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ЭКОЛОГИЧЕСКАЯ ПОЛИТИКА ПРЕЗИДЕНТА США ДЖО БАЙДЕНА: ВЛИЯНИЕ НА УСТОЙЧИВОЕ РАЗВИТИЕ ИНДОНЕЗИИ

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В данном исследовании представлена реализация экологической политики США при президенте Джо Байдене, которая применяет политику Вашингтона по нулевым выбросам во все страны. В нем описывается реализация экологической политики президента Байдена и то, как она влияет на отношения Индонезии и США. В этом исследовании делается попытка разработать подход к двустороннему сотрудничеству с помощью описательного анализа и качественного исследования путем проведения литературных исследований с анализом результатов. Это исследование показывает, что экологическая политика США под руководством Байдена повлияет на торгово-экономические стратегии Индонезии и национальную окружающую среду после ее реализации. Джакарта серьезно занимается национальным устойчивым развитием для решения глобальных проблем изменения климата.

Ключевые слова: изменение климата, глобальная экологическая проблема, экологическая политика, двустороннее сотрудничество, устойчивое развитие, Индонезия, США.

THE US PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN'S ENVIRONMENT POLICY: IMPACT ON INDONESIA SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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This study presents the implementation of the US environmental policy under US President Biden, which applies Washington's zero emissions policy to all countries. It analyzes the implementation of President Biden's environmental policy and how it affects relations between Indonesia and the United States. This study attempts to develop an approach to bilateral cooperation through descriptive analysis and qualitative research by conducting a study of scientific literature and subsequent analysis of the results obtained. This study shows that the environmental policy of the United States under the leadership of J. Biden will affect Indonesia's trade and economic strategies and the national environment after its implementation. Jakarta is seriously engaged in national sustainable development to address the global challenges of climate change.

Keywords: climate change, global problem, environment policy, bilateral cooperation, sustainable development, Indonesia, the US.

Introduction

People's daily lives are affected by climate change significantly in developed and developing countries. The happening phenomenon already amongst us such decreasing water quality and quantity, threats to flora and fauna habitat, forest sustainability, deteriorating public health, declining fertility of agricultural land, and a real threat to coastal ecosystem.

Climate change issues were tackled traditionally by the US presidential administration. Thus US President Joe Biden in late January 2021 signed a series of executive orders specifically designed for climate change, including a ban on energy originating from the bowels of the earth. The US government is committed to reducing emissions from the transportation, power generation, and agriculture sectors.

However, according to [15. – P. 1), climate change is one of the most emerging challenges of our time, but the politics of climate policy in the US is difficult to be solved. In June 2017, President Trump's administration decided to withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement, a landmark climate agreement adopted in 2015 by 195 nations [27. – P. 839]. According to Chew [11. – P. 1–2], the US has sought to refashion nations abroad in its image, from past ages of Western imperialism, world wars and decolonization, through to the Cold War and the war on terror, the diverse nations that constitute Southeast Asia have played their part, in shaping the imperatives and dynamics of its foreign policy globally.

President Barack Obama visit to Australia and Indonesia in November 2011 has rechristened its rebalancing policy towards Asia and declared the US is a Pacific power. The US rebalancing commitment then is reaffirmed simultaneously by Hillary Clinton and John Kerry. Southeast Asia region particularly have emerged as the new global geopolitical centre of gravity with a re-shift of politico-diplomatic, military, institutional and economic focus on countries of the region and their intra-regional politics.

In research from Sarfaty [21. – P. 2], the executive order on environmental policy issued by the White House on 28 March 2017 starts a process of rescinding, revising, and reviewing regulatory decisions and authorities of the US Environmental Protection Agency, specifically those that were directed at the oil and gas industries and intended to tackle climate change. The US re-establishing position to tackle the climate crisis at home and abroad has been emphasized by President Joe Biden who decided to remerge the Paris Agreement [25]. Biden vowed to halve US greenhouse gas pollution from 2005 levels by 2030. The measures will put the US on a net zero emission economic paths by 2050 at the latest.

Previously in the global climate agreement, the Paris Agreement, developed countries promised to disburse \$ 100 bln per year starting in 2020 to support poor countries in facing the global climate [4]. However, there is currently a shortfall of around \$ 20 bln. At the 26th COP in Glasgow, British

Prime Minister Boris Johnson, who hosted the meeting, called on leaders to address their failure to deliver on promises to fund \$100 bln annually from 2020 to 2025. OECD confirms that only \$79.6 bln was mobilized in 2019.

