The Safe Indonesian Capital from The Defense Geography Perspective (Study Case: Kutai Kartanegara & Penajam Paser Utara Regency, East Borneo Province)

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Abstract. Indonesia has been facing a very high urbanization that makes capacity of Jakarta can no be longer supporting all activities as capital city and also business hub. This condition made The President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo decided to relocate capital to Kutai Kartanegara (Kukar) and Penajam Paser Utara (PPU) Regency in East Borneo to support more sustainable capital for national government action. Moeldoko as a Chief of Presidential Staff also mentioned that this capital need to be protected by a strong three defense forces dimension which are land, sea, and air. So, is it safe for capital to be move to Borneo as a research question. To analyze it, the researcher viewed this case from the defense geography perspectives. The researcher will use literature study approach from various sources. The result of this research will explain that Kukar and PPU Regency is safe or not to be the new capital of Indonesia. This research, therefore, has opened a new scientific discussion among researchers, defense and planner practitioners to formulate the capital city of Indonesia that safe to settle in.

Keywords: Safe; Capital; Defense Geography

1. Introduction

The national interest and attention of Indonesia on capital or national government relocation has been arise and also drown in time while national government shifting. The discourse about capital translocation has been emerged since Batavia (Jakarta formerly name) still ruled by The Dutch East Indies. In 1906, the capital would be relocated into Bandoeng or Bandung because the quality of living at Batavia was not livable anymore to support the act of Dutch East Indies government. The dirty and polluted coastal environment was the main cause of so many health issues, such as swamp fever and diarrhea [1]. But this idea was cancelled because of the less of support by people’s council at that era, beside the corruption and recession that also contributed [2].

After Independence of Indonesia, the idea of capital relocation remained coming to the Soekarno leadership era. As the first president of Indonesia, he wanted to relocate national government of Indonesia in Jakarta to Palangkaraya in Central Kalimantan Province [3]. This discourse also constrained because the difficulty of logistics provision and disagreement from several embassy
representatives [2]. The next discourse emerged in the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono leadership era, after the devastating flood that hit Jakarta in 2013 [4]. The arguments of capital relocation from many politicians and urban observers arised because that flood had shut off the economic and ruling activity at Jakarta. But until Joko Widodo’s leadership, there is an real act to investigate and decision making to relocate capital to Borneo that has been helped by National Development Planning Agency and in August 26th The President Joko Widodo had decided that the capital should move to Kutai Kartanegara or Kukar and Penajam Paser Utara or PPU in East Borneo Province [5]. There are some reasons that causes Kukar and PPU has been choose as the new capital, which are the minimum risk of natural disaster, it’s lay in the central of Indonesia, not far from existing cities especially Balikpapan, complete infrastructures, there are also a nation land around 180 hectare [6].

In other side, The Special Region of Jakarta as the recent capital of Indonesia is the center of many aspects of national life. Everything can be found in this region, from the rule of national government; the center of business, trade and services; financial; and an entertainment. With all complexity inside Jakarta, this region causes so many urban problems such as, an air and water pollution; flood; congestion; slums; poverty and crimes [7]. These problems were also some reasons why the capital relocation issue has risen in this era. Since the function of capital is very vital to build national government activity and sovereignty of nation, we need to make sure that our capital is safe from any threats. So that’s the reason of this research and by using defense geography we can acknowledge the condition of geopolitical situation of Indonesia and surrounding area of Borneo. This research will contribute in determine how the capital is safe enough to settle in and support the national government act.

2. Research Method
The approach that has been used in this research is by literature study. The researcher was used the data from Geospatial Information Agency and other resources to made maps as a data base for defense geographical analysis and also supported by other data from statistics agency, local laws and news. This research will explain it narratively to determine whether Kukar and PPU Regency is safe or not to be the new Indonesian capital.

3. Result and Discussion
Based on Batterman and Raymon in The Geography of Defense, explained that “the scene of man’s military defense has usually been the city. Whilst battles may be fought both now and in the past on battlefields, conflicts have been increasingly centered on the source of power and sources, the city” [8]. This mean that the cities and capital have a very important role as a fortress beside the border area. Therefore, geographical features of cities are the key of national politics and defenses. Supriyatno furthermore said that defense geography is one of science study and subdivision from human geography, which further generated military geography and defense geography [9]. And Collin said that there is an analysis tool for cities defense management which are physical geography and cultural geography [10]. But not all indicators will be used for the purposes in this research.

