Early Survey on the Relocation of Capital City of Indonesia and its Impact towards East Malaysia Security

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ABSTRACT: The issue of borders is a factor that can threaten the sovereignty of a country because it has an impact from traditional and non -traditional angles. This study is conducting to examine the impact of the relocation of the Indonesian capital on the security of East Malaysia. This is because the relocation plan involves a large and comprehensive development increase. The literature review of this study is divided into three, namely (1) The relocation of the Indonesian capital (Jakarta) to Kalimantan, (2) Security issues that exist between Malaysia-Indonesia due to the relocation of the Indonesian capital to the province of Kalimantan and (3) Security impact to Malaysia due to the relocation of the Indonesian capital to Kalimantan. The objectives of this study are to identify security threats that exist on the Sarawak-Kalimantan border, to study the impact of the Indonesian capital on national security in East Malaysia and to analyze the actions of the Malaysian government to improve security in East Malaysia. This study adopts a qualitative method in which part of the data is collected through secondary data obtained through a library study. These include scholarly books, journal articles, confidential reports released (public domain) as well as the security and defense policies of a government. While the primary data was obtained through face-to-face interviews with experts and officials directly involved in the topic of study from Malaysia and Indonesia. The conclusion of the survey is that there are traditional and non -traditional threats at the border. The relocation of the Indonesian capital has had a political, economic and security impact on East Malaysia. The Malaysian government is adding security personnel to be on alert along the border as well as establishing closer diplomatic relations with Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: Border Sarawak- Kalimantan, East Malaysia, Indonesia, National Security, Threats

BACKGROUND

On 16 August 2019 President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has announced that the Indonesian capital from Jakarta will be relocated to East Kalimantan in 2024 (ODISI 2019). In 1957, President Sukarno had planned to move the Indonesian capital to Kalimantan but the intention had to be canceled because in that year Indonesia had to host Asian sports (Hendra 2019). Before Jakarta became the capital of Indonesia, Yokjakarta was the capital of Indonesia since 1946 (Vina 2020).

The relocation of the Indonesian capital this time is due to several factors. The first factor is to standardize development in Indonesia from the aspect of development and economy so that Indonesia stays forward (The Guardian, 2020 & The Diplomat 2020). Second, the population density factor. In Jakarta, the population alone is dense with a density of 15 thousand people per square kilometer (The Diplomat 2020). When there is a problem with population density, then various problems will arise such as reduced quality of life, air pollution and so on. According to Jokowi, the Java Islands are inhabited by 60% of Indonesia's population and more than half of its economic activities are concentrated in the area. However, Kalimantan has an area that is five times larger than that but its economic activity is ten times lower (The Guardian 2019). Third, the 'Smart and Green City' concept. Jokowi's desire to build a capital that has a modern, smart and green city concept by using new energy without having to rely on fossil energy (Board, 2019). For this concept, a total of 466 trillion rupiah (RM136,765,221,600) is required. However, the Indonesian government will only finance 19% of that amount while the rest will be funded by Government-Private partnership companies and private investment (The Guardian 2019). The new capital will also indirectly create several areas/buildings that symbolize Indonesia's identity with the concept of forest city (50% of the total urban area) by the Ministry of National Development Planning such as historic monument buildings, museums and cultural exhibitions areas.

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Map 1: Location of transfer of capital from Jakarta to Borneo
Source: https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.channelnewsasia.com%2Fnews%2Fasia%2Findonesia-new-capital-city-jakarta-kalimantan-bukit-soeharto-11649916&psig=AOvVaw2hzjUJEm_4N0bKIYGlzInF&ust=1593673483516000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CA0QjhxqFwoTCJji8Nq-q-oCFQAAAAAdAAAAABAI

Fourth, the safety aspect. This displacement is crucial to ensure that the new capital is located far from sea level and the Ring of fire Pacific Ocean (which can cause catastrophic threats such as floods, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions). According to Mayuri, M. L. & Rafki Hidayat (2018), the North Jakarta area has sunk by 2.5 meters in 10 years. If this continues, by 2050, 95% of the area will sink as it is also below sea level. Fifth, the environmental situation of the capital Jakarta is increasingly polluted (The Guardian, 2019). Air quality in Jakarta is also declining where it is equated with cities such as Delhi and Beijing (Hicks, 2020). The transfer of capital to a new area is not a new issue as many countries have changed their capital for some reason. Brazil had moved its capital from Rio De Janeiro to Brasilia in 1960 after four years of construction work to reduce traffic problems and population density (Marcondes, 1959). The position of both areas has a distance of 1,100 kilometers. In 1991, Nigeria moved its capital from Lagos to Abuja, where this new area is in the heart of the country and has a large natural area (Moore, 1984). From independence in 1948 until 2005, Yangon was the capital of Myanmar (The Economic Times, 2019). However, it was transferred to Naypyidaw which is 320 kilometers north after the troops took over the area. Egypt is also in the process of moving its capital from Cairo (Cairo) to a new area of 45 kilometers to the east near the banks of the Nile. Turkey had moved its capital from Istanbul to Ankara in 1923.

Although the transfer of the Indonesian capital does not involve Malaysia, it also affects Malaysia in terms of traditional security and non-traditional security. From a national security standpoint, border security issues are a topic that needs to be refined. This is because it involves two different countries. The issue of demarcation is a factor that can threaten the sovereignty of a country. According to the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs Jelaing Mersat, the existing Security staff is not enough to monitor and monitor the Kalimantan-Sarawak border because of Sarawak, Sabah and Kalimantan Borders are too wide and long, as at the Tebedu border post (the star, 2009). for citizens who have long resided in the border area, they do not see borders as a thing that separates them, in fact, borders are never in their minds. For example, the International Minority Rights Group (MRGI), the Dayak indigenous people living in Kalimantan are now reportedly trapped in defending their traditional lands, and forests from logging, mining and oil palm plantation activities (BH Online 2020). From a non-traditional security point of view, it presents a security dilemma to both countries because of the probability of the border being used as a rat path by illegal immigrants (PATI), smuggling of goods and illicit animals, asylum seekers (BH Online, 2019) and stolen car trade (Farik, 2019). According to Sarawak police chief Datuk Ramli Din, the police think that non-traditional problems will arise a lot and the police need to be more vigilant with this situation (the Star 2020). the police need to add more members as a precautionary measure.

LITERATURE REVIEW
This study has four main themes for its literature review.

