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## Leveraging Indonesia's G20 Presidency for Post-Pandemic Economic Resurgence and Global Diplomatic Leadership

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### Abstrak

Penelitian ini menelusuri seluk-beluk kerja sama internasional melalui kacamata Kelompok Dua Puluh (G20), sebuah forum penting yang didirikan pada tahun 1999 yang mempertemukan negara-negara besar di dunia untuk secara kolaboratif mengatasi tantangan keuangan dan ekonomi global. Struktur unik G20, yang ditandai dengan tidak adanya sekretariat permanen dan sistem kepresidenan bergilir, menawarkan model kerja sama dan diplomasi internasional yang khas. Pada tahun 2022, Indonesia mengambil peran kepemimpinan yang penting ini, sehingga memberikan peluang yang belum pernah ada sebelumnya bagi negara ini untuk menunjukkan kemampuannya dalam tata kelola global dan diplomasi ekonomi. Inti dari penelitian ini terletak pada penerapan teori kerja sama internasional untuk menilai strategi dan pencapaian Indonesia selama menjadi presiden G20, khususnya dalam konteks pemulihan ekonomi pasca pandemi COVID-19. Kerangka teoritis ini memberikan landasan untuk menganalisis secara kritis bagaimana Indonesia menavigasi kompleksitas pembangunan konsensus internasional, koordinasi kebijakan, dan kepemimpinan kolaboratif dalam tema "Pulihkan Bersama, Pulih Lebih Kuat." Dengan menggunakan metodologi kualitatif, penelitian ini mengeksplorasi manuver diplomasi Indonesia di G20, dan mengkaji bagaimana kepresidenan Indonesia memfasilitasi kebangkitan ekonomi dalam negeri dan kolaborasi ekonomi internasional. Studi ini mengacu pada sumber-sumber primer, data ekonomi, dan wawancara dengan para pembuat kebijakan dan pakar, serta mengintegrasikan perspektif teoretis mengenai kerja sama internasional untuk menafsirkan temuan-temuan ini. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk berkontribusi pada pemahaman yang lebih luas tentang bagaimana posisi kepemimpinan sementara di forum internasional dapat mempengaruhi kebijakan ekonomi nasional dan global, khususnya setelah krisis global. Temuan-temuan ini diharapkan dapat memberikan wawasan berharga mengenai dinamika kerja sama internasional, peran G20 dalam tata kelola ekonomi global, dan strategi diplomatik dan ekonomi Indonesia selama kepemimpinannya di G20.

Kata Kunci: *Presidensi G20, Strategi Diplomati Indonesia, Pemulihan Ekonomi Pasca Pandemi, COVID-19 dan Hubungan Internasional, Kerjasama Internasional*

#### Abstract

This research navigates the intricacies of international cooperation through the lens of the Group of Twenty (G20), a pivotal forum established in 1999 that congregates the world's major economies to collaboratively address global financial and economic challenges. The G20's unique structure, characterized by the absence of a permanent secretariat and a rotational presidency system, offers a distinctive model for international cooperation and diplomacy. In 2022, Indonesia assumed this crucial leadership role, presenting an unparalleled opportunity for the nation to exhibit its capabilities in global governance and economic diplomacy. The core of this study lies in applying the theory of international cooperation to assess Indonesia's strategies and achievements during its G20 presidency, particularly in the context of economic recovery following the COVID-19 pandemic. This theoretical framework provides a lens to critically analyze how Indonesia navigated the complexities of international consensus-building, policy coordination, and collaborative leadership under the theme "Recover Together, Recover Stronger." Utilizing a qualitative methodology, this research explores Indonesia's diplomatic maneuvers within the G20, examining how its presidency facilitated both domestic economic resurgence and international economic collaboration. The study draws on primary sources, economic data, and interviews with policymakers and experts, and integrates theoretical perspectives on international cooperation to interpret these findings. The research aims to contribute to the broader understanding of how temporary leadership positions in international forums can influence national and global economic policies, particularly in the wake of a global crisis. The findings are anticipated to provide valuable insights into the dynamics of international cooperation, the role of the G20 in global economic governance, and Indonesia's diplomatic and economic strategies during its G20 presidency.

