



## Urgency to Seek a New Format of National and State Life in Indonesia (An Anthropological Perspective of Systems and Global Demands)

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### Abstract

*This paper intends to provide some basic ideas related to the life of society, nation and state. The context of the study is the Republic of Indonesia, in relation to the process of drafting the 194 Constitution and one or two dimensions of living together so far. From experience while on duty, supplemented by several field observations, we wrote this article to provide input for improving the life of the nation and state in the future. Because of that, the criticisms and studies as well as the studies contained in this paper intend to find contextual solutions to improve the climate of state and nation life. The approach used in this study is a comparison of several data sources, especially those that have been recorded so far from all over Indonesia. In general, there are many things that really need further development and reflection to be adapted to the system that is currently in effect in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia has many experts who should be actively involved in thinking about the future of the nation and the country in the future. It is not enough to only involve politicians to find strategies to improve various practical lives within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** nation, state, system, format of nation and state, society, perspective.

### Introduction

This nation faces so many problems that require immediate solutions. The misery of the people and the future of the nation is a bet that must be fought for by every child of the country in our beloved country, Indonesia. Today, departing from the hopes and sincerity of all Indonesian people, in this article the authors would like to share their own experiences and aspirations to create a better Indonesia in the future. This great nation has actually been blessed by God the Almighty. This nation turned out to be very abundant with natural resources, oil and gas, coal, gold, and many more mines. Of course, this is not to mention the products of tropical forests which are so fertile, as well as the vast oceans which are rich in various sources of protein. It's a shame that all this time as a result of mismanagement, it seems that the age of this country is getting older, juster feels more vulnerable and fragile, even now hit by a protracted slump it's difficult to get back up.

Saurip Kadi comes from a family of farmers and fishermen from a small village on the north coast of Brebes district, Central Java. It becomes very clear that his brothers are very small in society rank, simple and ordinary people; including farmers, farm laborers and fishermen who are usually hard workers. They have a tough mentality, and have noble morals, which are not their rights; they

will definitely not take them. To harvest, a farmer starts by cultivating the land, planting, tending and caring for it. To get the catch, a fisherman must fight with the waves and weather which sometimes endangers him. It's a shame that they, whose numbers are so large, have not been touched by government policies that protect and, moreover, those that benefit them.

Various experiences that have been owned so far are then stitched together with various writings, both through national media such as the Harian Umum Kompas (Jakarta), and book publications, some of which will appear in this small article. Apart from that, there are discussions and reflections with the supervising IAKN lecturers, and most especially a very inspirational meeting with the main supervisor Gregor Neonbasu SVD who is the second writer<sup>1</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> As the second author, Gregor Neonbasu SVD highlights from the perspective of Anthropology by examining the existence of the current system in Indonesia. On a certain side, the results of Saurip Kadi's reflections will be addressed and then placed in the frame of reflection on a systemic Anthropology in order to see their relevance regarding how important it is to strive for a good and appropriate system reform process for Indonesia as a developing country and moving forward.

current article. This article will also be the main breath of Saurip's dissertation, which will soon be completed and thus various examinations can be held to coincide with the publication of this article.

As someone who grew up in the village, Saurip Kadi really wants to see farmers and fishermen living independently and well off, without being chased by debt and having enough savings to educate their children. It should have happened that if they (citizens) suffer from illness, then they actually have to get health services for free. Apart from that, since farmers and fishermen should also be entitled to a guaranteed selling price of non-exploitative harvests or catches. In their spare time they seem to have part-time jobs that can earn additional income, but the experience gained is not like that (Kadi, 2008).

As long as Saurip Kadi was "non-job" since July 1 2000, he then actually became very active in several business fields to survive, besides that he was involved with people from various sectors of society's life every day. He also feels how hard it is for entrepreneurs, who have to think about the salaries of their employees every month as well as various very complex internal affairs. As a result of the chaotic macro environment, many business fields were not moving and it seemed that they could not be handled completely. Stagnant! Meanwhile, the phenomenon of corruption seems to have spread to various parts of the country. Entrepreneurs in any sector have always been the object of extortion from the corrupt bureaucracy, when they have to deal with permits and various other matters, which are in direct contact with the essence of life and their rights every day as citizens (Kadi, 2008).

Generally, if laws with an unclear framework, all of which can be circumvented and adapted for the momentary interests of certain people, so that here and there there are inconsistencies in their application. This severe lack of legal certainty has resulted in many business opportunities not being implemented. Things that are very captivating like this can still be added by targeting the pattern of national leadership, where there are mobsters roaming around in almost all levels of government (Kadi, 2008).

This clear picture that is not wrong would be able to describe the climate of economic life that seems to be getting dimmer, in tune with the lawyers who get orders because of the many parties to the conflict for various reasons. My experience as a small-scale entrepreneur allows me to feel the hardships of fellow entrepreneurs who are exploited by the bureaucracy affiliated with politics and the party and ruling elite. There really is no law that can break up the current crisis. So how can you do business comfortably?

