

## Militer dalam masyarakat : menuju TNI Profesional di Era Reformasi

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### Abstrak

#### **ABSTRAK**

Penelitian (disertasi) ini menelaah pergeseran Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) di era reformasi, khususnya setelah terbitnya UU No. 34/2004 tentang TNI. Fokus kajian disertasi ini dirumuskan dalam tiga research question berikut. Pertama, bagaimana pandangan masyarakat sipil dan para perwira TNI mengenai eksistensi lembaga teritorial bisnis TNI, serta hubungan TNI dengan Departemen Pertahanan (Dephan) dalam era demokratisasi dan arus perubahan masyarakat? Kedua, prasyarat macam apakah yang dibutuhkan TNI baik secara internal sebagai key factor maupun eksternal (driving force) dalam upaya menuju militer profesional? Ketiga, skenario macam apakah yang dapat dibentangkan bagi berbagai kemungkinan yang dapat ditempuh dalam melakukan reformasi lembaga teritorial, bisnis TNI, serta hubungan TNI dengan Departemen Pertahanan dalam rangka menuju militer profesional di masa depan?

Ada pun tujuan penelitian adalah memahami secara tuntas dan mendalam pandangan atau gagasan masyarakat sipil serta perwira TNI tentang eksistensi lembaga teritorial, bisnis TNI, Serta hubungan TNI dengan Departemen Pertahanan dalam rangka membangun tentara profesional di masa mendatang.

Penelitian ini dirancang dan dilaksanakan dalam pola metode kualitatif (qualitative method). Fenomena yang diangkat mengisyaratkan pembacaan terhadap apa yang ada di balik fakta sehingga dipandang lebih relevan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dalam ilmu sosial, Pendekatan kualitatif memiliki akses dan perangkat metodologis memadai dan relevan yang dapat digunakan untuk membongkar hal-hal yang tersembunyi di balik fakta seperti dikatakan Strauss dan Corbin (1997:13), metode-metode kualitatif dapat perangkat metodologis memadai dan relevan yang dapat digunakan untuk membongkar hal-hal yang tersembunyi di balik fakta. Seperti dikatakan Strauss dan Corbin (1997:13), metode-metode kualitatif dapat digunakan untuk menemukan dan memahami apa yang tersembunyi di balik fenomena (symptom, gejala) yang seringkali merupakan sesuatu yang sulit untuk dipahami.

Selain itu, penelitian ini juga mencoba menggunakan teknik skenario (scenario technique), khusus untuk konteks penawaran alternatif atau mendesain pilihan-pilihan kemungkinan bagi upaya reformasi internal TNI menuju militer profesional sesuai semangat UU TNI dan tuntutan perubahan dalam masyarakat. Teknik skenario, menurut Schwartz (1991:25) merupakan "a tool for ordering one's perception about alternative future environments in which one's decision might be played about. Alternatively: a set of organized worlds for us to dream objectively about our own future. Concretely, they resemble a set of stories, either written out or often spoken". Selanjutnya dikatakan, however, these stories are built around carefully constructed plots that make the significant elements of the world scene stand out clearly. This approach is more a disciplined way of thinking than a formal methodology.

Guna mendapatkan data yang dibutuhkan, beberapa teknik koleksi data telah berusaha digunakan yakni penyebaran kuesioner, focused group discussion (FGD), dan wawancara mendalam (in depth interview). Informan penelitian tersebar di dua belas kota sesuai wilayah Komando Daerah Militer (Kodam) yang ada di Indonesia. Sandaran teoretik yang digunakan dalam penelitian (disertasi) ini adalah teori Huntington tentang militer profesional. Menurutnya, militer profesional adalah militer yang memiliki keahlian (expertise), tanggung jawab (responsibility), dan kesatuan (corporateness) Dia menulis, "the first step in analyzing the professional character of modern officer corps is to define professionalism. The distinguishing characteristics of profession as a special type of vocation are its expertise, responsibility, and corporateness."

