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CIVIL RESERVE COMPONENT AS AN ALTERNATIVE FOR STRENGTHENING BORDER SECURITY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Indonesia as the world’s largest archipelagic state has 90 outer islands with 67 islands bordering to the neighboring countries. Through this frontier, it is found number of problems that arise such as the smuggling of goods and people, drug trafficking, terrorism, small arms smuggling and occupation of territory by neighbouring countries. Not all these problems can be handled by the government and Indonesia National Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia or TNI). Therefore the idea for the establishment of civil reserve components through basic military training to increase border community defence of Indonesian sovereignty needs to be considered. Through the civil reserve component, the community will be given training to strengthen Pancasila values while preparing the community to be responsive to the various border issues. Using a juridical normative study, this paper will discuss the benefits and challenges of border security through the strengthening of the civil reserve component using national law and international law perspectives.

Keywords: civil reserves component, border security, defense.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian archipelago is also known as the largest archipelagic state in the world with 18,110 islands and 3.1 million km² of land territory and 5.8 million km² of water area. Indonesia is also located between the two continents of Asia and the Continent of Australia. Stand between two oceans namely the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean. Geographically, Indonesia has many borders that intersect neighboring countries with both land and sea boundaries. Land border areas are spread over three regions: (1) Indonesia-Malaysia Landline Border on Borneo Island with borderline along 2004 Km, (2) Indonesia-PNG

Land Boundary Area with boundary line 107 Km, and (3) Border Area Indonesia-Timor Leste Land in East Nusa Tenggara with the boundary line of 263.8 Km.\(^2\)

Meanwhile, sea border areas including the outermost small islands are located in 7 (seven) regions, namely: (1) The Sea Border Area of RI with the State of Thailand / India / Malaysia including two outer islands in the province of Aceh and North Sumatra; (2) The Sea Border Area of RI with Malaysia / Vietnam / Singapore State including twenty small outer islands in Riau Province and Riau Islands; (3) The Sea Border Area of the Republic of Indonesia with Malaysia and the Philippines including eighteen outer islands in the provinces of East Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi and North Sulawesi; (4) The Sea Border Area of the Republic of Indonesia with the Palau State includes eight outermost small islands in North Maluku, West Papua and Papua provinces; (5) Sea border areas with the State of Timor Leste / Australia including the twenty small outermost islands of Maluku Province and Papua; (6) The Sea Border Area of the Republic of Indonesia with the State of East Timor including the five small outermost islands in NTT Province; and (7) Sea Border Area with open sea including Nineteen outermost small islands in Aceh Province, North Sumatera, West Sumatera, Bengkulu, Lampung, Banten, West Java, Central Java, East Java, and West Nusa Tenggara.\(^3\)

The number of Indonesian territory that borders with other countries turned out to cause a number of potential and challenges. Notes from Indonesia’s Master Plan for State Border Management 2015-2019 records border threats such as terrorism, piracy, theft of natural resources, smuggling of goods, drugs and people as examples of border problems in Indonesia.\(^4\) A lot of international syndicates use Indonesia’s borders as trade routes of people, drugs and weapons smuggling that threaten the sovereignty of the state.

Research from Gia Ayu Fita, traces the existence of crime activities


\(^3\) Ibid, p. 2.

\(^4\) Ibid, p. 8.
at the sea border between the South Sangihe-Filiphina archipelago that threatening Indonesian sovereignty such as illegal fishing, small arms trafficking, human trafficking and terrorism. Data from the Consulate General of the Philippines in Manado says that there are 2500 pumbos in the Philippines that 50% of them operate illegally in Indonesia. Also found the practice of smuggling small arms M-16 and AK-47 are spread to various regions in Indonesia including conflict prone areas such as Ambon and Poso. Meanwhile, in terms of human trafficking, Indonesia is quite often use as a path of human smuggling transportation from Taiwan and Vietnam to Australia.

