

Food Securitization In Indonesia: The Involvement Of Indonesian Military In Food Security Program

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Abstract:

Food security in Indonesia is currently conceptualized as food sovereignty, as stated in the vision of the Joko Widodo administration, Nawacita. In food securitization program, the government involves the TNI to maintain national stability. The TNI is considered capable of maintaining integrity and sovereignty, including food availability, access, benefits, and stability. Using civil-military relations as the conceptual framework, this paper attempts to analyze the role of the TNI's Military Operations Other than War (OMSP) in carrying out food securitization. Based on a qualitative study with interview data and secondary data, this study reveals that the involvement of the TNI in food securitization has created controversy. The government's move to involve the TNI in food affairs can potentially restore the Indonesian military's political role as it prevailed during the Suharto's regime. However, the military is needed to support the agricultural sector in conflict areas such as Papua. The support from TNI personnel is oriented to solve agricultural problems by activating territorial functions in rural areas. So far, the involvement of the TNI in Food Security has been carried out in stages in all regions of the country; when a problem occurs in the agricultural sector, the TNI reports the problem to the government.

Keywords: food security, securitization, Indonesian Army, civil-military relation

INTRODUCTION

Securitization of food issues is defined as a security issue because it is an effort that is reflected in collective, individual, community or state action (Hampson et al., 1998). Food security in Indonesia can be traced to at least two food policies since the Old Order era, namely the Welfare Program in 1950-1952 and the Rice Center Program in 1956 (Syah, 2012). In 1966-1967 or known as the transition period from Soekarno's Old Order to Suharto's New Order, the government strengthened food security through the establishment of the "National Logistics Command" (Kolognas) which later changed to the "Logistics Affairs Agency" (Bulog). In the post-Soeharto era, Bulog played a role in managing the logistics of rice, which is the staple food for most of the population. The management includes supply, distribution, and price control (Saragih, 2017).

In the era of President Megawati's leadership, there were several food policies such as the privatization of Bulog in 2003 and rice self-sufficiency as a single strategy in the food sector carried out in 2004. Then in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's leadership, the revitalization of five food commodities, namely rice, corn, sugar, soybeans, and beef is done (Suryana, 2004). Meanwhile, Indonesia's achievements in the food sector declined during the reform era. In the leadership of Joko Widodo, there is the idea of involving the TNI in food security. This makes the TNI required to carry out and succeed the orders from the President. Evidence of food security problems can trigger a crisis resulting in the destruction of 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.

According to data from the World Poverty Clock (2019), the number of poor people in Indonesia has increased to 12,783,505 people which puts Indonesia on the extreme poor line. Poverty is inherently threatening in both rural and urban environments (Niko, 2020). Meanwhile, Indonesia's position in the 2020 Global Food Security Index (Global Food Security Index 2020) has fall down from position 62 to 65 out of a total of 113 countries. Indonesia's position is ranked 5th in Asean above the Philippines, Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos (Suryana, 2005). The decline in Indonesia's position in this index is caused by: First, the decline in productivity every year; Second, food access has decreased; Third, the capacity of the community decreases.

With food conditions worrying, the Jokowi-Ma'ruf government (2019-2024) tries to integrate food security programs with defense. The government then put agriculture to strengthen national defense. President Jokowi's directives in Central Kalimantan became the basis for the National Army (TNI) to contribute to assisting the agricultural sector. The Ministry of Defense is the leading sector for the food barn project, while the Minister of Defense Prabowo Subianto is leading the investment in a food estate covering an area of 178 hectares in Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan. (Irawan, 2017).

The TNI is assigned to assist in the agricultural sector while there are still areas experiencing conflict such as in Papua which should be the main focus of the TNI's duties. Questions arise, Are soldiers trained to grow crops? Does the soldier not have other activities? Isn't it the duty of TNI soldiers to maintain the integrity and sovereignty of the country? (Ikhlasiati, 2015). The chairman of Commission One of the PKS Faction, Mahfudz Sidiq, said that agricultural extension workers had left the soldiers' main duties (Khalisotussurur, 2015) and in the field, farmers were under tremendous pressure related to "customary" law and "ulayat" rights. (Iswantoro, 2012). The Presidential Instruction has nothing to do with cooperation, printing rice fields or escorting rice to Bulog (Kresna, 2017). The existence of Babinsa soldiers is more of a function of the TNI in assisting the tasks of security and public order.

