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## Media and Political Power in Indonesia: A Critical Discourse Analysis of CNN Indonesia's Presidential Club Coverage

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### ABSTRACT

*This research focuses on the news published by [cnnindonesia.com](http://cnnindonesia.com), which highlights the pro and contra issues surrounding the idea of establishing the Presidential Club. This topic serves as the focal point for analysis using Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis theory. This research aims to provide a critical analysis of the coverage regarding the discourse on the formation of the Presidential Club. Through a critical discourse analysis approach, this study will delve deeper into how various narratives, representations, and political interests are reflected in the news coverage. The analysis will emphasize how power and control over knowledge are reproduced through the news text, as well as how resistance and opposition to the idea are reflected in the presented narratives. Through this approach, it is hoped that this research will offer profound insights into the political dynamics and power relations associated with the discourse on establishing institutions like the Presidential Club.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Mass media is often considered capable of playing a significant role in shaping public opinion through discourses created by the government or ruling powers within a state (Saragih, 2019). It serves as a platform reflecting various realities, including political realities often intended to steer public opinion toward government policies or to shape opinions on political issues that provoke anxiety, disputes, or even conflicts within society (Nimmo, 2010). Meanwhile, the concept of discourse itself emphasizes language's connection to phenomena tied to ideology, making discourse analysis a useful tool for uncovering the interplay between media and ideology or biases embedded within reality (Eriyanto, 2001). Kendall and Wickham explain discourse in simpler terms, categorizing it into two forms: sayable (all that can be articulated) and visible (all that can be observed), thus establishing discourse as a form of human communicative behavior toward reality (Kendall & Wickham, 2006). An example of such discourse is the formation of the "Presidential Club," proposed by Indonesia's elected president, Prabowo Subianto, shortly after the Constitutional Court (MK) announced its decision regarding the presidential election dispute, affirming Prabowo Subianto as Indonesia's legitimate president starting in 2024. The discourse surrounding the Presidential Club has sparked diverse reactions from various segments of society, ranging from support to criticism. This initiative aims to create an exclusive discussion forum

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involving former Indonesian presidents to deliberate on strategic steps and critical policies for the nation's future, as reported by CNN.com on May 5, 2024 (CNN Indonesia, 2024f).

To illustrate this issue, the Presidential Club is envisioned as a platform to gather diverse and constructive insights on critical issues faced by the nation. The forum is intended to address topics ranging from economic, political, and security concerns to social and cultural issues, aiming to provide valuable input to the current administration. Through a spokesperson, Prabowo stated that the establishment of the Presidential Club would enable the government to make more comprehensive strategic decisions, informed by a variety of perspectives (CNN Indonesia, 2024d). By fostering collaboration and intensive discussions among former presidents, the initiative aspires to generate more innovative and effective solutions to the challenges confronting Indonesia. Former presidents, with their extensive experience and knowledge, can offer diverse and invaluable viewpoints, thereby enriching the decision-making process.

The term "Presidential Club" represents a linguistic transformation emerging through discourse, marking its first appearance in the history of Indonesian politics. Historically, transitions of power in Indonesia have been characterized by a clear distinction between the cabinets of previous administrations and the incumbent government. This distinction often stems from the change in political parties, which simultaneously reflects a shift in policy direction between the current government and its predecessor. In political reality, power is frequently exercised by leveraging discourse through the structured use of language as an instrument to control authority via distinctive ideologies and philosophies (Kuntarto, 2018). The issue of the Presidential Club can be categorized as political discourse, shaped by the choice of language and its connotations. According to statements from Prabowo's spokesperson, the term "Presidential Club" refers to a forum for fostering camaraderie among presidents to discuss national issues. However, such interactions have traditionally occurred through informal meetings between the president and former presidents on various occasions (CNN Indonesia, 2024d). Thus, this discourse construction can be interpreted as a strategic move by the elected president to exercise and consolidate the power obtained.

The information was obtained from the online news portal CNNIndonesia.com, which extensively reported on the discourse surrounding the Presidential Club. Fundamentally, media and discourse represent an integral practice frequently studied to uncover phenomena, as media possesses the power to reproduce meanings within society (Prayogo & Panuju, 2021). The extensive coverage of the Presidential Club by CNNIndonesia.com reflects the complexity of the media's position amidst social realities, interwoven with various interests, confrontations, facts, and diverse contextual realities (Sobur, 2001).

CNN Indonesia is a news outlet established through a collaboration between Trans Media and Warner Bros. Although CNN Indonesia operates within Indonesia, it remains affiliated with CNN International, the parent organization of a global news network operating in 18 countries, including Indonesia. A survey conducted by the Reuters Institute on the Digital News Report 2023 in Indonesia revealed that CNN.com ranked third among the most accessed online news platforms by Indonesian audiences (Steele, 2023). This data positions CNN.com as the only online news portal affiliated with a foreign media company

that has earned the trust of the Indonesian public as a reliable news source. This raises an interesting question regarding how this online news platform reports on issues within the dimensions of Indonesian politics, such as the discourse on the Presidential Club that emerged in mid-2024.

