

AGRARIAN CONFLICT AND DISINTEGRATION: CHALLENGES FOR INDONESIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

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Abstract– In some countries, disintegration is happened because politization of disparities which had been their foundation in the beginning. Indonesia is precisely standing as a country with its disparities—which can be called as plurality—in ethnics, races, and faiths. As a country with plurality in its society, Indonesia is really fragile in facing domestic conflicts; one of them is agrarian conflicts. This article is written for understanding the relations between agrarian conflict and disintegration and also finding their position in Indonesian national security system. Thus, the object of the observation in this article is the relations between agrarian conflict and disintegration and their position in Indonesian national security system. The results of this observation bring the fact that agrarian conflicts can trigger disintegration among people and decrease legitimacy to the government. The possibility of disintegration is determined by subject-object dimension and government's policies. Besides, agrarian conflicts can be classified as threats to Indonesian national security. There are four reasons why agrarian conflict should be placed as a threat to national security, i.e. conflict subject and object are Indonesia's physical-based component which have to be protected; overlapping policy (institutional component) causing conflict; plurality issues; and anarchical behaviors often estimated as the best solution.

Keywords: agrarian, disintegration, national security, conflict

Introduction

Since the 2014 election process, domestic political dynamics have continued to grow the seeds of disintegration. The potential for conflict continues to grow, especially in the political, religious and racial-ethnic fields. Stereotypical perceptions, prejudices, and socio-cultural biases that arise in the

diversity, which is the foundation of Indonesia, became the trigger for the emergence of hate speech that led to conflict.²

Indonesia is a country that is vulnerable to conflict. The friction of differences in a pluralistic society often leads to conflict. Conflicts in Sampit and Ambon are such two examples. Although

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² Azyumardi Azra, "Pidana Kebencian" in Kompas, 29 August 2019,

it has been successfully handled by the Indonesian government, nothing can guarantee that there will be no more friction that will re-trigger these two conflicts.

One type of conflict that often occurs in Indonesia is agrarian conflict. In the spirit of agrarian reform echoed by President Joko Widodo, handling agrarian conflicts is a top priority for the government, especially the ministries/institutions (K/L) that are directly related to these issues, including the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) and the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN). The spirit of agrarian reform is outlined in Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 86/2018 concerning Agrarian Reform which is enacted under the umbrella of MPR DECREE No. IX/MPR/2001 concerning Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management.

The Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018 defines agrarian reform as a restructuring of the structure of control, ownership, utilization, and use of land into one that is more equitable through structuring assets and access to the prosperity of the people of Indonesia. Meanwhile, agrarian conflicts are defined

as agrarian disputes between individuals, groups, organizations, legal entities or institutions that have a tendency to or have wide social, political, economic, defense, and cultural impacts. In other words, a condition called agrarian conflict has the potential or can have an impact on the social, political, economic, defense and cultural field. Therefore, the discussion on the handling of agrarian conflicts cannot be separated from social, political, economic, defense and cultural issues.

When agrarian conflicts have resulted in physical clashes that have taken place over a period of time and have an impact on national stability and security, these conflicts are also referred to as social conflicts. Under these conditions, the handling refers to Law No. 7/2012 concerning the Handling of Social Conflict. However, in the initial handling, agrarian conflicts only involved a number of K/L, including ATR/BPN and KLHK.

Joko Widodo's administration puts the handling of agrarian conflicts as one of the Nawacita priorities. Concrete steps have been shown since mid-2018 through the issuance of an agrarian conflict resolution policy, granting land certificates to the community, and the

formation of Agrarian Conflict Handling Acceleration Team (TP2KA).³

Unfortunately, these efforts have not shown significant results. In fact, some of these policies actually encourage agrarian conflicts. For example, conflict management of tourism land in Malang Regency. In this conflict, there were three Forest Farmer Groups (KTH) that received land certificates under the Social Forestry (PS) scheme. On the other hand, there is a Forest Village Community Institution (LMDH) established by Perhutani Corporation within the framework of Community Forest Planting (PHBM). Both PS and PHBM are government programs.⁴

Since it was formed by KSP, TP2KA has received 790 reports of agrarian conflicts.⁵ Meanwhile, based on data from the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA), until 2018, 73% of agrarian conflicts were occurring in the plantation sector and have not yet been settled.⁶ The distribution of agrarian conflicts is mostly

in ten provinces, namely Riau, East Java, South Sumatra, West Java, Lampung, North Sumatra, Banten, Aceh, Central Kalimantan, and DKI Jakarta. Among these provinces, Riau, East Java and West Java always occupy the top five positions.⁷

Some people are of the view that agrarian conflict is an issue related to the business climate and economic recovery. However, more than that, agrarian conflicts can also cause disintegration. In fact, it may also be possible for the disintegration of the nation to trigger an agrarian conflict. With the understanding that disintegration is a social phenomenon indicated by the division between groups of people within a country for various reasons. Looking back at the conflicts that occurred in Aceh with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and Papua with the Free Papua Operation (OPM), agrarian conflicts can be the cause or result of a social phenomenon called disintegration.

