

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Indonesia is an archipelago-shaped country that often occurs natural disasters. One of the factors that caused Indonesia to often experience disaster is because Indonesia is located in the equator which is very vulnerable to climate change. The drastically changing climate has led to the phenomenon of El Nino and La Nina. The El Nino phenomenon is a phenomenon where sea surface temperatures in the Pacific Ocean increase, causing drought in Indonesia. This leads to natural disasters such as increased frequency and extent of forest fires, crop failures, and declining water availability. While La Nina phenomenon is a phenomenon of decreasing sea surface temperatures in the Pacific Ocean, causing high rainfall accompanied by hurricanes that cause the occurrence of floods and landslides (Balai Besar Penelitian dan Pengembangan Sumberdaya Lahan Pertanian, 2008). From this, it can be seen that Indonesia is a country prone to natural disasters. One of the disasters that became the annual disaster in Indonesia is the forest and land fires on the island of Sumatra and Kalimantan, which caused a haze disaster.

According to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 24 Year 2007 on Disaster Management, disaster is an event caused by natural factors or non-natural factors, human factors as well as a combination of nature and human factors that threaten and disrupt people's lives, causing harm in the form of environmental damage, property, psychological impact, even casualties (BNPB, 2012). Disasters are differentiated into several types based on the factors that caused the disaster to occur. The types

of disasters are based on the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 24 year 2007 on Disaster Management namely natural disasters, non-natural disasters, and social disasters. One country that often experiences natural disasters is Indonesia.

Forest and land fires are an event in which forests and land are hit by fire, resulting in massive loss of forests and land. Forest fires in Indonesia are not only caused by El Nino phenomenon in the dry season, but also because of the behavior of some companies and individuals who want to open new plantation land and new agricultural land by burning forests deliberately. Burning forests and land that cause haze disasters often occurs on the islands of Borneo and Sumatra. Opening new land by burning is the most cost-effective and fast way. Burned land does not die directly if exposed to wind, instead create chaff that continues to smoke, because the type of land in the area is combustible peat (Sulistiowati, 2015). There are so many harmful consequences of burning forests, the emergence of smoke haze that can cause respiratory disease for people, stunted people's activities, disruption of visibility, land, sea and air transportation, as well as international problems caused by haze which cross country borders.

Haze is a phenomenon where there are dust, smoke and other dry particles that make air and sky blur and less clarity. Things that cause the fog can be from agriculture (ploughing in dry weather), traffic, industry, and forest fires (Othman, Azura, Li, & Abdullah, 2013) The smoke pollution that comes up have a damaging effect. These damaging effects can endanger human health, endanger resources and ecosystems, disrupt social facilities and activities, and so on. Smog is a disaster that dramatically hampers people's activities. With the smoke haze, visibility is limited, and the air becomes dirty and dangerous.

The haze disaster in Southeast Asia has occurred since several years ago. In 2015, the smoke haze that occurs was the worst smog from the smoke haze that occurred in the year before it. Since 1997, Indonesia's forest fires have even been recognized as the cause of haze phenomena in Southeast Asia by the world. In 1997, it was the year that became the basis for the presence of smoke haze disaster in Borneo and Sumatera. Until now, the haze is one of the cross border disasters that become an annual disaster with the volume even worse (Weatherbee). From the record of West Kalimantan Disaster Management Agency, the history of the greatest haze disaster occurred in 1997. The smoke haze that occurred in 1997 was also defined as a national disaster. The largest forest fires recorded in Indonesia's history have burnt 11.7 million hectares of forests. The largest forest fire occurred in Kalimantan 8.13 M Ha burned, followed by Sumatra 2.07 M Ha, West Papua 1 Million Ha, Sulawesi 400 thousand Ha, and also Java 100 Thousand Million Ha. After 1997 until now, forest fires still occur in Indonesia. And it produces a lot of losses from the occurrence of smoke haze. As a result of haze, people's activities become obstructed (Wahyuni).