The Student Youth Struggle Coalition (KPPM) considers that there is an alleged administrative error because the program has not been supported by regulations since 2012 but is only based on an understanding (Ilham, 2019). Human rights researcher Ikhsan Yosarie, said that there is a potential for the TNI to return to its "dual function" and that there needs to be details on Military Operations Other than War in the civilian sphere so that it does not overlap with other institutions (Kompas.com, 2019). Cultivating food barns and food estates is considered to deviate from military duties and imitate the New Order style (CNN Indonesia, 2020). The Ombudsman Commissioner, A. Siregar said, that when the TNI

enters civilian areas, it must comply with civilian rules, and not ignore the latest TNI doctrine.

Commission Four of the House of Representatives from the PKB faction, Daniel Johan assessed, that the Granary Food project was more effective under the direction of the Ministry of Agriculture. The Democrat faction, S. Hasan said, that the Food Barn project was not the main task and function of the Ministry of Defense (Law-justice.co, 2020). Military researcher from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISESS) Khairul Fahmi, responded to Jokowi's decision to instruct Prabowo to be misguided (Setyaningrum, 2020). Then the impartial researcher A.M. Adiputra assessed that military involvement in food bars and food estates has the potential to violate human rights (Edon, 2021). Meanwhile, Dimas Hartono from Walhi Central Kalimantan, said that if the community is not involved in the food barns and food estates project, it will certainly fail (Walhi, 2021). This condition is in accordance with Buzan's prediction, which states that there are three types of threats currently facing the world, namely: military threats, climate impacts with floods, and food scarcity (Prastio, 2014).

Based on the problems described above, the authors are interested in researching food securitization in Indonesia with the involvement of the TNI in food security carrying out OMSP functions to achieve food availability, access, benefits and stability. The issue of military involvement in food securitization has attracted the attention of scientists, including Power (2013) who revealed that the problem of food supply prompted political power from the protests that overthrew Morsi and the military decision to intervene from political instability in Egypt. The positive result of military intervention could ask for Saudi Arabia's support to bring Egypt a more stable political transition (Power, 2013). Meanwhile, Apriyanti (2014) examines Myanmar's political crisis in 1999 which led to the threat of food and malnutrition to children.

Weak food securitization also affects the military combat strength in a country. Food crisis research conducted by Mcgrath (2009) stated that contaminated food was proven to quickly and effectively reduce the combat readiness of American troops. In January 2009, 31 million pounds of peanut butter and peanut paste produced by the Peanut Corporation of America (PCA) were recalled, 600 cases of Salmonella confirmed. Food supplies needed in conditions of peace or war ensure combat readiness and protracted war occurs.

This study focuses on the involvement of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in the civilian domain which is carried out through the function of Military Operations Other than War (OMSP), the concept of which is to support National Food Security. Therefore, food is a vital national object that must be secured in the form of empowering the defense area and in the form of assisting regional government tasks with the TNI's Manunggal Entering the Village (TMMD) which is determined by the President/Head of Government (Zuhra, 2019). TNI involvement in the civilian domain cannot be measured on momentary interest, on the relationship between individuals, problems or objects (Nasution, 2020).

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Buzan (1998) in "Security: A New Framework for Analysis", Security is an effort to survive. Securitization occurs when actors use threats to capture issues out of normal political conditions (Makhroja, 2020). Five concepts of securitization stages, The

indicators of the securitization process are: Securitizing Actor; Statement/speech (speech act); Existential Threat; Reference object; Listener (audience); and Functional Actors. First, public issues that are not politicized. The state does not take a specific policy regarding this issue. This process took place before the European migration crisis, before 2015 the Polish government received migrants into their country well. Securitization actors have the right to claim an issue as something "extraordinary" to break the rules in the previous normal political process, usually government actors. Second, Politicization, where the state includes specific policies to respond to this issue.

Third, Existential Threats, namely in the form of issues that develop as existential threats to the state or society from the threat of clash of culture: terrorism and radicalism. Fourth, the object of reference or object threatened by the existence of a threat legitimizes to survive the threat. All citizens can be threatened and the state needs to protect. Fifth, the Audience, refers to the government and the global community understand a firm attitude to evaluate the parties that need to be convinced. Sixth, functional actors, namely actors who influence securitizing actors to issue policies (Buzan, 1998).

