

Presidential Leadership and Indonesia Human Development

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Leadership has been a study for a very long time, with lots of perspectives and researches on its impacts on human development. Leadership theories and the trait, characteristic and style and values of a leader such as proposed by Yukl (2008); Hugh; Ginnet&Curphy (2012); Robbins&Judge (2008); Luthans (2011), Kreitner&Kinicky (2012); McShane&Glinow (2008); Schemerhorn, Hunts&Osborn (2008); Robbins&Judge (2008), Hugh, Ginnet&Curphy, are theories used to analyze the leadership style and behavior of the former Indonesia president Soeharto's leadership and the result for human development during his order. This qualitative research uses the Milles-Huberman analytical method. Interviews to former Soeharto's cabinet ministers and document's analysis will be used as the data gathering for this research. The results is that the characteristic of Soeharto's leadership somewhat are match to the theories proposed.

Keywords: Leadership, Indonesia human development, economy,



A. Introduction.

Media has much talked about the need of a qualified leader that can lead the nation to achieve the Millenium Development goals, and to rise the nation's dignity. The leader should solve problems occurred. We were known as an oil producing country, on the contrary, we were dependent on international oil market price. Other problems include inter-regional conflicts, health and education in under-developed regions (as indicated by UN data, Indonesia ranks 127 of 184 countries on Human Development Index this year) and economic problems as well. The 2014 election is also a trigger for the people to look back to this country's history, on the effective leadership that can bring the nation to the development of its human resources.

Indonesia has gained its independence for more than 66 years. Throughout this period, this country has been led by 5 presidents. Ir. Soekarno ruled for the first time as the president of this country, from 1945 to 1967 or more than 21 years. Soeharto as the second president ruled this country from 1967 to 1998 or more than thirty one years. The third leader of this country was Prof. Dr. Dipl Ing. Bacharudin Jusuf Habibie, who ruled from 1998 to 1999 (or less than two years) due to losing his position on the election. The next president was Abdurrahman Wahid who led the country for the next two years, from 1999 to 2001, and He should step down, due to the impeachment and passed his position to Megawati who led this country for the next four years, from 2001 to 2004. Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono became the 6th president of the Republic of Indonesia, and rules from 2004 till present or to 2014.

During his ruling years, Soeharto had many achievements in human development, including health and education. The study on President Suharto's leadership is interesting, not only because there were rare leaders in the world who can retain his/her position for a long time, but also the reasons of the country's economy development so far is the best in comparison to the achievement made by the other five presidents. It is the reason why the researcher is interested in writing the president Soeharto's leadership.

B. Conceptual framework

This paper aimed to discuss on the president Soeharto's leadership style on developing the country, the relationship between the president and his cabinets, values and philosophy, leadership characteristic and competence, human resources development concept proposed and implemented during his ruling years, both the successful and the negative impact of his leadership as well.

The Sub focuses of this study are the president's leadership style, vision and his leadership directions, protection and security, advancement and effectiveness, belongingness, pride and respect, empowerment and trust, values and human development vision. This includes regional values, regional culture, decision making, role modeling and mentoring, accountability, honesty and integrity, motivational, inspirational and flexibility, and leadership characteristics such as communication and sense of humor, and generosity. The leadership competence such as delegation, openness and creativity, innovation and strategic thinking, and both successful and failed human development programs are also discussed as well.

Data taken from interviews with informants are reduced, displayed and then drawn to the conclusion and verified by using Miles-Huberman method (1984). First, the data reduction and analysis is done using the coding steps proposed by Johnny Saldana (2009) to see the emerging patterns, categories and sub categories, draw themes and concepts from the interviews to form the answers to the research questions. According to Creswell (2007), validity of the data taken from the interviews is tested via credibility and conformability test. The credibility of the data is tested using triangulation.

The theories used on this research are management and leadership theories. Management theories are cited as the terms management and leadership sometimes interchanged or used interchangeably with the same intention or meaning. Formally a manager is a leader, while the leader of the institution carrying out managerial duties assigned to him by a formal authority. John Kotter on Fairholm & Fairhom(2009) distinguished between management and leadership as "...Managing is about coping with complexity and leadership is about coping with change". While Konosuke Matsushita on Henry Mintzberg (2009)said that ".....leadership cannot

simply delegate management: instead of distinguishing managers from leaders, we should be seeing managers as leaders and leadership as management practiced as well”.

