

## **NATIONAL MEDIA NARRATIVE ANALYSIS IN REPORTING RELATED TO THE DISCOURSE ON AMENDMENT OF THE 1945 CONSTITUTION IN POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN INDONESIA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The emergence of issues and discourses on the Amendment of the 1945 Constitution, related to the recent extension of the President's term of office, has attracted serious attention from various elements of society in Indonesia, both for and against the discourses and opinions that have developed. This research is a qualitative research, by conducting an assessment of the models and narratives used by the national media in Indonesia, be it print media, electronic media, or television media. There are three discussions that are the focus of this research, namely the study and analysis of narratives in the national media coverage related to the extension of the presidential term, legal and political studies, to the implications in social dynamics on the issue of extending the presidential term. This research finds that national media narratives, such as the electronic media Tempo, Detik, Kompas, Tribune, JawaPos, have provided a description of information that is quite proportional in presenting various related sources that can interfere with concentration on more pressing problems in Indonesia today. . In the legal and political aspects, the Amendment certainly requires significant support from the DPR, the responses of several main parties that supported and supported President Joko widodo in the 2019 Presidential election, such as the Indonesian Democratic Party and the Indonesian Solidarity Party, showed that they did not provide an encouraging response for the support group. additional term of office of the President, although the response may change from time to time. In the social aspect of society, the issue of extending the term of the President, received a sufficient response in raising political tensions. Several important issues, such as the government's failure to stem the price of palm oil and the plan to increase the price of Pertamina fuel, are considered amid the issue of extending the term of office of the President.

**Keywords: National Media Narrative, Issues of Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, Extension of the Presidential Term, Political Dynamics**

### **Introduction**

The issues and discourses on the 1945 Constitution Amendment related to the extension of the President's term of office, received a quite serious response by various groups. President Jokowi's political ability and approach in uniting the government coalition parties, several series of speeding transitions to the Corruption Eradication Commission, have become a highlight in reading the concerns of groups and the public who reject the discourse on extending the President's term of office to the issue of postponing the upcoming 2024 elections. Several media outlets revealed that among the elite

political party figures who opened this discussion and discourse for the first time were Muhaimin Iskandar, general chairman of the National Awakening Party or PKB. Issues and discourses on postponing the 2024 elections, which have been narrated by supporting figures or groups since 2019, of course met a serious polemic and debate from politicians and the public who did not agree with the discourse being exhaled by the support groups.

Some politicians who are opposed to the government coalition, such as Amien Rais for example, actually gave a fairly strong statement, with the word "Danger",

with the mention of the wrong Minister's name who was quite aggressive in voicing issues related to the discourse of delaying the 2024 General Election and related to the extension of the President's term of office. namely Luhut Panjaitan, who, according to Amien Rais, is worried that he will continue to carry out a kind of Testing The Power. Among students, such as those who are members of the Alliance of Academics Rejecting the Extension of the Presidential Term, voiced their rejection of the use of the law and the Constitution which they fear can be used as a political tool to fulfill the wishes and interests of some groups who want power. Ubaedilah Badrun's statement, citing Kompas news on March 16, 2022, stated that at least 4 points were voiced by students who are members of this Alliance, namely "rejecting the use of law and constitution as a tool to serve the lust for power, rejection of all attempts to change the limitation of the President's term of office." , to voicing that all academics take a political stance in defending the principles of Constitutionalism, and maintaining democracy, including the values of Reformation. Apart from that, this wave of rejection occurred more widely as a response to various elements such as the rejection of the DPD RI, the rejection of top officials from the Democratic Party, the PPP Party, to the rejection of the main party politicians, as bearers and supporters of President Joko Widodo in the 2019 Presidential Election, such as the PDI and PSI.

