election, although the reason for this is unclear. ANFREL saw very few local observers at polling stations. This was especially true in remote areas.

- Opening

- At the TPS where ANFREL observers were in S.E. Sulawesi, Riau and Jogja, opening started late for each different reasons. Opening ceremony was scheduled to begin at 7am (Article 24 of KPU Decree 37), so observers arrived at polling stations around 30 minutes before the opening to observe the whole process. In S.E. Sulawesi, it was late because KPPS wanted to receive the voter’s invitation letters before they enter TPS. In Jogjakarta, some KPPS members were still missing at 7am. In addition that opening started at 7:20am, KPPS could not open the ballot box with the key provided by KPU. KPPS got panicked and let one KPPS member go look for another key at the nearest TPS. No one among the KPPS suggested reporting this case to the upper administration to ask them for advice. Finally around 7:45am one of the candidate witnesses succeeded to open the box with the initially provided key.

- KPPS looked that they did not receive sufficient training. At 7:05am, interpreter for the observer in Jogjakarta noted that one KPPS member asked Chief of KPPS about the distinction between invalid and valid ballot. Observers in Riau and Jogjakarta equally noted that Ketua KPPS mentioned Wiranto as an example while he was explaining voters how to vote. This may have happened simply because Wiranto was the first in the list in ballot paper. However, this explanation could be quite misleading and KPPS chairperson should have been trained to avoid giving instruction in such a way. Observer in Jambi noted that the KPPS chairperson did not specify that the ballot paper should be fully spread out to avoid double punching while he was explaining the procedure of polling to voters.



*"Indelible" ink easily wiped off
(TPS 7 At Dusun Dlisen, Umbulrejo Village,
Kec. Ponjong, Kab. Gunung Kidul, DI
Yogyakarta)*



*"Indelible" ink easily wiped off
(TPS 10 At Dusun Jatisari, Sawahan Village,
Kec. Ponjong, Kab. Gunung Kidul, DI
Yogyakarta)*



- Observers found some ballot boxes were delivered to TPS not properly sealed. During the opening ceremony, observers in Riau found that the padlock of the ballot box was not sealed as prescribed in law. Instead, the seal was pasted on the closure point of the ballot box. On the other hand, in Kab. Gunung Kidul of Jogjakarta, observer found no ballot box whose slots were sealed, although they should be.
- In some TPS of Riau and Jambi, ballot papers were found to be oversupplied or in short supply.
 - Polling

Voter card/ Ink checking

Identification of voters by KPPS was seriously flawed in many TPS ANFREL observers visited. In many TPS, KPPS did not check voters card but only invitation cards distributed to each voter by KPPS prior to the polling day. In S.E. Sulawesi, observer noted that some KPPS did not even look up to check the face of the voters. At one TPS in Jogjakarta, KPPS member explained to us that voters do not need to bring their voter cards in his TPS because KPPS members feared that some voters might drop in the street on the way to TPS and as a result the cards might be used by somebody else. In Jambi, observer noticed that it was only in two TPS out of ten TPS she visited that the voter's card and invitation was checked against the list. According to her, there was also one TPS where the voter's list was not even used at all. It was just placed on the table and no one was paying attention to it.

Many KPPS also did not check voter's finger to see if there's any inking sign that shows the voter has already voted somewhere else. In Jogjakarta, observer asked KPPS why he checked neither voter cards nor inking on fingers, although he knew he was supposed to do so. The KPPS answered that it was not necessary as he believes all the



villagers in his village were very honest. He told that he could ask voters to show the papers and their fingers, but would not like to do so. In answering to the question, he looked very uncomfortable, seemingly because he feared his action might be interpreted as distrust of his fellow villagers if he asked them to show cards and fingers.

Secrecy of the Ballot

Secrecy of the ballot was not fully assured at TPS to ANFREL observation. In many TPS, voting booths were inappropriately set up, without anything to cover behind the polling booths, or not adequately covered up even though a screen or wall was placed behind, endangering secret ballot. In Jambi, booths in five out of ten TPS were set up side-by-side and voter could easily see the choice of the person next to him/her if he/she wanted to peek. In some TPS in S.E. Sulawesi, KPPS even left candidate witnesses to approach to or walk around the booth. In Riau, KPPS member's seat was placed very near to the booth which was not adequately covered up. Although the observer was not sure if the KPPS influenced the voter's will in any way or not, the KPPS intervened in the polling process is risking the secrecy of the ballots. Moreover, because KPPS was not orienting voter's directions, the area around the booth sometimes get crowded, again compromising the secrecy of the ballots.

Inking

In most cases the significance of inking process before voters leave TPS was neglected by KPPS. Methods of inking varied from one TPS to another but some of the common cases observed are as follows:

- ***ink pad:*** this case was found in most of the TPS which ANFREL observer in S.E. Sulawesi visited, some in Riau and one in Jogjakarta. In this case, it is highly suspicious if KPPS put the indelible ink to the pad or not. In fact in Jogjakarta, KPPS only

put a small portion of indelible ink after observer reminded them of the use of original indelible ink. The validity of inking in this way is of course quite doubtful from the beginning, because the original indelible ink is mixed with other unknown chemicals initially soaked in the pad, plus the potion of indelible ink applied to finger is consequently very little.

- ***ink bottle cap***: this case was found in many TPS in Riau and some in Jogjakarta. As the container is very small, voters usually only very slightly put the tip of their finger, therefore the inking was not enough.



Inkpad was used to mark finger instead of dipping the finger in the ink bottle. Most voters were not marked properly in preventing multiple voting.

- ***other small containers (e.g. a small saucer)***: this case was found most TPS in Jambi and some in Jogjakarta. Again, the potion of ink being applied tended to be insufficient in this case, too. In minor cases where the container was big enough to properly dip the finger into it, the procedure was more credible.



- ***plastic mat:*** this case was found in one TPS in Jogjakarta. KPPS spilled a small amount of ink over a plastic mat. As the ink on the mat gradually got dried, again, the portion of ink applied was not enough.
- ***original ink bottle:*** in some TPS, KPPS had voter's finger dipped into the original ink bottle.

Furthermore, the quality of ink was low, comparing to the ink used during legislative elections. Original ink distributed by KPU already looked quite thin or diluted. Besides, KIPP in S.E. Sulawesi noticed that some KPPS added water to the ink.⁷⁰ The ink was easily washed out. Some voters in Jogjakarta approached to observer to show how easily the ink was wiped off. Others came to us to pinpoint the low quality of the ink. Observer in Riau tried to ink at various TPS and found that all the ink trace could be removed in a few hours or after one time of wash.

In many TPS regardless of the province, material to wipe out the ink was prepared by KPPS in advance (such as paper, cloth, sponge or rag). Immediately after applying the ink to finger, voters wiped out the ink on finger before it dries up. Neither voters nor KPPS seemed to have noticed that this could seriously undermine the credibility of polling.

The finger to be inked was undetermined, and many people inked any finger they liked if KPPS did not designate a certain finger to be inked.

Some KPPS even did not pay any attention whether voters surely applied the ink or not. Observers in Jambi and Jogjakarta witnessed some voters left without properly applying the ink. Some just pretended to ink the finger, and others appeared to have forgotten the inking process.



Voters on duty

Interpreter for the observer in Jambi was allowed to vote upon presentation of his KTP and voters card. Interpreter and driver in Jogjakarta Were once told that they were not permitted to vote at the undesignated polling station, however, after observer pointed out the concerned article in KPU Decree 37, they were allowed to vote in the end.

Ballot Casting in Place of Another Person

At one TPS in Riau, KPPS allowed a wife to voter for her husband, who had moved to another area and thus could not vote in his designated TPS. Casting a ballot in place of another person of course is a serious violation, but no KPPS took notice of that, probably because of insufficient training.

Signature on Ballot Paper

Many KPPS neglected to ask voter to show the KPPS chairperson's signature on the ballot paper before putting it into the ballot box, although they were supposed to do so in order to confirm that the ballot paper was indubitably received at that polling station. When observer in Jogjakarta pointed that out, some KPPS did not know that they should ask voter to show the ballot. In Riau, a chairman did not in fact sign every ballot paper; one voter spontaneously indicated such mistake.

People inside and/or around TPS

People who are allowed or not allowed to be in or around the TPS were not quite controlled by KPPS. Basically, voters who have not yet finished voting and KPPS members were the only people allowed to be



in the TPS. More ideally, those who are not concerned should not be loitering around the TPS, to avoid possible interference or disturbance to voters coming to TPS. However, in reality, observers saw such cases although ANFREL could not clearly tell if it constituted any actual interference or not. For example, ANFREL observers saw some village chiefs were either inside or around the TPS (in case of Jambi and Jogjakarta). Furthermore, in Jambi, a member of the military went inside the TPS and started chatting with the KPPS while observer was on site. In Riau, observer identified one PDIP member who wore the party's T-shirt and was loitering around the polling station, and one Golkar supporter who stayed on outside the polling station.

- Closing and Counting

Early Closing

Counting was scheduled to start at 1pm local time (Article 32 and 33 of KPU Decree 37). When it becomes around noon, some KPPS left the TPS for lunch, whether there were still voters to come or not. For example, observer in Riau found one TPS where KPPS in charge of inking and ballot casting supervision disappeared to somewhere around 11:30am. Although most voters have already finished voting by that time, some late comers had to cast their ballots and ink their fingers by themselves without any guidance or supervision by KPPS.⁷¹ In S.E. Sulawesi, KPPS in one TPS decided to close the station early and started counting from 12:15pm, after consultation with candidate witnesses, for the reason that all the registered voters to that TPS had already finished voting by that time.