Keywords: *G20 Presidency, Indonesia's Diplomatic Strategy, Post-Pandemic Economic Recovery, COVID-19 and International Relations, International Cooperation*

#### INTRODUCTION

The inception of the Group of Twenty (G20) in 1999 signified a transformative moment in the sphere of global economic governance. Emerging as a more inclusive and dynamic forum than its forerunner, the G7, the G20 was established to address the inadequacies observed in handling complex global economic issues (Woods, 2010). Initially conceived as a dialogue platform for Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, the G20 has since broadened its scope, encompassing diverse economic challenges such as finance, trade, infrastructure, and socio-economic issues including employment and education (Hajnal, 2016). This expansion has elevated the G20's visibility and influence, especially during global crises. The group's instrumental role in orchestrating international responses to the 2008

financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic highlights its significance in global economic management (Beeson & Bell, 2009; Lombardi, 2017).

2022 marked a pivotal year with Indonesia assuming the G20 presidency at a time when the world was grappling with the lingering economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. This role was far from ceremonial; it was a strategic juncture for both Indonesia and the G20's global agenda (Helleiner & Kirshner, 2020). Indonesia's robust economic performance over the past decades, surpassing global growth rates, positioned it uniquely as it took on the G20 presidency. This tenure offered Indonesia a platform to champion policies that would catalyze not only its own economic revival but also aid in global economic recovery, leveraging its success in maintaining economic stability and growth (Hill & Menon, 2020). Additionally, Indonesia's presidency provided an opportunity to advance national interests, including attracting foreign investment, fostering technological innovation, and promoting sustainable development. These endeavors could significantly influence the formulation of global economic policies and norms (Lindner & Walkenhorst, 2020).

This research sets out with dual objectives in the context of Indonesia's 2022 G20 presidency. Firstly, it aims to scrutinize Indonesia's policy measures, particularly focusing on economic recovery strategies and attracting foreign investment. This involves an in-depth analysis of policy tools like trade agreements, financial stimuli, or regulatory reforms and evaluating their effectiveness in driving economic growth and foreign direct investment (Nölke, 2014; Jordà et al., 2020). Secondly, the study seeks to assess the global impact of Indonesia's G20 presidency, particularly its influence in international economic forums. This includes examining the resonance of Indonesia's policy initiatives within the G20 and their potential effect on other multilateral platforms, such as the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund, as well as regional forums like ASEAN (Armijo & Katada, 2015).

The research transcends academic interests, aiming to enrich discourse on international economic governance and provide empirical insights for policymakers, particularly in nations poised to assume future G20 presidencies. These insights are crucial for strategic planning in international economic governance (Drezner, 2007; Hurrell & Woods, 1999). The backdrop for this article is the recent G20 forum hosted by Indonesia in November 2022 amidst the ongoing pandemic recovery. This event is pivotal as Indonesia leverages its chairmanship to attract foreign investment and strengthen economic recovery and global leadership. The scarcity of literature on the G20's role in post-pandemic economic recovery makes this research particularly timely and relevant. This study seeks to

explore Indonesia's strategic approach during its G20 presidency and its implications for securing investment from G20 members, raising the critical question: "What strategic objectives underpin Indonesia's G20 presidency?"

In this research, writer using national interest theory as the theoretical framework to explain about the discussion.

### National Interest Theory

The national interest or in the French expression the *raison d'État* is the goals and ambitions of the state, whether economic, military, or cultural. According to the mainstream stream in International Relations Studies, this concept is important as a basis for states in conducting international relations. Machiaveli's arguments about national importance are widely referenced in practice and theoretical development, as justification for the international behavior of states that ignored the main interests of earlier antiquity, namely religion and morality. The state is derived from the divine order and is subject to its own special need, that is, national importance. National interests are closely related to state power as an end and instrument, especially hard power. When the national interest aims to pursue power and power is used as an instrument to achieve national interests, the consequences in the international system are perceived as anarchy unless the power itself is competition, the emergence of a balance of power, conflict and war (Bainus & Rachman, 2018).

