

Spoilers, Partners and Pawns: Military Organizational Behaviour and Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia

Evan, A. Laksmana

2008

Evan, A. L. (2008). Spoilers, Partners and Pawns: Military Organizational Behaviour and Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia. (RSIS Working Paper, No. 161). Singapore: Nanyang Technological University.

<https://hdl.handle.net/10356/88092>

Nanyang Technological University

Downloaded on 24 Aug 2022 16:13:01 SGT

No. 161

**Spoilers, Partners and Pawns:
Military Organizational Behaviour
and Civil-Military Relations
in Indonesia**

Evan A. Laksmana

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Singapore

1 July 2008

With Compliments

This Working Paper series presents papers in a preliminary form and serves to stimulate comment and discussion. The views expressed are entirely the author's own and not that of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) was established in January 2007 as an autonomous School within the Nanyang Technological University. RSIS's mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia Pacific. To accomplish this mission, it will:

- Provide a rigorous professional graduate education in international affairs with a strong practical and area emphasis
- Conduct policy-relevant research in national security, defence and strategic studies, diplomacy and international relations
- Collaborate with like-minded schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence

Graduate Education in International Affairs

RSIS offers an exacting graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The teaching programme consists of the Master of Science (MSc) degrees in Strategic Studies, International Relations, International Political Economy, and Asian Studies as well as an MBA in International Studies taught jointly with the Nanyang Business School. The education provided is distinguished by its focus on the Asia Pacific, the professional practice of international affairs, and the emphasis on academic depth. Over 150 students, the majority from abroad, are enrolled with the School. A small and select Ph.D. programme caters to advanced students whose interests match those of specific faculty members.

Research

RSIS research is conducted by five constituent Institutes and Centres: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS, founded 1996), the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR, 2002), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS, 2006), the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (2008), and the soon-to-be launched Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade and Negotiations. The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region. The School has three professorships that bring distinguished scholars and practitioners to teach and to do research at the School. They are the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies, the Ngee Ann Kongsi Professorship in International Relations, and the NTUC Professorship in International Economic Relations.

International Collaboration

Collaboration with other professional schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence is a RSIS priority. RSIS will initiate links with other like-minded schools so as to enrich its research and teaching activities as well as adopt the best practices of successful schools.

ABSTRACT

This paper tries to explain the political behaviour of military organizations within the context of civil-military relations. The key purpose is to extract several key variables that could serve as a starting theoretical model for future research on Southeast Asian militaries and political armies in general. This would be done by analysing four distinct cases of political behaviours of the Indonesian military in its relations with the president. This paper aims to answer why these distinct behaviours occur, how they came about, and under what conditions would they be observed. This paper finds that the political behaviours of military organizations can be at least typologized into four distinct categories that depart from the traditional literature: regime spoiler, critical regime partner, uncritical regime partner, and regime pawn. This paper also finds that several variables could help explain such behaviours. First, internal military variables: the military's self-conception and portrayal of the "national interests"; the degree of military unity and cohesion; and the institutional and individual interests of the key military leadership. Second, variables within the political leadership: the degree of civilian interference in internal military affairs, civilian strength vis-à-vis the military, and civilian handling of the domestic political condition. However, how all these variables interact, the degree of significance of each variable, and how they shape the military's political behaviour would eventually have to depend on the national political, economic, security and social conditions of the specific time of the case at hand.

Evan A. Laksmana is concurrently a research analyst at the Indonesia Programme and MSc student in Strategic Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is also affiliated with Overseas Think Tank for Indonesia as an analyst. He graduated Cum Laude with a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from the Department of International Relations, Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung, Indonesia. He has served as Vice President (2003-2004) and President (2004-2005) of the Students' Study Group for International Affairs, Parahyangan Catholic University, while assisting Parahyangan Center for International Studies (PACIS). He has also been actively involved in the Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations (HPAIR), serving as a delegate to the academic conference in 2006 at Singapore, and as a paper presenter in 2008 at Harvard University. His current research interests are in military organizational behavior, civil-military relations, strategic thought, and issues relating to Indonesian military and politics.

Spoilers, Partners and Pawns: Military Organizational Behaviour and Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia¹

Although military organizations in Asia still play a key role in state and nation-building, maintaining internal order, and ensuring international security (Alagappa 2001a: 9), the theoretical study of civil-military relations in this region has not commanded much attention. Instead, the focus thus far has been on individual empirical studies on the role of the military in domestic politics throughout the region as well as on establishing civilian supremacy over the military.² As a result, the literature has tended to analyse and measure military political behaviour in terms of “subordination” or “insubordination” to the political leadership.

This is also the case with Southeast Asian militaries, especially Indonesia.³ There is little theoretical study on these militaries that could help us understand the nature of military political behaviour as well as to predict how and under what conditions the military would behave differently in the domestic political realm. This paper is a modest initial attempt to fill in this gap in the literature by utilizing the Indonesian case as a basic model. The key purpose here is to extract key variables that could serve as a starting theoretical model for future research on Southeast Asian militaries, or political armies in general. This would be done by analysing four distinct political behaviours of the Indonesian military as an organization that departs from the traditional focus of “subordination” or “insubordination”.

First, there are cases of where the military opposed the government’s policies, either through outright military insubordination (e.g. in 1948 General Sudirman, then Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, refused to follow the civilian leaders’ surrender to the Dutch and continued the guerrilla warfare) or through strong arm tactics short of insubordination (e.g. in the “17 October 1952” affair, the military pointed a cannon at the presidential palace to push President Soekarno to dissolve the parliament). *Second*, there are cases where the military, which is supposedly “controlled” by the political leadership, voiced their critical opposition to some of the regime’s practices (e.g. the Army’s Staff and Command School published a paper shortly before the 1977 general election contending, *inter alia*, that

¹ Paper presented at the International Relations Workshop of the 2008 Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations Conference, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 3–6 April 2008.

² A rare exception would be Alagappa (2001, 2002).

³ The most notable literature on Indonesian military politics would be: Crouch (1978), Sundhussen (1986), Said (1991, 1998, 2006), Suryadinata (1992), MacFarling (1996), Kingsbury (2003), Honna (2003), Rinakit (2005), Hafidz (2006), Mietzner (2006).

political life should be based on democratic principles). *Third*, there are cases where the military acted as an unequivocal regime partner (e.g. in 1998 the military under General Wiranto was given free rein over internal military policies while he provided unequivocal support to President Habibie's policies). *Finally*, there are cases where the military acted as a "dead tool" used for the political interest of the regime (e.g. used to protect the business empires of President Soeharto's family).

Therefore, this paper seeks to explain why, how, and under what conditions the Indonesian military would act: to reject the government's policies (whether through insubordination or strong arm tactics), to accept the government's policies while voicing their critical opposition, to accept and support the government's policies unequivocally, and act as a "dead tool" of the regime. Thus, this paper would be structured as follows. *First*, we will review the literature on civil-military relations and military organizational behaviour, as well as some gaps in the debate. *Second*, we will explain each of the military's distinct political behaviours using several empirical cases scattered throughout Indonesia's history, rather than employing a time-series analysis that is beyond the scope of this paper. *Finally*, we will highlight some of the key variables that explained Indonesia's military political behaviour and proposed them as possible variables in future theoretical constructs attempting to explain the organizational behaviour of Southeast Asian militaries.

Literature on Civil-Military Relations and Military Organizational Behaviour

Civil-military relations have always been complicated. Scholars have not been able to agree on how to define and measure them as a dependent variable, either because it is not always clear which issues belong to the relationship, or because the measurement to view whether the relationship is good or bad has been subjective or vague (Desch 1999: 3). Nevertheless, traditional studies of civil-military relations had two major foci: normal military participation in policy-making and military intervention in politics (Harries-Jenkins and Moskos 1981: 44). Huntington's (1985) work is the benchmark of the former. He argued that: (i) there is a distinct civil and military group, and civilians are the political masters; (ii) the military's main mission is to protect the society from external threats, and their involvement in politics would diminish their ability to do so; (iii) the solution is objective civilian control by

maximizing military professionalism. Subsequent civil-military relations literature takes its cue from these arguments (e.g. Sarkesian 1981; Feaver 1996, 2003).

Meanwhile, during the 1960s, scholars began to notice the military intervention in domestic politics across Third World countries, and theories of civil-military relations were subsequently proposed to explain this. Some focused on societal decay (Huntington 1968), modernization and development (Bienen 1968), sociological aspects of the military (Janowitz 1964), principle of civil supremacy and level of political culture as it relates to the military's disposition, motive, and opportunity to intervene (Finer 2002), and other alternative factors, like shifts in foreign relations, or changes in military doctrine (Albright 1980: 564–572). In the end, since the military's political behaviour remained crucial in explaining civil-military relations (Perlmutter 1977), scholars began to question Huntington's framework, including whether a polarization of "civil" and "military" remains a useful tool (Welch 1976a; Harries-Jenkins and Moskos 1981). Thus, subsequent research has tended to examine how military regimes integrate with civilian structures, which often results in a fused civil-military regime (Stepan 1971; Moskos 1976).

Two relevant issues stand out: military politics and civilian supremacy. In addition to the abovementioned literature on military politics and intervention (or praetorianism⁴), by the late 1980s, the focus shifted to military disengagement from politics (Danopoulos 1988). However, considering that in these countries the military is a permanent political force and disengagement is never final, what we can rationally hope to achieve then is to "manage" the military in the political realm. This brings us to the next issue, civilian supremacy. First of all, the concept of civilian supremacy itself is contested as scholars have preferred four different terms: "participation", "control", "direction", "supremacy" (Alagappa 2002: 5; Bland 1999: 18–19; Aguero 1995), while others argue that it is matter of degree (Welch 1976a: 2).

