



Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews

Siregar, M. H. (2023). Law and Social Order: TNI's Role in Indonesia (Islam and Democracy), Post Suharto's Until Jokowi's Administration. *Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews*, 2(4), 97-111.

ISSN 2827-9735

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1996.02.04.89

The online version of this article can be found at:
<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

Published by:
The Asian Institute of Research

The *Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews* is an Open Access publication. It may be read, copied, and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

The Asian Institute of Research Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews is a peer-reviewed International Journal of the Asian Institute of Research. The journal covers scholarly articles in the interdisciplinary fields of law and humanities, including constitutional and administrative law, criminal law, civil law, international law, linguistics, history, literature, performing art, philosophy, religion, visual arts, anthropology, culture, and ethics studies. The Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews is an Open Access Journal that can be accessed and downloaded online for free. Thus, ensuring high visibility and increase of citations for all research articles published. The journal aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of law.



ASIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH
Connecting Scholars Worldwide



Law and Social Order: TNI's Role in Indonesia (Islam and Democracy), Post Suharto's Until Jokowi's Administration

Muhammad Habibi Siregar¹

¹ State Islamic University of North Sumatra Indonesia. <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1339-0530>
Email: m.habibi.siregar@uinsu.ac.id

Abstract

This article argues the other dimension of discourse on TNI and significant role of Indonesian military to maintain the state integrity to defy the balkanization. TNI is the most effective and solid state's apparatus which to encounter the possible disintegration in Indonesia, especially during the critical period of the early of falling Suharto's new order. Mounting pressure to preserve the unity in the fragile situation was not to seduce TNI to take over the government' seat due to push the civilian presidency to fill in the position. Indonesian's transition to democracy to set TNI make concessions its privilege by scoping the back to basic. TNI's management conflict to curb the conflicts escalated in few provinces in Indonesia elevate trustworthy among Indonesians. Meanwhile there is still attracting from civil political players to push TNI to involve the political practice like nostalgia in new order period. This article also demonstrates that TNI is the most reliable institution to reformate internally to constrain the temptation of ruling administration. The research findings show the essential contribution of TNI to keep guard Indonesia's integrity with the calculated measure. TNI tried to shift the hard power approach to soft power approach by involving the nationality and security of national integration project was initiated by government.

Keywords: Indonesia, Social, Security, National integrity

1. Introduction

After getting independence, Indonesia was not free from infiltration was maneuvered by former Dutch colonial from 1945 to 1949, ending in Den hag tractate or in Indonesia is famous with "konferensi meja bundar" that forced the Dutch government to accept the Indonesia's independence.¹ The young nation must fight for defending independence, from 1950 to 1959, Sukarno's short government inevitably face the domestic rebellion which want to declare self-independence from Jakarta. (Dahm, 1969).

Despite the former colonial was reluctant to give Papua up, the country still attempted to overthrow Indonesia's independence. Dutch made a surprise maneuver did not want to release West Papua to Indonesia that triggered the war between Indonesia and Dutch again in 1963. President Sukarno channeled diplomacy to get the sophisticated weapons from elsewhere to anticipate the conflict with former colonial. The Dutch was stubborn to release Papua to disrupt Indonesia's confidence to defend its territory. Sukarno's foreign

policy was success to establish the international support to compel Dutch colonial expansionist policy to retreat, which was later to acknowledge that Papua was part of Indonesia territory.

Meanwhile after Papua came back, the domestic issue emerged due the foreign interventions instill agenda through their internal political wings in Indonesia (McGibbon, 2004). Over time, concern arose among Army Generals (Angkatan Darat) the strong tacit influence of communist countries was embolden within PKI / Indonesia Communist Party. Army Generals always dismantle the communist party to play the bigger role in national political stage. They were the staunchest figures to prevent PKI to influence national policy. Temple, J. (2003) pointed out that Indonesia face the growing trouble, especially, in 1960s because many powers intervened domestic affairs. The non-align movement was initiated by Indonesia along with other countries due irritate both two great blocks. Undeniable, the peak of PKI heinous crime to murder the generals as the hurdle to run the hidden notorious political agenda in 1965.

Sukarno's government had only two years Indonesia relatively peace because he must deal the tremendous threat the incoming colonialism and the fragile territory which want to separate from Jakarta. The fragile situation of the early administration was very hard for Sukarno's government to set development or build economy amid the vulnerable atmosphere, so it's not enough time to manage the social welfare in Indonesia (Crouch, 1979).

Undeniable, President Sukarno was success to save Indonesia from disintegration and unite all of territory from Sabang until Merauke. In his era, Indonesia was very respected by international community due the figure of President Sukarno inspired many countries to free from colonialism. The Asia Africa conference in 1955 to highlight the role of Indonesia to support the freedom from colonialism for Asia and Africa nations. Indonesia under President Sukarno took the initiative measure together with India, Yugoslavia, China, to form Non-Blok organization as the optional of world power which did not want to be part of NATO or Warsawa block in cold war era.

2. Early politics in Indonesia and TNI's role toward anti- Balkanization

Amid chaotic relentless bloody war spent many resources that trigger the cost of economy was very high in the period. The situation makes the daily life was very hard for many Indonesians due to burden almost every segment of life. Finally, with some incidents within internal politics that force President Sukarno to hand the power to General Suharto by the well-known presidential decree "Super Semar." This decree make General Suharto had power to maintain the security due as the instrument politic for him to take over the seat to become the next president. Super semar was one of the milestone of history of Indonesia because it the signal of emerging Major General Suharto took the commando to maintain security and scrutinize the communism element within Indonesia government.² The next episode of Indonesia political under president Suharto stage changed slowly turn open to western investment and try to attract Japanese Investor with the red carpet (Wie Thee Kian, 1994).

After Suharto became the ruler from 1967 to 1998, he focused three elements; stability, economy growth, and defense. Thus, on behalf to increase economy growth amid Indonesia economy was very damaged amid 1000% inflation to force Suharto to emphasize in economy sector. Chua (2008) argued that President Suharto chose to increase economy growth by restructuring the economy mobility by endorsing the businessmen to accelerate the economy sector. Many policies were designated to give access for businessmen to pursuit the economy opportunity to create jobs and income for government. This pattern of economy management creates some elites to control the large of business in Indonesia were called conglomerates. President Suharto used the certain businesspeople to accelerate the economy growing by giving insensitive and easy bureaucracy (Mietzner, 2009, p.106)

He assumed the result of excess of the development's income was described as cake of economy. The cake could be divided and delivered to all of Indonesian people by certain program as social safety net to distribute the cake of economy to the poor. Despite the economy development was intensified by government under President Suharto create many success stories in macro of economy growth. But the social gap was relatively vast to make

social economy was very fragile. The quasi of success theories was vulnerable because the transparent bureaucracy was far from the ideal mode and the rule of conduct was not like in developed country.

