

## STATE SECURITY AND HUMAN SECURITY IN BORDER MANAGEMENT

(Case Study: Indonesia-Malaysia's Border Analysis In Ketungau Hulu Subdistrict In Efforts To  
Creating Border As Indonesia's Front Line)

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### Abstract

This study tries to see how the condition borders region between Indonesia and Malaysia, in Ketungau Hulu subdistrict. Analysis is conducted to see how the borders management in Indonesia with two approaches. *The first* approach is the analysis of *State Security* used to see how the treatment of the state to maintain state sovereignty from the external threats that dominated by military. *The second* approach is the analysis of *Human Security* which is more emphasis on the security of citizens as seen from the fulfillment of basic human needs, both in terms of welfare, education, health, and so forth.

**Keywords:** border politics, border development, state security, human security.

### INTRODUCTION

The borders management and presence in a country will greatly affect the security, integrity and sovereignty of the state. To realize this mission the government should has been necessary and establish a strategic plan on border area development. It is absolutely needed to make border as front porch that will reflect the condition of the state as a whole. Including how to manage the border between states in Indonesia that will greatly affect national development. State borders is a boundary line which is dividing the sovereignty of a state based on international law. Act of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No 12, 2010, about National Body on Border Management, Border is a part of the territory of countries located on the inner side along the boundary with Indonesia and other countries, in terms of state borders in the area, the border region located in the subdistrict. The state border is a major manifestation of the sovereignty of the state territory. The state border has an important role in determining the boundaries of sovereignty, utilization of natural resources, security and territorial integrity.

At least there are four characteristics to support the strategic development of the border region. *First*, have important implications for the country's sovereignty. *Second*, is the driving factor for the socio-economic development of surrounding community. *Third*, it relates very

interplay with the activities carried out in other areas bordering the territory of any other inter-state. *Fourth*, have an impact on the condition of defense and security, both regionally and nationally. The poor management of border area management is not separated from development policies issued by the government. During this time, although the border area used as a strategic area of national development, but nonetheless development in the border regions tend to be going nowhere. Vagueness of government in managing the border area shows that the government has failed in setting development priorities, both the national level and particularly in the local area. The central government, provincial government and district/city government tend to have its own way in the planning of border region development. So do not be surprised if there is a criticism, they will blame one another. Considering the border region as the front porch of Indonesia will reflect how the contents of the overall development in Indonesia.

Discussing about the management of border areas in Indonesia, particularly the land border, with Papua Neugini, Timor Leste or with Malaysia, has always been a never ending debate. Initial assessment it appears in the public's mind of course the image of an isolated region, lack of facilities and also without any attention from the government. Of course, the image obtained because the real conditions in the border region as it is. Community's life with very inadequate facilities, ranging from a lack of facilities and transportation infrastructure, health facilities, education and welfare of the low level. So do not be surprised if people tend to rely their borders to neighboring countries. Starting from selling agricultural products, the fulfillment of health facilities, and even for the everyday life they also hang from neighboring countries.

The view of government that has always said that the border region is a porch leading Indonesian state seems only a mere lips service. Facts at a border point to the contrary, it is located as the frontline it is only treated as a backyard that is not addressed by the government. Transitional regime of government did not change the face of the border in Indonesia, which tends to border management centralized constrain development in the border region. The result is no border regions in Indonesia who are better or equal the conditions in the country side. The comparison would be very far if we look at how management is done by the government of Indonesia and the Malaysian government.

Eg example the condition and management in one border area in Ketungan Hulu *Subdistrict*, Sintang. The distance between Sintang Districts and Ketungau Hulu subdistrict about

178 km with the distance traveled between the two regions depending on weather conditions. When the rainy season takes more than 8 hours of travel, this is because the road conditions are muddy and difficult to pass, but if it's the dry season is much shorter travel time. The people in the outlying villages immediately adjacent to the region of Sarawak Malaysia are ethnic Dayak sub Dayak Iban. This condition is not different from the majority of the population in Kwari (Sarawak, Malaysia) which is also a sub-tribe of the Dayak Iban tribe, most of whom still have blood ties and family ties with the Iban tribe in outlying villages in Indonesia. So it is not strange if there is a dependency between communities in Indonesia with communities in Malaysia.

