
Soeharto's Leadership Style and Javanese Leadership Values

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ABSTRACT

The New Order is always interesting to study from various perspectives, the leadership under the control of President Soeharto has a fairly long historical record, the role of the general with a friendly smile, the nickname given to Soeharto because he ran the government always spreading a smile, the Javanese leadership type became his characteristic. Here the author tries to explore the leadership style from 1966 to 1998. . Writing an article using the Critical History method is a process of analyzing by examining records or relics of the past. There are four stages carried out in writing a History article, these stages are; Hereditary is the first stage of the activity of collecting History data, both primary and secondary sources. Collecting this source is important in order to obtain data sources. While secondary sources in the form of books and articles are relevant to this research. Source criticism is the second stage in the History method carried out with the aim of obtaining authentic, credible data. In general, archives contained in official institutions can be immediately known for their authenticity. The second criticism is this internal criticism carried out to test the truth of a document so that proportional data is obtained about the information conveyed. Interpretation is the third stage of the History method before this historiography aims to make connections between the same and similar facts. It also aims to interpret and interpret the facts that have been clarified to be retold. The last stage is the historiography of the stage of the History writer after going through the previous stages, the data. From here it can be concluded that Soeharto's leadership style is very identical to the leadership of the kings in Java who had a strong influence in their leadership.

Keywords: Leadership Style, Soeharto Order

1. INTRODUCTION

The Soeharto Order had a fairly long time span of 32 years, therefore it requires studies in various fields of science. In early studies, research was found discussing various policies during the New Order government such as the research *Soeharto Menjaring Matahari* written by Zaim Zaidi, this research attractively explains the tug-of-war of Soeharto's political stance in making economic policy decisions, policies must be taken quickly to save Indonesia from the economic crisis, most importantly policies must prioritize society as a whole to create a prosperous society. Research on the Current Crisis and the New Order, written by Hasyim, this research explains how the political and economic crisis, the New Order leadership crisis in 1998, there were many pros and cons to Soeharto's leadership, in the turmoil there were those who benefited especially people around the palace environment, but there were also those who were disadvantaged, namely people who wanted change, while the pressure and actions on Soeharto's leadership continued to flare up so that a mass movement arose . culminating in the collapse of the New Order's power. This study is important to provide thoughts on the developments during the New Order era, which is said to be a period of ebb and flow of Islamic politics in Indonesia. During its journey, the New Order issued many versions history happens and brings out the good and bad sides carried out by the previous regime . And shows that the chaos that occurred in 1965 was the result of the Old Order government , this is where it became the starting point for the New Order¹.

Suharto was a leader who was considered successful in controlling his politics. No one expected Soeharto to be the president of Indonesia for so long, even the longest-serving leader of a democratic country in the world. With such a long span of time, many political attitudes were taken by Soeharto to determine the direction of policy and power. Political attitudes were taken to make the public aware that, President Soeharto's term of office had far exceeded President Soekarno's term of office. As with the leadership of the Soeharto regime, religious politics became the political identity of the elite of the Indonesian nation and contained the goal of power. Religious movements were used by Soeharto as a tool to make political power so that it could be softened, if conditions forced it to be silenced. Elites and supporters were not allowed to use religious symbols as a form of resistance against the ruler who was legally recognized by law so that they could not carry out a political movement such as the use of communist or socialist ideology for the purpose of suppressing the power of the leader accused of being an opposition group for the government. From here arose the turmoil of the elite and the ruler's cronies into an alliance that created power to be able to control the running of the wheels of government. Islamic politicians became hostages, because the gathering of many people was religious and controlled so that it was easy to monitor and intervene. This historical fact cannot be forgotten in the long history of Soeharto's government.

