



Indonesia's New Capital Nusantara: Contemplating IKN Strategic Defence and Indonesia – Malaysia Border Diplomacy

*(Ibukota Baru Indonesia Nusantara: Merenungi Pertahanan
Strategis IKN dan Diplomasi Perbatasan Indonesia – Malaysia)*

Adelia Alviani, Ayu Dhiya Gusmiarti, Descenda Angelia Putri,
Hassan Raza Hashmi, Welly Puji Ginanjar, Ujang Priyono, Anak Agung Banyu
Perwita

Defense Diplomacy Study Program, Faculty of Defense Strategy, The Republic of
Indonesia Defense University

Corresponding Author: hassanhashmi107@gmail.com

Abstract

The strategic benefits related to the newly selected capital city location are also dreaded by added challenges. On one hand, IKN is comparatively safer from natural disasters like being away from fault lines, earthquakes, storms, and floods; at the same time shifting the leadership of the country will also shift the centre of gravity to the new city exposing it to enhanced Mil and non-Mil threats. Therefore, this shifting of capital is also associated with the country's Defence Forces' development of new infrastructure and laying down renewed policies ensuring the defence of the newly built IKN and the government therein. While referring to the IKN as a new COG its security becomes a national interest, which can be exploited by both Mil and non-Mil, actual and potential threats.

Keywords: Strategic Defence, Défense Diplomacy, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN), Centre of Gravity (COG)

Abstrak

Manfaat strategis terkait lokasi ibu kota yang baru dipilih juga ditakuti oleh tantangan tambahan. Di satu sisi, IKN relatif lebih aman dari bencana alam seperti jauh dari jalur patahan, gempa bumi, badai, dan banjir; pada saat yang sama menggeser kepemimpinan negara juga akan menggeser pusat gravitasi ke kota baru yang memaparkannya pada

ancaman Mil dan non-Mil yang ditingkatkan. Oleh karena itu, perpindahan modal ini juga terkait dengan pembangunan infrastruktur baru TNI dan menetapkan kebijakan baru yang menjamin pertahanan IKN yang baru dibangun dan pemerintah di dalamnya. Sementara menyebut IKN sebagai COG baru keamanannya menjadi kepentingan nasional, yang dapat dimanfaatkan baik oleh Mil maupun non-Mil, ancaman aktual dan potensial.

Kata kunci: Pertahanan Strategis, Diplomasi Pertahanan, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN), Pusat Gravitasi (COG)

1. Background

The Indonesian Government decided in 2019 to shift its capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan and named it Nusantara (Archipelago). Mainly it was based on climate change concerns, natural disasters, urban congestion, and above all unequal concentration of wealth across the country (VOI, n.d). There are many strategic advantages related to this decision like being away from devastating natural disasters, a better population density, better education with Human Development Index above the national level, a moderate Religious Harmony Index, and enhanced political maturity, but at the same time, it has certain strings attached to it concerning the defence and Security.



Figure 1: The Location of the New Capital City of Indonesia (Falor, 2022).

The strategic benefits related to the newly selected capital city location are also dreading by added challenges. On one hand, IKN is comparatively safer from natural

disasters like being away from fault lines, earthquakes, storms, and floods; at the same time shifting the leadership of the country will also shift the centre of gravity to the new city exposing it to enhanced Mil and non-Mil threats. As stated by National Défense Forces (TNI) Chief Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto in 2019 National Défense Forces (TNI) Chief Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto:

“In a state of crisis or war, the capital city of a country will become a centre of gravity that will certainly be attacked by the enemy to its full strength. Hence, the development of a defence system in the capital city of a country is something of absolute importance for Indonesia.” - (Abke, 2020).

Therefore, this shifting of capital is also associated with the country’s Defence Forces’ development of new infrastructure and laying down renewed policies ensuring the defence of the newly built IKN and the government therein (*Indo-Pacific Defense Forum*, n.d.). While referring to the IKN as a new COG its security becomes a national interest, which can be exploited by both Mil and non-Mil, actual and potential threats.

As stated by Col. John Warden, the Airpower Theorist and the chief architect of the Desert Storm air campaign, **“the Centre of Gravity of any strategic system consists of five concentric components – leadership, system essentials, infrastructure, population, and fielded forces.”** From this

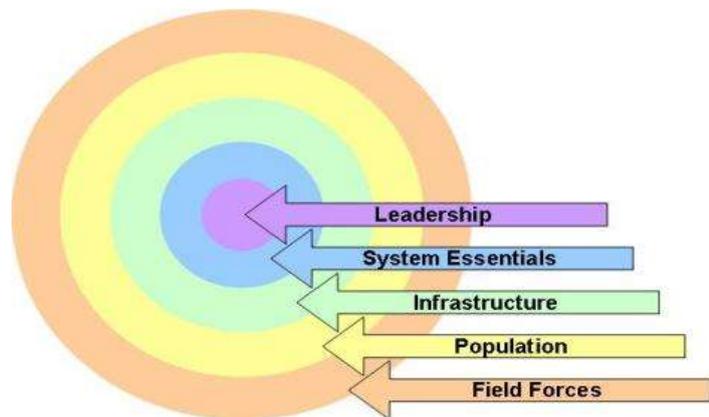


Figure 2: The Centre of Gravity of any Strategic System (Capek, 2008)

perspective, Leadership becomes the most important component if attacked and destroyed can cause catastrophic results (Fadok, 1995). Likewise, IKN will house the Civil-Mil leadership raising the stakes for its fool proof defence.



