

Patterns Of Civil-Military Social Interaction: Post ABRI's Dual Function In Indonesia Was Abolished

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Abstract

This article discusses how patterns of interaction between civilians and the military after ABRI's dual function was abolished in Indonesia. In particular, in contemporary democracy. Starting from the arrest of activist leader to the military's links with the government. In this article, the author uses the literature review method. Where, the authors look for sources of reference and gather information from books, articles, news, and the internet. The results in writing this article illustrate that interaction between civilians and the military is still dynamic and has not yet reached establishment. All that is seen from a democratic value system that does not promise freedom and the influence of intimacy between former military and government raises awareness of civil society. So, a sense of trauma still haunts civil society.

Keywords: Arrest, ABRI, Government, Democracy.

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Introduction

Harmony in the life of the citizens of the State is not only important to be maintained alone, but harmony in life of the citizens of the State must be made the top priority of the government to maintain stability in harmony so that there is no collapse in society, especially the stability of relations between civilians and the military. Because of this, the government must be able to maintain harmony in the relationship. So far, civil-military relations have not only been built on military doctrine but also civil society. Thus explaining that military professionals can occur if they do not interfere in politics (Setiawan, at. al, 2013).

Considering how during the New Order era of the Suharto era, the military-dominated in the seat of government (Legislative, Executive) which carried out its government by implementing an authoritarian system. Where civilians are isolated in politics. Although there is room to compete in the elections, this does not guarantee a victory indicator. Nor is it the only irregularity felt by civilians. Various restrictions and restrictions are also binding to be able to express ideas and ideas about policies that were made at that time. Because of this, after nearly 32 years of President Suharto's office, in May 1998 large-scale demonstrations took place. All of that is since people cannot stand the system which does not give freedom to the people.

President Suharto was dubbed the 'father of development'. No wonder, for so long he served as a president. Various kinds of infrastructure that he built, ranging from education, the agricultural sector and so on. However, human rights are ignored. Not a few people were lost, killed during the Suharto presidential administration.

So, when the Suharto regime collapsed, it was not as easy as turning the palms of the hands of the people to eliminate the trauma that was felt during the New Order. Until now trauma is still stuck in people's memories. Instead, the government now has a discourse to reactivate the military in the ministry or government sector. The process of normalization of the past life has not yet been perfectly successful.

Indonesia is a country that adopts a democratic system. Every individual or group living in Indonesia has the right to voice their opinions and thoughts, whether through writing or a free speech (demonstration). At the beginning of Indonesia's independence, various things with state-society were regulated in the 1945 Constitution. The founders of the nation hoped that the realization of a government that spilled Indonesia's blood, bring about general prosperity and participate in world peace. All of these are the basic ideas that underlie the life of a democratic state. The founding fathers of the nation have long formulated the idea. However, in the New Order era, it turned away from the facts. The New Order put aside democratic values and put forward an authoritarian system. For this reason, it is very unnatural if that freedom is taken back.

In 2019, Indonesia will again experience tension over the policy discourse made by the government. The government made a policy discourse to reactivate the military to participate in policymaking and to join the ministry. The main reason for the government in this regard is because of the large number of officers and even active military colonels who did not receive any posts.

The discourse to reactivate military personnel in civilian positions uttered by Luhut Binsar Panjaitan (the coordinating minister for maritime affairs) struck the community. Although according to him, the military will only be placed in institutions and departments that indeed require literary expertise, it becomes a sensation. Moreover, the one who proposed was a retired TNI (Gunawan, 2019). Thus, Luhut's remarks have caused unrest among the people about the return of the military to the seat of power or government. That the possibility of civil supremacy will flare-up.

In this journal, the author will explain how the sociological conditions that occurred in society after ABRI's dual function were abolished in Indonesia. There are enough articles or journals that discuss this. One example is a journal entitled "The Development of Military Relations with Civilians in Indonesia" written by David Setiawan and his friends. However, the journal only studies from the administrative

perspective of government. For the writer, this does not describe how the anxiety experienced by the community towards the past. Although in the journal it is also explained how the exact military position is in following the capacity in the government so that harmony between civilians and the military is realized.

