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THESIS ADVISOR RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This thesis entitled “INDONESIA’S RESPONSES TOWARDS THE SINGAPOREAN DEMANDS ON THE TRANSBOUNDARY HAZE POLLUTION (2015-2017)” prepared and submitted by Rizqie Amaliah in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor Degree in the Faculty of Humanities has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

Cikarang, May 2018

Drs. Teuku Rezasyah, M.A., Ph.D.
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis entitled “INDONESIA’S RESPONSES TOWARDS THE SINGAPOREAN DEMANDS ON THE TRANSBOUNDARY HAZE POLLUTION (2015-2017)” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work that has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, Indonesia, May 2018,

Rizqie Amaliah
The Panel of Examiners declare that the thesis entitled “INDONESIA’S RESPONSES TOWARDS THE SINGAPOREAN DEMANDS ON THE TRANSBOUNDARY HAZE POLLUTION (2015-2017)” that was submitted by Teuku Muhammad Farhan Dermawan, majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of Humanities was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examinations on May 18th, 2018.

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ABSTRACT

Rizqie Amaliah, International Relations 2014, President University

Thesis title: Indonesia Responses’s Towards The Singaporean Demands on The Transboundary Haze Pollution (2015-2017)

The Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) has started since 1997 and affecting not only Indonesia, but neighbouring country, Singapore. This research is using qualitative methods. The data are collected through books, journals, reports, speech, previous researches and official websites. To analyze the issue, the researcher uses Human Security and Securitization concepts. THP pose a threat towards human security mostly in health and economic. In Singapore, the people also get affected by haze pollution the same way as Indonesian. The THP also affected their daily activities because the hazardous level of the haze. After the haze pollution in 2015 spiked up, the level of hazardous haze was getting worse and dangerous for the people. It causes the demands from Singapore towards Indonesian Government to quickly tackle this issue. The responses from Indonesian Government are in the form of the establishment of Peat Restoration Agency (Badan Restorasi Gambut or BRG) and Joko Widodo, as Indonesian President also deployed the National Army (Tentara National Indonesia or TNI) and National Police to help extinguish the fires burnt in forest and land that could cause haze pollution for getting worse.

Keywords: Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP), Indonesia, Singapore, Security
ABSTRAK

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Judul: Indonesia Responses’s Towards The Singaporean Demands on The Transboundary Haze Pollution (2015-2017)


Kata Kunci: Polusi Asap Lintas Batas (THP), Indonesia, Singapura, Keamanan
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Warm regards,

Rizqie Amaliah
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South-East Asia Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRG</td>
<td>Peatland Restoration Agency (Badan Restorasi Gambut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO2</td>
<td>Carbon Dioxide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOI</td>
<td>Government of Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBY</td>
<td>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI</td>
<td>Pollution Standard Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THP</td>
<td>Transboundary Haze Pollution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFCCC</td>
<td>United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRI</td>
<td>World Resource Institute</td>
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<td>WWF</td>
<td>World Wildlife Fund</td>
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

I.1. Background of the Study

Lately the issues that concern humanity worldwide and society in Southeast Asia extend to cover issues that are not limited to issues of conventional threats to the security and survival of a country or regional peace but also cover environmental issues. One of several environmental issues that are largely impacted other countries directly or indirectly are Transboundary haze pollution (THP). THP has been a hot topic in the country and internationally in recent times. Not only Indonesia, THP also has an adverse impact on six ASEAN countries (Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines and Brunei Darussalam).1 Millions of people in the seven countries are victims of THP. The THP impacts mostly related to health and economic problems.2

The smoke haze pollution is caused by forest and land fires peatland areas. The severity of the current condition is caused by the dry season and the prolonged El Nino phenomenon in 2015.3 As a result the air quality in the affected area has decreased significantly. The condition is seen as the worst for more than two decades. The haze from forest and land fires covered an area almost the size of Europe, disrupted aviation and shipping for months and caused serious health problems with the visibility being down to 20 m in some provinces and an extreme level of pollutants in the air.

The beginning of transboundary haze pollution was between July and November 1997 when an estimated 45,000 km\(^2\) of forest and land fire in Sumatera

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1 Sidiq Ahmadi, “Prinsip Non-Interference ASEAN dan Problem Efektivitas ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution,” International Relations Journal 1, no. 2 (October 2012): pg. 189.
2 Ibid.
and Kalimantan, Indonesia. It continued until half quarter of 1998 when another forest fire happened in Kalimantan and affected several neighboring countries, such as Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and Thailand. Singapore and Malaysia then recommended their citizen to stay indoors and wear respiratory mask when they go outdoors. While in Kuching, Malaysia, there was a 10-days emergency announced; closure of schools, public offices, and factories. At that time, the daily exposure of the haze was equal to 20 to 40 cigarettes and it made the citizen became panic and aware.

During the 1997 transboundary haze pollution, satellite image from NASA/TOMS aerosol index maps displayed smoke haze layer expanded over an area of more than 3 million km² which covered large parts of Sumatera and Borneo and created maximum visibility below 100 meters. In Kuching, the visibility decreased from 15 km to below 500 meters and the concentration of the haze particle rose from 5 to 20 times above level made it from unhealthy became hazardous range only within 32 days. In Singapore and Peninsular Malaysia, the visibility range was below 2 km and the particle concentration was also rose from 2 to 5 fold above level within 40 days. The worse haze pollution happened in Southeast Asia region was in 1997-1998, 2006-2007, 2013, and 2015.

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6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
The impacts of THP are ecological damages, health damages, transportation damages, and social damages. Ecological damages created by the production of ozone, acid rain, and greenhouse effects caused by the haze pollution. Health damages include short term illness such as eye irritation, skin ailments, asthma, allergies, difficulty in breathing, acute respiratory syndrome, and etc. It also could cause long-term health issue but long-term research is required. Haze pollution also could make transportation damages since the haze decreases visibility so there will be flight cancellations, airports closure, disruption on water and land transportation as well. Haze pollution causes social damages too, for instance is schools closure. Seeing the impacts of haze pollution are so aggravating it is urgent to tackle down the haze pollution as soon as possible.

I.2. Problem Identification

The impacts of Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) towards human in various sectors affecting the daily life of human and also violated the rights to live in a safe and sound environment for human. The smoke haze caused by forest fires in 2015 was one of the worst incidents in history. The people in most of the affected areas, choking on smoke for weeks. Many fell ill causing diplomatic tension. The haze also causing premature deaths in Singapore and Indonesia.

The latest complex study, published in the journal Environmental Research Letters, combines satellite data with health impact models from exposure to smoke and readings from pollution monitoring stations. The result is that 93,800 people died

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13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
prematurely due to fires that occurred last year in both countries. There are 91,600 deaths in Indonesia, 2,200 cases of similar deaths in Singapore.\textsuperscript{17}

The THP has affected a range of stakeholders including the Indonesia and Singapore governments, plantation companies, retail companies, financial institutions, and the civil society.\textsuperscript{18} The Singaporean government pressuring Indonesia to do more to stop the THP. An Indonesian parliamentarian in charge of International Relations and the environment, Hamdhani Mukhdar, apologized to Singaporean government at a September ASEAN meeting in Kuala Lumpur.\textsuperscript{19} In 2006, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) reported that the haze in 1997 until 2002 contributed approximately 40 per cent of the world’s total Carbon Dioxide (CO2) emissions at over 400 million tonnes.\textsuperscript{20}

Because of the demands from Singapore, Indonesia urged to tackle the issue immediately since it affects not only on the citizens, but also in diplomatic relations of both countries. Diplomatic tension with Singapore is affecting Indonesia’s international relations.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, it makes the issue not only a domestic problem, but also an international problem. Therefore, the researcher will further elaborate the THP impact on human security of Indonesian and Singaporean. The securitization process of THP issue is one of the efforts done by GOI in responding to the demands and also to show responsibility to protect Indonesia’s citizen.

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I.3. Statement of The Problem

The topic of this research conducts of several key points to be explored and analyzed. The key points further constructed as a statement of the problem to determine the research as a whole.

**Topic:** This research is elaborating the response from the Government of Indonesia of transboundary haze pollution by Indonesian Government. It also explain the impact of the issue towards human security.

**Question:** Why did Singapore demand Indonesian Government to overcome Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) (2015-2017)?

I.4. Research Objectives

The research objectives in this research are classified into explanatory-descriptive objectives. As described by Kothari in his book Research Methodology, explanatory refers to a thesis with the objective to gain familiarity with a phenomenon; while descriptive thesis attempts to depict accurately the characteristics of a particular individual, situation or a group.\(^22\) Therefore, the objective of this research are:

1) To elaborate the impact of Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) towards human security
2) To explain the responses of The Government of Indonesia (GOI) on the Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) towards Singapore’s demands

I.5. Significance of the Study

The Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) has significantly affected many sectors domestically and globally that affected human security. Thus, it urges Indonesia to take this issue seriously in which resulted with the securitization of

transboundary haze pollution and the establishment of Peatland Restoration Agency (BRG). The significance of this research is as follow:

1) To provide deep understanding on the impact of haze pollution towards human security in Indonesia and Singapore

2) To show the importance of transboundary haze pollution within domestic and global context for International Relations

I.6. Theoretical Framework

This research will use the perspectives from Copenhagen school, highlighting on their concept of securitization. Also, with the help of Human Security concept, this research will elaborate further on the impact of transboundary haze pollution towards human security through ‘securitization’ perspective. The securitization concept in this research will be used to explain the securitization move of forest and land fires issue from politicized level to securitized level in securitization process. This research will also use the concept of human security as a tool to explain the referent object relating to securitization process.

