

SPEECH BY
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Howard Davies [in the Chair]: Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen and for those who are not part of the LSE community, welcome to the London School of Economics and of course a particularly warm welcome to the President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. He is here in London of course primarily to speak at the London School of Economics [laughter], but, I believe that he is also attending another meeting [laughter] a little bit later in the week.

We are honored sir that you should have chosen to speak here while you are here in London. We are very interested to hear your perspective on the world which is of course in a rather difficult condition. The president is the 6th president of Indonesia, but in fact the first who was directly elected by popular vote. I believe that from my extensive researches, that one of the reasons for his election is that he is very musical and often sang a song, "*pelangi di matamu*", during his presidential campaign and I am sure if a number of you request it I am sure he will sing it for us this afternoon.

There is only one bad mark that I can find on the president's C.V. which is that he was educated partly in the United States, but that was only his master's degree and he has in fact a PhD in agricultural economics, so we count you as a kind of "economist", which adds to the warmth of our welcome here and we very much look forward to what you have to say. [applause]

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono: Your Excellency Sir Howard Davies, Director of the LSE, Excellencies, Ministers, Members of Parliament, Ambassadors, Distinguished Members of the Faculty, Students of this Great Institution of Learning, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure and honour for me to be here. I thank the London School of Economics and Political Science for inviting me here today to talk about Indonesia and our worldview.

The reputation of LSE, widely known as one of the world's best Universities, is well known in Indonesia. I am delighted that many Indonesians have studied here, and some have even come to work for me. (*Joke: You may take it as a good sign that LSE graduates do get jobs once they leave campus.*) My Minister for Defence obtained his Doctorate Degree here, and so did my spokesperson, Dr. Dino Patti Djalal – both under the supervision of the late Dr. Michael Leifer, one of the best experts on Southeast Asian Affairs ever produced by Great Britain.



I also wish to commend the LSE which through IDEAS Centre for International Affairs, Diplomacy and Grand Strategy has just set up the Southeast Asia International Affairs Programme headed by Dr. Munir Majid.

I am glad to see here today so many young faces glowing with optimism. So let me begin by telling you a story about optimism. This is a true story reported in the mass media. During one of the sessions at the latest World Economic Forum in Davos, the panelists noted that all the talk about the global economy was consistently pessimistic. All gloom and doom. And no silver lining.

Then one asked the question: "Isn't there one optimist in this room at all?"

And another answered: "Yes, if we can find an Indonesian. Is there an Indonesian with us here?"

I like this anecdote because, frankly, optimism is what has made Indonesia what we are today. The story of Indonesia has not always been an easy one, but it is a remarkable one. An epic story of survival against the odds.

Just a few years ago, Indonesia made headlines around the world - including here in the BBC, the Daily Telegraph, The Guardian – for all the troubles that beset us: economic crisis, East Timor, Aceh, ethnic conflicts, terrorism, political crises. Back then, it seemed nothing could go right with Indonesia.

Some circles predicted that, after East Timor broke away from us, Indonesia would fall into "Balkanisation". It would shatter into bits and pieces. Others thought that Indonesia would crumble under the weight of a disorderly democratic transition.

And why not? Between 1998 and 2004, we had four Presidents – Soeharto, Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Soekarnoputri - an average of one President every 1.5 year. Thomas Friedman called Indonesia a "messy state, too large to fail, too messy to work". But former US Secretary of State Colin Powell was perceptive enough to cite Indonesia as "the most misunderstood country in the world" and I think he was right.

But that picture of disorder and uncertainty no longer represents us today. After all our trials and tribulations, Indonesia today has become a remarkably resilient country.

In a world wrecked by a devastating financial tsunami, Indonesia last year registered 6 % growth – among the three highest in Asia. This year we expect a slower but still respectable 4.5 % growth.

In a world that is still festering with ethnic conflicts, Indonesia has become more united by resolving the conflicts in Aceh, and promoting political and social reforms in Papua.

