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Indonesia In Cop 26: Over Ambition On National Determined Contribution

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Abstract

Climate change has been world's primary issue since the collapsed of cold war. Where states once again gather to find solution regarding this circumstance. From first COP until the latest 26th COP. The world yet to find best solution to cope with this issue, either it was the ideas or the commitment to solve it. Indonesia is one of the parties that involve in COP but yet to give the best possible efforts join the world force to commit to the same agreement that was signed together. Indonesia gave the same ambition on paper but not in the implementations. The presence of fossils energy such as coal as the biggest share in Indonesia export and domestic consumption made it dilemmatic for Indonesia to commit in COP.

Keywords: Climate Change, Coal, COP, Energy, Fossil Fuel.

Abstrak

Perubahan iklim telah menjadi isu terpanas di dunia sejak jatuhnya perang dingin. Dimana negara-negara dunia kembali berkumpul untuk mencari solusi atas keadaan ini. Dari COP pertama sampai COP 26 terbaru. Dunia belum menemukan solusi terbaik untuk mengatasi masalah ini, baik itu ide maupun komitmen untuk menyelesaikannya. Indonesia merupakan salah satu pihak yang terlibat dalam COP namun belum memberikan upaya dan kolaborasi terbaik dengan kekuatan dunia lainnya untuk berkomitmen pada kesepakatan yang telah ditandatangani bersama. Indonesia memberikan ambisi yang sama di atas kertas tetapi tidak dalam implementasinya. Kehadiran energi fosil seperti batu bara sebagai penyumbang terbesar ekspor dan konsumsi domestik Indonesia membuat Indonesia berada dalam posisi dilematis untuk benar-benar memegang komitmen dalam COP.

Kata kunci: Perubahan Iklim, Batubara, COP, Energi, Bahan Bakar Fosil.

Introduction

World governments on the past 25 years has been battling with environment issues, from deforestation, sea level rise, until emissions. All of these problems occur with the highlight topic of Earth Climate Changes. The world registered the first big step to combat or maybe the proper to say it with to overcome the issue with Kyoto Protocol, which held in Kyoto on 1997. The main result of Kyoto Protocol was how the emissions were trade from a country to another. In the Annex B of

Kyoto Protocol about Emissions Trading it was described as a market-based approach to achieving environmental objectives that allows, those reducing greenhouse gas emissions below what is required, to use or trade the excess reductions to offset emissions at another source inside or outside the country. In general, trading can occur at the intra-company, domestic, and international levels (IPCC, 2001, p. 371). As written in Article 17 of the Kyoto Protocol,

countries are allowed to have emission units to spare to be traded afterward to other countries which over the targets capacity. For the detail about Article 17 of the Kyoto Protocol (UNFCCC, 2007, p. 3):

“Countries with commitments under the Kyoto Protocol can acquire emission units from other countries with commitments under the Protocol and use them towards meeting a part of their targets. An international transaction log, a software-based accounting system, ensures secure transfer of emission reduction units between countries.”

“The Kyoto Protocol spurred the creation of the European Union Emissions Trading Scheme, and many people foresee the growth and linking of emissions markets globally.”

By the time goes, Kyoto Protocol cannot be an answer the world's need, or more like cannot be committed by the ratified states. The fact that it was not legally binding or has sanctions, made no obligation to implement any singles articles in the protocol. Indonesia as one of the ratified states cannot fully committed with Kyoto Protocol, the contradiction between the promises and the implementations on daily basis in Indonesia's policies made it hard to cope with the vast implication on climate changes. As the time passed, Kyoto Protocol (COP2) has been over shadow by Paris Agreement (COP21). Even though both were on the same framework in United Nations Climate Change Conferences, the hyped were really felt changing as states start to try to gain popularity from the conference and not about to formulated the best solutions to solve the issues. Six years passed, The World meet again in Glasgow to attend the COP26. The result of the

meeting is to respect the process of UNFCCC since 1994, which:

“Acknowledging that climate change is a common concern of humankind, Parties should, when taking action to address climate change, respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, the right to health, the rights of indigenous peoples, local communities, migrants, children, persons with disabilities and people in vulnerable situations and the right to development, as well as gender equality, empowerment of women and intergenerational equity.”