As for the threat of terrorism is shown through Dan Lantamal report to Commission I of the House of Representatives in 2008 mentioned the threat of terrorism of Abu Sayaf of Filipina who at any time can conduct activities of provocation and sabotage to Indonesia. Some records also indicate that terrorists like Amrozi have also stopped at Sangihe, North Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Other studies from Tien Virginia Arisoi within the borders of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea were found to be smuggling of marijuana, illegal fishing and trafficking of arms or other goods. The practice of crime within this border turns out to be much use of Indonesian citizens who live on the border. Even in the Tien Virginia research mentioned that marijuana smuggling even use children’s media as courier to pass the border.

In line with the above studies, the existence of trans-border crimes was not only caused by external factors from outside Indonesia but also the involvement of Indonesian Citizens who deliberately committed

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6 Ibid, p. 88.
7 Ibid, Robertus Boko as quoted by Gita Ayu, p. 90.
8 Ibid, p. 6.
and/or allowed the occurrence of crime on the border of Indonesia. The direct findings of Cahyo Pamungkas in the Journal of the Indonesian Society of 2015 on the practice of smuggling of fuel, wood and sand to neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore were also initiated by Indonesian citizens.\footnote{Cahyo Pamungkas, “Nasionalisme Masyarakat di Perbatasan Laut Studi Kasus Masyarakat Melalui-Karimun.. Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia”, Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 41 (2), 2015, p. 148.} For example, timber from Indonesia is collected to be brought to international waters. Then Malaysian or Singaporean traders will buy the timber in the middle of the international sea.

The example above is a bit of an illustration of the border issues that are certainly more complex and various in Indonesia. However, the focus of the study in this paper is the involvement of Indonesian citizens both consciously and unconsciously which provides opportunities for criminal acts on the border. These border residents, in turn, derive the economic and political benefits of border crimes that endanger Indonesian sovereignty.

There are many references that discuss about how to protect the security in border area. One of the results form “Partnership for Governance Reform” states that there are three main issues in the management of border areas between countries, namely: 1) determining the boundary line both on land and at sea, 2) security of border area, and 3) development border area. Still in the study mentioned that the existence of the problem of law enforcement and the vulnerability of issues related to nationalism of citizen’s border.

Reflecting on the complexity of the problems faced by the border areas, some ideas for accelerating the handling of border issues become worthy of study. This is based on the fact that border security issues are closely related to the security and sovereignty of a state. This is because the threat of international terrorism, smuggling of narcotics, arms trade, human trafficking and co-ordination of borders by neighboring countries constitute a serious threat to the sovereignty of the republic of Indonesia.

One of the ideas that can be considered new and interesting is to activate the reserve component in the border region. According to
Article 1 Sub-Article 6 of Law No. 3 of 2002 on State Defense, the Reserve Component is a national resource that has been prepared to be mobilized through mobilization to enlarge and strengthen the strengths and capabilities of main components. The reserve component is not a substitute for the main component of the Indonesian National Army (TNI). Rather it is to actively involve the community in maintaining the security and sovereignty of the state as part of the Republic of Indonesia’s sovereignty protection efforts.

Although it’s not a popular idea yet, I emphasize, involving the community in the reserve component as part of the state defense form is a way that can improve border security as well as nationalism of the republic of Indonesia. Idea on the reserve component has been a serious issue in the 2005 legislation list as a draft of law so that it is relevant for write to rise this issue to be applied in Indonesia. Therefore, the research question in this paper is to discussed the possibility of activation of civil reserve component for border area in Indonesia.

This paper will be divided into four sections. The first part begins with an introduction that deals with issues and findings that illustrate the border issues that threaten Indonesia’s defense and sovereignty. The second part of this paper will elaborate on the theory of borders and its relation to sovereignty of the state. In this section will also be discussed about the justification of the need for a state to protect its sovereignty, including the border as part of the state defense. The third part of this paper will describe the offer of alternative solutions namely the concept of civil reserve component in the defense effort of the state, especially the border area. While in the last section is a conclusion that closes the entire discussion.

