

# Maritime Law Policy Analysis Regarding Illegal Fishing Activities in Indonesian Waters

Risti Dwi Ramasari<sup>1</sup>

Faculty of Law, Universitas Bandar Lampung, Indonesia. E-mail: [risti@ubl.ac.id](mailto:risti@ubl.ac.id)

---

**Abstract :** Indonesia is a country that has great potential in the marine and fisheries sector. This country, which has around 16,056 islands, has a comparative advantage in the maritime sector that can be utilized by all parties to achieve optimum welfare from the government, private sector, to local communities. In 2019, the value of fisheries Gross Domestic Product reached 347 trillion rupiah and contributed around 2.62%. This indicates that the potential of marine resources in Indonesia is very large to be optimized. However, the fisheries sector still has several structural problems, one of which is illegal fishing activities. Focusing on illegal fishing activities in Indonesia, The Ministry Of Marine And Fisheries noted that from 2016-2019 there were around 163 illegal vessels that were proven to be legally carrying out illegal fishing activities in Indonesian waters, such as; on the natuna border. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the Maritime Law Policy Regarding Illegal Fishing Activities in Indonesian Waters using the literature study method with relevant documentation analysis techniques. The result, has been stated globally such as; The 1982 Law of the Sea Convention which states that the coastal state has the right to manage all forms of fishery resources in its territorial sea up to its exclusive economic zone and the implementation of Law no. 45 of 2009 which is the basis for Law Enforcers and Fisheries Judges in deciding legal issues related to Illegal Fishing, which has negative implications for the country's economy in the midst of a pandemic. So far, the implementation of these regulations has remained effective in Indonesia despite the pandemic. For future developments, it is necessary to encourage a cooperation both regionally and internationally to maintain the stability of marine security and simplify fishery permits so that they do not overlap.

**Keywords:** Maritime Law Illegal Fishing, Law Status Quo Illegal Fishing Enforcement

---

## 1. Introduction

Indonesia is a country that has great potential in the marine and fisheries sector. This country, which has around 16,056 islands, has a comparative advantage in the maritime sector that can be utilized by all parties to achieve optimum welfare from the government, private sector, to local communities<sup>1</sup>. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (2017) explains that the potential of Indonesia's marine resources, especially the fisheries sector, reaches 12.54

---

<sup>1</sup> Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan. (2017). *Jumlah Pulau di Indonesia Bertambah*. Diakses di: <https://Kementrian Kelautan dan Perikanan.go.id/djprl/p4k/page/4270-jumlah-pulau>

million tons per year. In addition, Indonesia's comparative advantage in the maritime sector also has significant economic implications. So far, the economic potential of the marine sector can reach USD 1.38 trillion per year or 1.3 times the 2019 National Gross Domestic Product and is able to create 45 million jobs<sup>2</sup>.

Central Bureau of Statistics (2019) shows that the contribution of Fishery Gross Domestic Product to National Gross Domestic Product has always increased in the last 6 years. In 2019, the value of fisheries Gross Domestic Product reached 347 trillion rupiah and contributed around 2.62%. This indicates that the potential of marine resources in Indonesia is very large to be optimized. However, the condition of Indonesia's marine resources still faces various problems such as the addition of the volume of plastic waste, pollution of coral reef and mangrove ecosystems, illegal fishing and over fishing practices, and inadequate basic infrastructure<sup>3</sup>. Focusing on illegal fishing activities in Indonesia, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries noted that from 2016-2019 there were around 163 illegal vessels that were proven to be legally catching wild fish in Indonesian waters, such as; on the Natuna border. Referring to the Regulation of the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia Number. 37/PERMEN-KP/2017, illegal fishing is an illegal fishing activity or activity fisheries that are carried out contrary to the provisions of the legislation in the field of fisheries<sup>4</sup>. So far, Indonesia has suffered losses of more than 100 trillion due to illegal fishing activities and the potential loss of state revenue reaches 5 billion (USD/year). It is estimated that every year around 3,180 foreign fishing vessels operate illegally in Indonesian waters. This phenomenon strongly reinforces the assumption that Indonesia is a safe home for perpetrators of illegal fishing from several neighboring countries such as; Vietnam, Philippines, Thailand and other shoplifting countries<sup>5</sup>. In the process, fish theft was carried out by several foreign ships that infiltrated Indonesian waters. After entering Indonesian waters, the ships then carried out fishing theft. In its implementation, illegal fishing is usually done in border areas such as; waters of Maluku, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan. These areas are directly adjacent to several neighbors, such as; Philippines and the South China Sea or

