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Military Politics, Islam, and the State in Indonesia

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Military Politics, Islam, and the State in Indonesia

*From Turbulent Transition to
Democratic Consolidation*

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PREFACE

This book is the result of more than ten years of intense engagement with Indonesian politics and its actors. I began research for my Ph.D. dissertation in Indonesia in 1997, when the New Order regime started to crumble. Since then, I have lived in the country for most of the time, witnessing at first hand many of the events that shaped the post-Suharto polity. Based on these direct observations, this book covers one of the most eventful decades of Indonesian modern history, from the end of authoritarian rule to the phase of democratic consolidation from 2004 onwards. Of course this latter phase is far from completed, and the outcome of the political reform process still uncertain.

A great number of people have assisted me during my research for this book, both directly and indirectly. First and foremost, Harold Crouch has been a great influence on my scholarly and personal development since I began my Ph.D. candidature at the Australian National University (ANU) in 1997. I was deeply impressed by the warmth and dedication that Harold showed towards his students, providing significantly more assistance and support than his position as a university professor would have required. Even after I completed my doctoral studies, Harold continued to comment on my academic writings, including the last two chapters of this book. Without Harold's willingness to introduce me to senior military officers and politicians, his constant encouragement and advice, and his intellectual guidance, this book would not have been possible. In the same vein, I am indebted to Greg Fealy, also of ANU, who played a big role in the production of this book as well. His friendship and uncompromising scholarly advice have accompanied my life for the last ten years. I have become a great admirer of his strong academic ethics, his command of a precise but colourful language, and his unique sense of humour. Special thanks are also due to Merle Ricklefs, of the National University of Singapore, who continued to read my drafts after his departure from the ANU in 1998 and provided invaluable comments and insights.

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This book would not have seen the light of day had it not been for the great patience of Indonesians who, despite their busy schedules, always find time to explain their country to outsiders like myself. The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) was my host during my fieldwork in Indonesia in 1998 and 1999. Clara Joewono, Hadi Soesastro, Harry Tjan Silalahi, and Rizal Sukma made my stay at the Centre most enjoyable and productive. In 2006 and 2007, I was a Senior Visiting Fellow at the Indonesian Institute, and this fellowship allowed me to research and write the final two chapters of this book. At the Institute, Jeffrie Geovanie and Anies Baswedan were great sources of information and inspiration, and Jeffrie's failed candidacy as vice-governor of Jakarta in 2007 provided me with original insights into the workings of Indonesian electoral politics ten years after Suharto's fall. Other Indonesian scholars who have shared their knowledge and expertise with me included Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, Andi Widjojanto, Kusananto Anggoro, Cornelis Lay, Humam Hamid, Edy Prasetyono, the late Munir, Fajrul Falaakh, Hari Prihatono, Aribowo, Muhammad Asfar, and the late Riswanda Imawan.

In the military, several generals have devoted considerable time to answer my questions on their institution, most notably Lieutenant General

Agus Widjojo, General Endriartono Sutarto, Lieutenant General Djadja Suparman, Major General Sudrajat, and the late Lieutenant General Agus Wirahadikusumah. Among the Muslim leaders and politicians who were always prepared to discuss the complexities of their religion and its political manifestations were Abdurrahman Wahid, Muhaimin Iskandar, Habieb Syarief Mohammad, Saifullah Yusuf, Zulkieflimansyah, Mustafa Zuhad Mughni, Din Syamsuddin, and Djoko Susilo, as well as the late Cholil Bisri and Matori Abdul Djalil.

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A short note on spellings and the use of names is also in order. Generally, I followed the spelling standardized in the Indonesian press or used by the person concerned. In some cases, however, I followed the preferences of international publishers. This means, I used “Suharto” instead of the Indonesian version “Soeharto”, and “Sukarno” instead of “Soekarno”. In other instances, I maintained the original spelling, particularly if the name was internationally not widely known. I applied a similar approach to the problem of family and first names. In the Indonesian press, first names are mostly used to represent the full name, i.e. “Amien” for “Amien Rais”. The international media, however, would refer to Amien as “Rais”. In this context, I have followed majority usage and my intuition rather than a clear rule. For instance, the use of “Wahid” for Abdurrahman Wahid and “Yudhoyono” for

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has become widespread in the Indonesian press after these figures assumed the presidency. By contrast, no Indonesian paper would use “Sukarnoputri” for Megawati Sukarnoputri, but would invariably stick to the popular use of “Megawati”. In the same vein, no Indonesian analyst would understand the use of “Subianto” for Prabowo Subianto. Consequently, I have adopted those names that are most widely used in Indonesia and the academic community of Indonesianists.