II. BORDERS AND SOVEREIGNTY

Article 25A of the 1945 Constitution states that “The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is an archipelagic state characterized by archipelagic territory whose boundaries and rights are established by law”. In accordance with the legal doctrine of *Uti Possidetis Juris* which means the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia or NKRI) is a former
Dutch colony. The struggle to get recognition as an archipelagic State had begun through the Juanda Declaration in 1957 until it finally gained international recognition. The archipelagic state’s conception is strengthened by the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea or UNCLOS by Law No. 17/1985. Through UNCLOS Indonesia asserts itself as part of an internationally recognized archipelagic State on 16 November 1994 after the 60th State signed the agreement. This convention then makes Indonesia as an archipelagic state to be sovereign not only in the sphere of land but also in sea territory.

Sovereignty according to Jimly Asshiddiqie, is a concept of supreme authority in a state organization. Sovereignty in Bahasa Indonesia is absorbed from the Arabic word “daulah” which related to the concept in the relation of power on political and economic field. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly states that sovereignty is defined as an exclusive right that legitimizes the organization, values and limits of delineated modern states. While the meaning of state sovereignty is generally as the right to rule, involving an fundamental independency from the external authority and implying the legitimate authority to govern.

Associated with sovereignty, borders are actually used to limit the territorial ownership of a state. Therefore, this border can be regarded as an institutional construction based on the agreement of neighboring countries about the limits of a state sovereignty over its borders.

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14 Ibid.


17 Ibid, p.3.

18 Ibid, to borrow a term from Anssi Paasi which states that “Boundaries as institu-
Subsequently, the concept of borders creates an international limitation concerning and state’s sovereign territory.\textsuperscript{19}

Thus, it is important for a state to maintain its sovereignty, one of which concerns the security border. As the opinion of Peter Chambers which states that border security has become a key that describes the sustainability and sovereignty of a state\textsuperscript{20} So that border security has become a form of representative of sovereignty alteration.\textsuperscript{21}

The relation between territory and sovereignty is well described by Kris Wijoyo Soepandji, in his most-recent book, Ilmu Negara: Perspektif Geopolitik Masa Kini, in which he said that the sovereign power over certain territory would be impossible to be separated from the geopolitical realities.\textsuperscript{22} The realities are the major interests which effectively shape on how the state behave, because state as an organization with authority is also the melting point of power struggle to construct meaning in the mind of the citizens and related stakeholders, because it has certain legitimacy which is domestically and internationally acceptable.\textsuperscript{23} He also underlines the importance of the influence of the global extraordinary networks on state behaviour especially in deploying its sovereignty.\textsuperscript{24}

Border represents the performance of power as a representative and factual about sovereignty of the state.\textsuperscript{25} The relationship between sovereignty and borders lies in the concept of defense that arises between them. The defense of a state’s borders also reflects the power of a state’s sovereignty. However, border defense is only one of the many aspects that must be taken into account in maintaining the sovereignty of the

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{22} Kris Wijoyo Soepandji, “Ilmu Negara: Perspektif Geopolitik Masa Kini”, Badan Penerbit Fakultas Hukum Universitas Indonesia, 2017. p.3-6

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, p. 43

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, p. 53-54

state. Other dimensions such as economic growth, education, health and border area infrastructure are also important factors in border security.\textsuperscript{26}

Indonesia’s positive law namely in Law Number 43 Year 2008 on the State Territory (State Territory Act) has stated that the border of the state is a boundary which is the separation of a state’s sovereignty based on international law.\textsuperscript{27} It also emphasizes that within these borders Indonesia has sovereign rights within its jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{28} So that the Indonesian government can do necessary actions within the scope of its territory related to the threat to the sovereignty of the state.

The border area setting of the border was made to provide legal certainty regarding the limits of state sovereignty and the authority to manage the territory of Indonesia. The arrangements set forth in the State Territory Act include land area, inland waters, islands, territorial, seafloor, land and air as well as the resources contained therein.\textsuperscript{29} This limits of sovereignty also include the Exclusive Economic Zone and the continental shelf as well as the Supplementary Zone’s supervisory rights. Given the strategic position of the border areas concerning the sovereignty of the state, territorial integrity, law enforcement and people’s welfare, the authority to handle border areas is given not only to the government but also to the local government.