---

<sup>2</sup> Rokhmin, Dahuri. (2019). *Potensi Ekonomi Kelautan Indonesia*. Tersedia di: <https://www.beritasatu.com/ekonomi/564880/potensi-ekonomi-kelautan-indonesia> (Diakses 6 Juni 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Bappenas. (2014). *Kajian Strategi Pengelolaan Perikanan Berkelanjutan*. Tersedia di: <https://www.bappenas.go.id> (Diakses pada 6 Juni 2021).

<sup>4</sup> Riska, E. (2017). Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia Terhadap Aktivitas Penangkapan Ikan Ilegal (Illegal Fishing) oleh Nelayan China di ZEE Perairan Kepulauan Natuna. *Diplomasi Pertahanan*, 3(2).

<sup>5</sup> Romulus, A. (2017). Peran Hukum Maritim Terhadap Hasil Tangkapan Nelayan Di Wilayah Perbatasan. *Syntax Literate; Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia*, 2(5), 9-18.

classified as vulnerable<sup>6</sup>.

From a legal perspective, Indonesia is a country that implements aspects of the Maritime Law. From a global point of view, the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention states that a coastal state has the right to manage all forms of fishery resources in its territorial sea up to its exclusive economic zone<sup>7</sup>. From a national point of view, Law no. 45 of 2009 concerning Amendments to Law no. 31 of 2004 concerning Fisheries is very vital with the vast waters of Indonesia which includes waters of national sovereignty and jurisdiction. Implementation of Law no. 45 of 2009 is also a strategic policy and becomes the basis for Law Enforcers and Fisheries Judges in deciding legal issues related to Illegal Fishing, which has negative implications for the country's economy.

To overcome this, Indonesia has various structural problems in the maritime sector such as; overlapping regional governance, synchronization of regional policies, low quality of law enforcement, inefficiency of the licensing system, weak institutional quality, lack of quality human resources in maritime law enforcement, and inadequate marine facilities and infrastructure. Seeing the many structural problems that plague Indonesian waters, especially in relation to illegal fishing activities, the author is interested in studying **Maritime Law Policies Related to Illegal Fishing Activities in Indonesian Waters**.

## 2. Methods

The research method used in this paper is a literature study method and uses a secondary qualitative study design. Literature Studies are defined as activities and/or actions carried out by reading reference books and research results in order to obtain a theoretical basis<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, the collection technique used by the researcher is a documentation study. Documentation study is a document study conducted by researchers in order to obtain data about the object of research. In the process. In its application, this data collection technique is intended for the research subjects themselves regarding parties who have more information related to the data in the study. There are three analytical techniques used, such as; data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion<sup>9</sup>.

---

<sup>6</sup> Simanjuntak, M. (2018). Pembentukan Bintara Pembina Potensi Maritim Di Pos Angkatan Laut Perspektif Hukum Maritim. *To-Ra*, 4(3), 98-104.

<sup>7</sup>Baiquni, M. I., Nadiyya, A. N., & Rosida, H. R. (2020). Penegakan Hukum atas Praktik Illegal Fishing di Indonesia Sebagai Perlindungan Wilayah Perairan Indonesia. *Journal of Judicial Review*, 22(1), 89-97.

<sup>8</sup> Riska, E. (2017). Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia Terhadap Aktivitas Penangkapan Ikan Ilegal (Illegal Fishing) Oleh Nelayan China Di ZEE Perairan Kepulauan Natuna. *Diplomasi Pertahanan*, 3(2).