The challenge of global climate change has accelerated political and economic instability in a number of countries and throughout the world. It is predicted that in the future there will be more common and more deadly extreme weather events; food and water insecurity; rising sea levels, resulting in climate change and encouraging greater migration will inevitably pose fundamental risks to the most vulnerable communities. Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia is predicted to sink affected by climate change in the next 10 years in 2031.

Research Method

Biden administration is much focused, directly and impact significantly on national development and foreign investment in Indonesia, which is currently also becoming President Jokowi's concern and priority. There will be many business opportunities for US multinationals investing in clean energy and environment, telecommunications, information technology, and health. It needs to be immediately utilized by Indonesia, which is often constrained by limited financial problem in implementing action plans responding climate change.

The purpose of this research is related to the issue of handling global environmental governance and aims to understand what US interests are, Biden's immediate concern overturned previous presidential decrees, Donald Trump, by issuing an executive order, and how it would affect the US foreign relations with Indonesia. Descriptive qualitative research methodology uses and supported by data collection technique in analysing. In research from Bowen [8. – P. 27] revealed the systematic procedure of document analysis technique is designed to review or evaluate both printed and online materials. Books, official governmental websites, policy papers, academic journals, previous researches, and newspaper as secondary data are collected. Book and academic journals provide data for the theoretical framework. While data from the newspaper used as supporting data and enlighten perspective towards Indonesia and US relations. It analysed by using Realism approach and the bilateral cooperation.

Result and Discussion

Global Climate Change Initiative

Natural disasters that occur in several parts of Indonesia indicate the occurrence of environmental damage. This represents the neglect of the environment by stakeholders in development. Domestically, considering that the environment is a human right and a constitutional right, it is necessary to supervise the preparation of development plans or programs, as well as the implementation of government policies to always pay attention to

environmental conservation. Public supervision is also carried out continuously to the government in the preparation of development budgets, regulations, and budget supervision available to be in line with global sustainable development.

The Paris UN Climate Conference represents a historical opportunity to put the world on course to meet the challenge of climate change [29]. The world needs a new model of sustainable growth that is safe, durable and beneficial to all. Campbell in his book 'The Pivot' underlined that the US needs to strengthen existing alliances and build closer relations with various major countries in Asia Pacific [10. – P. 3].

This momentum can be good advantage for Indonesia in optimizing efforts to restore the natural environment, maximize opportunities and accelerate building a new civilization, becoming a developed country living in harmony with the environment. To be the world economies locomotive of the 21st century, the US as the world's first largest democracy and Indonesia should work together. Both are able to share converging interests mutually in upholding an agreed upon set of rules, seek to treat other countries as equals, protect sovereignty, avoid a counterpoise of sanction to those who settle disputes through coercion and threats of force, and strive to promote international multilateral cooperation.

President Joko Widodo called for a number of extraordinary steps for efforts in addressing global impact of climate change. The huge impact of these changes is real. The event is a global summit to accelerate and enhance global efforts to adapt society and economy in anticipating the impact of climate change. This summit conference held online where the Netherlands acts as host and supported by 22 countries. Guterres [16] delivered amid of the global pandemic climate disruption is a present threatening risk of world society be well aware of.

The climate cycle changes occurs make most farmers and fishermen in Indonesia should adapt and heightened awareness of the importance of environment resilience. Rising sea levels phenomenon requires coastal and small island populations to survival of struggle. COVID-19 pandemic hit at least 215 countries in the world which has made these challenges even more complex and tough. The first extraordinary step that must be taken is to ensure all countries meet their national contribution to overcome climate change issues.

Indonesia should be able to strengthen global partnerships and emphasize capacity building cooperation in responding to climate change in Pacific region, as well as being followed by the continued commitment of developed countries in the issue of global climate change. Indonesia invites all countries to sustain green development in order to make a better world. The Climate Adaptation 2021 Summit will have an impact on generating world climate action through solidarity, collaboration and global collective

leadership, as well as overseeing the details of its implementation in each country. Indonesia engages the community to control climate change through the Climate Village program which covers 20 thousand villages by 2024.

President Biden leadership is expected will bring prospective future and good momentum to Asia Pacific, Indonesia and global multilateralism particularly in responding to the global warming and climate change problems. Washington commitment and responsibility to be have closer relations with the regions followed by Biden appointment of cabinet officials is familiar with and has long experience dealing with.