³ Kantor Staf Kepresidenan, "KSP Siap Bantu DPRD Kabupaten Selesaikan Konflik Agraria <http://ksp.go.id/ksp-siap-bantu-dprd-kabupaten-se-indonesia-selesaikan-konflik-agraria/>, 30 August 2018, accessed on 25 September 2019.

⁴ Ashaq Lupito, "Konflik Pengelolaan Wisata Pantai di Kabupaten Malang dipastikan Berlanjut, Berikut Akar Persoalannya", <https://www.malangtimes.com/baca/32154/20181013/232400/konflik-pengelolaan-wisata-pantai-di-kabupaten-malang-dipastikan-berlanjut-berikut-akar->

persoalannya, 13 oktober 2018, accessed on 8 November 2019.

⁵ CNBC Indonesia, "Wamen ATR Buka-bukaan Soal Tumpang Tindih Lahan & Mafia Tanah", <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/profil/20191106155628-41-113177/wamen-atr-buka-bukaan-soal-tumpang-tindih-lahan-mafia-tanah>, 7 November 2019, accessed on 8 November 2019.

⁶ Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, "Catatan Akhir Tahun 2018: Masa Depan Reforma Agraria Melampaui Tahun Politik", (Jakarta: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, 2018), p. 30.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 33.

The writing of this article aims to explain the relationship between agrarian conflict and the disintegration of the nation and their position in the national security system. This article is based on a hypothesis that agrarian conflicts can turn into social conflicts that can encourage the disintegration of the Indonesian people. In light of the fact that agrarian conflicts are developing into social conflicts that threatens national unity, Indonesia's national security system is threatened with the possibility of national disintegration.

Scope of research

Each country has different characteristics of national security. This is determined by the country's geographical, social, cultural and other conditions. This paper focuses on the problems of Indonesia's national security, especially on the issues of agrarian conflict and national disintegration. In other words, the matters discussed in this article cannot be used to understand the conditions of other countries.

Research methods

Conflict and disintegration of a nation are two of the many national security issues. Conflict and disintegration are social problems that cannot be analyzed using a quantitative approach. The analysis in this paper was carried out using a qualitative approach supported by quantitative data. It also employs secondary data obtained from literature review.

Results and Discussion

Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Conflict is a dynamic social problem. Conflict is a social system formed by actors with conflicting goals.⁸ Therefore, there are two main elements in conflict theory, namely actors and goals. These two elements determine the dynamics of a conflict.

To conceptualize conflict, Johan Galtung also compiled a formula based on eight conflict elements. The eight elements are (1) conflict actors that make up the actor (m) system; (2) objectives (n) with action-systems whose movements can be reviewed in the objective dimension (R); (3) acceptability-region (A) or the objective dimension accepted by all

⁸ Johan Galtung, *Theories of Conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, and Formations*, (Colombia: Colombia University, 1958), p. 35.

actors; (4) incompatibility-region (I) or the destination dimension that is not in accordance with the wishes of several actors, and compatibility-region (C) or the corresponding destination dimension; (5) conflicts with conflict systems that are formed when there is no match between A and C; (6) conflict attitude ; (7) conflict-behavior ; (8) conflict-negation that can be identified when the actors have reached agreement or there is no discrepancy between A and C. Elements (6) and (7) are the initial basis for distinguishing conflict resolution from conflict repression because the analysis conducted on this element must be able to show the damage caused by the conflict and the character as well as the attitude of each actor.⁹

Conflict resolution enforced in a conflict during the de-escalation stage is an intervention to stop hostility. Sending military to conflict areas is needed in order to stop the conflict, to reduce the number of victims, and deliver humanitarian assistance. However, in some conditions, sending military to conflict areas can have no good impact on conflict resolution.¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Heru Cahyono, "The State and Society in "Conflict Resolution in Indonesia (Conflict Area of West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan)", (Journal of Indonesian Social Science and Humanities, Volume 1, 2008), p. 156.

In the state context, conflicts can be divided into inter-state and intra-state conflicts or domestic conflicts. Inter-state conflicts are part of interactions at the international level such as war. Whereas intra-state conflicts include insurgency, rebellions, separatism, civil wars, intercommunal conflict, inter-ethnic conflicts, and conflicts between people and foreign organizations, such as foreign countries or non-governmental organizations.¹¹

Threat of National Disintegration

National disintegration is indicated by the existence of a separatist movement up until the formation of a new state. This can be seen in the case of South Asian countries, Balkan countries, and the Soviet Union. Disintegration in South Asia is indicated by the emergence of Pakistan and Bangladesh as independent countries. After India's independence, Indian Muslim citizens in the northern region demanded independence from India. This demand underlies the founding of Pakistan. Eventually, after its independence in 1971,

¹¹ Matthew Vaccaro, "Conflict Prevention and Resolution, dipresentasikan in *Defence Diplomact Short Course* di Naval Postgraduate School pada 29 July 2015.