During the New Order era, it began to solidify and many political attitudes sided with Muslims, such as policies towards Islamic boarding schools, but slowly Soeharto abandoned Islam and even considered Islam as a fairly strong political opponent, this was because the New Order aimed to increase building projects to look more advanced, and

¹ Bahtiar, Efendy , *Islam and the State: Transformation of Islamic Political Ideas and Practices in Indonesia* , (Paramadina Publisher, Jakarta. 1983). p. 68

See also the journal of Islamic Studies: *Islam and the State* written by Abdul Manan The relationship between religion and the state has been a key factor in the history of human civilization. The relationship between the two has given birth to great progress and caused great disasters. It is no different, whether when the state was enthroned above religion in the pre-Middle Ages, when the state was under religion in the Middle Ages or when the state was separated from religion after the Middle Ages, or in the modern age today. In general, sociologists of Islamic political theory have formulated theories about the relationship between religion and the state and differentiated them into three paradigms, namely the integralistik paradigm, the symbiotic paradigm, and the secularistic paradigm. In the contemporary era, the views of Islamic political thinkers regarding government have at least narrowed down to three groups, namely the conservative group that rejects the Western political system, the modernist group that accepts it selectively or with certain adjustments, and the secular group that accepts it completely.

prioritize economic problems and require the comfort and security of civil society. The New Order made the ideology of all religious mass organizations considered to be damaging to its stability and power².

The extreme view of the New Order on hegemony can be found in various actions that are not pro-Islamic groups, with the failure to gather the power of nationalist thought, namely the PDI as the largest party at that time, the cancellation of the formation of an Islamic party meeting in this case the Masyumi party, then the Parmusi party reappeared, the inclusion of the agenda and the government's desire to legalize gambling laws became a debate, and the belief system became a topic of discussion as to why the Soeharto Order gave political firmness to allow the establishment of belief systems that had been considered to be at odds with Islamic groups and the hijab, which was supposedly an obligation for Muslim women, was instead considered a hardline sect in Islam. Especially those who wore wide headscarves, and the movement of students was restricted as if it were an obstacle for the government³.

Change of direction The New Order leadership was recorded in the last 10 years of his term, President Soeharto made various policies that benefited Islamic groups . He seemed to want to atone for his mistakes after being paranoid about Islamic movements for so long. During this period, various political policies of Soeharto emerged that were very beneficial for Muslims, including: Legalization of the hijab in schools and formal institutions, the National Education Law, the Marriage Law, the Sharia Bank Law, the establishment of Bank Muamalat Indonesia (BMI), the emergence of Baitul Maal Wa Tamwil (BMT), the Islamic Boarding School Cooperative (Kopontren), the construction of thousands of mosques (through the Pancasila Muslim Charity Foundation), sending preachers to remote areas, encouraging people's economy, MUI halal labeling, important labeling to indicate the halalness of a product, as well as the ease of the ONH system, acceptance of the KHI (Compilation of Islamic Law) in private law in Indonesia, supporting the establishment of the ICMI organization, the emergence of the *Republika* newspaper as a source of information for the community, the short-term Islamic boarding school program for students to create polite morals for students. Likewise, other programs, such as the commemoration of Islamic holidays nationally, the Istiqlal Islamic Cultural Week, a cultural week to continue preserving Islamic culture during the New Order, making a Mushaf Al Qur'an Khas Nusantara, the National Bedug Festival , and others. This political attitude seems to erase the arrogant nature towards Muslims⁴ .

The increasing friendliness of Soeharto with the Islamic community is evidence that Soeharto played a role in maintaining power, an indifferent attitude turned into part of the dynamics of the nation's political journey. This refutes the accusation that Soeharto was anti-Islam. At the end of the New Order leadership, religiosity towards Islam was increasingly visible, many policies protected the interests of Islam.⁵ The many policies carried out by Soeharto, so many pros and cons occurred. From the leadership style and dynamics of religious political orientation, Soeharto was taken and how the religiosity of the New Order's religious politics from here the author will try to explore further.