Warren Bennis on E-Learn and Elsevier (2008) on his book titled Leadership and Management stated a classic example that differentiate between manager and a leader such as, a manager is an administrator, managing, controlling, having a short term view, asking how and when, accepting the status quo and doing things right. While a leader is an innovator, developer, impressing people, having a long term view, asking “what and why”, giving challenge and doing the right things.

Robbins & Coulter (2010) said that “...Because leading is one of the four managerial functions, yes, ideally all managers should be leaders”. It’s indicated the possibility that a manager may not have the ability to lead or the ability to influence others owned by a non formal leader. The managerial ability to influence others comes from the formal authority, while a leader can be appointed or emerge from the group. Leaders can influence others to work far beyond the actions determined by formal authority. For it can be concluded that a manager should have the ability to lead.

In the globalization era, where technological advances have expanded not only on the communication devices, but also has a variety of behavior changes related, including in leadership. Formally, it was stated that a leader is like a hero who has a charismatic and enormous power, or having an amazing intellectual power, having a remarkable talent to motivate others. Nowadays, leaders are described as more human.

McShane and Glinow (2008) said that leadership is about influencing, motivating and enabling others to contribute toward effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members. Robbins and Judge (2008) defined leadership as “...the ability to influence a group toward the achievement of a vision or set of goals. Another statement by Luthan(2011) can enriched the leadership definitions ” Besides influence, leadership has been defined in terms of group processes, personality, compliance, particular behaviors, persuasion, power, goal achievement, interaction, role differentiation, initiation of structure and combinations of two or more of these”

Kreitner and Kinicki(2012) defined leadership as “Process whereby an individual influences others to achieve a common goal”. Kreitner and Kinicki(2012) then

stated that leadership can be defined in four terms, that is: (1) Leadership is a process between leaders and followers; (2) Leadership involves social influence; (3) Leadership occurs at various levels in the organization ..., leaders build culture and bring about changes in the level of organization, (4) Leadership focuses on achieving goals.

Yukl (2008) after considering various definitions of leadership are made by experts since 1950, defined leadership as "...a process whereby intentional influence is exerted over other people to guide structure and facilitate activities and relationship in a group or organization". Daft (2003) stated that "leadership is the ability to influence people toward the attainment of goals". Schermerhorn, Hunt and Osborn (2005) defined "...leadership as the process of influencing others to understand and agree about what needs to be done and how to do it and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish shared objectives".

Robbins (2001) said that leadership is "the ability to influence a group toward the achievement of goals". Coleman Patterson (2010) on Management Briefs stated that "...Leadership is about vision, direction and movement. Effective leaders provide followers with destinations to which they aspire and they work with their followers with confidence and assurance".

Based on the research conducted by Ralph Stogdill (1948) and Richard Mann (1959) in Kreitner and Kinicky (2012), the impact of the nature of leadership, concludes "...five traits tended to differentiate leaders from average followers: (1) Intelligence, (2) dominance (3) self-confidence (4) level of energy and activity (5) task-relevant knowledge". Hughes, Ginnet and Curphy (2012) defined trait as recurring regularities or trends in a person's behavior". From the result of various expert studies, it can be concluded that there are five personality traits that can distinguish between leaders and non-leaders and referred as the five factors or OCEAN model of personality, the acronyms of 1) Openness to experience, 2) Conscientiousness 3) Extroversion 4) Agreeableness and 5) Neuroticism.

