

RETHINKING SOUTHEAST ASIA

Politics and Governance in Indonesia

The police in the era of *reformasi*

Muradi



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Politics and Governance in Indonesia

How does an authoritarian state reform its police force following a transition to democracy? In 1998, Indonesia, one of the biggest archipelago countries in the world, faced just such a challenge. Policing had long been managed under the jurisdiction of the military, as an instrument of the Suharto regime – and with Suharto abruptly removed from office, this was about to change. Here we see how it changed, and how far these changes were for the better.

Based on direct observations by a scholar who was involved in the last days of the New Order and who saw how the police responded to regime change, this book examines the police, the new regime and how the police became disassociated from the military in Indonesia. Providing a comprehensive historical overview of the position of police in this change of regime, the book focuses on two key areas: the differences between local and national levels, and the politicization associated with decentralization. Arguing that the disassociation of the Indonesian National Police from the military has achieved only limited success, the book contends that there is continued impetus for the establishment of a professional police force and modern and democratic policing, which will entail effective public control of the police.

A pioneering study of the police in Indonesia, examining key issues in the post-Suharto era, this book will be of interest to scholars of Southeast Asian politics and policing and politics in the developing world.

Muradi received his PhD from Flinders University, Australia. He is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Government, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Padjadjaran, Jatinangor, Indonesia.

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Edited by Duncan McCargo

University of Leeds, UK

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The police in the era of *reformasi*
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Preface

This book was conceived due to the lack of comprehensive studies related to the police and politics in post-Suharto Indonesia, and developed over a ten-year period of work in the field of police studies. Based on direct observations by a scholar who was involved in the last days of the New Order and saw how the police responded to regime change, this book examines the police, the new regime, and how the police became disassociated from the military in Indonesia.

A great number of people have assisted my research for this book, both direct and indirectly. The first "Big Three" were scholars who had a great influence on my scholarly and personal development during my PhD study: Jim Schiller, Priyambudi Sulistiyanto and Anton Lucas, all at Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia. Their patience and expertise encouraged me to become a skeptical scholar; they acted as 'outsiders' overseeing what I was doing in order to make my research more valuable and objective. These three scholars gave so many new angles and critical approaches that made me see the police from a local perspective, as part of a long process of disassociation from the armed forces. Anton Lucas also provided critical input on early drafts of this book and always reminded me that the strength of the book is what happened at the local level. Priyambudi Sulistiyanto also reminded me that continuity between sections of this book should provide a new perspective for the study of policing in post-Suharto Indonesia.

Other scholars, analysts, journalists, and NGO activists have also contributed to this study through both short meetings and long discussions, mostly in Jakarta and Bandung coffee shops or meeting places. Liz Morrell, Malcolm Cook, Roger Wiseman, Rossi Von Der Vorch, Leonard Sebastian, Rohan Gunaratna, Bill Liddle, David Henley, Erwin Schweissheim, Gerald Heuett, David Jansen and Srisombat Cocprajakchat have shared important information and analyses with me. Other scholars of Indonesia and NGO activists who have shared their knowledge and expertise with me include Andi Widjadjanto, Cornelis Lay, Makmur Keliat, Adrianus Meliala, Neta S. Pane, Monica Tanuhandaru, Mufti Makarim, Beni Sukadis, Bambang Widodo Umar, Zakarias Poerba, Alfons Leomau, Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, Kusnanto Anggoro, J. Kristiadi, Jaleswari Pringgodhani and Eddy Prasetyono. I also would like to thank Budhiana Kartawijaya, Toto Suwanto and their networks, which provided access to databases of local newspaper clippings.

In the police, several generals have devoted considerable time to my research on their institution, most notably General Awaluddin Djamin, General Chaeruddin Ismail, General Timur Pradopo, Commissary General Nanan Sukarna, Commissary General Sutarman, Commissary General Adang Daradjatun, Commissary General E. Winarto, the late Inspector General Wik Jatmika, Inspector General Ronny Lihawa, Inspector General Andi Chaeruddin, Inspector General Farouk Muhammad, Inspector General Paulus Purwoko, Inspector General Tito Karnavian and the late Inspector General Firman Gani. In addition, many local police chiefs, local regents and mayors from regencies and municipalities in West Java province were always prepared to discuss the role of the police and policing problems in their jurisdictions.

I would like to thank Dorothea Schaefer and Jillian Morison at Routledge in England for helping me throughout the process of publishing this book. Their patience and commitment have provided indispensable technical guidance for me. Special thanks are due to Professor Duncan McCargo, the editor of the 'Rethinking Southeast Asia' series, who has provided valuable inputs to make this book more focused and appealing, and to allow readers to understand its arguments better.

At the School of Politics and International Studies of the Flinders Asia Centre, Robin Shepherdson, Tracey Kohl and Michele Lang also helped with various technical and administrative matters associated with my PhD thesis, which formed the basis of this book.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my colleagues in the Department of Government of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of Padjadjaran University, Jatiningor, Indonesia, which has provided support and permitted me to proceed to my doctoral programme after completing the master's programme at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. These include the Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of Padjadjaran University, Professor Dr Asep Kartiwa; the Rector of Padjadjaran University, Prof. Dr Ganjar Kurnia; and also the Deputy Rector, Dr Setiawan.