²Zainal Abidin Amir, *Post-Soeharto Political Islam Map* , (Publisher, Pustaka LP3ES. Jakarta, 2003), p. 80

³M. Rusli Karim, *Dynamics of Islam in Indonesia, a social and political review* , (Yogyakarta: Hanidita, 1985), pp. 49-50

⁴Peter Kasenda, *Soeharto How Could He Hold On To Power For 32 Years ?*. Kompas Publisher

⁵Muamar, *Soeharto and the End of Power* , (Kompas, 1998), p. 15

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

a. Definition of Leadership

Leadership is an effort by someone to change the behavior of others, especially if the members are clearly seen to change in a good direction, then the leadership is declared successful. Meanwhile, according to Kreitner & Kinicki (2005) Leadership is influencing employees to voluntarily pursue organizational goals. From the definition above, leadership clearly involves more than just using power and exercising authority, and is displayed at different levels. At the individual level, for example, leadership involves giving advice, guidance, inspiration, and motivation. Leaders provide inspiration, emotional support, and try to get employees moving toward common goals. Leaders also play a key role in creating a vision and strategic plan for an organization.

b. Leadership Style

Leadership style is a behavioral norm used by someone when the person tries to influence the behavior of others as he sees it (Thoha, 2013). Each leadership style has advantages and disadvantages. Every leader uses his leadership style according to his abilities, personality and situation at work. Leaders must also be able to be better role models for their subordinates in the organization (Heidjrachman & Husnan, 2002). Various problems that arise in the company, leaders are expected to be able to deal with them well, be it problems about the company or employees, in order to create a good relationship between employees and their leaders (Tampubolon, 2007). Leadership style is the way a leader works and behaves in guiding his subordinates to do something, so leadership style is the nature and behavior of a leader that is applied to his subordinates to guide his subordinates in carrying out their work (Kartono, 2006)

Like the research written by Junaidi, entitled "Analysis of Islamic Politics of HM Soeharto". This book specifically explains Soeharto's political thoughts focused on strengthening the economy and security stability in Indonesia, the concept of Soeharto's Islamic political thoughts cannot be separated from his spiritual experience and political experience as president. The relevance of Junaidi's research to this research provides an initial and general picture of political thought.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

Writing a dissertation using the Critical History Method is a process of analyzing by examining records or relics of the past. There are four stages carried out in writing history, these stages are; Hereditary is the first stage of historical data collection activities, both primary and secondary sources. While secondary sources in the form of books and articles are relevant to this research. Source Criticism is the second stage in the historical method carried out with the aim of obtaining authentic, credible data. In general, archives found in official institutions can be immediately known for their authenticity. The author tries to describe the methods and techniques of writing about Soeharto's Leadership Style and Javanese Leadership Values, the historical method is used to study an event or figure, a problem is considered feasible, and occurred in the past descriptively, critically, analytically, writing History is not only revealing events chronologically. However, there needs to be a sharp study and analysis supported by relevant theories. In this study, the author uses the critical History method which is a process of analyzing and testing records or relics of the past. There are four stages carried out in writing History: heroism, source criticism, interpretation and historiography. This method is used to reveal the problems of leadership style and Javanese leadership values.

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

a. New Order Leadership Style

Soeharto's leadership as the holder of power for 32 years is interesting to study more deeply, considering that Soeharto was a central figure in controlling the Indonesian nation. For years, Soeharto's leadership was always colored by the practice of authoritarian power as the key to political stability with the presence of ABRI in the political world and the ABRI dual function policy, thus it can be said that the democratic system in the New Order did not run well. For 32 years, the policy was always in the name of domestic security interests by limiting the number of political parties, in addition to the involvement of the TNI in politics, civil servants were also required to be loyal to the government through the Golkar party.

Soeharto's leadership style showed an authoritarian attitude because every political space was always controlled by military political power, which was actually a tool of state power in maintaining security but was actually trapped in politics. If we look at the leadership style applied by Suharto, it was authoritarian militarily with the following characteristics:

1. The tendency to treat subordinates the same as other tools in the organization such as machines and lack of respect for human dignity.
2. Prioritizing orientation towards the implementation and adjustment of tasks without linking the implementation of tasks with the interests and needs of subordinates.
3. Ignoring the role of subordinates in the decision-making process.⁶

President Soeharto's leadership style is a combination of leadership style with adaptive-anticipatory style, a leadership style that is able to capture opportunities, challenges to see a challenge and has a positive impact to adjust the vision and mission of the New Order that was initiated by Soeharto. Although in the initial stage Soeharto implemented firmness, political exclusion in Eastern Europe, and sanctions were also imposed with exclusion of politics through the creation of administrative regulations.