Bagi Huntington, intinya adalah berubahnya korps perwira militer dari bentuk "penakluk" (warrior) menjadi kelompok profesional. Profesionalisme korps perwira ini ditandai oleh perubahan dari "tentara pencari keuntungan materi" menjadi "tentara karena panggilan suci memberikan pelayanan kepada masyarakat- Huntington melihat profesi militer merupakan produk terbaru masyarakat modern.

Huntington menggolongkan secara dikotomik kaum militer ke dalam dua kategori, yakni "militer profesional" dan "militer pretorian". Militer profesional umumnya dijumpai di negara-negara Barat, di mana militer merupakan kelompok profesional untuk menjaga negara. Mereka juga memiliki ketertundukan kepada pemerintahan sipil. Ia berada di bawah supremasi sipil. Sedangkan prajurit pretorian adalah tentara yang turut terlibat dan melakukan intervensi dalam kehidupan politik.

Dalam kerangka peran militer dalam masyarakat (the role of the military in society), Huntington mengajukan terminologi civilian control (kontrol sipil) yang dibedakan antara "subjective civilian control" (kontrol sipil subyektif) dan "objective civilian control" (kontrol sipil objektif). Kontrol sipil subyektif, di mana kekuatan sipil berusaha memaksimalkan kekuasaan serta berusaha menarik tentara ke dalam dan untuk kepentingannya, baik kepentingan politik maupun ekonomi. Sedangkan kontrol sipil objektif, yakni memaksimalkan profesionalisme militer itu sendiri. Secara lebih tegas, kontrol sipil objektif adalah pembagian kekuasaan politik di antara militer dan kelompok-kelompok sipil untuk menciptakan situasi kondusif bagi munculnya sikap dan perilaku profesional di antara para anggota korps perwira. Kontrol sipil objektif, dengan demikian, menentang secara langsung kontrol sipil subyektif. Kontrol sipil subyektif mencapai tujuan akhirnya dengan men-sipilkan pihak militer. Sementara kontrol sipil objektif mencapai tujuan akhirnya dengan memiliterkan pihak sipil, menjadikan mereka alat negara. Inti kontrol sipil objektif adalah pengenalan akan profesionalisme militer yang mandiri, sedangkan inti dari kontrol sipil subyektif adalah penyangkalan terhadap kemandirian militer.

Teori militer profesional yang dikembangkan Huntington seringkali dikenal sebagai the old professionalism, Di seberang pemikiran itu, muncul teori the new professionalism yang diajukan oleh Alfred Stepan, yang diangkat dari fenomena militer di negara-negara sedang berkembang. Dalam the new professionalism, militer turut terlibat dalam kehidupan politik dan turut terlibat dalam menangani masalah ancaman yang muncul dari kalangan masyarakat di dalam negeri suatu negara.

Terhadap pertanyaan penelitian yang disebutkan di atas, temuan penelitian (disertasi) ini

menunjukkan ada tiga pembelahan pandangan baik tentang lembaga Koter maupun bisnis TNI serta hubungan TNI dengan Dephan, yakni pandangan konservatif, progresif; dan moderat.

Menyangkut eksistensi Komando Teritorial (Koter), kelompok pandangan konservatif berpendirian, bahwa lembaga tersebut, secara struktural, tetap dipertahankan seperti yang ada saat ini, tetapi secara fungsional ia harus dikembalikan seperti semula yang semata-mata diorientasikan untuk menangani bidang pertahanan serta fungsi-fungsi teritorial lainnya jika diminta oleh Pemerintah Daerah. Sedangkan pandangan progresif mengisyaratkan pembubaran total lembaga teritorial, karena ketika TNI hanya melakukan peran dan fungsi semata-mata di bidang pertahanan maka Koter pun menjadi tidak relevan. Kemudian pandangan moderat mengajukan tesis refungsionalisasi lembaga teritorial. Artinya, Koter tetap dipertahankan tetapi peran dan fungsi yang dijalankan hanya dalam lingkup pertahanan dari sisi mata darat dan menutup seluruh peluang bagi keterlibatan TNI dalam politik praktis dan bisnis. Di samping itu, kelompok moderat juga berpandangan bahwa TNI Angkatan Laut dan Angkatan Udara dapat membentangkan struktur organisasinya sesuai kebutuhan pertahanan dalam perspektif mata laut dan mata udara, dengan melaksanakan pemberdayaan wilayah pertahanan sesuai mata masing-masing.