Not until 30 years inception many Indonesian conglomerates which are mostly from the elite group. In fact, the growing of Indonesian conglomerates was not based on competitiveness to run business due to make their capability so fragile to compete in international level. The result in 1998 when crisis was actually first from Thailand hit Indonesia to trigger economy collapsed because of the foundation of fragile of its economy. The inflation hiked before 1998 1 dollar equaled 2,400 rupiah to become 20,000 rupiah per 1 dollar. It couldn't be imagined the crisis hit the ordinary people who had income below 2 dollar per day. So, the sentiment within society grows everywhere in Indonesia, especially, in big cities which the social gap shows blatantly. The chaotic situation due consequently the privilege was given by Suharto's era for some elite groups were assumed as culprit of devastating Indonesia economy at the time.

The chaotic situation was vulnerable transition in Indonesia to make Indonesian people in inevitably asking again to Army force distinguish the fire to threat nation's integrity. The formation army in Indonesia is not like in many developing countries such as in Africa or some Asian countries with figure of central commando. The system of sharing power is internally within TNI to prevent the certain figures to use it as the instrument to dismantle the ruling government. Unity's doctrine is rooted in the army's ideology very sacred due must be prioritize as the ultimate goal. Since Indonesia's independence experienced many physical and ideology clash from external and internal prove the solid TNI to deal with any potential threat.

This article builds on field research conducted in Jakarta as the capital, North Sumatra, Aceh, Riau, as well as West Java besides personal experienced while the escalation tensions happened. This article also to assert the experience of some figures or students who staged protest to demand the falling of Suharto's regime was involving to dismantle the new order system directly as the main source of this research. In addition of the aforementioned sources of research also to include the secondary sources were added in the analysis from military report, official government, journals, books, and the personal opinion from ordinary people who prevail the period.

In term of scholarship contribution, this article aims to seek the balance view to perceive TNI's role in one of the fragile situations in Indonesia's history to deal the transition of democracy era. The secession of East Timor erupted the sporadic violence in Indonesia's former province usually screened by western media that TNI as the culprit of the unexpected tragedy. This article is to shows and to uncover the sociological hysteria to employ the security approach to reduce tension at the time. Army' sacrifice to relieve the intake privilege by prioritizing to save of national integrity amid to avoid the scapegoat of the potential disintegration to motivate themselves to be hero in the critical period. Indeed, the article want to boost the academic discourse to view the hidden variable in the transition era of Indonesia milestone of democracy. All of the literatures within this article to dedicate to contribute to the critical scholarship (Aspinall, 2014).

The shaping of conceptual and analytical theory toward Indonesia's condition post Suharto's era was to be exaggerated to become the second Balkanization (Ned et al., 2006). The western –centric bias to perceive or view a certain country as the threat or non-democracy just not to follow the concept of their policy (Guzzini, 2011). The concept of academic fairness will be valued by appeasing the people themselves to describe the period occurred to reflect in the current situation. To derail or to stigmatize other as non-western block as the failed states by using certain parameter of the theories was not matched.

Furthermore, the situation in the early of post Suharto era could not only reviewed just in the security approach. There are many elements insider in term of relation between TNI and people do not like western countries. The basic dogma of Indonesian army is “from people, by people, and for people.” The concept was believed by majority of people because almost there is not clash military with ordinary people in term of military's role in Indonesia.

After the rebellion of communist party in 1965, Indonesia is relatively peace except few areas was the problem descended to be inflicted from colonial era such as Aceh, small area of southern Maluccas, Papua or East Timor. The peace agreement was brokered by former Finland Prime Minister Martti Ahtisaari in Helsinki 2005 between Indonesian Government and Aceh Independent Movement / Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Aspinall, 2003). Indonesian government sent Hamid Awaluddin as the minister of law and human right, Meanwhile GAM was represented by Malik Mahmud Alhaytar as vice Supreme Leader in GAM (Aspinall and Berger, 2001).³

Beyond the aforementioned areas are relatively living peace that why new order's government could engage to develop the priority of vital infrastructures to invite many investors to involve the development many sectors. Hence a few prominent international organization such as UN gave Avicenna award because of the success story to self-sufficient producer to feed its people. Or Asian tiger Asia was labeled by World Bank to appreciate what President Suharto took the correct policy to run the country.

President Suharto also quiet success to curb the potential threat from transnational ideology to damage Pancasila which the binding value to connect all of elements in Indonesia such religion, ethnic, or social status (Nothofer,1990). TNI curved the fluctuated relation up to Muslim community after the independence in 1945. As the guard of national unity which has the slogan *bhineka tunggal ika* always unwavering support to secure the national integrity. Army did not tolerate any separatist movement to harm the harmony within society such as DITI Karto Suwiryo in West Java or Kahar Muzakar in South Sulawesi. The principal of national integrity was the priority one due the laying foundation of founding fathers as the inspiring power to prevent any potential threat in Indonesia.

Diversity in unity is the daily jargon even implement it to be instutalized to keep guard the spirit of nationality preserved. in fact, the crucial reason that the balkanization did not happen in Indonesia the role of Indonesian Army to keep close to people such as the program of *ABRI masuk desa* (Army enter to village) regularly. This program initiated from Suharto's era to empower Army to participate the critical infrastructure in village especially from lower income.

Undisputable, the long time the totalitarian political atmosphere to create the distance of social expression to become artificially. Freedom to express is likely difficult amid the media control to curb the opposition to give a high sensitivity issue in Suharto's era. Actually, political instruments are determined with power not yet accommodating the interests of the existing elements within their society. Political openness of past experience was used to rigid as a tool of repression by putting symbol of individual leader. The closed relation between TNI and Suharto's administration stigmatized in the eye public as the new order backer (Ufen, 2018). The dominant role blatantly seen in the political stage triggered sentiment among civil politicians. The maneuver to topple the new order was persistently curbed because TNI still perceive Suharto's administration still accommodate the national interest and unity.

The security doctrine of Indonesia is *Pertahanan rakyat semesta* / totally holistic of people defense. This doctrine to position all of Indonesian people as the security guard not only the Army that why Indonesia not to oblige to observe the military mandatory for civil amid the concept of security always melted in society's role. In Indonesia the biggest concern is not the balkanization like assumed by some western scholars but communism. The two times of rebellion in Indonesia and the most shock one was in 1965 which almost to success to change the ideology. Even the film of *Pengkhinatan* (betraying) G 30 S PKI held in tribunal ceremony for the victims (Setiawan, 2009). Fortunately, Western was at the beginning to support Indonesia to integrate the East Timor as part of its territory to prevent the communism to build its influence in the tiny island in the warming of cold era (Etkind, 2013). But the same block also to push Indonesia to release the youngest province by designated poll was sponsored by UN (Tiwon, 2020).

