

INDONESIA, THE WORLD'S MARITIME SPINDLE BRIEF ANALYSIS OF ECONOMY AND POLITICS POLICY IN JOKOWI'S REGIME

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Abstract

Jalesveva Jaya Mahe (in the sea we are glorious) is a slogan which gives a picture of Indonesian politics glory in the past, as the ocean sovereign. After several decades, the glory as the ocean sovereign goes down. President Jokowi's regime that started to govern since 2014 began to reappoint "Jalesveva Jaya Mahe" in his countless efforts to make Indonesia as the world's maritime spindle. From economy aspects, the potential of marine and fishery sectors of Indonesia are a very precious asset for development. This paper will discuss the background of Jokowi's regime's policy to make Indonesia as the world's maritime spindle; why such idea arises; what the economy and politics consideration of Indonesia as the world's maritime spindle. In order to answer those questions, a literary study is done regarding Indonesian's economy and politics aspects, and policy regarding the concept of the world's maritime spindle. The result of the review suggests that Jokowi's regime's policy to make Indonesia as the world's maritime spindle is related to the effort to keep the balance of the country's economical income. Indonesia's natural sources on the mainland are known to be subsided, and its contribution towards gross domestic product also goes lower.

Keywords: policy, Indonesia Maritime Spindle

Introduction

Indonesians had always been known as a nautical nation. This is regardless of Indonesian geographical condition. According to Indonesian National Encyclopedia, it is known that Indonesia lies between two continents; Asia and Australia, and between two oceans; Indian Ocean (Indonesia) and the Pacific Ocean. Indonesia also has more or less 13,000 islands, starting from Weh Island in the north/ west end of Sumatera Island up to Irian Island in the east end. Referring to Indonesia's National Encyclopedia (*Ensiklopedia Nasional Indonesia*, 1990, pp. 74-75), the comparison between the sea and the land is 78:22. The islands in Indonesia spread as far as 6,400 km from east to west and as far as 2,500 km from north to south, whereas the outermost line that surrounds the region is approximately 81,000 km. The width of Indonesian territory is approximately 587,000 km², whereas the distance between the east end to the west end as depicted by Multatuli is longer than the distance between London and Siberia (Drake, 1989).

In terms of position, Indonesia, therefore, has a very strategic value, particularly in economy and defense. In economy, Indonesia lies in a strategic water way with a potential of abundant sea natural sources. However, in military or defense, water way and strategic economic need a powerful control; otherwise, excessive exploitation which potentially inflicts imbalance in sea environment will result in the country's disadvantage in the economy. This condition will not only disturb Indonesia's sea safety but also inflicts widening conflicts with other countries.

Indonesia's potential as the nautical or maritime country had always been recognised. In its history, Indonesians have ever experienced glory in maritime. It can be known from the glory of the maritime kingdoms that have ever been recorded in Indonesian history. One of the kingdoms is Sriwijaya which was occupying between the fourth and seventh centuries. In trade and shipping, Sriwijaya was successful to occupy almost the whole water of Nusantara including Java Sea, Banda Sea, and some parts of the sea in Indonesia's east coast. Besides, Sriwijaya also built a connection in a trade with India in the west coast, Burma, and Malay in the north coast, and Siam, Cambodia, China, and Philippine, north Borneo in the northeast side. The traders of the kingdom had sailed up to the harbors in China and African east beach. Besides Sriwijaya, there was also a maritime kingdom in Makassar called Gowa-Tallo. Around 1600, Gowa Tallo was the transit harbor, the place for the traders from the Moluccas to take rest and fill the supplies. Besides, there were many spices in Gowa-Tallo which were imported from the

Moluccas; whereas the Javanese, Bugis, and Malay traders came to Gowa-Tallo to exchange their products with spices (Stapel, 1938, p. 3). In Java, there was a Majapahit kingdom (1293-1525) which was agrarian and also maritime. The region of Majapahit kingdom initially included the big part of East Java and Central Java. Around 1330, the kingdom conquered Bali with great marine and followed with conquering Sumbawa, Lombok, Madura, end of East Java, and some parts of Sulawesi, Pasai, and Padjajaran (West Java). Unfortunately, Indonesian maritime glory was forgotten either after the golden era of the Old Order or the New Order. It seems that the orientation of the government's economy in Old Order and New Order was prioritise the economy based on the mainland natural sources of which the potential was abundant in Indonesia.