Securitization theory centrally distinguishes politics and security or politicization and securitization. Through securitization, intersubjective issues are considered existential threats. Justifying violating 'normal' political rules (Buzan et al., 1998: 5), is potentially harmful from the norm of exception. Wæver further draws attention to the (supposedly desired) possibility of desecuritization: a de-escalation back to "normal politics" (Wæver, 1995; Aradau, 2004) (Richter, 2020). Security is best understood by Ken Booth (2007) by the term "Survival-Plus". What is meant by "plus" is freedom from the threats of life and several life choices. From this perspective, security is understood as a commodity (perpetrators must possess certain things such as property, money, weapons, soldiers, and so on).

The case study of Civil-Military Relations in Germany proves that changes in the national environment are enough to destroy objective civilian control and military professionalism. The Japanese case study with the strong influence of the military elite in the country's politics has undermined the authority of government by the civilian elite. Huntington argues that the US constitution actually provides an opportunity for subjective civil control to grow, not objective control and the presence of objective control is outside the constitution. Both cases prove that the professionalism of officers and objective civil control do not apply in Civil-Military Relations, proving that objective civil control is needed for effective Civil-Military Relations.

The concept of Civil-Military Relations according to Huntington must not only be subject to the rules of peace or war, but focus on the ideology between civil society and military professional ethics. Huntington sees Civil-Military Relations from a political scientist's perspective, Janowitz sees it from a sociological perspective. "The Professional Soldier", Morris's study of the focus of professional life and organizational governance and military leadership in the US, in which the conversation between military and civilian categories becomes increasingly blurred and tends to be relatively similar to technological innovation.

Civilians find it difficult to understand military behavior and life, Janowitz observes that Civil-Military Relations is directly related to professional experience and personal ties (Said, 2020). Professional soldiers must be above politics far above politics, the reality is not always the case. The military elite transforms itself into a constant force that the difference

between the military profession and civilian government in times of peace or war can disappear (Civil-Military Relations theory table). According to Huntington, it reflects subjective civilian control, in Janowitz who believes that the blurred line between civilian and military confirms Huntington's theory which believes the military must stand apart and autonomous from civil society in order to maintain its professionalism. Civil-Military Relations theorists agree that the military maintains professionalism.

RESEARCH METHOD

The process of data analysis in this study begins by examining all available data from various sources, namely from interviews, personal documents, official documents, photographic images, and so on (Herdiansyah, 2015). Through the acquisition of so much data, and after being read, studied, studied, then the next step is to carry out data reduction which is done by abstraction. Abstraction is an attempt to make a summary of the core, processes, and statements that need to be maintained so that they are maintained in it. Several parties interviewed included the Indonesian Ministry of Defense for Defense Potential, Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture for Food Crops, TNI Headquarters, and Indonesian Army Headquarters for Territorial Affairs, Indonesian Air Force Headquarters for Aerospace Potential, Indonesian Navy Headquarters for Maritime Potentials, Suryadarma Kalijati Air Base, and Koramil 0901 Lembang. While the secondary data analyzed in this study are data obtained or collected by researchers from existing sources. This data is used to support primary information that has been obtained, namely from library materials, literature, previous research, books, and so on.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The TNI is involved in Food Security in the context of National Security, it is hoped that in accordance with the Presidential Regulation it will receive maximum support, especially assistance and escort in food agriculture in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture. The presence of the involvement of the TNI is able to solve problems regarding agriculture to produce increased community participation such as farmers overcoming irrigation, planting processes, controlling plant nuisance organisms, handling the impact of climate change, and others. The involvement of the TNI can help the Ministry of Agriculture to launch work programs and create good communication.

In Food Security, the most active program carried out monthly by the TNI is counseling in the agricultural sector which is carried out together with the agricultural service. TNI involvement in food security streamlines territorial functions and optimizes Babinsa's role in rural communities throughout Indonesia. The realization of the formation of food production units in TNI units is adjusted to the need to optimize the tasks of the TNI through War Military Operations (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). This is stated in the Memorandum of Understanding between the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the TNI Commander number 10/MOU/HK.220/M/4/2020 and NK/10/IV/TNI concerning Support for the Implementation of the Agricultural Development Program on April 1, 2020 in Jakarta.

The securitization of TNI involvement in food security from national defense is useful for maintaining national stability. Food safety contains several aspects such as

availability, access, benefits, and stability that ensure its sustainability. These aspects are closely related to the main task of the TNI in maintaining the integrity and sovereignty of the State. The involvement of the TNI in food security includes: printing rice fields, building dams, forest and land rehabilitation (RHL), blue gold programs (potential for marine resources) and green gold programs (potential for earth resources), and special efforts to escort and assist. Units that are already quite advanced in agriculture, such as:

- 1) Roesmin Nurjadin Air Base Pekanbaru, has the role of a group of vegetable farmers assisted by the Airbase and has even been able to sell their harvests, both to local markets and exports to Singapore.
- 2) Satrad 214 Tegal, has a shrimp pond that is managed with quite advanced technology. The harvest is acceptable both in the local market and for export needs.

