



## **The Dynamics of Involvement of The Indonesian National Army in Food Estate Policy for National Food Security**

### **Heri Napitupulu**

Security Studies, International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia, Email: [napitea@gmail.com](mailto:napitea@gmail.com)

### **Taufik Hidayat**

Security Studies, International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia, [sidra.raza@umt.edu.pk](mailto:sidra.raza@umt.edu.pk)

### **Arry Bainus**

Security Studies, International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia, [sidra.raza@umt.edu.pk](mailto:sidra.raza@umt.edu.pk)

### **Windy Dermawan**

Security Studies, International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia, [sidra.raza@umt.edu.pk](mailto:sidra.raza@umt.edu.pk)

Received: November 8, 2021; reviews: 2; accepted: June 29, 2022.

### **Abstract**

President Jokowi's directive for the TNI to help agriculture, the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia has become leading the national food barn sector, and Prabowo Subianto leading a 178-hectare food estate in Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan raises various questions that become a dynamic discourse, especially regarding soldiers who were ordered to cultivate crops. TNI involvement in planting paddy, corn, and sugarcane, while there are still areas experiencing conflict as is still happening in Papua today. Based on this, it is known that there are parts that have not been thoroughly explored related to the dynamics that occur in the process of implementing national food safety policies. This study seeks to examine the dynamics of TNI involvement in food estate policies related to national food security. Examining the relationship between securitization, national food security, and the involvement of the TNI in food security as well as people's security to protect all people's lives from critical food threats, without hindering human development in the long term. This research was conducted qualitatively with the data sources in the case study coming from observations, interviews, documentation, and visual materials. In determining the informants, selected purposively to get in-depth information from one informant and scroll

to other informants. Meanwhile, researchers conducted literature studies and web searches to collect supporting data and evaluated using data reduction methods. Research shows that the TNI needs to be involved in food estate, the military helps the people, and engages in agricultural activities. TNI involvement is based on the MoU between the TNI and the Ministry of Agriculture (Kementan) which aims to achieve people's welfare, sufficiency, independence, food security, and strategic logistics reserves. As for what needs to be watched out for regarding the involvement of the TNI in policy Food Estate is all about worry line of command and coordination of soldiers shifting to the private sector. The unification of elite economic, political, private, and military actors in the Food estate project gave rise to state capitalism. The TNI needs to ensure and guarantee that there are no practical political elements, following the TNI Doctrine. TNI involvement in food estate must be clean of practical political agendas and carried out solely in the interest of the people.

### **Keywords**

Food Estate, Food Security, TNI

**JEL Classifications:** J11, F43

### **1. Introduction**

Food in Indonesia fundamentally guarantees the fulfillment of people's rights and collectively contributes to increasing the nation's competitiveness. FAO-UN (2009) estimates that 1.02 billion people worldwide are undernourished and hungry. UN Population Fund (2000) predicts 2050 an additional 2.32 billion people worldwide must be fed under the threat of climate change. The condition of food in Indonesia is decreasing because it continues to be used as housing and industrial infrastructure.

Politicizing Indonesian Food Issues trying to clean themselves from the waste of food politicization to realize food politics that is ethical, polite and very difficult to do about Food Security policies in Indonesia concerning food estates on food farms, avoiding principal barriers, facilitating the process in the field, legal basis and realizing good communication. Djuyandi (2017) also put his concern regarding the importance of social communication done by the military to reach their goals of strengthening security.

The food estate program should use and follow the criteria set by FAO (Food Agricultural Organization), an international food and agriculture organization formed by the United Nations (UN) to solve food and agricultural problems in West Kalimantan (120,000 ha), Kalimantan Central (180,000 ha), East Kalimantan (10,000 ha), and Maluku (190,000 ha). TNI's involvement in Food Estate as a motivator, facilitator, dynamist, and innovator is equipped with knowledge of seeding, planting, fertilizing, and practical knowledge when problems arise with the need for fertilizers, seeds, irrigation, or other problems, TNI records and reports in stages to the authorities.

As for studying this phenomenon, this research seeks to examine the dynamics of TNI involvement in food estate policies related to national food security. Examining the relationship between securitization, national food security, and TNI involvement, TNI involvement in food security is more positive than people's security to protect all people's lives from critical food threats, without hindering human development in the long term.

Refer to President Jokowi's directive for the TNI to help agriculture, the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia has become leading the national food barn sector, and Prabowo Subianto leading a food estate covering an area of 178 hectares in Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan (Irawan, 2017). The policy raises various questions that become a dynamic discourse, especially regarding the soldiers who were ordered to grow crops (Ikhlasniati, 2015). TNI involvement in planting paddy, corn, and sugarcane, while there are still areas experiencing conflict as is still happening in Papua today.

Chairman of Commission I of the PKS Faction, Mahfudz Sidiq, said that the TNI as agricultural extension agents had left the Babinsa main task (Khalisotussurur, 2015) and the Student Youth Struggle Coalition (KPPM) considers that the involvement of the TNI in rice field printing is suspected to have been a malicious act administration because the agricultural program since 2012 the TNI has not supported regulations, only based on understanding (Ilham, 2019).

Human rights researcher Ikhsan Yosarie said there was a potential for the TNI to return to its dual functions (Kompas.com, 2019). The assistance and escort of the TNI in the food estate is a significant shortage of agricultural extension workers and the involvement of the TNI at the request of the government decision. The TNI performs its duties in the food estate according to its function in OMSP, namely assisting local governments, safeguarding vital national objects, and empowering defense areas to realize national food security.

The President's right to govern his ministers and cooperate with the ministries are his main duties, on the other hand, food granaries are vital national objects that are related to national security. Military researcher Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISES) Khairul Fahmi considers Jokowi's decision to instruct Prabowo to be misguided (Setyaningrum, 2020). However, The President's right to order his ministers to cooperate with other ministries, Prabowo is considered capable because he is the Chairman of the HKTII and the fact that ministries are involved such as PUPR, BUMN, etc.