However, the establishment of the Presidential Club has drawn significant criticism and opposition from various groups. Some question the legitimacy and effectiveness of this forum, as the Presidential Club is not an official institution governed by law. Concerns have been raised that the forum might become a platform for practical politics, potentially undermining decision-making processes that should be the domain of formal state institutions such as the House of Representatives (DPR) and the executive branch. The implementation of the Presidential Club will require a well-thought-out design and clear guidelines on its operation. It is crucial to establish explicit criteria for membership, including determining whether members will participate actively or serve only in a consultative capacity. Additionally, careful consideration must be given to the forum's decision-making mechanisms. Transparent procedures are essential to ensure that all members have equal opportunities to contribute and provide input. These mechanisms must also accommodate diverse perspectives and approaches among members while ensuring that decisions reflect either a strong majority opinion or consensus. The integration of the forum's outcomes into government policy is another critical aspect of the Presidential Club's implementation. A clear framework is needed to delineate how the forum's recommendations will be communicated to the government and incorporated into official decision-making processes. Such measures would ensure that the contributions of the Presidential Club go beyond mere discourse, effectively influencing the direction of national policy. With a robust design and well-defined regulations, the Presidential Club could serve as an effective platform for providing strategic input to the government, enhancing public participation in decision-making processes that are more inclusive and responsive to societal needs. Thus, the proposal for the establishment of the Presidential Club by president-elect Prabowo Subianto represents a promising idea. However, it requires careful attention and meticulous planning to ensure that it genuinely contributes to Indonesia's progress and welfare.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

Critical Discourse Analysis has been applied across various fields, including media, education, politics, and culture. In the context of this study, Critical Discourse Analysis is employed to examine the narratives constructed by the media in reporting on the Presidential Club issue, which gained significant attention in mid-2024 in Indonesia.

### **Media And Power Framing**

The concept of framing media reveals that, fundamentally, framing is a concept for understanding how media narrates (storytelling) events (Eriyanto, 2001). It can also be simply described as an analysis to uncover how reality—whether events, actors, groups, or other phenomena—is framed by the media. This framing occurs through a process of construction, whereby social reality is interpreted and imbued with specific meanings. One commonly used model for conducting framing analysis is the Pan & Kosicki model (1993) (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Essentially, media reporting is not merely a straightforward textual

narrative linked to the linearity of phenomena; rather, media narratives inherently possess particular angles that present events from their own perspectives (Prayogo & Panuju, 2021).

### **Presidential Club**

The concept of the Presidential Club refers to an informal network consisting of active presidents and former presidents of a country (Gibbs & Duffy, 2012). This club is formed based on the leadership experience and political responsibilities held by individuals who have served as heads of state. Membership in the Presidential Club is automatic, regardless of political affiliation, and aims to create an informal forum for consultation and collaboration. The primary function of the Presidential Club is to provide strategic advice or counsel to the sitting president (Gibbs & Duffy, 2012). Former presidents, with their extensive leadership experience, are often called upon to share their perspectives on handling important issues, such as crises or major policies. Additionally, the Presidential Club plays a role in international diplomacy, where former presidents are frequently involved in mediation or peace promotion, leveraging the credibility they have earned. However, the Presidential Club can also become a platform for political rivalry, especially when former presidents criticize the policies of the sitting president. Nonetheless, this community reflects continuity in leadership, serving to strengthen political stability and contribute to national and international policies, both through collaboration and differing viewpoints.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

This research is a qualitative study that employs critical discourse analysis using the perspective of Teun A. Van Dijk. This approach is used to explore the structure and processes of discourse construction within a news text published on CNNIndonesia.com related to the reporting of the Presidential Club. Van Dijk's AWK model focuses on the elaboration of discourse elements, which can then be applied or used practically in research (Sobur, 2001). Studies on discourse cannot be based solely on the text framework as a unit of analysis, as the text is a construct produced by a practice of production that cannot be ignored in a series of analytical units (Eriyanto, 2001).

Critical discourse analysis is a method for studying how power relations, inequality, and domination are created and perpetuated through discourse in various political, social, and historical contexts (Fairclough, 2013). Van Dijk explains that the framework of his unit of analysis consists of various interconnected structures that form a cohesive process in deconstructing discourse within a text. Van Dijk divides this process into three main points, as follows (Sobur, 2001):

1. Macro structure, this structure emphasizes the importance of the general meaning found within a text, which can be understood by examining the theme of the discussion. This structure not only highlights the content but also other perspectives of a phenomenon.
2. Superstructure, this point examines how the framework within the text is constructed and organized as a whole.
3. Micro structure, this structure focuses on the meaning that can be analyzed by

observing the propositions between sentences, words, and paraphrased sentences used within a series of texts, which become the units of analysis in critical discourse analysis.

The data in this study are the results of observations on news coverage from the online media portal CNNIndonesia.com during May 2024. This period was chosen by the author because it marks the time when the concept of the Presidential Club was first introduced to the public, followed by a series of news articles discussing the political discourse.

#### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the observation indicate that CNNIndonesia.com has published 20 news articles related to the Presidential Club. These 20 articles are predominantly focused on coverage of support from various parties for the discourse on the establishment of the Presidential Club. The titles of these 20 articles will be presented in the table below:

News Title	News Date
Prabowo Akan Bentuk 'Presidential Club', Diisi Megawati hingga Jokowi	3 Mei 2024
Respons Istana Soal Rencana Prabowo Bentuk 'Presidential Club'	3 Mei 2024
Politikus PDIP Tanya Prabowo soal Presidential Club: Urgensinya Apa?	3 Mei 2024
Jokowi Nilai Rencana Presidential Club Ala Prabowo Bagus	3 Mei 2024
Demokrat Dukung 'Presidential Club' ala Prabowo: Sejalan Mimpi SBY	3 Mei 2024
Prabowo Ingin Bentuk Presidential Club Diisi Jokowi, SBY dan Megawati	4 Mei 2024
Presidential Club Dinilai Jadi Siasat Prabowo Islahkan Jokowi-Megawati	4 Mei 2024
Zulhas Dukung Ide Prabowo Bentuk Presidential Club	4 Mei 2024
Pro Kontra Wacana Presidential Club ala Prabowo	5 Mei 2024
Cak Imin Respons Presidential Club Prabowo, Yakin Mega-Jokowi Bersatu	5 Mei 2024
Presidential Club, Siasat Prabowo Rangkul Lawan & Redam Kritik Frontal	6 Mei 2024
Habiburokhman: Prabowo Serius Gagasan Presidential Club	6 Mei 2024
Gibran Dukung Pembentukan Presidential Club	6 Mei 2024
Bamsuet Usul Presidential Club Gagasan Prabowo Dilembagakan Jadi DPA	7 Mei 2024
Prabowo Buat Presidential Club, JK Singgung Klub Mantan Wapres	7 Mei 2024
Ma'ruf Amin Nilai Prabowo Perlu Kerja Keras Wujudkan Presidential Club	7 Mei 2024
PDIP Respons Presidential Club Prabowo, Megawati Fokus Urus Partai	8 Mei 2024
Jubir Prabowo Respons Bamsuet Ingin Presidential Club Jadi Seperti DPA	8 Mei 2024
Prabowo Heran Muncul Istilah Presidential Club: Minum Kopi Saja	24 Mei 2024

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## **Unpacking the Narrative: An Analysis of the Discourse on the Formation of the Presidential Club**

This analysis aims to explore and examine news coverage related to the discourse surrounding the formation of the Presidential Club during the period of April to May. The data used consists of 12 news articles published through CNN's news channel. CNN was chosen as the primary source of information due to its credibility in providing comprehensive and reliable coverage of the Presidential Club topic. President-elect Prabowo Subianto plans to establish a club called the "Presidential Club," which will consist of living former presidents of the Republic of Indonesia. This idea has sparked both support and opposition from various sectors. One of the supporters of this idea is President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) (CNN Indonesia, 2024b). He expressed no objection to the plan and even welcomed it with humor. Jokowi stated that if the Presidential Club were to be formed, meetings among former presidents could take place every other day. He emphasized his readiness to provide guidance if needed, but on the condition that such advice be requested first and not imposed. President Jokowi emphasized that offering advice is permissible as long as it is asked for, but unsolicited interference is not allowed (CNN Indonesia, 2024b). He stressed the importance of maintaining ethical conduct when providing input to the sitting president, ensuring that the decision-making process remains smooth and is not disrupted by unwanted interference.

The Democratic Party has expressed its support for the initiative to establish the Presidential Club, proposed by Prabowo Subianto (CNN Indonesia, 2024a). This support was articulated by Herzaky Putra Mahendra, the spokesperson for the Democratic Party, who explained that the idea aligns with the vision and aspirations of the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Prior to the 2024 presidential election, SBY had expressed his desire to create a forum where former presidents could gather and share experiences and insights. The discourse on the formation of the Presidential Club is not only innovative but is also grounded in SBY's strategic thinking regarding the importance of leadership continuity and the transfer of knowledge between generations of leaders. From the Democratic Party's perspective, the Presidential Club would serve as a platform to harness the collective wisdom and experience of living former presidents, such as SBY and Jokowi, who have navigated various geopolitical and domestic challenges (CNN Indonesia, 2024a). The Democratic Party's support for the Presidential Club reflects its commitment to political stability and the sustainability of good governance. With this forum, it is hoped that former presidents will be able to offer strategic advice and practical solutions to the country's problems, based on their leadership experience. Furthermore, this support reflects the Democratic Party's understanding of the importance of creating a space for constructive dialogue among former state leaders. The formation of the Presidential Club is expected to foster better synergy in strategic decision-making, ultimately strengthening the foundation of Indonesia's democracy. This narrative illustrates how the Democratic Party views the initiative as a step forward in maintaining the continuity of an inclusive and sustainable leadership vision, in line with SBY's ideals of promoting cross-generational collaboration for the advancement of the nation.