During the New Order leadership, political stability was strictly guarded, resulting in no freedom of democracy, but despite this, the level of community prosperity was more guaranteed, with indicators where prices of basic necessities and fuel were very affordable for various levels of society, but behind that, of course, the practice of corruption and collusion could not be avoided, this was triggered by Suharto being in power for too long.

From here it can be seen that Soeharto's leadership style has an authoritarian, dominant and centralistic leadership style, but if seen in the initial context of his leadership, this is the right leadership style to do, because at that time the level of turmoil and the situation was always uncertain, coupled with the level of education in Indonesia was still very low. But in the 1980s the application of an authoritarian leadership style was less appropriate because the condition of the Indonesian nation had changed, where the level of education of the community was somewhat advanced, thus the political intelligence of the community was getting better.

From here we can see Suharto's leadership style from various aspects, including:

1. Leadership status and power
2. Relationship orientation

⁶Syam Firdaus, (2008), *The Resignation of Suharto: Facts and Harmoko's Testimony*, Jakarta, Gria Media Prima, p. 39

3. Task orientation
4. How to influence others.⁷

If further explained, then Soeharto is described as the head of state, rather than as the leader of an organization, this can be seen Soeharto is often shown in the media as a figure of a president rather than an individual, who conveys political messages to the Indonesian people. Then seen from the orientation of maintenance on relationships, Soeharto is more shown as an authoritarian leader, but Suharto is also a reactive leader rather than a proactive one, who more often gives responses or responses to other people's statements, rather than showing ideas from his thoughts. Soeharto also as a leader had flexibility in carrying out his duties and leadership functions as president, and the political messages he conveyed experienced ups and downs, especially at the beginning of his leadership in the New Order.

Soeharto's leadership behavior is relationship-oriented, and also task-oriented, the style is described as an authoritarian leadership style that is less democratic, prioritizing relationships with ministers and officials below him who are flexible, by adapting more quickly to developments in the situation, Soeharto's task-oriented style is more inclined as a leader full of attention to national development. Does not differentiate development, and Soeharto can influence others with a relaxed and convincing attitude and he also does not like to stand out.

b. Suharto's Efforts to Maintain Power

The New Order's control of power under Suharto's government lasted quite a long time, in holding power many political attitudes and were produced, of course no one predicted that Suharto's power would last for 32 years, to maintain this power, it could not be separated from Soeharto's leadership in maintaining the stability of state security, these efforts included:

- a. Restrictions on political parties, in a democratic country political parties are a reflection of the aspirations of the people.
- b. Manipulation of education, this was one of the methods used by the New Order regime to perpetuate power, for example, the P4 training, this activity made people afraid if they did not agree with the government.
- c. Making deviant laws such as subversive laws that are not allowed to insult the president, including not being allowed to criticize the government
- d. Making the TNI a political tool
- e. Limiting the role of mass media
- f. Minimizing the role of society
- g. Proclaiming a single ideology
- h. Twisting history, as if Indonesia's independence was obtained by the TNI and the people were not involved in it.⁸

The New Order government's method of policies issuing on party restrictions was to maintain the New Order government system so that it could be easily controlled because the centralized system was the government's attempt to control so that everything could be monitored, because the government did not want any decisions to be taken that were not in line with the main objectives of the New Order government.

The political defense of the New Order was able to reverse the logic of society so that whatever was done right or wrong was still accepted by society, if there were people who tried to refute the policy, they were considered a communist group that was

⁷Zaim, Rasidi, (1998), *Soeharto Catches the Sun*, Bandung, Mizan, p. 45

⁸Adam AW, (2009), *Exposing the Manipulation of History, Counter Versions of the Perpetrators and Events* . Jakarta, Kompas Media Nusantara, p. 19

anti-Pancasila. Opinions and criticisms from the community that were constructive were ignored by Suharto as the holder of power in the New Order. So that society did not have room to criticize the government, in the hope that there would be no unrest in the community, and to make the power of the Soeharto Order comfortable. This condition actually made society want to voice out that the government should pay attention to attitudes towards the interests of the people because many policies did not match expectations.