The State territory Act also regulates the role of communities in the management of border areas. Specifically in Chapter VII Article 19 of the State territory Act states that communities have a role to develop the development of border areas as well as maintain and defend the border areas. Community involvement in the context of border area defence cannot be done sporadically. Therefore a law that specifically provides the corridors of community involvement in the context of border defence is required.

\textsuperscript{27} Indonesia, Article 1 Par 4 of Law Number 43 Year 2008 Regarding the State Territory.
\textsuperscript{28} Indonesia, Article 7 of Law Number 43 Year 2008 Regarding the State Territory.
\textsuperscript{29} Indonesia, elucidation of Law Number 43 Year 2008 Regarding the State Territory.
III. CONCEPT OF CIVIL RESERVE COMPONENT IN INDONESIA

It is the duty of the state to protect the entire nation of Indonesia as mentioned in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. This form of protection is a constitutional obligation that must be pursued by promoting the general welfare, the intellectual life of the nation and the implementation of world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice. The purpose of the state contained in the opening of 1945 Constitution is essentially a form of national security and national prosperity balance.

Such protection shall also comprise all Indonesian citizens including for citizens living on the borders. In the conception of state formation in the constitutional law, a state is considered to exist if it meets at least three elements, namely (1) a region with clear boundaries as a container, (2) the people who live in the region and (3) the government.\(^\text{30}\) To meet the element of the existence of clear boundaries, it is mentioned about the characteristics of the territory of Indonesia in the constitution. Chapter IXA Article 25A of the 1945 Constitution states that “The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is an archipelago state characterized by the archipelago with territories whose boundaries and rights are established by law.”

Furthermore, as a sovereign government, the state shall be obliged to provide protection for its citizens, jointly endeavored by all components of society. Indonesia’s defense philosophy in Article 30 of the 1945 Constitution states that (1) “every citizen shall have the right and obligation to participate in the defense and security of the state” and (2) “The defense and security of the state shall be carried out through the defense and security system of the people by the Indonesia’s National Army and Police as the main force and the people as a supporting force“. It is through this constitutional mandate that there is an effort to involve the community as a supporting force in the concept of state defense.

Community involvement in a state defense is a necessity. This is because the composition of the TNI is limited compared to the number

\(^{30}\) C.S.T Kansil, “Hukum Tata Negara Republik Indonesia 1”, RinekaCipta, 2000, p.16.
of territories and population in Indonesia. Therefore, the involvement of the public in the state defense effort is not only regulated in Chapter XII on the Defense and State Security, but also regulated in Chapter X concerning Citizens and Residents in Article 27 Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution which states “Every citizen shall have the right and obligation to participate as well as in state defense efforts.” The inclusion of state defense clauses in chapters on citizens and residents indicates that every citizen is involved in efforts to defend the sovereignty of the Indonesian republic.

The concept of citizen involvement in the defense of the state in the context of further defense of security is regulated in Law No. 3 of 2002 on State Defense (Undang-Undang Pertahanan Negara). In the Law on State Defense it is explained that the defense of the state serves to realize and defend the entire territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.\(^\text{31}\) In the implementation of the State Defense Act stressed that the defense efforts of the state is not solely the responsibility of the TNI and state apparatus only. The defense of the state is a universe whose operation is based on an awareness of the rights and duties of the citizens and the belief in their own power. The application of state defence also should consider the geographical conditions of Indonesia as an archipelagic state.\(^\text{32}\)

Therefore, in the State Defense act known three components in the State Defense namely; (1) Main Components, (2) Reserve Components and (3) Supporting Components. The main component is the Indonesian National Army which is ready to be used to carry out defense tasks.\(^\text{33}\) The so-called Reserve Components are national resources that have been prepared to be mobilized through mobilization to enlarge and strengthen the strengths and capabilities of main components.\(^\text{34}\) This Reserve Component consists of citizens, natural resources, artificial resources, and national facilities and infrastructure that have been prepared to be mobilized through mobilization to enlarge and strengthen main components. Whereas the Supporting Component is a national resource that can be used to improve the strength and capability of main

\(^{31}\) Indonesia, Article 5 of Law Number 3 Year 2002 on State Defence.