Jakarta has natural strategic depth for its security and is buffered by land and sea from all sides, not only allowing those areas to take the first blow but also giving time for reinforcement for its defence. Whereas, IKN lack that strategic depth making it vulnerable to not only military as well as non-military threats due to its **proximity to “potential conflict flashpoints,”** close to the shared border areas with Malaysia and the Philippines, a region marked by frequent **“transnational terrorist and criminal activities.”** The close presence of the strait as a crucial international navigation point and major passage out of the South China Sea, also makes Nusantara susceptible to any future great power conflicts or crises in comparison to Jakarta.



Figure 3: Jakarta and IKN Strategic Map
(Source: from all sources)

This requires a large-scale Military deployment and employment to achieve strategically safe capital including the relocation of TNI headquarters along with the Army, Air Force, and Navy Leadership and the establishment of a new **“Capital Security Regional Command (KODAM PIK)”** for the city’s defence. However, another pertinent point is that IKN is located on an Island co-shared by Indonesia and Malaysia. So, this enormous military presence may raise concerns for Malaysia. It implies that Indonesia has to play very intelligently in applying diplomacy to resolve the potential implications regarding the defence of its new capital. Whereby, both the Philippines and Malaysia are important; Border Diplomacy with Malaysia stands alone because of its land borders with East Kalimantan.

This situation calls for an important question:

“How does Indonesia prepare for the Strategic Defence of Indonesia's New Capital, Nusantara, and at the same time ensure successful Indonesia – Malaysia Border Diplomacy?”



2. Literature Review

There is a rising concern about Indonesia's grand strategy of relocating its new capital city to Kalimantan Island. It is mainly because all the previous capital was never located on an island bordering other countries, lack of strategic depth, and its proximity to international flashpoints.

The need for a Strategic defence approach will be necessary to anticipate any possible impact that may arise, this must be taken into account for the sake of the secure capital city. This, however, does not include building infrastructure or adapting policies and strategies, but before reaching that point, several concepts correlate where defence diplomacy specifically in the domain of Border Diplomacy is seen as very precise to work with the issue without the use of force. Moreover, the article will analyse those actions, their application, challenges, and prospects for improvement in any domain undertaken by the government.

2.1. "The Growth of Jakarta Metropolitan Area and the Sustainability of Urban Development in Indonesia": Daden Rukmana

Deden Rukmana in his article has discussed that Urbanization which is developing in Jakarta is not to be matched by the availability of facilities and adequate urban infrastructure, so various problems such as floods, congestion, traffic, and slum settlements are becoming increasingly difficult to deal with. Thus, Jakarta, until now becomes the centre of all life aspects in Indonesia. Jakarta does not only act as the centre of the government but also as the centre of trade, finance, services, entertainment, sports, culture, transportation, and research (Rukmana, 2008).

2.2. Strategic Defence.

In a broader meaning strategic defence can be defined as, " Strategic Defence is a type of military planning doctrine, and a set of defence and combat activities used to deter, resist, and repel a strategic offensive. It is either a territorial or airspace, invasion or attack, or as part of a cyberspace attack in cyberwarfare, or a naval offensive to

interrupt shipping lane traffic as a form of economic warfare” (Military History, n.d). All forms of military defence are included in the planning, and civil defence organizations are often included too. Several common issues usually can be examined with the strategic defence approach; relate to the confidence-building in an interstate relationship (strategic neighbours), national defence policy, arms control in the strategic environment, a product for policy advice, and review of any of the security agenda (Dupuy, 1986).

2.3. Defense Diplomacy

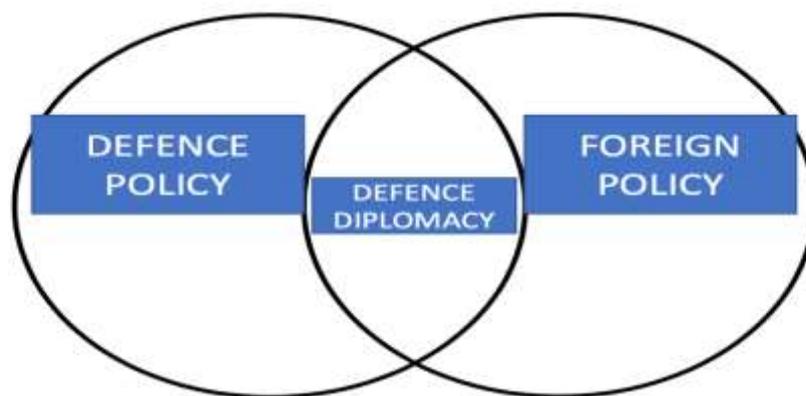


Figure 4: Diagram Venn 'the origins of Défense Diplomacy (Inkiriwang, 2021).

G.R. Berridge and Alan James define Défense Diplomacy as “The use of military personnel, including service attaches, in support of conflict prevention and resolution. Among a great variety of activities, it includes assisting in the development of democratically accountable armed forces” (Berridge & James, 2003).

In a contemporary definition, the term Défense diplomacy evolved from what Juan Emilio Cheyre stated as it links the implementation of the foreign policy objectives to the defence sector. As well what Ian Storey emphasizes one of the five areas of Défense diplomacy, which is “**to strengthen cooperation with former enemies & engage potential adversaries (to improve communication, promote mutual understanding & dispel mistrust)**” (Storey, 2012). The Issue related to Indonesia and



Malaysia border may be executed through an engagement of Défense diplomacy. This is the anticipation effort for conducting strategic defence in a critical area such as the relocation of the New Capital Nusantara.

