Critical Study of the Implementation of the Right of Self-Determination in Protecting Indonesia's Environmental and Economic Sovereignty

Sudarmo Sudarmo[1], *Yenny* Febrianty[2], *Viorizza Suciani* Putri[3], *Mohamad Hidayat* Muhtar[4], and *Salahuddin* Salahuddin[5]

[1]Faculty of Economics and Business, Mulia University, Balikpapan, Indonesia
[2]Faculty of Law, Pakuan University, Bogor, Indonesia
[3]Supreme of Court of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia
[4]Faculty of Law, Gorontralo State University, Gorontalo, Indonesia
[5]Sharia Economics Study Program, Faculty of Economics and Business, Syekh Maulana Qori Bangko Islamic Institute, Jambi, Indonesia

Abstract. Indonesia's claim to self-determination is challenged by the nation's dependence on foreign economic interests, particularly in the management of its natural resources. As foreign nations and corporations enter through investment and employment contracts, they often gain equal footing with domestic entities, which undermines Indonesia's control over its environmental resources. The lack of autonomous management of these resources, coupled with policies favoring foreign interests, raises concerns about Indonesia's environmental sovereignty. This research aims to examine how the Right to Economic Self-Determination Principle can be leveraged to protect Indonesia's environmental and economic sovereignty. Given its philosophical and analytical orientation, along with its descriptive and normative legal analysis, this study falls under the category of normative legal research. The findings indicate that Indonesia's reliance on foreign investment and inadequate regulations, such as inequitable contracts related to environmental resource exploitation, challenge the nation's commitment to self-determination. Additionally, the burden of foreign debt further hinders the effective exercise of this right. There is a pressing need to reharmonize the spirit of environmental and economic freedom, as enshrined in the 1945 Constitution, with current laws. This includes restructuring contracts and agreements with foreign entities involved in Indonesia's environmental sectors to ensure alignment with national sovereignty.
Keywords: Foreign investment; Indonesia's environmental sovereignty; The right of self-determination; Natural resource management.

1 Introduction

Independence essentially expresses a nation's freedom to decide its own fate. The universally acknowledged right to self-determination includes the inherent right of each country to determine its own political governance and economic, social, and cultural advancement. The 1949 Declaration on the Rights and Obligations of States expresses this right in Article 1: "As a result of its inherent autonomy, every state is free to choose its own system of government and to execute all of its other legal powers without interference from any other state [1].

Several international accords on human rights establish the right to self-determination as a normative concept. According to this right, every country has the freedom to establish its own government and set its own laws, so long as those laws transparently aim to promote social, cultural, and economic growth while also making responsible use of the world's natural resources [2].

The Right to Economic Self-Determination is a representation of a sovereign nation's nature, which is to choose its own economic destiny [3]. The right to economic self-determination is a representation of a sovereign nation's nature, which is to choose its own economic destiny.

Environmental sovereignty is integral to Indonesia's efforts to exercise its right to economic self-determination. The Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, specifically Article 33, states that the state is responsible for ensuring environmental sustainability, as well as affirming the state's jurisdiction over natural resources for the benefit of the people. Here we're talking about sustainable economic sovereignty, in which the state is obligated to manage its natural resources in a way that's both intelligent and equitable for both current and future generations.

Environmental sovereignty defines economic self-determination as the freedom to manage economic resources and the protection of the environment from resource extraction harm. To ensure environmental sovereignty via the Right to Economic Self-Determination, nations must not rely too much on polluting foreign investment. It is common for agreements and contracts with international firms to put short-term profits ahead of long-term environmental sustainability, leading to a misalignment between the two.

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Particularly when thinking about environmental sovereignty, we must embrace a more pluralistic and adaptable understanding of the "self" as it pertains to economic self-determination. In light of current environmental activism, global politics, and laws, this raises a number of pertinent considerations. To begin, how does the modern fight for economic independence and self-sufficiency compare to earlier efforts to ensure environmental sustainability? Is it clear who or what we should decide about the environment and economy? Furthermore, given the dynamic nature of political allegiances and the shifting positions of global economic power, what precisely constitutes the "self" at the core of contemporary economic and environmental self-determination?

