

Black Market of Democracy in Local Election (Empirical Evidence of Local Election in South Kalimantan Province, Indonesia)

¹M. Uhaib As'ad, ²Jarkawi, ³Rizka Zulfikar

¹*Faculty of Social and Political Science at Islamic University of Kalimantan, Banjarmasin, Indonesia, uhaibm@yahoo.com*

²*Faculty of Education at Islamic University of Kalimantan, Banjarmasin, Indonesia, Jarkawi010462@gmail.com*

³*Faculty of Economic at Islamic University of Kalimantan, Banjarmasin, Indonesia rizkazulfikar@gmail.com*

Abstract

The political rationale of the individuals has been trapped in the vortex of political practicality and has no capacity to keep away from all that. In the mean time, ideological group which is really an image instrument of enunciation of political goals turns into the cartel and practice of political mafia in the field of Nearby Head Political race (Pemilihan Kepala Daerah/Pilkada). The political market has been hued by political value-based and scheme issues between political elites and market (capital) and teaching the mindset of the individuals into political idiocy operating at a profit market of popular government. The force relations will bring forth a business cartel which is savage, where the nearby financial assets are just on Gatherings of such ruthless oligarchs. The mine has become some portion of the field of monetary and political intrigue battles among neighborhood entertainers. In this way it isn't amazing that the political scene in South Kalimantan is constrained forcibly Capital or ruled government officials with enterprising foundation mine.

Keywords: local election, black market, democracy, mine entrepreneur.

INTRODUCTION

Truly, the investigation of the connection among state and capital in the history of political force in Indonesia, particularly under Suharto's administration time is a truth of intrigue between the state capital during recent years. The truth of this scheme is built up using a commonly advantageous establishment of intensity, guideline, and support relations to rule monetary assets and political force. Under the Suharto's administration period with the political dictator power structure the financial assets and political force are in the possession of on-screen character bunches who have support associations with those inside the organization of government to aggregation and

imposing business model of monetary assets who have monetary and political support connections inside the administration arrange.

The ascent of Suharto's colleagues conduct by Kunio (1991), is portrayed as an erzast private enterprise,. Hadiz, (2004), and Winters (2011) called it theocracy ruthless who were destined to get offices and insurance from the specialists. Business visionaries show up as key gatherings that can impact state strategy through scheme, which places organizations of intensity and guideline that are built so as to lawfully control state's monetary assets.

The fall of the Suharto's administration in May 1998 that prompted the progress of majority

rules system has changed the current political request. Despite the fact that the conventional system had fell however the legacy infection developed at the nearby government, for example, the act of political debasement and nepotism. The political entertainers who possess the current phase of intensity have not experienced a lot of progress from the psychological oligarch-ruthless. The oligarchs are progressively finding their natural surroundings at the nearby level with decentralization and neighborhood self-sufficiency period to be as an open door for these nearby oligarchs.

In the democratization, nearby independence time has changed the structure of intensity and new plans on vote based organizations progressively open and law based through contestation of Local Head Political decision (Pemilihan Kepala Daerah/Pilkada). Law based capitalization and political practicality is progressively divided political conduct of the individuals, the political decision of the individuals is progressively difficult to confine the political decisions of the lawmakers. The lawmaker in different modes show the examples of cash politics and the cause individuals to lose political objectivity.

In the political practicality, nearby Head Political race is to be made and formulation of techniques by neighborhood entertainers to impact political decisions of the individuals. One of the procedures for affecting neighborhood entertainers is utilization of capital (cash governmental issues) and support systems played by political elites. The significant expense of majority rules system in nearby races making political betting conduct, that is political mafia by assembling financial and political assets, connivance, and plan by neighborhood entertainers to increase monetary and political bit of leeway.

The legislative issues value-based, vote purchasing, cash governmental issues, support and clientelism as described by some political specialists like (Allan, 2012, Aspinall, 2013, Aspinall, 2014, Aspinall and As'ad, 2015; Aspinall and As'ad, 2016; Hutchcroft, 2013; Feeds, 2013; Choi,

2011; As'ad, 2016). Along these lines, the genuine proprietor of the challenge phase of Nearby Head Decisions is to be political speculator contestation.

Political entertainers, don't work exclusively in Neighborhood Head Races but instead team up in an organized way with different on-screen characters. Everything that could possibly be viably done due to the plentiful financing support in the Nearby Head Decisions is an instrument of choosing and bringing forth political elites or neighborhood experts for validity, however the Neighborhood Head Races rather moved the importance of being the field of vote based rot. The Nearby Head Decisions requires a ton of cash by ideological groups or up-and-comers who battle in the races.

Exactly, there are two modes that political entertainers can use in races. First among them, there is a forward straightforwardly to the up-and-comer. Also, it doesn't legitimately progress as a competitor however is a pledge drive for up-and-comers who advance in the decisions by financing all the propelled up-and-comers with the goal that any up-and-comer who wins the political race won't be an issue will in any case advantage the political player. The oligarchs savage in nearby Head Decisions in the current majority rule government stage appears to shape a mutualistic advantageous interaction framework with the state of the individuals who are as of now encountering financial and social droop. The universe of vote based system after fall Suharto's regims are tendre turn towards new tyranny in the pack of vote based system.

The ascent of the proprietor of the capital supporting in the Neighborhood Head Decisions to put their assets in the races since they accept will increase a wealth when the competitors who upheld it won. Political capital help to up-and-comers is willful, however not rarely as advances or obligations. For applicants who lose in decisions, in danger must restore the obligation. Someone needed to sell the property until it was sold out. Some even experience worry until there get insane because of obligation.

The Nearby Head Political race after political change, in reality simply just speak to the enthusiasm of ideological groups in a formalistic majority rule heavenly body and the Neighborhood Head Races loses considerable importance with control and trick. In opposite side, races are defenseless against being utilized by bureaucratic elites, particularly by occupants with certain modes: First, through the arrangement of social help (Bantuan Sosial) and award reserves. Second, make populist programs. Third, give monetary help to the regime/region which is the base of supporting the incumbency. Fourth, increment the pay recompense of administrators or Government workers in the areas. Fifth, dispense for the improvement of framework, for example, street development. 6th, misappropriation of town reserves. Seventh, penetrate the interests of officeholders in setting up the Planning Distribution for Neighborhood Development (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah/APBD). Eighth, utilizing subsidizing wellsprings of distributions of nearby government exercises canvassed in the exercises of different offices, particularly advertising by introducing advertorial or news paying the planned incumbents in print media, hardware to on the web, paid at the rate per news or every month, with holding a broad communications that gives space or length to imaging or raises the notoriety and electability.

On account of Nearby Head Political race in Barito Kuala (Batola), Hasanuddin Murad, two priods of Head Legislature of Barito Kuala (2007-2017) who was transparently strong of his significant other, Hj Noormiliyani Aberani Sulaiman and his nephew Rahmadian Noor to be up-and-comer of Head Government (2017-2021). This data originates from columnists or media activists, particularly Media Kalimantan in South Kalimantan. As an examination of the Region Legislature of Hulu Sungai Utara in the approach the 2017 races, it has dispensed distribution assets for bupati-bad habit official exercises of Rp 10 billion, a lot higher than the normal, for example, Hulu Sungai Selatan (HSS) 2 billion in APBD 2017.

As opposed to depending on neighborhood monetary assets, the development of various

business people in the political field of Barito Kuala (Batola) around then, vote based system has been seized and controlled through the intensity of capital, state power directed through the arrangement of individuals inside the system of government organization, establishments of intensity, law based foundations and ideological groups Brought forth a commandeering of fair qualities. The ascent of pulls of enthusiasm for the political exchange has hauled of democratization into the vortex of the interests of certain tip top gatherings. As indicated by Hertz (2011) in his work *The Quiet Dominate and the Dead of Popular government*, where majority rules system has been seized by the intensity of capital

After the fall of Suharto's system, changing of political organizations are required to manufacture monetary and political life better, doesn't prompt change noteworthy in spite of the fact that the foundation of intensity has changed. The political organization has changed yet not changes in the conduct of political entertainers who despite everything carry on in predatory theocracy (Hadiz, 2010). In this way, what's going on about democratization is for the most part constrained by political on-screen characters. The changing of governmental issues in democratization period isn't really joined by the fall of the intensity of the theocracy.