The 1974 malaria incident which received protests from the public, in this incident the first aggressive reaction of Suharto was seen, this was the first protest from the public against the New Order. The action was carried out as a form of public protest because the New Order was too dependent on foreign capital, especially on Japan.⁹ Here it is clear that the public does not want the government to always be dependent on other countries, Suharto should have taken a stance in responding to criticism so that there would be no rest from mass action which would end up preventing mass movements, but in reality Soeharto failed to quell the mass movement that had already taken to the streets to voice their aspirations.

The action pioneered by the student movement turned anarchic because it was infiltrated by a group of people who damaged the image of students, damage and looting could not be avoided in the action. Thugs became a group of infiltrators of the student movement, with the presence of an infiltrator group making students look tough, the strategy played by the New Order by playing the role of the thugs was a step for Soeharto so that power was safe from threats from society and students who protested Soeharto's leadership.

The government's trick was very effective in suppressing the students' actions, protesting students were arrested and imprisoned, including the newspaper media who protested too loudly were also stopped, this effort was a political move by the ruler to cover up his mistakes, so that the wider community could not know the events that occurred.¹⁰ With the occurrence of malaria, Soeharto further strengthened his power through the military, the New Order political system became increasingly centralistic and authoritarian in 1980, Soeharto succeeded in controlling his power and implementing various restrictions on political parties and shifting powers that were considered to be in conflict with the military.¹¹ Thus the Soeharto Order succeeded in forming a pyramid of power reinforced by strong military members to control power, Golkar was also a government tool to maintain the political stability of the New Order's power.

In short, the pillars of Soeharto's power can be described as follows: first, the pillars are real in nature in the form of real power, not only legitimizing power but also defending if the New Order's power is threatened. Second, the pillars are symbolic, these pillars are not visible to the naked eye but their effect is extraordinary in controlling the people and becoming a kind of mandatory hand to lead the people to be loyal to the sole principle.

The pillar of power carried out by Soeharto was a tool to make people believe that his power was able to overcome every problem faced by the nation. Soeharto's success in

⁹Mukhamad Shokheh, (2008), *From Confrontation to Accommodation; Relations between Islam and the State in Indonesia during the New Order*, Unise Press, p. 20

¹⁰Piter, Kasenda, (2013), *Soeharto: How He Was Able to Perpetuate His Power for 32 Years*, Jakarta, Kompas, p. 31

¹¹Herlambang, Wijaya, (2013), *Post-1965 Cultural Violence: How the New Order Legitimized Anti-Communism Through Literature and Film*, Tangerang, Marijan, p. 59

reversing the facts became proof that the New Order was good at playing a role so that the government's attitudes and actions were always justified by the community, Soeharto's success in maintaining the stability of the community's economy increasingly made many people believe that the assumption of Soeharto as an authoritarian president was all wrong, this was answered with the welfare of the lower middle class.

The authoritarian policies of the New Order government were not so felt by the lower middle class, because they were not a serious threat to Suharto, so the government was not too concerned with monitoring every action taken. Unlike political figures and officials who were considered to have played a role, religious figures felt that Suharto's policies were very authoritarian, this was the government's effort so that everyone complied with every policy taken by the government.

Suharto's efforts to maintain peace at the end of 1997 were the culmination of all the turmoil of the New Order government, where the people already wanted a change in Suharto's government. However, the New Order government always rejected it, on the grounds that the government was still unable to overcome the current problems, especially the economic crisis, crisis of confidence, crisis of leadership, this step could not be stopped by Suharto. So Suharto summoned influential figures to discuss the continuation of the New Order government. With the hope that there will be cooperation between community technology and political figures so that the New Order government can save Indonesia from a crisis of confidence and a crisis of leadership

c. The Feud Between Islamic Political Figures and the Power of the New Order

The failure of Islamic politics at the beginning of independence, especially to make Islam the basis of the State apart from the policies taken by Soekarno and the lack of readiness of Islamic political figures in carrying out political maneuvers to convince all parties that the idea of Islamic ideology is not only to be implemented but can be understood in depth, especially since the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim, the opportunity to fight for Islamic ideology again occurred again in the 1955 elections.