The mainland natural sources such as forestry, plantation, and natural gas were massively exploited during the New Order. Based on the record by Rakhmindyanto (2016), the paradigm of economical development and progress at that time were actualised with the potential of forest, oil, gas, and minerals which were excessively exploited. In the first year of New Order, there were three laws that were related to the management of natural sources. The first one is Indonesian Law Number 1/1967 on Foreign Investment that gave the easiness of foreign investment in Indonesia along with the easiness of tax incentive for foreign companies. The second one is Indonesian Law Number 5 of 1967 on General Provision of Forestry which stated that the whole area of the forest is owned by the Country. The third one is Indonesian Law Number 11 of 1967 on Mining which made the whole land of Indonesia could be used for mining.

The exploitation of Indonesian natural sources indeed gives a very big benefit for the economy. However, it is not accompanied by maintenance for its sustainability. Post New Order era, the exploitation did not decrease but increased. Referring to the data from Down to Earth Indonesia (2016), the negative effect of regional autonomy which is the result of reformation precisely occurred in the sector of forestry since there were much corruption between the entrepreneurs and the regional government officers and the security that allows the acceleration of the damage of forest. The problem did not merely occur between the companies and regional government, but also led to the occurrence of communal conflicts between people in terms of the lands' ownership seizure. Throughout 2013, there have been 232 conflicts of natural sources in 98 districts and cities in 22 provinces.

With the occurrence of conflicts and lands' ownership seizure in natural sources sector, particularly forestry, it cannot be denied that based on

the interpretation of satellite imagery 7 ETM+ in 2011, it was suggested that the coverage size of Indonesian forest experienced the tendency to decrease (FWI, 2011). The total interpreted area is ±187,840.9 million ha which included the forested area: 98,072.7 million ha (52.2%) and the area with no forest: 89,768.9 million ha (47.8%). The result of analysis on forest coverage of Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI) suggested that the area of Indonesian mainland in 2009 was 190.31 million ha, while the forest coverage was 88.14 million ha or around 46.33% from the mainland. It shows that the forest coverage goes narrower. Meanwhile, referring to the data from BPS in 2013, the forestry subsector contribution towards the gross domestic product was decreasing.

Table1: Forestry Sector Contribution

Number	Year	Gross Domestic Product (GDP)		Forestry Sector Contribution towards GDP (%)
		Forestry	GDP Total	
1.	2000	16,343.0	1,389,769.9	1.81
2.	2001	16,738.1	1,440,405.7	1.16
3.	2002	17,125.4	1,505,216.4	1.14
4.	2003	17,213.7	1,577,171.3	1.09
5.	2004	17,433.8	1,656,516.8	1.05
6.	2005	17,176.9	1,750,815.2	0.98
7.	2006	16,686.9	1,847,126.7	0.90
8.	2007	16,548.1	1,964,327.3	0.84
9.	2008	16,543.3	2,082,315.9	0.79
10.	2009	16,793.8	2,176,975.5	0.77
11.	2010	17,192.5	2,310,689.8	0.74
12.	2011	17,361.8	2,463,242.0	0.70
13.	2012	17,423.0	2,618,139.2	0.67
14.	2013	17,442.5	2,770,345.1	0.63

Source: *Buku Laporan Biro Pusat Statistik* (2013)

Based on such condition, it means that the country needs new natural sources besides the natural sources from the mainland in order to support its economy. Related to such thing, this paper discusses the background of Jokowi’s regime’s policy to make Indonesia as the world’s maritime spindle; why such idea arises; what the economy and politics consideration of Indonesia as the world’s maritime spindle.

Indonesia the World's Maritime Spindle

In his first state speech, President Joko Widodo asked every element of the nation to have maritime awareness. He said expressly the slogan "Jalesveva Jaya Mahe," that maritime management is the main focus in running the government in the next five years. The first state speech cited the words of the first President of Indonesia, Soekarno, in the opening of Lemhanas in 1965. He stated that the geopolitical destiny of Indonesia is solely maritime (Widodo, 2014). The matter that the first President of Indonesia stated was reciprocal with National Maritime Convention I in 1963 of which the main point can be taken, i.e., in order to create Indonesia as a great nation, a powerful nation, a wealthy nation, and a tranquil nation that controls the sea. The correlation from what Soekarno stated with Jokowi's speech is viewed as the form of courage to realise the importance of Indonesian nautical culture. Indonesia is wealthy in the sea products, but those sea products are so far dominated by foreigners both legally and illegally that the condition does not give a concrete contribution for the prosperity of Indonesia. Moreover, nowadays the contribution of Indonesia's mainland natural source is far less than it was before. For instance, referring to the finding of Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI), in 2009, Indonesia's forest coverage was 88.17 million ha or approximately 46.33 percent from the mainland of Indonesia. The deforestation rate in the period of 2000-2009 was 1.51 million ha/year, with the biggest deforestation rate occurred in Borneo for 550,586.39 ha/year. If the deforestation rate is not pressed, it is predicted that in 2020, the forest coverage in Java will disappear and in 2030, the forest coverage in Bali-Nusa Tenggara will also disappear. In 2003, forestry sector gave 1.09 percent contribution towards the gross domestic product which decreased to become 1.05 percent in the following year. In 2008, this contribution was merely 0.79 percent (Forest Watch Indonesia, 2011).