The Maritime Potential Service of the Navy, the Indonesian Navy with food self-sufficient communities conducts counseling, practices (growing rice, secondary crops, vegetables, land and sea fish cultivation), processing and marketing. Interns of the Indonesian Navy actively carry out counseling to coastal communities and carry out MOUs with the community. Monitoring in the form of Satkowil reports produces significant budgets, manpower, experts and coordination with Ministries/State Agencies because the Ministries/State Agencies carry out priority scales that are coordinated with related parties.

The socialization carried out by Suryadarma Air Base regarding fish and chicken feed and cultivating flies as nutritious feed for livestock continued the results of the meeting of the Koramil in the West Java region which was held in Cimahi. Activities in this socialization include collecting dry and wet waste which is processed into animal feed in order to be able to provide maximum results, including testing rice bran into organic fertilizer that is safe for plants. The perceived obstacles to TNI involvement in these activities related to budget and capital can be solved.

Meanwhile, what has been done by the West Bandung Koramil is that the involvement of the TNI in Food Security which complies with the factors of availability, access, benefits and stability of national food has not run optimally. The Indonesian Ministry of Defense, the Indonesian Armed Forces Headquarters and the Armed Forces and TNI units have collaborated with the Regional Agriculture Service and companies engaged in agriculture/other livestock, some units even have fostered farmer groups. This makes agricultural and livestock needs such as human resources, superior seeds, fertilizers, education, and marketing easy to obtain and can be applied in the field by utilizing vacant land both inside and outside the TNI unit. So far, there has been no special counseling in terms of Food Safety, all carried out based on the main tasks of the TNI, especially in the territorial area. The TNI carries out its territorial functions, not only in the field of defense. The TNI also implements approaches to the field of community welfare through the field of National Food Security in the agricultural program.

TNI Involvement in Food Security

The understanding of state security in the world by utilizing military power in securing national interests is adjusted to the perceptions and views of the state regarding the importance of aspects of food security. The Indonesian government with assistance and

escort carried out by the TNI has prepared steps to realize National Food Security. In an effort to preserve the environment, the TNI has carried out forest reforestation through the National Movement for Forest and Land Rehabilitation (GNRHL) nationally, the program has been implemented in various Military Regional Commands since 2003 and then handed back to the Government in 2008.

Decree of the Minister of Forestry No.P.03/Menhut-V/2004 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of the National Movement for Forest and Land Rehabilitation (GNRHL), Joint Decree of the Three Coordinating Ministers No. 09/Kep/Menko/Kesra/III/2003, Kep.16/M. Ekon/03/2003, Kep.08/Menko/Polkam/III/2003 dated March 31, 2003 regarding the Coordinating Team for Environmental Improvement through National Rehabilitation and Reforestation, allocated costs at the Kodim level. The most prominent activity supports government programs, namely the TNI in the National Movement for Forest and Land Rehabilitation (GNRHL). Meanwhile, the results of the GNRHL activities from 2004 to 2006 carried out by the TNI have succeeded in implementing the GNRHL covering an area of approximately 860,000 hectares throughout Indonesia in support of the government's work program through the TNI.

The TNI continues to build cohesion with the people to realize a food self-sufficiency program by providing assistance to farmers in the agricultural sector, such as spraying rice pests in an effort to ensure the success of National Food Security. The Regional Command Unit (Satkowil) hopes that farmers will be more active and enthusiastic about utilizing the existing land in order to be able to anticipate if there is a shortage of food stocks in Indonesia. Supporting Presidential Regulation Number 2 of 2015, the Minister of Agriculture cooperates with the TNI in order to support special efforts for food self-sufficiency in 2017, the involvement of the TNI in efforts to increase food production, especially rice planting and securing the distribution of fertilizers, besides that the TNI is involved in assisting the supply and distribution of products from the program TNI's Manunggal Building Villages (TMMD).