Mengenai bisnis TNI kalangan konservatif memandang bisnis TNI mampu memberikan dan meningkatkan kesejahteraan prajurit. Kalau kemudian bisnis TNI itu dialihkan ke negara, hal itu tidak dilakukan secara total. Artinya masih ada bentuk bisnis tertentu yang harus tetap dipertahankan untuk dikelola TNI yakni koperasi dan yayasan-yayasan nonproit, terutama yang bergerak di bidang pendidikan dan kesehatan. Sementara kalangan progresif memandang bahwa tentara profesional mensyaratkan untuk tidak terlibat sedikit pun dalam segala bentuk kegiatan bisnis. Hak dan akses bagi TNI berbisnis harus dicabut dan ditutup secara total. Bisnis dapat mengganggu dan mengacaukan profesionalisme TNI- Segala wujud bisnis yang ada selama ini harus diambil alih total oleh pemerintah, dan pemerintahlah yang kemudian bertanggung jawab untuk membiayai kebutuhan TNI dan kesejahteraan prajurit. Kemudian, kalangan moderat berpendirian bahwa bisnis TNI yang bersifat legal dan institusional harus diaudit dan dipilah-pilah terlebih dahulu sehingga dapat diketahui mana yang sehat dan yang tidak sehat. Bisnis yang sehat harus segera diambil alih oleh negara, sedangkan yang tidak sehat dibubarkan. Tetapi pengambil alihan oleh pemerintah itu harus diikuti dengan kompensasi yang jelas kepada TNI bagi kepentingan peningkatan kesejahteraan prajurit.

Mengenai hubungan struktural antara TNI dengan Dephan. Dalam pandangan konservatif TNI harus tetap berada langsung di bawah Presiden karena Presiden merupakan Panglima Tertinggi TNI. Dalam konteks demikian, antara institusi TNI dengan Dephan berada pada posisi sejajar. Sementara itu, pandangan progresif secara tegas menempatkan TNI di bawah Dephan, sebagai salah satu wujud dari pengakuan terhadap supremasi sipil. Sedangkan pandangan moderat berpendirian, sesungguhnya letak persoalannya tidaklah pada apakah TNI di bawah Presiden atau di bawah Dephan, tetapi lebih pada bagaimana TNI dapat melaksanakan peran kemiliterannya dengan baik yang didasarkan pada level fungsi yang tegas dan konsisten.

Hal itu semua terkait dengan upaya membangun TNI sebagai militer profesional. Profesionalisme TNI dapat dicapai jika melepaskan diri atau dilepaskan dari keterlibatannya dalam politik

praktis, tidak berbisnis, dan tidak menjadikan lembaga teritorial sebagai sarana ke arena sopol. Pengakuan dan kedudukan pada supremasi sipil di mana Salah satu wujudnya adalah kesediaan TNI diposisikan di dalam Dephan. Kriteria militer profesional seperti diisyaratkan Huntington tersebut juga harus melekat pada TNI.

Saat ini TNI sesungguhnya sudah cukup jauh meninggalkan citra diri dan perilaku pretonan. Semakin jauh dari pretorian semakin jauh pula dari tekanan subjective civilian control, dan ini sekaligus bermakna bahwa TNI semakin mendekati arena objective civilian control. Hal ini tentu saja berdampak positif bagi perkembangan civii society serta konsolidasi demokrasi dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat, berbangsa dan bernegara.

