# Oil Gas Cooperation, Indonesia and Angola Factors that Caused the Obstruction (2014-2018)

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**Abstract.** This Paper aims to analyse the factors that have caused the obstruction of oil and gas cooperation between Indonesia and Angola in the period 2014 - 2018. The research method used is expansive. Data collection techniques are library research and interviews. The results of this study illustrate that the oil and gas cooperation between Indonesia and Angola in 2014, as the implementation of the Indonesian government's revitalization in welcoming the new era of subsidies, was not by the existing conditions. The theories used in this study are bilateral Cooperation Theory, Energy security, and Negotiation. Based on this theory, it can be concluded that the obstacles that occur in this collaboration are the lack of maturity of Indonesia in this collaboration and the inconsistency of Angola in determining agreed prices, and the weak lobbying of Indonesian negotiations in getting agreed prices until there is a supplying State alternative.

Keywords: Cooperation, Petroleum and Gas, Energy Security.

#### 1 Introduction

Energy, particularly fossil fuels has become a key factor in shaping international economic and political relations[1]. Many observers predict that fossil fuels and their transportation will be the dominant factors in international politics. The realization that finite fossil fuels form the lifeline of the modern economy has brought control and access to these resources on the agenda of both developed and developing countries[2]. When the need for environmentally friendly energy is increasing, oil and gas become one of the alternatives of choice for many countries even though the geopolitics of gas trade is more complex[3].

Indonesia is one of the countries with abundant oil and gas wealth. Indonesia's proven oil reserves are 4.23 MMSTB (Million Stock Tank Barrel) and Indonesia's proven gas reserves are 108 TSCF (Trillion Standard Cubic Feet). When viewed in global scope, Indonesia's proven oil reserves account for about 0.4 percent of the world's proven oil reserves, and Indonesia's proven natural gas reserves account for 1.6 percent of all world natural gas reserves. However, Indonesia has passed its peak oil production period and is currently experiencing a decline in production. Even though our gas production is increasing, the facilities and infrastructure for gas utilization are still not available in bulk. Finally, oil and gas production is not well controlled. The proof is that Indonesia, which used to be a member of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) had to leave its membership in 2005. This is because Indonesia has a demand for oil of 1.3 million BPD (barrels per day) while the country's national production only reaches 910,000 BPD (barrels per day). On this basis, half

of our gas production is still exported and cannot fully replace oil as the main energy source [4].

Indonesia still has significant reserves of oil and gas but needs substantial investment and technology for the exploration. Overall, the country's oil production is declining by 11% per year due to ageing oil fields and the lack of new oil field exploration, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Indonesia oil production (in barrels per day (bpd)

Year	Oil Production
2017	803,000
2018	778,000
2019	746,000

Source: https://www.trade.gov/energy-resource-guide-indonesia-oil-and-gas

Multinational energy (oil and gas) companies are also present in countries rich in energy sources to meet these needs[5], [6]. Therefore, to cover the national oil and gas supply shortage, Indonesia must import oil from other countries. The Indonesian government sees the increase in fuel consumption which increases by 8% annually, the level of crude oil production decreases and refinery capacity does not increase, to meet the willingness and balance the national oil and gas so that President Joko Widodo on 10 days of his reign, namely on October 31, 2014, made his first international policy to sign oil and gas cooperation with the Republic of Angola, Indonesia, and Angola oil and gas cooperation has been confirmed through the signing of the "Cooperation Framework Agreement, Collaboration to Obtain Maximum Value in the Oil and Gas Sector by and between PT Pertamina and Sonangol EP" which was signed by President Joko Widodo with the Vice President Republic of Angola, Manuel Domingos Vicente[7]. What was witnessed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sonangol EP, Francisco de Lemos Jose Maria, Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia Jusuf Kalla and Acting Director of Pertamina Muhammad Husein, cooperation in the sale of crude oil, cooperation in refinery development and cooperation in exploration

Oil politics is intended for parties involved in the oil game where profits based on oil become the basic driving force in politics, both in state institutions and the world's giant oil companies, which sometimes harm innocent parties. The government is considered not right on target in determining the value of the subsidy, which was initially to reduce the value of purchasing oil for people with middle to lower scale economies to be not right on target. The discovery of existing data states that Indonesia's losses amount to around 180 billion per day. Inappropriate relocation of fuel oil subsidies is a separate cause with the oil mafia in Indonesia.