While COP26 in Glasgow produced some point about mitigation, it stated in point number 20 that says:

“Calls upon Parties to accelerate the development, deployment and dissemination of technologies, and the adoption of policies, to transition towards low-emission energy systems, including by rapidly scaling up the deployment of clean power generation and energy efficiency measures, including accelerating efforts towards the phasedown of unabated coal power and phase-out of inefficient fossil fuel subsidies, while providing targeted support to the poorest and most vulnerable in line with national circumstances and recognizing the need for support towards a just transition.”

Indonesia as a cross-position country between Asia and Australia made Indonesia experiencing climate change faster than other countries. The fact that Indonesia lies in equator line bring quick changes on the sun orbits for the whole year, in some period it could bring low wind temperature due to the sun more on Asia's side. The weather will tend to be more wet since rains season will happens and dry season on the other period because high wind temperature coming from the Australia's side.

In recent years Indonesia cannot be differentiated by only two seasons, it tends to experience mix seasons: rain in dry season and also the opposite. Climate changes in Indonesia happened because of deforestation for massive new land opening for human activities such as: population rise, transportation, city growth, urbanization, and industrialization to support the Indonesia economic rise. Indonesian consumption were rising pretty fast in last few years, taking data sample from World Bank, Indonesia 2015 total expenditure was 578 billion USD and compared to 2019 it was 746 billion USD means it rose for 29% in only 4 years, even thought on 2020 due to COVID-19¹ it was decreased to 722 billion USD it still rose for 25% (World Bank, 2022). All these data showed that the increasing of consumption in Indonesia, contribute to the need to produce human needs by producing more product. Besides human activities, natures also play a role in Indonesia's climate change. Such as El-Niño, La-Niña, Volcanic Eruption, Heat Waves, Forest Fire and etc (Julismin, 2013, pp. 43-44).

Regime Theory

Stephen D. Krasner² explained about regime theory as how state behavior used in a particular issue or area influent by order and explicit commitments, where it impacted to decision-making process. The regime could change and shifting by variances: structural, game-theoretic, functional, and cognitive. This

¹ Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

² Stephen David Krasner is an American academic and former diplomat. He is a professor of international relations at Stanford University

article would examine on the terms of structural approach (Hasenclever, 1997).

Structuralism proposed the use of power in purpose to create distribution of power resources among actors. It strongly affects the regimes to emerge in an issue-area, which result the distribution of benefit. The use of power in this theory bring regime theory to the theory of hegemonic stability, which talk about the existence of international actors or international institutions in term of power in the issue or area that in question (Haggard & Simmons, 1987).

Hegemonic stability theory aimed to discuss about the existences of a regime in certain issue-area where regime seeks to find dominance. This theory discussed about the absence of a regime in a particular sector will be seen as the absence of power to gain the existence, in which regime supposed to be presence (Peterson, 2012). Other regimes will make policies to fill the absence of other regimes. Kindleberger³ in his book of International regimes says: "that only the presence of an outstanding economic and political power which has the capacity (and the willingness) to lead can make the group of states who participate in the world economy a "privileged group" by supplying and supporting the infrastructure that permits comparatively smooth and mutually beneficial international exchange to take place" (Hasenclever, 1997).

Hegemonic stability theory is the most relevant theory to explain the dynamics of regimes, as it discussed about the creation of

³ Charles Poor Kindleberger was an American economic historian. He was an International Professor of Economics Emeritus Massachusetts Institute of Technology

regime and the maintenance of a dominant power in term of keeping existence and also how regimes' hegemon decreased. The theory is more dominant discussed in economical sectors. Hegemonic stability theory applies the reasoning of international regimes on maintaining that (1) regimes are began and carried by actors who hold a prevalence of power resources (relevant to the issue or area that in question) and that (2) regimes wane (i.e. decrease in strength or effectiveness) when power becomes more equally distributed between regimes (Hasenclever, 1997).