The writers of this article want to see entrepreneurs bounce back. Business opportunities to grow and develop again in a comfortable and conducive atmosphere, based on mutual trust. Entrepreneurs' debts can be restructured on the basis of mutual trust by all components of the nation, so that the Indonesian economy can return to move better. But we also have to be firm with the robbers in the guise of businessmen, who have undermined the people's wealth managed by the state, because it is they who have damaged the business world from the point of view of the people's trust, even global trust, so that we can return to being a nation that is respected and stands on an equal footing with other nations. The structure of the business world must be rearranged. What is the role of the government and what is the role of the private sector. So far it has not been explicitly formulated, so that the order that is formed is so wild and chaotic, that in the end gave birth to the model of 'conscienceless capitalism' and even brutal. All of our people are entrepreneurs, tough entrepreneurs. While the state has not been able to support its people, entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs in various sectors must compete with giant BUMNs to win a

business. Just look at the private contractors against Hutama Karya (HK), PP, WIKA, etc. who have large capital, from the state again. The irony of the state against the people in this kind of daily business practice is a sight that has never been sued and questioned again.

So, a big and fundamental question from this nation must be opened again to the people, so that where this country wants to be taken becomes clear to all of us. It's not a patchwork, tattered solution, because each party only thinks of its own group. What is even sadder is that religion is a source of human disaster. Of course, it's not the religion that's wrong, but we need to ask where the fault lies in all of this. While the wheel of globalization cannot stop, it brings enormous opportunities if we can respond wisely; otherwise it will tear this nation apart. Certainly. We must firmly choose whether our country actually adheres to an authoritarian ideology like China, in which all matters are taken care of by the state and all citizens are state employees whose welfare is guaranteed evenly and fairly, which is handed over to SOEs as the backbone of the nation's economy. Or is our country a liberal country where the state is only a regulator and protector and does not directly participate in business practices, but supports and protects the interests and markets the products of entrepreneurs throughout the world. Or if you choose "quasy-liberal", then it must be clear which sectors are the responsibility of the government and which sectors are the business fields for the private sector, the people (Kadi, 2008).

## Indonesian Conditions at a Glance

In a classical perspective, such as the scope that has been culminated and then strongly influenced by globalization (modernism, post-modernism, post-structuralism and post-truth society), the term anthropological perspective is often known (Trumble 2003; Neonbasu 2020). A relative word that can be semantically equated with the word perspective is perception, which is within the frame of mind of Kant's expert,<sup>2</sup> perception is precisely interpreted as an internal action, namely empirical awareness, or awareness that contains elements of sensing (Kant, 2017).

In systems theory in general, and in Anthropology in particular, what is called 'perspective always has its focus and characteristics according to individual reasoning and a particular environment. In the perspective of mass communication, the same thing has a very specific role and function for the process of developing social life in general. The disciplinary perspective at the level of data analysis and reflection is very useful for efforts to understand more deeply a root cause at all levels of life, both micro and macro (Rejeki, 2010: 42).

Rejeki cites Fisher (1978) regarding the narration of the notion of perspective conception as a point of view that allows one to obtain two things. First, it is a description of general truths from observations or interpretations; and second, the most useful conceptualization of reality in viewing a social phenomenon. It is in this way that Fisher argues that perspective can be understood as a model, approach, intellectual strategy, conceptual framework, and thus also *welanchaungen* (Rejeki, 2010: 43). The condition of Indonesia with the acquisition of primary data can be examined from an anthropological perspective to examine patterns of social relations (social structure and social construction) related to serious efforts to identify various problems that are blocking the wheels of change and development of society, the archipelago and the nation of Indonesia. Thus, in general, perspective is always very closely related to efforts to examine data and facts by looking at them

<sup>2</sup> Kant's work used in this article is a translation of the original text of *The Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), translated by Supriyanto Abdullah under the title (2017) *Kritik Atas Akal Budi Murni*. Yogyakarta: Indoliteracy Publishers. The quotes in this article are taken from the translated text!

prospectively in the future, namely how far the data and facts being analyzed can be endeavored so that they are as useful as possible for human life in the future (Trumble, 2003: 722).<sup>3</sup>

What will be the spearhead of this paper is an anthropological perspective on the socio-cultural phenomena that are currently sweeping Indonesia. Although it will be seen that the results of the recording as presented in this paper are not perfect, but only in outline by pointing out some fragments of events that crossed the perceptions of the two writers. It is common that perspectives in certain aspects are always focused and focused on one special and special aspect that can be identified by naked eye (Saifudin, 2005: 22-23; Neonbasu, 2020).

In Gregor Neonbasu's understanding, there are generally three major perspectives in anthropology as follows: (a) A perspective emphasizing the analysis of society and culture. (b) The perspective that emphasizes the time factor, which consists of historical processes from the past to the present (diachronic), and the present (synchronous), and the interactions between the past and the present (interactionist). (c) The perspective of the constellation of theories and various possible relationships and relevance to one another (Saifudin, 2005; Keesing, 1999; Ember and Ember, 1990; Neonbasu, 2020).

An outline picture of Indonesia's condition, which is in principle very concerning in the framework of building a better life system in the future, needs to be released intelligently. Here is a clear outline. It often happens that the real damage to this country is not in its people; but precisely what is damaged is only the elite. Why? Because the people or members of society generally have a steel mentality, they will definitely not take what is not their right. A farmer to harvest he starts from cultivating the land, planting, fertilizing and caring for it. In general, our fishermen, to get their catch, sometimes have to fight with waves and storms. The street vendors are just to make ends meet for the family and keep cat and mouse with Tibum or the Civil Service Police.

However, the strange thing is that the good people, even the NGOs that have loud voices criticizing the government, when they get the chance to become elites turn out to be corrupt. Such a thing is not honest if we only place the human factor alone as the main cause of the destruction of this country. What is certain is that our state system has led this nation to repeatedly experience crises, and since the fall of Suharto in May 1998, we have continued to fall as if it were too difficult to end it (Kadi, 2008).