Today, Indonesia is the third largest democracy in the world – after India and the United States. We are Southeast Asia's largest, and arguably strongest democracy.

And not just a democracy by name – we are a vibrant democracy, with a free press, a multi-party system and regular elections. We are a functioning democracy that has maintained our brand of moderation and tolerance.

And we have been able to achieve that rare thing among countries undergoing transition: that is, to marry democracy with stability. When my current term ends in October this year, *insya allah*, my Government will be the first since *reformasi* began to complete a full 5-year term. Perhaps this is why The Economist stated that "Indonesia sets an example" in our democratic development.

Indeed, Indonesia in recent years has undergone a "quiet revolution": by the end of this year, every governor, regent, mayor, local Parliament throughout Indonesia will have been directly elected by the people. This has not only dramatically changed the political landscape, it has also turned the political pyramid upside down. And all this is happening in an orderly manner, without chaos and bloodshed.

This month, we will hold Parliamentary elections, and Presidential elections in July. What is pertinent with this year's elections is *not* who will win, but what it means historically for us: after 3 elections – in 1999, 2004, and 2009 – Indonesia's democracy has achieved a point of no return. Indonesians not only accept democracy as a fact of life, but also embrace it passionately and are willing to defend it when it is under threat.

Indeed, Indonesia is now widely regarded as a living proof that democracy, Islam and modernity can go hand-in-hand harmoniously.

Our reputation for tolerance and harmony is not something that happened just now. We have been working hard at it since time immemorial, in the process developing and nurturing a tradition of consultation toward consensus, [in] Indonesian language called *Musyawaharah untuk Mufakat*. The majority does not impose its will on the minority. There is a thorough process of consultation before consensus is reached, a process in which all views are expressed and all interests are taken into account—including those of minorities. That is how we achieve harmony in an immensely pluralistic society.

And because throughout our history, the cultures of three Oriental, Islamic and Western civilizations have found a home in Indonesia, we have been given a new role. We have come to be regarded as the natural bridge between the Western world on one hand and the Islamic and Oriental worlds on the other. And "bridges" – strategic bridges, generational bridges, technological bridges, cultural bridges, economic bridges, religious bridges - are what the 21st century world order will need plenty of.

This is why Indonesia has been organizing and sponsoring inter-faith, inter-cultural and inter-media dialogues, not only among our national communities but also among nations in the Asia-Pacific region. We have also been co-sponsoring similar dialogues on an inter-regional and global basis.

In fact, I have vigorously pursued what I call an “all directions foreign policy”, a post-Cold War 21st century foreign policy outlook where Indonesia seeks a million friends and zero enemies.

That is because we know that our international engagement is the key to our success, to our security, and to our prosperity. Our economy cannot survive while the global economy collapses. We cannot have a destiny that is separate from that of our immediate neighborhood, Southeast Asia, and our region, East Asia.

Indeed, it is not only Indonesia that is rapidly changing. Southeast Asia is also a very different place today. It has experienced fundamental geopolitical and geo-economic shifts. It is no longer the war-torn region of yesteryear.

Once divided by Cold War politics, Southeast Asia has become the ASEAN region. With the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement already in force, we have become the ASEAN Economic Community. The ten economies of ASEAN have become a single market for goods and services and a single production base.

Several decades ago, Southeast Asia was a cockpit for Cold War strategic rivalry and inter-state as well as internal wars. Today, no external major powers is involved against another in a proxy war in our region, and no ASEAN member is at war against another. While internal conflicts still exist in some parts, these are so low in intensity that do not affect the overall stability of the region.

And today, many external powers have signed on to the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation – contributing to our region’s strategic stability: Australia, China, Japan, India, Russia, South Korea and so on. With this Treaty, signatories and acceding states renounce the use of force and bind themselves to the peaceful settlement of disputes. We hope that the United States will accede to the Treaty soon, and there are signs that it just might happen.