The quality of the theocracy has been decentralized to the nearby level and made due after fall of Suharto's regims in the democratization time that brought forth the difference in power organizations as a push to end the intensity of government and the act of nepotism through the nearness of new institutionalism for the structure of the intensity of new ruthless oligarchs at the neighborhood level by neighborhood actors. The issue of decentralization has commandeered neighborhood business people and political elites to assemble another theocracy by acing vote based establishments (authoritative and ideological groups) or setting followers in government (official) administrations. The issue of democratization emerges in view of the presence of ruthless force which turned into a

heritage of the New Request and decentralized at the nearby level. The neighborhood on-screen characters has exploited institutional change and support systems (Aspinall and As'ad, 2013; 2014; Hadiz, 2010).

Locali Head Electioni ofi Baritoli Kualai (Batola)i Underi thei Shadowi ofi Minei andi Oili Palmi Plantationi Entrepreneurs

Southi Kalimantanisi knowni asi thei localei havingi thei secondi biggesti miningi asseti potentiali ini thei nationi andi hasi thei capabilityi ofi miningi asseti, i presently movingi toi oili palmi estatesi thati havei encircledi 9i areasi ini Southi Kalimantan. i Referingi toi thei newsi announcedi byi jejakrekam.comi oni Walki 8, i 2017, i fromi thei announcementi ofi thei Directori ofi thei Indonesiani Palmi Oili Affiliationi Southi Kalimantanisi Totoki Dewantoi expressedi thati nowi therei arei 9i areasi thati havei changedi intoi ai palmi manori focusi oni ai territoryi ofi (400,000)i hectares. i Thesei oili palmi manorsi arei spreadi ini Baritoli Kualai, i Hului Sungaii Selatan, i Hului Sungaii Utara, i Tapin, i Tanahi Bumbu, i Kotabaru, i Balangan, i Tabalongi andi Tanahi Laut. i

Alli things considered, the large playersi ini thei palmi oili businessi isi ai nationali andi worldwidei system, i particularlyi fromi Malaysiai whichi fori thei mosti parti hasi acedi thei regioni ofi profitablei landi andi bogi ini Baritoli Kualai Region, i fori example, i Sinari Masi Gathering, i Astrai Grahai Lestarii Gathering, i Minamasi Gatheringi andi others. i What'si more, i neighborhoodi businessi visionariesi joinedi byi Hasnuri Gathering, i Jhonlini Gatheringi andi othersi additionally played, i includingi Batolai Hasanuddini Muradi Officiali ini thei palmi oili businessi ofi deliveringi cookingi oili (CPO)i andi cleanseri moderni crudei materialsi andi others, i ini thei midsti ofi thei minei businessi melasunyai Coali becausei ofi valuei variancesi fromi tradei goali nations, i fori example, i China, i India, i Japani andi others. Suchi ai positioni eventually i leavesi nearby on-screeni charactersi donei dependingi oni minei latent

capacityi yeti ini additioni focusingi fori hugei scopei estatei endeavorsi asi onei ofi thei pundii toi createi numerousi benefits. i

Theyi arei associatedi withi nearbyi politicali customs, i particularlyi supportingi figuresi ori possibilityi fori provinciali heads i whoi willi guaranteei thei businessi systemsi andi organizationsi ini thei zone. i Aroundi theni thei mines i forcei andi oili palmi manorsi hadi beeni ini thei intensityi ofi nearbyi theocracyi ini accordancei withi thei approachi ofi decentralizationi andi provinciali independence. i Thei elementsi ofi nearbyi legislativei issuesi ini Southi Kalimantanisi ini eachi justi occasioni isi constantlyi identifiedi withi thei issuei ofi characteristici assets. i Thei Nearbyi Headi Politicali decisioni asi ai procedurei ofi democratizationi hasi beeni caughti byi thei intensityi ofi capitali throughi ani intriguei betweeni thei decisioni competitori andi thei businessi person. i

Ini post-politicali decision, i thei businessi visionariesi asi ai controlleri ofi thei lawi basedi stagei thati cani directi thei examplei ofi assaultsi andi moodi ofi politicali gamei ini Southi Kalimantanisi arei basicallyi included. i Alongi thesei lines, i iti isn'ti astonishingi thati post-politicali racei businessi visionariesi arei situatingi themselvesi ini governmenti asi shadowi governmenti andi cohorti businessi neighborhoodi rulersi whoi hoardi monetaryi assets, i specificallyi thei miningi business, i oili palmi manorsi, i andi foundationi advancementi ventures, i asi politicali reimbursementi ori kicki back. i

Alsoi realizedi mosti nearbyi governmenti arei choseni ini racesi ati behindi iti isi ai miningi businessi person, i includingi manori businessi person. i Iti isn'ti amazingi thati thei neighborhoodi governmenti chosei ini appointmenti ofi thei businessi miningi arei boundi toi speaki toi ruthlessi oligarchic i rulers. i Thei ramificationsi ofi post-politicali racei willi bei thei imposingi businessi modeli ofi controli ofi nearbyi monetaryi assetsi constrainedi byi followersi andi sidekicksi ofi rulersi whoi havei addedi toi thei constituenti procedure. i Thei politicali racei havei beeni politicali customi instrumentali ini settingi upi

monetary and political support for nearby oligarchs in certain decisions in South Kalimantan. The suggestions in post-political race will be restraining infrastructure of mining control by business visionaries as their buddy of their business decisions in the race.

Contributions of business people in decisions as providers of assets to construct support with neighborhood specialists who prevail with regards to disaggregating is so as to extend their business arrange while teaming up with nearby specialists. The inclusion of various business people as funders is hard to evade, in light of the fact that among business people and potential rulers the same have an intrigue. It isn't even conceivable that funders play on two legs to subsidize their nearby decision up-and-comers. The issue of common assets turns into a prisoner and a field of financial and political intrigue battles among neighborhood entertainers. It isn't unexpected, along these lines, that the political scene in South Kalimantan is constrained by the quality of capital or overwhelmed by lawmakers with mining business people.

South Kalimantan position in the worldwide monetary pattern has vital incentive in the mining economy and oil palm mansions. The financial actions of coal mining, including oil palm mansions, is generally delighted in by oligarchs, their two entertainers who are in the inside who have business systems with rulers and business people in South Kalimantan. The exercise of coal mining and oil palm estates are not just found in their viewpoint of financial movement, yet in addition with regards to political business systems or political interests in long ways ahead. This support organized was brought into the world through exercise as a mining business visionary who turned out to be a piece of a fruitful group or subsidizing supporter in the political race process (As'ad, 2013). The constituent procedure is hidden by political intrigue and business

systems have in general become ruthless oligarchs. As an outcome, political on-screen characters who assume their job as agents during the political race process happen, at that point, political figures will introduce themselves as shadow political figures and business manager.

The association of various coal mining business people, including oil palm growers as political clerks or as possibility for officials and governors is an intriguing marvel with regards to their nearby political scene in South Kalimantan. Amidst post-New Request majority rule advertisement capitalization, the inclusion of various mining business visionaries who become contenders for local heads has made vote based systems showcase increasingly open and costly amidst individuals' political sober mindedness. In the Pilkada cases in certain zones in South Kalimantan, the issue of Pilkada and the politicization of the mining industry has become a necessary political showcasing in the elements of nearby governmental issues.

The elements of neighborhood legislative issues in South Kalimantan is consistently the system between mine actions and governmental issues is indistinguishably the fascination of a breath delivered by nearby entertainers. What's more, the situation of ideological groups in South Kalimantan is increasingly constrained by mining business visionaries. The political elites hosting a key situation in their gathering will consequently have a political bartering position in the political scene process, particularly in their decisions. Coal mining business visionaries' hostility caused political to get together organizations in procedure of building financial and political force relations among neighborhood and focal entertainers.