The tendency of contribution decreasing will certainly become a national problem that disturbs the balance of Indonesia's economy income. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jokowi's regime turns to the policy to utilise the sea potential. Jokowi encourages all elements of Indonesian people to commit to actualise Indonesia as a maritime country in real action such as managing the sea and all the potential to be the opportunity to develop the nation. He opines that Nusantara's glory as a maritime nation in the past was obtained from the ability to comprehend the potential and manage it. Therefore, the expected future change will come from the thinking paradigm which so far more prioritises in utilising mainland natural source, becomes the

one that orients in utilising natural sea source. In addition, it can be obtained if Indonesia becomes the world's maritime spindle.

The world's maritime spindle is the concept referring to a big idea to make Indonesia as the "power" between two oceans. This doctrine stresses in macro regarding a geographic, geostrategic, and geo-economic aspect of Indonesia which is influenced and affects the dynamics of Indian and Pacific Ocean (Sukma, 2014). The concept of the maritime spindle has five pillars, i.e., maritime culture, management of natural sea source, maritime connectivity, maritime diplomacy, and maritime defense. From the five pillars, maritime defense is sharper if it is interpreted as the sea sovereignty which is the absolute requirement that Indonesia can be the world's maritime spindle (Thamrin, 2016).

Sea sovereignty includes two important things, i.e., solving the sea territorial boundary of Indonesia and maritime defense. Indonesia has the conditions of geopolitics, geostrategic, and strategic demography, and also abundant natural sources. In order to make Indonesia as the world's maritime spindle, the two important things are to take into accounts because there lie Indonesia's natural sources that have not been managed steadily. Indonesia has the problem of the territorial boundary with ten countries surrounding it, i.e., Malaysia, Timor Timur, Singapore, Thailand, Papua New Guinea, Australia, Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, and China. Another problem besides its position in South East Asia, Indonesia also lies in the center of U.S. Pacific Development. The United States nowadays has several military bases that lie in the region of East Asia and South East Asia, such as Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. As regulator country, Indonesia has the rights to control the sailing traffic that exists in its territory. Therefore, the consequence of defense system that needs to be developed is that Indonesia becomes the world's maritime spindle. Indonesia needs powerful marine and navy in order to keep the integrity of its sovereignty (Thamrin, 2016).

In the context of maritime spindle defense, there will be various activities conducted in parallel in order to utilise the sea potential that so far has not been optimally developed yet, such as fishery industries, shipyard, sea natural source exploration, energy generator, research center, cities and fishermen's settlement, nautical tourism, and many more. The maritime spindle development certainly does not have the purpose to build the areas of which the people have not been prosperous as the people in more developed areas. It is done by utilising the existing sea potential maximally without leaving the defense behind. Intensive utilising of Indonesia's sea will create a diagonal spindle from west to east and north to south. This spindle is not

merely in the form of two diagonal tracks, but also many tracks that form like lattice or spider web on the sea. The spider web will eventually connect with the road and trains network which create the pattern of the fish fin on the mainland. By doing this, the mainland and the sea will become one economic area that connects each other. Each area will be connected with other areas through land, sea, and air transportation, as well as trains.

The development as the world's maritime spindle is parallel with the actualisation of Knowledge of Nusantara in order to give movement in mindset, behavior pattern, and course of action of Indonesians in order to unite in the media of knowledge of Nusantara. Indonesia's maritime land is the part of the earth system that becomes one natural union of land and sea of which the top is managed uniquely; Indonesian islands with their characteristics become the legal territory of Indonesia. The conceptual base is knowledge of Nusantara and national defense. From the knowledge of Nusantara, Indonesians see their region as one political, economic, social, cultural union and safety. Essentially, maritime Indonesia is the development of national defense concept, so the concept of maritime Indonesia needs to be included as guidance, stimulation, and force for Indonesians in order to utilise and use Indonesia's potential as maritime country integrally and steadily (Pusjianmar, 2016). The development of the concept of maritime Indonesia is parallel with the effort to increase Indonesia's ability to become a modern and independent nation in terms of sea technology and aerospace which are dedicated to the people and the country's prosperity.