It can be concluded that a leader differs than non leaders on traits such as high on intelligence, high dominancy to the followers, a high level of confidence, energy and activity levels, high and broad knowledge of the duties of his job, very open to new

experiences, be careful and try not to cause any trouble, very caring for others and have many friends (followers), friendly and sociable and has a high resistance to pressure / stress and can take criticism well

Schemerhorn, Hunt and Osborn(2005) said that “behavior perspective of a leader assumes that leadership is central to achievement and other outcomes the results”. Robbins(2001)said that the behavioral leadership theory is "theory proposing that specific behaviors differentiate leaders and non-leaders” Mc Shane dan Glinow (2008)said that between tahun 1940 and 1950, some universities researched on behaviors of effective leaders. The answer is abstracted as two effective behaviors, people oriented behavior and task oriented behavior. According to Robbins (2001), the studies were conducted by universities such as Ohio State University, University of Michigan, and several studies in Scandinavia. One widely cited study is the study of Blake and Mouton, entitled “Managerial Grid/Leadership Grid”, that contains 9x9 matrix which outlines the 81 leadership styles Robbins (2001)describes the two observed behaviors as effective leadership behaviors, including the attention to people, from the least attention to the highest attention to people and the attention to production, from ignoring jobs to the highest concern. On the point (1,1) position, known as *the Improverished Management*, that is the minimum effort to do the task and minimum concern to people. Point (9,1) position on the contrary, perform the efficient operation as a result of managing working condition by interfere human resources element up to the lowest degree. On the (1,9) position, called as *Country Club Management*, giving the highest attention to the need of people, to satisfy the people’s relations leads to the comfortable work tempo and friendly work atmosphere. Position (5,5) called as *Middle of the road* management. Organizational performance made possible by balancing the need to get the job done while managing the people’s labor at a satisfactory level. Position (9,9) called as *Team Management*. The completion of the works comes from committed and interrelated persons that share the common goals that lead to mutual trust and respects.

There are some leadership style/type in organizations. On a discussion about the basic management, a discussion on Vector study, an online sites, discuss on the basic

of fundamental management and leadership, there are several type of leadership such as :¹; Autocratic leadership, bureaucratic leadership, charismatic leadership, democratic or participative leadership style. *laissez-faire* style, *servant leadership*, *task oriented leadership*, transactional and transformational leadership style. On the *Managing in the twenty first century* book and *the essentials of Organizational Behavior* book, it is stated that there are authentic leadership style.

Autocratic leadership or authoritarian leadership comes from a leadership theory that identifies leader and non leader. Autocratic leadership style, authoritarian leadership style comes from a theory that identified between a leader and non leader. Robbins and Coulter (2012) on his book titled *Managemen* said that a leader with authoritarian style tend to use ‘telling’ instead of ‘selling’ to their subordinates, or in other words “... A leader who tended to centralize authority, dictate work methods, make unilateral decisions, and limit employee participation”. Luthans (2011) explained the research done by Ronald Lippit, Ralph K White and Kurt Lewin at the IOWA University in 1930, concluded that “...the authoritarian leader was very directive and allowed no participation. Hughes, Ginnett and Curphy(2012) on their opinion about the influence tactic and the leader’s power said that an authoritarian leader tend to use “hard tactics”... and judge their subordinates as less motivated, less skilled and less suited for promotions.

Democratic leadership style is a type of leadership that point out the nature or trait of the leader which is democratic. This type of leader invites subordinates to participate in decision-making, provide the required information and inform of the effect on their work to their subordinates. According to Daft (2003), a democratic leader is “a leadership delegate’s authority to others encourages participation and relies on expert and referent power to manage subordinates”. Robbins dan Coulter (2012) said that a leader with democratic style leadership tends to involve subordinates in decision making, willing to delegate some of their authority when necessary and encourage

¹ Vector study online, http://www.vectorstudy.com/management_topics/types_of_leadership.htm , diakses tgl 27 Juni 2011

subordinates participation in deciding work methods and use feedback as an opportunity to provide guidance.

Daft (2001) said that a charismatic leader has the ability to inspire and motivate people to do more than expected.” charismatic leader has the ability to inspire and motivate people to do more than they would normally do, despite obstacles and personal sacrifice”.Schemerhorn, Hunts dan Osborn (2005)said that a charismatic leader is”. ...leaders who by force of their personal abilities are capable of having a profound and extraordinary effect on followers”. Robert House on Robbins and Judge (2008)said that at least there are 4 characteristics of charismatic leaders, that are : “vision, willingness to take personal risk to achieve that vision, sensitivity to follower’s needs and exhibiting behaviors that are out of ordinary”.

