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## **The role of Indonesian national soldiers in the Covid-19 outbreak**

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**Abstract.** Modern warfare is not just muscular warriors or laser-blended weapons, but the level of intelligence and morality. The war is now a strategy to utilize space (media) and time (moments or events), in winning the hearts of the public. The Covid-19 outbreak, is a serious threat to Indonesia in terms of defense and security. The government must be able to prepare as well as possible to anticipate the various possibilities and potential national threats. The military is the best organization in every country, because the military will always be ready to face all threats that can interfere with the sovereignty of the country, so it is interesting for the writer to make a description of the role of the TNI in dealing with Covid-19 with the Barry Buzan threat assessment framework. The study was conducted with a descriptive approach to phenomenological qualitative trying to understand the meaning of various events and human interactions in a particular situation. Hope the author, with this paper can provide benefits for the benefit of the nation and state.

**Keywords.** Indonesian National Soldier, Barry Buzan, Threats, Covid-19 Plague, Modern warfare, phenomenology

### **1. Introduction**

The progress of globalization has changed the pattern of threats to state sovereignty. Predictions of war writers have moved away from militaristic forms and become more ideological, political, social and cultural. Modern warfare is not just muscular warriors or laser-blended weapons, but the level of intelligence and morality. The war is now a strategy to utilize space (media) and time (moments or events), in winning the hearts of the public and breaking *Jus ad bellum* from the enemy.

The development of globalization can change lives globally, regionally, and nationally. This change also impacts on changing threats and challenges. The current potential threat no longer comes from military attacks from other countries, but terrorism and radicalism, separatism and armed insurgency, natural and environmental disasters, border region violations, threats to resources, infectious diseases, drugs, information intelligence warfare and cyber technology warfare.

Future and current wars are asymmetrical wars, which are not carried out by state actors but through various sectors of life with ideological, political, economic, cultural, social and defense threats, in winning space, time and trust. Future wars demand our ability to defeat technological developments, to maintain the stability of national defense.

Through various programs the government implements a national defense system. The Indonesian defense system is a universal defense system, in which all components of the state are obliged to defend the country for the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. Free foreign policy is active, and the universal defense system is adopted by Indonesia through a solid strategy. Chewy strategies are strategies that quickly adapt to threats and challenges.

In the face of real threats now and in the future, strong strategic defense is needed. The level of military and non-military strength in each region is needed in the face of threat dynamics. Preparation of the quality of human resources is the main key in observing this development so that humans are formed who not only master science and technology but also must have character or integrity and love for the motherland.

China and WHO determined that this disease is a new type of disease caused by a corona virus. This outbreak was first detected on Tuesday, December 31, 2019, in Wuhan.[1] WHO has established this flu as a global pandemic, which has spread worldwide. This flu attack is not a military invasion, but a pandemic, no country is free from threats. This outbreak is not over, the threat has not stopped and can be stopped. The implication is that it creates complex emergencies everywhere, and can threaten national security.

This outbreak poses a serious threat to Indonesia in terms of defense and security. The government must be able to prepare as well as possible to anticipate various possibilities and potential national defense threats. If it cannot be controlled it can have a massive impact on economic security, especially food security and technology, "said military and defense observer, Connie Rahakundini Bakrie, in Jakarta, Monday (3/23/2020).[2]

The Indonesian National Soldier (TNI) as one of the nation's components and state instruments in the field of defense has the main task of upholding the country's sovereignty, maintaining the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Concerning the main tasks of War Military Operations (OMP) and Operations Military Other than War (OMSP) is included in RI Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI.[3] Specifically, the OMSP of the TNI has 14 types of operations that are its responsibility. In accordance with its duties and functions, it requires the TNI to play an active role in responding to all forms of disasters, including the Covid-19 outbreak. The active role of the TNI in accordance with Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2020 concerning Determination of Non-Natural Disasters Spreading Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) as a national disaster.[4]

The military is the best organization in every country, because the military will always be ready to face all threats that can interfere with state sovereignty, so it becomes interesting for the writer to make an analysis of how the role of the TNI in dealing with Covid-19 with the threat assessment framework Barry Buzan, it is hoped that this paper can provide benefits for the benefit of the nation and state.