Indeed, the involvement of the TNI or the military in the Food Estate is based on the perspective of international law, according to JFR Boddens Hosang (2020) adopting the perspective of the TNI and law enforcement officers regarding the real implementation of the use of Military Operations Other than War (OMSP) and law enforcement. The pro focus of TNI involvement is:

1. Basic Principles of Rules of Engagement. Discusses the basic principles and objectives of ROE (Role of Engagement) in military operations and presents

the classic ROE model. The operational, political, and legal aspects of the use of force combine to produce the basis for ROE.

2. Jus ad Bellum and Military Command. Discusses the legal basis for the use of force, national self-defense, criteria for national self-defense and examines the law on the initiation of the use of force, jus ad Bellum.

3. Rules of Engagement and Self-Defense. Discusses the interaction between self-defense (laws) and rules of engagement (ROE), playing against the military, and subsequently the political goals of government.

4. Rules of Engagement and Humanitarian Law. The focus of the law of armed conflict and the influence of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) on rules for the use of force, discusses the application of specific elements of IHL, in particular the principle of difference.

5. Rules of Engagement and Human Rights Law. Interaction between rules of engagement (ROE) and human rights law.

6. Rules of Engagement and (International) Criminal Law. The role of the Rule of Engagement (ROE) in the context of criminal law and criminal law ROE, examines the two main roles of ROE in the context of criminal law: as an accusing tool and an exculpatory tool.

The concept of Food Safety that developed in the last thirty years reflects the official policy changes of the Committee on World Food Security 1995. TNI involvement in supporting Food Security must use the criteria established by FAO (FAO, 2008), (Devereux et al., 2020) with the following concepts:

1. Availability. Measuring the availability of food supply that meets the needs of the community.
2. Access. Measuring the community's ability to obtain the food they need.
3. Utilities. Regarding the size, whether the community has sufficient nutritional intake from the food consumed; and
4. Stability. Measuring that people can access the food they need at any time.

TNI in its function of implementing OMSP is based on six principles, (Mengko, 2015), namely:

1. Objective, which means that the military understands the objectives of OMSP and the impact of inappropriate/inappropriate actions.
2. Unity of purpose. Operations are intended for the same purposes.
3. Security. Not possible party which conflict for military, political, or informational gain.
4. Restrictions. Controls /restrictions military capability appropriately/appropriately and remain cautious.
5. Persistence. M support achievement destination CSOs.
6. Legitimacy. Gaining legitimacy at home and abroad (where the operation is carried out).

The concept of involvement itself can be defined into several types. In this case, the concept of engagement is divided into the following types, (Andriyanto et al, 2016:44)

1. Normative. Type links his values, emotions, and ego with civic performance.
2. Enduring. Type when having interest and a sense of familiarity for a certain period in the civic domain.
3. Situational. Type when having interest and certain commitments to the civic domain.
4. Hedonic. Type related to the ability or level of stimulation that is presented.
5. Subjective Risk. Tolerance type on herself alone for bear risk consequence error what he did.

Linkages securitization, national food security, and the involvement of the TNI require that civil-military relations be equal in government for the benefit of the community and farmers.

Related to the background of this research, it is also necessary to state the state of the art (newness) of this research which distinguishes it from previous similar research. Several studies can be used as an initial description in this research, namely previous research in India, the largest rice and sugar exporter in the world. The difference in Indonesia: First, the government does not stipulate provinces as food production centers. Second, the government has not revised its policy on food subsidies. Third, food SOEs are evaluated correctly and productively. Fourth, the government must have the courage to eradicate food practices. Fifth, Farmers who misuse land are given fiscal sanctions (subject to high taxes). Sixth, the government has a clear blueprint for reducing food imports.

Next, there are research references from abroad, Egypt has a food crisis and 100 million people can't meet their food needs (Power, 2013). Military intervention in the political transition in the country created unstable conditions. The difference is that the involvement of the TNI is not political in the national food security policy in Indonesia. The focus of the TNI is to carry out the function of OMSP to fulfill the achievement of national food security.

In another case, Myanmar in 1999 experienced a political crisis (Apriyanti, 2014). As a result of these conditions, The World Bank reports the occurrence of malnutrition in children in Myanmar. In contrast to the condition of food in Indonesia, the TNI's involvement in food security aims to protect the people with the slogan "Together with the TNI people are strong, together with the TNI the people are prosperous".

There is also research related to the food crisis in Afghanistan, due to the attacks of NATO troops and global climate change in 2007. According to Barry Buzan, the theory of non - traditional threats is divided into three types of threats occurring in the world (Prastio, 2014), namely military threats, climate, and land

drought or crop failure. In this study, the TNI for food security is prepared to face both traditional and non-traditional threats.

Based on some of these studies, some parts have not been thoroughly explored, namely those related to the dynamics that occur in the process of implementing national food safety policies. In this research, the TNI is one of the parts involved in the food safety policy in Indonesia. Furthermore, this research will analyze and describe the dynamics that occur from the involvement of the TNI in the food security policy or the food estate.

## **2. Method**

This research was conducted qualitatively with the unit of analysis located at the country level. This selection is based on the research topic chosen by the researcher, namely the dynamics of TNI involvement in food estate policy. The data sources come from observations, interviews, documentation, and visual materials. In determining the informants, selected purposively to get in-depth information from one informant and scroll to other informants. Based on their involvement in ministries/agencies as representatives of the Indonesian government, their experience, knowledge, and willingness to become informants. Based on these criteria, the selected informants in this study came from The Indonesian Ministry of Defense, TNI Headquarters, TNI AD Headquarters, Air Force Headquarters, Navy Headquarters, National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Supreme Audit Agency (BPK), and Impartial Researchers.

