



Historical Review of Military Involvement In Indonesian Politics

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was: 1). Describing the history of the military establishment and institutions, 2). Describing the military involvement in Indonesian politics, 3). Analyzing the early history of military involvement in Indonesian politics. This study is a descriptive qualitative research, purpose of the study was to determine how the early history of military involvement in Indonesian politics. The results showed 1). political role of the army and the format is actualized through the effort to uphold and defend the independence 2). Since the guided democracy begun the military has entered into Indonesian politics. 3). Military power becomes greater after "supersemar" and reached its peak during the "orde baru" regim.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The establishment of an armed force in a country is aimed at protecting and defending the sovereignty of the country. But in reality, there is some expansion of the role inherent in the armed forces. This expansion is strongly related to the ideographic and development of a country (Faturahman 2000) (Surbakti 1992). In general, it can be said that the influence of the military with its multi-function in government is more due to the history of the struggle of the nation and the country concerned. In third world countries such as Indonesia Military involvement in politics has become a common symptom (Asshiddiqie 2006) (Sibuea 2010) (Wahid 2001). In addition to performing defense functions, the military also performs socio-political functions, military involvement in socio-political functions related to the fact that third world countries generally only gain independence or in an effort to establish themselves so that it does not have a stable political system and a stable government (Basuki 2013) (Widoyoko and Pontoh 2003) (Fattah 2005). In addition, the achievement of independence carried out by gun violence in the fight against the invaders involved military elements in it (Fattah 2005). Thus, due to the unstable government and the military's contribution to achieving independence, it allows the military to enter political territory, which is not actually military territory but civilian territory (Natalia N.D.) (Sugiarti N.D.).

However, this phenomenon of military intervention in politics does not occur in countries that have been politically, economically, and socially advanced compared to developing countries (Damanhuri 2010) (Nugroho 2012) (Alkostar 2009). In developed countries, the military is under civilian supremacy. Established political systems, high per capita income, high levels of industrialization, coupled with the very high political and legal awareness of the people, have reduced the likelihood of military intervention. In the implementation of national and state life, harmonious civil-military relations are very important for a nation because it affects its national resilience, even being the main prerequisite that determines the progress of a country (Firman 2013). The military needs government support in terms of budget allocations needed to build up the strength of the armed forces in order to overcome the imper arising threat. Similarly, civilians need the military as protection against security (Widoyoko and Pontoh 2003) (Gunaryono 2009). In the Indonesian context, since the proclamation of independence, the political constellation and the rise of political regulation are inseparable from the influence of military group involvement (Wieringa 2010).

In Indonesia Military involvement in politics is slightly different from other developing countries, where the Indonesian military does not enter politics through power struggles or military coups as is common in Latin American countries and some Asian countries, but military involvement into the political world is strongly related to the history of military formation itself, at first the Indonesian military was not formed instantly, but rather formed itself through the struggle for independence against Dutch or Japanese colonialism (Zainul n.d.) (Hamzah 2018). His role in gaining independence made the military conduct activities, not only physically fighting but also involved in the preparation of the strategy of the establishment of the Indonesian nation. This piece of independence history then made the military not only an instrument of national defense from the interference of outside forces, but also an important part in The Indonesian political decision making (Hendropriyono 2009) (Setijo 2006) (Utami 2019).

