

Research Paper

Nusantara Capital City (IKN): Threats and Defense Strategies for Indonesia's New Capital

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Abstract

Jakarta, as the current state capital of Indonesia, plays an important role as the center of government and economy. However, due to several problems in Jakarta, the government has considered relocating the capital city to other regions. The President of Indonesia, Jokowi, has expressed his intention to move the capital city to Kalimantan Island. This relocation has raised concerns about defense policy. This research aims to identify the threats that may arise in the proposed new capital city, Nusantara Capital City (IKN), and to propose strategies to overcome them. The methods used in this research include a qualitative approach based on documented perceptions, assumptions, and judgments among Indonesia's leaders and a quantitative approach to mapping the comparative postures of relevant defense figures. The results indicate that the highest threat in IKN comes from the air (combat, UAV, ICBM's), while the low-level threat is the location of IKN, which is near the borders, and FIR coincides with the IASL. The critical aspect of defending IKN would be to strengthen national defense diplomacy in the region. In conclusion, this research provides insight into the potential threats to the proposed new capital city and suggests strategies to mitigate them.

Keywords: Capital City; Defense; Nusantara Capital City (IKN); Policy; Threat

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1. Introduction

The capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta, has a crucial function as the center of government and economy, which is legally protected (Hutasoit, 2018; Saraswati & Adi, 2022). This role of authority leads to an increased population in Jakarta. According to Badan Pusat Statistik [BPS] (2021), the population in Jakarta reached 10.64 million, but this surge in population has not been accompanied by environmental capabilities (Yahya, 2018). This has resulted in Jakarta being one of the most densely populated cities in the world, and its population is expected to reach 30 million by 2030 (Takagi et al., 2016).

Jakarta is facing significant environmental challenges that have emerged as a result of population growth and rapid development. Jakarta has been facing many urban development issues, for instance, land subsidence. The rate of land subsidence in Jakarta was reported at about 1-15 cm/year (Abidin et al., 2011). This, coupled with a sea level rise of 3.6 mm/year along the coastal areas, has led to predictions that Jakarta will sink by 2050. Several problems, mainly environmental issues, are still found in Jakarta, for instance, floods that have hit Jakarta since the 2000s, urban heat, and pollution (Gavrila & Rusdi, 2020; Hamdani, 2020; Pratiwi & Rahajoeningroem, 2020).

Furthermore, Jakarta has been burdened with numerous issues, ranging from traffic congestion to environmental concerns. In 2019, before the COVID-19 pandemic, TomTom Traffic ranked the most crowded city in the world based on each city's index, and Jakarta ranked 10th in the ranking, and in 2018, it was the 7th most crowded city. Nevertheless, traffic slowdown due to crowding in the capital has stagnated at 53% since 2018. This shows that there has been no improvement in the level of congestion in Jakarta. The Big Durian has been ranked Jakarta as the world's most environmentally vulnerable metropolitan due to climate change, pollution, heatwaves, earthquakes, and flooding posing significant risks to its residents and businesses (Indonesia Water Portal, 2021). The condition in Jakarta is not ideal for a capital city as the center of government and economy (Hafidz & Kurniawan, 2020). The intricacy of those several problems in Jakarta leads the government to relocate the role of Jakarta as the center of state government to another region. Relocation of the government is intended to realize a balance between regions in terms of their growth rate, strengthening the national economy, and maintaining national growth efficiency (Adinugroho et al., 2022).

Several parties initiated the idea of moving the capital city several years ago (Kurniawan et al., 2021). In 2019, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia decided to relocate the capital city to a new location outside of Java (Natasuwarna, 2019). During the National Day Speech before the Indonesian National Parliament (DPR) and The Senates (DPD) joint session on August 16, 2019, President Jokowi announced that he intended to move the capital city of Indonesia to Kalimantan Island. The President emphasized that the new capital would serve as a symbol of national identity and a representation of the nation's progress. It is hoped that the location of the new capital city in the middle of Indonesia can realize economic equity, justice, and development for the sake of the vision of an "Indonesia Maju." Indeed, the new capital city was intended not only as a national identity but as a demonstration of the nation's progress by implementing a modern, smart, and green city concept, using new and renewable energy, not depending on fossil energy. Relocation of the capital city will not absorb a large amount of the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN). The relocation is expected to be accomplished by encouraging participation from the private sector, state-owned enterprises (BUMN), as well as through the Public Private Partnership (PPP) scheme (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 2019; Mujiono & Sagen, 2020; Saputra & Halkis, 2021; Purnama & Chotib, 2023).