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Former presidents possess invaluable wisdom, experience, and knowledge that can be of great benefit to future presidents. Their wisdom, shaped by long journeys in leading the nation, includes a deep understanding of complex geopolitical dynamics (Skowronek, 2024). These former presidents have faced various geopolitical situations, which have enabled them to develop strategic insights that could serve as important guidance for future leaders. Their experience is not limited to international affairs but also encompasses significant domestic challenges. For instance, they have navigated economic crises that required careful policymaking and effective mitigation measures. Their experience in handling economic crises provides them with a unique perspective on fiscal, monetary, and overall economic policy, which could be invaluable in formulating sustainable economic strategies. These former presidents also have a track record of managing complex political issues. They have dealt with various political conflicts, both internal and external, as well as social dynamics that required diplomatic approaches and careful negotiations (Sule & Sambo, 2024). This track record highlights their ability to navigate difficult situations and find effective and peaceful solutions. Their role as advisors should not be underestimated. Their knowledge of government structures, legislative processes, and policy implementation can offer valuable guidance to sitting presidents. They can provide critical historical perspectives, help avoid past mistakes, and offer solutions that have stood the test of time. Former presidents are not merely symbolic figures of the past; they are intellectual and strategic resources of great importance. The collective wisdom they possess can strengthen decision-making at the highest levels of government, ensuring that policies are not only responsive to current situations but also rooted in an understanding of the nation's history and long-term trajectory.

The discourse surrounding the formation of a Presidential Club can serve as an ideal platform for former presidents to share their knowledge and experiences. This club would not only function as a gathering place for former heads of state but also as a platform that enables the exchange of valuable strategic ideas. Former presidents possess a broad legacy of wisdom, which includes a deep understanding of political, economic, and social dynamics at both the national and international levels. Through the Presidential Club, former presidents can provide advice grounded in their real-life experiences of governing the country. Their experiences in navigating crises, both domestic and international, give them a unique perspective on the various issues the country faces. They can offer solutions that have stood the test of time, helping the sitting president make more informed and effective decisions. The club has the potential to strengthen bonds and cooperation among the nation's leaders, allowing former presidents to discuss various strategic issues in a more relaxed yet still professional setting, free from the political pressures that often accompany official positions. This environment enables the formation of more harmonious and productive relationships, ultimately having a positive impact on political stability and governance. The Presidential Club could act as a mechanism to ensure that past experiences and knowledge are not lost but are instead utilized to confront future challenges. Past experiences often offer valuable lessons that can be applied to avoid repeating the same mistakes in the future. In this club, former presidents can share their successes and failures, providing richer insights for the sitting president. The discourse on forming the Presidential

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Club is not merely a discussion forum but an institution that functions as a repository of knowledge and collective wisdom. It reflects a holistic approach to utilizing the intellectual legacy and practical experience of former presidents to advance the nation. By facilitating collaboration and constructive dialogue, the club could play a crucial role in reinforcing the foundations of democracy and effective governance in Indonesia.

In addition to the support from the Partai Demokrat, the idea of forming a Presidential Club has also received backing from the Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) (CNN Indonesia, 2024e). Through its chairman, Zulkifli Hasan, PAN expressed its support for the initiative proposed by Prabowo Subianto regarding the establishment of the Presidential Club. In Zulkifli's view, this idea represents a highly positive and constructive step (CNN Indonesia, 2024e). Although he expressed it briefly with the phrase "Very good," this statement carries significant meaning. Zulkifli sees the Presidential Club as having great potential to make a substantial contribution to governance and political stability in Indonesia. This idea is considered beneficial as it can create a forum for former presidents to share their invaluable experiences and insights. Former presidents possess a wealth of knowledge and wisdom gained from their experience in governing the country, facing various domestic and international challenges, and implementing complex policy strategies. Zulkifli Hasan's support for the formation of the Presidential Club reflects an understanding of the importance of utilizing experience to build a better future. The club is seen as a crucial mechanism for ensuring the continuity of policies and strengthening democratic institutions. By providing a platform for dialogue among former leaders, the Presidential Club can help identify more effective and innovative solutions to the challenges the country faces today. Zulkifli recognizes that the formation of such a forum can strengthen ties between the nation's leaders from various eras (CNN Indonesia, 2024e). Harmonious relationships and close cooperation among former presidents can create a more stable and coordinated political environment, which will ultimately have a positive impact on the welfare of society and the advancement of the nation. Support for the Presidential Club acknowledges the importance of collective wisdom in guiding the nation's trajectory toward a better future.

Van Dijk's theory can be applied to understand how this discourse reflects and influences the dynamics of power and ideology in Indonesia. The analysis of this discourse is based on the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure (van Dijk, 2005). The macrostructure refers to the broader social context in which the discourse occurs, including the political, historical, and cultural background. The formation of the Presidential Club can be seen as an effort by political elites to maintain and expand their power, consolidating support and influence among former presidents and other key figures in the country. The main theme of this discourse is the proposal for the establishment of the Presidential Club by Prabowo Subianto and the various reactions and support from other political actors such as President Joko Widodo, the Partai Demokrat, and PAN. This theme encompasses several important subthemes that are crucial for analysis. The idea and purpose of establishing the Presidential Club as a forum for former presidents to share their experiences and wisdom represents a significant institutional innovation in politics and governance. This idea is based on the premise that the leadership experience of former presidents is a valuable resource that can be utilized for the good of the country. The creation of this forum aims to establish

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a space where former national leaders can provide advice and perspectives based on their experiences during their tenure. The Presidential Club functions as a platform where former presidents can gather and discuss various important issues faced by the nation. Through these discussions, former presidents can share insights on various aspects of governance, including economic policies, international diplomacy, national security, and social issues. Their experience in managing these challenges during their time in office gives them a unique perspective that can assist current leaders in making complex strategic decisions.