Thus, theoretically, the term "civilian control" needs to be reformulated and adjusted based on the specific context of the case. Practically however, the literature has focused on strategies and indicators of civilian control, whether short or long term (Welch 1976a: 5–6; Alagappa 2001b: 39–40). Subsequent research has focused on the level of civilian control and its causal factors, and how to measure it: individual military and civilian leaders (Betts 1977;

⁴ Initially, it refers to soldiers hired by a government to police an unruly population (Rapoport 1962: 72), but recently, it is defined as a situation where military officers are major or predominant political actors by virtue of their actual or threatened use of force (Nordlinger 1977: 2).

Cohen 2002); integration of the military and society (Janowitz 1960); level of military professionalism (Huntington 1985); civilian institutional factors (Avant 1994); congruency of values among civilians and the military (Danopoulos 1992); level of threats (Desch 1999); policy outcomes (Bland 1999); and governmental ability to alter the military's responsibilities, missions, organization, and employment of force free from military interference (Welch 1976b; Trinkunas 1998; Abrahamsson 1972).

These varieties of causal factors and measurement in the literature are an indication of the variety of specific historical, political, and cultural factors across regions and states. Therefore, recently, scholars have tried to propose an all-encompassing theory that could address this. Bland's (1999) theory of shared responsibility argued that civil control of the military is managed and maintained through the sharing of responsibility between civilians leaders and military officers conditioned by a nationally evolved regime of principles. Meanwhile, Schiff's (1995) theory of concordance claimed that civilian control will be achieved when the military, political elites, and the citizenry have a cooperative relationship and agree on four indicators: social composition of the officer corps, the political-decision-making process, recruitment method and military style.

Meanwhile, within civil-military relations studies, many of the literature on military organizations takes its cue from the sociological work pioneered by Janowitz (1960), which focused on the relation of the military with the society. Meanwhile, from the discipline of strategic studies, the literature on military organization has centred on aspects of military combat effectiveness and military adaptation to face external threats. Initially, however, scholars have tried to define the military in terms of its organizational traits. First, military organizations have a political character, since they are a complex political community (Rosen 1988: 140–141). Second, compared to civilian institutions, the military has several potentially advantageous traits that are structurally adapted for combat and the application of force to achieve defined goals (Callaghan and Kernic 2003: 27; Lang 1972: 11; Harries-Jenkins and Moskos 1981: 56). Third, they are an important political pressure group due to the resources invested in them, aside from their coercive power (Abrahamsson 1972: 12). Finally, although

historically, state control over the military is an exception rather than the rule (Black 2002: 22), the central concern of military organization theory is about internal and external control.⁵

Other scholars focused on the military's purposes, which is about both the mission and the character of the organization. Historically, the military's purpose may not be to achieve a specific military outcome, but rather, the prime objective may be to produce a system that fulfils and represents certain domestic socio-political goals (Black 2002: 23). Today however, the role of modern military organization can be seen as the *ultima ratio* of state power in an anarchic international system where states need to fend for themselves to survive (Morgenthau 1973). This leads to the central argument in civil-military relations literature that the military exists to defend the state against real or potential external threats and as a coercive tool to promote and protect national interests abroad (Huntington 1985; Edmunds 2006: 1059; Edmunds 1988: 29).

Subsequently, as studies on the military's wide-ranging role in nation-building and internal security in the Third World emerge, scholars began to recognize that a purely externally orientated definition is too narrow (Cawthra & Luckham 2003). Thus, a means-based rather than an ends-based definition of the military was preferable. Lasswell (1941: 457) looked at the military as "specialists on violence"; while Huntington (1985: 12) saw them as specialist in the "management of violence", and Janowitz (1960: 15) claimed that they are experts in "war-making and the organized use of violence". These definitions remained centred on the use of force and violence. Therefore, it is not surprising that scholarship from strategic studies on military organizations has followed this lead.

Today, the focus of such literature has been on military organizational change or innovation⁶ (in mission, doctrine, technology, posture, etc.) in a militarily threatening environment (Farrell & Terriff 2002). Some has looked at how the external environment changes a military's doctrine (Posen 1984; Snyder 1984; Van Evera 1984)⁷, while others focused on internal factors within the military organization that prompted military change (Rosen 1991). Subsequently, other scholars tried to offer an integrative approach combining

⁵ In the former, there is a colleague group which oversees internal cohesion of the officer corps as professionals and as social group, while in the latter; the source of control and of discipline is the hierarchy of authority (Perlmutter and Bennett 1980: 27).

⁶ For an excellent overview of military innovation studies, see Grissom (2006).

⁷ Farrel and Terriff (2002: 4–5) argues that focusing on doctrine is problematic because: (1) not all militaries have a doctrinal tradition; (2) in different national contexts, doctrine has a different meaning, function and importance; (3) changes in military doctrine may leave other organizational workings unaltered; (4) doctrine may be developed as much for political as for strategic or operational reasons.

internal and external factors, albeit with different emphasis (Avant 1994; Zisk 1993; Murray and Millet 1996). Other scholars, however, drew on organizational theory to explain innovation in military organizations (Nagl 2002). Recently, a cultural explanation developed, especially the idea of strategic culture, to explain differing responses of different militaries to similar threatening situations (Iain Johnston 1995; Kier 1999).

Current Trends and Gaps in the Theoretical Literature

Thus far, we have seen the literature on civil-military relations and military organizational behaviour. In the former, Alagappa (2001b: 41–42) noted three trends: (i) the explanations advanced has been focused on “single factor explanations”, (ii) explanations have been development specific, (iii) with a few exceptions, explanations have not been connected to the broader political processes. In addition, many of these theories have been: (i) generalized from the American or Western experience, (ii) locked in the notion of a distinct “civil” and “military” sectors, (iii) adopting an a priori approach about the value preferences of the military and civilians without adequate attention to empirical evidence (Lovell and Albright 1997: 7).

Meanwhile, from the literature on military organizations, we have seen that the focus has been on how military organizations behave and adapt in a military threatening environment, especially modelled from the Western experience. However, there has not been a theoretical and conceptual explanation offered to explain how armies in the Third World, who are mostly “political armies”, behave in its political environment, in the absence of an external military threat.

Therefore, we can identify several gaps here that should be filled. First, civil-military relations studies, although increasingly broadened, remain preoccupied with explaining military politics and establishing civilian control in terms of “subordination” or “insubordination” while neglecting the possibility of the military acting as an independent force. Second, little, if any, research has been conducted to explain military organizational behaviour as an institution led by a specific leadership that can adapt to the changing domestic political environment. Third, organizational theory should have been particularly relevant in complementing the sociological school of civil-military relations, but it has been

underutilized thus far.⁸ Finally, Southeast Asian militaries, even Indonesia, has suffered from too little theorizing as the focus thus far has been based on area studies scholarship of military politics.

Military Organizational Political Behaviour: The Case of Indonesia

Before we begin, some caveats and assumptions are in order. *First*, in this paper, “civil-military relations” is defined as the relationship between the political leadership and the military leadership, where the central question deals with civilian supremacy over the military (Rukavishnikov and Pugh 2003: 131; Feaver 1999: 211; Burk 2002: 7).⁹ *Second*, the Indonesian Military (TNI) here is defined as a political army—“military institutions that consider involvement—or control over—domestic politics and the business of government to be a central part of their legitimate function” (Koonings and Kruijt 2002a: 1)—who originated from guerrilla warfare. The implication would be to assume that the TNI is a permanent political force in Indonesia, and that, as a political army, the TNI have strong identification with the fate of the nation, emphasize order, and incorporate these issues into an overarching military doctrine (Koonings and Kruijt 2002b: 10).

Third, this paper defines military organizational political behaviour as the action of the military as an organization driven by a small group of people (its leadership) within the context of civil-military relations. More specifically, this paper would focus on the military’s behaviour in terms of subordination (or not) to the political leadership. This paper, adapting from Lee (2006: 5), sees insubordination when there are deliberate non-compliant actions of key individuals, a group, or groups within the military after an order has been issued by the political leadership. Meanwhile, adapting from Feaver (2003: 61), subordination occurs when: the military is doing what the government asked it to do without asking further questions, when political leadership makes the decision, and when the military is avoiding behaviour that could undermine the political leadership.

⁸ For example, we could do well to have insights on how the principles of organizations as a learning institution (target-oriented, driven by routines, and history-dependent) (Levitt and March 1988: 320; Reiter 1994: 493) could help explain how the military constructed and sustained historical interpretations, and how it shapes their behaviour in civil-military relations.

⁹ It should be noted that in the broadest sense, the field of civil-military relations covers a wider range of questions about the relationship between the armed forces, the polity, and the populace (Krebs 2004: 123)—which is certainly the next research cluster on Southeast Asian militaries, including Indonesia.