## **2. Research methods**

The study was conducted with a descriptive approach to phenomenological qualitative trying to understand the meaning of various events and human interactions in certain situations. According to Creswell, 1998 phenomenological researchers try to find things that are essential, invariant

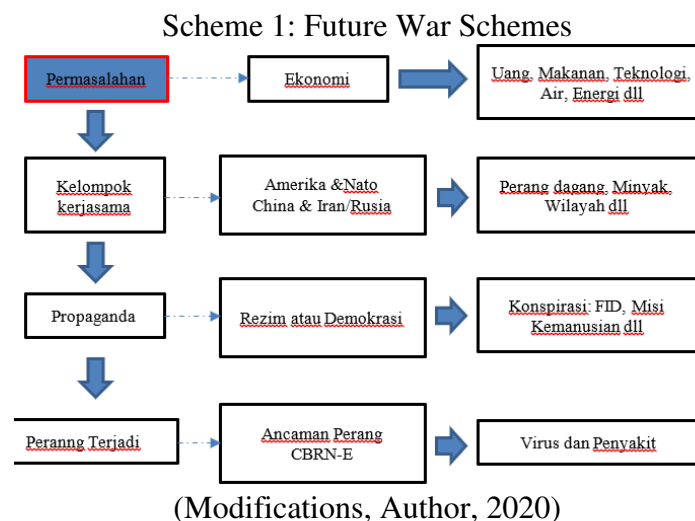
structures (essence) or meaningful to basic experiences and emphasize awareness in which experiences describe the outside and inside each according to memory, images and meanings.[5] In this study, describe how the TNI plays a role in dealing with Covid-19 with the Barry Buzan threat assessment framework. Research data were collected using the literature study method.

### 3. Result and discussion

The current paradigm of war has changed into non-territorial war, the background of this paradigm is globalization and modernization which makes geopolitical and geostrategic changes. War is now a strategy to utilize space (media) and time (moments or events), in winning the hearts of the public and destroying Jus ad bellum from the enemy.

Currently we are entering the 5th generation war (hybrid warfare) which we can already see for yourself the truth is a mixture of the 1-3 generation war (conventional warfare) with the 4th generation war (asymmetric warfare and proxy warfare). The threat of hybrid war itself consists of conversion operations, cyber security, space, maritime disputes, scarcity of resources, organized crime and terrorism. With the prediction of future threats in the form of threats from high land, communism, digital (artificial intelligence), computers and technology, health / biological weapons, food and water energy, rebels, borders, state cooperation, natural & man-made disaster, organized crime.

Threats can be made in the form of upcoming war schemes:



Globalization has driven transformation in several aspects of a region. One of them is the paradigm. The paradigm that conquers / controls a country, is not only carried out by state entities & in the physical area, but also carried out by non-state entities and non-physical regions. The dynamics of global issues and regional concepts have placed the development of threats in significant non-physical areas

Changes in the situation by geopolitics and geostrategy have greatly influenced the lives of countries around the world including Indonesia. Indonesia as a developing country must quickly adjust to the increasingly large and complex global competition for national defense. Indonesia's geographical location is very strategic, so the dynamics of challenges and threats are very dynamic.

These challenges and threats continue to develop into new forms of dynamic and multidimensional threats both physical and non-physical originating from within and outside the country.

According to Hendropriyono, the current paradigm of war has changed into non-territorial warfare. The object of war is no longer the state but the human brain. The subject of war is no longer the army, but all the universal forces of each party, whether in the form of a sovereign state or a national network, even supranational.[6]

Determination of the national disaster status for the Covid-19 outbreak was carried out through the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2020 concerning Determination of Non-Disaster Disasters in the Distribution of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19), on Monday (4/13/2020). The current widespread spread of the Covid-19 virus is causing concern for the public. This is because the Covid-19 virus is a new type of virus, and can cause death. Since Covid-19 was detected in Wuhan, China, in December 2019, it has been developing very fast. WHO then labeled the Covid-19 virus outbreak as a global pandemic, facing this decision, the Government and all stakeholders need to prepare cushioning and protocols for handling, as well as exercise on the various possibilities that can occur as a result of Covid-19.