Regime Theory view on Environment

The anarchy condition of the world seen by states as a condition where no authorities could claim as world power where they could run the international system. States are compete each other to dominated the world stage by create cooperation between the actors, regardless the power size they have. This circumstance creates a condition where sometime they tend to play rough to each other.

Regarding the world condition, mentioned above. It appears that Regime theory could describe the condition precisely. As Stephen Krasner defines an international regime as 'principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given issue area.' It argues that the power in the international system is distributed across different states and non-state actors, such as non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, and multinational companies, that cooperate on specific issues based upon a set of international

regimes. Regimes are the manifestation of cooperation among actors in the international system (Krasner, 1983).

The world transformation caused by climate change creates new opportunities where economic development needs to fit with the sustainable growth of environment where it would create energy security for the economical sectors to keep running. The transition from fossil energy to renewable energy seen as a competition where states need to control it first for an aim to secure their benefits (United Nations, 2021). The new era of energy sectors made states need to maintain their hegemonic stability, this is in line with the regime theory where states need to have large economic power so it could maintain the supremacy of the states. Charles P. Kindleberger arguing that the central idea behind Hegemonic Stability Theory is that the stability of the global system, in terms of politics, international law, and so on, relies on the hegemon to develop and enforce the rules of the system (Cohen, 2008, pp. 66-68).

Policymakers around the world now try to balance the regulations and laws regarding the climate change. World's market trend to shifting from fossils energy to renewable energies, this lead by the support of consumers who starts to realized the importance of sustainability of the world they live in. People started to realize the need to raise the awareness regarding the life changes caused by climate changes. Many companies are already realizing the economic benefit presented by the transitions of energy. For example, the world largest asset management with

10\$ trillion: BlackRock⁴. The company already joins the world fight to achieve carbon neutrality and erase climate change by creating investment on sustainable energy as agreed in COP and continued by Global Goals⁵. As global power investors, BlackRock committed to create Sustainable Energy Fund where the fund will invest across multiple industries, including public-sector utilities focused on the development of large-scale sustainable energy, companies delivering low-carbon new materials, and the transportation sector. BlackRock will be investing the fund to sustainable energy in which involve in alternative energy as a part of world movement to net zero policy using the process to analyzing the whole material factors in investment decisions, including environmental, social and governance factors (ESG). The Fund will not invest in corporations that produce coal, oil and gas (Blackrock, 2022).

In the 19th century there was a terms developed in a colonial era, it says: "Trade follow the flags" which meant commercial activities exist to support the expanse of colonialism. This term was popular by British Empire (Speake, 2015). As the colonialism era collapsed, the terms changed by "Flag follow the trade" where state need to follow the trend. For big state⁶, it is the tools to maintain hegemony and existence in world economic stage. Meanwhile,

for smaller state⁷ it is for survive the economic condition. In the other hand, the transition of energy could attract the investment to plan the money needed to short term & long term development of a state. While as the recent decade, investment activity really seen as the tools to maintain economical activity in every states. As an International Relations actor, BlackRock have a huge bargain influential toward states, regarding their economical power to invest.

Indonesia Commitment on Climate Change

Indonesia priority on how to cope with climate change where taken seriously on paper by the state of Indonesia, it seen from the program that Indonesia put commitment on the mitigation and adaptation climate change. Indonesia's *Nawacita* (Nine Priorities Agenda) is inline with the commitment of Indonesian Government to develop any necessary action in form of policies or regulations, to join the movement to save the world. Indonesia's archipelago provides biodiversity, mineral resources, and also big carbon absorber. Oxygen is use by humans to live and sustaining the life and the landscape of Indonesia provides magnificent number forest that helps to produce oxygen and absorb carbon dioxide. As a country that lies in equator, Indonesia cannot hide from the climate changes that already start and going worse because of the activities of humans. The responsibility to protect the forest as the main solution to fight the climate changes is not really taken as an action by Indonesian Government.

