

# GEOPOLITICS: DYNAMICS AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIA'S MARITIME AXIS

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## ABSTRACT

The idea of the Indonesian World Maritime Axis must be built through a strong conception and implementation in the international political economy. Where this conception can become the direction, basic principles and paradigm with all stakeholders to position Indonesia as the core country and the center of gravity of the world's maritime economy. Indonesia's geographical position, which is between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, makes Indonesian waters one of the most important in the world. Apart from that, Indonesian waters, especially the Malacca Strait, as well as the Hormuz Strait, the Suez Canal and the Panama Canal are considered important and critical routes for world trade, because in general the Southeast Asian region is seen as important for countries in the world as a sea communication route and as a trade route. sea which is vital for international trade. This research aims to find out in depth how the dynamics and development of the Indonesian Maritime Axis are viewed from a geopolitical aspect, and the results of this study explain that, in addition to having a favorable geostrategic location which can also pose a threat, it is necessary to have a policy that can not only uphold sovereignty Indonesia, but also manifest as a maritime nation that is prosperous and dignified by being able to manage and protect the wealth of the seas and oceans for the benefit of the Indonesian people. Of course, in an effort to achieve the goal of becoming the World Maritime Axis, the Indonesian nation needs to immediately improve and repair various infrastructures that can support the national maritime system. Because so far Indonesia has never tried to develop a comprehensive and sustainable maritime economy, as a result, this nation as a whole is still lagging behind and has not been able to fully manage marine wealth.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

As one of the countries in an important region, Indonesia has a strategic geopolitics in global interaction, in addition to its cross position between two oceans and two continents which is a great opportunity that can be taken on the international stage, it also has an extraordinary wealth of natural resources (SDA). as well as being able to provide opportunities to increase the country's financial coffers (Ahmad, 2020). Of course, these various gifts are gifts from God Almighty and must be utilized as much as possible for the prosperity of the Indonesian people, but on the other hand, these potentials can also be used by the Indonesian people as political pressure tools in international politics (Anggraeni, 2021; Sumadinata et al., 2022).

According to Irianto (2021) Indonesia's geographical position, which is between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, makes Indonesian waters one of the most important in the world, especially in the future this will become increasingly important in line with the increasing demand for energy and other natural resources (SDA), which is estimated by 2040 it will increase by 56%. The research results of Kusuma & Faisal (2022) stated that Indonesian waters, especially the Malacca Strait, as well as the Hormuz Strait, Suez Canal and Panama Canal are considered important and critical routes for world trade, because in general the Southeast Asian region is considered important for developing countries. in the world as sea lines of communication and as sea trade routes which are vital for international trade.

For the Indonesian nation, which is an archipelagic country and is recognized by the world through The United Nations Convention on The Law of The Sea 1982 (UNCLOS 1982), the sea is an integral part of the country's territory which cannot be divided up, but can be distinguished according to the legal regime

that regulates it (Mamahit, 2020; Purwanda & Achmad, 2022). The sea, which covers 2/3 of the entire part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, should be utilized to the maximum extent possible for the welfare and security of the Indonesian nation, although other countries also still have utilization rights as stipulated in UNCLOS 1982. According to Rustam (2016) argues that, awareness of Indonesia's geographical constellation has brought more attention to the Indonesian government to emphasize its domestic development policies primarily in the 2015-2019 period with the vision of realizing the unitary state of the republic of Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis (PMD), and as a form of implementing Indonesia's geostrategy and geo-economy to transform into a prosperous and prosperous maritime nation.

In the Sampono journal (2015) and Budiana & Achmad (2022) since the beginning of his inauguration, the government of the President of Indonesia has committed to no longer turning his back on the Indonesian seas, and wants to restore the glory of the Indonesian seas as in the past. The government has increased development in the maritime sector, including by implementing a maritime logistics system or under another name Pendulum Nusantara or the construction of the Sea Highway concept, where this concept relies on the use of large tonnage ships to serve logistics traffic from the Western Region to the Eastern Region of Indonesia or vice versa. . The government is also developing port facilities and infrastructure, and encouraging the existence of ports that can be visited by large ships so that the implementation of logistics distribution and the national economy is more efficient and equitable.