Theme 1: Relocation of the Indonesian capital city (Jakarta) to Kalimantan
Nugroho (2019) in an article entitled "*Moving the Nation's "Keraton*": A Javanese Perspective has discussed President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's move to move the Indonesian capital to Borneo as soon as he holds the reins of government as President of Indonesia. However, the author insists that plans to relocate the administrative center of the Indonesian government have started since 2015, and under President Jokowi, he has realized the plan to completely relocate the Indonesian capital to Kalimantan in 2024: logistics and construction of a new town in Kalimantan. Nugroho stressed that President Joko Widodo took drastic steps to

announce the transfer of the Indonesian capital following the Javanese philosophy held by the President, emphasizing the concept of Slamet which is to feel safe, safe and prosperous society. President Jokowi sees the move of Jakarta to Borneo as "the right approach at the right time".

At the same time, Septiana & Sumarham (2018: 190-195) in a paper entitled *Palangka Raya* the Capital City of Indonesia: Critical Discourse Analysis on News about Moving the Capital City from Jakarta stated that the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital to Palangka Raya, Kalimantan has been mentioned by President Sukarno since 1957-1958, as Sukarno has the idea to make the province of Kalimantan an ideal center for the development of Indonesia in the long run. However, the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital has been seriously implemented under the government of President Jokowi. Interestingly, the writings of Septiana and Sumarham have discussed the local views of Indonesians on the planning plans of the Indonesian capital which have various opinions, whether they agree or disagree. The author also stated that there are a handful of Indonesians who think that the province of Kalimantan is not suitable to be the new capital of Indonesia, as the Palangka Raya area also faces the threat of floods like what happened in Jakarta. At the same time, the Head of Indonesian National Development Planning also stressed that the transfer of the Indonesian capital to Palangka Raya is still in the research and discussion stage of the government, even the exact location of the area that will be made the Indonesian capital has yet to be identified. The writings of Septiana and Sumarham can give an initial impression to the researcher, that the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital has existed but the implementation of the plan is still at the study stage.

From the context of Indonesian history, the plan to move the Indonesian capital to Jakarta was inspired by President Sukarno. This statement is discussed in detail by Van Klinken (2006: 25-27) in an article entitled *Colonizing Borneo: state-building and ethnicity in Central Kalimantan*, where President Sukarno during a visit to Kuala Kapuas in Central Kalimantan, locals, the majority of whom are of Dayak descent. President Sukarno has told locals that he intends to make Palangka Raya the new capital of Indonesia. President Sukarno thinks that Palangka Raya in Kalimantan is very suitable to be the capital of Indonesia because of the geographical position of Palangka Raya which is right in the middle of the archipelago. At that time, Sukarno had his own political agenda to unite the governments of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia under a concept of government called Maphilindo (Malaysia-Philippines-Indonesia). Therefore, Sukarno sees that the province of Kalimantan as a symbol of glory, strength and strength of Indonesian society that is multi-ethnic and cultural. Therefore, Klinken's writing also provides preliminary information that the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital has existed since the time of President Sukarno's rule, and it is not a decision that surprised the Indonesian people as a whole.

One of the reasons why the Indonesian government wants to move the Indonesian capital, Jakarta to Kalimantan is due to natural disasters that often hit their capital. Mathewson (2018: 190) in an article entitled *Historic Institutionalism and Urban Morphology in Jakarta: Moving Towards Building Flood Resiliency into the Formal Planning and Development System* states that major flood problems often occur and hit Jakarta due to several factors such as deforestation rampant, causing the capital Jakarta to be frequently hit by flash floods. Geographical factors also play a major role in why Jakarta is often hit by major floods given the geographical position of the city of Jakarta which is below sea level, while seawater is increasing its level over time. In addition, the position of Jakarta, which is surrounded by 13 rivers and ditches flowing into the Java Sea, has caused an increase in the quantity of water that can not be accommodated by the Java Sea, thus making the city of Jakarta submerged in the rising sea and river levels every year. This problem is further compounded by the severe drainage system in Jakarta and most of the drainage system in Jakarta is clogged with rubbish coming from around Jakarta in high density. Mathewson's writing gives a clear picture, why the Indonesian government decided to move the Indonesian capital to Borneo, as a measure to find a solution to the problem of the capital which is often flooded every year, causing the Indonesian economy to be affected: by taking property loss factor high things had to be borne by the Indonesian government.

The problem of the geographical position of Jakarta below sea level has been directly addressed by Caljouw, Nas and Pratiwo (2009: 482) in an article entitled *Flooding in Jakarta: Towards a blue city* with improved water management where the author has concluded the study they said that the position of the capital city of Jakarta which is near the area of the Java Sea as well as the position of the city which is below the level of the Java Sea, caused the capital to sink when high tide conditions or monsoon season hit the metropolitan area. At the same time, although the government has carried out various technical initiatives through the implementation of construction projects for catchment ponds and anti-flood channels around Jakarta, the flood situation still fails to be controlled, and every year the Jakarta area will be flooded causing physical damage as well as losses to the economic sector of the capital. Thus, the author has emphasized the geographical position of Jakarta itself as the main factor why the flood disaster occurred.

Potter (2012: 272-275) in an article entitled *New transmigration 'paradigm' in Indonesia: Examples from Kalimantan states* that the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital to the province of Kalimantan, has been created to reduce population density problems based in Java, Indonesia. The reform agenda of the Indonesian population to Kalimantan, which was inspired after the fall of President Suharto in 1998, is a continuation of the economic and social development agenda planned by the Indonesian government.

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The Indonesian government sees that this agenda is seen as a positive step to improve the economic and development status, especially in the province of Kalimantan, as the area is still uninhabited with a large population, taking into account factors as the area is still covered by most rainforest. tropical. The Indonesian government aims to make this national transmigration project able to increase the impact on the Indonesian economy, through the opening of new cities in Kalimantan. In addition, forest clearing will be carried out to be replaced with large-scale oil palm cultivation projects to increase the Indonesian government's source of income. Potter's writing indirectly, has given the researchers early indications, that the Indonesian government has drawn up a plan to relocate the Indonesian capital earlier.

Yule, Boyero & Marchant (2010: 204-205) in an article entitled *Effects of sediment pollution on food webs in a tropical river* (Borneo, Indonesia) stated that there is a worrying river pollution problem in the province of Kalimantan, where the author has conducted their study in the area of Sungai Kelian, Kalimantan. As a river located in a tropical rainforest area, Sungai Kelian has been polluted as a result of gold mining activities carried out in the area by locals, since gold was first discovered in 1976. The author describes that apart from gold mining activities, logging activities and waste disposal by the locals have caused pollution to the Kelian River. Although the study conducted by Yule, Boyero & Marchant is environmental science and ecology, the writing produced by them has given the initial expectation that if the transfer of the Indonesian capital is carried out to the province of Kalimantan, it will indirectly increase the disturbance and pollution of nature around the natural ecosystem in the Kalimantan area, in turn, poses a threat to environmental security to the country of Indonesia in particular.