Pakistan also experienced disintegration due to political, economic and linguistic differences, resulting in the emergence of state of Bangladesh which, up to this day, remains a least developed country.

The Balkans include Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and parts of Turkey. This region is inhabited by a variety of diverse ethnic groups. There are three religions that become the national identity of the Balkan countries, namely Catholicism, Greek Orthodox Christianity, and Islam. However, most people view this region as a homogeneous region.¹²

The disintegration of the Balkan countries can be seen by the division of Yugoslavia into several countries. Two of them are Serbia and Montenegro, called The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until 2003. Although war no longer occurs, the potential for conflict still exists between the Balkan countries. This is why cooperation in the region cannot run well.

The disintegration experienced by the Soviet Union was caused by several

hard power factors, such as politics and economics. Some experts are of the view that the problems of the economic crisis that plagued the Soviet Union caused disintegration. However, several other experts state that there is a desire of the people to use the capitalism system.

In the case of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the most interesting statement was made by Zhang and Xue who argued that the disintegration of the Soviet Union was caused by the loss of soft power in the form of culture. The involvement of political factors, limitations, and lack of openness in cultural development led to the loss of public culture and ideological identity.¹³

Based on the causes of disintegration in the case of South Asian countries, the Balkan countries, and the Soviet Union, there are many factors that need attention. Political, economic, social and cultural diversity are the cause of most disintegration in some regions. Diversity is a wealth, but improper management can result in the collapse of a country.

¹² Jędrzej Paszkiewicz, "Factors affecting disintegration and integration processes in the Balkans after the Cold War", ResearchGate, April 2018, p. 216, in https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324390478_Factors_affecting_disintegration_and

[_integration_processes_in_the_Balkans_after_the_Cold_War.](#)
¹³ Yuzhi Zhang dan Fengwei Xue, "On the Disintegration of the Soviet Union—From the Perspective of Soft Power in Culture", *Asian Social Science*, Vol. 6, No. 4, April 2010, p. 120.

National Security Concept

In the context of the state, national security is the reason for the emergence of a policy and implementation of an action, both at the domestic and international level. A nation can be defined as a group of people who share the same culture, race, and heritage and usually inhabit a region. A nation is closely related to the formation of the state.¹⁴ A country is formed with three components, namely the idea of the state, the institutional expressions of the state, and the physical basis of the state. These three components are interrelated, but they show different types of security threats.¹⁵

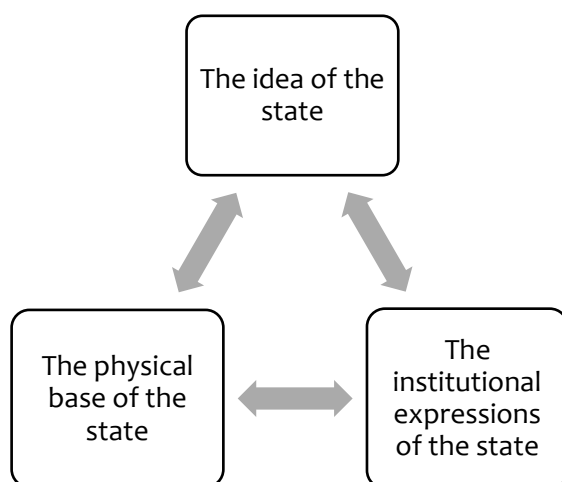


Figure 1. Three components of state
Source: People, States, and Fear 2nd Edition: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era, 1983, p. 40.

The nation is part of the idea of the state. However, there are various models of national and state relations. There are four models of the relationship between nation and state.¹⁶ **First**, primal nation-state, namely the nation plays an important role in the formation of a country, hence the task of the state is to protect the nation. Meanwhile, the nation gives a strong identity to the state in international relations and a strong basis of legitimacy at the domestic level. This model was shown by Japan.

The second model is called state-nation. This model is a form of top-down system with the state playing a role in nation-building. In the process, the state carries out the formation and distribution of uniform cultural elements, such as language, art, customs and law, which will become its identity. This model usually occurs in countries that were previously occupied by residents of other regions, such as the United States and Australia.

The third is a model that divides nations into several countries known as part-nation-state. In this model, one nation dominates two or more countries. This happened to the Koreans who were

¹⁴ Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear 2nd Edition: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Book, Ltd, 1983), p. 45.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46—49.

currently separated between North Korea and South Korea, the Chinese nation, and the Vietnamese during the Cold War.