I.6.1. Human Security

In the security studies, there are two different categories of security itself – traditional security and non-traditional security. The traditional security put the center its security in state (state-centric), while non-traditional security put its security concern on a wider categories or another focus other than state.\(^\text{23}\) The concept of Human security, has been one of the attention focus in International Relations. This concept includes the non-military issue which put people as its center (people-centered).\(^\text{24}\) Human security contains the sense of protecting individuals


from threats that can damage their integrity as human beings, whether threats that can cause destruction to both physical or individual ownership.  

According to Alan Collins in his book, *Contemporary Security Studies 1st Edition*, he mentioned the difference of human security definition by two different school perspectives – narrow school and broad school. The narrow school use realist perspective which is state-centric, where state is the referent object of security that should be protected from the threat; while the broad school, the human security scholars, put people (human) as the referent object. The broad school argue on why the state is the referent object if it is not a means to people’s security. The broad school highlight the point that the relationship between people, state, and the role of sovereignty is at the center of understanding about security. To put it simply, Collins suggested the key point which, in order to understand the security, both state-centric and human security are needed and necessary.

Adding into it, Barry Buzan in his book, “*People, State, and Fear*”, stated that the security of individuals is inseparably entangled with that of the state. Buzan stated that the relevance of individual security to the state or national security lies in the network of connections and contradictions between personal security and the security of the state. The state can be a major source for both security for and threats to individuals. Individuals provide much of the reason for the security-seeking activities of the state.

The concept of human security was first introduced by UNDP in Human Development Report (1994) which UNDP stated that human security is not a concern with weapons but rather, it is a concern with human life and dignity. The definition

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27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
from broad school which was mentioned by Collins in his book was similar to the UNDP definition of human security. The UNDP define human security as:

“...safety from chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression; and protection from sudden hurtful disruption of daily life – whether in homes, jobs, or in communities...”

Based on the definition of human security by UNDP, human security has two visions – **Freedom from fear** and **Freedom from want**. The difference between these two visions is that, **Freedom from fear** focuses on conflicts, violences, and crimes; while **Freedom from want** focuses on poverty, chronic diseases, and environmental degradation. According to UNDP, human security has seven basic elements: health, food, economic, environmental, personal, community, and political security. These elements are the source of major threats in human security, which each defined as:

1. **Health Security**: refers to the individual's freedom from various diseases and weakens the disease and access to health care.

2. **Food Security**: refers to the individual's access to food through the asset, occupation, or income it has.

3. **Economic Security**: refers to the individual's adequacy of basic income, either through profitable work or from a social safety net.

4. **Environmental Security**: refers to the integrity of the soil, air, and water, which makes humans feel safe.

5. **Personal Security**: refers to individual freedom from crime and violence, especially women and children.

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35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
6. **Community Security**: refers to the inter-community cultural and inter-community peace in which individuals live and grow.

7. **Political Security**: refers to protection against human rights violations.

According to UNDP, the environment is one of the scope that relating to human security. The environmental issue can affect the security of an individual or human being either directly. The environmental degradation such as haze pollution is one of the issue that affect human security mostly in their health and economy. Thus, this research will address the transboundary haze pollution as an environmental threat towards the wellbeing of human life.

**I.6.2. Securitization**

Securitization is a process of how a non-security issue can be considered as a security issue by actor(s) if the issue is considered as a threat towards security. Traditionally, the meaning of security is related with military issue. However, in contemporary era the security issue can come from non-military issue. In his book, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Buzan et. al presented that security is a speech act. In this usage, security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real. When political and social elites uttering that a particular issue is a threat for particular object (referent object) influencing one’s survival or security; the utterance itself is the act (securitizing move).

According to Buzan, the categories of security issues include five general categories: military, environmental, economic, societal and political issues. For example, if one accepts that the forest fire of a country can affect the human security, not only in one country but also the neighbouring countries, the definition of the situation and the way one tries to govern it depends on political and social processes. Meaning, security is a self-referential practice in which an issue becomes a security

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40 Ibid, 12.
41 Ibid, 15
issue only by being labeled as one.\textsuperscript{42} It bring us to the premise that security problem is political rather than analytical decision. Any issue can end up in the spectrum ranging from non-politicized, politicized, and securitized. Classification of the spectrum can be seen as follow:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{spectrum.png}
\caption{The spectrum of securitization concept}
\end{figure}

Based on the classification of the spectrum, Non-politicized issues are those that the state does not deal with and that are not part of public debate. Politicized issues are tackled within the political system and are part of public policy calling for government action. Securitized matters, at the end of the spectrum, are those which ask for extraordinary means, beyond normal political procedures of the state.\textsuperscript{43}

Securitization in other term is a ‘more extreme version of politicization.’ When something has been declared as the matter of security, it means that the response towards the issue is expected to be swift and extraordinary - outside standard political procedure. However, it doesn’t mean that every problem can be easily securitized. As Buzan et al., believe that security is intersubjective, securitizing actor cannot decide security matter by themselves. A matter can be called “securitized” only if and when the


\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, p. 22-23.
audience accepts it as such.\textsuperscript{44} Thus, to make the “act” successful the securitizing actor must persuade an audience of the legitimacy of the claim. Only with audience’s acceptance does the issue can be moved above the sphere of normal politics, allowing elites to break normal procedures and rules and implement emergency measures.\textsuperscript{45}

There are four main components which contribute to the securitization process. These components are what make the securitization can be proceed. These components are:

1. \textbf{Securitizing actor}: refers to an actor who initiates a move of securitization through speech act. Securitizing actors can be policymakers or bureaucracies but also transnational actors and individual;\textsuperscript{46}

2. \textbf{Existential threat}: an object that has been identified as a threat or harmful to a referent object. Existential threats are the most serious threats a referent object can face, and thus are seen to justify the most extensive measures to secure against them. Individuals face an existential threat when they are threatened with death, while states face existential threat when they are threatened with external invasion and conquest;\textsuperscript{47}

3. \textbf{Referent object}: an object that is being threatened and needs to be protected. Referent object can be individuals and groups (refugees, victims of human rights abuses, etc.) as well as issue areas (national sovereignty, environment, economy, etc.) that possess a legitimate claim to survival and whose existence is ostensibly threatened;\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
4. Audience: the target of the securitization move. It consists of a group (public opinion, politicians, military officers or other elites) who needs to be convinced that a referent object is existentially threatened.⁴⁹

Securitization itself can take the form of either ad hoc securitization or institutionalized securitization. Ad hoc securitization refers to the initial phase of securitization in which particular issue is identified as existential threat and thus speech act is made. However, as discussed before, there is a possibility that the speech act fails to achieve legitimization from the audience. After the speech act has been successfully legitimized and the problem appears to be persistent, the securitization can be institutionalized. In this phase, the problem reoccurs repetitively that the same security argument is established and taken for granted. The state has established long standing bureaucracies and procedures to deal with the threat.⁵⁰ In other words, when security logic has been institutionalized, “things appear as natural, traditional or normal ways of reasoning, or are seen as natural social facts.”⁵¹

Eventhough the forest and land fires do not directly harmed the human being, the haze pollution caused by it does pose danger (threat) to human (referent object). Thus, the researcher believes that this concept of securitization from Copenhagen School theory and the concept of human security are relevant with the topic of this research. The researcher will use the concept of securitization and the concept of human security by relating those concepts to the forest and land fires in Indonesia.

In reference to the four components of securitization, this research will state the four components relating to the THP. The securitizing actor will be Government of Indonesia (GOI); the existential threat is the Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP); the referent object is the human as this research will focus on the human security in THP; and audience of this research will be International public.

⁵¹ Ibid.
The theoretical framework of this research will begin with THP impacts on a few sectors of security such as; economic, health, food, environmental, political, community, and personal security. These seven elements are the major security threats to Human Security and are linked and overlapped. One element of human security is likely affected the other elements of human security. In this research, the researcher will elaborate the impact of THP towards each element which then will be seen as a threat towards human security, in this research posed as a referent object. When the referent object being threatened, the issue will have to be securitized, the process is called securitization process. The product of securitization is policy. Therefore, the theoretical and research framework of this research will be as follows:

I.7. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research will mainly focus on the elaboration of the effect of Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) towards human security in Singapore and Indonesia, and Indonesia’s responses on the issue. The scope of this research is the THP issue caused by Indonesia’s forest and land fires which will be seen from the
perspective of the GOI and how the THP issue affect Singapore since Singapore is the one of the closest country to Indonesia and also greatly affected by THP. The researcher will also limit the research to the explanation of THP impacts towards human security in Singapore, especially from environmental security as the source of threat. The limitation of this research is limited to 2015-2017, as 2015 was the year where the catastrophic haze spiked up, and the responses from GOI is taken within those years. This research will also mention the agreement and policies regarding the THP issue. However, this research will not assess the effectiveness of the policies and Agreements mentioned within this research. Instead, the researcher will provide a brief explanation of each policy and agreement.