The existence of this forum is expected to serve as a useful platform for current leaders to gain valuable insights. Former presidents, who have gone through various situations and crises, can offer advice based on real-life experience, not just theory. This advice can be particularly valuable in crisis situations, where swift and precise decisions are required. The presence of the Presidential Club could contribute to more prudent decision-making based on empirical data. The objectives of the Presidential Club include aspects of political continuity and stability. Through this forum, it is hoped that there will be continuity in policies between the new and the old government. Former presidents can provide guidance on policies they have implemented and their impacts, enabling the new administration to consider continuing effective policies and altering those that were less successful. This can reduce political uncertainty and strengthen national stability, which is crucial for economic and social progress. Furthermore, this forum could serve as a mechanism for the transfer of knowledge between generations of leaders. Retired presidents still possess much knowledge and experience that can be shared with the younger generation of leaders. This transfer of knowledge is important to ensure that lessons from the past are not lost, but rather passed on and integrated into future strategies and policies. It can also function as a political education tool for aspiring leaders, helping them understand the complexities and challenges they will face. The establishment of the Presidential Club could also strengthen international diplomacy. Former presidents often have extensive networks of international relations and experience in international negotiations. They can act as advisors in international diplomacy, offering suggestions on the best ways to interact with other nations, manage international relations, and navigate global geopolitics. This can be an invaluable asset to the government in advancing national interests on the global stage. The idea and purpose behind the formation of the Presidential Club reflect an understanding of the importance of experience and wisdom in governance. This forum is not only intended to recognize the contributions of former presidents but also to harness their knowledge and insights for the benefit of the country. By providing a space for former leaders to share their experiences, the Presidential Club can become an important instrument in supporting leadership continuity, political stability, and knowledge transfer. It shows great potential for enhancing the quality of governance and strengthening the political order in Indonesia through the synergy of experience and knowledge from former national leaders.

The reactions and support from various parties, including President Jokowi and political parties such as the Partai Demokrat and PAN, serve as important indicators in understanding the acceptance and potential success of the proposal to establish the Presidential Club. The support from President Jokowi signals a consensus at the highest level of government regarding the importance of collaboration among leaders, both current and

retired. This reflects an awareness of the value of experience and wisdom from former presidents in helping to guide national policies and strategies. Support from major political parties like the Democratic Party and PAN indicates the potential for cross-party agreement on the value of the Presidential Club. The Partai Demokrat, with its long history in government, views this forum as an opportunity to ensure that past policies and experiences continue to contribute to the country's development. Meanwhile, PAN, with its strong base among moderate Muslim voters, supports this initiative as a way to strengthen political stability and continuity. This cross-party support not only reflects mutual understanding but also signals the evolving political dynamics in Indonesia, which is increasingly open to institutional innovation. In a political context often marked by fragmentation, the consensus on establishing the Presidential Club signifies political maturity among the elites. It suggests that they are capable of looking beyond partisan interests and recognizing the importance of collaboration for the greater national good. The support from various parties also indicates recognition of the need for a formal mechanism for the transfer of knowledge and experience between generations of leaders. With the backing of President Jokowi and key political parties, there is hope that the Presidential Club can function as an effective platform for learning and consultation. This is critical given the challenges Indonesia faces in various areas, from economics to social and political issues, all of which require well-thought-out, experience-based policies. Widespread support can help build legitimacy and public trust in the Presidential Club. When the public sees that this initiative is supported by influential political actors, they are more likely to believe that the forum will function effectively and provide tangible benefits. Public legitimacy is essential to ensure that the Presidential Club does not become an elitist forum detached from the realities of society, but instead genuinely contributes to national welfare. This support from various parties can also be interpreted as a sign that there is room for change and innovation within Indonesia's political structure. It opens the door for the creation of similar mechanisms at other levels or in different contexts, which could ultimately strengthen democracy and governance in Indonesia. Thus, the Presidential Club could serve as a model for similar initiatives that promote collaboration and synergy among leaders from diverse political backgrounds and experiences.

The benefits and implications of the establishment of the Presidential Club include the potential advantages in terms of leadership continuity, political stability, and knowledge transfer. With the Presidential Club in place, it is expected that policy continuity will occur, which can reduce political uncertainty and strengthen national stability. The creation of this forum allows for ongoing dialogue between former presidents and current leaders, which can help maintain consistency in the implementation of policies and long-term development strategies. Policy continuity is crucial because drastic changes in government policy often lead to uncertainty, which can disrupt economic and social stability. The leadership continuity sought through the Presidential Club contributes to political stability. Political stability is a vital foundation for sustainable economic and social development. By providing a forum where former presidents can offer input and advice, current leaders can make more informed decisions based on past experiences. This can reduce the risk of political conflict and foster the creation of a more harmonious and stable political environment. Knowledge transfer between former presidents and current leaders is also one of the main benefits of

