
Indonesian Diplomacy to Become a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council 2019-2020

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ABSTRACT

The UN Security Council has 15 members divided into two types of membership, namely permanent members and non-permanent members. This research describes and analyzes phenomena, such as events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, thoughts of people individually or in groups. This study seeks to explore Indonesia's strategy and diplomacy to be elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (UNSC) for the 2019-2020 period. Indonesia is actively contributing to peace, humanity, and prosperity in the region and globally. This variable is the primary consideration for UN member states to support Indonesia. Another reason besides that is inseparable from the maturing of democracy in Indonesia. UN member states view Indonesia as a tolerant country, where Islam and democracy go together. Indonesia will strengthen the global peace and stability ecosystem. For this reason, Indonesia will encourage a culture of dialogue so that conflict resolution can always exist peacefully. Indonesia will also seek to increase the synergy between regional organizations and the UN Security Council in maintaining peace and increasing the capacity of UN peacekeepers, including the role of women.

1. Introduction

At the beginning of its independence, Indonesia had unstable conditions in politics, security, and economy. In meeting its national needs and interests, Indonesia cooperates with other countries bilaterally and multilaterally. Indonesia also joins organizations or forums that discuss specific issues and those with a broad scope, both based on specific regions (regional) and covering all regions and countries in the world (international). One of the international organizations that Indonesia is participating in is the United Nations (UN). On September 28, 1950, Indonesia joined the UN and became the 60th member (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2007).

The United Nations was officially founded on October 24, 1945, with 51 members. Before it was officially established, representatives of 50 countries met to draft a charter in the same year, namely the United Nations Charter. The United Nations Charter was signed on June 26, 1945, and entered into force on October 24, 1945, which day is also commemorated as the day the United Nations was founded (United Nations, 2015). The United Nations has six central bodies: The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Court of Justice, and the Secretariat (United Nations, 2014). In Chapter 1 of the United Nations Charter, it is stated that one of the objectives of the establishment of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. The Security Council is a United Nations agency tasked with maintaining international peace and security by the objectives of the United Nations.

The UN Security Council has 15 members divided into two types of membership, namely permanent members and non-permanent members. The permanent members consist of five countries, whose fifth membership has never been replaced since its formation until now, namely the United States, Britain, Russia, China, France. Whereas the non-permanent members consist of ten countries elected by the General Assembly for two years, this election is based on regional areas. Each year, the General Assembly elects five members to be non-permanent members. Each regional region is assigned a seat quota with the following distribution: five seats

for Africa and Asia, one seat for Eastern Europe, two seats for Latin America, and two seats for Western Europe and others (United Nations, 2011). In line with the purpose of its establishment, the UN Security Council must maintain world peace and security. In carrying out its duties, the UN Security Council is given the power, one of which is having the authority to make decisions, which are mandatory for all members of the United Nations (United Nations Security Council, 2012). With this power, each member state of the UN Security Council, both permanent and non-permanent members, has the advantage of including its interests in decision-making. This situation makes countries want to become members of the UN Security Council, Indonesia.

There is no specific mechanism that countries must go through to become candidates for non-permanent members of the UN Security Council. Likewise, with the requirements to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, the UN Charter, and the UN documents, there is no clear statement regarding the terms and mechanisms for nominating members of the UN Security Council.

However, several factors are considered by UN member states in selecting non-permanent members of the UN Security Council, including (UN Elections, 2011):

- A. Troop contributions to UN peacekeeping operations and record and experience in peacekeeping.
- B. Representation of a significant demographic group.
- C. Experience in international leadership.
- D. Financial contribution to the United Nations budget.
- E. Domestic conditions, whether safe or not.
- F. Focus on one candidacy and not campaigning for seats in other bodies or other organizations.

Any country is free to nominate itself as a non-permanent member to represent its region. There are no special conditions or mechanisms that must be met. However, before elections, countries that wish to become non-permanent members of the UN Security Council declare themselves in front of other countries that their country will nominate themselves, as did Indonesia at the 71st UN General Assembly (Maulana, 2016).

At the UN General Assembly on September 22, 2016, Indonesia through Vice President Jusuf Kalla accompanied by Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno LP Marsudi and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Indonesia in New York Ambassador Dian Triansyah Djani declared Indonesia's candidacy to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the period 2019-2020 (Maulana, 2016). As stated in the fourth paragraph of the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia aims to carry out world order. In order to achieve this goal, Indonesia always makes a real contribution to the creation of world peace. In the nomination of Indonesia to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the 2019-2020 period, Indonesia has several advantages, including Indonesia being the world's fourth most populous country, the world's third-largest democracy, and the world's largest Muslim population. Indonesia is proof that differences are not a barrier to creating peace. In addition, Indonesia contributes the most UN peacekeeping troops (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2016).

