



# The Influence of ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia) on Politics in the New Order Period

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*Received: 3 Juli 2022 / Accepted: 11 Agustus 2022 / Published: 30 December 2022*

## Abstract

The presence of the incident on October 17, 1952, which sparked a demonstration demanding the dissolution of parliament made it one of the most historic events to date. There was a division of the army into two, namely, the first camp only wanted to focus on defense while the second camp wanted to be involved in the political field which resulted in many conflicts so AH Nasution was removed from his position. In writing this article, we use the historical-descriptive method, which is a research methodology in history that has the aim of obtaining an overview and describing phenomena that occurred in the past in a systematic and detailed manner.

**Keywords:** *Politics and Military, Army, ABRI History*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that has the potential to become a big country. The ideals of independence and efforts to realize a just and prosperous society have experienced extraordinary ups and downs. New concepts have emerged in the state, including economic, political, and governmental arrangements, as well as social values contained in the 1945 Constitution. The military is an organization that often serves general interests, without including the people who are the targets of the organization's efforts. The military profession is called a voluntary profession because everyone is free to choose a job, so it is mandatory because its members cannot form voluntary associations freely, but are limited to the bureaucratic hierarchy. The military is a legal organization of physical violence. Protection of the state or nation from domestic and foreign threats.

During the parliamentary period at that time, the political situation in Indonesia was still unstable due to frequent changes in cabinets and various political disputes. Various acts of corruption have



encouraged the Indonesian people to immediately hold parliamentary elections. Well, it was this desire that sparked the phenomenon of October 17, 1952. This historic event was when some Indonesian soldiers staged a mass demonstration demanding the dissolution of parliament. The Army experienced a split between the two fields. The first camp wanted to change by focusing on defense and security. Meanwhile, other camps want a dual role for the Army, both in the political and military fields. Because this disagreement caused many conflicts within the Army, which resulted in AH Nasution being removed from his position. In the era of guided democracy, there was a competition between the military and a political party. It was also clear that President Soekarno leaned more toward the party than the military. For this reason, the army also increased its influence and occupied various regional leadership positions, from village heads to governors. As a result, many active soldiers became regional heads (Yanuarti, 2018).

In this case, the army acts as a means of national defense. the tendency of soldiers to engage in politics and decision-making is related to the role and orientation of the company and its bureaucracy. As a corporation, the military organization seeks internal control over its profession and protects it from external political scrutiny, that is what should be done to increase the level of organizational autonomy of the armed forces. The military is trying to achieve maximum autonomy and thereby soften political influence, both through institutions and political regimes. As a bureaucratic profession, the army is involved in politics until it becomes a key partner for civilian politicians and other bureaucrats in formulating and implementing national security policies. The origin of the armed forces in Indonesia is not accidental, in this case, we must admit that the Indonesian Army is a spontaneously emerging army. The army was formed not by the political party government and by the colonial government. This means that the army was formed by itself because the political elite at that time was reluctant to form an army on the first day after the proclamation of independence (Wirasaputri, 2017).

The development of the Indonesian military is an interesting phenomenon to be studied and analyzed based on its role in the social and political system in Indonesia. Historically, the military in Indonesia has experienced uncertain times in its growth and development as part of the dominant force in Indonesia. Since the military first intervened in the administration of civil affairs in the life of the state, Indeed, this seems to be an indication that it has also played an important role in the history of politics in Indonesia. Opportunities for military intervention in Indonesian politics are generally very large, considering the conditions of the political culture system that prevailed at that time were still minimal and military activities could not be limited to non-political areas (Wirasaputri, 2017).

Military participation in politics is nothing new in Indonesia. The Indonesian military moves politically by participating directly in the struggle and defending the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. In this struggle, the military uses universal methods. This means that the military does not only fight physically but also participates in the strategy of preparing the Indonesian nation and fighting with the people. During the revolution against the Dutch, Indonesian troops received political leadership and political interests. The soldiers' experience in non-military fields had two major consequences that influenced their political behavior. First, the expansion of the military's involvement in politics, administration, and business has led to the progressive politicization of the



officer corps because groups of soldiers and civilians penetrated each other. Second, military officers also gained a political advantage, which they wanted to develop further. Indonesia has passed a new law that includes a parliamentary system in which the council is elected or is accountable to parliament. The MPR was split into parties before and after the first elections in 1955, making it difficult to achieve a stable coalition government (Sahetapy, 2019)..

