ANALYSIS OF INDONESIA'S COOPERATION WITH RUSSIA ON COMBATING ILLEGAL FISHING AS WELL AS INVESTMENT IN THE MARINE AND FISHERIES SECTOR DEVELOPMENT DURING SUSI PUDJIASTUTI'S MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP IN 2014-2016 FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Proposed by:

M. AMAR TAFTAZANI

18323082

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY PROGRAM

FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA

2024

ANALYSIS OF INDONESIA'S COOPERATION WITH RUSSIA ON COMBATING ILLEGAL FISHING AS WELL AS INVESTMENT IN THE MARINE AND FISHERIES SECTOR DEVELOPMENT DURING SUSI PUDJIASTUTI'S MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP IN 2014-2016 FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

Submitted to the International Relations Study Program

Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences

Universitas Islam Indonesia

As partial fulfillment of the requirements to obtain a Bachelor's Degree in International Relations

Proposed by:

M. AMAR TAFTAZANI

18323082

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY PROGRAM

FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA

2024

SUBMISSION PAGE

The Thesis Title:

ANALYSIS OF INDONESIA'S COOPERATION WITH RUSSIA ON COMBATING ILLEGAL FISHING AS WELL ASINVESTMENT IN THE MARINE AND FISHERIES SECTOR DEVELOPMENT DURING SUSI PUDJIASTUTI'S MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP IN 2014-2016 FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Defended in front of the Board of Thesis Examiners of the Department of International Relations

Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences Universitas Islam Indonesia

As Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements to Obtain a Bachelor Degree in International Relation

Date:

04 September 2024

Endorsed

International Relations Study Program

Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences

Islamic University of Indonesia

Head of Study Program

(Karina Utami Dewi, S.I.P., M.A.)

NIK: 143230102

Examining Lecturer:	**Signature:**
1. Masitoh Nur Rohma, S.Hub.Int., M.A.	
2. Rizki Dian Nursita, S.IP., M.H.I.	
3. Hasbi Aswar, S.IP., M.A., Ph.D.	

DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

I am the undersigned:

Name	: **M. AMAR TAFTAZANI.**
Place and Date of Birth	: **Tuban, on January 03, 1997.**
Address	: **Palang Utara RT;02 RW;03 Desa Palang Kecamatan Palang Kabupaten Tuban Jawa Timur.**
Student Number	: **18323082**
Study Program	: **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Hereby declare solemnly that all academic works produced by me during my study in the International Relations Study Program are my own works done honestly and independently with:

1. Do not use the services of a third party (jockey) in academic work or become a third party in the academic work of other students. All contributions that have been made by other parties in writing my academic work have been in accordance with the rules and are listed correctly.
2. No plagiarism in the form of recognition of other people's academic work. All ideas or data obtained from other people's works or thoughts have been paraphrased and included in the citation.
3. No manipulation using artificial intelligence or other automated software for substantial work in academic writing,

If in the future after my graduation, information is found that proves that one or part of my academic work is not my own work and/or is a violation of my statement above, I am willing to accept the applicable consequences in accordance with the applicable regulations at Universitas Islam Indonesia.

Yogyakarta, On July 03, 2024

Signature.



M. Amar Taftazani

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IGOs: International Governmental Organizations.

INGOs: International Non-Governmental Organizations.

UN: United Nation.

MMF: Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries.

ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

UNCLOS: United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

IMFC: Integrated Marine and Fisheries Center

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization.

MTCC: Military Technical Cooperation Commission.

VOA: Visa On Arrival.

G20: Group Of Twenty.

GT: Gross Tonnage.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the research, which encompasses cooperation in the marine and fisheries sector in 2014-2016, is to focus on the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia intended to improve Maritime Security by combating illegal fishing in Indonesia and support investment in the development of Fish Management processes. In this study, the cooperation was reviewed using the theory of decision-making process. The research used qualitative methods as the nature of this research is descriptive. The subject of the research is Indonesia's cooperation with Russia and the objects of the research are the eradication of illegal fishing and investment in the fish management process. Data was collected from literature data derived from books and literary sources, such as journals or related articles. The basic argument of Decision-Making Process Theory in the concept of Rational Actor, a policy is only determined by one actor and Susi Pudjiastuti cooperates with Russia as a single actor who considers the policy based on Goals & Objectives, Alternatives, Consequences, and Choices in the cooperation.

Keywords: *Indonesia, Russia, Cooperation, Fish Management Process, illegal fishing, and decision-making proces.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUBMISSION PAGE i
DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS iii
ABSTRACT iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS v
CHAPTER 1 1
INTRODUCTION 1
1.1. Background 1
1.2. Research Question 5
1.3. Research Objective 5
1.4. Research Scope 6
1.5. Literature Review 6
1.6. Research Framework 8
1.7. Provisional Argument 11
1.8. Research Method 11
1.9. Thesis Outline 12
CHAPTER 2 13
2.1. The Maritime Sector as a Focal Point of Cooperation in Joko Widodo's Administration in 2014. 14
2.2. Indonesia's Marine Security Condition Resulting from Illegal Fishing in the Exclusive Economic Zone 15
2.3. Investment in Fish Management Sites as Integrated Marine and Fisheries Centers 18
CHAPTER 3 21
3.1. *Goals and Objectives* concerning Illegal Fishing and Investment in the Development of the Marine and Fisheries Sector. 22
3.2. *Alternatives* for Combating Illegal Fishing and Investment in the Development Investment of the Marine and Fisheries Sector. 25
3.3. *Consequences* of Illegal Fishing and Investment in Development of the Marine and Fisheries Sector. 27
3.4. *Choices* in Combating Illegal Fishing and Investment in Development of the Marine and Fisheries Sector. 31
CHAPTER 4 36
4.1. Conclusion 36
4.2. Recommendation 38
REFERENCES 39

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Discussing International Relations means discussing the relationship between one country and two or more other countries. It is not simple, but the in-depth definition of International Relations discusses the actors of International Relations itself. International Relations actors consist of war, conflict, cooperation, and alliances. International Relations also has boundaries that talk about states, governments, societies and individuals, multinational cooperation, IGOs and INGOs, war and peace, diplomacy, Olympics, international conferences, international tourism and others. Thus, international relations is a very broad concept. In modern use, it not only includes relations between states in part, but also between non-state organizations, such as churches, humanitarian aid organizations, and multinational companies, and between states and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), such as the United Nations and the European Union (Paul Wilkinson, 2007). Considering these actors and boundaries of International Relations, what will be analyzed in this study is the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the marine and fisheries sector.

The history of Indonesia's cooperation with Russia is marked by the Russian recognition of Indonesia's independence in the UN council. From 1950 to 1962, Russia was still part of the Soviet Union and what Russia did was always encourage the United Nations to recognise Indonesia's independence from colonization by the Netherlands. Russia asked the international world to abolish decolonisation on earth, because the concept does not contain the element of mankind. Following this, Indonesia's cooperative relations with the Soviet Union grew when President Soekarno visited Moscow- a visit that was then reciprocated by Prime Minister Nikita Kruschev visiting Indonesia. The result of these

visits was the achievement of an increase the number of cooperation agreements in the fields of politics, socio-culture, economics, humanitarian and military, which included the entry of military equipment from the Soviet Union into Indonesia (Kemlu, 1945-2011).

Indonesia and Russia are both very rich in natural resources, including natural gas, nickel, coal, copper, cobalt, diamonds and gold. Of course, these countries have differences in how they manage these resources. Russia has been able to manage natural resources with sophisticated machinery and its natural resources are managed in country. Meanwhile, Indonesia has not been able to manage its natural resources within the country (Andreanto, CNBC). The similarities between Indonesia and Russia are only limited to natural resources on the plains, not marine natural resources. Russia has a very large ocean; some of its ocean areas are always frozen throughout the year because the country is close to the north pole, but some areas near the border between Japan and Russia are filled with high seas. Indonesia and Russia have some similarities in terms of geography in the Marine and Fisheries sector. Thus, Indonesia has sought to cooperate with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector. Marine security is very strong on the border between Russia and Japan and Indonesia seek to achieve security like Russia.

When Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla were elected as President and Vice President in 2014, they conveyed a message in their speech at the Phinisi Ship in North Jakarta. Their message was that Indonesia has great aspirations for the future, namely to become a world maritime axis country. The maritime axis is a source of life for Indonesians and the country's income with the largest economic increase was in the marine sector in 2014 (ANTARA, August 2014). However, Indonesia is located in the middle of developed countries looking to take the opportunity to advance their maritime sectors, including Russia, Japan, and China in the north and Australia in the south. What is meant by the maritime axis is that the government utilizes the maritime sector for infrastructure development through investment capital from outside or within the country and maintains

maritime security from theft of fish or illegal fishing for the progress of the country. Many countries want to invest in Indonesia, especially Russia, who is providing very large capital for the maritime sector.

On October 26, 2014, President Jokowi has inaugurated the Jokowi-JK cabinet ministries at the Presidential Palace, one of which is Susi Pudjiastuti as the minister of marine and fisheries. The reason why President Joko Widodo appointed Susi Pudjiastuti as Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries is because Susi Pudjiastuti has long experience on fisheries and marine issues. And seeing Illegal fishing in the exclusive economic zone and less than optimal fish production that occurs in Indonesia's border areas, these two things are major problems faced by the Indonesian government. So the existence of Susi Pudjiastuti will solve these problems, cooperate with Russia and Russia has the potential to improve maritime defense and infrastructure, on the other hand Russia is only interested in bilateral cooperation not political interests with Indonesia in the maritime sector (Lestari, A. February 18, 2023).