<sup>9</sup> Romulus, A. (2017). Peran Hukum Maritim Terhadap Hasil Tangkapan Nelayan Di Wilayah Perbatasan. *Syntax Literate; Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia*, 2(5), 9-18.

Data reduction is the activity of collecting, compiling, selecting and abstracting rough data obtained from the field. Meanwhile, data presentation is defined as a series of information organizations that facilitate the course of a research<sup>10</sup>. Meanwhile, the process of drawing conclusions is defined as the extraction process carried out by the author/researcher in order to find the essence of the results and discussion of the research.

### 3. Literature Review

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 45 of 2009 on the amendment to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 31 of 2004 concerning Fisheries has contained regulations both regarding criminal procedural law and fisheries criminal acts. State institutions authorized to carry out investigations, prosecutions, and adjudicate criminal acts of Illegal Fishing include the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, the Navy, the Indonesian National Police, the Attorney General's Office and the Fisheries Court or District Court<sup>11</sup>. In the trial process, the fisheries court is led by 1 career judge as chairman of the panel and 2 members from ad hoc judges as regulated in article 78 paragraph 1 of Law no. 45 of 2009 on the amendment of Law no. 31 of 2004 concerning Fisheries. Procedural law. The criminal act of illegal fishing uses the law of the brief examination procedure, this is seen from the process of investigating, prosecuting and adjudicating the criminal act of Illegal Fishing which is shorter than the ordinary criminal law process described in Article 73 paragraph 6, Article 73 paragraph 7, Article 76 paragraph 5, Article 76 paragraph 6, Article 81, Article 82, and Article 83 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 45 of 2009 on the amendment of Law No. 31 of 2004 concerning Fisheries. Furthermore, the Fisheries Law has also regulated supervision related to the prosecution of illegal ship activities in Indonesia where Article 69 paragraph (1) of Law no. 31 of 2004 Regarding Fisheries, it has been determined that fisheries supervisory vessels have the function of carrying out supervision and law enforcement in the field of fisheries within the fishery management area of the Republic of Indonesia. Whereas Article 69 paragraph (4) reads, in carrying out the functions as referred to in paragraph (1), fishery investigators and or supervisors may take special actions in the form of burning and or sinking foreign-flagged fishing vessels based on sufficient preliminary evidence. Furthermore, the act of extermination refers to the provisions of Article 76 Letter A of the Fisheries Law, that objects or tools used or produced from fisheries

---

<sup>10</sup> Sulistyani, Y. A., Pertiwi, A. C., & Sari, M. I. (2021). Indonesia's Responses amidst the Dynamic of the South China Sea Dispute under Jokowi's Administration [Respons Indonesia di tengah Dinamika Sengketa Laut China Selatan di bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi. *Jurnal Politika Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri dan Hubungan Internasional*, 12(1), 85-103.

<sup>11</sup> Istanto, Y. (2015). *Penanggulangan Kapal Pelaku Illegal Fishing Sebagai Upaya Penegakan Hukum Perikanan Di Indonesia (Studi Putusan Nomor 4/Pid. Sus-Prk/2014/Pn Tpg Pengadilan Negeri Tanjungpinang)*.

crime can be confiscated or destroyed after obtaining court approval. Looking at the juridical review and the legal basis, the prosecution of illegal fishing activities is legal in Indonesia.