But other reasons that strengthen the dual function of ABRI include: first, the historical argument that ABRI was born of the people, grew up with the people and fought with the people. they were formed not in government control, ABRI was formed from young people who fought for the people and coordinated in accordance with the common goal, namely getting rid of the invaders (Sahasrad 2016) (Gunaryono 2009). Second, what is put forward to justify the dual function of ABRI is about the failure of civil government in driving the wheels of state government. Third, concerning the understanding of an integralistic State or a familial State that explains that each State is a miniature of a core family where each family member has the same rights and obligations. Thus, it is impossible to separate the positions of father-mother and son. So that between civilians and military coexist without distinction. If there is a contact between the two is a very natural thing. another reason that causes ABRI to want to play a role in the political arena is economic reasons. According to Coen Husain Pontoh this is the main reason for the dual function of ABRI in politics, economic rulers (Pieris 2004). Especially such motivations can help in funding military operations. So from that reason it can be said logical when the military is made part of the people, but the problem is not separated from the military itself that they are very anti-democracy so in associating with civil society is very rigid. In the political arena, the concept of democracy that puts the public interest first and prioritizes human rights is not found in military education (Supriyatno 2014) (Salam and Akmal 2018).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses descriptive research type (Soendari 2012) (Zellatifanny and Mudjiyanto 2018) (Moleong and Edition 2004), descriptive research method can be interpreted as a process of solving a problem that is investigated by describing or describing the state of an object or research subject of a person, institution, or society based on the facts that appear as they are. The technique of collecting data and information in this research is to use the method of library research or library study by collecting books, papers and documents from various sources and places and other things that support and also conduct discussions with various parties.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The State of the United States of Indonesia which was established on December 27, 1949 with the Round Table Conference could not last long in Indonesia. This is because the form of the composition of the State of the Union is not based on the will of the people, but rather a political strategy of the leaders in order to gain recognition of sovereignty by the Dutch Government, thus causing demands from various circles to return in the form of the composition of the Unitary State. The People of Indonesia want the various parts of RIS to be merged and merged with the Republic of Indonesia. In the end there are only three states, namely the Republic of Indonesia, the State of East Indonesia and the State of East Sumatra.

Article 44 of the RIS Constitution, states that the merger or change of a part area should only be done based on the rules established by the Federal Law, by upholding the principle of the will of the people who are declared freely with the consent of the relevant section 52. However, because the people's desire to merge the parts areas is very hard and can not wait for the existence of the Federal Law governing the merger of the parts areas, so the merger is only done with the Emergency Act. Then after March 9, 1950 joined the State of Indonesia, Central Java, East Java, Madura, Padang and surrounding areas and Sabang, which was eventually followed by other parts of the region, so that almost all ris section areas merged into the Republic of Indonesia. Provisional Law 1950 (UUDS 1950) In the formation of the Unitary State some parties want the immediate inclusion of parts of the Republic of Indonesia, especially ris parts that have mostly joined the Republic of Indonesia. However, this method is considered heavy because of the possibility of difficulties in foreign relations, because RIS has gained international recognition. Therefore, the establishment of the Unitary State is carried out by constitutional means by implementing changes to the RIS Constitution through article 190 KRIS.

Based on the Charter of Approval, finally formed a Joint Committee chaired by Prof. Dr. Soepomo (RIS) and Abdul Hakim (ri). The task of the committee is to organize the Charter of Approval, especially regarding the design of the Provisional Constitution of the Unitary State in accordance with the Charter of Approval, and the results of the Joint Committee is used as the basis for talks between the Ris and Ri Governments. After an agreement was reached between the two parties on the plan of the new Constitution.

Article I and II of the Federal Law No. 7 of 1950 have changed the form of the composition of the State of the Union into a form of Unitary State that was ratified and announced in Jakarta on August 15, 1950 58. Article I specifies the amendment of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of the United States into a Provisional Constitution and after that is loaded the text of the Provisional Constitution, namely Mukaddimahnya along with 146 articles. While article II determines about the entry into force of the Provisional Constitution. The change of the composition of the country was carried out by changing the RIS Constitution to the Provisional Constitution. Until August 17, 1950 there was a form of unity with the Provisional Constitution as the Basic Law.

From some of the provisions above, shows that the state of Indonesia at that time was in the form of unity with the basis of decentralization. Where the state area will be divided into regions that have the right and authority to regulate and take care of their own households (regional autonomy). The Indonesian System of Government during the Provisional Constitution is a parliamentary system of government. Under this Constitution, the President is only the head of State, and does not hold the position of head of government at all. The government is in the hands of the Council of Ministers chaired by a Prime Minister. State institutions that existed during the validity of the UudS, namely in the period of August 17, 1950- July 5, 1959 according to the Constitution Article 44 existing state institutions.

Legislative power is held by the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives represents all Indonesians and consists of a number of members whose magnitude is determined based on the calculation of every 300,000 Indonesian citizens have a representative. The House of Representatives is elected for a period of 4 years. And the membership of the House of Representatives

can not be concurrently by other institutions, this is so as not to overlap in the division of power. A member of the House of Representatives who concurrently serves in another institution may not exercise his rights and obligations as a member of the body as long as he or she held a dual position. In its authority, the House of Representatives has the right to submit a proposal to the government and has the right to make changes in the proposed law submitted by the government to the Dpr. If you are going to propose a law then send the proposal to be ratified by the government to the president.