Illegal fishing by definition is illegal fishing with unauthorized fisheries activities or fisheries activities carried out contrary to the provisions of laws and regulations in the field of fisheries. Illegal fishing is usually carried out by foreign vessels with Vietnamese, Malaysian, Chinese and Philippine flags or local fishermen who do not have complete papers and search tools that are not friendly to the environment and cause huge losses to Indonesia (Setkab, November 25, 2014). According to International or National Law, national law is outlined in the Presidential regulation of the Republic of Indonesia number 115 of 2015 concerning preventing and eradicating illegal fishing (Perpres, 2014). And International Law is regulated in the fishing law in the 1982 United Nations Convention Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), that fish theft is a criminal offense and for companies that cooperate with illegal fishing, they are subject to corporate action (Rodrigo F, January 2019). And the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Susi Pudjiastuti brought several

fast programs initiated by, including fighting illegal fishing, Do Less Get More (capitalizing fishermen and changing their mindset), Lobster Market in Ujung Aceh, and Make fishermen smile. And what is meant by smiling fishermen is changing the mindset of modern fishermen, there will be investors to manage marine products at high prices.

On 13 October 2015, the Russian Foreign Minister held a meeting with the ASEAN Ambassador in London to discuss preparations for the ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit and to discuss defense and economic cooperation including the maritime sector (AntaraSumbar, Oktober 2015). Following this, the Indonesian Government attended the ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit in Sochi. The Indonesian government prepared a draft of cooperation that would be offered to the Russian government through the MMF, including cooperation in eradicating illegal fishing and investment in the maritime sector. On 23 May 2016, the Ministry of Fisheries and Maritime Affairs accompanied President Joko Widodo to Sochi Russia to attend the ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit to obtain a cooperation agreement between Russia and Indonesia. At that time, the Indonesian Government put forward a cooperation agreement to eradicate illegal fishing and to invest in fish processing. The Russian government agreed and showed full support for Indonesia's progress in the maritime sector during the International Forum to eradicate illegal fishing. Part of this support was because illegal fishing is an international crime. Russia also supported with investment for the construction of fish management process places in Eastern Indonesia.

So the policy carried out by Susi Pudjiastuti on Indonesia's cooperation with Russia was based on Maritime problems before 2014, which resulted in huge losses and loss of income for Indonesia. Illegal fishing is a threat to Indonesia by foreign vessels flagged by Vietnam, Malaysia, China, and the Philippines that have violated legal action against Indonesian territory in the exclusive economic zone, and lack of maximum fish management in the border area of the country. So Russia's ambitions in the maritime sector are for the benefit of economic cooperation partners, not political interests in Indonesia's

exclusive economic zone issues with other countries. For the threats in the exclusive economic zone felt by Indonesia, Russia provides surveillance ships and satellite surveillance technology to maintain Maritime defense, and freezing technology to improve the quality of fish (Lestari, A. February 18, 2023) So the purpose of the researcher wants to focus more on Maritime issues before 2014 Susi Pudjiastuti's policy to eradicate illegal fishing in the exclusive economic zone, and less than the maximum fish management process at the Indonesian border. And the cooperation policy carried out by Susi Pudjiastuti will be reviewed from the decision-making process theory.

1.2. Research Question

Based on the above background, the researcher's questions in this analysis are:

How was the decision-making process in the cooperation agreement between Indonesia-Russia on illegal fishing eradication and investment in the Marine and Fisheries sector development during the ministerial leadership of Susi Pudjiastuti in 2014-2016?

1.3. Research Objective

The objectives of the researcher writing this are:

1. Analyze the overview of Indonesia-Russia bilateral cooperation in the field of marine and fisheries in 2014-2016 in improving marine security and eradicating illegal fishing and Russian economic investment in marine and fisheries;
2. Analyze the problem of illegal fishing in the Exclusive Economic Zone and the lack of maximum fish management in Indonesia's border areas before 2014;
3. Analyze the dilemma faced by Indonesia with Illegal Fishing of Indonesia's neighboring countries in the exclusive economic zone and Fish Management Issues in Indonesia's border areas; and

4. Analyze the impact of cooperation between Indonesia and Russia on individual actor policies carried out by Susi Pudjiastuti in the marine and fisheries sector.

1.4. Research Scope

In order not to expand the discussion too much, in this study the author only focuses on analyzing Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector on issues in the Exclusive Economic Zone in 2014-2016 (Supriadi A, May 2016). Bilateral issues are cooperation carried out by Indonesia and Russia in accordance with the coverage year, namely 2014-2016. Indonesia and Russia entered into a cooperation agreement in the field of marine and fisheries during the ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit in Sochi, Russia in 2015, which has three goals. The big goal of cooperation is to become a world maritime country, the general goal of cooperation in the marine and fisheries sector, and the specific cooperation goal is to eradicate illegal fishing and invest in the process of fish management in Indonesia's border areas. The author stopped in 2016, because before 2014 Susi Pudjiastuti saw that the problem of illegal fishing and fish management in Indonesia's border areas were not maximized, even though it had the potential to improve the domestic economy (Ambari M, MONGABAY 2016).

1.5. Literature Review

In the literature, Indonesia's cooperation with Russia can be divided into two periods: before and after 2014. Before 2014, Indonesia and Russia cooperated on Defence from 2004-2009, during the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, with the aim of strengthening Indonesia's military-based defense. After 2014-2016, Indonesia strengthened cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector during the era of President Joko Widodo with the aim of Indonesia becoming the World Maritime Axis. What is meant by the phrase World Maritime Axis is the sea as the future of Indonesia, and realizing this with recognition of three pillars: Sovereignty, Sustainability, and Prosperity (Kominfo,

2016). The Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (MMF) then further collaborated with Russia, with the aim of eradicating illegal fishing and investing in fish processing places.

Therefore, this researcher reviewed literature containing topics related to Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector. This included literature obtained from books and journals. Among the journals identified is one published by Fadra Hamid in 2014 entitled *"KEPENTINGAN RUSIA DALAM BIDANG MARITIM DI INDONESIA".* In his research, Hamid explained how Russia has an interest in investing in the fish management process in Eastern Indonesia. However, in regards to Indonesia's cooperation with Russia on the topic of defense, this journal does not discuss illegal fishing in Indonesia.

The research related to illegal fishing that violates the Exclusive Economic Zone was published by Abdul Qodir Jaelani in 2014 with the title "*Illegal Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) Fishing: Upaya Mencegah dan Memberantas Illegal Fishing dalam Membangun Poros Maritim Indonesia*". In his research, he explained that illegal fishing is a violation of international law in accordance with the Territorial Sea and Maritime Environment Act of 1939 (Territoriale Zee en Maritime Kringen Ordonantie, Stbl.1939 No. 442), Law Number 17 of 1985 concerning the Ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). However, this publication only examines illegal fishing regulations in international law, and does not discuss the illegal fishing vessels sunk by the MMF.

In relation to the Maritime Sector, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries has improved investment policies on a national and global scale. In a journal written by M. Rizal Taufikurahman in 2018 entitled "STRATEGI KEBIJAKAN PEMBANGUNAN KEMARITIMAN DALAM KERANGKA PENINGKATAN INVESTASI NASIONAL", the Indonesian government's policy of increasing investment nationally and globally is

explained. However, this publication does not explain investment in marine fish processing places.

A final publication referenced in this work is one written by M. Najeri Al Syahrin in 2018 entitled *"Kebijakan Poros Maritim Jokowi dan Sinergitas Strategi Ekonomi dan Keamanan Laut Indonesia"*. The research explains that Indonesia, as a maritime country, has the potential to improve its economy and security. Increasing marine security to eradicate illegal fishing and the construction of sea tolls is considered economic improvement. However, this journal does not discuss investment in the construction of fish processing places and illegal fishing that violates the ZEE. Therefore, the researcher of this present study will discuss in more detail the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia aimed at combating illegal fishing and at investing in the construction of fish processing plants in the marine and fisheries sector.

1.6. Research Framework

This research uses the theory of the decision-making process, the definition of the theory is that each individual actor or group actor has the right to make a policy, which means that actors can be categorized as state, government and society. The theory of the decision-making process according to Graham T. Allison in his book entitled Essence of Decision: Explaining The Cuban Missile Crisis, states that there are three concepts used to analyze foreign policy towards countries in the world, namely Rational Actor, Organizational Process, and Governmental Politics. Then the three concepts have their respective indicators in determining a foreign policy.

The definition of Rational Actor is a fundamental or rational decision-making process and decision choices based objectively, logically, and transparently. Therefore, the concept of Rational Actor is an individual actor who makes a decision through a process of rational individual consideration without interference from other actors so that the

outcome of the decision is determined by the individual actor. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government is an individual actor who makes decisions rationally in the threat of Illegal fishing that occurs in Indonesia's exclusive economic zone and it affects the interests of Indonesia and Indonesia's marine resources (Allison G. T., 1971).

While the definition of Political Government is a policy that is influenced by the interests of actors who come from certain interest groups. Then the concept of *Political Government* is a policy decision determined by certain actors or groups. In the decision-making process, certain actors and groups have influence in policy making and play competitively to achieve good results for the benefit of a common cause. As for the President as an actor and the legislature as an interested group, all of them are Political Governance that influences decision making which plays competitively to achieve good decisions for the common good in the end each actor produces a policy (Allison G. T., 1971).

And the definition of Organizational process is a policy process that is influenced by groups that have an interest in determining policy. Meanwhile, the concept of *Organizational Process* is a policy determined by groups and actors, all of which are from bureaucracies, parties and community organizations and each group has a role in the policy process that is carried out collectively. but in this policy there is government intervention as an individual actor who acts only as a representative of the organization. Every policy chosen is the most satisfactory result of a long process of organizational procedures that exist to solve optimal problems. It can be concluded that in this concept, decision-making is significantly limited by the perception of hierarchy in the organization and existing rules and procedures. The problem of Illegal fishing and not maximizing fish management has made a lot of encouragement from community groups, parties to be resolved immediately, because the problem is very detrimental to regional fishermen (Allison G. T., 1971).