Almost every year, the Southeast Asian region suffered a very disturbing smoke haze. And almost all the smoke haze occurring in Southeast Asia is caused by forest fires in Indonesia. In 1997, smoke haze was caused by forest fires in Kalimantan and Sumatra. Smoke spreads and covers Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand, Vietnam, to Philippines. In 2005, the smoke haze was caused by forest fires in Sumatra, and the smoke covered Malaysia. In 2006, haze caused by forest fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan as well as El Nino. The haze enveloped Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, to South Korea. In 2009, the smoke haze

was caused by forest fires in Sumatra and El Nino and enveloped Malaysia and Singapore. In 2011, the haze caused by forest fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan, the haze covered Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and Thailand. And in 2015, there was a haze caused by forest fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan as well as El Niño, the smoke over Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and Thailand (Catatan Bencana Kabut Asap yang Pernah Terjadi di Asia Tenggara, 2015).

Almost every year, Indonesia has to face a haze disaster that disrupts the activity and health of the people around the burning forest. The disaster is caused by dry season climate and also because of forest burning in Kalimantan and Sumatra for land expansion (Sari A. , 2015). Indonesia is one of the largest smoke haze contributors in Southeast Asia. The impact of haze is not only accepted by the people of Indonesia but also causes air pollution in some countries in Southeast Asia such as Malaysia, Singapore, and several other Southeast Asian countries. Therefore, the smoke haze has stretched relations between Indonesia and neighboring countries. Some countries that are close to Indonesia are receiving smoke haze that gives terrible impact and many disadvantages.

Malaysia is a country whose the territory is directly adjacent to Indonesia, so Malaysia is a country that gets quite severe impact. Indonesia and Malaysia are two countries whose relations of history, culture, and kinship are very close when compared with other countries (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 2010). As a neighboring country, relations between Indonesia and Malaysia are always ups and downs. The relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia is quite good, judging from the cooperation made by Malaysia and Indonesia in the field of education such as student exchange, and in the

economic field like the investors from Malaysia who invest their capital in Indonesia. Bilateral cooperation also occurs between Indonesia and Malaysia, two countries that are close to geographically have long established cooperation in many fields. However, relations between Indonesia and Malaysia are not always going well. This is because there are problems that disrupt the stability of relations between Indonesia and Malaysia. Various issues that have occurred between Indonesia and Malaysia are border issues, several island disputes, problems of Indonesian Workers in Malaysia, cultural issues and some other problems (Alie, 2011).

As two adjacent countries, Indonesia and Malaysia often experience conflicts such as border conflicts and cultural conflicts. Despite the occasional tension, both countries are reluctant to engage in open conflict or war, as any problem can be solved as long as there is a desire to maintain good relations between two countries (Hubungan Indonesia-Malaysia sangat Spesial, 2016).

Recently, relations between Indonesia and Malaysia have been re-tested with the occurrence of forest fires on the islands of Sumatra and Kalimantan which prompted protests from Malaysian society. Already several times, Malaysia delivered a letter of protest to Indonesia about the transboundary smoke haze from Indonesia. The protests came because forest fires in Indonesia have caused a smoke haze that is also accepted by Malaysian society and it is disconcerting people's health and lives. Forest fires in Indonesia are a major problem causing smog in some countries in Southeast Asia. This led to protests from other countries to quickly overcome the disaster haze Indonesia. Neighbouring countries and environmental activists have sent criticism to Indonesia and assessed that the Indonesian government has failed to stop the

haze that has become an annual disaster in Indonesia (VOA, 2016). Indonesia's reaction to these protests and demands was stated by President Joko Widodo that smoke haze is a problem that can not be resolved quickly. President Jokowi believes this haze problem will decrease as improvements handling and aspects of law enforcement (Affan, 2017).