The new capital would be named Nusantara Capital City or Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN), located in the Province of the East Kalimantan, at Makassar Street, in the part of Penajam Paser Utara Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency. The location and development of the IKN have been supported by two key policies, The New Capital IKN Act (2022) and The Details of the New Capital City Master Plan (IKN) Act (2022), which details the stages of the construction of IKN projected to be completed by 2045. The reason for the government to move the capital city to East Kalimantan is that, geologically, it is not included in the mount volcano route, so the disaster risk is decreased (Kurniadi, 2019; Kodir, 2021). According to The New Capital IKN Act (2022), at least there are two main reasons for moving the capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. First, to change the development orientation from Java to outer Java. The economic, social, and infrastructure between Java and outer Java are enormous. As Java became the center of Indonesia, the national population and its productivity centralized in Java. The moving of the capital city from Java to Kalimantan is believed to make balance the development and its products and derivatives among islands.

Therefore, the agenda for moving the nation's capital is to spread and make the nation's development equal (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika Republik Indonesia, 2019). Second, to have a nation's capital that is environmentally healthier. Jakarta is also struggling under a huge environmental burden. Air quality in the city has plunged over the last few months.

According to [The Details of the New Capital City Master Plan \(IKN\) Act \(2022\)](#), the development of IKN is planned to be completed in five phases: phase I from 2022 to 2024, phase II from 2025 to 2029, phase III from 2030 to 2034, phase IV from 2035 to 2039, and phase V from 2040 to 2045, as illustrated in Figure 1. The nearest target –as President Jokowi's terms would be ended in October 2024—is to complete the first phase of the development. He also intends to celebrate the Independence Day anniversary on August 17, 2024, in the new capital city.

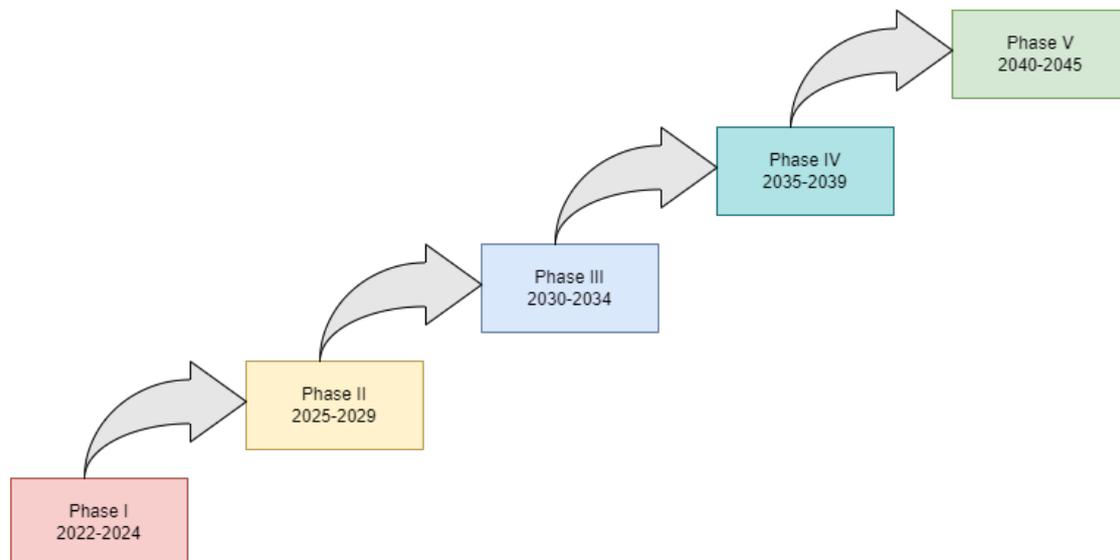


Figure 1. Phases of IKN's Development

In Phase 1, government office buildings, housing for the state civil apparatus (ASN), and the TNI and Polri will be built, including all necessary environmental infrastructure, public social facilities, and elements of defense and security for site security (based on the defense and security human resources and equipment/weaponry, nonmilitary or defense and combat infrastructure). The first group of people to move to the Archipelago Capital City in Stage 1 (in 2024) will include ASN ministries/agencies, employees of Independent State Institutions/Public Agencies, TNI, Polri, as well as other elements of defense and security, and their family members. Workers in various service sectors and other support (e.g., construction, accommodation, food, beverage, and retail) will also be part of the first group. The total population of the Archipelago Capital City and its existing citizens is projected to be around 488,409 people by 2024.