The involvement of the TNI in the success of the government's program for food self-sufficiency is not without reason accompanied by pros and cons. The deployment of Babinsa because the Ministry of Agriculture lacks assistance for farmer groups reaches 70,000 people in Indonesia. The involvement of the TNI in Food Security is expected to play a role as a motivator, facilitator, dynamist, and innovator for farmer groups in the field, which is seen as having potential as a driving force to support the realization of Food Security, so that villages become food barns. TNI soldiers are trained in advance to take part in training organized by the agricultural service, provided with knowledge of seeding, planting, fertilizing, and other practical agricultural knowledge.

So far, the involvement of the TNI in Food Security has been carried out in stages in all regions of the country. When problems arise regarding the need for fertilizers, seeds, irrigation or other problems, the TNI will record and report the problems in stages to the authorities. The main focus of the TNI's task is as a catalyst, bridging farmers with related parties, so that later farmers can increase their production and achieve food self-sufficiency.

TNI and National Food Security

The involvement of the TNI in supporting Food Security follows the criteria set by FAO as a measure of National Food Security. FAO concepts (FAO, 2008), (Devereux, 2020), include: a) **Availability**, is the involvement of the TNI in Food Security to measure the availability of food supplies that meet the needs of the community in an amount that is quite safe and nutritious in a country, both from own production, imports, food reserves and food assistance. TNI involvement in Food Security related to production, distribution, and exchange is determined by various types of factors including: Land ownership and use; Soil type and management; Selection, and management of agricultural crops; Farm animal management; Changes in temperature and changes in rainfall. b) **Access**, TNI involvement in Food Security fulfills access to determinants of income, expenditure, markets and food prices, namely the ability of households and individuals to obtain sufficient and nutritious food. Differences in access to food: Direct access, households produce their own food; Economic access, households buy food produced elsewhere. Location can affect access to food and the type of access used in the household. c) **Utility**, TNI's involvement in Food Security fulfills adequate nutritional intake and food use is defined as a measure of energy and nutritional adequacy. Food processing towards food diversity for the needs of a healthy life includes the needs of energy and nutrition, water and environmental health. The effectiveness of food absorption depends on household/individual knowledge, sanitation and water availability, health facilities and services, as well as nutrition and under-five education (Riely et.al, 1999). Food utilization is influenced by the method of preparation, processing, and household cooking ability, so that education about nutrition and food preparation can affect the quality of food utilization. d) **Stability**, TNI involvement in Food Security meets Stability focused on food consumption over time on weather conditions, political instability, and the economy. Stability in chronic and transient food insecurity. Chronic food insecurity is due to the inability of food needs at any time, while food insecurity occurs due to drought, floods, disasters, and social conflicts. Food stability of individuals getting food over a certain time due to natural disasters and droughts causes crop failure at the production level. Instability of food insecurity with loss of labor or productivity caused by disease outbreaks. Food stability starts from food security, food independence, and food resilience.

The involvement of the TNI in Food Security complies with the Food Safety System in Indonesia comprehensively, including: Availability of food in sufficient quantities and types for the entire population; Smooth and even distribution of food; Individual food consumption meets balanced nutrition; Community nutritional status. The Food Security and nutrition system is not about production, distribution, and macro food (national and regional), but concerns micro aspects at the household and individual levels, especially children and pregnant women from poor households. Nationally and globally, the ultimate goal of human welfare in food availability means that people are free from hunger and malnutrition.

Food Securitization in Indonesia

Food is a primary human need that affects human life in the economic, social, political and cultural sectors. Food is considered a human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural

Rights (1966). The United Nations prioritized food policy by convening the 1996 World Food Summit in Rome, which was attended by 186 countries including the European Community. This meeting resulted in the Rome Declaration of World Food Security and World Food Summit 1996. In this meeting, as many as 112 heads of state and 70 high-ranking officials signed the declaration and the consequences of continuing the results of the declaration.

The involvement of the TNI in Food Security in each presidential administration has different issues. The food crisis is considered a threat and the main reason for the securitization of the government of the Republic of Indonesia. In a report by international institutions (FAO), the threat of a food crisis will hit the world and become the main basis for an emergency food issue. This speech act was seen during the official speech of Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono at the national harvest, food security council conference and food safety award presentation.

In the era of the SBY administration, food securitization established the Food Estate (FE) policy or a large-scale food policy in the 100-day work program of the United Indonesia Cabinet, namely: Revitalizing Agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry and the General Policy of the Food Security Council 2005-2009 and 2010-2014. The Indonesian Food Policy is a form of emergency action and has special procedures. However, in its implementation it can violate existing rules. An example is in land acquisition, the government is proactive in taking land belonging to the community and handing it over to the company when there is opposition from the local community and there is advocacy from NGOs, both national and international.