## 2. METHODS

In research on the Influence of ABRI in Politics in the New Order Period In this case, we use a historical-descriptive research method which is a research methodology in history that aims to obtain an overview and describe phenomena that occurred in the past in a systematic and detailed manner (Haryanto, 2017).

According to John Tosh, this historical research method involves four main stages, namely data collection, data processing, data interpretation, and report writing. These stages are interrelated and differ in the methods and techniques used.

Meanwhile, according to E. H. Carr, the historical research method involves two aspects, namely the empirical method and the interpretive method. The empirical method involves collecting and processing data, while the interpretive method involves interpreting the data taking into account the social, political, and cultural context of the past.

According to Becker, the descriptive method is the basic method in history. This method is carried out with care in collecting sources related to the research topic and interpreted carefully.

The historical research methodology used in this article includes:

### 1) Identify the research topic

The topic discussed in this study is ABRI's influence on politics during the New Order era. This research focuses on the role of the military, which was initially limited to maintaining national security and defense, but became a socio-political practitioner during the New Order era.

### 2) Collection of data sources

Sources of data in this study are historical documents written in books, journals, articles, newspapers, and other media that are credibly containing traces of the history of the New Order, especially those closely related to the role of the military and politics in that era as a source of data...

### 3) Evaluation of Data Sources

Researchers evaluate the reliability, credibility, and validation of data sources by examining and comparing the data that has been obtained with other data sources to corroborate the data that has been obtained. The data source must of course be credible or trustworthy and able to answer the researcher's questions.



#### 4) Data analysis

The data that has been collected is then analyzed using the content analysis method. The data are categorized according to certain themes, chapters, and sub-chapters, such as the power and influence of the military in the Indonesian government and politics during the New Order era, political domination, and so on.

#### 5) Data Interpretation

The results of the analysis are used to interpret ABRI's influence on politics during the New Order era. The interpretation refers to the historical context such as the time of the incident and generates a new understanding of the influence of ABRI or the military on the socio-politics of that era.

#### 6) Article Writing

Research articles contain research topics, research objectives, research methodology, research results, and research conclusions..

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Coalition

##### 1) Coalition Between Military and Political Parties

The coalition between the military and political parties is a political cooperation that occurs between military groups and political parties to gain support and political power. Although this coalition can provide benefits for both parties, there is a big risk in combining military and political power which can affect political stability and democracy.

A coalition between the military and political parties can occur when political parties have the same interests as the military, such as in matters of national security and law enforcement. In this case, the military and political parties can work together to achieve this goal. However, such coalitions often occur because of political ambition and power.

One of the main risks of a coalition between the military and political parties is the use of violence and intimidation in politics. Military force can be used to threaten or coerce political opponents to surrender or yield. This can undermine political integrity and encourage authoritarian actions that are detrimental to democracy and human rights. In addition, such coalitions can create situations in which the military wields more power than political parties. In this case, political parties can become mere intermediaries for military interests, not actual holders of power.

A coalition between the military and political parties can threaten political stability in the long term. A successful coalition can produce good policies for the national interest. However, if the coalition is not successful, political conflicts can arise and undermine political and social stability. In a democratic country, military presence should be limited to military and law enforcement duties. The military should not be involved in politics and civil power. Political parties must also uphold democracy and encourage citizen participation in the political process (Mohsin, 2018).



## **2) Early Relations between the Military and the Government during the Old Order Period**

The initial relationship between the military and the government during the Old Order era in Indonesia began at the time of Indonesian independence in 1945. At that time, the military still had a very limited role in national politics, and government power was still in the hands of freedom fighters consisting of various political parties (Kamil, 2009).

However, in 1947, the event known as "Dutch Military Aggression I" occurred. Due to unpreparedness and lack of weaponry, the Indonesian military lost the battle against the returning Dutch troops to Indonesia. This defeat was the beginning of the military to be more actively involved in national politics.