A key part of the region’s transformation is ASEAN’s effort to become an ASEAN Community by 2015. The envisioned ASEAN Community would rest on three pillars: the ASEAN Politico-security Community, the ASEAN Economic Community and the ASEAN Socio-cultural Community.

To boost the effort to build these three pillars and ultimately the ASEAN Community itself, the member states formulated and adopted an ASEAN Charter, designed to retool and adapt ASEAN for 21st century challenges. Last December, the Charter, which gives ASEAN a legal personality and greatly strengthens it, entered into force.

Indonesia worked hard to ensure that, through the Charter, ASEAN gets its politics right. And to ensure that its members are committed to democracy and democratisation, and to the promotion and protection of human rights. In our time, we in ASEAN can no longer afford to be allergic to democracy and human rights.

Thus, Indonesia pushed for a provision stipulating the creation of a Regional Human Rights body. Hence, by virtue of the Charter, all ASEAN members are committed to the values of democracy and human rights—including Myanmar.

Now Myanmar is legally bound by the Charter to make substantive progress in the implementation of its own Roadmap to Democracy, and to attain national reconciliation. It is legally bound by the Charter to make sure that the elections it will hold next year are free and democratic.

I notice that in the West, discussions on Myanmar tend to focus on the “democracy” aspect. This is of course important. But there is another aspect which do not get enough attention: Myanmar’s struggle to maintain its national unity and territorial integrity. We simply cannot allow Myanmar to break apart, because that will lead to a bloodbath and a humanitarian disaster that would undermine regional order and stability.

In my engagement with Myanmar’s leaders, I have always stressed in no uncertain terms Indonesia’s full support for Myanmar’s national unity. And I do believe that Indonesia’s historical experience, having gone through difficult periods of transition from authoritarian Government to democracy as well as ethnic conflicts, is relevant to the solution of the problem of Myanmar.

We must therefore help ensure that at the end of the day Myanmar will emerge as a democratic and united country.

I also believe that any attempt to isolate Myanmar will be counter-productive. Myanmar is entering a critical phase in the run-up to elections next year, the final stages of its own seven-step Roadmap to democracy. The challenge here is for Myanmar to show that there is a credible and inclusive process of democratic transition at work. This is therefore the time for greater – not less – engagement, especially by Myanmar’s neighbors. I know this is also what the UN Secretary-General and his Personal Representative Professor Ibrahim Gambari are trying to do.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

While ASEAN looks after its own members, like Myanmar, it is also an outward-looking regional organization. Thus, ASEAN leads the shaping of a new architecture of the East Asia region. This can be seen from the processes of ASEAN Plus Three, which groups ASEAN with China, Japan and South Korea, and the East

Asia Summit, which groups the ASEAN Plus Three countries with India, Australia and New Zealand.

In 1997, ASEAN Plus Three (APT) was established to address the Asian financial crisis. The ASEAN Plus Three Process gained such momentum that in 2004, ASEAN launched the idea of an East Asia Summit. To some, the East Asia Summit should comprise the ASEAN Plus Three countries. But Indonesia pushed for a more inclusive idea of East Asia, one that embraced India, Australia and New Zealand.

Thus, ASEAN redefined the notion of East Asia so that it is no longer just a geographical, racial or cultural entity—but an entity formed over many years of habitual and intensive consultation and cooperation between ASEAN and its dialogue partners.

Like Indonesia itself with its immense diversity of ethnic cultures, East Asia is made of countries that are widely varied, but are bound together and made one by a commonality of purpose and values.

With this concept of a more inclusive East Asia, ASEAN remains at the centre not only geographically but also in terms of occupying the driver's seat in this important process.

This is important because East Asia will continue to experience, in the short medium and long-terms, changing dynamics of power relationships. While power relationships remain fluid, it is important that a new equilibrium be reached, one that would provide mutual accommodation between the major powers, but in the form of a win-win relationship that would not be at the expense of medium and smaller powers.