In Phase 2, the main infrastructure is targeted to be ready to connect to the new area. In Phase 3, several infrastructures are targeted to be completed, such as mass public transportation, wastewater treatment plants, drinking water treatment plants, and supporting facilities for Sponge City. This phase also targets the availability of waste processing and the addition of digital and urban amenities. In Phase 4, the development of education and health is expected to progress rapidly, while in Phase 5, it is hoped that the development of IKN will reach a peak marked by sustainable industrial development and stable population growth.

As the new capital city, IKN prioritizes a robust military defense agenda. The capital city represents two important roles, namely as a symbol of the nation's sovereignty and as the main strategic infrastructure since the leaders of the state work in the city. Therefore, managing the capital city's military defense is a clear and present agenda (Aidilla & Michael, 2022). Defense and security will play a crucial part in achieving the expectations set by IKN. Previous studies related to defense and security in the new capital city have been conducted, such as Sensuse et al.'s (2022) initial cybersecurity framework in IKN.

However, studies about military defense in the new capital city involving the perspectives of several actors from various agencies and institutions have not been widely implemented.

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan, as per the government's plan, has been outlined in [The General Policy on State Defense \(Jakumhaneg\) \(2021\)](#) for 2020-2024 Act. This decree stipulated that the institutional development of the national defense directed toward optimization, arrangement, and creation of an integrated military and nonmilitary defense system in the management of state defense through the arrangement of the integrated military defense system in the East Kalimantan as the province of the new capital city. The key questions that arise are the potential defense threats to the new capital, the defense strategy to counter these threats, the current quality of the defense capability, and the agenda to bridge the gap between the response plan and the existing capability.

The questions that have been raised are of utmost importance, given the critical nature of state sovereignty. [Clausewitz \(2008\)](#) argued that victory could be achieved by preventing the enemy from reaching their objectives and striking at their communications before they can reach their target. For instance, if the enemy's capital is their main objective and the defender has not taken up a position between the city and the attacker, the latter would be making a mistake if they advanced straight toward the city. Instead, they would be better off targeting the communication lines between the enemy army and its capital to achieve a victory that would lead them to the city ([Clausewitz, 2008](#)). Clausewitz suggested the following measures to defeat the enemy: (a) Devastate their army, if it is significant; (b) Seize their capital, if it is not only the center of administration but also that of social, professional, and political activity; and (c) Deliver an effective blow against their principal ally if that ally is more powerful than the enemy ([Clausewitz, 2008](#)). De Jomini expressed similar views, stating that all capitals are strategic points because they are not only centers of communication but also seats of power and government. The capital, considered the seat of power, becomes the primary objective point of defense, but there may be other points, such as the defense of a first line and the first base of operations ([de Jomini, 2008](#)). Therefore, the capital is generally the center of national power ([de Jomini, 2008](#)).

This study aims to observe and analyze the military defense of the new capital city and involve the perspectives of several actors from various agencies and institutions. The objectives of this research are to identify the real defense threats for the Nusantara Capital City, which will be located in East Kalimantan, to determine the defense strategy to respond to the threats, to assess the quality of the existing defense capability, and to identify the agenda to bridge the gap between the strategic response plan and the existing capability. Another objective of this research is to identify potential threats that may arise in Nusantara Capital City (IKN) and to develop a strategy to overcome them.

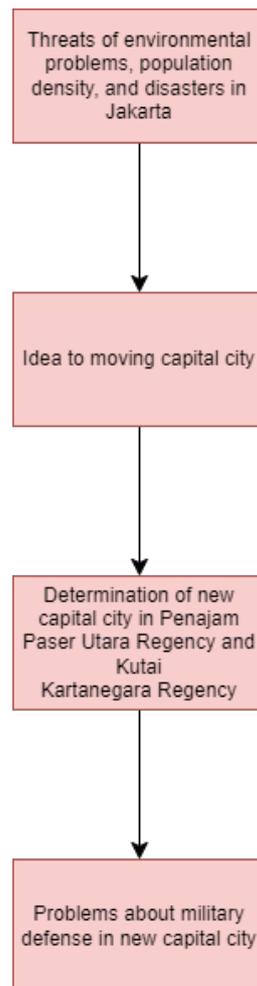


Figure 2. Research Framework

2. Methods

The paper used a qualitative approach since most of the data was based on documented perceptions, assumptions, and judgments among Indonesia's leaders and defense experts, such as the Ministry of Defense (MoD), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas), National Parliament, and Experts (publics). [Dey \(1993\)](#) and [Creswell \(2008\)](#) define a qualitative approach as an approach or search to explore and understand a central symptom through interviewing other people to obtain textual or descriptive information. However, there was also some quantitative approach, particularly in terms of descriptive method, to map the comparative postures of the relevant defense figures. A quantitative approach is defined as the broad term used to denote research design and methods that yield numerical data ([Gerrish & Lacey, 2010](#)).