Commonly, like in most of developing countries that the role of army dominated in many stages of socio, economy and politics. Due the establishing of the civil society was not yet settled well to harness the transition after getting the independence. TNI's role is very significant to contribute the country with tantamount challenges. Since Japan formed PETA (National Defender of Mother Land) to anticipate the Pacific War with

special skill of combat and high discipline. The alumnae of PETA become the high assets for the young nation to build the country. The relentless war with Dutch who want to recolonize was ended in December 1949 but not release Papua until 1963 to be freed with intense war. The political maneuver of Dutch passed the divide et empire to create the *Republik Maluku Selatan* (South Malucca Republic) and Pasundan was dismantled by the high determination of President Sukarno and some Indonesian elites at the time. The Arafuru War to contested Papua embark the TNI consolidation to defend Indonesia's territory. The pressure from outsiders not to stop to break the solidity of Indonesia by infiltrating communism into certain elites in 1960s. The peak of treachery of PKI in 1965 when kidnaped some prominent of high rank officers in Indonesian Army who doesn't like them. Later the bodies of them was found in Lubang Buaya is near Halim Perdana Kesuma airport Jakarta.

After Lubang Buaya event decreased the power President Sukarno because the situation was fragile due many rumors to destabilize the president's power (Roosa, 2008). The dire condition to force President Sukarno to give Supersemar to Major General Suharto as the Pangkostrad (Chief of Reserve Strategic Command) to take measure the concrete steps to eliminate the hurdle especially in Jakarta as the capital. Destroying the communist movement following the coup plot. He further convinced more Western block. Finally, Suharto became president to face the enormous pressure with skyrocket inflation to need all of human resources to accelerate to the normal. Amid the fluctuation of security concern not to give time to Indonesia to prepare the professional civil to serve. The most available human resources were army to be distributed to many sectors was called *dwifungsi ABRI*. At the first time, the military role could elevate and accelerate the development rapidly.⁴ Almost all of the strategic positions were involved the figures from army indicated the lack of human source from the civilians.

Table 1: The Role of Socio Politic of TNI / ABRI (Indonesia Army) after Suharto's

| | President BJ Habibibi | President Abdurrahman Wahid | President Megawati | President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono | President Joko Widodo |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Army Fraction in People Assembly (Fraksi ABRI DPR) | Yes | Yes | Yes | Not | Not |
| Defence Minister | Military Background | Civil | | Civil | Military Background |
| Chief of Social Politic Biro of TNI (Kepala Sosial dan Politik ABRI/TNI) | Yes | Not | Not | Not | Not |
| National Intelligence Agency (BIN) | Military Background | Military Background | Military Background | Military Background | Military Background and the current is Police background |
| Territorial staff Chief of Army (Kepala Staf Teritorial ABRI) | Yes | Not | Not | Not | Not |
| Coordinator minister of Politic, Security and Law (Menko Polhukkam) | Military Background | Military Background | Military Background | Military Background | Military background and the current is Civil |
| Vice Chief Army (Wakil Panglima ABRI / TNI) | Yes | Not | Not | Not | Being Activated |

Source: created by author 29 October 2021

3. Narrative Construction of Ontological Security Theory

Based on the concept of Ontological Security Theory due to leverage the projection of national identity through the development of autobiographical narrative. The glory story of the monumental history was engaged to perceived as the milestone to present the desired identity of a nation. The state's conception of self-identity continues to grows and change to accommodate the inner dynamic to face the outside threat. The ontological security theory tried to see multi-full fluctuation threat to force to define and redefine the self-identity of state. The continuous of the different threat to challenge the concept of security in the frame of a state. The ontological security theory develops to ground the self-identity in narrative designated concept.

Thus, the designated concept would not test during the crisis hit the country. To characterize the state self-identity will embolden how the manner of the agents of the state to deal the crisis (Giddens, 1991). Sometimes internal security threat also the dominant factor to position the state self-identity to promote itself. For Indonesia cases, the development of Ontological Security Theory embraces the two front dominants agent which promulgate to deal the insecurity threat. Subotic (2016) described that Ontological Security Theory manage to the unpredicted insecurity threat both internal and external. For case of Indonesia the insecurity threat is not military confrontation but the more danger also how to maintain the coherent of multi-full orientation in ethnic and religious diversity as well as the transnational ideological threat.

Ontological Security Theory maintains to analyze the kind of security to be perceived by a nation. The value of security concept which to be pursuit need to describe the concept of value intake it. The esoteric and exoteric values must be extracted in the applicable instrument by explaining the esoteric and exoteric in term of security in scope of nation. Esoteric security tends to explore the essential concept in general or universal approach for long term to manage the goal. This approach will be used to empower the ideological perception internally and seek the equal ideology coalition externally (Nissen and Rebecca, 2014). Meanwhile the exoteric security tends to use the ad-hod security available instrument to manage the potential threats. The artificial security approach could be useful to keep the status quo due to develop a nation need the stable condition.

The memory or nostalgia embolden in the people mind set the crucial role to reclaim the ontological security through period of era by setting as sense of bridge between past and the present allowing anyone to perceive the historical continuity (Browing, 2016). The historical highlight stored in personal and social sense embedded in their subjective perspective to elevate the motivation to justify the chosen action. Meanwhile everyone to seek argument to prove the choices to be accepted by the others by articulating the choice to create the social bond among them. The amalgamation of social awareness to trigger to shape the new identity of society to establish the compromising point was committed within collective memory.

The strength of nostalgia power to represent the social identity was forced by political intervention. Every political actors try to redefine the concept of current and future by collecting data from the past due to control people mind by providing the security narrative. The existence of social identity reflects the strong narrative to convince people memory to reject or accept the idea was offered. On the other hand, the political will to deal with current and amplify the issue become the collective awareness could magnify the concept of security to be internalized in public mind. The ontological security concept to scrutinize the politics within public memory to be set as the infiltration mechanism to defend against all of both internal or external threat by forming the convinced narrative to exclude the contending arguments.