In 1949, Indonesia officially became independent and Sukarno was appointed as its first president. At that time, the military was seen as a force that should be involved in national development, and many military officers had close ties to Sukarno and the nationalist political parties. The military is considered the "guardian of the country" and is one of the pillars of national strength. By the early 1960s, however, relations between the military and government had begun to strain. Divisions among political leaders and differing views on the direction of national development fueled political instability. In 1965, a military coup took place and Suharto became president.

Under Soeharto's leadership, the military gained greater power in government and national politics. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI), which previously only served as the national defense force, became an integral part of the government and was given an important role in maintaining national stability and security (Deden Faturohman, 2000). The government and the military then formed a system known as "dwifungsi" which would allow the military to be involved in national development and maintain political stability.

However, this "dual function" system has also drawn criticism from several quarters. Some groups charge that this system allows the military to suppress human rights and suppress political opposition. Ultimately, public pressure and demands for reform in the late 1990s forced the government to overhaul the system and reduce the military's role in national politics (Azwar, A., & Suryana, 2021).

## **3) The Role of the Military in National Development and Modernization**

In many countries around the world, the military is often involved in national development and modernization. This is also the case in Indonesia, where the military has an important role in building and modernizing infrastructure and national development programs (Seskoed, 2019).

One example of a national development program involving the military is the transmigration program, which began in the 1950s (Sugandi, 2008). This program aims to reduce population density on the islands of Java and Bali by moving residents to other islands in Indonesia. In practice, the military plays an important role in providing security and logistical assistance for the resettlement process. The military also helped build basic infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and housing for migrants.

Apart from that, the military was also involved in the construction of national highways which became one of the main programs in infrastructure development during the New Order era (Ervianto,



2017). This national highway construction project started in the 1970s and involved many military officers in the planning and implementation process. The military is responsible for building roads in hard-to-reach and dangerous areas, such as mountainous or forested areas.

The role of the military in national development and modernization in Indonesia has advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that the military has sufficient resources to build infrastructure on a large scale and quickly. In addition, the military also can provide security and protection in the development process. However, the drawback of the military's role in development is that it can lead to abuse of power and corruption. In addition, the military does not always have adequate capability and knowledge in building infrastructure or national development programs.

In a more recent era, the Indonesian government began to re-evaluate the military's role in national development and seek other alternatives to develop infrastructure and national development programs. However, the role of the military is still considered important in emergencies such as natural disasters or threats to national security.

#### **4) Military Generals Appointed as Ministers and High Government Cabinet Officials**

In Indonesia, several military generals have been appointed as ministers and high-ranking officials in government cabinets. Here are some of them:

a. General Wiranto

General Wiranto served as Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security in the National Unity Cabinet (1999-2000) and the Gotong Royong Cabinet (2000-2001). He also served as the Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) or now known as the TNI from 1998 to 1999.

b. General Prabowo Subianto

General Prabowo Subianto has served as Minister of Defense in the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet (2019-2020). Previously, he also served as Commander General of the Army Strategic Reserves Command and Chief of Staff of the Special Forces Command.

c. General Ryamizard Ryacudu

General Ryamizard Ryacudu has served as Minister of Defense in the Working Cabinet (2014-2019). Previously, he also served as Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Army.

d. General Gatot Nurmantyo

General Gatot Nurmantyo served as TNI Chief of Staff from 2015 to 2017. After retiring from his position, he volunteered as a presidential candidate in the 2019 presidential election. However, he failed to pass verification from the General Elections Commission because he was deemed not eligible.

e. General Moeldoko

General Moeldoko served as TNI Chief of Staff from 2013 to 2015 and then became Chief of Staff for the President in the Working Cabinet (2014-2019). He also once ran as a presidential candidate in the 2019 presidential election but failed to qualify because he was deemed not to have sufficient support from political parties.



It should be noted that the appointment of military generals as ministers and high-ranking officials in the cabinet of the Indonesian government is quite controversial. Some have criticized this practice because it is seen as strengthening the role of the military in politics and government, which should be separate. However, some support the appointment of military generals as government officials because they are considered to be able to provide stability and security for the country (Nugrahanto, W., & Adyawardhina, 2018).

