

**PELATIHAN SSR IV  
ADVOKASI MASYARAKAT SIPIL  
UNTUK REFORMASI  
SEKTOR KEAMANAN**

**HOTEL CEMARA, 1 - 5 DESEMBER 2008**

**MAKMUR KELIAT - DOSEN UI**

**TEN LESSONS**

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**TEN LESSONS**  
**Indonesian Experience**  
**On**  
**Security Sector Reform**

- **First lesson**
- Civil-military relations needs to be put in the security sector reform and security sector reform it self needs to be understood as integral part of comprehensive democratic political reform. No reform would have taken place if Suharto was still in power.

- **Second Lesson**

- There should be broad consensus between major political parties that security sector reform is a must for the purpose of sustaining democratic process.
- There should be broad consensus between civilian and military on a number of issues: (1) state ideology (2) constitution (unitary state) (3) historical legacy (coming to terms with the past?)

- **Third lesson**
- There should be clear focus on how to undertake security reform.
- The main focus: transforming security actors into professional ones! What is professional? We are all professional except in our field. Military is force, police is mainly one of law enforcement agencies and intelligence deals with information service.

- **Fourth lesson**

- There is a need to define and clarify what we mean by professional security actors
- Security actors should not be involved either in politics or in business.
- Security actors should be put under democratic control/law (civil supremacy/democratic oversight).
- Functions should be made specific so security actors can be differentiated from each other.
- Police should be separated from armed forces. Intelligence is not law enforcement agency.

- **Fifth Lesson.**
- There is a need to institutionalize SSR through legislation. The achievement should be measured through legal products generate.
- 1. At the level of the constitution.
- The amendment of the constitution has been made. The main function of Armed Forces is defense and the police is for internal security.
- 2. At the level People's Assembly (the highest body of the political institution)
- The Armed Forces and the Police are no longer allowed to become members of parliament. The Police have been separated from the Armed Forces.
- 3. At the law level:
- The Parliament has introduced three laws (Law on Armed Forces/TNI, Law on Defense=Military Reform and Law on Police/POLRI= Police Reform)

- **Sixth lesson**
- There is need to have academic community plus NGO (epistemic community) who could bridge politician and military. The academic community should be objective and neutral and very helpful in drafting the bill

- **Seventh lesson.**
- There is a need to take military reform step by step
- The TNI has been put under democratic political control and regarded as the instrument of the state. The Armed Forces has been put under the Ministry of Defense
- The TNI can only be deployed through political decision for the purpose of protecting sovereignty, territorial integrity and safety of nation and state from military/armed threat. The TNI has an authority to conduct military operation than war (14 operations). All business activities of the TNI should be taken over by the government and the TNI, (individually and institutionally) is not allowed to run business activities (article 76)

- **Eighth Lesson**

- military reform could be put in danger if police does not have capacity to fill up the vacuum left by military. The Head of Police is not put under particular ministry. It has been put directly under the President. The Head of Police is responsible for operational and policy measures. The term local police legally speaking is not known. As an institution, POLRI is structurally centralized. The POLRI has four functions (1) maintaining security (2) preserving public order, (3) enforcing law, (4) protecting and serving society. The POLRI has been given very broad authority to exercise their function (It can be divided into 35 kinds of authority).

- **Ninth Lesson:**
- there is a need (1) to amend/revise the existing laws especially law on police , (2) strengthen institutional capacity of parliament (in drafting bill, budgeting and oversight); (3) introduce law on intelligence (intelligence is civilian institution: the question here is how to demilitarize intelligence and how to take measure of “de-policing” intelligence (4) law on national security to strengthen coordination among security actors

- **Tenth Lesson**

- There is a need to handle the problem of butter versus gun (could we have professional armed forces without professional budget?). The question here is how to transform military reform into defense reform.