

Analysis of Factual and Potential Threats in the Border Region of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of East Timor

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Abstract-The geographical condition of Indonesia, which is adjacent to several other countries, still poses various problems, both internal and external. This study aims to analyze factual and potential threats that are deemed capable of disrupting the stability of the border regions. This research was conducted using a qualitative approach with a case study method. The study was conducted in the border regions of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste. Data were collected using interviews, observation, and study documentation. The research involved several parties as sources of information, including government, academia, and society. Data analysis consists of three stages, i.e. data reduction, data display, and data verification. The results have showed that the problems that arose in the RI-RDTL border areas occurred in several aspects, i.e. (1) politics and government, (2) ideology, (3) economics, (4) education, (5) health, (6) defense and security, and (7) immigration

Keywords: *border area, factual threat, potential threat, social engineering*

I. INTRODUCTION

Problems in border regions between countries have always been the subject of discussion among researchers and those who are concerned with national sovereignty, defense and security. Empirically, Indonesia has at least 10 regions bordering directly with other countries, both land and sea, among others India, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Philippines, Australia, Timor Leste, Palau, and Papua New Guinea. Of the 10 regions, only 3 countries directly share borders with Indonesia, i.e. Malaysia, Timor Leste, and Papua New Guinea [1]. The many regions of Indonesia sharing borders with other countries is, on the one hand, a potential for the development and progress of the country, but on the other hand, it can also be a threat otherwise properly managed.

Management and governance of border areas must therefore be a priority for the country, because it has a different level of vulnerability from other regions that are closer to the center of government. First, in general the communities of the border areas have a minimal level of welfare. Second, there is lack of quality of human resources in the border region. Third, the communities at the border areas are deemed to undergo inequality in term of development, which in turn leads to social inequalities, especially when compared to their neighboring countries.

Fourth, the local governments are deemed to have lower sense of security in addition to immigration issues and population problems that are yet to be well organized and documented. Fifth, externally, the border region is a traffic lane that is open to outsiders who will enter Indonesia and vice versa, and therefore it has the potential to disturb the stability and sovereignty of the country if not properly secured.

One area that needs attention is the border area of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Based on the results of research conducted in 2018, it was found that there are still boundaries of the territory of Indonesia with other countries which have not yet been fully discussed and agreed upon which, in turn, may become a form of potential for existential threats [2]. Problems such as territorial violations, armed uprisings, sabotage, espionage, armed terror acts, sea and air security threats, and communal conflicts are forms of threats that can arise in the border areas [3].

The border shared by the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste is one of the interesting border areas to be studied due to several reasons. First, historically the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste was previously an administrative region that was part of the Republic of Indonesia, namely the Province of East Timor, which later on disintegrated. Secondly, socio-culturally, the people living in the two regions of the country have the same character and habits in their daily lives due to blood ties and ancestry. Third, the territory of the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste which is divided into several districts has one region separated by Indonesian territory, namely the Oecussie District which borders directly with the North Central Timor Regency. When RDTL people living in Dili want to visit Oecussie, they must enter and pass the Indonesian territory.

A Based on the arguments above, this current research focuses on analyzing factual and potential threats that are deemed to be able to disturb the security and stability of the border area of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of East Timor. The analysis is based on the types and forms of factual and potential threats, both military and non-military, as stipulated in the Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2018 concerning the National Defense Action Plan for 2018-2019 which covers various fields, including demographics, geography, natural

resources and the environment, ideology, politics, economics, social culture, technology, defense and security [4].

II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

The border areas is one of the areas of the country that must be guarded properly, because it is a storefront of a country. The border areas must be made a priority, managed well, and guarded by all elements of the nation and state. The importance of developing border areas because they have strategic values. First, border areas have an important influence on a state’s sovereignty. Second, the border area is a driving factor for improving the socioeconomic welfare of the surrounding community. Third, border areas have interrelations that affect each other with activities carried out in other areas sharing the border, both between regions and between countries. Fourth, border areas affect the defense and security conditions, both at the regional and national scale [5].

National interests are divided into survival, vital, major, and peripherals [6]. Survival is a national interest at the first level of intensity that maintains the physical existence of a nation from the danger of attacks or threats of attack. At the second level of intensity, vital interests occur when a nation protects its national interests by using various forceful efforts from circumstances that are deemed serious. At the third level of intensity is a major interest, a disturbed or affected interest that does not require the use of force to the nation such as state, economic and social politics. At the fourth level of intensity, namely peripherals, are a number of national interests that are influenced by an impact of the situation; yet, they do not affect the overall national interest.

