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REPUBLIK INDONESIA

ROLE OF THE SECURITY SECTOR IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

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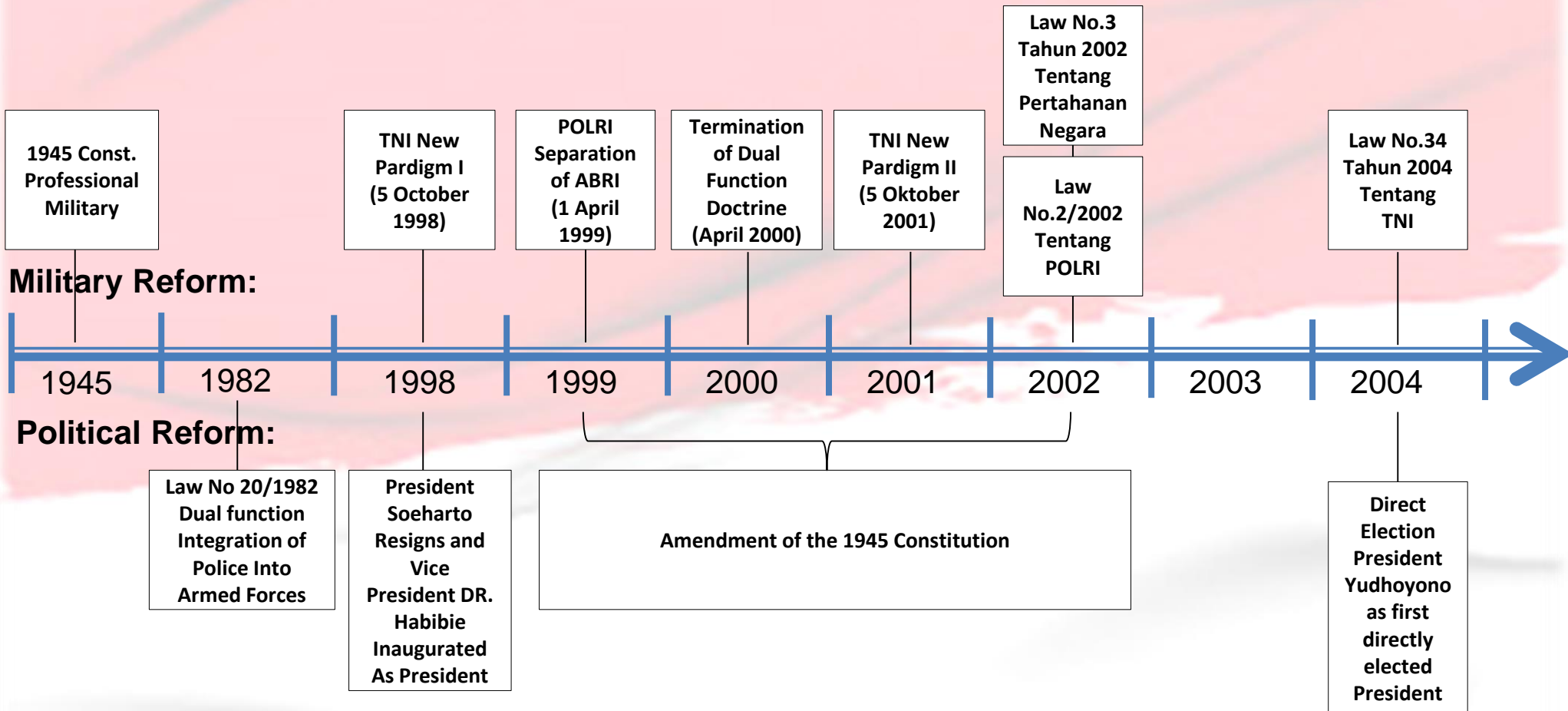


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BACKGROUND CONTEXT

MILITARY (TNI) REFORM PRECEDED THE POLITICAL REFORM





WHAT ROLE DID THE MILITARY PLAY IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY?

- ❖ TNI self initiated reform preceded the political reform.
- ❖ TNI terminated the dual function doctrine leaving its socio-political role, and liquidation of its representative in the parliament.
- ❖ TNI had no involvement in the political democratic transition.
- ❖ The less TNI is involved in the political democratic transition the more it contributes to the democratic transition.
- ❖ Democratic transition was left to the politicians.
- ❖ TNI played the maximum role it can play in the democratic transition.



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WHAT ARE THE KEY FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SECURITY SECTORS ACCEPTANCE OF/RESISTANCE TO CIVILIAN CONTROL?

❖ Resistance

- Historical legacy and self perceived birth right principle of the guardian of the nation by the military
- Lack of trust towards civilian politicians by military

❖ Acceptance

- Forward looking in anticipation of the coming of democratic political system in Indonesia.
- The desire to enhance professionalism in the military focusing on constitutional role of national defense.





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WHO CAN EFFECTIVELY POLICE THE MILITARY?

- ❖ **Political checks and balances and control system (Parliamentary oversight, political authority)**
- ❖ **Civilian control (Civil Society Organizations)**



HOW SIGNIFICANT WAS GEN. WIRANTO'S ASSURANCE AS COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES IN SUPPORTING THE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM PRESIDENT SOEHARTO TO VICE-PRESIDENT HABIBIE?