There are securitizing actors who carry out securitization policies involving the TNI in food security, which are divided into three parts, namely: Lead actors (main actors conducting securitization), Veto actors (actors weakening securitization), and Veto coalitions (state actors strengthening or weakening issues). National Food Securitization is an involvement of the TNI in Food Security which is considered as a Lead actor for bureaucrats and the private sector, raised by the importance of food issues and wide-scale food development in overcoming the food crisis and national defense. National Food Securitization The involvement of the TNI in Food Security facilitates the process of scheduling and implementing Indonesian Food policies in the social and political position of the government as the main actor of securitization.

The government has the authority to determine the policy of TNI involvement in food security without having to consult directly with various parties. Presidential instructions and government regulations do not require DPR approval, implementation of presidential instructions and government regulations on TNI involvement in food security is carried out very quickly. Emergency action is needed to deal with the intersubjective threat of a food crisis objectively. This is said to be very important because food is an irreplaceable primary need. The food crisis is considered a subjective threat, so actors label the food issue as a security issue.

The President as head of state and government has issued policies related to food in Indonesia by institutionalizing issues through the food safety council and building cooperation with various countries related to food safety issues. With that, the government issued a series of policies and laws on issues of food security in Indonesia, including: Revitalization of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry in 2005; General Policy of the Food Security Council 2005-2009; Presidential Instruction No.5/2008 concerning the Focus of the 2008-2009 Economic Program; Government Regulation No.18/2010 concerning Large-Scale Food Crops Agriculture; General Policy of the Food Security Council 2010-2014; Law

No.39/2009 concerning Special Economic Zones (SEZ); Law No.41/2009 concerning the Protection of Agricultural Land for Sustainable Food; Law No.32/2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management; Law No.25/2007 concerning Investment; Law No.26/2007 concerning Spatial Planning; Government Regulation No.26/2008 concerning RTRWN; Presidential Regulation No.77/2008 in conjunction with Presidential Regulation No.111/2008 concerning Open and Closed Business Fields; Government Regulation No.18/2010 concerning Plant Cultivation Business; Government Regulation No. 10/2010 concerning Procedures for Changes in the Designation and Function of Forest Areas; Government Regulation 11/2010 concerning Issuance and Utilization of Abandoned Land (Buku Pintar FE, 2013).

Private actors involved in Indonesia's Food policy, participated in various studies and discussions, the private sector was quick to get permits and get profits. Statements from private parties in the mass media regarding the threat of food issues are proof that companies are securitizing TNI involvement in food security, furthermore for economic and business interests. Private actors benefit from the Securitization process of TNI involvement in Indonesian Food Security in the sense of having easy access to capital and agricultural land to use.

Negative sentiment towards government policies is indeed quite high, such as the fear of the Papuan people if their natural resources are overexploited, causing the community to refuse to support the food policy promoted by the government and the TNI. Papua's natural resources have been exploited using the Up-Bottom approach, in which the concept of food policy is only carried out by the government and the private sector, without the participation of civil society or stakeholders. In addition, there is a movement of non-state actors who reject the policy of TNI involvement in food security to fulfill food in Indonesia.

The establishment of a securitization policy of TNI involvement in food security meets Indonesian food if there is an error at the implementation stage, it will cause a cultural shift, for example the tradition of harvesting and the spirit of "gotong royong" will be lost in the community. Securitization The involvement of the TNI in Food Security meets Indonesian Food can cause the character of Indonesian agriculture and food to shift from peasant-based and family-based agriculture to corporate-based food and agriculture production.

CONCLUSION

The Food Security Program that has been launched at the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia until now has not been regulated in a Presidential Regulation so that the Presidential Instruction since April 2020 to the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia has not had a proper basis. TNI involvement in food security to achieve food availability, access, benefits, and stability is important for food security in welfare and support for troops combat readiness in times of peace and war. On the one hand, food reserves are conceptually large enough to face a food crisis and do not require food imports. This is even included in the category of energy security in preparing long-term strategic plans. Food reserves are needed per day, while food land is small and there is a gap between fertile land on the island of Java and semi-fertile land in Kalimantan or Papua. However, the culture of "manganese ora manganese kumpul" makes people on the island of Java not willing to move outside Java. Farmers aged 40 years and over become a gap problem from the

readiness of the farmers. The involvement of the TNI in the National Food Security program requires that soldiers be easily transferred on orders, even though their knowledge of agriculture is low. The TNI is assigned one command and becomes a complement to the National Food Strategic Reserve Agency (BCLS), which consists of TNI soldiers and Komcad (reserve components). The Indonesian Ministry of Defense's initial step in establishing BCLS was to start by planting stevia as a sugar substitute. The advantage of BCLS in skillful farming is primarily to meet national food needs. The immediate desire for the food safety program to be implemented as a free and active defense strategy with Sishankamrata, however, is a bureaucratic obstacle so that the government has not issued a Presidential Regulation after two years. This includes the rice fields in Kalimantan which are still waiting for regulation.