Forest fires in Indonesia are not only caused by the dry season but also because of the behavior of some companies and individuals who want to open new plantation land and new agricultural land by burning forests deliberately. In 2014, the Ministry of the Environment found evidence that 23 plantation companies and industrial plantation companies were involved in forest and land fires in Riau, Sumatra (Syukur, 2014). For several companies involved in the burning of forests and land, some of them are Malaysian palm oil companies. The weak law in Indonesia has become one of the factors increasing the case of forest fires committed by irresponsible parties that burn forest and bring environmental and economic losses.

Indonesia has made various efforts to overcome this forest fire problem. But the smoke haze is still not resolved completely. The smoke haze that occurred in several provinces in Sumatera and Kalimantan is very severe so that the Indonesian government needs to ask for foreign aid. To solve the haze disaster completely, Indonesia asked for assistance to other countries, one of them is Malaysia. Indonesia has made a lot of efforts to prevent and tackle the smoke haze caused by forest fires. However, haze prevention can not achieve maximum results due to limited funds and personnel, and the extent of burned land and forest. Therefore, Indonesia needs help from neighboring countries. The assistance needed by Indonesia is not only technical assistance to

overcome haze, but also aid in prevention efforts (Suryani A. , 2016). Malaysia is one of the countries most affected by forest fires in Indonesia. Malaysia is willing to assist Indonesia in overcoming the haze experienced by Indonesia, Malaysia, and several other Southeast Asian countries.

The forest fires of 2015 were among the worst since the 1997 forest fires, causing tensions in relations between Indonesia and neighboring countries in Southeast Asia. Indonesia is still unable to handle the forest fires completely, therefore Malaysia and Indonesia have made efforts by conducting cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia in overcoming the haze disaster which has seriously disrupted the lives of people in both countries and also in Southeast Asia. Malaysia and Indonesia held bilateral discussions to deal with forest fires and haze. To help solve the problem, Malaysia has the intention to share about Malaysia's peatland management experience that may be adopted in Indonesia, and Malaysia sends forest firefighters (Anonim, 2015).

The smoke haze that occurred in Indonesia is the result of forest fires in the peatlands, so the fire is in the ground. Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to immediately extinguish forest and land fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan, including in other areas. The Malaysian government will help extinguish the burning forests and land that caused the smoke haze, especially peatlands, because of their different handling, the fire is a deep depth of land (Waluyo, RI-Malaysia Jalin Kerjasama Atasi Masalah Asap, 2015).

Malaysia is a neighboring country of Indonesia which has many bilateral relations with Indonesia. For Indonesia, Malaysia has an important role in dealing with the haze disaster in Indonesia. In this regard, Malaysia is one of the countries that are ready and willing to help Indonesia to handle the

smoke haze that occurred in Indonesia. The assistance and cooperation offered by Malaysia are in the form of cooperation to extinguish forest fires and smoke-generating lands, joint training in smog handling, as well as assistance in the form of tools needed to deal with forest fires. The offer of cooperation is posted in the form of a letter containing a Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Ministry of Original Resources and Nature Around Malaysia and the Indonesian Ministry of Environment (Suryani A. , 2016).

B. Research Question

Based on the background that has been described previously, then the research question is as follows:

How does Indonesian policy in addressing the smoke haze disaster with Malaysia?

C. Theoretical Framework

The Concept of Disaster Diplomacy (Disaster Diplomacy)

Disaster diplomacy is a combination of two common words, the word diplomacy and disaster. Diplomacy is a negotiating activity or a peaceful way of making choices, which is usually done by representatives called diplomats. While the disaster is an event caused by natural factors or non-natural factors, human factors as well as a combination of nature and human factors that threaten and disrupt

people's lives, causing harm in the form of environmental damage, loss of property, psychological impact, even casualties (BNPB, 2012).