2.1 Analysis

The instrument of analysis was deployed as portrayed in the matrix on actors, threats, and responses. Table 1 is a matrix of actors' perceptions, assumptions, and judgments about the threats and their responses. The scores in Table 1 range from 0 to 5, with detailed explanations of each score provided in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 1. Matrix on Actors, Threats, and Responses

Actors (perceptions, assumptions, and judgment)	The Threats		The Responses	
	Descriptions	Score	Descriptions	Score
Ministry of Defense (MoD)				
Ministry of Foreign Affairs				
Ministry of National Development Planning/Head of National Development Planning Agency/Bappenas (MNP)				
National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas) (NRI)				
National Parliament (NP)				
Experts (public) (E)				
	Total Threats		Total Responses	

The analysis involved the evaluation of total threats and their total score, as well as total responses and total score. There was an exercise toward the true threats and the relevant responses, according to the defense doctrine of Indonesia and the recent conflict toward Indonesia and its near future potencies. The adopted true threats were exercised toward the relevant responses. Prioritizing the relevant responses to the identified true threats is crucial for Indonesia's defense policy and the security of the new capital (IKN). The technics of measurement were determined by the instrument as developed below.

Table 2. Score of Threats Regarding Perceptions, Assumptions, and/or Judgement

Score	Level	Description
0	“Abstract”	Less-operating concept
1	Very low-level threats	Might be transferred into strength
2	Low-level threats	Might be neutralized
3	Medium level threat	Might be minimized
4	High-level threat	Need a special concern
5	Very high-level threat	A true endangered threat

The table presented above outlines a scoring system to assess the threat level. A score of 0 indicates that the threat level is “abstract” and lacks operational concepts. A score of 1 represents a very low-level threat, meaning that the threat might be transferred into strength. A score of 2 indicates a low level of threats that could be neutralized. A score of 3 indicates a medium threat level that could be minimized. A score of 4 is a high-level threat that needs special concern, while a score of 5 for a very high-level threat that threat is a true endangered threat.

Table 3. Score of Response Regarding the Perceptions, Assumptions, and/or Judgement

Score	Level	Description
0	No response	Inactive, or decreasing the defense capability to response
1	Very low-level response	Different or less relevant response
2	Low-level response	Status quo
3	Medium level response	Incremental strategy
4	Effective response	Aggressive defense strategy
5	Strong (active) response	Striking power

Based on the table above, a score of 0 indicates that the level of response is no response, which describes the response as inactive or decreasing defense capability to the response. A score of 1 indicates a very low response level and a different or less relevant response, while a score of 2 suggests a low-level response and means that the response is a status quo. A score of 3 is a medium-level response and means that the response is an incremental strategy. A score of 4 is an effective response meaning that the response is an aggressive defense strategy, and a score of 5 is for a strong (active) response, which means striking power.

The information regarding the actors' perceptions, assumptions, and judgments was collected through online research of prominent mass media sources, excluding social media. The data was then organized based on the actors' perceptions, assumptions, or relevant judgments.

3. Results and Discussions

National defense is constructed to defend the national sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats to the nation and state's integrity (Amatullah et al., 2020). Defenses exist due to threats, and responses or strategies are required to react to the threats posed by a particular country or organization to the existence of the country, its territorial sovereignty, and the security of its people (Supriyanto, 2014).

The results of data collected from this research are presented in Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 shows the result of data analysis based on the perceptions, assumptions, and judgments of Indonesia's leaders and defense experts, such as the Ministry of Defense (MoD), Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas), National Parliament, and experts (public). The data were gathered through a literature study on perceptions, assumptions, and judgments. However, the perceptions, assumptions, and judgments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were not obtained. Table 5 presents the aggregate result based on the score of threats and their responses.