The data that has been obtained will be analyzed to provide an overview of the topics studied in this study (Stake, 2010). In conducting data analysis, researchers used two methods, namely, data reduction and interpretation (Daymon & Holloway, 2002). After the analysis process is complete, the researcher concludes the research that has been done.

## **3. Discussion**

### **A. Food Estate and Food Policy in Indonesia**

The development of the food world is seen in four periods, In 1930-1945 after World War I there was a food shortage in poor countries (Purwantini, 2015). From 1945-1970 after World War II, food supply became a problem in developing countries. From 1970-1990 Food surplus countries were proposed to help countries with food shortages. The period of the 1990s was marked by the golden age of food (Mahmuddin, 2013). Food is developing and more than 40 countries have the right to food is considered a state affair.

The FAO dimension states the right to judicial food in 54 countries (McClain, 2004). In 1983 the FAO stated that the main goal of the world, everyone has access, both physically and economically (Aryani, 2014). The 1984 FAO conference sparked a guaranteed basis for the availability of food for humans and individuals

to obtain food (Ariani, 2016). Human security is the main motive for food safety policy which categorizes international roles with the normative concept of civil power. In 1986, the World Bank reported Poverty and Hunger raised awareness of food insecurity (Rivai, 2020). About 65 years ago, Bung Karno said: "Not a single country in the world has disbanded due to excess food, but history records that there have been countries falling apart due to lack of food ", so the right food can determine the life and death of a nation (Chairman of West Java HKTl).

During the Old Order of Indonesia, there were two food policies, namely the Welfare Program in 1950-1952 and the Rice Center Program in 1956 (Syah, 2012). The National Logistics Command (Kolognas) 1966 became the Logistics Affairs Agency (Bulog) in 1967 (Saragih, 2017). The governments of Presidents BJ Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati Soekarnoputri emphasized that Bulog was the management of rice logistics, starting from supply, distribution, and controlling prices (Saragih, 2017).

During Megawati's presidency, Bulog was privatized (2003), and rice self-sufficiency was a single strategy in the food sector (2004). President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono revitalized five food commodities, namely rice, corn, sugar, soybeans, and beef (Suryana, 2004). Indonesia's achievements in the food sector declined during the reform era and the idea of involving the TNI in Food Security emerged during the era of President Joko Widodo's leadership. The TNI has received orders from the President to be implemented and succeeded.

Evidence of food security problems triggering a crisis destroying a country (Purwatiningsih, 2013). The concept of food sovereignty emerged in the Nawacita, RPJM 2014-2019, and the Master Plan for Agricultural Development 2015-2045. Indonesia, the third country in the world, increases the number of poor people World Poverty Clock (2019) Indonesia recorded 12,783,505 in the poor line extreme. Poverty threatens rural and urban areas (Niko, 2020).

Indonesian position in the Global Food Security Index 2020 down from position 62 to 65, a total of 113 countries. 5th rank in ASEAN over the Philippines, Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos (Suryana, 2008). Indonesia's position also fell in the Food Price Index. Those things are caused by a decrease in food productivity every year, food access has decreased, and community capacity has decreased. Therefore, a form of manifestation of TNI involvement was initiated through the function of military operations other than war to assist government programs in the TNI's territory.

Assistance provided by the TNI teaches farmers to have a fighting spirit, discipline, planting time, fertilizing, and maintaining plants. Binter functions to motivate farmers as well as to be supervisors, trained by AIAT extension workers throughout Indonesia. Lack of agricultural instructors of 44,000 PPL from 72,000 thousand throughout Indonesia (Reinforcement: 2018). MoU between the Ministry of Agriculture and the TNI on January 8, 2015, was attended by 50,000 Village Development Officers (Babinsa) and agricultural communities with the aim of

Babinsa and Bulog facing middlemen and speculators, price games, and illegal rice exports.

Indonesia has many commodities that can be an alternative source of carbohydrates so that they do not depend on rice consumption exported or raw materials for the food industry to add value. However, the process of diversifying national food consumption is still running slowly. There is a tendency, for residents in an area to all meet their carbohydrate needs from non-rice, corn, and sago, even rice. The people of Maluku, by consuming sago, are now one hundred percent turning to rice. The average consumption per capita/day at the urban level is 55.98 from 111.96 grams/capita/day and at the rural level is 53.19 from 109.98 grams/capita/day, nationally 54.4 from 108.84 grams/capita/day. This burdens the purchasing power of people. The level of poverty and unemployment has yet to show any indication of improvement due to the slump in the national economy.

Health Service Data In 2004, there were 152 Extraordinary Conditions (KLB) of food poisoning, of which 7,295 people were sick and 45 died. In 2005 the number of cases increased by 184 outbreaks, 8,949 people were sick and 49 died. December 2005 and July 2008 as many as 1,000 workers at PT. Prima Inreksa Industries Tangerang was poisoned by the food rations in the factory canteen. In 2004 in Bekasi, hundreds of pilgrims were poisoned by catering food. The same year, dozens of toddlers in West Purwokerto were poisoned by the posyandu menu porridge.

BPOM, Central Jakarta, from 154 cases of food poisoning, 28.10% of catering poisoning cases, 41.18% of household food poisoning, and 16.34% of street food poisoning. Of those 154 cases, 9.80% were due to chemicals, and 13.73% were due to pathogenic microbes. In 2007 out of 27 cases, about 12 incidents of food poisoning occurred in offices/factories (Rahayu, 2008).

In 2008, often expired food circulated in the community, in Central Java the Department of Industry and Cooperatives in Pekalongan City found that children's snacks had expired and were not secured from circulation. If this problem occurs again and again repeated without proper attention and resolution, cases of food poisoning may occur keep repeating. The same cause of contamination is contaminated mercury and heavy metals from iron, tin, and copper.

The causes of food poisoning cases occur due to the addition of unmeasured food additives, food processing due to Toxins in foodstuffs becoming very dangerous. Formalin levels are carcinogenic in the long term, resulting in toxicity in food which is very dangerous and can be fatal in a matter of hours.