Globalism to force each country to define its nationalism to maintain their identity instead of diminishing the immense pressure to whole over the world (Heiduk, 2014; Berenskoetter, 2014). For long time, the perception of Muslim World is represented by Arab countries due the largest Muslim population is Indonesia which has more diversity challenges in religion and ethnics. The construction of ideology of Indonesia was explored from the rich of moral value of ancient Indonesian kingdoms especially from ancient artifact of Sutasoma's work "bhineka tunggal ika."⁵ Because it has an exoteric value (see Pancasila) which can be the glue for all elements of society (Do Thu Ha, 2019)

The nation must continue to build nationality concept because it maintains social harmony laboratory due it must survive in diversity. Nevertheless, they live side by side amid the different religions, ethnicities, and languages. Uniquely, certain Muslim conservative countries have begun to follow Indonesia in an effort to unite Islam with exoteric values because of Islam was internalized with culture (Akhtar et al., 2019). Extraction of the normative values within the society could develop the way out for many obstacles within communities. The study of social identity in recent studies will be useful to make breakthroughs that are expected to provide real answers for the future.

The world is currently experiencing depolarization which leads to a form of apparent formality. Each party is forced into an alliance to survive because without collaboration with other parties, it is impossible to stand alone. Likewise, it is also common in the formation of new cultures that occur in society because there is a tendency to start shifting patterns of community change from strengthening identity in metropolitan areas to being adapted to new forms. The trend has begun to be abandoned by the pattern of regional kinship to the pattern of symbiotic relationships in areas where the level of community competition is very high.

Surging dilemma when the concept of development of nationalism is also a legacy from the colony itself. When the spirit of nationalism is interpreted in the form of a vast expanse of territory which was formerly a colony of a particular country's colony. It is a natural practice that the spirit of nationalism arises from the history inherent in a nation. However, if the spirit is only based on the territory of the former historical events as above, it will create a false identity. Especially when the concept of nationalism is only based on the perception of the dominant ethnic group that will make a minority a pariah in their own country. Therefore, a concept of nationalism will only survive if it can get out of the narrow perception of those who consider the value of patriotism only in the form of physical struggle to carry out or defend from expansion. Because nationalism will still exist if each individual feel heeded equal and special so as to create a spirit of togetherness.

It's impossible to clash between esoteric and exoteric values when conducting negotiations with the different social orientation. In the context of modern countries that how many countries are divided to disintegrate and to establish their own agenda. Because they do not have a strong foundation to bind all of the ideology within the society. Look at the collapse of certain countries without military invasion or political intervention from other nations such as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia or countries that have the potential to separate themselves because there have been a kind of referendum to separate from the main capital.

TNI was perceived as the most loyalist of nation ideology of Pancasila due has the binding instrument the country like Indonesia which has a lot of races, and religions. The founding philosophy of this nation (Indonesia) which has been handed down by the ancestors to the next generation. Because of the manifestation of exoteric values that can unite all parties in a diverse society. Internally, those who still question about Pancasila or even try to clash it with a creed are those who do not understand history. The value was derived from it is a tangible form of the exoteric value to bind all parties in one frame of togetherness. Pancasila is also an exoteric value carried out by the "Founding Fathers" to unite all the energy of this nation to be able to survive in a very long period of time.

Indonesian society who has a plural background from various aspects has its own uniqueness. Gratitude to Java ethnic as the major culture but appeasing for not being used as the language of "lingua franca" made Indonesia's national security relatively strong. It has never been found in any part of the world where there are majority groups of people who are willing to make ethnic minority language as the national language. The spirit of diversity framed in brotherhood is a tool to magnify the unity (Saifuddin, 2019). It created its own trust for people who are beyond the majority group not to worry about their identity. Because it will develop more "trust" to those who have a minority culture because there is no attempt to penetrate dominant culture through official language. Variations of ethnic language, traditional ritual is the cultural wealth in Indonesia is no longer considered as part of the threat even as valuable assets that have positive implications for the progress of the nation. Whereas the diversity conditions could trigger friction to weaken the integrity as like Indonesia can cause a prolonged conflict.

The ability to combine the power of local values with the designated nationality provides the beauty of the harmonization. Herein lies the power of Ontological Security Theory to leverage dramatization the history of glorious day into nationality identity to be considered as the factual perception. The problem of how to move the supporting elements today to create the capable agents to bring and adapt the fluctuation. Despite experiencing a bitter reality in the colonial era for centuries but the values of local wisdom was compounded within society to survive the self-identity in the next period.

4. TNI and Politics in Indonesia

The conjugation between designated nationality concept was introduced by the elite agents of nationality and the values of local wisdom makes it even stronger. The assimilation of designated nationality concept with local traditions creates an emotional bond. Colonial experience proved how strong the ties between the designated nationality concept and local traditions amid the efforts of the colonial government to separate nationality from local traditions had not been successful.

The problem emerged while a nation must deal with the reality of globalism gradually stalled because they couldn't quickly to respond the changes. The stagnation within a nation is not suddenly happening which initially reluctant to hail the diversity of thought, theology, and races. The gesture to hint the melting pot society as the strong indication to reflect a hidden fracture of a society by framing one color of theology, school of thought, or primordial. Criticism shed highlights to the coercion or oppression of those who are marginal amid forcing the formation of a false identity is melting pot society. During new order, the government tried to postulate the melting pot society in term of Golkar political domination (Aufen, 2008). The motivation to endorse Golkar as the dominant player was assumed to secure the development process. Undeniable, without the support military was impossible for new order could run the administration for 32 years. Later the political postulate of melting society was played by Golkar is not success even to create the dictatorship to spark people rage. TNI realized its mistake to take some measures to reposition the military role gradually to listen people aspiration.

Melting pot society is a form of coercion to display the dominant identity patron. Just look many the great nations had begun to downfall when the spirit of adopting the variety declined. A downward cart any countries because the spirit of togetherness that used to form it lost. The strength of a civilization could last for long time whenever a variety of ethnicities and nationalities to move forward to form a new identity.

It means that a country that can realize the dream of many people who want to build a trust which is binding all of the elements. While this pattern changes amid the ego within the elements emerge. Whatever the story of togetherness that is realized in the concept of equality is something that cannot be bargained if you want to take off towards progress (Davidson, 2009). Both in the context of the country or any institution due if the spirit of "diversity in unity" is still held, progress will remain in front of the eyes. Unfortunately, if the principle of "melting pot society" is used to derail the early spirit indicate the sign of a setback (declining). The tyranny of the majority becomes the scourge of all those who feel like no one so what emerges is a fake artificial attitude without sincerity because of hiding from the pressure to survive. Without denying the domination of TNI during President Suharto's tenure, the dwifungsi ABRI expanded beyond conventional military role (Heiduk, 2014).

Almost all of important strategic position was in military officers to make the situation odd to the growing civil intellectuals. The economy crisis 1997 hit Indonesia as the path to topple the new order administration. The unprecedented reformation era to make military must take quick measure to convince public that TNI to support the people power. In television broadcasted nationally, General Wiranto as the chief army offered the hat of nation's command to Amin Rais as the most prominent reformist figure.⁶ But he reluctant to take it because for Amin Rais to take transitional power without democratic election will be easy cracked down by military and lack of legitimacy. But he forgot the chance was not coming the second time.