The fourth is multination-state, which is a state made up of several nations. This model has two sub-models, namely a federation and an imperial state. In a federation state, each state has the right to determine its identity without any federal domination. It was adopted by countries such as Canada, Yugoslavia, United Kingdom, New Zealand and India. The idea of forming a federation state cannot be based on a sense of nationalism, but other interests, such as economics and geopolitics. The absence of the same principles and a sense of nationalism causes vulnerability to separatism, political intervention, and division.

Meanwhile, an imperial state is formed when one nation within a country dominates the state structure for its own benefit. The dominant nation will oppress other nations. For the imperial country, political threats are the main problem of national security. The machine that runs the government in a country is part of a state institution. State institutions seem more real than state ideas, so their position is more vulnerable to physical

threats, such as military attacks or political action.¹⁷ In this case the legitimacy and influence at the domestic level is needed.

The threat to national security in state institutions is the ability of the government to exploit the relationship between government and state security that can be done as an effort to improve its position at the domestic political level. In fact, the use of the armed forces is possible to face the opposition if the government has greater legitimacy at the domestic level. However, if domestic security is permanently tied to national security, government security can be carried out by the police, as seen in the Soviet Union and South Korea.¹⁸

The basic physical component of a country refers to the population and territory of a country, including the wealth within its borders. Threats to this component can be in the form of appropriation or destruction. Threats to the region can occur both from within and outside the country. Internal threats can be in the form of rebellion due to the lack of agreement from one country to become part of another country. Meanwhile, external threats can take the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58—59.

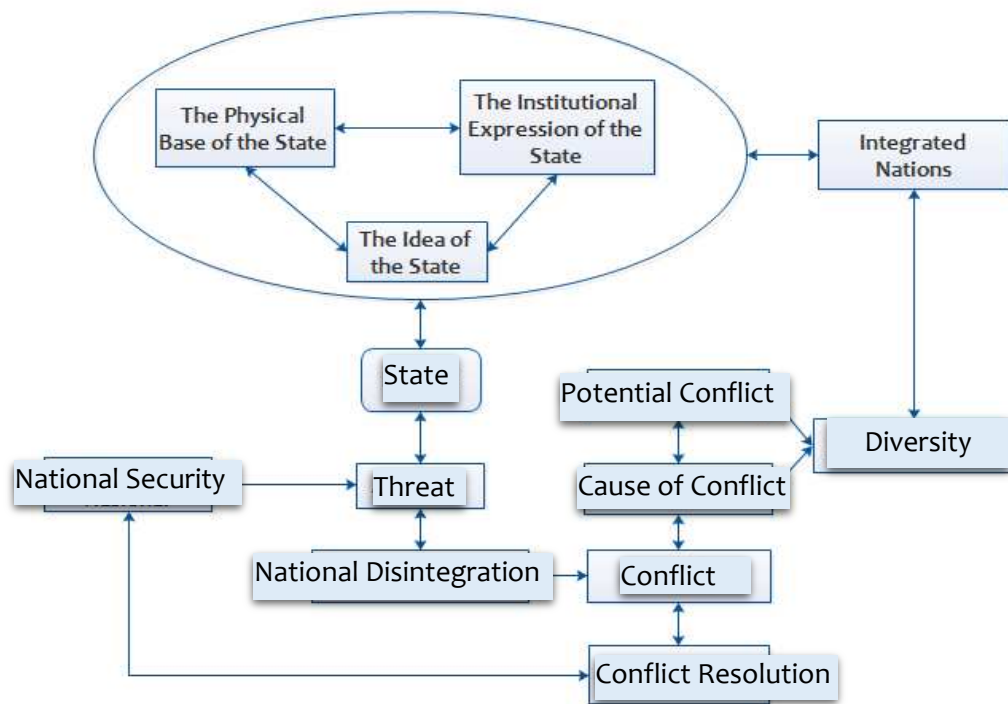


Figure 2. Theoretical Framework
 Source: Processed by Author, 2019.

form of attacks from other countries against state physical property. Protection of territory and population is a major concern in national security although sometimes one of these two things must be sacrificed to protect the other component.¹⁹

This was demonstrated by the Soviet Union and the United States in the Cold War. Both countries tried to avoid attacks on their territory, but they carried out attacks on other countries which were allies of the opposing countries. All of that was done to protect the ideology of

liberalism that was instigated by the United States and communist socialism which was held tightly by the Soviet Union.

Theoretical Framework

In the relationship between state and nation, the effort to unite the diversity of the nation becomes the basis for the formation of a country. A united nation that forms three components of the state will support the country's resilience in facing threats that are often formulated as national security problems. If the national

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 62—64.

unity that forms a state is disrupted, diversity will stand out. This will trigger conflicts, such as the ethnic, tribal, racial, and religious (SARA) conflicts. If conflicts are allowed, national disintegration appears as a threat to national security. Therefore, conflict resolution is needed to support the resilience of the national security system

Indonesia's National Security and Challenges

Indonesia's national security is part of regional and global security. Interference with Indonesia's national security will affect the security of Southeast Asia and the world. This was driven by the increasing interconnectivity of Indonesia with countries in the Southeast Asian region and internationally.

