



The Role and Development of the Function of ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia) in the New Order Period

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Abstract

During the New Order era, the dual function of ABRI was used as a defense and security force and had the function of socio-political power which then had very important values in realizing national stability. This research was carried out so that later it could become literature that could be known and known to us and others, by examining the history of the dual function of ABRI, the development of the dual function of ABRI, and the implementation of ABRI's role in the socio-political field. Then ABRI had a role in socio-political power in 1966-1997 with stabilizers, dynamists, and pioneers as well as being the main field in the implementation of a liberal democratic system, under the pretext of "military" which was positioned as something significant for changes in this country in the future, namely the need for towards modernization as well as his responsibility for his dedication to society and the country. In the end, it led to the involvement of the military in filling or occupying political positions such as ministers, governors, regents, Golkar members and even sitting in the Legislative Assembly.

Keywords: Armed Forces Dwifungsi, Socio-Political Strength, New Order

1. INTRODUCTION

The role of the military is very closely related to politics in Indonesia, how can the strategic ranks in Indonesia in the political field be filled with several personnel who were previously known in the military world? Even before the reform, the strategic positions were filled by people who were still active in the military and held concurrent positions in the bureaucracy, this was what was said to be the dual function of the Armed Forces. The dual function of ABRI is known to have a role beyond its controversy and the function of ABRI was also not agreed upon after the New Order so the role and development of ABRI's functions after the end of the New Order could be said to have died.





In short, the dual function of ABRI was an idea implemented by the government during the New Order government at that time, where the dual function of ABRI said that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, especially those from the division of the Indonesian Army National Army, had two tasks, the first of which was to maintain security and order in the country as a function the basis of ABRI is separate and the function of both is to hold power and also to regulate the State. This is also intended to justify how the role of the military can increase its influence within the government in Indonesia including seats in parliament which only exist for the military and was in the top position in the national public service at the time.

However, the dual function of ABRI was officially abolished in 2000 and in the next election in 2004, the function of ABRI was considered to be something that was no longer acceptable during the reform era. However, the level of public trust in the military and also in several ABRI agencies at that time, which is now separated into the TNI and Polri, still has high trust and not infrequently in electability issued by surveys during each election period. Political party cadres who come from the military are deserving considered to be the winner in the election.

This paper aims rather analyze whether the dual function of ABRI is still only in the mirage or has entered into the practical life of post-New Order Indonesian politics, whether and is there any possibility of electability being cast by survey institutions for political party cadres who used to be in the military? active cause that the dual function of ABRI should return to its political role in Indonesia, or is there a fundamental development after the dual function of ABRI was removed from the bureaucracy in Indonesia?.

2. METHODS

Research methodology is an activity in collecting, processing, analyzing, and presenting data that is carried out systematically and also objectively and then can solve practical problems or problems. Then there is a method, namely historical research with a running system, implementation instructions, or technical instructions.

According to G.J Garraghan (1957: 33) in Dudung Abdurahman's book which explains that historical research methods are a set of systematic rules and principles to then collect sources effectively, and critically and propose a synthesis of the results achieved in written form. This is also happening in line with Louis Gottschalk when he put forward this historical method as a process of testing and analyzing historical testimony to help find authentic and reliable data and attempt to synthesize such data into a credible history. In this article, the author uses the method of literature study which includes identification, explanation, and systematic breakdown of sources that contain information relating to the problem to be studied.





3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

ABRI's dual function is a doctrine within the military scope Indonesia states that the TNI (Indonesian National Army) has at least two duties and responsibilities: first, as the guardian of security and state order; then second, holding power and governing the State. With the dual role that is owned by the military, they can be able to hold strategic positions in the state government. This statement is based on several speeches delivered by President Soeharto during his leadership saying that in line with carrying out military duties as a means of defense and security, ABRI must also be able to carry out its role and function as a center of socio-political power. The formation of ABRI as a social force was accompanied by two functions, namely a stabilizer function and a dynamic function (Suryawan, 2020).

