

# Gus Dur's Typology of Political Leadership

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# Abstract

Dr. KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) is an Indonesian Muslim figure and a leader in politics who became the fourth president of Indonesia, with a term of office from 1999 to 2001. Gus Dur is known for his unique and phenomenal self, this can be proven by the fact that he spent approximately two years during served as president Gus Dur was able to reshuffle more than 10 ministers who were in the ranks of his cabinet, some of these ministerial figures were also major figures from parties who were influential in politics at that time. Gus Dur's sacrifice in the eyes of society turned out to be so great that it raised several questions from the people's point of view "What is a good type of leadership?" and "Where is the policy given by Gus Dur?". To answer these questions, a qualitative research approach is needed in order to be able to process data comprehensively regarding the typology of Gus Dur's political leadership. From this, it is concluded that the leadership typology of Gus Dur is a charismatic and transformational leader.

# Keywords: Democracy; Religion; Leader Politics

# Introduction

Abdurrahman Wahid or what we often know as (Gus Dur) is a figure who is well-known for his controversial ideas. Since taking office as president of the Republic of Indonesia, Gus Dur has a great history in building democracy, freedom, and speech, as well as in fighting for the rights of minorities. During his tenure of approximately two years (1998-2001) Gus Dur made many sacrifices for the nation, this can be proven by the existence of palace declaration projects, civil supremacy, Islamic deformalization, struggles over constitutional interpretation (his conflict with parliament) which became an interesting discourse at his time.

There were several interesting and unique political phenomena when Gus Dur held power as the PKB Syuro Council and Chairman of the PKB Syuro Council and President of the Republic of Indonesia.



Matters related to Gus Dur's influence on PKB can be seen when every time there was success in carrying out leadership in the body of the portal, Gus Dur always used pressure on several previous party figures, so there was no doubt that in the history of the party it was successful in recording that starting from Matori Abdul Jalil, Alwi Shihab, Khoirul Anam to Muhaimin Iskandar, there were always irregularities and various conflicts with Gus Dur.

During his time as RI leader, Gus Dur became a very unique and phenomenal president. Gus Dur was able to reshuffle more than ten ministers in his cabinet. Some of these ministerial figures were also big figures from parties that were influential in the political field at that time. In this context, Gus Dur has shown evidence of his progressive ideas, especially when people are asked to act independently and not depend on the state. At that time the freedom of society really took place. Political maneuvers and actions were also carried out openly, this was very clearly proven by the ongoing conflict between the president and the DPR. However, Gus Dur's history on the leadership stage began to end after Megawati Soekarno Putri was sworn in as the 5th president of the Republic of Indonesia in the MPR SI.

From the facts obtained, the writer is interested in observing how the pattern of political leadership actually carried out by Gus Dur. So far, Gus Dur, who has been considered the king of controversy, has played an important role and made enormous sacrifices for society. Lately, there have been several discourses that Gus Dur should be made a National Hero because he has made many contributions to the Indonesian nation.

# Methods

## **Qualitative Problem Solving**

The type of research method used in this journal is a qualitative method which is a literature study. According to Syafnidawati, qualitative methods are used to find,

Investigate, describe, and explain the qualities or features of social influence that cannot be explained, measured or described through a quantitative approach. In this journal, the author also uses the library study method which also means data collection techniques by conducting a review of books, literature, notes, and various reports related to the problem to be solved.

The results of the research contain data obtained from a literature study that the authors carry out in stages and continuously to obtain appropriate and relevant data. The data obtained is analyzed and differentiated based on the type of source, namely primary and secondary data.

#### **Time and Place of Research**

The time used by researchers for this research was carried out from the date of issuance of the research order in a period of approximately 1 week, 5 days of data collection and 3 days of data processing which included presentation in the form of a thesis paper.

The place for conducting this research is at the PGRI Madiun University, located on Jl. Setia Budi No. 85, Kanigoro, Kec. Kartoharjo, City of Madiun.

# **Research Target/Subject**

The research in this journal uses the subject of a figure, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), a leader in politics who became president of the Republic of Indonesia. This discussion focuses on the leadership process and the location of Gus Dur's policies in the political field during his term of office. A well-



known and controversial leader, Gus Dur, in fact it was he who had many important roles for the Indonesian people. Therefore, it can be concluded that the subject above refers to the dynamics of Gus Dur's leadership and politics while holding national power.