Indonesia is an archipelagic nation flanked by the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean. Indonesia has a diversity of population. At least, there are 1340 ethnic groups in Indonesia.²⁰ This heterogeneity is a challenge for Indonesia's national security.

When viewed from the aspect of

defense, national security relates to issues of terrorism, borders, outer small islands, separatism, radicalism, communal conflicts, natural disasters, and post-reform political conditions.²¹

Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Indonesia

Diversity is not only the basis of the establishment of Indonesia as an independent country, but also raises the potential for high conflict. Some social conflicts occur in Indonesia. The Indonesian government classifies the sources of conflict in Indonesia into five categories, namely political, economic and socio-cultural; SARA; territorial boundaries, natural resources, and unequal distribution of natural resources. This is stated in Law No. 7/2012 concerning the Handling of Social Conflict.

The handling of social conflicts in Indonesia is regulated by Law No. 7/2012 concerning the Handling of Social Conflict, Government Regulation No. 2/2015 concerning Regulations for Implementing Law No. 7/2012 concerning the Handling of Social Conflict, and Minister of Home

²⁰ Badan Pusat Statistik dikutip dari Portal Informasi Indonesia, 2010, "Suku Bangsa", <https://www.indonesia.go.id/profil/suku-bangsa>, accessed on 14 September 2019.

²¹ Departemen Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008*, (Jakarta: Departemen Pertahanan Indonesia, 2008), p. 18.

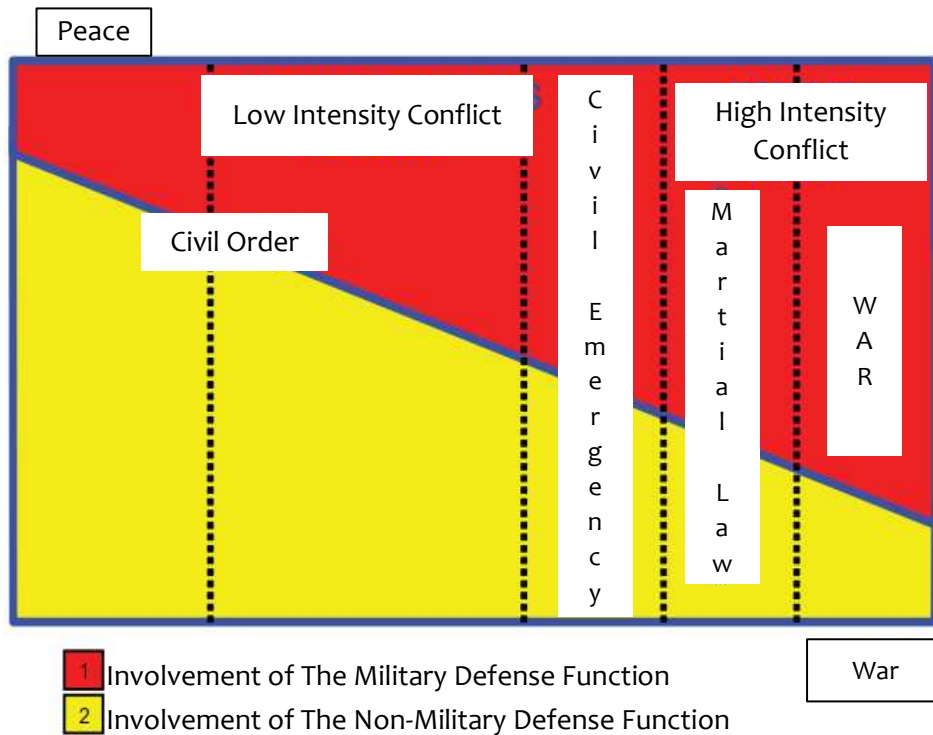


Figure 3. Conflict Spectrum and Involvement of Defense Elements
Source: Indonesian Defense White Paper 2008, p. 49.

Affairs Regulation No. 42/2015 concerning the Implementation of Coordination for Social Conflict Management. In these three regulations, conflict resolution is not only limited to efforts to stop the conflict, but also prevention and recovery. At the prevention stage, there are four actions that can be taken, namely maintaining peace in the community, peaceful resolution of disputes, reducing the potential for conflict, and building an early warning system. The establishment of an early warning system requires mapping of potential conflicts, providing data and information quickly and accurately, as well

as strengthening the function of intelligence unit.