I.8. Research Methodology

In a book titled *Research Methods in Politics: A Practical Guide* by Roger Pierce (2008), he defines research as a systematic inquiry where the core activities are goal-oriented, inquisitive and also original.\(^{52}\) In this research entitled “Indonesia responses towards the Singaporean demands on the Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) (2016-2017)” the writer use the qualitative research method. Based on the book titled *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector’s Field Guide* by Natasha Mack, Cynthia Woodsong, Kathleen M. MacQueen, Greg Guest, and Emily Namey (2005), qualitative research methods can be done by using semi-structured method such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group. The data format of qualitative research methods is textual, it can be obtained from audiotapes, notes, and videotapes.\(^{53}\)

For this research, the researcher choose qualitative research method because this research does not involve numbers to prove the idea of the writer. The data acquired to complete the research will be taken from literatures which can be found from books, journals, papers, reports, and publications which are related to the

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transboundary haze pollution (THP) issue, and also from reliable articles from the internet sourced from official websites to support the main sources.

I.9. Thesis Outline

Chapter I: Introduction
The first chapter will introduce the issue being examined in this thesis. This chapter also elaborates the background of the study, problem identification, significance of the studies, theoretical framework, research methodology, and limitation of the study. In other words, chapter one presents the basis of this research.

Chapter II: Literature Review
In this chapter, the writer exposed all the literatures that are being used on the study. The literatures work as the guidance or reference on the process of writing this thesis. There are seven literatures related to the study that are going to be reviewed. The researcher will try to explain all the important, influential information or data that may contribute to the research process.

Chapter III: The Overview of Transboundary Haze Pollution
This chapter is the overview of this research that will elaborate the effects of THP in domestic context (effect on Indonesia) and regional context (effect on Southeast Asia region).

Chapter IV: The Analysis of Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) Affected Singapore and Indonesia’s Responses
This chapter will be the analysis part that will answer the research question of this research. This chapter will further elaborate the responses of Indonesian government towards Singapore’s demands on THP issue.

Chapter V: Conclusion
As any other researches, conclusion will be written in the last part of the research which will conclude the overall of this research.
I.10. Definition of Terms

This research with the title of “Transboundary Haze Pollution: A Threat Towards Human Security” has several keywords that will be used often in this research. Those keywords are:

1. **Transboundary haze pollution**: “haze pollution whose physical origin is situated wholly or in part within the area under the national jurisdiction of one Member States and which is transported into the area under the jurisdiction of another Member State.”

2. **Forest**: “a dense growth of trees and underbush covering a large tract.”

3. **Land**: “the solid part of the surface of the earth.”

4. **Peat land**: “area with or without vegetation with a naturally accumulated peat (heterogeneous mixture of decomposed plan) layer at the surface.”

5. **Human Security**: “the safety and well being of individuals, groups, and communities as opposed to prioritizing the state and its interests”.

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CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research will use books and journals from relatable sources as the literature reference related to the concepts used in this research, the forest and land fires in Indonesia and its relation to human security, as well as in explaining the securitization process of the issue mentioned. Therefore, this research will use three books and four journals, which are:

- **Books:**
  3. Contemporary Security Studies

- **Journals:**
  1. Deforestation and Transboundary Haze in Indonesia: Path Dependence and Elite Influences
  2. Securitization of Haze Issue into National Security Issue (*Sekuritisasi Isu Asap menjadi Isu Keamanan Nasional*)
  3. Forest Disaster in International Relations (*Bencana Hutan dalam Hubungan Internasional*)
  4. Handling Smoke Haze from Forest Fire at Border Regions in Indonesia (*Penanganan Asap Kabut Akibat Kebakaran Hutan Di Wilayah Perbatasan Indonesia*)

II.1. Review of Books and Journals

The book consists of nine chapters about the view of Copenhagen Schools of security studies. The first chapter is the introduction of the book, which included the debate in security studies, the level of analysis, and a brief of the next chapters. Second chapter talks about the conceptual apparatus of security analysis. The third to seventh chapters are the elaboration of sectors in security which by order will be Military, Environmental, Economic, Social and Political Sectors. Chapter eight talks about how sectors are synthesized. The last chapter is the conclusion of the book. This review will focus on the second chapter. 59

In chapter two, authors try to clarify two analytical issues: (1) how to identify what is and what is not a security issue, or, put another way, how to differentiate between the politicization and the securitization of an issue; and (2) how to identify and distinguish security actors and referent objects. The authors explained that securitisation is accepted as a successful speech act but it is argued in the book that the security speech act is not defined by saying the word security. For securitisation “the designation of an existential threat requiring emergency action or special measures and the acceptance of that designation by a significant audience” is necessary.60 In securitization, an actor tries to move a topic away from politics and into an area of security concerns by talking security. The process of securitization is not a question of an objective threat and a subjective perception of a threat. Securitization is inter-subjective which means that securitization of a subject is closely related to its acceptance by an audience.

The authors mentioned that the goal of securitisation studies and the role of analysts are not to define objective threats but the aim is to gain an understanding of who securitizes, for whom, on what issues, why, with what results and under what conditions. These clarifications are developed to answer the criticism which supports progressive widening endangered the intellectual coherence of security. Authors tried to show how the essential meaning of security can be carried across five sectors without weakening the concept. The beneficial aspect of this analysis is that it does

60 Ibid.
not limit threat and security issues only to states and military competition and it broadens the security agenda. Furthermore, while the book accepts a widened security agenda, it does not ignore the presence of the traditional military focus of security studies.

This book is used to elaborate the securitization concept used to analyze the forest and land fires issue as a security issue (non-traditional security). The researcher also use this book in explaining how forest and land fires can be seen as a threat and the securitization process of the issue. Therefore, the book contribute in the writing of this research.


This book consists of ten chapters which contributing to the development of security studies in International Relations (IR). The first chapter begins by looking individuals and security. The second chapter talks about the national security and the nature of the state. The third chapter is about the threats and vulnerabilities of national security. In chapter four, this book discussing about security and the international political system. Chapter five talks about regional security. Chapter six is about economic security. In the seventh chapter, this book talks about the defence dilemma and chapter eight is about the power-security dilemma. The ninth chapter discussing about national and international security in the sense of policy problem. While the last chapter is the concluding thoughts on international security studies.

The researcher use the first chapter as the contribution in this research. In this chapter, the author try to explain to what extent are individuals the basic referent object of security and how does individual security relate to the state. The author acknowledges that in order to complete the complex study of security where the state is assumed as the main referent object, one has to first ask oneself; what is the nature of a state? When thinking along the lines of individual security, we can understand
that security can be considered as a factor of “life, health, status, wealth, freedom”. The author also stated that the security of individuals is inseparably entangled with that of the state. In this book, it is mentioned that the relevance of individual security to the state or national security lies in the network of connections and contradictions between personal security and the security of the state. The state can be a major source for both security for and threats to individuals. Individuals provide much of the reason for the security-seeking activities of the state.


This book consists of 21 chapters which included within three major parts of the book. The first chapter is the introduction. The second to seventh chapters included in the first part (Approaches to security) which by order the chapters are security in International Politics in traditional approaches, Peace Studies, Critical Security Studies, Gender and Security, Human Security, and Securitization. In the second part of the book which is about deepening and broadening security, it is divided into five chapters which are Military, Regime, Societal, Environmental and Economic securities. In the last part of the book, it discussing the Traditional and Non-Traditional Security which divided into nine chapters; Coercive Diplomacy, The Role of Intelligence in National Security, Weapons and Mass Destruction, Terrorism, The Defence Trade, HIV/Aids and security, Transnational crime, children and war, and lastly this chapter close the third part with the discussion after the return to theory: the past, present, and future of security studies.

The researcher use the sixth and seventh chapters in this research which are Human Security and Securitization. In the sixth chapter about Human Security, the author mentioned the difference of human security definition by two different school

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63 Ibid.
perspectives – narrow school and broad school. The narrow school use realist perspective which is state-centric, where state is the referent object of security that should be protected from the threat; while the broad school, the human security scholars, put people as the referent object. The broad school argue on why the state is the referent object if it is not a means to people’s security. The broad school highlight the point that the relationship between people, state, and the role of sovereignty is at the center of understanding about security.

In the seventh chapter about securitization, the author stated the concept of securitization is a framework that encapsulates both state security and non-traditional security concerns. It allows for non-military matters to be included in security studies while offering a coherent understanding of the concept of security which provides a framework to determine how, why, and by whom a specific matter becomes securitized and thus succeeds in distinguishing security and non-security threats. This chapter also mention a series of salient questions and steps; (1) who the securitizing actors might be; (2) who or what is to be protected; (3) from what kind of threats are the referent objects to be protected; (4) who decides on what is a security issue; and (5) what means are to be used to tackle the existential threat.