The influence of the 1950 Constitution on the military position in Indonesian politics, in 1950-1959 Indonesia used the constitution of the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1950 (UUDS 1950) or commonly called the Era of Liberal Democracy. This period lasted from August 17, 1950 to July 6, 1959. Before the United States of Indonesia was declared disbanded, at that time there was a massive demonstration demanding the creation of a Unitary State. Thus through an agreement between three states, the State of the Republic of Indonesia, the State of East Indonesia, and the State of East Sumatra produced an agreement on the establishment of the Unitary State on August 17, 1950. Since August 17, 1950, the State of Indonesia has been governed by using the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1950 which adheres to the parliamentary cabinet system. The application of the constitution will certainly have an impact on the patterns of state regulation including the relationship between civilians and the military, because in the constitution it is regulated about the political role of the two. The constitutional changes in late 1949 resulted in a decrease in the political role of the military and even the military should not interfere in politics.

The military leadership was taken by a small group of Military Technocrats, most of whom graduated from the Dutch military academy in the pre-war era and had technical abilities that made them trained officers. Some of these technocratic officers took the stand of not being directly involved in politics and focused on building the army as a stable and effective force. The officers were Colonel A.H Nasution (Army Chief of Staff at a very young age of 30 years)⁶⁶. They realized that with the ability not only the political leaders of the government, in addition to the constitution does not want the TNI to appear as a political force, then the political leaders agreed to hand over the entire government of the country to the hands of more senior political leaders and more experienced in the field of politics. In addition, military leaders at the time also realized that they were not representatives of the entire corps of officers and did not mandate to take political action measures on behalf of all officers. The military at that time cendrung only as local combat units rather than integrated military. So many commanders in different areas of principles and views with military leaders in Jakarta, initiative programs taken by Jakarta dreamers are considered not to represent the interests of non-professional military areas. They still assume that army donations during the revolution still give the same right to continue the political role of the present after independence was won.

The military's understanding of him as a non-political force did not last long and was soon pulled back into the political arena. This is not because of the political ambitions of the officers, the military or the superficial views of politicians, but because the mere state of politics is in turmoil, the power structure is no longer erratic so the military is unlikely to allow itself to be isolated in the political sphere of life. Successive governments formed from a fragile coalition of groups that controlled Army Headquarters were unable to enforce their authority over their rival regions. In such circumstances, it can be expected that competition between groups among the army will be involved in the conflict between the government and the opposition in parliament, and each of its own allies. The divisions within the army's military body reflect its origins in the Dutch, Japanese, and revolutionary times. The central leadership was in the hands of Nasution, Simatupang, and others who wanted professionalism in the army, an attitude that benefited people like them, and a herarkist structure that they could control. Their opponents are regional voters who prefer the spirit of revolution, military decentralization, and a minimum hierarchy.

By early 1950 military involvement in government was declining. At that time the military was stationed as an instrumental force. But this situation did not last long because the military itself was involved in a political crisis on "The Events of October 17, 1952". On this occasion, the military

demanded the dissolution of the Provisional House of Representatives. Because in their view DPRs has harmed the military. On 10 February 1958 Major General Nasution formed the National Front for the Liberation of West Irian (FNPIB). FNPIB consists of laborers, peasants, youth and military. The official purpose was to liberate West Irian from the Netherlands and other purposes as a political tool of the Army to encourage guided democracy under the 1945 Constitution.

The first major political crisis involving the military was the "17 October 1952" event. With successive government support between 1950 and 1952, technocratic military leadership has sought to build a smaller, more disciplined, and more professional force. Their plan to rationalize and demobilize was opposed by many poorly trained former PETA officers, who felt their positions would be downgraded in proportion to those who had been "westernized" from Jakarta and Bandung. When opposition politicians support former PETA officers, as part of their attacks on the government, map officers of course receive that support in an effort against the army leadership. But what the opposition parliamentary opposition considers the legitimate use of civilian rulers against the armed forces, is seen by the army as meddling in unacceptable and left-to-leave army internal questions. Undeterred by the Parliamentary Democratic system, a group of officers in Jakarta organized a mass demonstration in front of the presidential palace on October 17, 1952, during which a delegation of senior officers occupied President Sukarno and urged him to dissolve parliament. The events of October 17th were not a coup d'etat of army leaders to overthrow the government. But it is more aptly said to be a reflection of their disillusionment as military technocrats against the efforts of civilian groups that prevent them from doing what they consider to be important policies. However, they realized that the dissolution of parliament would put them in a very strong position to take further political actions.