Articles Objectives

This article is intended to explain the pattern of social interaction between civilians and the military after the abolition of ABRI's dual function in Indonesia. Because at first the civil and military experienced a gap between the two. During the New Order era, from 1966 to 1998 the military was the dominant power holder in government. From this, many violations of irregularities made by the military against civilians. Another purpose of this article is to find out and analyze the extent of harmony between civilians and the military in the transition to democracy.

Methods

The method I use in writing this article is a literature review. In terms of finding and gathering sources that are relevant to the theme of the article set beforehand, the author gets the source from the articles, books, news, and the internet.

Results

Robertus Robet's Arrest

Robertus Robet is a lecturer in the Sociology study program at Jakarta State University. Robet is one of the founders of the Association for Democratic Education. Besides, Robet is also a human rights activist. On February 28, 2019 (Putri, 2019), to coincide with the Kamisan action aimed at highlighting the government's plan to expand civilian positions for the Indonesian national army, Robet made a speech with to reflect on the professionalism of the army, reflecting the civil struggle in the 1998 reforms to wrest supremacy and democracy from the grip the dominance of military power in the government during the new order. However, in Robet's speech, it was

considered to have insulted the military/army, and on 7 March 2019 Robet was named a suspect with alleged criminal acts of contempt against the authorities or public bodies in Indonesia.

The contents of the oration from Robet:

Good evening, friends. When viewed from the looks, this looks young all, right. There is a friend the mine who looks like a generation with me, looks like the generation of 1996, 1998, and 1996. For today I want to invite all the young friends here to remember one song from 1998 when reformation was rolled out. The song is like this,

Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces, useless, just disperse, replaced by Menwa, if necessary replaced Scouts. Never ride a city bus, let alone eat at a Tegal shop.

The sequel is too sensitive. But perhaps this song we must remember again. Why? Because there are threats that appear before us. New generations that emerge must begin to create songs like this to face the challenges of the times. For those of you who have never lived under a military regime, maybe the need to reject the return of soldiers in civilian life feels like it's not something.

But if you ever know a little, have learned history, about how the military lives in our entire civilian life, you will think twice about affirming what the government will do by returning civilian positions held by the military. Friends, this is not a personal matter, this is not a matter of us hating a group or rejecting a group. What we want to strengthen is what is called civil supremacy.

What is the civil supremacy? Civil supremacy is an idea, a principle that public life, that political life, that democratic life must be controlled and held by civilians. Why should the life of democracy and political life of the state administration be held by civilians? Can't be held by the military? Why? Does anyone know why?

Just one reason, brothers and sisters. Because if the military is the person who holds the weapon, the person who holds the weapon, the person who controls dominates the instruments of state violence can no longer control civilian life. Why?

Because weapons cannot be debated, weapons cannot be invited to dialogue. While democracy, while the life of the state must be based on rational dialogue. That is why we at the time of reform wanted to return the army to the embers.

Not because we hate the army, we love the army. What army? Professional army to protect Indonesia's defense. But we don't want the army to enter political life. Why? Because it will bring our civil life into danger. Why? Because what I said earlier, soldiers are social groups that are given the task of holding weapons and weapons are never compatible with democracy. Weapons have never been compatible with civilian life.

That is why we reject in principle what was said by Lord Luhut earlier. So if Lord Luhut says who objects, we both say, if you don't dare let me say it, we object. The whole history of democracy, the bloody history of Indonesian politics to achieve reform expressed objections to what Lord Luhut said.

So friends, if today we gather here then this must be a warning. First, for Jokowi and his government. Jokowi is a civilian government, but he cannot pawn civilian supremacy just for the sake of the dramatic election. Elections should reinforce the principles of our democracy. Not precisely undermine our democracy. Do you agree?

The contents of Robet's oration are quoted from the Tempo news published on March 7, 2019. This Robet oration shows that there is anxiety about the return of the military in government. Because of how things were during the authoritarian new order, no common sense space was given, there was no guarantee to criticize and interrupt the administration of the government. So, what Robet is doing is a form of democracy, namely interrupting government policy discourse to anticipate the possibility that is not good for civil society and the possibility that is not desired by civil society.