And thus one day when East Asia is better crafted and more firmly institutionalized, the United States, Russia and the European Union could join the East Asia process as observers.

This is not to say that East Asia will become the Oriental clone of the European Union. Historically, culturally and even economically, the EU nations are so much more similar to one another than us in East Asia. At present we in East Asia are too diverse to place ourselves under a supra-government or to form a super bureaucracy. But we can integrate in real, dynamic and effective ways.

For instance, ASEAN has completed—or is nearly completing—a process of negotiating free trade area agreements with six dialogue partners, which can lead to the establishment of an East Asia free trade area by 2012 or 2015 at the latest. Here, we are talking about a group involving an aggregate population of 3.6 billion, and of combined powerhouses in Asia.

In a way, this will repeat the process within ASEAN soon after its founding in Bangkok, which makes use of economic cooperation as the driving force of its

integration. Thus the new East Asia will be consolidated first through a process of economic integration before it goes all-out for political cooperation.

Nevertheless, we have made an early effort at political cooperation. Last December, Indonesia organized the Bali Democracy Forum, the first inter-governmental forum in Asia about democracy. At non-governmental levels, the region has had countless discussions on democracy. But this was the first time that a home-grown, Asia-wide dialogue among government officials took place about democracy.

Indonesia will sustain and support the Forum through an Institute of Peace and Democracy. Friends in the international community have indicated that they will help us in this effort.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I have presented to you Indonesia's vision of the regional architecture of East Asia. It is a regional architecture that will strive for balance—balance among the component powers of that architecture and balance between economic development and political development.

I realize well enough, however, that it is not enough to have a regional vision. We must also have a global vision, most especially at a time when the whole world, without exception, is reeling from the impact of a global economic and financial crisis.

That is why Indonesia is deeply involved in the work of the G-20, which is humankind's best hope for the solution—or the beginning of a solution—to the crisis that has engulfed us all. And that is why I am here in London today—to attend the G-20 Summit after visiting this nice institution. [Laughter]

The G-20 was created in 1999 after the 1998 Asian Financial Crisis as a forum of finance ministers and central bank governors. Given the severity of the global financial crisis that broke out in the second half of last year, the G20 has been elevated to the Leaders level with the first summit in Washington last November. Today, we are having our second meeting in London and we hope there will be a meeting later in the year in Asia.

The G20 Summit has become de facto the world economy steering committee because it represents the major economies in the world, accounting for 80 percent of GDP and 90 percent of world trade. Developed and developing countries, and geographical regions are represented in this forum.

In facing this very serious challenge of overcoming the worst global recession in 60 years, the G20 Summit is crucial to the building of global confidence and global togetherness to get us out of this complex financial collapse, which has had a devastating impact on the world economy.

Much has been done and achieved since the last meeting. We have all undertaken countercyclical measures and the Ministers of Finance, Central Bank

Governors and their officials have worked on an agenda of reform of the financial architecture and international financial institutions.

However, more needs to be done. Let me share with you a few points that I will bring up at the G20 Summit.

First, we urge the US and other developed countries to give priority to the cleaning up of the toxic assets in the financial system. Otherwise it would be difficult to get financial flows going.

Second, since the Washington G20 Summit, Indonesia has sent a very strong message that in resolving this crisis we must not forget the developing and emerging countries that have limited resources to prevent the drying up of liquidity, investment and capital on their economies.

These developing and emerging countries, have worked hard at building up their economies, institutions and governance structures. They have undertaken difficult reforms – and achieved remarkable progress toward development goals such as poverty reduction. They must not be punished. They must not be left to suffer unmanageable increases in poverty.

There must be a global expenditure fund to serve as buffer and to provide these countries with needed financing so that their budgets can sustain development goals. There has been progress on this idea and we hope that there will be an announcement regarding the availability of this fund at this meeting.

