

ABSTRAK

Nama : MULYADI
Program Studi : Ilmu Politik
Judul : Depolitisasi Militer Indonesia: Studi Kasus Fungsi Pembinaan Teritorial Komando Kewilayahan TNI AD di Provinsi DKI Jakarta Tahun 2004-2009, xvii+391 halaman, 7 lampiran, 99 buku, 7 peraturan hukum/dokumen, 12 media massa, 3 webside dan wawancara 17 narasumber, 9 informan.

Membangun TNI menjadi 'militer profesional' mensyaratkan perlunya depolitisasi militer, disamping anggaran militer yang cukup dan kultur militer pengabdian. Depolitisasi militer adalah upaya menjadikan TNI militer profesional dengan cara membebaskannya dari semua fungsi non-militer yang tidak termasuk ke dalam misi kemanusiaan (*civic mission*) dan misi perdamaian (*peace keeping*). Disertasi ini berfokus pada depolitisasi militer sebagai studi kasus utama. Sementara dua indikator —lain, yaitu anggaran militer yang cukup dan kultur militer pengabdian— hanya digunakan untuk membantu analisis.

Reformasi militer yang ditandai kelahiran sejumlah kebijakan depolitisasi militer bertujuan mengubah wajah tentara pretorian TNI menjadi tentara profesional untuk melaksanakan fungsi pertahanan militer (*military defense*) yang cepat-tanggap (*responsif*) dan dapat diandalkan (*reliable*) terhadap ancaman militer negara musuh. Namun kebijakan TNI yang tetap mempertahankan fungsi teritorial Satuan Kowil TNI AD dinilai belum sepenuhnya berminat pada program militer profesional, sehingga menyisakan pro dan kontra.

Disertasi ini membahas 5 jenis kasus implementasi fungsi pembinaan teritorial Satuan Kowil TNI AD di Provinsi DKI Jakarta pasca berlakunya UU TNI Nomor 34 Tahun 2004, yaitu: (1) pembinaan persatuan dan kesatuan; (2) pembinaan keamanan wilayah (*siskamling*); (3) pembinaan tokoh masyarakat; (4) pembinaan generasi muda; (5) pembinaan Menwa. Studi kasus fungsi pembinaan teritorial Satuan Kowil TNI AD bertujuan untuk menjelaskan sejauh mana fungsi pembinaan teritorial Satuan Kowil TNI AD merupakan fungsi pertahanan militer. Juga untuk menjelaskan posisi Satuan Kowil TNI AD dan fungsi pembinaan teritorialnya dalam diskursus teori militer yang ada.

Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, tipe penelitian deskriptif analitis, strategi penelitian studi kasus dan analisa kualitatif. Pengumpulan data kualitatif dilakukan melalui wawancara dan telaah pustaka/dokumen. Sedangkan teori yang digunakan dalam menganalisis implementasi fungsi teritorial Satuan Kowil TNI AD di Provinsi DKI Jakarta pasca berlakunya UU TNI Nomor 34 Tahun 2004, yaitu: teori fungsi teritorial, teori militer (tentara pretorian, tentara profesional, tentara profesional revolusioner), teori perang total, teori supremasi sipil, serta teori demokrasi dan demokratisasi.

Hasil studi ini mengungkap bahwa depolitisasi militer pasca berlakunya UU TNI Nomor 34 Tahun 2004 belum dapat membebaskan Satuan Kowil TNI AD dari fungsi non-militer. Analisis terhadap 5 jenis kasus implementasi fungsi pembinaan teritorial Satuan Kowil TNI di Provinsi DKI Jakarta menunjukkan bahwa meskipun tidak lagi mengandung politik praktis, semua fungsi teritorial Satuan Kowil TNI AD masih mencakup fungsi non-militer dan

semua fungsi non-militer itu bukan bagian dari fungsi pertahanan militer. Dengan demikian hasil studi ini menegaskan belum berlangsungnya depolitisasi militer di TNI secara menyeluruh.

Studi ini menemukan faktor internal dan eksternal sebagai dasar alasan TNI AD melaksanakan fungsi non-militer. Faktor internal, yaitu: profesionalisme non-militernya dan kultur militernya berupa Jati Diri TNI sebagai tentara rakyat, tentara pejuang dan tentara nasional profesional yang sangat mengakar dalam doktrin TNI Tri Dharma Eka Putra dan doktrin TNI AD Kartika Eka Paksi. Sedangkan faktor eksternal, yaitu: sistem pertahanan semesta, tugas pokok TNI operasi militer selain perang, tugas TNI AD memberdayakan wilayah pertahanan di darat, serta respon pemerintah daerah terhadap implementasi fungsi non-militer Satuan Kowil TNI AD yang tidak lagi mengandung politik praktis.