President Sukarno decided not only to reject the dissolution demands, but also to support former PETA officers who had carried out a series of coups by several regional commanders who had ties to the army chief of staff. Finally in 1952 President Sukarno dismissed the Army chief of staff and other technocratic officers. The events of October 17, 1953 showed that if the army remained divided in more or less balanced groups, the officers would take advantage of the political opportunities posed by fierce competition among civilian groups to continue the interests of their own groups, even if they could not yet imagine the broad political role as a long-term goal.

4. CONCLUSION

The role and position of the military in the Indonesian political system and the history of his birth played an active role in the political life of the nation and is one of the forces in the struggle of the nation. In the pre-independence period, the political role of the army was realized through the political activities of the warriors, who, because of their awareness of taking up arms, sought to drive out the invaders and liberate the Indonesian nation. In the following period, the role and political format of the army was actualized through efforts to uphold and maintain independence on 17 August 1945. At the end of 1949 there was a constitutional change of the United States of Indonesia and the Provisional Law of 1950 (UUDS 1950) which was based on Liberal Democracy. This constitutional change resulted in a decrease in the role of military politics even require the military should not interfere in politics. The military leadership was taken by a small group of Military Technocrats, most of whom graduated from the Dutch military academy in the pre-war era and had technical abilities that made them trained officers. Some of these technocratic officers took the stand of not being directly involved in politics and focused on building the army as a stable and effective force. In the early 1950s until the end of the 1950s, the political life of the Indonesian nation was colored by the implementation of liberal democracy with a multi-party system. The current state of political life gave rise to government instability, a fall-out government and lasted only a few months, as each party was more likely to fight for the ideological interests of its party than the interests of the nation as a whole. In the 1950s, the socio-political role of the army began to appear surfaced, namely by becoming a pioneer to suggest a return to the strictness of political life based on the 1945 Constitution that continued with the events of October 17, 1952.

The formal socio-political role of the TNI/ABRI in this period is since the TNI had the opportunity to become the National Council formed by President Sukarno. Since military-led democracy has begun to enter the Indonesian political system, the military is not only active in the world of politics, administration, and diplomatic environment, they also play an important role in the economy of the State. Since 1957 where Dutch-owned companies have been nationalized, military agents are appointed to manage such businesses such as land, hospitality, transportation facilities, and trading companies. This is a so-called middle ground or The Army's Middle way where ABRI in addition to being a military force is also a socio-political force shoulder to shoulder to help the struggle of society. Coupled with the success of the TNI eradicating PRRI that makes the strength and authority of the TNI, especially the Army politically increased. then it was reinforced by the existence of a war emergency at that time (SOB) and the conception of dual function of ABRI proclaimed by General Nasution in 1958 which stated that the military not only serves as a means of defense of the country but also serves in civilian life (government function). The outbreak of the 30 September 1965 Movement rebellion (G.30S/PKI/1965) also impacted the increasing military power (TNI-AD in particular) in the political map of the Indonesian nation.

This is because after the G.30S / PKI / 1965, two major powers at that time, namely the power of President Sukarno and the PKI became weak and destroyed. Military power (TNI-AD) became greater after the issuance of a Warrant of March 11, 1966 for. The army's political journey culminated in the New Order (Suharto) by castration of political parties whose ideological aspirations were combined into two parties, namely the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). These political parties no longer had a specific ideological base as in the old order, factional opposition within the political parties was inevitable and resulted in the weakness of the two parties. In contrast to the Working Class supported by the Bureaucracy and ABRI this group became the ruler in carrying out the vision of the New Order mission, as well as mastering parelemen and government known as (ABRI, Bureaucracy, and Golkar / ABG).

Since the New Order Government, military involvement in various non-military occupations has been an inevitability. Both through the doctrine of ABRI's socio-political role and the underlying provisions of legislation, down to its structural implementation, ABRI's presence in various lives has become inseparable from the journey of this Republic. Dwifungsi ABRI institutionalization in the Suharto era was part of the constitution of the Pyramid of the New Order which included a President with a very dominant power, a very active armed force in politics, as well as a decision-making process centered on bureaucracy, the phenomenon then raised public doubts about the effectiveness of the concept of Dwifungsi ABRI.

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