Related to efforts to build national resilience in the border region, the analysis will be based on the classification of threats on the aspects of astagatra. Astagatra is a concept of national resilience in Indonesia, including: demography, geography, natural resources and environment, ideology, politics, economy, socio cultural, technology, defense and security. Referring to the Instruction of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2018 concerning the 2018-2019 National Action Plan for the Country Defense, the threats are categorized into two types, namely factual threats and potential threats, in the form of military and non-military threats as follows.

Table 1.1

Map and Categorization of Threats Faced by Indonesians [7]

No	Aspects	Threat Category	
		Factual	Potential
1	Demography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uncontrolled population growth Uneven population distribution 	Vulnerable life quality of the society in term of health aspect
2	Geography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The geographical location of Indonesia in the Pacific Ring of Fire The decreasing awareness and vigilance of the nation towards Indonesia's 	Conflicts between the citizens and frictions between the neighboring regions of the countries

		geostrategic position	
3	Natural Resources and Environment	The environmental damage has resulted in floods, landslides, droughts, disease outbreaks, and poverty. Agrarian conflicts and excessive exploitation of natural resources.	Scarcity of oil and gas energy
4	Ideology	Spread of ideologies that conflict with Pancasila	Shifts in values and norms in the society that contradict those of Pancasila
5	Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spread of black campaigns, identity politics, narrow nationalism, pragmatism, money politics, and ethnic, racial, religious and intergroup politics Political apathy and increasing abstentions 	Dictator of Majority and Minority Tyrant
6	Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High levels of poverty, difficulties in employment, and lack of entrepreneurial interests Leakage and ineffectiveness of state revenue and expenditure 	Monetary crisis due to foreign exchange trade conspiracy
7	Socio Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The fading of national identity Communal/horizontal/SARA conflict 	Low sense of competitiveness
8	Technology	Cybercrimes/ cyber attacks, dissemination of hoax /provocative information (hoaxes), and hate speech	Dependency on foreign technological products
9	Defense and Security	Horizontal conflicts, separatist action, and terrorist action in the combatant category Violation of the sovereignty of air, sea and land area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Invasion/aggressions and campaign of Foreign Nation Armies.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach with a case study method. The research location is in Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, involving speakers from various parties, including the government, local government, academics, and society. Data collection

was performed using technics such as interviews, observation, and focus group discussions, as well as study documentation. The data collected were then analyzed through three steps, including data reduction, data display, and data verification [8]. To strengthen the degree of research results, triangulation has been performed based on the data collection techniques and data sources.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Factual and Potential Threats in Border Regions

The research results have showed a number of problems that can disrupt the stability of the border region. These threats comprise politics and government, ideology, economics, education, health, defense and security, and immigration.

1. Threats of Politics and Government

Politics and governance are one of the strategic fields that determine the progress of development in a region, including in border areas. Based on observations, there are still many villages that are overlooked and not made parts of the development priority. Villages that are still lacking in development are mainly villages that are inhabited by expatriates, namely the people who chose to be part of the Republic of Indonesia during the referendum in 1999. The problems identified were, among others, the absence of electricity, the scarcity of clean water, and the low awareness of the importance of education.

In addition to that, the human resources lack of skills, experience, knowledge, and motivation in supporting the development programs. The society tends to only wait for a helping hand from the government, without trying to make efforts to improve the quality of their life independently. This can be seen from the low interest and work ethic of most of the people who live in this region. However, apart from the problem of the low quality of life and lack of development, this region actually has the potential to be developed, especially for tourism. The areas can attract foreign tourists as their locations are not far from the Motion border.

2. Threats of Ideology

In the field of ideology, the problem that occurs in border areas is the emergence of radical groups that have the potential to disrupt the stability of the lives of the communities in the border areas. A horizontal conflict that has occurred recently was triggered by the existence of self-defense groups, especially the Silat Setia Hati Teratai and Kera Sakti schools that have been involved in the conflict several times. The magnitude of the conflict did not only occur in the Atambua region, but also extended to Dili, which was none other than the territory of the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste.

3. Threats of Economy

Problems in the economic field can be seen from at least three sectors, namely, trade, industry and fisheries sector. The potential industrial sector in Belu Regency is divided into small industries (sweet potato and banana chips, home furnishings, and processed pastry industries) and various industries (weaving, palm weaving, and woven string *gewang*). However, the three industries have not been maximally and professionally managed either by the government or by the community as independent businesses. The implication is that producers have not been able to

provide production yields to be distributed to other regions outside Belu Regency.

In terms of product variations, there are still not many innovations made by producers, which are still monotonous and lack of creativity in processing the products. In the trade sector, most people are active in the market yet limited only to only buying and selling clothes. However, the goods being traded are still shipments from other regions. In this case the traders only act as mere distributors, implying lower revenues when compared to selling homemade products.