Conditions in the area here is not much different from the other border regions. Lack of facilities and infrastructure is a major cause poor welfare of the community at the border. It is located far from the district capital makes a lot of people at the border depend on neighboring countries, especially the outermost villages bordering with Malaysia Sarawak. The limitations faced by border communities certainly the fruit of the lack of government attention to all the problems that occurred in the border region. Ketungau Hulu Subdistrict upstream directly adjacent to the region of Sarawak in Malaysia. Social structures formed in the border region both in Malaysia and in Indonesia affected by the relationships among border residents who are both from the ethnic Dayak. Kinship that has long existed even before Indonesia's independence makes the absence of conflict between citizens in the border region. But it is only jealousy that arise from citizens of Indonesia to Malaysian citizens who get more attention from the government of his country.

Of all aspects of the development of border regions in Malaysia is much better than in Indonesia. If we then look at two approaches to border management both in terms of state security and human security what is done by the government of Malaysia should be adopted by the government of Indonesia. It is intended that the level of dependence of border communities in Indonesia to Malaysia is not getting bigger. Because it is clear that during this time the border communities in the Ketungau Hulu subdistrict, especially in the villages is very dependent on the respective outer Malaysia. Not only in the fulfillment of daily needs, from an economic point of many Indonesian citizens who work in Malaysia to manage oil palm and rubber plantations belong to the Malaysian government, company or also owned by Malaysia. The majority of plantation crops and agriculture of local people sold to Malaysia, because Malaysia agricultural and plantation products purchased at a higher price

The conditions such as these certainly do not continue, the limitations in the border region should immediately look for the best solution. Not just planning a big thing it was to no avail, but how to do something that is sustainable. The Government should be able to design precisely how strategic management of border areas. All certainly agree that the border region is key to our country's sovereignty. But it is not quite up there alone, the determination of the border region as a veranda leading our nation must go hand in hand with the government's treatment of the border region. Do not let the sovereignty and unity of the country of Indonesia became shaken just because they neglect what we do together. For that through this paper is expected to provide a detailed mapping of all the problems faced by border communities in Ketungau Hulu subdistrict. Thus together we are able to provide effective design to improve border face in Indonesia as a whole.

## DISCUSSION

### A. *QUO VADIS*: STATE SECURITY IN THE BORDER

In the literature of Security studies, the problem of defining the concept of security has become a topic of heated debate, at least until the end of the cold war. In this case, the academic debate regarding the security concept. Definition of State Security generally puts security as an abstract value, focused on maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the state, and general military dimension (AM Al-Mashat,1985:19). *State Security* is seen as the physical condition of protection of the country from external threats (Azar and Moon,1988:3). If then the definition laid normative state security, such as the definition Frederidck Hartman who viewed security as "*the sum total of the vital national interest of the state*" the national interest it was defined as "something that makes the state willing and ready to fight" (Hartman,1967:14). Security concept often we understand as the country's efforts to prevent war, mainly through military force development strategy that provides the ability antidote. In other words, the definition of security is often based on the assumption of the supremacy of military power as a means to protect the country from external military threat (Buzan, In Azar and Moon,1988:15).

State Security conception dominated by understanding relating to all matters of a military nature, namely that emphasize aspects of inter-state conflicts, especially those related to aspects of the threat to the integrity of the national territory (territorial security concept) (Habib, In Amal and Armawi,1995:251). There are Three important features in a simple sense of State Security.

*The first*, the identification of “national” as “the state”. *Second*, the threat is assumed to come from outside the country. *And third*, the use of military force to deal with threats. No wonder if Arnold Wolfers come to the conclusion, that the main problem facing every country is to build the power to ward off (*to Deter*) or defeat (*to Defeat*) an attack (Anggoro,2003:5-8).

The borders management strategy is concerned with how the state treats the border region, whether as a front page or just a backyard. State Security approach essentially focused on how the efforts of the government to maintain the security of the state border line in order to avoid interference and external threats by relying on military force (Sanak,2012:19). Approach to *state security* can also be interpreted as efforts aimed at maintaining the territorial integrity of a country and the freedom to determine their own form of government.