Even when international laws and institutions restrict state entities' natural resource policy options, can these entities still uphold their environmental sovereignty? Another possibility is that it's the common people standing up to corrupt officials and transactions that benefit wealthy people at the expense of the environment. Or are we talking about people who want to be environmentally conscious but can't because they're too strapped for cash and end up using too much of everything? In a broader context, are we referring to transnational groups excluded by technological advancements, market pressures, and global economic rules that disregard environmental impacts?

The choice of which of these "selves"—a governmental entity, a community, an individual, or a global collective—will serve as the focal point of self-determination profoundly affects the definition of environmental sovereignty in the modern period. At a time when the need to ensure the long-term viability of our planet is more pressing than ever before, what does it imply to choose one's own "self" above another? Our potential to create more equitable and long-lasting policies depends on each decision we make, which will either put economic exploitation ahead of environmental sustainability or the other way around.

Given the limited time and space available, any effort to address these topics would inevitably lead to oversimplification. The way we conceptualize self-determination contributes to its viability in attracting followers and promoting change [5]. Put simply, the fight against economic dominance or lack of freedom is a means of defining an economically significant "self" from a historical and political perspective. Without this endeavor, one cannot have a distinct or cohesive identity [6].

Therefore, a more precise identification of the goals of self-determination initiatives is necessary for any modern-day endeavor to comprehend economic self-determination. Even for a person to successfully combat the economic unfreedom that many people are currently experiencing, it is necessary to be aware that there may be multiple targets, each with unique characteristics, and that there may be multiple selves at work.

From time to time, Indonesia's economic experiences have demonstrated that economic democracy is still costly for the people. Consequently, most economic activities remain under the control of the bourgeoisie—the capital owners—leaving little room for the proletariat, the general population, often discredited for their strength. The government's role as both a policymaker and an economic player has not been ideal in allocating economic resources equitably to all actors in the economy, whether they are small or medium size, which compounds the problem. When capitalists demand certain policies, the government frequently "gives in" to their demands, creating laws that benefit a small elite at the expense of the general populace [7].

Since its inception in article 33, the article has not been fully implemented. Many economists, including Mubyarto, have significantly contributed to the development of the Pancasila economic system. Regrettably, the Pancasila economic system has already faced rejection, albeit only at the discourse level. Baswir demonstrates this in his work by citing Mubyarto's points of view [8]:

> "Dr. Sjahrir found it difficult to accept Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3, without revision, because the impression given was 'the inevitability of the socialist system adopted in the article'. In other words, according to Sjahrir, the socialist ideology must be rejected, because, 'we do not need to be friends with an economic ideology that has clearly lost', and 'it would be better to foster the economic ideology of the capitalist world, which has clearly won the battle"

Foreign investors have imposed restrictions on Indonesia's economy that violate the economic constitution, aiming to gain more control over the country's vast economic potential. The new colonialism seeks to dominate a country's economic potential through investment and capital, leveraging the power of capital and economic institutions such as multinational corporations (MNCs). Given this situation, it is critical to elevate economic democracy to its rightful place as the bedrock of the national economy. Only then can it fulfill the people's dreams of a fair economic system and open up more opportunities for the majority to improve their lives [9].

The national economy is based on economic democracy, which encompasses a number of essential ideas and expresses the Right to Economic Self-Determination Principle. Independence, fairness, efficiency, sustainability, independence from outside influences, and a balance between economic growth and national unity are all tenets of this system. An efficient and well-managed economic system, based on the spirit of mutual cooperation and collaboration, must fairly accommodate the interests of all parties.

The right to economic self-determination must also be able to keep natural resources sustainable and the environment safe, all while giving the country more control over how it uses them. A growing economic democracy must strike a balance between promoting economic growth and protecting the environment. Thus, environmental sovereignty must always be a key factor in every phase of economic development, and economic progress must not compromise the long-term viability of ecosystems and society's wellbeing.

Based on problem (1)'s explanation and formulation, how does the philosophical concept of the right to economic self-determination protect environmental sovereignty? How can Indonesia utilize the Right to Economic Self-Determination Principle to safeguard its environmental and economic sovereignty?

2 Method

This study, rooted in normative legal research, addresses the right to self-determination within the framework of environmental and economic sovereignty. The research is guided by philosophical and analytical methods, drawing on logic, analysis, criticism, and philosophical. The primary goal of the study is to illuminate the relationship between the right to economic self-determination and the protection of Indonesia’s ecological independence. The research ultimately aims to generate innovative conclusions by addressing the core issues through this analytical framework [10].

