



Indonesian Diplomacy under the Leadership of Joko Widodo in Resolving Land Border Disputes with Timor-Leste

¹Vivi Pusvitasary

¹International Relations Study Program, Faculty of Social Science and Global Studies, Universitas Budi Luhur, Jakarta, Indonesia

*) Correspondence regarding this article should be addressed to: E-mail: vivi.pusvitasary@budiluhur.ac.id

Abstrak: Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui proses implementasi perbatasan darat antara Indonesia dan Timor-Leste. Kedua negara dalam Perjanjian Sementara 2005 telah berhasil menyetujui sebanyak 907 koordinat titik-titik perbatasan, atau sekitar 96 persen dari total panjang garis batas. Meskipun Indonesia dan Timor-Leste telah menyelesaikan sekitar 96 persen, pada tahun 2018, kedua negara masih menghadapi sejumlah masalah yang sulit dan kompleks. Berbagai hambatan, baik teknis maupun non-teknis, terjadi pada saat menentukan batas wilayah masing-masing negara hingga tahun 2019. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan teoritis diplomatik. Kemudian jenis penelitian ini menggunakan analisis dokumen dari berbagai sumber, seperti laporan resmi, laporan administratif, situs resmi lembaga pemerintah, jurnal, dan surat kabar. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan upaya diplomatik yang dilakukan di era pemerintahan Joko Widodo dalam menetapkan perbatasan antara wilayah Indonesia dan Timor-Leste. Diplomasi bilateral Indonesia dengan Timor-Leste dilakukan melalui jalur pertama, dimana kedua negara telah membentuk mekanisme dialog seperti Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) tingkat Menteri Luar Negeri. Sementara di tingkat pejabat tinggi terdapat Senior Official Meeting (SOM), dan SOM Scorecard untuk memantau pelaksanaan kerjasama yang tengah berjalan. Sementara untuk isu perbatasan, terdapat Joint Border Committee (JBC) dan Technical Sub Committee on Border Demarcation and Regulation (TSC-BDR). Selanjutnya pada tahun 2017 pemerintah kedua negara sepakat untuk membentuk Senior Official Consultation (SOC) untuk menyelesaikan perbatasan darat secara teknis. Pada 23 Juli 2019, kedua negara menyepakati perbatasan darat secara prinsip.

Kata kunci: perbatasan darat Indonesia - Timor-Leste, diplomasi, era kepemimpinan Joko Widodo

Abstract: *This article aims to find out the process of implementing the land border between Indonesia and Timor-Leste. The two countries in the 2005 Provisional Agreement have managed to agree on as many as 907 coordinates of border points, or about 96 percent of the total length of the border line. Although Indonesia and Timor-Leste have completed around 96 percent, by 2018, the two countries still face a number of difficult and complex problems. Various obstacles, both technical and non-technical, occurred at the time of determining the territorial boundaries of each country until 2019. This research uses descriptive qualitative methods with a diplomatic theoretical approach. Then this type of research involves the analysis of documents from various sources, such as official reports, administrative reports, official government agency websites, journals, and newspapers. The results of this study show the diplomatic efforts undertaken in the era of Joko Widodo's rule in settling the border between the territory of Indonesia and Timor-Leste. Indonesian bilateral diplomacy with Timor-Leste is conducted on the first track, where the two countries have established dialogue mechanisms such as the Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) at the level of Foreign Ministers. At the senior official level, there are Senior Official Meeting (SOM), and SOM Scorecard to monitor the implementation of ongoing cooperation. For border issues, there are Joint Border Committee (JBC) and Technical Sub Committee on Border Demarcation and Regulation (TSC-BDR). On July 23, 2019, the two countries agreed on land borders in principle.*

Keywords: *Indonesia-Timor-Leste land border, diplomacy, era of Joko Widodo leadership.*

INTRODUCTION

A state border is a part of the sovereign territory of a country that must be guarded. Problems with of land border lines can often lead to conflict if not properly managed. Indonesia's land border with Timor-Leste has been negotiated through diplomatic efforts for about 17 years, from 2002, when Timor-Leste gained independence, until the study period in 2019. Indonesian diplomacy is at the forefront of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, based on the foreign policy vision that has been outlined by the President in the National Medium-Term Development Plan /*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional* (RJMN) and further outlined as a Strategic Plan to be implemented by a Foreign Minister. The border diplomacy that Indonesia has conducted against Timor-Leste began during the era of President Megawati and UNTAET. (United Nations Transition Administration for East Timor). The shift of leaders in both countries and their respective domestic problems make the land border settlement prolonged; on the other hand, the new

maritime border negotiations will begin if the land boundary has been jointly agreed upon.

The problem of the border between Indonesia and Timor-Leste has become a very important matter for discussions between the two countries, especially in the post-independence landscape. Land borders can be classified as a very unique issue because the land borders of the two countries consist of two parts. First, the border around Oecusse is an enclave that is part of Timor-Leste's sovereign territory in West-Timor and separated about 60 km from its mother territory. Second is the 149.9 km border that divides Timor Island into West-Timor in the west and East Timor in the east. Indonesia and Timor-Leste have successfully signed the land border line through the Provisional Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Timor - Leste on the land boundary on 8-9 April 2005 (Wuryandari 2009, 9).