US Biden Environment Policy

For more than 200 years, humans depend on fossil energy causes more pollutants on earth, blocking sunlight from bouncing off earth. The global temperature increase rapidly followed by climate change everywhere. In the end, these changes have an impact on the entire life of living things, including agricultural systems and threats to the availability of food worldwide. Previously, President Trump administration and his political base considers climate change as the ideological issue, thus, climate policy is always under assault [18. – P. 813]. With the dismantling of the US federal climate policies and institutions, questionable climate science and its funding were perceived threatened. Consequently, the President has announced that the US "will withdraw from" the Paris Agreement [32. – P. 1]. While the Atlantic [24] published President Trump has cancelled at least 80 regulations related to environmental preservation. Trump withdrew US membership from 13 kinds of international agreements, treaties and organizations. The US, in turn, boosted the total foreign debt of US\$ 7 trillion, a trade deficit of \$ 600 bln in 2020.

Throughout 2016 to 2020, the world witnessed with concern over the various traits of President Trump, along with the US trade war with China, distrust in the dangers of COVID-19, accompanied by Washington's assumption that the global climate change phenomenon was merely a conspiracy, so the US decided to leave Paris Agreement. The world breathed a sigh of relief again when Biden's campaign promises were implemented from the start of his administration. The US is back in support of the World Health Organization which is currently struggling to face the pandemic. According to journalists [5] noted that the US President assigned John Kerry as a special envoy to attending the Climate Adaptation 2021 Summit Conference.

According to the White House [26. – P. 1], in order to commit with the US environment policy, President Biden on 27 January 2021 signed a series of efforts and policies to tackle climate change. Biden unfold the decision would restore scientific integrity and evidence-based policy making throughout the US government. Biden outlined that some of the executive orders would allow

the US to achieve a carbon-pollution-free power sector by 2035, and put the US on an irreversible path to a carbon-clean economy by 2050, as follows,

“...It is the policy of my Administration to make evidence-based decisions guided by the best available science and data. Scientific and technological information, data, and evidence are central to the development and iterative improvement of sound policies, and to the delivery of equitable programs, across every area of government. Scientific findings should never be distorted or influenced by political considerations...”

During Biden's tenure as Obama Vice President for 2 periods, noticed that the US evidence-based policy making is at the heart of being a reformist government, particularly by restoring trust in government. Hence, what it means in practice, and some implications for those mostly concerned in public policy. Deschênes and Greenstone [12. – P. 354] noted policy decisions will typically be influenced by much more than objective evidence, or rational analysis. The US values, interests, personalities, timing, circumstance and happenstance, in short, democracy determine what actually happens. Evidence and analysis can nevertheless play a useful, even decisive, role in informing Washington policy-makers' judgements. Importantly, those approaches are able condition the political environment in which those judgements need to be made firmly and consistently.

The winds of change brought by President Biden's administration decision in January 2020 to return to the Paris Agreement 2015 have provided positive support for various Indonesian national policies in the transition to environmentally friendly development. The Paris Agreement adopted at COP-21 in 2015 is an international agreement with very broad dimensions that entered into force less than one year after the adoption of the agreement, much faster than expected by many of the parties that adopted the agreement referred to. Thereafter, Indonesia's NDC implementation strategy is intended as a leading guide for synergy steps to achieve the low-emission and climate-resilient development goals as set out in NDC document. Indonesia's First NDC document is an integral part of the NDC Implementation Strategy. Through this NDC implementation strategy, it is expected that the synergy between sectors can be strengthened in order to fulfil national commitments to the international community in line with the goals and ideals of national development.

Biden Commitment on Paris Agreement

The issue of climate change in US foreign policy has undergone a long process revealed by Shinta [22. – P. 84]. Therefore, starting from 1980 the US did securitization during the reign of Ronald Reagan, George H. W Bush, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. In order to understand the US environment policy for more than three decades after the Cold War until present time the US is still a superpower, with China and Russia as challenges in world geopolitics.

However, in term of threats to world climate change, these global major powers are known worldwide as the largest global emitters of CO₂. Throughout the last decade, there are four biggest emitters, namely China, the US, the EU including the UK, and India. Ge and Friedrich [14] noted these four regions contribute nearly 55% of global emissions. Global annual greenhouse gas emissions have grown 41% since 1990, and still climbing.

Strengthening the global response and committed effort is made by state-leaders to anticipate the threat of climate change by keeping a global temperature rise this century well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5°C [28]. Although it has been discussed since the 1972 Stockholm Summit and became a serious topic at the Earth Summit 1992 in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), implementation of climate change that binds developed countries has materialized in 1997 Kyoto Protocol, and entered into the 2015 Paris Agreement. Since Kyoto Protocol, US has actually been in trouble and facing difficult decisions. Domestically, the US Senate was immediately unwilling to ratify it under President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. However, the Paris Agreement ratified by the Obama administration and subsequently cancelled by President Trump. Biden won the presidential election in 2020, the US commitment to climate change continues progressively.