Although the idea of the World Maritime Axis has been introduced since the 1990s, this idea is gaining its highest momentum at this time when a number of world's major powers are increasingly turning their attention to the maritime sector in the Indo-Pacific. Until the 9th East Asia Summit forum on November 13 2014 in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar, the President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo emphasized for the first time the concept of Indonesia as a World Maritime Axis which is based on five main pillars namely 1) Indonesia will rebuild its culture maritime Indonesia, 2) Indonesia will protect and manage marine resources, 3) Indonesia will give priority to the development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity, 4) Use maritime diplomacy to minimize maritime-related conflicts, and 5) Indonesia will build a defense force maritime for territorial sovereignty.

The research results of Sari & Delanova (2021) convey that, Indonesia's vision as a world maritime axis is immediately followed up by Ministries/Institutions through various maritime programs, as a reference in preparing programs and policies in the maritime sector, the Indonesian government legally issues a Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 16 of 2017 concerning Indonesian Maritime Policy. The Presidential Decree officially states Indonesia's vision as a World Maritime Axis, namely Indonesia as a maritime country that is sovereign, advanced, independent, strong, and able to make a positive contribution to regional and world security and peace in accordance with national interests (Sartono et al., 2021 ). This Presidential Decree is an instrument that synergizes the movements and steps of all stakeholders in realizing Indonesia as a World Maritime Axis. As for Supandi (2018) said that, in fact the World Maritime Axis is an aspiration with the consequence that in order to become a world axis, Indonesia must first improve itself so that it is feasible to regulate world maritime aspects, then Indonesia must also be able to become an axis at the regional level before rise to an international level.

President Jokowi's state address in Naypyidaw, Myanmar, on Thursday, November 13 2014 regarding the World Maritime Axis already has the same legality to enter into the state register (as the official policy of President Jokowi's government). Indeed, the speech still remains unclear about the more operational definitions and objectives to be used as a guide for government implementing apparatus, but basically this study is intended to be a proposal for an explanation of the concept of the World Maritime Axis (PMD), especially related to the definition, objectives, position associated with with Indonesia's geopolitics, as well as its relation to Indonesia's foreign and state defense policies.

Furthermore, to be able to secure the PMD policy so that it can be realized, the PMD doctrine is then poured into Presidential Regulation Number 2 of 2015 concerning the 2015 – 2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). Indonesian Ocean. In the process of implementing the PMD policy in the field, there were indeed many problems and challenges that had to be faced by the Government of Indonesia, but through commitment, hard work, planned, systematic, gradual and continuous efforts, the PMD policy in the 2015-2019 period was said to be able to run. well even though it is still not optimal (Yani & Montratama, 2018).

Maritime is a term to refer to waters and beaches in Indonesia, where maritime has an important role for Indonesia from time to time. History records that the Maritime Archipelago has become the vein of economic, social and political growth of the kingdoms in the Archipelago. Maritime is not only used to increase Indonesia's economic value and economic growth but more than that, maritime is already a

political bargaining point for Indonesia before countries in the world. Not only neighboring countries but can also affect the economic growth and social stability of other developed countries. Indonesia's geopolitics related to the Indonesian seas must really be utilized properly and be able to bring various benefits and income to the Indonesian government, so in this case control of the Indonesian sea is not just for the purposes of economic growth but more than that, strengthening Indonesia's position as the owner of the seas which legally according to international agreements place Indonesia has the power to participate in becoming a player in the world political arena, where Indonesia can play a position of "pushing" to a country if Indonesia's interests are disturbed by other countries.

## 2. METHOD

The research method used is a qualitative method. Meanwhile, Moleong, L. J. (2019) argues that, qualitative research is research that prioritizes problems of process and meaning/perception, where this research is expected to be able to reveal various qualitative information with descriptions and analyzes that are researched and full of meaning. Besides that, qualitative methods are also commonly used to research on natural object conditions, where the researcher is the key instrument. The data collection technique was carried out combined, with qualitative inductive data analysis, and the results of qualitative research emphasized meaning rather than generalization.

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Geopolitics of Indonesia as a World Maritime Axis

As the largest archipelagic country in the world, Indonesia has various potentials as well as challenges that must be solved in order to accelerate development and lead Indonesia to become more advanced. In addition to having a favorable geostrategic position which can also pose a threat, it is necessary to have policies that can not only uphold Indonesia's sovereignty, but also create a maritime nation that is prosperous and dignified by being able to manage and protect the wealth of the seas and oceans for the benefit of the Indonesian people.