The normative research design emphasizes environmental and economic sovereignty's intellectual and legal foundations. Primary sources include Indonesian legislation, international agreements, and court judgments, while secondary sources include legal literature, academic publications, and policy papers. Legal papers, regulations, and regulatory processes are thoroughly reviewed and analyzed to gather data.

A descriptive analytical technique is used to examine how major environmental and economic sovereignty legislation and principles apply to positive law enforcement and legal theory. The paper tackles the problem's first formulation by examining existing national and international policies through the prism of economic self-determination and how it might protect Indonesia's economic and environmental sovereignty. With this broad approach, the research hopes to yield unique results and help explain these intricate legal ties.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1. Philosophical Concept of Right to Economic Self-Determination

Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America on July 4, 1776 [11]:

“In the course of human events, one people must dissolve their political bonds with another and assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them. Respect for human opinion requires them to declare their reasons for separation. We affirm all men's equality and God's gift of life, liberty, and happiness. To protect these rights, people create governments with the consent of the governed. If any government hinders these goals, the people have the right to change or abolish it and create a new one. This new government should be based on ideals and organized to protect their safety and pleasure. Prudence requires us not to overthrow long-standing governments for minor causes, since history has proven that people prefer to suffer from ills rather than remove them. But when a protracted series of abuses and usurpations pursuing the same goal shows a desire to subjugate people to total dictatorship, it is their right and responsibility to overthrow such a government and establish new security guards."

This declaration clarifies that all people are born free and equal. An inherent part of every person's dignity is the freedom to choose how they live their lives, a fundamental human right. This set of rights includes the right to exist, be free, and pursue pleasure.

People say that the revolutionary periods of the United States and France gave rise to the idea of self-determination. There is a clear relationship between the right of the people to freely decide their own political status and the idea that state policy must be based on the will of the people, since the people are the source of all legitimacy of government power [12].

Aside from the two revolutions mentioned earlier, there was a significant event that is thought to have been the first to propose the idea of self-determination. President Woodrow Wilson first proposed the idea of self-determination in his speech to the US Congress on January 8, 1918, and he later reaffirmed it in the proposed League of Nations Convention. The speech included a statement on self-determination [13] :

"The contracting power unite guarantees... territorial readjustment... as much in the future becomes necessary by reason of change in the present social conditions and aspirations or present social and political relationships, according to the principle of self-determination."

In another speech, on February 1, 1918, President Wilson emphasized:

"We must respect national aspirations; only their consent can now dominate and govern people. Self-determination is not just a phrase. It is an imperative principle of action that statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."[14].

The economic aspect of the right to self-determination means that every country has the right, in accordance with its independence and sovereignty, to choose its own economic system within the governing framework. A sovereign country has the right to permanently exercise its economic rights in relation to the exploitation of its natural resources, which is a key component of the right to self-determination from an economic point of view [15]. This includes measures taken by a sovereign nation's government to prevent multinational corporations from engaging in economic exploitation of countries whose citizens live within their borders. Foreign investment assurances must still be able to be provided with respect for the standards in this dimension.

Several important problems have been brought to light by recent discussions over the exact legal definition of self-determination, as well as by the fact that many are unhappy with the way nation-state self-determination has worked out quite well with economic subordination (Hedoin, 2018). Firstly, on a global scale, the things that may be justifiably linked to the idea of self-determination—whether it societies, nations, regions, or even socioeconomic classes—are not actual living persons. All people are likely components of several "selves," perhaps even existing in tandem, and the concept of a distinct "self" is absent from this debate. As a corollary, the principal causes of economic oppression dictate the relative merits of various prospective selves, making it necessary to strategically consider these concerns at various points in time and in different locations [17].

During colonialism, emphasizing the growing nation-state as the most resilient to colonial rule may have been wise. In an economic world molded by important new actors and fresh forms of control, self-determination discussions that neglect its historically conditioned effectiveness risk sounding outdated.

Modern understandings of economic self-determination must account for complex and evolving global power relations. Today's integrated public and private sectors make economic systems more complicated and interdependent, transcending national borders. Modern economies depend on global financial institutions, international organizations, nations, and multinational corporations. They may help or hurt a nation's economic and environmental sovereignty.