The National Food Security program policy in 2021 encourages the production of food commodities by building infrastructure and using technology. The development of Food Estates in Central Kalimantan, South Sumatra, and Papua (Merauke) is expected to increase food production through the empowerment of transmigration or existing farmers and investment in small farming. The policy of the Ministry of Agriculture is through land optimization programs and increasing



planting area, improving infrastructure and providing farming facilities, as well as structuring human resources (HR).

Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto Thursday 9 July 2020 accompanied Indonesian President Joko Widodo on a visit to Central Kalimantan Province for the location of Food Estate in Kapuas Regency and Pisang Island. The President of the Republic of Indonesia emphasized the Food Estate development plan to strengthen National Food Security for the sake of State Sovereignty. The Ministry of Agriculture has built a national rice barn in Pulang Pisau Regency, Central Kalimantan, with 165,000 hectares and 85,500 hectares as functional land. 1000 hectares of land in Humbang Hasundutan Regency, North Sumatra Province, agriculture with agricultural equipment technology, superior seeds, fertilizers, and agricultural machinery.

Food estate benchmarks for National Food Safety using the concept (Devereux et al., 2020) are:

1. Availability Food Estate, with Food Security policies in Indonesia, can measure the availability of food that can meet the needs of the community in sufficient quantity, safe, and nutritious originating from own production, imports, food reserves, and food assistance.
2. Access Food Estate, meet Physical and economic access, sufficient food nationally and regionally to guarantee households.
3. Utility Food Estate, from the Food Safety Policy in Indonesia, fulfills food nutrition intake and Food Utilization means adequate energy and nutrition.
4. Stability Food Estate, from Food Safety Policy in Indonesia, can meet stability focused on food consumption over time from weather conditions, political instability, and economy. Food estate stability must start from security, independence, and sustainable or stable food resilience.

Food Policy in Indonesia, according to the Director General of Agricultural Infrastructure and Facilities (PSP) of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Food Estate program targets 2024, among others, firstly, spatial planning and infrastructure development for areas of sustainable food production centers. Second, the cropping index and food productivity of precision agriculture. Third, build a digital-based logistics, processing, value-added, distribution, and marketing system. Fourth, the establishment of a farmer corporation can improve the welfare of the community and farmers. Fifth, support sustainable forest and peat ecosystems in food center areas.

The food policies in Indonesia that have been carried out with the PLG Food Estate Program are as follows:

1. The province of Central Kalimantan (1996) failed to understand the socio-cultural conditions of the local community and the environmental conditions of the peat dome.
2. Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate Program, Papua Province (2011) the occurrence of the seizure of rights to customary forest lands and violations of the rights of indigenous peoples in Merauke.

3. The Ketapang Food Estate Program, West Kalimantan Province (2013) recorded that of the 100 thousand hectares of land planned to be developed as a food estate, only 0.11 percent managed to produce a variety of agricultural products up to 2.77-4.69 Tons of GKP per hectare.

4. Gedabung Village, Pulang Pisau Regency, Central Kalimantan Province, the harvest reached 6 tons per hectare. Gedabung Village can contribute to the course of national agricultural development. The food estate land in Gedabung Village is a former Peatland Project (PLG).

Food Policy in Indonesia is the government's solution to maintain national food security by suppressing food imports into a food estate program in rural areas. The seriousness of President Jokowi in issuing Presidential Regulation No. 66 of 2021 concerning the National Food Agency which regulates food affairs in the life of the nation, state, and society.

### **B. Dynamics of TNI Involvement in Food Estate**

President Joko Widodo appointed Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto as the leader of the leading sector in the national food granary project in Central Kalimantan covering an area of 20,704 hectares which has reached 5,840 hectares. Pulang Pisau Regency covers an area of 10,000 hectares with the assistance of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of PUPR, and State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN). The Ministry of Defense coordinates with the TNI in clearing land for the development of food barns, which can move the TNI to clear land.

This food defense is regulated in Article 6 of Law (UU) No. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense, which states "State defense is carried out through efforts to build and foster the capability, deterrence of the state and nation, as well as overcoming every threat" from military, non-military and military threats hybrid. This policy as one of the State's Strategic Programs involves the active role of the TNI and POLRI in responding to the food crisis that will occur.

Pros of TNI involvement in Food Estate not measured in momentary importance. Concept type Involvement (Andriyanto et al., 2016):

1. Normative. Pro Concept of TNI Involvement in Food Estate creates a harmonious interaction of national food. According to Social Work and Processes (1979), normative has a philosophical meaning that emphasizes human thoughts, beliefs, and emotions. Social science, dealing with social relations and cultural norms of the Pro TNI Involvement structure in Food Estate.

2. Enduring. Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate adds insight and knowledge to facilitate the search, use, and reading of the meaning of TNI involvement. Pro Concept TNI's involvement in Food Estate aims at the welfare of mankind as well as glorifying God.

3. Situational. Endsley's situational model, while information is integrated to have individuals as part of the process used to gain knowledge.

4. Hedonic. Pro Type TNI Involvement in Food Estate is related to the ability or level of stimulation that is presented. Subjective and symbolic hedonic

criteria for TNI involvement in Food Estate with consideration objective. Hedonic base composing TNI strategy, Hedonism focused on fulfilling TNI satisfaction. According to Dawson, and Ridgway, (1990) the hedonic shopping motif is based on the quality of the shopping experience from information gathering or product purchase.

5. Subjective Risk. Pro Risks TNI's involvement in Food Estate is immeasurable, it is outside the safe path that has been proven to fail to avoid following instincts even though it has to go through new and unproven paths. The five reasons for daring to take risky actions, namely: Making Visible, Creating Change, Making You Feel Alive, Creating Higher Standards, and Teaching Yourself.

