

**THE POLICE IN POST-SUHARTO'S INDONESIA:  
Politicization and Decentralization in the Era of *Reformasi***

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### **Preface**

This book was conceived due to the lack of comprehensive studies related to the police and politics in post-Suharto Indonesia, and developed over a ten year period of working in the field of police studies. Based on direct observations by a scholar who was involved in the last days of the New Order and how the police responded to regime change, this book examines the police, the new regime, and how the police was disassociated from the military.

A great number of people have assisted my research for this book, both direct and indirectly. The first 'Big Three' were scholars who had a great influence on my scholarly and personal development during my Ph.D study: Jim Schiller, Priyambudi Sulistiyanto and Anton Lucas from Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia. Their patience and expertise encouraged me to become a skeptical scholar, by acting as 'outsiders' overseeing what I was doing in order to make my research more valuable and objective. Jim Schiller, Priyambudi, and Anton Lucas gave so many new angles and critical approaches that made me see the police from a local perspective, as part of a long process of disassociation from the Armed Forces. Anton Lucas also provided critical input on early drafts of this book and always reminded me that the strength of this book is what happened at the local level. Priyambudi Sulistiyanto also reminded that continuity between sections of this book should provide a new perspective for the study of police in post-Suharto Indonesia.

Other scholars, analysts, journalists, and NGO activists have also contributed this study through both short meet ups and long discussions, mostly in Jakarta and Bandung coffee shops or meeting places. Liz Morrell, Malcolm Cook, Roger Wiseman, Rossi Von Der Vorch, Leonard Sebastian, Rohan Gunaratna, Bill Liddle, David Henley, Erwin Schweishelm, Gerald

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In the police, several Generals have devoted considerable time to my research on their institution, most notably General Awaluddin Djamin, General Chaeruddin Ismail, General Timur Pradopo, Commissaries General Nanan Sukarna, Commissaries General Sutarman, Commissaries General Adang Daradjatun, Commissaries General E. Winarto, the late Inspector General Wik Jatmika, Inspector General Ronny Lihawa, Inspector General Andi Chaeruddin, Inspector General Farouk Muhammad, Inspector General Paulus Purwoko, Inspector General Tito Karnavian, and the late Inspector General Firman Gani. In addition, many local Police Chiefs, local Regents, and Mayors from regencies and municipalities in West Java province were always prepared to discuss the role of police and policing problems in their jurisdictions.

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I am also indebted to my parents who always pray for my health and safety of the children. Only 25 years ago, the idea that I might become a scholar with a higher degree was only a fantasy and bedtime story for me. It has now become true. Finally I would like to express my greatest appreciation to Alia Maharani, my wife and my children, Bryanna and Alvaro for their willingness to support my ambitious and unpredictable life. Their loves are immeasurable.

## Abbreviations and Glossary

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia - Indonesian Armed Forces
ABG	ABRI, Golkar, Birokrat - ABRI, Golkar, Bureaucracies; The three pillars of the New Order
Admin	Administrasi - Administration
AKPOL	Akademi Kepolisian - Police Academy
AKRI	Angkatan Kepolisian Republik Indonesia - Indonesian Police Forces
AKABRI	Akademi Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia - the Indonesian Armed Forces Academy
AMD	ABRI Masuk Desa - the ABRI Enters the Village
AMN	Akademi Militer Nasional - National Military Academy
AMS	Angkatan Muda Siliwangi - Siliwangi Young Generation
Ambtenaar Inlandesche Bestuur dients	School for Local Administration Official (Dutch Colonial Era)
AMPRI	Angkatan Muda Polisi Republik Indonesia - Police Youth Movement of the Republic of Indonesia
APBN	Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Negara - State Annual Budget
APBD	Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Daerah - Local Annual Budget
APRA	Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil - Legions of the Just King