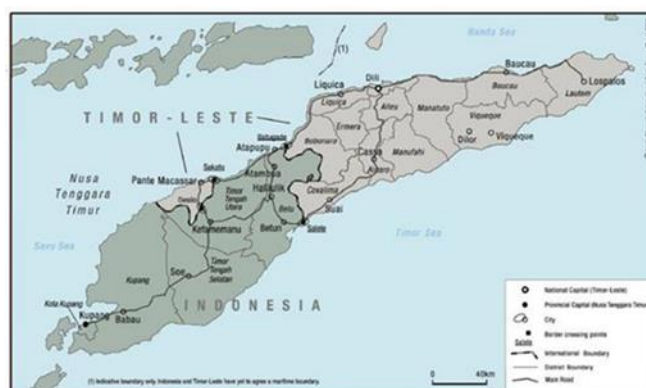


Figure 1. Map of the border between Indonesia and Timor-Leste

Source: Jurnal *International Crisis Group*, Asia Briefing N°122 Dili/Brussels

The land border between Indonesia and Timor-Leste has a length of 268.8 km, crossing three districts in the eastern Nusa Tenggara Province, namely Belu District, North Central Timor and Kupang (the land borders of the two countries are divided into two sectors: (1) the East Sector (main sector) in Belu County which borders directly with the Covalima District and the Bobonaro District in Timor - Leste for 149.1 km; and (2) the West Sector (Kupang District and North central Timor District) that borders direct with the Oecussi District which is an East Timor enclave region for 119.7 km. Most of the land boundaries of the two states are the natural boundaries of the watershed and the thalweg (Wuryandari 2009, 82). With

the signing of the 2005 Provisional Agreement referring to the agreement between the Netherlands and Portugal on the border between the two countries on the island of Timor in 1904, it seems that the whole question of the land border has been resolved. In reality, the two countries still have issues that are unresolved by 2019.

In 2014, there were about 4 percent of some unagreed land border segments, some of them in the Noelbesi-Kupang, Kefamenanu-North Central Timor (TTU), and Malibaka-Belu regions (Wuryandari 2009, 117). In addition to the three border segments that have yet to be resolved above, Indonesia and Timor-Leste also have to face other emerging problems, in particular about 20 km in the Subina segment, which until 2014 had not yet been investigated. There are two fundamental factors that cause the problem of setting the country's border line on land between Indonesia and Timor-Leste to remain ongoing, namely technical and non-technical factors.

Technical factors are generally related to the existence of differences in interpretation or interpretation of the rules that are the subject of reference between Indonesia and Timor-Leste in the arrangement of the borders of the two countries. Although Indonesia and Timor-Leste have agreed on the basic principles used in defining the boundaries of the two countries, that is, what is known in international law as *uti possidetis juris*.¹ Referring to that principle, when Indonesia declared its independence in 1945, this new territory automatically encompassed the entire territory of the former Dutch colonies. In the case of Timor-Leste, it's no different than Indonesia. As a former Portuguese colonial state (1701-1975) and as part of the territory of Indonesia (1976-1999), Timor-Leste also inherited all the territories of the former colonies of the countries, in particular the Portuguese. This is because when East Timor became the 27th province of Indonesia, the territory of this province encompassed all the territories of its former colony, the Portuguese (Wuryandari 2009, 120-121).

¹ This principle was originally derived from Roman Law, which abbreviated the meaning "the boundaries of nascent-post colonial countries are to revert to their pre-sovereign ones", thus a state inherits the territory of its invaders.

With this principle, in the post-colonialism period, not only does the transfer of ownership of a territory from one state to another, but the newly born state also bears the moral responsibility to continue the various treaties and agreements that have been signed by the predecessor states with other states. The Netherlands and Portugal have signed two border treaties, namely (1) A Convention for the Demarcation of Portuguese and Dutch Dominions on the Island of Timor. This treaty, also known as the 1904 Treaty, was signed in The Hague, on 1, October 1904; (2) Permanent Arbitral Awards, signed in Paris on June 26, 1914. Furthermore, the agreement to use the 1904 Treaty and the 1914 arbitral ruling to determine the territorial boundary between Indonesia and Timor-Leste, was signed by the Indonesian Foreign Minister Hasan Wirayuda and the Head of the United Nations Transition Administration for East Timor (UNTAET) Sergio Viera de Mello in Denpasar on February 2, 2002 (Wuryandari 2009, 122).

There are differences in terms of interpretation of some basic provisions of the Treaty of 1904 and the Permanent Arbitral Awards of 1914 with the actual conditions on the ground. One illustration for a technical problem relating to the difference in naming the river in the treaty and the reality in the field, as in the following case. The 1904 treaty, for example, referred to the name of the river as the land border between West Timor (the Netherlands) and East Timor (Portugis). However, the name of the river could not be found in the field when it was investigated, or if the treaty referred to a river's name, the rivers' names, such as those listed in the treaty, had in fact been modified by various names. Examples of naming a river located in the district of Belu vary greatly, namely Mota Bico, Ribeira Motabico, and Mota Halimea, while on the other hand the original text in the 1904 Treaty, chapter V, paragraph 1 uses only one name, "Mota Biku."