## **Conflict**

### **1) Military and Government**

Since the formation of the Indonesian government, the military in Indonesia has played a very large role in determining a line from the history of this nation's struggle. So that during the revolutionary period (1945-1949) we can see how conspicuous the military was in Indonesia. The political role of the army during the Old Order era was very striking, namely the dualism of leadership, namely the existence of the military and politics. At this time the political condition was still unstable, which often resulted in cabinet changes and frequent conflicts. The incident on October 17, 1952, was a major demonstration by the Army demanding to abolish parliament. The Army itself is created by oneself or can be called a self-created army. Which means they weren't created by the government. This happened because of the reluctance of the civilian government to create an army. The existence of a central government which was mostly filled by the older generation under the leadership of Soekarno hoped that with confidence independence could be achieved peacefully. Meanwhile, the young group, which consisted of the Indonesian Army, had a different opinion, so they took the initiative to arm themselves and form their organization to defend their independence which had just been proclaimed at that time.

### **2) Military, Government, and G30SPKI**

In the period before the September 30th Movement, 3 elements of power dominated politics in Indonesia at that time, including; The Power Element of the President of the Republic of Indonesia (people loyal to Soekarno), the Army consisting of Army generals without Suharto, and the third is the PKI led by D.N Aidit who succeeded in becoming Chairman of the MPRS so that he was able to bring the PKI into the ranks government at that time, apart from these three elements, there was one additional element, namely Suharto's side, which moved from underground to organize and gather strength by recruiting Yoega Soegama and also Ali Moertopo, who was his acquaintance from the Diponegoro Division before.

The beginning of the tension between the military and the government, which at that time was very close to the PKI, was with the removal of Nasution from the position of Chief of Staff of the Army (KSAD) to become Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces (KSAB), and was followed by a discourse about the birth of a fifth batch due to the existence of weapons assistance from China was offered to Soebandrio in 1966 when visiting the PRC (People's Republic of China) for state affairs and this assistance was approved by Sukarno after learning the news from Soebandrio.

At that time Lt. Gen. A. Yani directly expressed his disapproval of Soekarno's decision to create a fifth batch, Lt. Gen. A. Yani's disapproval was fully supported by the other generals so this was one of the things that heated the atmosphere regarding the relationship between Sukarno and the Armed



Forces. Army led by A. Yani after the rejection of Soekarno's plan to make the 5th (five) batch. Lt. Gen. Yani's refusal was not without cause, this was because according to A. Yani, 4 (four) batches were more than enough. It was after this incident that issues began to emerge within the state palace, namely the issue of the existence of a movement called the Council of Generals which was in the form of a coalition of generals who wanted to carry out a coup against Sukarno's leadership. Sukarno's loyal followers took this issue seriously by holding a series of meetings to seek the truth of the issue which became the opening act for the September 30 movement masterminded by the PKI to massacre 6 generals who were suspected of being the Council of Generals who were about to carry out a coup.

### **3) Conflict between the Military and the PKI**

The conflict between the military and the Indonesian Communist Party, or commonly referred to as the PKI, began with the Madiun incident in 1948 when the Army crushed the PKI rebellion. This existence made the Communist Party realize that its presence was very weak and maybe at any time the TNI could be tougher which had weapons while the unarmed PKI could lose and be unable to fight it. In this way, the PKI attacked by throwing content that there was a Council of Generals who carried out a coup against President Soekarno who was led by Lieutenant General Achmad Yani in the issue of the coup.

The conflict between the two paved the way for history with the military disagreeing with the implementation of the Nasakom ideology which houses the Indonesian Communist Party. The military considered that the existence of the PKI or Indonesian Communist Party was considered incompatible with Pancasila. An increasingly heated conflict who thought that the military had always hindered the PKI's efforts to defend Sukarno and the military who felt the PKI had to be destroyed. This conflict was exacerbated when there was interference from other countries, the US CIA which supported the military, and the Soviet Union which supported the PKI, causing a cold war between the two.

### **4) Take over power and disband the PKI**

On September 30, 1965, an event that could be called a dark history occurred in Indonesia where at that time 6 generals of the Army took place. This event was masterminded by the PKI, which the PKI had the goal of overthrowing Soekarno's leadership at that time to take over the country and want to make Indonesia a communist country. After this incident, Suharto, through Supersemar, which was given by Soekarno on March 11, 1996, began to disband the PKI and take over Soekarno's power as president a year later, in March 1967.