Third, there must be financial architecture reforms and disciplines that will prevent another financial bubble from creating such unprecedented havoc, not only in the countries where the bubble originated --- but also in the rest of the world.

Fourth, the multilateral agencies—the IMF, the World Bank and others-- must rise to the challenge of this unprecedented world economic crisis. This means greater resources, flexibility in utilizing these resources and the reform and improvement of the governance of these institutions. This will entail a better system of representation at these institutions to reflect the changing geoeconomics of the world.

Finally, I also believe that the world economy will not recover without the recovery of the real economy. Therefore, we must ensure that there will be no increased restrictions that will hamper the flows of trade, investment, capital and even people. The surest way to prevent protectionism is to ensure that the major economies, (especially the US and India) return to the WTO Doha Round negotiations as soon as possible.

The process of recovery, the rebuilding of the financial architecture and the reform of multilateral institutions will take time. Over time it is likely that the G20

Summit will evolve into a regular summit and will be very focused on steering the world economy toward changes that will get us back to global stability.

Indonesia will therefore continue to be deeply involved in the processes of the G20 to ensure that the interests of developing nations, especially Asian countries, are taken into account. At the same time I can also assure you that in the face of this crisis, for Indonesia protectionism is not our choice. That is a firm political commitment.

One other message that I will try to put across is this:

Man does not live by bread alone. He must also have his freedom and his ethics. By the same token, nations do not survive by the operation of the market alone. They must also get their governance and their politics right.

That is the lesson that the United States learned in the months leading to its latest presidential elections. That is the bitter lesson that Indonesia learned in the midst of the Asian Crisis eleven years ago. That is the insight behind the ASEAN Charter.

And that is the insight that will save us all from this global financial and economic crisis, if we accept it and act accordingly.

To conclude, no less than the future of humankind is at stake in the work that we in the G20 are about to do here in London. Indonesia will do its part in this great undertaking aimed at overcoming the crisis. I hope that our partners in the G20, the developed economies as well as the emerging economies, will also do theirs.

Thank you. [Applause]

Howard Davies: Well thank you, President for that very clear, and comprehensive view of the role of Indonesia and particularly of ASEAN. I just hesitated on one point, when you said that the ASEAN countries were less similar than the European Union. I hope you weren't meaning to imply that we and the French are the same. [laughter] Apart from that, we have a few minutes for questions.

Q&A Session

[Dr Munir Majid, LSE IDEAS] Thank you Director. Papa President, in the second half of your speech, you had cleared the air about why you are in London and so thank you very much, we were being rather misled by the Director thinking you were here for [laughter]]...and you laid out the six things that you will be emphasising

at the G20 Summit. Could we get an idea of what you think you might get out of it, not all that you want, but what would you be happy to get out of it?

Yes, this morning I met Prime Minister Gordon Brown and we discussed a lot of things, how to make this gathering a success. I think that at least we have to convince the people all over the world that we have done enough in restoring confidence, in stabilising the financial market, in keeping the real economy moving again. And so we are all committed to the reforms of the global economic architecture. I also follow a statement made by my colleague G20 leaders, President Obama, President Sarkozy, Chancellor Merkel, and also, of course, Prime Minister Gordon Brown, and it seems to me that in this charter we have to show the world that we are all united. We are able to read the consensus here in London, we are debating for weeks about which one is the best, we have to choose, for example, stimulus and regulation or we are talking about stimulus, a tax cut or increase spending. But I am in line with President Obama that don't think either/or, but we have to think both and and. For example, we need both correct regulations and also correct stimulus to be adopted in every nation to recover, to conduct a countercyclical effort in their economy. So actually, my point is that we have to identify our priority, first thing first, and the most important one is to ensure the restorations of global confidence, that people trust the government, that multilateral crisis and regional crisis and work well in mobilising an effort, in mobilising the resources to offer counter crisis. The main concern is, of course, credit, the main concern is also the flow again of finances that are needed to define the countercyclical effort, so the bottom line is, the unity of all members of the G20 are the key. Number two, we have to be able to read the global coordinated accents, that is effective, that is doable, and bringing again this confidence to the people all over the world. Well, we have to wait until tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, but I'm optimistic that we could reach things that are needed by all of us.