When a conflict is occurring, the government can take action to stop the conflict, such as declaring the status of conflict situation, emergency rescue measures and protection for vulnerable groups, to the use of assistance or the deployment of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). However, the involvement of the TNI requires several conditions. The two main conditions for involving the TNI in handling conflicts are conflicts occurring on a national scale and regional conflicts that continue to show an

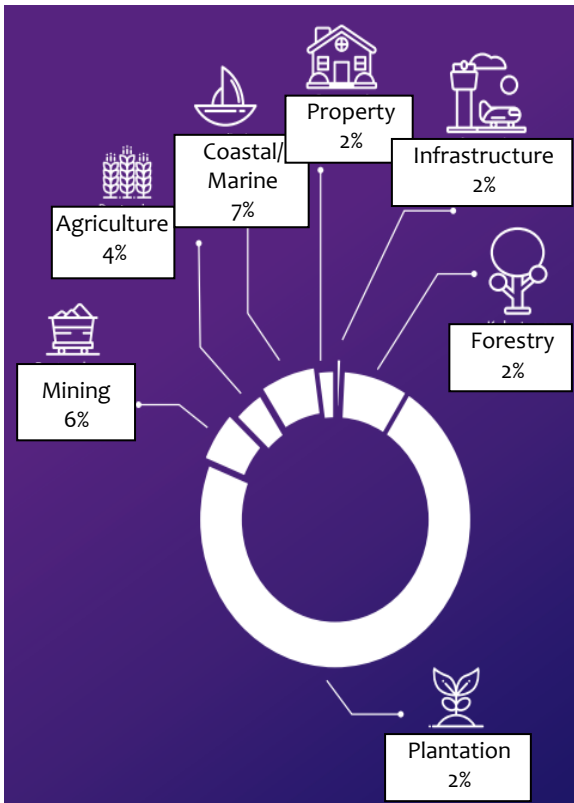


Figure 4. Percentage of Conflict Expansion Per Sector
 Source: *Catatan Akhir Tahun 2018: Masa Depan Reforma Agraria Melampaui Tahun Politik*, 2018, p. 30

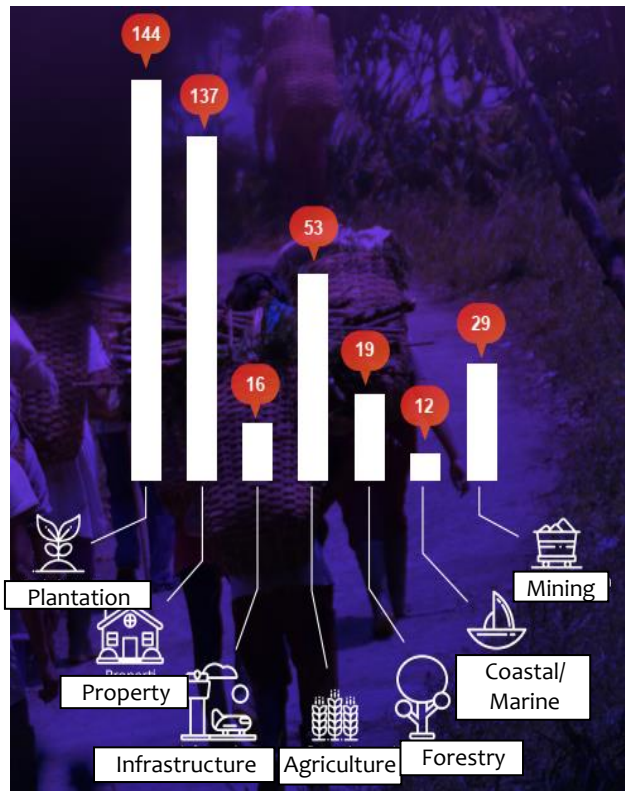


Figure 5. Number of Agrarian Conflicts in Each Sector
 Source: *Catatan Akhir Tahun 2018: Masa Depan Reforma Agraria Melampaui Tahun Politik*, 2018, p. 19

escalation that threatens national stability.

Conflict development determines the engagement function that will be used by the TNI in handling conflicts. The involvement of the TNI in non-military functions will apply to peaceful conditions with low potential for conflict. However, the escalation of conflict that can lead to war will encourage the TNI to use its military functions. Enforcement with a military function is also carried out in stages, starting from the declaration of

civil emergency, martial law, to war. So far, the term war is still used for conflicts that occur with other countries. If social conflict is on a domestic scale, the TNI will act in coordination with the Integrated Social Conflict Management Team, both at the national and regional levels.