Invalid Ballots – Double Punching

Originally, KPU ruled that the ballot paper having more than two punched holes shall be recognized as invalid. However, around noon at Jakarta time on polling day, KPU changed the rule and determined



that if the holes were made with the ballot folded horizontally, such ballot having one hole in a valid area and the other in the title area shall be counted as valid. The announcement was made to each provincial KPU after noon on polling day. Disseminating information to the lowest level of administration (each TPS) in a few hours while polling was in process was of course mission impossible. Besides, the counting has already started in some parts of Indonesia, as there is two-hour difference at maximum between Jakarta and the farthest province from Jakarta.

In fact, the information did not reach out to the TPS where ANFREL observers stationed to watch the closing and counting by the time KPPS started counting. As a result, whole-scale recounting had to be held on the following day at PPS level, after the ballot papers were collected. This last minute change naturally confused many election officials. TPS in Riau was informed by a Panwaslu member of the change of KPU decision in the middle of counting but continued to count based on the original rule and left recounting to PPS.

The number of ballot having more than two holes was not small, probably and partly because the instruction to voters that they have to completely unfold the ballot paper before punching it was not made clear enough. In Jambi, observer found at least 36% of the ballots had two holes at the polling station she observed, while in Jogjakarta invalid rate was about 11%, most of which were the ballots with more than two holes. Observer in Riau pointed out at least one fourth of the invalid ballots was the ballots with multiple punching.

Invalid Ballots – No Signature

Whether or not the ballot has a signature of KPPS chairperson on it was not properly checked at some TPS. Observer in S.E. Sulawesi noted that nobody checked the KPPS chairperson's signature on ballot during the counting. In Riau, some ballot papers in the ballot box were



found without the signature, and KPPS chairperson signed on the spot at the time of counting. Also, observer in Riau witnessed one ballot paper without the signature being counted.

Discrepancy of the Number of Ballots

At TPS in Riau and Jambi, observers found the discrepancy between the numbers of received ballots and cast ballots. In Riau, KPPS eventually decided to report to PPS that there were two more ballots than the total number of received ballots. Observer noted that there had likely been a counting error already when KPPS first counted the number of received ballots at the time of TPS's opening. In Jambi, when KPPS found that there was an extra ballot compared to the total number of voters who cast at that TPS, they decided to draw out any one of the ballots and file it in their report to PPS, after consultation with candidates' witnesses. Considering that two out of seven ANFREL observers found the similar discrepancy cases, it could be said that the rate of the error is relatively quite high, which indicate the insufficient training of KPPS members. Also, the fact that each TPS took each different countermeasure against the similar error is the further evidence of insufficient training for KPPS.

Filling Up of Forms after Counting

As it was anticipated during the KPPS training, some KPPS were confused by the bunch of forms to be filled in once the counting finished. According to KPPS members at one TPS in Jogjakarta, they had to fill up 3 copies of 9 page forms in hand writing. This was a time-consuming procedure with much confusion among KPPS and candidates' witnesses. Not to mention the necessity of KPPS's better training, the efficiency and accuracy of the work should also be increased (for example, by using carbon paper).



ANFREL coordinator discussed with Commissioner Valina Singka Subekti at KPU office in Jakarta for ANFREL statement and the findings.



5.4 **Second Round Presidential Election**

ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION REPORT

INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(SECOND ROUND)

10 JULY – 10 SEPTEMBER 2004

In the KPU Decree No.39/SK/KPU/2004, the result of first round of Presidential Election was announced. Two top winners of the first round Presidential Election were Hj.Megawaty Soekarno Putri/KH. Hasyim Muzadi (obtained 39,838,189 votes), and the couple of H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono/HM. Yusuf Kalla (obtained 31,569,104 votes). The Constitution (No 23/2004) stated that two couple of the presidential candidates with the highest votes would stand in the second round of the Presidential Election if no couple obtained a minimum of 51% of the votes in the first round of the election. The second round of the Presidential Election was then scheduled on the 2 September 2004.

As a whole, the execution of the second round of the Presidential Election was done in a peaceful manner however; there was no improvement in terms of regulating laws to curb the election violations that happened in the last elections. From the statistics, the experiences from the two former general elections in same year namely the Legislative Election and the First Round Presidential Election should undoubtedly be useful as a study substance to beautify the management



of the election, campaigning and voter education. However, as anticipated by many local NGO circles, that the potency to possibility of election violations to be recurred, the experiences from the last elections proved to be wasted.

KIPP Indonesia reported that one of the most important issues to be highlighted after the First Round of the Presidential Election was the allegations of corruptions and authority abuse at all levels of the KPU body. It is undoubtedly not an easy task to prove these allegations; however, setting up an independent committee to review these allegations will help to strengthen the integrity of the election management body. However, because no effort was made in transparently discussing the matter, voters and civil society groups were consistently being put in the position in believing that the allegations were true, therefore smearing the whole process of election from being free and fair. In addition to this, ANFREL will again reiterate that it is imperative that the voters hold enough trust towards the electoral management body otherwise; there is a concern that the elections result can be questioned. KIPP Indonesia reported:

“Because if the organizer of this election’s position is perceived as not neutral (and have the suspicion of siding a particular party or candidate, nonetheless there have not yet been any serious party to conduct prosecution or investigation on the matter, their (electoral management) position remains the same through the whole process of the second round of the Presidential Election. It is very troubling to think how the people are going to react to the result that is announced by a body that has lost its integrity.”

ANFREL however observed that there was a great feeling of relieve as the long process of the Indonesian Election is nearing to its end. It is interesting for ANFREL to note that the factor of election fatigue might kill the motivation of challenging the outcome of the election although there is a serious doubt that the process was being handled



freely and fairly. The entire component of the nation is more eager now to know about the result, inclusive the members of KIPP Indonesia – although very persistent in monitoring efforts, felt that the time has come to move on with other things in life.

Observations and Findings

I. Pre-election Preparation

- **Voter Registration**

As suggested in the previous ANFREL observation reports, the number of phantom voters is the most worrying factor in the current voter registration system. No particular effort was done by the KPU to address this issue during the second round of the Presidential Election. Apart from that, KIPP and ANFREL observed the initiative of the KPU to lessen the number of people who were not registered in the last round of the Presidential Election. Better coordination was being forged with the local village leaders (RT/RW) to maximize the number of registration. In addition to this effort, the KPU also managed to update datas on the retired member of the armed forces – which then allow them to vote and also the updated data of eligible voters – above 17 at age. ANFREL applauds these efforts as it has definitely allowed greater participation during this election.

However, KIPP Indonesia monitored cases of an updated voter list on Election Day that have either resulted in the excess of ballot papers provided or the shortage of it.

Observation 1:

TPS No. 023 Military Marine Army, Cilandak - East of Jakarta, voter list has never changed since the Legislative Election. KIPP interview revealed that the polling officers corrected the list several times and



send the updated version to the KPU, however they were given back the list that is not updated. This has resulted in the excess of ballot papers in that particular station.

Observation 2:

TPS No. 021 West Pejaten, Jakarta, voter turn out was greater than the amount of ballot paper provided. There were 217 voters in this station by the time it had to close, while the station was only provided with 214 ballot papers.

Observation 3:

TPS No. 1 JP 283 KS 283, 3 JP 284, 3 JP 303, 6 JP 300 KS 280 in the Village of Papakelan, Sub district of East Tondano, Minahasa (North Sulawesi), the same case of insufficient ballot papers provided to these TPS were observed.

- Training

There should be no serious problem of lack of training for the election officials because they have gone through training process for the last two elections. Surely, these continuous training programs should have benefited the polling officers at all levels. Moreover, the second round of the Presidential Election poses a less complicated process for the election officials to handle. There are now only two candidates and one ballot box for the voters to cast their ballots in. Somehow, these factors does not support the high number of election violation cases that are reported in relations to the polling officers who are lacking in training. ANFREL suggest that a special body to be set up to address this issue. It is imperative to investigate and conclude the reported cases of violations related to the polling officers, as they are the front-runners on Election Day.



- **Campaigning**

ANFREL observed a very different form of campaigning during the second round of the Presidential Election. The special Indonesian style of campaigning of songs and dances during public rallies were almost inexistence. During the second round of the Presidential Election, campaigns are only conducted at national level, which is the in form of a dialogue. The positive outcome of this kind of campaigning is that more focused issues on candidates' agenda and policies are discussed, no forms of 'Black Campaigning' were observed. This has promoted to a healthier electoral environment. By using support of reportage of TV/RADIO, the presidential debates were broadcasted live for 3 days (14-16 September 2004). KIPP however commented that the time provided for each program is not enough thus; it has minimum impact to the viewers.

In relations to campaigning, one particular area that is still not being addressed properly by the KPU in the second round of the Presidential Election is the forms of vote buying in accordance to the law. As ANFREL has urged in the last election, this issue needs to be addressed soon and stringent measures must be taken to ensure that such activity does not reoccur. ANFREL views the problem of vote buying as to be a serious threat to the democratization process in Indonesia.