the Presidential Club. Former presidents, having navigated various challenges and crises during their terms, possess profound insights into various aspects of governance and public policy. By sharing their experiences, former presidents can help current leaders avoid the same mistakes and adopt best practices that have proven to be effective. This can enhance the quality of governance as the policies and decisions made will be more informed and based on real-life experiences. Overall, the establishment of the Presidential Club offers significant benefits in terms of leadership continuity, political stability, and knowledge transfer. This forum can serve as an essential platform for maintaining policy continuity, improving the quality of governance, and supporting national political stability. Through ongoing dialogue between former presidents and current leaders, as well as mentoring for future generations of leaders, the Presidential Club has great potential to strengthen the political and governance framework in Indonesia. Additionally, the contributions of former presidents in international diplomacy and public policy innovation can assist Indonesia in facing global challenges and advancing national interests.

On the suprastructure side, it involves the formal organization of the text or discourse itself, including the schemes and categories used to structure the information. In suprastructure analysis, the author examines how the media and political actors organize their news and statements about the Presidential Club to influence public perception. This includes the choice of headlines, lead paragraphs, and conclusions that are structured in such a way as to highlight or obscure certain aspects of the issue. The ideas and reactions related to the establishment of the Presidential Club become the main subject in exploring how these ideas develop, are accepted, and are considered by various political actors in Indonesia. Prabowo Subianto, as the figure who proposed the creation of this club, emphasized the need for a forum where former presidents could gather to exchange experiences and knowledge from their governance. This idea emerged as a response to the challenges of maintaining leadership continuity and political stability in Indonesia, given the rapid political changes and complex dynamics. The support provided by President Joko Widodo is crucial in legitimizing the 'Presidential Club' concept. This support affirms that the idea is recognized at the current leadership level, strengthening the argument for the benefits of cross-generational and cross-party cooperation to maintain solid political stability. It also reflects efforts to build continuity in strategic decision-making and national policy by leveraging the collective experience of former presidents.

The response from political parties, including the Partai Demokrat and PAN, plays a crucial role in the socio-political dynamics of Indonesia concerning the establishment of the 'Presidential Club.' The Partai Demokrat, with its long history and significant contributions to Indonesian politics, welcomed the idea of creating this club as a strategic step to maintain stable leadership continuity. They view the 'Presidential Club' as a potential platform to facilitate intergenerational knowledge transfer, which is seen as crucial in maintaining the consistency of national policy direction. The support from the Democratic Party also reflects its commitment to the principles of democracy and sustainability in the nation's development. On the other hand, PAN, with a strong support base among moderate Muslims, also supports the formation of the 'Presidential Club.' They recognize the potential of this club to play a key role in supporting broader political stability in Indonesia. In the context of

Indonesia's political pluralism, PAN's support demonstrates recognition of the significant contributions of former national leaders in maintaining social harmony and cohesion. Both of these political parties also view the 'Presidential Club' as a way to address the complex challenges of modern governance. This club could serve as a forum for intergenerational dialogue, where past leaders can transfer their experiences to current leaders to strengthen national leadership capacity. This is particularly important in the context of globalization and the rapid changes in global political and economic dynamics. The support from the Democratic Party and PAN for the 'Presidential Club' also indicates that this idea may have the potential to garner broader cross-party support in the future. By considering the constructive contributions of former presidents in state governance, this club could become an important element in building strong and sustainable institutional development in Indonesia.

Microstructure relates to the linguistic and rhetorical details within discourse, such as word choice, metaphors, and persuasive strategies. In this context, an analysis of the language used in discussions about the 'Presidential Club' can reveal underlying biases, ideologies, and hidden interests of the speakers. Word choices such as "positive," "constructive," "collective wisdom," and "legacy of wisdom" are deliberately selected in the context of the 'Presidential Club' to create a supportive tone and reinforce the concept. These terms not only convey a positive impression but also highlight the constructive values of the club, which serves as a platform for gathering and sharing the wisdom gained from the leadership experiences of former presidents. The use of these words not only fosters optimism about the club's contribution to political stability and leadership continuity but also affirms its commitment to national interests. On the other hand, technical terms such as "leadership continuity," "knowledge transfer," and "political stability" are employed to underscore the seriousness of the idea behind the establishment of the 'Presidential Club.' These terms highlight the club's essential role in maintaining leadership continuity, safeguarding the political stability necessary for sustainable national development, and emphasizing the importance of transferring knowledge and experience from former presidents to future generations. In terms of sentence structure and style, this narrative uses long, complex sentences to elaborate on ideas in detail. This approach not only demonstrates an in-depth and academic analysis but also ensures that every aspect of the 'Presidential Club' formation is thoroughly considered. Declarative sentences are used to reinforce support for the club, providing assurance that this initiative is the right and crucial step in the political and developmental context of the nation. From a rhetorical and argumentative perspective, this narrative relies on rational arguments supported by facts and opinions from prominent political figures. This is done to build credibility and trust in the concept of establishing the 'Presidential Club.' Persuasive rhetoric is carefully employed to convince readers that the club is not merely an idea but a wise solution to advance effective governance and robust political stability in Indonesia. The chosen terminology, the complex and declarative style, and the rational and persuasive rhetorical approach all play vital roles in constructing a strong and convincing narrative about the importance of establishing the 'Presidential Club' within the political context of Indonesia. By effectively utilizing these tools, the narrative not only provides a comprehensive understanding but also stimulates

critical thinking and further discussion about the future of leadership and political stability in the country.