#### 4. Result Dan Discussion

Indonesia has an area of marine waters that reaches 5.8 million km<sup>2</sup> where the dominance of the sea consists of; the territorial sea is 0.3 million km<sup>2</sup>, the archipelagic sea is 2.95 million km<sup>2</sup>, and the Exclusive Economic Zone area is 2.55 km<sup>2</sup>. From a geopolitical point of view, Indonesia also has a strategic role because it is directly flanked by two continents, namely the continents of Asia and Australia and is located between the Pacific and Indian Oceans<sup>12</sup>. Not surprisingly, Indonesia is able to become the world's maritime axis and become a bridge connecting global trade between the Pacific and Australia. Broadly speaking, the potential of Indonesia's marine fish resources is estimated at 12.54 million tons per year spread over Indonesian territorial waters and EEZ waters. The area of coral reefs belonging to Indonesia that has been mapped reaches 25,000 km<sup>2</sup>. But coral reefs are in very good condition only 5.3%, good condition 27.18%, quite good 37.25%, and not good 30.45%. The Indonesian sea has about 8,500 species of fish, 555 species of seaweed, and 950 coral reef biota. Fish resources in Indonesia's seas cover 37 percent of the fish species in the world. In this study, the authors will conduct two reviews, namely; a review of the juridical aspects of Indonesia's maritime policy during the pandemic related to the supervision of illegal fishing activities and the strategy for implementing policies in the midst of a pandemic to maintain the stability of the security of Indonesian waters.

##### **Review of Laws and Regulations Related to Maritime Law in Indonesia for Enforcement of Illegal Fishing Actions**

Aspects of Indonesia's sovereignty as an archipelagic country began with the Juanda Declaration of December 13, 1957, which was stipulated in Law No. 4/PRP/1960 concerning Indonesian Waters. In 1982, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea was established by the United Nations, known as UNCLOS 1982, Indonesia was required to complete its rights and obligations in managing marine resources based on the provisions of UNCLOS 1982 (ratified into Law No. 17 Year 1985) which functions to complete the arrangement of maritime boundaries, including inland waters, territorial seas,

---

<sup>12</sup> Kumala, M. T., Vinata, R. T., Setyowati, P. J., & Suharti, T. (2021). Penguatan Kerja Sama Internasional Dalam Mengurangi Dampak Pandemi Covid-19 Terhadap Sektor Perikanan Di Indonesia. *Masalah-Masalah Hukum*, 50(2), 119-130.

additional zones, exclusive economic zones, and continental shelves<sup>13</sup>.

Indonesian laws and regulations have several binding legal bases that serve as the basis for preventing and eradicating illegal fishing in Indonesia in protecting Indonesian waters, including: a. The Territorial Sea and Maritime Environment Act of 1939 (*Teritorial Zee en Maritme Kringen Ordonantie, Stbl. 1939 No. 442*) b. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 17 of 1985 concerning Ratification of the United Nations Convention On the Law of The Sea (UNCLOS). c. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 1983 concerning the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone. d. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 17 of 2008 concerning Shipping. e. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 32 of 2014 concerning Marine Affairs. So far, The implementation of maritime law enforcement in Indonesia for cracking down on illegal water activities is running quite effectively where throughout 2020 there were several illegal ships that were successfully secured and legally processed. For example, The Sheng Teng Qun 66 was successfully captured by the Marine and Fisheries Resources Monitoring Agency on April 21, 2020<sup>14</sup>. The ship was found in the Sulawesi Sea with a longline fishing gear commonly used to catch tuna. The ship entered the Celebes Sea on its way back to its home country from a fishing area in the Pacific Ocean<sup>15</sup>. After being arrested, the ship was successfully secured and sentenced according to the regulations in force in Indonesia through an authorized court mechanism. Seeing the stretch of action, appreciation to the Government in this case BAKAMLA, TNI/POLRI, Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Regional Government, to local communities who are able to maintain the stability and security of Indonesian waters from illegal hands and law enforcers who are able to bring this case to court in order to have a deterrent effect on foreign criminals. However, to continue to maintain the implementation of maritime law policies in Indonesia, a synergy and supervision from related parties is needed to be able to cooperate in handling illegal cases and promote a culture of integrity, transparency, and objectivity in law enforcement in Indonesia.

Indeed, the current illegal fishing has changed the way it operates compared to the way it operated in the 1990s. The crime of illegal fishing has now become “a highly sophisticated form of transnational organized crime”, one of which is

---

<sup>13</sup> Baiquni, M. I., Nadiyya, A. N., & Rosida, H. R. (2020). Penegakan Hukum atas Praktik Illegal Fishing di Indonesia Sebagai Perlindungan Wilayah Perairan Indonesia. *Journal of Judicial Review*, 22(1), 89-97.