There are several parts that being discussed in this article; deforestation and transboundary haze, path dependence and historical institutionalism, elite theory, Pancasila and historical basis, Indonesian environmental policy (its formation, regulation, and policy evaluation), and in the end of the discussion, the author writes about directions for policy. The author argues that deforestation is a major concern and it affects to global warming and sustainability. Since the condition of haze
pollution until 2014 in Indonesia was still bad, the author believes that government should take more serious action to tackle it down. The article gives a deep explanation about Indonesian government condition on transboundary haze issue. There are two theoretical perspectives that help to explain why Indonesia was stuck with the situation which are path dependence and historical institutionalism. Path dependence means that current and future actions are dependent on the previous, in this case was that timber and plantation interests have been structurally protected thus it made a mindset to maintain the status quo. The article gives reference regarding the Indonesian government’s responsibility in addressing the transboundary issue which should be more comprehensive and more rigorous than before. The article contribution for this research mostly in the discussion of Indonesian environmental policy and its directions. In this article, the author argues that Ministry of Agricultural and Industrial is the one who hold most responsibility towards transboundary haze issue.


The author stated about the securitization process of forest and land fires in Indonesia, however the author’s concern is on the haze pollution that blanketed the Southeast Asia Region and the national security. The author begins the journal by mentioning the difference of traditional and non-traditional security issues. The author also mention the components of securitization which consists of existential threat, referent object, the audience, and securitizing actors. In the case of haze pollution issue caused by forest and land fires, the author mention that there are three levels of audience; national, region, and international. In national, the audience will be the Indonesia public and Indonesian Government; in regional, the audience include the Indonesia public, Indonesian Government, and also open to International public; while in international level, the audiences are international public and Indonesian Government. The author describes the spectrum of securitization which
are non-politicized, politicized, and securitized. The impacts of forest and land fires in Indonesia also being mentioned by the author, as well as the efforts and cooperation done by Indonesian Government.

6. Forest Disaster in International Relations (Bencana Hutan dalam Hubungan Internasional) written by Loade Muhamad Fathun (2016)

The author begin his explanation through this journal by mentioning the forest burning activities that cause the occurrence of forest fires. The author also mention that the effect of haze pollution that plagues the territory of Indonesia and a number of ASEAN countries. The forest burning activity is carried out by a number of persons to minimize the cost of land acquisition, especially palm oil. Air pollution caused by the activity of burning peat land followed by the natural conditions that enter the season with El Nino.

Through this journal, the author highlighted that the haze that took place for months due to the forest fires caused tremendous suffering for the people of Indonesia along with economic losses and other fields as well as ASEAN countries, especially Singapore and Malaysia. By mentioning this, the author agrees that the Indonesia's disaster resolution process is one of which calls for the help of a number of countries such as Japan, Russia, Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, but Malaysia and Singapore are more active than some other countries may be due to the similarity of taste due to haze pollution.

The author also explain that the Transboundary haze is a violation if it were to be seen through a sense of humanity. The author mentions the Geneva Conventions, the Rio Declaration and Stockholm declaration statements, which merely states that each country should preserve its nature and conformity with nature, disrupt the activities of other countries. Air pollution caused by haze is clearly disturbing the activities of other countries, in that context also ASEAN as a regional organization take active steps by forming a convention on transboundary haze.
The author argues that Indonesia is the most haze-exporting country, does not ratify the convention with the tendency of reasons to avoid international sanctions, but on the other hand Indonesia does not have a special legal umbrella to ensnare the perpetrators of forest fires. However, it is logically reversed that it is precisely Indonesia that is exporting the air immediately to a number of ASEAN countries with Indonesia has to apply two logic of legal compliance which is still to ratify the convention as a tool to give birth to Indonesia's special law on haze as a psychological threat to the perpetrators, while still internationalizing the haze issue as part of of ASEAN disasters.


This journal is discussing the efforts in tackling the haze pollution caused by forest and land fires in Indonesia’s boundaries. The author begin this journal by mentioning the impacts of forest and land fires cause to several sectors in human daily life. Smog problems that often occur in some areas of the country has become a national disaster that also feels the impact up in neighboring countries. Inside the country itself some sectors also disrupted due to this smog. In the health sector, due to exposure to smog, an increase in cases of illness, especially in patients with Acute Respiratory Infection (ISPA), whereas in the external economic sector, negative smoke will have a great influence on local and national economy. The impact of the smog also disrupts the transport sector because it impairs visibility, so that land, sea and air travel are disrupted. Various efforts have been made by the Indonesian government both in the context of prevention and prevention.

The effort largely touched the source of the cause of the smog was the forest fire. However, some of these efforts are still in the form of post-disaster emergency response such as fire fighting, treatment to victims, and so on. On the other hand, the preventive effort still need to be improved. From the environmental aspect, the effort
to conserve the environment including one of which maintains the forestry sector needs to continue to be followed up in a special program in practical level. Meanwhile, from the legal aspect, the strengthening of regulation and the implementation of strict sanctions against the violators of the environment needs to be continuously enforced. Strengthening the institutional role of district / city level also needs to be the focus of its concern, the provincial government is expected to participate to coordinate so that smuggling efforts between regions can be synergistic. Neighboring countries that have been affected by the presence of these smogs also offer assistance. The Government of Singapore offers technical assistance to help quell forest fires, while the Malaysian and Indonesian governments have drawn up a memorandum of understanding that includes cooperation to quell forest fires, land and fog smog pollution through joint training and assistance of the tools needed to tame fire.
CHAPTER III
THE OVERVIEW OF TRANSBOUNDARY HAZE POLLUTION (THP)

The Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) had started since 1997 due to the catastrophic forest and land fires combined with the long-term dry season. The condition of haze pollution in Indonesia during 1997-2000 are the worst because there was forest fires that covered 2.83 million hectares (both forest and non-forest area) per year with the highest rate of deforestation happened in Sumatera (1.15 million hectare per year), Kalimantan (1.12 million hectare per year), Sulawesi (692 thousand hectare per year), Maluku (294 thousand hectare per year), and Papua (156 hectare per year).68 There was an 86% expansion of palm plantation between 1990-2000.69 In the period of 2001-2014, the recent case of severe transboundary haze pollution happened in 2014 in Riau Province, Indonesia. Riau had peat land area for 3.867.000 Hectares (in 2011). With an extensive area like that, if there is a peat land fires, it could explode the carbon bomb and since the peat land is wide and Riau is close with another ASEAN countries so the haze could travel with the air and also affecting other countries (Malaysia and Singapore).

The THP spiked up again in 2015 caused by the same reason. Of the total 431 hotspots monitored throughout Indonesia in September 2015 (from Terra and Aqua satellites with confidence> 80), 341 or 79% are on the island of Sumatra.70 Most hotspots were observed in Jambi Province (118 hotspots).71 Other provinces that monitored hotspots in large numbers are Riau, South Sumatra and Central Kalimantan. The haze conditions in some areas have even reached dangerous conditions. For example, weather conditions in almost all of Riau have been

69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
categorized as unhealthy. From the reading of 10 recording instruments of the Air Pollution Standard Index (PSI) scattered in several areas of Riau, six of them are in the dangerous category with pollutant figures above 300.72

III.1. Effect of Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) in Indonesia

III.1.1. Effect on Health

Haze pollution is one of the impacts of forest and land fires. Health is the first thing that will be affected by haze pollution, since haze pollution destroys the air that breathed by human. Since haze pollution emits carbon dioxide, if the amount of carbon dioxide is more than the oxygen, so it will endanger all living creatures who breathe oxygen. Based on the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), carbon dioxide level hits highest record with CO2 concentrations at 403.3 part per million (ppm) in 2016, increased from 400 ppm in 2015.73 National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration also add that the increasing level of carbon dioxide caused by El Nino effect and various human activities, including deforestation.74

Impacts on health can be categorized in two period of time; short-term illness and long-term illness. Short term illness including eye irritation, skin infirmitities, respiratory disorders (such as asthma, difficulty in breathing, acute respiratory infection, and decreased lung function), allergies, cardiovascular diseases, and it could also contributes to premature death.75 While the long term illness is still need to be investigated but the long-term illness is usually the continuation of the short-term illness that become critical.

74 Ibid.
For instance is the haze pollution in Riau on 2015, a total of 2,712 people were suffering from respiratory infection. Not only respiratory infection, there were 84 people were suffering from pneumonia, 84 were suffering from asthma, 162 were suffering from eye irritation, and 344 were suffering from skin irritation. The total number of victims by haze pollution in Riau was 3,373 citizen. The Standard Air Pollution Index in Pekanbaru was also in the unhealthy category. The visibility was also affected by the haze, it decreased as in Pekanbaru 3 kilometers, in Dumai 4 kilometers, while in Pelelawan and Rengat only 2 kilometers.

Not only in Riau, the 2015 haze pollution also impacted other nearby regions such as Jambi and Aceh. In Jambi, the haze pollution affected approximately 80,000 people with respiratory infection, the visibility in Jambi was only as far as 300 meters, and the air was categorized in unhealthy condition. In Aceh, the visibility was also limited in some areas; in Aceh Besar and Banda Aceh for 6 kilometers, Meulaboh at 5 kilometers, Sabang at 3 kilometers, and Northern Aceh only at 200 meters. The Head of Data and Information Affairs of Sultan Iskandar Muda Meteorology Station, Zakaria, was also inform the citizen to wear mask anytime and anywhere to anticipate the haze pollution. The impact on health is a direct impact for the human and also can be an important indicator of the level of human security.