My name is Muhammed Tomalta (?), I'm a journalist. There have been political sources and speculations that say that President Obama wanted to give his first speech to the Arab world outside the United States, from the country where is the largest number of the Muslims in the world, Indonesia. So I just want to ask you, as the President of the biggest number of the Muslims in the world, what are your estimations and what are you expecting from the United States in the way of, in the context of changing the foreign policy, vis à vis, the Muslim world and Indonesia, particularly.

Yes, I had two phone conversations with President Obama and I received the visit of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton when she visited Indonesia last month. We discussed a lot, including how the US now trying to use a new approach throughout the world, toward Islamic world. It seems to me that the US learnt a lot from what she has done in the pasts, and we welcome this kind of approach. I was asked by Madam Hillary Clinton, for example, my views on how should we deal with Myanmar, with Iran, with countries in the Middle East. And we came into

conclusions that engagement, communication, is much better than without communication at all, because when the US start engaging other countries, they may find new option, new way, in solving the problems. So I'm coming to the conclusions that President Obama and his administrations try to engage Islamic world from different approach and we welcome that kind of approach. Of course, everything will take time, even brilliant ideas, there must be a time to help a adjustment and anything that can make good ideas well implemented. So the conclusion is, I could see the wind of change inside the US administration in dealing with Islamic world and we welcome, Indonesia welcomes this kind of approach using soft power more than hard power.

Mr President, you were talking about Burma and I think Indonesia has a very strong regional role there, but however, since 1988 when the election took place, and I think it's been more than 20 years, I would like to know how do you define Burma's leader, being communicating. Because to me, democracy is coming with election and Aung San Suu Kyi has been in the prison, so I think if next year that hard thing's coming. Do you have any alternative strategy, as Indonesia is one of the key players in ASEAN?

I just received a visit of the Prime Minister of Myanmar, I think... two weeks ago, and during my meeting, I gave a clear statement that ASEAN, including Indonesia, even the world, are waiting for the real implementations of the Myanmar road map of democracy. Next year, Myanmar will conduct elections and I am saying again and again, that the election must be credible. It means it should bring everybody on board including also (inaudible) and other political elements in Myanmar. The election must be transparent, the election must be credible and, of course, must be also receiving national monitoring team. I think, I don't know whether what we are hoping can be well implemented in Myanmar, but it seems to me that Myanmar knows better now that the world is now waiting for the promise that has been given by Myanmar itself. So in my estimate, to a certain degree, Myanmar will listen to the world opinion, to go ahead with her roads to democracy but, of course, ASEAN, as family, the United Nations and other, I should say, elements in our global community, must push Myanmar to go ahead and to fulfill their obligation to continue the democratic system and to promote human rights more. That's my estimate that...don't forget, as I have said in my presentation, that we are only talking about democracy, but in the mind of the leaders of Myanmar, they are worried about their national unity, their national integration and others. So we have to help Myanmar to go ahead with the democratic system, but at the same time, we have to ensure that they are conducting democratic system while maintaining their national unity and national integrity. That's my point.

Your Excellency, it was very heart-warming to hear about all the success about Indonesia, its economic, political, democratic success.

Thank you.

I want to thank you from all the students here at LSE for coming to speak to us all here. My question is, the relationship of Indonesia with Pakistan, seeing the political, democratic breakdown we're seeing right now in Pakistan and seeing that there is no clear political leadership presently there in the country and all the chaotic things we are seeing these days. Can we expect any relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan, seeing that Pakistan is going through exactly the same trials and tribulations which Indonesia when through, when you were going through your presentation. So what kind of relationships can we expect or can we hope to see in the future between Indonesia and Pakistan?