The active role of the TNI in accordance with Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2020 concerning Determination of Non-Natural Disasters Spreading Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) as a national disaster, is in accordance with one of the main tasks of the TNI which is to protect the entire nation and all Indonesian blood spills from threats and disturbances

Faced with the issue of Covid-19's handling of the role of the TNI in the framework of Barry Buzan's threat assessment, a qualitative descriptive approach with phenomenology.

### **A. The Covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia within the framework of the Barry Buzan Threat Assessment**

Development of threats to physical and non-physical areas. Post-Cold War and the world entering the era of globalization, which is described in a world situation without borders, has made non-physical threats a more significant influence on the sustainability of a country. Non-physical threats can be in the form of biological attacks with the power of "soft power" which seeks to threaten the country's defense through health. Public health is threatened, will affect the stability of a nation and state. The massive Covid-19 outbreak, can change the level of human life

According to Barry Buzan in his book: *People State and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in Post Cold War Era*, that security is not only limited to a sense of security, but that security includes security in terms of military threats, political threats, economic threats, social threats and environmental threats, This form of threat can cause national insecurity.[7]

#### **1. Military Threat**

Military threats not only destroy vital infrastructure, but military threats can change the ecosystem of national life. Changing social and political life is a major threat from military aggression. Military threats in generation 5 wars (hybrid wars) are a mixture of 1-3 generation wars (conventional wars) with generation 4 wars (asymmetric wars and proxy wars). The threat of hybrid war itself consists of conversion operations, cyber security, space, maritime disputes, scarcity of resources, organized crime and terrorism. With predictions of future threats in the form of threats to high ground, communism, digital (artificial intelligence), computers and technology, health/biological weapons, food and water energy, rebels, borders, state cooperation, natural & man-made disasters organized crime.

Modern warfare is not only muscular warriors or laser-blended weapons, but the level of intelligence and morality. War now is a strategy to utilize space (media) and time (moments or events) in winning the hearts of the public. Modern warfare is no longer an army dealing with armies like conventional warfare, waging wars from various fields to threaten the lives of opposing nations.

This outbreak poses a serious threat to Indonesia in terms of defense and security. The government must be able to prepare as well as possible to anticipate the various possibilities and potential threats to national defense. If it cannot be controlled, it can have a big impact on the course of the life of the nation and state.

The Covid-19 threat is a real threat, which is being faced by countries around the world including Indonesia. Covid-19 is a new type of virus, which does not yet exist in any country in the world to ensure that Covid-19 is a man-made virus or occurs due to genetic mutations from an existing virus.

## **2. Political Threats**

The political threat is more directed at the stability of the government system. This threat is deliberately made to pressure the government in making policies. Creating political intrigue that can damage the course of government, so that it can weaken the role of the TNI. Political threats are general threats that always exist in the world, regardless of their size or strength, and the strength of a country.

A significant increase in the number of cases, and confusing handling of course makes people uncomfortable. Uncomfortable community feelings can influence political dynamics in Indonesia.[8]

Securitization that occurred related to Covid-19 in Indonesia, could be a threat to political entities such as the government, this can be seen from the central government limiting the authority of regional governments in handling Covid-19 in their regions. This is done by the central government as a control function, so that the handling of Covid-19 does not threaten national security.

## **3. Social Threats**

Sociologist from the University of Indonesia (UI) Ida Ruwaida considers, anxiety that occurs in the community against the malignancy of Covid-19 is a human thing because this disease is caused by a new type of virus, which spreads massively and can be life-threatening.[9]

Anxiety in the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic is a natural thing, because everyone is in an uncertain condition. Anxiety about something new and can be life threatening can spread to others. Anxiety disorders will increase to the threat of depression if its spread cannot be controlled. Depression can reduce a person's immune system, making him vulnerable to contracting Covid-19.