1. ABRI's function is as a stabilizer

One of the capabilities possessed by ABRI is being able to communicate directly with the people, this is so that ABRI can feel the dynamics that occur in the structure of society and can understand the aspirations that are born in society. So that this condition makes ABRI an important component in carrying out social supervision. The realistic and pragmatic nature inherent in ABRI is expected to be able to encourage society so that in overcoming existing problems it can be based on real pillars and can be based on a reality of the situation and conditions faced, while still prioritizing the values of benefit to the national interest.

2. ABRI's function as a dynamist

The capabilities possessed by ABRI as described above have enabled ABRI to guide, inspire and encourage the community to be more active in participating in development. A real example, in this case, is the activity of uniting the village or more familiarly known as ABRI entering the village, the purpose of which is to help — as well as — alleviate development related to village development in its service to the community. There are three main objectives of the AMD Program, namely:

- a. Testing the entire security system and defense of the universal people in the field.
- b. Helping and easing people's duties in all aspects of life.
- c. Gathering all the existing problems and then finding a solution.

ABRI aimed to choose villages as the main target for development because villages and their communities are supporting factors in defending the State, more than that the AMD program received a positive response from the community.

The birth of the concept of the dual function of ABRI cannot be separated from the history of the nation's struggle, so it is difficult to understand the dual function of ABRI without being linked to the history of struggle and the culture of the Indonesian people. ABRI has a very strong commitment to the field of defense and non-defense. In the Indonesian constitution, as stated in the 1945 Constitution, there is not a single provision that positions the military outside the framework of social, economic, or political activities. The concept of the dual function of ABRI is translated as the soul, determination, and spirit of ABRI service, so that together with other fighting forces in carrying out the duties and responsibilities of the struggle for the Indonesian nation, in various aspects of the field to realize national goals based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Suryawan, 2020).





At first, ABRI's dual function was well received by some circles of Indonesian society because it was able to provide political and social stability. Over time, this policy received criticism and rejection from various groups and layers of society because it was considered to have abused power and hampered the democratic process in Indonesia.

Dwifungsi ABRI (Dwi-Function Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) is a concept that began to be used during the New Order government in Indonesia. This concept makes ABRI have a dual function, not only as a state military force but can also function in the political and social fields. This concept was designed and drafted by the President at that time, namely President Soeharto in 1973 to be exact. Over time the dual function of ABRI was abolished in 1998, to be precise after the reformation took place in Indonesia. Even though it has been abolished, the influence of the dual function of ABRI is still felt to this day, especially in the relationship between the TNI and the government.

During the New Order government, the TNI and Polri, which were the two elements of the military in Indonesia, were united into a unit called ABRI. This condition resulted in military domination in all aspects of national and state life. ABRI's dual-function concept was later transformed into a multifunctional one because ABRI's role has gone far beyond conventional boundaries as a tool of the state in the fields of defense and security. ABRI's involvement in the socio-political field is more dominant than its real role as a tool of the state in the defense sector, ABRI controls all aspects of national life, both non-military and military, the smallest regional level to the central level (Huda, 2014).

ABRI's participation in political contestation during the New Order era emphasized the implementation of ABRI's dual function in Indonesia. So that in this case ABRI also played a function in the field of social politics, more than that even ABRI was also involved in positions in the regional and central government structures (Huda, 2014).

The implementation of ABRI's dual function in Indonesia has a very complex impact. On the positive side, ABRI's presence in various aspects of national life including politics and social affairs can help create stability as well as security in Indonesia, ABRI plays an important role in overcoming social problems that occur in Indonesia such as poverty and natural disasters. However, from a negative side, ABRI's dual function gives ABRI enormous power in Indonesia, often this power is used for specific interests against critics and also opposition parties in politics. More than that ABRI's presence in various aspects of life also hindered the development of civil institutions that were being built in Indonesia at that time.

After receiving many demands from the public, the government finally decided that the TNI and Polri were prohibited from practicing politics practices stated in the applicable laws and regulations. So that in 1998 after the reform the Indonesian government said it was reforming the military sector by completely removing the concept of the dual function of ABRI. Since that incident, the TNI now has only one main function, namely the military function with a greater focus on matters relating to defense and security.