Sejak awal reformasi hingga saat ini TNI masih dalam proses transisi menuju militer profesional. Dalam hubungan ini, TNI cenderung bergerak dari new professionalism (ala Stepan) ke old professionalism (ala Huntington), tetapi tidak murni seperti yang dipahami dalam teori, karena aspek-aspek tertentu dari new professionalism tidak bisa dilepaskan dalam peran dan fungsi TNI. Pada kenyataannya antara objective civilian control dengan subjective civilian control tidak dapat dipisahkan secara hitam putih.

Dengan demikian, profesionalisme dalam konteks TNI, lebih merupakan pepaduan antara new professionalism (Stepan) dengan old professionalism dan memiliki komitmen kuat untuk terlibat secara tulus -berdasarkan perintah pemerintah sipil- dalam tugas-tugas nonpertahanan demi kemanusiaan, solidaritas sosial, kebaikan bersama, dan keterhormatan bangsa.

Tentara profesional dalam konteks Indonesia adalah tentara yang memiliki prinsip-prinsip profesionalisme kemiliteran dalam pengertian old professionalism, memenuhi kriteria yang diamanatkan UU TNI, memiliki aspek-aspek new professionalism, konsisten terhadap objective civilian control, berikht memegang teguh etika militer, Sumpah Prajurit, dan Etika Perwira. Sosok TNI yang demikianlah yang menjadi role expectation masyarakat. Pada giliran di tingkat role taking masyarakat akan mengakuinya ke depan ada optimisme TNI mampu membangun dan membuat peran (role making) secara lebih baik.

Membentuk TNI sebagai militer profesional membutuhkan sejumlah prasyarat tertentu seperti prasyarat ekonomi, prasyarat sosial, prasyarat politik, prasyarat teknologi, dan prasyarat kurikulum pendidikan militer. Tetapi untuk semua itu membutuhkan political will negara dan dukungan civil society untuk menopangnya.

Untuk kepentingan reformasi TNI berkait dengan eksistensi Koter, biasis TNI, dan hubungan TNI-Dephan, serta upaya mendorongnya menuju profesionalisme militer, penelitian ini merekomendasikan tiga skenario. Pertama, melakukan refungsionalisasi lembaga Koter. Kedua, mengalihkan bisnis TNI kepada pemerintah disertai kompensasi yang jelas. Ketiga, memosisikan TNI berada di dalam Dephan, yakni tipe koordinasi, model Amerika.

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**ABSTRACT**

This research (thesis) examines the shift of the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) in the reform era,

particularly after the issuance of the Law No. 34/2004 concerning TNI. Focus of the review of this thesis is formulated in the following three research question: First, what is the opinion of civil society and the TNI officers regarding the existence of territorial institutions, TNI's business, and the relationship of TNI and the ministry of Defense (Dephan) in the democratization era and the community's changing trend? Second what type of prerequisite is needed by TNI, both internally as key factors, or externally (driving force) in its effort toward professional military? Third what type of scenario could be prepared for various possibilities that are possible to conduct the reformation of territorial institutions, TNI's business, as well as the relationship of TNI and the Ministry of Defense toward professional military in the future?

The objective of this research is to completely and thoroughly understand the civil society's and TNI officer's views regarding the existence of territorial institutions TNI's business and the relationship of TNI and the Ministry of Defense in building professional army in the future.

This research is designed and carried out in a qualitative method pattern. The phenomenon highlighted gives a signal to the reader regarding what exist behind the facts so that it is considered more relevant to using qualitative approach. In social science, the qualitative approach has adequate and relevant access and methodology tools that could be used to reveal any issues exist behind the fact. As quoted by Strauss and Corbin (1997:13), the qualitative methods could be used to find out and understand what exist behind any phenomenon (symptom) that is often difficult to understand.