Indonesian Military Political Behaviour: A Typological Proposal

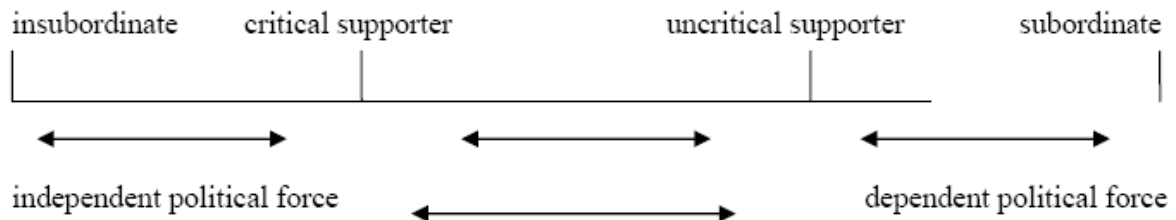
It has been noted that problems of military subordination are greatest when the military have traditionally exercised wide-ranging political responsibilities and where changes in military doctrine and equipment have abetted role-expansion (Welch 1976a: 34). This is certainly the case with the Indonesian military, where the situation surrounding their birth¹⁰—their self-created existence before the creation of state, the leadership of General Sudirman (their first Commander-in-Chief), the experience of conducting a military government during the guerrilla war—shaped their subsequent political behaviour (Said 1991: 3). However, such typical argument indicates that military behaviour in the face of civilian supremacy should be either “subordinate” or “insubordinate”, and nothing in between and that their relationship is a static one.

However, as Sebastian (2006: 324) noted, the relationship is dynamic since much of TNI’s behaviour vis-à-vis the President depended on the calculation of the TNI leadership, leading to a variety of military behaviour: as a tool of the regime, as supporters of the regime, and as an independent political force. More specifically, Rinakit (2005: 39–54) argued that there are three different roles that the military assumed: (i) as a spoiler—when the military oppose the president’s policy, (ii) critical supporter—when they accept the policy but provide input and propose alternative policies and criticism, and (iii) political instrument of the regime—where the military had no bargaining power and produced no policy independent of the president.

However, to take these typologies further, we could actually discern four distinct behaviour of the Indonesian military vis-à-vis the political leadership across a spectrum line: insubordination, critical supporter, uncritical supporter, and subordination. This is a departure from the traditional “subordinate” or “insubordinate” tradition in civil-military relations studies. In addition, the gradation across the spectrum of political behaviour from insubordination to subordination can also be seen as gradation spectrum of the military’s political force, from “independent” to “dependent”. We shall explore each of these behaviours using case samples found throughout Indonesia’s history and explain what factors account for such behaviour.

¹⁰ For studies on the historical evolution of the Indonesian military, see Crouch (1985), Said (2006b).

Typology of Indonesian Military Organizational Political Behaviour



Insubordination: The Indonesian Military as Spoilers

It has been argued in cases where the military acts as spoilers, the control over force is employed to the profit—political, social, and financial—of their members, especially the leaders (Black 2002: 35). More specifically, Rinakit (2005: 39) argued that as a spoiler, the military would oppose the president’s policies if they judge it to be unfavourable to their interests, and in this capacity, they use rejection and strong arm tactics. In other words, the military’s organizational political behaviour would then be either, blatant insubordination (i.e. refusing a direct order), or strong-arm tactics short of refusing orders (e.g. aiming canons at the presidential palace). This second characteristic, I would argue, actually lies somewhere between critical supporter and insubordination.

The first case of explicit refusal to carry out orders, or to create an independent policy reserved for the political leaders, actually took place during the birth of the Republic (1945–1949). On 18 December 1948, a surprise Dutch attack was launched on Yogyakarta—then Indonesia’s capital, and most civilian leaders headed by President Soekarno hesitated over what to do, and in the event, allowed themselves to be captured by Dutch troops (Kristiadi 1999: 100). Previously, General Sudirman, who had the military squarely behind him and was voted by the officers to be Commander-in-Chief in 1945, had pleaded with President Soekarno and Vice-President Hatta to leave the city and lead the guerrilla war.¹¹ However, both refused, and Sudirman decided to leave. Before leaving, he managed to issue an urgent order to the entire Republican forces to fight a guerrilla war, although the cabinet had not reached a decision (Said 1991: 98). In addition, a few days later, the army, through Colonel A. H. Nasution, then commander of the Java Territorial Army, established a military

¹¹ Something that supposedly has been promised by both leaders (Said 1991: 99).

government for all of Java and ran the guerrilla war without civilian leadership (Tjokropranolo 1995: 95–151).

Once the political leadership was released six months later, another disagreement between the military (Sudirman) and civilians (Soekarno) occurred over the timing of the ceasefire and negotiations—which the military saw as a sign of surrender. Subsequently, on August 1949, General Sudirman decided to tender his resignation but would continue to lead the guerrilla war even though the civilian leaders were surrendering (Rinakit 2005: 40). Sudirman eventually withdrew his resignation because of Soekarno’s plea but insisted that his troops continued the guerrilla warfare. Thus, Sudirman could only pose such challenge vis-à-vis the political leadership because he had the military unified behind him and the fact that Soekarno and the rest of the leadership were indecisive and weak.

Meanwhile, we can see strong arm tactics short of insubordination in the so-called “17 October 1952 affair”, when Nasution and such protégés as Colonel Kawilarang aimed cannons at the presidential palace while organizing a large civilian demonstration in front of the palace demanding the dissolution of parliament. In an attempt to stop the political opposition in parliament from discussing a topic regarded by the military as its internal problem—namely, its plan to modernize the army—the military asked the president to assume executive power and dissolve the parliament (Sundhaussen 1986: 124–125). However, President Soekarno faced the protesters and talked them down while refusing to succumb to military pressure—resulting in Nasution being forced to resign.

This affair actually reflected an internal conflict within the military. Nasution’s idea of military modernization was feared by another faction within the military surrounding Bambang Supeno, who suspected that Nasution’s idea was to promote Dutch-educated officers while blocking the less educated *ex-Peta* and/or *ex-Laskar* officers (Rinakit 2005: 41).¹² These officers were close to Soekarno and since many *Laskar* groups were actually paramilitary wings of political parties sitting in Parliament, they also had access to parliamentarians (Said 2006: 10). Thus, although many within the officer corps under Nasution had a solid front vis-à-vis the president, the fact that there other officers who sided with Soekarno had constrained Nasution from taking a more direct challenge without risking a “civil war”.

¹² PETA (Defenders of the Fatherland) was a Japanese-made youth paramilitary group created during their occupation. *Laskar* were indigenous paramilitary youth groups formed prior to Independence.

As a continuation of this affair, three years later, another affair took place as senior military officers boycotted the government's decision to appoint Colonel Bambang Utoyo, a fairly junior officer, as Army Chief of Staff on 27 June 1955 (Crouch 1978: 31). After Nasution resigned, internal military conflict intensified. As a result, the officer corps decided to hold a meeting in Yogyakarta on February 1955 that produced the so-called Yogyakarta Charter, officially dubbed "Army Unity Charter".¹³ This signalled the resolve and cohesion of the officer corps. This partly explains why the army could pose a more serious challenge vis-à-vis the civilian leadership by refusing to attend the inauguration ceremony and denying the appointment of Bambang Utoyo.

We can conclude several points here. First, the military's insubordination and strong arm tactics was triggered by their "nationalistic commitment" (Sudirman case) as well as by their disappointment in civilian weakness, while interfering in internal military affairs (October 1952 and June 1955 affairs). Second, the method employed by the military depends on the internal unity of the military. In the October 1952 affair, where military factionalism was high and the officer corps could not present a unified front, the military could not play a stronger spoiler role. In the June 1955 affair, once the military could minimize factionalism, they were willing to blatantly displayed insubordination.

Critical Supporter: The Indonesian Military as Partners (1)

As a critical supporter, the behaviour of the military was to provide input and propose policies to the president, as well as to offer criticism, albeit in a polite way—which was evident during the first two decades of President Soeharto's New Order (Rinakit 2005: 43). In the first component of the "partnership" (i.e. supporting Suharto), the military helped control society in the political field and in the economic field by "safeguarding" the economic programmes outlined by Soeharto's technocrats. The military also began to dominate the bureaucracy with the support of Soeharto.¹⁴

In the political field, the military's support can be seen in the following. First, the military helped restructure *Sekber Golkar* (Joint Secretariat of Functional Groups) in 1967, in order to prepare Golkar to become Soeharto's all-powerful electoral machine while

¹³ It also outlined that officer promotion should be based on seniority (Notosusanto 1991: 27–28).

¹⁴ By 1973, the military made up 34 per cent of cabinet ministers, 70 per cent of the governors, and 44.4 per cent of ambassadors (Rinakit 2005: 45).

guaranteeing military domination in politics (Suryadinata 1992: 8–18). Second, related to the abovementioned political machine, the military initiated a law to merge the political parties in 1973 (Suryadinata 1992: 79–83). Third, the military initiated and supported several policies on political parties, mass organization, and election laws to strengthen Soeharto's grip—one of which made it mandatory to adopt the national ideology of *Pancasila* as the sole official foundation for all political parties and mass organizations (Ramage 1995: 3). This was done through their claim as the dynamizer and stabilizer of development based on Law No. 20/1982 on Security and Defence.

Meanwhile, the critical aspect of the partnership can be seen from several instances. First, when General Soemitro, Head of Operational Command for the Restoration of Order and Security (*Kopkamtib*), disagreed with Soeharto about Ali Moertopo being appointed as Chief of the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency (Bakin) (Jenkins 1984: 13). Granted that Moertopo and Soemitro were rivals at that time, but the fact that Soemitro had the leverage to suggest a critical policy decision indicated the military's critical partner behaviour. Second, when Ali Moertopo reminded Soeharto about the technocrat-controlled economic policies under Widjojo Nitisastro that he thought was too focused on monetary issues (Rinakit 2005: 48).