This research will use the Rational Actor Concept process which emphasizes that a decision-making process will explain the stages of Goals and Objectives, Alternatives,

Consequences and Choices. Analyzing a country's foreign policy will be determined by individual actors, where Minister Susi Pudjiastuti represents President Joko Widodo who is an individual actor. The Indonesian government sees the problem of illegal fishing as very detrimental to the country, both socially and economically. Harming the ecosystem of fisheries resources in the exclusive economic zone and illegal fishing is a threat to Indonesia to achieve world maritime and less productive fish management. The Indonesian government as an individual actor who has a policy interest in the problem, then offers Russia to cooperate with Indonesia in the Marine and Fisheries sector to secure maritime interests from threats from neighboring countries such as China, Vietnam, Malaysia and neighboring countries. On the other hand, Russia is a super power in the regional defense sector (Presidential Regulation, October 20, 2015).

According to Graham T. Allison defines Goals and Objectives that policy making has goals. Indonesia's goal of cooperating with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries sector has the aim of becoming a Maritime country, to increase security from the threat of illegal fishing and the threat of no state revenue, because fish production is not maximized. And a policy must have a specific objective explanation. And the definition of Alternatives is a policy choice to determine policy objectives. Policy objectives require choices that have appropriate specifications and can be distinguished from one another, in order to facilitate the decision-making process and the core of the alternative only has two choices of rejecting or accepting cooperation (Allison G. T., 1971).

The definition of *consequences* is a consideration of policies that have considered existing options. *Consequences* have three points to be determined in the policy, namely Cost, Benefit, and Constraint. A decision in policy requires costs and the decision has an element of profit and also the decision takes into account a constraint in cooperation. Finally, *Choice* can be interpreted as an option that contains the best alternative based on the best data collected for maximum results when cooperating (Allison G. T., 1971).

1.7. Provisional Argument

The argument here is that Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries sector for the first time 2014-2016 is an interesting topic for discussion. Indonesia's cooperation with Russia is related to the theory of the decision-making process through the Rational Actor paradigm as this was a cooperation policy for domestic interests carried out by the minister of Susi Pudjiastuti with Russia and she was the main actor after seeing the problems in 2014. Illegal fishing and fish processing facilities do not support the fishing community to improve the quality of fish. With the aim of eradicating illegal fishing through Illegal Fishing laws to protect marine resources and building fish processing facilities through Freezing has been to improve the quality of fish, so as to increase the price of fish and fish products can compete in the global market for the progress of the marine and fisheries sector.

1.8. Research Method

1.8.1. Types of Research

This research uses qualitative methods. The nature of this research is descriptive. Therefore, this method was chosen as a way to get answers to the topic to be researched.

1.8.2. Research Subjects and Objects

The subject of the research focuses on Indonesia's cooperation with Russia. While the object of research focuses on the eradication of illegal fishing and investment in the fish management process.

1.8.3. Data Collection Methods

Secondary data collection methods using literature data derived from books and literature sources such as journals or related articles.

1.8.4. Research Process

The author will collect relevant data from journals, books, websites and other reading materials and sort out data that is considered important and appropriate which is more specific than before so that it does not necessarily include all sources. Then write the results of the data obtained in the form of chapters and subchapters. The last stage makes a hypothesis from the data that has been owned, which will be completed with further data.

1.9. Thesis Outline

Chapter I, the introduction, explains the background, research question, research objectives, research scope, literature review, research framework, provisional argument, research method and thesis outline.

Chapter II explains the dynamics of the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia.

Chapter III explains the theory of decision-making process and the understanding of the issue of cooperation in the marine and fisheries sector between Indonesia and Russia.

Chapter IV is the closing which explains the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

THE DYNAMICS OF INDONESIA'S MARINE AND FISHERIES SECTOR

This chapter will discuss the dynamics of Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector. It should be underlined after the era of independence until the era of president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, that Indonesia's cooperation with Russia often occurred in the education, defense and cultural sectors, but in 2014 Indonesia cooperated with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector. The first time cooperation in the sector was based on threats that harmed Indonesia in the exclusive economic zone. Indonesia faces the dilemma of illegal fishing problems carried out by neighboring countries to take Indonesia's wealth, which results in a threat and huge losses in the form of loss of fisheries resources. So Indonesia as an individual actor sees the problem, deciding to cooperate with Russia only bilateral relations, not political relations alone (Syahrin, R.N. January 2018).

Then in this chapter will be divided into three sub-chapters including, the first sub-chapter will discuss the maritime sector as the focal point of Jokowi's government cooperation in 2014. The point is that Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla's speech on the boat in 2014, wanted to make Indonesia a world Maritime Axis in the midst of developed countries such as Japan, Russia and Australia. And cooperation in the marine and fisheries sector only occurred between Indonesia and Russia in the era of Susi Pudjiastuti in 2014-2016.

The second sub-chapter discusses the condition of Indonesia's marine security in regards to illegal fishing in the Exclusive Economic Zone, which is a violation of international law. The sinking of foreign vessels is a manifestation of domestic interests and organized international crime, prior to Susi Pudjiastuti's leadership Illegal fishing was common, but Susi Pudjiastuti was not so assertive in sinking vessels as a firm action against Illegal fishing. The third sub-chapter discusses investment in fish processing sites as Integrated Marine and Fisheries Centers (IMFC), with the MMF inviting Russian investors

to build fish management processes in Indonesia to improve the quality of exports from Indonesia, especially Eastern Indonesia. In the next section, the researcher will describe the dynamics before the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia was agreed upon by the two parties in 2016.

2.1. The Maritime Sector as a Focal Point of Cooperation in Joko Widodo's Administration in 2014.

A maritime country is a geographical area where almost all of its territory is surrounded by oceans and islands. Indonesia is a maritime country for this reason. During the Jokowi administration, Indonesia wanted to utilize maritime resources because they are of great advantage to Indonesia and many natural resources are contained therein. On the other hand, Indonesia is a Pacific country surrounded by countries that are developed in the economic sector, including Australia, Japan and Russia. Furthermore, it is not enough to utilize maritime resources without marine security to limit the threat of fish theft which is still rampant in the exclusive economic zone.

When Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla were elected as President and Vice President in 2014, they conveyed in their speech that they wanted to lift up Indonesia and have it become the world's maritime axis. This speech was made on August 21, 2014 on the Phinisi ship at Sunda Kelapa port, North Jakarta. But before becoming a world maritime axis, Indonesian must first become a maritime country. What is meant by maritime country is one that utilizes the valuable marine products in it to the maximum for domestic interests in order to improve the domestic economy (Antara, August 2014). Indonesia is a cost-controlled road for the transportation of imports and exports for developed countries, such as Australia, Japan, Russia, and European countries. Furthermore, the fishery potential of marine products is very abundant in Indonesia. The ideal of becoming the world's maritime axis was not only raised in the Jokowi era, but also in the royal and Soekarno eras. In the Royal era, Indonesia was once the world's maritime center where Indonesia was the world's Silk Road, while in the Soekarno era, world maritime day was created as an ideal for the

return of a world maritime country. However, this was not sustainable in the era of President Soeharto and was only limited to a plan, but in the era of Joko Widodo wanted to bring Indonesia to become the world's Maritime Axis (Rustam.I, June 2021).

Indonesia's goal is to become a world maritime axis country with the concept of strengthening national identity and building national politics and security. The world maritime axis policy consists of several points, including strengthening maritime culture, utilizing maritime resources, building maritime diplomacy, and building maritime defense forces and infrastructure development (Hamid.F, February 2023). President Jokowi needed the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to manage marine potential and maintain marine security. Therefore, President Jokowi appointed Susi Pudjiastuti as the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (Setkab, October 27, 2014).

Susi Pudjiastuti's presence in MMF surprised the Marine and Fisheries sector. She was a fish trader and had long been involved in the fisheries sector and so Susi was quick to present a program to the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries that included fighting illegal fishing, building market access for lobsters, improving the welfare of fishermen, and providing comprehensive fisherman assistance (Dharmastuti.H, detiknews 29 October 2014). The breakthrough made by Susi Pudjiastuti was to build cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries sector with Russia itself having an interest in the maritime field for cooperation purposes, not just politics. The focus of Susi Pudjiastuti's cooperation with Russia included eradicating illegal fishing in the exclusive economic zone and investing in fish management sites in Indonesia (Kustiani.R, Tempo.co November 24, 2014).

2.2. Indonesia's Marine Security Condition Resulting from Illegal Fishing in the Exclusive Economic Zone

In international law, it is explained that Territorial Sovereignty is divided into two sovereignties: land and sea territories. Territorial sea areas consist of inland waters, territorial seas, continental shelf, additional zone, exclusive economic zone, high seas and

seabed area. The territorial land areas include Occupation, Accretion, Prescription, Annexation or Conquest, Cessie, and Referendum (Safriani, November 2012). As for the territorial sea area, Indonesia's exclusive economic zone often experiences illegal fishing carried out by fishermen from other countries. The exclusive economic zone is the territorial area of the sea water borders between one country and another, which has been outlined in international law according to boundaries.

To combat illegal fishing in 2014, the Indonesian government, through the ministry of maritime affairs and fisheries, formed a task force to handle cases of fish theft in Indonesia's oceans. Illegal fishing often occurs in Natuna waters and Sulawesi waters, and most of the perpetrators of fish theft are carried out by Indonesian vessels that do not have proper fishing licenses and foreign vessels from Vietnam, Malaysia, China, and the Philippines. These perpetrators of fish theft cause much damage to the state. As quoted in the website of the cabinet secretariat, President Jokowi and his ministers emphasized that they would eradicate illegal fishing, because fish theft would drain fisheries and marine resources (Setkab, November 25, 2014). The Indonesian government's policy is to take firm and measurable action against fish theft by sinking ships instead of seizing them.