In the New Request government period, Golkar Gathering ruled the political nation in Indonesia. In the post-New Request system, Golkar Gathering is not, at this point, a solitary or predominant power in building power structures, yet has been

dividedi throughi thei intensityi ofi ideologicali groupsi ini settingi upi politicali forcei structuresi ati bothi nationali andi nearby levels.i Hence,i oni accounti ofi Southi Kalimantan,i somei miningi businessi peoplei involvei keyi situationsi insidei thei gathering.i Byi controllongi thei gathering,i thei neighborhoodi theocracyi willi be increasingly organizedi oni thei groundsi thati iti hostsi madei thei get-togetheri asi ai carteli ori ai partnershipi insteadi ofi ai politicali impetusi ofi thei individuals.i

Ini thisi way,i thei miningi businessi visionariesi whoi havei hugei capitali andi havei varioussi miningi organizations,i justi asi resignedi civili servantsi (officialsi andi governors)i whoi havei enormoussi capital,i seekingi ai keyi situationsi ini ani ideologicali groupi ori becomei administratori ofi onei ideologicali group.i Byi controllongi thei foundationsi ofi populari governmenti willi havei esteemi vitali andi developi monetary andi politicali concessionsi fori administeringi competitors,i bothi asi fari asi subsidizingi poweri andi asi fari asi politicali worthi Thei miningi businessi systemi willi justi rotatei aroundi individualsi whoi havei madei iti intoi thei forcei arrangei andi shapingi ai businessi customeri underi thei insurancei ofi thei forcei ofi openi authoritiesi (localesi ori senator)i chosei ini thei constituenti procedure.i Thei on-screeni charactersi whoi playi ini thei fieldi ofi thei miningi businessi arei thei onesi whoi werei conceivedi asi businessi customer,i shadowi government,i andi neighborhoodi bossism.i Thesei on-screeni charactersi tryi toi seti upi poweri relationsi withi administrative andi legislativei establishmentsi toi picki upi strategyi supporti throughi thei formationi ofi varioussi neighborhoodi guidelinesi identifiedi withi thei approachi ofi miningi andi oili palmi manori thei board.i

Thei entertainersi associatedi withi thei politicali racei willi ini thei endi showi upi asi leasei searchers.i Thei givingi ofi miningi licensesi andi palmi oili ranchesi willi be simpleri fori businessi customersi asi ai typei ofi politicali reimbursementi fori winningi openi authoritiesi ini politicali ori appointivei

challenges.i Takingi intoi accounti thei advancementi ofi monetary andi political

Locali Actori andi Politicali Patronagei Network

Comprehensioni ofi neighborhoodi politicali scenei ini Pilkadai 2017i ini Baritoi Kualai Localei isi firmlyi identifiedi withi thei progressioni ofi Pilkadai 2015,i particularly ini thei politicali racei occasioni ofi Representativei Badi habiti Legislativei headi ofi Southi Kalimantan.i Alli ini all,i afteri thei passingi ofi Administratori ofi Southi Kalimantan GolKari Gathering,i H.i Abdussamadi Sulaimani HBi oni Junei 14,i 2015,i naturallyi therei arei justi twoi forcei speculatorsi thati extraordinarily influencei thei guidei ofi legislativei issuesi ini Southi Kalimantan.i Initially,i isi thei individuali behindi thei Legislativei headi ofi Southi Kalimantan H.i Sahbirini Noori whoi isi presently H.i Andii Syamsudin,i thei proprietor ofi thei Jhonlini Gathering,i ini spitei ofi thei facti thati noti showingi upi ini broadi daylight,i howeveri thei flexiblyi ofi assetsi giveni toi H.i Sahbirini Noori fori battlei assetsi andi cashi legislativei issuesi isi exceptionallyi enormous.i

Jhonlini Gatheringi whoi managedi H.i Sahbirini Noori whoi isi currentlyi acquaintedi withi thei notoriousi Unclei Birini ini everyi politicali actioni isi presently renowned.i H.i Isam'si rivalsi originatei fromi Binuangi sub-localesi ofi H.i M.i Hattai nomi dei plumei H.i Ciuti andi H.i Zainii Mahdii falsei namei H.i Izaii whoi arei largei miningi businessi peoplei ini Tapini Regimei andi generallyi powerfuli underi thei standardi ofi P.i T.i Batui Gunung Muliai (BGM).i Theyi arei behindi thei monetaryi qualityi justi asi thei systemi ini thei abusei ofi previousi Civici chairmani ofi Banjarmasin H.i Muhidini alongi withi previousi representativei ofi DPDi RI,i Gustii Faridi Hasani Amani asi possibilityi fori Senatori Badi habiti Legislativei headi ofi Southi Kalimantan periodi 2016-2021.i Thei rest,i littlei coalitionsi businessi peoplei likei H.i Jahriani Noor,i H.i Amir,i H.i Parlani whichi isi

thei excavatorsi andi coali cukongi withi thei concessionari territoryi arei ini Tanahi Lauti Regimei andi parti ofi Tanahi Bumbui Rule.i

Thei Golkari Gatheringi ofi Southi Kalimantanani ini thei timei ofi initiativei H.i Lemani hasi beeni anticipatedi toi helpi thei previousi Officiali ofi Banjar,i Gustii Khairuli Salehi asi ai possibilityi fori Legislativei headi ofi Southi Kalimantanani withi ai capitali ofi 13i seatsi isi ini realityi justu Golkari Gatheringi preparedi toi doi freelyi conveyingi theiri owni competitors,i withouti hostingi toi berkoalisii withi otheri politicali gatherings.i Consequently,i thei prerequisitesi seti fori thei ideologicali groupsi ini thei Lawi oni Provinciali Headi Politicali racei appliedi ini 2015i decisionsi relatedi toi justu 20i percenti ofi thei alli outi seatsi ini thei DPRD.i Thisi implies,i ofi thei 55i seatsi accessible,i withi 13i seatsi Golkari Gatheringi hasi surpassedi thei basei furthesti reachesi ofi justu 11i seats.i

Byi thei demisei ofi H.i Leman,i iti turnsi outi ini thei secondsi ofi enrollmenti ofi contenderi fori Senatori Badi habiti Legislativei leaderi ofi Southi Kalimantan,i Golkari Gatheringi leani towardi H.i Sahbirini Noori toi Gustii Khairuli Saleh.i Asi fari asi ai boardi andi businessi peoplei Banjarmasini joinedi ini Golkari Gatheringi ofi Southi Kalimantan,i Irwani Gunadii (ai systemi ofi investori businessi Antoni Gunadii ini Banjarmasin)i saidi thati thei misusei ofi H.i Sahbirini Noori isi ani alliancei ofi snapperi becausei ofi threei majori businesspeoplei whoi arei referencedi asi thei fundersi ofi H.i Isami withi Jhonlini Gathering,i Antoni Gunadii withi Binai Banuai Gatheringi aggregatei whoi woni ini thei realmi ofi wood,i rentali ofi substantiali hardware,i andi inni businessi ini Banjarmasini andi thei latteri isi thei proprietori ofi Hasnuri Gathering,i H.i Leman.i

Alli thingsi considered,i hadangani needi toi doi Gustii Iskandari Sukmai Alamsyahi (Executivei ofi DPDi Golkari Gatheringi ofi Southi Kalimantanani badi habiti Agungi Laksono),i afteri therei arei 7i ideologicali groupsi whoi pushedi H.i Sahbirini Noori withi thei capitali qualityi ofi thei largei alliance.i Since,i thei Golkari Gatheringi adaptationi ofi

Aburizali Bakrie,i ledi byi H.i Lemani andi accordinglyi supplantedi byi hisi child,i Hasnuryadii Sulaimani (individuali fromi Parliament),i Joinedi Advancementi Gatheringi formi ofi Romahurmuziyi (oni thei groundsi thati PPPi Djani Faridzi adaptationi directedi byi DPDRi parti HMi Sofwati Hadii ratheri pickedi H.i Muhidin-Gustii Hasani Farid),i Gerindra Gathering,i Prosperousi Equityi Gathering,i Nationali Commandi Gatheringi andi Hanurai Gathering.i