Even though officially in 2000 the dual function of ABRI was revoked, the role of the military in Indonesian politics cannot be underestimated, like what was in the introduction above, we all know that several high-ranking levels of politics in Indonesia, even up to the presidential level, even though





they have been filled by people from the military, this shows that the dual function of ABRI has indeed been officially revoked, but the public's trust in the military to lead the bureaucracy of this country still exists.

The Indonesian nation will realize that the military or TNI is formed from the people, by the people, and also for the people, which in that sense for the life of the nation and state, ABRI was born and formed by the people themselves amid the national struggle for independence. from colonialism, this led to an understanding for Indonesian people that the figure of figure from the military agency There is no doubt about his nationalism and determination to become a nation and have a homeland (Istyaningrum, 2005).

However, it should be realized that in a liberal political system, especially those in power who are held by civilian politicians and also come from political parties that win in general elections, this system certainly rejects more military involvement in politics where military involvement indirectly is one of the symptoms of politics. which is not liked and is always considered as excessive intervention by countries that adhere to a liberal understanding, the social and political role also played by the military can interfere with political life because other interests enter the country (Widjaja, 1982).

If the military has entered and intervened in politics they will carry out political roles such as consolidating power and promoting national integration and also building relations or mass support for the government which incidentally also legitimizes the military's political role and also builds political institutions and will become a political broker. This is also allegedly basically interpreted as building new political divisions and eliminating and weakening old political institutions or liberal politics which is quite ideal according to some academics post-new order and in the reformation era (Widjaja, 1982).

Beyond that, the military consider themselves to have historical roots to enter into the socio-political order, namely their services to the New Order government, especially in 1965 which took quite a lot of roles and became a strong supporter of the political and economic roots of the Soekarno era. to be able to rule longer and this was also based on and initiated by Ahmad Nasution, even though it was somewhat contradicted which was expected in being a middle position in politics and also socio-economic, but this has reached the dominating factor to the sector that becomes a determinant in government policy the military has entered.

During the New Order era, ABRI's dual function was deeply rooted under the leadership of President Soeharto. However, as time passed, the authoritarian leadership under Suharto stepped down, and the political situation changed. The role of the TNI which has a dual role in addition to beingstabilizeralso dynamist, especially in politics, began to be questioned and challenged in the 1998 reform. While this reform was taking place, from several demands for reform, one of the relatively loud demands made by this pro-democracy group was the abolition of the Armed Forces' dual function. Suharto's resignation from the chair of the President of the Republic of Indonesia at that time and led to the election of a new President, namely Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur) so that because of that the demand for the abolition of the Dwifungsi ABRI was quickly granted through several decisions. Even though President Gus Dur's leadership was relatively short, only in a period (1999-2001), however, during his reign he succeeded in carrying out several TNI reforms. Polri was separated from the TNI, the Armed Forces Dual Function Doctrine was abolished which in practice





abolished the TNI's role in the socio-political field. At that time, the active military was no longer allowed to involve themselves in practical political practices, especially at that time to support the Golongan Karya. The term TNI-Polri faction in parliament was abolished and the active military was not allowed to occupy civilian positions.

At first, this thundering spirit of reform began at an Army seminar held on 22-24 September 1998. This seminar was organized by the TNI Staff and Command College in Bandung with the theme "The Role of ABRI in the XXI Century". Which aims to redefine, reposition, and re-actualize ABRI's role in the life of the nation and state. The results of the seminar resulted in ideas aimed at a guideline to carry out reforms within the TNI.

In addition to some of the things above, the seminar also produced a new paradigm, making the leadership of the TNI have a determination so that the TNI itself returns to being a force that carries out its duties in a professional manner to maintain the defense and security of a formidable country. For this purpose to be achieved, at that time the Minister of Defense and Security under General Wiranto with the assistance of ABRI's Chief of Social and Political Staff led by General Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono along with other TNI leaders, all agreed that it was appropriate to start reducing the role of the TNI in the realm of the practical political arena, and step by step the TNI must be able to withdraw from political and governmental activities. With this determination, the TNI leadership tried to actualize it in the form of a TNI leadership policy to substantially reduce the number of TNI troops who were concurrently members of the Legislative Assembly of Republic Indonesia and even the MPR RI (Muhaimin, (28 September 2005.).