The Director General of Food Crops, Ministry of Agriculture is part of food crop production and the National Food Agency is the leading sector in the development of Food Safety. Food availability involving farmers directly for the welfare of the community must be profitable in terms of marketing that is directly related to trade and industrial aspects so that it can function as a space for food production. In terms of food production, there are many cases that incriminate the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture to be able to provide the food needs of 230 million people, including 29 million tons of rice, 58 million tons of unhulled rice per year with the need for a rice area of 10.5 million per hectare.

TNI Headquarters through the Food Security program helps the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture to review areas to check the existence of the MOU and its implementation in the field. The program is currently in the planning stage in the West Java region with the involvement of the TNI in its activities. Food Security in Lombok in the second quarter of 2022 covers the Kalimantan area for the involvement of the TNI in rice fields as an element of national security as part of the OMSP function for aid operations. This is because food is a vital object of national and regional empowerment as well as assistance to local governments involving related agencies and institutions. The application of TNI involvement using the concept of availability, access, benefit and stability of national food towards the welfare of the community must be achieved. The scope of the TNI's involvement in Food Security is in accordance with the TNI's task area ratified by FAO as a world food organization. The meeting on the plan to form a productive company for the TNI unit from the idea of the Indonesian Ministry of Defense to prepare production unit troops is a form of the seriousness of the TNI's involvement in realizing National Food Security supported by special regulations guided by the TNI.

The involvement of the TNI in food security to meet the availability, access, benefits and stability of national food has been able to become a motivator, facilitator, dynamist and some have even been able to become innovators for farmer groups in the field. Babinsa (Village Builder TNI Soldiers) will always carry out their duties with the ultimate goal of achieving self-sufficiency, sovereignty, and food security programs. So far, Babinsa (Village Builder TNI Soldiers) role has begun to be carried out in stages and has begun to expand both in the coverage of its fostered areas and the quality of assistance in all regions in the country.

Concretely when there are areas that do not yet have agricultural extension workers, Babinsa assists and motivates farmers to cultivate crops with good governance. Starting from seeding, planting, pest attacks or problems with irrigation to handling when the harvest season arrives. All these tasks were fully carried out by extension workers while Babinsa only gave encouragement to the farmers. Increased participation of the government, community, farmers with the involvement of the TNI in food security programs in the past

year has become a role model as an agent of change to be able to encourage collaboration between agricultural communities (producers), local governments, TNI and consumers food buyers. Babinsa's goal in fostering is to create an irrigation system that has an even and smooth flow of water throughout the year and to help sales of post-harvest food production. The activities of escorting and assisting the problems of the irrigation system and the sale of post-harvest food production are carried out so that there are no irregularities and irregularities committed by officers and certain communities who want to disturb the agricultural community or prioritize their own interests and or groups.

The condition of progress on food safety in each unit in the region varies depending on the innovation of the Unit Commander for the utilization of the potential of regional resources around the unit, including:

1. The involvement of the Indonesian Air Force in OMSP related to food security is: Maintaining vital national objects, empowering defense areas and their supporting forces early in accordance with the universal defense system and assisting local government tasks.
2. The era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration has issued Presidential Instruction no. 5 of 2011 concerning Security of National Rice Production in the face of Extreme climatic conditions.
3. President Jokowi on October 20, 2020 carried out a working visit to Central Kalimantan to review the food state and give directions to the TNI, namely "TNI must help agriculture". The national food state granary program in Central Kalimantan is a National Strategic Program (PSN) 2020-2024 which must be secured by the TNI and the Indonesian Police.
4. TNI actively participates in realizing national food self-sufficiency as part of national security, all elements of the nation including the TNI must play a role in maintaining national stability and state sovereignty.