Table 4. Result of Data Analysis

Actors (perceptions, assumptions, and/or judgment)	The Threats		The Responses	
	Descriptions	Score	Descriptions	Score
Ministry of Defense (MoD)	Threats originating from the air	4	Proposing a budget to purchase the main weapon system	4
			Adding TNI personnel to the IKN	3
			Implementing smart defense	0
			Adjusting to the overall national defense strategy	0
			National Marine Defense Strategy	0
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	-	-	-	-
Ministry of National Development Planning/Head of National Development Planning Agency/Bappenas (MNP)	The land border with Malaysia	1		
	Coinciding with the IASL (ALKI) II	1		
	Nearby to the Flight Information Region to neighboring countries	1		
	Surrounded by defense alliances	2		
	In long-range strike threat	4		
	CBRNE attack	3		
	Route for trans-nation crime	2		
	Horizontal conflict	2		
Cyber-warfare	3			
Crimes	2			

Table 4. Continued...

Actors (perceptions, assumptions, and/or judgment)	The Threats		The Responses	
	Descriptions	Score	Descriptions	Score
National Resilience Institute (NRI)	Changing Indonesia's center of gravity	0	Air-centric defense strategy	4
	Forming of air combat by utilizing new technologies and tends to be hybrid	4	Latest technologies in the field of air and cyber defense	3
National Parliament (NP)	Adjacent to the IASL (ALKI) II	1	Adjusting the defense posture of the three dimensions	0
	Within range of icbms	4	Establishing a complete Regional Military Command	0
	Close to the FIR to neighboring countries	2	Forming a new sea base	3
	Close to the land borders of Malaysia and Brunei	1	Strengthening Air Defense at strategic locations	4
	Coinciding with the IASL (ALKI) II	1	A contingency plan or backup plan, including an evacuation plan in the event of an attack	0
	Hacking threat to critical infrastructure	0		
	Unmanned aerial vehicle (uav)	4		
	Long-range missiles /ICBM	4		
	Strategic data theft	0		
	Espionage	0		
	Posting the truth on social media,	0		
	Radicalization in cyberspace	0		
	Acts of terrorism	2		
	Experts (public) (E)	Close to the land border	1	
Coincides with the IASL (ALKI) II		1		
Cruising radius of icbms		4		
Close to the FIR of the neighboring countries		2		
Route of trans-nation crime		2		
Surrounded by defense alliances		2		

Table 5. Result of Aggregated Data

Score	Threat	Issued by	Response	Issued by
5	-	-	-	-
4	Threats originating from the air: combat, UAV, ICBM's	MoD, NRI, MNP, NP, E	capable air-centric defense strategy	MoD, NRI
3	Cyber warfare CBRNE attack	MNP	- - adding personnel forming a new sea base	MoD
2	Defense alliances Trans-nation crime	MNP, E	- -	
1	Close borders Nearby FIR coinciding with the IASL	MNP, NP, E	- - -	

There are six actors that are expected to provide comprehensive and coherent findings regarding the defense challenges or threats to the new capital city, IKN. The first actor is the Ministry of Defense (MoD). At the Ministry of Defense Leadership Meeting on January 20, 2022, Defense Minister General (ret) Prabowo Subianto discussed the policy and strategy of IKN. However, the minister did not provide any further explanation regarding the threats and the defense strategy. In the TNI-Polri Leadership Meeting, which was chaired directly by Indonesian President Joko Widodo on February 8, 2023, the Defense Minister did not address the issue and agenda of IKN defense ([Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2023](#)).

In relation to this, the Ministry of Defense has not denied the threats to IKN. The only statement that has been made was by the Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), General (Army) Andika Perkasa. He stated that the Archipelago Capital City (IKN) has a high vulnerability, especially to threats originating from the air. The relocation of the capital city needs to be accompanied by a change in the defense paradigm. So far, Indonesian defense has tended to focus on land-based defense by relying on an in-depth defense strategy (Judhariksawan & Daud, 2022). General (Army) Andika Perkasa also stated that the TNI is currently preparing a defense system for IKN by proposing a budget to purchase the main weapon system (Alutsista) to maximize the defense system of the new capital city. Andika assessed that one of the ways to maximize the National Defense Institute's defense system is to equip and improve the TNI's main weapon system in the region. Apart from that, he also stated that TNI would add its personnel to IKN. He said, "For new tools that don't yet exist, we will also shift relocation from TNI assets to points that are there." General Perkasa said the biggest threat was air strikes because the TNI still had deficiencies in the main weaponry system. However, it was acknowledged that this shortage does not only occur in the air dimension (Air Force) but also in the land (Navy) and sea (Army) dimensions.