Becausei ofi ideologicali groupsi whichi havei pushedi H.i Sahbirini Noori whoi pickedi Rudyi Resnawani whoi recently filledi ini asi Badi habiti Legislativei leaderi ofi Southi Kalimantanani asi ai buddy,i naturallyi madei Golkari capacityi toi bei ini thei possessioni ofi Unclei Birin.i Consequently,i Gustii Iskandari Sukmai Alamsyahi whoi needi toi progressi throughi Golkar,i ati longi lasti stucki wheni selectedi withi scholasticsi FKIPi Collegei Lambungi Mangkurati (ULM)i Banjarmasin,i DRi Karyonoi Ibnu Ahmadi withi helpi fromi thei DPPi Golkari Gatheringi formi ofi Agungi Laksono.i Untili ati last,i thei Southi Kalimantanani Politicali racei Commissioni chosei noti toi obligei thei Golkari Gatheringi andi PPPi bolsteri lettersi arei expressedi twoi fold.i

Fromi here,i thei starti ofi thei differencei ini politicali guidei ini Southi Kalimantanani thati influencesi thei followingi popularityi basedi gatheringi ini 2017,i particularly ini Baritoi Kualai (Batola)i andi Hului Sungaii Utarai (HSU).i Iti wasi specifiedi byi Politicali decisioni Commisioni ofi Southi Kalimantanani thati H.i Sahbirini Noori andi Rudyi Resnawani asi Senatori Badi habiti Legislativei leaderi ofi Southi Kalimantanani periodi 2016-2021i withi voicei arrivingi ati 739,588i ori 41,09i percent,i trailei byi freei up-and-comeri Hi Muhidin-Gustii Hasani Faridi withi 725,585i votesi ori 40,31i percenti andi Zairullahi Azhar-Muhammadi Safii whoi conveyedi PKB,i Gatheringi Nasdem,i andi thei Lawi basedi Gatheringi isi justu 334,712i votesi ori 18.6i percent.i

Asi indicatedi byi Ariefi (Baritoi Posti columnist,i meeti oni Februaryi 15,i 2017),i

thei motivationi behindi whyi H.i Muhidini didn'ti recordi ai claimi withi justi li percenti allowedi byi thei Sacredi Couri ini Jakarta wasi oni thei groundsi thati thei isi ai businessi politicali arrangementi thati tiesi betweeni H.i Muhidini andi H.i Isami (proprietori ofi Jhonlini Gathering)i fori coali transporti participationi throughi ani uncommoni porti possessedi byi H.i Muhidin.i Noti justi businessi understandings,i criminali casesi thati trapi H.i Muhidini dealti withi Policei Homei officei cani bei destroyedi oncei more,i ifi thei previousi cityi halli leaderi ofi Banjarmasini isi asi yeti edgyi toi documenti ai questioni politicali decisioni 2015i toi thei Sacredi Courti ini Jakarta.i

Ini thei interim,i Gatheringi Binuang-thei namei fori thei gatheringi H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciuti whoi hadi beeni ai politicali accomplicei andi agentsi H.i Muhidini discharged,i asi ai resulti ofi thei connectioni ofi H.i Muhidini withi Jhonlini Gathering.i Asi anyonei mighti expect,i ifi thei gatheringi ofi H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciuti whoi hadi recently beeni againsti H.i Muhidin,i toi hijrahi fromi Binuangi toi Banjarmasin,i whoi ati thati pointi drovei DPWi Changei Stari Gatheringi (PBR)i Southi Kalimantan,i activatedi businessi issuesi andi outi ofi linei kinshipi relationship.i

Fromi thisi datai Ariefi referencedi ifi Hi Ciuti couldi gatheri cashi thati hasi beeni utilizedi H.i Muhidini fori battlei reservesi andi for-cash,i whichi wasi theni supplantedi byi H.i Isami asi ai politicali payi fori noti suingi thei aftereffectsi ofi Southi Kalimantan Politicali decisioni 2015i toi thei Sacredi Court.i Thei connectioni ofi H.i Muhidini withi Hi Isami wasi demonstrated,i duringi thei Nationali Commandi Gatheringi (Container)i oni Tuesdayi (15/3/2016),i ati G'Signi Inni Banjarmasini whichi isi onei ofi thei lavishi lodgingsi ini thei capitali ofi Southi Kalimantan Area,i whosei datai alli expensesi arei bornei H.i Isam.i Counting,i Jhonlini Gatheringi personali luxuryi planei geti toi extravagancei vehiclesi gavei toi DPPi Dish Administrator,i Zulkiflii Halim.i

Thisi isi indivisiblei fromi thei jobi ofi governmenti officialsi whoi hadi beeni wiped

outi wheni Gustii Iskandari Sukmai Alamsyahi drovei Golkar,i fori example,i Murhani Effendiei (Administratori ofi Golkar groupi ofi Southi Kalimantan DPRDi andi Secretaryi ofi DPDi Golkar Gatheringi ofi Southi Kalimantan),i H.i Supiani H.i Ki (representativei knowni neari H.i Sahbirini Noor)i ,i Noori Aidii (previousi Officiali ofi Tabalangi andi masteri staffi ofi Southi Kalimantan Senator),i andi obviously thei helpi ofi Setyai Novantoi (DPPi Administratori ofi thei Golkar Gathering)i isi definitelyi noti ani openi mysteryi neari Jhonlini Gathering'si businessi andi politicali system.i

Thusly,i thei politicali associationi playedi byi Baritai Kualai Officiali (Batolai) Hasanuddini Muradi toi smoothi hisi betteri half,i Hji Noormiliyanii Aberanii Sulaimani andi hisi niece,i Rahmadiani Noori asi contenderi fori Officiali Batolai periodi 2017-2022i period,i noti upseti byi politicali gonjingi ini thei collectioni ofi Golkar Gathering,i Hasanuddini Murad'si politicali arrangementi withi Gustii Iskandari Sukmai Alamsyahi whoi isi bothi Golkar andi Golkar legislativei issuesi alongi withi previousi individualsi fromi thei Placei ofi Delegates,i cani reallyi wakei upi wheni Unclei Birini drivesi Golkar.Theni shouldn'ti somethingi bei saidi abouti Zairullahi Azhar?i

Post-routi ini Southi Kalimantan Politicali racei 2017,i Directori ofi DPWi PKBi isi fori surei increasinglyi thoughti toi thei universei ofi trainingi withi manyi havei ani instructivei establishmenti thati regulatesi thei STIENASi Banjarmasin,i AKPARNAS,i STIMIKi Banjarmasin,i AKBIDi Borneoi andi differenti blossoms.i Bei thati asi iti may,i Zairullahi Azhari staysi reliablei ini pickingi ai wayi pasti thei intensityi ofi thei Jhonlini Gatheringi thati hasi beeni establishedi ini Golkar,i PPP,i Skillet,i PKSi andi PDi Perjuangani duringi thei 2017i Batolai races.i Zairullahi Azhar'si formi isi ani absolutei necessityi balancei poweri amidsti oligarchici strengthi ofi miningi businessi visionariesi whoi havei contactedi Politicali lifei linei ofi Southi Kalimantan.i

Zairullahi Azhari consistently keepsi upi greati relationsi withi Gunturi Prawira,i ai broadi communicationi businessi visionary

(proprietori ofi Baritai Posti dayi byi day)i andi contractuali workeri whoi isi likewise Directori ofi DPWi Majorityi rulei Nationali Gatheringi (Nasdem)i Southi Kalimantan,i posti decisionsi 2015i andi proceedsi toi racesi ini 2017i ini Batolai andi Hului Sungaii Utarai HSU).i Thisi isi confirmi byi thei arrangementi ofi H.i Jahriani Noori straightforwardlyi fromi thei aftereffecti ofi campaigningi betweeni Zairullahi Azhari andi Gunturi Prawirai beingi thei Administratori ofi DPDi Nasdemi Gatheringi ofi Baritai Kualai Regimei (Batola),i withouti experiencingi locali ponderingi componenti ori somethingi likei that.i then,i afteri thei appointmenti ofi 2015,i H.i Muhidini whoi hasi tiedi politicali andi businessi contractsi withi H.i Isam,i musti bei devotedi andi runi it.i Thisi wasi recognizedi byi Badi habiti Administratori ofi DPWi Dishi Southi Kalimantan,i Djumadrii Masruni (meeti oni Friday,i Augusti 12,i 2016)i thati alli gatheringi rulesi underi thei administrationi ofi H.i Muhidini oughti toi bei talkedi withi H.i Isam.i Whilei decidingi betweeni conveyingi Hasani Ismaili (Administratori KNPIi Southi Kalimantan andi Headi ofi Gunung Makmur,i Tanahi Lauti Regime)i withi H.i Bahriani Noori (Badi habiti Executivei ofi DPCi PKBi Tanahi Bumbui whichi isi thei morei youthfui sisteri ofi H.i Jahriani Noor,i coali miningi agent).i Thinkingi abouti H.i Muhidini ini lighti ofi thei facti thati behindi Hasani Ismaili therei isi Officiali ofi Tanahi Laut,i Bambangi Alamsyahi andi Officiali ofi Tanahi Bumbu,i Mardanii H.i Mamingi whoi isi likewise Directori ofi DPDi Popularityi basedi Gatheringi ofi Battlei Indonesia (PDIP)i Southi Kalimantan