The composition Indonesian voters are some elements which has unofficial power in society such as military, NU, Muhammadiyah, ethnic groups, and campuses. Despite Amin Rais was known as the reformist figure who

generate hundred thousand students take the street and occupy the parliament building to demand the resignation of President Suharto. Finally, President Suharto resigned from his office after tremendous pressure to force him step aside to give the stick commando to his vice president BJ Habibie. He tried to refurbish Indonesia by appointing the first civilian defence minister Juwono Sudarsono (Sulistiyanto, 2007). This maneuver welcomed by USA and many big countries to support his administration (Doty, 1993). The short period of his administration to convince the world that civilian supremacy is going process.

In the test of water, how strong electoral magnet of Amin Rais was in the first democratic presidency election 2004. Due people could choose their president and vice president directly. Amin Rais took the third rank of contestation just collect around 30 million voters. The popularity of Amin Rais just in intellectual level and Muhammadiyah supporters who lesser than Nahdatul Ulama as dominant player.⁷ Both Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah were the moderate Muslim continue to support government to maintain the integrality of nation. TNI or government always to maintain the good relation to two biggest Muslim organization as the patrimonial for many Indonesians.

Indeed, under Abdurrahman Wahid, as the first president in the reformation era made the breakthrough the relation between army and civil by separating TNI with Police. This step to downplay the expansive of military's role to the civilian administration across the country. In the reason to make TNI more professional just to focus the defence and national's integrity, this the milestone of the reformation in Indonesia because the growing role of civil society just start in political national stage. Although the friction within Military heard in the public due Major-General Agus Wirahadikusumah, described the territorial command structure as adamantly discourage democratization effort to carry out internal reforms. But even the prominent civilian political actors snubbed the maneuver because the high-risk cost to weaken Indonesian's integrity the proposal to disband the territorial command structure the draft.

Actually, Indonesian people never blame of the chaotic situation erupted in the peak of the massive demonstration to demand to topple the new order regime. The exaggerating of international media exposure to discredit TNI is very tendentious just to capture the specific moment to highlight in their media coverage to tarnish TNI globally. The pressure to force both Commander in chief General Wiranto and President BJ Habibie to apologize publicly for the action of military behavior was not rule of conduct. Meanwhile TNI also face dilemma to handle the situation, chaotic situation makes them must accept as the scapegoat of the tragedy. Media never want to know how the difficult the situation in TNI's perspective or how suffer what they experience to deal the dire situation. The chaotic erupted everywhere to push TNI to curb the riot with lesser cost due to face the disintegration.

However, human right commission (KOMNAS HAM) could not decide that TNI was the wrong side because everyone suffered and the victims of chaotic situation. In particular, the attempts to loosen the military's grip in civil service role that government increase the military budget year per year to improve the military hardware and software. The military toys make the elites in TNI busy to focus the defense posture to elevate the military status among regional or international arena. Further, to concern of current global security to push every nation to redefine their military concept to deal the current and future threat. It's not the time for military to play political practice with the different external threat. The growing power of China who claim some Natuna territorials is like the wake-up call to focus the territorial security doctrine (Hewison, 2020). The dispute of spratly island with some ASEAN countries with China to make every nation aware and caution to strengthen their military power (Rüland, 2009).

5. TNI and International Gunboat Diplomacy

TNI realizes the current threats are quietly different compared with the old days. The shifting power tend to Asia Pacific along the growing China to challenge the globalism are currently still control by U.S (Fels, 2016). The tense feuding between U.S. and China with taxation of many goods from china, or the property right make the world security unstable. For Indonesia the most concern of the current security is the expansive Chinese policy to reach Natuna territorial. Laksmana (2016) pointed out that Indonesia prepare the all of options to deal the

current threat due the growing influence of aggressive Chinese spark anxiety. The claim some parts of Natuna seas bothers Indonesia and to emerge the nationalism tagline, some politicians use it to push Jokowi's administration to stand firmly to defend territory. The replacement of Susi Pudjiastuti as the maritime minister in the second period of Jokowi's is unexpected by the public.⁸ She attracted public support because of ordering to burn the illegal fishing ships more than one hundred of mostly from Chinese. Susi Pudjiastuti was the media darling due who got the most appreciation from public to secure the Indonesia's fishing territory. The Indonesian traditional fishermen support her policy to prevent the illegal fishing ship sail in it.

The cabinet meeting was held by President Jokowi on board of the naval ship to send the strong message "don't mess up with us." The Chinese government seems reluctant to more aggressive to grip in Natuna like they did in Spratly island. If Chinese reaches limit of point diminish return amid they need partner to face the hard pressure from western block which want to irritate the growing Chinese.⁹

TNI's stand to prevent the annexation of Natuna to turn government policy focus to military building, but the gun boat diplomacy is not the good choice to face the giant expansionist threat. Meanwhile the sterner respond to step up the military present in Natuna to prevent frequent violation of the territory. The marine stands firmly to defend the crucial territorial due the Sipadan and Ligitan bad memory were haunted to hand over to Malaysia because of lack of gripping the small islands.¹⁰ The contradictory claim are the most potential conflict between Indonesia and China (Inkiriwang, 2020). Off course, Chinese are currently refrain to maneuver aggressively as they did in Spratly despite the tremendous pressure from USA and its allies that could damage the Chinese reputation (Anwar, D. F., 2020). Indonesia foreign minister encourage all of parties to prioritize the cultural values and dialogue in ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF in Hanoi 14 September 2020) to pursuit the peaceful conflict resolution, especially, in the warming dispute south Chinese sea. They need the good manner to maintain the export commodity. If there is not the binding or official commitment about the territorial dispute, looming to explode in the future.

TNI knows that Chinese need Indonesia to block the threat from Australia to align USA to contest the south Chinese sea freedom of navigation (Hayton, 2019) TNI tries to prevent the rising tension in south Chinese sea go further to Natuna. Under the circumstances, Indonesia would be wiser to hold to exacerbate the dispute and let's talk in diplomacy path. Further Retno as foreign minister stressed all countries must bind the internationally recognized principles upheld, including the 1982 UNCLOS (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea). TNI understand the surging regional issues must be solved by the diplomacy in time to accelerate the military capability to deter the upcoming threat.