The dialectics of the reform struggle pursued by TNI leaders during President BI's leadership. This Habibie was followed by the expatriate leadership of Abdulrahman Wahid's government which was even more resounding and trying to provide even wider space for civilian groups to have even more incentives to contribute to the development of the national defense. Developmental process and development in the field of defense is closely related to the TNI, as well as continuing to Megawati Soekarnoputri's leadership milestone. However, we need to underline first that since under the leadership of President Abdurrahman Wahid, the position of Minister of Defense 1959 has often been held by high-ranking TNI officers, so this position apart from the position of Governor of the National Defense Institute (Lemhanas), is held by civilian groups. Apart from that, what we should also underline is during the administration of President Megawati Soekarnoputri, gifts appointment of the TNI Commander and Chief of Staff of the TNI-AD were based more on nonmilitary political considerations, so that were entrusted to every high-ranking TNI officer who was considered professional, namely from the respective chiefs of the TNI-AD general Edriartono Sutrarto and General TNI-AD Ryamizard Ryacudu. During the New Order government, especially under Soeharto's leadership, before the reformation period, two military positions were important, apart from other positions such as the Commander of the Army Strategic Command known as (KOSTRAD) and Commander of the Special Forces Command or usually more furious at being called with (KOPASUS), or territorial positions, such as the Commander of the Regional Military Command (PANGDAM) for the Provincial level, the appointment appears to be more based on considerationmilitary politics.

In 2004, the social regulation of civil supremacy over soldiers was strengthened in Law 34/2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army (TNI). This law states that "the TNI is built and developed





professionally according to the political interests of the country which refers to the values and principles of democracy, civil supremacy, and human rights." (Abdulsalam, 2017) With this law, the military loses its function in the socio-political field. A soldier can no longer be a concurrent officer or control a business directly. So that the ABRI structure was renewed, namely to become the Police in charge of maintaining security and the TNI in charge of being the defense and security of the country. From this separation indirectly the military is no longer allowed to interfere in civil affairs (Azwar, 2021).

After the abolition of the Armed Forces Dual Function with the spirit of reform, which expects change and progress in all aspects. However, in reality, it was not what was previously expected, but you could say that it entered the declining zone. Because on the other hand, these military interests have not been erased either, one of the two is like military interests in the political-economic field, because this is due to the roots of these interests since the era of the cronies New Order cronies. The legal reforms that took place at that time only changed and abolished the dynamics of economic-political power carried out by ABRI. Therefore, at this time the military must be able to find other ways it can continue to fight for its interests because the military's political role is still important. As is the case from President BJ Habibie to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, realizing that building strong support from the military is a must in maintaining their power (Sebastian, 2014).

In the sense that ABRI's dual function, even though there have been efforts to reform it, it will still exist, this is clearly stated in the IWC report (Indonesian Corruption Watch). The IWC managed to find that the military is currently still taking part in dealing with civilian affairs by doing business through information business, illegal business, even co-ops, even with foundations. This information business takes the form of placing TNI soldiers in various companies and involving them as institutions, units, or members of the TNI. In the field of illegal business, they only involve individuals and units, because as an institution the TNI does not do this. Even though Law No. 34 of 2004 does not differentiate between illegal business and formal business. Governments indirectly let go, because they consider this type of business not by the definition of military reform. Willbut what is called formal business in the form of foundations and cooperatives involves TNI institutions, units such as Kopasus, and their individuals (Prastiti & Matthew, 2018).

The military's efforts to continue its political role do not stop there, we can feel it to this day during President Joko Widodo's administration. However, there is something unique about President Jokowi, even though he is foreign to the traditional circle of power in Jakarta, the importance of including military power in politics is very high. As a businessman who is far from a militaristic background and does not even belong to a prominent political family, he built his political power base in Indonesian oligarchic politics (Muhtadi, 2015). With the best infrastructure in the whole country and the lack of bureaucratic restraints imposed at that time, involving the military was a very strategic political choice for Jokowi (Stanly A. Weiss, 2015).