¹²From here the New Order was born to continue the struggle of the Old Order, the struggle of Islamic figures is still ongoing, especially since there is new hope from the New Order government to embrace the interests of Muslims .

At the beginning of the leadership of the New Order, it was interesting that Subhan, as a civil figure and Nahdlatul Ulama, criticized Suharto's leadership style, because the New Order leadership principles had begun to blur and were no longer a basic component for all. According to him, the government must uphold a democratic way of life, uphold the rule of law and justice in everyday life, business must be democratized in the implementation of economic policies, uphold human rights. ¹³Subhan also continues to voice the term Jihad to sacrifice the spirit of Islamic politics, an action taken to continue fighting for the political aspirations of the Nahdlatul Ulama. Even though Subhan's presence in NU circles was controversial because he was considered flamboyant, at least there was an effort to fight for Islam during the New Order era.

The dynamics of the struggle of political ideas between Islamic groups and the Soeharto government, but the power of the New Order was considered stronger to silence the power of Islamic politics, but the Islamic mass organization group remained firm in its stance to build the concept of Islam in the Indonesian State. Masyumi figures wanted the implementation of the Jakarta Charter as the basis of the State, as well as the desire to reactivate several Islamic parties such as but the New Order government firmly rejected the proposal, but over time the Soeharto government became stronger, precisely in 1975

¹²Din Syamsuddin, *Islam and Politics in the New Order Era* , (Jakarta, Logos, 2001), p. 12

¹³Din Syamsuddin, *Islam and Politics in the New Order Era* , (Jakarta, Logos, 2001), p. 12

the government streamlined the party into three large parties consisting of the United Development Party, the Golkar Party, the Democratic Development Party, this step was so that the New Order government focus could be more on the power of Islamic politics to achieve a conducive, stable atmosphere to support national development.¹⁴

The disharmonious attitude towards Islam grew stronger when Soeharto delivered his State Speech in 1980 where every organization had to implement a single principle, of course this policy made Islamic figures even more polarized in responding to this policy. Especially in student organizations such as the Islamic Student Association, there was a split, some rejected the single principle, but as a result of the rejection made by HMI, they did not get permission to hold a congress and finally HMI through the advice of alumni accepted the single principle, but HMI MPO still did not want to accept the single principle set by the New Order Government.¹⁵

After all organizations accepted the single hope of the New Order regime, they began to build attitudes towards Muslims, although many considered the action to be an accommodating policy towards the interests of Muslims. This can be seen from the government's policy of removing the ban on wearing the hijab in schools and government agencies as stated in PP No. 052/C/Kep/D.28. Ratification of national education where the government acknowledged that religious education is part of national education, so that religious education becomes a mandatory subject in public schools and universities.¹⁶

The New Order government towards the end of 1997 received a lot of attention from various circles, various mass media always reviewed Soeharto's power as a ruler, including the feud between Islamic political figures which greatly influenced the weakness of the government system, of course this incident did not surprise observers with the steps taken by Islamic figures, because the incident was experienced by Muslims during Soeharto's government where policies seemed to experience ups and downs and even led to an aggressive nature towards Muslims, Suharto's political attitude seemed insincere, because the government's position was unstable so Suharto used political intrigue to change direction, this term seemed to strengthen that in fact religion had been shown only to provide a sense of security .

