

# Perbandingan pretorianisme militer dalam politik dan ekonomi pada rezim orde baru di Indonesia (1966-1998) dengan rezim junta militer di Myanmar (1962-2011) = Comparative military praetorianism in politics and economy between Indonesia during the new order era (1966-1998) and Myanmar during military junta period (1962-2011) / Insan Praditya Anugrah

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## Abstrak

### <b>ABSTRAK</b><br>

Tesis ini memperbandingkan pretorianisme militer dalam politik Negara, mengambil studi kasus Indonesia dan Myanmar. Dengan menggunakan teori pretorianisme Eric Nordlinger, tesis ini membandingkan kedua Negara tersebut melalui empat indikator penting dalam teori petorianisme Eric Nordlinger, diantaranya : a penghapusan dan pembatasan persaingan dan keterlibatan masyarakat dalam politik, b upaya mempertahankan kekuasaan oleh rezim militer secara terpusat, c pertumbuhan dan modernisasi ekonomi dan d kecenderungan mempertahankan status quo ekonomi dibandingkan mengupayakan ekonomi yang progresif. Melalui penelitian ini, ditemukan bahwa di Indonesia rezim Orde baru memiliki melakukan pembatasan persaingan dan keterlibatan dalam politik, sedangkan di Myanmar, rezim junta militer menghapuskan persaingan dan keterlibatan politik. Orde baru di Indonesia mengupayakan keberlangsungan kekuasaannya melalui mobilisasi politik, indoktrinasi di desa-desa, serta sensor atas media-media cara represif juga digunakan untuk meredam penentangan terhadap pemerintah , rezim junta militer di Myanmar mengupayakan indoktrinasi, kontrol serta pengawasan atas media-media namun cara represif lebih dominan. Orde Baru di Indonesia mengelola pertumbuhan ekonomi dan modernisasi dengan meliberalisasi perekonomian, investasi asing masuk membawa alih teknologi dan modernisasi di Indonesia, rezim junta militer Myanmar justru memberlakukan kebijakan ekonomi isolasionis yang melakukan nasionalisasi perusahaan-perusahaan serta membatasi masuknya modal asing. Orde Baru di Indonesia mengupayakan kebijakan-kebijakan ekonomi progresif di pedesaan, akan tetapi secara porsi justru Orde Baru cenderung menngkonsentrasikan kapital dan pembangunan di pusat ketimbang daerah-daerah. Rezim Junta Myanmar juga memberlakukan kebijakan progresif terhadap petani namun konsentrasi kapital tetap berada pada kelompok militer. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa secara teoritik dalam aspek politik dibutuhkan indikator tambahan mengenai pelanggaran HAM serta dalam aspek ekonomi dibutuhkan tambahan indikator mengenai konglomerasi oleh militer, karena kedua hal tersebut sangat menonjol di kedua negara.

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### <b>ABSTRACT</b><br>

This thesis comparing military praetorianism in Indonesia rsquo s New Order Era and Myanmar rsquo s Military Junta using the theoretical explanation of Eric Nordlinger rsquo s Praetorianism. There are four important indicators that can help us to compare both countries such as a the abolition and limitation of competition and involvement in politics for civilians b the military regime efforts to maintain the continuity of the regime c economic development and modernization and d the intention of ruler praetorians to preserve the economic status quo rather than progressive economy. This paper found that Indonesia rsquo s

New Order tend to limit competitions and involvement of civilians in the politics while Myanmar rsquo s military junta abolished the competition and involvement of civilian in the politics. Indonesia rsquo s New Order regime tend to maintain the continuity of the regime through political mobilization and indoctrination especially for villagers, and media control, aside of repressive way. Myanmar rsquo s military Junta also tend to maintain the power by indoctrination and control over media, but the repressive actions by military was more dominant. Indonesia rsquo s New Order maintaining economic development and modernization through economic liberalization, foreign investment brought technological transfer and modernization, meanwhile the Myanmar rsquo s military junta regime imposing isolationist economic policy and nationalization of foreign enterprises and limit the foreign investment inflow within the country. Indonesia rsquo s New Order regime attempt to achieve progressive policies such as building public facilities for villagers but there was still huge disparity between economy in the village and central region. The capital was centralized within the circle of Jendral Soeharto rsquo s cronies. Myanmar rsquo s military junta government also attempt to achieve progressive policies toward peasants and farmers in the village by building public facilities and credit special for peasants and farmers, but the overall capital in fact concentrated within the military. This thesis found that more indicator needed about human rights violation and groups conglomeration of military, as the two aspects are very significant within the two countries