3.1. Spatial Relationship
The location, size and shape of land masses and large bodies of water have influenced to great degrees the capabilities, limitations, and vulnerabilities of armed forces since the stone age [10].

3.1.1. Location. Favorable geographic locations confer military advantageous leverage, while poor positions foster insecurity. Access to oceans is very vital aspect for advantageous capital. No nation that lacks access to any oceans has ever been able to project military power globally. The United States for examples, blessed since 1848 with sheltered ports on ice-free coasts that open on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and on every continent, can deploy military power rapidly from one theater to another. In other side, Russia, which fronts on the Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic Oceans, boasts the world’s longest coastline, but its fleets are bottled up in ports that lack convenient outlets to
blue water and are ice-bound every winter, except for bases in the Black Sea and near Norway’s North Cape [10]. How about Indonesia? Indonesia has various coastline characteristics such as sandy beaches, mangroves forest, cliffs and caves; spread from Aceh in the west until Papua in the east; has many seas and straits because Indonesia is the largest archipelago country; can access and as a connector of two oceans which are Pacific and Indian Ocean; and also the second longest coastline country in the world [11]. So, Indonesia has potential to be has strong navy forces to protect its country and surrounding area. But how about Kukar and PPU as new capital? Kukar and PPU has an access into the Makassar Strait in the East, in Kukar there is Semboja Sub-District that has long coastline that facing directly to Makassar Strait [12] and for PPU there is Sepaku Sub-District that has access to the Makassar Strait by wide river of Samuntai and Sepaku that disembogue to Balikpapan Gulf [13]. This condition makes this region is very strong for capital because the various access to the oceans. Makassar Strait also a one of chokepoint in Indonesia or ALKI (Aru Laut Kepulauan Indonesia) where the international shipping and flight are allowed to pass through this area [11]. So, that is a strategic position of Indonesian capital but also a potential threat because there is also an opportunity for UAV by sea or air to pass through.

Beside the access to oceans, we should make sure that capital is secure from threats by distance. For example, The British Isles, only 35 kilometers west of continental Europe, last saw successful invaders when William the Conqueror defeated King Harold at Hastings in 1066; Japan has never been stormed by outsiders; The continental United States has seen no hostile forces on its soils since the War of 1812, when British troops burned the White House and Capitol because far from any threats, except space-based weapons, long-range aircraft, missiles, and transnational terrorist [10]. How about Kukar and PPU? Kukar and PPU lay on the East Borneo Province that close to the northern part of Indonesia that bordering with Malaysia and The Philippines, land and sea. If we see Malaysia for example, Kukar and PPU are close to Malaysia about $±532,000$ kilometers to Sebatik island in the north and just $±450,000$ kilometers in to the nearest land boundary area. Then the nearest to The Philippines is about $±768,000$ kilometers to Sulu Island that still happens some insurgency such as bombing in Jolo in the beginning of 2019 and kidnapping by terrorist group. How about Insurgency in South China Sea? Kukar and PPU is quiet far from the nearest Spratly Island about $±861,000$ kilometers but China’s air forces still can reach the capital. So, there are some insurgency around Borneo that must be considered in establish our capital forces in the future.

Beside the distance, time factor and modes of transportation also determine how fast armed forces can move from one place to another but influence abilities to perform most effectively immediately upon arrival [10]. Kukar and PPU just can be reached by airforces in few hours from Labuan in Sabah or Kuching in Serawak, Capital will also can be passes by sea in few hours from South China Sea or Sulu Sea and entering the Makassar Strait, but fortunately it will be difficult for land forces troop passes the heartland of Borneo with dense of rainforest and mountainous regions. So, Indonesia should build the force in all 3 dimensions to prevent the threats.

3.1.2. Size. The square miles or square kilometers encompass by any operational area furnish room for armed forces to maneuver offensively or defensively and to disperse command centers, military formations, ports, airfields, logistic installations, and other static or mobile targets. Where there are three large area uses which are for offensive asset, defensive asset and military liability [10]. For Indonesia had blessed by separated thousand of islands, various landscapes, bay, cape, straits and seas, easily flee and strike by using the natural features and the capability of troops and also its people [11]. But if we see Borneo, there are still need of additional of human resources, logistics and also defenses facility to protect very wide island of Borneo and sea its surrounding.