The relocation of the Indonesian capital will indirectly cause air pollution and the threat to the environment, when Nieuwstadt, Sheil & Kartawinata (2000: 1183-1185) in an article entitled *The Ecological Consequences of Logging in the Burned Forests of East Kalimantan, Indonesia* has explained that the problem of burning and deforestation has occurred frequently in the Kalimantan area, due to land clearing factors and logging activities carried out by the locals to carry out agricultural activities and generation of national economic resources. This condition will cause deforestation in the Borneo area, and cause ecological problems involving chronic environmental pollution such as air pollution resulting from forest burning activities. At the same time, the extinction of valuable flora and fauna also occurs when most forest areas have been cut down for logging activities. If the Indonesian capital is relocated to the province of Kalimantan, it will cause various environmental pollution problems, as the opening of the capital will involve the construction of new cities that will destroy various natural ecosystems especially when some tropical rainforest areas will be opened. The writings of Nieuwstadt, Sheil & Kartawinata can provide a general explanation of the environmental security effects that will be faced by the Indonesian government, through the transfer of the Indonesian capital to Borneo.

Theme 2: Issues that exist between Malaysia-Indonesia due to relocation the capital of Indonesia to the region of Borneo
One of the issues that may occur due to the relocation of the Indonesian capital to Kalimantan is the issue of air pollution and haze. This issue has been highlighted in depth by Aiken (2004: 55-60) in his writing entitled *Runaway fires, smoke - haze pollution, and unnatural disasters in Indonesia,* where the problem of forest fires that often occur in the Kalimantan area is due to activities logging and deforestation carried out on a large scale by the local community. This condition has led to open burning that spreads into large fires, resulting in the occurrence of haze on a critical scale causing air pollution. The author also gave an example of the big haze incident that occurred around 1997-1998 which caused almost all areas of Indonesia including neighboring countries such as Singapore and Malaysia to experience severe haze problems until the Malaysian government declared a state of emergency in Sarawak at that time. . Furthermore, the condition of the terrain and soil in Kalimantan, most of which are in the area, is very combustible peat during the long dry season, causing the problem of forest fires and haze in the province of Kalimantan can not be fully controlled by the Indonesian government. Therefore, based on the writings produced by Aiken, researchers can make the initial expectation that the move of the Indonesian capital to Borneo will most likely lead to an increase in the rate of air pollution that exists as a result of population concentration in the new capital. At the same time, an increase in the air pollution index is likely to occur due to deforestation factors that are widely carried out to be used as areas to meet the needs of the new capital. This situation is likely to result in air pollution that can reach the states of Sarawak and Sabah, as happened in 1997.

At the same time, if there is a division of the Indonesian capital into the province of Kalimantan, illegal logging activities will increase, involving the smuggling of timber brought in from the province of Kalimantan to the state of Sarawak. To support this statement, Wadley & Eilenberg (2005: 19-34) in an article entitled *Autonomy, Identity, and 'Illegal' Logging in the Borderland of West Kalimantan, Indonesia* the author took the example of a case wherein 2002, there was an entry activity logs that were illegally felled in Kalimantan, were smuggled in and sold in the state of Sarawak. What is worrying is that the logs have been illegally cut down in the Kalimantan forest reserve area. This situation has caused conflict between the two countries, as log smuggling activities are a kind of cross-border criminal activity. Although economically, there is a legitimate log trade relationship between the government of Kalimantan province and the Sarawak state government, however, there are a handful of parties that carry out logging activities and illegal sale of logs operating near the Sarawak-Kalimantan border area. Thus, the writings of Wadley and Eilenberg can give the impression that if the Indonesian government moves their capital to the province of Kalimantan, it will have a positive and negative impact on Malaysia: from a positive point of view, there will be an increase in logging activities between Kalimantan

and Sarawak. can generate economic and trade sectors between the two countries. On the negative side, there is a high probability of illegal logging and smuggling of timber as well as an increase in cross-border crime rates that will occur between the two countries.

There is also a positive situation through the relocation of the Indonesian capital to Borneo as discussed by Eilenberg (2009: 220-223) in an article entitled *Negotiating autonomy at the margins of the state: The dynamics of elite politics in the borderland of West Kalimantan, Indonesia* has explained the existence of attempts by some Iban people in West Kalimantan to join Malaysia by making an attempt to bring the territory they occupy out of Malaysia. They feel dissatisfied with their difficult living conditions, destitute and marginalized from the currents of modernity. According to media reports, there is a separatist movement that fights for the rights of the Dayak community living in West Kalimantan to enter Malaysia through the establishment of Gerakan Iban Merdeka. Although the author basically considers that the plan to enter Malaysia is impossible, but it remains an agenda that has the potential to create instability in diplomatic relations between Malaysia-Indonesia. Therefore, the transfer of the Indonesian capital to the province of Kalimantan, is seen as a positive aspect of diplomatic relations between Malaysia-Indonesia. At least the Indonesian government is able to develop the West Kalimantan area as well as reduce the dissatisfaction of the Dayak people who occupy the area due to poverty and lack of development.

Theme 3: Non-traditional security issues in Sabah-Kalimantan and Sarawak-Kalimantan

The currents of the developing world with the rapid and technological advancement in the era of globalization create a security threat to a country today. These new threats are known as Non-traditional security threats. Kamarulnizam Abdullah (1999: 156) in an article entitled *New Security Agenda in the Post-Cold War Era?* states that the threat of NTS is seen as a challenge to a country, to maintain the survival and peace of the people in the country from threats such as climate change and weather, the threat of infectious diseases, food shortages, uncontrolled entry of illegal immigrants, smuggling and human trafficking, natural disasters, drug trafficking problems, and other threats that transcend national boundaries.

The NTS threat has similarities with each other i.e. the threat is not affected by any form of military action (military interventions). At the same time, the threat of NTS also does not necessarily occur within a country but, can occur drastically across a country's borders as a result of technological advances and globalization. This was discussed critically by Waever (1995: 46) in an article entitled *Securitization and Desecuritization* when he commented on the concept of national security involving the KBT threat today, not located on the borders and political understanding of a country, but security is defined as how a country faces a threat by making their country "safe from existing security threats".