2.4. Border Diplomacy

Border diplomacy can be defined as the diplomatic practice or steps by the states to resolve border disputes peacefully through demarcation and management (Shrestha, 2021). The policymakers need to comprehend international law, which can help conduct agreements, talks, or resolve any demarcation management issue. Indonesia and Malaysia have annually conducted such effort, for example, in the Joint Working Group on Outstanding Boundary Problems, which discuss several problem area segments (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2019). This kind of effort is needed to support the government's plan to relocate the capital city in East Kalimantan bordering Malaysia.

In 2020, a statement from Indonesia Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi at the Appreciation Event for the 2015-2019 Technical Team for the Determination of Indonesian Maritime Borders reaffirmed that Border Diplomacy as one of Indonesia's foreign policy priorities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020).

2.5. Capital City Security

These all efforts are focused on only one goal to safeguard the new capital city of Indonesia. Of course, there will be many aspects that should need to be considered. On a bigger scale, aspects such as the geostrategic location where the relocation makes the centre of gravity of the government take another step closer to the source of threats. Pertinent to this research, the article will develop an understanding of the importance of Strategic defence and how border diplomacy acts as one of the efforts to safeguard this government's grand plan.



3. Research Methodology

A qualitative research methodology was adopted for contemplating (exploring and understanding) the issues at hand and the solution to cater to these problems. Whereas many books, scholarly articles, media interviews, news, and internet sources were rereferred to, main inferences were drawn from the lectures given by the government officials (considered as interviews followed by questions and answer sessions) and experts in this field during the KKDN of the DD International class.

4. Research Result and Discussion

4.1. Geographical Location

Before proceeding further let's have an orientation of the IKN. Nusantara is located in East Kalimantan Province, which towards the eastern side is partially bordered (12 mi) by the Makassar Strait and the Celebes Sea and the western part is bordered by the Provinces of Central Kalimantan and West Kalimantan Provinces, as well as the Sarawak Section of East Malaysia. IKN is approximately located between 200-400 km from the nearest land border and will be the first experience for Indonesia to have its capital sharing an island with another country (Central Bureau of Statistics of East Kalimantan, East Kalimantan Province in Figures 2022, 2022). This then will require a lot of adjustments on border security policy, Indonesia and Malaysia border cooperation, and its policies toward managing connected regions.

4.2. Salient Features of East Kalimantan

East Kalimantan is relatively stable when viewed from **the potential for disasters**, and this can be seen from the seismic (wave) recordings that rarely occur. It has a land cover that is mostly industrial forest plantations, abundant clean water availability, does not have a volcano, and is close to the coast.

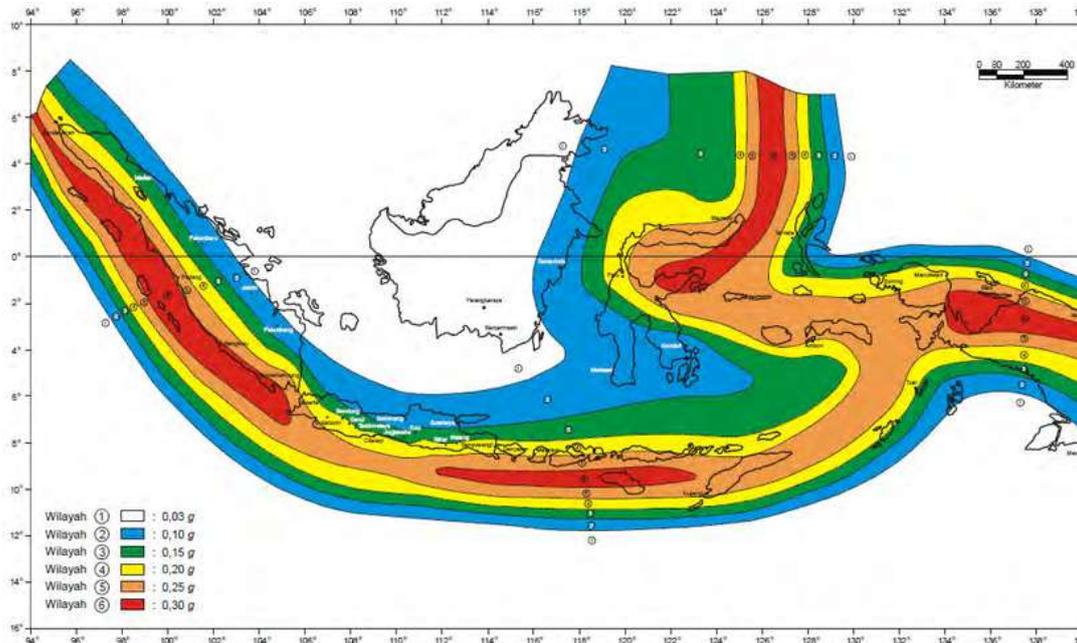


Figure 5: Seismic Activity Map (Irsyam, et.al., 2011: 3)

East Kalimantan is a **Muslim majority province** with the population as shown:

Table 1: East Kalimantan population based on religion –
(Central Bureau of Statistics of East Kalimantan, 2020)

Location	Population-Based on Religion (Census 2020)							
	Total	Other	Konghucu	Buddha	Hindu	Catholic	Protestant	Islam
Kalimantan Timur	3.769.073	305	335	15.585	8.491	166.399	283.878	3.294.080

The Human Development Index assessment is conducted by BPS using indicators that include “Life Expectancy at Birth, Expected Years of Schooling, Mean Years of Schooling, and GNI per capita.” This province has a better HDI than the national level and an increasing Religious Harmony Index (KUB) which shows that the tolerance and social piety of the people in East Kalimantan are in a good category.