## Procedure

In this case study, the author uses a type of research in the form of a qualitative research type. This is based on research procedures that start from the data collection stage using a review of various sources including books, literature, notes and from several journals that the author has collected. In this paper, research is conducted by analyzing data sources that we have previously collected and paraphrasing them using our own language.

#### Data, Instruments, and Techniques

#### **Data collection**

#### Data

Presentation of data is an activity of compiling information that gives the possibility of drawing conclusions and taking action. The type of data used in this journal is qualitative data, which means qualitative data itself is data that can be presented in the form of narrative text consisting of wording, sentences, expressions, to pictures in the form of notes and the like. According to one expert named Sutama "Data is factual information such as measurements and statistics that are used as a basis for reasoning, discussion or calculation as in science. In addition, data is pure reality that has not been given any interpretation. It hasn't been changed or manipulated, but it has been arranged in a certain systematic.

#### **Research Instruments**

In a qualitative study, the instrument or research tool is the researcher himself. Qualitative researchers can become human instruments that have the function of determining research focus, selecting information that can be used as a data source, and making conclusions on the findings they get.

In qualitative research, it is something to look for from unclear research objects such as uncertain problems, unclear data sources, and temporary research plans, etc. This will begin to develop after researchers begin to enter the research object. Then in looking at reality, qualitative researchers have the opinion that reality is a state that is holistic, dynamic, and cannot be separated, so that the variable in question will appear more than one. Therefore, in qualitative research, something cannot be said to have developed if a problem has not been examined clearly.

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the main qualitative instrument is the researcher himself, but other than after the research focus becomes clear, it is likely to be developed into a simple research instrument, with the hope of being able to complete the data and make comparisons with data that has been found through observation. What later the researchers will go directly to the field to collect data, analyze, and draw conclusions.

# **Data Collection Technique**

# **Observation (Observation)**

The technique of collecting data through observation can be used by researchers because in a study it wants a work process and the respondents to be observed are not too large. When compared with



interviews which always involve communicating with people, it is different from observations which are not limited to people, but also to natural objects around them.

## **Data Analysis Technique**

# 1. Data Reduction

#### According to Sugiyono (2012:339)

Data reduction is high intelligence, breadth, and depth of insight. For researchers who are just doing data reduction, they can discuss their research with friends or other people who are considered experts in the research field, so that the researcher's insight will further develop and be able to obtain data that has significant value findings and theory development.

#### 2. Data Presentation (Display Data)

# After Performing Data Reduction,

For the next step is to present the data. In qualitative research research can be done in a short form, in the form of charts, relationships between categories, flowcharts and the like. In this case Miles and Huberman in the book Sugiyono (20112: 341) which states that "the most frequent from display data for qualitative research data in the past has been narrative text" which is most often used to present data in qualitative research is with text narrative in nature.

#### 3. Qualitative Data Analysis (Conclusion Drawing / Verification)

Qualitative data analyst according to Miles and Huberman in Sugiyono (2012:345) is drawing conclusions and verification. The initial conclusions that have been put forward are still temporary, and will change if no strong evidence is found to support the next stage of data collection. However, if the data that has been collected is valid and feels fulfilled, the conclusions that will be generated are credible conclusions.

# **Results and Discussion**

## A. Leadership Style K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid

Leadership style is a pattern of every action of a leader, both visible and invisible. Everyone's leadership style is different because it describes a combination of philosophies, skills, traits and attitudes that underlie that person's behavior. The point is that leadership style is behavior and strategy, in the form of a combination of philosophies, attitudes, traits and skills, which are applied by leaders in influencing their subordinates. Likewise, every Indonesian president who has a different leadership style

From the various literatures that we used in the preparation of this paper, different types of typologies can be found. Typology itself is the study of grouping things based on their type or category. The difference in typology arises because the point of view is different, even though what is learned in the process is the same, namely on matters related to leadership. In this case, the authors conclude that Gus Dur's leadership style is a Charismatic - Transformational leadership style, this is based on several facts and data that lead to tendencies in communication patterns and the domination of actions that Gus Dur once carried out while serving in the political structure.



Dr. K.H Abdurrahman Wahid or more familiarly called Gus Dur was born in Jombang, East Java, September 7, 1940. Gus Dur became president at the age of 69 as the 4th president. He served from 1999 to 2001 replacing B.J.Habibie and was elected by the People's Consultative Assembly based on the results of the 1999 elections. DR. K.H Abdurrahman Wahid was influenced by his experiences during his life.