Currently our politics is so chaotic that in the end "money" (UUD). To become governor, one must spend hundreds of billions of rupiah. Likewise, to become a Regent/Mayor, one has to spend tens or even tens of billions of rupiah. Sometimes they are forced to use financiers or investors. Likewise, to become a member of the DPR/D, money is a determining factor in voting collection, and various matters relating to the nature of people's voices do not work properly (Prasetyo, 2022). So how is it possible after being in power without corruption to return the funds complete with adequate interest or profit. What is inevitable is the formation of an oligarchy of power, which makes officials controlled by investors/owners of capital (Winters, 2011, 2014).

In a more detailed study of the anthropological perspective, the roots of the nation's problems must be found at the estuary and upstream of the existence of 'tangled threads', namely the

<sup>3</sup> Cfr Gregor Neonbasu SVD (2012) "Membangun Persepsi dan Perspektif, Kreativitas Mengkaji Akar Persoalan" [Building Perceptions and Perspectives, Creativity Studying the Roots of Problems] published in Gregor Neonbasu SVD (Ed.) (2012) *Multikulturalisme Pembangunan, Refleksi Struktural atas karya Manusia* [Development Multiculturalism, Structural Reflection on Human Work]. Ledalero, Maumere: 2012: 1-20.

emergence of mafia roots, which are now felt to emerge in all corners of the life of the nation and state. This means that the mafia is born everywhere, and covers almost all dimensions of community life, including for example: judicial mafia law, financial apologies, security mafia, tax mafia, land mafia, power mafia, and others. The mother of the mafia is followed by all kinds of corruption, which seems to exist very much in competition as big as possible and is often unilaterally proud of it. It seems clear that the current anti-corruption system is only to develop new patterns of corruption. Thus a crisis of confidence emerged in almost all state institutions, the legislature, the judiciary and the executive. There must be good will to improve the work performance of the bureaucracy and apparatus as well as other political positions within the framework of building good governance and seeking a clean government.

With regard to the last thought, Prasetyo c.s. (2023) emphasized that in order to fulfill good governance and clean government, several basic principles are needed, including participation, the rule of law, openness, responsiveness and concern, deliberation and consensus, equality, efficiency and effectiveness, as well as strategic views. What does that mean? All of the above elements should be embedded in governance so that as much as possible produce a quality performance and togetherness system. On a certain side, the above principles become a solid foundation and basis for efforts to improve the system and dynamics of development and governance in a dignified and civilized manner. The conception of good and right government is always not only supported by the existence of clean government, but precisely indicated by the fulfillment of the above elements (Hernandez, 1999).

Indonesia needs a comprehensive holistic approach, in the sense that the change movement must start from the upstream to find the cause so we can get a solution. Analytically, it turns out that there are three reasons why this nation has fallen, namely the first, the nation's bad mindset, the second, the state system that is chaotic, and the third, the government system that is inconsistent. The nation's bad mindset, especially corruption, primordialism, feudalism, irresponsibility, cannot be disciplined, is dishonest, and is always entangled in instant desires. The state system or constitution, which used to be the 1945 Constitution with four amendments, has instead become unclear about the direction of the state based on Pancasila as the Foundation of Philosophy and as The Way of life. It seems that there are a million and one polemics that have no end, and many problems of the nation and society are still hidden. A presidential non-parliamentary system of government is not an unclear system of government because in a presidential system the power of power is in the hands of the president and not in the opposing parties. So actually the right and correct solution should be built through the authoritarian actions or powers of a president based on the constitution through a presidential decree returning to the four and five constitutions to be perfected. Or another way is that it needs to be taken by holding a meeting of political parties to identify the various problems of the nation and the state, then leaving it on the shoulders of experts in various disciplines to find a solution.

The ruling party and elite unknowingly have compromised, starting to divide the land of funding sources, both through departments and corporations affiliated with the authorities. The above was described by Waton et al (2022) with a very interesting explanation regarding the identity of current political parties which has shown an identity crisis, or the blurry ideology experienced by political parties. According to them, this dynamic resulted in the direction of the party's struggle being unclear, and it was difficult to distinguish one party from another (Mayrudin, 2017). In addition to the problem regarding the blurry direction of struggle, political parties also have problems from the leadership side, there is no regeneration in political parties in the country. Apart from that, from a financial perspective, the decline of political parties can be

seen from sources of funding that rely more and more on entrepreneurs (Tempo.com.2021). Still other problems that are much attached to political parties are cases of bribery, corruption and abuse of power which still often occur (Waton et al, 2022: 4297).

Waton et al explain in more detail the living conditions of political parties in Indonesia as follows. During the 2019 election, many organizations declared themselves political parties. According to Marijan (in Hanafi, 2018) political parties were born because there is a party system that is still not fully fixed and is still looking for a proportional form, there are no strict rules in electoral rules regarding the entry of new parties in elections, and finally constituent votes are not yet tied to parties, existing ones, so that it is still possible for parties that are considered to represent the interests of voters. Although in fact for the 2019 Election, the KPU has determined the political parties participating in the election, totaling 16 political parties participating in the democratic process. Of these, there are 4 faces of newcomers, namely the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Indonesian Unity Party [Perindo], the Berkarya Party, and the Indonesian Movement for Change Party [Garuda], (Tempo.co, 2018). According to Hanafi again, four new parties are present by offering an ideology based on Pancasila, the four parties are in the group of nationalist parties. In this way, new parties will be brought together with the identity of the same voters and the identity of old political parties, especially those with a nationalist pattern. On the one hand it can be a challenge, but on the other hand it opens up the prospect of fighting over votes. The entry of new parties into the election competition makes the competition space very tight because they will compete for the voter market (Waton et al, 2022: 4298).

