

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem Background

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the discussion of global environmental issue is increasing within the international politics constellation. This condition is triggered by the global climate change which has implicated for all human being in the world. Absolutely, the issue that relates to the global climate change is considered as the common problem because the impact of climate change transcend the national boundaries, which means it is as common responsibility and needs the common effort.

According to the fourth assessment report by *IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change)*¹ in 2007, the climate scientists stated that main contributors of global warming is human expansion of the "greenhouse effect". It means that, human expansion can be understood as the human activities. In UNFCCC (United Nations Framework on Climate Change Convention) negotiation, the human activities that result the emission gas called as "anthropogenic emission". The human activities include the

¹ National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). "Global Climate Change". Accessed on August 4, 2014/ 12:23 pm. from: <http://climate.nasa.gov/causes/> . *IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change)* is an international scientific body established by the World Meteorological Organization (Agency for International Meteorologi / WMO) and United Nations Environment Programme (UN Environment Agency / UNEP) in 1988. The establishment of IPCC is intended to publish periodic assessments of the scientific aspects on climate change issue in order to analyze its impacts and risks in the future, as well as mitigation and adaptation action. Currently, the member of IPCC consists of 195 countries with more than 2.000 scientists which are also included as the member of the WMO and the United Nations. The IPCC received the Nobel Peace in 2007, after released the 4th Assessment Report (Assessment Report 4 / AR4).

activities that resulted by fossil fuels burning such as from industrial sector, energy, transportation, agriculture, forestry, and mining, which are from those activities result the emission gas (GHG). The emission gas resulted by fossil fuels burning contribute 80% to the global emission. On the other hand, based on a British economist Nicolas Stern stated that the deforestation and forest degradation also contribute for 20%, which are most of the deforestation and forest degradation happened in tropical rainforest.²

Based on the condition on above, it has raised the fear of the further potential impacts of climate change on the human condition and the global environment, which finally it has led the international community under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) created an international mechanism that aims to reduce the level of emission gas as the result of deforestation and forest degradation with encourage the forest protection, which is this mechanism called as *REDD (Reduction Emission Deforestation and Degradation)* and finally later expanded became “*REDD+*” .³

The idea of the REDD+ concept was based on the concept of ‘REDD’ that was first coined formally in the *Bali Action Plan* COP (Conference of Parties) 13rd 2007 in Bali, when Indonesia as the President within the

² Doddy Sukadri . 2012. “*REDD+ dan LULUCF*” *Panduan untuk negosiator*”. p.14

³ UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) was established in 1992. The UNFCCC is an international environmental treaty negotiated at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), informally known as the Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro from 3 to 14 June 1992. UNFCCC consists of 195 countries that have ratified the Convention which are called Parties to the Convention.

meeting of UNFCCC 13rd . Although the concept of REDD+ has been discussed explicitly since the period of *Kyoto Protocol* and until completely discussed and adopted within COP 17th in Durban, but in the series of negotiations on the implementation of REDD + cannot be separated from the results of COP 13rd in the Bali Action Plan, which was as the basic of REDD+ creation and involve the agreement from more than 190 countries. Moreover, Bali Action Plan will continue to be the main reference for all countries in the climate change negotiations.

In a broad sense, the definition of REDD was based on the consensus within COP 13rd is that the REDD+ consists of several actions include from the local, subnational, national and global. The main purpose of REDD+ is to reduce the level of emission gas as the result of deforestation and forest degradation along with enhance the forest carbon stocks in the several developing countries. ⁴ Deforestation is a term that refers to a condition that changes the status of the forest, from forest to non-forest as a result of forest loss permanently. Degradation is a condition where the forest was damaged as a result of the forest exploitation, causing the decline of the forest capacity.

The concept of REDD that was later expanded became REDD+ consists of three additional points include conservation of forest carbon stocks, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon

⁴ Arild Angelsen *et al.* 2013. “*Menganlisi REDD+: sejumlah tantangan dan pilihan*” (*REDD+ Analysing: Challenges and Choices*. Bogor: CIFOR. p.5

stocks.⁵ These three points combination along with the financial compensation reflect the symbol of “+” within the REDD concept.

Under the UNFCCC, most of countries have committed on the principle of “*mutual but differentiated responsibilities and respective capacities (CBDR)*,”⁶ which means that the developing countries which still have the large amount of forests are obligated to keep intact and protect their forest in order to reduce the level of emission gas in the world, but on the other side the developed countries also have same responsibility in different way, which are the developed countries must support the action of developing countries with provide and distribute the financial compensation for developing countries who have been successful implement REDD+ mechanism.