II. Election Day

- **Polling process**

It was observed that the opening of the Election Day went on very smoothly with a high number of voters were waiting in line before the opening of the polling stations. The Election Day went on without major disturbances. There was however, one case of violence on Election Day was reported by KIPP monitors, which happened in



Polling station/TPS No. 02 Butuh village, Sub district of Mojongso, Boyolali (Central of Java). The Chief of the TPS was attacked by a supporter of a candidate. The victim was badly injured and was rushed to the Hospital. The polling process at the station was then suspended. The attacker was apprehended by the police.

The law provided that a polling station must be closed at one P.M (WIB) to allow the counting process to start. The law also allocates that in cases where there are still people queuing to vote, the people in queue must be allowed to vote after 1 P.M. KIPP monitors observed that there were some polling stations which remained open after 1 P.M for no apparent reason. It was unclear on why the TPS remained opened after 1 P.M, when the polling officers saw the presence of KIPP monitors they hurriedly call for the polling stations to close. The officers refused to answer to the observer's questions.

A more serious finding was on the polling stations that closes their activity before 1 P.M. KIPP observed quite a number of polling stations that closes as early as 9 A.M and finished counting the ballot papers by 10 A.M. When asked by KIPP's monitors, the chief of the polling station stated that they are sure that no more voters are going to turn up. The chief also mentioned that by doing this, he can save up a lot of time. The case was reported by KIPP monitors to PANWASLU.

- Voter secrecy

As the same problem of the poor setting up of polling stations that has caused in jeopardizing voter secrecy, ANFREL strongly urge the KPU to take serious measures in inspecting the areas and conditions of polling stations before Election Day. Among the cases that KIPP monitored (the same problem as occurred in the last elections) were:

- The distance of between polling screen were set too near to each other



- The setting up of polling stations in private property
- The usage of government facilities for polling areas
- Voter's are exposed to public while voting – a result of uncovered area behind voting screen
- Polling officers present behind the voting screen while voters are marking their ballot

KIPP also noted that seals for padlocks on the ballot boxes are of poor quality. Often the seals drop loose while transferring the ballot boxes from one area to the other. This has undermined its purpose to safeguard the ballot boxes from being tampered.

- Polling Officers (KPPS)

ANFREL and KIPP observed polling officers who were acting biased. A number of campaign attributes (sticker, banner, etc) were found around and even inside the polling stations.

Another significant observation was how the polling officers were chanting and shouting in support of a particular candidate during vote counting process. Other ANFREL and KIPP observations on issues relating to polling officers are:

In TPS 6 Village of Andonahu, Subdistrict Poasea, Kendari (South-East Sulawesi) polling staff/KPPS leave the post to have lunch, leaving behind only one staff to manage the station.

- In TPS 7, 8, 9, 10,11 Government school, Cendrawasih I and II, Makassar (South of Sulawesi), polling officers/KPPS were screaming “long Live SBY-JK”.



- Election Violation

It is unquestionable that the second round of the Presidential Election was conducted peacefully however; election violations were not marginalized. Pursuant to data that is collected by KIPP, the quantity and the frequency of election violations were decrease from 430 cases during the Legislative Election, 228 cases at first round of the Presidential Election and only 120 cases at the Second Round of the Presidential Election¹. Although the statistics shows a sharp decrease in the election violation cases, ANFREL feels that it is important to consider factors of less competition between groups at grassroots level in all of these elections. For instance, in the Legislative Election, the number of fractions among the supporters of the candidates and the political party² is higher than in the First Round of the Presidential Election. Thereafter, because fewer candidates are competing in the second round of the Presidential Election, this also suggests that less fractional competition were seen at the grassroots level during this election. It is important to mention here that ANFREL is not discounting the possibility of successful civic education that has led to the decrease of the number of electoral violations, however insist that the above-mentioned factor should not be discounted.

In relations to the election violation cases, the staggering number of violations related to the KPU at all levels (KPU+PPK/PPS/KPPS) is very worrisome. The number of violations cases related to the KPU reached 75% from the total number of reported cases. From the 75%, 41% of the reported cases pointed to violations that are caused by negligence of the polling officers at the TPS level. The true reason for the negligence of polling officers remained uncertain.

¹ *Comparison of Election Violation Cases*

² *Refer to the Open List System of the Indonesian Legislative Election 2004.*



III. Election Monitoring Group

It is in ANFREL's deepest regret that the KPU again refused to accreditate KIPP, without officially explaining its reason in doing so. It is imperative that the KPU supports such civil society movement by assisting these groups, particularly KIPP in its activity. The unwarranted and unnecessary hostile environment between KPU and civil societies, particularly KIPP has to end. This is very important in the constant effort of democratization in Indonesia. As KIPP is one of the biggest election observation efforts in Indonesia, the refusal to accreditate KIPP means that a large number of people are being marginalized to participate in the processes of the election.

The role of the electoral prefect PANWASLU still remain unclear as in the last two elections. Despite ANFREL's constant call to clarify the role of PANWASLU, the KPU remained unanimous in addressing this issue. As a result, PANWASLU are not able to play an effective role in being a body to check and balance the power of KPU. Reports on election violations received by PANWASLU were also unattended to as expected due to its ambiguity of power. ANFREL again call for a reform in the structure of KPU that will allow PANWASLU to operate within its mandate.

IV. Elections Result

Through the KPU Decree No. 98/SK/KPU/2004, it was announced that the Presidential Candidate H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Vice Presidential Candidate HM. Yusuf Kalla obtained 69,226,350 votes (60.62%), as the winner of Indonesian Presidential Election 2004. Their competitor, the incumbent Indonesian President Hj. Megawaty Soekarno Putri and Vice Presidential Candidate Kh. Hasyim Muzadi obtained 44,990,704 votes (39.38%).



1 For example, Amien Rais held a massive campaign rally in Surabaya city gathering more than 50,000 supporters, but his schedule at Institut Teknologi Sepuluh November Surabaya was cancelled due to students protest.[0]

2 Our observer heard the case that three 14-years-old children died from accident at Ameroro village in Konawe regency, S.E. Sulawesi, while they were participating in the legislative election campaign.[0]

3 Interview with Jogjakarta Provincial Panwaslu members, Mr. Ahmad Husni and Mr. Y. Marjuki.

4 Interview with villagers in Dusun Babakan in Poncosari village, Kec. Srandakan, Kab. Bantul, Jogjakarta. Dusun Babakan is a community of Muhammadiyah.

5 Interview with Mr. Hoesni Thamrin, chairperson of Provincial Panwaslu in South Kalimantan.

6 Interview with Jogjakarta Provincial Panwaslu member Mr. Y. Marjuki and Mr. Ahmad Husni. Megawati's official visit to Provincial DPRD on Jogjakarta City's main street, Malioboro Street, was scheduled on Saturday, June 12, while her election campaign for this date was only permitted in Kabupaten Sleman.

7 According to Provincial Panwaslu members Mr. Muhammad Wafiek and Mr. AKBP. Drs. Y. Marjuki, these cases were found during the 2nd week of campaign in Kalibawang (Kab. Kulon Progo), Wonosari (Kab. Gunung Kidul), Bantul (Kab. Bantul), etc., in Jogjakarta

8 Based on the interview with Panwaslu DIY members Mr. Muhammad Wafiek and Mr. AKBP. Drs. Y. Marjuki. According to them, VCD cases were found in Wonosari (Kab. Gunung Kidul), Bantul (Kab. Bantul), and Jogjakarta City.

9 Interview with Mr. Budi, a chairperson of Yudhoyono's campaign team in Jogjakarta.

10 Based on the interview with villagers in Dusun Tegalsari, Ngargosari village, Kec. Samigaluh, Kab. Kulon Progo, Jogjakarta.

11 After all the fuss, however, according to local newspaper on the following day, Megawati did not visit the Main Street at that night.

12 Interview with Mr. H. Abd. Wahid, Vice Chairperson of NU Kendari, S.E. Sulawesi.

13 Observation at Kemantan Kebalai village in Kecamatan Air Hangat Timur, Jambi

14 Interview with Mr. Agus Suwanto, Mr. Yuliantoni, and Mr. Komari, members of Panwaslu Pekanbaru, Riau.

15 For example, in Kota Pekanbaru of Riau, the KPUD requested PPS to distribute ballot boxes to KPPS only one day prior to the election for security concerns. In Kab. Pelalawan, on the other hand, the date to receive ballot papers by KPPS was set flexibly depending on the security situation of each area. Another account for the



planned logistics delay was given by election officials at one PPS in Kab. Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta, that guarding ballot boxes for three nights at each TPS would cost too much, requiring so many night guards. Therefore they had decided to guard the boxes collectively at PPS level until one day before the polling day.

16 Interview with Ketua PPS in Desa Umbulrejo, Kec. Ponjong, Kab. Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta.

17 Interview with Mr. Hendri, Panwaslu member in Kec Dumai Timur of Kota Dumai, Riau.

18 PPS of Umban Sari, Kec. Rumbai, Kota Pekanbaru, Riau

19 Interview with Mr. Anthon, a Panwaslu Kota Pekanbaru member in Riau

20 Interview and observation at PPS Meranti Radipak, Kec. Rumbai, Kota Pekanbaru, Riau.

21 Interview at PPS Desa Sering, Kec Pelalawan, Kab. Pelalawan, Riau

22 Observation at TPS 6, Pucung village, Kec. Girisubo on July 3, 2004, and at TPS 6 and 9, Umbulrejo village, Kec. Ponjong, Jogjakarta, on July 4, 2004.

23 Interview with Mr. Arif from Provincial KPU in Jawa Timur. Numbers of shortage were 118 ballots in Kota Kediri, 3,348 in Kota Pasuruan and 367 in Kota Mojokerto respectively.