It has advantages, but Indonesia must face some challenges from its competitors, namely the Maldives. The Maldives is also running for a UN Security Council seat for the 2019-2020 period from the Asian regional group. The Maldives is not an easy opponent for Indonesia. The Maldives is running for the first time as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council since he became a member of the UN (Permanent Mission of The Republic of Maldives to The United Nations, 2016). According to Arrmanantha Nassir as the spokesperson for the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Maldives is a formidable rival for Indonesia because a country that is running for the first time in the UN Security Council election is considered to be able to provide a new spirit in the UN Security Council, which is an attraction for the country. -countries that have recently run for office, such as the Maldives, to be elected in the United Nations Security Council elections (Maulana, 2016). Another challenge for Indonesia is the existence of the Maldives in the international arena, especially the United Nations (Michaella, 2016). Maldives is chairman of the Alliance for the Small Island States (AOSIS), a member of the United Nations Human Rights Council, and the Executive Board of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). Therefore, Indonesia needs more efforts in its nomination to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the 2019-2020 period.

2. Literature Reviews

Many experts define the word diplomacy in their respective languages. Although they are different, the core of their views has something in common. S.L. Roy framed the definition of diplomacy to describe different aspects, which experts created. S.L. Roy said that diplomacy, which is closely related to relations between countries, is the art of prioritizing the interests of a country through negotiations by peaceful means whenever possible in dealing with other countries. If peaceful means fail to achieve the desired goal, diplomacy allows the use of threats or real force as a means to achieve its goals (Roy, 1995).

Barston defines *diplomacy* as managing relations between states or between states and other international relations actors. The state tries to convey, coordinate, and secure its national interests that are specific or broader. In its implementation, official representatives and other actors represent the state. These activities are carried out through correspondence, informal talks, exchange of views, lobbying, visits, and other activities (Djelantik, 2012).

Djelantik, in his book, provides the closest definition to the method and content of diplomacy. According to him, diplomacy represents political, economic, and military pressure on countries involved in diplomatic activities, which is carried out through exchanging requests and concessions between the negotiators. Diplomacy can be carried out in special meetings or general conferences. *Diplomacy* is also defined as an effort to change the policies, actions, goals, and attitudes of governments of other countries and their diplomats through persuasion, offering awards, exchanging concessions, or sending threats (Djelantik, 2012). Diplomacy can be carried out in a bilateral or multilateral framework through persuasion, offering awards or rewards, or threats.

Based on experts' understanding, diplomacy contains elements: who does diplomacy (actor), the patterns used, and what methods are used to carry out diplomacy. To carry out diplomacy, it takes someone or an actor who will represent the parties involved in the diplomacy. The flow of globalization resulted in the emergence of new actors and international issues that are also growing. The actors in diplomacy were initially only state, then increased, namely non-state actors or NGOs. Actors involved in diplomacy are becoming more diverse, diplomacy is carried out through official representatives, and state governments are called main-line diplomacy. Meanwhile, diplomacy carried out by non-state or government agencies representatives is called second-track diplomacy (Djelantik, 2012).

Based on the pattern, according to Djelantik, diplomacy is divided into bilateral and multilateral. Bilateral diplomacy is carried out through a bilateral relationship pattern, which only involves two countries. Examples of bilateral diplomacy are signing agreements (treaties), exchange of ambassadors, and state visits. Diplomacy with this pattern is still widely used by countries in carrying out their diplomacy. Meanwhile, multilateral diplomacy is carried out through a multilateral relationship pattern, in which this pattern involves more actors in it. Multilateral diplomacy is carried out in a conference such as ad-hoc and insignificant conferences, for example, the six-country conference on traffic control, and so on; or permanent conferences attended by many countries or international organizations, for example, the United Nations, ASEAN, Etc (Djelantik, 2012).

Based on the notion of diplomacy, diplomacy is carried out through persuasion, offering awards, or sending threats (Djelantik, 2012). Persuasion is the act of initiating or discussing a proposal with another party and obtaining a favorable response without explicitly stating the possibility of reward or punishment. Persuasion as an output of foreign policy can be in the form of diplomatic relations, issuing doctrines, making alliances, declaring long-term and short-term goals. Offer of reward, namely a situation when a country promises to do something that benefits another country if the other country fulfils the wishes of the country that made the promise. Rewards can be anything relevant in International relations. The threat of punishment is given to a country that does not want to do or even does not comply with the agreement that has been made (K.J. Holsti & Azhary, 1988).