Additionally, this research tries also to use special scenario technique for alternative offering context or to design possible choices for the TNI's internal reformation effort toward professional military according to the spirit of the Law of TNI, and change demand in the society. The scenario technique, according to Schwartz (1991:5) is... "a tool for ordering one's perception about alternative future environments in which one's decision might be played about. Alternatively, a set of organized ways for us to dream effectively about our own future. Concretely, this resembles a set of stories either written out or often spoken ". Furthermore, it is stated that, however, these stories are built around carefully constructed plots that make the significant element of the world scene stand out boldly. This approach is more a disciplined way of thinking than a formal methodology.

In order to obtain data required, several data collection techniques have been used, namely dissemination of questionnaires, Focused Group Discussion (FGD), and in depth interview, Research informant spreads in twelve cities, pursuant to the Regional Military Command (Kodam) exist in Indonesia.

Theoretical base used in this research (thesis) is the Huntington theory of professional military. According to him, a professional military is a military that has the expertise, responsibility, and corporateness He wrote, "the first step in analysing the professional character of modern officer corps is to define professionalism". The distinguishing characteristics of profession as a special type of vocation are its expertise, responsibility, and corporateness.

For Huntington, the essence is the change of the military officer corps from conqueror type (warrior) into professional group. The professionalism of this officer corps is marked by the change from

"army that looks for material advantages" into "army by sacred call to serve the community". Huntington viewed that the military profession is the most recent products of modern society. Huntington classified in dichotomy manner, the military groups into two categories, namely "professional military" and "praetorian military". The professional military is generally found in West countries, where military is a professional group to safeguard the country. They subject to the civil society. They are under the civil supremacy. Meanwhile, praetorian troops are those involved and conduct intervention in political life.

In the frame of the role of military in society, Huntington proposes the terminology civilian control, which differs from the "subjective civilian control" and "objective civilian control". The subjective civilian control is the civil power trying to maximize their power while trying to draw the military inside and for its interest either political or economic interest, whereas, the objective civilian control, namely to maximize the military professionalism itself in a stricter manner, objective civilian control is the distribution of political power between military and civil groups to create conducive circumstance for the awakening of professional attitude and behavior among the officer corps member. The objective civilian control therefore, directly is in opposition to the subjective civilian control. The subjective civilian control achieves its ultimate goal by civilizing the military groups. Meanwhile, the objective civilian control achieves its ultimate goals by militarizing the military groups and putting them as a state apparatus. The essence of the objective civilian control is the identification of independent military professionalism, whereas the essence of subjective civilian control is the denial of military independence.

The professional military theory developed by Huntington often referred to as the old professionalism. Opposing the thought, the new professionalism theory raised, which was proposed by Alfred Stepan highlighted from military phenomena in developing countries. In the new professionalism theory, the military is involved in political life and involved in handling any threat issues occur from the domestic community in a particular country.

Toward the research questioned raised above, findings of this research (thesis) show that there are three different views of Territorial Command institutions and the TNI's business as well as the relationship of TNI and the Ministry of Defense, namely conservative, progressive, and moderate view.

Related to the existence of the Territorial Command (Koter), the conservative-view groups made an opinion that the institution, structurally, shall be maintained as current situation but functionally, it shall be restored to its original condition that is merely oriented to handle defense sector as well as other territorial functions upon request by Regional Government. Whereas, the progressive view signaled total dismissal of territorial institution, since TNI has carried out only their sheer roles and functions, the Territorial Command is no longer relevant. Furthermore, the moderate view proposes the territorial institution refunctionalization thesis which means that the Territorial Command shall be maintained but the role and function performed shall only in defense and land-dimension scope, and close the entire opportunities for TNI in practical politics and business. Additionally, the moderate group has an opinion also that the Navy and Air Force of TNI may expand its organizational structure according to defense requirement in sea-dimension and air-dimension perspective by empowering the defense territories according to respective dimension.