24 Interview with Mr. Yulianthony, member of Panwaslu Kota Pekanbaru, Riau

25 Interview with Dra Faddilah, MPD, Indonesian Center for Civic education (ICCE) in Jambi

26 Interview with Mr. A. Razak, PPS chairperson in Kel. Pematang Kandu in Kec. Bangko, Kab. Merangin, Jambi

27 Interview with Mr. Alwis, KPU Riau member.

28 Based on the interview with KPUD chairperson Ivan Fauzam Rahanja in Kab. Kerinci, Jambi, and extensive field observation in Kab. Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta.

29 Based on the interview with KPUD Pekanbaru and Pelalawan in Riau, as well as PPK & PPS members. Also, PPS chairperson in PPS Argomulyo, Kab. Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta, gave the same account.

30 Observation at KPUD Pekanbaru, Riau. The observer has witnessed that some manuals to special TPS (harbor, bus station, airport, etc.) were still sitting at the office of KPUD Pekanbaru waiting for distribution on June 30. Similar cases were observed in Kab. Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta, too; even in the Quiet Period, a bunch of manuals still left at PPS office was observed.

31 Interview with KPUD Chairperson in Kab. Kerinci, Jambi

32 Interview with PPK and KPPS officials in Kab. Konawe, S.E. Sulawesi

33 Ibid, and interview with Ketua KPPS in Kab. Kulon Progo, Jogjakarta, and with



secretariat member of PPS Umbulrejo, Kab. Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta.

34 Interview with pak Sutino, Ketua KPPS at TPS 32, Dusun Kemusuk Lor, Argomulyo village, Kec. Sedayu, Kab. Bantul, Jogjakarta, on June 30, 2004

35 Mai Andri: Meranti Radipak Kec. Rumbai; (Atil Mahdar), chair PPS Desa Sering, Kec Pelalawan; Nasir: KPPS member TPS #35 in Kerinci and others, Riau.

36 Interview with Mr. Ahmad Jamaan, Provincial Panwaslu member in Riau, Mr. Rusnawi, chairperson of KIPP Dumai and Mr. Dicky Rinaldy, chairperson of Panwaslu Kota Dumai, Riau.

37 Interview with Mr. Ahmad Jamaan, Provincial Panwaslu member in Riau and Mr. Dicky Rinaldy, chairperson of Panwaslu Kota Dumai, Riau.

38 Interview with Mr. Ahmad Husni and Mr. Y. Marjuki, Provincial Panwaslu member in Jogjakarta.

39 Interview with Mr. Yuliantoni, Panwaslu Kota Pekanbaru member, Riau province.

40 Interview with Mr. Ahmad Jamaan, member of provincial Panwaslu in Riau

41 Nurhaidah (Kel Petani, Kec. Mandau, Kota Duri); Suhainy (Kel. Sebangar, Kec. Mandau); Aceh and Alimah (Kel. Segangar); Desi in Kel Bangsal Aceh, Kec, Sungai Sembilan, Riau

42 Based on the interview with Janter, who lives in Kel. Bukit Batrem, Kec. Bukit Kapur, and Ayong, a seaman from Dumai, Riau

43 Interview with Raja, Jimmy, Pramara, Indra, Ndari, and Ulil from Student magazine association, "Himmah", in Indonesia Islamic University

44 Interview with Mr. Ansorullah, SH. MH, member of Provincial Panwaslu in Jambi. In Riau, RT/RW refused to submit the list in Kota Pekanbaru, Kab. Bengkalis and Kab. Siak, according to Riau KPU member Alwis.

45 Based on the information from Ms. Dra Hj. Nur Azizah M.si, member of Provincial KPU in Jogjakarta

46 Observation at Wabintinggi village in Kec. Lohia, S.E. Sulawesi

47 Interview with Dicky Rinaldy, the chairperson of Panwaslu of Kota Dumai, Rusnawi, KIPP director in Kota Dumai, and Alwis, KPU member in Riau

48 Interview with Mohammad Nasil, PPS chairperson at Kel Tampan, Kec Tampan, PKU; Jefri Yandi, PPS member at Kel Kampung Tengah, PKU, Riau.

49 Interview with Jefri Yandi, PPS member at Kel Kampung Tengah, Riau.

50 Observation at Pemerintah Kota Surabaya on 19 June, 2004

51 Interview with Mr. Fathurrahman Surya, Drs., chairperson of KPUD in Kab. Hulu Sungai Tengah, South Kalimantan. (Kab. Hulu Sungai Tengah locates more than 150km away from the provincial capital Banjarmasin.)

52 Interview with Yuli, Panwaslu member of Kota Duri, Riau, villagers in Riau and



Kab. Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta.

53 According to the observer in Riau, this issue was criticized by an NGO, Institution for Empowerment and Democracy (LPAD), too.

54 Interview with Nurisah, a beggar in Kec. Dumai Timur of Kota Dumai, Riau.

55 Interview with Ayong, a seaman at Pelabuhan Satu of Dumai, Riau

56 Interview with LPAD officers in Riau who engaged in high school student voter education programs.

57 Wall (2004a, 2004b).

58 Interview with Emermantorial and his colleagues, the police serving Kec. Rumbai of Pekanbaru, Riau.

59 Interview with Pak Ali and Ibu Jenni from Kab. Kampar, Riau.

60 Interview with villagers at Dusun Potronalan, Banjaroyo village, Kec. Kalibawang, Kab. Kulon Progo, Jogjakarta

61 For example, interview in Dusun Kradenan, Dukuh Peleur, Kec. Semin, Kab. Gunung Kidul, where some female voters answered they were waiting for the decision of pak RT

62 These were two different Dusuns in Poncosari village, Kec Srandakan, Kab. Bantul, Jogjakarta

63 In the interview with Mr. HR Budiman, Director of KIPP Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan.

64 Interview with Messrs. Kudussamah, Presidium KIPP Merangin, and Syahyar Waer, Secretary General KIPP Merangin, Jambi.

65 Interview with Yuli, Panwaslu member of Kota Duri, Riau.

66 Interview with Raja Jimmy Pramara, Indra, Ndari, Ulil, students from Indonesia Islamic University

67 Observation at Rutan Punggalaka prison in Kendari, S.E. Sulawesi.

68 Anton, member of Panwaslu Kota Pekanbaru, Riau.

69 According to Aziz, KIPP coordinator in Dumai Barat, Riau. He claimed that he witnessed voters receiving money on Jl. Sidodadi and the other street next to a school near TPS #4 of Bangsal Aceh.

70 According to the observation by KIPP at Kec. Baruga, S.E. Sulawesi.

71 Observation at TPS #1 of Bagan Keladi, Kec. Dumai Barat, Kota Dumai, Riau.



6 Conclusion and Recommendations

ANFREL highly appraise that the first round of Indonesia's first-ever direct Presidential Election was held generally in peaceful atmosphere. Almost no case of violence in relation to the election was found nor heard by ANFREL observers dispersed to seven provinces. However, ANFREL found violations and irregularities which may result in the serious flaws for the legitimacy of election. In addition, ANFREL noted some phenomena that cast a shadow over the future of this country's democracy.

Ironically, the peaceful atmosphere seemed to be created and backed up in some ways by voter's disappointment to the politics and increasing lack of interests in the election. Candidates and campaign teams were not so much successful in mobilizing voters comparing to the scale of open campaign gatherings in the previous elections. Even comparing to the last legislative elections, the liveliness of the open campaign diminished to ANFREL observers' eyes. According to IFES, the voter turnout for the first round of Presidential Election was 78.23%, whereas that for legislative election was 84.07%. In the second round, the turnout had further fell down to 75.24%.¹ People's disappointment to the politics may further lower political participation in the future, which is detrimental to the participatory democracy. In that sense, the task and responsibility imposed on the newly elected President is so huge and should be taken seriously.

In many interviews taken by ANFREL observers, most people talked freely to observers. Observers did not identify any obvious sign of intimidation to voters. On the other hand, observers found many attempts to influence on voter's decision whether it was apparent or deliberately concealed. It took forms of *Money Politics*, partisan attitude of election officials, or political pressure (or "recommendation") from RT/RW, employers or head of household in



some cultural context. On the part of voters, some of them, especially the rural poor whose educational background is relatively low, looked bewildered by the new election system in which they have to choose their President who is quite distant from them. People in rural areas sometimes revealed to ANFREL observer that they would follow their fellow villagers' opinion because they do not know well about the politics.

Democracy has been consolidated in terms of the political system for the past years, but civic education is far behind. It is far from ensuring such democracy with full participation of citizens who can make informed and independent choice. Regarding this issue, both the election administration and candidates have a responsibility for the insufficient education for voters. Official voter education was inclined to only inform about the technical procedure of the election, not fully explaining the significance of each voter's making individual choice. Candidates and campaign teams were also to be blamed for not fully explaining their visions and programs but only trying to get support from voters by entertaining them.

The way the candidates tried to garner the votes also signifies that there is a room for this country's democracy to be refined. For this election, voters tended to make choice based on candidate's image or personality than on their programs, as ANFREL observers directly felt from their interviews with voters in the field as well as IFES's election opinion polls showed. To win the election, some candidates tried to promote their good images of cleanness, closeness to poor people, or discipline, while others counted on the block vote based on their widespread grass-root party organizations or their electoral alliance with other parties/ religious organization. All these indicate that there is a risk for Indonesian democracy to become populism if it will not be backed up by mature civil society.