This theory explains that for the survival of a country the state must meet the needs of its country, in other words, that is, achieve its national interests. With the achievement of national interests, the state will run stably, both in terms of politics, economy, social, defense and security in other words if the national interests are fulfilled then the state will survive

National Interest is the goals to be achieved in relation to the needs of the nation / state or in connection with things that are aspired to. In this respect the national interests that are relatively fixed and equal among all states / nations are security (including the survival of their people and territorial needs) and welfare. These two main things are security (Security) from welfare (Prosperity). The national interest is identified with the "national purpose". For example, the interests of economic development, the interests of developing and improving the quality of Human Resources (HR) or the interest of inviting foreign investment to accelerate the pace of industrialization.

Based on the explanation above, therefore the author uses the theory of national interest in his writing. Indonesia in 2022, which has the opportunity to lead the presidency, can use it to achieve Indonesia's national interests, especially in the recovery period after

Covid-19. Indonesia in this case took advantage of its position to get investors to enter and sign the MoU to G-20 member countries and better introduce Indonesia's potential in the eyes of the world.

## RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the methodological approach is solely grounded in qualitative analysis, specifically focusing on secondary data sources. Given the nature of the research question and the constraints on primary data collection, this approach is considered appropriate for a comprehensive understanding of the Indonesian government's attitude and policy initiatives during its G20 presidency.

Data collection for this research will predominantly rely on scrutinizing publicly available policy documents, official communiqués, and transcripts emanating from both the Indonesian government and international organizations involved with the G20. This will be complemented by academic articles, think-tank reports, opinion pieces, and media coverage discussing Indonesia's role and strategies as the G20 president. These sources provide a rich repository of information, perspectives, and context that can be critically analyzed to discern patterns, themes, and nuances pertinent to Indonesia's policy measures for economic recovery and foreign investment attraction.

Given that the research does not involve primary data collection through interviews, the study will utilize the analytical richness of secondary qualitative data as its backbone. Previously conducted interviews and statements reported in academic journals, government publications, or reputable media outlets will serve as proxy sources to understand the perspectives of key actors like policymakers and international organization representatives (Kothari, 2004).

The analysis will go beyond a mere listing of policy initiatives; it aims to delve into the ideological underpinnings and discourses surrounding these policy decisions. The ultimate goal is to construct a coherent "frame" that encapsulates the multifaceted attitudes and strategies of the Indonesian government. This frame will serve as an analytical lens through which the complexities of policy formulation, international cooperation, and negotiation strategies can be critically examined.

Thematic analysis will be the principal analytical technique used to sift through the data. This involves coding the data to categorize them into various themes, which will then be intricately examined to draw interpretations and formulate conclusions. The qualitative nature of this approach lends itself well to generating nuanced insights into not just the actions but also the intentions, motivations, and strategic calculations underlying Indonesia's

role in the G20. This methodological frame enriches the academic dialogue in political science, particularly within realms related to international cooperation, governance, and the articulation of soft power.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

### 1. Indonesia's Policy Measures for Economic Recovery

#### 1.1 Overview of the key policies enacted by Indonesia during its G20 presidency to stimulate economic recovery.

One way for Indonesia to restore the national economy is through the G20 International Forum. Indonesia, which for the first time became part of the Troika G20 together with Italy and Saudi Arabia since it was formed in 1999, accepted the G20 presidency by Italy on October 31 2021 in the city of Rome, Italy. This is an important piece of history considering that Indonesia is the only ASEAN country to join the G20 forum and is ranked 10th in the Purchasing Power Parity list among G20 members. Through a report from the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, it was reported that there were 2 strategic issue tracks in the G20 discussions, namely the Finance Track and the Sherpa Track.

The Finance Track discusses financial issues, such as fiscal, monetary and real policy, infrastructure investment, financial regulation, financial inclusion and international taxation. This strategic issue is carried out by the Minister of Finance and the central bank governor of each country. These issues were discussed first in a working group (WG) meeting before finally being brought to the summit. The discussion of issues at this fiscal track meeting is expected to produce recommendations for global economic and financial policies outlined in a communiqué or ministerial declaration and a Rephrase action plan. Based on the Bank Indonesia website, the financial tracking section prioritizes 6 questions, first, withdrawal policies to restore the global economy after the pandemic, second, payment systems in the digital era, third, how to overcome prolonged effects or scarring, fourth, comprehensive finance, fifth, sustainable finance, sixth, international taxation system. Typically involves implementing a joint OECD/G-20 framework on tax base erosion and profit shifting (BEPS) strategies.