Floristella (2012: 21-36) in an article entitled *Are non-traditional security challenges leading regional organizations towards greater convergence ?:* The EU and ASEAN security systems in comparative perspective have described the role of ASEAN countries in facing the threat of KBT. The author emphasizes that the NTS threat is a real threat and should be faced by each of the ASEAN member countries. However, most of the ASEAN countries consider that the NTS problem is a domestic security problem of a country. However, the author emphasizes that ASEAN countries should be united and cooperate in combating crimes involving non-traditional security threats such as terrorism, drug smuggling, smuggling, human trafficking and other crimes. However, the author does not deny that there is ongoing cooperation between ASEAN countries involving efforts in terms of combating terrorist activities in Southeast Asia, as well as activities involving natural disaster management between ASEAN member countries are also carried out through the establishment of the relevant ASEAN Ministers' Meeting Cross-Border Crime to combat terrorist activities involving Al-Qaeda groups in Southeast Asia following the September 11, 2001 attacks, as well as the establishment of the Asean National Disaster Relief Declaration - ASEAN Declaration on Mutual Assistance on Natural Disasters since 1976.

Problems involving the issue of NTS are also discussed by Riefqi Muna (2006: 93-111) in an article entitled *Securitizing Small Arms and Drug smuggling in Indonesia* where, the author has stated that Indonesia has received threats involving the issue of NTS, especially arms smuggling activities fires and drugs occurring in the country. Weapons smuggling activities are an internal problem in Indonesia, as the entry of weapons is due to the demand of criminal groups and most worryingly, requests from terrorist groups and terrorist groups such as Gerakan Acheh Merdeka and Jemaah Islamiyah groups that conduct their operations nationwide. At the same time, the problem of drug smuggling in Indonesia has become increasingly serious, although the Indonesian government has enforced a strict and serious legal system involving drug prevention, such as the execution of drug traffickers and smugglers. Furthermore, the Indonesian government has always been involved in conducting integrated drug prevention operations, led by national security agencies such as the police force to combat drug smuggling activities to the fullest. The author stressed that the problem of drug smuggling and trafficking in Indonesia is a problem that poses a serious threat to the national security of Indonesia, thus strengthening the issue of KBT as a major threat to a country, if it is not managed properly.

Acharya (2016: 247-250) in a paper entitled *Securitization in Asia: Functional and Normative Implications* emphasizes that problems related to KBT should be taken as a solution by the country facing the problem. The author explains that the country is the most important main actor, in ensuring that the people in their country are always in a safe state. In the process of enhancing

national security from any threat, the state must take whatever measures are deemed appropriate to eliminate security threats that exist either from abroad or from within the country. As the threat involving KBT is a threat that is present from outside the borders of a country, it is the responsibility of the country to strengthen the security of the country involving the implementation of policies, policies and firm action of enforcement agencies as a whole.

Abdul Rahim Anuar and Azhar Harun (2019: 26-32) in a paper entitled *Malaysia-Indonesia Cross-Border Governance: Is There a Trade-off between Security and Economic Development?* Explains cross-border crime problems such as kidnappings against Malaysians by Sulu terrorist groups for ransom, smuggling of subsidized goods, drug smuggling, as well as the entry of illegal immigrants occurred in the Sabah-Kalimantan border area involving the Tawau-Nunukan and Kalimantan areas. Criminal problems that occur as a result of trade activities carried out in the border area of Tawau-Kalimantan waters. However, trade activities could not be curbed as it was a source of livelihood for the locals in the area, and it has been carried out since the existence of the area. However, the author stressed that the problem of cross-border crime has been under control since the establishment of the Sabah East Coast Security Zone (ESSZONE) in 2013, where enforcement personnel and security forces consisting of the Royal Malaysian Police (PDRM), Army Malaysia (TDM), Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN), General Operations Force (PGA) and other enforcement and security agencies have conducted security patrol operations in the Malaysia-Thailand border area to ensure cross-border criminal activity in the area can thoroughly controlled. Apart from that, the Malaysian government has implemented a curfew for residents in the Sabah-Kalimantan border area to curb criminal activities, especially at night. The writings of Abdul Rahim and Azhar provide important information to researchers that there is a threat involving the latest cross-border crime that occurs in the Sabah Kalimantan border area in detail.

Ramli Dollah et. al. (2016: 180-185) discuss in detail the problem of security threats arising in maritime border areas between Sabah states involving cross-border criminal activities, such as kidnapping activities to obtain ransom carried out by the Abu Sayyaf Group which is a terrorist group operating in Mindanao, Philippines. The Abu Sayyaf group has also been very active in carrying out robbery and piracy activities in Sabah waters since 1984. At the same time, the security of Sabah is also threatened due to the threat of terrorism that makes Sabah a group operating area involving terrorist activities masterminded by the congregation Islamiyah (JI) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). There is information stating that the JI group has used the sea route, namely the waters of Tawi-Tawi in the Southern Philippines, to bring in supplies of explosives that will be used to carry out their terrorist activities to the waters of Sandakan, Sabah. However, the author stressed that the security situation in Sabah waters has been under control since 2013 through the initiative of the Malaysian government by establishing the Sabah East Coast Security Zone (ESSZONE) under the East Sabah Security Government which combines the entire Malaysian security forces and agencies to control the waters the state of Sabah from security threats. Ramli's writing can give an impression to researchers, that there is a security threat in the state of Sabah involving terrorist activities and piracy in general.

Abdul Rahim Anuar (2015: 2-13) in an article entitled *Malaysia-Kalimantan Border Town Development Rubric: Tawau-Nunukan Island* discusses the problem of deterioration of the people living around the Malaysia-Indonesia border area, especially in the Tawau-Sebatik-Nunukan area. Cross-border trade activities have been going on since 1967, as these activities are the main livelihood of the locals in Tawau and Pulau Sebatik / Pulau Nunukan by conducting small business activities selling food and daily necessities. The Government of Malaysia and Indonesia through the Border Crossing Agreement 1967 has agreed to issue Border Crossing Pass (PLS) to Malaysian citizens who want to visit their relatives within five kilometers within the Kalimantan area. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government has issued a Crossing Pass (PLB) for the use of Indonesians to visit relatives in Malaysia within a radius of five kilometers from the Malaysia-Indonesia border. However, the Malaysian government faces problems in curbing the sale of subsidized goods such as rice, sugar, cooking oil, cooking gas and other Malaysian government-subsidized products. This is because there are a handful of Malaysians and Indonesians who have abused the PLS and PLB issued to them by carrying out smuggling activities. The author states that the Malaysian government has cooperated with the Indonesian government to improve the socio-economic status of the local population, through the establishment of the Border Trade Center on Sebatik Island. The establishment of this center is expected to reduce the problem of smuggling of goods and at the same time improve the socio-economic status of the locals in the Tawau-Pulau Sebatik area.