The activeness of Indonesia in world forums about climate changes did not reflected by regulations and actions in every aspect. Indonesia

⁴ BlackRock, is an American multinational investment management corporation based in New York City.

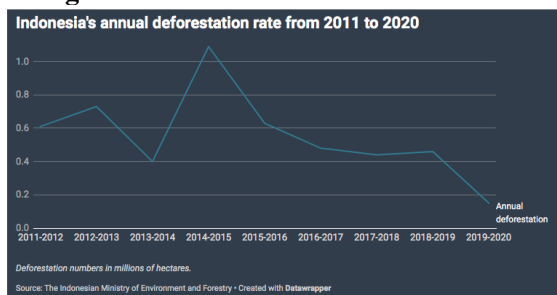
⁵ The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) or Global Goals are a collection of 17 interlinked global goals designed to be a "blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all"

⁶ measured by the economic activities

⁷ *ibid*

is yet to apply Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG)⁸ as part of state policy, the domestic condition of Indonesia showed that Indonesia did not commit to 17 Sustainable Development Goals by United Nations. Even though the participation of Indonesia meant the willingness to join the fight against climate change, it doesn't mean much. The hypocrisy of the government of Indonesia shown in many number carbon production, deforestation, and etc.

Figure.1 Indonesia's Deforestation Rate



Source: (Jong, Deforestation in Indonesia hits record low, but experts fear a rebound, 2021)

The curve might show the declining of deforestation in Indonesia, but things that need to highlight is the number, to combine 2019 and 2020, it has the amount of almost 600.000 hectares, or comparable to 8 times the size of Jakarta or equal to 3.5 times the size of Indonesia's new capital, Nusantara (Haryanti, 2019). The commitment of Indonesia was shown in the involvement on United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change by ratified the first COP and after. On 2007, Indonesia even became the host of COP13 where Bali Action Plan born, the action emphasized on the

⁸ ESG discuss about no-financial score that tracks the company's sustainability practice in terms of environment, social, and governance reporting.

importance of REDD+⁹ especially for the developing countries. Indonesia actually had an agreement with Norway on REDD+, where Norway will pay 5 USD for every ton carbon dioxide emission reduced known as Result Based Payment. Indonesia believed to reduced 11.2 millions ton on 2016 until 2017 where it worth 56 million USD. Norway supposed to be paying Indonesia but at the end it was not happened. On 2021, Indonesia scrapped the cooperation with Norway (Maesaroh, 2021).

Indonesia seems trapped in the commitment to reduce the emission and the developing of the states economy. It looks like Indonesia commitment is transactional when Indonesia scrapped the deal with Norway on REDD+ the fact that the number of emission per capita is increasing every year while Indonesia still joining every COP each year means Indonesia cannot leave the world movement on fight against climate change. The carbon intensity of Indonesia's energy sector is increasing continuously and, in 2020, it has increased by 13.6% while the G20 average is decreasing. It has reached over 60 tCO₂ in 2020, which is higher than the G20 average (Climate Transparency, 2021). As a member of G20, Indonesia needs to follow the mutual goals that already set by G20 each year. It is true Indonesia still below the G20 average, but the increasing of emission production every year is rapidly increasing.

⁹ REDD+ is a framework created by the UNFCCC Conference of the Parties (COP) to guide activities in the forest sector that reduces emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, as well as the sustainable management of forests and the conservation and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries.

Figure 2. Green House Gass emissions (incl. land use) per capita (tCO₂e/capita)² in 2018



Source: (Climate Transparency, 2021)

Indonesia ratified the Paris Agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change on 22nd April 2016 in New York, United States of America. And further to implement it in form of bills number 16/2016. Since Paris agreement is legally binding and applicable to all principle with common responsibility from all ratified states and Indonesia must commit to apply in daily basis. It only differentiated by the responsibilities and capabilities of each state to provide funding and transfer of technologies to other states in needs.