These parties' responsibilities are more complicated than they were before colonialism, when economic linkages were bilateral or bipolar. International economic actors like resource-grabbing multinational firms and lending and support organizations connect Indonesia with other developing states. This scenario may have several causes of economic inequality. Even if foreign investment may boost a nation's economy, exploitation of natural resources and other environmental problems may weaken environmental sovereignty. Indonesia is one of several governments that lose control of vital resources owing to foreign money.

Scholars like Joseph Stiglitz have warned that developing nations' reliance on foreign investment and loans can lead to "disguised economic oppression," where they change domestic economic policies to attract foreign capital, compromising environmental protection and human well-being. According to Stiglitz, developing countries are trapped in a cycle of reliance that reduces their economic and environmental sovereignty and prevents them from competing with multinationals and wealthier nations [18].

According to Amartya Sen, a nation's economic and environmental independence depends on its ability to pass laws protecting its natural resources. Sen believes environmental sovereignty demands economic and political freedom. Policymaking should prioritize national obligations to protect natural assets for the common benefit above global market requirements [19].

Indonesia typically struggles to balance environmental protection with economic investment. Mining in Sulawesi and deforestation in Kalimantan and Papua endanger environmental sovereignty for commercial benefit. Foreign investment, especially in extractives, creates jobs and cash but harms the environment. This harms ecosystems and violates indigenous rights.

The Right to Economic Self-Determination should encompass the obligation to avoid environmental overexploitation and the right of governments to manage their economic resources. Environmentalist Vandana Shiva believes economic sovereignty requires biodiversity and local people rights to natural resources. Overexploited resources cannot regenerate, hence unsustainable economic practices will kill the economy, says Shiva.

Thus, economic self-determination in the contemporary world requires more than a break from global capitalism and foreign money. Also crucial is state competence to defend environmental sovereignty against multinational entities eager to pillage natural resources without concern for the damage they may do. David Harvey claims that economic globalization creates a "ecology of injustice," where multinational firms put profit above environmental preservation and disproportionately damage disadvantaged countries [20].

Thus, growing states like Indonesia must balance economic and environmental sovereignty with industrialized nations, multinational enterprises, and international financial institutions. The right to economic self-determination should emphasize economic independence from external intervention and environmentally friendly economic progress.

3.2 Determination of the Right to Economic Self-Determination Principle Can Protect Indonesia's Economic and Environmental Sovereignty

The idea of state sovereignty was examined by Thomas Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, who found that:

'the constitutive relationship between state and sovereignty; how interactions within subjectively identifiable communities negotiate the meaning of sovereignty; and the variety of ways in which practices construct, reproduce, reconstruct, and deconstruct both state and sovereignty'[21]..

Thomas Biersteker and Cynthia Weber further develop the idea that sovereignty is something whose substance may alter over time, concluding that it is a socially created legal theory. Their claim is that:

"International law routinely invokes the violation of sovereignty as a justification for the use of force in international relations. Sovereignty, therefore, is an inherently social concept. States' claims to sovereignty construct a social environment in which they can interact as an international society of states, while at the same time the mutual recognition of claims to sovereignty is an important element in the construction of states themselves. "[21]

The existence of nations and their recognition as substantial entities by international law create sovereignty as a social truth. States must follow international law when they define and interpret sovereignty. This connection involves the state as an actor and international law as an institution. They are interconnected.

Thomas Biersteker and Cynthia Weber inspired social constructivist state sovereignty. Positive legal frameworks are sometimes applied to state sovereignty, although constructivists criticize them. The constructivist approach focuses on sovereignty, which changes with circumstances. Figure 1 shows that Indonesia is a suitable investment site due to its economic circumstances, natural resources, demographic advantages, and local markets.