As a result of this very apprehensive condition, there is a betrayal of sovereignty, power which comes directly from the people. Each elite holds the other elite's trump card (weakness). These weaknesses are then played to "attack" and "bring down" each other, both through opinion and legal processes as well as intelligence. In the end, they unknowingly unite, and in every general election, it is impossible for a new candidate to emerge (outside of them), regardless of whether they are actually in trouble and have also been proven to have failed in leading this country. Such a situation is commonly known as a cartel. This cartel is also the reason why sovereignty is no longer in the hands of the people, but has shifted to the hands of the party and the ruling elite.

The meeting between the state's chaotic system and weak leadership automatically makes the government run by thugs. So the government is run by means of the mafia. Mafia is not only in the field of law, the banking system, and taxes, but in almost all government offices. In the end, the people will not feel the benefits of the existence of the state at all, and on the contrary the state will actually burden the people. And in the future, when the life of many people becomes so difficult, then in time the people will use their own way to reclaim their rights. This situation is known as mass rage. If that happened, the conditions would be different from those in 1998, because what was being faced was not an authoritarian government, so the target of mass rampage was clearly not just aimed at overthrowing the government, but also to wipe out groups or groups that had been making people miserable, namely government officials, and also the wealthy in this country (Winters 2011).

We return to the thoughts of Waton et al regarding the bad luck experienced by political parties in Indonesia. The following is Marijan's (2010) reflection regarding the three pluralistic perspectives of Indonesian life as a whole, which are as follows. First, democracy is a condition that is still in process, that's why the electoral system and party system in Indonesia are still seeking a proportional form. Second, the electoral rules are not yet perfect regarding how new parties can enter elections, for example, rules for parties that do not pass the parliamentary threshold and then transform themselves into new parties to be able to take part in the

next election. Third, voters' votes are not yet strongly tied to existing parties, so that it still allows voters to move and find parties that are considered to represent their interests as legitimate voters (Waton, 2022: 4299).

## The Fate and Future of Indonesian Democracy

During the New Order we used a presidential system, but the reality is that in the process of implementing elections, what applies is precisely to choose a party. Since 2004 elections have been held directly, meaning that the people directly vote for the presidential candidate's picture, but the president can be removed midway for political reasons that are not conducive. Even though the people elect the president for a period of 5 years, it means that the paradigm of the source of government legitimacy is still from the DPR, even though the qualification for the current election is already a direct election: that is, the people have the right to vote for a picture of a person not a picture of a particular political party. This is a political phenomenon that creates confusion in the political atmosphere, which can be added with the following confusing political perspectives.

The reality is that DPR members can be removed midway for political reasons by the party, even though the people elect candidates for DPR members for a period of 5 years, and the people have never assigned a party to remove DPR member's midway. So where does the principle of "check and balance" come from? In addition, the 2004 election was held directly, meaning that the legitimacy of the president came directly from the people, but the cabinet was formed in the form of a 'coalition'. The practice that has been carried out so far in a presidential system, however, is still known as the term opposition party. Meanwhile the DPR is not a representative of the people, but a party representative and in the DPR there is a faction institution, even though the people in elections do not vote for party symbols, but they vote for people's symbols (Kadi, 2008).

There is still the practice of instituting a "fit and proper test" by the DPR, even though the people have never given powers to parties to carry out these tasks, so where does this authority come from? In addition, the President was also involved in deliberating the bill, this happened because the amendments to the 45th Constitution did not change the paradigm of the state system, meaning that the state system resulting from the amendments to the 45th Constitution was a derivative of the New Order system. Because of that, there are actually notes that really need to be examined.

Is there a country without a head of state in this world, except for Indonesia. Because currently the president is not the head of state but the head of state government. Meanwhile the president as the head of state does not have the right Can Do No Wrong? Is there anything in this world in a presidential system, party heads become presidential candidates, except in Indonesia. Is there a presidential candidate in this world who has failed in an election, then in the next election he will nominate again, except in Indonesia, as if the unemployed are looking for work?

Is there a president in this world who has failed in leading this country, and failed in the election, then in the next election to nominate again, except in Indonesia, because above is legal or illegal according to law, there is a moral ethics that limits him to shame associated with public trust?

Is there any party cadre in this world who failed to become a DPR member, then jumped to a party with a different ideology, except in Indonesia. This happens because the Constitution does not require that a party is a collection of ideological people who share the same ideals. Is there anything in this world in a democratic country, the government is involved in making laws, even though the president is the head of state, and this model is only common in authoritarian countries.

Is there any change in the constitution carried out by partisans in this world, except for Indonesia? In countries with high civilization, DPR members are involved in discussing points, commas, words and sentences of bills, even though they are not experts. Isn't it that in other countries discussing the details of bills are the PhD Expert staff members of the DPR? So in other countries generally for 1 member of the DPR is strengthened by 3 PhDs.