In the REDD+ context, the role of tropical forest is stressed as the most important component and plays the significant role because it absorbs the gas of Carbon dioxide (CO₂) in the atmosphere and finally releases the Oxygen (O₂). So that, when the forests are cut and destroyed, there will be no component to absorb the release of CO₂ gas in the atmosphere which is the composition of CO₂ is higher than the number of trees, thus it would increase the concentration of greenhouse gas which is finally cause the increase of Earth's surface temperature and contributes significantly to the global warming.

⁵ (See Executive Summary). European Forest Institute. 2014. “*Introduction to REDD+*”.

⁶ Paulo Moutinho & Stephan Schwartzman. 2005. “*Tropical Deforestation and Climate Change*”. p.7

Indonesia is one of the countries that has committed to actively involve within global climate change issue especially on the REDD+ scheme framework, regarding its position which ranked as the third largest of tropical forest. Indonesia's forest land accounted until 60 % of the country's land area. Therefore, Indonesia's forest is considered as important component not only for the national, but also for the global environment. The Indonesian rainforests are included as the world's richest in terms of biodiversity, and has the significant proportion of the peatland, but based on the observation of Indonesia government stated that around 1.17 million ha of forest per year had been degraded.⁷

The richness of Indonesia rain forest has made Indonesia gain much attention from the world. Through its forest, it has made the role and position of Indonesia as a developing country is recognized by the international community. As the proof, United States through its ambassador to Indonesia Cameron R. Hume dub Indonesia as 'Environmental Superpower'. Which was in the observance of Earth Day, Cameron R. Hume wrote an article titled "*Indonesia: Environmental Superpower": Indonesia is an environmental "superpower," and a natural leader in global efforts to protect the environment.*"⁸ The forests potential that owned by Indonesia become the source of its soft power for Indonesia in exercising its foreign policy. As the developing country, this condition is

⁷ UN-REDD Programme. 2009. "*Indonesia*". Accessed on: August 4, 2014/ 13:24. From: <http://www.un-redd.org/CountryActions/Indonesia/tabid/987/language/en-US/Default.aspx> .

⁸ See the article written by U.S Envoy Cameron R.Hume. 2008. "RI is Environmental Superpower. [Accessed on September, 29th 2014/ at 13:50 pm](http://jakarta.usembassy.gov/pr_04222008.html). From: http://jakarta.usembassy.gov/pr_04222008.html.

considered as the great opportunity for Indonesia to show its existence and enhance its bargaining position in international politics.

The first opportunity that was successfully utilized by Indonesia to show its existence in the international environment was the success of Indonesia when it became the President of the COP 13rd UNFCCC which has led Indonesia become one of the developing countries is very actively involved in the issue of climate change, especially in the REDD + scheme. The issue of climate change has provided an opportunity for Indonesia to contribute in solving global environmental problems by promoting its forest functions. The active involvement of Indonesia within COP meeting especially in COP 13rd as the form of Indonesia's diplomatic action. In addition, as the further diplomatic strategy of Indonesia towards climate change issue, Indonesia has made a strong commitment on the reduction of emissions, Indonesia firmly stated its priorities towards the emission reduction target, which is in Indonesian national priorities 2009, emissions reduction target is 26% in 2020 and it will increase until 41% if there is financial support from international community. This commitment is realized through President Regulation (PerPres) No. 61 of 2011 on the National Action Plan for Greenhouse Gas Emission Reduction (RAN-GRK).⁹ From this commitment, it has reflected the seriousness action of Indonesia in implementing REDD+. In implementing the REDD+ scheme within international environment, it is also supported by national good preparation

⁹ (See executive summary). DNPI (Dewan Nasional Perubahan Iklim). "Strategi Nasional: Pembelajaran Perubahan Iklim".

in order to be able to implement REDD + scheme effectively and efficiently. As the response of Indonesia towards the reduction of emission gas, Indonesia government involves various stakeholders including local community (indigenous people), NGOs, private sector, and international partners. The involvement of these stakeholders included as the steps of Indonesia to resolve the climate change problem.

In the domestic context, the first step conducted by Indonesia with the establishment of Indonesian Forest Climate Alliance (IFCA) in 2007. Through the IFCA, the Indonesian government involves every stakeholders (government, private sector, civil society, NGOs, scientific and academic institutions and international partners) in order to consolidate the implementation REDD + as an emissions reduction scheme can work effectively.¹⁰ The second, Indonesia government through collaborating with agencies under United Nations such as Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) established UN-REDD Program Indonesia which was formally operate on March 2010. The formation of this program in order to assist Indonesia as the developing country to enhance its capacity in reduction of gas emission and also to accelerate the readiness phase of Indonesia to implement REDD+ fully in 2014. Further, Indonesian government also formed REDD+ Task Force (Satuan Tugas REDD+ /