A leader is characterized as a person who has a variety of traits, characteristics and specific competencies that are not owned by the person who is not a leader. Some theories discussed about the leader’s competencies such as intellectual competence, emotional intelligence, higher energy level and other competencies. Luthans (2011) described several competence characteristics that a leader has, such as having a strong drive or motivation to achieve goals, leadership motivation, and the use of social power to influence others to succeed, to have integrity, including honesty and willingness to make words into deeds. A leader should have a self confidence to lead others to have self confidence as shown by various forms of impression management led to the subordinates. A leader should also have the intelligence focused on information processing competence, analyze alternatives and finding opportunities, possessing business knowledge, in order to help the business grow and develop.. A leader should have emotional intelligence based on self monitoring personality and also to enhance leadership quality in a situational sensitivity and the ability to adapt at a various conditions as needed as well.

Hughes Ginnett and Curphy (2012)explained that a basic leadership skill that a leader should possess is “building credibility, communication, listening, and assertiveness, conducting meeting, effective stress management, problem solving, and

improving creativity”. Based on the opinions of the three experts, we can conclude that the credibility of a leader is his skills in order to succeed.

Daft (2003) pointed out that a leader should have several personal characteristics as shown in this figure:

Personal Characteristic of a Leader		
Physical Characteristics Energy Physical Stamina	Kepribadian Self confidence Honesty and Integrity Enthusiasm Desire to lead independence	Karakteristik berhubungan dengan Pekerjaan Achievement drive, desire to excel Consientiousness tin pursuit of goals Persistence against obstacles, tenacy
Intelegensi dan Kemampuan Intelligence, kemampuan kongnitif Pengetahuan Dapat membuat keputusan	Karakteristik sosial Bersifat sosial, ketrampilan interpersonal Kerjasama Kemampuan meminta kerjasama Bijaksana, diplomasi	Latar belakang Sosial Edukasi mobilitas

Source: Based on Bernard M Bass on Daft: Management, 6th edition, 2003. p. 519

C. The Study.

Based on the theories in the above introduction, researcher is convinced that Soeharto, the ex president of Indonesia is an effective leader, with a non-authoritarian leadership style, decisive and have leadership skills in accordance with the theory proposed by Daft

This qualitative research use Miles-Huberman analysis, that is to collect data using interviews with the key informant that is those ex president Soeharto’s cabinet ministers, by analyzing and presenting the findings in the form of paper. The paper is using the qualitative research methods that classified as a biographical studies, as stated by Creswell (2007): “a form of narrative study in which the researcher writes and records the experiences of another person’s life”.The study was conducted in Jakarta and Yogyakarta, by calling the former ministers of president Soeharto era who are willing to be interviewed. Out of the 30 letters sent, 16 people are willing to be the key

informant. The data collecting is supported by document analysis from two books resulting from previous interview with other 56 ex ministers.

From the findings of president Soeharto style of leadership, we can make some conclusions as follows:

1. It is shown by president Soeharto in his era, the leadership style shown by President Suharto during his reign meet the rules of the democratic or participative style, among others, demonstrated by the willingness to listen to subordinates ideas and suggestions before making decisions, not overbearing, and subordinates are given the freedom to carry out their duties.

2. On the second research sub focus on the relationship between president Soeharto and his sub ordinates convincing from vision and president Soeharto's leadership direction that is consistent with Pancasila and 1945 Constitution. His vision has the direction to develop the nation through detailed planning that is to say Repelita to Repelita or from Five years planning to another one. Under president Soeharto's leadership era, his subordinates got the feeling of protection and security. Once appointed, those subordinates would totally be trusted by president Soeharto.

President Soeharto's leadership had many considerations towards the nation's development. His decision was effectively made to bring the nation toward progresses. Decisions such as giving the portion of development on technological advancements, improve education and health, which is executed in accordance with the gradual development of a five-year plan is quite effective.

President Soeharto's leadership supported '*belongingness*' orin Javanese it is called *handarbeni* / or sense of belongingness among the subordinates. That prompted those ministers to act in accordance to Pancasila and 1945 Constitution in developing the nation. With his leadership style, those ministers were proud and honored to work as president Soeharto's subordinates. Based on the interviews, we can conclude that President Soeharto's leadership empowered those ministers as president's subordinates and creating trust among those subordinates and between president Soeharto and his subordinates.