TNI repudiates the emblematic of human right violation as it fumbles the proportional measure to rejuvenate its reputation. The military diplomacy of prestigious shooting competition such as Australian Army of Skill Arms at Meeting (AASAM) in the 12th consecutive time in last competition in March 26 – April 2019. Due to win people heart and mind, TNI want to build the new image of the professional soldiers to send their soldiers in many regional or international prestigious military competition. Indonesian government also send TNI under UN peace keeper in many conflict countries to leverage the international image. The relation between TNI and Civil government gains momentum to shed mutually beneficial, since the tense of Natuna surges to change policy closer to military. Chinese remain adamantly in standoff South Chinese sea dispute to isolate themselves in international arena. Many international actors are intransigent to snub Chinese claim because of disturbing the freedom of navigation. But Chinese is enough smart not to exacerbate the conflict in Natuna due to keep in closer a good friend to secure the emerging Chinese massive investment in Indonesia.

After decades the reformation, civilian government gained the greater control of the army make the relation quietly different like in Suharto's era. Now days, army still busy to reconstruct the all day's image to show the people that they are the good one. Although there is still post power syndrome phenomena but there is the dilemma of positions from high rank army in massive colonel level. The composition of high rank army who don't have the proportional position is fragile. Meanwhile to elevate the colonel ranks to brigadier general need the new military structure which has crowded. Former chief command of army Marshal Hadi Thahjanto make a statement to restructure to allocate the middle and high military officer to fill in the government's institution by

creating 60 new post and revise the bill no.34 in 2004 about TNI. Chief command of army seems to reactivate dwifungsi ABRI to spark critics from prodemocracy activists likely ignite the new order era.

In the previous law to ban the active military to hold the government civilian position but resign from the army. The demand is likely to drag back the dark age of democracy in Indonesia. In other side, military want to leverage the bargaining position to government to accommodate the demand. Consequently, the crucial relation must be established in the concrete mutual relation without forgetting the dominant of military in new order era. The red line of the relation should be bound transparently to be supervised by people through powerful authority mandated by constitution.

Slowly, government takes some measures to respond military's demand to give more space for them to develop the career. Kodim or district military command used to colonel level become brigadier general and it embrace multi- effect players. But the reposition is few changes to see the crowded military officers should be allocated. Recently, during Jokowi's administration has cemented the policy to put ex-army general to the previous civil post, such as religious affairs of minister and some figures in departments. The policy to attract the army figures want to support the administration which lay the nationalism gauge as the main doctrine. The nationalism tagline is brought by Jokowi's administration to seduce TNI to support him due to face the multi-threat of national disintegration. Ex TNI figures and current generals try to build the good relation with civil government under Jokowi's because the nationalism tagline of his government to reshape the mutual benefit to exterminate the potential enemy of nation.

President Jokowi could barely attract TNI attention by putting the national integration as the main focus of his administration. The administration posture which blatantly show force to secure Indonesia's integration, especially while Jokowi run the cabinet meeting on board of Naval army in Natuna 2020 March 3. The president gestures to respond of Natuna issue which dismiss the overlapping Chinese claim have encourage TNI to maintain the territorial doctrine (McRae, 2019). The personality of perception the president is durably changing to persuade TNI closer to back up the security policy to counter the possibility threat. For Indonesia now, the current threat of disintegration surges from the terrorism from trans- national crime which brought the ideology was not suitable with Pancasila.

The terror boom shocked Indonesia such as Bali boom 1, 2 and later some terrorism action to alarm all parties (Booth, 1990, p.5). TNI sees the new recent challenges terrorize the peaceful country like Indonesia to make the symbiosis mutualism Jokowi's administration and TNI. The laying foundation of the mutual relation the both parties to endeavor the nationality concept to adapt the current challenge. Indonesian government tries to install the new concept nationality by four pillars of nationality to be the constitution. The four pillars of nationality are Pancasila, constitution of 45, NKRI (The Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia), bhineka tunggal ika.

In Indonesia, the atmosphere of people's lives cannot be defined simply because it has a high level of complexity. Indonesia, which is the largest Muslim country in the world, has several things that should be appreciated not only because it maintains the heterogeneity of its people from different religions, ethnicities, nationalities and island regions. It is due to the harmonious history of experience long enough for thousands of years ago to provide valuable lessons that have been maintained until now. Along with the development of the current era increasingly intense and even outside influences do not have a territorial barrier because easily all information freely in and out. Thus, where the maximum effort is needed so that social rhythm like that is maintained because it will benefit all parties to become role models for the world.

The mutual relation both Jokowi's administration and TNI form the new alliance to strengthen the nationality concept was endorsing the army doctrine to guard the national integrity. The border line strategy was proposed by TNI to build the vital infrastructures to decrease the crossing border such as in North Kalimantan. The new face of border line with Malaysia, East Timor, or Papua Nugini shows more elegant building and civil infrastructure such as hot mix asphalt and many modern facilities and sometimes as the photo spot. Meanwhile people in the border line feel more attention by Jakarta due to make the disintegration threat in the border line. In the second period of Jokowi's administration, TNI attitudes to embolden the nationality policy to pursuit the

balance power political stage. TNI always reinstate the full support of the current civil government to deal with the volatile regional situation.

After collapsing new order, TNI tacitly maneuvering to rebuild good image domestic and abroad by interpreting defense diplomacy (Blake, 2016) or (Cottey and Forster, 2004) argued the defense diplomacy that every nation try to leverage their posture or bargaining position to prevent the conflict. For Indonesia context, the current administration endorses the adamantly crass threat to national security, TNI highlight the dynamic situation in international or regional theater to put defense diplomacy as the new approach. as part of Non- Align block political policy, TNI does not put weight the tussle in regional dispute with Chinese in Spratly island.

But the amalgamation of western powers to prevent the rising star (Chinese) put some parties glimpse to take side. The invitation of Prabowo Indonesia Defense Minister from his U.S. counterpart Mark Spencer is the defense diplomacy due being played by both sided. For Indonesia, to play smart diplomacy is crucial to build strategic partnership without be trapped in the feuding giants (Murphy, 2010). The warm situation in southeast Asia is quiet challenging amid the growing Chinese to wake up call for USA to reshape the potential partner to bog down Chinese influence.

President Joko Widodo adopted a similar approach to engage with the U.S. and Chinese by signing a Strategic Partnership with the country in 2015. Jokowi tried to build the more trust toward the two-giant superpower. In term of approaching USA to dismiss the ban of Kopassus personnel to go to America to attend the U.S. military schools. Meanwhile, Jokowi also approached the Chinese government to keep maintaining the good relation due Indonesia need the investment and other giant Asian Japanese (Steven, 1988). Absolutely known, there are also the growing competition between Chinese and Japanese to attract Indonesia's policy. Jokowi's is smart enough to use this motion by appeasing both of them to invest significantly.