The ratification of Paris Agreement by 189 countries including Indonesia is meaningful and has a global impact. This is due to one goal of reducing the rate of global temperature rise to less than 2°C, if possible to reach 1.5°C by the end of this century. Under Biden leaderships, through his climate and energy policies, will be able to make the US a power economy of 100% clean energy and zero emissions by 2050. Mada [19] noted, Biden's decision and the US commitment to global climate action will clearly have implications and a gradual change in policy for other countries, particularly on the world's four largest emitters of carbon, namely: China, the EU plus the UK, India and the US. While Biden [7. – P. 2] also campaign the Obama-Biden Administration kick-started a new era of American leadership in renewable energy by making significant investments in clean energy technology and promulgating regulations to curb carbon emissions (Table).

White House [25. – P. 3] emphasizes the main climate target is to achieve net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050. Biden's decision gave hope and certainty for sustainability of climate change agenda, and appointed former US Secretary of State, John Kerry, as US President's Special Envoy for Climate Change. Kerry gathers world leaders in a high-level meeting to commemorate Earth Day on April 22, 2021 while commemorating the five years of the Agreement. Various groups concerned with climate change issues responded the US president decision, especially after Trump pulled US out of the Agreement.

Biden's Climate & Energy Policy

Sector(s)	National	International
1. Transportation (28%)	1. A new fuel economy standard to ensure 100% zero emissions for midsize trucks. 2. Work collaboratively with states and cities to deploy more than 500,000 battery charging stations or locations by 2030	
2. Electricity (27%)	1. Invest \$ 400 bln over 10 years in clean energy and innovation. 2. Achieve a carbon pollution-free electricity sector by 2035	
3. Agriculture (10%)	To be the first agricultural sector in the world without emissions	
4. Commercial Housing (12%)	Reduce the carbon footprint of US buildings by 50% by 2035	
5. Industries (12%)	1. Prohibition of new oil and natural gas drilling leases on public land or offshore waters as far as possible. 2. Aggressive limitation of methane pollution for new and existing oil and gas operations	
6. Policy		1. Rejoining Paris Climate Agreement. 2. Organize the World Climate Summit on 22 April 2021 to increase emission reduction targets

* Source: [30].

The current world problem is climate change. However, when talking about the issue of the need for global climate action, the world's main emission source countries, such as the US and China, will always be of international concern. Paris Agreement contains a joint commitment to limit fossil fuel pollution that has led to global climate change. The agreement goes into effect in 2016. The goal is to maintain the rate of global temperature rise below 2°C compared to pre-industrial conditions, or better yet, below 1.5°C at the end of 21st century.

During the last decade, there are four major emitting countries in the world, namely: China, the US, the EU plus the UK, and India which contribute to 55% of global emissions. In the last two years from 2018 to the end 2020,

China's emissions have even shown an increasing pattern that has also occurred in India. Not only in total, however, in terms of per capita emissions, has China shown an increase in recent years.

In total emissions, the US is second only to China. As for per capita emissions, the US is in the first position. China today produces more carbon, but the US has long been burning coal, oil and gas to the point of polluting. With a population of 4% of the world's population, the US is responsible for nearly 1/3 of the carbon dioxide released into atmosphere. This certainly has consequences for Washington as a moral responsibility of the US to stay with the Paris Agreement. The US presence in global climate action certainly will have big impact worldwide. In all likelihood, the return of the US to Paris Agreement is expected to bring winds of change whose effects can hit the World Bank, the IMF and other financial entities in encouraging the transition of world development towards global environmental sustainability.

The implication is the potential disbursement of the US funds to include sustainable economic programs in Indonesia. The Green Climate Fund in 2019 under President Obama administration is a US policy to commit to providing the GCF, a global platform for funding climate change mitigation and adaptation actions, of \$ 3 mln. Brown et al. [9. – P. 713] noted that unrolled global sustainability, in which, sustainability is increasingly viewed as a desired goal of development and environmental management.

Indonesia Environment Policy

Indonesia's growth and prosperity as a lower-middle-income country hinges on the ability of policymakers to develop effective public policies based on evidence [13. – P. 503]. Indonesia is blessed with abundant natural resources, including the second largest track of tropical forests on the planet after Brazil and contains one of the Earth's greatest assemblages of biological diversity [6. – P. 4]. Indonesia's economy has been developing quite steadily for a number of years [1–3]. Progressively, Indonesia policy and regulatory environment has not supported yet the production of high-quality evidence and its use in its policy-making. This research is attempted to develop policy-makers, stakeholders, and public understanding on the importance of managing conservation areas or environmental issues. The problem of global climate change should be solved collaboratively. A major event for the future of the earth took place in 2015 in Paris, France. This event has ratified the Framework Convention initiated by the UN to overcome global climate change [29]. This conference has been held since 1995 and in 2015 was attended by 196 representatives from the Parties. It resulted in the Paris Agreement, one of which was to meet the emission reduction targets of the Parties to the UNFCCC, in order to prevent an increase in world climate temperatures.