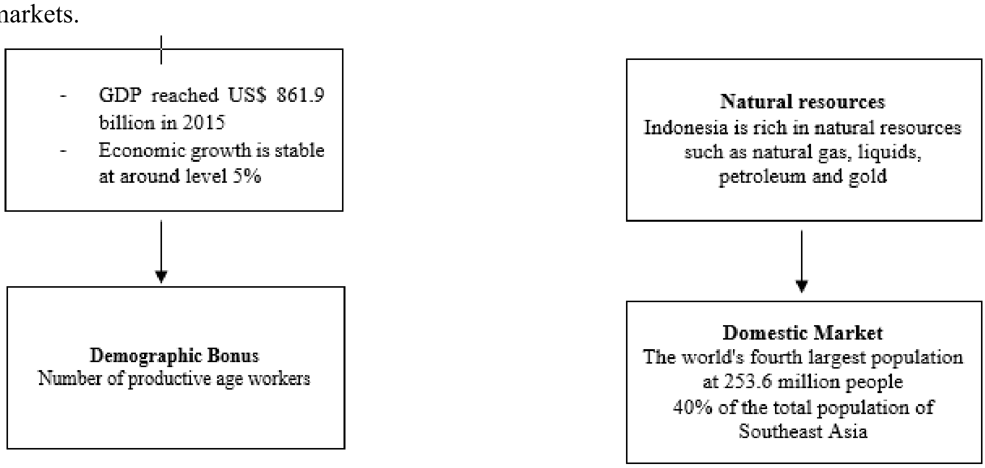

Fig. 1. Indonesia as an Investment Destination

The picture above shows that Indonesia's economy is ready for investment, but the issue is whether this influx of cash would limit its economic independence. Previous investment blunders have led to economic marginalization, requiring a reappraisal. Consider PT Freeport's employment contract, which only pays commissions on copper and gold concentrates, or how the IMF has been a time bomb in Indonesia for over 50 years.

Economic limitations' numerous institutional and legal sources complicate their geopolitics. Many substantial issues plague economic participants. Many international economic institutions and practices may limit governments, intra-state players, and individuals' economic policy options and powers. These include the IMF, World Bank, WTO, and (mostly) commercial investment and arbitration policies (Guven, 2012). Though joining these groups and activities is optional (for governments, if not for the participants), it is becoming increasingly difficult to avoid them.

Formal organizations and private transactions and agreements between sovereign nations and other entities in trade, intellectual property, foreign investment, international taxation, sovereign debt, and finance may affect economic choices. Additionally, non-state market practices, norms, and principles, as well as hard and soft regulations in each sector.

Indonesia is favorable for investment for several reasons. These include the country's size, natural resource wealth, large population, which offers a market and cheap labor, and expanding middle class. This encourages investors to invest in Indonesia's economy. Article 33 of the 1945 Republic of Indonesia Constitution grants Indonesia the right to economic self-determination, allowing it to use its wealth and resources for its people. Indonesia controls its people, natural resources, and economy. It may also set investment policies with foreign nations and investors that wish to take advantage of Indonesia's advantages.

World financial traffic also challenges sovereign states, and capital flows may indicate that affluent nations are utilizing globalization to subjugate poor and growing nations. It's becoming harder for sovereign states to regulate the massive international money flow, a perceived danger. Many points support this view.

First, the capital power of industrialized nations is greater than that of emerging nations, thereby eroding their economic underpinnings.For example, the daily activity of the world's financial markets approaches 1.5 trillion USD, whereas Indonesia's national income barely reaches 136 billion USD. Secondly, capital's power has always existed independently of the state. Because of this, the state has lost control of money, which is now used more for speculation on stock exchanges and financial markets around the world than for actual manufacturing. Third, capital flows have an impact on the real and commerce sectors [23].

In this scenario, capitalists may profit from speculation without the bureaucracy, worker strikes, and other issues that industrial and commerce sectors have faced. If their present investments fail, investors may move their money to countries with better capital markets. Fourth, market forces have made the country an attractive investment, increasing investment.

Globalization both helps and hinders economic self-determination, making it ambiguous. This transformation lets the developed countries join the global market, which excites it. But globalization drags society into a dark and twisted labyrinth for other countries, including ours. The audience may be unable to participate and act due to budgetary constraints. Big industrial countries in the Group of Eight (G-8) have advantages due to their economic players. However, subjection to global interests and a lack of economic participants hurt emerging and underdeveloped states.

Under these conditions, the present national economic growth agenda is a "policy sweetener" established via government and legislative agreements that serves only those in power rather than the people. If parties and the government promote actual democracy, the democratic process won't affect people's economic life.

One may argue that Indonesia's political atmosphere hasn't properly implemented economic self-determination. In a healthy democracy, people can only vote on issues that affect them. Without this, democracy is ceremonial and formal, which is costly and doesn't lead to a working government. Indonesia's democratic process emphasizes formal and ceremonial democracy in decision-making.