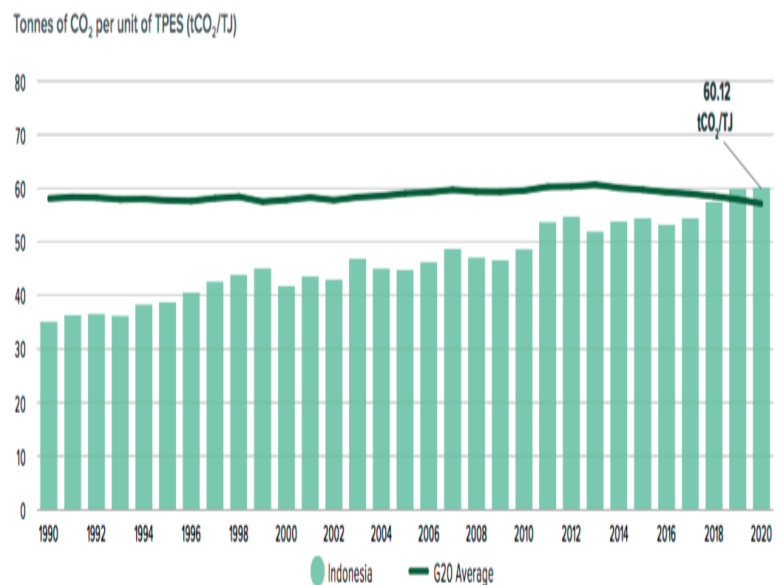
After the Paris Agreement (COP21), Indonesia submit first Indonesia NDC¹⁰, Indonesia committed to reduce 29% until 41% of emission on 2030 from forestry, energy, wasted, and farm sector. Indonesia planned the mitigation on how to adapt the climate change by obtaining the reserve of water, food and energy. Indonesia commitment on the next NDC is based on the achievement of this first NDC.

As the commitment in COP 21, countries were asked to take action in reducing the

¹⁰ Nationally Determined Contribution is a climate action plan to cut emissions and adapt to climate impacts. Each Party to the Paris Agreement is required to establish an NDC and update it every five years.

Greenhouse Gas (GHG) as the temperature keep rising around the globe, world governments need to find solution to create climate neutral by reaching global greenhouse gas emission as soon as possible (UNFCCC, 2022).

Figure 3. Carbon intensity of the energy sector



Sources: (Climate Transparency, 2021)

Indonesia production of emission is constantly increasing every year, based on the data above. Indonesia already hit G20 median and it could keep rising in following year.

Indonesia on COP26

Last year, on July 2021, Indonesia submitted the Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) to United Nations. Indonesia committed to make transition to low carbon sectors for the better future of Indonesia. The INDC or Indonesia Nationally Determined Contribution put the goals on beyond 2020 to contribute to world aim to reduce the world increasing temperature from maximum 2 degrees Celsius to 1.5 degrees Celsius. And by 2030 Indonesia is able to mitigate and adapt on reducing the risk of archipelagic climate change by having sustainability on production and consumption of food, water, and energy. These goals will be achieved by improved capacity building of basic services in health and education, technological innovation, and sustainable natural resource management (UNFCCC, 2021).

