

Geopolitical Threats in the Capital of the Nusantara as Seen Through the Five Pillars of National Resilience

Muchammad Hifni*, Fauzia Gustarina Cempaka Timur, Almuchalif Suryo

Universitas Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, Indonesia

Email: m.hifni@nikelektronikahan.akmil.ac.id*, fg.cempaka@idu.ac.id,

Suryojayapura@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city from Jakarta to Nusantara, mandated by Capital City Law No. 3 of 2022, represents one of the most significant geopolitical decisions in the nation's recent history. While the relocation is intended to redistribute economic burdens and reduce disparities between Java and other islands, it simultaneously creates a new set of geopolitical threats that must be anticipated within the framework of Indonesia's National Resilience concept. This study employs a qualitative descriptive method through library research, drawing on secondary data from government publications, statistical agencies, and peer-reviewed literature to examine potential threats surrounding the new capital through the lens of Panca Gatra, the five dynamic aspects of National Resilience: ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, and defense-security. The findings indicate that each gatra presents distinct yet interrelated risks. The ideological dimension faces exposure to foreign influences and deviant belief movements amplified by globalization; the political dimension is vulnerable to identity politics amid the region's ethnic and religious heterogeneity; the economic dimension confronts budget overruns and inflationary pressures without guaranteed GDP growth; the socio-cultural dimension risks increasing poverty rates and the erosion of local cultural values due to the influx of migrant populations; and the defense-security dimension is shaped by the capital's geographic proximity to the ALKI II international shipping lane and the Indonesia-Malaysia border. These findings suggest that the five gatra are mutually reinforcing rather than isolated, and that the success of the Nusantara capital project depends on the government's capacity to manage these threats in an integrated manner, thereby strengthening the synergy between the natural Tri Gatra and the dynamic Panca Gatra to establish a resilient Asta Gatra model of national life.

INTRODUCTION

Based on the Law on the State Capital (Ibu Kota Negara [IKN]) Number 3 of 2022, the location of the new capital has been legally determined and is considered a strategic decision rather than an inappropriate choice (Darusman, 2025; Gissma Kusumawardhani, 2022; Herdiawanto, 2023; Kamal, 2022). The discourse on permanently relocating the capital began during the era of President Soekarno. He planned to move the capital to Palangkaraya, Central

Kalimantan, or Samarinda, East Kalimantan; however, this plan was not realized before the end of his presidency. Furthermore, discussions regarding capital relocation also emerged during the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Moeller et al., 2026; Rayhan, 2026; Wibowo & Hadi, 2024). The proposed relocation area remained around Kalimantan because the region was considered to have a lower disaster frequency, particularly in terms of earthquake risks. During President Joko Widodo's administration, the discourse on permanently relocating the capital gained legal legitimacy through the enactment of the Law on the State Capital (Undang-Undang Ibu Kota Negara [UU IKN]) Number 3 of 2022, which was later amended through Law Number 21 of 2023. (Communication Team of the Nusantara Capital City Authority, 2023)

The relocation of the capital has become a natural phenomenon in the history of Indonesia's national struggle since independence. In January 1946, due to Dutch efforts to undermine Indonesian independence, President Soekarno and the government apparatus temporarily operated from the Great Building of Yogyakarta following the suggestion of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX. During the Second Dutch Military Aggression, the Netherlands invaded Yogyakarta, which served as the capital of Indonesia at that time. Shortly before the presidential apparatus was captured and exiled by the Dutch, President Soekarno and his government transferred temporary authority to Sjafruddin Prawiranegara. The Minister of Prosperity of the Republic of Indonesia at that time was instructed to establish and operate an emergency government from Bukittinggi, West Sumatra.