Regarding changes to the 1945 Constitution, Bung Karno had actually been warned on August 18, 1945 that the 1945 Constitution was a lightning constitution, an emergency constitution. Bung Karno even advised that in the future when the country is in a state of peace the members of the MPR will be summoned again to formulate a new Constitution. Doesn't each democratic system have advantages and disadvantages, and when it's just mixed up, the two actually reduce each other's strengths and even negate each other.

Isn't the advantage of a Presidential system in strong political stability, this is realized because the president and members of the DPR both cannot be removed midway. And when the system designed to justify the president can be "impeached" (politically) and members of the DPR can also be removed midway for political reasons, then our state system becomes very vulnerable, because the position of the president who incidentally is head of state can be shaken at any time. In contrast to the parliamentary system which places the position of the head of state separate from that of the head of government, even if there is instability at the government level, it does not mean endangering the stability or existence of the state, because there is still a head of state that is usually held by the King.

Not to mention the intervention of the legislature (DPR) against the executive which should only occur in a parliamentary system, thus making the role of the executive barren because it has been bothered by the DPR a lot. In the political field, isn't democracy without a party? But a party in a democracy is not just a name. Because in a democracy, the party is a place for the struggle of people who have the same ideology and ideals. The party in Indonesia is a political vehicle to achieve power, it is a collection of people of various ideologies and diverse ideals who wear party jackets. It is understood that among party cadres failed to reach office, many of them then moved to other parties with different or even opposing ideologies. If only the Constitution required parties to have an ideology or whatever you call it, then party cadres would not have moved to other parties like fleas. Because there are basic rules that make him ashamed to change parties, especially just because he failed to reach a certain position. Without ideological ties, making the party a place to find work. Whereas a party in a democracy should be a vessel for struggle. From the experience of other nations that used to practice democracy, the task of a party is largely determined by its own democratic model. In a presidential system, the task of the party is to develop an ideology and find a salable figure during the election period. While in a parliamentary system, the party's task is to formulate a program that will be used as a government program if it wins the election, to form a cabinet and run the program itself. From this sequence, then in a parliamentary system in the election which is punched is the symbol of the party, while in presidential elections the symbol of the person is marked.

Elections in Indonesia have not been a means of transferring power from the people (as original owners) to trusted parties, because the promises during the campaign (social contract) were not implemented as a government program formed by the president who won the election. So in the future the rules of the game must outline that between the presidential candidate programs offered during the campaign (social contracts), voting, and government programs (which are formed by the presidential candidate winning the election) are one unified whole that cannot be separated.

Not to mention talking about parliamentary thresholds, how is it possible that a candidate for DPR member who gets the most votes in an electoral area (Dapil) will be dropped or canceled as a member of the DPR because his party does not meet the minimum cancellation of 2.5% to have representation in the DPR. This is a violation of people's sovereignty. Indeed, in democracy a filter is needed, but that does not mean suppressing people's sovereignty. In district system elections, for example, even if they lose 1 vote even if the voting rights in a district are lost, but the district model filter is clearly justified by common sense, they must be knights to please the winner to represent that area.

So the problem is not wrong or right, the product of a legitimate state institution must be right according to law. If the people support a coup, it becomes legal and justified according to the law of power, let alone the decisions of the MPR, DPR and other state institutions. But if the design or architecture of democracy as long as there are parties, elections, the DPR, the president, and other institutions without taking into account the institutional linkages with one another, then there is the potential for tripping each other, burdening each other, even negating one another. In short, one of the sources of the problems faced by the nation lies precisely in the rules of the game of the democratic system itself. Strictly speaking, the existing system shackles sovereignty itself.

In other countries, elections are truly designed as a means of handing over the people's sovereign mandate to those entrusted with managing the country. Because the shape is ideal and guarantees no distortion in it. Even our close neighbors are no longer talking about democracy anymore, they have stepped forward by organizing their people as market forces by forming nation-state corporations, to deal with the power of multi-national corporations, as was done by Thaksin Shinawatra with Thailand incorporated, or Mahathir Mohamad with Malaysia Incorporated 2020, showing how smart they are to deal with the demands of the times for the welfare of their people. These intelligent leaders establish a social contract with their people in written form. This social contract is then used as the basis for making a "master plan", which is detailed in the form of a corporate plan and business plan as a corporation, where the people are positioned as shareholders, so that they can demand clear, measurable, quantitative and accurate social contracts made during elections, time benchmark.

The current reality is that the KKN phenomenon is starting to run rampant. KKN is not only at the center, but reaches the regions and even to the villages. KKN is not only individuals and groups, but also congregations. Small salary without official side income, can live in luxury because of money from corruption. Even worse when it is felt as commonplace. With religious rituals and distributing some to places of worship, it is as if the money resulting from corruption is clean (halal), as if God is holding a calculator. They don't care that the amount of state losses makes the residues that are generated very heavy a burden on future generations. In the future this nation must place anyone who is corrupt as a common enemy and corruptors are actually a-nationalism.

It is visible to the naked eye that a degradation of the sense of nationality is emerging in all the life of the nation and state. The old paradigm of nationalism which is based on past emotional ties and other historical factors for the present era is not considered not or less relevant anymore. The factor of equality that has been neglected so far has made the fragmentation of our nation so great. During the Orla era, differences of opinion between the center and the regions were responded to by the deployment of the TNI. In the New Order era, people who were not in line with the government were positioned as a common enemy or state opposition, then ABRI faced them in a very harsh way. The pluralism phenomenon that has been managed so far has only been at the slogan stage, and has not been implemented in state practice at all.