I would like to say that the relation between Pakistan and Indonesia are good. I met personally with the previous leader of Pakistan, President Musharraf, and I also met the current Prime Minister in one occasion in Kuala Lumpur. I understand that Pakistan is facing difficult situation domestically, but as a friend, as a partner, I am hoping that finally Pakistan can sort the problems peacefully, properly and wisely. This the hope of a friend of Pakistan and of course, as a friend, as a partner, we are more than willing to share ideas on how to tackle internal security problems because Indonesia has experience in the past, facing similar difficulties in maintaining our national unity, the harmony among (inaudible) while dealing with the internal problems, security problems and others. So the key is, the unity among leaders (inaudible) in one country like Indonesia, have, in the past, before adopting a correct strategy and policy in solving various problems domestically. So this is my hope as a friend and I believe a lot that some day the problem will be solved by the unity and the wisdom of all leaders in Pakistan.

Thank you Mr President for the far-reaching talk. I'm Nabil Lyatt (?) from the University of Westminster. As the largest Muslim country, Indonesia, what is the position of Indonesia towards the recognition of the only Muslim country in Europe, Kosovo?

In this connection, I have talked to the Secretary General of the UN, Mr Ban Ki-Moon, I did talk also to former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari when he came to me to ask my view about the status of Kosovo. Two things sir, one, Indonesia support the sovereignty of a nation, peace and international law, that's my first basis in looking at the problem in Kosovo. Second thing, we realise that the process of nation building and state building after the collapse of Yugoslavia is not over yet and this connections, Indonesia is open, it's flexible to see whether it's the choice of the people of Kosovo to be an independent nation. So right now, we are thinking that it is quite possible for Indonesia to accept, to recognise, the independent status of Kosovo after we examine carefully that there is a different

situation in Myanmar after the process of (inaudible) to help an independent state of Kosovo. So this these are two thesis, and I did say to the Secretary General of the United Nations on those perspective and we are still following the development of the situation in Kosovo now and as I tell you that it's quite possible to some day Indonesia recognise the independence of Kosovo.

Thank you, Mr President, for a very interesting and wide-ranging speech. There was one element, perhaps, of the crises that are facing the planet at the moment that you didn't touch on, and that is the question of climate change. And I was just wondering if you could give us your thoughts on perhaps Indonesia's current levels of emissions, certainly in the context of your agricultural ministry and the opening up of peat lands and rainforests that has been happening even as recently as February. And whether or not you have plans to induce a moratorium, whether or not you thought such a concept would be useful and workable in your country.

Yes, Indonesia is fully committed to the reductions of carbon dioxide globally, regionally and nationally. We successfully hosted the UN conference on climate change in Bali that produce a Bali route map that is to be followed by the next Copenhagen conference to try a new protocol after the Kyoto Protocol. Domestically, we are doing several things to overcome the climate issues, I'll give you one example. Realising that forest fires are the source of the scaling up of the carbon dioxide, in the last three years we have done a lot to prevent that thing to happen and it was working well, up to the present time, we are able to reduce the emissions of our Co2 from the forest. The second thing, we are working together with other nations, with the UK, with Australia, with South Korea, forest management. It means that we are very serious and controlling our forest not to be illegally exploited and, of course, we need time to complete our overall managements of other forests. Other things, I believe very strongly that since we agree to apply the principle are common but the friendship, the responsibilities and respective capabilities, it means developing countries like Indonesia are more than willing to do more in halving the global warming. The problem is different with other developed nations, sometimes we have limitation in our resources, in our finance, that drive a fair and comprehensive partnership between the developing nation are the key, which on the say, transfer of technology, the adaptations, the mitigation and also the financing. So my main conclusion is that Indonesia is continuously doing what we have to do in saving our own country, being part of the global community to cut the global warming. And I would say that the partnership is the key to succeed with our overall effort.

END OF Q&A SESSION