The background behind the discourse on relocating the National Capital is the increasing burden experienced by DKI Jakarta as the center of business and government activities. According to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2021, DKI Jakarta was the province with the highest population density in Indonesia, reaching 15,978 people per square kilometer. This figure differs significantly from West Java Province, which ranked second in population density with 1,379 people per square kilometer. From an economic perspective, DKI Jakarta, with its relatively limited geographical area compared with other provinces and its concentration of business activities, has become the most expensive city in Indonesia. According to Katadata.co.id, this condition was reflected in the highest average household expenditure per capita, reaching Rp16,897,727 in 2018. Due to this high burden, the urgency to relocate the capital has increased. Moreover, relocation is expected to contribute to reducing economic disparities between Java Island and other regions of Indonesia. (BPS, 2021; Mutia, 2022)

According to Rudolf Kjellén (1864–1922), as cited in Suradinata, geopolitics must be understood by every nation seeking to maintain state existence and achieve national ideals and objectives. The interaction between geographical conditions and state politics is referred to as geopolitics. Furthermore, strategies formulated at the national level to achieve geopolitical objectives are referred to as geostrategies. In Indonesia, the Wawasan Nusantara concept was adopted as a form of interpretation and implementation of the principles contained in the 1945 Constitution, which subsequently became known as Indonesian geopolitics. Meanwhile, national resilience has been established as Indonesia's geostrategic concept. (Suradinata, 2001)

National resilience refers to the dynamic condition of the Indonesian nation encompassing all aspects of integrated national life. It contains perseverance and resilience that represent the capacity to develop national strength in facing and overcoming challenges,

threats, obstacles, and disturbances originating from both domestic and external environments. The existence of national resilience aims to ensure national identity, integrity, continuity, and the struggle to achieve national goals. In its implementation, national resilience represents a strategic framework for realizing national aspirations through the development of national capabilities. National strength is developed based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution by emphasizing the security and welfare of the Indonesian people and implementing these principles in a balanced, harmonious, comprehensive, and integrated manner.

National resilience can be distinguished according to the following national objectives:

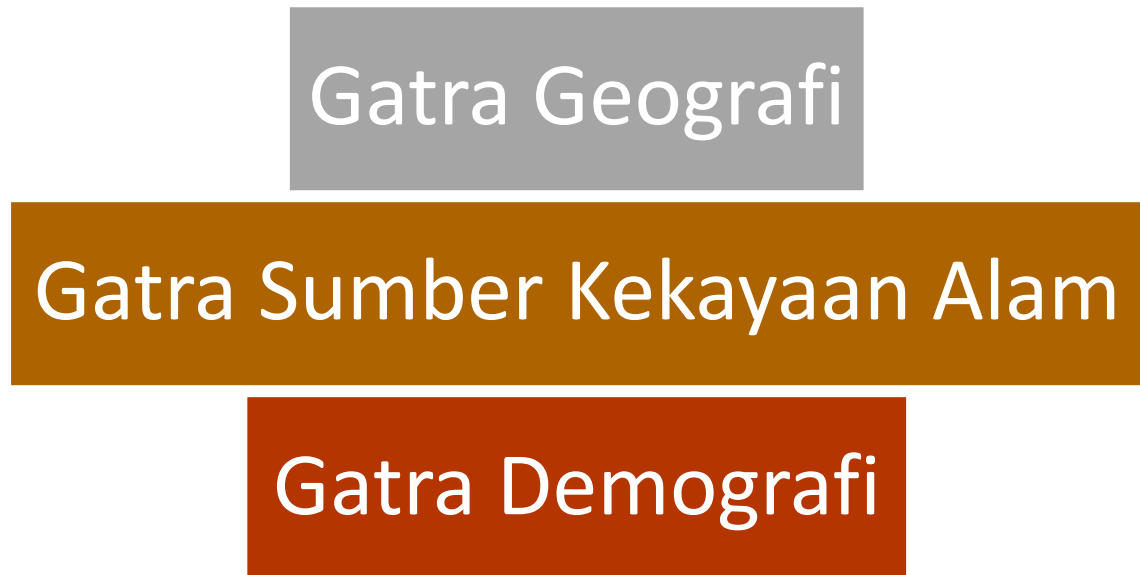


Figure 1. The Natural Tri Gatra



Figure 2. Dynamic Five Gatra

The Tri Gatra and Panca Gatra aspects of National Resilience have a mutually interconnected relationship with all areas of community life and contribute to the realization of welfare and security within the scope of national life. Based on previous research, each gatra has a strong interrelationship and is described as interdependent within a complete and harmonious unit. (Anom, 2008)

