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## 主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

Title

**Military Business and Local Politics in Decentralized Indonesia**

(分権化するインドネシアにおける軍ビジネスと地方政治)

氏 名

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## 論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

Please write a summary corresponding to the structure of your dissertation.

The existing research and publications on the ongoing process of decentralization in Indonesia in the post-Suharto era focus on the problems of bureaucracy and governance. Therefore, this study aims to broaden the understanding of the Indonesia inability to properly decentralize by providing an alternate approach based on examining societal elites. Other research on Indonesian elites only focuses on business people, youth organizations, local leaders, and political parties. Those researchers argue that the military did not become a significant actor in the wake of the Suharto regime. Such research is inconclusive as it fails to accurately assess the corruptive influence of the local military in providing and often creating, extralegal cartels and undemocratic political institutions. Indonesia has not achieved a high degree of economic and political democratization after the Suharto regime because it's continually hampered by the captive nature of self-interested elites and their crony client networks. Without any genuine willingness to assist in the formation of a truly democratic Indonesia, many local elites continue to selfishly subvert the autonomy granted by the decentralization process to create cartels. Local elite's strategy to gain power is to build a robust patron-client relationship with the old political elite, namely the military. This research found

that the military has control over Mandailing Natal and Labuhanbatu Utara.

### Method

There are two approaches to this research; the first part is tracking the elites; the second part is evaluating the economic resources of elites. This study uses elite theory and new clientelism models to explore military business in Mandailing Natal and Labuhanbatu Utara. Furthermore, this research takes a qualitative approach and uses interviews with several elites (national and local) who speaks candidly on how the process of region redistricting led to the formation of Mandailing Natal and Labuhanbatu Utara. To obtain accurate information respondents were chosen from four types of political elites who have power in North Sumatra. Elites were selected from four sectors: business, political parties, youth organizations, and religion.

### Results

In the post-New Order era, the military still has a significant role at the national and local level. Despite many laws and regulations directly attempting to limit military power, no president elected in the reform era has succeeded in dismantling military territorial command office functions at the local level or restraining the military's role in regional redistricting. After the fall of the Suharto regime, the military has many different roles in region redistricting process especially in Mandailing Natal and Labuhanbatu Utara. The military defended the land and businesses at the local level by building variety coalitions to maintain military resources in the area such as civil-military collaborations, the machine of political party and groups mobilization.

The redistricting of Mandailing Natal was influenced by the military because Mandailing Natal was redistricted in 1998 during the death throes of the Suharto era. Raja Inal Siregar, the then governor of North Sumatra, secretly instructed Pandapotan Nasution initiate the redistricting of

Angkola as a separate region from North Sumatra. However, Pandapotan Nasution did not implement the governor's instructions but instead preferred to redistrict Mandailing Natal. However, military hijacked the Pandapotan's efforts in region redistricting of Mandailing. The military took advantage of the redistricting effort of Pandapotan.

Labuhanbatu Utara redistricted in 2008. Although reformation era has already been ten years, the military still has a significant influence in the regional redistricting. The military role was different if compared to Mandailing. The military built collaboration with civilian or communities to protect military business at local and national level.

What about military business after the fall of Suharto regime? In the Suharto era, the role of the military was expanded to include the ability to own and operate business operations. Currently, the bulk of military businesses is in commercial timber, mining, and palm oil plantations. In 1998, the military went bankrupt and had to sell or lease military land to private companies. It was these lease agreements that paved the way for military business operations in Mandailing and Labuhanbatu Utara.

Meanwhile, redistricting of Labuhanbatu Utara was different from Mandailing. The military, acting as a political power broker, cultivated a network of surrogates who were used to initiate the redistricting of Labuhanbatu Utara. Redistricting of Labuhanbatu Utara was also a military effort to develop the military business. Military leased land owned by the plantation companies, and the military got prominent positions in palm oil plantation companies.