If we look at the history of the 1945 Constitution, it has been amended at least four times. In the First Amendment, for example, there was a shift in the power of the President which could form regional administrations. In the second amendment, in 2000 related to the territory of the State and the division of regional governments,

to improve the first Amendment. In the third amendment, it is related to the form and sovereignty of the State, the authority of the MPR, the Presidency, state finances to those related to judicial power and general elections. In the fourth amendment, the changes made are aimed at improving the previous amendments, namely related to provisions on state institutions and relations between countries, the abolition of DPA, provisions related to education and culture, to those related to the economy and social welfare.

Several previous descriptions, from tracing the history of the constitution to the urgency that requires amendments to the 1945 Constitution, become an important consideration in reading the response of the Indonesian people to the discourse of postponing the 2024 election, as well as issues related to the extension of the term of office of the President. The role of the National media, as social control, has an important position in guiding various issues narrated by support groups, groups who reject the discourse of postponing the 2024 election, as well as related to the 1945 Amendment to the extension of the presidential term. This research is an assessment of the national media narrative in accompanying issues that are developing in the political dynamics in Indonesia lately. In addition to analyzing the national media narrative, this research is also a kind of re-reading of the Essence of the Amendment from various aspects, both legal, political, as well as reading the implications of extending the term of office of the President from various considerations. Thus, this research has a fairly urgent relevance to current political issues and discourses in Indonesia. Several problems, which are faced with the issue of postponing the election, as well as extending the term of office of the President, such as the narrative of the

government's failure to stem the spike in domestic consumption palm oil prices, to the issue of the increase in the price of Pertamina fuel, in Indonesia has become a political blunder for groups who reject the discourse. the extension of the President's term of office, despite the fact that President Joko Widodo recently gave an explanation, so that the Ministers, not to discuss the issue of postponing the 2024 election, as a response to stemming political tensions so as to reduce political tensions.

### **Research Methods**

This research is a library research or literature study. In this research as a whole and most of the research data, obtained through literature study. If you refer to the writings of Suharsimi Arkunto for example, then based on his approach this research is a qualitative research, by collecting primary data and secondary data sources selected according to the needs and interests related to the theme of the research being conducted, namely written sources that support the research theme. Classification of data sources which are grouped as primary sources, are newspapers or print media and electronic media. While secondary data sources are supporting data that have relevance to primary data sources such as scientific journals, books, magazines, to various writings that support the research being carried out.

### **Discussion**

#### **National Media Coverage Issues Related to the Postponement of the 2024 Election and the 1945 Constitution Amendment**

In highlighting the political discourse in the midst of the debate, several newspapers or national media in Indonesia, play a sufficient role in

initiating developing issues. The characteristics of the media, quite a lot are unique in raising these issues to provide quite professional information. This educational reflection can be seen from the tagline that is used to provide understanding to the public about the constitution in Indonesia. The narrative that is built on the educational aspect can be seen from the narrated themes, such as containing an explanation regarding the requirements for the 1945 Amendment, the term of office of the President according to the 1945 Constitution, rolling out three statements by President Joko Widodo regarding the discourse on extending the term of office of the President, to the repeated narrative of the President's statement that asked his ministers to stop talking about the discourse on extending the term of office of the President. CNN Indonesia in continuing the assertion that was conveyed by the President, revealed that this affirmation was directed internally to the ranks of ministers who were quite strong in voicing the extension of the President's term of office under the pretext of economic recovery. Some of the names of political elites and ministers in question are the general chairman of the PKB, Muhaimin Iskandar, who had proposed the postponement of ownership on the grounds of the COVID-19 pandemic, then Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, the Menkomarves, based on public support for conversations on social media. Some of the names of these Elites have been in the spotlight of the public who reject the discourse of postponing the 2024 elections, so that several actions took place in various regions in Indonesia. To simplify the various issues that were narrated by the National media regarding the suspension of the 2024 General Election or related to the discourse on extending the term of office of the President, the researchers

provided a variety of descriptions so that they could see the media framework that was the object of analysis in this

discussion. Some of the national media in question are as follows.