The new TNI Commander, Admiral Yudo Margono, stated that moving the capital city from Jakarta to IKN Nusantara is a strategic step that affects Indonesia's center of gravity. From a geostrategic perspective, the Capital City of the Archipelago is in a strategic position. Nevertheless, it still has vulnerabilities to threats. According to him, to protect the Archipelago's Capital City as the center of gravity for the Indonesian state, it is necessary to adjust the overall national defense strategy. The protection of the IKN area also requires the implementation of smart defense, which involves defending the capital using technology, diplomacy, and integrated local wisdom, as part of the National Marine Defense Strategy (Strategi Pertahanan Laut Nusantara, SPLN) by involving all components and national resources.

The second actor in defense of the IKN is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). However, there has been no statement from the MFA regarding the agenda and issues surrounding the IKN defense threat and its defense diplomacy.

The actor who contributed most was the Ministry of National Development Planning/Head of National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas). Bappenas has identified that relocating the national capital to East Kalimantan could potentially create new geostrategic threats that pose a significant risk to the country's defense and security. These threats may come from various actors, including state actors, non-state actors, and hybrids, and could result in defense threats and security disturbances. The ministry has identified eight types of disturbances that could potentially pose defense and security threats to IKN. However, the number of potential threats has been increased to ten after reviewing the ongoing discussions.

1. The land border with Malaysia is 2,062 kilometers long.
2. The location overlaps with the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI) II and the world's choke point or narrow point.
3. The IKN location is near the Flight Information Region (FIR), belonging to neighboring countries, such as Singapore, Kinabalu City (Malaysia), and the capital city of the Philippines, also known as Manila.
4. The site of the new nation's capital is enclosed by defense alliances, such as FPDA, Malaysia's Five Power Defense Arrangements, and the AUKUS Alliance of Australia, the UK, and the USA.
5. The location is in a long-range strike threat, as the location is within the range of ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles) and hypersonic missiles of certain countries.
6. A CBRNE (chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear defense) attack is also possible.
7. Terrorism, as Kalimantan, is a location and route for transnational crime, such as the entry of goods illegally, from drugs to humans, and so on. IKN is a terrorist transit triangle in Sulu, Sabah, and Poso.
8. Horizontal conflict – societal conflict
9. Cyber warfare
10. Crime

Bappenas underlined that the government had promoted the development of smart defense, a combination of hard defense, which means developing advanced military weaponry, and soft defense, which means employing the local genius from Kalimantan.

The fourth actor is National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas). Governor of the National Defense Institute (Lemhannas), Dr. Andi Widjajanto, stated that the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) development would symbolize a paradigm shift in Indonesia's approach to development. He explained that the shift in the development paradigm in IKN includes Indonesia's move towards a smart, digital, and green economy and the establishment of the country as a regional and global hub. Moving Jakarta to IKN will change Indonesia's center of gravity, including requiring new military titles. As IKN becomes the new center of power, this will also entail a change in defense strategy, impacting how warfare approaches to protect IKN. Then there are sea titles that rely on two twin strategies, anti-access and area denial. Lemhannas has offered this strategy to the government. The initial defense battle that IKN is expected to face will likely involve air combat using advanced technologies, thus requiring an air-centric defense strategy. Moreover, there is a growing concern about cyber warfare as a significant defense challenge at IKN. Taking a cue from recent events in Russia and Ukraine, it is evident that cutting-edge technologies are being developed, with a strong focus on aerial capabilities, including hypersonic missiles and drones. Lemhannas suggested that Indonesia could immediately prepare to adopt the latest air and cyber defense technologies.

The fifth actor is the National Parliament (DPR). Chairman of Commission I of the Indonesian Parliament, Meutya Viada Hafid, reminded the government that IKN's geographical position poses several threats. First, IKN is situated next to the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Channels (ALKI), including the Lombok Strait, Makassar Strait, and the Sulawesi Sea. The IKN's position is also close to a potential conflict area in the South China Sea. Second, IKN is within range of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). For instance, North Korea previously launched a missile that passed over Japanese territory. Third, the IKN's position is close to the Flight Information Region (FIR), belonging to neighboring countries, such as Singapore, Kinabalu City (Malaysia), and the capital city of the Philippines, Manila. Specifically, This proximity has the potential to cause problems, especially regarding the FIR agreement signed by the governments of Singapore and Indonesia (Rmol, 2022).