Securing the border area between countries is very important, not only to secure communities in the region, but also related to state sovereignty. No wonder if some countries issued a security policy in the border region in particular. It means that they actually put security forces elected to maintain the sovereignty of the country. Unfortunately, such treatment does not occur over borders between countries in Indonesia, both the land borders with Malaysia, Papua New Giniue, and Timor Leste. Security management policy of border areas in Indonesia seems far complete, and further demonstrate the government's indifference to the sovereignty of this country.

We take the example of security management in Ketungau Hulu Subdistrict, Sintang, that the district is directly bordering with a land area of Sarawak in Malaysia. Border security in the Senaning conducted jointly between the Police of the Republic of Indonesia and the Indonesian National Army. Police through the sector police Ketungau Hulu subdistrict maintaining the security of the border communities and also routinely conduct patrols along the state border line. While the army of 642 focused on Sintang district to maintain border posts and also regularly conduct joint patrols of police and army units from other districts along national boundaries. The aim is to prevent smuggling and also to check the boundary markers separating between Indonesia and Malaysia.

If we look a little explanation above of course have shown that the Indonesian government was serious in keeping people on the border, and of course also in maintaining the sovereignty of this country. But if we look more deeply it turns out the facts show otherwise. Police as the spearhead of the police organization's success in building security and public order

must have a design that is capable of running its roles and functions in creating security and public order conducive. Police Senaning the status of urban duty to secure the border region, because obviously the border region has a vulnerability to cross-border and smuggling of goods. Changes in the status of an urban police station should be carried out increasing the number of personnel to 90 people and is headed by a Police Commissioner. But the fact that it should have 90 police personnel were actually only 13 personnel on duty.

In addition to the minimal number of personnel, other problems faced by *Polsek* Senaning are the lack of supporting facilities security in the border. Ranging from firearm supplies, until the condition of *Polsek* building and dormitory that are poor. Border security conditions in the Ketungau Hulu subdistrict actually conducive enough, there has never been a big case that threatens the unity of Indonesia, there has been no case of shifting the state boundary markers, large-scale smuggling of goods as well as other major cases like in other border regions. Here are some cases or handling of security problems in the border region in the Ketungau Hulu subdistrict.

*First*, the major of border communities are ethnic Dayak Iban still uphold and maintain the culture and customs of their ancestors. This of course will have an impact on the application of customary law in their daily lives. When a customary law that is based on the belief of ancestor is juxtaposed with the formal application of the law of the country of course is always opposed. This means that when there are acts of violating the norms of society (be it customary law or formal law) before the case was settled by formal law it must be completed with customary law. Even if it is a purely criminal act, the witness already exists, the file is complete, the suspect has been set, but when the issue can still be resolved by customary law, customary law is enforced.

*Second*, the lack of supporting facilities construction of transportation infrastructure especially road access makes some outlying villages bordering with Malaysia becoming isolated. This resulted in the fulfillment of everyday needs of border communities will rely heavily on the supply of the neighboring countries. Under such conditions it is not surprising that smuggling goods to and from Indonesia frequently and even daily inevitable. Location outermost villages were located closer to Malaysia than to the district capital in Senaning especially if to the district capital. Access in and out of the border gate is very easy, no need to show a passport or other identification. They brought spices and agricultural products to be traded in Malaysia. They use

proceeds from the sale directly to the fulfillment of daily needs. That is why until there is a proverb which is very famous in the border region, namely *“Garuda di Dadaku, Malaysia di Perutku, dan Ringgit di Dompetku”*.

*The third*, one of the major problems that ever happen are when there is the threat of the Malaysian flag in the Mungguk Gelombang village. Border region is very vulnerable to any kind of separatist movements that attempt to liberate themselves or also joined with other countries that is believed to give more attention than their previous state. The break down in the flow of development in outlying villages, precisely in the Mungguk Gelombang village makes head of the Mungguk Gelombang village very disappointed with the performance of the Indonesian government. Peak until he threatened to the Regent, the Governor and the President if the village remains as it is today, the village will fly the flag of Malaysia.