### 1.1 Objectives

This phenomenon became complex when the transition of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to President Joko Widodo, Indonesia's policy in purchasing Sonangol EP - Angola oil became a heated international political economy discussion in this Republic. With the purchase of crude oil at low prices and a discount of 15 percent per barrel from the prevailing international price when Pertamina purchased Sonangol oil. But recently, Sonangol sent a confirmation letter on November 20, 2014, entitled "Counter to The Proposed Contractual Volume 2015". Sonangol answered Pertamina's request in the letter, which asked for a 15-

dollar discount for every barrel that Pertamina bought. Sonangol replied that his party could not grant the request, and continued to refer to the normal world market price. Even though one of the conditions for the existence of an MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) is the provision of discounts and is an attraction for the Indonesian government in the cooperation between Indonesia and Angola Oil and Gas [8].

#### 2 Literature Reviews

The concept used by the researcher is National Interest, which specifically focuses on energy security as a derivative of the concept of bilateral cooperation. In international relations, there is an increase in the needs of a country, leading to interaction and cooperation with other countries as an effort to fulfill citizens' needs, including efforts to invest in the country's foreign exchange coffers.

The relationship that is established between Indonesia and Angola is a natural thing because each country needs each other with other countries, where each country in carrying out relations benefits for its country. There are several reasons for a country to cooperate with other countries: With the reason of increasing their economic welfare, many countries cooperate with other countries Pto reduce the costs that must be borne by the country in producing products from the needs of its people because of the limitations that the country has, To improve efficiency related to cost reduction because there are problems that threaten mutual security, reduce negative losses caused by the actions of individual countries that have an impact on other countries.

Energy security as a concept can be seen from various dimensions, be it military, political economy, or the environment. The concept of energy security in this study will only take a political economy dimension. As explained by Daniel Yergin, energy security is simply the availability of sufficient supply (energy) at an affordable price. (Daniel Yergin, 2006) In addition, energy security can also be interpreted as:" The ability of an economy to ensure the availability of sustainable sources of energy supply with energy prices at a level that will not hurt economic performance"[9].

According to Daniel Yergin, the concept of energy security includes two dimensions, namely: Dimensions of the independence of a country to meet its energy needs originating from domestic energy resources, The dimension of global interdependence in which each country's energy fulfillment cannot be separated from the world's energy supply originating from other countries, in particular, exporting countries rich in oil and gas resources.

The availability of energy in a country cannot be separated from the role of energy producers, namely oil and gas companies, in this case, many come from abroad. The interactions created between state and non-state actors cannot be separated from the basis of national interests. The national interest here is interpreted as a set of goals that are always to be achieved in connection with what is aspired to which is relatively constant and the same among all countries or nations, namely security (covering the survival of the people and the needs of the region) and welfare [10]. Every nation-state cannot avoid the concept of national interest because the national interest is closely related to national goals [11].

Fisher, Roger, and William Ury say that one needs to put a position on the opposition side and know what actions to take, whether the use of lobbying is appropriate to solve the problem or not, and how to lobby well [12]. For this reason, he explained several characteristics of the lobby, including:

- a. Unofficial or informal nature can be carried out outside the forum or negotiations that have been officially agreed upon.
- b. The form can be various, it can be a chat that starts in a reasonable condition or an enabling atmosphere.
- c. Time and place can be anytime and anywhere to the extent in reasonable conditions or the atmosphere allows.
- d. The actors or parties who carry out lobbying can be diverse and anyone, namely interested parties, the government, the legislature, the business community, or parties related to the topic of lobbying.