Andreas Hugo Pareira, Member of Parliament (DPR RI) from the PDIP faction, has expressed concerns about potential threats to the defense of IKN from both a geostrategic and IT/communication technology development aspect. Despite being located in the middle of Indonesia, the relocation of the nation's capital to IKN creates potential geostrategic threats. First, it is close to the land borders of Malaysia and Brunei. This must be anticipated because the position of IKN is different from Jakarta. Second, the position of IKN overlaps with the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes II (ALKI II). The Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes II (ALKI II) could face potential threats from passing submarines of other countries, which could directly threaten IKN. Third, the position of IKN is also near the neighboring Flight Information Region (FIR), especially regarding the Natuna Sea or LCS. Furthermore, regarding IT and communication technology development, he agreed that relocating IKN has the potential to make critical infrastructure vulnerable to hacking threats. Preparing for potential threats and risks in advance is crucial, particularly those related to unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), including suicide drones and the possibility of hacking critical infrastructure. The fourth potential threat to IKN includes various risks such as long-range missile attacks (ICBM), strategic data theft, espionage, spreading false information on social media, radicalization in cyberspace, and acts of terrorism (Pareira, 2022; Ismanto, 2022).

Dave Akbarshah Fikarno, a Member of Commission I of the DPR RI from the Golkar faction, has highlighted several potential defense threats. Firstly, Indonesia shares a lengthy land border of 2062 kilometers with Malaysia, and Kalimantan is positioned within the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI) II. Secondly, the position of IKN is also near the Flight Information Region (FIR) belonging to neighboring countries, such as Singapore, Kinabalu City (Malaysia), and Manila City (Philippines), which requires further related coordination. The IKN's position is also within the range of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM). Third, IKN is close to the Triangle Terrorist Transit (Sulu, Sabah, Poso). Lastly, cyber threats are also a potential risk.

The TNI AD, TNI AL, and TNI AU must be prepared and ready to address these issues. Firstly, the defense posture of the three dimensions should be adjusted to facilitate the mobilization of military power and the deployment of forces in the new capital to counter various types of threats effectively. Secondly, to ensure effective land defense, it is crucial to set up a comprehensive Regional Military

Command (Kodam). Currently, only two Kodams are in operation, the VI/Mulawarman Regional Military Command and the XII/Tanjungpura Regional Military Command. It is necessary to add the Korem, Kodim, and the Koramil, or the Battalion, complete with Combat Units (Satpur), Combat Assistance Units (Satbanpur), and Administrative Assistance Units (Satbanmin), to ensure that everything goes well. Thirdly, to improve Marine Defense, it is suggested to establish a new sea base in both South Kalimantan and North Kalimantan (Kaltara). Fourthly, in terms of Air Defense, there is a need for more strength at strategic locations as there is currently only one squadron in Pontianak, Kalimantan. This is necessary to better handle potential attacks from foreign entities because there are plans to buy two squadrons of F-15 and Rafale. In addition, the three dimensions of the TNI also continue to hold Joint Exercises (Latgab) on a regular basis. To further enhance their preparedness and capabilities, the TNI also conducts Joint Exercises (Latma) with foreign troops. The purpose of these exercises is to increase the proficiency of TNI soldiers in combat techniques and to develop new strategies. Additionally, these exercises serve to anticipate and prepare for any potential developments related to the new capital. Lastly, since the new state capital is the Center of Gravity, the three military dimensions must prepare a contingency plan or backup plan, including an evacuation plan in the event of an attack (Fikrano, 2022; Ismanto, 2022).

The sixth actor is an expert and professor from the State University of Sebelas Maret (UNS), Lefri Mikhael. Mikhael (2022) found that the geographical position of IKN is close to the international boundary line. In this case, it is relatively close to the land border of the State of East Malaysia, which spans 2,062 kilometers. International boundaries have the potential to become a military meeting place between countries that are usually related to territorial disputes. In addition, the IKN's position also coincides with the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Channels (ALKI) II, which comprises the Sunda Strait, Java Sea, Karimata Strait, Natuna Sea, and the South China Sea. The ALKI II area is relatively safe for shipping, but there is a potential danger due to the impact of the Ambalat Block conflict. There are concerns that the ALKI II area will be used for the military interests of other countries armed forces. Natural obstacles also benefit the location of IKN. Kalimantan generally consists of dense forests and numerous natural obstacles in the form of enormous rivers and mountains along the Indonesia-Malaysia land border. In addition, the military protecting the capital city from the sea will be easier and more measurable because the sea area around East Kalimantan is narrower, starting from the north and south ends of the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI) II. However, the IKN area is not far from the coastal location. This can be a threat because the coastal area is usually used as a battle area or is within the range of enemy ships' fire. In terms of spatial relations, IKN is supported by several satellite cities such as Bontang, Samarinda, Balikpapan, and Tenggarong so that it can be projected as a resistance base/obstacle base for enemies who want to occupy the archipelago. The existence of satellite cities also supports the availability of supporting military installations around the national capital. Mikhael concluded that the location of the prospective IKN in the East Kalimantan region was a wise decision. He believed that the defense and security of the IKN area could still be safeguarded against possible threats from adversaries, provided that the government has a comprehensive plan for the defense of the new capital and invests in appropriate defense infrastructure.