In general, the **economic, political, and security conditions in East Kalimantan are relatively good**, as can be seen from the heterogeneous society and openness to migrants, Similarly, it has good democracy and Freedom of Press index, falling in the “Free Enough” Category (Kaltimkece, 2021).

Table 2: Environmental Variables on the 2021 Press Freedom Index (National Press Council)



Moreover, despite certain criminal activities, in the security sector, East Kalimantan is a relatively safer zone.

Table 3: East Kalimantan security conditions - (Central Bureau of Statistics of East Kalimantan)

Location	Illegal Activities (trade, mining, fishing, forestry)	Criminal Cases	Population Risk of Crime per 100,000 Population According to Resort Police	Demonstration (social, economic, politic)
	2019	2020	2020	2020
East Kalimantan	64	2504	990	144

4.3. Indonesia – Malaysia Border Issue

The Indonesia – Malaysia land border is about 2,000 km from northwest Kalimantan, to the Sebatik Bay and the Celebes Sea to the east of Kalimantan as seen in the figure below (Muhamad, 2012).



Figure 6: Map of the Indonesia-Malaysia border in Kalimantan (Wikipedia Map)

The developments regarding the territorial border disputes, both land, and sea boundaries, generally are relatively stable and in progress (Rachmawati & Dewi, 2020), For the land border in Kalimantan, currently, there are seven “Outstanding Border Problems” (OBPs) between Indonesia and Malaysia that need to be resolved, as seen in the figure below.

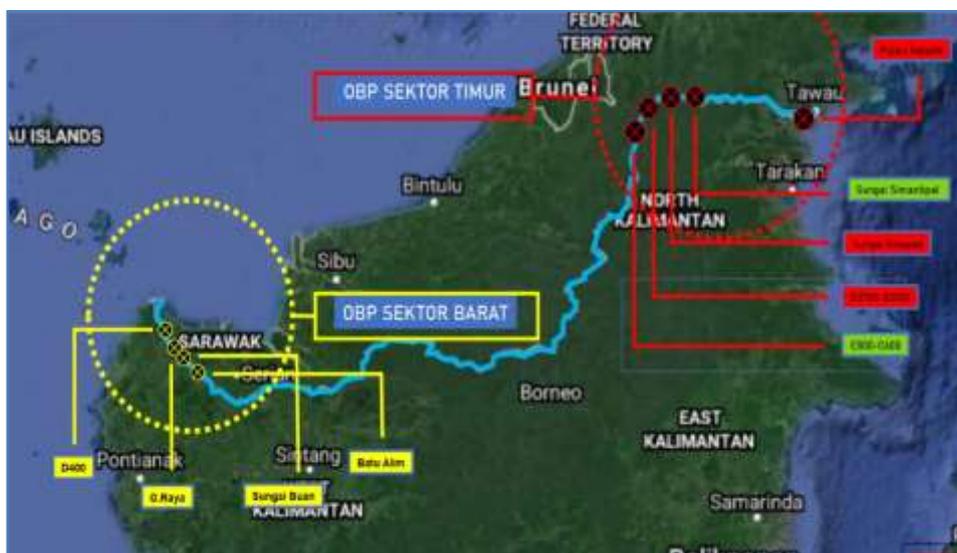


Figure 7: Indonesia-Malaysia OBP in Kalimantan (Source: Defense Diplomacy Domestic Filed of Study Material)



In regards to the maritime border dispute with Malaysia, discussions are in the final stages of resolving the maritime boundaries of the territorial sea in southern Malacca Strait and the Sulawesi Sea.

4.4. Indonesia – Malaysia Border Diplomacy and the Strategic Defence of Nusantara

Border Diplomacy in Indonesia is characterized by state-centricity, spelling out the role of the Indonesian central government alone. The practicality of resolution of various issues and impediments present at the tactical level calls for an expansion of Indonesia's border diplomacy, bringing into consideration the involvement of other important actors, namely sub-national actors and non-state actors.

To prevent problems at the border through the legal aspect is to manage the border region based on **law No. 43 of 2008, the social economy** includes the formation of a **working group Socio-Economic Malaysia-Indonesia**, an organization that conducts cooperation in the field of socio-economic based on political interests. Meanwhile, the institutional form is all of **the institutions and local governments** that help smoothen the cooperation between countries and prevent their mutual distrust between the state and the fear of other countries. Besides that, the soft power concept is most important to give the power of diplomacy.

Furthermore, there are two (2) aspects of border diplomacy. Those two aspects are consisted of:

- **The maritime border delimitation and demarcation** on the land border
- **Border management and cooperation** with neighboring countries.

These aspects should be done in a peaceful method and hold on to the principle of international law (Chandra, 2022).

4.5. Land Border Management

In managing the border, Indonesia has a special forum to take care of this matter. The head of the forum is the General Border Committee (GBC), under the Minister of



defence with the participation of TNI, Minister of Home Affairs, and the Joint Police Cooperation Committee. The main purpose of the GBC is to eliminate transnational organized crimes (TOC) and address non-traditional security issues.