Differences in interpretation between the contents of the 1904 Treaty and the facts on the ground can also be found in the case of the Noelbesi segment. The still-disputed segment between Indonesia and Timor-Leste is precisely located in the village of Netemnamu North, Amfoang East district, Kupang district (Wuryandari 2009, 123-124). The land dispute in the Noelbesi segment covers 1,009 hectares (Fortuna 2005). The region is governed by the Noelbesi River that flows through the Ombai Strait, where, since the Portuguese era, rivers flow to the left of

the disputed area. Due to year-round climate change and natural change, the river flows shift to the right of the disputed area, which is fertile agricultural land, and the land is an inheritance down the border with the Noelbesi River (Batubara n.d.).

The problem with the border between Indonesia and Timor-Leste is that there is an inconsistency between the agreements contained in the Basic Law (Treaty 1904 and PCA 1914) and the realities on the ground and those known to the public at the moment. The explanations given by Indonesians and East Timorese are sometimes contradictory. Besides, there are still groups of people who have different views. They have traditionally had a "boundary" recognized successively by tribes in two different states than those set forth in the two foundations of the law. On the other hand, no evidence was found to support the "claims" of the public, so that negotiators could not bring them to the meetings of the two countries (Perbatasan 2015).

In general, these non-technical factors are more related to the rejection by local communities of the land border line as defined in the 1904 Treaty and the exploitation of natural resources by the local community around the border area. The denial and contestation of access to such natural resources was driven, among other things, by public claims on some disputed territories by Indonesia and Timor-Leste at the border, on the grounds of historical, economic, and socio-cultural factors. One of these non-technical issues lies on the border line that is still disputed by the two countries in the Manusasi region. The source of the problem in this segment began when the Indonesian side presented facts based on information from the local Manusasi community that, in 1966, there had been an exchange of land between indigenous and governmental figures as compensation for the settlement of the murder case. On the basis of the socio-cultural events, the Indonesian side subsequently argued that the boundary line should not follow the Treaty but rather be based on different criteria existing on the ground, characterized by the presence of the Ampupumalak pillar as a symbol of the resolution of customary problems in 1966. Nevertheless, the views of Indonesia have not been accepted by Timor-Leste (Wuryandari 2009, 129-130).

The state border conditions have demarcated the installation of 42 border pillars in the eastern sector and 8 in the western sector. While the length of the finished line is traced (delineated), it is about 95% of the total length limit. In addition, CDRF (Common Border Datum Reference Frame) has carried out joint mapping activities along the boundary line. The management of the Indonesia-Timor-Leste border has been handled by two agencies: the Joint Border Committee (JBC) Indonesia - Timor-Leste, coordinated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Technical Sub-Commission on Border Demarcation and Regulation Indonesia-Timor-Leste, coordinated by the Ministries of Defense and Bakosurtanal (*Badan Koordinasi Survei dan Pemetaan Nasional*) (Perbatasan 2015).

As long as the line has not been established, the state should pay attention to reinforcing it in the negotiation process. In this case, Indonesia, through the National Border Reference Agency/*Badan Nasional Penanganan Perbatasan* (BNPP), is authorized to coordinate all relevant stakeholders and has authority over border issues. In the context of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemlu), Kemlu has a major role in boundary-setting, but in the framework of further border management, Kemlu does not have strong authority (Tabloid Diplomasi 2011).

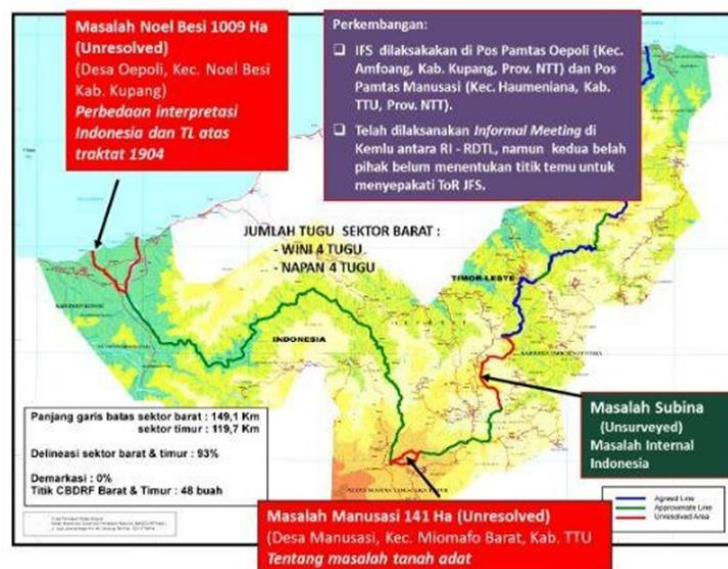


Figure 2. Map of elements surveyed and unresolved segments on the Indonesia Timor-Leste land border

Source: (Saragih 2015)

The research is formulated in the statement as follows: "What are the Indonesian diplomatic efforts against Timor-Leste in settling the land border in the era of Joko Widodo's leadership?" Research is limited from October 2014 to July 2019. The reason for the time limitation in 2014 is because the era of Joko Widodo's leadership has begun. July 2019 was used as the final benchmark of the research, as the goal of completing the land border between the two countries has been achieved.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Diplomacy is closely linked to foreign policy because it is the implementation of foreign policy carried out by trained officials. Foreign policy in many countries is designed and formulated by the Foreign Minister or staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Sukawarsini, 2012). In analyzing Indonesian diplomacy against Timor-Leste in the settlement of the land border, the author will use several concepts, namely (1) foreign policy, (2) external policy, (3) bilateral diplomacy, and (4) border diplomacy.