According to Afan Gaffar, there are two understandings concerning democracy, namely is First: The understanding of normative democracy which is ideal and is usually conceptually damaged with a good, beautiful, and interesting. Second:

Understanding of procedural democracy which is more oriented to the practice of implementing democracy in political life and "political performance (Heryanto, 2018). The meaning of democracy as the basis of community and state life implies that it is the people who provide provisions in matters concerning their lives, including in assessing State policies, because the policies of the State will determine people's lives. Thus a State that adopts a democratic system is a State that is organized based on the will and will of the people. So, it can be said that the purpose of Robet's speech is not to bring down or not to insult anyone, but only to reflect on the way of speech guaranteed by a democratic State.

Sociological perspective in this case, "humans are social beings who throughout their lives socializing with others in the process of interaction" (Guru, 2007). However, the patterns of interaction that formed between civilians and the military are still not dynamic and have not yet reached a level of establishment. In a variety of social science, literature explained that "social interaction is social relations involving relationships between individuals, individuals with groups, and groups with groups. Without social interaction, there would be no life together " (Saraswati & Widaningsih, 2006)

In this case, there were gaps between civilian groups and military groups which resulted in a dynamic relationship between the two. Military groups that have internal problems because of the many active officers who do not get positions and positions in their fields, so ask the government to give positions and positions in the seat of government (ministry). And civil groups who maintain their supremacy in the form of guided demonstrations because they do not accept policies on the military which will occupy the seat of government.

A reasonable reason to say that it is not yet dynamic and that relations or interactions between civilians and the military are not yet established is that social harmony does not appear in their interactions. In studies of social interaction. Social interaction can cause social harmony. "Through social interaction, humans work

together, respect, respect, live in harmony and cooperation. This attitude can create order and order in social life that encourages social harmony" (Waluyo, et. al, 2008).

ABRI and Civil Government

Following the collapse of the Suharto regime, at a meeting of the ABRI leadership in 2000, it was agreed to abolish ABRI's dual function doctrine which would begin after the 2004 general election. The abolition of ABRI's dual function caused a ban on the army to participate in government and political affairs. If you want to enter politics, the army is asked to leave the military first

Indonesia is a democratic country with the highest leadership (president) coming from civil society. In 1998, a large-scale demonstration took place in Indonesia, namely reform from an authoritarian government to a democratic government. Since 1998, Indonesia has been led by a president from civil society. However, in the government structure, there are still many senior ex-military or retired generals who join the government. In the process of joining, one must fulfill the agreed terms, and one of the requirements is to relinquish military positions. As for former senior military officers or retired military generals who take part in the government:

First: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is the sixth former Indonesian president with a term of two terms. Yudhoyono took office as president from October 20, 2004, to October 20, 2014. Yudhoyono was elected in the 2004 presidential election and succeeded in continuing his administration for the second period by winning the 2009 general election again. Yudhoyono is a former military rank general. From August 23, 1996, to August 7, 1997, Yudhoyono served as commander in chief of the regional military II. At that time, Suharto was president. During President Abdurrahman Wahid's administration, Yudhoyono held the position of Indonesian Minister of Mining and Energy. Not only that, in the same regime (Abdurrahman Wahid's regime), Yudhoyono also became the Coordinating Minister for Indonesian Politics and Security. And from August 10, 2001, to March 12, 2004, Yudhoyono returned to become the Coordinating

Minister for Political and Security Affairs in Indonesia during the reign of President Megawati Sukarnoputri.

Second: Luhut Binsar Panjaitan during Suharto's presidency, Luhut was a Commander in Defense of the Army Army Doctrine, Education and Training with a term of office from 16 July 1997 to 1 October 1998. Luhut during the reign of President B.J Habibie appointed as the Indonesian ambassador to Singapore. During the administration of President Abdurrahman Wahid, Luhut was appointed as Minister of Industry and Trade. And during the administration of President Joko Widodo, Luhut became Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Presidency. Not only that but also during the administration of President Joko Widodo also, Luhut was the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs of Indonesia and after that Luhut was replaced and returned to become the Coordinating Minister for Maritime and Investment Affairs on 27 July 2016 until now.