What was done by head of the Mungguk village wave considered reasonable, rather they do not love to the Homeland, or we equate them with separatism movement in Aceh or Papua. If we want to see deeper, precisely what they are doing is a form of their love, shape their emotions and their efforts to get a bit more attention from the government. Infrastructure development in the village is very slow it can even be said not at all. In an interview with the author, Brigadier C.P. Simanjuntak, Commandant of Provost at Polsek Ketungau Hulu subdistrict (13 July 2017) Said:

*“Just imagine to reach the village had to use two types of transportation, namely land and river. Because of the existing road in the rainy season it cannot be passed 'lake mud' will greet us. Not the motor that we were on, but the motor that we bear to pass through. People there know the relief funds that come in, they know how much funding proposals that the name of the border region. But in reality these funds are not to the hands of the people.”*

With such conditions it seems reasonable if people in the Mungguk Gelombang village feel disappointed with the government's performance. But unfortunately, that is done by the Sintang District Government shortly after the threat even as fear. The government would send troops in large numbers, with the assistance of the province to the Mungguk Gelombang village to provide security. If the government knows very well how the condition of the people at the border, then government no need for such excessive measures. Once again it is clear that what was done by the Mungguk Gelombang villagers is not a form of separatism are like what was done by the GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) in Aceh, OPM (Operasi Papua Merdeka) in Papua,

or RMS in Sulawesi. What they do is form a sense of disappointment because of the lack of attention from the government, they need is how the government absorb the aspirations of rural communities, and act in accordance with their aspirations. Not only the people in the Mungguk Gelombang village, but the entire outer villages in the border region in Ketungau Hulu subdistrict must be considered over by the government.

If we look at the concept of *state security* that we discussed earlier, it is clear that the government is not serious in securing Indonesia's sovereignty in the border region, especially in Ketungau Hulu subdistrict. *State Security* conception dominated by understanding relating to all matters of a military nature, namely that emphasize aspects of inter-state conflicts, especially those related to aspects of the threat to the integrity of the national territory (territorial security concept) (Habib, In Amal and Armawi,1995:251). There are Three important features in a simple sense of State Security. *The first*, the identification of "national" as "the state". *Secondly*, the threat is assumed to come from outside the country. *And third*, the use of military force to deal with threats. No wonder if Arnold Wolfers come to the conclusion, that the main problem facing every country is to build the power to ward off (to Deter) or defeat (to Defeat) an attack (Anggoro,2003:5-8).

From the explanation of the concept of state security at the top, then if we compare it with the management of security conditions in the border region of course inversely. The assertion that the government establishes that the border region is a national strategic area was not accompanied by policies that lead there, especially in the security field. Security management policy and security in the border region in the Ketungau Hulu subdistrict undertaken by the government and other related parties seem perfunctory. It can take a look at how the conditions and limitations of police in Ketungau Hulu, ranging from the number of personnel who do not meet the necessity, inadequate safety equipment (patrol vehicles, firearms) to the supporting facilities services to the public. Another surprising fact of some informants said that the *Polsek* of Ketungau Hulu a discharges to members of the police are problematic. Additionally, many members of the police or also from the TNI (Indonesian Armed Forces) who are serving there are new graduates who received the first task to maintain the sovereignty of our country.

*State security* approach that emphasizes the use of the military in maintaining state sovereignty is deemed very necessary if the context is securing the border between Indonesia and Malaysia. Because it is often a struggle for territory between the two countries. It is true that in



the border region in the Ketungau Hulu subdistrict never before there was a struggle or shift peg the border between Indonesia and Malaysia, or also conflict over resources between communities in Ketungau Hulu subdistrict with communities in Sarawak. Whether it should wait for the conflict that happens, then the government would seriously maintain the sovereignty of our country. According what Arnold Wolfers concluded that the main problem faced by every country is to build the power to ward off (*to deter*) or defeat (*to defeat*) an attack. The most important phase of securing sovereignty is how we (the government and the people) to ward off or prevent actions or threats that are threatening the sovereignty of our country, especially those that come from outside. Not only the government, but we all have to learn from previous experiences, how we lose the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan claimed by Malaysia.

### **B. *QUO VADIS: HUMAN SECURITY IN THE BORDER***

The concept of human security is an outgrowth of the previous concept of state security that emphasizes the preservation of state sovereignty were then simultaneously must maintain the security of citizens. Human security is basically the result of conflicts or wars that occurred in several countries, such as Iraq, southern Africa and Somalia are always generate human tragedy. The problem of proving that the concept of state security-oriented state security should be changed towards a concept that think of the idea of the security of citizens. Human security approach into a conversation and priorities of the entire country if it is then we see the security context of aspects of welfare, social and environmental. Human security terminology popularized by the UNDP, through this approach to human security needs are met is the main capital for efforts to maintain the security of the country. Human security approach emphasizes the aspects of human security in the broad sense of security that would be economic factors, health and so forth.