<sup>14</sup> Anastashya, M., & Wiswayana, W. M. (2020). Orientasi Baru Kebijakan di Laut oleh Pemerintah Indonesia: Pergeseran dari Deterensi ke Strategi Ekonomi. *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI*, 8(2).

<sup>15</sup> Kumala, M. T., Vinata, R. T., Setyowati, P. J., & Suharti, T. (2021). Penguatan Kerja Sama Internasional Dalam Mengurangi Dampak Pandemi Covid-19 Terhadap Sektor Perikanan Di Indonesia. *Masalah-Masalah Hukum*, 50(2), 119-130.

characterized by modern ship movement control and modern equipment (Fernandes, 2017). Several modes of illegal fishing are carried out, among others, by transferring catches from one ship to another in the middle of the sea, using a different flag, and other devious methods that are often detrimental to the state. In this case, the government can encourage relevant international cooperation to maintain maritime sovereignty in Indonesia. International cooperation in eradicating Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated (IUU) fishing will facilitate the investigation process. The information referred to can be in the form of information about the ship owner. This is done so that ship owners, both individuals and legal entities, can be held legally responsible for the crime of IUU Fishing considering that the legal process for the crime of IUU Fishing in Indonesia does not reach the ship owner. Other information needed is about the history of ship traffic. This is to find out the ship has passed and catch fish in any waters.

Furthermore, the condition of the Indonesian waters which is quiet from fishing activities by Indonesian fishermen has triggered Foreign Fishing Vessels to carry out illegal fishing. The ships are mostly from Vietnam, the Philippines and Malaysia. Some of these ships from the beginning have made Indonesia a destination for illegal fishing. To deal with this, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries has actually made various alternative efforts such as; revised the capture fishery production target in 2020. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries has actually set a fishery production target in 2020 of 26.46 million tons, with details of 8.02 million tons coming from capture fisheries, 7.45 million tons from aquaculture, and 10 .99 million tons of seaweed.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries issued a Circular Letter of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries regarding Transfer of Cargo on Fishing Vessels. The Circular explains that fish transporting vessels that have a Fish Transporting Ship Permit can land fish catches at fishing ports that are either listed in SIKPI or not. This step was taken to facilitate the flow of fish catch distribution and can be used as a solution to expand the market for selling fish catches. Another step taken by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries is to facilitate access to permits and capital facilities for all fishermen and business actors in the capture fisheries sub-sector. Licensing services are carried out online so that it is safer, faster, and effectively implemented during a pandemic like today. Indeed, all of these steps have been considered effective in overcoming the negative impact of the pandemic in the fisheries sector and upholding the implementation of maritime law enforcement in terms of taking action against illegal fishing activities in Indonesia.

## 5. Conclusions And Suggestions

### a. Conclusion

Maritime law enforcement related to the prosecution of perpetrators of illegal theft must be carried out indiscriminately in Indonesia. This has been stated in Law no. 31 of 2004 concerning Illegal Fisheries and Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 30 of 2012. It is appropriate that all parties in this case the Central Government, Regional Government (Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Bakamla, TNI/POLRI, Coastal Communities to Fishermen) unite to protect Indonesia's maritime sovereignty. Indonesian fishery activities sluggish and made small fishermen inflamed. The implication is that they cannot carry out their economic activities optimally. In fact, this health disaster has been used as a loophole by foreign ships to illegally plunder fish in Indonesia. In this case, the government must continue to comb all Indonesian waters so that they are clean and not entered by foreign ships and if they are proven to have violated it, it is legal in the eyes of the law to be prosecuted and drowned. Furthermore, structural problems such as; The overlapping fisheries regulations and the hectic licensing regulations must be able to be streamlined by the relevant ministries in order to make it easier for local economic actors to survive during the pandemic. Throughout 2020, the enforcement has been effective and the quality and quantity must continue to be improved. The overlapping fisheries regulations and the hectic licensing regulations must be able to be streamlined by the relevant ministries in order to make it easier for local economic actors to survive during the pandemic. Throughout 2020, the enforcement has been effective and the quality and quantity must continue to be improved. The overlapping fisheries regulations and the hectic licensing regulations must be able to be streamlined by the relevant ministries in order to make it easier for local economic actors to survive during the pandemic. Throughout 2020, the enforcement has been effective and the quality and quantity must continue to be improved.

