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**APENDIX I PRESIDENT PRABOWO SUBIANTO'S SPEECH
MANUSCRIPT AT APEC CEO SUMMIT NOVEMBER 14, 2024 IN PERU**

Pidato Prabowo di APEC CEO Summit 2024

his Excellency Mr Fernando Zavala chairman of the APEC CEO Summit 2024 and former prime minister of Peru distinguished panelists, distinguish delegates from Indonesia all the ministers attending. I would like also to acknowledge the presence of many notable CEOs from Latin America and the Caribbean, and distinguished participants from the Asian Asian business advisory Council. ladies and gentlemen uh I'm very honored to be invited to address this distinguished body as we all know that uh peace and prosperity is driven by economic activity, by the role of the business Community, the role of entrepreneurs, the role of Industry, uh without the dynamic participation of the economic sector basically we cannot have growth and Prosperity without growth we cannot alleviate poverty we cannot create relevant employment therefore I am very happy and very honored to address you the drivers of economic growth in the Pacific region the Pacific region I think is one of the most dynamic areas of the world uh economic growth potential technological achievements the demographics the resources available in the Pacific and the indopacific regions all point to a bright economic future for all we have at present geopolitical tension but I am an optimist in the interests of humanity I believe that the leaders of the great powers of the world in the final analysis will always opt for the common good rivalry is historical, there will always be rivalry but our planet has become smaller we are now in a planet full of technological breakthroughs the tremendous breakthroughs and Technology demands that leaders be more wise, be more patient, be more accommodating because the power of Technology can bring significant progress to human life but the power of technology technology can also

	Ethos
	Pathos
	Logos

destroy human life very fast therefore I always choose the path of collaboration engage engagement, communication, negotiation. yes we have to uphold and live by Common laws by International rules but we must also have common understanding of everybody's interest I come from a country now Indonesia one of the largest countries in the world fourth largest population our territory from west to east is nearly the length of Europe Europe has 27 countries or more we are one country we we have our uh significant challenges but we are blessed with abundant resources significant territory land and water we have the fortune of being able to in a few years be completely self-sufficient in energy self-sufficient in green energy we will be perhaps one of the few countries that can achieve 100% renewable energy within a few years we can replace fossil fuel by Renewables we have the largest de Thal uh potential I think 60% of the world geothermal energy potential is Indonesia we have a potential of course solar energy but our main strength will come from bio energy from the plantbased fuel that we can produce we will I think with together with Brazil and maybe with the Congo DRC we have the potential to produce fuel from plants and this I think will create a lot of opportunities because we will save a lot on uh foreign exchange the funds will circulate Within in our own economy we also are blessed with critical minerals and uh other uh vital resources for uh Modern Life and also I've been discussing with Peru the prian government I think we have complimentary uh resources for the future uh we have managed to have a prudent economical and fiscal uh policies in the last years we managed to maintain growth even after the covid our inflation is our growth now is about 5% higher than the global average our inflation is at 2% uh we have challeng we still

	Ethos
	Pathos
	Logos

have I would say we still have poverty at the large scale large level which I'm determined to bring down and uh we do have a significant percentage of our children malnourished I'm also determined to address this problems headon uh so uh ladies and gentlemen I am a firm believer in the role of uh private business before I entered government I was also a businessman and interor so I do understand from both sides the concerns the challenges faced by private business I think Private Business wants uh uh certainty of the legal system uh Private Business once uh favorable economic climate political climate stability security and uh uh good conditions favorable incentives and this we are addressing we have liberalized our laws we open the health sector for foreign Health companies we are opening our education sector we invite uh foreign universities to open campuses we are in we we inviting foreign hospitals to open their branches in Indonesia we we are um uh going forward with more incentives we have created uh several special economic zones and we will create more of these special economic zones uh in order to invite the modern and uh Advanced Leading Edge technology especially as the traditional uh econ economy for instance uh we are very bullish on our Maritime industry Fisheries uh we I think we we are now three quarters of our national territory is water uh we have uh tremendous potential for uh let us say well planned uh fishery program aqua farming uh and a lot of processing in Industries we are determined to uh industrialize by downstreaming our resources processing our resources we have 26 Commodities which we are determined to have uh processing industry we calculate that we need investment of around \$600 billion uh and we invite foreign uh participants to come in and take part in this and many of the companies have

	Ethos
	Pathos
	Logos

have uh been involved in our economy for many many years we are also pushing
 for more exploration of oil and gas and uh other uh minerals so um ladies and
 gentlemen Indonesia is open for more business uh I'm Det determined to protect all
 Investments to give a favorable economic uh conditions and uh to be involved in
 the major economic uh organizations of the world and uh to work together with all
 of you to create Mutual Prosperity I believe that uh Prosperity can only come from
 peace peace comes from understanding understanding comes from engagement and
 negotiation so I very happy to attend this Apec Summit to renew context to
 introduce myself to introduce my country and to invite cooperation between all of
 you the private sector of the Pacific Basin the Pacific world and together to achieve
 uh Prosperity prosperity in the end I would say guarantees peace and stability ladies
 and gentlemen I think that concludes my remarks and uh once again thank you for
 inviting me and uh I wish this apec Summit this apec CEO Summit also to be very

	Ethos
	Pathos
	Logos

**PRESIDENT SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO'S SPEECH AT APEC CEO
SUMMIT 2013**

Bismillahirrahmanirrohim, Assalamualaikum wr wb. peace and prosperity to us all your excellencies, Ministers of APEC economies, honorable governor of Bali, distinguish CEOs from the Asia Pacific region and other part of the globe, ladies and gentlemen I am pleased to welcome you to Indonesia and I trust that all of you are enjoying the island of Bali which is also known as the island of the God. It is indeed a great honor for me to address this APEC CEO Summit and I am pleased to see such huge participation by the regions and World corporate Community here today I wish to thank also my fellow APEC leaders many of whom would also have the honor to speak to this forum this Apex ceo Summit is also an opportunity to showcase the phenomenal growth of the private sector in our region, the rapid expansions of business has totally change our 20% economic landscape for the better.