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77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
III.1.2. Effect on Crop Productivity

Haze pollution hinders solar radiation that cause a reduction to plants’ photosynthesis process. Thus, haze pollution is reducing some particular crop production. For instance is the case of the chili plants production in Jambi. According to the Head of Horticulture Sector of the Department of Agriculture of Jambi Province, M Nasrun, the production of chilies in Jambi has declined due to the haze that hit the province.\(^84\) He said that haze is affecting horticultural plants especially chili plants.

The haze is causing the chili leaves dried and changes the taste of the chilies. Crop production of chili in Jambi was decreasing in all over Jambi. From the first target of 18 tons of chili production, the farmers only can fulfill 10 tons due to the haze condition.\(^85\) Not only chili, but also mangosteen was also affected by the haze. Since mangosteen needs water supply and the haze condition made the water dried so the mangosteen plants were lack of water supply and indeed it reduced its crop production.\(^86\)

The impact of haze pollution towards crop production later on will also affect the economic sector, especially for local the farmers. Most of the farmers depend on the crop productivity to support their livelihoods. If the crop productivity is affected by the haze, it will also affect their livelihood. On the other hand, while the failure crop productivity affect the local farmers, the seeds that are deemed as successfully planted will still be harmful for the people who consume it, especially for their health. It will be impacted on the fulfillment of people demand for food availability.

\(^86\) Ibid.
III.1.3. Effect on Economic

Economy is one of the vital sector for a country which determine its country’s welfare and prosperity. If this sector being violated, the citizen of its country will also be affected. In 2015, forest and land fires had cause economic loss for IDR 220 Trillion.\(^\text{87}\) This amount of loss was greater than the reconstruction cost post-Tsunami in Aceh in 2004 according to World Bank.\(^\text{88}\) One of the impact of haze pollution is limited visibility. The limited visibility also affecting the transportation system; land, air, as well as water transportation.

Haze pollution caused closures of some airports, flights cancellation, commotion to the river transports and marine traffic, and interruption of cargo shipping. Haze pollution absolutely affects the air transportation. Some flight activities in some area in Sumatera and Kalimantan (North Sumatera, South Sumatera, Riau, Jambi, Batam, West Kalimantan, and Central Kalimantan) were disrupted by the haze.\(^\text{89}\) A number of flights even got canceled or delayed. Haze pollution leads to limited visibility for pilots, drivers (both cars and motorcycles), captains, and machinists, making it very potential to cause accidents, whether air, land, river, or sea accidents. Accidents are not only triggered by a collision, but also by the possibility of unable to control the transportations. In 2015, there were thirteen airports closure case in Sumatera and Kalimantan. These are the airports that closed because of haze:\(^\text{90}\)

- Melak, West Kutai

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\(^{87}\) Ibid.


• Syamsuddin Noor, Banjarmasin
• Tjilik Riwut, Palangkaraya (with only 50 meters visibility)
• Sultan Thaha, Jambi
• Supadio, Pontianak
• Iskandar, Pangkalan Bun
• H Asan, Sampit
• Kalimarau, Tanjung Redep (East Kalimantan)
• Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin, Palembang
• Raja H Abdullah, Karimun (Riau Islands)
• Malinau, North Kalimantan
• Tapak Tuan, Aceh (with 3.000 meters visibility)
• Rahadi Oesman, Ketapang

Haze pollution also affecting tourism sector. Due to the haze pollution, some airports had been closed for safety issue. Because of the closure of airports, it made visitors cannot go to the particular areas because of the thick haze pollution. The haze pollution was affecting the program of Ministry of Tourism which was promoting Indonesia tourism in achieving 10 million foreign tourists in 2015.91

III.1.4. Effect on Environmental

Haze pollution can have an impact on the environment such as acid rain, ozone layer depletion, and global warming.92 Haze pollution contributes not only in air pollution, but also in water pollution. Clean water is one of the important factor that support human life. If the water being contaminated by chemical substance, it will also risk human life, especially in health.93

93 Ibid.
Haze pollution issue contribute to the greenhouse gas emission. Mostly the fires burnt the peatland areas of Indonesia’s islands such as Kalimantan and Sumatera. The peatlands are the natural carbon absorber. The total carbon dioxide emissions attributed to the fires was approximately 857 million tonnes, accounting for 97 per cent of Indonesia’s total carbon dioxide emissions that year. This equates to 11.3 million tonnes of carbon dioxide being released per day during September and October 2015, which exceeds the current fossil fuel carbon dioxide release rate of the European Union of 8.9 million tonnes per day.

The nature of the carbon dioxide which was released is also significant. Many are burning ancient peat deposits that have accumulated organic matter over thousands of years and which constitute amongst the largest global near-surface reserves of terrestrial organic carbon. Consequently, most of the released carbon from these peat and deforestation fires constitutes a permanent addition of CO2 to the atmosphere, because only a fraction will be balanced by vegetation regrowth. The study’s carbon emission expected the 2015 fires as the largest seen in the South-East Asian region since 1997. As bad as they were, however, the carbon emissions of September-October 2015 were only one-quarter of what was released during the same period in 1997. It indicates that the haze problem which identical to air pollution is an emergency issue that should be considered seriously and tackle thoroughly.

In relation to the human security perspective, the environmental impact could pose a long-term danger for the human through the worsening climate change. It is not only in national or regional level, but it will be an international communities

96 Ibid.  
97 Ibid.  
98 Ibid.
concern. Therefore, all human will be affected by the environmental impact of haze pollution.

**III.2. Effect of Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) in Southeast Asia Region**

As mentioned before, in early 2016, the World Bank released data showing that the economic losses caused by the smoke disaster of 2015 reached 220 trillion rupiah and caused about 47 million people exposed to smoke on the island of Borneo and Sumatra, and at least 19 people reportedly died. Not only that, the harm caused by haze in Indonesia is also suffered by several ASEAN countries such as Singapore and Malaysia. Therefore, this issue is not only a matter of Indonesia alone, but has become an international issue, especially in the ASEAN region.

In the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) entitled "Strategic Policy on Peat Land Prevention in Indonesia" by the Center for Social Studies of Southeast Asia (PSSAT), Masmun Yan Mangesa, stated that the smoke catastrophe affects not only within the country but also in neighboring countries. Therefore, the problem of smoke disaster in Indonesia really needs a deep discussion and analyzed in Asian perspective, and not only national perspective.

During the Seventeenth Meeting of the Sub-Regional Ministerial Steering Committee (MSC) on Transboundary Haze Pollution on 28 July, 2015, in Jakarta, Siti Nurbaya, Minister of Environment and Forestry (Indonesia), HE Pehin Dato Haji Suyoi Osman (Brunei Darussalam), General Dapong Ratanasuwan (Thailand), Datuk Seri G. Palanivel (Malaysia), and Vivian Balakrishnan (Singapore) were present. ASEAN has a haze-free target in 2020 but this target could not be achieved if Indonesia is not catching up. For long-term impact, Indonesia could lose its position

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99 Focus Group Discussion (FGD) entitled "Strategic Policy on Peat Land Prevention in Indonesia" by the Center for Social Studies of Southeast Asia (PSSAT) UGM in cooperation with the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, held on Tuesday November 1, 2016 at Jogjakarta Plaza Hotel.

100 Masmun Yan Mangesa, SE., M.BA, Deputy of Coordination of Social Insecurity and Disaster Impact of Ministry of Economy.

as the "natural leader" of ASEAN as one of the founders and the largest economy in Southeast Asia.\textsuperscript{102}

The ASEAN party called on Indonesia to address the fire and its smoke impact through the signing of the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution (AATHP) on 10 June 2002. One of the reasons for the need to address both forest and land fires as well as the effects of haze together is the problem of institutional weakness. AATHP was effective on 25 November 2003 since six member countries of ASEAN ratified it.\textsuperscript{103} The objective is to encourage the improvement of the institutional problem of forest and land fire disaster management in Indonesia so it is hoped that Indonesia can be more able to overcome the forest and land fire along with its haze impact.

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF TRANSBOUNDARY HAZE POLLUTION (THP) AFFECTED SINGAPORE AND INDONESIA’S RESPONSES

IV.1. Effect of Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) in Singapore

Haze pollution in 2015 is an event that culminates in concerns Singapore government and society against air pollution caused by haze. The ISPU index shows a figure of 401, which includes a highly hazardous air pollution index and can have significant health impacts on society. In addition, the smog also generates huge losses for the Singapore economy which is about SGD 342,000,000 or USD 249,901,435.84. According to the National Environment Agency, the highest Pollution Pollutant Standard Index (PSI) reading on record in Singapore is 401 (hazardous) in July 2015.