The election preparation and logistics went smoother and no serious



delay was observed this time, unlike the last legislative elections, which was no doubt one of the most complicated and problematic elections in the world. Based on the bitter experiences during the last elections, some remedial measures were implemented. For example, the voter registration list was renewed with the help of RT/RW, so that the list which was seriously failed in the last elections becomes more precise and accurate. However, the security of election materials such as ballots, ballot boxes, or voter cards were unfortunately not sufficiently ensured to ANFREL's observation. Ballot papers were folded unattended by any election officials, creating the possibility of taking some papers out without being caught. Ballot boxes containing ballot papers and other important materials for election were left unguarded in private houses in villages. Unclaimed voter cards were not securely stored from possible manipulation. In some cases, oversupply or short supply of ballot papers were observed.

Many irregularities were found throughout polling/counting day, which could have been avoided if the officials were trained properly and adequately. Voter identification was not properly checked at the entrance of polling station. KPPS members were hesitant to ask for the voter cards seemingly fearing that people would blame them for being distrustful. Many people unrelated to the process of polling were allowed to be inside or around the TPS. Inking was seriously flawed, too. Many KPPS Were seen letting voters into the TPS without checking the trace of ink on voter's fingers. Even worse, inking process that should be strictly implemented before voters leave the TPS was widely neglected. Voters either put the ink to the tip of their finger only lightly and immediately wiped it off or in some worst cases, could leave the TPS without applying the ink at all. All of these could have seriously undermined the election.

Furthermore, although ANFREL did not identify solid evidence of manipulation for this time's election, the neutrality of election officials Were also called into question, because some officials who Were



suspected to be involved in manipulation of voter cards/ vote counting result remained in office through the whole process of the presidential election, while some of them Were being put on trial.

To resolve the problems ANFREL have indicated in this report, ANFREL makes the following recommendations.

- ◆ **In combating with *Money Politics* that has been prevailed throughout the campaign, ANFREL suggests to clearly define what constitutes *Money Politics* and/or vote buying and to implement strict measures against it. ANFREL's understanding is that *Money Politics* constitutes all attempts for influencing on voters by use of goods and money and such attempts should be strictly banned. ANFREL call for clearly stipulating the definition and prohibition of *Money Politics* in the election law. If *Money Politics* cases are identified, those who offered should be lawfully but immediately sanctioned and discharged from their duty whether they are election officials or campaigners, in order to avoid the recurrence of the similar cases.**

Amid a rampant *Money Politics*, it looked that voters in a sense became mature and were not too much bothered by such attempts, at the first glance. However, ANFREL are concerned that it is also very hard to tell whether they can be totally free from such an influence on polling day. ANFREL thinks that it is not only providers but also receivers of money who are tolerating and consequently promoting the rampant corruption in Indonesia's domestic politics. ANFREL recognizes that there is an argument that ANFREL should pass over the poor people receiving money and goods from campaigners on the grounds that the election is the rare occasion for such people to gain a profit, which comes but every 5 years. However, unemployment and poverty should



be lawfully treated under the sound social policy and not by *Money Politics*. Negative effects that *Money Politics* brings to the society should never be underestimated.

- ◆ **A clear definition of *Black Campaign* should also be given in the election law.**

There was confusion as to what constitutes *Black Campaign*. The distinction between defamation or unreasonable attack to the candidates' personality and a meaningful discussion over the quality of the candidates should be clear to everybody. Especially, the unreasonable restriction to the latter is detrimental for the promotion of people's active political participation.

- ◆ **Voting system should be streamlined by replacing ballot-nailing with other methods, such as use of pen or stamps.**

ANFREL understand that people are accustomed to this punching system, which has been employed in this country for long. However, ANFREL keep finding the inconvenience caused by this balloting system. One of the major problems attributed to ballot punching is double puncture of ballot papers, which in the end resulted in wide-scale recounting. In addition to that, it is very inefficient to check the tiny hole made in the ballot each time of the counting.

- ◆ **It is concerned that current voter cards are very vulnerable to possible voting manipulation, because of inadequate security measures included in the cards. ANFREL suggests that voter cards should contain voter's photo, signature or thumbprint (for the convenience of the illiterate) to help identification of voters at polling station.**



ANFREL suggests this because its observers witnessed many cases of mismanagement of voter cards (insecure storage of unclaimed voter cards, unauthorized reproduction of voter cards, etc.); while they heard many cases of voter cards buying or selling reportedly happened during the past elections.

◆ **Security of election materials (ballot papers, ballot box, voter cards, etc.) should be fully guaranteed.**

ANFREL observers witnessed many cases where ballot papers were not securely stored, especially at the phase of folding ballot papers and stocking ballot boxes which contain election materials. One example of the consequence of unsecured storage is the circulation of authentic ballot in the street. For whatever reason, taking out of election materials under no surveillance of election officials should be avoided and strictly cracked down, even if, for example, it is claimed that a ballot was taken out to use for the training purpose. This heightens the possibility of fraud in this election.

◆ **Training for election officials should be provided thoroughly. Above all, the significance and implication of each essential step to be followed in TPS should be fully comprehended by all KPPS, not limited to KPPS chairperson.**

Many irregularities and potential irregularities in TPS could have been avoided if officials were properly and adequately trained. Many officials were not sure about the basic and essential procedures such as inking and validity of ballots. It is necessary to not only provide the training but also make sure that all the officials understood why such step is required in the polling station. Above all, ink trace checking and inking process in the polling station becomes crucial, given that current voter cards system without photo or signature does not completely eliminate



the possibility of multiple voting. Current training had a too much focus on how to fill up the formats. Streamlining such format filling process would also help KPU to spare time for dealing with substantial information, not to mention increase of efficiency. Manuals should be effectively utilized in the training, and not be only distributed to KPPS chairperson and left unread. Considering that the training for KPPS was expected to be given by KPPS chairperson, who may not have capability of training, it would be reasonable to consider taking advantage of experiences and know-how of civil society organizations specialized in education and training where possible.

- ◆ **Throughout the whole process of the election, efforts from all sides should be made to develop favorable environment for implementing voter's independent political will.**

In concrete terms, neutrality of election officials and personnel in local administration (such as village chief, RT/RW, etc.) must be maintained. In case any of the election officials is found engaging in partisan activity in relation to his/her duties, such official must be displaced from the office and properly sanctioned. Considering that most local governmental officials have long been an active partisan of certain party, the current law allowing village-level officials to become a member of TPS should be reconsidered to avoid an unnecessary intervention to voter's free will. TPS should also be situated in a neutral place, and not in private houses of village administration staff or party members. Election materials should never be left around the TPS on polling day.

- ◆ **Official Voter Education provided by KPU should not only include the technical and procedural information for polling day, but also be done in a way that voters would understand**



the importance of participating into the election as well as make an informed choice for polling. Candidates are also encouraged to familiarize the voters with their visions and programs. In a long run, Civic Education for all people should ideally be provided in order to nurture civil society in this country. Commitment of matured citizens is essential for democracy to be truly consolidated. ANFREL calls for concerted efforts of related authorities and NGOs to disseminate Civic Education.

ANFREL observers met a lot of traditional voters than rational voters especially in rural poor areas, although some surveys showed that voters became are free from the affiliating society/ organization in exercising their political right, referring to the division in NU voters regardless of some leaders' efforts to sweep their votes. Voter's apathy is widespread and Golput population is becoming larger. Voter's lack of understanding about the significance of his/her civil and political rights is very much concerned because such voters would be more vulnerable to the interference or influence imposed by others. Dissemination of voter/ civic education should be reached to remote and poor areas, too, because people in such areas tended to be excluded from such education opportunity.

- ◆ **Vitalization of monitoring organizations (such as Panwaslu and NGOs) should further be promoted. Especially, ANFREL recommend strengthening the function of Panwaslu by ensuring its financial independence. This will allow greater flexibility of Panwaslu in determining its staffing and training. In addition to that, ANFREL call for a better and constructive relationship between monitoring organizations and KPU.**

While observers were in the field, they often heard Panwaslu members complaining about the lack of coordination with KPU.



Monitoring activities should more be promoted from all sides to helps increase transparency in the whole electoral process.

After ANFREL observers left the country, the result for first round was declared by the KPU. Having won 33.50% and 26.65% of total votes respectively, Yudhoyono and Megawati proceeded to the run-off on 20 September. As a final result, Yudhoyono was officially elected as the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia with 60.89% of total votes. To conclude this report, ANFREL would like to stress that democratization is not something that can be accomplished by just one election, but that it is a continuing project and an everyday process. This historical election has been marked undoubtedly as one of the milestones in Indonesia's path to democracy. However, ANFREL know it is still only a start point for steering this country's democracy. Attention should be continuously paid to how the political power balance between the President and the multiparty Parliament will be constructed. Deadlock in their relationship must be avoided, as there are so many critical problems to be immediately tackled with – from corruption to economic instability. The role of civil society in Indonesia to monitor the long-run outcome of this election and pressure to elected politicians to correct the cause of politics where necessary is thus huge and essential.