According to Fraser Seitel, the stages in carrying out lobbying are as follows:

- a. Collecting data and facts, regarding the topic of lobbying and target parties
- b. Interpretation of government steps, knowing applicable government regulations, permits, and matters relating to government power.
- c. Interpretation of the company's steps, seeking information and opinions about the company, from the community, or existing organizations.
- d. Building a position, biased by approaching government officials regarding the procurement or postponement of regulation, so that they have a position and are seen by the government. Throwing national news, for example by using the lobby as a place for news circulation.

By looking at the current state of energy security in Indonesia plus global market conditions that also affect domestic energy conditions, Indonesia must be able to fulfill its national interests, especially in the field of energy security by taking an active role in international relations. Like other countries, Indonesia is also building various cooperations, both bilateral and multilateral, to build energy security. Several cooperations in the energy sector have been carried out, including the cooperation between Indonesia and Angola Oil and Gas in 2014–2018.

### 3 Methods

In compiling this research, the author uses qualitative data analysis methods and explanatory data analysis models. Understanding qualitative research can be defined as research that produces data, regarding spoken and written words, and behavior that can be observed from what is being studied [13]. The qualitative data analysis model emphasizes the presentation of non-statistical data by describing and interpreting information in a textbook.

While the explanatory data analysis model is used to present two variables that are interrelated and affect each other. The two variables according to Mochtar Mas'oed are the unit of analysis and the unit of explanation. The unit of analysis is the object whose behavior will be analyzed or called the dependent variable. While the unit of explanation is an object that affects the unit of analysis used or also known as an independent variable.

#### 4 Data Collection

The data collection techniques that the author uses in this research are library research and interview techniques. The literature study technique is a data collection technique by finding relevant sources of reference/literature for the author's research (either in the form of books, journal articles, news either through print or electronic media, as well as other literature

related to the author's research), which then the author filters and conducts. review the information from these sources.

### 5 Result and Discussion

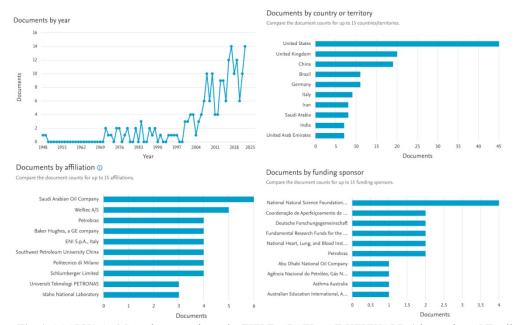


Fig. 1. SCOPUS.COM Analyze search results TITLE-ABSTRACT-KEYWORD (obstruction AND oil AND gas), 192 document results, year range to analyze: 1948 to 2022

SCOPUS.COM Analyze search results title-abstract-keyword (obstruction and oil and gas), 192 document results, year range to analyze: 1948 to 2022. Country/Territory Documents, minimum 6, first United States, then United Kingdom, China, Brazil, Germany, Italy, Iran, Saudi Arabia, India, United Arab Emirates, Canada, and Malaysia. No Indonesia here.

Affiliation Documents, minimum 4, first Saudi Arabian Oil Company, then Welltec A/S, Petrobras, Baker Hughes, a GE company, ENI S.p.A., Italy, Southwest Petroleum University China, Politecnico di Milano, and Schlumberger Limited. None from Indonesia.

Funding sponsor Documents, minimum 2, first National Natural Science Foundation of China, then Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Fundamental Research Funds for the Central Universities, National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, and Petrobras. None from Indonesia.

# 5.1 Lack of Maturity of President Joko Widodo's Cabinet in Purchasing Angola's Oil and Gas

The problems and dimensions of development faced by the nation are always changing and increasingly complex. The problems and development demands faced will increase, while the available development capabilities and resources tend to be limited. Therefore, the government must optimize the use of available resources to meet unlimited demands by making choices in the form of a priority scale. In making this choice, the government is realistic, by making targets that were initially realized but were not met. The experience of the 2010-2014 period became the main capital in formulating this development agenda and strategy, several indicators are used to measure the success of the development. several indicators are used to measure the success of the development.