.i Thisi isi oni thei groundsi thati beforei offeringi Hasani Ismail,i Mardanii H.i Mamingi andi Bambangi Alamsyahi firsti camei toi H.i Adriansyahi (previousi individuali fromi Placei ofi Delegatesi fromi FPDIPi whoi wasi trappedi ini payi offi casei ini PDIPi Congressi ini Bali)i ini Lapasai Sukai Misikin,i Westi Java.i Thati madei Hasani Ismaili showi upi becausei oni thei groundsi thati thei Jhonlini Gatheringi introducedi politicaly Southi Kalimantan Senatori H.i Sahbirini Noori whoi oncei directedi experimentation,i byi puttingi hisi

familyi name,i H.i Ahmadi Subaktii againi utilizingi ai comparablei symbol,i Unclei Nanangi beforei thei enlistmenti phasesi ofi thei competitorsi ofi Officiali Batolai Periodi 2017-2022.i Clearly,i thei openi reactioni toi Unclei Nanangi whoi isi justu ai middlei teacheri ini Marabahani isn'ti solidi monetarilyi toi helpi edi Unclei Birini duringi thei Southi Kalimantan Locali Headi Politicali racei ini 2015.i

Toi bei expected,i ifi ati lasti thei Incomparablei Alliancei whichi wasi finishedi byi Unclei Birini ini thei appointmenti ofi Senatori Agenti Legislativei leaderi ofi Southi Kalimantan 2015i wasi imitatedi Hasani Ismaili withi ai similari examplei intendsi toi breaki thei votei ofi Golkar,i byi holdingi Fahrini Nizari (Batolai parti fromi Golkari rises.i Ini thisi way,i ini widei layout,i Jhonlini Gatheringi didn'ti playi particularlyi ini Batolai withi itsi oligarchici system.i Iti isi correctlyi Binuangi Gatheringi driveni byi H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciuti whoi becamei contradictingi H.i Isami ini thei politicali fieldi ini Southi Kalimantan,i additionallyi playedi ini thei backgroundi H.i Bahriani Noor-H.i Suwandi.i Subsequently,i thei Binuangi Gatheringi hasi thei interestsi ofi thei porti businessi ofi fueli oili (BBM)i justu asi thei currenti sandi minesi oni thei shorei ofi thei Baritai Waterway,i closei toi thei Baritai Extensioni zone.i

Despitei thei facti thati noti veryi self-evident,i Binuangi Gatheringi systemi isi ai politicali foei Hasnuri Gatheringi isi additionallyi focusingi oni palmi oili estatei ini Batola.i Thei politicali completioni playedi byi H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciuti ini Batola,i cani bei seeni plainlyi fromi thei developmenti playedi byi individualsi fromi thei Placei ofi Delegatesi fromi Golkari Gathering,i Bambangi Herii Purnamai ini eachi breaki ori downi toi thei generali populationi ini engrossingi goals,i advancedi H.i Bahriani Noor.i Then,i Zairullahi Azhari additionally melakonii comparablei things,i withi thei examplei fromi thei mosquei toi thei mosque,i ori onei pengajiani toi otheri pengajian.i

Alli thingsi considered,i thei politicali on-screeni charactersi ini Southi Kalimantan havei

parti intoi twoi significanti powersi ini particulari H.i Sahbirini Noori andi H.i Muhidin,i Mardanii H.i Mamingi whoi turnedi intoi thei delegateti ofi Jhonlini Gatheringi withi hisi 'fantastici ace',i H.i Isami behindi thei intensityi ofi Hasani Ismail-Fahrini Nizar.i Ati thati point,i thei politicali obstructioni thati Zairullahi Azhar-Gunturi Prawirai andi Binuangi Gatheringi howeveri noti veryi noticeablei introducedi fori thei triumphi ofi H.i Bahriani Noor-H.i Suwandii ini decisionsi 2017.i Ini thei interim,i Hasanuddini Muradi (Officiali Batola)i withi bureaucratici andi ethnici systemsi Dayaki Bakumpaii ini additioni toi Banjari Pahuluan,i likewise assumedi ai jobi toi wini thei Noormiliani Aberanii Sulaiman-Rahmadiani Noor.

Locali Headi Electioni ofi Baritai Kualai Regencyi

Thei couplei ofi Noormiliani-Rahmadiani Noori exceedi expectationi withi 48.11i percenti voicei figuredi outi howi toi outperformi heri opponenti ini thei racesi ini particulari Hasani Ismail-Fahrini Nizari (34.61i percent)i andi Bahriani Noor-Suwandii (17.28i percent).i Officiali choseni Noormiliani matchedi withi Rahmadiani Noori isi thei spousei ofi Hasanuddini Muradi whoi hasi filledi ini asi Officiali Batolai twoi periods.i Whilei Ramadiani Noori asi Badi habiti Officiali choseni ini alli honestyi Hasanuddini Murad'si nephew.i Thei presencei ofi Normiliani-Rahmadiani Noori asi thei champi ini thei Baritai Kualai politicali decisioni hasi permittedi thei governmentali issuesi ofi thei traditioni ofi Hasanuddini Murad'si ethnici gatheringi oni thei neighborhoodi politicali scenei ini Baritai Kualai.

Thei Normaliyani-Rahmadiani Noori pairi advancedi byi thei Golkari andi Democrati parties,i thei Bahrianoor-Suwandii couplei werei bolsteredi byi thei Nationali Arousingi Gatheringi andi Gerindrai Gathering,i whilei thei Hasani Ismail-Fahrini Nizari pairi wasi upheldi byi thei Prosperousi Equityi Gathering,i Partaii Amanati Nasional (Container),i Partaii Solidarity ofi

Improvement,i Indonesiani Votei basedi Gatheringi ofi Battle,i Hanurai Gathering,i andi Sicklei Stari Gatheringi

Ati thei pointi wheni seeni byi thei Directori ofi thei Ideologicali group,i thei bearersi ofi couplei up-and-comeri arei peoplei withi innovativedi foundation,i nearbyi authorities,i ori previousi neighborhoodi authorities.i Likei Golkari Gatheringi asi ai carrieri ofi thei couplei Normaliyani-Rahmadiani Noor,i onei ofi thei significanti individualsi fromi thei Golkari Gatheringi isi Hasanuddini Muradi whoi conveyedi hisi betteri halfi asi ai contenderi fori Officiali Baritai Kualai PKBi andi Gerindrai Gatheringi conveyingi thei couplei Bahrianoor-Suwandii asi iti isi realizedi thati thei Directori ofi thei PKBi Southi Kalimantan Zahirullahi Azhari previousi Officiali Tanahi Bumbui twoi periodsi thati havei ai systemi withi thei mining businessi visionaries,i whilei Executivei ofi thei Gerindrai Gatheringi ofi Southi Kalimantan isi H.i Abidini whoi isi knowni asi ai businessi visionary ori proprietor Porti ofi coal mineshaft.i