The bilateral diplomacy conducted by Indonesia and Timor-Leste in this study refers to first-track diplomacy. First-track diplomatic actors exhibit the traits of carrying out power-based activities and being rigid when conducting official interactions between official representatives who have received instructions from a sovereign state. (Djelantik 2012, 20). Institutions involved in bilateral diplomacy include the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy and Consulate General, the Joint Commission, and bilateral meetings between heads of government. The actors involved in bilateral diplomacy are the representatives of the country, consisting of the heads of state, ministers, high-ranking officials, ambassadors, diplomats, and superiors. (S.Rana 2007, 116-117).

Border diplomacy is an attempt by the government of a country to guarantee its sovereignty through the management of border territories. The government's efforts in order to organize this border diplomacy can be seen not only from a legal and security perspective but also from a socio-economic perspective. In order to be recognized as an independent and sovereign state, a state needs territory with clear boundaries. In this case, Indonesia, through the National Border Reference Agency

(BNPP) is authorized to coordinate all relevant stakeholders and has authority over border issues. In the context of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemlu), Kemlu has a major role in the establishment of boundaries, but in the context of further management of border areas, Kemlu does not have strong authority. The development of border areas should be given priority in areas that have neighboring communities between the two countries, for example, Timor-Leste. The determination of the land border between Indonesia and Timor-Leste has not been completed; although the 2005 Provisional Agreement has been agreed upon, until 2012 there are still four segments to be completed as soon as possible (Tabloid Diplomasi 2011). The theory focuses on Kemlu's efforts to resolve the land border line with Timor-Leste in accordance with the 2005 Provisional Agreement.

Indonesia and Timor-Leste have agreed to 1 segment of Dilumil/Memo (Mota Malibaka) of 3 unresolved segments at the Special Joint Border Commission (JBC) and the 6th Senior Official Meeting of the Truth and Friendship Commission/*Komisi Kebenaran dan Persahabatan* (KKP), at SOM Scorecard in Dili, on 13-14 May 2013. In this connection, a draft Addendum No. 1 Provisional Agreement on the Land Boundary of 2005 has been agreed to contain the completion of the segment. During President Timor-Leste's visit to Indonesia in June 2013, the foreign ministers of both countries signed the Addendum (attachment). The completion of unresolved segments and unsurvey segments is still discussed continuously at the technical level through the Technical Subcommittee on Border Demarcation and Regulation (TSC-BDR). Then, in related unresolved segments in Noelbesi-Citrana, there are also some technical-level agreements. Both sides have reached an agreement to submit some recommendations to the higher forum regarding technical interpretation discussions alongside the Memo and Noelbesi segments.

METHODS

This research is qualitative. With a focus on the process and order of events, this approach clarifies and comprehends symptoms by using the chronological method of events to describe one event after another. Through a qualitative approach, researchers have the opportunity to dig up as much information as

possible and as deeply as possible about what is being studied. Bloor and Wood (Wood 2006) stated that document analysis requires careful understanding of social issues, taking into account the methods used. The next technique is the analysis of documentary data. The research uses secondary data types with data collection techniques, analysis of documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a final report, Komisi Kebenaran dan Persahabatan, Chega. Komisi Kebenaran dan Persahabatan Indonesia-Timor-Leste report, PerMemoriam Ad Spem. Reports from the National Border Management Agency (BNPP), books (in ebook format), laws and other regulations such as Provisional Agreement 2005, journals, and various mass media articles have relevance to this research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Indonesia-Timor-Leste Bilateral Dialogue Mechanism

In connection with Indonesian diplomacy against Timor-Leste, the Directorate-General for Asia-Pacific and Africa, assisted by the East Asia and Pacific Directorate, has been responsible for bilateral relations between the two countries since 2002-2016. Furthermore, in 2017, there was a structural change in Kemlu, the Director of Southeast Asia responsible for bilateral relations between the two countries (kemlu.go.id 2019). The Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Timor-Leste have confirmed the Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) forum as the main mechanism for bilateral dialogue. The JMC will meet annually at the Ministerial level and will be preceded by senior officials every six months (Indonesia 2010, 18). The Forum of JMC is considered strategic as a means of discussing the development of bilateral cooperation between the two countries in various fields while discussing the settlement of remaining issues after the 1999 opinion poll. JMC Indonesia-Timor-Leste consists of 6 Working Groups (WG), namely: 1) WG on Border Issues; 2) WG on Legal and Judicial Issues; 3) WG on Trade, Investment, and Finance; 4) WG on Transport, Telecommunication, and Public Work; 5) WG on Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries; 6) WGO Social, Education, and Culture (Afrika. 2014).