Indonesia's global commitment to climate change issues by the national leaders declared in 2004. It reflects Indonesia's consistent policy and effort to

reduce carbon emissions and how Indonesia will be focused and anticipate continuously on any global climate change [33]. Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs [17] emphasizes the UN Climate Change Control Conference 21 held in Paris, 30 November to 11 December 2015 as a sustainable development milestone to agree on a 2015 Agreement that is legally binding, and takes effect after 2020. The culmination of a decade of negotiation efforts lastly for global regulation in reduce emissions and control climate change. Indonesia as the world's largest archipelago country is vulnerable to climate change, considering: the number of inhabitants in the coastal area, large coastlines and coastal areas, consisting of small islands, has extensive areas and marine and forest ecosystems, and the occurrence of a disaster related to climate change.

The results of COP 21 UNFCCC agree on the Paris Agreement in a collective agreement that is binding, fair, balanced and applies to all parties. Meanwhile, the aim of the agreement is to limit global temperature rise to below 2°C from pre-industrial levels and to make efforts to limit it to below 1.5°C. Sinaga [23. – P. 163] added, as the largest archipelagic state and the world's third largest emitter of greenhouse gases, Indonesia is very vulnerable to climate change impacts.

Therefore, Indonesia should have strategic interests related to the Paris Agreement. It includes a reflection for balance, justice, and does not hinder the development of developing countries; all countries, particularly developed countries, which are expected to contribute more to mitigation and adaptation actions, through mobilizing funding and other support; respecting rights and ensuring the role of the local communities; covers the importance of forest and marine conservation; encouraging accelerated implementation of actions for the period before-2020; still there are differences in mitigation efforts between developed countries which should be bigger than developing countries due to different historical responsibilities; provide support for adaptation efforts related to Indonesia's situation which is quite vulnerable to the impacts of climate change; reflects the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities; includes incentives from developed countries for Reducing Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation and sustainable forest management activities; ensure the provision of predictable and sustainable pre and post 2020 funding with increases over time compared to current commitments, of \$ 100 bln through 2020.

In research from Mendelevitch, et al., [20. – P. 1310] noted that the administration of Trump has promised to stop the ongoing spiralling down of the US coal industry. The USA Today [31] published most countries emitting the most CO₂ are among the top emitters on a per capita basis, is one of them is the US and included Indonesia. The US was the world's largest national CO₂ emitter until 2006. It was also periods when China surpassed US emissions of 6,019 mln metric tons of CO₂. And, while US emissions have declined since, China's emissions have steadily increased. Consequently, Biden set some

agendas and promises dealing with global climate change and various other environmental issues. His formation of various environmental protections and changes in immigration policy has shown commitment to developing clean energy and campaigning for environmentally friendly products.

Conclusion

Post 2014, for the US policy-makers, Washington is keen to engage countries of the Southeast Asian region. Washington's bilateral ties have boosted with Indonesia particularly on a number of policy initiatives including in responding to climate change and global warming current issue. This research affirms the idea that climate change crisis endanger national development progress, public health, and economy in any countries. It needs sustainable effort and support to handle the threat of global climate change in developed and developing countries in the Asia Pacific, and in Indonesia particularly. It takes strong leadership and strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation among stakeholders who are concerned with the sustainability of the earth for future generations. However, through new five-year collaborative strategy, the US will always look forward to further collaboration with Indonesia on addressing climate change and advancing Indonesia's sustainable development. Sooner or later, concerning environmental and climate justice problematic issue always become a core tenet for Indonesia and the US leaders.

Biden's commitment to go even further in pursuing target 40% of investment in a clean energy revolution to disadvantaged communities by targeting investments made through programs related to clean energy and energy efficiency deployment; clean transit and transportation; affordable and sustainable housing; training and workforce development; remediation and reduction of legacy pollution; and development of critical clean water infrastructure. His continuous commitment to global efforts to tackle climate change needs to be proven and consistent, after four years of environmental policy setbacks under his predecessor Donald Trump.

All countries and related stakeholders also should prioritized collaborative cooperation in dealing with climate change crisis be taken seriously with commitment and committed to work together to strengthen the implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement.

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