Measuring the pros of TNI involvement in Food Estate, and military involvement from five dimensions (Saintz, 2018), as follows:

1. Interest. Pro Interest the TNI's involvement in the Food Estate creates a feeling of curiosity, observing, listening, and seeing more closely.

2. Pleasure. Pros of TNI Involvement in Food Estate flavor happy, like or satisfied in National Food Security.

3. Sign, on Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate by representing the state of quality.

4. Risk. Pros of TNI Involvement in Food Estate for knowing the extent of the danger that occurs will cause an impact/consequence on the TNI's Pro Involvement in Food Estate.

5. Probability Errors. It appears in two ways, namely in the context of decision-making. Pro TNI involvement in the Food Estate. Also, appearing in the context of statistical modeling (regression) of Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate, the predicted value of the model is wrong regarding the outcome and refers to the probability of the number of errors occurring. Error from the plan for Pro Involvement of the TNI in Food Estate, as follows: Timeframe, Target Market, Scope, Business Strategy. Overly Optimistic.

Pros of TNI Involvement in Food Estate, Former Minister of Agriculture Andy Amran Sulaiman at the 2017 TNI Rapim at TNI Headquarters Jakarta on January 16, 2017, said that he appreciated the assistance from the TNI, especially from Babinsa who had entered the rice fields. This synergy is showing results. Of the 14 commodities prioritized, 13 commodity production increased, and only soybeans fell. All this was achieved because the government together with the TNI and Polri joined hands with the farmers to support it all.

On another view, Brigadier General Gathut Setyo Utomo / Waaster Kasad in a drought mitigation coordination meeting at the Ministry of Agriculture, on 8 July 2019, said that the TNI is carrying out military operations other than war, one of which is dealing with drought or natural disasters. Therefore, the TNI cooperates with the Ministry of Agriculture to assist.

In line with the statement by the Director General of Food Crops that tackling drought cannot be done alone, there must be synergy. The mitigation meeting was attended by 200 TNI personnel to guard and assist farmers in dealing

with the effects of drought. TNI Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, SIP inaugurated the 2020 Tangguh Nusantara Village Program at Aquaculture Mangrove Tourism, Ketapang Village, Mauk District, Tangerang Regency, Banten on 9 July 2020.

TNI Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, SIP argues that the availability of food to meet the needs of the community must be maintained. The food security program carried out by the TNI and Polri utilizes the lands of the TNI and Polri unit's inhabitants. Indonesia besides being an agricultural country as well as a country maritime has advantages those other countries do not have. The potential of marine aquaculture must be maximally empowered.

Former Army Chief of Staff General TNI (Ret.) Mulyono also once said that the involvement of the TNI in food is part of the territory tasked with assisting in geographical, demographic, and social conditions for the welfare of the community for nation-building.

Another opinion was expressed by former Army Chief of Staff General TNI Andika Perkasa, The TNI is ready to assist the Ministry of Agriculture (Kementan) in maintaining the production and distribution of agricultural materials. The TNI here wants to help even more to ensure food availability. Former KSAD General TNI Andika Perkasa finalizes the components of reserves and food security, on 17 August 2020, said that the land owned by the Indonesian Army in whichever can be used, but is not in the form of units so that it can be converted into agricultural land and can be directly worked on. At another time he also reaffirmed in Jakarta, on 30 November 2020, that the TNI is always ready to help. TNI will continue to help because food is a national strategic project, also a priority. Because the availability of basic commodities or food is one of the major tasks of the state at this time.

Functions of Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP) in a drought mitigation coordination meeting at the Ministry of Agriculture's Auditorium Building on 8 July 2019, Waaster Kasad Brigadier General Gathut Setyo Utomo said that the TNI in carrying out Military Operations Other than War (OMSP) one of which is to overcome drought or natural disasters. Therefore, the TNI cooperated with the Ministry of Agriculture to assist.

Military Operations Apart from war, the TNI's function is involved in handling the effects of drought. The Director General of Food Crops also said that tackling drought cannot be done alone. However, there must be synergy. Farmers in dealing with the effects of drought with Military Operations Other than War, TNI Involvement in Food Estate, to:

1. Well-being people, food sufficiency, food independence, food security, reserves logistics strategy.
2. Assistance and supervision of food programs, decisions, and fast implementation as well as labor-intensive activities.
3. Geography, Demography, Social Society.
4. Crisis and scarcity of food and human security.
5. TNI Soldiers Food Safety.

6. Anticipate food scarcity during the Covid-19 Pandemic.
7. Utilization of farmers' land and air bases.
8. Preserving crops and Babinsa helping farmers.

OMSP initiation from National Command Authorities (NCA) is based on coordination with the Department of Defense or Department of State (Mengko, 2015). OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate, namely:

1. Objective. OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate must be measurable to understand the impact caused by inappropriate/inappropriate, objective circumstances without being influenced by personal opinions or views, judging based on facts, and viewing only in terms of the object. The assessment is objective:

- a. OMSP Pro assessment of TNI involvement in subjective food estate has no parameters, only assumptions or observations.

- b. OMSP Pro Assessment TNI's involvement in Food Estate can be measured accurately with its benchmarks/benchmarks/parameters.

2. Unity of Purpose. OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate for Total Quality Management (TQM) with one goal. The principles of TQM, are as follows:

- a. Quality OMSP Pro TNI's involvement in Food Estate is customer focused to meet enduring value expectations.

- b. OMSP Pro's Obsession with the TNI's involvement in Food Estate on quality aggressively achieves quality expectations.

- c. Understanding the structure of OMSP Pro TNI involvement in the Food Estate is appropriate (organization, sequence of work, tools, etc.).

- d. OMSP Pro TNI's involvement in the Food Estate is free of control over work methods and processes.

- e. The unity of purpose conveys the mission of OMSP Pro TNI involvement in the Food Estate clearly, understands, believes, and is responsible.

- f. OMSP Pro's emphasis on TNI involvement in the Food Estate on error assessment addresses problems in the system.