The Joint Ministerial Commission Indonesia-Timor-Leste has been held five times from 2002 to 2011. The 1st JMC on 7-8 October 2002, in Jakarta; the 2nd JMC on 4-6 September 2003, in Dili; the 3rd JMC on 7-8 July 2005, in Jakarta; the 4th JMC on 26-27 July 2010; and the 5th JMC on 3-4 March 2011 in Jakarta. The 4th meeting of the JMC at Dili, 26-27 July 2010, has agreed to hold a senior-level meeting / Senior Official Meeting (SOM) every 6 months in order to prepare a scorecard to monitor the implementation of the program and ongoing cooperation activities.

At the 5th, 3rd, and 4th March 2011 JMC, the two Foreign Affairs Minister emphasized the importance of continuing efforts to facilitate progress in the implementation of the recommendations of the End Report of the Indonesia-Timor-Leste Truth and Friendship Commission/*Laporan Akhir Komisi Kebenaran dan Persahabatan (KKP)*. The two countries discussed specific issues for enhanced cooperation, including border management and enhanced economic cooperation; Timor-Leste's desire to become an ASEAN member; the completion of three unresolved land border segments in Indonesia-Timor-Lest, Dilumil/Memo, Bijael Sunan-Oben, and Noel Besi/Citrana in 2011; and follow-up on the implementation of the CCP recommendations. (Afrika. 2014). The Joint Border Committee (JBC) and the Technical Subcommittee on Border Demarcation and Regulation (TSC-BDR) are coordinated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Joint Border Committee, and the technical subcommittees on border demarkation and regulation. (Bakosurtanal).

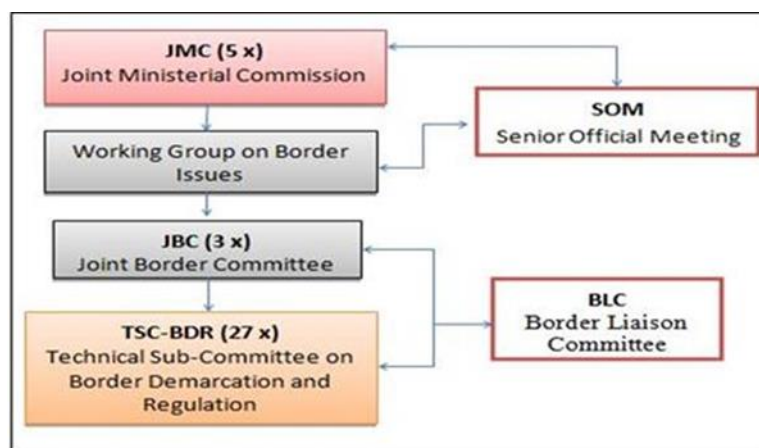


Figure 3. Land Border Settlement Mechanism Schedule

Source: compiled by the author of (Handoyo n.d., 5)

In addition to the dynamics that occurred during the attempts to consolidate the territorial boundary between the two countries, the negotiations remained carried out in a peaceful manner by the two governments, until in 2013, one of the unresolved points of the segment, namely Dilumil-Memo, succeeded in reaching an agreement after obtaining the Special JBC approval regarding the outcome of the meeting of the Special Working Group (SWG) recommending the settlement of the border area dispute using the median line in the case. The Special Working Group (SWG) is currently discussing two additional unresolved segments. Besides, the 3rd JBC also agreed to reactivate the Border Liaison Committee (BLC), the regular coordination of the border security apparatus, and the establishment of the SWG to technically discuss the disagreed border line segments. The SWG for the settlement of two unresolved segments was held on March 13-14 2014, in Dili, where the two countries tried to bring the differences closer to resolve the remaining border issues but failed to reach agreement on the border line under the 1904 Treaty, including on border management (Afrika. 2014).

Unresolved segments Bijael Sunan-Oben

In the unresolved segments in Manusasi Village, the Indonesian government and Timor-Leste are trying to discuss existing issues using social and cultural approaches in the disputed regions. However, by the end of 2018, the two sides still retained their respective positions, so regular negotiations between the two countries have not been successful in resolving the remaining border territory dispute. The regulations adopted during the negotiations failed to align the perspectives of the two administrations about the resolution of the border delineation. The Indonesian position considers that in the settlement of the dispute on the Bijael Sunan-Oben border area, both the Government of Indonesia and the Timor-Leste Government should consider and respect the ulayat rights and customary law in force in the region. Unlike Indonesia, Timor-Leste's position uses the border line that is closest to the one in the 1904 Treaty, beyond the attention of indigenous peoples.

The village of Manusasi is located in the western district of Miomaffa, Timor Tengah Utara (TTU) district, NTT Province, and directly borders the Oecussi district, which is a separate enclave from the rest of Timor-Leste. Manusasi Village is a land area of 489 ha with a length of 2.6 km, or 142.7 ha. The distance from Manusasi Village to the region of central Timor-Leste as well as Indonesia is far linked. In the area of central East Timor, in the eastern part of the distance is about 60 km (Mangku 2015, 100-101). The distance to the district of TTU is about 30 km. Most of the livelihoods of the population around the area are agriculture and a small portion of livestock, but such work is only enough for daily needs. The clean water conditions in the village of Manusasi are very limited, so it is a major problem in the region, especially when the rainy season comes. The electrical access and signals in the village of Manusasi are quite good, but for access to the street, there are still potholes (BNPP 2018).