ARD	Algemeene Recherche Dienst – (Dutch colonial era) General Investigation Bureau
Arhanud	Arteleri Pertahanan Udara – Air Defence Base of the Army
Aspri	Asisten Pribadi - Personal Assistant
Aspirant Commisaris van Politie	(Dutch colonial era) Assistant Police Commissioners
BABINKAMTIBMAS	Bintara Pembina Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat – Indonesian Police NCO for Security And Order at Village Level.
BABINSA	Bintara Pembina Desa – Indonesian military NCO at Village Level
Bagian V	Department Five, a military intelligence agency
BAKESBANGPOL LINMAS	Badan Kesatuan Bangsa, Politik, dan Perlindungan Masyarakat –Agency for National Unity, Politics, and Public Safety
BAKIN	Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara – State Intelligence Coordinating Board
Bakorstranas	Badan Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan Stabilitas dan Ketahanan Nasional – National Stability and Resilience Coordinating Board
Bareskrim	Badan Reserse dan Kriminal – the Criminal Investigation Bureau
Bhayangkara	Indonesian term for the INP
Bhayangkari	Association for the wives of INP officers and personnel
Bina Mitra	Community Security Development and Partnership
BISAP	Biro Informasi Staf Angkatan Perang – Armed Forces Staff Information Bureau

BLBI	Bantuan Likuidasi Bank Indonesia – Indonesia Liquidity Support Bank
BNN	Badan Nasional Narkotika – National Anti-drug Board
BPI	Badan Pusat Intelijen –Central Intelligence Board/ Agency
BPI	Barisan Polisi Istimewa – the Police Special Vanguard
BPK	Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan – State Auditor’s Agency
BPKB	Bukti Pemilikan Kendaraan Bermotor – Vehicle Owner Documents
BP-KNIP	Badan Pekerja Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat – Working Committee of Indonesian National – Indonesian Parliament in early Republic
BPLK	Badan Pendidikan, dan Latihan Kepegawaian – Educational, Training and Personnel Agency
BPUPKI	Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia - Investigation Agency for the Preparation for Indonesian Independence
Bupati	District Head - Regent
BRIMOB	Brigade Mobil – Mobile Brigade, Police Paramilitary Unit
BTI	Barisan Tani Indonesia – Indonesian Peasant’s Union
BULOG	Badan Urusan Logistik - State Logistics Agency
Chianbu	(Japanese era) Ministry of Security Affairs
CPM	Corps Polisi Militer – Military Police Corps
CP	Civilian Police

CPT	Catur Putra Surya
DAK	Dana Alokasi Khusus - Special Allocation Fund
Danki	Komandan Kompi – Company Commander
Dekonsentrasi	Semi-autonomy
Dephankam	Departemen Pertahanan dan Keamanan – Ministry of Security and Defence Affairs
Dewan Konstituante	Constitutional Assembly
Densus 88 AT	Detasemen Khusus 88 Anti Terror - 88 <sup>th</sup> Anti-Terror Special Detachment
Desundaman	Deputi Sumber Daya Manusia – Deputy of Human Resources Development – one of deputy in the POLRI structures
Detasemen Polisi	Police Detachment
Djawatan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia	Indonesian National Police Bureau
DKP	Dewan Kehormatan Perwira – Officers Honour Board
DI/TII	Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia – Islamic State/Indonesian Islamic Army
DPN	Dewan Pertahanan Negara – State Defence Council
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat – National Parliament
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat – District or Provincial Assembly
DPR GR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong – Mutual Aid National Parliament

DPKN	Dinas Pengawasan Keamanan Negara – the State Security Intelligence Service
DUKOP	Dukungan Operasi – Operational Support Fund
Dukun Santet	Shaman Practitioners
Dwi Fungsi	Dual Function
FDR	Front Demokratik Rakyat – People’s Front for Democracy
FPI	Front Pembela Islam – Islamic Defenders Front
Fordem	Forum Democracy – Democracy Forum
FUI	Forum Umat Islam – Moslem Community Forum
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka – Aceh Freedom Movement
GPS	Gerakan Pendukung SBY – Yudhoyono Campaign Team
Hansip	Pertahanan Sipil – Civic Defence Unit
Harkamtibmas	Pemeliharaan Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat - Maintenance of Public Order and Safety
HTI	Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia
IBPRI	Ikatan Buruh Polisi Republik Indonesia – Labour Association of Indonesian Police
ICW	Indonesian Corruption Watch
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program
IDSPSS	Institute for Defence Security and Peace Studies
IMPARSIAL	Indonesian Human Rights Monitor
Inkopol	Induk Koperasi Polisi – POLRI HQ Main