Subsidies as a policy instrument carried out by the government in terms of controlling domestic fuel prices so that they with the purchasing power of the user community, are policies that have an impact on both sides. On the one hand, subsidies will ease the economic burden on the people who use fuel, but on the other hand, subsidies will provide free additions to state budget expenditures. Foresight and courage in setting subsidy policies that will control domestic fuel prices must be carried out by the government by looking at the economic situation and conditions as well as economic and social turmoil in the community. Because until now domestic fuel oil where the formulation of the policy is one of the authorities of the Government. Over the years, fuel subsidies have become an acute budget issue in the state revenue and expenditure budget (APBN). Along with economic growth and the middle class, consumption of subsidized fuel continues to increase. As a result, the allocation that must be prepared by the state budget also swells every year. This lack of exploration and other investments in the oil sector has led to a decline in Indonesia's oil production due to weak management by the government, excessive bureaucracy, unclear regulatory framework, and legal ambiguity regarding contracts. This creates an unattractive investment climate for investors, especially when expensive long-term investments are involved.

In 2014 the volume of subsidized fuel was 46.79 million KL or higher than the quota in APBN-P of 46 million KL. The quota decreased from the quota in the 2014 State Budget of 48 million KL. This forces the government to continue to increase efforts to control and supervise subsidized fuel that is even more massive. So in the government of President Joko Widodo's era, Indonesia made a policy to welcome the new era of oil and gas subsidies, saving the Oil and Gas Budget for the efficiency of national oil and gas prices [14].

Indonesia's oil and gas cooperation with Angola is one of the revivals of the government's policy in welcoming the new era of subsidies, by looking at the state of the country at the end of 2014 which was very close to the oil and gas mafia coupled with the freezing of petrol, then Angola became an alternative to the government to supply national fuel subsidies. The policy of freezing Petral is considered efficient because it reduces the role of the mafia in the oil and gas sector. However, the government is not mature enough in taking this cooperation policy. Should not only be tempted by the low price promised by the Angolan government. A few days later, Indonesia's policy of buying oil from Sonangol EP on October 31, 2014. President Joko Widodo instructed for 7 days after the framework agreement was signed, Pertamina and Sonangol to form a team to formulate the formation of a joint company to build a refinery and discuss the technicalities of purchasing crude oil. The President seemed in a hurry and the policy-making distance was too short. In the end, it aroused suspicions from various contra parties because they thought it was too fast to decide without doing further research. Because

so far, we have never heard of a discussion about the government's study on the import of fuel oil which is directly taken from Sonangol EP Angola.

# 5.2 The Angolan Government Inconsistency in Determining the Agreed Oil and Gas Prices

Cooperation between two or more countries is marked by an agreement. The agreements produced in bilateral relations have an important and advantageous role in the various negotiations that have been carried out and can provide an exchange for the facilities owned by the two countries that agree to achieve the goals of the two countries. This negotiation plays a role in reaching an agreement between the two parties.

The price agreement is an important part of the oil and gas cooperation contract, especially for Indonesia and Angola. Oil and gas trade is experiencing obstacles in the negotiation of export contracts. In the energy market, prices can change at any time, and contracts must be flexible to changes. To protect the finances of the consumer and producer countries, the absolute base price must be agreed upon and must have validity during the contract period.

Nevertheless, the Government of Indonesia hopes that the agreed oil and gas prices will be carried out properly. This issue has been discussed with President Joko Widodo, Sudirman said himself announcing that further discussions on oil and gas prices could reach an agreement in early 2015. Carried out by Pertamina and Sonangol EP, four negotiations have been carried out from the end of 2014 to early 2015. However, the problem has not been resolved. price between the two parties, this cooperation will begin after the Indonesian government has resolved the commercialization issue, and after both parties agree on the price determined, the constraints regarding the price can be seen from the position of each country in formulating oil and gas prices.