Analysis of Economy Politics Advantages as Maritime Country

From economical aspect, Indonesia's water has high-valued biological and non-biological sources, such as oil, natural gas, fishery, and many more. The biological and non-biological sources are getting wider in accordance with the ratification of UN Confession regarding Sea Law 1982 that was subsequently ratified by Indonesian government with Indonesian Law Number 17 of 1985. Therefore, in a juridical way, Indonesia also has a very wide sea area. The potential of coast area and a sea of Indonesia viewed physically are included as Nusantara water covering 2.8 million km²; Territorial Sea covering 0.3 million km²; National Water covering 3.1 million km²; Exclusive Economic Zone covering around 3.0 million km². The length of the coastline is more than 81,000 km, and the number of islands is more than 18,000 islands (Kusumastanto, 2016). With the wide juridical sea, then Indonesia's realisation as 'the World's Maritime Spindle' should bring massive economical benefit for

Indonesian people. By considering that 90% of world's economic transaction occurs on the sea, on which the 40% of the number goes by passing Indonesia, and it is added by the availability of abundant natural sources.

The main purpose of Indonesia's realisation as 'the World's Maritime Spindle' is the prosperity of Indonesian people. Therefore, maritime infrastructure development such as harbor, turning on the sea traffic that the products distribution can reach rural areas with reasonable prices, obtaining maximum benefit from the sea, is not only for the fishermen but also for all Indonesian people. It is expected that Indonesia will not only be prosperous but also developed and has a strong commercial position as a maritime country in its region and the world.

A little picture of Indonesia's recent maritime condition is solely 40% of domestic sea transportation which is done by Indonesian, 5% of exporting is done by domestic ships, while the rest, which is 95%, is dominated by foreign ships. Therefore, the potential which has not been managed yet economically is very big. It can be the challenge for Indonesia as the country that wants itself to be the maritime spindle, especially, the challenge of the world's economic development has entered the new era, such as global trade spirit which is encouraged and facilitated by the world's trade organisations, particularly WTO (World Trade Organisation), and the coming of South East Asian Economic Community (SEAEC) which was started in 31 December 2015. The spirit of global trade is based on the idea that trade regime which follows the zero resistance ism stresses that the volume of country trade can be developed and increased for multiple times if the countries which are relevant with the trade attempt to annihilate the trade obstacles. One of the ways is by erasing the enter tax on imported products, which, therefore, the situation of the products flow will also be influenced to change, in parallel with the productivity rate. The in and out flow of the products mostly use the sea facility.

Besides, the spirit of global trade and zero resistance ism, the countries in Asia are developing rapidly (especially China). Meanwhile, the economy of European countries and the United States of America are experiencing saturation and recently also experiencing contraction. This situation is able to move the trade flow from and to Asia (especially China). This is seen with the fact that 45% of the whole traded commodities and products with the value of 1,500 trillion U.S. dollars per year is shipped thorough the Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (*World Investment Report 2012, 2012*).

In parallel with that, the potential of increasing rapid trade volume by enabling the free market for the countries that are included in WTO and MEA

will also increase the economic productivity. Therefore, the challenge of Indonesian sea development as the World's Maritime Spindle becomes a real matter.

Potential natural source wealth and the service of Indonesia sea environment which can be utilised for development and prosperity of the nation in accordance with water economy sector include first, fishery; second, cultivated fishery; third, fish processing industry; fourth, water biotechnology industry; fifth, mining and energy; sixth, nautical tourism; seventh, mangrove forest; eighth, water transportation; ninth, small islands sources; tenth, maritime industries and services; and eleventh, non-conventional natural sources. The total of economical value in the eleven sectors is approximately 1.2 trillion U.S. dollar per year, and they can provide jobs for at least 40 million people ("Jalan Indonesia Menuju Poros Maritim Dunia," 2015). Until now, the outstanding water economy potential has just been utilised for around 22% of the total potential (Dahuri, 2016). Therefore, the water economy potential is analogised as 'Sleeping Economy Giant.'

Meanwhile, from the political aspect, Indonesia has the potential which is very strategic to become a nation that is able to control the water area inside its territory. Referring to the theory from Alfred Thayer Mahan regarding the attempts to become a great and powerful nation, it can be measured from the ability of the nation itself to control the interests in the water, and how it can build a powerful marine in order to protect and increase its interests more widely. Mahan gave his opinion about 'sea power' which is actually not solely in terms of the power of the marine, but also the combination between the economy trade fleet which is developing and the power of the marine as its protector. He also stated that there are six main requirements that influence the level of the sea power, i.e., geographic position, the physical form of the territory, area, number of populations, the people's character, and the government's policies. Mahan suggested that a limited area and good weather drive the people to do efforts on the sea. People that move in maritime trade can be deployed for military service in the sea (Apt., 2004). Therefore, Indonesian political aspect lies in the water control which is in the context to warrant the water utilising for self-interests and ban other countries' interests to use it.