The state of Sabah also has a worrying problem of the influx of foreigners. This statement was made by Arvin Tajari and Nurfazlina Affendi (2015: 5-7) in an article entitled *Illegal Immigrant and Security Crisis in Sabah* when the author said that the influx of foreigners including illegal immigrants is due to more employment opportunities in Sabah if compared to the country of origin where they came from. Most foreigners dominate jobs that generate the Sabah state economic system such as agriculture, retail, construction, plantations and fisheries. This causes the Sabah state government should not be too strict with those who have a valid work permit, because of their interest in running the economic sector which can cause problems if they are sent back to their country. Therefore, the influx of foreigners in Sabah needs to be tightly controlled because the influx of foreigners also threatens the social security of the community such as increased crime rates, the spread of infectious diseases and dominance in important sectors of

the country's economy. The writings of Arvin and Nurfazlina have to some extent explained the security problems that exist in the state of Sabah in general.

Meanwhile, Pongtuluran (2013: 544-548) in an article entitled *Developing Economy in the Border of East Kalimantan* described that the socio-economic situation of Indonesian society, especially in poor and backward East Kalimantan, caused them to carry out criminal activities in the area. Kalimantan-Sabah. At the same time, the author also stressed that the factor of the Kalimantan-Sabah border area which is too wide makes it difficult for the authorities such as the security forces to control the border from being further encroached by criminal groups. Factors of the ambiguity of the Kalimantan-Sabah border area: when the Indonesian National Army (TNI) set up a border measurement and review team and found that after conducting a 409-kilometer border survey of 1038 kilometers of the entire Malaysia-Kalimantan border area, it found that 167 miles of national borders lost while 16 border stones were diverted to Malaysia. At the same time, the lack of border control complexes in the Kalimantan-Sabah area has made the border situation fragile and facilitated criminal activities to get in and out between the two countries. The blatant disregard for this demarcation problem has led to why border enforcement could not be carried out effectively by security forces in both countries. This Pongtuluran writing gives the impression to researchers that the factors of border management problems and economic factors of the local population in the Kalimantan-Sabah area pose a security threat, especially to Malaysia.

The writing of Pontuluran (2013) is also supported by Nuurrianti Jalli and Ismail Sualman (2020: 402-406) in an article *entitled Exploring Contemporary Security Issues Near Sarawak-Kalimantan Border* when among the security problems that exist involving the Sarawak-Kalimantan border area involves problems national borders are unclear and too wide, resulting in frequent disputes between the Malaysian and Indonesian governments over the exact location of the Sarawak-Indonesia border area. At the same time, cross-border criminal activities also took place in the Sarawak-Kalimantan border area, involving the theft of four-wheel-drive vehicles carried out by criminal syndicates from Sarawak, for sale in Kalimantan. The author also stated that the problem of entry of Illegal Illegal Immigrants (PATI) also occurs in the Sarawak-Kalimantan border area involving the entry of illegal immigrants from Indonesia by land and waterways. The writings of Nuurrianti and Ismail can provide researchers with the latest information related to the current situation and security situation involving the Sarawak-Kalimantan border which is oriented towards cross-border crime.

Junaenah Salehan et. al. (2013: 549-553) in an article entitled *Development at the Margins: Livelihood and Sustainability of Communities at Malaysia-Indonesia Borders* described, among the security threats that exist in the Sarawak-Kalimantan border area is the smuggling of illegal goods and the entry of illegal immigrants, due to the position of remote areas of remote and underdeveloped. Activities involving cross-border crime often occur in the Sarawak-Kalimantan border area due to the existence of "rat lanes" used by smugglers and criminals to enter and leave Malaysia without being easily detected by the authorities. In fact, Indonesians who live around the border area, also use rat lanes as a facility for them to move from Kalimantan to Sarawak, as a shortcut to save time, besides not having to go through the Immigration and Quarantine (CIQ) complex for the purpose. security checks and documentation. Locals around West Kalimantan often use the rat road to go to Sarikin town, Sarawak to do daily activities such as getting daily necessities, or to go to work in nearby towns such as Bau. The existence of these rat lanes could not be controlled by the border security enforcement agencies of the two countries, given that the existence of these rat lanes has existed since the time of British colonial rule in Sarawak. Junaenah's writing gives an overview to researchers, of the problem of cross-border crime caused by the existence of rat lanes. This problem is a major problem that needs to be faced by the border security enforcement agencies of the two countries. If this problem is not resolved, it will pose a security threat to Malaysia, especially to the internal security of Sarawak.

Security threats involving timber smuggling activities also occur in the state of Sabah. This situation occurred when there was a timber smuggling activity carried out illegally in Kalimantan, had sold the timber to Tawau, Sabah. To support this statement, Obidzinski, Andrianto and Wijaya (2007: 528) in an article entitled *Cross-border timber trade in Indonesia: critical or overstated problem?* Forest governance lessons from Kalimantan has stated an example of a case involving timber smuggling activities from the province of Kalimantan to the state of Sabah (Tawau) conducted by PT Yamaker Limited Company. The author explains that PT Mayaker is a logging concession company owned by Koperasi Tentera Indonesia. The company is the earliest logging company to obtain a Forest Entry Rights (HPH) permit from the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry, to run a logging business in the province of Kalimantan since 1967. However, PT Yamaker has carried out timber smuggling activities from the province of Kalimantan to Tawau, Sabah since the beginning of 1987. PT Yamaker Company has used the water transportation system to transport timber to Tawau via Pulau Nunukan, to be sold illegally to Syarikat Raspand Sdn. Bhd. (Timber buyer company sold by PT Yamaker) operating in Tawau. However, timber smuggling activities masterminded by PT Yamaker and Raspand Sdn. Bhd. was successfully dismantled by the Malaysian authorities in 1997. Thus, it can be concluded that the threat resulting from cross-border criminal activity still exists in the state of Sabah and needs to be curbed by security forces effectively, through a more law enforcement system firm and effective.

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Theme 4: The impact of Indonesia's capital city relocation to Malaysia

Satyawan (2018: 434-439) in the publication of proceedings entitled *The Benefit of Joint Border Cooperation Between Malaysia and Indonesia Through SOSEK-MALINDO Cooperation in North Kalimantan Province* described that the transfer of Indonesian capital to Kalimantan will create positive aspects in terms of border security development Malaysia-Indonesia. This situation can be seen, when the position of the new Indonesian capital close to Sarawak and Sabah after this may be able to strengthen the cooperation of the two countries in improving the level of security in the Malaysia-Indonesia border area, involving Sarawak-Kalimantan and Sabah Kalimantan. The establishment of the Malaysia-Indonesia Border Economic Development and Security Committee (Sosek-Malindo) is not only able to further enhance the security of the Malaysia-Indonesia border area through cooperation between security forces in both countries to control border security, but it is also capable of improving the socio-economy of the population in the Malaysia-Indonesia border area directly in terms of trade and bilateral business activities between Malaysia and Indonesia.