- g. The principle of cooperation between OMSP Pro TNI Involvement in the Food Estate can give far better results than working individually.

- h. Education and training for OMSP Pro TNI involvement in sustainable Food Estate.

3. Security, OMSP Pro Involvement of TNI in Food Estate achieving National Food Security, order, upholding the law, fostering peace in preventing, preventing, tackling forms of law violations and other disturbances that can be troubling. The basic principles that must be met are:

- a. Confidentiality of OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate is guaranteed so that unauthorized parties cannot access information.

- b. Integrity OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate keeps information owners from encrypting data or creating digital signatures.

- c. Availability of information on OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate can be accessed and used.

The method implements security OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate based on its objectives, with administrative control (administrative security), logical control, and physical control protection of sensitive information assets. The security plan for TNI involvement in the Food Estate contains information security controls, and contents/content of information security plan, including:

a. Reviewing the results of the risk assessment of OMSP Pro TNI involvement in the Food Estate by taking things that disturb the organization.

b. Determining targets and security of OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate, describing specific results achieved.

c. Reducing security risks OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate stems from threats and weaknesses.

d. Give priority to OMSP action TNI involvement in Food Estate achieve the goals and objectives set.

4. Restrictions, Restrictions proper and careful use of military capabilities. The mission of OMSP Pro TNI's involvement in the Food Estate is specified and limited in terms of the scale of operation, type of force (ground, sea, or air), and weapons used.

5. Persistence, Soldiers get used to seeing every problem they face, not avoiding or running away from problems. Pro's persistence the TNI's involvement in the Food Estate was built not never to fail, but to never give up. Target source of creativity, courage, and energy to stay persistent.

6. Legitimacy, according to Gaetano Mosca that recognition of the elite has the legitimacy of 'the rulers' (leaders), and leadership is obeyed has the legitimacy of citizens' rights (Haryanto, 2005). The legitimacy of OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate is valid to fulfill:

a. OMSP Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate with formal and fixed rules.

b. A rule of OMSP Pro Involvement of TNI in Food Estate with common belief (commons goods).

c. OMSP Pro The involvement of the TNI in the Food Estate has the approval of the governed (Heywood, 2013). Forms of OMSP legitimacy Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate (Surbakti, 2009) 5 types, namely: Traditional, Ideology, Personal Quality, Procedural, and Instrumental.

The involvement of the TNI or the military in the Food Estate is based on the perspective of international law, according to JFR Boddens Hosang (2020) adopting the perspective of the TNI and law enforcement officers regarding the real implementation of the use of Military Operations Other than War (OMSP) and law enforcement. The pro focus of TNI involvement is:

1. Basic Principles of Rules of Engagement. Discusses the basic principles and objectives of ROE (Role of Engagement) in military operations and presents the classic ROE model. The operational, political, and legal aspects of the use of force combine to produce the basis for ROE.

2. *Jus ad Bellum* and Military Command. Discusses the legal basis for the use of force, national self-defense, criteria for national self-defense and examines the law on the initiation of the use of force, *jus ad Bellum*.

3. Rules of Engagement and Self-Defense. Discusses the interaction between self-defense (laws) and rules of engagement (ROE), playing against the military, and subsequently the political goals of government.

4. Rules of Engagement and Humanitarian Law. The focus of the law of armed conflict and the influence of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) on rules for the use of force, discusses the application of specific elements of IHL, in particular the principle of difference.

5. Rules of Engagement and Human Rights Law. Interaction between rules of engagement (ROE) and human rights law.

6. Rules of Engagement and (International) Criminal Law. The role of the Rule of Engagement (ROE) in the context of criminal law and criminal law ROE, examines the two main roles of ROE in the context of criminal law: as an accusing tool and an exculpatory tool.

In "Procedures for ROE interoperability", ROE is determined and planned before operations are performed using an agreed universal ROE (self-defense ROE). Using ROE of Food Safety mission achievement (additional measures, but not Food Safety ROE). Recognizing the difference between national ROE and partners should find ways to release their national ROE (to the extent possible). Placed to take advantage of their ROE strengths or weaknesses. Provide forums and ROE differences can be discussed and put into practice.

The role of the Rules of Engagement can be explained as follows:

1. Centralized universal ROE for planning and operating results from adopting elements of a pre-existing ROE.

2. Common Mission-Accomplishment ROE. Achievement of the mission of Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate consider:

a. Steps for TNI involvement in Food Estate must be clear, concise, and tactically realistic and must be understood, remembered, implemented, and strengthened by all members of World Food.

b. The transition of a separate national ROE system to a general system Pro TNI involvement in Food Estate clearly defined (practiced).

c. Additional Actions Pro TNI's involvement in Food Estate authorities completed the mission.

d. Releasable National ROE.

e. Stationing.

f. Training, Exercises, and Wargames.

g. Technology Upgrades.

Thus, in terms of TNI involvement in the Food Estate program, which is an active program, it is carried out every month specifically for escort and assistance. The Regional Command Unit can carry out food security development in supporting national food self-sufficiency with the process recommended as follows:

1. Receiving Orders/Directives from Command.
2. Learn the tasks to be carried out.
3. Carry out technical coordination meetings with relevant agencies to obtain suggestions and input.
4. Carry out a review, and data collection/location identification involving relevant agencies to obtain strategic value locations.
5. Determine the priority of the coordination location of the relevant institution.
6. Dissemination of activities to the community.
7. Prepare plans for material needs, facilities, equipment, and support, coordinated by related parties in the regions.
8. Prepare a regional food security plan following the criteria for the target area and the capabilities of the TNI units.

Special outreach activities involving the TNI in Food Estate policies such as issues of food availability, access, benefits, and stability. It is recommended that Babinsa, Babinpotdirga, and Babinpotmar be given special training in agricultural skills. Training in each unit is improved with the provision of knowledge do seeding, good planting, fertilization, and other practical agricultural knowledge. Given the importance of Babinsa's readiness to play a role in helping farmers in their assigned areas, Babinsa and Danramil either become agricultural practitioners or become farmers at the same time.