GLOSSARY

<i>abangan</i>	nominal Muslim(s)
ABRI	<i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> , Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia
Akabri	<i>Akademi Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> , Academy of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia
<i>amar maruf nahi munkar</i>	Qu'ranic command to do good and prohibit evil
Ampera	<i>Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat</i> , Mandate of the People's Suffering
ANU	Australian National University
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Babinsa	<i>Bintara Pembina Desa</i> , NCOs for Village Supervision
BIA	<i>Badan Intelijen ABRI</i> , ABRI Intelligence Agency
BIN	<i>Badan Intelijen Negara</i> , National Intelligence Agency
BKSPPI	<i>Badan Kerja Sama Pondok Pesantren Indonesia</i> , Cooperation Body of Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools
<i>bughot</i>	rebel; person who takes up arms against the legitimate government
<i>bupati</i>	district head
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
<i>dakwah</i>	Islamic predication
Darul Islam	lit. "Abode of Islam"
DDII	<i>Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Council for Islamic Predication

DPD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Daerah</i> , Regional Representative Council
DPR	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i> , People's Representative Council
Dwi Fungsi	Dual Function
FBR	<i>Forum Betawi Rempug</i> , Betawi Brotherhood Forum
<i>fikih</i>	Islamic jurisprudence
FKPPI	<i>Forum Komunikasi Putra-Putri Purnawirawan Indonesia</i> , Communication Forum of Sons and Daughters of Indonesian Veterans
Forki	<i>Forum Kerja Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Working Forum
FPI	<i>Front Pembela Islam</i> , Front for the Defenders of Islam
FPK	<i>Front Pembela Kebenaran</i> , Front of Defenders of the Truth
GAM	<i>Gerakan Aceh Merdeka</i> , Free Aceh Movement
Giyugun	volunteer army (during the Japanese occupation)
Golkar	<i>Golongan Karya</i> , Functional Group(s); government party during the New Order
GPB	<i>Gerakan Pembela Bangsa</i> , Movement of Defenders of the Nation
<i>hajj</i>	annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>haram</i>	prohibited (according to Islamic law)
Heiho	auxiliary troops (during the Japanese occupation)
ICMI	<i>Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals
<i>ijtihad</i>	independent judgment, based on recognized sources of Islam, on a legal or theological question
Ikhwanul Muslimin	Muslim Brotherhood
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPNU	<i>Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama</i> , Nahdlatul Ulama Students Association
IPPNU	<i>Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama</i> , Nahdlatul Ulama Female Students Association
Jemaah Islamiyah	lit. "Islamic Community"
JPPR	<i>Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih Untuk Rakyat</i> , People's Voter Education Network

<i>ka'abah</i>	lit. "cube"; a cuboidal building inside the al-Masjid al-Haram mosque in Mecca
KAMMI	<i>Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union
<i>kekaryaan</i>	lit. "work"; temporary assignment of officers to non-military posts
<i>kiai</i>	lit. "noble"; title of religious scholar or leader
<i>kiai khos</i>	lit. "venerable Islamic scholars"
KISDI	<i>Komite Indonesia untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam</i> , Indonesian Committee for Solidarity with the Muslim World
KNIL	<i>Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger</i> , Royal Netherlands East Indies Army
Kodam	<i>Komando Daerah Militer</i> , Regional Command
Kodim	<i>Komando Distrik Militer</i> , District Command
Komando Jihad	lit. "Holy War Command"
Koramil	<i>Komando Rayon Militer</i> , Sub-district Command
Korem	<i>Komando Resort Militer</i> , Resort Command
Kostrad	<i>Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat</i> (Army Strategic Reserve Command)
Kowilhan	<i>Komando Wilayah Pertahanan</i> , Territorial Defence Command
Laskar Jihad	lit. "Holy War Fighters"
Lemhannas	<i>Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional</i> , National Resilience Institute
LIPI	<i>Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Institute of Sciences
LKKNU	<i>Lembaga Kemaslahatan Keluarga Nahdlatul Ulama</i> , Institute for the Benefit of Nahdlatul Ulama Families
LSI	<i>Lembaga Survei Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Survey Institute
MAR	<i>Majelis Amanat Rakyat</i> , Popular Mandate Council
Masyumi	<i>Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Muslim Advisory Council
<i>mazhab</i>	Islamic school of law
MK	<i>Mahkamah Konstitusi</i> , Constitutional Court
MPR	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> , People's Consultative Assembly