In order to achieve the 2030 NDC target and expedite the transformational changes towards low carbon and climate resilience development, Indonesia has developed a strategy for NDC implementation, consisting of nine following programs (UNFCCC, 2021, p. 3):

1. Building ownership and commitment among Ministries and other governmental Institutions, sub-national governments, private sectors, civil societies, and financial institutions (Party and Non-Party Stakeholders).
2. Capacity building to enhance capacity of institutions and human resources at all levels, covering all aspects of climate change, particularly on mitigation and adaptation actions, implementation of transparency framework, and climate finance.
3. Creating enabling environment to engage wider stakeholders in mitigation and adaptation as well as in resource mobilization, through appropriate regulatory framework, policy and measures.
4. Developing framework and network for coordination and building synergy among sectors, regions and actors/stakeholders.
5. One GHGs-data policy to support the implementation of transparency framework at the national level.
6. Developing policies, planning and intervention program for NDC implementation, including integrating mitigation in five category sectors (forestry, energy, IPPU, waste, agriculture) and adaptation (sectors and regions) into development planning, to secure financial support (public fund) and facilitate resource mobilization (domestic sources and international supports).
7. Developing guidance for NDC implementation to facilitate Ministries and other governmental institutions, sub-national governments and other non-party stakeholders in implementing Program No. 6.
8. NDC implementation refers to implementation of policies, planning and intervention programs (Program No.6),

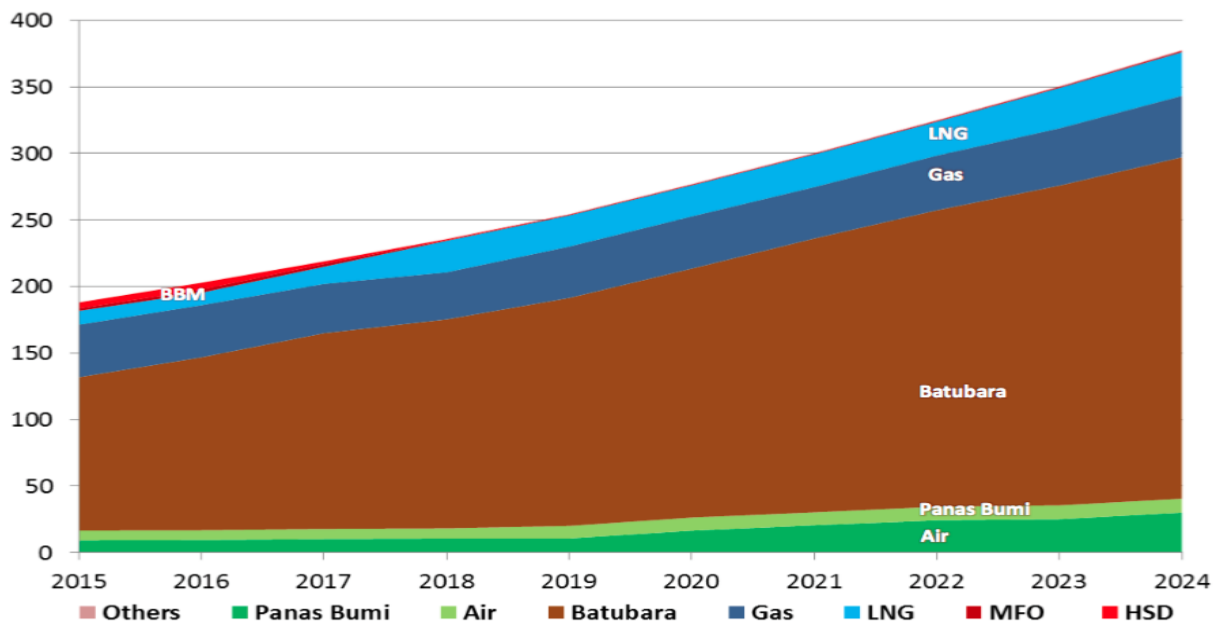
taking into account guidance developed under Program No. 7.

9. Monitoring and review of NDC to track progress of NDC implementation, review of NDC and adjust the NDC whenever necessary. Inter-ministerial team has been established to monitor progress and achievement of NDC implementation.