3. On research focus in the form of values and philosophy used by president Soeharto, we can conclude that values used by president Soeharto in leading the nation are values that were found in the preamble of the 1945 constitution, Pancasila and noble nation and Javanese culture.

Human resources development vision and policy executed by president Soeharto met the requirement of human resources management theories. There were proper civil servant recruitment and selection and a proper career development for those who work for the government. With its social background, President Soeharto was very attentive and execute regional cultures supports the effectiveness of leadership. Espoused culture and effective leadership style had successfully brought the nation into progress.

4. On the leadership trait sub focus we can conclude that in the process of decision making president Soeharto always gave opportunities to his ministers to present ideas, suggestions and opinions. Presidential leadership was decisive. Because his tangible skills to make a fast, effective and a right decision, was often misunderstood as authoritarian leadership style.

With what he did as a leader, president Soeharto could be a role model for his ministers. His leadership could guide his subordinates that makes president Soeharto a mentor that advancing their career and who was very attentive to his subordinates. President Soeharto's leadership was accountable and his accountability was accepted by the Assembly until the end of his reign.

From the way the president solved many cases we could conclude that president Soeharto had a leadership quality that was honest and have high integrity. In his leadership, president Soeharto motivated the people of the nation to progress. He did these not only when he directed his subordinates but also when he talk directly the people. His leadership was flexible since he could accept ideas and suggestions from subordinates and willing to change the decision when he found reasons that are logical and make sense,

5. On the leadership characteristic sub focus, we can conclude that president Soeharto was known by his close friends and subordinates as a person who

liked to help or a generous person and never forget the services of others. The decisions made in the sector of health and economy was proofed of his helpful mind to the people. On the health sectors, President Soeharto built thousand numbers of PUSKESMAS (health centers) not only in the cities, but also in remote areas, accompanied by the doctor's placement program or called *Dokter PTT*. On the economy sectors, president Soeharto known as president that can lower the inflation rate from 850 % in 1988 to 13% in three years. In his reign, this country can maintain the average inflation rate below 7 percent per year.

As a leader president Soeharto had an excellent communication skill even though he was neither an orator nor an agitator. *KLOMPENCAPIR* (stands for *Kelompok Pendengar Pembaca dan Pemirsa* or groups of those who likes to listen to radio, read news paper and watch TV) is one of the farmer's group competition programs where he had a direct and sincere dialog to the people. In his daily life, particularly with the people who are close to him, he was known to have a sense of humor.

6. On the leadership competence sub focus that led to achievement, we can conclude that president Soeharto had leadership administrative skills such as authority delegation. He highly trusted and completely gave authorities to his subordinates in accordance with 1945 constitution and the applicable regulations.

We can conclude that president Soeharto's leadership was open to suggestions, ideas, and advices from his subordinates. We could see these in the way he communicated and his innovative ideas in executing his government. Many strategic decisions were made during his leadership era.

7. Sub focuses on human resources development are:

A. Programs. President Soeharto made successful programs in his reign, in the field of education, health, technology and economy as well. He was awarded by UN Council gold medals in the field of food, (Food and Agriculture Organization/FAO), health (Family planning/KB, stands for *Keluarga Berencana*) and his success in the sector of transmigration by UNDP and Avicenna gold medal in the field of education. They were all proof of his successful programs.

B. Success in the field of Human Resources. Programs related to human resources in President Soeharto's era were called successful. Selective recruitment in choosing his subordinates, a designated career program for his subordinates, and civil servant and armed forces regulations were conducted through Minister for Administrative Reform and Minister of education and culture by giving scholarships in accordance with the required fields. In the political sector, political organization regulation supported his leadership goals effectiveness.

C. Failure in the field of Human Resources was not visible explicitly as interview results, both to the informant and the document analysis. Some informants suspected that President Suharto was forced to end his reign due to the world economic problems which impacted on the Indonesian economy, the gap between generations in the government and the political situation due to be in power for too long.

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