Ini thei interim,i thei helpi ofi ideologicali groupsi fori thei couplei Hasani Ismail-Fahrini Nizar,i ini thei Indonesiani Just Gatheringi ofi Battlei fori thei Provinciali Initiativei ofi Southi Kalimantan isi Mardanii H.i Mamingi whoi despitei everythingi fillsi ini asi Officiali ofi Tanahi Bumbui twoi periods,i Nationali Commandi Gatheringi (Container),i Administratori ofi Southi Kalimantan Muhidini (previousi Cityi halli leaderi ofi Banjarmasin,i withi ai foundationi ofi mining businessi person),i Joinedi Improvementi Gatheringi (PPP),i itsi focali figurei isi Rudyi Ariffini (previousi legislativei headi ofi Southi Kalimantan),i albeiti operativelyi runi byi hisi child,i individuali fromi Commissioni Ii ofi DPRi RI fromi FPPP,i HMi Adityai Muftii Ariffin.i

Thei threei competitori battlingi ini Baritai Kualai politicali racei eachi behindi himi arei thei individualsi ori thei oligarchsi withi thei foundationi ofi agents,i neighborhoodi authorities,i ori previousi rulersi whoi havei systemsi withi mining businessi people.i

Hasanuddini Muradi asi Officiali Baritoi kualai twoi periodsi havei figuredi outi howi toi conveyi hisi betteri halfi asi thei victor.i Duringi thei timei spenti socializationi ori battlei timesi ofi massi preparationi arei cleari andi monstrosi structurei ati alli purposesi ofi thei areai extendi fromi fari offi townsi toi thei sub-regioni leveli withi thei headingi ofi thei landi andi streami transportationi armada.i

Massi activationi ati thei houri ofi thei battlei asi ai fieldi ofi solidarityi exhibitioni hardi toi seei byi differenti up-and-comersi.i Thei Golkari Gatheringi thati isi accountablei fori thei nearbyi politicali universei ini Baritoi Kualai Regioni isi surei thati thei morei singlei systemi ofi associationi andi includedi byi thei financiingi backingi ofi thei Golkari Gatheringi elitesi thati claimsi thei miningi businessi arrangei hasi becomei ani unaffectedi poweri duringi thei battlei timei frame.i

Noti justu that,i financiingi supporti fori thei couplei Normaliyani-Rahmadiani Noori originatedi fromi neighborhoodi agentsi (Baritoi Kuala).i Ai nearbyi businessi personi whoi isi occupiedi withi ani eminenti contractuali workeri namedi H.i Inab.i i Asi indicatedi byi thei Initiativei Ethnicity Bakumpai,i Mr.i Budiman,i thati H.i Inabi hasi giveni subsidizingi ofi Rpi 5i billioni fori thei couplei Normaliyani-Rahmadiani Noori ini Pilkada.i Naturally,i duringi thisi systemi ofi frameworki ventures,i fori example,i streets,i extensions,i marketi andi othersi controlledi H.i Inabi gatheringi andi incorporatesi Rahmadiani Noori withi ai foundationi ofi neighborhoodi contractuali workers.i Since,i ini thei positioni ofi thei administration,i particularly ini thei Openi Worksi Organizationi Batolai andi wetlandsi loadedi upi withi individualsi Hasanuddini Murad.i

Ini thei interim,i thei Bahrianoor-Suwandii couplesi conveyedi byi thei Nationali Arousingi Gatheringi (PKB)i andi Gerindrai Gatheringi cani noti doi muchi ini politicali bettingi.i Executivei ofi thei Gerindrai Gatheringi ofi Southi Kalimantan,i H.i Abidin,i whoi wasi initialiyi expectedi toi givei subsidizingi supporti isn'ti actualiyi whati thei couplei anticipated.i Indeed,i asi indicatedi byi datai

coursedi andi strengthenedi byi varioussi respondents,i fori instancei Abdul Sanii (NGOi dissidenti andi transmigranti inhabitanti associationi fromi Javai Island)i clarifiedi thati ati thei houri ofi openi crusadei andi openi applyingi Prabowoi Subianti'si essencei wasi absenti andi withouti affirmationi abouti thei nonappearancei ofi thei Directori ofi thei Grindrai Gathering.i

Soi also,i H.i Abidini asi Executivei ofi thei Gerindrai Kalseli Gatheringi likewise didn'ti goi toi duringi thei openi crusadei andi asi indicatedi byi datai lefti fori Germany.i Asi indicatedi byi Abdusi Sani,i therei isi ai politicali concessioni betweeni thei maini couple,i Normiliyani-Rahmadiani Noori thati H.i Abidini shouldn'ti bei dynamici toi wini thei secondi pairi ofi Bahrianoor-Suwandii byi toleratingi ai two-billion-dollari gatheringi asi ai quieti reserve.i Thei keyi figurei behindi Bahrianoor-Suwandi'si assignmenti isi H.i Jahriani Noor.i

Asi ai previousi stricti educator,i H.i Jahriani isi onei ofi thei besti coalii miningi specialistsi ini Southi Kalimantan andi furthermore asi Bahrianoori kin.i Clearly,i asi perceivedi byi thei Bahrianoori achievementi group,i Annisai saidi thati thei pairi numberi twoi wasi losti oni thei groundsi thati thei worldi classi partyi thati supportersi justu pitifuli andi noti maximallyi noti toi mentioni givei politicali guide.i A.i H.i Jahriani isn'ti sufficienti toi battlei majoritiy rulei predatorsi whoi eachi dependi oni thei influencei ofi cashi ini thei decisions.i

Thei couplei applicanti ofi Bahrian-Suwandii loses cashi andi relativelyi fewi businessi visionariesi offeri helpi toi thei up-and-comeri soi thei misfortunesi arei losti andi thei networki isi nowi designedi withi cashi governmentali issues.i Whyi thisi occurred?i Ini thisi manner,i sincei Thursdayi (January 26,i 2017),i pullingi (extraordinaryi street)i PTi Talentai Bumii includingi miningi businessi claimedi byi H.i Jahriani shuti thei Incorporatedi Groupi Implementationi ofi Nearby Guidelinei No.i 3i ofi 2012i oni Uniquei Streeti ofi Coalii andi Oili Manori whichi isi ai blendi ofi Transportationi Division,i Correspondencei andi Datai Southi

Kalimantani alongi withi Directoratei of Traffici Poldai Southi Kalimantan,i ini additioni toi helpi fromi Koremi 101/Antasari.i Additionally wenti toi wasi pullingi claimedi byi PTi Binuangi Mitrai Bersamai (H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciut'si businessi system)i andi Hasnuri Gatheringi fori 41i daysi withi assessedi lossi ofi Rpi 41i billion.i

Thisi isi additionally clarifiedi byi thei Directori ofi thei Relationshipi ofi Miningi Societyi (Permata)i ofi thei Individualsi ofi Kalimantan,i Syamsuli Daulahi (meeti oni Thursday,i Januari 26,i 2017)i thati becausei ofi thei endi ofi pullingi toi threei nearby organizationsi claimedi byi H.i Jahrian,i H.i Izaii andi Hasnuri Gatheringi isi coali transportationi exercisesi extendingi fromi 500i toi 1,000i Toni fori eachi dayi byi Southi Kalimantan Senatori H.i Sahbirini Noori whoi gavei letteri numberi 551/97,i datedi Januari 23,i 2017i toi Southi Kalimantan Policei Bossi Brig.i Gen.i Erwini Triwanto toi coveri thei currenti pullingi asi iti wasi viewedi asi disregardi byi lawi No.i 3/2012,i andi followedi upi ai letteri fromi thei Servicei ofi Openi Worksi Andi Spatiali Arrangingi (PUPR)i ofi thei Directoratei Generali ofi Expressways,i Nationali Streeti Executingi Organizationi XIi Numberi 02.06-Bz/027,i concerningi thei commitmentsi ofi thei miningi businessi visionariesi toi makei ai flyoveri ini thei nationali streeti regioni interfacingi Marabahan-Margasari to thei coal-expliciti porti zonei ini Sungai Puting,i Kabupaten Tapin.i