¹ IFES, *Electionguide.org Voter Turnout in 2004*, Available from World Wide Web: (<http://www.ifes.org/eguide/turnout2004.htm>)



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APPENDIX TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2004 REPORT

● Election and Mission Schedule

Date	Presidential Election Schedule	ANFREL Mission Schedule
25 April – 10 May	Voter Registration	
30 April	KPU announcement of preliminary list of registered voters	
30 April – 14 May	Registration and accreditation of Election Observers	
6 May – 12 May	KPU Registration of Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates	Arrival of ANFREL Mission Coordinator.
8 May – 13 May	KPU Screening of Presidential Candidates	ANFREL deployment planned with KIPP
22 May	Announcement by KPU of Presidential Candidates	
25 May – 1 June	Voter Registration Deadline for Finalizing Final Voters List	
1 June	Campaign Starts	ANFREL starts observation with KIPP



4 June		LTOs arrive at Jakarta
5 – 7 June		Briefing
8 June		Deployment to Provinces
13 June		LTO 1 st week Report
17 June		LTO 2 nd week Report
25 June		LTOs return to Jakarta for Mid-Term Program Review and send 3 rd week Report
28 June		LTOs back to provinces Issuance of Mid-Term Press Statement
1 July	Campaign Ends	Deadline of LTO 4 th week Report
2 – 4 July	Quiet Period (No Campaign)	
5 July	Polling Day (First Round)	Deadline of LTO Polling Day Report
8-9 July		De-briefing and Press Conference



● Press Statement

ANFREL Applauds for Indonesia's Peaceful Presidential Election While Calling for Immediate Rectification of Urgent Problems

July 8, 2004

With the closing of its one-month observation of the first direct presidential election in Indonesia's history, the Asian Network of Free Elections (ANFREL) would like to express its deepest gratitude for the generally warm reception of its observers by the Indonesian people. The National Election Commission's (KPU) kind assistance in providing accreditations to ANFREL was indispensable and highly appreciated.

ANFREL would like to further applaud for all stakeholders' contribution to the peaceful atmosphere of campaigns and polling in the presidential election. The calmness of this election has led the country to a new phase of democratization.

In addition, positive measures in providing better training manuals to election officials, setting up special polling stations in prisons, hospitals, ports and bus stations, removing all campaign materials on quite days should be given credits to. Respecting the right to vote of prisoners who committed major crimes and the disabled on July 5 was also constructive.

With its election observation experiences in over ten countries of the region, however, ANFREL is obliged to making strong recommendations and calling for immediate reforms of certain areas of Indonesia's electoral system. Otherwise the integrity and credibility of the country's second round presidential election can be highly threatened. This is especially true to the improvement in election officials' neutrality and training, voter education, TPS management for



the safeguard of secrecy of ballot and the security of logistics. More importantly, punching on the ballot paper should be immediately replaced to prevent any manipulation and bettering the counting efficiency. Voter IDs should contain voters' photos and signatures. The current voter list should, in addition, be immediately and effectively updated.

ANFREL cordially hopes that all stakeholders of Indonesia's election, especially the KPU, would consider and accept its suggestions to better the current electoral system. In 1999, Indonesia stepped into a new stage of democratization with the ending of the New Order regime. We sincerely hope that by reforming its current electoral system for the future elections, the country could consolidate its efforts in advancing its democratization process.

Recommendations and Findings:

I. Election System

- **Punching on the ballot paper should be replaced by marking with a pen or stamping.**

Punching on ballot papers could be subject to manipulation of money politics. Other problems of delaying the counting process and deciding the validity of double punched ballots have also occurred during the presidential election.

- **The precision of voter registration should be improved. Voter cards should contain voters' photos and signatures. Voter identification checking should be effectively conducted. The quality of indelible Ink and voters' knowledge in the necessity of inking should also be improved.**



ANFREL has observed imprecise voter registration and voter list update in both the legislative and the presidential elections. The names of the deceased and underage were found on the list. Double registration was also observed during the presidential election observation mission. ANFREL highly recommends timely update of the current voter list. Supervision of voter list update should be implemented.

To prevent the occurrence of phantom voters, ANFREL reiterates the importance of issuing voter cards with voter photos and signatures to help voter ID checking on the polling day. Otherwise the KPU should announce a list of IDs valid for voter identity confirmation on the polling day. Voters who fail to present the required ID in the TPS should not be allowed to cast a ballot.

Inking procedure and checking voters' fingers for ink should be abided by to avoid double voting. On the polling day, some KPPS only dipped voters' fingers in the ink bottle caps with ink, small containers, or on ink pads. Others offered pads, towels and papers to help voters wipe away the trace of ink after inking.

In addition to the failure of ink checking, many KPPS did not ask voters to present their voter cards. ANFREL observers saw many cases in which KPPS did not compare the cards with the list. The application and checking of indelible ink on a voter's finger is crucial in preventing one person from voting more than once. The quality of the ink supplied for the presidential election, however, was questionable. The ink in general could be easily rubbed or washed away. Most voters in fact wiped their fingers immediately after inking.

- **The issuance of KPU circulars should be timely and consistent. Efficient information dissemination to election management personnel at all levels should also be guaranteed.**



Inconsistency of prescriptions by the National KPU was observed in the case of deciding the quantity of ink provided to each TPS. In addition, the KPU did not timely cope with the issue of double perforation prior to the polling day. The KPU pragmatically announced that these ballots should be ruled valid at 11am on July 6. The late announcement, however, could not reach out to each TPS before counting.

When foreseeing possible problems, the National KPU should immediately issue circulars and ensure the information dissemination to all election officials for proper attention to precautionary measures.

- **Structural reform should take place to ensure the independence of the Panwaslu**

The financial constraint and actual subordination of the Panwaslu to the KPU during the presidential election has impacted the efficiency and effectiveness of Panwaslu monitoring tasks.

ANFREL recommends a structure reform of Panwaslu to ensure the election monitoring body's financial independence and higher authority. The coordination between the KPU and Panwaslu should also be improved. Some Panwaslu members were not able to obtain all crucial data to monitor the presidential election.

- **The impracticality of law should be reviewed and clarified.**

For criminal violations during the presidential election, the law provides a timeframe of 72 days to close any case forwarded to the Panwaslu. The period of time allowed for the investigation and trial, however, is impractical. A perpetrator may have been elected as the new president before a verdict is given, and thus can only be impeached rather than being sanctioned by the election law. The same



problem occurs when there is no time limit for the KPU to process cases of administrative violation.

- **The definition of vote buying should be clearly defined by law. Money politics should be strictly monitored and sanctioned.**

ANFREL found delicate case of vote buying during the presidential election. Luring voters by offering money, food, gifts to gain support for a candidate or mobilize voters for campaigns should be strictly and clearly defined by law as vote buying.

II. Election Officials

- **Timely, consistent and extensive training should be provided to Election Officials at all levels.**

The coverage of training program to the KPPS by the KPU, PPK and PPS was dissatisfactory. In many cases, only the KPPS chairpersons were officially trained for limited hours shortly before the polling day. Other KPPS members remained unfamiliar with their duties even on the polling day. ANFREL also observed late arrival of training manuals to the KPPS.

A result of the inadequate training is that many KPPS would not allow personnel on duty for public services on the polling day to vote in non-designated TPS by presenting only voter cards as prescribed by law. Some KPPS were still unaware of how to decide the validity of a ballot prior to the polling day. Others had problems in identifying the quantity of ink and ballot boxes that each TPS should prepare. Furthermore, poor understanding at the KPPS level in the standard inking process was observed.

There was also case in which observers' entry to a TPS was denied in



the province due to the insufficient training of KPPS members. The KPUD was passive in providing proper clarification to KPPS members to ensure the observer's access to the polling stations. ANFREL would like to reiterate that both domestic and international observers' recommendations can be constructive in jointly improving the electoral system with the country's election administration authority. Thus observers' participation in the election should be encouraged and promoted.

- **The neutrality of election official's should be monitored. Election officials' should be sanctioned once partisan manners or involvement in money politics is found.**

Manipulation of vote count result and violation of election law were committed by election officials during polling and recapitulation. The perpetrators have, however, mostly remained in office for the presidential election. ANFREL is highly concerned about the negative consequence of impunity.

In addition, many KPPS members were highly dissatisfied with their salaries in contrast to the heavy workload. ANFREL suggests a proper review of their salary. This will help motivate them in fulfilling their duties, as well as minimize the possibility of money politics luring these officials.

III. Voter Education

- **Both technical and political education should be provided to all voters.**

Shortly before the polling day, some voters still remained unaware of the date of polling, the names of contestants or the voting process. According to the polling day observation, there was also prevalent confusion in how to fold/unfold the ballot papers before/after



punching. Furthermore, many voters in the observed areas barely knew how to make an informed choice on the election day. This dilutes the meaning of election in the process of democratization.

IV. Logistics

- **Precautions should be taken to ensure the security of logistics. Accountability of logistics should also be guaranteed.**

ANFREL observers witnessed the unguarded ballot paper folding, storage and distribution during the preparation for the presidential election. The absence of security personnel to safeguard election materials and the insecure storage of logistics at private houses were reported. A case of ballot paper stolen from KPUD was also observed. Election management official also kept a ballot paper in pocket “for education purpose”. In addition, there were no proper precautions taken to prevent unused/oversupplied ballot papers and unclaimed/additional blank voter cards from manipulation. There were also cases in which official seals were not placed on ballot box padlock and slot.

- **Ballot paper supply should be prudently assessed to avoid manipulation.**

ANFREL has observed KPUDs’ lack of uniform standard in assessing the number of ballot papers to be supplied by the National KPU. The oversupply of ballot papers could heighten the risks of theft and abuse, especially when insecure storage of ballot papers has been observed. It will also increase unnecessary expenses in procuring and distributing election materials. The shortage of supply, on the other hand, could impact the efficiency of logistics distribution.