4.6. Non-Traditional Security Issues

Border security does not limit to traditional security matters but includes proper border management involving every aspect of border management. There are challenges to contemporary security, which are customs, immigration, quarantine, illegal crossing, and goods smuggling. Moreover, there are also human trafficking, narcotics smuggling, and rare exotic animal trafficking, and special issues such as terrorism and pandemic situations are also counted as contemporary security challenges.

4.7. Development of Border Areas on the Indonesian Side

In recent years, **welfare, empowering the border community, and border area development** have become equally important. Other issues such as food security, access to health, education, and information as well as economic and trading activities on the border also amount to the problems. Security remains a priority but economic challenges rising from disparity in border area also needs to be addressed.

In the President Joko Widodo era, the country has implemented several policies to develop border areas. One of them is **the construction of 11 PLBN (Border Crossing Post)** that will be a centre point of development. Indonesia and Malaysia are also in the process of reviewing their border crossing agreement and border trade agreement.

4.8. Maritime Security Threats and Management

Besides the land border, Indonesia also has a maritime security agreement. Maritime border security between Indonesia and Malaysia is divided by corridors and involves third-party countries. In the Malacca and Singapore strait, there are **Malaysia and Indonesia Coordinated Patrol (MALINDO)**, and **Trilateral with Singapore (MALSINDO)**. In the Sulu Sea and Sulawesi Sea, there is Trilateral Cooperation



Agreement **Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines (INDOMALPHI)**. Besides that, Indonesia also has a special arrangement for IUUF-related issues with Malaysia regulated by MoU common guidelines.

The non-traditional sea threats from groups like the Abu Sayyaf Group generates a security threat to the new capital. Such a situation requires further enhanced efforts from Malaysia and the Philippines, exchanging information and coordinated patrols through Maritime Command Centres (MCCs). Moreover, The Border Committee between Indonesia and Malaysia needs to be reviewed and restructured that encompass not only security aspects but also to promote social and economic aspects of the border region with the involvement of relevant agencies

Now let's see a few of the

4.9. The Current Effort and Planning for Border Diplomacy and Strategic Defence of Nusantara

As discussed in the background, the shifting of capital to Nusantara creates a COG, it also creates new threats to the strategic environment. These changes require a clear-eyed appraisal of the threats which may be created with the shifting of the capital city (Wargadalam, 2022).

The possible internal and external threats forecasted include:

- **Position of Nusantara is surrounded by security alliances**, like FPDA and AUKUS. Malaysia is going to be closer to the QUAD and AUKUS, as well as America and NATO. This will bring a new geostrategic challenge for Indonesia.
- **Nusantara's proximity to Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines FIR** makes it susceptible to aerial threats.
- **Possibilities of aerial threats further increase** because Nusantara because of its geographical location is deterred by the cruising range of "**the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) and hypersonic missile**" of certain countries.



- **Island Borneo faces a potential threat due to its location** as it facilitates routes for transnational crimes such as narcotic sales and people smuggling etc.

Above mentioned actual threats indicate that the volatility that can occur in the new capital Nusantara, is not only caused by external threats, such as borders, military alliances, and missile radius, but also comes from within the country.

4.10. Smart Defence and Dual Strategy (Military and Diplomacy)

The Defence sector is also developing a smart defence and dual strategy based on the doctrines, strategy, posture, and capabilities within the field of defence. Also, through the security sector to develop smart security, as well as developing cybersecurity through the Security Council. Then all of this architecture system will be on the master plan for the defence and security sector of the new capital development as it is also based on cost-effectiveness and the quality of spending because there is a resource limit that the government has (Wargadalam, 2022).

For the smart defence and dual strategy, the plan goes and thought through all the challenges in all the realms, whether it's land, air, sea and, also the digital realm as discussed in the above paragraphs. In developing the defence sector, looking towards the future, technology will play a big part in the defence.

Discussing the security of the capital, BAPPENAS is not only looking outwards on how to secure the capital from external threats, but also security, as in how to police the society in the new capital. BAPPENAS is developing a concept of smart security that focuses on modern policing. The two key aspects of what policing will do is one as a service, mostly based on more modern and technological progressive advancements using more administrative law through the internet, computers, and also surveillance systems through more digital surveillance.

Talking about the digital realm of the system, the system of cybersecurity is mostly the one that will be very dependent on as we look through the future when almost everything is digitalized. The framework that is developed by BSSN and its



cybersecurity framework, is to be able to define the threats to protect key data that detect when there are challenges, especially from the breakthrough of the system. Refers to the BSSN framework and strategy, the initiatives of cybersecurity in the new capital relate to the work of policy, organization, infrastructure, operational, and resources.

BAPPENAS are not only developing the military as a way to defend the nation but also as a tool for diplomacy. With a strong defence and strong military capability, it will be more likely for the nations to be asked to help moderate conflicts. Countries with a strong military are also more likely to be involved internationally in joint operations. From here on end, it develops relationships with other countries. And another point is that countries with strong capability are useful in conditions of crisis, as it is also giving good publicity for the country in the global arena. And this will help increase Indonesian diplomatic ties. And ultimately, with good diplomacy, Indonesia can reduce conflicts, especially in the new capital regarding its close to Indonesia – Malaysia border. So based on that system built, the defence and security sector system aim to secure the capital, with the capacity building planning based on threats, including the threats perceived around the capital.