I am also indebted to my parents who always pray for my health and the safety of their children. Only 25 years ago, the idea that I might become a scholar with a higher degree was only a fantasy and bedtime story for me. It has now become true. Finally I would like to express my greatest appreciation to my wife, Alia Maharani, and my children, Bryanna and Alvaro, for their willingness to support my ambitious and unpredictable life. Their love is immeasurable.

Glossary and abbreviations

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia – Indonesian armed forces
Akpol	Akademi Kepolisian – police academy
AKRI	Angkatan Kepolisian Republik Indonesia – Indonesian police forces
AMS	Angkatan Muda Siliwangi – Siliwangi Young Generation
APBD	anggaran pendapatan belanja daerah – local annual budget
APRA	Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil – Legions of the Just King
Babinkamtibmas	Bintara Pembina Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat – Indonesian police NCO for security and order at village level
Babinsa	Bintara Pembina Desa – Indonesian military NCO at village level
Bakesbangpol Linmas	Badan Kesatuan Bangsa, Politik, dan Perlindungan Masyarakat – Agency for National Unity, Politics, and Public Safety
BAKIN	Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara – State Intelligence Coordinating Board
Bakorstranas	Badan Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan Stabilitas dan Ketahanan Nasional – National Stability and Resilience Coordinating Board
Bareskrim	Badan Reserse dan Kriminal – Criminal Investigation Bureau
Bhayangkara	Indonesian term for the Indonesian National Police (INP)
BPI	Badan Pusat Intelijen – Central Intelligence Board/Agency
Brimob	Brigade Mobil – mobile brigade, police paramilitary unit
Bupati	district head – regent
Dekonsentrasi	semi-autonomy
Densus 88 AT	Detasemen Khusus 88 Anti Terror – Anti-Terror Special Detachment 88

Dewan Konstituante	Constitutional Assembly
DKP	Dewan Kehormatan Perwira – Officers' Honour Board
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat – national parliament
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah – district or provincial assembly
Dukop	Dukungan Operasi – Operational Support Fund
Imparsial	Indonesian human rights monitor
Inkopol	Induk Koperasi Polisi – Polri HQ main cooperative
INP	Indonesian National Police – Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia
IPW	Indonesian Police Watch
Kamdagri	keamanan dalam negeri – internal or domestic security
Kapolda	kepala kepolisian daerah – head of provincial police
Kodim	Komando Distrik Militer – military district command
Kominda	komunitas intelijen daerah – local intelligence community
Kompolnas	Komisi Kepolisian Nasional – Indonesian National Police Commission
Kontras	Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan – Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence
Kopkamtib	Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban – Command for the Restoration of Security and Order
Koramil	Komando Rayon Militer – sub-district military command
Korem	Komando Resort Militer – military sub-regional command
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi – Corruption Eradication Commission
Lantas	lalulintas – traffic
Markus	makelar kasus – case trader
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat – People's Consultative Assembly (upper house of Indonesian parliament)
Murba	Musyawarah Rakyat Banyak – Indonesian leftist party established by Tan Malaka
Muspida	musyawarah pimpinan daerah – local leaders' forum
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama – traditional Muslim organization in Indonesia
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional – National Mandate Party
Parman	partisipasi teman – friendship participation
Parmas	partisipasi masyarakat – public participation
Parmin	partisipasi kriminal – mafia or criminal participation
PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang – Star Moon Crescent Party
PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan – Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle

PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa – National Awakening Party
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia – Indonesian Communist Party
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia – Indonesian National Party
Polda	kepolisian daerah – provincial police
Polres	kepolisian resort – district or municipality police
Polri	Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia – Indonesian National Police
Polsek	kepolisian sektor – precinct or sub-district police
Polwan	polisi wanita – police women
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan – United Development Party
Propam	Profesi dan Pengamanan – Professional Ethics Division
PSP	Persatuan Sekerja Polisi – Police Workers' Union
PT.	perseroan terbatas – private limited company
PTIK	Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu Kepolisian – police university
P3RI	Persatuan Pegawai Polisi Republik Indonesia – Police Officials' Union of the Republic of Indonesia
Reformasi	reform
Rekonfu	Rencana, Konsolidasi, dan Fungsi – Plan of Consolidation and Function
Renstra	perencanaan strategis – strategic planning
Reskrim	Reserse And Kriminal – criminal investigation unit
RIS	Republik Indonesia Serikat – United States of Indonesia
Satpol PP	Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja – municipal police
SELAPA	Sekolah Lanjutan Perwira – advanced police school
SEPA	Sekolah Perwira – police inspector candidate school
SESPATI	Sekolah Staf dan Perwira Tinggi – school for police staff and higher-ranking commanders
SESPIM	Sekolah Staf dan Pimpinan – school for police staff and chiefs
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia – Indonesian National Army
UUD 1945	Undang-undang Dasar 1945 – Constitution (Basic Laws) of 1945
Wanjakti	Dewan Kependangkatan dan Jabatan Tinggi – Police Promotion Board
Wedana	(Dutch colonial era) district police chief
Yayasan	foundation
YLBHI	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia – The Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation

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Introduction

The transition to democracy and the police – theories and the case of Indonesia

Background

How does an authoritarian state reform its police force following a transition to democracy? In 1998, Indonesia, one of the biggest archipelago countries in the world, faced just such a challenge. Policing had long been managed under the jurisdiction of the military, as an instrument of the Suharto regime – and with Suharto abruptly removed from office, this was about to change. How it changed, and how far these changes were for the better, is the subject of this book.

For over half a century the Indonesian police (Polri: Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia) had been cooperating, conflicting, and integrating as a single institution with Indonesia's armed forces (ABRI).¹ Since its disassociation from the military to become a separate security agency in 2002, Polri has been trying to be involved in and deal with concepts of democratic policing and civilian police.² The Polri has had problems in its internal culture and with some of its violent approaches in the past, including when it was used as a scapegoat by the military and other political guardians of the New Order regime.

The fall of Suharto's New Order regime, which ruled Indonesia for 32 years, pushed the Polri to come out from that situation. The disassociation of the Polri from the ABRI was a signal for the Polri to become a professional and independent institution. Polri published the 'Blue Book of the Polri' (*Buku Biru Reformasi Polri*), a formal document intended to be used as guidance for its internal reform.³ The book's content was a product of the Working Group for Polri Reform, made up of middle- and higher-ranking police officers.⁴

Although the Polri's involvement in the Indonesian democratic transition was a good note in Indonesian history, the Polri's proposed roles could not be put into practice at that point, as the Polri was still under the shadow of the military.⁵ A working group formed by President Habibie in 1998 initiated the actual Polri reform.⁶ This group, led by Agus Wirahadikusumah (army) and Sofyan Jacobs (police),⁷ was mandated to compile a concept for the internal reform of the Polri after its disassociation from the ABRI. Its legal umbrella was a decree of the Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly or MPR: the upper house of the Indonesian parliament), MPR Decree No. X/MPR/1998, mandating reform in the legal sector by strictly disassociating the roles and

2 Introduction

functions, and also the authority, of law enforcement actors in order to achieve proportionality, professionalism and integrity.⁸

As a national police force, the Polri was to be an indivisible part of efforts to maintain sovereignty of state in the context of internal security affairs (Keamanan Dalam Negeri, known as Kamdagri),⁹ along with maintaining security and public order. The formulation of policy related to the security of regions has a top-down character, although based on local characteristics.¹⁰ The hierarchical structure of the Polri is related to that of the overall national state administrative system, and to that of the previous ABRI and continuing military territorial organization.¹¹ Starting from the lowest level there are precincts (polsek) located in sub-districts; police offices (polres) located in districts (more rural) or municipalities (urban); sub-regional police offices (polwil) in charge of directing several district or municipality police offices; and provincial police offices (polda) located in the capital of each province.

One consequence of the reform was active steps to strengthen the potency of local personnel with the principle of “local boys for local jobs”. This became the Polri’s choice to meet requirements of human resources based on capability, comprehending local characteristics, understanding local society, and being accepted by the local public. However, the law at the time did not accommodate the idea of development of local resources for local police leaders. Law No. 2/2002 on the Polri asserts in its Article 5, point 2 that the Polri is a national police.¹² Therefore the policy of “local boys for local jobs” was only legitimated officially several years later in 2005 by Decision of Chief of the Polri, in 2005–2009 Strategic Plan (Renstra) No. Pol. 20/IX/2005, and then renewed by Decree of Chief of the Polri No. Pol. 9/IV/2007, and again by Decree of Chief of the Polri No. Pol. Kep/37/X/2008 on the Polri Transformation Program toward a Professional and Independent Police.¹³

It is important to research the post-Suharto reform of Polri, considering that there are major problems both internal and external continuing to haunt the processes of the Polri as a national police. The internal problems include its institutional culture; the financial security of its personnel; the lack of funding from the state; rivalries; and inadequate support from the leadership, personnel skills and tools of the police officers. The external problems include the Polri’s relations with the TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia – Indonesian National Army) and local governments, and corruption and illegal income from criminal and immoral activities and institutions such as extortion, prostitution, gambling and drug cartels.

The time frame 1998–2008 is selected here as appropriate for studying the Polri, for three reasons. First, 1998 was the beginning of the opportunity for the Polri to come out from the shadow of the military. When Suharto was ousted from the presidency, the Polri had a chance to follow the political and social changes such as the people’s demands to separate the Polri from the ABRI, as part of the *reformasi* (reform) agenda.

Second, the period 1998–2008 is an important time to evaluate the Polri in its first decade as the major state actor in internal security. The aim of disassociating