3. Research Method

This research describes and analyzes phenomena, such as events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, thoughts of people individually or in groups. Solving problems that exist in research requires in-depth, regular, and continuous investigation in order to find out how the research steps should be. This variable is essential in the research process carried out in a planned and systematic manner.

The method used is descriptive with a qualitative approach, with natural characteristics (natural setting) as a direct, descriptive data source.

Creswell (2016:3) explains that research methods are research plans and procedures that include steps ranging from broad assumptions to detailed data collection, analysis, and interpretation.

The research method used by the researcher is descriptive with a qualitative approach. Descriptive research is a writing that describes the actual situation of the object under study, according to the actual situation at the time of direct research, the data collected is not in the form of numbers, but the data comes from manuscripts, interviews, field notes, personal documents, memo notes, and other documents.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1 Indonesia's Serious Efforts to Become a Non-Permanent Member of the UN

Indonesia's success in becoming a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council cannot be separated from its lobbying efforts, significantly to gain support from UN member countries. Based on the lobbying carried out, Indonesia received at least three types of support for the candidacy.

First is unilateral support, where a country directly supports Indonesia without reciprocal conditions. The second is mutual support; namely, Indonesia will support a country to get the desired position in an international body. Instead, the country will support Indonesia for the nomination of non-permanent members of the UN Security Council. The third is vocal support conveyed by the governments of several countries, both in bilateral meetings and in regional and multilateral forums. In addition, Indonesia also asks countries that have supported verbally to provide written support, which is growing.

According to President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), the election of Indonesia is the result of the long-term hard work of Indonesian diplomats. The issue of Indonesia's candidacy is always raised in every meeting of the Head of State with friendly countries. President Jokowi also emphasized that Indonesia carried out a clean campaign in the nomination. Indonesia prioritizes track record and vision for the UN Security Council, namely by launching the theme, "a true partner for world peace."

Indonesia's stable and peaceful condition has also contributed significantly to Indonesia's success as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council and democratic life in Indonesia, which is more mature and has received international appreciation. Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno Marsudi stated that from various meetings at the United Nations, it was clear that the international community highly appreciated Indonesia's track record by seeing democracy and tolerance as assets for Indonesia to play an active role in the UN Security Council. No less critical, Indonesia has always been considered to have played a role in maintaining world peace. This supports the primary considerations of UN member states.

The House of Representatives also carried out lobbying activities to support Indonesia's candidacy to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. On various occasions, both bilaterally, when receiving delegations from friendly countries visiting the DPR or through inter-parliamentary session forums, the DPR stated to the partners it met to support Indonesia's candidacy to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. The lobbying of the House of Representatives was carried out, among others, on the sidelines of the session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union 138th (IPU) in Geneva, Switzerland, March 2018, which was attended by delegates from 146 countries, and when receiving visits from Ambassadors of friendly countries who visit the House of Representatives.

The lobbying effort carried out by Indonesia aims at Indonesia's mission to play a more significant role in maintaining world peace. Maintaining world peace is an obligation as a mandate for the independence of the Indonesian state. As a member of the United Nations, this obligation is per one of the main objectives of establishing the United Nations. The primary purpose of establishing the United Nations based on Chapter 1 of the United Nations Charter is to maintain world peace and international security, primarily through the roles and functions carried out by members of the United Nations Security Council.

The UN Security Council is responsible for implementing international peace and security. This body consists of 5 permanent members (United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and China) and ten non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly every two years. The duties of the UN Security Council include resolving disputes peacefully, taking preventive or coercive measures to maintain peace and security, and supervising areas in dispute. The re-election of Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council is momentum for Indonesia to contribute and take an essential role in maintaining world peace.

4.2 Indonesia's Duty to Become a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council

Although Indonesia is a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council and only serves for two years, its strategic role can still be carried out. Normatively speaking, Indonesia's presence in the Security Council can influence UN decisions, even though it does not have the privilege of veto power as the five permanent member countries of the UN Security Council. Indonesia can also provide views and ideas to maintain global security and stability. Because, after all, when the UN discusses international security issues, the voices of the members of the UN Security Council as a whole (both permanent and non-permanent) must be heard and taken into consideration. This means that Indonesia's voice must also be considered and considered by the United Nations in deciding international security issues.

Moreover, Indonesia can play a role as a "bridge-builder"(bridge-builder) peace, especially in the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of international security, which until now have not been resolved. For example, in responding to security issues in the Middle East, especially the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Indonesia can remind the major countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council, especially the US, to re-encourage the peace process in the Middle East. The peace process must accommodate the views of the conflicting parties and prioritize justice, especially for the Palestinian people.