Third, when the Army's Staff and Command School (SESKOAD) published a paper shortly before the 1977 general election, arguing that although the military "supported" Soeharto's policies in terms of elections, they contended that the military should refrain from publicly taking sides or aligning themselves with any political groups, and that political life should be based on democratic principles (Said 1998: 538). This was supported by a group of retired Army generals, the so-called Forum for Study and Communication (FOSKO) (Jenkins 1981: 90–112). Finally, when General Benny Moerdani, then Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, appealed to Soeharto about the involvement of Soeharto's children in mega-business projects across the country (Schwarz 1994: 146).

Why did the military support Soeharto and criticize him at the same time? One main reason behind this was the generation of military leadership at that time who felt that they were on par with Soeharto and helped found the New Order. This feeling stemmed from the fact that many of the Indonesian military elite at that time were Soeharto's peers or former staff. In addition, Soeharto, being a relatively new President, was more willing to listen to his inner (Ali Murtopo, Soedjono Hoemardani, Sudomo, Yoga Sugama) and outer circle

(Soemitro and Sutopo Yuwono) group of advisers (Jenkins 1981: 20–32). Of course, the fact that the military also benefited politically and economically added an additional impetus on the partnership.

Uncritical Supporter: The Indonesian Military as Partners (2)

Meanwhile, the military's behaviour as an uncritical regime partner means that the military acts as a partner with the president to sustain the regime with a specific set of agreements where the president could outline any other national policies, except dealing with the military's internal affairs, and the military would support the regime unequivocally. This behaviour was clearly manifested during the tenure of President B. J. Habibie, Soeharto's vice-president and successor. Under President Habibie, General Wiranto, then Commander-in-Chief/Minister of Defence and Security, was given a free hand to plan and execute all internal military policies, including military reforms, rotations, demotions, and promotions (Chrisnandi 2005: 97; Singh 2001: 107). Some have even suggested that military had a relatively large influence in policy-making.¹⁵ Therefore, as Chrisnandi (2005: 98) noted, the military was positioned as the "President's partner" whose input into policymaking was significant, and not just a policy executor. Thus, during President Habibie's tenure (May 1998-October 1999), there was no serious crisis between the military and political leadership.

This, however, does not mean that Habibie established civilian supremacy over the military, because in reality, the civil-military relations were more of a "marriage of convenience", or what Hafidz (2006: 121) calls a "Siamese-Twin power sharing". Habibie, being a Soeharto protégé and having no strong political base of his own (Rabasa and Haseman 2002: 38), needed the military's support to stabilize his rule, fend off political challenges and prevent individual officers from undermining his populist policies, while the military needed the goodwill of President Habibie, given his constitutional powers over the military, to distribute resources and set the political agenda (Mietzner 2006: 10).

Habibie gave many concessions to the military, and even expressed his interest to appoint General Wiranto as his Vice-President if he was to be re-elected in the upcoming elections in 1999. It has been argued that Habibie, due to his involvement in the policy-

¹⁵ This includes the establishment of a new Regional Military Command in Aceh (1999), the separation of the police from the military (1999), the support for the Special Session of the People's Consultative Assembly (November 1998), and the new political laws lifting the ban on political parties (1999).

making process under Soeharto, understood the basic nature of the military and knew its strength and weaknesses (Singh 2001: 107). This was believed to be the reason why he had managed to develop an amicable working relationship with Wiranto. That being said, the new government introduced radical changes to the political system, including fresh general elections with multiparty participation, press freedom, and vastly expanded civil liberties, which some of them affected the military, challenging deeply entrenched military paradigms of political corporatism and social control (Mietzner 2006: 10). The fact that the military did not pose any serious challenge even with the introduction of these policies underlines the uncritical nature of the military behaviour.

Moreover, the support given by the military under General Wiranto in the following cases reiterate this point. First, in July 1998, Habibie wanted Wiranto to help secure the election of Akbar Tanjung, his preferred candidate for the chairmanship of Golkar during the party's Extraordinary National Session (*Munaslub*), who was up against former Army Chief Edy Sudrajat and his followers (Hafidz 2006: 121). Initially hesitant, Wiranto finally agreed to intervene and secure the victory when he ordered Mardiyanto, the Socio-Political Assistant to the Chief of Socio-Political Affairs to call all regional military commanders to support Akbar (Crouch 1999: 132; Hafidz 2006: 121). Second, in November 1998, the military was asked to mobilize thousands of civilian demonstrators to back Habibie's plan to legalize his leadership in a special session of the People's Consultative Assembly. Wiranto then ordered former Army Strategic Reserve Command (*Kostrad*) Chief of Staff, Major General Kivlan Zen, to accomplish the task (Zen 2004: 95).

Another factor should be mentioned to help explain the "equilibrium" in the partnership between President Habibie and General Wiranto, which is military factionalism. First, the friction between General Wiranto and Lieutenant General Prabowo Subianto, Soeharto's son in law and *Kostrad* Commander that began during the Soeharto period. Lee (2006) argued that this intra-military conflict is the major reason that prompted the military's "failure" to intervene and save Soeharto during his last days. Although following Habibie's support for the Officer Honorary Council, where Prabowo would later be discharged for his involvement in the kidnapping, torture, and murder of regime protestors in 1998, some of

Prabowo's loyalists were still in service¹⁶, which constrained Wiranto's room to manoeuvre. Second, Habibie had his own stock of generals who kept Wiranto in check. They were remnants of the "green" faction¹⁷ within the military (Honna 2005: 47; Chrisnandi 2007: 7–8) and had tried to influence Habibie to sack Wiranto (Hafidz 2006: 122). This helped explain Wiranto's reluctant adherence to Habibie's requests.

From this case, we could conclude several points. First, the military will be an uncritical partner when they are internally factionalized and weakened; especially when a faction of the top leadership (e.g. Wiranto) feels that they need the support of the political leadership to consolidate their power base. Externally, the military will also be constrained in terms of options to intervene when their standing and image in front of the public at large is severely damaged. Second, the military's behaviour as an uncritical partner will also be determined by the strength of the top political leadership, and whether the then political leadership is in need of the military's support to survive. Finally, the military will become an uncritical partner when both the military and civilian leadership are severely weakened but their interests are highly at stake and in conjunction at that particular time.

Subordination: The Indonesian Military as Pawns

The military's behaviour as pawns of the political leadership can be seen when the military has no bargaining power; produces no policy independent of the president; does what the government asks it to do without questioning; when the political leadership makes the decision; and when the military avoids behaviour that could undermine the political leadership. This behaviour was more clearly seen during the last decade of Soeharto's New Order, which was marked with the appointment of General Try Sutrisno in February 1988 to replace the General Benny Moerdani as Commander-in-Chief. As noted earlier, General Moerdani was one of the critical military leaders that had a strong power base within the military—which explained why he was "critical" in the first place.

¹⁶ This includes Lieutenant General Soebagio H. S. (Army Chief of Staff), Lieutenant General Fachrul Rozi (Chief of General Staff), Lieutenant General Z. A. Maulani (Chief of National Intelligence), and Major General Zaky Anwar Makarim (Chief of Army Intelligence) (Rinakit 2005: 100).

¹⁷ The "red-and-white" faction refers to the colour of Indonesia's flag, signalling the officer's more nationalistic inclinations, while "green" symbolizes the colour of Islam, which signalled the officer's Islamic leanings. For more details, see Hafidz (2006: 4–5). Rinakit (2005: 4–5) calls it the "taliban" versus "Pancasila" factions. These splits were of course denied by the military (confidential conversation with a military officer at Military General Information Bureau, September 2007).

With military factionalism largely instilled within the military leadership throughout the New Order¹⁸, and with Benny Moerdani officially sidelined, Soeharto was at the top of the political pinnacle in the 1980s with the military losing its independent political role and it became synonymous with the regime (Virgoe 2008: 97). In this sense, the military could easily be used by Soeharto as a regime pawn to protect the interests of Soeharto and the First Family, even at the consequences of human rights abuses and violence. This partly explains the military behaviour of establishing military operational areas in Aceh, East Timor and Irian Jaya as well as kidnapping, torturing, and imprisoning democratic activists and whoever criticized Soeharto and his family (Rinakit 2005: 52). Another instance would be the military involvement with the First Family's Chinese business connection whereby the military had been called to provide "protection" to ensure that those businesses went undisturbed (Rieffel and Pramodawardani 2007: 32).

However, the military's violent behaviour had also created a backlash for Soeharto himself—proving the point that the military was like a pawn ready to be moved at Soeharto's wish. The case of the Santa Cruz incident in 1991 showed this military behaviour as a helpless dependent force. The Santa Cruz incident took place when soldiers fired at unarmed demonstrators in the East Timor capital of Dili on 12 November 1991.¹⁹ This bloody event took place just when President Soeharto was on an international tour to lobby for his chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement in a bid to build his international standing. The incident certainly embarrassed the President, prompting him to make an unprecedented move to order an independent investigation and the establishment of the Military Honorary Board led by Major General Faisal Tanjung (Hafidz 2006: 9). The board later dismissed Major General Sintong Panjaitan and Brigadier General Rudolf S. Warouw, two highest ranking officers ever publicly discharged—without the military making any kind of movement to resist this.