¹⁰ Ministry of Forestry Indonesia. 2010. "Strategi REDD-Indonesia Fase Readiness 2009-2012 dan Progress Implementasinya". Accessed on September, 17th 2014/ 11:17 am. From: <http://www.forda-mof.org//files/Strategi-REDD-Indonesia-April-20101.pdf> . P.9

SatGas REDD+) through Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 19 of 2010 about SatGas REDD+ as the preparation of the REDD+ institutional establishment on September, 20th 2010. The task of REDD+ Task Force is to carry out the several preparatory for the implementation of REDD + especially as commitment of REDD+ cooperation between Indonesia and Norway. The preparatory activities, include the preparation of government agencies at all levels for REDD + implementation and delivery of a road map to the President, which is in this process the REDD+ Task Force involves the various stakeholders and hold public consultations.¹¹

In the international context, Indonesia continues to establish bilateral cooperation with developed countries. *The first* is Australia under the IAFCP (Indonesia-Australia Forest Carbon Partnership), where cooperation was signed by the President of Indonesia and the Australian prime minister on 31 June 2008 in the period 2008-2012. *The second* is Germany under FORCLAIME (Forest and Climate Change Programme) in which the cooperation agreement was signed in 2009, with a work period until the year 2016. *The third* is United States, which this bilateral cooperation formalized under USAID-IFACS (USAID-Indonesian Forestry and Climate Support) Project was signed on in 2010 with a work period until year 2014. *The fourth* is Norway, which is realized through the signing of a letter of intent (LoI) between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and Norway on May 26, 2010. These four countries are included as the most significant donor

¹¹ Final Report: Satuan Tugas Persiapan Pembentukan Kelembagaan REDD+. 2011. P. 9

countries for REDD + initiatives and also contributing in mapping the REDD+ implementation in Indonesia post COP 13rd Bali.¹²

The bilateral cooperation that has been established by Indonesia government in the context of REDD+ as the proof that actually the Indonesia gets the high appreciation from the international environment and also as a form of international confidence towards the seriousness and Indonesia's ability to resolve problems of climate change. Moreover, an appreciation of the international world of Indonesia also conveyed by the Administrator of the United Nations to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Helen Clark. She said that *"Indonesia has a great opportunity to become a global leader in climate change. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has set a timetable for reducing emissions, and only achieved if REDD is implemented"*. (Translation from Liputan 6)¹³

B. Research Question

According to the background of the study, the research question raised deals with:

How is Effort of Indonesia to enhance its Bargaining Position in International Environment through the Implementation of REDD + scheme?

C. Purpose of Research

¹² Peter wood & Bernadinus Steni. 2010. *"Studi pendahuluan atas Kebijakan Pengaman (Safeguards) Donor-Donor Bilateral untuk Program REDD di Indonesia"*. Jakarta: HuMa. P. 8

¹³ See the report of Liputan6 . *"Indonesia Bisa Memimpin Perubahan Ikim"*. Accessed on September, 17th 2014/ at 04:00 pm. From: <http://news.liputan6.com/read/332136/indonesia-bisa-memimpin-perubahan-iklim-dunia>

The writing of this thesis aims to describe and analyze how the efforts of Indonesia in order enhance its bargaining position within international environment through the implementation of REDD+ scheme. Then, the writer will get the understanding from the research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, and the conclusion.

D. Theoretical Framework

1) Multi-Track Diplomacy

Literally, the existence of every state in the world cannot be separated from its relationship with other countries. A State certainly will require cooperation with other countries in order to meet its national interests. Interaction between the States with other States as the implications of their foreign policy. In implementing an effective foreign policy, diplomacy plays a very significant role. In diplomatic relations, there will be always the foreign policy as underlying factor. So if the function of foreign policy is taking decisions regarding the foreign relations, so the task of diplomacy is to carry it out properly and effectively.

Recently, the concept of diplomacy has developed which is now International relations recognizes the emergence of Multi-track diplomacy. The concept of Multi-track diplomacy is firstly coined by John MacDonald and Louise Diamond in 1991. Within the concept of Multi-track diplomacy, Donald and Diamond defined nine sub-tracks of multi-track diplomacy, which includes: Government, NGO (Non-Governmental Organization),

private sector, research, training, and education (academic institution); activism, local community, religion, the funding community (international partners) and media.¹⁴ The characteristic of multi-track diplomacy is the diplomacy way with the combination of nine sub-tracks which is each track influence each other. In the multi-track diplomacy, the government tries to involve various stakeholders within its domestic in order to result the effective policy.