\(^{32}\) Indonesia, Article 4 of Law Number 3 of 2002 on State Defense.

\(^{33}\) Indonesia, Article 1 Sub Art.5 of Law Number 3 of 2002 on State Defense.

\(^{34}\) Indonesia, Article 1 Sub Art.6 of Law Number 3 of 2002 on State Defense.
components and reserve components.

These three components (main components, reserve components and supporting components) should be further regulated in legislation. But until now there is only one existing arrangement that is about the main component through Law Number 34 Year 2004 About the Defense of the Republic of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the arrangements of the new Reserve Component in the form of Draft Act which was discussed in 2005 but has not been legalized because it reaps pros and cons in the society.

Before having deeper discussion on the reserve component issues, it is worth to note the opinion of the architect of Indonesian modern reserve component, Budi Susilo Soepandji, who was the chief of Indonesia’s Department of Defence, working group (kepala kelompok kerja-kapokja) on reserve component bill (2005-2009) and also former Director General of Defence Potential (2005-2011), opined that, Indonesian’s experience on developing its defence reserve force is very limited due to the legal frameworks, which is very general. The available legal framework focuses more on the manpower issue and neglecting other essential aspects of total defence which are crucial for the defence potential. Hence, the creation of solid legal frameworks for defence reserve component will be crucial part in integrating national defence system especially between the military and civilian resources.

The existence of reserve components for urban areas, not conflict-prone areas and not border areas is often considered unimportant. However, in the context of “safety belt” areas that are border areas, the presence of reserve components as a TNI assistive component may be a solution to various problems at the border. The reserve component is not intended to replace the main component, but rather to strengthen the main component (TNI) in clear and targeted command lines.

In the reserve component bill, it is mentioned that there are three division of reserve component namely (1) “Matra Darat” Reserve Component, (2) “Matra Laut” Reserve Component and (3) “Matra Udara” Reserve Component. The third division of the reserve

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35 Budi Susilo Soepandji, Bangga Indonesia: Menjadi Komponen Cadangan Tanah Air, Grasindo, 2011, p. 95
36 Soepandji, Bangga, p. 106
component is adjusted to the existing scope of the Indonesian National Army (TNI), namely the Army, the Navy and the Air Force.

In the Reserve Components Bill, it is mentioned that the formation of reserve components is evenly distributed throughout Indonesia. The author assesses the formation of reserve components do not need to be formed throughout the region in Indonesia, but in certain areas with a mature study. This of course can be adjusted to the reality of the border. If a border is a land border area, the preferred reserve component is the *Matra Darat* Reserve Component. Likewise with the sea border, the *Matra Laut* Reserve Component may be prioritized in the region.

Joining a reserve component is a voluntary choice. This is excluded for Civil Affairs Officials, State-Owned Enterprises (*Badan Usaha Milik Negara* or BUMN) and former military officers who automatically become reserve components wherever they are. For other citizens, being an active reserve component has its own advantages such as insurance and other incentives as a reserve component.

The reserve component can only be used at any time in an emergency. However, the presence of spare components scattered across the border with different participants’ backgrounds will have an impact in strengthening border resilience in the face of problems. It will serve as an informant with a clear command line so as to provide direct information on the problems faced by the border area.