## **4. Economic Threats**

The impact of the Covid-19 outbreak, can damage the world economic chain, especially the economies of developing countries. Economic threats have the potential to cause a world economic crisis if not dealt with quickly and appropriately. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) states, the Covid-19 pandemic brings the third largest economic, financial and social shock in the 21st century after the September 11 terror attacks and the 2008 global financial crisis. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) states that the Covid-19 outbreak could cause a global recession in 2020. This recession could be worse than the 2008 global financial



crisis. Investors are beginning to plan for a withdrawal of capital flows, especially investments in developing countries.[10]

The beginning of the economic crisis can be seen from the weakening of the exchange rate, IHSG, the existence of foreign exchange reserves, the ratio of foreign debt to GDP, and the level of economic growth. Increased inflation, rising bad loans, loosening of the balance of payments and trade deficit. Indonesia has not experienced a recession, but we must be able to see changes in current market behavior. Changes in current market behavior can be the beginning of crisis mitigation

## **5. Ecological Threats**

Apart from the four threats above, ecological threats cannot be underestimated, because ecological threats can be compared to military and economic threats that can destroy the basic form of the state. Ecological threats can be caused by accidents, and are part of life patterns. Disposing of health waste to the environment can have a serious impact on health and the ecosystem.[11]

Health equipment, such as Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) to Health instruments used in laboratories, is very important in handling Covid-19. However, without realizing it, sometimes we forget that the equipment after use is hazardous and toxic B3 waste. In the current situation the use of PPE, especially masks, and some even wear hazmat clothing, not only paramedics but even ordinary people also use the equipment. With limited knowledge we can imagine how the impact of waste management is not in accordance with standardization.[12] The government must be responsive in managing medical waste, because it can threaten the ecology. The government can cooperate with the TNI, and can also invite LSM to care for the environment.[13]

## **B. The Role of the TNI in Dealing with the Covid-19 Outbreak**

Military threats, political threats, social threats, economic threats, and ecological threats are not static national security agendas. Theoretically the military threat is still higher than other threats, as long as international politics takes the form of anarchy. Threats are the main problem of national security.

In this study the author only examined four areas of the five Buzan fields, because these four fields had an important influence on the role of the TNI in dealing with the Covid-19 outbreak.

### **1. Military Threats**

Military threats occupy the traditional core of national security. The military is one component of the country, which was built to maintain sovereignty from various forms of threats. The military can be used by the state as a tool to threaten from various aspects. Military threats are the most frightening threat to the country. Military threats not only destroy vital infrastructure, but military threats can change the ecosystem of national life. Changing social and political life is a major threat from military aggression.

Modern warfare is not only muscular warriors or laser-blended weapons, but the level of intelligence and morality. War is now a strategy to utilize space (media) and time (moments or events), in winning the hearts of the public. The Covid-19 outbreak is a serious threat to Indonesia in terms of defense and security. The government must be able to prepare as well as possible to anticipate the various possibilities and potential threats to national defense. If it cannot be controlled, it can have a big impact on the life cycle of the nation and state.

The role of the TNI in dealing with Covid-19 is as a supporting component of the ministry of health as a major component in dealing with the Covid-19 outbreak. This is also in accordance with Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense.[14] TNI implementation has been seen since the beginning of the government launching the Covid-19 outbreak as a national outbreak, starting with the transportation of 238 Indonesian citizens in Wuhan, taking 188 World Dream cruises, 68 Diamond Princess cruises, 28 crews from the Explorer Dream cruise, 57 crew cruises Grand Princess, 418 crew cruises MV. Nieuw Amsterdam and 400 cruise ships. Grandeur of Carnival.

In addition to picking up the TNI, the TNI also plays an active role in the preparation of quarantine facilities and infrastructure, at Galang Island Hospital, Natuna Island, Sebaru Island, Kemayoran athlete's home, and making the TNI hospital as a referral hospital. The TNI also played an active role in preparing medical staff, psychiatrists and other trained personnel to participate in facing the Covid-19 threat.