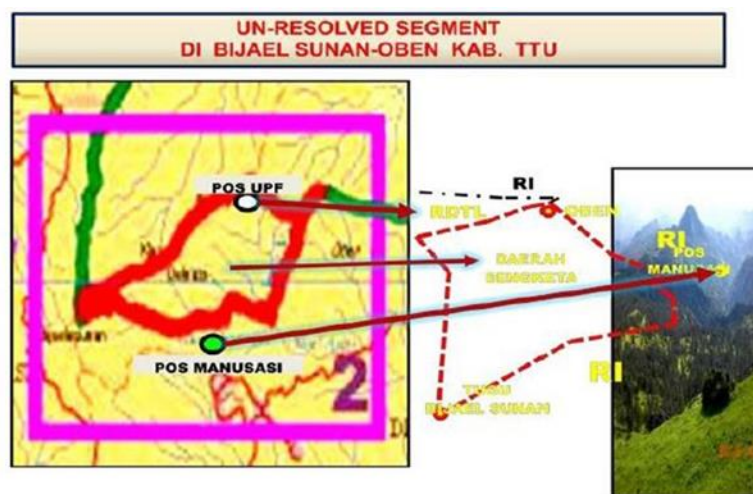


Figure 4. Bijael-Sunan segment, Manusasi village, West Miomaffa district

Source: (Kolne 2017, 46)

The indigenous peoples of both countries in the village of Manusasi do not live there; the area is sterile and uninhabited. The governments of the two nations are taking this action to prevent potential conflict between local residents. By dividing it into three zones in 2018, the security forces of both nations used the village of Manusasi to maintain stability and security in the area. Zone 1 is the Patrol Zone of the Indonesian National Army (TNI), Zone 2 is the neutral zone of

both, and Zone 3 is the patrol zone of the Unidade de Patrulhamento de Fronteiras (UPF) (BNPP, 2018).

Unsurveyed Subina-Oben segments

The unsurveyed segment is located between Subina sampe and Oben (length ± 14 km), which is the actual issue of Indonesian civil rights claims in North Central Timor. It comprises six villages: Inbate, Sunkaen, Nainaban, Haumeni Ana, Nilulat, and Tubu in Bikome Nilulat. The public claims to have gardens in six villages that are part of Timor-Leste's territory if national borders are applied under the 1904 Dutch-Portuguese Treaty.

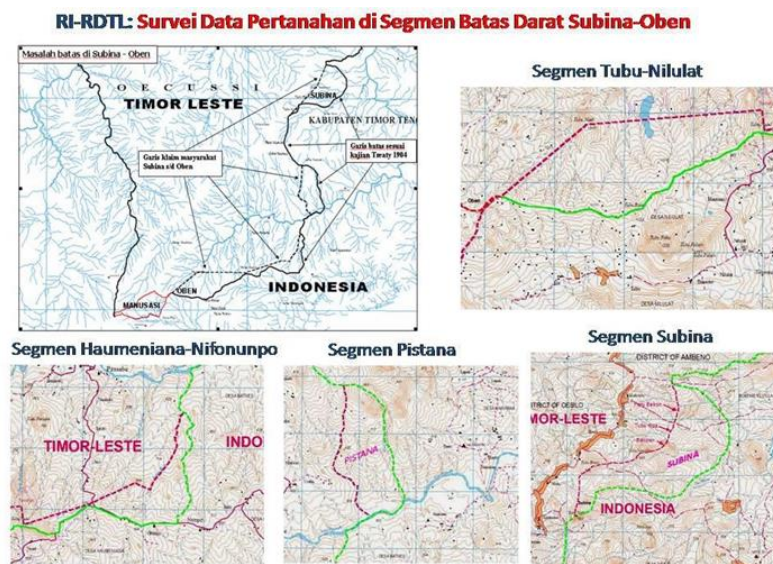


Figure 5. Map of troubled land border segments Subina-Oben

Source: (Kolne 2017, 46)

Negotiations at the central level conducted by the two countries have always found a way to go by using the basis of contradictory provisions in the interpretation of the content of the understanding of the treaty of the occupying state because it does not correspond to the conditions of the past and also the present. November 14, 2017 became a very important day for the citizens of the Naktuka (Noelbesi-Citrana) Timor-Leste border. The dream of the people of both countries to live in peace has finally come true. The TNI troops in the border area also helped facilitate the meeting of indigenous figures from the two countries. The 1069-hectare land conflict is well resolved. The meeting between the indigenous figures of the

Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Democratic Timor-Leste on the theme "*Nekaf Mese Ansaof Mese, Atoni Pah Meto*," is "One Heart, One Soul, As the Dawan People," was held at the primary school Katolik Bokos in Village Netemnanu North, Amfoang East sub-district, Kupang district. The king's agreement became the basis for the settlement of the border dispute between the two countries in the Naktuka region. Korem 161/Hero Sakti provides input for customary figures and public figures to be involved in giving an option of settlement by meeting the King and Fettor as customary characters of the kingdom and the public figures of the two countries. This option is the result of the mindsets of the people of both countries in a bottom-up way to accelerate the settlement of the state border. That in the future their children may live together according to customs, and that there may be no civil war (Samaleleway 2018, 155-156).