MPRS	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara</i> , Provisional People's Consultative Assembly
MUI	<i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Council of Muslim Scholars
Muspida	<i>Musyawarah Pimpinan Daerah</i> , Consultation of the Regional Leadership
Nasakom	Sukarno's acronym for the combination of Nationalism (<i>Nasionalisme</i>), Religion (<i>Agama</i>), and Communism (<i>Komunisme</i>)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
New Order	The political order in Indonesia under Suharto's rule (1966-98)
NII	<i>Negara Islam Indonesia</i> , Islamic State of Indonesia
NKRI	<i>Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia</i> , Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia
NU	<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> ; lit. "Revival of the Islamic Scholars"
PAN	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> , National Mandate Party
Pancasila	lit. "The Five Principles"
Parmusi	<i>Partai Muslimin Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Muslim Party
Partai Bulan Bintang	Crescent and Star Party
Partai Demokrat	Democratic Party
PBM	<i>Pasukan Berani Mati</i> , Troops Ready to Die
PBR	<i>Partai Bintang Reformasi</i> , Reform Star Party
PDI	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Democratic Party
PDI-P	PDI-Perjuangan, PDI-Struggle
Pertamina	<i>Perusahaan Tambang Minyak Negara</i> , State Oil Company
Perti	<i>Persatuan Tarbiyah Indonesia</i> , Islamic Education Association
<i>pesantren</i>	traditional Islamic boarding school
Peta	<i>Tentara Pembela Tanah Air</i> , Army for the Defence of the Homeland
PK	<i>Partai Keadilan</i> , Justice Party
PKB	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> , National Awakening Party

PKI	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Communist Party
PKNU	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama</i> , Party of the Islamic Scholars' National Awakening
PKPI	<i>Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia</i> , Party of Indonesian Justice and Unity
PKS	<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> , Prosperous Justice Party
PKU	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Umat</i> , Party of the Awakening Umat
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PMB	<i>Partai Matahari Bangsa</i> , Party of the National Sun
PMII	<i>Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Movement of Islamic Students
PNI	<i>Partai Nasional Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Nationalist Party
PNU	<i>Partai Nahdlatul Umat</i> , Revival of the Umat Party
PPDK	<i>Partai Persatuan Demokrasi Kebangsaan</i> , United Party of National Democracy
PPP	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> , United Development Party
PSI	<i>Partai Sosialis Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Socialist Party
<i>putihan</i>	lit. "the white ones"; devout Muslims
<i>Rais 'Aam</i>	Chairman of the Religious Council of Nahdlatul Ulama
<i>santri</i>	devout Muslim(s)
<i>shirk</i> (or <i>syirk</i>)	idolatry, polytheism
SUNI	<i>Solidaritas Uni Nasional Indonesia</i> , Solidarity of the National Indonesian Union
<i>syariat</i> (or <i>sharia</i>)	Islamic law
<i>syubhat</i>	dubious, questionable (according to Islamic law)
TII	<i>Tentara Islam Indonesia</i> , Islamic Army of Indonesia
TKR	<i>Tentara Keamanan Rakyat</i> , People's Security Force
TNI	<i>Tentara Nasional Indonesia</i> , Indonesian National Military

<i>ulama</i>	Islamic scholar(s)
<i>umat</i>	Islamic community
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UUD 1945	<i>Undang-Undang Dasar</i> 1945, Constitution of 1945
<i>waliyul amri</i>	de facto holder of interim power (according to Islamic
<i>dlaruri bissyaukah</i>	jurisprudence)
Dharmais	<i>Dharma Bhakti Sosial</i> , Social Service
Supersemar	<i>Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret</i> , Order of March the Eleventh