	Cooperative
Intelkam	Intelijen Keamanan – Security Intelligence
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRWASUM	Inspektorat Pengawasan Umum – General Supervision Inspectorate of POLRI
IPKI	Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia – League for the Defence of Indonesian Independence
IPW	Indonesian Police Watch
Istana	Presidential Palace
ISIK	Ikatan Sarjana Ilmu Kepolisian - Association of Police Science Graduates
Jagung	Kejaksaan Agung – Attorney General’s Department
JCLEC	Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation
JI	Jama’ah Islamiyah
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JT	Jama’ah Tabliq
Kamtibmas	Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat – Security and Public Order Community
Kapolri	Kepala Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia – Chief of Indonesian National Police
Kapolda	Kepala Kepolisian Daerah – Head of Provincial Police
Kamdagri	Keamanan Dalam Negeri – Internal or Domestic Security
Kasdam	Kepala Staf Daerah Militer – Deputy Commander of a Region Military Command

Kaurmin	Kepala Urusan Administrasi - Head of Administration Unit
KKN	Kepala Kepolisian Negara - Chief of National Police
KKN	Korupsi, Kolusi dan Nepotisme - Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism
Kejaksaan Agung	Attorney General's Department
Kementerian Keamanan	Ministry of Security Affairs
Keimubu	(Japanese era) Civilian Police Department
Kempetai	(Japanese era) Military Police
Kiayi	Islamic Preacher
KNIL	Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger - The Royal Netherlands (East) Indies Army
Koalisi	Coalition
KOD	Kesatuan Operasional Dasar - Basic Police Unit
Kodam	Komando Daerah Militer - Military Region Command
Kodim	Komando Distrik Militer - Military District Command
Kominda	Komunitas Intelijen Daerah - Local Intelligence Community
KOMPOLNAS	Komisi Kepolisian Nasional - Indonesian National Police Commission
KOMPOLDA	Komisi Kepolisian Daerah - Local Police Commission
KONTRAS	Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan - Commission for 'the Disappeared' and Victims of Violence

Kopkamtib	Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban - Command for the Restoration of Security and Order
KOPKKN	Komando Operasi Kewaspadaan dan Keselamatan Nasional - National Command for Awareness and Safety of The Nation
Koramil	Komando Rayon Militer - Sub-district Military Command
Korem	Komando Resort Militer - Military Sub-regional Command
KORPOLSEC	Korps Polisi Securiti - Police Security Service Corps
Kostrad	Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat - Army Strategic Reserve
Koter	Komando Teritorial - Territorial Command
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi - Corruption Eradication Commission
KUD	Koperasi Unit Desa - Village Cooperative Unit
KUD	Ketua Untung Duluan - Chairman Gets First Benefit
KUHAP	Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Acara Pidana - Book of Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure
Kuwu	Kepala Desa - Javanese Village Head
Lantas	Lalulintas - Traffic
LEMHANAS	Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional - National Resilience Board
LESPERSSI	Lembaga Studi Pertahanan dan Studi Strategis Indonesia - Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies

LIPI	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia – Indonesian Institute of Sciences
Litsus	Penelitian Khusus – Special Investigation
‘Local Boys for Local Jobs’	Locally-based Appointments
MA	Mahkamah Agung – Supreme Court
Malari	Malapetaka 15 Januari –15 <sup>th</sup> January Affair
Mahmilub	Mahkamah Militer Luar Biasa – Special Military Court
MAMPUS	Masyarakat Melawan Politisi Busuk - Society Against Crooked Politicians
Mantab	Steady
Masyumi	Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia – Muslim Legal Court of Indonesia
Markus	Makelar Kasus – Case Trader
Mapol	Manifesto Kepolisian – Police Manifesto
Mitra Polingga	Kemitraan Polisi Lingkungan dan Warga – Environmental Police and Citizen Security Partnership
Mitra Polingga	Kemitraan Polisi Maling Warga - Crooked Police Partnership
MMI	Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia – Indonesian Mujahidin Council
Mogok Makan	Hunger Strike
MPP	Masa Persiapan Pensiun – Retirement Program
MPRS	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara – Temporary People’s Consultative Assembly
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat – People’s



	Consultative Assembly (Upper House of Indonesian Parliament)
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia – Indonesian Islamic Preachers Council
Murba	Musyawaharah Rakyat Banyak – Indonesian Leftist Party Established by Tan Malaka
Muspida	Musyawaharah Pimpinan Daerah –Local Leaders Forum
NASAKOM	Nasionalis, Agama dan Komunism – Nationalism, Religion and Communism, Soekarno’s Doctrine
NICA	Netherlands Indies Civil Administration
NKRI	Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia – Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama – Traditional Muslim Organization in Indonesia
OPDIN	Optimasi dan Dinamisasi - Dynamic Optimization
Orde Lama	Old Order - term for Soekarno Presidency
Orde Baru	New Order – term for Soeharto’s Presidency
Orde Reformasi	Reform Order – term for post-Soeharto era
PAD	Pendapatan Asli Daerah – Local Source of Revenue
PAM	Pengawasan Aliran Masyarakat – Security Intelligence Agency
PAN	Partai Amanat National – National Mandate Party
Pangak	Panglima Angkatan Kepolisian – Police Force Commander
Pangdam	Panglima Daerah Militer – Regional Military