The military's behaviour in this regard must be seen within several contexts. First, although General Sutrisno was considered close to Moerdani and was disenchanted with Soeharto's policies of sidelining the military (Kingsbury 2003: 154), he was a former personal adjutant of Soeharto. This means that he had no strong and solid power base of his

¹⁸ Rinakit (2005: 52) notes that the conflicts among the military leadership—between Ali Moertopo and Soemitro (1974), Soedarmono and Benny Moerdani (1984), Faisal Tanjung and Hendroprijono (1996) and Wiranto and Prabowo Subianto (1998)—were all engineered by Soeharto.

¹⁹ For an account of the Santa Cruz incident, or the "Dili Massacre", see Schwarz (1994: 211–216).

own. Second, during the critical partner phase, many in the military were Soeharto's peers and former staff while Sutrisno and the subsequent military leadership came from a different generation and career track. Many of the military leadership of that generation rose through the ranks due to their closeness to either Soeharto or the First Family. This made them "blind loyalists" due to the fact that their political and military careers depended on Soeharto's personal blessings (Rinakit 2005: 50). Therefore, it is not surprising that, as pawns of the regime, the loyalty and ties of the officer corps is to the president, which were key factors in promotions and assignments (Rabasa and Haseman 2002: 38).

Third, at that time, Soeharto was relying on the military to control the society and look after his and his family's personal interests. This reflected both Soeharto's comfortable power grip on the military and his concern that as the military became more consolidated; they will become more of an independent force. This partly explains why Soeharto used a "divide and rule" strategy to create a sort of "bipolar factionalism" within the military leadership to control them and eventually used them as pawns to sustain the regime. This weakening of the top military leadership will naturally spill into the officer corps. Shiraishi (1999: 76–77) noted how the idea is to prevent the leaders in the eleven positions²⁰ within the military leadership from forming a unified front.

From the discussion, we could conclude that the military will become an uncritical partner where several conditions are present. First, when the military leadership is factionalized and without an independent power hold within the organization as a whole. Second, when the military leadership is personally dependent (for assignments and promotions) on the personal preference of the president. Third, when the military as an organization receives high political and economic benefits.

Military Organizational Behaviour of Political Armies: Key Variables

This section will attempt to extract several variables from the previous sections and suggest further research and theoretical constructs to understand the political behaviour of military organizations within the context of civil-military relations. First, the dependent variable

²⁰ The Commander-in-Chief, the Armed Forces Chief of Staff, Chief of the Social and Political Staff (abolished in 2000), Chief of Military Intelligence, Army Chief of Staff, Commander of Army Strategic Reserve Command, Commander of Army Special Forces, Commander of Jakarta Regional Military Command, Navy Chief of Staff, Air Force Chief of Staff, and the Chief of National Police.

which is the phenomenon that we wish to explain: the political organizational behaviour of the military within the context of civil-military relations. Theoretically, based on the Indonesian case as a political army, there are at least four basic typologies of organizational behaviour within the context of civil-military relations that depart from the traditional literature on civilian supremacy: regime spoiler, critical regime partner, uncritical regime partner, and regime pawn. Further comparative research could be done on other political armies to explain if there are further variations of these typologies. However, such research could begin with these typologies.

Second, the independent variables which are the underlying variables that could help explain the four basic typologies mentioned before. These variables could serve as starting points if one wishes to seek underlying factors to explain a variety of political organizational behaviour of the military. First, internal variables within the military which would include the following.

(1) The military's self-conception and portrayal of the level of "national interests" at stake—which is very much related to the military's corporate interests (Bienen 1981: 368). This variable, of course, cannot be fully explained without understanding the history of the military's birth, because "a remembered past has always more or less constricted both action in the present and thinking about the future" (Shy 1971: 210). How the military construct, internalize, and sustain such a past as an organization is crucial to explain the degree of significance of the rest of the internal variables.²¹ It should also be remembered that a heritage of military intervention or extensive involvement in politics cannot be undone (Welch 1976b: 315).

(2) The degree of military factionalism or unity and cohesion, as well as the power and position of key leadership posts within the broader conflict in the military. This is related to the organization's integrity, which is the degree to which the organization presents a unified front, where the higher the degree of organizational integrity, the greater the ability of the organization to articulate preferences and pursue them as an actor in the political arena (Avant 1994: 12). Armies that are organizationally divided, physically separated, and led by multiple, and often competitive, command structures, are not in the best position to intervene (Danopoulos 1992: 17). Additionally, the generational characteristics, power base, and patron

²¹ A recent research on the history of the Indonesian military's Information Centre and the role it played in regime maintenance through historical narratives is a step in this direction. See McGregor (2007).

of the military leadership at a given time will determine the extent of the influence of such factionalism upon the military's preferred method in dealing with the political leadership. This could be significant in determining the "critical" or "uncritical" partnership behaviour.

(3) The institutional and individual interests of the key military leadership, of which control over the military's organization and management as an institution is paramount. Due to its history, roles and mission, the military often seeks internal autonomy, and as a corporate body, it strives for such internal control and autonomy by arguing that it is competent in judging such affairs like promotion, organization and size. (Alagappa 2001b: 35). In fact, the more professional a military organization is, the more it will collectively feel that only fellow professionals are competent to select officers for promotion (Rosen 1988: 142). Thus, the desire to maintain internal autonomy might push the military to limit civilian intrusion in this matter, or at the very least, might create resentment within the rank-and-file and officer corps if the civilians tried to interfere in such internal affairs. In addition, other institutional and individual interests of the military leadership being "bartered" in the civil-military partnership would also be a significant variable in explaining military behaviour.

Second, variables within the political leadership, of which the degree of civilian interference in internal military affairs, civilian strength vis-à-vis the military, and civilian handling of the economy and political condition, are three key factors. In the first, a political leader who attempts to bypass the chain of command will breach the nature of military organization (Bland 1999: 15). Additionally, civilian choices on how to organize the civil-military system will affect the integrity and institutional bias of the military organization (Avant 1994: 12). Meanwhile, the structure and political strength of civilian institutions will determine their leverage vis-à-vis the military. For example, Avant (1994: 1) noted that civilian leaders will have more difficulty agreeing about how to design and monitor military institutions if a division of powers exists. Finally, the way the civilian leadership behaves in the national political and economic scene will also determine whether the military will find the civilians' behaviour acceptable or not.

Finally, how all the above-mentioned variables within the civilian and military spheres interact, the degree of significance of each variable, and how they shape the military's organizational and political behaviour would eventually have to depend on the national political, economic, security and social condition of the specific time of the case at hand.

Future Theoretical Model of Political Armies: Key Variables Proposed

Independent Variables	Intervening Variables	Dependent Variables
<p>Factors within the military leadership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Military's self-conception and portrayal of its history, role, mission, as well as the 'national interest' it is defending - Degree of military integrity (factionalism or unity) - Characteristics of the officer corps (e.g. generational gap, patron base, personal affinities, education) <p>Factors within the political leadership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Degree of civilian interference in internal military affairs - Degree of civilian unity vis-à-vis the military - Degree of civilian behaviour or handling of key domestic issues <p>National conditions (political, economic, social)</p>	<p>Perception of the level of interests at stake:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual interests of the key military leadership - Institutional interests of the military organization 	<p>Minimal variants of military political behaviour measured by the independent/dependent political power of the military as an organization:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subordinate - Uncritical Partner - Critical Partner - Insubordinate

References

- Abrahamsson, Bengt. 1972. *Military Professionalization and Political Power*. London: Sage Publications.
- Aguero, Felipe. 1995. *Soldiers, Civilians, and Democracy: Post-Franco Spain in Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Alagappa, Muthiah. 2001a. "Introduction", in *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 1–25.
- , Muthiah. 2001b. "Investigating and Explaining Change: An Analytical Framework", in *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 29–66.
- , Muthiah. 2002. "Military Professionalism: A Conceptual Perspective", in

- Military Professionalism in Asia: Conceptual and Empirical Perspectives*, ed. Muthiah Alagappa. Honolulu: The East-West Center, pp. 1–18.
- Albright, David E. 1980. “Comparative Conceptualization of Civil-Military Relations”, *World Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 4: pp. 553–576.
- Avant, Deborah D. 1994. *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons from Peripheral Wars*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Betts, Richard. 1977. *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bienen, Henry. 1968. *The Military Intervenes: Case Studies in Political Development*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- , Henry. 1981. “Civil-Military Relations in the Third World”, *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3: pp. 363–370.
- Black, Jeremy. 2002. “Military Change in Historical Perspective”, in *The Sources of Military Change: Culture, Politics, Technology*, eds. Theo Farrell and Terry Terriff. London: Lynne Rienner, pp. 21–38.
- Bland, Douglas. 1999. “A Unified Theory of Civil-Military Relations”, *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 26, No. 1: pp. 7–26.
- Burk, James. 2002. “Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations”, *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1: pp. 7–29.
- Callaghan, Jean M. and Franz Kernic. 2003. “Military Sociology as ‘Theory of Organization’”, in *Armed Forces and International Security: Global Trends and Issues*, eds. Jean Callaghan and Franz Kernic. Munster: Lit Verlag, pp. 27–30.
- Cawthra, Gavin and Robin Luckham, ed. 2003. *Governing Insecurity: Democratic Control of the Military and Security Establishments in Transitional Democracies*. London: Zed Books.
- Chrisnandi, Yuddy. 2005. *Reformasi TNI: Perspektif Baru Hubungan Sipil-Militer di Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- , Yuddy. 2007. *Post-Suharto Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia*, RSIS Monograph No. 10. Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.
- Cohen, Eliot A. 2002. *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime*. New York: Free Press.
- Crouch, Harold. 1978. *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Ithaca and London:

- Cornell University Press.
- , Harold. 1985. “Indonesia”, in *Military-Civilian Relations in South-East Asia*, eds. Zakaria Haji Ahmad and Harold Crouch. Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 50–77.
- , Harold. 1999. “Wiranto and Habibie: Civil-Military Relations since May 1998”, in *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, eds. Arief Budiman, Barbara Hatley and Damien Kingsbury. Clayton, Vic: Monash Asia Institute, pp. 127–148.
- Danopoulos, Constantine P. 1988. *Military Disengagement from Politics*. London: Routledge.
- , Constantine P. 1992. “Civilian Supremacy in Changing Societies: Comparative Perspectives”, in *Civilian Rule in the Developing World: Democracy on the March?* ed. Constantine P. Danopoulos. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 1–22.
- Desch, Michael C. 1999. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Edmonds, Martin. 1988. *Armed Services and Society*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Edmunds, Timothy. 2006. “What are armed forces for? The changing nature of military roles in Europe”, *International Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 6: pp. 1059–1075.
- Farrell, Theo and Terry Terriff. 2002. “The Sources of Military Change”, in *The Sources of Military Change: Culture, Politics, Technology*, eds. Theo Farrel and Terry Terriff. London: Lynne Rienner, pp. 3–20.
- Feaver, Peter D. 1996. “The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control”, *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 23, No. 2: pp. 149–178.
- , Peter D. 1999. “Civil-Military Relations”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2, Issue 1: pp. 211–241.
- , Peter D. 2003. *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Finer, Samuel E. 2002 (1962). *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, with a new introduction by Jay Stanley. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers
- Grissom, Adam. 2006. “The Future of Military Innovation Studies”, *Journal of*

- Strategic Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 5: pp. 905–934.
- Hafidz, Tatik S. 2006. *Fading Away? The Political Role of the Army in Indonesia's Transition to Democracy 1998–2001*, IDSS Monograph No. 8. Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies.
- Harries-Jenkins, Gwyn and Charles C. Moskos. 1981. “The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations”, *Current Sociology*, Vol. 29, No. 3: pp. 43–73.
- Honna, Jun. 2005. *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1985 (1957). *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Practice of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- , Samuel P. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies: An Adaptation*. Bombay: Vakils, Feffer and Simons.
- Iain Johnston, Alastair. 1995. “Thinking about Strategic Culture”, *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4: pp. 32–64.
- Janowitz, Morris. 1960. *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*. New York: The Free Press.
- , Morris. 1964. *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Jenkins, David. 1984. *Suharto and His Generals: Indonesian Military Politics 1975–1983*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.
- Kemp, Kenneth W. and Charles Hudlin. 1992. “Civil Supremacy over the Military: Its Nature and Limits”, *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 1: pp. 7–26.
- Kier, Elizabeth. 1999. *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine Between the Wars*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kingsbury, Damien. 2003. *Power Politics and the Indonesian Military*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Koonings, Kees and Dirk Kruijt. 2002a. “Introduction”, in *Political Armies: The Military and Nation Building in the Age of Democracy*, eds. Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt. London: Zed Books, pp. 1–8.
- , Kees and Dirk Kruijt. 2002b. “Military Politics and the Mission of Nation

- Building”, in *Political Armies: The Military and Nation Building in the Age of Democracy*, eds. Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt. London: Zed Books, pp. 9–34.
- Krebs, Ronald R. 2004. “A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might”, *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 4: pp. 85–124.
- Kristiadi, J. 1999. “The Armed Forces”, in *Indonesia: The Challenge of Change*, eds. Richard Baker, et. al. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Lang, Kurt. 1972. *Military Institutions and the Sociology of War: A Review of the Literature with Annotated Bibliography*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Lasswell, Harold D. 1941. “The Garrison State”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46, No. 4: pp. 455–468.
- Lee, Terrence C. 2006. *The Causes of Military Insubordination: Explaining Military Organizational Behavior in China, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand*. Seattle: University of Washington, PhD Dissertation.
- Levitt, Barbara and James G. March. 1988. “Organizational Learning”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 14: pp. 319–340.
- Lovell, John P. and David E. Albright. 1997. “Merging Theory and Practice”, in *To Sheathe the Sword: Civil-Military Relations in the Quest of Democracy*, eds. John P. Lovell and David E. Albright. Westport: Greenwood Press, pp. 1–11.
- MacFarling, Ian. 1996. *The Dual Function of the Indonesian Armed Forces: Military Politics in Indonesia*. Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre.
- McGregor, Katharine E. 2007. *History in Uniform: Military Ideology and the Construction of Indonesia’s Past*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Mietzner, Marcus. 2006. *The Politics of Military Reform in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Elite Conflict, Nationalism, and Institutional Resistance*. Washington: East-West Center.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. 1973. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5th ed. New York: Alfred A. Knoff.
- Moskos, Charles C. 1976. “The Military”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 2: pp. 55–77.
- Murray, Williamson and Allan R. Millet, eds. 1996. *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nagl, John A. 2002. *Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning*

- to Eat Soup with a Knife*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Nordlinger, Eric A. 1977. *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Notosusanto, Nugroho. 1991. *Pejuang dan Prajurit*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Perlmutter, Amos. 1977. *The Military and Politics in Modern Times*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- , Amos and Valerie Plave Bennett. 1980. *The Political Influence of the Military: A Comparative Reader*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Posen, Barry R. 1984. *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Rabasa, Angel and John Haseman. 2002. *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges, Politics, and Power*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Ramage, Douglas E. 1995. *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam, and the Ideology of Tolerance*. London: Routledge.
- Rapoport, David C. 1962. “A Comparative Theory of Military and Political Types”, in *Changing Patterns of Military Politics*, ed. Samuel P. Huntington. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, pp. 71–101.
- Reiter, Dan. 1994. “Learning, Realism, and Alliances: The Weight of the Shadow of the Past”, *World Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 4: pp. 490–526.
- Rieffel, Lex and Jaleswari Pramodawardani. 2007. *Out of Business and On Budget: The Challenges of Military Financing in Indonesia*. Washington, DC: United States – Indonesian Society and Brookings Institution Press.
- Rinakit, Sukardi. 2005. *The Indonesian Military after the New Order*. Singapore and Copenhagen: ISEAS and NIAS Press
- Rosen, Stephen P. 1988. “New Ways of War: Understanding Military Innovation”, *International Security*, Vol. 13, No.1: pp. 134–168.
- , 1991. *Winning the Next War: Innovation and the Modern Military*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Rukavishnikov, Vladimir O. and Michael Pugh. 2003. “Civil-Military Relations”, in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, ed. Giuseppe Caforio. New York: Kluwer Academic, pp. 131–150.
- Said, Salim. 1991. *Genesis of Power: General Sudirman and the Indonesian Military*

- in Politics 1945–149*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- , Salim. 1998. “Suharto's Armed Forces: Building a Power Base in New Order Indonesia, 1966–1998”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 6: pp. 535–552.
- , Salim. 2006. *Soeharto's Armed Forces: Problems of Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- , Salim. 2006b. *Militer Indonesia dan Politik: Dulu, Kini, dan Kelak*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Sarkesian, Sam C. 1981. “Military Professionalism and Civil-Military Relations in the West”, *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3: pp. 283–297.
- Schiff, Rebecca L. 1995. “Civil-Military Relations Reconsidered: A Theory of Concordance”, *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 22, No. 1: pp. 7–24.
- Schwarz, Adam. 1994. *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s*. St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Sebastian, Leonard C. 2006. *Realpolitik Ideology: Indonesia's Use of Military Force*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Shiraishi, Takashi. 1999. “The Indonesian Military in Politics”, in *The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia*, eds. Adam Schwarz and Jonathan Paris. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, pp. 73–86.
- Singh, Bilveer. 2001. *Civil-Military Relations in Democratizing Indonesia: The Potentials and Limits to Change*. Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre.
- Shy, John. 1971. “The American Military Experience: History and Learning”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 1, No. 2; pp. 205–228.
- Snyder, Jack. 1984. *The Ideology of the Offensive*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1971. *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sundhaussen, Ulf. 1986. *Politik Militer Indonesia 1945–1967: Menuju Dwifungsi ABRI*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Suryadinata, Leo. 1992. *Golkar dan Militer: Studi Tentang Budaya Politik*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Tjokropranolo. 1995. *General Sudirman: The Leader Who Finally Destroyed Colonialism in Indonesia*. Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre.