V. TPS Operation



- **TPS location should be neutral. Polling station should be set up in public venues.**

ANFREL has observed many TPS located inside private houses or in the yards next to private houses. There were cases in which the yards or houses of RT/RW and political party leaders' residence were utilized as TPS. Furthermore, some TPS were set up near political party offices. ANFREL recommends the election management authority to avoid setting up polling stations in private houses in the future.

- **Standard operation procedures of TPS opening and counting should be adhered to. The accuracy of recapitulation and counting result verification should be monitored and improved.**

Late opening of TPS and irregularities during counting was observed on July 5. Standard operation procedures to sign and count ballot papers should be followed. In addition, ANFREL has observed the inconsistency of manual and computerized recapitulation result on July 5. The manual and computer recapitulation result should be carefully verified. Once an error is found, cross check with the original report from KPPS should be conducted to rectify human error and prevent possible manipulation.

- **The secrecy of ballot should be guaranteed with proper TPS settings.**

Secrecy of ballot was breached in most polling stations observed. Many TPS were inappropriately set up, subjecting the voters' choices to exposure. Voters, on the other hand, would cross each other behind booths due to the lack of orientation in the TPS. Some KPPS were not aware of disciplines to adhere to and went near the polling booths, threatening the secrecy of ballot.



- **The presence of formal/informal leaders and party members at TPS should be prohibited to minimize any intimidation or influence on voters' free will.**

ANFREL has observed the presence of party members, RT/RW and military and police personnel loitering at/near polling stations. This should be prohibited to prevent any possible intimidation or influence in voters' free will.

To observe Indonesia's 2004 presidential election, ANFREL deployed seven long-term observers to Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Jawa Timur, Sulawesi Tenggara, Kalimantan Selatan, Riau and Jambi starting from June 8, 2004.

ANFREL's election observation in Indonesia dates back to 1999. In addition, 21 ANFREL short-term observers were deployed to the country to observe Indonesia's 2004 legislative elections. ANFREL has observed elections in Thailand, East Timor, Indonesia, Pakistan, Cambodia, Malaysia, Bangladesh, the Philippines and other countries.

Formed in 1997 and based in Bangkok, ANFREL serves as a regional network of Asian election observation and human rights organizations with a clear mandate to promote regional democratization.

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ANFREL Calls for Immediate Resolutions to Emerging and Potential Threats to

Free and Fair Presidential Election of Indonesia

June 28, 2004,

The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) is very delighted to be part of the memorable first direct Presidential Election in Indonesia. With this election to be held next week, ANFREL presents its observation of the presidential election since June 8, 2004. It further calls for immediate rectification of problems that have been observed during the preparation of the upcoming election. Proper actions and precautions must be taken to strengthen the credibility of the election and voters' confidence in the democratization process of Indonesia.

ANFREL would like to express its gratitude for the National Election Commission's (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU) assistance in providing timely accreditation to its observation mission. The welcoming of observers' participation and their recommendations is a positive step in the country's democratization process. ANFREL would be pleased to see more international and local observers' engagement being invited to provide their constructive input. The joint efforts of the observers and the election administration authorities will contribute to effective and efficient improvement of the country's electoral system. ANFREL suggests that KPU fully supports all Indonesians to actively participate in observing elections in the spirit of democracy. It is imperative that the accreditation process is made easy for local observers in upholding democratization efforts in Indonesia.

Other observation and recommendations are listed as below.

1. Election Administration



ANFREL calls for adequate coordination between the KPU, Election Supervisory Committee (Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, Panwaslu) and the police at all levels for the upcoming election, based on the observation of the tension between the KPU and Panwaslu. ANFREL is concerned that this unnecessary tension between the stakeholders would affect a democratic electoral process.

Based on observations in the provinces, ANFREL is highly alarmed with the insufficient training of Panwaslu members at the local level due to the shortage of funds. KPU should ensure that proper backup to the election monitoring authorities is guaranteed to prevent any impunity.

The appointment of all KPPS should be timely confirmed. In addition, to ensure the transparency and efficiency of the electoral process, KPU should ensure that all Polling Station Officials (Kelompok Pelaksana Pemungutan Suara, KPPS) members are timely and effectively trained. This includes providing information of all procedures to be taken on the polling day and the latest Decrees (Surat Keputusan, SK) from the central KPU.

ANFREL deeply worries about whether the Head of Neighborhood Association (Rukun Tetangga/ Rukun Warga, RT/RW) have fully fulfilled their duties in conducting voter registration and verifying available voter data, which is crucial to the accuracy of the voter list. Imprecise voter registration will lead to the disenfranchisement and manipulation of extra or unclaimed voter cards.

As stated in ANFREL's recommendation to KPU after the legislative elections, ANFREL reiterates that in order to prevent manipulation of the inaccuracy of voter registration, KPU in the future should issue voter cards with photos, signatures or thumb prints (for the convenience of the illiterate) to help the KPPS members verify each voter's identification.



Voters' photos are currently absent on the voter cards. Therefore, applying indelible ink on a voter's finger before leaving the polling station and checking a voter's fingers on both hands before issuing the ballot paper is critical in preventing the manipulation extra and unclaimed voter cards. KPU should make sure that all KPPS members and voters understand the significance of the inking process, and that ink checking is strictly implemented on the polling day.

Furthermore, using nails to punch on ballot papers can subject the election to manipulation by money politics. ANFREL recommends marking with a pen or stamping on the ballot paper in future elections as precautions to such manipulation. This can also enhance the efficiency of vote counting.

Security of the ballot papers during storage and distribution should be guaranteed to avoid damage, theft or other forms of manipulation. Proactive measures to secure ballot papers will ensure the legitimacy of the election results.

2. Neutrality of Election Officers at all levels

ANFREL calls for all election officers to remain neutral while managing the election affairs. Partisan manners of election officers from central to local levels that impact the fairness of the election should be sanctioned.

The KPU and Panwaslu should be aware and take precautions on the manipulation of vote counting result by election officers at all levels, especially that of the Sub-district Election Committee (Panatia Pemilu Kecamatan, PPK). The access of all observers and party witnesses to the original vote counting and tabulation result should be guaranteed. To minimize possible manipulation, ANFREL further suggests that the tabulation result should be sent directly from the PPS to regency/city KPUs.



3. Voter Education

Voter education is the most crucial element in realizing democratization through elections. As the country's highest election administration authority, KPU should take the lead in conducting adequate voter education programs. To tailor programs that can effectively reach out to voters at grassroots level, KPU should cooperate with Non governmental organizations (NGOs) in designing and carrying out relevant programs.

To promote democracy, KPU should not only include technical guidance to the voters. Voters should be provided with sufficient information on the visions and policies of presidential pairs so as to make an informed choice on the polling day. The significance of exercising one's right to vote in relation to the realization of democracy should also be emphasized in voter education programs. In addition, based on the political apathy ANFREL has observed, KPU should collaborate with the civil society to promote the engagement of these voters in the elections.

To ensure that each voter can properly exercise their right to vote, voter education programs should also provide information regarding all election regulations, such as that of voter registration, the alternative mechanism for a registered voter to vote in case of not timely receiving voter cards, the procedure for a voter to change the Polling Station (Tempat Pemungutan Suarat, TPS) to cast the ballot, and the stipulation of invalid ballots. Information regarding procedures to file a complaint should also be provided.

4. Voter's Free Will

In the context that many voters tend to follow the opinions and political orientation of formal and informal leaders, the RT/RW should refrain from endorsing any presidential pair. This is applicable to other



influential figures to the voters, such as employers, teachers and the influential persons of the family as well to safeguard the free will of the voters.

5. Negative campaigning

To ensure the fairness of the election, KPU should clearly define illegal campaign contents, forms and use of materials in the law or SKs, and pursue the liability of perpetrators.

It cannot be overemphasized that ethnic and religious issues should not be manipulated during campaigns. Cases of abusing government facilities should also be documented, investigated and brought to court. Violation of important government officials should be monitored and sanctioned without exception. All officials should observe relevant stipulations of the law, taking an official leave from the post before engaging in any campaign activities.

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- ANFREL in media

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Santah intervensi — Koordinator jaringannya Asia untuk Pemilu yang Bebas (Anfrel), Herizal Hanzi, memberikan keterangan pers di Hotel Borobudur, Jakarta, Jumat (9/7). Anfrel yang berbasis di Bangkok menegaskan tidak mencampuri urusan negara Indonesia, mereka lebih pada memantau dan sama-sama membangun demokrasi di Asia.

Materi Revisi SK Panwas Ditetapkan

• ANFREL in media

Banjarmasin Post, Thursday 24th June 2004, Edisi Kalimantan Selatan (South Kalimantan)



PEMANTAU ASING - Disambut seorang penjemputnya, pemantau asing pemilu asal Srilangka ini memula kebetangan jaltus KPU HST.

Pemantau Asing Sambangi HST

Baraboi, BPost

Tidak hanya komisi pemilihan umum (KPU) pusat dan provinsi, namun KPU di tingkat kota juga pun kebetangan, kerana tak lupai dari pemantauan pemantau asing yang memulakan diri mereka sebagai pemantau asing pemilu.

Contohnya KPU HST, Rute (23/6) ditangani dua pemantau asing dari Uni Eropa dan Srilangka yaitu Asian Network For Free Elections (ANFREL).