The political power aspect of Indonesia exists because its territory lies between the continent of Asia and Australia and Pacific and the Indian Ocean which are the determining choke point for either war or trade ships. In addition, the political function of Indonesia can control the global political dynamics, particularly the conflict potential between big countries such as the

United States, China, Japan, India, and SEA. Therefore, if Indonesia is able to build the coast and water area and the natural sources within it productively, efficiently, inclusively and eco-friendly, then Indonesia will be able to solve numbers of its main problems, such as unemployment and poverty, gaps, disparity of the development between regions, and the low level of competitiveness, and the Index of Mankind Development of Indonesia.

Due to this matter, President Jokowi releases the rational policy to make Indonesia as the World's Maritime Spindle. Indonesia's geographical position which connects two oceans, i.e., Indian and Pacific Ocean which belongs to the important tracks of the world's trade, and Indonesia's position as a maritime country that lies precisely in the center of the strategic process both geographically, geopolitically, or geo-economically. Three Water Tracks of Indonesian Archipelago is the 'aisle' of the world's maritime traffic. Two strategic oceans also have great wealth in the form of energy and other water sources which will determine the future prosperity of its surrounding areas. A massive transformation which is happening in the 21st century in which the gravitation center of the world's geo-economy and geo-politic are moving from West to East Asia shows that Asian countries are raising. With the average of economic development for 7 percent per year, and with the total of gross domestic product approximately 40 trillion U.S. dollar, East Asia is the most dynamic area economically. Around 40% of the world's trade exists in this area (Widodo, 2014). Indonesia stresses that it is the World's Maritime Spindle that is meaningful as the ability of a country to use and control the sea and prevent the opponent to use it in order to protect its economical interests.

Attempting Indonesia as the World's Maritime Spindle

Referring to President Jokowi's policy that puts Indonesia as the World's Maritime Spindle, there are five attempts that should be made as the general program. First, upholding the sovereignty of Indonesia including resolving the sea territorial boundaries, eradicating illegal fishing and other various illegal activities; second, establishing water economy; third, maintaining the preservation of natural water sources; fourth, developing the capacity of water science and technology; and fifth, increasing the nation's maritime culture.

In order to accelerate the water development more productively, efficiently, and inclusively, there are several things that can be taken into account. The first is that government should give consistent commitment and alignment to the maritime-based economical developments because Indonesia has great maritime potential, the limitedness of mainland sources and the

obtained benefit of prosperity can be felt by the people of Indonesia that are spread in the whole corner of Nusantara. The second is the management of law and regulation aspect that warrant the interest of the implementation of UUD 1945, particularly article 33, that harmonic management of law and regulation in developing Indonesia's maritime and water is needed.

Conclusion

Since sovereign Indonesian Government is activated, the policy regarding utilising Indonesia's natural sources is oriented in the mainland natural sources, by Indonesian Law Number 5 of 1967 of General Provision of Forestry and Indonesian Law Number 11 of 1967 of Mining. The implementation of the policy is done exploitatively and massively. This can result in the imbalance in preserving the mainland natural sources or their economical utilising for the country's interests, especially since the Reformation era started. The subsequent effect is that the contribution from this sector towards the Gross Domestic Product goes lower from year to year. Therefore, Jokowi's government's policy to make Indonesia as the World's Maritime Spindle is related to the attempt to maintain the balance of the country's economic income.

From the analysis result in economical aspect, it can be seen that Indonesia's water economic potential has not been explored much, or merely 22% of the total possessed potential are explored. Also, in terms of water transportation, for the export field, 5% is done by domestic shops, and the rest or 95% are the foreign ships. Meanwhile, from the analysis result in political aspect, Indonesia's territory lies between the continent of Asia and Australia and Pacific and the Indian Ocean which are the choke point that absolutely determines the traffic movement of either war or trade ships, that if this potential is used maximally, then Indonesia's political function as the global political dynamic controller opens more widely. In the 'sea power' theory, the power of a nation is determined from the combination between the developing economic fleet and the military power that protects it. Hence, President Jokowi's policy to make Indonesia as the World's Maritime Spindle is a very exact and strategic policy in the effort to keep the connectivity of Indonesia's economy.

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