Governments will remain important in formulating economic policies but without the help of the private sector we might not be able to provide more jobs for our citizens and we know that whatever country one comes from the top national and local agenda is going to be jobs this is why I am also glad to welcome the participations of union leaders at this Summit for we are all in this together and we need to work together and harder to achieve shared prosperity already Global growth in 2013 is showing different Dynamics advanced economies are experiencing recovery and showing Positive Growth while emerging economies including brics economies are facing a slow down they are also suffering from large trade deficit Capital flight and appreciating currencies this is also true for the ape region in some ape advanced economies growth is gaining strength, meanwhile ape emerging economies need further momentum for growth not withstanding this EP economies remain a crucial source of global growth according to the IMF as a group APEC is expected to grow by 6.3% in 2013 and by 6.6% in 2014 which

	Ethos
	Pathos
	Logos

is more than twice the world average at present apec economies account for 54% of global gross domestic product and 44 % of global trade within the region moreover trade has grown nearly Sevenfold since 1989 reaching over 11 trillion us dollars in 2011 in the past 25 years.

Average tariffs in apec have declined by close to 70% the cost of conducting business across borders decreased by two successive rounds of 5% tariff reduction resulting in nearly 59 billion US dolar of saving for businesses all this shows that with its combined potential ape is in the ideal position to help the recovery of the global economy therefore APEC members through individual and Collective measures must put extra effort to promote growth and let me highlight some of the possible measures.

First and foremost we all need to do our part to prevent protectionist policies and continue and I should say and continue on our path of trade liberalization in ways that uplift the well-being of all our citizens we must also ensure that our trade relation are not only strong but also balanced. Second we need to intensify efforts to stimulate investment within our region so as to maintain growth and create jobs there is tremendous opportunity for this as we are experiencing a rapid growth of middle class. Third we need to develop more and better infrastructure as an essential element for our connectivity this will of course help not only to facilitate trade and investment but also boost job creation APEC needs to tackle in efficiency in the supply chain we have to make it easier cheaper and faster to conduct trade in goods and services across borders in this regard it is crucial that we promote the apec 2013 priority in connectivity we welcome public private Partnerships to develop needed infrastructures. Fourth to Ure growth with Equity we must embrace the smes that form the backbone of all our economies. Fifth we must work together to ensure the financial stability which is an absolute requisite for sustainable all economic activities including trade and investment APEC members can help stabilize Global Financial Market through bilateral as well as Regional initiatives this

	Ethos
	Pathos
	Logos

include Regional financing agreement and financial stability board change initiative multilateralization is a good example of close collaboration among some Apec members. Six to ensure development for all we must not forget to provide social safety net for them poor and financial inclusion for share risk Prosperity. Seventh APEC economist can only achieve all this if we intensify our policy coordinations and consultations.

Ladies and gentlemen as we said the team and priorities of ape 2013 Indonesia invasions the future of this region as prosperous, stable, Dynamic, inclusive and forward looking our team resilient Asia Pacific engine of global growth is all about drawing on our strengths our objective is to make the region the epicenter for the world economic advancement and in that light Indonesia has set three priorities for our APEC here I believe through close collaborations with the business community APEC can achieve these priorities. the first priority is attaining the Boger goals ape economies have achieved tremendous progress toward achieving the bore goals but while ape has reduce every tariff from 16.9% in 1989 to 5.7% in 2011 restrictive non-tariff measures lengthy custom procedures and poor transport infrastructure still pose challenges to trade therefore as we continue to work for trade and investment liberalization as well as deeper Regional economic integration we must have the capacity to tackle those challenges we have to be able to address growing trade barriers Financial in stability and fluctuating commodity prices second achieving sustainable growth with Equity today APEC economies are confronted by new challenges that could cause disruption and stuned growth among them is population growth the global population has grown from just over five and a half billion people in 1994 to more than 7 billions today by 2045 there will be 9 billion people worldwide and much of this population increases will come from the Asia Pacific region placing a great burden on the supply of energy, food, and water for our people we cannot achieve Apex goals without ensuring the principle of inclusions in our econom economic growth and development therefore maintaining the growth path that is sustainable and inclusive is of

	Ethos
	Pathos
	Logos

great importance and our effort should focus on economic empowerment engagement of stakeholders enhancement of sm's global competitiveness through Innovation and tapping wom's productivity in the economy it is also critical to ensure Financial inclusion strengthen food security and improve access to health services and third priority is promoting connectivity. unlike in 1994 the Advent of new technologies has opened new ways for people to do business with each other across countries and across continents improving connectivity therefore become a critical priority I believe that a focus and improved physical institutional and People to People connectivity will help integrate our region it will also facilitate the flow of goods surfaces capital and people of the Asia Pacific thus we must work together to strengthen connectivity through infrastructure development and the promotion of infrastructure investment Indonesia will work with apec leaders and all stakeholders to advance these three priorities and after all our success is strongly tied to the success of others like other Emerging Markets Indonesia is facing some head winds resulting from Financial Market turbulence yet the situation is manageable and the Indonesian government is responding to it with a package of policy measures including substantive structural reforms as a result in recent times Indonesia's Financial Market has stabilized we believe this is only a short-term Challenge and we are confident that in the long-term Prospect to invest and grow is enormous as Indonesia will remain a land of opportunity and growth today Indonesia has become a trillion dollar economy with a large middle class our democracy is strongly rooted and this makes Indonesia well place for your investment mckenzy predicted that Indonesia business opportunity will increase up to \$1.8 trillion Us in 2030 this opportunity ranges from consumer services Agriculture and Fishery resources to education industry and infrastructure we continue to create a Better Business and in investment environment and addressing many of the challenges we have made steady progress including from major brocratic reforms to strengthen government institutions to accelerate development in May 2011 we launched the master plan