Given the potential for abundant marine wealth and its very strategic geographical location, Indonesia has become one of the gateways for world trade, and the Indonesian nation should strengthen its geopolitics through maritime defense. On the other hand, the Indonesian nation must also make the sea a priority, supported by air and land defenses. Even though currently in the millennial era, the concept of geopolitics in a classical perspective, seeing a country as having threats from other countries and don't occasionally think that a country has no enemies. However, if you look at the geopolitical system that is occurring in Indonesia, it is an anomalous geopolitics, because it is not based on the existing standard.

In fact, by making Indonesia a World Maritime Axis, this will automatically have a significant impact on the status of Indonesia's large, strong and prosperous sea power through restoring Indonesia's identity as a maritime nation, safeguarding maritime interests and security, empowering all maritime potential and implementing maritime diplomacy in Indonesian foreign policy for the next five years. So that we can understand that moving towards a World Maritime Axis country will include maritime development practices and processes in various aspects, such as political, socio-cultural, defense, infrastructure, and especially economic factors.

The idea of the World Maritime Axis was first coined by President Joko Widodo during the third presidential debate on International Politics and National Resilience on June 22, 2014. Even though Indonesia is an archipelagic country where in fact 2/3 of its territory is water, maritime awareness within the Indonesian nation is still lacking. Even though the empowerment of the maritime sector can be an instrument for the Indonesian state to have a more influential position, so as to increase the role of the Indonesian government in international association. If seen from the elements currently owned by Indonesia, the desire to become the world's maritime axis will most likely be realized, but there are several conditions that Indonesia must achieve in order to become a maritime power, and then be able to become the world's maritime axis.

In fact, the government has announced the desire to make Indonesia a World Maritime Axis, one of which is by prioritizing the development of maritime highways for domestic inter-island connectivity. Therefore, supporting infrastructure is needed so that it can accelerate and expand Indonesia's economic development. Provision of infrastructure that encourages connectivity will have an impact on reducing transportation and logistics costs so as to increase product competitiveness and accelerate economic activity. Several maritime infrastructures that need to get priority include port infrastructure and shipping and navigation safety infrastructure.

Realizing Indonesia as a world maritime axis is not merely a matter of economics, but there are also other factors that are involved and greatly determine Indonesia's position on the international stage, one of which is the political system. When viewed from the sea lanes owned by countries around the Southeast Asian waters, this region is no doubt an important part of the world's maritime axis. Indonesia, which is an archipelagic country, has 39 straits that are intertwined with other straits in the Asian region. Under these conditions, Indonesia has actually become a barometer and even a key to regional stability in this country. Apart from that, of the 9 choke points that the world has, four of them are in Indonesia, and this makes Indonesia the owner of the most choke points in the world which includes the Malacca Strait, Makassar Strait, Sunda Strait and Lombok Strait (Yusro, 2017).

But before Indonesia really wants to become a world maritime axis, of course this nation must first fix its geopolitical constellation, because until now, Indonesia still has border issues with 10 neighboring countries, namely Singapore, Malaysia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Brunei, Cambodia, Thailand, Australia and China. In-depth elaboration on realizing the world's maritime axis should accommodate international, regional and domestic dimensions so that in the future it can provide a sense of security, especially in terms of maritime security in each country. The foundation of security is very important because in the future it has to protect sea highway shipping lanes which the Indonesian government also wants to encourage to realize in the near future. However, in line with security issues, there are also infrastructure factors that must be addressed by the Indonesian people, including strengthening the shipping and shipbuilding industry as a prerequisite for building a strong maritime nation.

Basically, the Indonesian state should be grateful because the strategic location of its waters puts Indonesia in a very advantageous position. Countries in the world are of course very interested in using Indonesia's sea lanes for the benefit of their shipping, so in such a position Indonesia can play its role for various geopolitical interests. For example, Indonesia can build strength to put pressure on superpower countries such as the United States and China, because as we know these two countries have enormous influence, especially in the world of international trade, and often lead to debates which can threaten economic stability. global. In this case, the United States certainly wants Indonesia to allow its war fleet to sail through Indonesian waters, but with a permit issued by the Indonesian government, the conditions that can be submitted are in the form of a very soft loan with close to zero percent interest and a very long time.