	Commander
Parsi	Partai Sosialis Indonesia -Socialist Party of Indonesia
Paras	Partai Rakyat Sosialis - Socialist's People Party
Parkindo	Partai Kristen Indonesia -Christian Party of Indonesia
Parman	Partisipasi Teman - Friendship Participation
Parmin	Partisipasi Kriminal - Mafia or Criminal Participation
Parmas	Partisipasi Masyarakat - Public Participation
PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang - Star Moon Crescent Party
PDI P	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan - Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
PDRI	Pemerintahan Darurat Republik Indonesia - Emergency State of the Republic of Indonesia
PELITA	Pembangunan Lima Tahun - Five Year Development Plan
Penilik Kepolisian Daerah	Local Police Agency
Pekas	Pemegang Kas - Treasurer
Perda	Peraturan Daerah - Local Regulations
PETA	Pembela Tanah Air - Homeland Self Defence
Petrus	Penembak Misterius - Mysterious Shootings
Pesantren	Islamic Boarding School
PESINDO	Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia - Indonesian Socialist Youth
PG	Partai Golongan Karya - Golkar Party

PID	Politiek Inlichtingen dienst – Political Intelligence Bureau (Dutch Colonial Era)
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa - National Awakening Party
PLATINA	Pusat Latihan Anti Teror - Anti-Terror Training Centre
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia – Indonesian Communist Party
PM	Perdana Menteri – Prime Minister
PM	Pemerintahan Militer – Military Government
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia – Indonesian National Party
Polair	Polisi Perairan – Maritime Police
Polairud	Polisi Perairan dan Udara – Air and Maritime Police
POLRI	Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia – Indonesian National Police
Polda	Kepolisian Daerah – Provincial Police
Poldes	Polisi Desa – Village Police
Polhut	Polisi Hutan – Forest Police
Polwan	Polisi Wanita – Police Women
Polwil	Kepolisian Wilayah – Sub-Regional Police
Polres	Kepolisian Resort – District or Municipality Police
Polsek	Kepolisian Sektor – Precinct or Sub-District Police
Polsus	Polisi Khusus – Special Police
Polsuska	Polisi Khusus Kereta Api – Train Police

Polmas	Perpolisian Masyarakat - Community Policing
Poros Tengah	Central Axis
PP	Persatuan Perjuangan - Struggle Union
PP	Peraturan Pemerintah - Government Decree
PP	Pemuda Pancasila - Youth of Pancasila
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan - United Development Party
PP Polri	Persatuan Purnawirawan Polri - Union of Retired Police
PPM	Pemerintahan Polisi Militer - Government of Military Police
PPKI	Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia - Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence
Prit Jigo	Indonesian term for the solving of traffic Violations and illegal racketeering by bribery
PRRI/Permesta	Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia/Perjuangan Semesta - Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia/Universal Struggle
PPRI	Pemuda Polisi Republik Indonesia - the Youth of Republic of Indonesia of Police
Primkopol	Primer Koperasi Polri - Primary Cooperative in Polres Office
PROPAM	Profesi dan Pengamanan - Professional Ethics Division
PSII	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia - Islamic Party of Indonesia
PSP	Persatuan Sekerja Polisi -Police Workers Union

PS	Partai Socialis – Socialist Party
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia – Indonesian Socialist Party
PTIK	Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu Kepolisian – Police University
PT	Perseroan Terbatas – Private Limited Company
PTPN VIII	PT. Perkebunan Nusantara VIII - Nusantara Plantation Company VIII
Pusdik	Pusat Pendidikan – Learning Centre
Puskopol	Pusat Koperasi Polri – Police Cooperative Centre in Polda Office
P3RI	Persatuan Pegawai Polisi Republik Indonesia – Indonesian Republic Police Officials Union
RI	Republik Indonesia – Republic of Indonesia
RIS	Republik Indonesia Serikat – United States of Indonesia
Reskrim	Reserse and Kriminal – Criminal Investigation Unit
Reformasi	Reformation
Rekonfu	Rencana, Konsolidasi, dan Fungsi – Plan of Consolidation and Function
Renstra	Perencanaan Strategis – Strategic Planning
RMS	Republik Maluku Selatan – South Maluku Republic
RPK	Ruang Pelayanan Khusus - Special Assistance Units
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia – the State-owned radio station