It should be noted that according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Indonesia is the second largest maritime country in the world after China. Most countries that are the largest fisheries producers in the world are targeted by foreign fishermen. The FAO argues that illegal fishing is fishing behavior that violates national, regional and international law. Illegal fishing is a transnational crime that harms the state. As for the rampant illegal fishing in Indonesia in 2014, the lack of marine security supervision by the Indonesian government has allowed this problem to worsen (Hakim.A, December 2023).

Illegal fishing is a transnational crime that violates international law. It also violates national law as outlined in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia number 115 of 2015 concerning preventing and eradicating illegal fishing and the coincidence of illegal fishing has been discussed in the fishing law (Perpres, 2014). The reference of the

fishing law regulation is inseparable from the regulations derived from UNCLOS 1982, that fish theft is a criminal offense and companies that cooperate with illegal fishing are subject to corporate actions (Rodrigo F, January 2019).

The Indonesian government enacted a policy of strict action against illegal fishing vessels in the Indonesian oceans by sinking the vessels instead of asking for compensation. Throughout 2014, the government arrested a total of 39 illegal foreign ships including 16 foreign ships and 23 Indonesian ships (Pasopati G, CNNindonesia January 2015). Meanwhile, during the one year that Susi Pudjiastuti served as Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, she sunk 106 foreign vessels. Among the foreign ships sunk, there were 6 ships from Malaysia, 34 ships from the Philippines, 1 ship from China, 21 ships from Thailand, 33 ships from Vietnam and 2 ships from Papua New Guinea (Agustinus M, detikfinance October 30, 2015).

All provide a deterrent effect for illegal fishing which is the focus of the Indonesian government to eradicate and not even tolerate international crimes, so that the assets of fisheries resources can be saved and utilized by the people of Indonesia. All things done by the Indonesian government have a positive effect on the welfare of the Indonesian people because the Indonesian government cooperates with the Russian government based on bilateral partner cooperation, not based on politics alone (Basuki, U. June 2014).

And keep in mind if the Indonesian government does not cooperate with Russia, there is something that will be faced by Indonesia including, Indonesian seas will always be the target of fish for illegal fishing, will have a social impact on fishermen in the exclusive economic zone area, and worse marine biodiversity will be lost if not saved. Then if the government does not care about marine resources that will have a negative impact on the Indonesian government, it will not become a saved Maritime country and the sovereignty of marine territorial areas will always be underestimated by other nations in the exclusive economic zone (Hamid, F. February 18, 2023).

2.3. Investment in Fish Management Sites as Integrated Marine and Fisheries Centers

Indonesia is a world maritime country with the second largest marine fish income after China. However, the Indonesian government has not been able to produce or process fish optimally, which is homework for the Indonesian government. As a world maritime country, Indonesia should be able to process fish in a modern way so that its seafood products can compete with other countries for the export market and utilize the potential of the sea for domestic purposes. The area that produces the most marine fish in Indonesia is the eastern part of Indonesia. The eastern part of Indonesia includes Simeulue, Natuna, Mentawai, Tahuna, Nunukan, Morotai, Biak Numfor, Sangihe, Rote Ndao, Sarmi, Saumlaki, Tual, Timika, Moa and Merauke (Wartaekonomi, June 13, 2016). For all the eastern parts of Indonesia, the Indonesian government offers management to foreign countries through investment. So, what needed to be done by President Joko Widodo's government, through Susi Pudjiastuti as minister of marine and fisheries, was develop collaboration with developed countries.

Plans have been made for the development of centers of the marine and fisheries sector in eastern Indonesia. For the development of these centers, it is necessary for the Indonesian government to cooperate with developed countries to develop the potential of maritime resources through investment. Indonesia often cooperates with developed countries such as Japan, China and ASEAN countries in the fisheries sector, but the interests of these countries are more inclined to the maritime political sector (Putri, C, A. 2016). Cooperating with developed countries such as Russia is very important, because Russia is a developed country in the defense aspect which includes regional security and the economic sector. Russia is also a dominant country in the economy of the world. As for Russia cooperating with Indonesia in the marine and fisheries sector, it does not have maritime political interests, but only has interests in bilateral cooperation to advance the fisheries sector in Indonesia (Larasati A, February 18, 2023).

Before the Indonesian and Russian governments held the ASEAN-RUSSIA conference in Sochi, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries received a working visit from Russian investors to discuss marine and fisheries issues in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Susi Pudjiastuti delivered a speech about marine and fisheries issues and asked for advice from businessmen to deal with illegal fishing and modern fish management (Primadhyta S, CNNindonesia December 02, 2015).

Seeing the very complex maritime problems of fish theft and less than optimal fish management in eastern Indonesia, the Indonesian government planned to cooperate with Russia at the 20th ASEAN-RUSSIA conference (Falah I, May 23, 2016). On the sidelines of this conference, the governments of Indonesia and Russia met and established bilateral cooperation. As a result of the bilateral meeting, Susi Pudjiastuti invited Russian investors to build a fish management process in eastern Indonesia to help improve the quality of fish to compete with foreign countries in the export market (Larasati A, February 18, 2023).

Blackspace is a Russian company that wanted to invest in a fish management site in eastern Indonesia, specifically an integrated marine and fisheries center consisting of 15 islands. What is meant by fish management investment is that Russian investors transfer technology in eastern Indonesia (Adiwijaya S, Tempo.co November 03, 2016). Due to Russia being boycotted for export products by the European Union, Indonesia had the opportunity to export fish to Russia because Indonesian marine fish products are often less competitive with other countries. Losing competitiveness due to the quality of Indonesian fish, Indonesia saw the opportunity to export to Russia and Indonesia received support from Russia during the 20th ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit.

Susi Pudjiastuti's policy towards Indonesia's cooperation with Russia was based on maritime issues prior to 2014 that resulted in huge losses and loss of revenue for Indonesia. Illegal fishing by Vietnamese, Malaysian, Chinese and Philippine-flagged foreign vessels that violated Indonesian law in the exclusive economic zone, as well as less than optimal fish management in Indonesia's border areas. So Russia's ambitions in the maritime sector

are for the benefit of economic cooperation partners, not political interests in Indonesia's exclusive economic zone issues with other countries. For threats in the exclusive economic zone perceived by Indonesia, Russia provides assistance for surveillance ships and satellite surveillance technology to maintain Maritime defense, and freezing technology to improve fish quality (Lestari, A. February 18, 2023) So Susi Pudjiastuti has a big goal to make a world maritime country which specifically general and specific goals. The general goal focuses on improving the marine and fisheries sector, while the specific goal is to eradicate illegal fishing. In the end, Susi Pudjiastuti's policies led to a cooperation agreement at the 20th ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit in Sochi, Russia.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF “RATIONAL ACTORS” IN INDONESIA'S COOPERATION WITH RUSSIA IN THE MARINE AND FISHERIES SECTOR

The Decision Making Process in Rational Actors is a policy carried out by individual actors, who are faced with an urgent problem that almost caused World War 3 in Cuban waters between the Soviet Union and the United States (History.com, January 04, 2010). In the context of the maritime sector problems seen by Susi Pudjiastuti. Susi Pudjiastuti before being appointed as minister in 2014, Indonesia was faced with problems that resulted in huge losses for the Indonesian state, illegal fishing and lack of maximum fish management in Indonesia's border areas. So what will be done by Susi Pudjiastuti is to determine a policy in cooperation with Russia to save maritime wealth from these problems. And the wealth of fishery resources can be maintained and utilized for the benefit of the country (Syahrin, N,M. June 2018).

Therefore, this chapter will discuss the description of the analysis of Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries sector using the Decision Making Process theory with the concept of Rational Actors. According to Graham T. Allison. This concept is a decision in planning the making of a policy or agreement that is formulated and driven by actors, groups or organizations and certain interested parties, but policy decision making is only determined by one actor. In analyzing Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries sector, the researcher has referred to the steps in the decision-making process according to the Rational Actor concept.

The steps of the Rational Actor Concept are *Goals or Objectives, Alternatives, Consequences* and *Choice*. Goals and Objectives are the objectives of making a decision, while Alternatives are available decision options. What is meant by Consequences is the relevant consequences of Cost, Benefit and Constraints and Choice is the determination of the selection of actions with data as a consideration for making a decision (Allison G. T.,

1971). Thus, Indonesia's cooperation with Russia to eradicate illegal fishing and to invest in the development of the Marine and Fisheries sector in the era of Susi Pudjiastuti in 2014-2016 had four steps as per the concept of Rational Actor.

3.1. *Goals and Objectives* concerning Illegal Fishing and Investment in the Development of the Marine and Fisheries Sector.

The definition of *Goals and Objectives* is an aim in making a decision. Goals are the general objectives of decision making, while Objectives are the specific objectives of decision making. According to Graham T. Allison, Goals & Objectives are defined as objectives in making a policy. Goals itself has the meaning of the General Purpose of a decision, and Objectives are specific goals of decision making (Allison G. T., 1971). Thus, the goal of the Indonesian government in cooperating with Russia was to make Indonesia the World Maritime Axis. The objectives of this cooperation, in general, included eradicating illegal fishing and investing in the development of fish management (Adiwijaya, S. Tempo.co 03 November 2016).

Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla were elected as President and Vice President for 2014-2019 on July 22, 2014. Jokowi-JK delivered their speech on a phinisi ship at the *sunda kelapa* pier in North Jakarta, entitled ``Moving Together to Develop Towards the Maritime Axis of the World " (Kuwado, J,F. Kompas.com July 23, 2014). The Maritime Axis envisioned by Indonesia has five pillars, namely maritime resources, maritime culture, maritime infrastructure, maritime diplomacy, and maritime defense. The points contained within these pillars of the world maritime axis relate to Indonesia's cooperation with Russia, including maritime defense and maritime infrastructure.