When two words are combined and used at the same time, it is an attempt to create a new idea of how a disaster can be used for diplomacy. One of the figures who supported the development of this idea came from Ilan Kelman, who contributed much in the form of reports and articles on disaster diplomacy, the results of which were eventually written in his book published in 2012 about Disaster Diplomacy "How disaster affect peace and conflict" (Kelman, Disaster Diplomacy "How Disaster affect Peace and Conflict", 2012).

The concept of disaster diplomacy was introduced by Ilan Kelman and Theo Koukis in a special edition of Cambridge Review of International Affairs in 2000. According to Ilan Kelman and Theo Koukis on disasters diplomacy: Disaster Diplomacy investigates how and why disaster-related activities do and do not influence conflict and cooperation (Disaster Diplomacy).

The concept of disaster diplomacy, explaining how disaster can be a way to create positive things in society and between countries before a disaster occurs, when a disaster occurs or after a disaster occurs. Disaster-related activities when disasters have not occurred such as disaster risk reduction, including prevention, planning, adaptation, mitigation, preparedness and preparedness, when the disaster

occurs such as response to disasters, and after disasters such as recovery and reconstruction (Disaster Diplomacy).

Studies conducted by Ilan Kelman show that disasters are not always a bad factor for society, but in some cases, disasters can be managed as a means to resolve the political and conflict issues that occur both in national and international or inter-state areas (Kelman, *Disaster diplomacy: Can tragedy help build bridges among countries?*, 2007). Ilan Kelman's study shows that natural disasters can be managed as a means of enhancing cooperation between countries, whether political, economic, or socio-cultural cooperation. For example, countries prone to natural disasters and previously did not engage in intensive cooperation and even tend to be hostile, then choose to work together to reduce the risk and impact of disasters (Kelman, *Disaster Diplomacy: Diplomats should not rely on disasters*, 2008).

The study of disaster diplomacy shows that disaster-related activities do not create new diplomatic opportunities, but it is possible to take diplomatic action, although sometimes it does not happen. Disaster diplomacy is diplomacy that can be used as a means of finding ways to change situations. Ilan Kelman finds that disaster diplomacy typically results in short-term, long-term and reverse effects (Disaster Diplomacy).

Short-term results occur when disaster provides a new way to negotiate between conflicting

parties. In the short term disaster-related activities can create diplomatic activities, but not always. Disaster-related activities may affect diplomatic activities, provided there is a prior basis for diplomacy. For example, the existence of cultural relations, trade relations secret negotiations and so forth. Disaster-related activities sometimes exacerbate conflicts and reduce diplomacy. So, to succeed it needs a "foundation" for negotiation. Then, the result of long-term non-disaster factors has a more significant impact on diplomacy rather than activities related to the disaster. Examples are leadership changes, distrust, belief that a conflict or historical complaint should take precedence over current humanitarian and peace needs, or priority actions other than conflict resolution and diplomatic dividends. Whereas the opposite effect is due to proximity during disaster relief cooperation fades, and conflict occurs again. Regardless of the potentially negative outcomes, the fact remains that the response to the disaster usually leads to a hostile society to be peaceful, although for some time (Disaster Diplomacy).

Disaster diplomacy is different from "disaster-related cooperation". But in practice, these two things can not be separated and even support each other. Natural disaster diplomacy is a strategy for using disasters as a means for political, social, and economic purposes in a political way. Natural disaster diplomacy can be done by state governments, local governments, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Meanwhile, "disaster related cooperation" can be in the form of preparation, mitigation, response, and

reconstruction in disaster technical framework (Surwandono & Herningtyas, *Diplomasi Bencana Alam sebagai Saran Meningkatkan Kerjasama Internasional*, 2015).

The success of disaster diplomacy can be understood when the conflicting parties can leave their disputes and see the good side to build a new relationship in the concept of peace. Disaster diplomacy in the study Ilan Kelman studied more about how to influence disasters and conflicts. Disaster is a phenomenon that causes harm and has an adverse effect. But on the other hand, from a positive perspective, natural disasters can provide enormous added value to solve various humanitarian problems through disaster diplomacy.