TNI's involvement in Food Estate policy must also always be monitored by the routine reports of the Command Unit in the area. It is necessary to coordinate and evaluate the involvement of the TNI so that the results in the field can be better. Based on the research findings, the involvement of the TNI in the Food Estate policy is still experiencing problems. The central and local governments need to provide support, especially financial and capital, for the involvement of the TNI. There needs to be more attentive when there is a change of leadership in the TNI and related agencies so that the previously agreed MoU is not interrupted.

Implementation of the Production Company's program must also be realized down to the lower units. Bulog's closeness to the TNI greatly supports agricultural production, so cooperation with Bulog can be resumed. Like the rice field printing program, it can be resumed even if there is a change of leadership with a new policy. The TNI, farmers, and the community, as well as all components involved in food security, must be able to apply the principles of Availability, Access, Benefit, and Stability as a benchmark to achieve National Food Security.

### **C. Different Views about TNI Involvement**

There are several different views regarding the involvement of the TNI in Food Estate policies to strengthen food security in Indonesia, as the opinions are as follows.

The appointment of the Ministry of Defense as the leading sector in this project has drawn contra from various parties. Deputy Chairman of Commission IV



of the DPR PKB Faction, Daniel Johan, assessed that this project was more effectively led by the Ministry of Agriculture. Member of the House of Representatives from the Democratic Faction Syarif Hasan said that the food barn project was not the main task and function of the Ministry of Defense. A political observer from Indonesia's Al-Azhar University Ujang Komarudin also regrets Prabowo's appointment because this project should not give ministers who have nothing to do with food issues.

Military observer Khairul Fahmi (2020) from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies, reminded the Ministry of Defense and the TNI to first carefully examine their involvement which is not directly related to the main tasks and functions of the TNI. Defense and Security Researcher Muhamad Haripin from the National Innovation Research Agency (BRIN) is of the view that "Military involvement in the Food Estate Project" degrades the military's professionalism. The military is trained to kill and defeat the enemy. The TNI becomes the guardian of the state, the noble ideals of the military in any country, the guardian of the state, fear that the TNI will become the guardian of capital.

Based on this view, the TNI needs to ensure and guarantee that there are no practical political elements under the TNI Doctrine. TNI involvement in food estate must be clean of practical political agendas and carried out solely in the interest of the people. Referring to the opinion of the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) on Food estate involving private corporations and coordinating TNI soldiers to help people's difficulties. The TNI needs to be involved in food estate, the military helps the people, and is involved in agricultural activities.

The Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) revealed the findings of the Impartial Director of BPK, Gufron Maburri, in the TNI rice field printing project in which the TNI was involved in the Food Estate project. Repeat the mistakes of the paddy field printing project in 2015-2017. BPK recommends that the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia hold the Commitment Making Officer (PPK) accountable for the findings in the report. The results of the BPK examination contained 17 findings containing 21 problems. The problems consist of nine weaknesses of the internal control system, six non-compliance with legislation, and six related to ineffectiveness, inefficiency, and ineffectiveness. BPK's findings in the paddy field printing project The involvement of the TNI in the food state project needs to be an evaluation material so as not to repeat mistakes in the food estate project. It is necessary to establish a function of coordination and supervision on an ongoing basis.

The Coordinator of the Center for Budget Analysis (CBA), Jajang Nurjaman (2021) said the Ministry of Agriculture's (Kementan) rice field printing program involving the Indonesian Army finally failed. Even Impartial researchers, Ardi Manto Adiputra (2021) assessed that the involvement of the military reserve component in the Food Estate in Central Kalimantan has the potential to violate human rights. Similar to the Food Estate in Papua, Yohanes Gluba Gebze, a former district head

of Merauke and a traditional leader of the Marind Tribe, said that there is still community trauma with the military. In the doctrine that was instilled in civil society, recruits became a reserve component, greatly affecting their relations with other communities.

Regarding the involvement of the military reserve component (Komcad) in a food estate in Central Kalimantan which is considered to have the potential to violate human rights (HAM). So, Komcad needs to be given social and community guidance at the place of assignment, there need to be assisted by active soldiers as a control function. As for the food estate in Papua, it does not traumatize the community with The Komcad. The TNI must participate in overseeing the Food Estate program in which the presence of Komcad helps the difficulties of the people around them. However, Komcad must also comply with the rules and conditions set.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Based on the research that has been done, it can be concluded that the involvement of the TNI in the Food Estate is based on the MoU between the TNI and the Ministry of Agriculture (Kementan) which aims to achieve people's welfare, sufficiency, independence, food security, and strategic logistics reserves. Provide assistance and supervision of food programs, decisions, and fast implementation as well as labor-intensive activities. Become a means of fostering geography, demography, and social conditions. Efforts to prevent crises, food scarcity, and maintain human security. Improving capabilities related to food safety for TNI Soldiers. Utilization of farmers' land and air bases. Also, preserving crops and Babinsa helps farmers.

As for what needs to be watched out for regarding the involvement of the TNI in policy Food Estate is all about worry line of command and coordination of soldiers shifting to the private sector. The unification of elite economic, political, private, and military actors in the Food estate project gave rise to state capitalism. Worried about the military being the guardian of capital. TNI "Multifunction" related to Minimum Essential Forces (MEF) development of TNI's strength and capability. In terms of personnel, the number of soldiers is still far from the ideal ratio of population and area.