The activities of the coordination meeting of the Kings, Fettor as a royal customary figure, and the regional government apparatus also attended the personnel of Korem 161/Wira Sakti to formulate the wishes of the royalty people of Amfoang so that the problem of the RI-RDTL dispute in the territory of Naktuka could be resolved. The disputed territory often sparked violent conflict between the villagers of the two countries. About 350 government representatives and indigenous figures from both countries attended the meeting, producing a joint statement. The treaty is in written form, signed by the four kings, King Liurai, King Sonba'i, King Amfoang of Indonesia, and King Ambenu of Timor-Leste. The terms of the agreement include:

1. Strengthening the bonds of brotherhood in order to preserve the customs values that have been instilled by the ancestors in the philosophy of *Nekaf Mese Ansaof Mese Atoni Pah Meto*.
2. Support the establishment of peace at the border as established in customary oaths by the ancestors and expected by both states.
3. To strengthen cooperation in order to enhance the dignity of society in the social, cultural, and economic spheres.
4. To acknowledge and uphold the customary boundaries between the kingdoms of Liurai, Sila, Sonbai Sila, Beun Sila, and Afo Sila according to their oaths.

5. The interstate border is not a point of dispute as it has been, but rather a social and fraternal point.
6. The outcome of the meeting must be socialized to the entire community of the two countries.
7. Encourages the governments of the two countries to facilitate similar meetings in 2018 in Ambenu on technical matters related to the attendance of participants so as not to be complicated.
8. Encourages and urges the governments of both countries to resolve the outstanding boundary points without delay.

The eight points of the declaration, together with the outcome of the meeting of indigenous figures of the two countries, have been approved by the four kings, witnessed by indigent figures and public figures of both countries. An important point in this agreement is the statement by the Ambenu Kingdom of Timor-Leste to recognize and uphold the customary borders between the Kingdom of Liurai Sila, Sonbai Sila, Beun Sila, and Afo Sila with their oaths. The agreement will serve as a basis for diplomatic negotiations between the Government of Indonesia, represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Political, Legal, and Security Coordinator and Justice/Kemempolhukam, and the Timor-Leste Government. Thus, the problem of the border between the two countries can be resolved at once, and there will be no trouble in the future (Samaleleway 2018, 156).

Bilateral relations between Indonesia and Timor-Leste in the era of President Joko Widodo

The bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Timor-Leste has a special character and strategic significance given the historical background of the two countries. Between 2002 and 2014, bilateral relations between the two countries have been very strong and thriving. The Government of Indonesia and the Government of Timor-Leste are determined to open a new front in building relations and cooperation based on the principles of mutual respect, good neighborly relations, and mutually beneficial relations. Increased agreements and cooperation are indicators of improved bilateral relations. Between 2002 and 2012,

the two countries had 58 documents of agreement or cooperation in various fields (Afrika. 2014). Furthermore, between 2013 and 2019, the two countries added seven agreement documents or cooperation in various fields (Table 1.) (<https://treaty.kemlu.go.id/> 2019).

The victory of President Joko Widodo, or Jokowi in the 2014 general election marked a change in the foreign policy pattern of Indonesia. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s orientation towards “outward looking” was replaced by the orientation toward “inner looking” of President Joko Widodo. Indonesia's efforts to develop a foreign policy that can benefit the country domestically and bolster its sovereignty have replaced its efforts to play a global role through multilateral activities. Indonesia, under Jokowi's rule, departed from a different vision. Jokowi explicitly sought to “reposition Indonesia’s role in global issues.” President Jokowi committed to preserving “freedom in determining the direction of foreign relations that serves national interests” and “placing Indonesia as a regional power with selective global involvement, giving priority to issues that directly relate to the interests of the Indonesian nation and people” (Rizky Alif Alvian Oktober 2017- Maret 2018, 151-152).

Table 1. Indonesia – Timor-Leste Bilateral Agreement 2013-2019

No.	Forms and types of cooperation	Year of signing
1.	Agreement between the Government of the Republic Indonesia and the Government of Republic Democratic Timor-Leste on Visa Exemption for Holders of Diplomatic and Service Passports.	2013
2.	Implementation Arrangement between the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries of the Republic of Democratic Timor-Leste on Management of Trans Boundary Watershed	2017
3.	Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Republic Indonesia and the Government of Republic Democratic Timor-Leste Regarding Air Transport	Januari, 2019

4.	Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Transport and Communication of Republic of Democratic Timor-Leste concerning Education and Training in the Field of Transportation	Januari, 2019
5.	Dili Declaration on Cross-Border Collaboration for Communicable Diseases Prevention and Control between the Ministry of Health, Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Health Republic Democratic Timor-Leste	Februari 20, 2019
6.	Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding on Health Cooperation between the Ministry of Health of the Republic Indonesia and the Ministry of Health the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste for Periode 2017-2020	Februari 20, 2019
7.	Memorandum of Understanding between the National Search and Rescue Agency of Indonesia and the Ministry of Transport and Communication of the Republic Democratic of Timor-Leste on Search and Rescue Cooperation	April 15, 2019