At least three approaches or flow in the human security thinking. *First*, the approach focuses on human rights. *Second*, the approach emphasizes the human safety. *Third*, the approach that emphasizes the development efforts on an ongoing basis. The latter approach is related to the seven dimensions of human development as outlined in the UNDP Human Development Report, namely economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, security, socio-cultural, and political security (Pratikno,2009:12). Human security approach applied in the management of border areas stressed on the importance

of the development of the communities of the border, because the good public welfare is the essence of state security. orientation of putting human prosperity as a key factor which will determine the country's progress (Pratikno,2009:19). Human security emphasizes human welfare as security capital. This approach aims to improve the quality of human life in terms of economy, education and health.

Orientation humanization are preferred because people with economic capacity, intellectual capacity and health, as well as strong social capacity is seen as a major capital in state life. It is true that the Human Development Index (HDI) which is composed of three indicators: education, health and economy. Has parallels with the components of human security. These three indicators are the guarantors for the sustainable development of key parameters at the same time the degree of human security. Of the three HDI indicators is then used as a tool to see how the development of human security in the border region in Indonesia, especially in Ketungau Hulu subdistrict, Sintang.

**Education,** Development of the border region is essentially an integral part of national development. Besides the border region has strategic value in supporting the success of national development. One effective way as border area development strategy is the provision of facilities and infrastructure that support educational activities. Because it is clear that education is an important aspect which affects the development of the nation. A good education has a multiplier effect that a high multiplier effect for other areas such as economics, health, etc (Sanak, 2012:157). Improving the quality of human resources the border region must be a concern of the government. Of course, must be balanced by providing transportation facilities and infrastructure, educational facilities and teaching staff who are not only qualified but also must have a high responsibility (Handiwijoyo, 2011:24).

The condition of the border region that is mostly poor villages both in terms of economy, education, health and other infrastructure. Many villages in the border region far from the attention of the government as well lead to an increase in the quality of education stagnant, and increasingly far behind urban areas. Such examples of one elementary school (SD) in the village of Jasa now only three teachers with Civil Servants status (PNS). But unfortunately these teachers actually do not have a high responsibility towards work. The civil servants teachers are more often located in the city, rather than in the classroom to teach. It certainly will have an impact on the declining quality of education in the border region. Especially in the village of Jasa

evidenced by the many children grades 4 and 5 Primary School, who still can't read. Parents at home can't do much because they also have a limited education, and many do not attend school.

This condition continues until the level of junior high schools and high schools. Constraints faced not much different, ranging from the lack of teachers, through the means of supporting infrastructures are very limited education. Lack of educational facilities is a major cause low quality of education in the border region. But on the other side, the government has always demanded high quality education and always raise the standard of education every year. The problems that arise are not offset by equalization of education in Indonesia, particularly in lagging regions such as in the border region.

For students who come from outside Ketungau Hulu subdistrict, who attend schools in Senaning (Ketungau Hulu subdistrict capital), many living in huts around the church. To meet their daily needs, every weekend they must return to their home villages to get supplies of food such as rice, vegetables and so forth for the next week. For those students who live in Jasa village must walk for 6 hours, while those living in the Nanga Bayan village or Sungai Seria village can be reached 10 hours by walking. No wonder they had to spend the night in the woods or were forced to take shelter when it rained.

There are no specific policies that governments provide for improvement of the level of public education at the border. There is only one government policy to improve the welfare for the lecturer through special allowances border region. Sintang district government annually provides scholarships for students in Sintang, both medical scholarships and also scholarships at the Department of Governmental Science at the Tanjungpura University. But unfortunately there is no special approach for students from the border region with a lower quality of education than students who attend school in the city. They are students of the border have to compete with students in cities with quality and educational facilities are much better. Do not be surprised the scholarship is only filled by graduate schools in the city's favorite.