The inability of the state to provide justice, equality and freedom from tyranny has made people pessimistic about the future of the nation and state. The government's habit of lying and being dishonest with the people has made the people distrust officials. Just to say the price is going up, to say the price is adjusted, it's obvious that the government is too hungry to use the term malnutrition. If this situation is allowed to continue, then in fact we are heading for the death of nationalism in building the nation and state.

Let's raise the foresight! Thomas Hobbes (1651) and John Locke (1689) were two 17th century English political thinkers who witnessed the political upheaval in England, starting from the Puritan Revolution of 1648 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The many victims of war and oppression made them both try to find alternative solutions. They are seen "coalitioning" in achieving the same goals, but with different paths. This happens because they use different assumptions, where Hobbes places humans as "wolves" for other humans, while Locke sees humans as white paper without blemishes. But both of them agreed to make the agreement a way of peace in which the state will guarantee justice and people's welfare. This agreement is known as the "social contract". Magna Charta is one example of how the state follows the will of the people. The people give their power to the king and the king is not allowed to apply arbitrarily (Adisusilo, 2013:327). Therefore, when King Charles I acted arbitrarily, the parliament together with the people overthrew his power.

The theory of "social contract" (Lessnoff, 1990; Mouritz, 2010; Nbeta, 2012; Frederick, 2013) then became a reference for modern European intellectuals in building the state. The social contract also links state benefits according to the interests of individuals and also common interests in national relations. This philosophical foundation posits that society has common interests as a common goal that must be handled by the state. And because the goals of society cannot be borne by just one person, they need a political organization to achieve them, namely the state (Plummer, 2013:43). It is there that state power actually exists thanks to the agreement of the people, and this power will be effective if it is supported by the people. So it is only natural that the state is then seen as a political institution that fights for the interests of the people, not the interests of a few circles (Budiman, 1996:7).

The state then provides a constitutional basis for the government to exercise its power. Budiardjo (2008:13-14) follows the social contract theory commonly used by political philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, explaining how the process of forming a state:

"In the past, the community managed collective life well, bearing in mind that people often faced limited natural resources or needed to find a way to distribute resources so that all residents felt happy and satisfied. This means that people need political assistance. The goal of the community can be achieved if it has power in a certain area through the existence of a state or political system. This power needs to be translated into decisions regarding policies that will determine the distribution or allocation of existing resources.

So, the first question that needs to be answered in relation to the existence of the NKRI is what form of social contract formed the basis for the formation of the NKRI at that time? Why form the Unitary State and not the other? Through a long process, the 1928 Youth Pledge, which was the momentum for youths from various ethnic backgrounds (Jong Java, Jong Ambon, Jong Celebes, etc.) to gather in the archipelago, to determine to build a nation (Woring, 2020), then what actually happened? be a motivating factor for holding the Youth Pledge? Which is stronger, external or internal encouragement of ethnic groups (which are actually different nations, not ethnic groups).

These questions need to be answered so that we can find the foundation upon which the social contract of the archipelago's multicultural society was born in forming the Unitary State of the

Republic of Indonesia (Mouritz, 2010). Because the theory of the establishment of a modern state in the concept of nation-state (Nation State) which is valid until now, where the establishment of the state is precisely on top of a nation. While the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia uses the opposite theory, in which the existing nations are then united through an agreement, namely the Youth Pledge, then a state is also established on top of it through the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945 as a social contract. More than that, the process of proclamation of independence was carried out in great haste, even the Constitution was drafted in a flash so that the position of Pancasila as the basis of the State had not yet been elaborated into operational values which were fully and thoroughly contained in the Articles of the 1945 Constitution (Bahar, 1992).

These questions are fundamental to answer, because in its journey, this nation's mere consolidation of power must be accompanied by blood and tears that have flowed down the motherland since the moment after the proclamation of independence until the recognition of sovereignty by all the nations of the world. The people's resistance to the allied troops who wanted to disarm the Japanese army was inevitable in Surabaya and then followed by a war against the Dutch army who wanted to return to continue colonialization which was inevitable in almost all corners of the archipelago. And after the recognition of sovereignty, this nation had to face the dissatisfaction of a number of figures and regions with central policies, as well as the struggle to unify the land of Papua into the bosom of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI),

A number of military operations in the field took the form of insulting humanity by the state against its own nation's children and of course this was accompanied by clashes among the nation's children which were also inevitable. History records a number of uprisings that had to be put down by armed force. In the name of legitimate power, for the sake of upholding the existence and prestige of the state, the TNI was deployed to overcome the 1948 Madiun rebellion (McGregor, 2009), (Swift, 2010), (Ar-Rasyid, 2018), PRRI/Permesta (Tampubolon, 1978), (Leclerc, 1996), (Bahar, 1999), DI/TII (Nugroho, 2020) and not to mention other local armed upheavals. The history of the nation's journey also records that in the process of changing the national leadership from Bung Karno to Suharto, hundreds of thousands of the nation's children fell victims in social conflicts and also the G-30S/PKI crushing operation by the TNI (Heryanto, 2017). And in the following period, in the name of the interests of political stability and security as well as for the sake of national development, the instruments of state violence were deployed to deal with the children of their own nation, it was there that serious human rights violations occurred precisely by state instruments financed with people's money. More than that, the TNI was also deployed to face GAM (Free Aceh Movement) (Alfian, 2001) and also OPM (Free Papua Organization) (Ngatiyem, 2007).