In addition to social conflicts, the type of conflict that is currently a hot topic of discussion after the Presidential candidate debate held in early 2019 is agrarian conflict. This conflict is closely related to land use and the determination

Tabel 1. Realization of Joko Widodo Administration's Land Distribution on KPA Base

Location	Farmer Organization	Wide (Hectare)	Number of Recipients of Land Redistribution Objects (Person)
Mangkit Village, Belang Sub-district, Southeast Minahasa District, North Sulawesi Province	Farmers' Union Minahasa	444	491
Pamegatan Village, Cikajang Sub-district, Garut District, West Java Province	Farmers' Union Badega	220,46	557
Pasawahan Village, Banjarsari Sub-district, Ciamis District, West Java Province	Farmers' Union Pasundan Ciamis	30,9	100
Tumbrek Village, Bandar Sub-district, Batang District, Central Java Province	Batang Farmers Forum of Struggle	89,841	425
Total		785,201	1.573

Source: *Catatan Akhir Tahun 2018: Masa Depan Reforma Agraria Melampaui Tahun Politik*, 2018, p. 55

of land status by the government. In 2018, the data released by the KPA showed that most agrarian conflicts occurred in the plantation sector.

In 2018, there were 144 agrarian conflicts in the plantation sector. This number is not much different from the agrarian conflict in the property sector which reached 137 cases. However, in terms of area coverage, it is dominated by the plantation sector, which is 73% of the total land that is the object of agrarian conflict or a total of 144 cases.

One solution provided by the Joko Widodo administration is the distribution of land by granting title certificates. Unfortunately, this solution actually raises new problems. Land prices have risen, so

that most of the land is made into investments without management to develop it. In other words, they become abandoned and unproductive lands. The following is a table that shows how much land distribution has been carried out by Joko Widodo's administration, yet its impact on reducing the intensity of agrarian conflicts is still not significant.

In handling agrarian conflicts, there is no military participation. The system is the same as social conflict, if agrarian conflict has emerged as a threat on a national scale, the TNI takes a role in handling conflict. Unfortunately, some agrarian conflicts actually involve the TNI, especially for the development of military territories. If there is involvement of the

TNI in agrarian conflicts in an area that is not part of the development of military areas and without the support of the central government, it is certain that the action is carried out not for institutional interests, but for the personal interests of certain individuals.

Diversity and the Threat of National Disintegration in Indonesia

Indonesia is a country that has thousands of ethnic groups who recognize that they are summarized in one nation, i.e. the Indonesian Nation. This recognition was conveyed in the Youth Oath which was carried out on 28 October 1928 or about 17 years before Indonesia's independence. The Indonesian nation is pushing for the birth of an independent state that is now called the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Thus, it is clear that Indonesia is a primal nation-state. The Indonesian people determined their independence and formed their own country with territory from Sabang to Merauke and from Miangas to Rote Island.

The Indonesian people established a state complete with three components, namely the idea of being a state of Unity in Diversity and adhering to Pancasila. Its institution was formed in the Session of the Indonesian Independence Preparatory

Committee. And its physical body is now called the Nusantara. The idea of forming a united, sovereign, just and prosperous Indonesian state — as stipulated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution — has never changed. Since the beginning of independence until now, Indonesia has remained a unitary state with diversity in all walks of life.

Indonesian state institutions have experienced a number of system changes. In fact, in the early years of independence, the constitutional foundation of the state was replaced because of the circumstances. However, the basis for implementing the reins of government remains the same, namely Pancasila. The basis of the Indonesian state remains strong with the Pancasila's five interrelated principles.

The physical state of Indonesia can be seen from its territory which is dominated by waters with thousands of small islands spread from Sabang to Merauke and from Miangas to Rote Island. Papua, which is currently in turmoil, is part of Indonesia since the Popular Hearing (Pepera) shows that Papuans are more willing to join Indonesia. The Papua region with all its people and natural resources is part of Indonesia.

Indonesia consists of not only areas with rich natural resources, but also infrastructures and facilities built for the welfare of the people. Means of communication, transportation, water, and so on become an inseparable part of Indonesia. In fact, the Palapa Satellite is also a physical component of Indonesia. These components are the foundation of Indonesia's establishment which must be protected in the name of Indonesia's national sovereignty and security.

When viewed from each of its underlying component, Indonesia has diversity that is not only limited to the characteristics of the community, but also its natural resources and the character of the region. This diversity is what unites Indonesia, but it also has the potential to cause conflicts that lead to national disintegration. A simple example is the interfaith social conflict that occurred after the election of the Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017. The differences in religion began with the emergence of differences in people's political choices. In addition, the separatist movement in Papua continues to try to separate itself from Indonesia with the propaganda that the Papuan people are not of one ethnicity with other communities in Indonesia. Efforts to highlight ethnic differences

continue to be carried out by the OPM, whereas in other regions, Papuan people live side by side with the local community and get no different treatment. So far, disintegration has occurred because of the efforts of a few people to highlight differences.

Agrarian conflict is different from social conflict. Agrarian conflicts tend to be related to land ownership and certainty and management rights. If, in social conflicts, communities fight with the community, agrarian conflicts often occur between communities, between the community and companies, or the community and government. This conflict is not related to ideology, but it does not rule out the possibility of triggering a conflict that ends in demands for secession. For example, agrarian issues that encourage the publication of customary rights for the people of Papua are also used by some elements to get support for OPM.