Disaster is not always a bad factor for society, but within a certain level, it can be managed to solve political and conflict problems, both in the context of national and inter-state issues. Natural disasters can also provide opportunities for cooperation between countries, especially among countries that have a potential for disaster-prone areas. Cooperation is undertaken to reduce the risks that will be generated by natural disasters.

The success of disaster diplomacy can be understood when the conflicting parties can leave their disputes and see the positives from both sides to build a new relationship. Relations between countries based on the handling of a natural disaster, usually will not last long. However, the existing cooperation in the

handling of this natural disaster, can minimize the possibility of conflict escalation and manage disasters that occurred (Kelman, *Island Security and Disaster Diplomacy in the Context of Climate Change*, 2006). Indonesia itself is a country that belongs to the area prone to natural disasters. Therefore, of course, the Indonesian government does not remain silent to overcome natural disasters that occur or will happen in Indonesia. As in the case of a haze disaster that occurred in several provinces in Indonesia. Indonesia cooperates with Malaysia in handling smoke haze disaster. Although on the other hand, Indonesia and Malaysia often experience conflicts and disputes.

Interactions, relationships, or connections between political jurisdictions are often assumed to be worth two different categorizations between inter-state and intra-state. Therefore, the study of disaster diplomacy separating out inter-state and intra-state interactions and layering that on state-related and non-state related tracks of diplomacy (Kelman, *Disaster Diplomacy “How Disaster affect Peace and Conflict”*, 2012).

Based on its form, disaster diplomacy is divided into two, namely intra-state diplomacy and inter-state diplomacy. Intra-state diplomacy is the diplomacy done by groups of groups within a country to resolve conflicts or problems that occur. The second is inter-state diplomacy. Inter-state diplomacy is a diplomatic activity involving countries in dealing with and mitigating international conflicts between countries (Surwandono & Herningtyas, *Diplomasi*

Bencana Alam sebagai Saran Meningkatkan Kerjasama Internasional, 2015).

Inter-state diplomacy focused on state involvement and inter-state interaction (Kelman, Disaster Diplomacy “How Disaster affect Peace and Conflict”, 2012). From this explanation, the cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia in overcoming the disaster of forest fires and haze, can be said as the implementation of inter-state diplomacy. In overcoming the smoke disaster, Indonesia and Malaysia negotiated smoke and carried out the state representatives both countries. Indonesia and Malaysia discussed the haze and carried out by state officials, such as ministers and heads of state.

Inter-state diplomacy by Indonesia and Malaysia is divided into two levels: inter-state diplomacy in ministerial level and inter-state diplomacy in summit level. Diplomacy in ministerial level is a diplomatic process carried out by ministers. Indonesian and Malaysian ministers held meetings and discussions related to haze problems. While the in summit level diplomacy is a diplomacy whose level is higher than the ministerial level, which is diplomacy carried out by the head of state.

According to Weilemann, summit diplomacy can be interpreted as the practice of diplomacy, which is carried out in formal and informal forums by state officials directly. The difference between the summits of diplomacy and other diplomacy is not just the use of words. In summits diplomacy is categorized as high

level diplomacy because participants are executive officers including heads of state and leaders of international organizations such as NATO, ASEAN, IMF etc. Another specialty of summit diplomacy is that leaders are able to communicate face-to-face with other leaders without requiring a series of ceremonial events to show the seriousness of commitment in diplomacy (Weilemann, 2000).

Over the past few years, Indonesia has experienced a haze of smoke that occurred in almost every year. The smoke haze is caused by forest and land fires on the islands of Sumatra and Kalimantan. The smoke haze in Indonesia is not only accepted by the people of Indonesia, but the Malaysian people are also affected by the forest fire in the form of smog from Indonesia. It also caused tensions between Indonesia and Malaysia. Therefore, to overcome the haze disaster, Malaysia and Indonesia cooperate in extinguishing forest fires and handling haze. Malaysia is willing to assist Indonesia in dealing with smoke haze by offering joint training in smog handling, as well as assistance in the form of tools needed to deal with forest fires.