In the contrary to Indonesia National Determined Contribution (NDC) above, as a state in which exporting coal as one of the main product of the country, Indonesia does not seem to stop the production of coal, Indonesian government supports its coal mining and production industry with a range of subsidies and public finance. it will continue to consume and

produce coal since energy demand will increase along with economic development and population growth in which also lead to the increasing of population welfares. The rising of consumption due to the rise of Indonesia GDP per Capita (The World Bank, 2022) will follow by the ability to spend more money in many sectors, which will increase the amount of energy consume by Indonesia, believed to increasing in the future, and coal will be dominated the share of energy consumption. The transport sector is the second largest contributor of Indonesia emissions, and believed to increase.

Figure 4. Indonesia Electricity Energy Fuel Mix Share

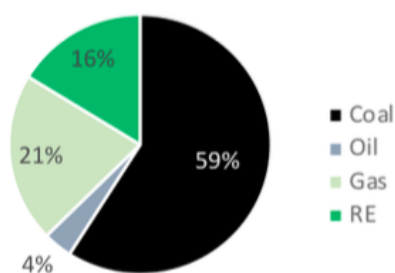


Source: (STEI ITB)

The data above showed that in the 10 years' plan, the amount of coal consumption by Indonesia to generate the electricity is increasing rapidly. Based on the past year, demand growth of electricity will be 5% per year more or less. The need for new capacity, replacement and transmission expansion will be in line with the demand growth. If we see the commitment of the world to pass out the coal energy production and consumption, Indonesia is not even near to implement the commitment of United Nations Climate Change Conferences points. As the industries in Indonesia increasing, the need to consume cheap energy begin to gain numbers and the answer on how to provide easy, fast, and cheap energy is by using coal as the main back bone of Indonesia power plant.

Since Indonesia is an archipelagic state, which consists by a various island, from big island to small island, from well-constructed island to remote island. Various electricity grids were built and the power system was developed based on the people needs and the locations convenience. Among all energy that exists, the easiest and cheap to transport is coal.

Figure 5. Indonesia's Electricity generation mix 2019



Source: (UNFCCC, 2021)

Seeing the pie chart above based on 2019, Indonesia's current energy plan will not meet the world standard on how to meet the global demand and commitment. Seeing the portion of coal in Indonesia power plant, which almost 60 percent from Indonesia whole energy share stated how Indonesia is really depended on coal. For 2050, Indonesia try to put a new strategy by targeting generation mix by renewables (43%), coal (38%), natural gas (10%) and Bioenergy with Carbon Capture and Storage (BECCS) (8%) (UNFCCC, 2021). Meanwhile the world already commits to phase out coal, Indonesia still playing around with more than a third of the total.

Indonesia need to pursue the transition from fossil energy to renewable energy sooner or later, with high increasing request on electricity, Indonesia need to provide clean energy to keep the sustainability of the environment. Since coal gave high contribution to the world's carbon emission and Indonesia as one of the contributor. It is not merely on consuming, Indonesia is believed to have around 29 billion ton until 115 billion ton reserve coal or equal to 3% of global reserve and planning to explores and exploits in any possible time. If we compared to other states, Indonesia actually only have small amount of reserve, but the fact that Indonesia as one of the largest exporter made Indonesia highly reliant on it (Jong, COP26 cop-out? Indonesia's clean energy pledge keeps coal front and center, 2021). Indonesia's coal power plant in past few years has been

increasing rapidly from 53% in 2015 to 60% in 2019.

In the other side, China and India already start to decrease the power plants that produce high carbon emission such as coal power plants. Assessing China's ambition to have carbon neutral by 2060, it will be world game changing, as the world recent and future global economic powerhouse; China is leading the coal consumption by 54% or more than a half of worldwide consumption (Statista, 2022). On the second position, there is also another economic giant; India that absorbs 11% of global share.

President Xi Jin Ping already committed on decreasing the energy consumption by limiting it and try put China's emission production to the peak before the year 2030. As he said in the Leaders' Summit on Climate held by USA:

"China has committed to move from carbon peak to carbon neutrality in a much shorter timespan than what many developed countries might take, and that requires hard efforts from China" (Stanway & Cadell, 2021).