Since the beginning, Jokowi's leadership has facilitated the TNI in the field of contemporary Indonesian politics, such as several retired army generals who were recruited to sit in his cabinet. He even set up new posts, Chief of Staff for President General (Ret.) Luhut Panjahitan one of them became his partner in guiding and cleaning up the mess of the inexperienced President. In addition, someone analysispunsaid, in the era of Jokowi's administration, more military figures are now "prominent in top civilian positions" when compared to during Indonesia's transition to democracy





in 1998 (Syailendra, 2015). Provisions for the involvement of non-war military operations (OMSP) are regulated in Article 7 paragraphs 2-3 of the TNI Law No. 34/2004. It was explained that the military can carry out 14 operations, one of which is to assist the police and the government. However, there is a problem with the TNI Law, because this scheme is not used by the government in involving the military to oversee the new normal phase. This results in the absence of a reference or scheme that can be used to weigh the extent of the military's involvement in carrying out the task of assisting the police and the government. Regarding this matter, LIPI (Political Research Center) stated that there would be three potential problems that might arise: First, it is not clear how long the military will be involved in disciplining citizens; second, no explanation of the urgency or reasons for military involvement; Third, there is no clear calculation of the impact of this escort task on military readiness. For LIPI, all of these problems show that plans for involving the military in this new normal phase have not been well organized and are not measurable. On the one hand, space for TNI officers is indeed an important matter, but on the other hand, it can give the TNI more position. for civil positions, so for the democratic line, this can be said to be one of the steps to restore ABRI's dual function.

4. CONCLUSION

We can all admit that the succession of ABRI's dual function took place during the New Order Era, to be precise when the leadership of the Indonesian Government was in the hands of President Soeharto, where own background was from a TNI soldier. In this era, ABRI's role became very complex apart from being an aStabilizeralso becomeDynamistfor the wider community, with one concrete example of ABRI carrying out Manunggal Desa activities, because they consider the village and its contents to be a support for efforts to defend the country. This concept was very strong at its time, because ABRI itself had a strong commitment to the fields of Defense and Non-Defence, but they were not protected or positioned outside the frames of social, economic, and political activities themselves, because this dual function as a form of soul, determination, and spirit of ABRI service to carry out the duties and responsibilities as well as Indonesia's national ideals.

The implementation of the Dwifungsi ABRI concept has a very complex impact, there are positive and negative sides. On the positive side, they can help create stability and security in Indonesia. However, from the negative side, this concept gives a power that was very large for ABRI itself, it was even used for certain interests to fight critics and also opposition parties in politics, besides that ABRI hampered the development of civil institutions at that time. But apart from this, ABRI's role as a political force is already firmly entrenched, because he considers that he has historical roots of being involved in the socio-political order for his services during the New Order era which took quite a lot of roles and became a strong supporter of political roots and economy.

However, as time went on, ABRI's dual function was abolished marked by the fall of President Soeharto and the end of the New Order period which was sued by the 1998 reform. Polri in Parliament was abolished so that the active military was no longer allowed to participate in practical political practices. From that on, ABRI returned to its main task as a stabilizer, according to Samuel Hunington's words, he reminded that the military must return to barracks as a prerequisite for a





healthy democracy (Hunington, 1957). From this reform, we hope that bad events will not happen again because it will lead to what Laurie Nathan TNI assumed would become destroy the democratic project. (Nathan). However, if we look at Hunington's assumption, looking at the state of Jokowi's leadership to provide office space for the military is contrary to democracy and if left unchecked it will enter into an authoritarian attitude. Like Tom Power at New Mandala satirized Jokowi with the term, "Jokowi's Authoritarian Turn" (Tom Power). Therefore, of course, we don't want that to happen and hope that the TNI-Polri will deeply bury the desire to restore the dual function and maintain a democratic attitude.

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