***Economic and Welfare***, majority of the people in the border region, especially in outlying villages working as farmers. Commodities produced are rubber, pepper, eggplant acid etc. Pepper is an excellent product of the border region, where the harvest they sell directly to Malaysia. Because the purchase price of pepper in Malaysia is higher than the selling in Malaysia. Where the results of studies suggest that the pepper from Ketungau Hulu sub district is the best pepper in the world. Pepper prices in Malaysia reached more than 25 RM per kilogram,

while in Sintang city only Rp 45,000 per kilogram. The price has not been reduced by the transport costs to be incurred if sold to Sintang city. Because the distance to be the main reason why the villagers in borders prefer to sell to Malaysia, of course because the purchase price better. The economic crisis that hit Indonesia in 1998 and became a blessing for the people in border region. Because at that time the price of pepper increased sharply to reach 50 RM per Kilogram, especially by the exchange rate at Rp 8,000 per 1 RM.

As mentioned above, that the lack of supporting facilities construction of transportation infrastructure especially road access makes some outlying villages bordering with Malaysia becoming isolated. This resulted in the fulfillment of everyday needs of border communities will rely heavily on the supply of the neighboring countries. Under such conditions it is not surprising that smuggling goods to and from Indonesia frequently and even daily inevitable. Location outermost villages were located closer to Malaysia than to the district capital in Senaning especially if to the district capital. Access in and out of the border gate is very easy, no need to show a passport or other identification. They brought spices and agricultural products to be traded in Malaysia. They use proceeds from the sale directly to the fulfillment of daily needs.

**Health**, the border region is a relatively isolated and disadvantaged areas by a low level of accessibility. This is of course resulted in the quality of public health is very low borders. Lots of taste why this could happen, one of the main causes is the lack of facilities and infrastructure in support of health services for the borders. People in need of health care should immediately take to a hospital in the Sintang city. Because there's only community health center in Ketungau Hulu subdistrict, and even then by inadequate facilities. Not to mention the rarely medical personnel in health centers, because more often located in the Sintang city.

## CONCLUSION

Development of border regions in Indonesia is not easy task, not only takes time but also the consistency of all relevant stakeholders in maintaining the '*rhythm*' development of in borders. Conditions at the border region of Indonesia with all its limitations show through this time concern the government towards development of the border is still no change. It has long been felt we hear that the border region at the Indonesia designated as national strategic area, but the fact that development of the border is still very minimal. The National Agency for Border Management (*Badan Nasional Pengelola Perbatasan*) which has been the mainstay of the

government in finding a solution of the border issue is not yet able to demonstrated its performance. That the alleged perpetrators and those who are responsible have done the hard work in establishing a true borders region. But we all know the facts are what they are doing there, it does not change the face of our borders (Batubara,2012).

A law No. 6 of 2014 may actually be used as one near-term solution in development in the border region. If then we look at nines agenda of *Nawa Cita* Joko Widodo, one point is to build Indonesia from the periphery to strengthen the regions and villages within the framework of a unitary state. One of the privileges of the law No. 6 of 2014 is the village budget allocation provided by the government. If the allocation who received by village in the border region are managed well and according to the aspirations of the people, would be so easy it feels to realize development of in the border region The village autonomy and flexibility in managing the village fund budget is expected to help development of villages outermost borders region. Of course, should by escort and the coaching so that funds are not poorly targeted.

The last solution for a long-term is the implementation of asymmetric decentralization in the border region. Implementation of asymmetric decentralization is more emphasis on particularities of every region in Indonesia, especially the analysis of central and local relations The reason why the border region need to implement asymmetric decentralization by Tim JPP (JPP-UGM 2010) is because the border region need special treatment considering its role as a boundary by neighboring countries. The border region holding an important function because the complexity of the problems encountered. The border area should be treated as the front page and not the '*backyard*' RI. Treat the border region, for example, in West Kalimantan should be different, for example by requiring the governor comes from the military because the high potential border crossers in addition to the strengthening of infrastructure and health and education services. Details about the design of asymmetric decentralization in the border region still need further study (Dardias, 2012:9).

Do not because of our ignorance of the problems in the border region makes us should lose another region of our country. Scramble islands of Sipadan and Ligitan should be an important lesson for the government. *De jure* indeed the border region became part of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. But if this condition continues where all the fulfillment and access to information still depends on the state of Malaysia do not be surprised if it is *de facto* was more shows part of the country of Malaysia.

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