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37 The terms proposed in the Reserve Components Bill are (1) Every citizen between the ages of 18 (eighteen) to 45 (forty five) years who: a. a civil servant, an employee of a state-owned or regional enterprise, and a member of a non-governmental entity or entity, called to become a member of the Reserve Component in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. b. status of former TNI soldiers and former members of the Police of the Republic of Indonesia who are eligible and must be called as members of the Reserve Component in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations. c. individually voluntarily enrolling to become a member of the Reserve Component may be appointed as a member of the Reserve Component. (2) The citizen referred to in paragraph (1) shall be recorded to enable a citizen who may be appointed a member of the Reserve Component. (3) Any citizen who may be appointed as referred to in paragraph (2) shall conduct health examination, mental personality and administration. (4) The citizens who have fulfilled the requirements as meant in paragraph (3) shall follow the Basic Military Training based on the prevailing laws and regulations. (5) Citizens who meet the requirements are eligible to be members of the Components of the Reserve, shall fulfill their appointment.
For example, a fisherman who has become a reserve component can be an informant on the number of illegal fishing, human trafficking and sand theft from the territory of Indonesia. With the involvement of the border community as part of the state defense through the reserve component it will provide an opportunity for the border community to reinforce its sense of nationalism. At the same time, in the economic concept they will benefit in the context of their involvement as an active reserve component.

The existence of reserve components may be able to minimize the presence of citizens who actually work for neighboring countries. The findings of Yanyan Muchamad Yani, Senior Lecturer at Padjadjaran University Bandung, in 2008 mentioned that there are numbers of Indonesian citizens living in the border areas of Indonesia with Malaysia in Kalimantan successfully recruited by the Malaysian government to be the Militia Army called “Askar Watania”. The activity has been long gone unnoticed by the Indonesian government. From some interviews and press coverage, it can be seen that some of the Indonesian citizens recruited by the Malaysian government are aware that they are Indonesian citizens, but because they get a job offer with a considerable salary then they choose the job without considering that attitude or such actions can actually harm and violate the laws and regulations of the State of Indonesia.\(^{38}\)

Askar Watania is the border guard as well as the reserve component of the Malaysian border guard.\(^{39}\) Askar Wataniah Malaysia (AW) is a voluntary body that is the Reserve Army of Malaysia’s Army as the second fort in defending Malaysia. The participation of the people in the AW is a pure contribution in welcoming the Malaysian nod in accordance with the concept of Total Defense set forth in the Basic


Defense of the State. Askar Watania has a role to (1) take over the responsibilities of permanent troops if troops are still assigned to carry out certain missions; (2) assist local defense in a sector; (3) hold defense of main targets and installations (main / essential points) and critical areas, (4) providing replacements for the Permanent Force, (5) controlling and harmonizing essential services where necessary, (6) acting as an intelligence agency, (7) protecting and conducting communication channels (Lines of Communication) and (8) are willing to assist and cooperate with civilian authorities in handling natural and emergency disaster events.40

By looking on the strength of neighboring countries in protecting their borders, it is also important for Indonesia to build a reserve component for the protection of national sovereignty. Implementation of reserve components potentially be implemented in Indonesia. This is because there is a constitutional mandate to defend the state as part of defense and security efforts and part of the rights and obligations of citizens. The immediate ratification of the Reserve Component Bill will provide immediate benefits in border handling and as a reserve defense within the border safety belt circle in Indonesia. So that the problems of terrorism, weapons smuggling, transfer of boundaries, narcotics and the problem of illicit trafficking can be immediately followed up by the involvement of society as a reserve component in providing intelligent information through clear command line.

At least the existence of the reserve component has the potential to impact on several things namely; (1) enhancing border security defenses, (2) enhancing border community nationalism through integrated Pancasila education in reserve components, (3) enhancing intelligent information on border crime so that it can be handled more quickly; and (4) enhancing economic prosperity through incentive as an active reserve component.

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IV. CONCLUSION

The various border problems in Indonesia have reached a threat not only in the social economy but also the threat to ideology and sovereignty. The use of Indonesia as a spreading path of terrorism, arms trade, drug distribution and illegal trade in fish, fuel, wood and sand are forms of threat to sovereignty. One alternative way to overcome this border problem is with the establishment of reserve components in the border region. This is a form of human resource development by preparing people who are ready to defend the state in a position to support the main component of the TNI.

The reserve component has the potential to solve border problems not only in the context of national defense, but also other dimensions such as strengthening the sense of nationalism and improving the economy of the border region. It is hoped that a study on the importance of reserve components for border areas can provide input to policy makers in looking at the urgency of borderline defense development in increasingly complex and fragile border problems.
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