China and India has gigantic economic program that leads their total growth to one of the world biggest. These pas decades they¹¹ have been using a lot of non-renewable energy. After COP26 they have their own agenda on energy, and having a statement to decrease or even phasing out the use of fossils energy. The decision to change into greener industry made China and India could keep up the world challenge on maintaining their

hegemony stability. On the opposite, Indonesia also as the world rising star on world economic relies on fossil energy. The fact that Indonesia biggest national export is coal, it takes 16% of the whole Indonesian 2020 export percentage with more than 25 Billion USD worth of trade (Trading Economics, 2022). China was contributing in total of 7 Billion USD from the total trade or almost a quarter of coal export is sent to China and makes China the biggest consumer of Indonesia coal production.

Having a fact above, the scenario that presented by LCCP¹². It believed that the world demand on coal would fall in the future and it already begin to slow down. If tracked back, in 2012 Indonesia is able to hits 62 billion USD from coal export, but in 2020 it already a third from how it used to or equal to 20.5 billion USD (Trading Economics, 2022). It shows that the world consumption is rapidly decreasing in only 8 years.

Among G20 member state, Indonesia is the only state that will still use more than 50% portion of fossil energy as the main energy backbone in 2050 (Setiawan, 2021). Meanwhile, compare to China ambition to phase the coal power plant, on the other side, Indonesia still build new 13.8 gigawatts coal-fired power plant that could start to active on 2030. Even though at the same period, Indonesia phase out 9.2 gigawatts of coal-fired power plant, it seems useless and meaningless since it still give a gap of "new" 4.6 gigawatts.

¹¹ They refer as China and India

¹² Low Carbon Scenario Compatible with Paris Agreement target

It was like trying to fulfill the COP demand and at the same time still runs the same plan as in the beginning, just like smoke and mirror¹³.

The 2050 estimation shows that Indonesia is not trying to decrease production of coal in any near future. But the fact that the world market will not absorb the product, it makes the situation worse than ever. Indonesia will end up using the whole state production in domestic sectors. The massive construction of coal-fired power plants in Indonesia was based on the government program of total new 35,000 Megawatts which 43% for outside Java-Bali and 57% for Java-Bali. The distribution of Indonesia energy consumption was centralized in Java and Bali. The Indonesian government planned to build 34 new power plants for a period of 2015-2024, and 31 of them are coal power plants (STEI ITB, 2015).

Conclusion

The impact of using fossil energy is already shown in many aspects, conditions, and times. That the world has been suffered by over exploration created by humans. The climate change impacted from it, the cycle has already changed and also seasons. The cost that was already mentioned before became the price for countries that try to improve the standard of living by producing more welfare and the easiest way to use non-renewable energy such as coal.

¹³ Smoke and Mirror phrase is referring to obscure the truth of a situation with misleading information

United Nations Climate Change Conferences already settle an annual meeting that attended by all parties, and further called as Conference of the Parties or COP. From the entire member, some attendees were China, India, & Indonesia. These 3 states were well known as big emission producers and also world biggest coal power plant users. Based on recent COP in Glasgow, China and India already committed to reduce and even to phase out the use of coal as main energy source to power up the industry. These circumstances showed those two states are afraid of missing out the global shifting on economic aspects and afraid to lose the momentum to maintain the power to obtain hegemonic stability. While Indonesia did the same ambition to give a commitment to reduce the use of coal, in contrast Indonesia still uses to build a lot of coal-fired power plants. Meanwhile if Indonesia applies the ESG, investment from non-state actors such as BlackRock could happen. Instead of committing to the agreement (COP) between all parties, Indonesia shows no intentions to get rid of coal as the state primary income source.

To sum up the situations: the world has been through a lot of phases and it includes a phase which people take a lot from Mother Nature for the sake of development without considering any future impact. It also made a lot of countries have been in wars to each other to gain natural resources from each other and it takes a lot of humans' lives on the process. It seems an endlessly cycle, but every party has the same responsibility and it includes Indonesia.

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