Figure 1. Dream World ABK evacuation process to KRI Dr. Soeharso, Wednesday (2/26/2020)  
(Source: <https://lokadata.id/>)



Figure 2. Morning Sports Indonesian citizen from Wuhan at the Natuna Quarantine Center  
(Source: Pikiran Rakyat.com)





Figure 3. The government carries 9 tons of medical equipment from Shanghai, China to overcome the spread corona virus (covid-19) in Indonesia using Hercules C-310 aircraft (Source: <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/>)

## 2. Political Threats

The political threat is more directed at the stability of the government system. This threat is deliberately made to pressure the government in making policies. Creating political intrigue that can damage the course of government, so that it can weaken the role of the TNI. Political threats are general threats that always exist in the world, regardless of their size or strength, and the strength of a country.

The problem that is increasing nowadays, many of which are related to the policies set by the government, of course give rise to various public opinions. Various opinions can foster insecurity in society, it is not impossible to influence national threats. Securitization that occurs related to Covid-19 in Indonesia, can be a threat to political entities such as the government, this can be seen from the central government limiting the authority of regional governments in handling Covid-19 in their regions. This is done by the central government as a control function, so that the handling of Covid-19 does not threaten national security.

The limited authority of the regional government can be seen from the steps of President Joko Widodo to determine the status of public health emergencies to overcome the corona virus or the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia. Jokowi also decided to enact Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) to deal with corona outbreaks by issuing Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 21 Year 2020 concerning Large-Scale Social Restrictions in the Context of Accelerating the Management of Corona Virus 2019 (Covid19).[15]

In the process of handling the acceleration of handling Covid-19. The Indonesian National Army together with the National Police are obliged to maintain national security stability, because the PP is in accordance with the existing legal basis. Republic of Indonesia Police.[16]

The involvement of the TNI in dealing with the consequences of political threats can no longer be overestimated, it can be seen from the history of TNI involvement in solving several problems due to Indonesian political threats. One example of the role of the Navy Marine Corps in stabilizing the life of the nation and state as a result of political change in 1998. We know Together with the history of 1998, is one of Indonesia's dark political history, riots occur everywhere as a result of people's mistrust to the Government. The Navy Marine Corps with its strategy can attract the sympathy of all Indonesians.



Figure 4. Role of Navy Chief Crops During the May 1998 Riots (Source: <https://seasite.niu.edu/>)

### 3. Social Threats

Sociologist from the University of Indonesia (UI) Ida Ruwaida considers, the anxiety that occurs in the community against the malignancy of Covid-19 is a human thing because this disease is caused by a new type of virus, which spreads massively and can be a lifetime-threatening. Anxiety in the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic is a natural thing, because everyone is in an uncertain condition. Anxiety about something new and can be life threatening can spread to others. Anxiety disorders will increase to the threat of depression if its spread cannot be controlled. Depression can reduce a person's immune system, making him vulnerable to contracting Covid-19.

The TNI as one of the components of the state that comes from the people, has an obligation to provide comfort to the people. A sense of comfort from the influence of social threats can be provided through health services and psychological services. This can be done because the TNI has trained human resources, as well as supporting facilities and infrastructure.



Figure 5. Paramedic of the Lower Armed Forces Corona Virus Emergency Hospital at the Athlete's Home (Source: [www.kompas.tv](http://www.kompas.tv))

### 4. Economic Threats

The beginning of the economic crisis can be seen from the weakening of the exchange rate, IHSG, the existence of foreign exchange reserves, the ratio of foreign debt to GDP, and the level of economic growth. Increased inflation, rising bad loans, loosening of the balance of payments and trade deficit. Indonesia has not experienced a recession, but we must be able to see changes in

current market behavior. Changes in current market behavior can be the beginning of crisis mitigation

The impact of the Covid-19 outbreak, can damage the world economic chain, especially the economies of developing countries. Indonesia is a developing country, so it needs fast and appropriate handling, especially in the microeconomic sector. The role of the TNI can be maximized in the distribution of aid to the community, both in the form of in-kind assistance, enlightenment assistance to Covid-19, and assistance in the form of livelihoods in the microeconomic chain. in all regions. Why does it have to be a TNI, because only the TNI is at the forefront to remote areas with a chain of command. The TNI is in the midst of the community from Babinsa (Bintara foster village), Babinpotmar (Bintara Pembina maritime potential), and Babinsa (space training without commission), to the task force on the border of the Republic of Indonesia.