Gus Dur became active in the world of politics in 1984. As chairman of the PBNU, he often criticized the ruling regime of his time. When he became chairman of PBNU, Gus Dur was known as a leader who had a major contribution to changing traditional Islamic culture in Indonesia. Gus Dur did not just collaborate on tradition and Islam, he also combined elements of methodology (manhaj), legal theory (usbul al-fiqah), and legal principles which gave birth to the latest ideas to solve problems in society.

Gus Dur's thinking was patterned on the concept of fiqh. His approach often uses fiqh. The principle is the development of law in society, but does not fade the basics of religious values. The pattern of solving Gus Dur's socio-political problems was also moderate because of this principle. Abdurrahman Wahid can be called a neomodernist leader because he has a positive character towards renewal, modernism and development. In addition, his thoughts affirm the spirit of secularism between the state and Islam. Secularization does not mean negative because the concept of Islamic values that Gus Dur promotes is pluralistic, open (inclusive) and moderate. This is in accordance with the Indonesian state which is not an "Islamic country" but has strong Islamic values. As democracy that will be upheld is the freedom of expression between the people and the government. As for the humanitarian thought that Gus Dur engulfed, by appreciating tolerance and upholding social harmony.

Starting in the 1980s, Gus Dur was active in politics by voicing the ideas of pluralism, democracy, human rights, and others. As well as various roles played by Gus Dur as a kyai, politician, intellectual, and humanist. Wahid's political progress began to reach its peak when he founded PKB and was elected president in 1999. Gus Dur's political style has received a lot of recognition. Politicians are of the opinion that his thoughts have become a treasure in the dynamics of politics in Indonesia. He often makes breakthroughs as can be seen from his unique pattern of interaction and political advocacy. One of the uniqueness of Gus Dur can be seen from his balance as an Islamic intellectual and political activist. Gus Dur has both knowledge and morals in carrying out his leadership.

The figure of Abdurrahman Wahid is not a conservative traditionalist, nor is he an Islamic modernist. He is a liberal thinker, a leader of the largest tradition-based Islamic organization. Gus Dur is an innovative scholar who demonstrates intellectual professionalism. He is an intellectual as well as an activist, and some even think he is too close to the government, but government officials actually feel wary of his influence. Although he is the leader of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, Wahid opposes Islamic reformers who wish to reaffirm the role of Islam in politics. Gusdur also showed his attitude towards a democratic, secular and nationalist vision of Indonesian politics. In order to better understand the real figure of Gus Dur and how his ijtihad was, this paper will present his brief biography, and try to also explain the main points of his thoughts, including: his concept of the relationship between Islam and the State, Pluralism, Democratization and Indigenousness.

As a president, Gus Dur seeks to reconstruct the condition of society so that they can contribute optimally in achieving the country's goals. Gus Dur succeeded in building public trust in the government through various policies that favored the public interest. In addition, Gus Dur attempted to change the social construction of society inherited from the traditionalist-feudalistic New Order towards a progressive and democratic society.

One of the charismatic traits of Gus Dur emanated from his agile and sharp thinking. This can be seen through Gus Dur's policies which made positive changes in various fields. In addition, Gus Dur's charisma comes from his humble and simple nature, as well as humor. Many people and community



groups, both within NU and outside NU, loved and admired Gus Dur because of the good attitude and treatment he showed.

#### **B.** Gus Dur's Political Dynamics

In the process of his political development, Gus Dur was also a figure that could be said to be a transformational figure. This is based on the changes implemented by Gus Dur in the form of political policies so that it can describe the type of transformational political leadership, including:

#### 1. Opening Trade Relations with Israel

3 days after the election of Gus Dur as the 4th president in October 1999, to be precise, at the "Indonesia Next" event in Jimbaran Bali. Gus Dur implied ideas and ideas to open cooperation between Indonesia and Israel. Suddenly, these ideas and ideas immediately received a lot of opposition, especially from the Muslim community in Indonesia. In fact, in line with its development, society in general sees it no longer as an economic issue and bilateral cooperation between two sovereign countries but tends to bring this case into a "Religious Issue". the controversy that occurred at that time, regardless of the opinion expressed by a president, could become a policy when all elements around the leader supported and accepted the decision. in this country, finally the desire to realize trade relations with the State of Israel was stopped, this was because Gus Dur preferred the integrity and conduciveness of the Republic of Indonesia, so that this policy after being debated by several groups only became a national policy issue that had never been done.