In the master plan for the new capital of 2025-2045, there will be more than two phases of development. The first phase would be up from 2022 to 2024. The first cluster of government institutions will move, including military personnel for about 6000 people. What is needed in the new capital sources are the symbols; the buildings, such as government buildings and other institutions; and also, the system that when the president does move to the new capital, it will need security, the need of military presence. Of course, the centre will also need police presence, intelligence, and cyber experts in the capital. The need to be able to secure the development of the rest of the capital, not only the security net and the location itself, but also the logistics—the

logistics waste, and also the need for the capital assignments as one of the first phase of development (Bakrie, 2022).

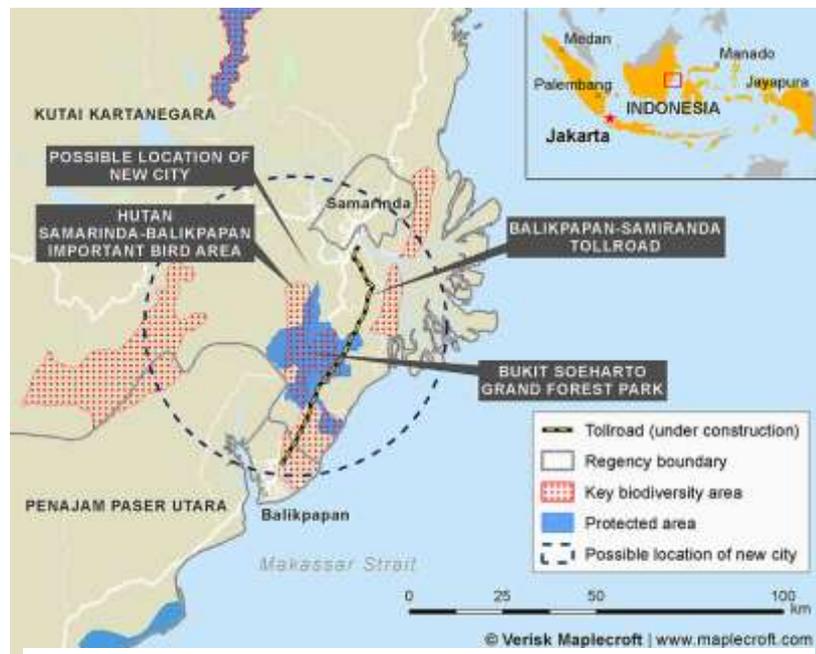


Figure 8: The Map of the New Capital City of Indonesia
(Source: Future Southeast Asia)

4.11. The maritime virtual gate

The maritime virtual gate of Makassar Strait is also a concept applied for the regional gate from the BAPPENAS perspective. It is a modern gate in the form of a modern technology system with imaginary architecture to ensure that people and goods movement on the surface and under the sea can be precisely quantified.

As per the military analyst, Dr. Connie Rahakundini Bakrie, efforts on border diplomacy and strategic defence of Nusantara, require three important characteristics of contemporary border management:

- **The multiple border strategy:** It is associated with the dealing of checking goods and verifying their identities that take place away from the actual



border and more importantly upstream in advance resulting in smooth dealing of passengers and freight at entry and exit ports.

- **Integrated border management:** Integrated border Management is characterized by a single-window operation ensuring the accuracy of captured data with utmost ease. Intelligence-led risk assessment is another aspect achieved by sharing this data with various agencies and related departments specialized for the job.
- **End-to-end identity:** This facilitates pre-travel validation of identity at the port of departure, while at the same time is shared with the arrival port for biometric authentication (Bakrie, 2022).

What actually the Nusantara border requires is to be effective, smart, proactive as well as responsive as much as possible to progressively enhance the border crossing practices whilst also ensuring undaunted security standards. To achieve the effectiveness of this system, Malaysia has to be involved actively by introducing the UK-France model arrangement. UK-France enhanced border security was introduced with enhanced boundary fencing and admission points for the controlled area, at least outside the area around the cross-channel that links the UK and France. On land borders, they had physical access control procedures including “**Hostile Vehicle Mitigation (HVM) using bollards, gates or barriers, blast protection screens, and smart fencing**” and compound security could also be an essential element of a secure border (Bakrie, 2022).

4.12. The Challenges to Strategic Defence of Nusantara

The strategic decision of moving the country’s capital has certain on-ground challenges which include:

- **Fear of Inadequate funding and Budgetary Provisions.** Which is about USD 32 billion.
- **Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic.** on human resources as well as on the economy



- **Inadequate Military Strength and Equipment** which is presently deployed in that area.
- **Dealing with the Locals and the Environmentalist Concern.**
- **IKN is locally integrated, globally-connected,** and has the potential to put Indonesia in a more strategic position in world trade routes, making it a high-priority target if caught within a conflict between major powers.

4.13. The Prospect for Improvement of Strategic Defence of Nusantara on Effective Border Diplomacy

One of the main problems for the new capital is its proximity to a long-shared land border with Malaysia's territory of the island which is located north of the planned area for IKN. In planning for border defence, there are 2 types of borders to be considered which is **soft/open border (similar to those seen in the European Union) and hard border which involves securitization.** Securitization of the hard border is to be conducted using patrols on a corridor system.