RW	Rukun Warga - Local Community Group
RT	Rukun Tetangga - Neighbourhood Community
Satpam	Satuan Pengamanan - Licensed Security Guards
Satpol PP	Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja - Municipal Police
SBSI	Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia - All Indonesian Prosperity Workers' Union
SEBA	Sekolah Bintara - Brigadier Police School
Sebasa	Sekolah Bahasa - Language School
SECAPA	Sekolah Calon Perwira - Police Inspector Candidate School
SEPA	Sekolah Perwira - Police Inspector Candidate School
SELAPA	Sekolah Lanjutan Perwira -Advanced Police School
SEPOLWAN	Sekolah Polisi Wanita - Women's Police School
SESKOAK	Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Kepolisian - School of Command and Staff for Police Force
SESKOPOL	Sekolah Staf dan Komando Kepolisian - the School of Command and Staff of Police
SESPIM	Sekolah Staf dan Pimpinan - School for Police Staff and Chief
SESPIMTI	Sekolah Staf dan Pimpinan tingkat Tinggi - School for Higher Rank Police Staff and Chief
SESPATI	Sekolah Staf dan Perwira Tinggi - School for Police Staff and Higher-ranking Commanders
SI	Sidang Istimewa - Special Session (of Parliament)
SIM	Surat Ijin Mengemudi - Driving Licence

SIP	Sekolah Inspektur Polisi – Police Inspector School
SIPSS	Sekolah Inspektur Polisi Sumber Sarjana – Graduates of Police Inspector School
Siskamling	Sistem Keamanan Lingkungan - Neighbourhood Security System
Sispullahjianta	Sistem pengumpulan, pengolahan dan pengkajian data - system of collecting, processing, analysing and presentation of data
SKCK	Surat Keterangan Catatan Kepolisian – Police Clearances
Solidamor	Solidaritas Damai untuk Timor Timur – Peace Solidarity for East Timor
SPN	Sekolah Polisi Negara -Police NCO School (Provincial)
SPPBP	Sekolah untuk Pendidikan Pembentukan Brigadir Polisi – Police NCO School (National)
SPP	Serikat Petani Pasundan - Pasundan Peasants’ Association
SU	Sidang Umum – General Session (of Parliament)
Sum Kuning	Yellow Sum Cases
Supersemar	Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret – March 11 <sup>th</sup> Command Letter
Stadspolitie	(Dutch colonial era) Urban Police
STNK	Surat Tanda Naik Kendaraan – Vehicle Registration
TAKARI	Tahun Berdikari – Year of Independence
Taruna	Cadet
The RIDEP Institute	Institut Kajian tentang Demokrasi dan

	Perdamaian - Research Institute for Democracy and Peace
TKR	Tentara Keamanan Rakyat - People's Security Army
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia - Indonesian National Army
TNI AD	Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat - Indonesian Army Land Forces
TNI AL	Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Laut - the Indonesian Navy
TNI AU	Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Udara - Indonesian Air Force
Tokubetsu Keisatsu Tai	(Japanese era) Special Police Unit
Trantib	Ketentraman dan Ketertiban - Peace and Order
TRI	Tentara Rakyat Indonesia - Indonesian People Army
URC	Unit Reaksi Cepat - Fast Response Unit
UUD 1945	Undang-undang Dasar 1945 - Constitution (Basic Laws) of 1945
UUDS	Undang-undang Dasar Sementara - Provisional Constitution
VOC	Vereeningde Oost indische Compagnie - Dutch East India Company (Dutch Colonial Era)
Veldpolitie	(Dutch colonial era) Field Police
Wanjakti	Dewan Kepangkatan dan Jabatan Tinggi - Police Promotion Board
Waperdam	Wakil Perdana Menteri - Deputy Prime Minister
Wedana	(Dutch colonial era) District chiefs



YLBHI	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia - The Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation
Yayasan	Foundation
Yon Zipur	Batalyon Zeni Tempur - Combat Battalion