Surely, preponderantly setting of defense diplomacy is putting trust to other parties overtly showcasing the military capability and good willing not to intervene the others. Joint military exercises are the formation of defense diplomacy to elevate the military skill to face the unprecedented threat. The regular joint exercises between Indonesia and USA or Chinese to improve the confidence of TNI to play the defense diplomacy. The communication among the officers could boost the capability all of the soldiers to tackle the challenge. The individual skill of Army and the latest military technology will be good magnet for parties to understanding the new military circumstance. The belligerent notorious nation is not likely in modern situation but the proxy war is the new formation war.

TNI believes the new proxy war could dismantle Indonesia security due after the cold war is likely difficult to imagine to see one country to invade the other ones. The most common conflict is through the proxy war while other countries to invest and use the military capability toward the other actor to destabilize the target nation. The indirect intervention could be used by the military wing such as rebels or political agenda within actors who behave accordingly order from outsider. Every nation realizes the proxy war model which could detriment the security foundation through the dispute problems. Security problem emerges is not only mere invasion threat from outside but sometimes sparked with accumulated social problem. The proxy war is not only about mercenaries who involve internal politics by raging war but also the hidden hands of outsider to use the insiders to destabilize the country. The separatism or terrorism is the main threat of national security that needs to pay attention to control them. The good security humanity approach is the key to divert the social violence which could trigger the repercussion of multi-effect players.

Recent days, TNI represents the different image in the public eyes, if compared in a two decades ago. TNI is quietly success to play a good rhythm in the middle between government and people. Many cases to show that public blatantly support TNI more involvement in term of security matters. The recent one when the people assembly (DPR) approved the bill of new job creation (*undang-undang cipta kerja*) which sparked many protests by public. Labor, students and public see the bill is too hurry to be approved by the assembly in Covid-19 situation which should need to public participation to scrutinize the items of the bill.

Furthermore, protest erupted amid the labor and students perceive the legislation is not pro public. In fact, TNI involve to persuade the protesters more welcome without any significant clash. The outwardly posture of TNI to humanize the scheme of social approach to change the image of them become friendly in heart of public.

6. Conclusion

The aforementioned analysis has shown the position of TNI in dilemma between sole military role or *dwifungsi*, and over time, numerous political scenes of reformation. Multi-full ethnics, cultures, religions, and strategic location of Indonesia to weigh TNI in privilege role to keep guard the national integrity. Every political players always to maintain the good relation with TNI to secure their role in domestic affairs. Illusion or fact of threat of disintegration becomes the political commodity to prevail TNI as the core dominant player in Indonesia. Irrefutable, military role on state which transform from the militaristic to democracy system create dilemma in the short time. This study shows the role of military in many developing countries such as Indonesia still indispensable in any situation. Although, reformation erupted in 1998 to demand military give its political endeavor up, though embattling quasi status quo of its role in domestic affairs. Furthermore, TNI could not be snubbed by political parties because the tacit strategic immense power is emboldened to attract them to closer. The new threat of doctrine to positions TNI retain the real hidden power of state actor. The disintegration commodity frame was quietly success to convince public opinion that TNI is the only reliable actor who could dismantle all of the hurdles.

Notes:

1. After the proclamation of Indonesian independence in 1945, Indonesia's government under President Sukarno was ineffective quasi government amid the Dutch colonial tried to grip its muscle to dismiss the independence proclamation. Dahm, Bernhard. 1969.
2. Super semar was one of the milestones of history of Indonesia because it the signal of emerging Major General Suharto took the commando to maintain security and scrutinize the communism element within Indonesia government. The next episode of Indonesia political under president Suharto stage changed slowly turn open to western investment and try to attract Japanese Investor with the red carpet.
3. The peace agreement was brokered by former Finland Prime Minister Martti Ahtisaari in Helsinki 2005 between Indonesian Government and Aceh Independent Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka). Indonesian government sent Hamid Awaluddin as the minister of law and human right, Meanwhile GAM was represented by Malik Mahmud Alhaytar as vice Supreme Leader in GAM.
4. *Dwifungsi ABRI* is the term refer to Suharto's administration which empower TNI to serve both in military and civil positions.
5. *Sutasoma* was Empu Tantular's work as the ancient Indonesian philosophy book which inspire many prominent figures in Indonesia due to teach the harmony in social life within different entities. The term of *bhineka tunggal ika* was derived from his work.
6. General Wiranto was the Chief of Indonesian Army announcing to Indonesian that TNI was ready to backed the prominent reformist figure Amin Rais to took the presidency' seat. The announcement was broadcasting through national television channels in 1998.
7. The winners of the first public election post Suharto were dominated by the old parties such as PDI, Golkar, and PPP. Meanwhile the new comers like PAN, PKB listed in the middle rank. Andreas Ufen (2008)
8. The Conversation, Research explain why Susi Pudjiastuti was left out of Jokowi's term cabinet, accessed in 18-11-2020.
9. Future Direction of Indonesia-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. (n.d.). *Indonesian Foreign Affairs Ministry* <https://www.kemlu.go.id/Documents/RI-RRT/Joint%20Statement%20Comprehensive%20Strategic%20Partnership.pdf>.
10. Interviewed with one of soldiers who patrol Natuna Territory.

Acknowledgements: The author wishes to acknowledge support from State Islamic University of North Sumatra Indonesia Fund which has allowed to contribute this article, as well as all the participating interviewees. The authors would also like to help me to contribute this article.

Disclosure statement: No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding: Authors get no funding

Notes on Contributors: Muhammad Habibi Siregar is an associate professor in Social Department at Islamic State University of North Sumatra Indonesia. His research interests relate sociology; social engagement, democracy, government and policy. Recently, he focuses on social politics topics, especially in Indonesia.