On May 20, 2016 President Jokowi visited Russia by attending the 2016 ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit in Sochi Russia. He was accompanied by several ministers, in particular the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Susi Pudjiastuti. In the middle of the summit, Susi Pudjiastuti and the Russian Government agreed on cooperation in the Fisheries and Marine sector to stop illegal fishing and to invest in the construction of fish

management sites in Eastern Indonesia (Falah, I. InfoPublik, May 23, 2016). Referring to the point of the world maritime axis, illegal fishing is an aspect of maritime defense, whereas investment in the construction of fish management sites is part of maritime infrastructure.

In terms of the Goals and Objectives orientation according to the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, from the agreement between Indonesia and Russia on the sidelines of the 2016 ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit, Indonesia has put hope in the marine and fisheries sector leading Indonesia to becoming a maritime country in terms of both a Maritime Defense Scheme and a Second Maritime Infrastructure Scheme. The Maritime Defense Scheme is one to maintain Indonesia's sovereignty against illegal fishing that regularly occurs in the Arafura Sea, North Sulawesi Sea, West Natuna Waters, and the South China Sea. According to Safriani, in international law, illegal fishing is a violation of territorial sovereignty which is regulated in the sea area which includes the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and the EEZ limit of 200 miles from the base of land or coast (Safriani, January 2014).

Indonesia also has several regulations on illegal Fishing, and this legislation is the legal basis for the prevention and eradication of illegal fishing in Indonesia. Among the regulations is the Territorial Sea and Maritime Environment Act of 1939 (Territoriale Zee en Maritime Kringen Ordonantie, Stbl.1939 No. 442), Act No. 17 of 1985 concerning the Ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The derivatives of Indonesian regulations are regulated by Law Number 45 of 2009 concerning Fisheries Law Number 32 of the 2015 Year concerning Marine Affairs, Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2/PERMEN-KP/2015 concerning Prohibition of the Use of Trawls and Seine Nets in the Fisheries Management Areas of the Republic of Indonesia (Jaelani, Q, A. 2014).

In addition, there are also Indonesian Law Number 5 of 1983 concerning Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone and Indonesian Law Number 6 of 1996 concerning

Indonesian Waters. In the Maritime Defense Scheme, Russia is to provide Indonesia with a patrol boat to monitor Indonesian seas from illegal fishing. This cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the Maritime Affairs and Fisheries sector will encourage Indonesia to eradicate illegal fishing in order to become a world maritime axis country that is free from illegal fishing in Indonesian seas (Jaelani, Q, A. June 2014).

The second scheme is the Infrastructure Scheme which includes investment in the development of marine fish management sites in Eastern Indonesia. This refers to The 2015 year government planning strategy project outlined in the regulation of the minister of marine affairs and fisheries NUMBER 48/PERMEN-KP/2015 on General Guidelines for the Development of Integrated Marine and Fisheries Centers (SKPT) in Small Islands and Border Areas. The planning for the development of the smallest islands and border areas includes Biak, Moa, Morotai, Natuna, Sabang and Saumlaki (Perpres, March 21, 2016). As quoted by CNN Indonesia on May 20, 2016 at the ASEAN-Russia Summit in Sochi Russia, Susi Pudjiastuti said that "I have been appointed as a special envoy to Russia. I will facilitate everything from the (Russian) government to the business community that needs to do business in Indonesia," And what is meant by Susi Pudjiastuti's statement relates to Russian investors allocating capital to build fish processing facilities in eastern Indonesia (Supriadi, A. May 20, 2016).

In addition, as quoted in Tempo.co on November 03, 2016, Susi Pudjiastuti said that a Russian company called *BlankSpace* had invested in fish management sites in eastern Indonesia covering 15 sites and an investment period of one year. In the press release, it was also noted that Susi Pudjiastuti asked Russian investors to take part in the development of Integrated Marine and Fisheries Centers (IMFC) on the outer islands. Thus, what the Indonesian government sought was the transfer of fish management technology from Russia. The Indonesian government also needed technology for freezing and fish processing in order to be able to create quality fish products for export and compete internationally (Adiwijaya, S. 03 November 2016). In other words, the Maritime

Infrastructure Scheme was formed to create and bring technology from Russia for fish management to Eastern Indonesia.

3.2. *Alternatives* for Combating Illegal Fishing and Investment in the Development Investment of the Marine and Fisheries Sector.

Alternatives are defined as choices in policy making. According to Graham T. Allison, foreign policy is generally formed to achieve the goals or needs of the country. To achieve these goals, choices are needed that have appropriate specifications and can be distinguished from one another, in order to facilitate the decision-making process (Allison G. T., 1971). Alternative decision options here consist of two choices, either to cooperate or not to cooperate. To achieve the goal, alternatives have a problem determination process called *decision-tree.* The decision-tree process is a problem topic that will be classified into several parts according to the number of alternatives that may occur, in order to achieve the desired goal. Alternatives can be interpreted as an opportunity for consideration in order to achieve the desired benefits for the Marine and Fisheries sector, which included Maritime Defense and Maritime Infrastructure.

The alternatives process plan was to form cooperation with Russia which included the Marine and Fisheries sector by classifying two alternative decision-tree options. These options are Indonesia agrees to cooperate with Russia on illegal fishing and investment in the development of fish management sites in the marine and fisheries sector. Or Indonesia does not agree to cooperate with Russia on illegal fishing and investing in the development of fish management sites in the marine and fisheries sector.

To get the most out of its Maritime Defense and Infrastructure potential, Indonesia could offer cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector with the aim of eradicating illegal fishing and investing in the construction of fish management sites. From the cooperation agreement, Indonesia will gain several benefits in the marine and fisheries sector, including protection from illegal fishing and increasing Indonesia's sovereignty through maritime defense. Maritime infrastructure will improve the quality of fish

products from the construction of fish management sites in order to compete in the export market (Adiwijaya, S. Tempo.co 03 November 2016).

Before Jokowi took office as President, Indonesia often cooperated with Russia in the military defense and tourism sectors during the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono forged a military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in 2004-2009. This was based on the condition of Indonesia's military defense equipment which was still incomplete, and Russia was chosen because it is a country able to compete with American and European military technology. This cooperation was without administrative costs. The cooperation included establishing the Military Technical Cooperation Commission (MTCC), learning military techniques, and the procurement of Alutsista weapons (Novana, F, R. February 2012).

Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the tourism sector followed in 2006-2011. In the tourism sector, Indonesia provides and prepares special facilities for foreign tourists from Russia in the form of Visa On Arrival (VOA). The purpose of Indonesia's cooperation in the tourism sector was to increase foreign exchange earnings through tourism. Cooperation in the tourism sector also provided an increase in Indonesia's economic sector with a lot of shopping done in Indonesia, which could be proven after many tourists from Russia visited Indonesia (Hidayat, R. August 27, 2013).

The cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the Maritime and Fisheries Sector focused on illegal fishing and investing in development during the era of Susi Pudjiastuti in 2014-2016, which was the first cooperation with Russia in this sector. Russia also had ambitions of interest in the Maritime sector of Indonesia, because many European countries were investing in Indonesia. However, Russia's cooperation with Indonesia has had no political ambitions, only bilateral partnerships to improve Indonesia's maritime sector (February 18, 2023). In the future, Indonesia hopes that the cooperation agreement in the marine and fisheries sector will be able to provide maritime defense and maritime infrastructure results. The maritime defense is so that Indonesia can increase security

against illegal fishing to the point that it is eradicated and maritime infrastructure is so that Indonesia can provide quality fish products to compete in the export market (Hamid, F. February 18, 2023).

3.3. *Consequences* of Illegal Fishing and Investment in Development of the Marine and Fisheries Sector.

The definition of *consequences* is a consideration of the consequences between rejecting and accepting the cooperation agreement between Indonesia and Russia. According to Graham T. Allison, an actor has consequences in determining a policy. Policy has three points including Cost, Benefit and Constraints. Cost is the risk at stake in making a decision, while Benefit is the advantage or positive or negative results that will be obtained from decision making, and Constraints are shortcomings or obstacles that can occur after decision making. These points are considered and adjusted to the country's goals so that policy-making actors are able to predict the steps that must be taken. According to Graham T. Allison, *consequences* is closely related to *alternatives* because the alternatives that have been described have their own possibilities and obstacles (Allison G. T., 1971).

Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector is similar to Indonesia's cooperation with Europe and Japan in the marine and fisheries sector. Both have the same ambition to improve the maritime sector, but the two countries have different goals. Europe has ambitions for maritime politics, while Russia only wants to cooperate with bilateral partners in the maritime sector. Thus, each country has a different impact and in the end the interests only cater to Indonesia's domestic interests (Hamid, F. February 18, 2023). Then the consequences explain about Indonesia's cooperation policy with Russia through *Cost, Benefit, and Constraints*. And it is divided into two choices between Indonesia cooperating with Russia, and Indonesia not cooperating with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector.

Through *Cost* to Indonesia in cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries Sector are first, Indonesia will lose the opportunity to partner bilaterally with other countries that have experience in the Maritime Sector. For example, China, South Korea, Turkey, and Japan are all maritime countries, and may have more strategic cooperation offers for Indonesia in the maritime sector (Hamid, F. February 18, 2023). And second, the opportunity to reconsider the decision to cooperate with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector, which was previously doubted by minister Susi Pudjiastuti in 2009, because Indonesia had only ever partnered with Russia in the military defense sector, such as the procurement of defense equipment (Novana, F, R. February 2012).

The *Benefits* to Indonesia in cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries Sector are first, the 2016 ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit signified an opportunity for Indonesia to establish cooperation in the Marine and Fisheries sector, a first for cooperation in this sector (Ministry of Panrb. May 19, 2016). It should be noted that Russia is the second superpower after America in the defense sector. Indonesia needs to cooperate with Russia to maintain Maritime Sovereignty through Maritime Defense and Maritime Infrastructure. Maritime Defense is for the eradication of illegal fishing that often occurs in Indonesia's exclusive economic zone and Maritime Infrastructure is about building fish management sites in Eastern Indonesia (Hamid, F. February 18, 2023).