**Table. 1. The Identity of Several National-Scale Electronic Media**

NO	NATIONAL MEDIA NAME	DESCRIPTION
1	Tempo	Tempo's history began in 1971 resulting from negotiations in the Senen project area by six journalists, namely Goenawan Mohamad, Lukman Setiawan, Usamah and Chrstianto Wibisono and Ciputra who headed the Jaya Raya foundation and secretary Eric Samola. An official Tempo source stated that the choice of the name "Tempo" was because the word was simple and was commonly used by international publishers.
2	Kompas	The history of the Kompas media began in 1956 from the proposal of the army commander-in-chief, Lt. Gen. Ahmad Yani, to Fran Seda, who headed the Catholic Party. That prompted Fran to contact Petrus Kanisius, Jacob Oetama. Until now, Kompas still exists and has a fairly high rating.
3	BBC	On the official website, it is explained that the journey of BBC Indonesia began on October 30, 1949 by having a weekly magazine covering various topics, such as politics, law, education, sainthood, and technology which is located at Jalan Imam Bonjol 80 Jakarta.
4	Detik	Detik quoted from wikipedia as explained that detik.com, started in 1998 around May until better on July 9, 1998, which is currently the date of birth of detik.com.
5	Liputan6	referring to the official website, liputan6.com, which has been officially verified by the Indonesian Press Council. This media journey began in August 2000, at the beginning of its journey, liputan6.com, only rebroadcasting information that had been conveyed by SCTV before then standing alone until it is known today as an online media portal.
6	CNN Indonesia	CNN Indonesia, which is located on Jl.Kapten P. Tandean, south Jakarta, is a media that has television and digital news, CNN's history began in August 2015.

### **Discourse Analysis of the Extension of the Presidential Term in the Era of Joko Widodo's Leadership in Legal and Political Review**

In historical terms, if we look back, prior to the amendment, there were several different constitutional periods, for example. the period from August 18, 1945 to December 27, 1949, was the beginning of the enactment of the 1945 Constitution. The period from 27 December 1949 to 17

August 1950 was the period in which the RIS Constitution was implemented. The period from 17 August 1950 to 5 July 1959 was the period in which the Constitutional Act came into force. The last period of July 5 1959 until now is the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution. The Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) ratified the enactment of the 1945 Constitution on August 18, 1945. The 1945 Constitution itself was drafted by the

Investigative Agency for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence. (BPUPKI) which at that time was led by dr. Radjiman Wedyodiningrat. The Constitution only contains 37 articles. The regulation on the limitation of the term of office of the president in Indonesia in the 1945 Constitution is contained in Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution. Article 7 reads, the President and Vice President hold their positions for a period of five years, and thereafter can be re-elected.

If we refer to the formulation of Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution, it can be seen that the formulation of the article is only limited to the regulation of the presidential term of office, but does not explicitly limit the term of office of the President. The article on the term of office of the President opens up opportunities for interpretation that a President can hold office continuously as Sukarno and Suharto did. The provisions in Article 7 of

the 1945 Constitution have also been violated in a real and blatant way. In 1963, the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly through MPRS Decree No. III/MPRS/1963 concerning the Appointment of the Great Leader of the Indonesian Revolution to President of the Republic of Indonesia for Life clearly stated that Sukarno was president for life. The history of the change in the state constitution from the 1945 Constitution to the 1949 KRIS caused various differences, including the absence of regulation on the term of office of the President. This can be understood if it is related to the system of government adopted by the RIS State during the 1949 KRIS. Throughout the history and journey of the constitution in Indonesia, the efforts to limit the presidential term of office can be seen in the table below.