3.1.3. Shape of Land. Favorable configurations generally confer military advantages, whereas awkward shapes do not. Some countries or operational areas approach that ideal, but a good many are elongated, discontinuous, or fragmented. For Indonesia, the most noteworthy, consist of thousand islands, many uninhabited, that festoon off the coast of Southeast Asia for 4,825 kilometers, a distance
comparable to that between the U.S. Atlantic and Pacific coasts [10] that belongs to fragmented shape that can very advantageous for military operations.

3.2. **Lay of the Land.**

3.2.1. **Land Forms.** Land forms comprise the foundation upon which all other terrestrial features are superimposed. They occupy three military significant categories, the highest, largest and deepest first. High ground, level land and depression each uniquely influence the abilities of air and ground forces to maneuver freely, locate targets, deliver firepower effectively, conduct non-combat operations, coordinate actions, and furnish essential support at strategic, operational, and tactical level [10]. For Land Forms researcher want to focus on the site of capital that located around Tahura Bukit Soeharto, which is located in Samboja Sub-District in Kukar and Sepaku Sub-District in PPU. Semboja in particular lay on the coastal area, so this sub district has flat land from 0 until 35 meters above sea level that mainly in the eastern part and valley area from 35 until 100 meters above sea level in the western part [12]. Not different with their neighbor region, Sepaku Sub-District also lay on flat land and valley but the difference is Sepaku not directly facing the sea, they facing the river of Samuntai that disembogue to Balikpapan Gulf [13].

3.2.2. **Rivers and Reservoirs.** Fast-moving offensive ground forces that lack sufficient air assault capabilities must swim, ford, ferry across, or build bridges over large streams without breaking stride or forfeit forward momentum while defenders on the far bank hold in place [10]. In Samboja Sub-District there 5 rivers that has wide around 6 until 10 meters that flow directly to Makassar Strait, and one of them which is Serayu River has contributing in full fill the Samboja Reservoir that has capacity about 200 liters per second to irrigate 1.167 hectares of rice fields [12] that consist of 6 irrigation system [14]. There is also a reservoir in Sepaku Sub-District that will start to build in 2020 for fresh water supply from Sepaku River that will has capacity around 2.4 meter cubic per second [13].

3.2.3. **Geology.** Load-bearing, capacities, traction and stability despite sustained use characterize the abilities of particular soils to tolerate traffic by wheeled and tracked vehicles as light as snowmobiles and as heavy as tractor-trailers or tanks [10]. The soils in Semboja and Sepaku Sub-District are Andosol and Alluvial. Andosol has a sensitive with water and erosion because they have a low density of particles and usually can be found on beach and river so it’s not suitable for pretty heavy military vehicles to pass through, just some amphibians and light vehicles that can go pass. If Alluvial has strong and dense particles, also not sensitive with water or erosion. They can easily find in the hinterland of Semboja and Sepaku Sub-District and they suit for mobilization of any military vehicles [15].

3.2.4. **Vegetation.** Each type of vegetation significantly influences military operations in unique ways. Varieties that are offensively advantageous almost always frustrate defense and vice versa, as the following vignettes indicate. Indonesia and especially Borneo has a dense tropical forest where abundant rainfall and an endless growing season encourage exuberant vegetation, jungle giants that include teak, mahogany, and ebony trees commonly from double, triple, even quadruple canopies that exclude sunshine from forest floors. Undergrowth, contrary to popular misconception, is dense only where light filters through. Mangrove thickets that straddle the Equator flourish best along salt water coasts, but those botanical flying buttresses take root as far upstream as tidal influences are felt [10]. For Kukar and PPU has very thick tropical rain forest in its hinterland and also mangrove forest in its riverbank and beaches, so this situation makes difficult for intruders to attacks. The opportunity is by the air and also by the city and other settlements.
3.3. Population.
Mao Zedong ever said that weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive one, it is man and not material that counts. The contest of forces is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also one of the power and morale of humans [10].

3.3.1. Demography. A few favored nations ideally distribute many cities, towns and villages over large land masses and keep a high percentage well removed from unfriendly frontiers. Countries cursed with population patterns that afford fewer safeguards are more vulnerable to invasion unless blessed with benign neighbors or topographic barriers. Russia’s territory, for example, is immense, but its people are predominantly located on flatlands west of the Ural Mountains in positions that have been overrun repeatedly. Syria, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran are even more vulnerable, because most residents occupy capital cities, plus a sprinkling of other centers. Even one well placed tactical nuclear weapon delivered by an aircraft, missile, motor vehicle, or other means might instantaneously put any those countries politically, economically, and military out of commission. Overpopulation can also lead to armed conflict if pressures cause intolerable spillovers or internal combustion[10].