The New Order government's control lasted so long, the authoritarian system became Suharto's characteristic in carrying out power, many dramas occurred between the government and Islamic figures, of course criticism was carried out by Islamic groups not without reason, the trigger was the result of many policies against Islam considered not beneficial to Islamic groups, Islamic politics and groups considered as threats were always monitored and controlled so that they were not free and wild in carrying out actions. Marginalization was carried out against Islamic political forces until the end of the 1980.¹⁷

d . Suharto's Success as a Leader

Many successes were achieved by Soeharto during his leadership in the New Order era, the success was inseparable from his skill in playing the role as head of state, as well as head of government, to achieve the success of many political techniques and other

131 ¹⁴Islam Gusmiwan, *Islam and the New Order Regime: Accommodation or Hegemony*, (Yogyakarta, Galang Press, 2006), p.

¹⁵M. Rusli Karim, *Islam and Political Conflict in the New Order Era*, Yogyakarta, (Media Widya Mandala, 1992), p. 39

131 ¹⁶Islam Gusmiwan, *Islam and the New Order Regime: Accommodation or Hegemony*, (Yogyakarta, Galang Press, 2006), p.

¹⁷Sudirman Taba, *Islam in the New Order: Political and Religious Change* , (Yogyakarta, Tiara wacana, 1993), p. 4

people also played a role in creating the success of the New Order. It cannot be ignored that people closest to Suharto also played a role. The unique leadership style applied by Soeharto succeeded in maintaining the integrity and strength of the nation's economy amidst world economic pressure.

President Soeharto always wanted every policy to be obeyed, but behind that he tended to appear to always prioritize safety and continuity for national development, this is the reason that Soeharto used so that everyone would obey all his policies, the message he conveyed was to maintain the integrity of the nation. Sometimes he pushed logic so that everyone understood the government's goals, and gave message targets by giving examples to the community. The purpose of this communication is so that other people know and not just to the stage of understanding, trying and deciding to take action.¹⁸

Soeharto's success cannot be separated from his firmness in running the government, and making policies that are considered capable of answering the needs of the community, as well as programs directly related to the welfare of the community, such as Soeharto's policy of implementing transmigration by bringing Javanese people to Sumatra, which is a step to create equality in the agricultural sector, considering that the Javanese community is already dense, Soeharto tried to make a policy to provide land so that the land functions productively, where the government provides sufficient facilities such as residential areas, land ready for planting, seeds and equipment for farming.

The transmigration program was quite successful in running where people from Java were spread throughout Sumatra with the aim of making agricultural land productive, so that the people's economy was lifted, and the distribution of infrastructure was also more evenly distributed, the government's ingenuity in running transmigration made agricultural products increase, the community was greatly helped by the program. Many people succeeded in the program.¹⁹ The government also succeeded in making Indonesia a country that imports milk to various countries, this is proof that Suharto was able to make agriculture the largest source of income for the Indonesian people, not only rice, corn was also successfully developed by the New Order government.

The success of Soeharto's leadership cannot be separated from his courage as expressed by Hasibuan that, authoritarian leadership if partial or absolute power remains with the leader with a centralized system of decision-making authority or policy is only determined by the leader himself, subordinates do not participate in providing suggestions and ideas and considerations in making every decision, because the leadership orientation is focused only on increasing employee work productivity with less attention to feelings and welfare.²⁰

If seen from Soeharto's success in running the New Order government, it is inseparable from the authoritarian attitude as explained above that Soeharto as a president often took political attitudes or policies, without paying attention to suggestions and ideas from religious figures, community leaders were more aware of the conditions in the community, but the rejection made the New Order strong in various criticisms, even though the policies were inconsistent with the wishes of the community. It is undeniable that this attitude succeeded in silencing movements that tried to create movements that were not in line with the government.

Although it looks authoritarian, the orientation of the New Order government is to prosper the people, it is not an exaggeration of why Suharto looks aggressive in his leadership because it is not easy to unite the Indonesian nation whose people are bored, when the government is weak with policies and assertiveness then threats from various

¹⁸Kartini, Kartono, (2001), *Leaders and Leadership*, Jakarta, Raja Grafindo Persada, p. 19

¹⁹Piter, Kasenda, (2013), *Soeharto: How He Was Able to Perpetuate His Power for 32 Years*, Jakarta, Kompas, p. 31

²⁰Andreas Lako, (2004), *Leadership and Organizational Performance: Theory Issues and Solutions*, Yogyakarta, Amara Boks, p. 38

parties are ready to make the government uncontrollable, the New Order perceives that as a way to make the Indonesian nation safer and more peaceful if controlled by the government.

