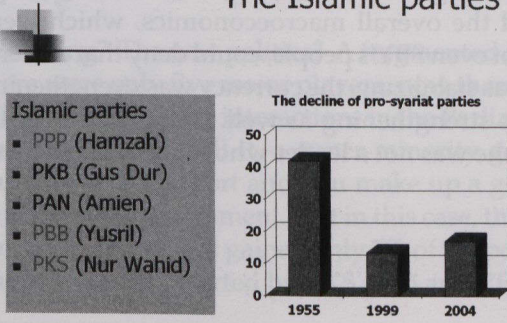


secular parties. There are two newcomers that gained coincidentally more or less the same number of voters, about 7% out of 126 million actual voters. These are the Democratic Party founded by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the elected president, and the PKS, the chairman of which is now the spokesperson of the Parliament, that is, the higher chamber or MPR. Now from these simple charts you can make some very important projections regarding the newcomers. Before, there were only five parties that gained more than 5% of the people's vote, but now there are seven of them. And the two newcomers still represent more or less the existing divisions. One represents the insurgency among the nationalist/secular voters. The other one – PKS - represents the insurgency among the Islamic voters. I will show you the profile of those voters who voted for these newcomer parties. But you see it was the PDI-P, the party of Megawati, who lost the most. It lost almost half of its voters in 1999. Golkar had slightly less voters now than in 1999. Overall, all of the major parties in the 1999 election lost the 2004 election, so to speak. Golkar lost 2 or 3%. PDI-P lost about 14%. PAN lost about 1%. PPP lost about 4%. And PKB lost about 1%. The major parties lost the election all together. The conclusion is unmistakable, that the people more or less are dissatisfied with the parties, with the Parliament. That was the reason why you see the emergence of these two new parties – well, PKS was not exactly new, as in 1999 they had about 2.7% of the voters.

So, this was the dissatisfaction with the parties; they were looking for alternatives and they went to the Democratic Party or the Partai Keadilan Sosial (PKS, or the Social Justice Party). They were what we call protest voters. Yet these protest voters are still divided along the old fault lines of politics in Indonesia, almost evenly divided between the Democratic Party and the Social Justice Party.

### The Islamic parties



- Islamic parties**
- PPP (Hamzah)
  - PKB (Gus Dur)
  - PAN (Amien)
  - PBB (Yusril)
  - PKS (Nur Wahid)