Second, cooperation with Russia will open doors of opportunity for Indonesia to cooperate with other countries, especially in the ASEAN region, in the marine and fisheries sector as Russia is a respected country in the region (Putri, C, A. 2016). Indonesia's experience working with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries sector will improve maritime defense through surveillance using special patrol vessels. Meanwhile, Maritime Infrastructure will be improved through the bringing of freezing and processing technology to improve the quality of sea fish (Adiwijaya, S. Tempo.co 03 November 2016). And third, Indonesia will gain a great opportunity to increase marine fish products for export to the world, especially to Russia and European countries. Keeping in mind that the quality of

Indonesian fish, such as tuna, is among the sixty percent best in the world, this will allow Indonesia to compete against other countries (Afriyadi, D, A. October 21, 2015).

And *Constraints* to Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries Sector are first, Eastern Indonesia produces the most fish of all of domestic Indonesia, but the people there do not know how to manage and produce quality fish, as there is a lack of human resources and also a lack of fish management facilities to accommodate the processes (Dewi, F, M. June 28, 2022). Second, hindering Indonesia becoming a maritime country is the lack of surveillance vessels for illegal fishing in the exclusive economic zone. Through cooperation with Russia, Indonesia has the potential to have surveillance ships that can reach territorial border areas, because Russia is a strong country in the shipping sector (Parliament, October 22, 2020).

Third, after Indonesia held the ASEAN-Russia Summit-2016 in Sochi, Russia and the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries conducted cooperation in the marine and fisheries sector. However, what the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries did was get an investment cooperation agreement with a period of only one year, whereas Indonesia needed four years to solve the problem of maritime infrastructure in eastern Indonesia (Adiwijaya, S. Tempo.co 03 November 2016). And fourth, before the Russian economy was embargoed by the European Union, the Indonesian sea fish export market in Russia was very difficult to penetrate, because the quality of Indonesian fish was still inferior to Thailand and other European countries. Thus, the hope was that cooperation with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries Sector would allow the penetration of the Russian domestic market (Afriyadi, D, A. October 21, 2015).

Then the *Costs* of Indonesia not cooperating with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries Sector are first Indonesia will not be strong in Maritime Security and Maritime Infrastructure. If Indonesia’s maritime security is weak, it’s sea territory will always be disturbed by the illegal fishing and fish theft that often occurs in Indonesia's territorial area. Thus, the consequence is that Indonesia will be harmed by illegal fishing, because the

Indonesian state cannot enjoy the income from the marine and fisheries sector. Maritime infrastructure will also not be constructed for fish management sites in Eastern Indonesia (Isnurhadi, R, M. December 2017) secondly, without the development of marine fish management sites, Indonesia will not have the opportunity to improve its human resources, which in turn will not increase the potential of the marine and fisheries sector and greatly impact the lives of coastal communities in eastern Indonesia. Poverty has always haunted Indonesian fishermen (Retnowati, E. May 27, 2011).

Third, in regards to the sites of marine fish management in eastern Indonesia, Indonesia will not be able to compete with other fish exports with other countries, because Indonesia will not have the freezing and processing technology from Russia (Afriyadi, D, A. October 21, 2015). fourth, in combating illegal fishing in Indonesia's territorial area, Indonesia will not get surveillance vessels and marine surveillance satellite technology from Russia (Suryadi, S. December 12, 2023).

The *Benefits* of Indonesia not cooperating with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries Sector are first, Indonesia can establish bilateral relationships with other countries that can provide better and more profitable cooperation offers in the marine and fisheries sector for Indonesia (Asdiarti, R. December 18, 2023). And second, Indonesia has the opportunity to strive independently first to advance and improve the marine and fisheries sector with the ambition to become a World Maritime country, and then establish sustainable cooperation in the marine and fisheries sector (Antara. Augustus 21, 2014).

And *Constraints* Against Indonesia not cooperating with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries Sector first, Indonesia must wait for offers from countries other than Russia to form similar bilateral cooperation (Asdiarti, R. December 18, 2023). secondly, Indonesia has no experience in managing fish management sites in eastern Indonesia and would be without the freezing and processing technology from Russia (Afriyadi, D, A. October 21, 2015). And third, Indonesia will not be seen as a Maritime country by neighboring countries as it will be considered not able to deal with illegal fishing and investment

management sites and, so neighboring countries will not cooperate with Indonesia in the Marine and Fisheries sector (Isnurhadi, R, M. December 2017).

3.4. *Choices* in Combating Illegal Fishing and Investment in Development of the Marine and Fisheries Sector.

A policy has objectives, and policy objectives have choices or alternative decisions. The alternative decisions have consequences and of course the consequence decision must result in a rational choice decision. So, the definition of *Choice* is the best choice or the most rational choice. According to Graham T. Allison choice is defined as success in selecting the best or rational alternative based on accurate data collected for maximum decision results (Allison G. T., 1971). In regards to choices, the Indonesian government had a very important planning role to cooperate with Russia. The Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Susi Pudjiastuti was the President's assistant as the government played, and the government was an Individual Actor in the concept of Rational actors who are the only ones in decision making. The government decisions are expected to maximize the value and purpose of the national interest. The government can be rational by calculating the cost and benefit analysis of each alternative choice to decide what is best for achieving goals and maximizing existing utilities (Geddes B., 2005).

The decision on a rational choice is based on rational considerations and calculations of the consequences chosen so as to produce the right decision that benefits a country. The decision-making process in the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the marine and fisheries sector was influenced by considerations, benefits and strategic solutions to improve the Indonesian Maritime sector through cooperation to eradicate illegal fishing and investment in fish management sites with foreign countries. The concept of Rational Actor assumes that the government already has all the information and alternatives to examine the situation and the decision adjusted to certain circumstances (RI K., 2018).

Based on careful consideration and the problems faced by the Indonesian government at the time, the Indonesian government decided to cooperate with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector to eradicate illegal fishing and to invest in the construction of fish management sites in eastern Indonesia. Indonesia increased cooperation and agreed with Russia on the sidelines of the 2016 ASEAN-Russia Summit. This is a bilateral cooperation and is not the first one that covers military defense (Adiwijaya, S. Tempo.co 03 November 2016). However, it is the first cooperation in the marine and fisheries sector. Russia is a super power and advanced in all sectors; therefore, through cooperation, Indonesia can explore the potential of maritime security and maritime infrastructure.

So working with Japan, what Indonesia will get is to improving maritime security, improving the number of surveillance ships and surveillance satellite technology, produce quality marine fish and improve fish exports to Russia. Through the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the marine and fisheries sector, Indonesia has improved maritime security against the illegal fishing that occurs in the territorial sea of Indonesia. Surveillance has been increased at several territorial points the South China Sea, North Sulawesi Sea, Papua New Guinea border sea and the western sea area of Sabang. To increase the security of Indonesia's marine security is to increase the number of surveillance vessels. During the G20 in November 2022, the Russian government had satellite technology to monitor illegal fishing vessels. And Indonesia was offered this technology by Russia which will be used to conduct surveillance as well as take action against illegal fishing vessels in Indonesian seas (BUSINESS COIL, September 25, 2022).

Illegal Fishing is not only carried out by foreign vessels that steal fish in the Indonesian territorial sea, but also local vessels that search for marine fish with fishing gear prohibited by the government. In this case, the government has tightened licensing administration requirements for ships measuring 30 (GT) Gross tonnage and above so that the fishing limit does not exceed the fishing capacity that has been regulated by the government, and local ships are now prohibited from using trawl fishing gear (Hakim, A.

December 2023). In addition, punishments have been given to foreign vessels that steal fish in the exclusive economic zone, by taking the firm action of burning as a deterrent instead confiscating the boats to be redeemed with money. In accordance with presidential regulation, illegal fishing is a transnational and organized crime, and boats must be destroyed by burning so that Indonesia will maintain its maritime sovereignty in accordance with the president's slogan in 2014, which was making Indonesia a world maritime country (Asdiarti, R. 18 December 2023).

To maintain the sovereignty of the country and its marine resources, so required an increase in the number of surveillance vessels and satellite surveillance technology. Prior to Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector, Indonesia did not have surveillance ships that could reach the entire territory of Indonesia, because the surveillance ships owned by Indonesia amounted to only 30 surveillance ships. To reach the entire territory of Indonesia, 78 surveillance ships are needed. After Indonesia cooperated with Russia, Indonesia had 34 surveillance ships to monitor the Indonesian sea from the threat of illegal fishing. With the addition of surveillance vessels in Indonesia's territorial area, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries arrested in the order of 132 illegal fishing vessels from other countries from 2017 to 2020 (ANTARA, January 11, 2018).

Through cooperation with Russia, the Government of Indonesia has satellite technology that uses Ocean Big Data for the purpose of improving the monitoring marine and fisheries resources to protect them from the threat of illegal fishing. The tools needed by Ocean Big Data are in the form of radars, sensors, underwater and aerial drones. All of these tools are owned by Russia and have been transferred to the Indonesian government with bilateral cooperation between the two countries (Putranto, B, S. December 12, 2023).

With Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the marine and fisheries sector, the quality production marine fish through Blackspace company investors from Russia invested in fish management through freezing and processing in eastern Indonesia. Fish

management through integrated marine and fisheries centers (IMFC) has been carried out in ten regions in Indonesia which are producing high-quality fish. By cooperating with Russian companies, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries can learn how to manage marine fish in Indonesia (Hilmawam, A. November 01, 2016). As for the results of marine fish processing, many countries are now interested in marine fish products from Indonesia. Thus, Indonesia's Maritime infrastructure has been able to fulfill the community's desire to manage fish in a modern way in order to compete in the global market.

Indonesia's cooperation with Russia is not only about eradicating illegal fishing, investing in fish management development, and providing freezing, processing and satellite surveillance technology transferal to Indonesia. Russia also provides increased opportunities for improving fish exports to Russia for the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to export fish management products in domestic Russia and Eastern Europe, although Indonesian products were rejected by Russia before Russia was embargoed by European countries due to the conflict with Ukraine (Liputan6, Afriyadi, D, A. October 21, 2015).