- Government has prepared 2 main frameworks for the defense of IKN which are strategic mobility and fortification.
 - **Strategic mobility:** It is a concept that allows the defense of IKN to not be focused on the territory itself, but on the survivability of the government, which means a quick evacuation of Governmental VVIPs so they can keep governing from other locations in case IKN fell to the hands of the enemy.
 - **Fortification:** Fortification deals with area denial and anti-access, which can use several systems such as buffer zone or ADIZ.
- **TNI and TDM Cooperation.** TNI should work closely with or assist military response from TDM aimed at mitigating the problems including intensive joint patrols aimed at building trust.



- **Formulation of a joint committee** between the TNI and Malaysia army which will meet regularly to discuss border diplomacy issues and address any day-to-day challenges/problems arising.
- **Trilateral Surveillance.** Increase frequency of Trilateral Maritime Patrol and Trilateral Air Patrol, which are joint operations with Malaysia and the Philippines
- **Identifying NTS Threats.** Identification and mitigation of the right threat by different state and non-state actors. Mainly the threats that emerge from non-combat operations and operations other than war and threats like CBRN attack, combat reconnaissance, various crimes, UCAV, and above all the threat of cyber-attack.
- **Dual Strategy.** Employing Dual Strategy to build strong Defense through enhanced Military Capacity and then use it as a tool for Diplomacy for security and stability.
- **Policing of Society.** In pursuit of a foolproof defense system, IKN defense and security system architecture is planned to police the society internally based on a smart security concept.

4.14. Defence Forces Deployment. The building of a defense system in IKN is of utmost importance for Indonesia. The establishment of TNI forces and other military bases are planned in North Penajam Paser, along with the presidential palace, and important installations. The scope and scale of military relocation required to secure and guard IKN will be substantial. The requirements are as per Colonel Navy (P) Gede Dewa Oka Susila in his presentation for KKDN mentioned that:

- **Relocation of TNI headquarters along with the leadership** of all three forces.



- **Establishment of a new “Capital Security Regional Command (KODAM PIK)”** for the security and defense of IKN.
- **Requirement of 15,000 personnel** for the new Army HQs and the regional command, **including “infantry and cavalry brigades, as well as special forces units.”**
- Moreover, **the Navy has to establish a new “armada-level” force**, a division-level marine unit, and a primary naval base to reinforce the two already in the Kalimantan region.
- **Requirement of new Bases and facilities for The Air Force** to consolidate the shifting of its headquarters, including the likely deployment of two fighter squadrons equipped with about 16 new F-16V fighter aircraft, that subsequently can be exchanged with Rafael.
- It is hoped that in the future the Kalimantan region can be sheltered by only **one Joint Command of Defense Territory, that is Joint Command of Defense Territory II (KOGABWILHAN II)** so that in the future it can focus on carrying out defense deployment with strength in the Kalimantan region.

4.15. The Strategies to Improve the Strategic Defense and Border Diplomacy Between Indonesia and Malaysia

The relocation of the country’s capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan (Nusantara) would require a holistic approach both from the government and the military as well as other security agencies for the strategic defence and security of the new capital city Nusantara. Similarly, to ensure the Strategic Defence of the Nusantara, a phase-wise strategic plan is required to cater to the security, administration, and occupation of the new capital city.



- **Phase 1 – Border Diplomacy.** Border diplomacy by Indonesia to avoid suspicion from Malaysia to enable the Indonesian government to commence the development of Nusantara city. This will require the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and Ministry of National Development Planning to effectively negotiate and convince the Malaysian government over the borderline demarcation and their government's intention to relocate their capital city to Nusantara.
- **Phase 2 – Strategic Defense and Other Security Agencies Deployment.**

The government would require to consider earmarking locations based on the choice of the military for their strategic defense deployment for the overall security of the Nusantara and prepare to partially occupy their locations.
- **Phase 3 – Infrastructural Development at Nusantara.** The government will be required to make a special budget allocation for the grant strategic project in developing the new city infrastructure and basic amenities to accommodate those relocating to Nusantara city. The infrastructural development would also commence in conjunction with the military and other security agencies' deployment but adequate priorities to the security to enable achieve 70% development within four years of commencement. This will commence after the border diplomacy must have achieved its desired result and both nations must have finished the demarcation process of the borderlines through the necessary ministries.

5. Conclusion

The site selected for the new capital city is safer concerning natural disasters, severe weather, and seismic activities, with a lot of forestations; moreover, is blessed with an abundance of clean water, a combination of low high-lying grounds, and nearby the coast. These all characteristics make it an ideal place for a new capital city



planned to be built with a futuristic approach. Moreover, a reasonable population density, better education with Human Development Index above the national level, moderate Religious Harmony Index, and enhanced political maturity make it a place of natural choice. However, Shifting of Nation's Capital requires pondering upon many other aspects as well. It includes economic implications, defence, and Security Aspects, strategic environment, domestic assumptions, national resources, and many more.

Indonesia has chosen the time to shift its capital when on one side Covid-19 pandemic is jeopardizing economic growth and on the other side, great power rivalries are haunting the region. It is therefore strongly recommended that Indonesia very seriously consider the implications of shifting its capital. There must be an in-depth approach to provide a fool-proof layered defence to the new capital as COG of the country. These actions must be addressing all internal as well as external threats and the futuristic framework must be adopted. It is, therefore, necessary for all government agencies (military and civilian agencies) to closely coordinate in preparing the strategic defence scenarios to protect and secure the new capital city from both military and non-military threats. It includes top to bottom, including central government, home ministry, TNI, local governments, and all other agencies related to defence and security falling under these entities.