Apart from that, other prerequisites that can be submitted to the United States and China in obtaining permits can also be in the form of easing the entry fees for Indonesian products for destinations to America and China and being able to open the American and Chinese markets as wide as possible for all Indonesian production. Indonesia cannot side with one of these countries (Bima, 2020). Indonesia's foreign policy, which has been established since Indonesia's independence, has greatly benefited Indonesia's position in implementing the policy of controlling these waters. This advantage makes Indonesia not only an object for international shipping crossings but must be a subject in regulating world waters traffic as well as taking political benefits from political events that occur between conflicting countries both in terms of ideology and economy.

The idea of Indonesia as the world's maritime axis is a big goal for the future of the nation, especially in development and economic equality throughout Indonesia, considering that Indonesia is an archipelagic country located in a strategic area and has large marine natural resources. However, the international community's recognition that Indonesia is an archipelagic country alone is not enough, because the main agenda of the Indonesian nation is to become a maritime nation. Where this has been stated by expert on the Law of the Sea Hasjim Djalar, that a maritime country is not the same as an archipelagic country, because a maritime country is a country that is able to take advantage of its sea potential, even though the country may not have many seas, in practice it is able to manage various the ability of technology, knowledge, equipment, and others to develop and utilize the sea, both in terms of space, natural wealth and strategic location for the survival of its people.

The participation of the government and the community should also be able to give more attention especially in the development, utilization and maintenance of Indonesia's marine potential. Where according to the narrative of several experts predicted that the country of Indonesia will grow and develop into a big country and become an engine of Asian growth, and can be side by side with the ranks of other big countries in the world. This is of course based on the period of 2007, where the Indonesian trade sector was able to cover US\$114,100,890,751 exports for 342,773,698 tons of commodities. According to the Indonesian Central Statistics Agency, this value doubled in 2012. Therefore, it is only natural that some experts mention Indonesia's position as a candidate for a supra strategic country in the

future. from maritime potential which also covers all territorial waters in the country. So far, the government has an orientation towards land-based development so that we are better known as an agricultural country, so the current development orientation in the future must prioritize the maritime sector in order to realize Indonesia's aspirations to become the world's maritime axis.

The government takes advantage of various international moments as an arena to show the marine insights of the Indonesian nation to the international world. For example, in 2009 the World Ocean Conference was held in the Manado area, where for the first time Indonesia hosted the official agenda of various countries and world organizations such as the United Nations and UNEP, as well as international organizations such as WWF. This event is a grand event that specifically pays attention to the sea and the resources in it. For Indonesia itself, in addition to showing maritime insights, this activity is also a momentum to increase international cooperation for the optimization, development and preservation of marine resources and is an actualization of the archipelago's insights to give movement to the mindset, attitude patterns and patterns of action of the Indonesian nation going forward.

The conceptual foundation of the archipelago insight is the main pillar that has given extraordinary rights at sea, land and air and states that the archipelago is a political, economic, socio-cultural and security unit. The concept of a maritime nation will encourage the attainment of the ideals of becoming the world's maritime axis. So the Indonesian nation should have increased all capabilities to become a modern and independent nation, especially in marine and aerospace technology. The existence of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution became the main foundation for achieving these ideals because these two foundations have accommodated all the aspirations of the Indonesian people.

As previously stated, the basis for the idea of a world maritime axis was an idea sparked by the President of Indonesia, namely Mr. Jokowi at the East Asia Summit on 13 November 2014 in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. Jokowi in full explained that the convention which uses the progress of the maritime cost framework, the sea shipping industry, the travel industry and the use of sea policies is aimed at expanding cooperation between countries in the world, especially in overcoming some of the problems that often arise in the international sea world such as robbery, illegal fishing, violation of power, simultaneous provinces and theft of marine products. The accommodation of Jokowi's public system at a meeting of East Asian countries connotes an important point. Jokowi brought a political message only as a monetary message that the East Asia and Asia Pacific regions are an important part of monetary security and health. President Jokowi's understanding of Indonesia's geostrategic & geoeconomic position is embodied in the Maritime Axis policy which is an important step in efforts to synergize tactics to spice up the economy and on the other hand also exclusively strengthen Indonesia's maritime defense and security.

At present the government has realized the importance of the basic capital of stable security conditions as a support for the vision of the World Maritime Axis, namely by realizing national security that is capable of maintaining territorial sovereignty, supporting economic independence by securing maritime resources and reflecting Indonesia's personality as an archipelagic country. In this case it can be said that national security, especially maritime/maritime security is an important mission to be carried out in order to maintain territorial sovereignty and secure maritime resources. Therefore, one of the strategic issues outlined in the 2015-2019 RPJMN in the field of defense and security is strengthening sea and border area security.