The results of the management of Indonesia's cooperation with Russia through fish management sites in Eastern Indonesia are in the form of cold storage which aims to make frozen fish that can last a long time in high quality. The high-quality fish includes Indonesian tuna fish. The Indonesian government developed cold storage with Russia to transfer fish processing technology to maintain fish quality. Thus, it is evident that Indonesian exports used to be rejected by Russia, which prefers fish from European countries. Now, the United States, Japan, and Russia are the target of tuna exports from Indonesia in the form of cooked products and they order more tuna fish to the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (Launuru, R, F. August 18, 2017).

Susi Pudjiastuti's policy towards Indonesia's cooperation with Russia was based on maritime issues prior to 2014 that resulted in huge losses and loss of revenue for Indonesia.

Illegal fishing by Vietnamese, Malaysian, Chinese and Philippine-flagged foreign vessels that violated Indonesian law in the exclusive economic zone, as well as less than optimal fish management in Indonesia's border areas. So Russia's ambitions in the maritime sector are for the benefit of economic cooperation partners, not political interests in Indonesia's exclusive economic zone issues with other countries. For threats in the exclusive economic zone perceived by Indonesia, Russia provides assistance for surveillance ships and satellite surveillance technology to maintain Maritime defense, and freezing technology to improve fish quality (Lestari, A. February 18, 2023) So Susi Pudjiastuti has a big goal to make a world maritime country which specifically general and specific goals. The general goal focuses on improving the marine and fisheries sector, while the specific goal is to eradicate illegal fishing. In the end, Susi Pudjiastuti's policies led to a cooperation agreement at the 20th ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit in Sochi, Russia.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1. Conclusion

This chapter answers questions based on the analysis conducted by the researcher. It can be concluded that the decision-making process in the cooperation agreement between Indonesia and Russia on the eradication of illegal fishing and investment in the development of the marine and fisheries sector in the era of Susi Pudjiastuti 2014-2016, was the most rational option for the Indonesian government. The basic argument of the Decision Making Process Theory in the Rational Actor concept argues that the consideration of Indonesia's cooperation with Russia is based on *Goals & Objectives, Alternatives, Consequences* and *Choice*. The conclusion of these aspects is as follows:

The definition of **Goals and Objectives** is as a goal in making a decision. Goals are the general purpose of decision making, while Objectives are specific objectives of decision making. According to Graham T. Allison, Goals & Objectives are defined as objectives in making a policy. Goals have a general purpose understanding as the general purpose of a decision, and Objectives are the specific goals of decision making (Allison G. T., 1971). Thus, the goal of the Indonesian government in cooperation with Russia was to make Indonesia the World Maritime Axis. The objectives of cooperation between Indonesia and Russia, in general, included the Marine and Fisheries sector. Indonesia's cooperation with Russia is to specifically eradicate illegal fishing and invest in the development of fish management.

Alternatives are defined as choices in policy making. According to Graham T. Allison, foreign policy is generally formed to achieve the goals or needs of the country. To achieve these goals, choices are needed that have appropriate specifications and can be distinguished from one another, in order to facilitate the decision-making process (Allison G. T., 1971). Alternative decision options have two choices, which here were to either

cooperate or not cooperate. Indonesia chose the goal of cooperating with Russia to eradicate illegal fishing and to increase investment in the construction of fish management sites for domestic needs.

Consequences are defined as the consideration of the consequences chosen. According to Graham T. Allison, consequences are closely related to alternative points, but there are three points of consideration in consequences including Costs, Benefits and Constraints. (Allison G. T., 1971). In Indonesia cooperating with Russia in the Marine and Fisheries sector, the cost to Indonesia of not cooperating is the loss of the opportunity to work with Russia to improve the Maritime Defense and Maritime Infrastructure sectors, but Indonesia still has the possibility to do so with other countries. The benefit to Indonesia is the opportunity to improve the Maritime Defense sector and Maritime Infrastructure. The constraints of becoming a Maritime country are that Indonesia will be constrained by technology if it does not cooperate with Russia. Another cost of not cooperating is that Indonesia will not be strong in Maritime Security and Maritime Infrastructure. However, a benefit is that Indonesia can still cooperate with other countries to strengthen Maritime Defense and Maritime Infrastructure. As a final constraint, Indonesia will have to wait for cooperation offers from countries to strengthen Maritime Defense and Maritime Infrastructure if it does not cooperate with Russia.

Finally, the definition of **Choice** is the best choice or the most rational choice. According to Graham T. Allison, choice is defined as success in choosing the best or rational alternative based on accurate data collected for maximum decision results (Allison G. T., 1971). The choice of Indonesia to cooperate with Russia on the eradication of illegal fishing and on investment in the construction of fish management sites in the marine and fisheries sector is the best choice. In fact, the success of Indonesia's cooperation increased maritime security and the quality of fish, allowing Indonesia to improve the illegal fishing condition and to complete in the export market.

The conclusion of Susi Pudjiastuti's policy towards Indonesia's cooperation with Russia is based on maritime issues prior to 2014 that resulted in huge losses and loss of revenue for Indonesia. Illegal fishing by Vietnamese, Malaysian, Chinese and Philippine-flagged foreign vessels that violated Indonesian law in the exclusive economic zone, as well as less than optimal fish management in Indonesia's border areas. So Russia's ambitions in the maritime sector are for the benefit of economic cooperation partners, not political interests in Indonesia's exclusive economic zone issues with other countries. For threats in the exclusive economic zone perceived by Indonesia, Russia provides assistance for surveillance ships and satellite surveillance technology to maintain Maritime defense, and freezing technology to improve fish quality (Lestari, A. February 18, 2023) So Susi Pudjiastuti has a big goal to make a world maritime country which specifically general and specific goals. The general goal focuses on improving the marine and fisheries sector, while the specific goal is to eradicate illegal fishing. In the end, Susi Pudjiastuti's policies led to a cooperation agreement at the 20th ASEAN-RUSSIA Summit in Sochi, Russia.

4.2. Recommendation

This research focused on the process of the cooperation agreement between Indonesia and Russia in the marine and fisheries sector, which was the first cooperation in this sector. Indonesia's cooperation started with Russia during 2014 to 2016, because in 2014, Minister Susi Pudjiastuti took the office as the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. One of her many surprises, was the cooperation with Russia for the first time in the marine and fisheries sector. In 2016, the cooperation was agreed upon by both governments on the sidelines of the ASEAN-Russia Summit in Sochi, Russia.

As a follow-up to this study, the researcher would like to advise future researchers who examine the World Maritime Axis to conduct research on the implementation of the World Maritime Axis along with the reasons for the Indonesian government to continue this cooperation, even though the cooperation factors of the Maritime Axis are less than optimal.

REFERENCES

Adiwijaya, S. (2016, November 3). Susi: Rusia Investasi Rp 2,6 Triliun Bangun Pengolahan Ikan. *Wikipedia*. https://bisnis.tempo.co/amp/817309/susi-rusia-investasi-rp-26-triliun-bangun-pengolahan-ikan

Afriyadi, A. D. (2015, Oktober 21). Indonesia Curi Kesempatan Genjot Ekspor Ikan ke Rusia. *Wikipedia*. https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/2346004/indonesia-curi-kesempatan-genjot-ekspor-ikan-ke-rusia

Allison, G. T. (1999). *Essence of decision In The Theory of Decision-Making Process (Rational Actors Concept, Organisation Process Concept, Government Politics Concept)*. Longman. ISBN: 0-321-01349-2

ANTARA. (2015, Desember 3). Menteri Susi ingin semakin banyak investor dari Rusia. *Wikipedia*. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/533126/menteri-susi-ingin-semakin-banyak-investor-dari-rusia

ANTARA. (2022, September 25). KKP-Rusia perkuat kerja sama ekspor produk perikanan Indonesia. *ANTARA News*. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3138133/kkp-rusia-perkuat-kerja-sama-ekspor-produk-perikanan-indonesia

ANTARANEW. (2014, Agustus 21). Mewujudkan Indonesia sebagai Poros Maritim Dunia. *Wikipedia*. https://m.antaranews.com/amp/berita/449356/mewujudkan-indonesia-sebagai-poros-maritim-dunia

Asdiarti, R. (2018, Desember 18). STRATEGI KERJA SAMA KEAMANAN MARITIM INDONESIA-JEPANG DALAM PENANGANAN ILLEGAL, UNREPORTED, AND UNREGULATED FISHING DI INDONESIA. *Berantas Illegal Fishing*, 01-15.

Dewi, M. F. (2022, Juni 28). PEMBERDAYAAN KELOMPOK NELAYAN MELALUI PROGRAM SENTRA KELAUTAN DAN PERIKANAN TERPADU (SKPT) DI KABUPATEN MALUKU BARAT DAYA. *Proyek Strategi SKPT, Volume 7,*

Nomor 1, Juni 2022, 82-100, 01-19. ISSN 2407-4292 (Print), ISSN 2721-6780 (Online)

Dharmastuti, H. (2014, Oktober 29). Ini 4 Program Kerja Cepat Bu Susi Pudjiastuti. *Wikipedia*. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2732635/ini-4-program-kerja-cepat-bu-susi-pudjiastuti/5

Diposaptono, S. (2016). *Membangun poros maritim dunia: dalam perspektif tata ruang laut* (M. Budiman, Ed.; III ed.). Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan, Direktorat Jenderal Pengelolaan Ruang Laut. ISBN: 978-979-1291-55-2

DPR RI. (2020, February 22). PSDKP Batam Butuh Tambahan Kapal Patroli. *Wikipedia*. https://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/27838/t/javascript

Hakim, A. (2023, Desember). TANGGUNG JAWAB NEGARA DALAM MENANGANI PENANGKAPAN IKAN SECARA ILEGAL DI INDONESIA. *Berantas Illegal Fishing, Volume 12 Nomor 3*, 01-21.