Regarding the involvement of the TNI in Food Security, the Indonesian Army does not have a strong legal basis to optimize the role of mentoring and escorting food safety programs. As a result, the Army only tries to coordinate activities between farmers, middlemen and Bulog and the slow process of organizational bureaucracy becomes an obstacle for military organizations that have clear lines of command. So the instructions from the Ministry of Agriculture have not been carried out properly by Agricultural Extension Officers (PPL) as the spearhead of the program that deals directly with farmers. The involvement of the TNI in food security is related to the role of mentoring and escort trying to coordinate with interested parties or other problems related to obstacles in supporting national food security. Efforts are being made continuously by coordinating through Regional Leadership Meetings and District Leadership Meetings conducted by the TNI to break through the bureaucratic deadlock, both at the central and regional government levels.

The Air Force's involvement in the food safety program includes planning, teaching (education), selecting superior seeds, seeding, planting, land maintenance, pest and disease prevention, harvesting and distribution and marketing. The Indonesian Air Force and the surrounding community have felt the positive impact so that the welfare of unit members and the surrounding community has increased. The central and regional governments, communities, farmers and other components of the nation understand the importance of national food security so that the Indonesian Air Force's work program, namely Food

Security, is carried out in regional units and is always enthusiastically welcomed by the local government and the surrounding community.

The Aerospace Potential Staff with a food safety work program in 1 year, even though they have limited budgets, is only carried out once in collaboration with the Regional Unit Aerospace Potential Development which carries out a review, socialization and evaluation of food safety developments in the units. In addition to overcoming these obstacles, the Dirgantara Potential Staff is drafting a Cooperation Agreement with the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture in order to improve the National Food Security capability by utilizing vacant lands in all Indonesian Air Force units.

The Navy generally helps the formation of new lands for starters, counseling, cultivation of vegetables and livestock and invites people to be self-sufficient in food in their respective environments. Provide practical counseling (planting rice, secondary crops and vegetables as well as rearing cultivation, land fish and marine fish) as well as processing and marketing. The program within the Navy's internal environment is of course on all active lines as much as possible to carry out counseling to coastal communities as a priority scale. Coordinate with related parties and regions to implement the MOU and then implement it in the field together with the community.

Suryadarma Air Base since the outbreak of the pandemic has carried out food empowerment activities within the unit to deal with the food crisis. Cassava and sweet potatoes in an area of 5 hectares, corn, peanuts, rice are empowered by the community and farmers. Food processing in this case aims to use land by involving farmers and the community. The TNI's involvement in the Suryadarma Air Base is most actively carried out, namely the fish and kale cultivation program as a well-developed circulation of catfish planting. This program was launched by the Suryadarma Air Base as a form of TNI involvement in National Food Security which utilizes the land of work units and community lands with the active role of village heads, RW, and RT. Counseling to members, farmers and the community is carried out by the local Agriculture Service so that there is an integrated development of village food security with TNI involvement in the Suryadarma Airbase. In essence, the concept of a Food Security plan is able to foster a prosperous bond between the TNI, farmers and the community. The obstacles that occur in the field in food development are related to budget, capital, and farming knowledge. With this, local government assistance or intervention is needed. The Regional Aerospace Potential Development Unit approach to village heads is carried out in a sustainable manner by seeking sponsors or investors to assist the food program at Suryadarma Airbase and continuing to carry out socialization and education, including seeking budget support. The involvement of the TNI in Food Security in the Suryadarma Airbase, in this case the Regional Unit for Aerospace Potential Development, has greatly benefited the community, especially the fishery and fish feed program.

Military Headquarters at the Ward (Koramil) area 0906 Lembang has been a vegetable center from the past from generation to generation to the present. Farmer groups are empowered to develop food programs in collaboration with regional officials by creating the Sergap (Grain Attack) program with the aim of supporting Bulog to compete with middlemen. Babinsa's close relationship with farmers helps oversee the welfare and defense strategy of the region with financial problems that become obstacles in the field. Another activity, namely Babinsa Koramil Lembang, is actively helping to overcome the large amount of cattle waste, utilizing cow dung to be used as fertilizer for food crops. This initiative grew from the community although it has not been supported by local government officials who

empower the Lembang area as the North Bandung Area (KBU) as a category of water catchment areas or protected forests and disaster-prone areas. The area applies 80% for reforestation and 20% for buildings. On the livestock side, Lembang cows as milk producers produce for export purposes so that the Lembang area is eligible to meet food supplies to realize availability, access, benefits, and stability that supports the TNI involvement program in National Food Security.

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