Sherpa Track discusses broader areas beyond financial issues, such as anti-corruption, digital economy, employment, agriculture, education, foreign affairs, culture, health, development, environment, tourism, sustainable energy, trade, investment, industry , and women's empowerment. Discussions on these issues have been carried out by the ministry at the ministerial level of each member. The Sherpa track will bring together 1 initiative group, 11 WGs, and 10 engagement groups (EG) to discuss and provide recommendations

for the G20 agenda and priorities. Discussion of issues through this strategy is expected to produce ministerial level political declarations, plans of action and policy recommendations. From the two strategic policies that have been explained, Indonesia will experience both economic and socio-cultural benefits. In total, the economic benefits are estimated to be 1.5-2 times greater than the 2018 IMF-WBG Annual Meetings in Bali. Apart from that, the most important benefit is branding Indonesia internationally.

## 2. Attracting Foreign Investments

### 2.1 Indonesia Diplomacy Result through G20

In accordance with its aim to restore the economy after the pandemic (Recovery after pandemic), Indonesia has succeeded in signing various collaborations with other G20 member countries, one of which is China. Indonesia-China, which has good bilateral relations, continues to be stable, improving and becoming more mature. This has had a good influence on Indonesia, where China is currently turning rapidly into a world economic giant. At the G20 forum held in Bali, the governments of Indonesia and China signed five cooperation on Wednesday, 16 November 2022 (Setkab Indonesia, 2022). One of the MoUs signed was the MoU regarding digital economy between Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartarto and the Minister of Trade of the People's Republic of China (PRC) Wang Wentao. The MoU regulates the existence of a framework and forum in discussing digital economic cooperation between the Governments of Indonesia and China. This MoU is based on the increasing number of digital economy users in Indonesia whose value has reached 100 billion US Dollars. Not only that, Indonesia also succeeded in signing Joint Promotion Cooperation Plan within the Framework of the World Maritime Axis and Belt and Road Initiative, Memorandum of Understanding on the Joint Development of the Indonesia-China Center for Conservation/Research/Innovation of Medicinal Plants, Memorandum of Understanding on Vocational Training in the Industrial Sector, Memorandum of Understanding on Increasing Cooperation Digital Economy, and; Agreement to Expand and Deepen Further Bilateral Economic and Trade Cooperation.

Not only with China, through the G20 forum Indonesia also succeeded in signing an MoU with Turkey. On November 15 2022, Minister of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) Basuki Hadimuljono witnessed the signing of the cooperation contract in the series of holding the G20 summit (Tim Komunikasi dan Media G20, 2022). There are several collaborations carried out starting from the Indonesia-Turkey MoU regarding trans-Sumatra toll carried out by PT Hutama Karya Koentjoro and Vice President of the Board of Directors of ERG Insaat Ticaret ve Sanayi Mustafa Sani Erbilgin. Apart from that, there is also

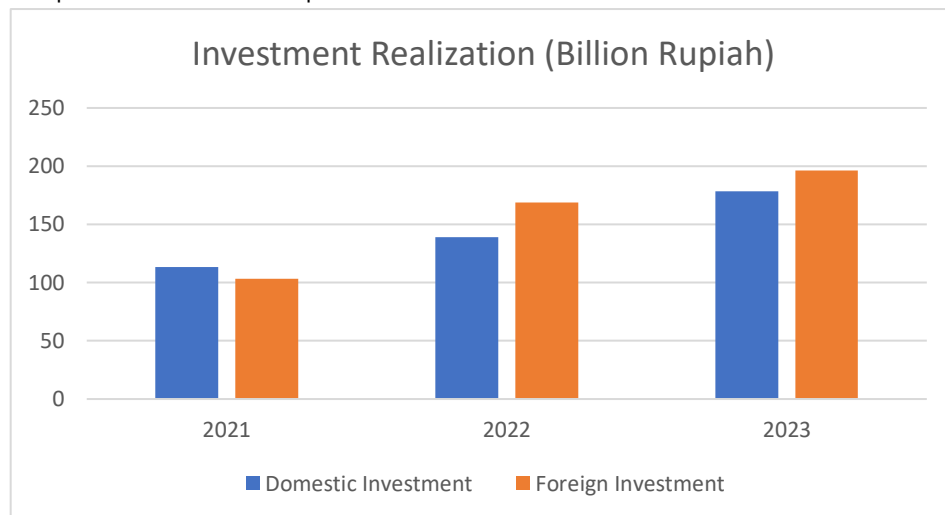
cooperation in the defense sector which was signed by the Indonesian Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto and the Turkish Defense Minister Hulusi Akar. Then there was an MoU on research, technology and innovation cooperation between the Head of the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) Laksana Tri Handoko and Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu.