Source: processed by the author of treaty.kemlu.go.id

In early 2017, Menkopolhukam Wiranto accompanied Menlu Retno to his first meeting with Xanana Gusmao. The meeting agreed on a Senior Official Consultation (SOC) which is a small group that will discuss technically an agreement or agreement to resolve two unresolved land border point segments. The first SOC meeting was held on March 10, 2017 in Bali. Roberto Soares, Deputy Foreign Minister of Timor-Leste, is in charge of the SOC delegation. While Indonesia is headed by the Director of Asia Pacific and Africa, Desra Percaya. The 4th SOC meeting in December 2018 agreed on a Term of Reference (TOR) Joint Field Visit (JFV) on Resolution of the Noel Iron-Citrana and Bidjael Sunan-Oben Segments. This JFV aims to trace all the relevant elements of the 1904 treaty. In order to accelerate the settlement of the border, the Geospatial Information Agency/*Badan Informasi GeoSpasial* (BIG) plays a leading sector role in settling the unresolved second segment of the country (Antarnews.com 2019). The results of the survey were subsequently presented at the 5th SOC meeting in Bali in mid-2019. Surveys were carried out along the thalweg to the river Noel Besi, as well as measurements of azimuth to the island of Batek. In addition, video recordings of

Noel Besi and Nono Tu-Inaan were performed using nirawak aircraft and the delineation of Manusasi territory.

The number of state visits by the two heads of government during the period 2014-2019 to discuss cooperation, indicates that the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Timor-Leste is getting closer. The bilateral relations between Indonesia and Timor-Leste in the era of Jokowi's leadership demonstrate Indonesia's commitment to strengthening relations between the two countries, building stronger economic relations, and building a closer future with Timor-Leste. President Jokowi also affirmed the readiness of Indonesia to become a development partner for Timor-Leste. As of 2018, there were nine state-owned enterprises/Badan Usaha Milik Negara (BUMN) and hundreds of Indonesian companies operating in Timor-Leste.

Regarding the settlement of the land border, on July 23, 2019, the two countries agreed on the ground border line (unresolved segments: Noel Besi – Citrana, Bidjael Sunan-Oben) in principle. Xanana Gusmao, as head of the Timor-Leste negotiations, and Menkopolhukam Wiranto signed a land border agreement in Jakarta. The conclusion of this agreement will be followed up through the Senior Officer Consultation (SOC) to be cast in the second addendum, namely in the Territorial Border Agreement 2005 between Indonesia and Timor-Leste. Both negotiating teams have also agreed on technical rules to fix the borders between Indonesia and Timor-Leste at Haumeniana-Passabe and Motain-Batugede. The next negotiation between the two countries is the maritime border (Antarnews.com 2019).

CONCLUSIONS

Indonesian bilateral diplomacy with Timor-Leste is conducted along the first track, where the two countries have established dialogue mechanisms such as the Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) at the level of Foreign Ministers. Meanwhile, at the senior official level, there is a Senior Official Meeting (SOM), and a SOM Scorecard to monitor the implementation of ongoing cooperation. Meanwhile, for border issues, there is the Joint Border Committee (JBC) and the Technical Sub Committee on Border Demarcation and Regulation (TSC-BDR).

Furthermore, in 2017, the two governments agreed to form a Senior Official Consultation (SOC), a small group that would discuss technically an agreement or agreement to resolve two land border points of an unresolved segment. The 4th SOC meeting in December 2018, agreed on a Term of Reference (TOR) Joint Field Visit (JFV) on Resolution of the Noel Besi-Citrana and Bidjael Sunan-Oben Segments. This JFV aims to trace all the relevant elements of the 1904 treaty.

On July 23, 2019, the two countries agreed on a land border in principle. The process of finishing the land border took almost seventeen years (2002-2019). Technical and non-technical obstacles in land border negotiations in unresolved segments (Noel Besi –Citrana, Bidjael Sunan-Oben) succeeded in finding points of light related to territorial claims through a sociocultural approach. As an example of a cultural approach to the negotiating process in a Naktuka territory, for example, the agreement of the kings became the basis for the settlement of the border dispute between the two countries. Korem 161/Hero Sakti provides input for customary figures and public figures to be involved in giving an option of settlement by meeting the King and Fettor as customary characters of the kingdom and the public figures of the two countries. This option is the result of the mindsets of the people of both countries in a bottom-up way to accelerate the settlement of the state border. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the forefront of Indonesian diplomacy, has been endeavoring to strengthen bilateral relations with Timor-Leste, characterized by the increasing bilateral ties that have been implemented along the lines of various cooperation agreements. The hard work of Indonesian diplomacy in designing the land border with Timor-Leste is marked by the land-boundary agreement that was signed by the heads of the two countries' negotiating teams on July 23, 2019 and followed up as the second addendum to the Provisional Agreement of 2005.

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