The same thing also happened in the governance of state power in the political and economic fields, especially in the New Order era. Bureaucratic behavior also adjusts to the political macro climate so that there are many incidents of violence, both intentional and unintentional (only because of different understandings). For example, marginalized communities in rural areas and indigenous peoples are not only neglected because they are not touched by central government policies, they are often victims of violence when their land is given management permits to private entrepreneurs. This is where the Garuda image on the Management Permit Heading is used to evict marginalized communities and Indigenous people who have lived there for generations (Tsing, 1998), (Peluso, 2006), (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011), (Bubandt, 2016).

Even worse, by basing it on the 1945 Constitution, the equal rights of all children of the nation before the law and the government and the right to form associations were in practice nullified through the MPR Decree and also its derivative laws. The state based on

Pancasila, through the agreement of a number of national figures which was later referred to as the "national consensus" was then legalized through the MPR Decree and its derivative laws limiting the existence of parties. As befits a communist country, the people are divided in two, politics is accommodated in 1 (one) party, namely the New Order Party with 3 (three) designations namely PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party), Golkar (Golongan Karya as Orsospol) and PPP (United Development Party). ), where the three claimed to be the New Order. While those who are not political are also supervised in this matter by ABRI (especially the TNI-AD) through the Territorial Command and also TNI Intelligence. It was there that within ABRI there was a Kopkamtib institution which later turned into Bakorstanas and also the ABRI Wansospol (Social and Political Council), where in a communist country the role of social control was played by the Political Bureau Central Committee (DPP Political Bureau) of the Communist Party (Goldstein, 1936).

Social control is meant to be effective, because the government is also filtering through a clean environment policy and also upgrading the P-4 required in regeneration in all aspects of life, including in the Ormas / Party environment, and especially in the recruitment of civil servants and the Armed Forces. Besides that, in the name of Pancasila democracy, ABRI has representatives in the DPR and also in the MPR. While Golkar in the sense of the regime has three lines, namely A (ABRI), B (Bureaucracy) and G (Golkar in the sense of Orsospol) (Suryono, 2012).

The same thing also happens in the management of the national economy, in the name of the interests of National Development, national resources are mobilized to build conglomerates which act on behalf of agents of development. It was there that it was later discovered that more than 80% of the natural resources, including land, mines and forests, were only owned by a number of conglomerates. This policy was resoundingly successful, because it was supported by a financial resources policy, in which the banking world was mobilized to build this conglomerate (Pilger, 2001), (Kadi, Soesatyo, Massardie et al., 2011), (Winters, 2011).

Likewise in other social life, through the political stigma of EKKA (Extreme Right), EKKI (Extreme Left) and EKLA (Other Extreme) discordant voices against the Government can be controlled (Wibisono, 2018). From the reality of the governance of state power as explained above, there is structural impoverishment, social and regional disparities that are so gaping, and the destruction of most of the local wisdom in this country.

Global pressure, especially due to the monetary crisis, this nation then carried out reforms in 1998 which was marked by the fall of Suharto. And through 4 (four) amendments to the 1945 Constitution, this nation then entered an era of democratization. As universally applicable, the rights of citizens are no longer positioned as gifts from the state but as rights that are brought by humans at the same time as their birth. So the basic rights of citizens related to human rights have now been made as Primary Rights, namely Citizen Rights which are regulated directly in the Constitution. It is very unfortunate that the process of amending the Constitution was not preceded by a change in the platform of the state system from an authoritarian state to a democratic state, while the members of the MPR who were the perpetrators of the 4 amendments to the Constitution were dominated by the old forces (New Order) who jumped into the boat of reform, so as illustrated in the Constitution -1945 the results of the 4th Amendment were not constitutive and the state system that was formulated was so chaotic, aka systemic (Kadi, 2008; Kadi, Soesatyo, Massardie et al., 2011).

So the paradoxical life is now happening everywhere, when houses of worship are built in every corner of the village and on no day do the people continue to be busy with religious rituals. the opposite happened where life became so chaotic because common sense and ethics no longer colored the nation's civilization and even religion

turned into a source of chaos and also a source of human calamity (Bisri, 2018).

In the name of freedom guaranteed by the Constitution, recently the state has been made to exaggerate and report hoaxes, spread hatred and slander through social media and no longer care about moral ethics. And the existence of representative institutions has become so barren that they are unable to represent the people in fighting for public aspirations, how is this possible in a democratic country but what happened right after the election was that the people had to take to the streets themselves to fight for their aspirations. Not to mention the existence of the DPD without clarity on their main tasks and functions, because they are not Regional Envoys or Groups who carry out their functions when the MPR is in session as befits a communist state political system, but also not Senators who have veto rights over proposed Bills relating to regions represented (Kadi, 2008).

Long story short, in Indonesia's many years of age, it turns out that this nation continues to search for its identity, like a "flywheel" toy where the passengers are accompanied by mixed feelings between those who laugh for joy, but many who are full of anxiety, fear and not even a few whose heart seemed to stop, pounding strongly. As a nation, we still have enough time to improve; hopefully this nation will not be like a "flywheel" game that will only stop when the game is over. It's a shame that until now it's still going like this, as some of the stories outlined by a number of national figures in the book "Abal-abal Presidential Election of the Ambush Republic" (Kadi, Soesatyo, Massardie et al., 2011).