The dissolution of the PKI and the takeover of power by Suharto could occur due to the strong domination of the Army in government and politics in Indonesia and also due to Supersemar (Order of Eleven March) which could be said to be given excess power to Suharto so that he was able to disband The PKI got to its roots and also took over Soekarno's leadership at that time.



## **Military Domination in Government**

### **1) Military Power and Influence in Indonesian Government and Politics During the New Order Era**

At the beginning of the New Order era, the military still held its function as a state defense and security institution (Purwanta, 2013). The presence of the military at that time was very important considering its role as a security and defense institution. The military at that time was one of the most prominent in society, this happened because of its role and services during the independence period.

It was also during the New Order era that we would recognize the term Dwifungsi ABRI which was initiated by AH Nasution during the reign of President Soeharto (Firdaus, D, 2016). Where at that time the role of the military was not only limited to national defense and security but the military also had an active role in government or practical politics or social politics (Rikan, 2014). With this new role, it was hoped that ABRI would be able to realize national stability and be able to play an active role in various aspects of life, especially socio-politics, which became its new role at that time. Thus, the inclusion of the military in the political sphere will strengthen its position in the country.

The term dual function in this case shows that the military has two main functions, namely, the combat function (security and defense) and the regional development function (community development). In another study it was said that the Dwifungsi ABRI is a doctrine that exists among the military, this doctrine states that the military (ABRI) should have two important functions apart from protecting the country as well as being in charge of holding power or managing the country (Suryawan, I. P. N., & Sumarjiana, 2020). In a journal written by Rikan (2014) Nasution said that the military is not just a civilian tool in the sphere of defense and security, nor is it an authoritarian regime that holds power, but the dual function is a way to strengthen social power and people's power by mutually reinforcing. So, functionally the military also has the right to serve as politicians even though they are still active members of the military, both in the parliamentary or legislative as well as regional or executive heads and this is what happened during the New Order era.

Based on history, after the election of Suharto as President, ABRI, or in this case the military, began to enter the wheels of government, this was strengthened by TAP MPRS No. XLIV/MPRS/1968 where Soeharto in realizing political and economic stability had the authority to appoint or include members of the military in government. In its development, based on the Dwifungsi policy of ABRI, Soeharto appointed many members of the military as the MPR, DPR, and executive positions such as regional heads so that they were strengthened and dominated by the military, while civilians had fewer and fewer participation in practical politics or government (Rikan, 2014). Even during the New Order era, the involvement and influence of the military seemed to have become a necessity both constitutionally or by law, or by the doctrine given to the people at that time.

### **2) Formation of the More Pro-Military Golongan Karya Party as a substitute for the Indonesian Communist Party.**

The Golongan Karya party (Golkar) was founded on July 20, 1964, as a political party that supported Soeharto's leadership in other words this party was prepared to perpetuate Suharto's rule. Golkar was formed to unite the masses (Workers' Unions, Farmers, Students, and Youth) and interest groups in Indonesia. At the beginning of its formation, the Golkar Party was formed as an effort to compete



with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which at that time was a popular party and had a lot of mass.

Since its establishment in 1964, the Golkar Party has had a very close relationship with the military and government in the New Order era, Golkar is also a party that has always won in every election throughout the New Order era and is often referred to as the hegemonic party (Romli, 2008). This made Golkar at that time the strongest party in Indonesia and was often referred to as the ruling party because of its involvement in the government, we can see that in the 1971 election which was the first election held after the New Order period, the Golkar Party immediately won 62 votes. 8%, even though at that time Golkar was a new party in the election and the factor that most supported winning the vote was the close relationship between civilians and ABRI as well as full support from government officials (Pakaya, S., & Dali, 2021).

In the 1971 election, 10 parties were participating in the political contestation and significantly Golkar won a high vote with a percentage of 62.8%, but after the 1971 election, President Soeharto simplified the party by dividing it into 3 election participating organizations (OPP) with the basis of Law no. 3 of 1975 concerning Political Parties and Groups and Law no. 4 of 1971 Concerning General Elections (Pakaya, S., & Dali, 2021). This step was taken not only to simplify political parties into three political streams or ideologies but also as a step taken by Suharto as a way for the Golkar Party to become stronger and dominate the government. The three Election Contesting Organizations (OPP) include the religious sect by the United Development Party (PPP), the creative sect by the Karya Group (Golkar), and the democratic sect by the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI).