The emphasis on the problem of strengthening maritime security is also motivated by the still high security disturbances at sea caused by the lack of presence and control of security forces at sea. Therefore, in the next five years of development, the Working Cabinet has programmed leading activities in the form of increasing surveillance of Indonesian waters and improving border facilities and infrastructure. As a country with a growing economic power, Indonesia's continued progress will increasingly depend on transportation and the availability of energy, as well as on marine and underwater resources. By taking into account all these aspirations, Indonesia's most important interests at sea are to ensure national security and territorial integrity and to provide protection against outside disturbances, so that the important task of strengthening economic growth and carrying out all national development activities can be carried out in a safe and peaceful atmosphere.

The big idea of the World Maritime Axis is intended for the advancement of Indonesian maritime internationally. However, there is a tendency that efforts to realize this idea will spend more time for the Government of Indonesia on domestic infrastructure development efforts. It is estimated that 1,000 trillion Rupiah is needed to be able to build maritime infrastructure as a whole. In fact, several other sources say that nearly 2,000 trillion rupiah is needed for the development of the maritime sector in one

government period. Of course, with a very large amount of funds, of course, it will take a long time to build so that in the future it can be utilized properly on target.

On the other hand, the Indonesian state must also have consistent and sustainable national leadership qualities in realizing the world's maritime axis, this can be proven by forming the principle of an active and free foreign policy. In this case it is very important to live and practice the idea of freedom and activity correctly. Being free and active does not mean that Indonesia cannot take sides with any power and is active in creating world peace and security. Free and active as mandated by national figures such as Sjahrir, Hatta, Natsir and Sukarno, is that Indonesia is free to choose friends according to its national interests and actively fights for the interests of the Indonesian people. The maritime axis in the context of free and active means that Indonesia may have relations with any country as long as the intended cooperation is beneficial to the nation and state (Widodo & Bandono, 2021).

As a maritime and archipelagic country, Indonesia has a great interest in realizing sea security and stability in all Indonesian territorial waters in an effort to realize the World Maritime Axis. It is important for Indonesia to carry out maritime diplomacy and build maritime strength, because with Indonesia's strategic geographical position and being between two continents and two oceans, Indonesia will get many advantages as well as challenges. Because basically the potential for maritime natural resources is the main basic capital for building the strength of the Indonesian nation's national economy. The increase in the national economy will certainly increase along with the increase in the standard of living, welfare and prosperity of the people, so that this process can be used in the future as a basis for rebuilding the glory of the Indonesian nation as a maritime nation. The oceans, which dominate 2/3 of Indonesia's territory, deserve to be grateful for and if their enormous natural wealth can be managed properly and professionally with an orientation towards prosperity, sustainability and sustainability, it will generate high economic value to support national development. which is currently being implemented.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

From the various analyzes carried out, several findings or conclusions were obtained, including the doctrine regarding the desire of the Indonesian people to become a World Maritime Axis (PMD) which had actually been proclaimed for a long time, to be precise in 2014, by the Indonesian president. He even made the idea of the World Maritime Axis the vision of his Government, which was not only introduced in the domestic area, but also echoed to all countries in the world. Indonesia's national interests in the maritime sector consist of three elements, namely maintaining territorial integrity and state sovereignty, maintaining maritime resources and commercial shipping both domestically and internationally, and achieving the welfare of the Indonesian nation. The elements that are the scope of Indonesia's maritime security are state sovereignty and territorial integrity, seas that are free from violations of law, shipping security and safety, as well as security and preservation of maritime resources. Of course, in an effort to achieve the goal of becoming the World Maritime Axis, the Indonesian nation needs to immediately improve and repair various infrastructures that can support the national maritime system. Because so far Indonesia has never tried to develop a comprehensive and sustainable maritime economy, as a result, this nation as a whole is still lagging behind and has not been able to fully manage marine wealth. Furthermore, to be able to secure the World Maritime Axis policy so that it can be realized, the PMD doctrine was then poured into Presidential Regulation Number 2 of 2015 concerning the 2015-2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). This policy was further strengthened in Presidential Regulation Number 16 of 2017 regarding Indonesia's Maritime Policy, which emphasized that PMD is Indonesia's vision to become a maritime country that is sovereign, advanced, independent and strong and able to make a positive contribution to the security and peace of the international world.

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