#### **References**

- Andriyanto, D., Suyadi, I., & Fanani, D. (2016). PENGARUH FASHION INVOLVEMENT DAN POSITIVE EMOTION TERHADAP IMPULSE BUYING (Survey pada Warga Kelurahan Tulusrejo Kecamatan Lowokwaru Kota Malang). *Jurnal Administrasi Bisnis S1 Universitas Brawijaya*, 31(1), 42–49.
- Apriyanti, D. (2014). Reformasi Politik dan Ekonomi di Myanmar Pada Masa Pemerintahan Presiden U Thein Sein (2011-2013). *Jom FISIP*, 2(1), 1–13.
- Aryani, M. I. (2014). Pengaruh Globalisasi terhadap Keamanan Manusia : Dampak

- Benih Rekayasa Genetika terhadap Ketidaktahanan Pangan. *Jurnal Global & Policy*, 2(2), 135–146.
- Devereux, S., Béné, C., & Hoddinott, J. (2020). Devereux, 2020. *Food Security*, 12(4), 769–772. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-020-01085-0>
- Djuyandi, Y. (2017). Social communications of regional command unit of Indonesian National Army (TNI AD) to strengthens the regional resilience in Pematangsiantar. *Journal of Social Research & Policy*, 8 (1), 73–79.
- Hermawan, A. (2018). Agenda Penguatan Teknologi Informasi untuk Komunikasi Pertanian Berkelanjutan: Pendekatan Penyuluhan Berbasis Media Baru. *Prosiding Konferensi Nasional Komunikasi*, 2(1), 526–538.
- Ikhlasniati. (2015). *Peran TNI AD dalam Program Ketahanan Pangan*. Blog Mahasiswa Manajemen Bencana.
- Ilham. (2019). Menteri Pertanian yang Baru Dilarang Perpanjang MoU dengan TNI AD, ini Alasannya. <https://Sulselberita.Com>.
- Irawan, B., Hidayat, M. N., & Risal, M. (2017). *Investasi di Kalimantan Timur*.
- Kompas.com. (2019). *Komnas HAM Sebut Penempatan TNI di Jabatan Sipil Tak Sesuai UU*.
- Lilis Khalisotussurur. (2015). *TNI Masuk Desa Urusi Pertanian, Tepatkah?* GRESNES.COM.
- Mahmuddin, 2020107202. (2013). Membahas tentang Paradigma Pembangunan Pertanian: Pertanian Berkelanjutan Berbasis Petani dalam Perspektif Sosiologis. *Jurnal Sosiologi Media Pemikiran Dan Aplikasi Universitas Syiah Kuala*, 3(3), 17.
- McClain, C. R., Feldman, G. C., & Hooker, S. B. (2004). An overview of the SeaWiFS project and strategies for producing a climate research quality global ocean bio-optical time series. *Deep-Sea Research Part II: Topical Studies in Oceanography*, 51(1–3), 5–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dsr2.2003.11.001>
- Mengko, D. M. (2015). Problematika Tugas Perbantuan TNI. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, 1(2), 181–189. <https://doi.org/10.31599/jkn.v1i2.22>
- Niko, N., & Atem, A. (2020). Persoalan Kerawanan Pangan pada Masyarakat Miskin di Wilayah Perbatasan Entikong (Indonesia-Malaysia) Kalimantan Barat. *Jurnal Surya Masyarakat*, 2(2), 94–104. <https://doi.org/10.26714/jsm.2.1.2019.94-104>
- Power, L. (2013). *Food Crises and Political Turmoil : The Impact of Egypt's Military Intervention on National Food Security* (Issue July).
- Prastio, R., & Tjarsono, I. (2014). Peran Food and Agriculture Organization (Fao) Dalam Membantu Krisis Pangan Di Afghanistan (2007-2011). *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Bidang Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 1(1), 1–15.
- Puri Mei Setyaningrum. (2020). "Salah Kaprah" Jokowi Tugaskan Prabowo, Pengamat Sebut... SINDOnews.
- Purwantini, T. B. (2015). Food and Nutrition Insecurity Approach: Volumes, Characteristics and Causes. *FORUM PENELITIAN AGRO EKONOMI*, 32(1), 1–17.

- Purwatiningsih, E. (2013). EFEKTIFITAS PELAKSANAAN PROGRAM TNI MANUNGGAL MEMBANGUN DESA ( TMMD) DALAM MEWUJUDKAN KETAHANAN WILAYAH. *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional*, 19(3), 130–138. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jkn.6777>
- Rivai, A. N. A. (2021). Dialog Insekuritas Pangan Berdasarkan Kajian Keamanan Internasional: Gugatan Pendekatan Kritis Terhadap Pendekatan Arus-Utama. *Review of International Relations*, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.24252/rir.v2i2.19008>
- Saintz, J. (2018). PENGARUH PERCEIVED SERVICE QUALITY TERHADAP REPURCHASE DAN CUSTOMER SATISFACTION SEBAGAI VARIABEL INTERVENING PADA FAST FOOD RESTAURANT DI SURABAYA. *Jurnal Manajemen Pemasaran*, 12(2), 78-undefined. <https://doi.org/10.9744/pemasaran.12.2.77-83>
- Saliem, H. P., & Ariani, M. (2016). Ketahanan Pangan, Konsep, Pengukuran dan Strategi. *Forum Penelitian Agro Ekonomi*, 20(1), 12. <https://doi.org/10.21082/fae.v20n1.2002.12-24>
- Saragih, J. P. (2016). KELEMBAGAAN URUSAN PANGAN DARI MASA KE MASA DAN KEBIJAKAN KETAHANAN PANGAN. *Jurnal Ekonomi & Studi Pembangunan*, 17(2), 57–80. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jesp.17.2.3983>
- Suryana, A. (2004). *Arah Dan Strategi Revitalisasi Pertanian*. 190–211.
- Suryana, A., & Kariyasa, K. (2016). Ekonomi Padi di Asia: Suatu Tinjauan Berbasis Kajian Komparatif. *Forum Penelitian Agro Ekonomi*, 26(1), 17. <https://doi.org/10.21082/fae.v26n1.2008.17-31>
- Syah, D. (2012). Riset untuk Mendayagunakan Potensi Lokal. In : *Pelajaran dari Industrialisasi*.