References

- Anwar, D. F. (2008). Indonesia and the Bandung Conference: Then and now. In A. Acharya &, T. S. Seng (Eds.), pp.180-197, *Bandung revisited: The legacy of the 1955 Asian-African Conference for international order*, Singapore: NUS Press.
- Anwar, D. F. (2020). Indonesia and the ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific. *International Affairs* 96 (1): 111–129. doi:10.1093/ia/iiz223.
- Aspinall, E., and Berger, M.T. (2001). The Break-up of Indonesia? Nationalisms after Decolonization and the Limits of the Nation-state in Post-Cold War Southeast Asia. *Third World Quarterly* 22 (6),1003–1024.
- Aspinall, E. (2003). Modernity, history and ethnicity: Indonesian and Acehnese nationalism in conflict. in: D.Kingsbury and H. Aveling (Eds), pp.128-147, *Autonomy and Disintegration in Indonesia*, London: Routledge Curzon.
- Aspinall, E. (2014). Health Care and Democratization in Indonesia. *Democratization*, 21 (5), 803–823. doi:10.1080/13510347.2013.873791.
- Booth, A. (1990). The Tourism Boom in Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 26(3), 45-73, DOI: 10.1080/00074919012331335855.
- Blake, R. M. (2016). *Defence diplomacy for conflict prevention: A strategic analysis with reference to South Africa defense review* (Master's thesis). University of Pretoria, South Africa.
- Berenskoetter, F. (2014). Parameters of a National Biography. *European Journal of International Relations*, 20 (1), 262–88.
- Browning, C. (2016). Ethics and Ontological Security. in *Ethical Security Studies: A New Research Agenda*. edited by Jonna Nyman and Anthony Burke, London and New York: Routledge, pp.160–173.
- Chua, C. 2008. The conglomerates in crisis: Indonesia, 1997-1998. *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, 13(1), 99 -127.
- CSIS. (2019). How is China bolstering its military diplomatic relations? China PowerProject. Retrieved from <https://chinapower.csis.org/china-military-diplomacy/>.
- Crouch, H. (1979). *The army and politics in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Cottey, A. & Forster, A. (2004). Chapter 1: Strategic Engagement: Defence Diplomacy as a Means of Conflict Prevention. *Adelphi Series*, 44 (365),15-30, DOI: 10.1080/714027947.
- Dahm, B. (1969). *Trans. Mary F. Somers Heidhues. Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian independence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Davidson, J. (2009). Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia. *The Pacific Review*, 22 (3), 293–310.
- Do Thu Ha. (2019). The Concept of Pancasila, Its Roots and Some Influences. *Vietnam Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 5(2), 216-224.
- Doty, R. L. (1993). Foreign policy as social construction: a post-positivist analysis of US counterinsurgency policy in the Philippines. *International Studies Quarterly*, 37, 297 – 320.
- Etkind, A. (2013). *Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Heiduk, F. (2014). State disintegration and power politics in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Third World Quarterly* 35 (2), 300–315.
- Fels, E. (2016). *Shifting power in Asia-Pacific?: The rise of China-U.S. competition and regional middle power allegiance*. Berlin: Springer.
- Inkiriwang, F.W. (2020). Garuda shield vs sharp knife: operationalising Indonesia's defense diplomacy." *The Pacific Review*, 1-31, DOI: 10.1080/09512748.2020.1772352

- Guzzini, S. (2011). Securitization as a Causal Mechanism. *Security Dialogue* 42(4-5), 329 – 341.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-identity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hayton, B. (2019). The modern origins of China's South China Sea Claims: Maps, misunderstandings, and the maritime geobody. *Modern China*, 45 (2): 127–170. doi: 10.1177/0097700418771678.
- Hewison, K. (2020). Black Site: The Cold War and the Shaping of Thailand's Politics. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 50 (4). DOI: 10.1080/00472336.2020.1717115.
- Laksmana, E. A. (2017). Pragmatic equidistance: How Indonesia manages its great power relations. In D. B. H. Denoon (Ed.), pp.113-135, *China, the United States, and the future of Southeast Asia*, New York, New York University Press.
- McGibbon, R. (2004). *Secessionist challenges in Aceh and Papua: is special autonomy the solution?* Policy Studies No. 10, East– West Center, Washington, DC.
- Mietzner, M. (2009). Indonesia in 2008: democratic consolidation in Soeharto's shadow. in: D. SINGH (Ed.) *Southeast Asian Affairs 2009*, pp.105–123, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Malksoo, M. (2009). Liminality and Contested Europeanness: Conflicting Memory Politics in the Baltic Space. In *Identity and Foreign Policy: Baltic-Russian Relations in the Context of European Integration*, edited by Eiki Berg and Piret Ehin, 65–83, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- McRae, D. (2019). Indonesia's South China Sea Diplomacy: A Foreign Policy Illiberal Turn. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49(5), 759-779. doi:10.1080/00472336.2019.1601240
- Mitzen, J. (2006). "Ontological security in world politics: state identity and the security dilemma." *European Journal of International Relations*, 12 (3), 341 – 370.
- Moon, S. (2020). A sociotechnical order for the *umma*: connecting Islam and technology in Suharto's Indonesia. *History and Technology*, 36 (2): 240-262, DOI: 10.1080/07341512.2020.1809073.
- Murphy, A. M. (2010). Rapprochement with Indonesia: From problem state to partner." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 32 (3), 362–387. doi:10.1355/cs32-3c.
- Nothofer, B. (1990). Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian Society. A Cultural and Ethical Analysis Eka Darmaputera, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 140(1), 212.
- Ned., et al., (2006). *The Politics of Memory in Post-War Europe*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Nissen, A and Rebecca. (2014). Stigma Management in International Relations: Transgressive Identities, Norms, and Order in International Society. *International Organization* 68 (1), 143–76
- Rüland, J. (2009). Deepening ASEAN Cooperation through Democratization? The Indonesian Legislature and Foreign Policymaking. *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 9 (3), 373–402.
- Roosa, J. (2008). President Sukarno and The September 30th Movement, *Critical Asian Studies*, 40 (1), 143-159, DOI: 10.1080/14672710801959182.
- Saifuddin, Z. (2019). The Confusion about Masalah Implementation in Ijtihad Discourse." *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 27(2), 1893-1902.
- Setiawan, K. (2019). The Omnipresent past: Rethinking transitional justice through digital storytelling on Indonesia's 1965 violence. *Civil Society and Transitional Justice in Asia and the Pacific*, 63-81.
- Steven, R. (1988). Japanese foreign direct investment in Southeast Asia: From ASEAN to JASEAN. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 20 (4), 34-54, DOI: 10.1080/14672715.1988.10412581.
- Sulistiyanto, P. (2007). Politics of justice and reconciliation in post-Suharto Indonesia." *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 37 (1): 73-94, DOI: 10.1080/00472330601104623.
- Subotic, J. (2016). Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12 (4), 610–27.
- Ufen, A. (2008). From *Aliran* to Dealignment: Political Parties in Post-Suharto Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 16 (1), 5-41, DOI: 10.5367/000000008784108149.
- Ufen, A. (2018). Party presidentialization in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Contemporary Politics* 24(3): 306-324.
- Temple, J. (2003). Growing into trouble: Indonesia after 1966, in: D. RODRIK (Ed.), pp.152–183, *Search of Prosperity: Analytic Narratives on Economic Growth*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tiwon, S. (2000). From East Timor to Aceh: The disintegration of Indonesia? *Critical Asian Studies*;32(1-2), 97-104.
- Wie Thee Kian. (1994). Interactions of Japanese Aid and Direct Investment in Indonesia. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 11(1), 25–35.