How about Indonesia? Indonesia has spread cities and islands but there is still centered in Java, big cities like Jakarta, Surabaya and Bandung has an important role by politically, economically and also military, mainly nation citizens live in those cities, one until five missiles can demolish those cities and also Indonesia. So, relocate a capital from Jakarta is a good step to make its important facilities spread evenly and make stronger its national defenses. Like Mr. President Joko Widodo mention that Indonesia now not be longer Java Centric but Indonesia Centric [16], which all development will spread from west until east and other island beside Java will develop even more. If we see the population and density in Kukar, PPU, also Samarinda and Balikpapan as two main cities around it in South Borneo Province in 2018, Kukar has a lot of people (769.337) than PPU (159.386) but the density in PPU is higher (55.04/sq.km) than Kukar (30.25/sq.km). If Samarinda has more people (858.080) than Balikpapan (645.727) but the density in Balikpapan (1.279,02/sq.km) is higher than Samarinda (1.218,05/sq.km) [17]. This condition has explained that the population in surround its area still centered in Samarinda and Balikpapan as the main cities of East Borneo. If we see more wider scope in Borneo Island, It will be the same in other regions, the main city in each province will have more population and higher density than its hinterland and regency, for example, Pontianak in West Borneo, Palangkaraya in Central Borneo, Banjarmasin and Banjarbaru in South Borneo and Tarakan also Tanjung Selor in Northern Borneo. There are still need of infrastructures development that connect those cities to strengthen the connectivity along the island and reduce the vulnerability.

3.3.2. Cultural Characteristics. Some large populations are nearly homogenous, but most mingle majorities and minorities with assorted languages, religions, traditions, customs, mores, likes, dislikes, and life styles that create internal or international tensions. Heterogenous nations generally contain genetically dissimilar racial stocks and culturally distinct ethnic groups that sometimes subdivide into clans or tribes. Racial, ethnic, and tribal factions that enjoy a marked quantitative majority do not necessarily dominate [10]. Same as Indonesia as heterogenous country that still has a tension between race and also religion that sometimes arises and become national attention. Indonesia has hundreds of ethnicity, various religions that need to be manage carefully especially when they relocate their capital to other place where there are also an indigenous people, so they have to adjust them self to the local wisdom and peoples around it. There are some local tribe that live in Kukar, PPU and surrounding area which are Banjar tribe that mainly live in Balikpapan and Samarinda, Kutai Tribe that live in Kukar, Paser Tribe that live in PPU, and in other regions of East Borneo there are other 47 tribal groups that has various languages. East Borneo also has some ethnic groups that comes from other region for work and live there for many years and live peacefully among locals, such as Buginese, Makassar People, Mandarese People, Javanese, Madurese, and Chinese Indonesian [18]. There are no history of ethnical or religion conflict in South Borneo, but not far from there in Central Borneo, there
was a Sampit Conflict in 2001 and Indonesia should learn from that accident to take care the harmony of diversity that they have and respect the differences and also locals and their believes and cultures as a one nation.

3.3.3. Urbanization. Sun Tzu ever mentioned that the worst policy is to attack cities. Urban combat moreover disrupts unit cohesion, complicates control, blunts offensive momentum, and causes casualties to soar on both sides. Most military doctrines the world over consequently advice land force commanders to isolate or bypass built-up areas, but the subjugation of political, industrial, commercial, transportation and communication centers even so may sometimes decisively affect the outcome of battles, campaigns and wars. Some towns and cities emphasize governmental affairs, physical security, industries, commerce, business, or services, while others accommodate two or more primary functions. Every agglomeration is uniquely configured with regard to horizontal and vertical dimensions, structures, building materials, street patterns, access routes, bypasses, parks, recreational facilities, rural enclaves in otherwise urban settings, and undeveloped lands. Original layouts occasionally remain intact over long periods of time but often expand willy-nilly in response to new needs. Urban centers in North America and Western Europe toward the end of the 20th century, for example, tend toward lower average population densities per square mile as municipalities expand, more freestanding construction as opposed to solid blocks, greater use of glass, fewer buildings with basements, and a dearth of subways in suburbia where private automobiles abound [10].