Figure 6. Active role of the Navy in Providing Assistance on the coast of South Sulawesi, Lombok and Banyuwangi (Source: <https://persbhayangkara.id/>)

Citizens chosen to become TNI will be trained to be able to maintain the integrity of the country. The TNI was trained to be a patriot of the nation, so that the souls of warriors were embedded in the soul of the motherland. The presence of TNI everywhere always gives a constructive impression, this can be seen from the teaching program carried out by soldiers on the border of the Republic of Indonesia.





Figure 7. TNI Services in Educating the Nation's Children From the Eastern Border of Indonesia  
(source: <https://papua.tribunnews.com>)

## 5. Ecological Threats

Apart from the four threats above, ecological threats cannot be underestimated, because ecological threats can be compared to military and economic threats that can destroy the basic form of the state. Ecological threats can be caused by accidents, and are part of life patterns. Health equipment, such as personal protective equipment (PPE) to medical instruments used in laboratories, forgets hazardous and toxic waste (B3).

The government must be responsive in managing medical waste, because it can threaten the ecology. The Ministry of Health in this case can bring the TNI in the destruction of waste, because the TNI at least has soldiers and equipment that can be used. We can see this from the role of the TNI in dealing with disasters, non-natural disasters, and the role of TNI services in protecting ecosystems.

As a major component of national defense, the TNI is a supporting component in conducting military operations other than war. The TNI helps ministries which are the main component of threats. The TNI is the only state institution that is responsive in resolving existing threats, this can be seen from the active role of the TNI in natural disasters. The role of the TNI in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of natural disasters is undoubted, always deploying trained soldiers, and facilities and infrastructure in carrying out assistance quickly.

In terms of organizational structure, the TNI is a state institution that has organizations ranging from villages, national borders, to the level of institutions and ministries. The TNI also transfers power to equalize the level of threat it will face. This dislocation of power, which allows the TNI to move quickly with one command.



Figure 8 Navy in Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Lombok, 9/18/2018 (Source: <https://www.oketimes.com/>)

TNI are not only present during the rehabilitation and reconstruction of natural disasters, TNI also routinely love the environment with various activities such as TNI services. TNI services are carried out with the aim of preserving nature, and bringing the TNI closer as part of the people, together with the TNI people to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.



Figure 9. TNI services on Pekalongan Beach, 18/2019 (Source: <https://jateng.tribunnews.com/>)

#### 4. Conclusion

The progress of globalization has changed the pattern of threats to state sovereignty. Predictions of current and future war writers are no longer conventional wars but tend to be non-conventional wars (mixed wars) which require synergy of all elements of the country, and intelligence in predicting / mobilizing / analyzing current threats and possible future threats.

Covid-19 is a threat to national defense through health, this threat has changed life patterns on a large scale. The government must have the right strategy in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. Integration between components of the nation is the implementation of a universal defense system, which involves all components of the nation. The TNI is a component of the nation that has various capabilities that can be utilized by the government in supporting the Ministry of Health in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic.

From this article the author tries to draw some conclusions, which can provide utilization for the development of science.

- a. Barry Buzan's security framework in his book: *People State and Fear: Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, is best applied as a strategy for dealing with the Covid-19 outbreak.
- b. Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2020 concerning Determination of Non-Natural Disasters Spread of Corona Virus 2019 (Covid-19), is very appropriate, because in handling the Covid-19 epidemic it cannot be done by the Ministry of Health itself, because it demands synergy between national components.
- c. The role of the TNI in assisting the Ministry of Health in handling the Covid-19 outbreak, is an appropriate strategy, and is in accordance with the legal basis of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34 of 2004 concerning Indonesia. Armed Forces, and Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2020 concerning Determination of Non-Natural Disasters of the Corruption Virus 2019 (Covid-19). The TNI as one of the nation's components and state instruments in the defense sector has the main task of upholding the country's sovereignty, maintaining the territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The main tasks of the TNI are implemented in operational tasks; namely War Military Operations (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). Handling of Corona Virus 2019 (Covid-19) is determined as a national disaster, in its handling it enters into the OMSP.



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