Something can be called a threat to national security if its existence causes damage or loss of components of state. Agrarian conflicts can be considered as a threat to national security. This is based on four reasons. First, the object and subject of the conflict are part of the physical state, namely the territory and society of

Indonesia. Agrarian conflicts that continue to escalate can cause damage to both the territory and the people of Indonesia. This causes economic and social instability.

Secondly, most agrarian conflicts are caused by very rapid and sometimes overlapping policy dynamics. For example, trans-migrants are given land in an area that turns out to be in the Protected Forest Area, so they cannot manage the land. In fact, some people do not take care of the Certificate of Property Rights because the process is long and financially draining. Overlap of this policy is one form of damage to state institutions. It is an irony that policies that are expected to be the true solution to the problems of society and regulate the life of the nation and state, actually lead to conflict.

Another thing to note is the scope of policy implementation. In handling agrarian conflicts that involve land-based companies, local governments do not have the authority to take action before the central government, especially the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and ATR/BPN that has authorities to issue certain policies. In addition, harmonizing all agrarian policies requires a long time. There is a need for cross-K/L coordination and new policy making, such as the Omnibus Law which was initiated by

President Joko Widodo for the second era of his administration.

Third, the possibility of SARA elements that are used as a basis for land ownership. In some cases, agrarian conflicts occur by raising the issue of SARA. This conflict can develop into an agrarian conflict as well as a social conflict. For example, in the conflict between the Dayak and Madurese in Sampit. Some people will consider this a social conflict, but this conflict can also be classified as an agrarian conflict that caused Madurese to be driven out of Kalimantan. Another example, the conflict in Papua which has been heating up since September 2019 shows the dissatisfaction of local people and indigenous people with government policies and the sense of being colonized by the presence of trans-migrants, including Indonesians from other islands.

In other words, agrarian conflicts can occur when the people of an area come and settle in other regions that have ethnic differences. If such a situation occurs, then the gap between the community will be even greater, causing no sense of unity and integrity as the Indonesian nation. For example, in Musi Banyuasin District, trans-migrants tend to be superior. This causes social jealousy from the locals to the trans-migrants. In

other words, the disintegration of the nation has become easier in Indonesia.

Fourth, agrarian conflicts that are not handled properly or are not resolved are usually caused by conflict attitudes and conflict behavior that does not support conflict resolution. Conflict attitude and conflict behavior determines whether or not the resolution of agrarian conflict can result in negotiation. Conflicts that occur in a long period of time and involve more than one generation can be more problematic. The younger generation who succeeded their parents tend to be more aggressive and insisted on defending their arguments. Especially if these young people have inadequate educational background or lacks the values of Pancasila. They tend to stay away from conflict resolution efforts, and tend to make the atmosphere worse. This increases the chances of violent action that can have an impact on the stability of the country.

Looking at these reasons, agrarian conflict is a threat to national security. However, the manifestation of agrarian conflicts does not always carry the issue of diversity or diversity as a nation. There are subject-object and policy dimensions to review before classifying agrarian conflicts as threats to national security.

Conclusion

For most people, agrarian conflict is a civil law problem that can be resolved using deliberations, profit-sharing, joint management, or trials. However, many interests are present behind an agrarian conflict. Diversity can be a reason for the emergence of agrarian conflicts or it can be said that differences are one of the potential agrarian conflicts. However, there are subject-object and policy dimensions which are also potential agrarian conflicts. This potential must be mitigated through proper handling to minimize potential threats to Indonesia's national security. The smaller the potential for agrarian conflict, the smaller the potential for disintegration, and the smaller the level of threat to national security, especially against the three basic components of the state.

Recommendation

A sturdy building is built with a strong foundation. The same principle also applies to a country. To be a strong country, the Indonesian people must uphold the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. All people must realize that the Indonesian nation is diverse and not limited by regional boundaries and regional values.

To strengthen the morality of the nation, the planting of Pancasila values needs to be encouraged intensively from the outset. The values of the Pancasila which become the identity of the Indonesian Nation need to be instilled in the spirit of the younger generation with an approach that is not authoritative. Authoritative actions will not help the younger generation understand the spirit of Pancasila which is owned by Indonesia's founding fathers. Their young souls should not be limited by rules, but they should be guided according to rules.

As mandated by the country's basic and constitutional foundation, the government has a mandate from the people to form policies that can bring order and build the country. Harmonization of policy implementation needs to be improved, especially between regional and central government. In fact, special training can be carried out for regional leaders with regard to applicable regulations and bills of law that are being prepared by the parliament.

The survival of this country does not lie in the hands of one or two people. The Indonesian people with the ideology of Pancasila and the results of development that stretched across Sabang-Merauke and Miangas-Rote Island have a role in

maintaining the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Diversity is the unifying wealth of Indonesia. Conflict is only a small ripple in the Indonesian Nation's family and we must all work together to resolve it.

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