#### 2. Frequent Cabinet Reshuffles

Gus Dur's political policy on this one was no less shocking during his era as president. How could it not be, from the researchers' notes there were more than ten ministers who had been reshuffled by Gus Dur, even some of these ministers were influential people in political parties who could boomerang in Gus Dur's government. From the above also proves that Gus Dur is a controversial leader.

Gus Dur was a leader who strongly disagreed with matters relating to corruption, human rights violations, and other things that were against the development of democracy, therefore, when there were indications in the composition of Gus Dur's cabinet in committing these violations, then Gus Dur with the task of immediately dismissing the minister under his command.

#### **3.TNI-POLRI Separation**

During Gus Dur's reign, a controversial policy emerged among the military, this policy was the separation between the TNI and POLRI. The basic reason for what Gus Dur did in this policy was that in addition to making as much as possible a systemic reduction of the progressive rights of the military which had long been developed during the New Order era, also if the TNI was seen as representing responsibility for security militarily, then actually POLRI should handle security in civilian area. The return of these functions is an important step to put civil organs back in their original position. Although at the beginning this policy raised various pros and cons among the military, at a later stage this policy was able to position each of these institutions in an ideal state system.

#### 4. Pembubaran Departemen

Information and Social Affairs Department One of Gus Dur's breakthroughs during his tenure as the 4th President of the Republic of Indonesia was his decision to dissolve the Ministry of Information and Social Affairs. This policy received sharp scrutiny from.

Gus Dur's decision to dissolve the Deppen and the Depsos was made based on clear considerations. The establishment of a department to deal with an area of problem shows the large role the state plays in the affairs concerned. This means that information and social aspects should be the



affairs of the community itself. The state will only take a minimal role. In other words, the state certainly will not relinquish responsibility altogether, but instead take a limited role.

## 5. Issuing a Presidential Decree

In 2001, there was a violent conflict between Gus Dur and the DPR. For Gus Dur, bringing down the President in the middle of the road by issuing a memorandum was unconstitutional. Therefore, an unconstitutional act can be blocked by a decree before things get worse.

The idea of issuing this decree further emphasized that the leadership carried out by Gus Dur in his capacity as president slightly illustrated that Gus Dur was truly firm in his convictions. Even though Gus Dur's opinion about the decree referred to the opinion of constitutional law expert, Harun Alrasid, who said that in a presidential system the President's term of office was fixed and he could not be dropped, but the political world was not what Gus Dur wanted, indirectly when Gus Dur wants a decree, political observers and the public will assume that Gus Dur's decisions tend to be authoritarian and only want to maintain power.

#### 6. Overseas Visits

One of Gus Dur's controversies when he served as president was the frequent visits abroad when the country was in a transitional state. When the country needed more attention by staying in the country and carrying out activities that could have a positive impact on the country, Gus Dur chose to visit abroad.

He recorded more than 10 countries that he visited during his brief period of leadership. The climax occurred in the period of February 2000, when Wahid made an overseas trip to Europe by visiting England, France, Holland, Germany and Italy. On his way home from Europe, Wahid also visited India, South Korea, Thailand and Brunei Darussalam.

# C. Pencapaian Gus Dur Ketika Menjadi Presiden RI

Dalam masa pemerintahannya, Gus Dur mampu meraih pencapaian yang mengharumkan nama bangsa Indonesia sendiri. Meskipun tergolong dalam waktu jabatan yang singkat, bukan menjadi hal yang mustahil bagi Gus Dur untuk membangun Indonesia agar dapat menjadi negara yang lebih baik. Meskipun tergolong sedikit, namun pencapaian Gus Dur dapat mewujudkan beberapa ide. Beberapa pencapaian Indonesia ketika Gus Dur masih menjabat, yakni:

#### 1. Recognition of the Confucian Religion

Gus Dur was known as a religious person, but did not make Gus Dur indifferent to other religions. During his reign, Gus Dur inaugurated Confucianism as one of the recognized religions in Indonesia. This shows that Gus Dur cares about his people and has made it easy for followers of the Confucian religion at that time. At that time, Gus Dur set Chinese New Year as a holiday for his adherents.