	Ethos
	Pathos
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while the accelerations and expansions of Indonesia's Economic Development 2011 2025 in the next 14 years we are targeting to reach over \$460 billion US worth of investment in 22 main economic activities integrated in age programs these include agriculture, mining industry energy, Marine, tourism, and telecommunication therefore the master plan offers a great deal of opportunities for international investors as a final Point excellencies ladies and gentlemen also in my capacity as the chief salespersons of Indonesia Incorporated I I invite you all to seize the business and investment opportunities in Indonesia let us build a strong Partnerships and Forge a resilient APEC let us also ensure that ape continues to bring prosperity to the all people in the APEC region thank you.

	Ethos
	Pathos
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APPENDIX III COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY THE RESEARCHER

Comparative Table				
Indikator	Prabowo Subianto	Total %	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	Total %
Logis Logis	<p>Logis</p> <p>Argumentasi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> You are the drivers of economic growth in the Pacific Region Reality is his formal. then will always be reality peace and prosperity is driven by economic activity We have geopolitical situation at present 	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Global growth in 2013 is showing different dynamic non-tarif measures still pose challenge to trade Indonesia is facing headwinds from financial turbulences Jobs are the top national and local agenda for all countries 	41
	<p>Comparison</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Europe has 27 countries, we are one country Our territory is nearly the length of Europe Higher than the global average 	3		
	<p>Causal Reason</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> prosperity guarantees peace and stability 	1		
	<p>Claim</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Pacific Region is one of the most dynamic region of the world we'll be completely self-sufficient in energy Indonesia and Papua have complementary resources we are going forward with more incentives 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> we need more and better infrastructure This is also true for APEC emerging economies Our efforts should focus on economic empowerment The master plan offers opportunities for international investment APEC emerging economies need further momentum 	

Logis		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> we are pushing for more exploration of oil and gas we have the potential to replace fossil fuels we have vital resources for modern life we are opening our economy wider 	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic empowerment must be the focus 	6
	<p>Data</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indonesia is one of the biggest countries in the world Our territory from west to east is nearly the length of Europe Our growth is about 5% higher than the global average Our inflation is at 2% Three quarters of our national territory is water we need investment of around \$100 billion Demographic in the Indo-Pacific support strong growth fourth largest population Our growth now is about 5% 	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> advanced economies are experiencing recovery and positive growth Trade has grown nearly seven fold since 1989 Global population will reach 9 billion by 2045 Emerging economies are suffering from the large trade deficits, capital flight, and appreciating currencies Trade reached over 11 trillion USD in 2011 Indonesia has become a trillion-dollar economy we target \$460 billion investment in 22 economic activities Emerging economies suffer from trade deficits and capital flight Tariff reductions saved businesses nearly \$5 billion population grew from 5.5 to 7 billion since 1994 	10	
	<p>Evidence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic growth potential, technological achievement, demographics, all point to bright economic future 60% of the world's geothermal potential is in Indonesia 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This summit showcases the phenomenal growth of the private sector APEC is expected to grow by 6.3% in 2013 		

<p>Logos</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we maintained growth even after covid - we have liberalised our laws - We opened the health sector for foreign companies. - we are opening our education sector - we created several Special Economic Zones - we have 26 Commodities we are determined to process - many Companies have been involved in our economy for many years. - Geopolitical tension exist today - private business wants security - Companies have been in Indonesia for many years - Technological achievements point to a bright future - Technology can bring significant progress to human life - We invite foreign universities to open campuses - we invite foreign hospitals to open their branches - Aqua farming has tremendous potential. 	<p>14</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Average tariffs in APEC have declined by 70% - APEC economies have achieved tremendous progress - Indonesia's financial market has stabilized - McKinsey predicted Indonesia's business opportunity will reach 1.8 trillion USD. - Business expansion has changed our economic landscape. - APEC accounts for 54% of global GDP and 44% of global trade. - There is tremendous opportunity due to rapid middle class growth - New technologies have opened new ways for people to do business - The rapid expansion of business has changed the economic landscape. - Growth in APEC advanced economies is gaining strength - Cost of cross-border business decreased after 5% tariff reduction - Middle-class growth creates economic opportunity - Population increase will come from Asia-Pacific - New technologies open new global business pathways. - We must embrace STBs - the backbone of our economies. 	<p>16</p>
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<p>Logos</p>	<p>Example</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we invite foreign hospitals to open their branches in Indonesia - we invite foreign companies to open their university in Indonesia - Aqua farming has tremendous potential <p>Justification</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tremendous breakthrough in technology demand leaders be more wise - Our main strength will come from bio energy - we have tremendous potential for a well planned fishery program - Down streaming will strengthen our industries - we can achieve 100% renewable energy within a few years - we have tremendous potential for aqua farming and fisheries. <p>Logic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding comes from engagement and negotiation - without the dynamic participation of the economic sector we cannot have growth. - our planet has become smaller. - Fuel from plants will create a lot of opportunities. - private business wants political stability - Peace comes from understanding - Bioenergy will save a lot on foreign exchange. 	<p>3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional financing agreements show close collaboration - we must embrace STBs - the backbone of our economies <p>6</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we must ensure our trade relations are balanced. - we must ensure financial stability for sustainable activities - we cannot achieve APEC goals without inclusiveness - Public-private partnerships can help develop infrastructure - we must maintain sustainable and inclusive growth - STB competitiveness must be strengthened through innovation - Trade relations must be strong and balanced. - we must address growing trade barriers and instability <p>2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - without the private sector we cannot provide jobs. - we need to stimulate to create jobs. - This will place a burden on energy, food, and water. - Better infrastructure will facilitate trade and investment - Financial stability is an absolute requisite - population growth will burden energy, food, and water supply. 	<p>2</p> <p>8</p>
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Logos		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Without the economic sector we cannot have prosperity - the resource available - point to a bright economic future - we can replace fossil fuel by renewables - private business wants favorable economic climate 	11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Infrastructure boosts job creation - SMEs need innovation to be globally competitive 	8
	Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we can achieve 100% renewable energy within a few years - we will create more of these special economic zones - we will invest leading-edge technology - we will create more special economic zones 	4		
	Trade Board Agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Private business wants certainty of the legal system - The role of entrepreneurs are vital for productivity - Private business want favorable economic climate - The role of entrepreneur is essential - Private business wants certainty of the legal system 	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restrictive non-tariff measures pose challenges to trade - lengthy customs procedures hinder trade - Food Security is a critical APEC challenge 	3
	Workshop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Without growth we cannot alleviate poverty - we must live by common laws and international rules - Funds will circulate within our own economy - prosperity can only come from peace - prosperity in the end guarantees peace and stability - we must engage, communicate, negotiate 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - APEC is in an ideal position to help global recovery - APEC must tackle inefficiency in the supply chain - Improving connectivity will help integrate our region - APEC remain a crucial source of global growth - we must make trade easier, cheaper, and faster 	