As global dynamics continue to evolve, Indonesia has also adapted its geopolitical direction. In 2007, Japan and India introduced the concept of the Confluence of the Two Seas,

which refers to the convergence of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. This concept emphasizes freedom and prosperity for both countries by promoting military, economic, and political cooperation in Asia. Subsequently, China launched the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road initiative in 2013. This initiative focuses on China's maritime trade routes, inspired by historical routes from the 2nd century BCE to the 15th century CE that connected China with Southeast Asia, India, the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and Europe through the Indian Ocean. This development was followed by the United States' Rebalancing Toward Asia policy in 2011, which later evolved into the Indo-Pacific strategy under President Joe Biden in 2021. This strategic shift represented an effort by the United States to strengthen relations with countries in the region while engaging in strategic competition with China across various fields. According to Yani and Montratama, President Joko Widodo first articulated Indonesia's new geopolitical direction in 2014 while attending the East Asia Summit in Myanmar. The President stated that Indonesia would become the World Maritime Axis (Poros Maritim Dunia [PMD]). This geopolitical adaptation represents Indonesia's response to changes in the geopolitical orientation of four major global powers: China, the United States, India, and Japan. (Guha, 2022; Yani & Montratama, 2018)

Despite the extensive discourse on capital relocation and the growing body of literature on Indonesian geopolitics and national resilience, there remains a significant research gap concerning the systematic analysis of geopolitical threats surrounding the Nusantara capital through the integrated framework of Panca Gatra. Existing studies tend to focus primarily on the economic or political dimensions of capital relocation or discuss national resilience in general terms without specifically examining how the geopolitical context of the new capital generates distinct vulnerabilities across all five gatra. This study aims to address this gap by providing a comprehensive analysis of the geopolitical threats facing the Nusantara capital, examining each of the five gatra—ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, and defense-security—and demonstrating how these dimensions are mutually reinforcing rather than isolated. The findings of this study are expected to contribute to the theoretical discourse on national resilience and provide practical insights for policymakers involved in the planning, development, and governance of the new capital.

METHOD

This study adopted a qualitative approach using a descriptive analytical method to examine potential geopolitical threats surrounding the Nusantara Capital City region based on the Panca Gatra framework within National Resilience. The research employed a library research design, with data collected through the review of written sources, including books, scientific journals, legislation, official government publications, and previous research reports related to geopolitics, national resilience, and capital city relocation. The study utilized secondary data obtained from credible sources, such as the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), official publications of the Nusantara Capital City Authority, accredited journals, and reports from reputable think tanks. Data analysis was conducted by identifying, categorizing, and interpreting information related to the five aspects of Panca Gatra: ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, and defense-security, and by examining their relevance to the relocation of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to Nusantara. Source triangulation was applied

by comparing information from various references to strengthen the validity and comprehensiveness of the analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Geopolitical Threat of the National Capital Gatra Ideology

Ideology is a very important concept in achieving national resilience of a country. The term ideology starts from the word 'idea' meaning ideas, concepts, ideals, then 'logos' means science. Etymologically, ideology contains meanings related to ideas, basic meanings, ideas and ideals. Different understandings of ideology were found. However, in general, ideology can be interpreted as a comprehensive and systematic collection of ideas, ideas, beliefs, ideals involving the political, defense and security fields, social fields, cultural fields and religious fields. (Kaelan, 2010)

All citizens act in their lives by understanding and determining basic attitudes guided by the complexity of knowledge in the form of ideas, thoughts, ideas and ideals that are considered the highest value. It can be assured that without a stable ideology rooted in its own cultural values and characteristics, a nation will experience obstacles in maintaining, maintaining and building national life. In the end, the national ideal can be obtained in people's lives by being guided by the spirit and positives of ideology. If the meaning of ideology is applied in the context of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, the ideology in question is the ideology of Pancasila.

The potential threat that can occur in the country's capital is related to the undermining of the Pancasila ideology. These threats can occur both from external and internal the nation in the country's capital area. Indonesia, which has the ideology of Pancasila, means placing values, norms and ideals that become a reference in daily life to achieve the goals of the Indonesian nation. Among the potential ideological threats that can occur in the country's capital include:

a. Globalization Flow.