- ❖ **Gen. Wiranto's assurance has significance in supporting the transfer of power from President Soeharto to Vice-President Habibie**
- ❖ **He did not state any rejections regarding to the transfer of power (no confrontation of opposing political powers on the resignation of President Soeharto)**
- ❖ **He only reminded the military is concerned with the physical security of President Soeharto, and will place attention to that concern by tasking military units to that effect.**

SUBSEQUENTLY THE ARMED FORCES SUPPORT TOWARDS THE SUCCESSFUL 1999 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND HARMONY DURING THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN INDONESIA

- ❖ At the time of last minutes existence of National Police and Military Faction, the military representative had started practicing its non political role. In the case the debate was purely a partisan political issue, the military kept out of the process.**
- ❖ The military also issued a policy that in the general election the military family was free to cast its votes on any of the political parties participating in the election withdrawing its partisan support for Golkar, who was the ruling government's party.**
- ❖ The military limits its role during the election to the role of a security force with no involvements in politics.**

WHAT WERE THE GREATEST CHALLENGES DURING INDONESIA'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION FROM THE EYES OF THE ARMED FORCES?

- ❖ The military and political reforms took place simultaneously, with no institution left to play the role of overseeing the reforms.
- ❖ As a spillover of past arrangements and political culture, there is a tendency of the civilian political authorities to seek political support from the military.
- ❖ Military reform was not conducted in gradual sequence. Moreover due to limited time, the policy, implementation and challenges from changing political environment created the need for multiple responses and in a “learning by doing” situation.

SHOULD THE SECURITY SECTOR TAKE OVER CONTROL WHENEVER A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT IS DEEMED TO HAVE BREACHED NATIONAL VALUES AND OBJECTIVES ENSHRINED IN THE CONSTITUTION?

- ❖ **There is no single reason which can give excuse for security sector to take over control whenever a democratically-elected government is deemed to have breached national values and objectives enshrined in the constitution.**
- ❖ **Any security sector commander is never elected by the people. Hence a security sector commander has no authority to make political decisions. The employment of a military unit is initiated by the political decision of the civilian political authority.**
- ❖ **In a democracy political authority is held by elected public officials who had gained the authority by winning a constitutional election.**



- ❖ In the case of a political crisis, resolution should be the result of a political process through the practice of principles of democracy, with no interference from non-political institutions holding no political authorities, such as the military, police or other professional institution at the operational level.

RECONCILING THE MILITARY'S ACTIONS IN THAILAND AND MORE RECENTLY IN TURKEY?

- ❖ The military's actions in Thailand and recently in Turkey do not fit the democratic conditions as stated above.

THE SECURITY SECTORS CURRENT SUPPORT FOR INDONESIAN'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

- ❖ With the follow up of the various legislations on positioning security forces in support of the democratic transition, the security forces' position in a democratic political environment mostly have been decided.
- ❖ There are still some unfinished issues to be completed such as putting the military commander under the Minister of Defense, and the territorial functions of the military reflected in the territorial structure originating from emergency era of the past when the military was the (military) emergency or war government.

THE SECURITY SECTORS CURRENT SUPPORT FOR INDONESIAN'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION (Cont'd)

- ❖ There are some attentions to be directed to some unfinished issues or situations which can lead to relapse of the democratization process.
 - The tendency of the public lingering past situations when the military held non military functions creating the image of a more decisive, stable and effective government, of an authoritarian government supported by the military.
 - The military can still not leave the memories of the glories of the past with its perceived role of the guardian of the nation.
 - Some civilian political authorities still tend seek the political support of the military.
- ❖ The support has been relatively consistent, although in some cases may cause fluctuations due that the reform has not been able to dismantle the old paradigm completely.

THE INDONESIAN MILITARY'S VIEW OF DEMOCRACY

- ❖ **The military's view of democracy is only a reflection of the public's view of democracy. Especially in the Indonesian case of the early stages of the Indonesian democratic transition. Democracy tended to be viewed on the negative side of its long transactional process, giving an image of uncertainty, disappointments, compared to the image of certainty, decisiveness, and delivery of some felt public goods of an authoritarian polity.**
- ❖ **The military has accepted that the military is to be employed by the decision of the civilian political authorities. But it is difficult for the military who think it has the capacity to contribute more, is limited to the role of only national defense and withdrawn from various domestic involvements.**

HOW DOES THE PRESENCE OF INDONESIA'S STATE PRINCIPLES "PANCASILA" AFFECT THE MILITARY'S STANCE TOWARDS DEMOCRACY?

- ❖ The state ideology of Pancasila exists in the philosophical and doctrinal level of the nation, which still leaves some homework as to transform it into a workable implementation to be felt in day-to-day life.
- ❖ It is an advantage to have such national doctrine to rally upon and to remind Indonesia as a nation to be in unity. But because of its distance in its existence between a doctrine and practical guideline, practically it has little relevance to the military's stance towards democracy. The military stance is more affected by principles of democracy contained in the constitution and its historic legacy, especially the process of its inception borne out of a nation in arms struggling for her national independence.

HOW SHOULD THE SECURITY SECTOR CONTRIBUTE TO SUSTAINING DEMOCRACY IN A COUNTRY?

- ❖ Opening access to comparative studies of professional militaries in established democracies, by providing the military opportunities to attend professional military education and participate in combined international exercises or operations.
- ❖ Reviewing its doctrines and other softwares to focus on external threats moving away from involvements in domestic affairs.
- ❖ Enhancing professionalism within the military by allocating sufficient budget to support the building of the required defense posture and look after the welfare of its soldiers.
- ❖ Building civilian cadres to be knowledgeable in defense and military affairs, but able to work together with the military.

- ❖ **The Indonesian Military's role in the transition to democracy essentially was embodied in its initiative to reform itself before the political transition.**
- ❖ **The military had withdrawn from its socio-political role, therefore the less the military involves itself in the democratic transition, the more it contributes to the democratic transition.**
- ❖ **The safety of any democratic transition would not be only determined by the issue of the military, but also the effectiveness of the civilian political authorities.**
- ❖ **Threats to democratic transitions would generally be posed by spillovers of historic legacy of the military, self perceiving the role of the guardian of the nation, while civilian politician still seeking the political support of the military.**

THANK YOU



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