Habibie (2022) emphasized that from a geostrategic perspective, relocating the IKN from Jakarta to East Kalimantan would give Indonesia a deeper 'strategic depth.' Not only because the area of Kalimantan Island is six times that of Java Island but because it allows for the development of integrated defense industry clusters. Therefore, it is crucial to carefully plan defense and security aspects that cover land, sea, and air domains, as well as the cyber field as a new defense and security area. The location of the IKN is from the aspect of land, sea, and air defense. The land border with Malaysia stretches for 2,062 km, which serves as a gateway for defense threats and security disturbances. Furthermore, IKN is within the cruising radius of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and hypersonic missiles for certain countries. The location of IKN also coincides with the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Channels (ALKI) II and choke points or world narrow points. In the air, the IKN location is close to the Flight Information Region (FIR), belonging to neighboring countries, such as Singapore, Kinabalu, Malaysia, and Manila, Philippines. This presents Indonesia with an opportunity to exert force in tightening security in the ALKI area and the waters bordering the Indo-Pacific region. Third, the island of Kalimantan is currently the location and route for cross-country crime, such as human trafficking and drugs. IKN is also within the terrorist transit triangle in Sulu, Sabah, and Poso. Finally, the position of IKN Nusantara is "surrounded" by defense alliances, such as Malaysia's Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA), Australia's AUKUS Alliance, UK, and USA, and is affected by One Belt One Road or OBOR BRI of China. The existence of FPDA, AUKUS, and OBOR or BRI China, even the presence of the powers of several NATO members in the region, further confirms that the

geopolitical power constellation of countries in the world is shifting to the Asia Pacific (Habibie, 2022; Ismanto, 2022).

Conclusions

The Nusantara Capital City is facing high-level defense threats, categorized as level four threats, primarily from the air, including combat, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV), and intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). This issue has been highlighted by various entities such as MoD, NRI, MNP, NP, and Ep. To address this issue, there is a need to develop a robust air-centric defense strategy, which is being promoted by the MoD and NRI.

There are two threats categorized at the 3rd level of defense for the Nusantara Capital City, namely cyber warfare and CBRNE attacks. However, there is no response promoted by any of the actors to tackle these threats. In contrast, two responses have been put forward irrespective of the level of threat, namely increasing military personnel at the location and establishing a new sea base which was promoted by the MoD.

There are two threats classified at the 2nd level of defense: defense alliances and transnational crime, but no response has been promoted to address these threats. There are also three issues that are not actually threats but were classified at the 1st level of defense. These issues include being close to Malaysia and Brunei's border, the FIR's proximity, and coincidence with the IASL (ALKI). These issues were raised by MNP, NP, and E.

To summarize, the main threat to the IKN is currently only from aerial attacks, such as strikes, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), and missiles. Therefore, the government should prioritize developing a robust air defense system at the IKN and enhancing the capabilities of the National Air Operations Command (Koopsudnas) to extend its reach to the borders of Malaysia, which is about 100 km away.

The issue of the nearby border, FIR, and ALKI should be addressed through defense diplomacy among neighboring countries, particularly within ASEAN and other surrounding defense cooperation. Therefore, the second critical aspect of defending IKN would be strengthening national defense diplomacy in the region to secure peace and prosperity among the participants, including ASEAN, Australia, China, and the US. This article is expected to be used as a basis and input for developing a military defense plan in the new capital city by observing several threats and the response from Indonesia's leaders and defense experts.

The study found that the main threats to national defense include external threats, such as territorial disputes and conflicts with neighboring countries, and non-traditional security threats, such as cyber-attacks and terrorism. The responses or strategies to these threats include strengthening the military's capabilities, enhancing diplomatic relations with neighboring countries, and increasing cooperation with international organizations to combat non-traditional security threats.

Additionally, the study identified gaps in the existing defense capability and emphasized the need for continued improvement and development of the defense sector to address the identified threats effectively. Overall, the findings suggest that a comprehensive and integrated approach to national defense is necessary to ensure the safety and security of the country and its citizens.

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