In the field of fisheries, even though the community has implemented a semi-intensive aquaculture system, namely providing additional feed in the fish farming business, there are still problems that must be resolved, one of which is the still low quality of the human resources in utilizing fisheries technology, both the fishermen and fish cultivators. Therefore, improving the quality of human resources in the field of fisheries needs attention, considering the use of fish catches and aquaculture greatly helps improve people's lives. Departing from the three sectors identified above, the government and regional governments should make various efforts in the form of regulations by paying attention to the following aspects.

First, regional economic policies must be directed towards stabilizing economic conditions, such as the stability of prices of goods and services and financing policies with low interest rates for farmers. Second, it is essential to encourage economic activities in leading sectors that touch community groups, business groups, and cooperatives. Third, aspects of infrastructure that support the acceleration of the development of regional leading sectors needs special attention. Fourth, there is a need to build partnerships between farmers or groups of farmers, small businesses and large businesses in developing superior products to market their products. Fifth, the promotion of potential of regional investment should be put on regional superior products. Sixth, the ability, knowledge, skills and capacity of the human resources driving the leading sector needs to be increased. Seventh, food security must maintain the availability of basic commodities. Eighth, productivity, production, competitiveness and added values of superior products needs to be increased, while still paying attention to the aspects of environmental sustainability. Ninth, agricultural business development can use an integrated regional approach with the concept of agribusiness and agropolitan development to elevate the economic scale hence further increasing efficiency and added values. Tenth, development, system strengthening, and market access for agricultural products should be conducted through the development of partnerships that create dependency between farmers and entrepreneurs. Eleventh, the development of cooperatives and industries should put its emphasis on rural small-scale agro-industry. Twelfth, the development of appropriate technology in supporting efforts to increase the value added of regional superior products should be maintained. Thirteenth, the area's land leading sectors need to be expanded as an effort to increase regional production to support regional food security. Fourteenth, prices related to superior sector supporting products, such as fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, medicines, fodder, and others, have to be stabilized. Fifteenth, policies must be oriented at improving the welfare of society [9].

4. Threats of Education

There are at least four problems faced in the field of education. One, the low level of public awareness of the importance of education, which can be seen from the low number of people completing their education. In the Belu regency, people who do not/have not yet had a diploma are higher in number than the people who have a certificate (elementary/equivalent, junior high/equivalent, high school/equivalent, vocational/equivalent, DI/D-II, D-III, and University). Second, there is still a lack of teaching staff with qualifications that are in line with the needs of the times. Even though Atambua is one of the SM3T targets, the policy has not been able to absorb educators from the local community. This has the potential to cause horizontal conflicts among the people, especially amid the difficulty of unemployment in Belu Regency. Third, the literacy rate of the people in Belu Regency is below the average literacy rate of East Nusa Tenggara Province [10]. Fourth, seen from the average length of schooling, Belu District reached only 7.03 years in 2014, indicating that the average level of education of the adult population (15 years and over) in Belu District is a primary school graduate.

5. Threats of Health

In the health sector, the problems faced are mainly related to health management and sanitation, among others: (a) the lack of health workers, (b) the low quality of health services to the community, (c) the lack of clean water availability, (d) The management of the sanitation system, which is not good. These problems have led to the declining life expectancy in Belu Regency, especially in the range of 2011-2014. The life expectancy of Belu Regency in 2010 was 66 years and decreased to 62.31 years in 2014. This figure is still below the average life expectancy at the level of East Nusa Tenggara Province.

The declining quality of life of the people is triggered by the low healthy lifestyles, high economic pressures, and the fact that the health sector has not made a priority by the local governments. Another problem that needs immediate measure is the existence or ownership of private toilets/latrines. In general, the people still use nature as the type of "*cemplung*" and *plengsengan* traditional toilets (without septic tanks), which can cause ground water pollution (SGL, surface water, etc.). Quantitatively, one nurse in Belu District must serve more than 200 residents while one midwife must serve more than 80 residents. Belu District only had 43 general practitioners and 8 dentists in 2014, while specialist doctors were not yet available.

6. Threats of Defense and Security

The field of defense and security is an aspect that is no less important to consider, because it involves stability and regional sovereignty. Sovereignty is a legal characteristic or attribute of a country, which signifies the symbol of the applicable law and high authority in a country [11]. However, there are several unresolved issues in the defense and security sector in Belu District, including: (a) unclear national boundary areas, both sea and land, (b) lack of border security budget, (c) unstable communication network used by cross-border postal officers, where at some point officers still use communication networks owned by neighboring countries, (d) the emergence of information warfare and data theft as a result of the use of communication systems together (sharing), (e) smuggling and illegal border crossing through

unofficial channels (rat routes), (f) theft of livestock by the neighboring peoples, and (g) the still minimal use of defense and security technology in border areas.