Through the UN Security Council, Indonesia can also continue to oversee regional security issues that can cause conflicts, such as security in the waters of the South China Sea, which China and several ASEAN countries dispute. In this issue, Indonesia must remind the disputing parties to prioritize peace negotiations in the settlement process and respect international law. Concerning security issues on the Korean Peninsula that have become increasingly conducive, through its membership in the UN Security Council, Indonesia must ensure that the peace between North and South Korea that will be achieved can be appropriately implemented.

The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasizes that Indonesia must strengthen the global peace and stability ecosystem. Indonesia must encourage a culture of the habit of dialogue so that conflict resolution can always be carried out peacefully. To support this, Indonesia must seek to increase the synergy between regional organizations and the UN Security Council in maintaining peace. Meanwhile, to address the threat of terrorism and extremism, which are common challenges to the international community, Indonesia must take advantage of its membership in the UN Security Council to form a comprehensive global

approach to combat terrorism, radicalism, and extremism. These three roles are strategic roles that Indonesia can play as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Indonesia must make maximum use of the role of the UN for the sake of world peace, namely by continuing to encourage the importance of the presence of the UN (peacekeepers), especially in areas that have not been entirely free from conflict. So far, Indonesia is one of the countries in the world that has contributed significantly to sending UN peacekeepers. Currently, there are thousands of UN peacekeepers serving in 10 UN peacekeeping missions in the world, mainly in Asia and Africa.

Another strategic role is to encourage the reform process within the United Nations. Since the World Summit UN in 2005, the focus of UN reform has been on efforts to make the Security Council more democratic and representative. There are at least five key issues that need to be discussed, which include:

1. Categories of membership,
2. Question of veto (Question of veto),
3. Regional representation,
4. Expansion of the membership (of the Security Council and its working methods Size of the enlarged Security Council and its working methods),
5. The relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Indonesia must push back the reform process of the UN Security Council because until now, there has been no significant progress, mainly due to the sharp differences in positions between various groups of countries regarding the five key issues of UN Security Council reform. Indonesia must strive for a comprehensive discussion of UN Security Council reforms. For the membership category, for example, Indonesia needs to encourage membership of the UN Security Council to pay attention to representation between regions and between developed and developing countries and significant world constituencies in the proposal to increase the membership of the UN Security Council.

Regarding the veto right, it is necessary to rethink its use because it does not reflect the reality of the current international system, which has undergone fundamental changes in both representation and substance. Regarding regional representation, it is necessary to find a balance between geopolitical realities and regional representation, taking into account:

- the massive imbalance of representation for the Asian and African regions
- increasing the representation of developing countries
- the need for more balanced representation as a reflection of the diversity and plurality of today's world

Meanwhile, to improve the quality of Security Council decisions and increase the sense of shared ownership, Indonesia needs to support more significant interaction between the Security Council and UN members, essential UN organs, regional organizations, and other stakeholders.

Indonesia's strategic role is not solely because Indonesia is a significant contributor in sending UN peacekeepers, but also because of the responsibility of a UN member who should care about world peace. Indonesia must become a connecting bridge for efforts to realize international peace and security, in line with the mandate of the opening of the 1945 Constitution, which among other things, states that the Government of Indonesia participates in carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice.

5. Conclusion

The UN Security Council must maintain world peace and security. In carrying out its duties, the UN Security Council is given the power, one of which is having the authority to make decisions, which are mandatory for all members of the United Nations (United Nations Security Council, 2012). With this power, each member state of the UN Security Council, whether permanent or non-permanent, has the advantage of including its interests in decision-making. These things align with Indonesia's vision to maintain peace in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution and subsequently made Indonesia want to become a member of the UN Security Council.

Various supports that Indonesia must meet to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council:

1. Unilateral support, where a country directly supports Indonesia without reciprocal conditions.
2. Mutual support, namely Indonesia, will support a country to get the desired position in an international body. Instead, the country will support Indonesia for the nomination of non-permanent members of the UN Security Council.

3. Vocal support has been conveyed by the governments of several countries, both in bilateral meetings and in regional and multilateral forums.

In addition, Indonesia also asks countries that have supported verbally to provide written support, which is growing. Of course, supporting countries expect Indonesia's strategic role not only because Indonesia is a significant contributor in sending UN peacekeepers but also because of responsibilities as a member of the UN who should care about world peace. Indonesia must become a connecting bridge for efforts to realize international peace and security, in line with the mandate of the opening of the 1945 Constitution, which states that the Government of Indonesia participates in carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice. Indonesia is expected to be prepared in all respects, both internally and externally, and this must be immediately pursued by maintaining its strategic role in the international political arena.

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