Findings from the health impact surveillance during the 1997 haze period showed that there was a 30% increase in attendances for haze-related conditions. There were increases of 12% of upper respiratory tract illness, 19% asthma, and 26% rhinitis. During the same period there was also an increase in accident and emergency attendances for haze-related complaints. There was no significant increase in hospital admissions or in mortality.

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106 Ibid.
IV.2. Indonesia’s Responses on Singapore’s Demands

In responding to Singaporean’s demands of 2015 haze pollution, The Government of Indonesia (GOI) has securitized the issue. With the haze first and foremost a domestic crisis, the Jokowi administration has demonstrated more political will than his predecessors to tackle and resolve the problem. At the peak of the haze crisis, President Jokowi visited the South Sumatra province to understand the forest fires first-hand. He laid down orders for the police chief to “get very tough” on errant corporations and charged the Forestry Minister to revoke the license of those found guilty. The President also shortened his US trip, heading directly to Palangkaraya the capital of Central Kalimantan to personally lead the haze countermeasure efforts.

The Indonesian government formed a “haze emergency” task force involving the National Police and the Indonesian Army (TNI) as well as the National Disaster Mitigation Agency (BNPB). The Environment and Forestry Ministry served as the main coordinator. The task force sought to address the lack of financial support and coordination with the central government which had hampered attempts to prevent and extinguish fires at the provincial level; the usage of existing technology such as cloud seeding projects, were also given priority to enhance fire-fighting efforts and focus on regencies susceptible to forest fires.

In an unprecedented move in 2015, the Indonesian government revoked the licences of three companies for their role in the fires. The Environment Ministry further froze the operations of 14 companies which will likely face closure should

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they fail to meet the authorities’ demands for fire prevention. A total of 23 companies have been sanctioned since the Ministry started its investigations into 276 companies.\textsuperscript{111} Demonstrating his determination to avoid a repeat of the 2015 transboundary haze crisis, Jokowi has vowed to sack local military and police chiefs who are unable to control the spread of land and forest fires in their provinces.

The Indonesian government has declared peatland conservation as its key strategy to prevent forest fires in the future. It has committed not to issue new permits to convert peatland into commercial plantation. Existing peatland areas will have to follow strict procedures to ensure no peatland fire in the future.\textsuperscript{112} The government is currently running an analysis of 20 million hectares of peat to determine how much of it is degraded. The BRG has targeted to restore 2.5 million hectares of peatlands by 2020.\textsuperscript{113}

President Joko Widodo played significant role in the decreasing number of forest/land fires in Indonesia. Through his eagerness, in the National Coordination Meeting on Forest and Land Fire Control on 6 February 2018, President Joko Widodo gave strict order and sanction for Police and Indonesia National Army (\textit{Tentara Nasional Indonesia}/TNI) to maintain the condition in their area and to have a quick response if there is forest/land fires happen in their area.\textsuperscript{114} Not only encouraging the police and TNI, back at Partial Meeting of Forest and Land Fire Control and Smoke Victim Treatment on 23 October 2015, President Joko Widodo also instructed the Minister of Environment and Forestry to implement a one-map policy which is not to issue new permits for new peat land management.\textsuperscript{115}

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\textsuperscript{111} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{112} Panjaitan, Luhut, 2016, “Preventive actions to avoid major forest fires in Indonesia,” Luhut Panjaitan, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, presented at the Tropical Forest Alliance 2020 General Assembly, Jakarta, Indonesia, 11 March. \\
\textsuperscript{113} Foead, Nazir, 2016, “Peat Restoration Agency Program,” Nazir Foead, Head of Peatland Restoration Agency, presented at the ICOPE 2016, Bali, Indonesia, 18 March. \\
\end{flushleft}
President Joko Widodo also asked Minister of Health to go directly to the field and built health posts that should be able to serve 24 hours and also asked Minister of Research and Technology and the rectors of universities to send experts who can find the technology to extinguish the peat land fires and air purification equipment. Indonesia government also put an effort to the actual actions such as prevention acts, forest/and fires management and socialization to the society. There were many practical efforts done by the government as aforementioned, but in this research, the writer highlights three practical actions done by Indonesia government; established Peat Restoration Agency (BRG).

**Peat Restoration Agency (Badan Restorasi Gambut / BRG)**

The government realized that they were too focus on the fire fighting but put less concern on the prevention action, thus President Joko Widodo created a body which focus more on fundamental steps in dealing with forest and land fires in order not to recur, the body is called Peat Restoration Agency (Badan Restorasi Gambut / BRG). BRG is a non-structural body that responsible directly to the President. It was established on 6 January 2016 under Presidential Regulation No. 1 Year 2016 on the Peat Restoration Body. Currently, BRG is led by Ir. Nazir Foead, BRG works specifically to accelerate the recovery and restoration of hydrological function that damaged during the fires and drought. BRG has its own vision and missions, its vision is “The realization of the condition of peat ecosystem which able to support sustainable development of Indonesia that is sovereign, independent, and cooperative-based characteristic.” and in order to achieve the vision, BRG also has their missions; Design and develop a sustainable peat utilization, Facilitate the restoration of degraded peat, Mobilize community participation in the

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116 Ibid.
implementation of peat restoration, and facilitate research action to support the management of peat ecosystem.\textsuperscript{120} The roles played by BRG are as follows:\textsuperscript{121}

1) Implementing coordination and strengthening the policies on peat restoration.
2) Planning, managing, and cooperating in the implementation of peat restoration.
3) Mapping the peat’s hydrological unit.
4) Setting the zoning of protected functions and cultivation functions.
5) Carrying out the construction of peat rewetting infrastructure and its equipment.
6) Reorganizing peat land fires management.
7) Doing socialization and education on peat restoration.
8) Conducting supervision in the construction, operation, and maintenance of the infrastructure in the concession area.
9) Carrying out other functions given by the President.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The Transboundary Haze Pollution (THP) had greatly impacted not only Indonesia’s people, but also people live in neighbouring countries. The impacts of THP had affected several sectors in human through their health, food, economic, environmental, that could worsen the diplomatic relations between Singapore and Indonesia. The issue of haze pollution has damaged not only Indonesia but also the neighbouring countries such as Singapore. Thus, it becomes Indonesian Government responsibility to protect their citizens from any threat or harm.

THP had become an existential threat towards the human life which affect their daily activity. The people can not access or do their routines like usual, instead they will be threatened by the haze pollution as it is the most dangerous impact. The haze also damaging the productivity of the crop, means that the food security for the people being impacted. This can be another major threat for Indonesian people. The economic loss caused by haze pollution also very detrimental for the state’s economic and also the people. The people and state are depending on each other, the bad economic condition will affect to the people’s income also.

Adding into it, the environmental also being threatened by the haze pollution. Mostly the fires burnt in peat swamp forest which is the nature carbon absorber. The haze pollution affected in most vital part of human life such as clean water. The haze pollution releases the gas emission which make the contribution to climate change. Seeing the impacts of THP towards human. The government of Indonesia will have to act responsibly towards their citizen. It is because state should provide the safe and sound environment for their citizen. Thus, the issue should be securitized.

After the catastrophic haze in 2015, the Government of Indonesia received a lot of demands and complaints from neighbouring countries which also affected by the
haze. Singapore demands Indonesia to tackle this issue quickly since it also affected their people. Indonesia, under the presidency of Joko Widodo in 2016, in response to this incident, established the Peatland Restoration Agency (BRG) to show the seriousness of Indonesia in tackling the forest and land fires issue under the Presidential Regulation No.1 Year 2016.

President Joko Widodo also gave strict order and sanction for Police and Indonesia National Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia/TNI) to maintain the condition in their area and to have a quick response if there is forest/land fires happen in their area. These responses to the demands of Singapore shows that Indonesia is striving to tackle this issue by both fire-prevention act and fire-fighting act. Thus, it also shows that the haze pollution that blanketed the Southeast Asia region is not only a domestic politic but already in International level, especially Southeast Asia Region.
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16 August 2016

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim,
Assalamu’alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh,

May peace be upon us all,

Om Swastiastu,

Namo Buddhaya

Honourable Speaker, Vice Speakers, and Members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia;

Honourable Speaker, Vice Speakers, and Members of the Regional Representatives Council of the Republic of Indonesia;

Distinguished Chairperson, Vice Chairpersons, and Members of State Institutions;

Distinguished Bapak B.J. Habibie, the Third President of the Republic of Indonesia;

Distinguished Ibu Megawati Soekarnoputri, the Fifth President of the Republic of Indonesia;

Distinguished Bapak Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the Sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia and Ibu Ani Yudhoyono;

Distinguished Bapak Try Sutrisno and Bapak Hamzah Haz;

Distinguished Bapak Boediono and Ibu Herawati Boediono;

Distinguished Ibu Shinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid;

Distinguished Ibu Karlina Umar Wirahadikusumah;
Exellencies Ambassadors of Friendly Countries and Heads of International Agencies and Organizations;

Fellow Countrymen,

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let us together express our gratitude to God the Almighty, for His blessings and compassion we are able to attend the Joint Session of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and the Regional Representatives Council of the Republic of Indonesia in the Commemoration of the 71st Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

The independence that we gained is a bridge to bring prosperity to the people, to uphold justice, to achieve progress for the whole Indonesian people. To achieve those goals, we have to build the nation. Let us awaken our souls and let us awaken our bodies. We have to develop from Sabang to Merauke, from Miangas to Rote. We have to become an advanced nation, a nation that is on a par with other nations in the world.