Therefore we have to make sure that our capital in the future is design with the right component to support urban defense, we have to know details about the function of capital, what materials that will be used for construction and is it strong enough from bombing and other destructive weapons, what types of building that will be built and how many floor in maximum; what types of street pattern that will design, how is the length and what materials that will be use, is it strong and wide enough for big tank to pass through or aircrafts for landing when the capital is on threatened; how is the electricity, gas, water supply, communication systems and network, even until waste disposal system, how we can make sure that those supply will sustain and secure; how is the land uses of capital, where the land that will use for industrial area, open spaces, educational and health services, food service and storage; what kind of public transportation system that will be design for capital and how is the route; how is the connectivity of this capital to other region and city or vital facilities such as airports and seaports; how the government will manage the urban sprawl surround it’s area; how this capital defense themselves from aggression, missiles or terrorism attacks. There is still a lot of things to think about in built an Indonesian Capital.

3.3.4. Military Bases. The armed forces of every nation need home bases where they can develop, organize, equip, train, administer, manage, logistically support, and otherwise prepare to accomplish assigned missions, as extensive installations in the United States amply illustrate. All U.S. military posts, camps, stations, forts, arsenals, air bases, naval bases, and space centers include living quarters, mess halls, and facilities associated with primary functions. Most of them additionally contain commissaries, post/base exchanges, recreational outlets, hospitals, clinics, family housing, elementary and secondary schools, together with community services typified by child care centers [10].

If we see in larger scope which is Borneo island, there are some military bases that already reside over there. There are 2 main ground forces bases which are Kodam XII/Tanjungpura in Pontianak that secure the West and Central Borneo Province and Kodam VI/Mulawarman in Balikpapan that secure the North, East and also South Borneo. For Balikpapan bases is supervising more small ground bases in Banjarmasin, Samarinda and PPU. They also has infantry battalion in Loa Janan Sub-District, which is not far from Semboja and Sepaku Sub-District. So, in existing sites, there are a strong ground forces but for capital there is need of specialize ground forces bases with all special security unit of the capital that located in Jakarta and Bandung. For naval force bases, there are 2 which are located in Pontianak (Lantamal XII) and Tarakan (Lantamal XIII) which supervising 5 bases which are in Balikpapan, Sangatta, Nunukan, Kota Baru and Banjarmasin. So, there are also strong naval forces
which Balikpapan and Sangatta base are the nearest. But still there is needed of development in logistics, radar, docks, air base, marines and forces that has same level with main fleet for capital security. How about air forces around Kukar and PPU? There is one air force bases in Balikpapan and other nearest air forces bases are in Banjarmasin, Tarakan, Makassar and Pangkalalan Bun. But still there is needed for rising the capability and new forces that can protect capital [19].

Figure 1. Spatial relationship of Borneo.  
Figure 2. Topography of Kukar & PPU.  
Figure 3. River & reservoir of Kukar & PPU.  
Figure 4. Geology of Kukar & PPU.  
Figure 5. Vegetation of Kukar & PPU.
4. Conclusion
Kukar Kartanegara and Penajam Paser Utara has been blessed by natural resources that can support defense system and operation such as very thick and hilly tropical rain forest in its hinterland until boundary area with Malaysia that hard for troops passes through to reach capital by land. They also has mangroves forest on their riverbanks and beaches that makes marines have put an effort to passes and reach capital by the sea. They also have enough sources of water supply and also energy for survive, people of East Borneo also very welcomed to outsider and living side by side peacefully, and the most importantly they already have strong land, water and air forces in this area to protect capital especially comes from the north of Borneo. So, is this region safe enough for capital of Indonesia? And the answer is yes, but also not yet because there is still need of infrastructures and also defenses development. There are still need an infrastructure development to connect Kukar and PPU to other regions such as Banjarmasin in the south and Tarakan or Tanjung Selor in the north or even until Palangkaraya in the Central Borneo not just by road but also highway and railroad. Maybe there are also can be built the water transportation system throughout regions in Borneo and Eastern Indonesia. In design making of capital, we also have to make sure that this city not just esthetic for urban design but also can be use for defense services to protect this capital and also make people secure and feeling safe to live in this area. Those particular jobs are the responsibility of Ministry of National Development and Planning of Indonesia, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Publics Works and Human Settlements, and local government. People of East Borneo Province, especially that live in Kukar and PPU Regency must to protect the environment, social, economy and politic condition in this area, to keep it safe. For people of existing capital, work for national government institutions and which will move to Kukar and PPU also have a responsibility to keep give respect and polite to the locals, to their cultures and believes, to make sure that there is no more conflict like in the past. And the last for defense bases, there are still need of land, water and air forces bases development to strengthen defense system and secure the capital that include the responsibility of Ministry of Defense.

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