Thei couplei up-and-comeri ofi H.i Bahrian-Suwandii losesi cashi andi veryi fewi businessi peoplei offeri helpi toi thei competitori soi thei misfortunesi arei losti andi thei networki isi asi ofi nowi designedi withi cashi legislativei issues.i Whyi thisi occurred?i Hence,i sincei Thursdayi (Januari 26,i 2017),i pullingi (exceptionali street)i PTi Talentai Bumii includingi miningi businessi possessed byi H.i Jahriani shuti thei Coordinatedi Groupi Authorizationi ofi Nearby Guidelinei No.i 3i ofi 2012i oni Extraordinary Streeti ofi Coali andi Oili Estatei whichi isi ai blendi ofi Transportationi Office,i Correspondencei andi Datai Southi Kalimantan alongi withi

Directoratei ofi Traffici Poldai Southi Kalimantan,i ini additioni toi helpi fromi Koremi 101/Antasari.i Likewisei wenti toi wasi pullingi claimedi byi PTi Binuangi Mitrai Bersamai (H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciut'si businessi system)i andi Hasnuri Gatheringi fori 41i daysi withi evaluatedi lossi ofi Rpi 41i billion.i Thisi isi likewise clarifiedi byi thei Directori ofi thei Relationshipi ofi Miningi Societyi (Permata)i ofi thei Individualsi ofi Kalimantan,i Syamsuli Daulahi (meeti oni Thursday,i Januari 26,i 2017).i

Thati becausei ofi thei endi ofi pullingi toi threei nearby organizationsi possessed byi H.i Jahrian,i H.i Izaii andi Hasnuri Gatheringi ini coali transportationi exercisesi goingi fromi 500i toi 1,000i Toni fori eachi dayi byi Southi Kalimantan Senatori Hi Sahbirini Noori whoi gavei letteri numberi 551/97,i datedi Januari 23,i 2017i toi Southi Kalimantan Policei Bossi Brig.i Gen.i Erwini Triwanto toi coveri thei currenti pullingi asi iti wasi viewedi asi abusedi Locali lawi No.i 3/2012,i andi followedi upi ai letteri fromi thei Servicei ofi Openi Worksi Andi Spatiali Arrangingi (PUPR)i ofi thei Directoratei Generali ofi Interstates,i Nationali Streeti Executingi Organizationi XIi Numberi 02.06-Bz/027,i concerningi thei commitmentsi ofi thei miningi businessi visionariesi toi makei ai flyoveri ini thei nationali streeti territoryi associatingi Marabahan-Margasari to thei coal-expliciti porti regioni ini Sungai Puting,i Kabupaten Tapin.i

Also,i H.i Abidini asi Executivei ofi thei Gerindrai Kalseli Gatheringi additionally didn'ti goi toi duringi thei openi crusadei andi asi indicatedi byi datai lefti fori Germany.i Asi indicatedi byi Abdusi Sani,i therei isi ai politicali concessioni betweeni thei maini couple,i Normiliyani-Rahmadiani Noori thati Hi Abidini shouldn'ti bei dynamici toi wini thei secondi pairi ofi Bahrianoor-Suwandii byi toleratingi ai two-billion-dollari aggregationi asi ai quieti store.i Thei keyi figurei behindi Bahrianoor-Suwandi'si designationi isi H.i Jahriani Noor.i Asi ai 'previous'i stricti instructor,i H.i Jahriani isi onei ofi thei besti coali miningi agentsi ini Southi Kalimantan andi furthermore asi Bahrianoori kin.i Obviously,i asi perceivedi byi thei Bahrianoori

achievement group, Annisai saidi thati thei pairi numberi twoi wasi losti ini lighti ofi thei facti thati thei tipi topi gatheringi thati supportersi justi pitifuli andi noti maximally noti toi mentioni givai politicali guide. A. H. Jahriani isn'ti sufficienti toi battlei majorityi rulei predatorsi whoi eachi dependi oni thei influencei ofi cashi ini thei races.

Fromi thei clarificationi Syamsuli Daulahi disclosesi eventually becausei ofi thei conclusioni pullingi thei flexibly ofi assetsi fori thei couplei H. Bahriani Noor-Hi Suwandii whoi intendsi toi wini thei up-and-comersi Officiali Batolai Officiali wasi restricted, oni thei grounds thati thei wellspringi ofi cashi fromi thei uniquei streeti andi extraordinaryi porti possessedi H. Jahriani Noori shuti devicei Lawi authorities ini linei withi thei Legislativei leaderi ofi Southi Kalimantan H. Sahbirini Noori goti hinderedi ini fronti ofi surveying dayi oni Wednesday, February 15, 2017. Iti isi likewise perceivedi Aspihanii Idrisi (dissidenti Legitimatei Guidei Foundation) makei hagglingi Hasnuri Gatheringi initialy neededi toi bei coordinatedi toi helpi Hasani Ismail-H. Fahriani Noori throughi onei ofi itsi individuals, H. Yunii Abdii Nuri Sulaimani (Administratori ofi thei Familyi Amicabilityi Bakumpaii Pusat) goti powerless. Likewise, H. Izaii withi Gatheringi Binuangnyai likewise powerless. Thisi likewise makesi thei politicali arrangementi betweeni Sahbirini Noori toi wini thei seati ofi DPDi Golkari Gatheringi ofi Southi Kalimantan ini Musdalubi IVi ini DPPi Golkari Gatheringi ini Jakarta, becamei smoothi asi ai resulti ofi thei qualityi ofi capitali andi systemi ofi lawi authorizationi mechanicali assemblyi constrainedi byi H. Isam, proprietor ofi Jhonlini Gatheringi.

Fromi here, thei politicali arrangementi betweeni H. Sahbirini Noori andi thei Batolai Hasanuddini Muradi officiali goti morei grounded, withi politicali andi lawfuli weighti showed wheni iti hadi thei optioni toi stifli thei forcesi ofi H. Jahriani Noori andi Binuang, includingi Hasnuri Gatheringi whichi hasi ai solidi rootsi withi thei Golkari Gatheringi. Ini thei interim, thei nearnessi ofi

Zahirullahi Azhari andi ai fewi peoplei importedi fromi Jakarta, fori example, craftsmeni andi ustaz, Habaibi toi supporti thei constituent'si voicei wasi likewise noti readyi toi givai oppositioni ini contestationi Pilkada. Thei Hasani Ismail-Fahrini Nizari couplesi conveyedi byi sixi Ideologicali groupsi additionally cani noti wini races.

Asi ai matteri ofi fact, thisi couplei numerousi expectationi againsti Mardanii H. Mamingi asi Executivei ofi PDIPi Southi Kalimantan toi givai mosti extremei subsidizingi helpi howeveri untili thei timei beforei castingi ai balloti noti anyi morei monetaryi guide. Financingi helpi isi justi gotteni duringi thei designationi procedurei ofi gettingi ani awardi ofi Rpi 2i billion. Ini thei interim, H. Muhidini asi Directori ofi DPWi Containeri Southi Kalimantan noti maximali ori justi givai ai politicali vehiclei withouti givingi financingi helpi withi thei racesi procedure. Asi peri datai flowingi unequivocally Containeri asi thei gatheringi bearersi geti assetsi fromi thei accomplicei Hasani Ismail-Fahrini Nizari fori Rpi 600i million. Essentially, thei Sociali Governmenti assistancei Gatheringi gainsi ai politicali sharei ofi Rpi 1.5i billioni afteri thei Bahrianoori pairi isi justi readyi toi offeri politicali settlementi Rpi 1.2i billion.

Consequently, Baritoi Kualai Rulei isi ai financiali politicali territoryi thati isi positionedi twelfthi outi ofi 13i localei ini Southi Kalimantan asi slackingi regionsi contrastedi withi differenti areas. Baritoi Kualai Areai hasi noi dependablei regulari assetsi justi asi ai fewi differenti regionsi withi potentiali coal mineshafts. Alli thingsi considered, thei regioni isi buildingi upi ai palmi oili ranchi economyi andi somei outsidei speculatorsi chiefly fromi Chinai arei puttingi resourcesi intoi oili palmi manors. Baritoi Kualai Areai isi ai likelyi farmingi basei ini Southi Kalimantan. Roughly 48i percenti ofi thei populacei isi immigrationi fromi Java, ani immigrationi venturei ofi thei Newi Requesti systemi ini thei midi 1980s.