Cybersecurity is a reality in modern world war strategies. All actions must be oriented to secure the country's capital from such threats as well. Border Diplomacy with Indonesia must be working at all levels top to local bodies. The employment of a large number of TNI assets must be pacified through Défense Diplomacy with Malaysia, sharing the same island as IKN. These all efforts must be focused on achieving strategic defence of IKN.



6. Thank-you Note

In the end as a group we would like to extend our special gratitude to **Prof. Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, Ph.D.** as our supervisor and part of our writing team for sparing time and providing his guidance, without which we would not be able to achieve this. We also want to thank **Colonel Infantry Dr. Sunarko S.E., M.Sc., P.Sc.**, as the Secretary of International Defense Diplomacy Study Program and **Mrs. Larasati** as the Staff in our study Program who helped us in arranging this KKDN program and providing us for this opportunity to write an article based on our learning.



7. References:

- Abke, T. (2020, January 19). *Indonesian defense planners prepare to secure new capital*. Retrieved from Indo-Pacific Defense Forum: <https://ipdefenseforum.com/2020/01/indonesian-defense-planners-prepare-to-secure-new-capital/>
- Bakrie, C. R. (2022). *PPT Materials for KKDN: Indonesia Malaysia Border Diplomacy Possible Impact of Defense and Border Strategy for Indonesia's New Capital*. Jakarta: RIDU.
- Berridge, G., and James, A. (2003). *Dictionary of Diplomacy, Second Edition*. London: Pilgrave Macmillan.
- Capek, F. (2008, January 05). *Centers of Gravity: Levers For Shifting The Customer Experience*. Retrieved from Customer Innovations: <http://customerinnovations.com/centers-of-gravity-levers-for-shifting-the-customer-experience/>
- Central Bureau of Statistics of East Kalimantan. (2020). *Indeks Pembangunan Manusia Provinsi Kalimantan Timur 2020*. Samarinda: BPS Provinsi Kalimantan Timur.
- Central Bureau of Statistics of East Kalimantan. (2022). *East Kalimantan Province in Figures 2022*. Samarinda : biro Pusat Statistik Provinsi Kalimantan Timur.
- Central Bureau of Statistics of East Kalimantan. (n.d.). *Tabel Dinamis*. Retrieved from BPS Kaltim: <https://kaltim.bps.go.id/site/pilihdata.html>
- Chandra, P. A. (2022). *PPT Materials for KKDN: Indonesia-Malaysia Border Diplomacy*. Jakarta: RIDU.
- Dupuy, T. N. (1986). *Understanding War: Military History And The Theory Of Combat*. New York: Leo Cooper.
- Fadok, D. (1995). *John Boyd and John Warden: Air Power's Quest for Strategic Paralysis*. Alabama: Air University Press.
- Falor, S. (2022, January 19). *Explained: Why Nusantara has been selected as the new capital of Indonesia*. Retrieved from The Indian Express: <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/indonesia-capital-east-kalimantan-nusantara-explained-7731059/>
- Inkiriwang, F. W. (2021). *DD Class Material: Introduction, Theory, and Concept of Defense Diplomacy* . Jakarta: RIDU .



- Kaltimkece. (2021). *Indeks Kemerdekaan Pers 2021 Kaltim Tertinggi di Indonesia Tengah dan Timur*. Retrieved from Kaltim Kece: <https://kaltimkece.id/warta/ragam/indeks-kemerdekaan-pers-2021-kaltim-tertinggi-di-indonesia-tengah-dan-timur>
- Masyhur Irsyam, M. Asrurifak , Hendriyawan, Hamzah Latif, Nazili Razali, Anita Firmanti. (2011). Seismic Hazard Maps of Indonesia and Geotechnical and Tsunami Hazard Assessment for Banda Aceh. *Combined Hazards*. 10.1007/978-94-007-0470-1_8., 1-16.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, R. (2020, August 27). *The Indonesian MoFA Reaffirms Border Diplomacy as One of Indonesia's Foreign Policy Priorities*. Retrieved from MoFA : <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/1624/view/the-indonesian-minister-of-foreign-affairs-reaffirms-border-diplomacy-as-one-of-indonesias-foreign-policy-priorities>
- Ministry of Home Affairs, R. o. (2019, March 19). *Rapat Koordinasi Persiapan Sosialisasi Penyelesaian Outstanding Boundary Problems (OBP) Segmen Pulau*. Retrieved from Direktorat Jendral Bina Administrasi Kewilayahan: <https://ditjenbinaadwil.kemendagri.go.id/berita/detail/rapat-koordinasi-persiapan-sosialisasi-penyelesaian-outstanding-boundary-problems-obp-segmen-pulau-s>
- Muhamad, S. V. (2012). Perbatasan Indonesia-Malaysia di Kalimantan: Permasalahan dan Upaya Penanganannya. *Kajian*, 17(4). doi:<https://doi.org/10.22212/kajian.v17i4.371>, 437-463.
- Rukmana, D. (2008). The Growth of Jakarta Metropolitan Area and the Sustainability of Urban Development in Indonesia. *The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic, and Social Sustainability, Annual Review* 4 (1), 99-106.
- Storey, I. (2012). China's Bilateral Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Asian Security*, 287-310.
- Wargadalam, R. J. (2022). *PPT Materials for KKDN: Sistem dan Strategi Pertahanan dan Keamanan di IKN*. Jakarta: RIDU.