Hasil studi mengungkap adanya pergeseran sikap politik TNI AD yang kembali menganut tipologi 'tentara profesional revolusioner' setelah menganut tipologi tentara pretorian dan tipologi tentara profesional pretorian. Pilihan politik TNI AD kembali menganut tipologi 'militer profesional revolusioner' didasarkan pada pengalaman fungsi non-militernya pada masa perang revolusi kemerdekaan dan masa pergolakan internal yang telah memberinya otonomi dan eksklusifitas. Pengalaman profesional non-militernya pada masa Orde Baru juga memberinya kebanggaan profesional sebagai agen modernisasi dan pembangunan sekaligus sebagai pasukan "pemadam kebakaran".

Berdasarkan temuan tersebut dirumuskan suatu asumsi teoritis bahwa militer yang sejak lahirnya menganut tipologi 'militer profesional revolusioner' lalu kemudian menganut tipologi 'militer pretorian' dan tipologi 'profesional pretorian' sangat sulit melakukan depolitisasi militer dan cenderung kembali ke 'militer profesional revolusioner' ketimbang berlanjut ke tipologi 'militer profesional'. Kesulitan dan kecenderungan itu disebabkan oleh nilai-nilai revolusioner; Jati Diri TNI yang sudah menjadi bagian dari kultur militernya, sehingga ciri profesionalismenya berbeda dengan konsep profesionalisme dalam tipologi 'militer profesional'. Meskipun demikian disertasi ini tetap melihat bahwa depolitisasi militer memberi peluang kepada militer Indonesia untuk menjadi militer profesional.

Kata Kunci:

Depolitisasi, militer, profesionalisme.

ABSTRACT

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Program : Political Science Department, Faculty of Social and Political Science, the University of Indonesia
Title : Indonesia Military *De-Politisation*: Case Study of Cultivating Territorial Command of TNI AD in DKI Province 2004-2009, xvii+391 pages, 7 attachments, 90 books, 7 legal documents, 12 mass media, 3 website and 17 interviewee , 9 informants.

To develop TNI (*Indonesian National Army*) to be professional military have three indicators : the need military depolitisation, the need of enough budget and military official culture. Military depolitisation is the effort of TNI professional military by freer from all non military function which excludes the humanitarian functions such as civic mission and peace keeping. This dissertation will focus on the military depolitisation as major case study. The other two indicators will be used only to fuel the analysis.

The aim of depolitisation policies are to change the image of praetorian army of TNI to be professional in order to do military defense functions, responsive and reliable towards threat from foreign enemy. However the TNI policies which are maintain the territorial functions *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD does not interested in professional military, that's why they produce *pro and con* on that issue.

This Dissertation explains the implementations of territorial functions of *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD by using 5 cases in DKI Province post the implementation of the UU TNI No. 34/2004. There are 1) *pembinaan persatuan dan kesatuan* (Cultivating the unity of the republic); 2) *pembinaan keamanan wilayah* (cultivating local territorial security); 3) *pembinaan tokoh masyarat* (cultivating the local leaders); 4) *pembinaan generasi muda* (cultivating young generations); 5) *pembinaan Menwa* (cultivating students regiment). This case study of the function of *pembinaan* territorial *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD constitute as the defense military functions. This dissertation is also explain and analysis the position of the *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD and the functions of the territorial in the theoretical analysis.

This method of the study is a qualitative, descriptive analysis, using case study as a focus of the data qualitative analysis. The data of this disertation derived from the interview, observation and library research. Some theories of the implementation of the territorial *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD in DKI Province post the implementation of the UU TNI No. 34/2004 are discussed for analyzing this dissertation. The theories are territorial function theory, military theory such as praetorian, professional and revolutionary professional military. Other theories are total war theory and civilian supremacy theory and also theory of democracy and democratisation.

The result of this study shows that military depolitisation is not yet to free *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD from the non military functions. To answers the first question which contains 5 cases also explained that the *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD implement all the function of the non military which are not in the category of the

defense military functions. So, this study shows very clear that there is no substantial program on the military depolitisation.

This study also shows that internal and external factors as the basis of the reasons of the TNI AD to conduct non military functions. Internal factors are non military professionalism, and the existence of the military TNI as people army, fighter's army during colonial era and professional army. The military conduct their activity based on Indonesian military doctrines *Tri Dharma Eka Putra and Kartika Eka Paksi*. While external factors are include total defense, military operation in a war, and also the response of the local governments towards the implementation of the non military functions *Satuan Kowil* TNI AD which is not considered as political practice.

This study is also found that there is shifting of the political attitude of TNI AD which followed the military typology revolutionary professional military after praetorian military and professional praetorian. The political choice of TNI AD —revolutionary professional military— based on the experience of non military functions during revolutionary war to get independents and afterwards. Furthermore, the experienced of military during the New Order regime are perceived as the agent of modernization and development.

This study – based on this finding- conceptualize theoretical assumption that military in Indonesia since the early used revolutionary professional military typology and move into military praetorian and professional praetorian. Therefore, this study shows the difficulties to conduct military depolitisation and tends to go back into revolutionary professional military rather than professional military because of the values of revolutionary during the development of the military in Indonesia which is embedded in the military culture. The TNI AD has professionalism character which is different from the typology of the professional military according the theory discussed above. Therefore this dissertation suggested that military depolitisation give an opportunity for the military in Indonesia become military professional.

Key words:

Depolitisation, military, professional