### b. Suggestion

- Encouraging international cooperation by agreeing on cooperation in eradicating IUU Fishing with countries bordering the sea, especially countries with many vessels conducting IUU fishing in Indonesian waters. Another collaboration that can be done is by utilizing ASEAN forums to establish trade cooperation, especially in the fisheries sector. The cooperation is realized by forming an agreement containing a commitment between ASEAN member countries and three partner countries to ensure the supply chain of food products, including fish and processed products.
- Enforce regulations regarding illegal fisheries in Indonesia such as; UU no. 31 of 2004 concerning Illegal Fisheries and Regulation of the Minister of



Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 30 of 2012 to make it more efficient and transparent.

- Taking action against all illegal persons without exception, requires cooperation between elements, simplifies licensing, and fixes facilities and infrastructure related to illegal action in Indonesia.

## References

- Anastashya, M., & Wiswayana, W. M. (2020). Orientasi Baru Kebijakan diLaut oleh Pemerintah Indonesia: Pergeseran dari Deterensi ke Strategi Ekonomi. *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI*, 8(2).
- Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS). (2019). *PDB Sektor Perikanan Tahun 2019*. Tersedia di: <https://www.bps.go.id/subject/56/perikanan.html> (Diakses pada 10Maret 2020).
- Baiquni, M. I., Nadiyya, A. N., & Rosida, H. R. (2020). Penegakan Hukumatas Praktik Illegal Fishing di Indonesia Sebagai Perlindungan Wilayah Perairan Indonesia. *Journal of Judicial Review*, 22(1), 89-97.
- Istanto, Y. (2015). Penenggelaman Kapal Pelaku Illegal Fishing Sebagai Upaya Penegakan Hukum Perikanan Di Indonesia (Studi Putusan Nomor 4/Pid. Sus-Prk/2014/Pn Tpg Pengadilan Negeri Tanjungpinang).
- Kumala, M. T., Vinata, R. T., Setyowati, P. J., & Suharti, T. (2021). Penguatan Kerja Sama Internasional Dalam Mengurangi Dampak Pandemi Covid-19 Terhadap Sektor Perikanan Di Indonesia. *Masalah-Masalah Hukum*, 50(2), 119-130.
- Riska, E. (2017). Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia Terhadap Aktivitas Penangkapan Ikan Ilegal (Illegal Fishing) Oleh Nelayan China Di ZEE Perairan Kepulauan Natuna. *Diplomasi Pertahanan*, 3(2).
- Romulus, A. (2017). Peran Hukum Maritim Terhadap Hasil Tangkapan Nelayan Di Wilayah Perbatasan. *Syntax Literate; Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia*, 2(5), 9-18.
- Rosyada, K., Zulhatta, A. I., & Marsetio, M. (2020). Memajukan Keamanan Maritim Pada Sektor Keselamatan Laut Dalam Menghadapi Penyebaran Covid-19. *Nusantara: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*, 7(3), 489-501.
- Sartono, S., & Prakoso, L. Y. (2021). Impresi Dan Otoritas Pemerintah Dalam Mengamankan Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia (Alki). *Strategi PertahananLaut*, 6(3).

- Simanjuntak, M. (2018). Pembentukan Bintara Pembina Potensi Maritim DiPos Angkatan Laut Perspektif Hukum Maritim. *To-Ra*, 4(3), 98-104.
- Sulistiyani, Y. A., Pertiwi, A. C., & Sari, M. I. (2021). Indonesia's Responses amidst the Dynamic of the South China Sea Dispute under Jokowi's Administration [Respons Indonesia di tengah Dinamika Sengketa Laut China Selatan di bawah Pemerintahan Jokowi. *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri dan Hubungan Internasional*, 12(1), 85-103