- Trinkunas, Harold Antanas. 1998. *Crafting Civilian Control of the Armed Forces: Political Conflict, Institutional Design, and Military Subordination in Emerging Democracies*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, PhD Dissertation.
- Van Evera, Steven. 1984. "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War", *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1: pp. 58–107.
- Virgoe, John. 2008. "Impunity Resurgent: The Politics of Military Accountability in Indonesia", *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 1: pp. 95–108.
- Welch, Claude E. 1976a. "Civilian Control of the Military: Myth and Reality", in *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries*, ed. Claude E. Welch. Jr. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, pp. 1–41.
- , Claude E. 1976b. "Two Strategies of Civilian Control: Some Concluding Observations", in *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries*, ed. Claude E. Welch. Jr. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, pp. 313–327.
- Zen, Kivlan. 2004. *Konflik dan Integrasi TNI-AD*. Jakarta: Institute for Policy Studies.
- Zisk, Kimberly Martin. 1993. *Engaging the Enemy: Organization Theory and Soviet Military Innovation, 1955–1991*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

IDSS Working Paper Series

1. Vietnam-China Relations Since The End of The Cold War (1998)
Ang Cheng Guan
2. Multilateral Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects and Possibilities (1999)
Desmond Ball
3. Reordering Asia: “Cooperative Security” or Concert of Powers? (1999)
Amitav Acharya
4. The South China Sea Dispute re-visited (1999)
Ang Cheng Guan
5. Continuity and Change In Malaysian Politics: Assessing the Buildup to the 1999-2000 General Elections (1999)
Joseph Liow Chin Yong
6. ‘Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo’ as Justified, Executed and Mediated by NATO: Strategic Lessons for Singapore (2000)
Kumar Ramakrishna
7. Taiwan’s Future: Mongolia or Tibet? (2001)
Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung
8. Asia-Pacific Diplomacies: Reading Discontinuity in Late-Modern Diplomatic Practice (2001)
Tan See Seng
9. Framing “South Asia”: Whose Imagined Region? (2001)
Sinderpal Singh
10. Explaining Indonesia's Relations with Singapore During the New Order Period: The Case of Regime Maintenance and Foreign Policy (2001)
Terence Lee Chek Liang
11. Human Security: Discourse, Statecraft, Emancipation (2001)
Tan See Seng
12. Globalization and its Implications for Southeast Asian Security: A Vietnamese Perspective (2001)
Nguyen Phuong Binh
13. Framework for Autonomy in Southeast Asia’s Plural Societies (2001)
Miriam Coronel Ferrer
14. Burma: Protracted Conflict, Governance and Non-Traditional Security Issues (2001)
Ananda Rajah
15. Natural Resources Management and Environmental Security in Southeast Asia: Case Study of Clean Water Supplies in Singapore (2001)
Kog Yue Choong
16. Crisis and Transformation: ASEAN in the New Era (2001)
Etel Solingen
17. Human Security: East Versus West? (2001)
Amitav Acharya

18. Asian Developing Countries and the Next Round of WTO Negotiations (2001)
Barry Desker
19. Multilateralism, Neo-liberalism and Security in Asia: The Role of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum (2001)
Ian Taylor
20. Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping as Issues for Asia-Pacific Security (2001)
Derek McDougall
21. Comprehensive Security: The South Asian Case (2002)
S.D. Muni
22. The Evolution of China's Maritime Combat Doctrines and Models: 1949-2001 (2002)
You Ji
23. The Concept of Security Before and After September 11 (2002)
 - a. The Contested Concept of Security
Steve Smith
 - b. Security and Security Studies After September 11: Some Preliminary Reflections
Amitav Acharya
24. Democratisation In South Korea And Taiwan: The Effect Of Social Division On Inter-Korean and Cross-Strait Relations (2002)
Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung
25. Understanding Financial Globalisation (2002)
Andrew Walter
26. 911, American Praetorian Unilateralism and the Impact on State-Society Relations in Southeast Asia (2002)
Kumar Ramakrishna
27. Great Power Politics in Contemporary East Asia: Negotiating Multipolarity or Hegemony? (2002)
Tan See Seng
28. What Fear Hath Wrought: Missile Hysteria and The Writing of "America" (2002)
Tan See Seng
29. International Responses to Terrorism: The Limits and Possibilities of Legal Control of Terrorism by Regional Arrangement with Particular Reference to ASEAN (2002)
Ong Yen Nee
30. Reconceptualizing the PLA Navy in Post – Mao China: Functions, Warfare, Arms, and Organization (2002)
Nan Li
31. Attempting Developmental Regionalism Through AFTA: The Domestic Politics – Domestic Capital Nexus (2002)
Helen E S Nesadurai
32. 11 September and China: Opportunities, Challenges, and Warfighting (2002)
Nan Li
33. Islam and Society in Southeast Asia after September 11 (2002)
Barry Desker

34. Hegemonic Constraints: The Implications of September 11 For American Power (2002)
Evelyn Goh
35. Not Yet All Aboard...But Already All At Sea Over Container Security Initiative (2002)
Irvin Lim
36. Financial Liberalization and Prudential Regulation in East Asia: Still Perverse? (2002)
Andrew Walter
37. Indonesia and The Washington Consensus (2002)
Premjith Sadasivan
38. The Political Economy of FDI Location: Why Don't Political Checks and Balances and Treaty Constraints Matter? (2002)
Andrew Walter
39. The Securitization of Transnational Crime in ASEAN (2002)
Ralf Emmers
40. Liquidity Support and The Financial Crisis: The Indonesian Experience (2002)
J Soedradjad Djiwandono
41. A UK Perspective on Defence Equipment Acquisition (2003)
David Kirkpatrick
42. Regionalisation of Peace in Asia: Experiences and Prospects of ASEAN, ARF and UN Partnership (2003)
Mely C. Anthony
43. The WTO In 2003: Structural Shifts, State-Of-Play And Prospects For The Doha Round (2003)
Razeen Sally
44. Seeking Security In The Dragon's Shadow: China and Southeast Asia In The Emerging Asian Order (2003)
Amitav Acharya
45. Deconstructing Political Islam In Malaysia: UMNO'S Response To PAS' Religio-Political Dialectic (2003)
Joseph Liow
46. The War On Terror And The Future of Indonesian Democracy (2003)
Tatik S. Hafidz
47. Examining The Role of Foreign Assistance in Security Sector Reforms: The Indonesian Case (2003)
Eduardo Lachica
48. Sovereignty and The Politics of Identity in International Relations (2003)
Adrian Kuah
49. Deconstructing Jihad; Southeast Asia Contexts (2003)
Patricia Martinez
50. The Correlates of Nationalism in Beijing Public Opinion (2003)
Alastair Iain Johnston

51. In Search of Suitable Positions' in the Asia Pacific: Negotiating the US-China Relationship and Regional Security (2003)
Evelyn Goh
52. American Unilateralism, Foreign Economic Policy and the 'Securitisation' of Globalisation (2003)
Richard Higgott
53. Fireball on the Water: Naval Force Protection-Projection, Coast Guarding, Customs Border Security & Multilateral Cooperation in Rolling Back the Global Waves of Terror from the Sea (2003)
Irvin Lim
54. Revisiting Responses To Power Preponderance: Going Beyond The Balancing-Bandwagoning Dichotomy (2003)
Chong Ja Ian
55. Pre-emption and Prevention: An Ethical and Legal Critique of the Bush Doctrine and Anticipatory Use of Force In Defence of the State (2003)
Malcolm Brailey
56. The Indo-Chinese Enlargement of ASEAN: Implications for Regional Economic Integration (2003)
Helen E S Nesadurai
57. The Advent of a New Way of War: Theory and Practice of Effects Based Operation (2003)
Joshua Ho
58. Critical Mass: Weighing in on Force Transformation & Speed Kills Post-Operation Iraqi Freedom (2004)
Irvin Lim
59. Force Modernisation Trends in Southeast Asia (2004)
Andrew Tan
60. Testing Alternative Responses to Power Preponderance: Buffering, Binding, Bonding and Beleaguering in the Real World (2004)
Chong Ja Ian
61. Outlook on the Indonesian Parliamentary Election 2004 (2004)
Irman G. Lanti
62. Globalization and Non-Traditional Security Issues: A Study of Human and Drug Trafficking in East Asia (2004)
Ralf Emmers
63. Outlook for Malaysia's 11th General Election (2004)
Joseph Liow
64. Not Many Jobs Take a Whole Army: Special Operations Forces and The Revolution in Military Affairs. (2004)
Malcolm Brailey
65. Technological Globalisation and Regional Security in East Asia (2004)
J.D. Kenneth Boutin
66. UAVs/UCAVS – Missions, Challenges, and Strategic Implications for Small and Medium Powers (2004)
Manjeet Singh Pardesi

67. Singapore's Reaction to Rising China: Deep Engagement and Strategic Adjustment (2004)
Evelyn Goh
68. The Shifting Of Maritime Power And The Implications For Maritime Security In East Asia (2004)
Joshua Ho
69. China In The Mekong River Basin: The Regional Security Implications of Resource Development On The Lancang Jiang (2004)
Evelyn Goh
70. Examining the Defence Industrialization-Economic Growth Relationship: The Case of Singapore (2004)
Adrian Kuah and Bernard Loo
71. "Constructing" The Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist: A Preliminary Inquiry (2004)
Kumar Ramakrishna
72. Malaysia and The United States: Rejecting Dominance, Embracing Engagement (2004)
Helen E S Nesadurai
73. The Indonesian Military as a Professional Organization: Criteria and Ramifications for Reform (2005)
John Bradford
74. Martime Terrorism in Southeast Asia: A Risk Assessment (2005)
Catherine Zara Raymond
75. Southeast Asian Maritime Security In The Age Of Terror: Threats, Opportunity, And Charting The Course Forward (2005)
John Bradford
76. Deducing India's Grand Strategy of Regional Hegemony from Historical and Conceptual Perspectives (2005)
Manjeet Singh Pardesi
77. Towards Better Peace Processes: A Comparative Study of Attempts to Broker Peace with MNLF and GAM (2005)
S P Harish
78. Multilateralism, Sovereignty and Normative Change in World Politics (2005)
Amitav Acharya
79. The State and Religious Institutions in Muslim Societies (2005)
Riaz Hassan
80. On Being Religious: Patterns of Religious Commitment in Muslim Societies (2005)
Riaz Hassan
81. The Security of Regional Sea Lanes (2005)
Joshua Ho
82. Civil-Military Relationship and Reform in the Defence Industry (2005)
Arthur S Ding
83. How Bargaining Alters Outcomes: Bilateral Trade Negotiations and Bargaining Strategies (2005)
Deborah Elms