# 2. The Beginning of Peace in Aceh

With Gus Dur's idea to hold negotiations through a third party, Gus Dur indirectly opened up new opportunities for Aceh to re-integrate between regions in Indonesia. Even though peace in Aceh was only successfully carried out during the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Gus Dur's role remained a strong factor in reconciling the Aceh conflict.

# 3. Economic Improvement

Because of Gus Dur's courage in rejecting the IMF (world bank) prescription, Indonesia was able to catch up with it in the economic field. During Gus Dur's administration, there was an increase in exports of 60 percent compared to usual. Gus Dur together with his economic team has a "growth story"



program which is known to be effective in overcoming Indonesia's economic problems. The success of Gus Dur and his team has been recognized by many people. It only took less than 2 years for Gus Dur and his economic team to improve Indonesia's economy, which at that time was in a slump. At that time, the Indonesian economy touched minus 3 and in 2 years with the Gus Dur program, the Indonesian economy was able to touch a plus 7.5. Economic stability also occurred during Gus Dur's administration. Stability in question is starting from the stability of rice prices and food stability. So that it can be said that the welfare of society can be said to be stable. Thanks to Gus Dur, people's welfare can be regained at that time. It can be seen from the increase in salary for Civil Servants (PNS) which aims to help the welfare of PNS

# D. Gus Dur's Reasons for Being Dismissed

The many breakthroughs in Gus Dur's thinking did not make him immune. Gus Dur only served as president for 20 months. He did not resign, but was dismissed. Even though his term of office is still long. Gus Dur, who served as a replacement for BJ Habibie, was known as a smart president. In addition, he is known as a unique president and often sparks controversy. Even when he was president, some of his policies were not respected because they provoked debate among several groups, including the People's Representative Council (DPR). In fact, several incidents and policies have exacerbated the relationship between Gus Dur and the MPR DPR RI.

On July 31, 2001, Wahid issued a presidential decree. In history, the president who issued the presidential decree was Soekarno. Thus, Gus Dur was the second president to issue a presidential decree. This was in response to the MPR's mandate which planned to remove Gus Dur over the allegations in the Buloggate and Bruneigate cases. However, the MPR was unable to prove Gus Dur's guilt constitutionally. Therefore, a presidential decree was issued.

The main objective of President Gus Dur to issue an edict a few hours before the SI MPR was to maintain the stability of the country in the midst of an increasingly heated political situation. Gus Dur did not want turmoil and the potential for civil war to occur by detaining hundreds of thousands of his supporters from leaving for Jakarta. Even though this was not a wise move, in order to protect the welfare of the people, Gus Dur implemented a decree. The following is the contents of the presidential decree in 2001:

- Freezing the MPR and DPR.
- Return sovereignty to the people and take action and set up the necessary bodies to hold elections within one year.
- Saving the total reform movement from being hampered by New Order elements by freezing the Golkar Party while waiting for the decision of the Supreme Court.

**Eight** hours after the implementation of the presidential decree, the MPR held a special session. This had an impact on Gus Dur's position as president. The following is the contents of the MPR special session:

- Revocation of mandate and dismissal of Abdurrahman Wahid as President of the Republic of Indonesia.
- Appointment of Megawati Soekarnoputri as President and Hamzah Haz as Vice President.
- Changes in the presidential system of government.

In the program "The History of Gus Dur's resignation" several figures straightened out the events of Gus Dur's resignation. Moh. Mahfud MD explicitly stated that Gus Dur was clean from violations of Constitutional Law and Criminal Law. Mahfud's reasons were strengthened when the Buloggate case was ablaze at the time and ended up on the court, it was proven that Gus Dur was not related to the matter.



Not only that, the Attorney General and the Police themselves have stated that Gus Dur was not related to the Buloggate case.

In addition, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan strengthened his statement by stating that Gus Dur's removal at that time was purely due to politics. This was stated by the leaders in order to prevent confusion over the history of Gus Dur's removal. In fact, on the day of Gus Dur's removal, he still calmed his supporters. Gus Dur once said, it is not appropriate for any high position in this country to be maintained by bloodshed against the nation itself. Even though he was not treated properly on the day of his removal, Gus Dur was still a leader. He is more concerned with the common interest than his own interests.

# **Conclusions and Suggestions**

# Conclusions

Leadership type. Dr. K.H Abdurrahman Wahid was influenced by his experiences during his life.

