



Quarterly Report
INDONESIA: ESTABLISHING DEMOCRATIC CIVILIAN
CONTROL OF THE MILITARY IN INDONESIA
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I. SUMMARY

In the second quarter of 2001, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs' (NDI) program on governance and security in Indonesia focused on supporting discussion, dialogue and debate on the new State Defense Bill as complementary activities to the Office of Transition Initiatives' (OTI) support of that legislation through a local organization. The Institute's support was aimed at educating legislators, the public, NGO leaders and the media. This was done through a wide array of means, including a special Tempo magazine insert, informal dialogues with journalists, a public broadcast debate and dissemination of the debate transcript. NDI also initiated a public policy dialogue on the problem of military business with partner NGOs.

II. BACKGROUND

Early in his term, President Abdurrahman Wahid made several strides towards reform of the military. During this period, the police force was separated from the larger armed forces, and the President removed some of the worst human rights offenders from the government. Most notably, in February 2000, Wahid removed General Wiranto from his position as Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security after an Indonesian human rights commission implicated him in the violence in East Timor.

However, concrete steps to reduce the military's role in politics on an institutional basis have been met with mixed success. Although the number has been cut in half, the military insisted on retaining appointed seats in the national legislature and regional assemblies through 2004, and now a People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) decree assures their presence in the upper legislative house through 2009. Active military personnel, while headed by a civilian politician, still largely staff the Ministry of Defense. A new State Defense Bill, which received much input from civil society, has now been accorded a Joint Special Committee (Pansus) of members from Commission I and II. The Joint Pansus had to discuss the State Defense Bill and the Police Bill together in order to rectify the lack of clarity on the respective security roles of the military and the police.

In the past quarter, the commitment of the Indonesian armed forces (TNI) to stay out of politics has become even unclear. While there are signs that certain senior officers within TNI are committed to the professionalization and de-politicization of the corps, the events of the last quarter signal a revitalized influence in politics. Some observers suspect the TNI of deliberate inaction in order to justify a call from civilian leaders to participate once again in internal security.

In May and June, the capitol was tense with rumors of an impending replacement of Lt.Gen. Sutarto Endiartono by President Wahid in order to clear the way for the declaration of a State of Emergency and the dissolution of parliament, which has been strongly opposed by TNI since February 2001. The armed forces have portrayed this position as their commitment to remain loyal to the constitution and to distance itself from parliament's struggle with the President. The TNI and POLRI fraction in the DPR even abstained from voting for Memorandum II that opens the way for impeachment of the president. However, it is no secret that many senior officers in the military strongly favor efforts to remove Wahid. The TNI leadership has employed their influence with the Vice-President to counter maneuvers from the President. Backing Megawati may eventually give them a freer hand in separatist provinces since she committed to her father's vision of a unitary state.

One of the needs identified by both NDI and Indonesians themselves for a democratizing Indonesia is to have a larger pool of civilians with expertise in defense and security affairs. Currently, there are only a small number of such people, and most of them have had to study overseas to obtain the appropriate educational qualifications. At this time, there is no graduate program in Indonesia that can produce civilian graduates with this knowledge base and skills. Nonetheless, a democratizing Indonesia needs training in such areas as: (1) the Ministry of Defense, whose important decision-making officials are currently all active or retired military officers; (2) the national legislature (DPR) as professional staff, especially those that might eventually be attached to Commission I (the equivalent of the Defense or Armed Services Committee); (3) provincial governments, as security advisers to governors, who with the implementation of regional autonomy policy and the state of emergency law will have greater responsibility for local security; (4) universities, as lecturers and researchers; (5) think tanks, as researchers; (6) mass media, as military journalists; (7) NGOs relevant to the defense and security sector; and (8) other relevant institutions.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. Support for the Aksara Foundation

Throughout this quarter, NDI focused on providing the public with information on the new State Defense Bill, in conjunction with the Aksara Foundation. With the support of NDI, Aksara contributed a special insert of articles and research pieces on the new State Defense Bill to the widely read *Tempo* magazine (500,000 circulation) in the April 9, 2001 edition. In addition, NDI has assisted Aksara in developing an advocacy approach to provide technical input on security and defense issues to targeted members of DPR Commission I that is responsible for the defense legislation.

B. *Debate on the State Defense Bill*

On the evening of 17 May 2001, NDI held a public debate at Mandarin Hotel, Jakarta, on the State Defense Bill and its relevance to current issues such as national disintegration (separatist movements), civil unrest, the role of the military in politics and the potential conflicts between TNI and the police. Elshinta Radio aired the recorded debate on the popular “Debat Minggu” program on Sunday May 20, starting at 07.00 am. It was followed by an interactive show, with many people calling in to give their comments.