**Table 2. Overview of Changes and Arrangements for the President's Term**

NO	CONSTITUTION	ENFORCEMENT	BASE
1	UUD 1945	Period I , August 18, 1945-December 27, 1949 Period II: July 5, 1959-October 19, 1999	There is a regulation on the term of office of the President, namely Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution which states that the President and Vice President hold office for 5 years, and after that they can be re-elected.
2	KRIS 1949	27 December 1949-17 August 1950	There is no arrangement for the term of office of the President.
3	UUDS 1950	17 August 1950-5 July 1959	There is no arrangement for the term of office of the President
4	UUD 1945	October 19, 1999-Present	There is a regulation on the term of office of the President, namely in Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution which states that the President and Vice President hold office for 5 years, and after that they can be re-elected in the same office, only for 1 term of office.

If we refer to the views of Denny Indrayana, for example, in his quite popular book, he states that the 1945

Constitution is a constitution that is full of executives. Which means that this constitution gives so much power to the

executive, without including an adequate system of constitutional control. The momentum for the re-election of President Suharto for the seventh time, for example, in 1973, 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993 and 1998 resulted in 1998 triggering demonstrations. On May 21, 1998 Suharto resigned from his position as President and was replaced by B.J. Habibie. Simultaneously, there has been a wider public demand for amendments to the 1945 Constitution towards a more democratic constitution as one of the reform agendas. In that case Prof. Jimly Ashiddiqie expressed his opinion that it is impossible to carry out comprehensive political and economic reform without legal reform. However, comprehensive legal reform is not possible without being based on a fundamental constitutional reform agenda, and that means that there is a need for constitutional reform, which is not half-hearted.

Based on the above, the first amendment to the 1945 Constitution was carried out on 12-21 October 1999. In the first amendment, a limitation was made on the dominant executive power due to the articles in the 1945 Constitution. perfected in the 1945 Constitution are Article 5, Article 7, Article 9, Article 13, Article 14, Article 15, Article 17, Article 20, and Article 21. Regarding the limitation of the term of office of the President of the Republic of Indonesia contained in Article 7. The term of office of the President is limited to only 2 terms, to prevent the recurrence of unlimited government, finally Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution before the amendment reads: "The President and Vice President hold office for five years and thereafter can be re-elected". After the amendments to the 1945 Constitution changed to "President and Vice President hold office for a period of five years, and after that they can be re-elected in the same office for only one

term." The amendment to Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution is the answer to the authoritarian system of government that has been run by the President since the old order. Starting from confirming President Soekarno as President for life, then continued during the Suharto era who was given the opportunity to be re-elected by the MPR repeatedly. This change of course has quite beneficial implications in the political arena in Indonesia. Some of these implications can be seen in the table below.

**Table 3. Implications of Amendment to the 1945 Constitution Regarding the President's Term**

NO	IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGES TO THE 1945 CONSTITUTION IN POLITICAL SETTINGS
1	There is a change in the political climate in parliament. For example, there was a change in the composition of the majority which was successfully controlled by the opposition party, or because the President and the cabinet he led had lost the trust of the people and the people's representatives in the parliament.
2	With the stability of the government, the planning and implementation of development can run consistently without being disturbed by political changes.
3	The implementation of government and development tasks does not depend on the voices of parliamentarians, which are sometimes parochial and oriented towards narrow and local interests.

### Social Implications of the Discourse on Amendment to the 1945 Constitution in the Era of President Joko Widodo's Leadership

In response to the ongoing discourse, the wave of rejection of the amendment discourse regarding the extension of the presidential term was unstoppable, sparking demonstrations among students in almost all provinces in Indonesia. A number of students in Makassar, for example, staged a demonstration under the Makassar flyover. Based on reports compiled by Kompas, for example, in this action, students burned used tires as a symbol of their rejection of the discourse on extending the presidential term to 3 terms. The mass group carrying banners rejecting the extension of the presidential term of office, a number of students who are members of the Yakma Makassar Solidarity Alliance held a demonstration

under the Makassar flyover, South Sulawesi. In addition, students also highlighted the increase in the price of fuel oil which is a problem that is being faced by the community due to the government's failure to suppress Cpo exports by companies that have great control over palm oil in Indonesia, which recently has caused a consumption palm oil crisis. for domestic. Efforts to demonstrate that have colored the political arena in Indonesia Lately, of course, it is very difficult to let go of the serious problems Indonesia is currently facing. If we present the various points of demands for the demonstration period, all of them have almost the same points of understanding, against the argument against the discourse of extending the term of office of the president or the amendment of the 1945 Constitution. in the table below.