In other literature, it is said that the simplification of political parties is done as a way to depoliticize (cleanse from political influence) and reduce the formation of floating masses (Rizqi, 2022). Before the simplification of parties in the New Order era, there was a concept of dividing groups that had happened before, in MPRS Decree No. XXII/MPRS/1966 Concerning Party, Organizational, and Workplace, there are four groups of political forces in the DPRGR (Gotong Royong People's Representative Council) as follows:

- 1) Development Democracy Group (Catholic Party, Parkindo, and PNI)
- 2) United Development Group (NU, Parmusi, PSII, and Perti)
- 3) Development Work Group (Work Group)
- 4) Armed Forces Group (AD, Navy, Air Force, and Police)
- 5) Consequences of Military Domination in Government, Including the Suppression of Political Opposition and Human Rights Violations.

The New Order era led by President Soeharto was indeed very thick with military elements, even the military itself dominated the government at that time. With the ABRI's dual function policy, the military has a very strong influence on politics, society, economy, and state security. With this military dominance, of course, some consequences must be accepted nationally, for example, violence in the form of principles, ideology, and values based on the military's point of view (Permana, 2021).

The New Order era lasted for almost 32 years and during that time political domination occurred in Indonesia and President Soeharto's position of power at that time became a political-military phenomenon that described the era of government at that time (Joshua, n.d.). The military



domination that occurred has given feedback that is not good so several consequences must be borne as follows (Siddiq, 2019).

1. There is political dominance, the military has stronger power plus many military officials who occupy strategic positions in government such as ministers, governors, and regents. Suharto was also a General who led Indonesia for almost 32 years of power.
2. Control over the community and parties who are opposed to the government. The military certainly exercised control over the community, especially those who oppose the government at that time in various ways such as arrest, detention, torture, and even killing people who are considered a threat to security and the government.
3. In economic development, of course, the military also has an active role in the economy such as forming state-owned enterprises (BUMN) and placing generals in important positions there. This of course will lead to corruption and nepotism in the management of the national economy.
4. Control of the media, the government at that time which was dominated by the military had exercised control over all existing media by censoring and restricting press freedom. As a result, the available information is limited and tends to be directed at the government's point of view.
5. The internal military conflicts, with the influence and power of the generals during the New Order era, led to divisions and instability within the military itself. For example, competition between generals, ideological conflicts that lead to the role and function of the military in national politics, and other conflicts that cause military instability.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

It is understood that one can learn more about the role of the armed forces or the military in a democratic country that is studied as follows: 1) The army is part of the executive branch of state administration. The army is thus an element of the separation of powers in a democratic political system, which is characterized by the separation of the legislature, executive, and judiciary; 2) The military is under a democratically legitimized political leadership and carries out the post of minister of defense in a civilian manner; 3) The military follows a set policy; 4) The military is subject to and obeys the law; 5) The army is limited by the tasks set by the constitution; regularly maintains the country's external security (against attacks or threats from abroad) and state defense. In certain cases with certain clearly defined situations and boundaries. (The military may be involved) in trying to keep the country's internal security under police command; 6) The military is politically neutral; 7) There is no justification for the military to obtain financial assistance outside of the government's revenue and spending budget; 8) The army is controlled by parliament, political leadership, judiciary, and civil society in general; and 10) The military has clear responsibilities and is therefore dignified because of its professional experience.

From this, it is important to maintain stability between the military and the government (politics) because ABRI's social policy received political support with the first acceptance in 1957 of ABRI members who were still active in formal government institutions. The National Council appointed by



President Soekarno in February 1957 consisted of several ABRI officers. This body, which is an adviser to the president, offers these ABRI officials the opportunity to play a socio-political role similar to that of civilian politicians. ABRI is also directly involved in politics giving ABRI members the opportunity to play a bigger role in overcoming conflicts that develop between existing political forces. The army must be the stabilizer and driving force of Indonesian political life. Because there are two functions it can do so it shows that ABRI is active in all areas of government. It is clear that the current role of the TNI is not a military dictatorship and according to this general view, the Republic of Indonesia is not a military state. But one thing is certain, the role of the TNI in the government of the Republic of Indonesia is very instrumental in achieving the goals of the revolution.

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