Indonesian Perspective, the delay in oil and gas supply to Indonesia is caused by the policy of the Indonesian government to revolutionize fuel subsidies by saving the oil and gas budget because from the previous few years the oil and gas budget has always exceeded the ABPN - P budget. Indonesia wants to pay Angolan oil and gas prices based on the price agreed upon at the signing of the MoU, Indonesia wants Sonangol to set a lower price than the price sold on the world market because Indonesia's attractiveness to buy Angolan oil is due to the low price promised by the Angolan government can be see the Figure 1. Below:



Fig. 2. Ministry of Natural Resources and Minerals of the Republic of Indonesia

In the policy that has been signed by Indonesia, it has been agreed that Indonesia will import 1 million barrels of crude oil from Sonangol EP Angola per month. Of course, this policy cannot be separated from the lure of Sonangol which will provide a 15% discount lower than world oil prices. When referring to the world market price at that time, it was around 63.19 per barrel, 7 million barrels, for 63.42 USD per barrel, which is 361,513,026 USD. Cargo price 360,000,000 million USD, ship charter 28,000,000 million USD. With oil quality that does not match the refineries in Indonesia. This is very detrimental and very far from what was stated by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. purchasing fuel oil from Sonangol EP Angola can save the state treasury up to USD 2.5 million per day or around Rp. 15 trillion per year.

Indonesia's oil purchasing policy from Sonangol EP Angola is starting to become inconsistent. This is with the discovery of data on sending a confirmation letter on November 20, 2014, entitled 'Counter To The Proposed Contractual Volume 2015' which replied to a letter requesting a discount from PT Pertamina (Persero). world market. This is due to Angola's membership in OPEC. This is certainly not by the initial agreement and the lure of discounts that have been explored by the Indonesian government to the media. That the Indonesian side will get a discount and save the state budget.

Based on the author's interview with Sigit Purnomo Public Relations Staff of PT. Pertamina (Persero), stated that the oil and gas cooperation between Indonesia and Angola was an implementation of revitalization to welcome a new era of subsidies and budget savings in the state budget which had been an acute problem in the energy sector. One of the Government's policies that have been heavily criticized is the decades-old fuel subsidy policy which is - for the most part - subsidized by the State Budget (APBN). While this policy aims to support Indonesia's poor, the more affluent segments (including the middle class) benefit the most from the subsidized fuel policy.

Moreover, this policy led to a significant increase in the demand for fuel, and therefore put huge pressure on the APBN deficit (in fact this implies that the APBN is directly linked to oil prices which tend to be volatile. Extra allocations to meet the increasing demand for subsidized fuels) carried out annually, while low fixing prices cause market distortions. Reducing or eliminating fuel subsidies is a very sensitive issue in Indonesia as it causes mass demonstrations across the country (implying political risks for the governing elite). Seeing the above conditions, Indonesia finally agreed on the price determined by the Angolan government, namely by referring to the world market price to be the first step of revival. This is strange because Indonesia, as an importing country, should negotiate and lobby to get the desired price and look for other alternatives for a high-efficiency comparison to create a national interest, namely energy security. This signal reflects that Indonesia is starting to lower its tension in the price debate even though it hasn't gotten what it wants.

Angolan Perspective, the energy sector, including oil and gas, is the backbone of the Angolan economy. The Angolan government began to privatize and regulate prices to encourage the entry of foreign investment in the oil industry which made it possible to gain economic benefits through investment. Oil has been a more stable contributor to the Angolan economy which is more stable to the Angolan economy compared to other sectors. In 2014, oil accounted for 95 percent or USD 23.6 billion of Angola's total oil and gas revenues (International Energy Agency, 2015).

With a large wealth of energy resources, Angola utilizes oil through international trade as a very valuable source of state income. However, with foreign investment, Angola cannot fully control the oil trade, starting from oil field exploration, export-import, and prices. This is very risky because oil is perceived as a strategic State asset. The fear of the privatization of the

oil industry lies in the natural wealth that will accumulate in foreign companies who will use it to influence politics or sell assets abroad. Not using it for Angola's interests.