By applying Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis approach, the author delves deeper into how the narrative of the formation of the 'Presidential Club' functions not only as a means of conveying information but also as a tool to shape public opinion and reinforce the political positions of the actors involved. Van Dijk views discourse as a way to reproduce and maintain power and ideology, which is relevant in the formation of this club in Indonesia. The macrostructure of this narrative emphasizes that its central theme is the 'Presidential Club' and the various benefits expected from its existence. This includes the club's objectives and its impact on the political and social dynamics in Indonesia. The suprastructure of this analysis shows that the text is systematically and logically organized to maximize influence and persuasion on the audience. This structured arrangement helps convey the message about the importance of the club clearly and convincingly. Meanwhile, the microstructure of the discourse reveals the strategic use of word choices, sentences, and rhetoric to build support and legitimacy for the idea of establishing the 'Presidential Club.' The use of positive terminology such as "a platform for sharing collective wisdom" or "strengthening leadership continuity" reinforces the narrative with a supportive and optimistic tone. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis approach provides insight into how the narrative about the 'Presidential Club' is constructed, organized, and presented to influence public opinion and strengthen the political positions of the involved actors. The analysis of the macrostructure, suprastructure, and microstructure helps to unpack the complexity and goals of this discourse in a broader political and social context (Haidar & Haquq, 2024; Yang & Ping, 2024).

### **Resistance and Reflection: A Critical Analysis of the Discourse on the Formation of the Presidential Club**

Several responses to the discourse on the formation of the Presidential Club have expressed skepticism. One such response comes from the Indonesian Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP), represented by its politician, Deddy Yevry Sitorus. Deddy Yevry Sitorus questioned the urgency and relevance of the proposed institution, particularly given the existence of the Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres) that is already in place (CNN Indonesia, 2024c). In his view, while the plan appears promising, fundamental questions about the need for such a new institution arise. He argued that if the goal of the Presidential Club is to facilitate the exchange of ideas between future presidents and former presidents, this could be done informally without institutionalizing it. Deddy Yevry Sitorus also highlighted the potential complications that might arise in the operationalization of the club. According to him, the diversity of ideologies, governmental contexts, and experiences among former presidents could become a source of conflict and confusion. He expressed concern that the adoption of differing ideologies and diverse experiences might obscure the club's focus on its primary goal, which is to provide valuable input for future leadership (CNN Indonesia, 2024c). Additionally, in his statements, he emphasized the need to consider the diversity and complexity of national political dynamics, as well as to avoid the creation of new institutions that might be ineffective or even counterproductive. This underscores the importance of dialogue and critical reflection in designing institutional structures that are

efficient and relevant in the context of Indonesia's ongoing political and social changes. A perspective aligned with Deddy Yevry Sitorus's view comes from the Executive Director of the National Political Studies Center (KPN), Adib Miftahul. Like Deddy Yevry Sitorus, Adib Miftahul expressed doubts about the urgency of the formation of the club. For him, even if the plan is carried out, the urgency of its formation is not particularly high. However, Adib Miftahul also emphasized that the formation of the club would not pose a problem if it were to be realized. In his view, the Presidential Club serves a similar role to Wantimpres, albeit in a different form. He also observed the specific goals that Prabowo Subianto might want to achieve through the formation of the club. He pointed out Prabowo Subianto's efforts to improve the relationship between President Joko Widodo, the Chairperson of PDIP, and the fifth President of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri, which had been tense, particularly after the 2024 presidential election (CNN Indonesia, 2024g). It is believed that this step might be intended to reduce tensions between them, and thus, using the Presidential Club as a platform to facilitate dialogue and reconciliation among key political leaders could help improve strained relationships and create a more harmonious atmosphere in the national political dynamics.

The initiative to establish the Presidential Club by Prabowo Subianto reflects his desire to create political stability in Indonesia. This perspective views the club as a means to reduce political conflict and opposition during his tenure as president. The belief in the discourse surrounding the formation of this club is that it can alleviate the political instability that often arises in the national political dynamics. Furthermore, there is a conviction that the club could serve as a platform to facilitate reconciliation between various political interests, with the ultimate goal of achieving national unity and cohesion. Adib Miftahul's opinion provides further insight into the potential objectives and implications of the proposed formation of the Presidential Club. His view underscores the political complexities involved in the establishment of the club, as well as its impact on political dynamics and national stability. This emphasizes the importance of a thorough and critical examination of such institutional initiatives to understand their long-term consequences for governance and politics in Indonesia as a whole.

The discourse surrounding the proposed formation of the Presidential Club by Prabowo Subianto has attracted the attention of various groups, including politicians and political observers, who have provided critical responses to this idea. Through Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model, the views and arguments within this discourse can be examined at three levels: macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure (van Dijk, 2005; Yang & Ping, 2024). This approach helps uncover the meaning, organization, and micro-elements within the text, thereby offering a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the discourse (Mariah et al., 2023; Mukramah & Nurhasanah Purba, 2022).