Regarding TNI's business, conservative group view that TNI's business is able to provide and improve officer's welfare. Should the TNI's business handed over to the State, such thing shall not be totally done, It means that there are certain types of business that shall be maintained to be handled by TNI, namely cooperatives and not-for-profit organizations particularly those run in education and health sector.

Meanwhile, progressive group views that professional military requires not to get involved in any types of business activities. It means that the access for TNI to run business shall be totally revoked and closed since the business may distort and ruin the TNI's professionalism. Any types of businesses that are operated up to now shall be totally handed over by the government, and it is the government that shall be responsible for financing the TNI's needs and the military's welfare. Furthermore, moderate group have an opinion that TNI's legal and institutional business shall be audited and sorted first so that it will be able to identify which businesses are healthy and unhealthy. The healthy businesses shall be taken over by the State, whereas the unhealthy ones shall be dismissed. However, the government's taking over shall be followed by clear compensation for TNI, for the interest of military's welfare enhancement.

Concerning the structural relationship between TNI and the Ministry of Defense. In conservative's opinion, TNI shall be put directly under the President since the President is the Ultimate Commander of TNI. In such context, the position of TNI and the Ministry of Defense is parallel. Whereas, the progressive view strictly places TNI under the Ministry of Defense as a realization and recognition of civil supremacy. Whereas, moderate view has an opinion that the problems indeed not regarding whether TNI shall be placed under the President or under the Ministry of Defense but rather on how TNI will carry out its military role in good manner based on a strict and consistent function level.

These all related to the effort of building TNI as a professional military, The professionalism of TNI could be achieved if it releases itself or is released from any practical politics, not conduct any businesses nor make any territorial institutions as a means for social and political world Recognition and compliance with civil supremacy, where one of its realizations, is the willingness of TNI to be positioned under the Ministry of Defense. Professional military criteria as required by Huntington shall also inherit in TNI.

At this time, TNI has quite far left its praetorian image and behavior. The further from praetorian, the further from the pressure of subjective civilian control and this simultaneously means that TNI is getting closer to the objective civilian control sphere. This certainly gives positive impact on the development of civil society and the democracy consolidation in societal and national life.

Since the early reform up to now, TNI remains in a transition process toward professional military. In this regard, TNI tends to move from new professionalism (ala Stepan) to old professionalism (ala Huntington) but not in pure sense as understood in theory since particular aspects of the new professionalism could not be released from the TNI's roles and functions. In fact, it is impossible to strictly separate the objective civilian control and subjective civilian control.

Thus, professionalism in TNI context is rather becoming the combination of new

professionalism (Stepan) and the old professionalism (Huntington). Such professional military in this research is called 'The Patriot Professional'. The patriot professional military is a military that in addition to its presence in professionalism-character posture is also called and strongly committed to be sincerely involved based on the civil government's command in non-defense duties for the sake of humanity, social solidarity, mutual benefit, and nation's dignity.

Professional troops in Indonesian context are the troops that have military professionalism principles in term of old professionalism, satisfy the criteria set out in the Law of TNI, have new professionalism aspect, consistent to the Objective civilian control, and strictly stick to the military ethics, Officer's Oath, and officer's Ethics. Such TNI's image becomes the society's role expectation. In turn, at the role taking level, the society will recognize it. In the future, optimism occurs that TNI will be able to build and make a better role.

Establish TNI as a professional military requires various certain prerequisites such as economic, social political, technological prerequisite and military education curriculum prerequisite. However, the entire things require the State's political will and support by civil society to support them.

For the interest of TNI reform related to the existence of TNI's Territorial Command and the relationship of TNI - Ministry of Defense, as well as the effort to encourage it toward military professionalism, this research recommends three scenarios. Firstly, carry out the refunctionalization of Territorial Command institution. Secondly hand over the TNI's business to the government, accompanied with clear compensation. Thirdly. position between the TNI and the Ministry of Defense, using' the coordination type (American model), where there shall be coordinating of duties and authorities between TNI and the Ministry of Defense.