Indonesia is faced with pressure on oil prices given by Sonangol EP – Angola. OPEC has laws that regulate world oil prices, especially for its member countries. Therefore, Angola cannot provide a low price to Indonesia which is tightly controlled by OPEC. OPEC has now set goals to be achieved, namely: "Preserving and enhancing the role of oil as a prime energy source in achieving sustainable economic development" With the letter entitled "Counter To The Proposed Contractual Volume 2015" Discounts on the purchase of Indonesian oil from Sonangol EP Angola had been promised by Sonangol EP Angola to get a discount on the purchase price of oil to vanish, while world crude oil prices began to fall. This collaboration is considered inefficient and only has political value because if we investigate further, Sonangol EP only has a small stake in the company in Sonangol EP Angola and most of the shares are owned by other parties, including Chevron, Exxon, and Sonangol International Holding. Indonesia and Angola's oil and gas cooperation is thwarted by the policy of the owners of capital. And strengthened by the regulations from OPEC.

# 5.3 Weak Lobbying of the Indonesian Government in the Agreement on Oil and Gas Cooperation between Indonesia and Angola

Indonesia's dependence, which is still very dependent on fuel subsidies, indirectly demands the government to import oil from abroad, especially for fuel. So, in the Joko Widodo administration, the new era policy of subsidies is expected to provide a solution to the problem of the fuel budget deficit. As a first step at that time, the government gave the policy to distribute converter kits, but it was hampered in terms of oil and gas prices. To achieve the national interest, the Government must lobby and negotiate, which are two things that must be done when there is a deadlock in cooperation. The price regulation set by OPEC makes it difficult for Indonesia to lobby Angola to keep providing a low price of 15%. Seeing this condition, Indonesia as a consumer country should have a strategy to get what they want because, in negotiations and lobbying, a mature strategy is needed.

The first stage, collecting data and facts, is around the topic of lobbying and target parties. Regarding the government's opinion and reasons for purchasing Sonangol EP-Angola oil and gas. The data obtained is that Indonesia cannot meet the needs of National Energy and plans to save the state budget and this collaboration is the government's first step in revitalizing fuel subsidies. along with the opinion of the relevant institutions in the results of the interviews. In conclusion, Indonesia feels that Sonangol is inconsistent in determining the price promised during the Framework Agreement. With the fact that Angola's reply entitled "Counter To The Proposed Contractual Volume 2015" this letter contains a notification that Angola cannot provide a low price because of Angola's membership in Opec, and will refer to world market prices.

In the second stage, Interpretation of government measures, knowing applicable government regulations, permits, and matters relating to government power. Based on the existing reality. The energy sector, which is one of Indonesia's primary economies, has not been able to overcome the existing problems, namely an ever-deficit budget and declining oil reserves. To overcome this, the initial stage of purchasing Angola's oil can be a solution for the government in overcoming both problems. But the fact is that the realization of this collaboration is not by the government's steps to create energy security. This can be seen from

the irregularities in the Oil and Gas Cooperation Agreement between Indonesia and Angola. This cooperation has become a heated issue in this republic. Because many economic observers think that this cooperation is less effective for the national oil and gas needs. In the absence of a treaty of such cooperation, the state should be at the forefront of resolving this problem. And look for other solutions to show their bargaining power.

In the third stage, building on the company's steps, Seeking information and opinions about the company. According to the Energy Emergency Research Data, the share ownership of Sonangol EP-Angola is mostly controlled by foreigners, the discovery of large oil reserves in the mid-1990s encouraged foreign investors to invest in this country located on the west coast of Africa. Meanwhile, from a regulatory perspective, Angola gave full authority to Sonangol Limited Holding, which was formed in 1976, to manage oil and gas potential, as well as control all activities of the petroleum industry. These exclusive powers and rights were later confirmed by the 2004 Petroleum Act in Angola. So it can be concluded that policymaking regarding prices and discounts is not real from the Angolan government. This is what Indonesia must know to make a lobbying negotiation strategy. Because if you look at the charts of Angolan projects and stocks, Sonangol Ep only has a few stocks. And all policies will be taken by the largest shareholder.