"Kita bergembira atas kedatangan dua tim pemantau asing untuk pemilu perdana dan wakil presiden yang sebelumnya pada masa demokrasi yang baru dijaja, KPU kita tak biasanya ada kunjungan sebagai pemantau langsung

dari pemantau asing," ujar Ketua KPU HST Farhanurrahman.

Ditandem, wajar kerana KPU turut diserahi oleh para pemantau dari negara luar. Seandainya, ini turut menjadi tolak ukur sejauhmana pelaksanaan dan keberhasilan masa demokrasi di daerah ini.

Menurutnya, kedatangan para pemantau asing tersebut pada dasarnya hanya untuk melihat dan menyatukan dengan keadaban politik penyelenggara maupun pemerintah dalam pemilu.

Tidak ketinggalan, sebagai Pihak, mengemati data-data administrasi, daftar pemilih tambahan, beberapa pelanggaran pemilu serta pengurusan fasilitas negara pada pemilu legislatif tadi dan

pemilu pemilu presiden dan wakil presiden yang tak lama lagi dilaksanakan.

Kepada BPost, pemantau asing asal Srilangka, kedua Jeevanfara mengtakan, kedatanganannya ke Indonesia khususnya ke HST merupakan rangkaian tugasnya untuk melakukan observasi secara langsung khususnya yang berkenaan dengan pelaksanaan pemilu.

Memoru ANFREL sudah lazim untuk melakukan pemantauan pemilu khususnya di negara-negara bagian Asia.

"Tidak ada tujuan maupun misi khusus apalagi keuntungan yang dapat kami peroleh dari tugas observasi ini," ujarnya.

LAMPUNG POST PEMILU 2004

SABTU, 3 APRIL 2004



PEMANTAU ANFREL. Anggota Tim Pemantau Pemilu di Anfrel Miko Levesque (kiri) tengah mendampingi perwakilan kabin kerja redaksi *Lampung Post* dan Redaksi Pelaksana Sabam Siliago. Dalam kunjungan tersebut Miko menjelaskan kerja sama yang dibangun *Lampung Post* dan KPU untuk meningkatkan daftar calon dapat dijadikan contoh penyelenggaraan pemilu di negara Asia lainnya.

Pemantau Anfrel Kunjungi *Lampung Post*

BANDAR LAMPUNG (Lampost). Tiga pemantau pemilu Asian Network for Free Elections (Anfrel): Miko Levesque, Janila Alghani, dan Janila Mubaid, Jumat (2-4) malam, berkunjung ke Redaksi *Lampung Post*. Mereka datang untuk membahas kebijakan Redaksi *Lampung Post* seputar pemberitaan pemilu.

Miko Levesque, warga Kanada, yang menjadi juru bicara tim pemantau pemilu *Lampung Post* sebagai bagian laporan karena cukup banyak memberikan informasi seputar pemilu, seperti penempatan daftar calon DPR, DPRD provinsi, DPRD kabupaten/kota, dan DPRD. "Seru sekali karena KPU sudah ada penempatan calon-calonnya. Tapi, saya tidak bisa cukup mengungkapkannya karena di negara saya, tidak ada kasus yang sama seperti ini tanpa di bayar," kata Miko.

Redaktur Pelaksana *Lampung Post* Sabam Siliago dan penjabat kepala redaksi Amrullah Sodikin, yang menerima kunjungan tersebut, menjelaskan kebijakan tersebut berdasarkan kenyataan Pemilu 2004 berbeda dengan Pemilu 1999. "Kami melihat banyak masalah yang tidak terjadi di pemilu yang akan digelar, padahal Pemilu 2004 memiliki banyak perbedaan," kata Sabam.

Dari sisi bisnis, kata dia, pemerintah akan hingga dua halaman terhadap penempatan foto calon menang tidak mengunggulkan. "Target kami memang tidak ke bisnis. Kalau ada unsur bisnis, nilai dari sini akan lebih tinggi dari yang kita inginkan. Tapi kami berharap jangan memberikan pendidikan politik," kata Sabam.

Tim Anfrel yang berkunjung selama dua jam tersebut banyak menyorei masalah persiapan

pemilu, mulai pendirian pemilu, sosialisasi, hingga logistik. Tim memaparkan sejumlah kelemahan *Lampung Post* tentang data dan temuan lapangan. Kondisi ini termasuk, antara lain potensi konflik yang bakal timbul, politik uang, dan korupsikan-korupsikan pemilu.

Janila Mubaid, redaktur majalah *warta Maluku* mengemukakan kebijakan Redaksi *Lampung Post* soal pemilu, bisa diadopsi di negaranya, Afghanistan. Sebagai negara yang baru bebas dari konflik, Afghanistan butuh media massa yang mampu menyosialisasikan pemilu demokratis.

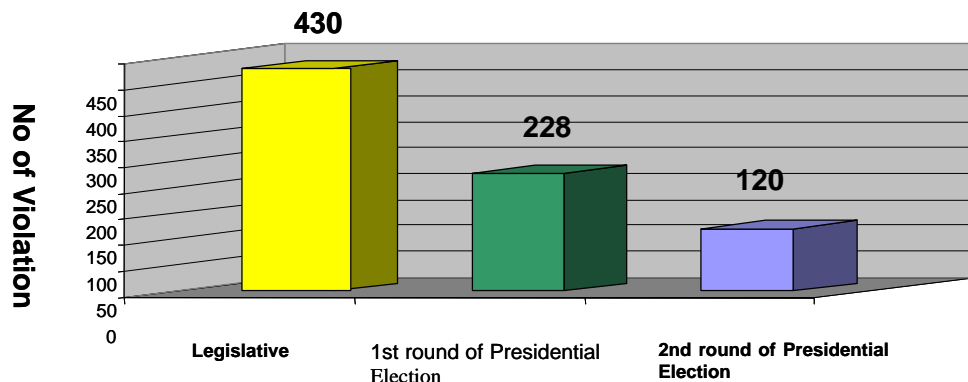
Tim Anfrel berada di Lampung hingga Selasa (6-4). Selama di Lampung, tim berkunjung ke KPU provinsi, kantor kabupaten, Pansesra, dan memantau kampanye sejumlah partai. Tugas utama mereka adalah melaporkan pelaksanaan pemungutan suara. Sabam (3-4).

การขาดสารอินทรีย์ในดิน (ที่พบน้อย) อาจมี
ผลต่อพืชได้ โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในดิน ทราย ดินที่มี
สารอินทรีย์น้อย 2 ใน 3 ปีที่ 12 ที่พบน้อย ผู้ได้
ผลมากที่สุดจากปุ๋ยอินทรีย์ในดินที่พบน้อย





Comparison of Election Violation Case (Based on KIPP Monitoring)



Elections Type
RESULT OF THE SECOND ROUND INDONESIA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2004

■ Legislative ■ 1st round of Presidential Election ■ 2nd round of Presidential Election



RESULT OF THE SECOND ROUND INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2004

No	Province/Candidates	Hj. Megawati Soekarno Putri		H. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	
		KH. Ahmad Hasyim Muzadi		Drs. H. Muhammad Jusuf Kalla	
	Total	43.271.395	39.12%	67.345.331	60.88%
1	<u>Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam</u>	456.696		1.536.607	
2	<u>Sumatera Utara</u>	2.215.861		2.561.543	
3	<u>Sumatera Barat</u>	303.453		1.572.355	
4	<u>Riau</u>	609.951		1.188.778	



5	<u>Jambi</u>	400.632	915.594
6	<u>Sumatera Selatan</u>	1.565.758	1.630.269
7	<u>Bengkulu</u>	274.498	442.423
8	<u>Lampung</u>	1.406.574	2.164.059
9	<u>Kepulauan Bangka Belitung</u>	219.416	231.034
10	<u>Kepulauan Riau</u>	194.829	366.509
11	<u>DKI Jakarta</u>	1.492.800	3.364.044
12	<u>Jawa Barat</u>	7.781.098	13.104.155
13	<u>Jawa Tengah</u>	8.409.372	8.993.963



14	<u>DI Yogyakarta</u>	776.497	1.149.059
15	<u>Jawa Timur</u>	8.206.244	12.137.197
16	<u>Banten</u>	1.728.202	2.913.642
17	<u>Bali</u>	1.247.009	755.35
18	<u>Nusa Tenggara Barat</u>	512.242	1.539.094
19	<u>Nusa Tenggara Timur</u>	1.115.507	438.648
20	<u>Kalimantan Barat</u>	942.654	950.884
21	<u>Kalimantan Tengah</u>	331.184	437.426
22	<u>Kalimantan Selatan</u>	394.176	1.079.016



23	<u>Kalimantan Timur</u>	456.617	826.328
24	<u>Sulawesi Utara</u>	517.08	672.999
25	<u>Sulawesi Tengah</u>	243.104	855.889
26	<u>Sulawesi Selatan</u>	551.296	3.797.672
27	<u>Sulawesi Tenggara</u>	197.329	703.195
28	<u>Gorontalo</u>	199.086	274.395
29	<u>Maluku</u>	196.852	161.807
30	<u>Maluku Utara</u>	138.854	228.226
31	<u>Irian Jaya Barat</u>	44.425	60.94



Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) INDONESIAN MISSION 2004

32	<u>Papua</u>	70.686		143.794	
33	<u>Overseas Voters</u>	71.413		148.437	
	Total	43.271.395	39.12%	67.345.331	60.88%
	Total Votes	110.616.726			

Updated : **Monday, 04-Oct-2004 06:01:34 WIB**