Indonesia has also succeeded in collaborating with Japan. The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the government of the Republic of Indonesia represented by the Directorate General of Railways, Ministry of Transportation signed Minutes of Understanding (MoU) for JICA's technical cooperation with the Indonesian government (JICA Indonesia, 2022). Through this MoU, JICA supports the Indonesian government in expanding the public transportation system by expanding the reach of the East-West MRT line. In the MoU, there is an agreement regarding 2 JICA technical supports, namely Technical Cooperation for the implementation structure, under the "Institutional and Financial Study for Jakarta Mass Rapid Transit for East-West Line Project" (or called CMS) and Technical Cooperation for the system, under under the "System Engineering Services of Interoperability Standard for East-West Line Project" (called SESIS) utilizing Japanese expertise.

Indonesia also signed MoU with USA, The MoU between both country under the PT Pertamina and ExxonMobil has MoU with value about 2,5 Million USD to continue evaluate assessment of development carbon capture and sequestration hub in Indonesia (Portal Indonesia, 2022). The companies have agreed to assess the potential for technologies such as carbon capture, utilization and storage, and low-carbon hydrogen. By jointly examining subsurface data, the companies expect to identify geologic formations deep underground that could be suitable to safely store CO<sub>2</sub>, and the potential for safe, commercially viable utilization of CO<sub>2</sub>. The MoU strengthens a decades-long strategic partnership between ExxonMobil and Pertamina, and has the objective of advancing Indonesia's net-zero ambitions.

These various MoUs are one of the results of the Indonesian presidency at the G20 forum. The resulting collaboration will of course not only cover the government sector, but also the private sector of both countries. Indonesia's leadership in the G20 in 2022 is considered successful in the fields of international diplomacy and the economy because it provides added value for Indonesia's recovery, both in terms of economic activity and domestic and international public trust. From a regional perspective, Indonesia is also the only ASEAN country that is a member of the G20 which is fit to lead the presidency during the Covid-19 recovery period. This has succeeded in making Indonesia the spotlight of world

attention. Of course, this good thing can be used to show Indonesia's success during its presidency of the G20 which can restore the confidence of post-pandemic economic players and introduce superior Indonesian products and tourism to the international world.



*Source: Ministry of Investment Indonesia*

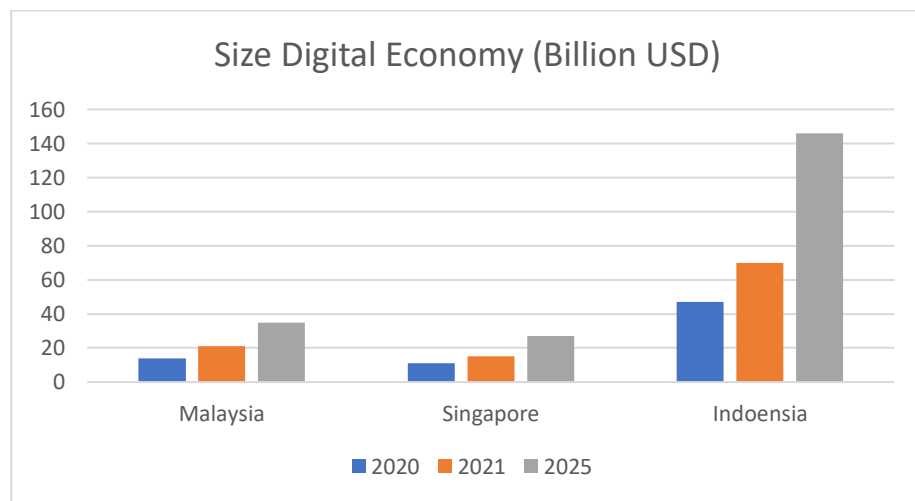
### 3. Role of Digital Platforms and Technologies

#### 3.1 Digital platforms for economic coordination and international cooperation.

Cited from Binus Economy magazine, Technological progress has a very broad impact on various fields, one of which is the economy which is starting to move into the digital economy stage. The digital economy is an economic concept that uses digital technology as a key element in the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. This covers a lot of things, from e-commerce, digital banking, instant messaging apps and social media. Because, one of the characteristics of the digital economy is the adoption of digital technology to increase efficient production processes, connect businesses with customers globally, and create innovation to encourage economic growth. Indonesia has taken a position in the G20 presidency in 2022 which has a great opportunity to raise the issue of supply chain digitalization in the realm of all member and even non-member countries.