Third: Wiranto during the administration of President Suharto to President B.J Habibie, Wiranto was a commander of the Indonesian armed forces with a term of office from 16 February to 26 October 1999, at the same time, Wiranto was also the Indonesian Minister of Defense and Security. During President Abdurrahman Wahid's administration, Wiranto was the Indonesian Minister of Political, Legal and Security Coordinator with a term of office from October 26, 1999, to February 15, 2000. Within a few years and some government regimes, Wiranto during the administration of President Joko Widodo was reappointed as Coordinating Minister Indonesian Politics, Law and Security with a term of office 27 March 2016 to 20 October 2019, and now Wiranto in the second period of President Joko Widodo's administration, Wiranto was appointed as chairman of the Presidential Advisory Council of the Republic of Indonesia.

From the presentation of the three biographies of the figures above, it can be seen that the involvement of former senior military or retired generals in government is undeniable. The figures above are someone who came from the military and devoted himself to the government. 2004 was the end of ABRI's dual function.

Yudhoyono, Luhut and Wiranto have joined the government since before and after the abolition of the dual ABRI function. An important and valuable position in the government they occupied, especially when Yudhoyono became a president and also started from abolishing ABRI's dual function.

Civil society, in this case, is positioning itself to accept the conditions and sincerity to work together without any doubt about the return of the possibility of being bad for civilians. The attitude of civil society in Indonesia is not the same as other countries that have transitioned to democracy. For example Argentina, despite the democratic transition taking place, but many intricate challenges faced. Starting from the demands of civil society for the injustices and vices committed by the previous military government, to efforts to abolish the amnesty law for one of the former presidents who came from the military. Because in the amnesty law it seeks to protect the military from bad or injustice it committed in the past. As bad as possible the military in the eyes of civil society in Argentina, instead of giving room to contribute back in government (an example of this case, the writer got after reading a journal titled 'Executive Leadership and the Continuing Quest for Justice in Argentina' written by Terence Roehrig, 2009).

Civil society in Indonesia has not been spared from the demands of human rights violations in the past of President Suharto's administration to a new democratic government, but beyond that, it is undeniable that the public accepts senior military ranks or retired generals to contribute to the government. Because basically, the democracy that is embraced by Indonesia is not the same as democracy in western countries. Democracy originating from western countries becomes an understanding that is based on the principle of individual freedom (individualism) and liberalism. Different from democracy in Indonesia. Indonesia is a country that adheres to the Pancasila democratic system. Pancasila democracy is a democracy that refers to the basis of awareness of the identity of the Indonesian nation, which is not merely rational but also religious, which is not only concerned with individual interests but

also social, which is not only quantitative (majority) but also qualitative (wisdom) (Tjarsono, 2013).

According to Huntington civilian control is formed when the military submits as an implementer of the policy of civil authority. On the one hand, statesmen know the integrity and professionalism of the military. On the other hand, the military remained politically neutral and received instructions from statesmen (Yolisandry, 2014). This can be seen in the civil government in Indonesia, the control of the civilian government is very objective in carrying out control of the military, providing space in the government if it meets the requirements and adequate capacity. The attitude of statesmen or national figures also accepts without jealousy. However, the civilian government must also be aware that former military officers cannot be used as supporting electability or as a campaign tool.

Conclusion

The terauma situation in society for violence or injustice in the past is a disturbing thing in democratic governance. The government that has the primary duty to eliminate this terauma. The government wants to put its trust in the community, that events will not occur again like events in the past. And not enough with that, the government wants to make tangible evidence through policies that reflect its professionalism.

The military can join the government by fulfilling agreed conditions, ranging from relinquishing military positions to being able to behave professionally, in the sense of not taking sides in the military after being made part of the government.

The relationship between civilians and the military is still in a dynamic state and has not yet reached establishment. In many ways, civilians often fear policies that would benefit the military. Especially in this case, the military has an excess of active officers who do not get military positions.

Likewise, the relationship between civilian government and former military ranks or retirees. Not separated in an effort to create prosperity in society. Although,

this has become a vigilance of civil society about the erosion or displacement of civil supremacy in government.

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