Indeed, after the New Order and especially recently, the days were always filled with insults and slander, without a break. Various forms of violence either by the state or by fellow community groups or at least potential conflicts that are rooted in many narratives, still frequently emerge. But on the other hand, this condition also gave rise to a shared awareness for us to immediately reorganize the governance of the nation state and all existing social institutions, so that in the future it is truly based on the noble values of Pancasila.

Hope and a sense of optimism are great, because those involved in managing state power from the central level to at least the sub-district level and most of the Lurah and Village Heads are graduates of tertiary institutions, including those dealing with the religious sector. That is, to make changes do not have to go through social conflict let alone have to be accompanied by falling victim to fellow children of the nation. Using the example of the social contract offered by President Jokowi in the 2014 and 2019 Presidential Elections, although the implementation is not yet perfect, we can already feel the results, such as in the development of economic infrastructure and public services, guaranteed education for all Indonesian children and health for all people without exception and social security for poor families (Wasi, 2018). Because through the social contract offered in the Election of Village Heads, Regional Elections for Regents/Mayors, Governors and Elections for President/Vice President as well as Elections for Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD, actually a change can be made through a democratic mechanism without any violence.

With an anthropological approach, we will see everything (not least in the face of the accumulation of past residues that are now shackles the life of the nation) not from the wrong angle - right from a political and or legal perspective. But from how Indonesian people, especially their leaders, have been in relentless efforts to manage the country according to their own reasons for years, why do they seem not aware that our state system is chaotic, so many are being tricked by the apparatus, even though everyone knows that in a democratic country the rules main is the main and becomes the foundation in managing the country. There needs to be a true and serious effort to manage state power with a systems anthropological approach, it is hoped that it will find the right

solution, how can the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a common vessel be equipped with "Order", namely the Constitution and its derivative laws which are truly based on Pancasila values which were drafted systemically and constitutively in accordance with the objective condition of Indonesian people. By borrowing the language commonly used in the world of medicine, in the future we need to immediately draw up the Constitution and its derivative laws which contain the Pancasila DNA (Deoxyribo Nucleic Acid).

Thus, in the preparation of the state system through the 5th Amendment to the 5th Constitution in the future it will also be based on the real human condition (Anthropology) of Indonesia, especially in terms of the system of those who sit as drafters and discussants of the Amendments to the Constitution, as well as those who will later oversee the state government also understand about system in relation to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a common vessel. And with God's abundant blessings pouring out for our nation, in fact to realize "social justice for all Indonesian people" within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia which is based on Pancasila, is not a very difficult job. So that we can immediately get out of the shackles of the past, and in the future this nation will never repeat a similar mistake that happened in the past.

## Conclusion

Some of the ideas given previously referred to efforts to build a new format for the process of improving the life of society, nation and state as a whole. For example, how is the reconstruction of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in the future. For this perspective it is very important to apply the study of 'anthropological perspective' and 'global demands' that are relevant to the life of society, nation and state, within the scope of the Republic of Indonesia. What kind of state system is in accordance with the current conditions of life for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia? How to improve the life of a better nation and state society?

The fundamental problem in relation to state governance from the point of view of systems anthropology is something that absolutely needs attention. Then the influence of globalization on this nation from the point of view of system anthropology must be seen as a key action to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Apart from that, it also studies the various problems, opportunities and obstacles that unfold in the life of the state and nation which can be used as a basis for rearranging the Indonesian state system in the future which is wholly and thoroughly based on the noble values of Pancasila.

The constitution in Indonesia has been amended several times, including the 1945 Constitution, the RIS Constitution, the 1950 Constitution and back again to the 1945 Constitution until it has been amended through amendments in the Reformation era up to 4 (four) times and is in effect to date (Kansil, 2001). The first constitution in Indonesia to apply was the 1945 Constitution, followed by the RIS Constitution in 1949 which was the second constitution which resulted in the form of the Unitary State being changed to the United States. The 1950 Constitution was the third constitution, although it returned to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, but the system of government was Parliamentary until the issuance of a Presidential Decree on 5 July 1959 to return to the 1945 Constitution (Santosa, 2013).

The failure of efforts to draft a new Constitution by the Constituent Assembly and the series of political events during the liberal democracy period reached its climax on July 5, 1959. President Soekarno at the Merdeka Palace announced the Presidential Decree regarding the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution within the framework of Guided Democracy. There are different opinions of experts regarding the legality of the Presidential Decree. Some

experts say that the decree was an unconstitutional method taken by Soekarno's government after seeing the failure of the Constituent Assembly. Meanwhile, other opinions state that the legal basis for the Decree of 5 July 1959 is Staatsnoodrecht which refers to a state of emergency. Although initially received the full support of the DPR, based on the hearing on 22 July 1959, and support in the form of a legal opinion on 11 July 1959 from the Chairman of the Supreme Court Professor Wirjono Prodjodikoro which was followed by the issuance of Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number: 150 of 1959 concerning Return to the 1945 Constitution As history has finally proven, the birth of this decree was also the birth of Soekarno as a new dictator with his Guided Democracy concept. The results of the study show that the enactment of the Presidential Decree was greatly influenced by the political situation that developed at that time. Even though the Decree is legally valid, because it is based on the State Emergency Law, the question is how is the mechanism for obtaining legality either through (constitutional) law enforcement and/or obtaining people's approval through a referendum. The Presidential Decree is a political product, therefore it has a very large influence on democracy in a country so that there is the potential for it to be misused by parties with an interest in power (Risdiarto, 2018).

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