At the macro structure level, this discourse centers on the main theme of the urgency and relevance of establishing the Presidential Club in Indonesia. The idea has sparked debate, as the existence of this institution is seen as lacking a clear foundation of need, particularly given the presence of the Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres), which serves a similar function. In this context, the skeptical response from politicians such as Deddy Yevry Sitorus from the PDIP represents a narrative questioning the efficiency and

benefits of the proposed new institution. Furthermore, the issues raised not only address institutional aspects but also broader political impacts, such as the potential ideological and experiential conflicts among the former presidents involved in the club. On the other hand, the argument that the Presidential Club could serve as a platform for political reconciliation, as expressed by Adib Miftahul, adds a new dimension to this discourse—namely, the effort to create political stability through dialogue among elites. Thus, the macro structure of this text reflects a profound debate on the need, goals, and potential impacts of the proposed institution, as well as its relevance in Indonesia's dynamic political context.

At the suprastructure level, this discourse is organized in the form of a narrative consisting of several logical components: the introduction of the idea, critical responses, and further interpretation of the political implications of establishing the Presidential Club. In the opening of the narrative, the text introduces the idea of forming the institution, initiated by Prabowo Subianto. This section creates a framework that provides space to present the pro and contra arguments that emerge. Subsequently, the skeptical argument from Deddy Yevry Sitorus is presented, focusing on the fundamental questions regarding the urgency and relevance of the Presidential Club. In this sequence, the critique directed at the institutional efficiency and potential risks arising from the ideological diversity among the former presidents is emphasized. The narrative then progresses by incorporating the perspective of Adib Miftahul, which adds a new dimension regarding the political goals behind the formation of the club, such as the effort to create political reconciliation. In this way, the suprastructure of the text provides a logically flowing overview, allowing the reader to follow the argumentation from the introduction to critical reflection.

At the microstructure level, the analysis focuses on the linguistic elements used to reinforce the meaning of the discourse. At this level, the choice of words such as "skeptical," "urgency," and "relevance" reflects a critical stance toward the idea of forming the Presidential Club. Additionally, the use of phrases like "potential conflict" and "operational complexity" highlights the risks associated with the existence of the institution. In Deddy Yevry Sitorus' view, word choices such as "can be done informally" indicate a preference for simpler and more efficient solutions rather than the establishment of a new institution. Conversely, in Adib Miftahul's argument, phrases like "improve relations" and "create a harmonious atmosphere" reflect the potential positive outcomes of the initiative, though he also expresses doubt about the urgency of the institution. In terms of syntax, the sentences in the text are structured in parallel, creating a coherent argumentative structure. The relationships between propositions are also apparent in the development of arguments that complement each other, both from critical and more supportive perspectives.

Ideologically, there are power dynamics and conflicts of interest within Indonesian politics. The skeptical perspective, represented by Deddy Yevry Sitorus, emphasizes the importance of institutional efficiency and the potential obstacles arising from the diversity of ideologies and experiences among former presidents. This implies that the establishment of a new institution without a clear need could exacerbate political uncertainty. On the other hand, Adib Miftahul's viewpoint underscores the potential of the Presidential Club as a means to alleviate political tensions, particularly in efforts to create stability and dialogue among political elites. Therefore, this text not only serves as a medium for expressing

opinions but also reflects the ideological struggles and interests within national politics. In critical discourse analysis, it is crucial to consider the external factors influencing this text, such as the post-2024 presidential election political dynamics and the relationships between President Joko Widodo, Prabowo Subianto, and Megawati Soekarnoputri. These factors provide a backdrop that strengthens the meaning of the discourse and helps explain why the idea of the Presidential Club has become a controversial issue. Furthermore, the analysis reveals how this text is used as a tool to build or maintain power, either through criticism of the institutional initiative or support for its potential benefits. In this macro, superstructure, and micro analysis, the discourse on the formation of the Presidential Club reflects the complexity of Indonesian politics. The meaning at the macrostructure level shows that this idea cannot be separated from the broader context of political change, while the superstructure analysis reveals how the text is structured to create a logical and convincing narrative. At the microstructure level, linguistic elements help to build a richer meaning, both in supporting and critiquing the initiative. Thus, Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis allows for an exploration of this text, providing insights into how language and discourse are used to create, maintain, or challenge power within the dynamics of Indonesian politics.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The discourse on the formation of the Presidential Club illustrates the complexity and political dynamics associated with Prabowo Subianto's idea of creating an exclusive forum among former Indonesian presidents. In the critical analysis conducted, it is revealed that the establishment of this club raises critical questions about access, control, and the use of knowledge in the context of political decision-making. Resistance to this idea stems from concerns about the potential for ideological conflict and the operational complexities of the club. Furthermore, the importance of a thorough examination of such institutional initiatives is emphasized in order to understand their long-term implications for politics and national stability. Thus, this discussion highlights the need for careful consideration and regulation in designing such institutions to ensure they genuinely contribute to the progress and welfare of Indonesia.

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two are often brought together through collaborative discussions on common issues of nationalism.

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