In the State Address delivered last year, I mentioned that the Working Cabinet had intended to lay a solid national development foundation in the first year of administration. Our national development paradigm is now shifting from being consumptive to being productive, and from being ‘Java-centric’ to being ‘Indonesia-centric’. Regulations have been improved and cumbersome bureaucracy has been massively cut out as we implement information and telecommunications technologies. We have also set to encourage infrastructural development in remote areas across the country, particularly in rural and marginal areas, as well as border towns in order to strengthen national connectivity.

Emboldened by the achievement of fundamental economic transformation, in this second year of my tenure, the Government resolves to accelerate the development. The year of 2016 shall be termed as the National Development Acceleration Year. We have to move forward to an advanced Indonesia.

Fellow Countrymen,

Development acceleration is sorely needed. Since we gained our independence 71 years ago, we have not been able to break the chains of poverty, sever the chains of unemployment, nor narrow down social gap.

Each and every President of the Republic of Indonesia had struggled and toiled to address those three challenges during their respective tenures, starting from President Soekarno, President Soeharto, President B.J. Habibie, President Abdurrahman Wahid,
President Megawati Soekarnoputri, to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Now we are also addressing the very challenges now.

The difference is that we are facing these challenges in the new world order, in the era of global competition, when competition takes place not only between areas but also between countries and regions. It is taking place in an era when all countries are interconnected to one another, one problem could turn into another problem for other countries in the world.

Now the global economy is still experiencing a slowdown. Consequently, our national economic growth is also being affected. Despite the brunts, we should be grateful that Indonesia’s economy in the first quarter of 2016 grew by 4.91 percent. Even in the second quarter this year, the national economic growth increased to 5.18 percent. The growth is much greater than the above-average economic growth of the world and of the developing countries. Indonesia’s economic growth is one of the highest in Asia.

In the meantime, the global political and security challenges also get more enormous and diverse. The phenomena of political upheavals in the Middle East, for example, create an impact on regional instability and trigger the spreading of terrorism in the world, including in the capital city of our country.

We all still have a vivid recollection of the 14 January 2016 terrorist attack on Jalan MH Thamrin, Jakarta, when terrorists tried to spread panic. Yet, they failed. Indonesian people are not afraid of being terrorised as unity is our asset as a strong nation.

The global community also praised our speedy response to act and crack down on terrorism. Therefore, I call on the whole community to keep reaffirming our commitment to prevent and fight against terrorist acts. Let us reassert that there is no place for terrorism in our homeland which has the motto Bhinneka Tunggal Ika ‘Unity in Diversity’.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the year of development acceleration, the Government is focusing on three breakthrough measures to alleviate poverty, unemployment, inequality, and social disparities. The three steps are namely: First, the acceleration of infrastructural development. Second, the preparation for productive capacity and human resources. Third, deregulation and de-bureaucratization.

Through the acceleration of infrastructural development, we are building infrastructure more equitably throughout the country in order to strengthen inter-regional connectivity and reduce inequality and social disparities. The development acceleration of logistics infrastructure includes roads, ports, airports, and railroads.
While the development acceleration of strategic infrastructures encompasses power generation, telecommunications, irrigation, and public housing.

In the last two years, the Government has accelerated the construction of 2,225-km national roads, 132-km toll roads and 16,246-m bridges, or as many as 160 bridges. In 2016 we have the targets to construct 703 km national roads and more than 8,452-m bridges.

The construction of the railway is not only being carried out in Java, but also on the islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi. Up to this moment, the railway roads that have been in commission have reached 5,200 spoor-kilometers. In 2015, a 179.33 Km railroad was constructed and another 271.5 Km’sp railroad was in the construction process. Besides, we have also been developing trains for urban transportation such as the Mass Rapid Transportation (MRT), Light Rail Train (LRT), as well as the commuter line.

For the Sea Toll program, the Government has designated 24 ports as the Hubs for the Sea Toll Line. As supporting facilities, 47 non-commercial ports have been constructed and 41 ports are in the process of construction. The Government targets to build 100 ports until 2019. We will be providing vessels; we provided three (3) vessels in 2015 and we expect to provide 30 vessels in 2016. This is intended to realize our dreams to make Indonesia as the World Maritime Fulcrum. The ocean is the future of the nation, or known as Jalesveva Jayamahe.

We also accelerate the construction and development of airports as a form of “Air Bridge”. In 2016, nine airports have been upgraded to have a better standard and another airports have been officially opened. With respect to flight path, the Government has found ways of overcoming the density of the flight path in the north of Java Island. I dare say that we now have embarked on a plan to open a flight path in the South of Java.

In regard to electricity supply, the 35,000-MW electricity program continues to be accelerated and closely monitored. We want to ensure a well-implemented programme and expect to achieve the target of 100 percent electrification ratio in 2019. When the target is reached, then Indonesia will no longer have blackouts or suffer from power outage. With sufficient supply of power, small enterprises and home industries are expected to run smoothly and children are hoped to be able to study in the night without a hitch.

The acceleration of infrastructural development, both logistics and strategic infrastructures will surely take the issues of nature preservation into account. The fulfillment of the target of electrification ratio also prioritises the use of new and renewable energy. Moreover, we are also accelerating the construction of dams and reservoirs to enhance the Water Resilience programme. In 2016, we intend to speed up the completion of the construction projects of 22 dams under construction, construct 8 new dams, 387 new ponds/lakes, and rehabilitate 71 ponds/lakes.
Along with the infrastructural development prioritising the preservation of nature, the Government has taken steps to conserve peatland and prevent it from being set on fire. The Government will not tolerate arsonists of peatlands and forests for their acts because their acts are considered crimes against humanity.

Then, to speed up the birth of innovations in information technology and to make Indonesia the largest digital economy country in Southeast Asia, the Government continues to improve the quality and coverage of telecommunications infrastructures. To keep up with the times, the Government has put the 4G technology in place. As for its coverage range, the Government continues to construct the Palapa Ring to connect 400 regencies/municipalities using fiber-optic networks in 2015. Up to April 2016, to cover broader areas across the country, a preparatory phase has been set up to enable the construction of the West Package and Central Package of the Palapa Ring.

Meanwhile, to meet the housing needs of the people, in 2016 the Government has targeted to build of one million houses, some 700 thousand houses will be provided for Low Income People and 300,000 others for non-Low Income People.

Fellow Countrymen,

In the acceleration of infrastructural development, the Government has the obligation to develop marginal, underdeveloped areas by utilizing the State Budget finance. And in the meantime, in areas with thriving and growing economy, the Government enhances private enterprises to promote closer cooperation with State-Owned Companies. In 2016, the investment of the State-Owned Enterprises is expected to reach Rp410.2 trillion consisting of 62 strategic projects with the project value of Rp347 trillion. The investment value of the State-Owned Enterprises will continue to grow to reach Rp764 trillion in 2019.

Moreover, with full support from the House of Representatives, the Government has made a breakthrough by issuing a law on Tax Amnesty. It is expected to widen the base of tax revenues in order to accelerate the development and improve national competitiveness.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the era of global competition, physical infrastructural development alone is not enough to overcome the issues of poverty, unemployment, social disparity, and inequality. This is coupled with the advent of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) signalling that the competition in Southeast Asia is becoming increasingly fierce.

To be able to compete in the global competition, Indonesia has to accelerate social infrastructural development namely productive capacity and human resources.
Therefore, Indonesia not only becomes a spectator in the global economy race, but also takes an active part in the race and eventually comes out winner.

In relation to that matter, the Government views the importance of broadening people’s access to productive economy activities by beefing up the progress and productivity of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) sector. This sector has been the backbone of Indonesian economy. As a result, in the last two years, the Government has slashed the interest rate per annum of Small-scale Business Credit from 22 percent to 12 percent in 2015, and down to 9 percent in 2016. The Government continues to provide the people with easy access to get such facilities.

A part from that, in a bid to prepare human resources to face global competition, the Government strengthens vocational education system. Through vocational education, we will be able to create our workforce equipped with capabilities and skills relevant to industrial needs. At the same time, we ensure that people of productive age can get jobs more easily.

The Government also continues to boost the creation of downstreaming research by strengthening synergy among government, universities, and industrial world to build a number of Centres of Technology and Innovation to support national industrialisation. In the meantime, to promote the State-Owned Enterprises to be more productive and to strengthen competitiveness, the Government explores the possibility of forming ‘holding company structure’.

In particular, the Central Government appreciates breakthroughs made by Regional Governments to prepare Indonesia’s productive capacities, including the readiness of the regions in enhancing the implementation of the One-Stop Integrated Service and Subdistrict Integrated Administration Service policy.

Distinguished Session,

The Government intends to develop social infrastructures, especially in human resource development to enable every single being in Indonesia to have the capability of reaching his/her maximum potentials. This step begins by giving nutritionally balanced menu during the first 1,000 days of one’s life.