In terms of economic security, the transfer of the Indonesian capital to the province of Kalimantan will have a positive impact on the development of trade between the states of Sarawak and Kalimantan. Mochammad Faisal Karim (2015: 95-100) in his writing entitled *Local-Central Dynamics and Limitations of Micro-Regionalism: Understanding West Kalimantan and Sarawak Cross-Border Cooperation* have explained in detail, the implementation of cross-border cooperation development programs between governments Malaysia and Indonesia to enhance the bilateral trade sector of the local population has started since 1990. This cross-border cooperation provides an opportunity for locals living in the Tebedu (Sarawak) and Entikong (West Kalimantan) areas to carry out small-scale trade and business activities. With the transfer of the Indonesian capital to the province of Kalimantan, things are seen as a positive impact on the economic security of Malaysia, especially for the state of Sarawak, because trade activities can be carried out on a large scale, focusing on the export of goods to the Indonesian capital which is expected to be closer to the state of Sarawak, compared to Jakarta at this time. At the same time, the Malaysian government has established the Sarawak Corridor of Renewable Energy (SCORE) since 2008, to enhance the economic and physical development sector in Sarawak, especially in Mukah, Tanjung Manis, Samalaju, Baram and Tunoh. Through the transfer of the Indonesian capital to Kalimantan, indirectly it is able to increase the economic sector and bilateral trade between Malaysia and Indonesia, thus strengthening the economic stability of Malaysia in the long run.

Abd Hair Awang et. al (2013: 168-171) in an article entitled *Informal cross-border trade Sarawak (Malaysia) -Kalimantan (Indonesia): A catalyst for border community development* also discusses that trade activities between Sarawak and Kalimantan can generate state economic sectors Sarawak. Trade activities between Sarawakians living around the Kalimantan-Sarawak border area are able to build and upgrade the socio-economic status of the local community for the long term. The author sees that small-scale trade between the states of Sarawak and Kalimantan has improved the living standards of the poor in the area around Serikin, Sarawak. Most of the locals, who are of Dayak descent, have run a business selling goods such as food, clothing, handicrafts, as well as forest products in Kalimantan, which can generate financial resources to survive. Sarikin is a small town located in the interior of the Bau district. As a result, job opportunities are very small and the locals have made small businesses their source of livelihood. The location of Sarikin town, which is only five kilometers from the province of West Kalimantan, makes it a strategic location for trade and barter activities. Therefore, if the Indonesian capital moves to Kalimantan, it will indirectly increase the economic sector of the population in the Kalimantan-Sarawak border area, through increasing trade volume and increasing employment opportunities for locals, as the location of the Indonesian capital is closer if compared to its location in Jakarta at this time. Import and export trade activities are expected to grow rapidly between Malaysia and Indonesia, through the establishment of the Indonesian capital which will be established in Palangka Raya, Kalimantan.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There are four main concepts used in this study namely National Security, Border Security, Migration and Non-Traditional Security.

a. National Security

One of the main agendas in the study is related to national security issues as well as military threats or often known as National Security. It is therefore not surprising that the term National Security is synonymous with the threat of military and national sovereignty. This situation also causes traditional security is often colored by the idea of Realism which sees that the international system contains several countries that place the survival of the country as their main agenda. This concept has become the dominant paradigm in the field of international relations, especially in the sub-areas of international security studies (Nur Azizan 2012). The trend of Realism / neo-Realism pioneered by scholars such as Morgenthau and Waltz for example considers that state and military power are the main objects in the study of security (Ramli & Kamarulnizam 2014).

Thus, immediately after the end of World War II, the expression 'National Security' was widely used to show how government policies aimed at defending national sovereignty from the threat of other countries. In this case, among the main instruments used to maintain this security are such as military, diplomatic and intelligence development. In addition, although economic development

is also seen as important in this agenda, however, the development of conventional and nuclear armies is seen as the most effective method of preventing threats from other countries (Wyn Jones 1999). This coincides with the perspective of Realism / neo-Realism which sees the threat that arises from outside as a threat in the form of weapons/troops from other countries. Therefore, the best way to increase the security of a country is to increase the quality and quantity of the country's military power, including increasing the power of nuclear weapons. As a result of intense competition between countries in international politics, several new terminologies and concepts in security studies have emerged, such as the concept of security dilemma (security dilemma), namely, increasing the security of one country increases insecurity for other countries. Such behavior is believed to lead to an arms race that may as a whole lead to the insecurity of other countries in the international system (Nur Azizan 2012).

Therefore, it is not surprising why during the Cold War and post-Cold War era, discourses and analytical units on security-focused on military and state issues as the main object to be protected (referent object), causing marginalization of security issues of a nature non-military and threats from non-state actors (Krause & Williams 1996 & 1997; Booth 1991 & 2005, Dalby 2013; Caballero-Anthony 2015). It also explains why the Realism / neo-Realism approach does not include non-military issues such as immigration, health, poverty and some other non-traditional issues as security issues. As a result, during the Cold War era, non-traditional issues as mentioned above were considered non-essential issues in international politics and were often considered 'low politics', while war and military issues were considered 'high politics' in security studies. (Piper 2006). The concept of national security has dominated security studies since the end of World War II. Therefore, it is not surprising why the early definitions of security emphasize the country (borders and integrity) as the referent object and the military as the main threat. This definition is widely used by the stream of Realism / neo-Realism which adheres to the assumption that the country is the main reference (referent object) when discussing security issues. This approach is also known as the Traditionalist approach. Lippmann, one of the scholars of security in the early years of the Cold War era stated;

> *"A nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by such victory in such a war".*

> (Lippmann 1945 quoted from Ayoob 1984: 41)

As explained, this definition tries to see how the role played by a country to avoid attacks or defeat a country in the event of war. In this he explains how the importance of war as a major instrument of defense and national security. Based on this definition as well, it clearly shows that threats are the main reason for the need for security. However, one thing is certain is that this definition still sees security from the Traditional perspective which is to see the country, war and military development as the main thing to ensure the security and survival of the country. This is not surprising as this period is an era of competition between East-West causing other issues to be seen as less important. Accordingly, Nye Jr. and Lynn-Jones (1987) state that although there are difficulties in understanding the focus of security studies, the boundaries of these studies are easy to understand. According to them, security studies cover several things;

> *"... causes of conflict and war in the international system, the dynamics and outcomes of conflict, the nature and perception of threats, effort to ameliorate or resolve conflicts caused by such threats .... analyses of the problems of nuclear strategy, arms control, and deterrence, of conventional deterrence and conventional strategy, of the determinants of the defence policies of states, studies of military organizations and civil- military relations, and military history are familiar parts of the field".*

> (Nye Jr. & Lynn-Jones 1987: 6-7)