According to Sukoco, Syauqillah, & Ismail, technology-based globalization can have both positive and negative meanings. The positive thing is technological advances that can connect long-distance communication to be closer and the speed of information transfer. But on the other hand, such convenience can backfire. The influence of ideology outside Pancasila can enter or affect the people of the country's capital area easily. A real example is the joining of Indonesians as members of ISIS (Sukoco, Syauqillah, & Ismail, 2021) *Islamic State of Iraq and Syam*). Although ISIS operates in the Middle East, its followers reach the Borneo region. As a result, the issue of establishing an Islamic state and the bad influence of ISIS in the Middle East has again become a threat in Kalimantan. The worst thing is the growth of terrorism among the public (Riza, 2014).

b. Heretical Sect

The thing that is contrary to the ideology of Pancasila precept is about the relationship of the Indonesian people with their God which is troubling the wider community. What is meant by a heretical religious school is the provision of worshipping God that is contrary to the religious teachings recognized in Indonesia. A real example is the persecution and burning of the Gafatar heretical settlement (Fajar Nusantara Movement) in Mempawah

Regency, West Kalimantan. The remnants of heretical followers to spread their teachings are still a threat in areas close to the nation's capital.

Geopolitical Threats to the Nation's Capital Political Economy

Political Ethics is the principles, basic laws, directions, and intellect that are used to achieve the direction they are aiming for, and by power. So that political issues can be said to be closely related to the issue of a country's power. National goals can be achieved by the government by determining the right political system. (Suradinata & Dinuth , 2001)

The real threat related to political information in the country's capital area is identity politics in every political contest that has become popular since the simultaneous elections in 2019. Agnes Heller mentions identity politics in Abdillah, which is a politics centered on differences whose central part promises tolerance, and freedom of play ((Abdillah, 2002) *free play*), although at the end there will be patterns of intolerance, violence and ethnic strife. The heterogeneity of culture, ethnicity, race and religion on the island of Kalimantan, especially the area around the country's capital, can become disharmonious between groups if every political contestation is ridden by certain political interests to achieve its goals. The identity politics war brought by each candidate for regional head or candidate for people's representative can backfire that causes division among the community. The worst impact is the emergence of inter-ethnic or religious wars as happened in Sampit in 2001. Although it is not a background in identity politics, it is quite a dark history related to clashes between tribes in Kalimantan.

Geopolitical Threat of the National Capital of the Economic Dimension

The economic sector has fields of activities related to meeting the needs of the community (*people needed*), including the management of the production sector, the distribution and use of goods and services, as well as various efforts to raise the welfare of the people. Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila are guidelines in structuring the Indonesian economic system. In a broader or macro area, Indonesia's economic system is called the populist economic system. Viewed from the government's side, the country's economy aims to prosper its people by utilizing existing natural resources. In addition, state revenue also comes from tax and non-tax revenues. The State Revenue and Expenditure Budget Plan contains sources of revenue and state expenditure plans.

Things that can be a threat to the economy are related to the increase in the budget burden if there is a failure in the process of developing the national capital. The total development needs of the country's capital are 446 trillion rupiah, and a total of 19.2% comes from the state budget. When development does not run smoothly, it becomes an overflow of development costs that will be borne by the government. The allocation of Government funds for the development of the national capital sucks up budget plans from ministries in the government. The state budget allocation that was originally intended for the community can decrease in value for the development of the national capital. Another thing that can be a threat is that economic inflation is predicted to occur in the country's capital when the office complex is ready for operation and there is a mobilization of employees to the nation's capital. (Hasibuan & Aisa, 2020)

Based on research by INDEF (*Institute for Development of Economic and Finance*), another threat is based on research that the movement of capital does not have an impact on real increases in GDP (*Gross Domestic Product*) or GNE (*Gross National Expenditure*). It can be assumed that the move did not trigger significant economic growth. In line with Hasibuan

& Aisa's research, the initial moment of filling employees working in the country's capital resulted in inflation in the price of necessities.

Geopolitical Threats to the Nation's Capital Socio-Cultural Intelligence

According to Sulistoro, Wahyuningsih, & Baehaqi Gatra Socio-Budaya is related to the community. In maintaining the existence and survival of this gatra which has 4 important elements, namely: (Sulistoro , Revelation, & Baehaqi , 2012)

- 1) Social structure,
- 2) Social supervision,
- 3) Social relations,
- 4) Social standards.

What can be learned from these four important elements is that at the core of living and getting along in society has the qualities of togetherness, one fate, one dependent, and the nature of one sense (unifying element). The term culture actually means a value system as the product of creation, taste, and human karsa that grows the most important ideas and becomes a supporting force in moving life.