Paths		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we open the health sector for foreign health companies 	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Connectivity will facilitate the flow of goods, services, capital, and people. - APEC's combined potential enables global recovery - Trade must be easier, cheaper, and faster - Connectivity integrates the region 	9
	Appreciation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - You are the drivers of economic growth in the Pacific region 	1		
	Empathy			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we are all in this together. to achieve shared prosperity - Ensuring financial inclusion and access to health services is critical - improving access to health services is critical - union leader's participation is important because jobs are our shared agenda. 	4
	Fear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Technology can destroy human life very fast - Technology can also destroy human life very fast 	2		
Fairness				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we must not forget social safety nets for the poor - Let us ensure APEC bring prosperity to all people - women's productivity must be tapped 	

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Let us ensure Apac prosperity for all in the Apac region - Women's productivity strengthens the economy 	5
Friend Inners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indonesia is open for our business - I wish the APAC CEO Summit to be very successful. 	2	- I am pleased to welcome you to Indonesia	1
Hosts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am very happy and very honored to address you, the drivers of economic growth - I am very happy to attend this APAC Summit - Ladies and gentlemen, I am very honored. 	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indonesia will remain opportunity and growth - I trust all of you are enjoying the island of Bali 	2
Position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am an optimist - We are bullish on our maritime industry - Together we can achieve prosperity - We are very bullish on our maritime industry 	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resilient Asia-Pacific, engine of global worth - Let us build strong partnerships and forge a resilient APAC - Our objective is to make APAC the epicenter of world economic advancement. - Let us forge a resilient APAC 	4
Q&A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We are blessed with critical minerals - We are blessed with abundant resources, significant land, and water - We are blessed with critical minerals and vital resources 	3		

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A significant percentage of our children are malnourished 	1		
Speakers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We are blessed with abundant resources 	1	- I am pleased to see such huge participation	1
Visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Leader must be more patient and accommodating - Our success depends on mutual prosperity - I believe leaders of great powers will opt for the common good - Leader must be more wise, patient, and accommodating 	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Our vision is a prosperous, stable, dynamic, and forward looking region - Our success is tied to the success of others. 	2
Ethos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I choose the path of collaboration, engagement, communication, negotiation. - I always choose the path of collaboration 	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We continue to improve business and investment environment - We must continue on the path of trade liberalization - Policy packages include substantive structural reform - We made progress through bureaucratic reform 	4
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I'm very honored to be invited to address this distinguished body - Thank you for inviting me 	2	- It is a great honor for me to address the APAC CEO Summit	1

Experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we have manage prudent economic and fiscal policies - I am a firm believe in the role of private business - we manage to maintain fiscal prudent. - we have maintain prudent fiscal policies. 	<p>4</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indonesia is facing headwinds, but the situation is manageable. - APEC economic meet interesting policy coordination - The government is responding with structural reforms - Our democracy is strongly rooted - as chief sales person of Indonesia, I invite you to invest. - Financial turbulence is only a short-term challenge 	6
Motivation to speak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am determined to address this problem head-on - I am determined to protect all investment - Indonesia is determined to be involved in major economic organizations 	<p>3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we need to prevent protectionist policies - APEC members must put extra effort to promote growth 	2
Inspirations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we make foreign participants to take part in this - Distinguished panelist, distinguished delegate from Indonesia. - I acknowledge the presence of many notable CEOs from Latin America and the Caribbean 	<p>3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I wish to thank my fellow APEC leaders 	1
Prepare country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I come to renew contacts and introduce my country 	<p>1</p>	
Self-Criticism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we have significant challenge - we still have poverty at a large scale - we still have malnutrition problem I must address - we have significant challenges - we still have poverty at a large level 	<p>5</p>	

APPENDIX IV COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY THE CO-RESEARCHER 1