The debate featured five panelists: Dr. Kusnanto Anggoro of CSIS, Dr. H. Happy Bone Zulkarnaen, MS of Golkar, commission I DPR-RI, Maj.Gen TNI Sudrajat of Ministry of Defense, Pataniari Siahaan of PDIP, commission I DPR-RI, Police Inspector General Didi Widayadi of POLRI/ Indonesia National Police; and moderated by M. Riefqi Muna, Ridep and Imelda Sari K. of SCTV and a member of waroeng apoeng group. It was well attended by 54 participants who were eager to participate. Some of the DPR members who came were Ridwan Mukti (Golkar), Gregorius Seto Harianto (PDKB), Djoko Susilo (Reformasi), RK Sembiring Meliala (PDIP), Dr. Muhibuddin Waly (PDU) and Sabam Sirait (PDIP). Besides Elshinta Radio, the event received coverage in the daily newspaper Kompas and the TV station TPI.

C. *Seminar on Military Foundations*

NDI, Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW), and *Yayasan Yappika* held a seminar on 17 May 2001 examining the case of the military foundation, *Dharma Putra Kostrad* and exploring how the proposed Bill on Foundations will regulate foundation governance and public accountability in the future. ICW and Yappika, leaders of the 31-member NGO Coalition on the Foundation Bill, believe that the Foundations bill, in its current form, is not strong enough to ensure financially accountable military foundations. The seminar featured speakers from the National Auditing Agency, the International Crisis Group and ICW. Three Members from the parliamentary Special Committee (Pansus) on the Foundation Bill also attended representing *Golongan Karya* (Golkar), *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB) and *Partai Demokrasi Perjuangan* (PDI-P).

D. National Defense Dialogues

In the first and second week of April, as part of strengthening the civil-military journalist network, the civil-military team facilitated two dialogues on National Defense. The participants were journalists from NDI's network, the *Waroeng Apoeng* group, members of DPR Commission I (Defense, Security and Foreign Affairs), and NGO leaders. Seventeen people attended the first dialogue and eighteen attended the second.

Dialogue participants discussed the faltering civilian oversight of the military, military operations in Aceh, the military's "civic mission" and its articulation in the legislation, the "gray area" between police and military, the Geneva Convention, and the role of the military during peacetime. DPR members underscored the constraints of their position in working towards greater civil-military reform and discussed possible ways of cooperating with civil society.

E. Preparations for the Third Journalist Professional Development Program

By the end of May, NDI began to plan the third Journalist Professional Training Program, currently scheduled for the middle of July. This training will focus specifically on Investigative Journalism and be conducted in partnership with the Indonesian Institute for Investigative Journalism (IIIJ). In early May, NDI and IIIJ met to design the training curriculum and invited Keith Loveard, writer, a senior journalist and former *Asiaweek* correspondent, to advise us. The day-long planning session was extremely fruitful, producing a strong curriculum for the training course.

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. Support for the Aksara Foundation

- Critical information on the new legislation was disseminated to the public.

2. Debate on the State Defense Bill

- The program provided a constructive debate of issues relating to the State Defense Bill and provided a mechanism for feedback. Thus, the public has greater understanding of the Bill and its potential impact on their nation's increasingly fragile democracy.

3. Seminar on Military Foundations

- Parliamentarians and the NGO community have a greater awareness of the issues relating to military businesses and foundations. This arena provided a rare forum for debate on what should be done to ensure those businesses and foundations are held financially accountable and transparent.

4. National Defense Dialogues

- Relationships among members of DPR Commission I, NGO leaders and journalists grew stronger as they developed a greater understanding of each other's positions and limitations.

V. EVALUATION/CONCLUSIONS

***Objective:** To increase Indonesian legislators' and their staff members' ability to understand defense and civil-military issues.*

- Provided opportunities for legislators and their staff to learn about and debate the new State Defense Bill.
- Provided opportunity for legislators to learn about and discuss the lack of transparency and financial accountability in military foundations and the continuing problem of military business.
- Provided opportunity for legislators and their staff to dialogue with journalists who cover defense issues.

***Objective:** To increase the Indonesian media's capacity to understand and accurately report on defense and civil-military issues.*

- Provide opportunity for journalists to dialogue with legislators who will debate the State Defense Bill.

***Objective:** To increase Indonesian academic institutions' capacity to conduct research and education on defense and civil-military issues.*

- None of the activities conducted in this quarter were directly related to this program objective.

***Objective:** To increase long-term dialogue and understanding between the military and members of civil society.*

- Provided public information in widely respected national magazine on the State Defense Bill and other defense issues.
- Disseminated and broadcast public debate on State Defense Bill to public at large.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

1. Legislative Activities

- Aksara Foundation will continue to conduct advocacy education of selected DPR members on defense issues to prepare them for the Stage III in the House of the Defense Bill.

2. Journalist Professional Development Program

- A third journalist training program is being planned with new partner Indonesian Institute for Investigative Journalism with a focus on investigative journalism.