Then, we promote the development quality in the sectors of health, education, and social security to develop qualified, productive, and competitive Indonesian people.

In the sector of health, the Programme of Healthy Indonesia has three pillars. Firstly, the implementation of the paradigm of healthy. Secondly, strengthening health services. Thirdly, the implementation of the National Health Security (JKN). According to the Social Security Providers Body (BPJS) for the Health, data per July 2016, the number of JKN members has reached almost 170 million people.
The number of service facilities in cooperation with BPJS for the Health is now on the increase. Until July 2016, the Health Facilities of the First Level (FKTP) working together with BPJS for the Health have reached 20,239 facilities, while the Referral Health Facilities of Advanced Level (FKRTL) has 1,910 facilities related with drugstores 1,953 facilities, and optical stores 938 facilities.

In the sector of education, the Government is accelerating the distribution of Smart Indonesia Cards (KIP) all over Indonesia. The Government pays a special attention to school children of 6-21 years coming from disadvantaged families. By this card (KIP) the children are ensured to get the service of the Primary and Secondary Education, both formal and non formal education, including skills from courses/training institutions/Vocational Training Centres (BLK), as well as information on the main values on character education. The Government also attempts to increase the welfare of the teachers who are dedicating themselves in remote areas, outermost islands, and border areas.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

As the catalyst of physical and social infrastructural development, the Government is committed to undertaking regulatory reform: de-regulation and de-bureaucratization. Many of our regulations are outdated and need to be renewed to go forward to meet the changes of time.

Thus, complex regulations need to be simplified, and cumbersome procedures eliminated. The de-regulation and de-bureaucratization that we are carrying out is meant to render speedy services, provide regulatory certainty, synchronization, ease in investment and to increase productivity.

This is irrefutably evidenced by 12 Economic Policy Packages issued by the Government until early June 2016. Out of those 12 Economic Policy Packages, I must say that 96 percent of the regulatory instruments are already in place. In order to capitalise on the benefits of those packages, the Government set up a Task Force for the Acceleration and Effectiveness of the Implementation of Economic Policies on 28 June 2016. In the future, in a bid to beef up the national economy, the Government will launch other Economic Policy Packages.

As part of the de-regulation measure, the Government has also synchronized a number of regional regulations on trade and investment. More than 3,000 regional regulations have been revoked as they are considered no longer conducive for the progress of trade and ease of doing business. In response to a number of misconceptions on the annulment of a number of regional laws, let me reiterate two things. First, synchronization of regional regulations is done for the national interest,
which also include the interests of the regions. Synchronization that has been performed is expected to bring benefits for the regions in attracting investment and providing job opportunities. Second, the annulled regional regulations are only those on trade and investment.

Synchronization is performed to create harmony and sustainability of the regulations from the 1945 Constitution with a litany of regulations, both at the central government and regional governments. No government regulation – either at the Central Level or at regional level is above the 1945 Constitution. All regulations have to comply with the Constitution, have to be under the will of the people.

- Distinguished Session,

To enable the breakthroughs made in the Year of Development Acceleration to alleviate poverty, to reduce unemployment, and to narrow down social gaps, the Government focuses its attention to four strategic aspects.

The first aspect is to accelerate legal reforms in order to provide legal certainty and satisfy the sense of justice of the people, and encourage bureaucratic reforms to provide more excellent public service. A crucial part of which is reforms within the Indonesian National Police and the Attorney General Office, through fundamental top-down reforms, not patchy reforms. Therefore, the professionalism of the Indonesian National Police and the Attorney General Office continues to be improved. We continue to improve the quality of the national civil servants to make our country become more competitive.

We also have to continue accelerating the use of Information Technology in the Government’s working system as an important part of the efforts to improve quality of public services, to promote efficiency, and to prevent corruption.

In addition, in an effort to strengthen the sense of justice, the Government has made breakthroughs in protecting the marginal groups. The Government has set a target of more than 55,000 severely disabled people to receive the Social Assistance in 2016. Furthermore, to protect children against crimes, the Government has issued Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2016 on the Second Amendment of Law Number 23 of 2002 on Child Protection. This regulation states that crimes against children is categorized as an extraordinary crime and requires extraordinary handling.

The second strategic aspect is the reforms on the management of development budget. I have repeatedly pointed out on many occasions that we have to abandon the old paradigm which equitably distributes the budget. We have to work with a new paradigm, in which the budget is focused on priority programmes. The essence is that
the people’s money must be used for the interests of the people through concrete programmes and real actions so as to make the benefits felt by the people.

Development budget, the people’s money can no longer be used up for bureaucratic operational activities such as official travels and budget for meetings that can actually be made more efficient. We also have to abandon the old tradition of using vague terms on the nomenclature of budget formulation because it will result in the inefficient use of development funds.

The third strategic aspect is foreign affairs. With a strong diplomacy, the Government accelerates efforts to embark on a number of international trade cooperations and considers Indonesia’s participation in the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA), RCEP, and many others.

We also continue to encourage the pacific settlement of international conflicts. As the spirit that we bring when we call for tolerance and peace in a number of meetings with Arabian countries as well as with the United States, be it through dialogues or social media. Indonesia also continues to be actively involved in encouraging the settlement of South China Sea disputes through negotiation and peace efforts following the International Permanent Court of Arbitration’s ruling in The Hague.

We are also calling for a peaceful end to the civil war in Syria as well as for the fulfilment of the independence rights of the Palestinian people.

In line with that, we improve the quality of Indonesian nationals abroad. Through Multi-track diplomacy, we succeeded in releasing 14 Indonesian citizens held hostage by an armed group in South Philippines. It was also through diplomacy that two Indonesian citizens held hostage in Papua New Guinea were successfully released. Until the end of July 2016, 7,555 cases of Indonesian citizens abroad were successfully resolved, most of whom are Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI). For the same period, an estimated 23,651 Indonesian Migrant Workers were facilitated to be sent home through various means.

Meanwhile, in the framework of sovereignty stabilisation, the Government will take priority over the development of outermost regions, as the veranda of Indonesia. We develop the regions such as Entikong, Natuna, and Atambua for the world to see and recognise Indonesia as a great country whose every square inch of her land is constantly treasured, defended and well taken care of.

The fourth strategic aspect is democracy, political stability, and security. This nation would not be productive, would not be developed, nor be a winning nation if it did not respect human rights and constantly got mired in political turmoils. Our energy as a nation would be exhausted and only used to still political clamours rather than making leaps of progress.
We are grateful that nowadays our political cooperation is becoming more conducive and political consolidation is getting increasingly stronger. As a result, we have been able to democratically carry out a number of political decision making processes and enact a number of legal products.

We are also grateful that simultaneous regional elections on 9 December 2015 were held in a generally peaceful and orderly manner. All have been done in the tradition of democracy that is direct, general, free, confidential, honest and fair. Then, the Government together with the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and the Regional Representatives Council of the Republic of Indonesia continually strive to improve the regional election regulation, creating a better 2017 simultaneous regional elections and next regional elections.

With the Indonesian National Defence Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (Polri) constantly remaining alert and dedicated, the sovereignty and security of the people is always safeguarded. The Government continually seeks to improve the welfare and the professionalism of the TNI and the Polri through modernisation of weaponry, and continue to support the autonomy of our country’s industry to supply Primary Weaponry Defense Systems (alutsista) of the TNI and the operation of the Polri.

Last but not least, I would like to express my genuine appreciation to the TNI and the Polri for their success in clamping down on Santoso, one of the leaders of the terrorist groups in Indonesia. We stress the need for constant vigilance and continue to put pressure on any potentials and threats of terrorism across the Indonesian Archipelago.

My Fellow Countrymen,

We can only make breakthroughs for the advancement of our nation and state if we adopt a progressive, optimistic, and innovative mindset. As a result, the Government strives to stimulate the process of Mental Character Revolution, i.e. the change of mindset and the change of system that start from a number of government institutions.

All this time we have been kept shackled by pessimism oblivious that fragments of the obstacles to the advancement of Indonesia indeed stem from ourselves. Indonesia is, in point of fact, a great nation, a nation that once had inspired other countries to free themselves from the shackles of colonisation. A nation that offers the world the true values of mutual cooperation contained in Pancasila and Trisakti. Bearing that in mind, we have to have high confidence and be resolved that we can be a winner nation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the end of my State Address before the Honourable Session, I invite all elements of the nation to work in synergy together to alleviate poverty, unemployment,
disparity and social gap. Without close cooperation, without mutual cooperation, we would be lagging behind, swept away by the swift waves of change. It would be virtually unthinkable.

Therefore, whatever field of work you are engaged in, be the best that you can be, for actions speak louder than words, with “concrete” works, the Indonesian nation could be onto a winner. With concrete works, Indonesia will become a developed, sovereign, self-sufficient and civilised nation. We are now setting sail toward the course as charted by our founding fathers. Toward the prosperous and great Indonesia.

Long live the Republic of Indonesia!

I thank you.

Wassalamu'alaikumWarahmatullahiWabarakatuh,

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om,

Namo Buddhaya.

Jakarta, 16 August 2016

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA,

JOKO WIDODO