This digital economy can change business patterns that were previously done manually to become completely automated. Digital diplomacy can encourage the creation of economic cooperation. Currently, no country is immune to global economic megatrends, such as rising inequality, the impact of the 4th industrial revolution, and recent trade tensions between several countries. As a result, diplomacy and cooperation are the only ways to deal with these challenges. This is what Indonesia has used in its presidency as a strategy for utilizing digital platforms to improve economic growth after the Covid-19 pandemic. The Director General of Information Applications at the Ministry of

Communication and Information, Samuel A. Pangerapan, in the West Merdeka Forum (FMB) 9 discussion said, "The aim of digital transformation is to create a more inclusive global economic recovery, especially through digital integration of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) . Apart from that, expanding financial inclusion, accelerating digital literacy and skills, as well as governance reform." This means that the use of digital media is very important in supporting the current era of digital transformation. The birth of this digital economic pattern will be a great opportunity for Indonesia to be involved in building the global economy.



*Source: Ministry of Finance Indonesia 2022*

Quoted from the website of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesia's digital economy is driving growth and is predicted to continue to increase. Based on the data table above, Indonesia's digital economic growth will continue to increase, growing 20% from 2023 to 146 billion USD in 2025, beating other countries in ASEAN, where it is predicted that e-commerce and online travel will become the 2 biggest contributors to Indonesia's digital economy (Ministry of Finance, 2022). This is what Indonesia can take advantage of with its strategic position in the 2022 G20 presidency.

one proof of Indonesia's success in the 2022 G20 presidency to revive the post-COVID-19 pandemic is the implementation of 100 selected MSMEs marketing their products through the MSME Go Online Virtual Expo event in October 2022. This is a form of technology adoption 4.0 for MSME players. MSMEs are invited to continue to improve efficiency and follow developments in digitalization for the sake of developing their businesses. The government has various initiatives and policies, one of which is the "Proudly Made in Indonesia" program which can accelerate the achievement of 30 million Indonesian MSMEs going digital by 2024.

In the series of G20 activities in 2022, there is a series of Digital Economy Working Groups (DEWG) which are holding the Digital Economy Minister's Meeting (DEMM) on September 1 2022. The DEMM meeting is chaired directly by the Chair of DEMM, namely the Indonesian Minister of Communication and Information (Kominfo), Jhonny G. Plate who produced a Chair's Summary with full support from all G20 members and invited countries on three DEWG priority issues with 12 deliverables. The discussion of these three priority issues along with all the deliverables is an elaboration of DEWG's big theme, namely Achieving a Resilient Recovery: Working Together for a More Inclusive, Empowering, and Sustainable Digital Transformation. In this activity, apart from G20 member countries, international organizations such as the Telecommunication Union (ITU), United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the descriptions that the author has explained, Indonesia as the 2022 G-20 presidency is considered successful in carrying out its role. In accordance with the theme "recover together, recover stronger", Indonesia has successfully run the G20 with strategies used to strengthen the Indonesian economy after the COVID-19 pandemic. Indonesia's leadership, which was initially doubtful because it was affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, has become one of Indonesia's strategies to prove to the world that Indonesia is worthy of carrying out the G-20 presidency. Indonesia's strategy of utilizing its leadership has also been successful in attracting foreign investment with the cooperation carried out to improve the Indonesian economy with other G20 member countries.

Looking at the findings in the article above, it can be seen that Indonesia's national interests are more specifically focused on strategy during Indonesia's economic recovery period after the COVID-19 pandemic. Indonesia can strategically utilize the G20 forum to strengthen investment, policy formation and the digital economy. This shows that the polarization of Indonesia's leadership in the G20 can be utilized well for the sustainability of Indonesia's economic resilience

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