D. Hypothesis

Indonesian policy in addressing the smoke haze disaster with Malaysia by:

Conducting inter-state disaster diplomacy with Malaysia to overcome the smoke haze disaster and prevent conflict escalation in two levels, namely

ministerial level and summit level. And the result is Indonesia receives assistance from Malaysia in the form of several tools to handle fires and smoke, such as water bombs and helicopters.

E. Methodology

Research Method is a scientific way to get valid data with the purpose to be found, proved and developed knowledge so that turn can be used to understand, solve and anticipate problems (Sugiyono, 2009). A branch of science that discusses ways of conducting research (i.e., encompassing activities of searching, recording, formulating, analyzing and preparing its report) based on scientific facts or symptoms (Wirartha, 2006).

In this study the authors use data collection techniques as follows:

a. Library Research

The technique of collecting data by Library Research method that is collecting data collected by library study that is studying, researching, studying, and studying literature in the form of books, journals and papers related to research to obtain materials that will serve as the theoretical basis.

b. Online Research

Data collection techniques derived from the official website that discusses and contains various information needed in the study.

The literature or source of data used is the literature relating to the theme of this thesis, which is like a source that discusses the smoke haze was occurring in Indonesia, disaster diplomacy, as well as relations between Indonesia and Malaysia.

In this study, the authors used a qualitative approach. By using a qualitative approach, it means the data collected is not a number, but the data comes from interviews, field notes, personal documents, notes, memos and other official documents (Moelong, 2004). It is analyzing data without calculation based on figures but on views, opinions, and thoughts on data analysis. In this research, the writer takes the data from some books, website, electronic journals, news and other relevant data that related to the issues.

The research method used by the author in preparing this thesis using a descriptive analytical method that is a research method by processing data, analyzing, researching and interpreting and making conclusions and give suggestions which then arranged the discussion systematically so that problems can be understood.

The type of research conducted in this study is descriptive research, which is a study that seeks to describe the specific and systematic situation, social setting, or a relationship between phenomena

investigated through data collection (Newman, 1997). And descriptive research is a study that gives an idea of a particular individual, state, symptom, or group. In this thesis, the author describes the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia related to the smoke haze happening in Indonesia. As well as describing Indonesia's policy towards Malaysia, regarding the smoke haze disaster.

F. Scope of Research

To limit the focus of the discussion in this study, the authors analyzed the Indonesian policy towards Malaysia regarding haze issues from 2005 to 2015. The author focused on the time limit from 2005 to 2015 because in that year Indonesia and Malaysia often negotiated intensely, although meetings and negotiations are not conducted annually.

G. Writing Systematic

This research consists of 5 chapters which provides analysis in the writing systematic. The chapters contain as follows:

Chapter I

Describe the background of the issues, the theoretical framework that use to analyze the case, the research question that use to ask about the case, the hypothesis, and the method of research.

Chapter II

Describe the dynamics of smoke haze disaster in Indonesia. Countains about the history of haze disaster in Indonesia, the factors that caused the smoke haze disaster, and then the impact of smoke disaster that happen in Indonesia.

Chapter III

Describe the dynamics relations between Indonesia and Malaysia. Contains about the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, and then the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia regarding the smoke haze disaster, and then about the response of Malaysia regarding the smoke haze disaster from Indonesia.

Chapter IV

Describe the Indonesian policy to resolve the smoke haze disaster toward Malaysia. Indonesia and Malaysia undertake inter-state disaster diplomacy efforts to deal with haze. This chapter explains that inter-state diplomacy conducted by Indonesia and Malaysia on smoke disasters is divided into 2 levels, which are disaster diplomacy in ministerial level and disaster diplomacy in summit level.

Chapter V

Contains the summaries or conclusions of the entire chapter that has been discussed.