**Table 4. Demonstration Movements in Several Regions in Indonesia**

NO	DEMONSTRATION AREA	INFORMATION
1	In front of the North Sumatra DPRD building	The demonstration was carried out by the Student Alliance from various universities, on April 13, 2022, the agenda for the rejection of the 3 term presidential term extension.
2	In front of the South Sumatra DPRD Building	The demo was held on April 7, 2022, when it consisted of a joint alliance of BEM South Sumatra. Some of the demands of the demonstrators are rejecting the postponement of the 2024 election, rejecting the postponement of the IKN, asking the President to evaluate the Minister. This aspiration was welcomed by the deputy chairman of Commission V of the South Sumatra DPRD, Syaiful Padli.
3	In front of the Banyuwangi DPRD Office	Participants are students who are members of the Cipayung Plus and BEM alliance in Banyu Wangi on April 11, 2022. These demonstrators are under 4 points of demands, namely rejection of fuel prices, rejection of 11% VAT tax increase, related to scarcity of cooking oil and diesel oil, and rejection of discourse election postponement
4	Blocking Provincial Roads in Majalengka	Participants are students who are members of the Majalengka Student alliance, the points of the demands are to refuse the extension of the

		presidential term and postponement of the 2024 election, respond to the VAT polemic, and increase in fuel prices.
5	Aceh Province	Participants are students who are members of the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union. The main point conveyed was related to the refusal to extend the term of office of the Indonesian president.
6	Banjarmasin	The action of students who joined the demonstration in front of the DPRD building, the statement of the demonstrators' attitude urged the DPRD to take a stand regarding the domestic consumption palm oil crisis. Meanwhile, the issue of postponing elections or the discourse of extending the term of office of the President is considered to have harmed democracy in Indonesia.

### Conclusion

Some of the explanations and descriptions contained in this article, the research findings or the results of studies on various media reporting issues related to the postponement of the election, the 1945 Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, and the postponement of the election, can simply be summed up as follows:

First, that in the political discourse in the midst of the debate, when referring to reports from several newspapers or national media in Indonesia, it shows that the function of the media plays a significant role in initiating issues that are currently developing. The characteristics of the media, quite a lot are unique in raising these issues to provide quite professional information. This educational reflection can be seen from the tagline that is used to provide understanding to the public about the constitution in Indonesia.

Second, that if we go back to the history of the amendments to the 1945 Constitution throughout the history of Indonesia, it shows that the amendments were carried out because they had fundamental and crucial reasons. Meanwhile, in the current era, the urgency of the amendments does not have a

substantial enough reason for the urgency that the Indonesian nation is currently facing. Uniquely, in the midst of the issue of the amendment, it is not directly proportional to the various problems which actually show the failure of the government's performance in meeting the needs of the people at large. Several issues of scarcity of palm oil for domestic consumption, is a quite interesting momentum, in Indonesia's position as a country that has a large granary of palm oil reserves. The government's failure to synchronize large palm oil companies with consumptive needs in Indonesia is in stark contrast to the urgency in the discourse of extending the presidential term.

Third, that the social implications of the issues of the amendments that are currently developing trigger a serious response from the public's anxiety about the important issues being faced. The student movement to the massive student rejection of the amendment discourse and related to the extension of the president's term of office can hardly be explained by protest points against the scarcity of consumptive palm oil, tax increases, and fuel price increases. This implication, of course, shows that the issue or discourse on extending the term of office of the

president or an amendment at this time is not at the right momentum. This, of course, is reflected in the public's response to the discourse that is being intensively voiced, which actually causes protests and demonstrations in almost all regions in Indonesia.

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