Comparative Table				
Indikator	Prabowo Subianto	Total %	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	Total %
Logos	Argumentation			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peace and prosperity is driven by economic activity. Rivalry is historical: there will always be rivalry. Private business wants certainty of the legal system. geopolitical rivalry is a constant element in human affairs. Negotiation is the foundation of peace. 	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The rapid expansion of business has changed our economic landscape. We must prevent protectionist policies governments remain important in economic policy 	3
	Claim			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Pacific region is one of the dynamic areas of the world. We will be completely self-sufficient in energy We will create more of these zones. We are determined to industrialize by downstreaming resources. Energy transition is not just possible - it is inevitable. Economic stability is our top priority We will expand our maritime industrial base. aquaculture will become a major industry in Indonesia. We will improve social protection programs. The world will demand more sustainable products. 	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This summit showcase the phenomenal growth of the private sector. whatever country one comes from jobs remains top priority. Global growth in 2013 is showing different dynamics. APEC is remains a crucial source of global growth. We must continue trade liberalization. Make it easier, cheaper, faster to conduct trade. We must ensure financial stability. Indonesia has set three priorities for APEC This is a short-term challenge. 	9.
Logos	Data			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indonesia is one of the countries in the world Fourth largest largest population. 60% of the world's geothermal energy potential is in Indonesia. Our growth is about 5%, higher than global average. Our inflation is at 2% Three quarters of our national territory is water. We need investment of around \$600 billion. Indonesia sits on the ring of fire with geothermal resources. our youth population strengthens our long-term growth. 	9.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> BRICS economies are facing slowdown. According to IMF, APEC will grow by 6.3% this year. APEC accounts for 49% of global trade. Business cost decreased by \$59 billion. global population will reach 9 billion by 2045 Indonesia's market has stabilized. Indonesia is now a trillion-dollar economy. targeting 460 billion USD investment. 	8
Logos	Evidence			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Technological achievements and demographics point to a bright economic future. We are in a planet full of technological breakthroughs. our territory from west to east is nearly the length length of Europe. We maintained growth even after Covid. We have liberalized our laws. We are opening our education sector We have also created several special economic zones. We have 26 commodities for processing industry. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advanced economies are recovering Emerging economies are losing momentum. APEC economies account for 59% of global GDP. Trade has grown nearly sevenfold since 1989. Average tariffs have declined close to 70% a growing middle class creates opportunities. SMEs are the backbone of our economies. APEC has reduced tariffs from form 	

	<p>the speed of technological development is unprecedented.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Artificial intelligence is progressing rapidly. - New technology changes geopolitics instantly. - Indonesia has abundant sunlight for solar energy - Our archipelago provides strong wind potential. - We have huge potential for hydroelectric energy - Investment in biofuel benefits rural communities. - Critical minerals are essential for modern technologies - We offer incentives for strategic industries. - We have improved ease of doing business. - Our special economic zones attract global interest. - We are expanding cold storage facilities nationwide. - Our infrastructure boom creates new opportunities. - We open our health sector for global collaboration. - Rural communities are the backbone of our food supply. 	<p>1376.9% to 5.7%</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New technologies enable new ways to do business - We respond with policy measures and structural reforms. - McKinsey predicts opportunity reaches 1.8 trillion USD.
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<p>Examples</p>	<p>the role of entrepreneurs, the role of industry...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Technology can bring significant progress to human life. - We have complementary resources with Peru. - We open the health sector for foreign companies. - We invite foreign universities to open campuses. - Nations throughout history have always struggled for influence. - AI can empower industry. - We promote public-private partnership - We invite foreign universities to raise our educational quality. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We launched the master plan for economic development - Opportunities include agriculture, mining, energy, marine, tourism, telecom
<p>Justification</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We may achieve 100% renewable energy within a few years. - Fuel from plants will create a lot of opportunities. - Technology now spreads faster than regulation. - Renewable energy will create millions of new jobs. - We must process these minerals domestically. - We encourage innovation-oriented industries. - We are simplifying licensing procedures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This shows APEC is in ideal position for global recovery. - We need more and better infrastructure. - PPP is crucial to develop infrastructure - Empowerment, innovation, women's productivity are crucial.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development must reach the rural population. - We are going forward with more incentives. - We have tremendous potential for fishery programs. 		
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Logic</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Without dynamic participation we cannot have growth.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Our planet has become smaller. Our main strength will become come from bioenergy. - Funds will circulate within our own economy. - Private business wants favorable economic climate and stability. - Collaboration is the only rational choice for progress. - These resources give Indonesia a strategic energy advantage. - Peace requires understanding. - Understanding requires engagement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This creates burden on food, water, energy. - Infrastructure boosts job creation. - We must intensify policy coordination. 	<p style="text-align: center;">3</p>

<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Warrants</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Without growth we cannot alleviate poverty. - We have to uphold common laws and international rules. - We will save a lot on foreign exchange. - Prosperity can only come from peace. - Engagement prevents misunderstanding. - Engagement also prevents escalation. - Renewable energy strengthens national resilience. - Downstreaming adds greater value to our economy. - Better infrastructure will reduce logistics costs. - Economic growth must reduce inequality. - Prosperity guarantees peace and stability. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - But without the private sector we cannot create more jobs. - This is also true the APEC region. - Trade relations must be strong and balanced. - We need to stimulate investment in our region. - Regional financial collaboration is needed. - Connectivity facilitates flows of goods and capital. 	<p style="text-align: center;">6</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Problem Identification</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - APEC must tackle inefficiencies in supply chains. - Non-tariff barriers remain a challenge. 	<p style="text-align: center;">2</p>