The fourth stage, building a position can be by approaching government officials regarding procurement or delaying a regulation. This stage is the obligation of the negotiator from the relevant institution, namely PT. Pertamina (Persero) as the executor in this cooperation and the Directorate of Oil and Gas, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources as the facilitator of the oil and gas cooperation between Indonesia and Angola. And if there are obstacles or problems, the Sweeper who serves as a problem solver to break the deadlock in negotiations and is tasked with showing the inconsistency of the other party and usually the government official here is Sudirman Siad as the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources.

From all the explanations above, it can be seen that the stages of lobbying negotiation carried out by the Indonesian government are still minimal and this is one of the factors that hinder this cooperation. Lobbying is an activity that seeks to make things work not through power or coercion but persuasion. The function of lobbying in cooperation is very necessary to protect national interests by opening communication to decision-makers. So the intervention of state officials is very necessary to facilitate the lobbying process. The following are the types of lobby according to Windschuttle:

Traditional Lobby, which usually uses famous people, public figures, or former officials to approach interest groups so that the goals of the organization/business institution can be achieved. Here Sudirman Siad was the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources at the time and Muhammad Husain was the Plt. Director of PT. Pertamina is the executor of this cooperation.

In lobbying negotiations, you should collect and analyze information which is then used to determine a lobbying negotiation strategy. It must be remembered that the determination of the lobbying negotiation strategy must be designed specifically for each lobbying target. Next, the lobbying negotiation design is developed which includes contacts, venue selection, content format, and follow-up activities that must be carried out to support the smooth running of lobbying negotiations. But unfortunately, the government is not mature enough in preparing to negotiate. So far, there has been no research on Sonangol EP-Angola oil. Before collaborating, an investigative team should be prepared regarding the accessibility and quality of related parties.

The strategy in lobbying negotiation prioritizes the interests of both parties to produce an agreement. The cooperation between Indonesia and Angola should be win-to-win, Indonesia

can implement the strategy of the new era of subsidies and savings in the state budget, for Angola's growing market interests, especially in Southeast Asia. Indonesia as a consumer country should strengthen its bargaining power more. Hard bargaining also focuses on the position rather than the interests of the negotiations that occur. Negotiators with this approach are highly competitive, seeing victory as the only end goal. This is what Indonesia must implement in suppressing the promise given by the Angolan government regarding the agreed price. It took a long time to complete, this was done in Indonesia, after the framework agreement occurred, President Joko Widodo immediately gave instructions to create a committee in this project. Because Indonesia's Bargaining power is not strong enough in this collaboration. And impressed in a hurry at the beginning of 2015, Indonesia continued which refers to world market prices. However, the strategy is only a temporary supply and looking for alternatives.

## 6 Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, it can be concluded that the realization of cooperation between Indonesia and Angola is hampered due to the lack of maturity of the Joko Widodo cabinet in purchasing Angola's oil and gas, which should have had a study on Angola before the Agreement framework was implemented, but that is what Indonesia lacks in this cooperation. As a result, this purchase is less effective because the quality of Angolan oil does not match the refineries in Indonesia. International cooperation will be hampered if there is one party who is inconsistent as is the case with this cooperation, the Angolan government inconsistency in determining the price of oil and gas cooperation between Indonesia and Angola by issuing a letter "Counter To The Proposed Contractual Volume 2015" which cannot provide a low price 15 percent as promised at the beginning. So the Indonesian government should cancel the cooperation and look for other alternatives for Indonesia's oil supply, this is an irregularity instead of terminating the contract but Indonesia continues to cooperate at the purchasing stage.

This is in stark contrast to Indonesia's goal of securing imported oil at low prices and the initial steps of revitalization to meet new subsidies and energy savings. by Sonangol EP-Angola. Of course, this collaboration is far from being effective where oil and gas issues are in the interest of the Indonesian people. To get energy security, it is necessary to have adequate supply, but effectiveness is the main thing to get Indonesia's interest, namely Energy Security.

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