Indonesia's economic potential and natural resources provide competitive advantage and environmental management issues. Based on Article 33 of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, the Right to Economic Self-Determination states that natural resources should benefit the people. We must combine this right with environmental sovereignty to fight globalization and foreign investment. To maximize economic advantages, natural resource management must incorporate ecological and environmental impacts.

When it comes to environmental sovereignty, globalization is unclear. Foreign investment may boost Indonesia's economy, create jobs, and fund infrastructure. Foreign investment typically harms the environment. In extractive sectors like mining, many multinational businesses in Indonesia emphasize short-term profits above future generations. This illustrates the economic sovereignty vs. environmental sovereignty conflict, where states must balance economic growth with natural resource conservation.

Globalization frequently ignores the need to balance business and ecological, according to Vandana Shiva. According to Shiva, globalization benefits wealthy countries and multinational businesses by exploiting impoverished nations' natural resources. Shiva calls it "ecological colonization," which displaces local communities depending on natural resources and destroys the ecology via unsustainable resource exploitation [24]. Global capitalism has devastated local ecosystems in Indonesia via unchecked deforestation in Sumatra and Kalimantan and mining in Papua and Sulawesi, among other regions.

Economic globalization and the dominance of money by industrialized nations are eroding Indonesia's and other developing countries' environmental sovereignty. A positive example is the ability of the industrialized nations that make up the G-8 to influence the movement of money and investments in a way that serves their own economic interests. A lot of the time, international investors impose their terms on developing nations like Indonesia, and these terms often disregard the interests of environmental preservation. This system of structural reliance, which deprives emerging nations of complete authority over their natural resources, undermines the right to economic self-determination.

Compromising environmental sovereignty not only has immediate consequences but also leads to long-term harm to sustainable development. Destruction of land, contamination of water sources, and species extinction are all consequences of lax environmental law enforcement and a lack of stringent oversight of multinational corporations' activities. Economic geographer David Harvey points out that global capitalism's commodityization of nature often disregards its ecological impacts. Harvey claims that the current global economic system ignores natural regeneration and the needs of local communities. People view nature as an endlessly exploitable asset [25].

The right to economic self-determination should include the right to protect the environment and manage natural resources sustainably. Indonesia has a moral and legal commitment to exploit its abundant natural resources to support economic growth and ecological balance. According to Article 33 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution, economic sovereignty requires strengthening environmental laws and emphasizing that economic development must be sustainable.

Investment or employment deals with foreign businesses should demand strict environmental standards, which necessitates legal adjustments. The Indonesian government must reject environmentally risky enterprises and enforce strict environmental legislation. In natural resource decisions, the Indonesian government must also include local inhabitants, especially indigenous groups that rely on nature. The Right to Economic Self-

Determination may help achieve sustainable economic sovereignty and balance economic growth and environmental conservation.

In conclusion, Indonesia must protect its economic and environmental sovereignty while tackling globalization. The 1945 Indonesian Constitution protects the right to economic self-determination, which the government must balance to sustainably manage natural resources.

4 Conclusion

Indonesia has failed to implement the Right to Economic Self-Determination, particularly in sustainable natural resource management, according to this report. Foreign investment and employment contracts have degraded environmental and economic sovereignty in Indonesia, despite Article 33 of its 1945 Constitution guaranteeing national control over natural resources for development. Profit usually trumps environmental and human well-being. Current regulations favor multinational businesses over governments concerned with safeguarding natural resources, and foreign investment in extractive industries like mining typically causes disproportionate environmental harm. This issue suggests Indonesia must prioritize economic development and environmental protection. Multinational corporations and international financial institutions may impair a nation's economic sovereignty. Unsustainable exploitation may harm the nation's future.

The report suggests significant legal changes to prevent foreign investment in Indonesia from violating environmental norms. Indonesia should reject investments and choose sustainable development above environmental damage. Local populations, especially indigenous groups, must actively manage and decide on natural resources to achieve this. Active engagement in natural resource management boosts economic development and protects local land and resources. Indonesia must strengthen its human and technical capabilities to manage natural resources autonomously without outside money to attain economic sovereignty without compromising environmental sustainability.

The state must ban excessive environmental exploitation under the Right to Economic Self-Determination, which encompasses economic management and conservation. For economic and environmental sovereignty, Indonesia must strike a balance between economic growth and environmental protection. Thus, Indonesia needs comprehensive economic and environmental policy change to balance economic development, environmental protection, and social justice for everyone.

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