Reasoning.		improving connectivity integrates our region.	1
Ethos Consistency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I always choose the path of Collaboration. We must approach technology with Responsibility. Indonesia is committed to fair cooperation with all nations. We strive to create a stable investment ecosystem. Indonesia sees long term, mutually beneficial partnerships. We are committed to eliminating corruption. We encourage accountability at every level. Indonesia chooses cooperation over confrontation. 	our democracy is strongly rooted.	1

Ethos Defence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> His Excellency Mr Fernando Zavalá... Thank you for inviting me. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Your excellencies, Ministers of APEC Economies. It is a great honor for me to address this APEC CEO Summit. Thank you. 	3
Expertise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We manage prudent economic and fiscal policies. I was also a businessman, so I understand both sides. We protect investors through legal certainty. We guarantee contract enforcement. Good governance is essential for shared prosperity. 	the situation is manageable.	1
Honesty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We value ethical business practices We promote transparency in public administration. 	Indonesia is facing headwinds from market turbulence.	1

Ethnos	<p>Inclination to succeed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I am determined to protect All Investments. I am determined to address this Problem head-on. Indonesia is ready to meet this global demand. We must end malnutrition. 	4	2
Ingratiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distinguished panelists, distinguished delegates... I acknowledge the presence of many notable CEOs... We welcome global partners for mineral processing. Foreign investors are essential partners. 	4	3
Self-Criticism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We we have significant challenges We still have poverty at a large level. 	2	

Simplification		<p>Our theme is resilient Asia Pacific engine of global growth.</p>	1
Pathos	<p>Empathy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We must avoid letting technology divide societies. Bioenergy protects our farmers. Good healthcare is essential for human dignity. We must protect the vulnerable We must develop Indonesia without leaving anyone behind. 	5	2
Fairness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We must ensure that technology benefits humanity. Bioenergy ensures fair distribution of economic benefits. Investment must uplift the community. Education must be accessible to all We must build a fairer society. 	5	3
Feeling of Fear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> technology can also destroy human life very fast. AI can also threaten existing jobs. 	4	1

Paling	Address	A significant percentage of children are malnourished. no child should go hungry in a rich nation.	2		
	Satisfaction	We are blessed with critical minerals and other vital resources. We have significant challenges. we still have poverty at all large level.	3	- I am pleased to see such huge participation here today. - Indonesia offers vast opportunities.	2
	Wisdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We have at present geopolitical tension, but I am an optimist. - Leaders of great powers will opt for the common good. - Yet I believe humanity has learned from its past mistakes. - This century requires leaders to be more patient. - We must emphasize communication over conflict. - The world must embrace negotiation as a form of strength. - We must take care of our natural wealth responsibly. - We aim to build a humane, intelligent society. 	8		

Guru SMP1 Nanyu Anwar

 Uswahin Viasanun, S.Pd

APPENDIX V COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY THE CO-RESEARCHER 2

Comparative Table						
Indikator	Prabowo Subianto	Total %	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	Total %		
Ethos	Consistency		1. I always choose the form of collaboration 2. I choose the form of collaboration 3. I choose the form of collaboration 4. I am determined to protect all investments 5. We are committed to sustainability 6. We are committed to economic transformation 7. We want long-term cooperation 8. We aim for fiscal discipline 9. We strengthen governance 10. We aim for good governance	10	1. The form draws on our strengths 2. Our democracy is strongly rooted	2
	Experience		1. Before I entered government, I was also a businessman 2. I come from Indonesia, one of the largest countries 3. I come from a country with abundant resources 4. I was also a businessman	4	1. The situation of manageable 1. Your excellency, Ministers of APEC economies 2. Honorable governor of Bali 3. Distinguished CEOs from the Asia Pacific region and 4. Leader and gentleman 5. It's a great honor to address this APEC CEO Summit	1 5
	Defiance		1. His excellency Mr. Fernando Zavalza 2. We respect all nations	2		3
	Significant		1. I'm very honored to be invited to address this distinguished body 2. I believe in the role of private business 3. I understand the concerns of private business	3	1. Many of them will also address this forum 2. We are all in this together 3. APEC prioritizes resilience and stability	3

Ethos	Ingratiation		1. I acknowledge the presence of many notable CEOs 2. I am very honored to address the drivers of economic growth 3. We appreciate global cooperation	3	1. I am pleased to welcome you to Indonesia 2. I am glad to have my fellow APEC leaders 3. I welcome the participation of union leader	3
	Inclination to succeed		1. I am determined to bring down poverty 2. I am determined to protect all investments 3. We are determined to protect our resources 4. We are determined to industrialize 5. I am determined to bring it down 6. We aim to reduce inequality 7. We want to create jobs 8. We aim to reduce unemployment	8	1. We need to work harder together	1
	Empathy Affinity		1. We still have poverty at the large scale 1. I am determined to address this problem head-on 2. I am determined to address this problem head-on 1. We must live by common laws 2. We must have common understanding of interests 3. We must uphold international rules 4. We have to uphold and live by common laws 5. We must have common understanding of everybody's interests 6. We must collaborate to prevent conflict	1 2	1. Indonesia faces financial headwinds 1. Sixth, provide safety nets for the poor 1. Fourth, embrace SMEs 2. Expand financial inclusion 3. Our Vision: Inclusive Asia Pacific	1 1