This view is further reinforced by Walt (1991), a famous neo-Realism scholar who wrote shortly after the end of the Cold War. For him, the study of security is more about the question of national interest and the use of the military. Walt in this case defines security as;

> *"The main focus of security studies is easily to identify, however: it is the phenomenon of war… security studies assumes that conflict between states is always a possibility and that the use of military force has far-reaching effects on states and societies… security studies may be defined as the study of the threat, use, and control of military force".*

> (Walt 1991: 212)

Based on this definition put forward by Walt, several key themes of security can be identified. First, the military is still a key element of security. Other threats such as the environment, disease outbreaks, the economy and so on are not part of the national security analysis. These elements are only considered to be a national security issue when it threatens the country. Second, because the state is the main object of reference, Walt does not include threats that occur at the individual level. In short, although the government is a major threat and killer to its people / citizens, as is the case in some countries around the world such as in Syria today, Walt does not consider the issue as a security issue. However, the end of the Cold War raised some big questions in a study that was previously seen as too narrow. The post-Cold War saw a radical change in challenging the dominant approach to security. The new approach to security research seeks to broaden and deepen the security research agenda (broadening and deepening the security agenda) from focusing only on national and military issues, but also on non-state actors and non-military issues. In fact, some scholars of the Critical Security Studies (CSS) movement have included some new objects (referent objects) that need to be defended. Clearly this

group believes that the state (state) is not the only important object in security studies. This is because other objects such as humans, individuals, society (societal) or earth (global / earth) are also among the objects that need to be given attention in security studies other than the country (Buzan 1991; Booth 1991 & 2005, Krause & Williams 1996 & 1997, Caballero- Anthony 2015; Wyn Jones 1995). In short, these deepeners believe that the object of reference in security studies can move either down ('below') covering aspects such as civil society, identity or religion, gender, and individual or the human but also move up ('above') for example atmosphere and earth. Thus, contrary to the situation that occurred during the Cold War era, threats to the country in the post-Cold War era also came from non-state actors (e.g. terrorist groups, rebels, etc.) who played an important role in shaping the new security landscape. Moreover, the end of the Cold War and the end of the bipolar system in international politics caused issues such as terrorism, disease outbreaks and immigrants to seem to replace military threats from other countries in security studies. The issue of migration, for example, which was previously excluded from the academic debate during the Cold War, began to be one of the hot issues on the international stage.

In the Malaysian context, the same thing happens where security is monopolized by the country's elite causing non-military issues to be seen as less important and not affecting national security. However, today, non-military threats by non-state actors also need to be given attention in understanding politics and security in Malaysia in general (see for example Ramli 2004; Sharifah 2003).

b. Migration

In general, migration is the change or displacement of a residence from one area to another (International Encyclopedia Of the Social Sciences, 1972, vol. 9). But, when we talk about the migration of workers, their migration is not only in terms of changing areas but also in terms of their way of life (The Social Science Encyclopedia, 1985). King (1996) defines worker migration as focusing on the first, the recruitment of certain foreign workers by those in power either the government or the employer and both, focusing on the individual's own will to migrate to find work abroad. The definition of foreign workers in this study can also be related to the definition quoted from the book edited by Paul White and Robert Woods, (1980), which touches on the redistribution not only in terms of population but in terms of social, employment and religious groups as well modification of patterns of diversity of demographic factors. According to Piore (1979), these foreign workers are more receptive to changes in lifestyle, as well as being able to adapt to the situation in a new place.

For international foreign workers, there are many factors that can contribute to human migration between countries. Mostly due to economic factors. Although mass migration is caused by political and ethnic conflict, the relationship with the economy is still strong. According to Ravenstein's research (1889), in "The Law of Migration", he found that various factors can cause migration but economic factors are more important. The huge difference in income and welfare between the rich and the poor is seen as the most important factor in the occurrence of international migration. Poverty and unstable economic conditions not only cause the population to migrate but also have the potential to migrate in the future. In general, according to Piore (1979), motivation for the migration process is due to wage differences between the sending and receiving countries. But these differences do not affect the conventional process of migration fully.

Theoretically, the migration of workers always occurs from less developed countries to developed countries. Countries with slow economic growth and a surplus of workers will face migration-out to countries with higher economic growth rates and those with shortages. This phenomenon is seen positively by theory and is considered beneficial for both parties, namely the sending country and the receiving country. This is because, the economic theory makes the assumption that due to migration, wages go up in the sending country and fall in the receiving country. The recipient country will get a workforce because originally workers from countries with a large workforce will migrate to rich countries, where there is less manpower. Meanwhile, wages will increase in the sending country which results in more efficient use of workers or manpower.

Economic migrants can be distinguished in two ways namely first, migration caused by hardships in life, and migration to improve income and welfare. They migrate to relieve economic hardship, often due to extreme poverty and their migration is more to the pressure of life. Most of them are categorized as illegal immigrants because there is no permission to go in and out. Another category in economic migrants can be referred to as mobile migrants to improve living conditions, as well as being sensitive to labor market conditions and having a perfect knowledge of wages in the market and available employment opportunities abroad. They are more careful and take into account the costs and benefits of migrating. In turn, they have the right to work and pennit according to the right channels.

c. Border Security

Borders and borders have long been places of securitization. As contemporary borders become unstable and segregated, these border security functions have shifted from national borders to the internet located outside the geopolitical boundaries, as well as the society of a nation (Balibar, 2004; Walters, 2006; Côté-Boucher, 2008; Squire, 2011). Scholars have assessed issues such as border authority, intrusion, smuggling (Bigo, 2007; Salter, 2008; Pratt, 2009), cross-border policy improvement over time (Andreas, 2009; Nevins, 2010), border security technology new (Adey, 2009; Amoore, 2009; Smith, 2013), migration control through citizenship and deportation regimes (De Genova and Peutz, 2010; Aas, 2011).

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Although modern borders have been outlined to express national-nation strength (Donnan and Wilson, 1999), national power is now exercised by delegating national sovereignty practices to domestic, transnational and private actors abroad and away from traditional national actors (Guiraudon and Lahav, 2000).). Emerging actors and sectors have security mandates and are involved in new policies in the name of security, while traditional security actors act in new ways and new justifications such as police forces, intelligence agencies, private security actors, technology companies, banks and airlines - among others - collecting, exchanging and analyzing data, making decisions about travel and mobility, and understanding their duties as border security managers (Doty, 2007).