7. Threats of Immigration

Governance and agreements regarding the traffic of people in the border regions of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of East Timor that are considered unfair to the Atambua community have the potential to ignite sparks of vertical conflicts between the community and the government. This is caused by the incomparability of the policies implemented by the Indonesian government for RDTL citizens with the policies implemented by the RDTL government for Indonesian citizens. Where the Indonesian government provides visa-free policy for RDTL citizens who will visit Indonesia, whereas when Indonesian citizens will visit RDTL are required to pay an entry visa of \$ 30 dollars or equivalent to Rp.420,000 (dollar exchange rate of Rp.14,000).

Based on the research findings as revealed above, which covers strategic areas, including; politics and government, ideology, economics, education, health, defense and security, and immigration. Researchers are beginning to see problems that have the potential to interfere with the stability of security in the border region, which is actually based on the still low level of community welfare. In addition, sociologically and anthropologically, people who live in Belu District, especially in Atambua District, have unfavorable habits. Most people generally like to party, get drunk, and incur huge costs for rapid implementation. On the contrary, in term of earning income, they are generally deemed lazy. This must be responded by the local government by making a series of efforts to erode the habit, because it has an impact on the level of community welfare.

The low level of community welfare is an internal threat that is the forerunner to the birth of conflict that can disrupt national stability. These issues consequently turn into a starting point for problems, such as separatism, terrorism, violence, and disasters caused by human actions. This problem has long become a "germ of disease" that threatens the national unity, nationalism, patriotism, and national security [12]. These issues are closely related to socio-cultural problems, and therefore the solution must be through the use of socio-cultural approach.

B. Border Area Governance

The state is the only source of law, and therefore the highest authority must be held by the state [13]. This power applies to a variety of interests, both with respect to the use and development of territories and the enactment of state territorial law for the creation of security and welfare of the community. Security is basically an effort to manage the element of threat with an ultimate goal of creating a living environment in the country and the individuals who are free from all forms of threats [14]. A few problems that have the potential to threaten the national security, especially in the border areas, require a serious management system. The concept of security must be understood as the ability to survive in facing a real threat (existential threat) [15]. Therefore, the management strategy must also be based on the threats that have been identified.

In addition, governance in border areas must include optimum public involvement, both in its planning and

implementation. Moreover, when globalization has succeeded in raising democratic values and respecting human rights in all corners of the world, there is a realization that society or citizens are not merely objects, but also the subject of national life. Security is a public possession (belonging to the community) so it must be able to be enjoyed by the whole community [16].

Development of the defense sector in the border region is demanded to be more professional and support the principles of regional autonomy, namely carrying out the development with the aim of regional stability and also improving the welfare of the surrounding community accompanied by good quality service to the community so as to encourage democratic and civilized political life and participatory community life [17].

The governance of border areas occupies a strategic position in supporting the creation of regional security stability (boundary areas) which has an impact on national interests, and therefore it must be made a priority, managed well, and guarded by all elements of the nation and state.

In general, the need to emphasize the importance of developing border areas is due to its strategic values, including:

- a. Border areas have an important influence on a state's sovereignty.
- b. The border area is a driving factor for improving the socioeconomic welfare of the surrounding community.
- c. Border areas have interrelations that affect each other with activities carried out in other areas sharing the border, both between regions and between countries
- d. Border areas affect the defense and security conditions, both at the regional and national scale [18].

National resilience is a dynamic rather than a static and contextual term [19]. Drew and Snow differentiate national interests into survival, vital, major, and peripherals [20]. Survival is a national interest at the first level of intensity that maintains the physical existence of a nation from the danger of attacks or threats of attack. At the second level of intensity, vital interests occur when a nation protects its national interests by using various forceful efforts from circumstances that are deemed serious.

There are two characteristics of vital interests, i.e., when a nation feels that it does not want to compromise on an issue. Secondly, when a nation decides to go to war. Usually, vital interests relate to the sovereignty of a nation-state to other nation-states. At the third level of intensity is a major interest, a disturbed or affected interest that does not require the use of force to the nation such as state, economic and social politics.

It is at the boundary of the intensity of interests between vital and major lies the most difficulty in determining the right time for the use of military force when various interests related to political, economic, and social have been interrupted by certain opposing parties. At the fourth level of intensity, namely peripherals, are a number of national interests that are influenced by an impact of the situation; yet, they do not affect the overall national interest.

V. CONCLUSION

Various threats faced by the country's border regions, both factual and potential, must be resolved as soon as possible. Problems in the border region intertwine with each other, ranging from geography, demography, natural resources and the environment, ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture, defense and security. Therefore, the effort for settlement cannot be carried out by one party, but must be synergistic, collaborative, and cross-sectoral. One approach that can be taken is through the pentahelix model, namely the synergy between government, academia, the private sector, community/society, and the media.

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