One of the indicators that can be used as indicators related to social information is the number of poor people in East Kalimantan Province, the location of the new national capital. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, the total percentage of poor people in East Kalimantan Province is 6.31%. This figure is still below the average percentage of the poor population in Indonesia which is at the level of 9.54%. However, this can be a threat to social information in the country's capital area if predictions about inflation really increase when the country's capital begins operations, causing the number of poor people in East Kalimantan Province to increase. (BPS, 2022)

The threat of cultural information can be in the form of a reduction in national and regional culture in Indonesia due to the impact of globalization. The entry of foreign cultural influences (western culture and Korean culture) that has been sweeping Indonesia in a fairly short period since the era of globalization entered Indonesia, has caused a lack of Indonesian culture of new individuals in the country's capital. Employees who serve in the national capital can also be estimated to come from the capital city of Jakarta. The social life of the old capital is a condition for modern life which is suspected to have undergone the degradation of Indonesia's original culture.

Geopolitical Threat of the National Capital Gatra Defense and Security

The location of the capital is in the middle of the territory of Indonesia horizontally but not vertically. From the defense side, the location is easily accessible to all defense forces, both combat units and TNI military combat assistance. The following is the dislocation of military units closest to the location of the capital and development units when the capital is ready for use.

Table 1. Dislocation of TNI/Polri units close to IKN

Yes	Areas of Interest for Defence and Security	Location
1	Kodam VI/Mulawarman	Balikpapan Regency/City
2	Korem 091/ASN	Regency/City of Samarinda
3	Yonif Raider 600/Modang	Balikpapan Regency/City
4	Yonif 611/ Awang Long	Regency/City of Samarinda

5	Yon Armed 18/Komposit	Berau Regency/City
6	Battalion Kavaleri 13/Satya Lembuswana	Tenggarong Regency/City
7	Denarhanud- 002	Bontang Regency/City
8	16th Field Artillery Battalion/Tumbak Kaputing	Tenggarong Regency/City
9	Denzipur 7/Yudha Dharma	Balikpapan Regency/City
10	Kodim (Military District Command)	Spread across districts/cities
11	Lanal (TNI Navy Base)	Balikpapan Regency/City
12	Lanal (TNI Navy Base)	Sangatta Regency/City
13	Yon TNI AL (TNI AL Battalion)	Sangatta Regency/City
14	Air Force Air Base	Balikpapan Regency/City
15	Puslatpur Kodam VI/Mulawarman Amborawang	Kutai Kartanegara Regency/City
16	East Kalimantan Police	Balikpapan Regency/City
17	Yonif TP 827/Mahakam Cakti Yudha (MCY)	West Kutai
18	Yonif TP 826/Benua Taka Bekerai (BTB)	North Penajam Paser.
19	Yonif TP 879/Rangkok Cakti	East Kutai
20	TP 85/Benuo Taka Cakti Brigade (BTC)	West Kutai
Yes	Defense and Security Area Development Plan	Regency/City Location
1	Battalion 612/MDG Sangatta City	East Kutai Regency/City
2	Latgab TNI Sanggata City Area	East Kutai Regency/City
3	IKN Special Command	Nusantara
4	Lanal Type A Balikpapan (Increased Type)	Balikpapan Regency/City
5	TNI AD Territorial Battalion	East Kalimantan
6	IKN Police	IKN
7	New Air Base	IKN

Source: Processed Researcher

The opportunity for threats to defense and security information comes from the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Route area II (ALKI II), the route is an international water traffic area. The location of the capital is not far from the coast and within firing range of combat assistance through the ship located at ALKI II. The second threat opportunity comes from the Indonesia-Malaysia border north of the capital. According to Gray & Sloan, international land boundary lines tend to have the potential for territorial disputes. (Michael, 2022) (Gray & Sloan, 2014)

CONCLUSION

Various geopolitical threats surrounding the Nusantara capital have been described through a threat typology based on the five dimensions of the National Resilience framework. In national life, the preservation and improvement of the quality of the five dynamic aspects (Panca Gatra) in synergy with the natural aspects (Tri Gatra) create conditions of national resilience that are capable of withstanding various threats from both domestic and external sources. The integration of Tri Gatra and Panca Gatra forms Asta Gatra, which represents a comprehensive and resilient model of Indonesia's national life system in addressing potential threats surrounding the nation's capital.

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