In the context of the REDD+ implementation in Indonesia, the government of Indonesia choose to apply the concept of multi-track diplomacy. The sub-tracks of multi-track diplomacy that used by Indonesia involve the government, NGO, civil society, private sector, and international partner. The REDD+ scheme as a global initiative which is in its implementation involves the level of national, subnational and local, so that it needs the participation from the various stakeholders. The success in the implementation of REDD+ requires support of good governance in a country itself. With regard to good governance, the implementation of REDD+ requires the role of various factors such as the government, NGO, private sector, civil society and international partner, which they will contribute in analyzing on how REDD + can be implemented properly for achieving the objectives of REDD+ as the global mitigation effort, so that through the consolidation among stakeholders it can be considered in formulating a national strategy and policy for REDD + implementation.

¹⁴ Prof. Rajender Gupta and Neelan Choudhary. 2013. “*Unofficial Diplomacy at Work: A SAARC Perspective*”. P. 51.

2) Soft Power

With lending the concept of power by Hans J. Morgenthau, that international politics is dominated by the “Struggle for Power”. Every states in the world interact each other in order to enhance their power. Before 21st century, every states conducted the trend of hard power as their foreign policy instruments. The component of traditional way or hard power includes the using of military force or economic coercion and technological strength to get what they want. But after the 21st, soft power emerged as “*the second face of power*”. In a broad sense, soft power can be defined as “a national element of a state, which directs a State through its capability to get the goal with influence and attract the attention of other countries by providing a positive image.”¹⁵

The concept of soft power was firstly coined in 1990 by Joseph Nye in his book titled: “*Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*”. Within his book, furthermore Nye also gives the definition of soft power. According to Nye: “*Soft power is an indirect way to exercise power. A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries want to follow it, admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness.*”¹⁶

Based on the concept of soft power by Joseph Nye, it can be understood that Indonesian choice to be actively involved in environmental issues since the

¹⁵ Judit Trunkos. 2013. “*What is soft power capability and how does it impact foreign policy?*” University of south Carolina

¹⁶ Joseph Nye. 2002. “*The Paradox of American Power: Why the world’ only Superpower Can’t Go It Alone*”. New York: Oxford University Press. P. 8

ratification of the Kyoto Protocol and also the implementation of REDD +, it is as soft power of Indonesia in establishing the relationships with other countries and achieve its national interests. Especially after the COP 13rd UNFCCC held in Bali in 2007, the bargaining position of Indonesia is change because in the convention, the emergence of the REDD + scheme has caused the developing countries play as the main actor, it is regarding with the role of forest stressed as the important component to reduce the emission gas. It means that the position of Indonesia is increasingly strategic in international environment due to the potential of Indonesia's forests which is as the priority in the success of the implementation of REDD +.

E. Hypothesis

Based on the problem background, research question, and theoretical framework on above, then the hypothesis that can be taken: Indonesian efforts in the implementation of REDD + are considered as Indonesia's instrument to increase its bargaining position in international environment which supported by the multi-track diplomacy with involve the government, NGO, private sector, civil society, and international partner and also with putting the forest as a soft power to attract the other countries and establish cooperation on REDD+ scheme.

F. Method of Research

This qualitative research will use a common method to sustain and arrange the data by collecting the data from:

- Library research, this method used as secondary data to study the relevant sources in order to discuss the problem.
- Media research, collecting the data from media such as internet, newspaper, magazines, scripts, electronic journal in order to find references as the source of the matter.
- Data analysis, the writer tries to interpret the data gained from library and media research checked with the real facts happening in the world today in order to be used as the source of the thesis.
- Proving hypothesis will be taken from the discussion of the problem and analysis of the data.

G. Scope of Research

In this thesis writing, the writer will limit the scope of the discussion from 2007-2012, which was the REDD+ concept firstly formally discussed in COP 13rd Bali Action Plan 2007 and marked as the preparation phase of REDD+ implementation in Indonesia and 2012 marked as the readiness phase which in these two phases Indonesia has conducted several efforts both domestic and international including bilateral cooperation on REDD+ scheme with other developed countries which means as the implication of the active action of Indonesia towards the REDD+ implementation. The

time limitation is used in order to avoid the complexity of the observation and analysis.

H. System of Thesis Writing

In writing the thesis, the system of writing will consist of some chapters:

Chapter I: In Chapter I the writer will explain the Background of REDD+ Scheme implementation by Indonesia, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methodology of research, scope of research, purpose of research and system of writing.

Chapter II: In Chapter II the writer will focus on the general description of REDD+ scheme and the involvement of Indonesia on climate change issue.

Chapter III: In Chapter III the writer will analyze the efforts of Indonesia in implementing REDD+ scheme include both in domestic and international context.

Chapter IV: In Chapter IV, the writer will analyze on how the REDD+ scheme as the new international politic instrument for Indonesia to enhance its bargaining position in the international environment.

Chapter V: In Chapter IV will consist of Conclusion.