From the results of the explanation above, it is concluded that the political leadership typology of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid is a Charismatic - Transformational leader, this is based on several facts and data that lead to tendencies in communication patterns and the domination of actions that Gus Dur once carried out while serving in the political structure.

Gus Dur became active in the world of politics in 1984. He was chairman of PBNU, when he became chairman of PBNU, the method used by him as a leader was; collaborating on tradition and Islam, combining elements of methodology (manhaj), legal theory (usbul al-fiqah), and legal principles that generate new ideas to solve problems. Gus Dur's thoughts and approaches are patterned on the concept of fiqh. The principle is the development of law in society, but does not fade the basics of religious values.

Starting in the 1980s, Gus Dur was active in politics by voicing the ideas of pluralism, democracy, human rights, and others. As well as various roles played by Gus Dur as a kyai, politician, intellectual, and humanist. Wahid's political style has received much recognition after he founded PKB and was elected president in 1999.

The figure of Abdurrahman Wahid is a liberal thinker, an innovative scholar who demonstrates intellectual professionalism. He is an intellectual as well as an activist. Although he is the leader of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, Wahid opposes Islamic reformers who wish to reaffirm the role of Islam in politics. Gusdur also showed his attitude towards a democratic, secular and nationalist vision of Indonesian politics. The main points of his thoughts include: the concept of the relationship between Islam and the State, Pluralism, Democratization, and Indigenous. As a president, Gus Dur seeks to reconstruct the condition of society so that they can contribute optimally in achieving the country's goals. Gus Dur attempted to change the social construction of society inherited from the traditionalist-feudalistic New Order into a progressive and democratic society. As a result, Gus Dur succeeded in building public trust.

In the process of his political development, Gus Dur was also a figure that could be said to be a transformational figure. His type of transformational political leadership includes: Opening trade relations with Israel which has received a lot of criticism because it is considered a case of "Religious Issue";Frequent Re-Shuffle Cabinet ministers who are influential both in the party and in the government; Separating the TNI and POLRI, according to him, the TNI is considered to represent responsibility militarily, and the POLRI handles civilian areas; Dissolution of the Ministry of Information and the



Ministry of Social Affairs; Issuing a Presidential Decree, this is considered an unconstitutional barrier by the DPR against the President; Visits abroad in conditions of countries that are in a transitional period.

During his reign, Gus Dur was able to achieve achievements that made the Indonesian nation proud, such as: During his reign, Gus Dur inaugurated Confucianism as one of the recognized religions in Indonesia. Then, Gus Dur opened up new opportunities for Aceh to create reunion between regions in Indonesia, and the next achievement was that Indonesia was able to catch up with it in the economic field due to Gus Dur's courage in rejecting the IMF (world bank) recipe.

Gus Dur only served as president for 20 months. He did not resign, but was dismissed.

On July 31, 2001, Wahid issued a presidential decree. In history, the president who issued the presidential decree was Soekarno. Thus, Gus Dur was the second president to issue a presidential decree. This was in response to the MPR's mandate which planned to remove Gus Dur over the allegations in the Buloggate and Bruneigate cases.

In order to protect the welfare of the people, Gus Dur implemented a decree. The contents of the 2001 presidential decree, namely Freezing the MPR and DPR, returning sovereignty to the hands of the people and taking action and establishing the necessary bodies to hold elections within one year, and saving the total reform movement from the obstacles of New Order elements by freezing the Golkar Party while awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court.

Eight hours after the implementation of the presidential decree, the MPR held a special session. This had an impact on Gus Dur's position as president. The contents of the MPR special session were the revocation of the mandate and dismissal of Abdurrahman Wahid as President of the Republic of Indonesia, the appointment of Megawati Soekarnoputri as President and Hamzah Haz as Vice President, and changes to the presidential government system.

# Suggestion

Based on the results of the research that has been done, the author realizes that the making of this journal is still not perfect, therefore it is necessary to increase creativity and understanding of the material that will be used as the basis for research. In addition, it is also necessary to increase insight in understanding data analysis techniques so that journals can be made according to predetermined procedures. We recommend that you be more careful in writing sentences so that they comply with the rules of punctuation, because there are several sentences and writing that need to be evaluatedi.

# Attachments



Information: Appendix Figure Results of Turnitin: 8%



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