84. Great Powers and Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies: Omni-enmeshment, Balancing and Hierarchical Order (2005)
Evelyn Goh
85. Global Jihad, Sectarianism and The Madrassahs in Pakistan (2005)
Ali Riaz
86. Autobiography, Politics and Ideology in Sayyid Qutb's Reading of the Qur'an (2005)
Umej Bhatia
87. Maritime Disputes in the South China Sea: Strategic and Diplomatic Status Quo (2005)
Ralf Emmers
88. China's Political Commissars and Commanders: Trends & Dynamics (2005)
Srikanth Kondapalli
89. Piracy in Southeast Asia New Trends, Issues and Responses (2005)
Catherine Zara Raymond
90. Geopolitics, Grand Strategy and the Bush Doctrine (2005)
Simon Dalby
91. Local Elections and Democracy in Indonesia: The Case of the Riau Archipelago (2005)
Nankyung Choi
92. The Impact of RMA on Conventional Deterrence: A Theoretical Analysis (2005)
Manjeet Singh Pardesi
93. Africa and the Challenge of Globalisation (2005)
Jeffrey Herbst
94. The East Asian Experience: The Poverty of 'Picking Winners' (2005)
Barry Desker and Deborah Elms
95. Bandung And The Political Economy Of North-South Relations: Sowing The Seeds For Revisioning International Society (2005)
Helen E S Nesadurai
96. Re-conceptualising the Military-Industrial Complex: A General Systems Theory Approach (2005)
Adrian Kuah
97. Food Security and the Threat From Within: Rice Policy Reforms in the Philippines (2006)
Bruce Tolentino
98. Non-Traditional Security Issues: Securitisation of Transnational Crime in Asia (2006)
James Laki
99. Securitizing/Desecuritizing the Filipinos' 'Outward Migration Issue' in the Philippines' Relations with Other Asian Governments (2006)
José N. Franco, Jr.
100. Securitization Of Illegal Migration of Bangladeshis To India (2006)
Josy Joseph
101. Environmental Management and Conflict in Southeast Asia – Land Reclamation and its Political Impact (2006)
Kog Yue-Choong

- 102 Securitizing border-crossing: The case of marginalized stateless minorities in the Thai-Burma Borderlands (2006)
Mika Toyota
- 103 The Incidence of Corruption in India: Is the Neglect of Governance Endangering Human Security in South Asia? (2006)
Shabnam Mallick and Rajarshi Sen
- 104 The LTTE's Online Network and its Implications for Regional Security (2006)
Shyam Tekwani
- 105 The Korean War June-October 1950: Inchon and Stalin In The "Trigger Vs Justification" Debate (2006)
Tan Kwoh Jack
- 106 International Regime Building in Southeast Asia: ASEAN Cooperation against the Illicit Trafficking and Abuse of Drugs (2006)
Ralf Emmers
- 107 Changing Conflict Identities: The case of the Southern Thailand Discord (2006)
S P Harish
- 108 Myanmar and the Argument for Engagement: *A Clash of Contending Moralities?* (2006)
Christopher B Roberts
- 109 TEMPORAL DOMINANCE (2006)
Military Transformation and the Time Dimension of Strategy
Edwin Seah
- 110 Globalization and Military-Industrial Transformation in South Asia: An Historical Perspective (2006)
Emrys Chew
- 111 UNCLOS and its Limitations as the Foundation for a Regional Maritime Security Regime (2006)
Sam Bateman
- 112 Freedom and Control Networks in Military Environments (2006)
Paul T Mitchell
- 113 Rewriting Indonesian History The Future in Indonesia's Past (2006)
Kwa Chong Guan
- 114 Twelver Shi'ite Islam: Conceptual and Practical Aspects (2006)
Christoph Marcinkowski
- 115 Islam, State and Modernity : Muslim Political Discourse in Late 19th and Early 20th century India (2006)
Iqbal Singh Sevea
- 116 'Voice of the Malayan Revolution': The Communist Party of Malaya's Struggle for Hearts and Minds in the 'Second Malayan Emergency' (1969-1975) (2006)
Ong Wei Chong
- 117 "From Counter-Society to Counter-State: Jemaah Islamiyah According to PUPJI" (2006)
Elena Pavlova

- 118 The Terrorist Threat to Singapore's Land Transportation Infrastructure: A Preliminary Enquiry
Adam Dolnik (2006)
- 119 The Many Faces of Political Islam
Mohammed Ayoob (2006)
- 120 Facets of Shi'ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (I): Thailand and Indonesia
Christoph Marcinkowski (2006)
- 121 Facets of Shi'ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (II): Malaysia and Singapore
Christoph Marcinkowski (2006)
- 122 Towards a History of Malaysian Ulama
Mohamed Nawab (2007)
- 123 Islam and Violence in Malaysia
Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid (2007)
- 124 Between Greater Iran and Shi'ite Crescent: Some Thoughts on the Nature of Iran's Ambitions in the Middle East
Christoph Marcinkowski (2007)
- 125 Thinking Ahead: Shi'ite Islam in Iraq and its Seminaries (hawzah 'ilmiyyah)
Christoph Marcinkowski (2007)
- 126 The China Syndrome: Chinese Military Modernization and the Rearming of Southeast Asia
Richard A. Bitzinger (2007)
- 127 Contested Capitalism: Financial Politics and Implications for China
Richard Carney (2007)
- 128 Sentinels of Afghan Democracy: The Afghan National Army
Samuel Chan (2007)
- 129 The De-escalation of the Spratly Dispute in Sino-Southeast Asian Relations
Ralf Emmers (2007)
- 130 War, Peace or Neutrality: An Overview of Islamic Polity's Basis of Inter-State Relations
Muhammad Haniff Hassan (2007)
- 131 Mission Not So Impossible: The AMM and the Transition from Conflict to Peace in Aceh, 2005–2006
Kirsten E. Schulze (2007)
- 132 Comprehensive Security and Resilience in Southeast Asia: ASEAN's Approach to Terrorism and Sea Piracy
Ralf Emmers (2007)
- 133 The Ulama in Pakistani Politics
Mohamed Nawab (2007)
- 134 China's Proactive Engagement in Asia: Economics, Politics and Interactions
Li Mingjiang (2007)
- 135 The PLA's Role in China's Regional Security Strategy
Qi Dapeng (2007)

- 136 War As They Knew It: Revolutionary War and Counterinsurgency in Southeast Asia (2007)
Ong Wei Chong
- 137 Indonesia's Direct Local Elections: Background and Institutional Framework (2007)
Nankyung Choi
- 138 Contextualizing Political Islam for Minority Muslims (2007)
Muhammad Haniff bin Hassan
- 139 Ngruki Revisited: Modernity and Its Discontents at the Pondok Pesantren al-Mukmin of Ngruki, Surakarta (2007)
Farish A. Noor
- 140 Globalization: Implications of and for the Modern / Post-modern Navies of the Asia Pacific (2007)
Geoffrey Till
- 141 Comprehensive Maritime Domain Awareness: An Idea Whose Time Has Come? (2007)
Irvin Lim Fang Jau
- 142 Sulawesi: Aspirations of Local Muslims (2007)
Rohaiza Ahmad Asi
- 143 Islamic Militancy, Sharia, and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Suharto Indonesia (2007)
Noorhaidi Hasan
- 144 Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon: The Indian Ocean and The Maritime Balance of Power in Historical Perspective (2007)
Emrys Chew
- 145 New Security Dimensions in the Asia Pacific (2007)
Barry Desker
- 146 Japan's Economic Diplomacy towards East Asia: Fragmented Realism and Naïve Liberalism (2007)
Hidetaka Yoshimatsu
- 147 U.S. Primacy, Eurasia's New Strategic Landscape, and the Emerging Asian Order (2007)
Alexander L. Vuving
- 148 The Asian Financial Crisis and ASEAN's Concept of Security (2008)
Yongwook RYU
- 149 Security in the South China Sea: China's Balancing Act and New Regional Dynamics (2008)
Li Mingjiang
- 150 The Defence Industry in the Post-Transformational World: Implications for the United States and Singapore (2008)
Richard A Bitzinger
- 151 The Islamic Opposition in Malaysia: New Trajectories and Directions (2008)
Mohamed Fauz Abdul Hamid
- 152 Thinking the Unthinkable: The Modernization and Reform of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia (2008)
Farish A Noor

- 153 Outlook for Malaysia's 12th General Elections (2008)
Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, Shahirah Mahmood and Joseph Chinyong Liow
- 154 The use of SOLAS Ship Security Alert Systems (2008)
Thomas Timlen
- 155 Thai-Chinese Relations: Security and Strategic Partnership (2008)
Chulacheeb Chinwanno
- 156 Sovereignty In ASEAN and The Problem of Maritime Cooperation in the South China Sea (2008)
JN Mak
- 157 Sino-U.S. Competition in Strategic Arms (2008)
Arthur S. Ding
- 158 Roots of Radical Sunni Traditionalism (2008)
Karim Douglas Crow
- 159 Interpreting Islam On Plural Society (2008)
Muhammad Haniff Hassan
- 160 Towards a Middle Way Islam in Southeast Asia: Contributions of the Gülen Movement (2008)
Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman
- 161 Spoilers, Partners and Pawns: Military Organizational Behaviour and Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia (2008)
Evan A. Laksmana