Pathos	Fairness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9. We want to protect the environment 8. We aim for fair benefit-sharing 7. we must balance national interests 6. we guarantee legal certainty 5. we guarantee security for investors 4. we want inclusive growth 3. we must understand each other's interests. 2. we support open markets 1. we believe in fair competition 12. we support open markets 11. we want accountability 10. Technology can also destroy human very fast. 9. The power of technology demands leaders be more wiser. 	19	3
	Fear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Technology can also destroy human life very fast. 2. The power of technology demands leaders be more wiser. 3. Technology can bring progress but also destruction 4. Technology can also threaten security. 5. We must avoid conflict 6. Instability harms prosperity. 	6	1
	Friendliness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. we must cooperate between all of you. 2. we invite foreign participants to take part. 3. we invite cooperation to achieve prosperity. 4. we invite cooperation with the Pacific Basin. 5. we invite ASEAN participants 6. I want to introduce my country 7. Thank you for inviting me 8. we welcome collaboration 9. we invite sustainable investment 10. we invite investors in Indonesia 11. we welcome balanced partnerships. 12. Together we can achieve mutual prosperity. 	12	0

Pathos	Happiness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I am very happy to address you 2. I am happy to attend this APEC Summit. 3. I am an optimist in the interests of humanism. 4. I am happy to attend this APEC Summit. 5. I wish this summit to be very successful 	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Peace and Prosperity to us all 2. I trust you are enjoying the island of Bali 3. It has changed the landscape for the better 4. Our vision: Prosperous Asia Pacific 	4
	Honesty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. we have significant challenges 2. we have challenges, but I am optimistic 3. we have significant challenges but remain optimistic 4. geopolitical tensions exist. 5. I want to introduce my self 6. we oppose protectionism. 	6		0
	Passion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. we are very bullish on our maritime industry 2. we are very bullish on fisheries 3. we support entrepreneurship 4. we still have malnourished children 5. we still have poverty at a large level 	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. we must achieve shared prosperity 2. let us build strong partnership and foster resilient APEC 	2
	Optimism		0	1. Long-term projects are enormous	1
	Sadness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. we still have malnourished children 2. we still have poverty at large level 3. we still 	3		0
	Satisfaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. we are blessed with abundant resources 2. we are blessed with significant territory, land, and water. 3. we are blessed with critical minerals. 4. Technology can bring significant progress to human life. 5. we are blessed with critical minerals 	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bali is known as the island of the gods 2. I am pleased to see huge participation today 	2

<p>Palmas</p>	<p>vision</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prosperity comes from peace, peace from understand. 2. Geopolitical tension exists, but I am an optimist. 3. I believe leaders will choose the common good. 4. Understanding comes from engagement and negotiation. 5. Leaders must be patient and accommodating 6. Great power will ultimately opt for the common good 7. Asian technology demands wise leadership 8. We want prosperity for all. 9. We believe in mutual prosperity 10. Understanding the interest of others is important. 11. We believe in shared values. 12. Humanity is the best served through peace. 13. Breakthroughs require patience and diplomacy. 14. Compromise leads to peace 15. We believe prosperity must be shared 	<p>15</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bismita... 2. Our vision: stable, Asian Pacific 	<p>2</p>
<p>Losor</p>	<p>Argumentation thesis.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Peace and Prosperity is driven by economic activity. 2. Peace and Prosperity is driven by business community. 3. History is historical: there will always be rivalry. 4. Economic activity drives prosperity. 5. Peace and Prosperity is driven by economic activity, by the role of entrepreneurs. 6. Regional cooperation is essential 7. No nation prospers alone 8. Free trade creates opportunity 	<p>8</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This expansion has changed our economic landscape. 2. Jobs remain the top national agenda. 3. APEC must put extra effort for growth. 4. Continue trade liberalization. 5. Third, improve infrastructure. 6. Make trade easier 7. Make trade faster 8. Seventh, intensify policy coordination. 9. Address financial instability. 10. Competitiveness through innovation. 11. Connectivity must improve physically and institutionally. 	<p>11</p>

<p>Losor</p>	<p>Claim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. We can achieve 100% renewable energy 2. Fisheries programs offer tremendous potential 3. We will be self-sufficient in green energy 4. We will create more special economic zones. 5. Indonesia is open for more business. 6. Our demographics show strong potential. 7. Our resources create a bright economic future 8. Bioenergy will be our main strength. 9. We have tremendous potential for aquaculture. 10. Economic growth potential in the Indo-Pacific is enormous. 11. We will be completely self-sufficient in energy. 12. We will be self-sufficient in green energy. 13. We can achieve 100% renewable energy within a few years 14. We want to strengthen supply chains. 15. We guarantee political stability. 16. We will expand education access. 17. We support innovation-driven growth. 18. We want to raise productivity 19. We want to boost manufacturing capacity. 20. We will expand our diplomatic presence. 21. We seek stronger regional integration. 22. We want global stability. 23. Digital transformation is essential. 24. We encourage innovation ecosystems. 	<p>24</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This summit showcases the growth of the private sector 2. Government remain important in economic policy 3. APEC emerging economies need momentum 4. APEC remains a crucial source of global growth. 5. Let me highlight possible measures 6. Trade relations must be strong 7. APEC prioritizes connectivity. 8. First, ensure financial stability 9. Only through coordination APEC achieves results. 10. Indonesia sets three major priorities. 11. First priority: Bogor Goals. 	<p>11</p>
<p>Datu</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Our growth is 5% and inflation 2% 2. Three quarters of our national territory is water 3. We calculated we need \$600 billion in investment 4. Our territory is nearly the length of Europe. 5. We are the 4th largest population 6. 60% of world potential potential is in Indonesia. 7. Our growth is about 5% higher than global average 8. We have 26 commodities for downstreaming 	<p>8</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Global growth in 2015 show different dynamite 2. BRICS economies are also slowing. 3. According to IMF, APEC will growth 6.5% 4. APEC will growth 6.6% next year. 5. APEC account for 57% of global GDP 6. APEC account for 41% of global trade 7. Trade reached \$11 trillion in 2011 8. World population will reach 9 billion 	<p>11</p>