In some countries, local police forces play an increasingly important role in immigration police (Coleman, 2009). Limited but growing research bodies have also begun to explore a combination of indirect control and direct oversight of border security (Cowen, 2010), adapting to neoliberal logic (Andrijasevic and Walters, 2010; Côté-Boucher, 2010). Such combinations can drive the commercialization of border security (Beaudu, 2007; Doty and Wheatley, 2013), shift security responsibilities to private gainers (Scholten and Minderhoud, 2008; GammeltoftHansen, 2012), and blur the gap between private and public involvement in security (Berndtsson and Stern, 2011). This deviation strategy also introduces cost-effectiveness and market logic in border security making private actors as regulators (Lahav, 2008; Walters, 2008). In short, whether they are public or private security officers, police officers, immigration bureaucrats, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), military and border guards, customs officers, drug enforcement teams or even diplomats, these actors involved in border security are rapidly changing institutional fields distinguished by their own standards, specific rules and political interests.

As a set of legal, expert and technical responses to complex political and economic problems threatening to obstruct or profit illegally from the global circulation of society and special commodities (e.g. terrorism, drug trafficking, migrant smuggling), this actor comes with different ways, and sometimes the opposite, of the answers to the issues posed by border security. This is the answer that is put together under the label 'border security'. Taking safety as a diverse practice that maintains complex relationships with security discourse, legislation and policies is an approach that adds a layer of complexity to our understanding of contemporary boundaries. (Infantino, 2013, 2014b).

d. Non-Traditional Security

Non-traditional security was first introduced in the late 1990s when a group of international relations experts became known as "The Copenhagen School". Among the non-traditional security pioneers were Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde. They try to include aspects outside of traditional studies on security such as, poverty, health, human trafficking, terrorism, natural disasters as part of safety studies. By incorporating these issues into the scope of security studies, The Copenhagen School attempts to expand the reference object of security issues by no longer looking at "national" security, but also in relation to non-traditional security. against the sovereignty of a country, but at the same time there is an increasing threat to human security in other aspects such as poverty, infectious diseases, natural disasters, and terrorism. Concern for "Non-Traditional Security" (Non-Traditional Security) is growing, especially after the 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) annual report on Human Development Report, attempting to highlight some dimensions that should be considered for creating "Human Security" Politics, Social, Economic, Health, Environment and Crime.

There are several important features that give identity to non-traditional security concepts. First, the concept of non-traditional security is universal, multi-dimensional. The concept of non-traditional security is also multi-dimensional because it offers an integrated approach and analysis across the boundaries of the field of knowledge as an alternative to the traditional approach that is sectoral, separate to specific sectors such as security, development, human rights and peace. Second, the non-traditional security component is interdependent. It refers to a situation where residents in different locations are in need of each other. For example, if people in one place experience a disaster, people in other countries will also feel the tempias such as issues of famine, the spread of disease, environmental pollution, economic recession and the threat of terrorism. Third, non-traditional security is easier to deal with through early prevention. In the form of policies, the government should formulate policies that can ensure the well-being of the people from the beginning before spreading. Fourth, it is human-oriented, which focuses on the safety of individuals or communities (UNDP 1994; Mack 2004).

This perspective is very different from the view of realism in particular because the concept of non-traditional security places the country as a tool or mechanism to enable individual security objectives to be achieved within the larger framework of international politics. In some cases, the country is also a source of threat to the lives of individuals. According to Rummel (1994: 9) during the first 88 years of the 20th century, almost 170 million people lost their lives due to government actions through various means such as torture, hanging, slaughtering and so on. The actual number of deaths that occur this way can reach 360 million people. This death toll is four times higher than the death toll on the battlefield between countries and within the country over the same period. The main premise of this definition is that (i) it includes a focus on freedom from fear and freedom from will; and (ii) emphasis on universal elements, dependence, prevention and even centralization of human orientation which will be discussed in more detail later (UNDP 1994). Non-traditional security emphasizes on two main aspects that are the core, namely freedom from want (freedom from want) and freedom from fear (freedom from fear).

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Both of the above cores can actually be referred to the history of the establishment of the United Nations which is enshrined in the Atlantic Charter (1941: 2), which among others states,

> *"(Sixth), after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want".*

The assurances contained in the statement were used by the Allied Forces to declare war in the Second World War. The term was also central to the founding of the United Nations which arose from the motion of the San Francisco Conference (1945). In explaining the goals of the establishment of the United Nations, the United States Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius Jr., specifically explained,

> *"... the battle for peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace [...] No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs"* (Okubo 2011: 22).

Both ideas later became the basis for the UN program on development and human rights since its constitution was signed in 1945. To achieve peace, there are two conditions that must be met, namely, human development and non-traditional security. UNDP (1994) has defined human development as a process of expanding the range of individual choices and non-traditional security in turn represents the ability of an individual or an individual to carry out those choices safely and freely, with the confidence that those choices will remain. These forms of threats are divided into seven (7) components namely i) economic security, ii) food security, iii) health security, iv) environmental security, v) personal safety, vi) community security and vii) political security. Threats to non-traditional security not only exist from within a country but also involve the threat of globalization such as high economic opportunity gaps, extreme migration, environmental degradation, drug hazards and even international terrorist threats. UNESCO then took into account the importance of cultural elements for lasting peace (Rashila, Zarina, Nor Azizan & Sity 2012).

Until now the concept of non-traditional security has been and continues to be debated and informed by various disciplines with studies using various research methods by international institutions such as the UN and scholars around the world. For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Fifth Assessment Report (AR5) has highlighted its importance through the first systematic assessment of the effects of climate change across various non-traditional security dimensions. This focus by global scientific authorities proves that the concept of non-traditional security is relevant both in terms of how to determine changes in the global environment, as well as methods to deal with its effects (Behnassi 2017: 3-24).

However, there also arose criticism of the concept of non-traditional security. Among them, it is still seen as failing to take over the position of the mainstream concept of national security in the HA discourse. As evidenced in any crisis around the world, national interests are often used as an excuse to reject international assertive intervention to address humanitarian issues such as migrants in Syria. Although non-traditional security offers hopes and aspirations, realpolitik is still a stumbling block to the acceptance of this paradigm in the HA discourse (Odutayo 2016).

The relocation of the Indonesian capital to East Kalimantan	Border Control Law enforcement Immigration	Implications for East Malaysian politics and security
Independent Variables	*Intervening Variables*	*Dependent Variables*

CONCLUSION

This study assumes that the security threats that exist on the Sarawak-Kalimantan border consist of 2 types, namely traditional threats and non-traditional threats. When the Indonesian capital moved to Kalimantan, it gave a security effect from the economic, social, political point of view to East Malaysia. To improve security in East Malaysia, the Malaysian Government is trying to work with the Indonesian government to combat the existing threats. Apart from that, the Malaysian Government has also increased patrols and increased security forces along the border.

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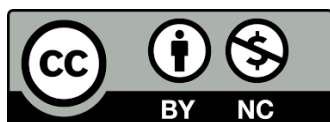
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