Hamid, F. (2023, February 18). KEPENTINGAN RUSIA DALAM BIDANG MARITIM DI INDONESIA. *Pertahanan Maritim dan Infrastruktur Maritim*, 01-06.

Hartono, E. D. (2019, September). IMPLEMENTASI PEMBANGUNAN MARITIM TERHADAP KEDAULATAN NEGARA KESATUAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA. *Pembangunan Bidang Maritim, 1 No. 2*, 01-13.

Hidayat, R. (2013, Agustus 27). KERJASAMA INDONESIA DAN RUSIA DALAM BIDANG PARIWISATA PADA MASA PEMERINTAHAN SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO TAHUN 2006-2011. *Kerjasama Indonesia Rusia di Bidang Pariwisata*, 01-10. http://repository.unri.ac.id:80/handle/123456789/5050

Isnurhadi, M. R. (2017, Desember). Sekuritisasi Illegal, Unreported, Unregulated Fishing (IUUF) di Perairan Indonesia di Era Pemerintahan Joko Widodo. *Peraturan Keamanan Laut dari ancaman Illegal Fishing*, 01-15.

KEMENVES. (2019, Agustus 22). Sentra Kelautan dan Perikanan Terpadu (SKPT) Membangun Negara Indonesia dari Wilayah Terluar. *Wikipedia*.

https://www.maritim.go.id/detail/sentra-kelautan-perikanan-terpadu-skpt-membangun-negara-indonesia

Khanisa, & Farhana, F. (Eds.). (2018). *Keamanan maritim ASEAN dalam perspektif ekonomi politik Indonesia*. LIPI Press. 978-979-799-968-1 (cetak) 978-979-799-969-8 (e-book)

Kumparan BISNIS. (2022, September 25). KKP Mau Pakai Teknologi Rusia Buat Awasi Kapal Penangkap Ikan. *Wikipedia*. https://kumparan.com/kumparanbisnis/kkp-mau-pakai-teknologi-rusia-buat-awasi-kapal-penangkap-ikan-1yvUPOSTdy2

Launuru, F. R. (2017, Agustus 31). PENANGANAN HASIL TANGKAPAN IKAN TUNA PADA COLD STORAGE DENGAN SISTEM AIR BLAST DI PT AWINDO INTERNATIONAL PELABUHAN PERIKANAN SAMUDERA NIZAM ZACHMAN JAKARTA. *Pengelolaan: Freezing and Processing Fish, 03 (01), 2017, 52-60,* 01-09. http://perikanan.usni.ac.id

Novana, R. F. (2012, February). Kerjasama Indonesia Dengan Rusia Dalam Bidang Pertahanan Militer Pada Masa Pemerintahan Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Periode 2004-2009. *Kerjasama Indonesia dengan Rusia di sektor Pertahanan*, 01-19.

Panrb. (2016, May 19). Indonesia-Rusia Sepakati Lima Nota Kesepahaman. *Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi*. https://www.menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/berita-daerah/indonesia-rusia-sepakati-lima-nota-kesepahaman

Pasopati, G. (2015, January 12). KKP Tangkap 16 Kapal Asing dan 23 kapal Indonesia pada 2014. *CNN Indonesia*. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20150112142556-92-24011/kkp-tangkap-16-kapal-asing-dan-23-kapal-indonesia-pada-2014

PERMEN-KP. (2016, Maret 21). *PERATURAN MENTERI KELAUTAN DAN PERIKANAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 48/PERMEN-KP/2015 TENTANG* [PEDOMAN UMUM PEMBANGUNAN SENTRA KELAUTAN DAN PERIKANAN TERPADU DI PULAU-PULAU KECIL DAN KAWASAN PERBATASAN].

DIREKTUR JENDERAL PERATURAN PERUNDANG-UNDANGAN KEMENTERIAN HUKUM DAN HAK ASASI MANUSIA REPUBLIK INDONESIA.

PERPRES. (2018, Januari 17). PERATURAN MENTERI KELAUTAN DAN PERIKANAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 63/PERMEN-KP/2017 [Berantas Illegal Fishing]. In *RENCANA STRATEGIS KEMENTERIAN KELAUTAN DAN PERIKANAN TAHUN 2015-2019*. DIREKTUR JENDERAL PERATURAN PERUNDANG-UNDANGAN KEMENTERIAN HUKUM DAN HAK ASASI MANUSIA REPUBLIK INDONESIA,.

PERPRES & PERMEN-KP. (2015, Oktober 20). *PERATURAN PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 115 TAHUN 2015 TENTANG SATUAN TUGAS PEMBERANTASAN PENANGKAPAN IKAN SECARA ILEGAL (ILLEGAL FISHING)* [Satgas Pemberantas Illegal Fishing]. MENTER! HUKUM DAN HAK ASASI MANUSIA REPUBLIK INDONESIA.

Primadhyta, S. (2015, Desember 2). Demi Investasi, Menteri Susi Minta Masukan Pebisnis Rusia. *Wikipedia*. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20151202194453-92-95582/demi-investasi-menteri-susi-minta-masukan-pebisnis-rusia

Putra, E. P. (2015, Agustus 23). Indonesia dan Rusia Kerja Sama Lawan Pencurian Ikan. *Wikipedia*. https://news.republika.co.id/berita/ntjb7y334/indonesia-dan-rusia-kerja-sama-lawan-pencurian-ikan

Putri, A. C. (2016). FAKTOR-FAKTOR YANG MEMPENGARUHI KEBERHASILAN KERJASAMA INDONESIA DENGAN VIETNAM DALAM MENANGANI IUU FISHING. *Kerjasama Indonesia dengan Negara Asean*, *Volume 2, Nomor 3*, hal. 220-228. http://ejournal-s1.undip.ac.id/index.php/jihi

Retnowati, E. (2011, Mei 27). NELAYAN INDONESIA DALAM PUSARAN KEMISKINAN STRUKTURAL (PERSPEKTIF SOSIAL, EKONOMI DAN HUKUM). *Hasil Ikan yang mencakup, pengelolaan belum maksimal*, 01-11.

Safriani. (2012). *HUKUM INTERNASIONAL Suatu Pengantar* (2nd ed.). PT RAJAGRAFINDO. ISBN 978-979-769-296-4

SEKETARIS KABINET. (2014, October 27). Dilantik, Menteri Baru Langsung Ikuti Sidang Kabinet Perdana. *Sekretariat Kabinet*. https://setkab.go.id/pada-hari-yang-sama-pukul-14-00-wib-presiden-jokowi-untuk-pertama-kalinya-akan-memimpin-sidang-kabinet-kerja-di-kantor-presiden-di-lingkungan-istana-kepresidenan/

Siwu, R. (2019, Januari 01). PENCEGAHAN DAN PEMBERANTASAN ILLEGAL FISHING MENURUT PERATURAN PRESIDEN NOMOR 115 TAHUN 2015. *Illegal Fishing, Vol. VII/No. 1*, 01-08.

Supriadi, A. (2016, Mei 20). Menteri Susi Ajak Investor Rusia Bangun Pengolahan Ikan di RI. *Wikipedia*. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20160520104600-92-132192/menteri-susi-ajak-investor-rusia-bangun-pengolahan-ikan-di-ri

Suryadi, R. (2023, December 12). KKP Bangun Infrastruktur Teknologi Satelit untuk Pengawasan Terintegrasi. *RRI*. https://rri.co.id/index.php/nasional/478557/kkp-bangun-infrastruktur-teknologi-satelit-untuk-pengawasan-terintegrasi

Suryowati, E. (2016, Mei 19). Jokowi-Putin Sepakati Kerjasama Pemberantasan "Illegal Fishing" Artikel ini telah tayang di Kompas.com dengan judul "Jokowi-Putin Sepakati Kerja Sama Pemberantasan "Illegal Fishing"",. *Wikipedia*. https://money.kompas.com/read/2016/05/19/204035426/jokowi-putin.sepakati.kerja.sama.pemberantasan.illegal.fishing

Tajerin, & Kurniawan, T. (2015, November 25). DAMPAK PENINGKATAN INVESTASI UNTUK PENGEMBANGAN INDUSTRI PENGOLAHAN PRODUK PERIKANAN INDONESIA TERHADAP PEREKONOMIAN NASIONAL. *Impact on Increasing Investment For The Development of Processing Industry Fishery Products In Indonesia To The National Economy, Vol. 1 No. 2 Tahun 2015: 89-107*.

Taufikurahman, M. R. (2018). STRATEGI KEBIJAKAN PEMBANGUNAN KEMARITIMAN DALAM KERANGKA PENINGKATAN INVESTASI NASIONAL. *Tempat Pengelolaan Ikan*, 01-06.

Wartini, S. (September 2022). *PERAN NEGARA PELABUHAN (PORT STATES) Dalam Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Pelaku Illegal Unreported And Unregulated (IUU) Fishing Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional* (Pertama ed.). UII Press Yogyakarta. ISBN: 978-623-6572-49-8

Widjaja, S. (2021). *RANCANGAN PENGATURAN PUNGUTAN TERHADAP PEMANFAATAN SUMBER DAYA PERIKANAN TANGKAP LAUT DI WILAYAH PENGELOLAAN PERIKANAN NEGARA REPUBLIK INDONESIA*. Amafrad Press. ISBN : 978-623-7651-84-0 e-ISBN : 978-623-7651-79-6 (PDF)

Wisudo, S. H., & Kusdiantoro. (2019, Desember 02). KINERJA PEMBANGUNAN PERIKANAN TANGKAP DI INDONESIA The Performance of Capture Fisheries Development in Indonesia. *Pengembngan Investasi Tempat Pengelolaan Ikan Berbasis SKPT*, 01-16. p-ISSN: 2502-0803 e-ISSN: 2541-2930