Not only in the economic field, Soeharto also succeeded in making Indonesian education better, although the dynamics experienced ups and downs, especially in religious education, it must be recognized that the New Order initially did not pay much attention to religious education, educational discrimination was very pronounced until the 1980s. However, after that, education, especially in the opinion of serious attention from the New Order considering that Islam was the greatest power in Indonesia, Soeharto took advantage of the momentum so that Islamic groups were able to synergize with the New Order government.²¹

Soeharto's success in building Indonesia is proof that Suharto is not only a president who is good at making political strategies but is also able to be present in the midst of society when problems cannot be solved alone, Soeharto actually provides the right solution. Thus indirectly the image as an authoritarian leader is slowly eroded by Soeharto's religious attitude towards Islam.

In the New Order regime, Soeharto succeeded in creating conducive security in the community, there were no actions leading to separatist against movements, there was no physical violence against ordinary people, this success was truly felt where people felt comfortable and not worried, so people could live a life full of peace. Soeharto also succeeded in creating harmony between tribes so that in the New Order era there were no riots at an alarming level, because of the government's firmness, all problems leading to violence could be resolved properly.

In the religious field, Soeharto succeeded in maintaining inter-religious relations, religious life was almost undisturbed by differences, Soeharto instilled an attitude of tolerance in the Indonesian people, indeed there were certain limits that Soeharto limited in the field of religion, especially those leading to political action, this was so that there would be no movement to hinder the government's main goal of creating a centralistic government. However, in terms of worship, the New Order government did not limit every person at all to carry out a series of worship, moreover, Soeharto was a religious person, he understood that every individual had the right and freedom to carry out worship. This is what made Suharto even more romantic with Islam.

Soeharto also succeeded in protecting the Republic of Indonesia from foreign threats, supported by his background as a military man, making Soeharto even more online to oppose any country that dared to oppose Indonesia, so that no country dared to oppose Suharto, this action made Soeharto nicknamed the Asian tiger, Soeharto emphasized that Indonesia's dignity should not be trampled by other countries. The New Order highly upholds the sovereignty of the State, the strength of the State actually depends on how firm a leader is when the head of the State is strong and firm, the State will be strong and will be respected by other countries, this is also what happened in the New Order government.

5. CONCLUSION

²¹Kartini, Kartono, (2001), *Leaders and Leadership*, Jakarta, Raja Grafindo Persada, p. 19

In the practice of Soeharto's leadership, there were many pros and cons to the concept of Pancasila democracy, the main aim of which was to implement the values of Pancasila as a whole, but in the Soeharto era it was known for its strong control over freedom of opinion. ABRI had a strong role in playing politics under Soeharto's command, this aim was to regulate the country's resilience, and this proved to the world that Indonesia was very stable in terms of security and the economy so that many investors from outside put shares into Indonesia. The New Order government did not provide a loose agenda to the central government, if you look at Soeharto's leadership style, proactive and extractive, adaptive and anticipatory leadership, so that he could see various problems in the future, had clear goals in the future and had the right steps. Although the New Order leadership style could maintain stability and economic growth for several decades, it caused problems of political social repression, corruption and abuse of power in the palace circle, overall Soeharto's leadership showed centralized and strongly controlled power, this is an important lesson on how important the balance between power and responsibility of a leader is. From the results of the discussion and conclusions of this study, the author has several things that are suggestions for researchers: first, for those in power, they should build good public opinion and implement a political democracy system in making a policy, of course, they must consider the principle of benefit for the wider community. Second, every policy-making should follow the agreed government system so that the policies taken do not conflict with the interests of the community.

Recommendation

From this study, the political leadership style of the New Order was obtained which was very identical to the leadership of Javanese kings, every decision taken always prioritized the aspect of deliberation and consensus. Further researchers should reveal all the leadership styles of the New Order from all aspects.

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