<p>10905</p>	<p><i>Evidence</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Indonesia has 60% of world geothermal potential 2. We have abundant solar, geothermal potential. 3. We have liberalized our laws. 4. We have abundant critical minerals 5. We have maintained growth even after COVID 6. Our territory length is nearly that of Europe. 7. We have open education sector for foreign institutions 8. Our planet is full of technological breakthroughs 9. A lot of countries have been involved for many years. 10. We have prudent economic policies. 11. We have abundant mineral vital for modern life. 12. We have complementary resources with Peru. 13. The Pacific region is one of the most dynamic areas of the world. 14. Our planet has become smaller due to technology 15. Indonesia is one of the largest countries in the world 16. Europe has 27 countries; we are one. 17. We have created several special economic zones. 18. We have tremendous fishery potential. 19. The Pacific region has strong resources. 20. We have solar potential across the archipelago 21. We have geothermal reserves across the island 22. We have massive hydro potential. 23. We are working on new renewable technologies. 24. We are positioned strategically. 25. Our people are young and dynamic. 26. We continue to invest in infrastructure. 27. We are expanding transportation network. 28. We are improving ports and airports. 29. We are building industrial parks. 30. We are building renewable energy. 31. We will reduce bureaucratic burdens. 	<p><i>33</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Savings reached \$59 billion 10. Much growth came from Asia Pacific 11. Indonesia is a trillion-dollar economy <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The private sector has expanded rapidly. 2. Advanced economies are recovering. 3. They are showing positive growth. 4. Emerging economies are slowing down. 5. They suffer from trade deficits 6. Their currencies are appreciating. 7. Growth in APEC advanced economies is gaining strength. 8. More than half world average 9. APEC trade area sevenfold since 1989. 10. Average tariffs declined close to 70% 11. Cross-border costs decreased significantly 12. Middle class growth creates opportunity 13. SMEs are backbone of economies. 14. APEC has reduced tariffs significantly. 15. Non-tariff barriers remain challenges 16. Customs procedures still lengthy. 17. Poor infrastructure hinders trade. 18. Address commodity price fluctuations. 19. New technology open new business avenues 20. Governments responded with policy reforms. 21. Indonesia's financial market stabilized. <p><i>21</i></p>
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<p>6</p>	<p><i>6</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This is also true for some APEC economies 2. Trade relations must be balanced 3. Competing countries job creation 4. Competing boosts job creation 	<p><i>Low</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. World growth will slow, market growth 2. Our planet has become smaller due to technology 3. Funds will circulate within our economy 4. Funds will save a lot of foreign exchange
<p>5</p>	<p><i>6</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. APEC is in ideal position to help recovery 2. SE and SMC's investment 3. Investment is essential for connectivity 4. APEC can stimulate financial market. 5. Inclusiveness is essential for APEC goals. 	<p><i>Justification</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Therefore, I address you as drivers of growth. 2. We are determined to downstream as commodities. 3. We will undertake by downstream. 4. We need high exportation of all data as 5. We maintain political stability. 6. We need down stream processing industries. 7. We need favorable economic conditions 8. We want favorable investment conditions 9. Policy-based will create jobs. 10. Downstream will create jobs. 11. Our location benefits global supply chains. 12. We need global partnership 13. We want maintain a prudent budget 14. We encourage technological transfer 15. We need stronger diplomatic management. 16. We need stronger diplomatic management. 17. We need stronger diplomatic management. 18. We need stronger diplomatic management. 19. We need stronger diplomatic management. 20. We need stronger diplomatic management. 21. We need stronger diplomatic management.
<p>4</p>	<p><i>6</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. PPP helps develop infrastructure 2. The main regional financial agreements 3. Mutualization is good collaboration 4. Women's productivity must be tapped. 	<p><i>Low</i></p> <p><i>Examples</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. We invite foreign university to open campus 2. We have created several special economic zones 3. We open the health sector for foreign companies. 4. We invite foreign university to invest 5. We invite foreign university to open branches 6. We can produce plant-based fuel 7. We open our education sector 8. We provide start-up development.
<p>Evidence</p>	<p><i>33</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 33. We simplify regulations. 33. We invest in digital infrastructure. 	<p><i>Evidence</i></p>

<p>LO905</p>	<p>LO41C</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Prosperity guarantees peace and stability. 6. we cannot have growth without the economic sector 7. Funds will circulate within our own economy 8. Prosperity ensures peace and stability 9. without the dynamic participation of the economic sector, we cannot have growth. 10. Prosperity can only come from peace 11. Peace comes from understanding. 12. understanding comes from engagement and negotiation 13. Prosperity guarantees peace and stability. 14. we will save foreign exchange by producing our own fuel. 15. funds will circulate within the economy. 16. we will increase exports value through process. 17. we will reduce dependency on raw exports. 18. cooperation reduces risk. 19. protectionism harms growth. 20. stability benefits everyone. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. financial stability is essential 8. policy consultation is important. 6. but burdens energy, food, water supply. 	
<p>PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION</p>		<p>1. APEC Must solve supply chain inefficiency</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>WARRANTS</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Private business want political stability. 2. Private business want consistency of the legal system. 3. Business sector is crucial for employment. 4. we want favorable incentives for business 5. Business want economic political stability 6. Business wants favorable incentives 7. Government support trade 8. Trade boost employment 9. Investments must be protected 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. But without the private sector we cannot create more jobs. 2. Anti. prevent protectionist policies. 3. investment creates growth and jobs. 	<p>3</p>

APPENDIX VI DOCUMENTATION