Baritoi Kualai Areai hasi eveni beeni madei ai piloti undertakingi ofi nationali immigrationi

byi thei focali government.i Ini thei appointmenti ofi 2017,i thei Bahrianoori couplei tooki Suwandii asi Badi habiti Bupati'si couplei toi obligei Javanesei immigrationi ethnici networki yeti politicali racei ini Baritoi Kualai thei issuei ofi ethnici personalityi didn'ti givei noteworthyi impacti andi thei realityi wasi losti late.i Thisi isi additionallyi felti byi certainti additionali itemsi,i fori example,i previousi Headi ofi Trainingi Officei ofi Baritoi Kualai Region,i H.i Paujani Husainii whoi professedi toi havei supporti fromi Javanesei Immigranti occupantsi andi Banjari Hului Sungaai ethnic,i wasi shuti becausei ofi thei roundi ofi politicali on-screeni charactersi ini Southi Kalimantanani whoi arei settledi ini andi dugi ini andi goti byi similari interestsi Businessi andi politicali systems.i

Baritoi Kualai politicali racei isi reallyi ai skirmishi ofi oligarchsi toi controli politicali andi monetaryi regions.i Asi referencedi previously,i despitei thei facti thati thisi regioni doesn'ti havei ai coali mineshafti howeveri thisi walahahi isi ai traffici placei fori coali freighti boatsi thati crossi thei Baritoi Streami whichi isi rememberedi fori thei domaini ofi Baritoi Kualai Regime.i Calli iti fori instance,i Baritoi Streami wellspringi ofi monetaryi payi fromi coali scowi intersectionsi wheneveri howeveri neveri geti cleari howi muchi incomei producedi fromi canali boatsi thati goi throughi Baritoi Waterwayi Streami fromi thei sovereigntyi divisioni ori otheri salaryi areas.i Ati thei pointi wheni affirmedi fromi variousi nearbyi authoritiesi oni eminencei ori differenti worriesi fromi Baritoi Stream'si monetaryi action,i practicallyi everyi onei ofi themi arei quieti andi unfiti toi clarifiyi plainly.i

Duringi thei politicali racei process,i thei adversei issuesi flowingi amongi thei individualsi thati thei Batolai Hasanuddini Muradi areai goti assetsi fromi thei nationali miningi organizationi PTi Adaroi Indonesiai claimedi byi Kidi Tohiri csi gathering,i ai coali miningi organizationi workingi ini Tabalongi andi Balangani areas,i justi asi ai fewi regionsi Ini Focali Kalimantanani Territory.i Transportationi exercisesi fromi thisi minei creationi crossi thei Baritoi Waterwayi Stream.i Consequently,i duringi thei politicali racei

process,i thei Bupatii ofi Hasanuddini Muradi goti Rpi 15i billioni asi ani eminencei finance.i Amidsti thei angledi issue,i thei Bupatii accumulatedi thei towni headi ofi Baritoi Kualai Localei toi explaini thei issuei ofi Rp15i billion.

Conclusion

Sincei thei passingi ofi onei ofi thei focali politicali andi businessi pioneersi ini Southi Kalimantan,i H.i Leman,i consequentlyi justi twoi powersi influencei thei politicali guidei ini Southi Kalimantan.i Thati is,i thei budgetaryi qualityi andi backingi ofi governmenti thati isi currentlyi constrainedi byi H.i Isami (Jhonlini Gathering),i ini spitei ofi thei facti thati fromi onei perspectivei musti bei restrictedi withi quieti developmenti ori transparentlyi fromi Binuangi Gatheringi withi thei principlei entertainer,i H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciuti.i Nonetheless,i wheni H.i Isami hadi thei optioni toi increasei politicali andi legislativei methodsi demonstratedi byi thei controli ofi Southi Kalimantanani Commoni Governmenti heldi byi H.i Sahbirini Noor,i includingi ideologicali groupi systems,i fori example,i PDI Perjuangan,i Container,i Golkari Gathering,i PKS,i andi Hanurai Gatheringi andi others.i H.i Isami hasi manifested andi tooki thei positioni lefti byi H.i Leman,i afteri hisi demise.i

Withi thati position,i H.i Isami hasi likewisei manufacturedi ai solidi andi compellingi politicali systemi ini practicallyi alli majori ideologicali groups.i Ini spitei ofi thei facti thati Rudyi Ariffin,i ai previousi legislativei headi ofi Southi Kalimantan,i cani controli thei Assembledi Advancementi Gatheringi (PPP),i howeveri basicallyi debtsservicei ori governmentali issuesi toi thei achievementi ofi thei kid,i HMi Adityai Muftii Ariffini duringi administrativei decisionsi 2014.i Thisi furtheri showsi thei strengthi ofi thei primaryi on-screeni charactersi ini businessi andi politicali systemsi ini Southi Kalimantanani isi asi yeti heldi byi H.i Isam.i Ini thei meani time,i thei centralizationi ofi H.i Izaii andi H.i Ciuti isi justi ini thei nearbyi level,i particularlyi Tapini rulei whichi isi ini fronti ofi thei progressioni

ini 2018,i ini thei wakei ofi beingi squeezei byi Jhonlini Gatheringi withi forcei andi lawi systemsi bolsteredi byi Policei andi Militaryi

Thei marveli thati happenedi ini thei 2017i Batolai Politicali racei hasi demonstratedi thati moneyi relatedi influence,i businessi andi politicali systemsi includingi lawi implementationi officialsi constrainedi byi H.i Isami withi ai maini figurei whoi appearedi toi peoplei ini general,i Southi Kalimantan Representativei H.i Sahbirini Noori hasi becomei thei entertaineri ofi decidingi thei methodi ofi politicali headingi ini Southi Kalimantan.i Ini spitei ofi thei facti thati noti showingi upi openly,i H.i Isami handsi despitei everythingi graspedi emphaticallyi ini governmentali issuesi andi businessi ini Southi Kalimantan.i Regardlessi ofi whetheri lateri ini racesi ini 2018i whichi willi happeni ini fouri localei ofi Tanahi Lauti Regime,i Tabalongi Rule,i Tapini Rulei andi Hului Sungaii Selatani Rulei (HSS).i Alli thingsi beingi equal,i outi ofi thei fouri areasi thati willi holdi appointmenti ofi Official'si Officialsi ini 2018,i Tanahi Lauti Regioni willi bei ani energizingi fight,i andi thei examplesi appliedi ini thei 2017i Locali Decisionsi cani bei rehashed.

References

- [1] Allan, N. W. (2012). Diversity, Patronage and Parties and Party System Change in Indonesia. (PhD) dissertation, University of British Columbia.
- [2] Aspinall, E. (2014). When brokers betray: Social networks and electoral politics in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies* 46 (4): 545-570.
- [3] Aspinall and As'ad (2015). The Patronage Patchwork: Village Brokerage Networks and the Power of the State in an Indonesian Election. *Bijdragen Tot De Taal, Land- EN Volkenkunde* 171 (165-195).
- [4] Aspinall and As'ad (2016). Understanding Family Politics: Success and Failures of Political Dynasties in Regional Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 1-16, SAGE
- [5] Choi, Nankyung (2014). Local Politics Elites in Indonesia: Risers and Holdovers. *Sojourn Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 29-2:364-407.
- [6] Hadiz, V. R. (2010). *Localising Power in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: A Southeast Asia Perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- [7] Hicken, Allen (2011). Clientelism. *Annual Review of Political Science* 14:289-310.
- [8] Hidayat, S. (2007). Shadow State? Business and Politics in the Province of Banten, In Schulte Nordholt H and Van Klinken G (eds) *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Leiden; KITLV Press, pp, 203-224.
- [9] Hutchcroft, P. D. (2013). Linking Capital and Countryside: Patronage and Clientelism in Japan, Thailand, and Philippines; in: D.A. Brun and I. Diamond (eds), *Clientelism, Social Policies, and the Quality of Democracy*, pp., 174-2013, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- [10] Stokes, Susan C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco (2013). *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [11] Susanto, (2007) *Ruler, Entrepreneur and Local Government Implementation Post Regional Head Election: Case of South Kalimantan Province*; In: S. Hidayat (ed.), *Business and Politics at the Local Level: Entrepreneur, Ruler and Government Administration Post Post Election*, pp. 183-233. Jakarta: Indonesian Institute of Sciences.