



# STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Selected Speeches of  
**DR. FADLI ZON**





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Selected Speeches of  
**DR. FADLI ZON**

SECRETARIAT GENERAL AND EXPERTISE AGENCY  
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA  
2019



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**DR. FADLI ZON**

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Secretariat General and Expertise Agency  
The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto, Senayan  
Jakarta 10270, Indonesia

Phone +6221 571 5349, 571 5373

Fax +6221 571 5925

Author : Dr. Fadli Zon  
Compiler : Muhammad Tri Andika, S.Sos., M.A.  
Tarli Nugroho, S.TP.  
The Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation  
(Badan Kerjasama Antar Parlemen – BKSAP)  
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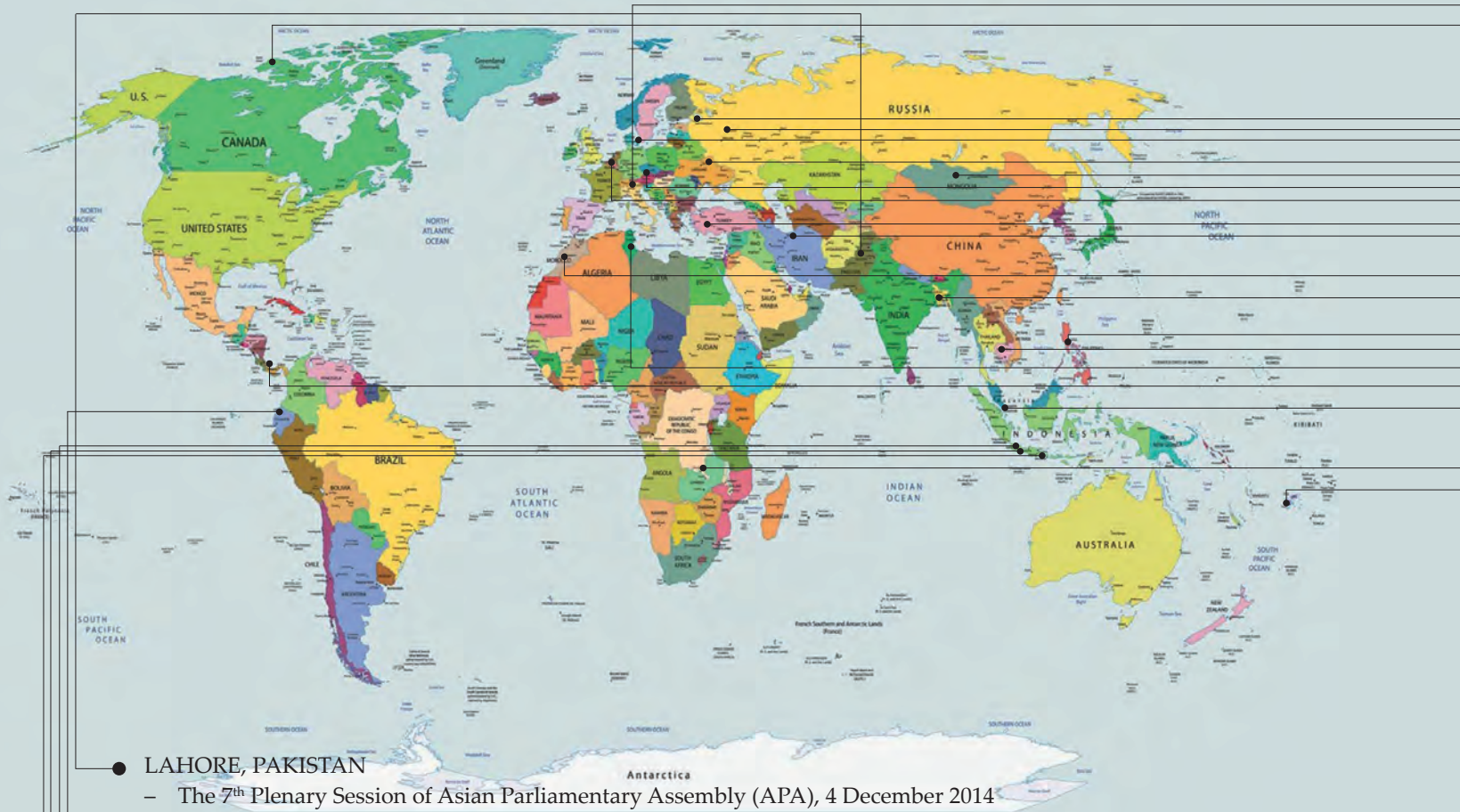
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STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY





- **LAHORE, PAKISTAN**
  - The 7<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), 4 December 2014
- **QUITO, ECUADOR**
  - The 23<sup>rd</sup> Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF), 12 January 2015
- **JAKARTA, INDONESIA**
  - New Asian African Strategic Partnership (NAASP): The Way Forward, 23 April 2015
  - The Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), Standing Committee on Economic and Sustainable Development, 19 August 2015
  - On the Occasion of AIPA Member Dialogue with Members of Parliament of Japan, 24 November 2015
  - The 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA) CAUCUS Meeting, 17–20 July 2017
  - ASEAN – ASEANSAI – AIPA JOINT SEMINAR “Laying the Foundation for Future Cooperation in Promoting Accountability and Transparency in Southeast Asia”, 26 February 2019
  - Parliamentary Delegation as Legislative Election Observation Mission in Indonesia, 16 April 2019
- **YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA**
  - The 6<sup>th</sup> Global Conference of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC), 5 October 2015
- **BALI, INDONESIA**
  - The President of GOPAC at the World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development, 7 September 2017
  - The 2<sup>nd</sup> World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development, 12 September 2018
  - Open Parliament: What It Means for the Indonesian House of Representatives and the People, 5 April 2019



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

- GENEVA, SWITZERLAND
  - The General Debate 133<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), 20 October 2015
  - The 135<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), 25 October 2016
  - The 139<sup>th</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Assembly and Related Meetings, 15 October 2018
- VANCOUVER, CANADA
  - The 24<sup>rd</sup> Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF), 19 January 2016
- LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
  - The 134<sup>th</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 21 March 2016
- ULAANBAATAR, MONGOLIA
  - Keynote Speech 9<sup>th</sup> Asia Europe Parliamentary Meeting (ASEP), 22 April 2016
  - The Annual Democracy Forum, 25 August 2016
- TUNIS, TUNISIA
  - The MENA-OECD Ministerial Conference, 4 October 2016
- PANAMA
  - The 17<sup>th</sup> International Anti Corruption Conference (IACC), 3 December 2016
- NATADOLA, FIJI
  - The 25<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF), January 2017
- SIEM RIEP, CAMBODIA
  - The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) Young Political Leaders CAUCUS Meeting 2017 for SDGs, 3 February 2017
  - The 27<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum, 11-14 January 2019
- DHAKA, BANGLADESH
  - The 136<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), 1-5 April 2017
- KIEV, UKRAINE
  - The 2<sup>nd</sup> Global Legislative Openness Conference, 19 May 2017
- THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS
  - The World Justice Project's (WJP) Inaugural Anti-Corruption Commissions Symposium, 11 July 2017
- MANILA, PHILIPPINES
  - The 38<sup>th</sup> AIPA General Assembly, 18 September 2017
- ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA
  - The 137<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), 17 October 2017
- VIENNA, AUSTRIA
  - The 7<sup>th</sup> Forum of Parliamentarians  
Special Event at the Conference of State Parties to the UNCAC, 9 November 2017
- TEHRAN, IRAN
  - The 13<sup>th</sup> PUIC Conference, 13-17 Januari 2018
- SINGAPORE
  - The 9<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of AIPA, 5 September 2018
- ANTALYA, REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
  - The 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of Speakers of Eurasian Countries' Parliaments, 8-11 October 2018
- COPENHAGEN, DENMARK
  - The 18<sup>th</sup> International Anti-Corruption Conference "Together for Development, Peace and Security: Now Is the Time to Act", 24 October 2018
- RABAT, MOROCCO
  - The 14<sup>th</sup> PUIC Conference, 14 March 2019
- MOSCOW, RUSSIA
  - Second International Forum "Development of Parliamentarism", 30 June - 3 July 2019



## THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

# Diplomatic Roles of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia at Global Stage

*Dr. Fadli Zon*

*The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
Coordinator of Political and Legal and Security Affairs*

Amid the strengthening global governance structures and an increasingly complex world order, diplomacy is a central aspect of every state institution. Traditional diplomacy approaches that emphasize on the exclusive role of executive institutions have become increasingly inadequate. This is what then prompted the involvement of multiple actors in diplomatic activities. Whether it is the executive, legislature, or judiciary, it is equally important to exercise diplomatic roles in accordance with each state institution's capacity. Solid collaboration among state institutions will further encourage the achievement of national interests at the global stage. Within this framework, parliamentary diplomacy certainly has a highly strategic role.

A review of current literature will reveal two underlying principles of the role of parliamentary diplomacy. Firstly, it is the principle of legal nature, and secondly the principle of political nature. The principle of legal nature emphasizes parliamentary rights to ratify international laws, while the principle of political nature emphasizes its rights in formulating foreign policy. These two principles form the basis for any parliament to carry out its role in "democratizing" foreign policy exercised by the executive.

*Diplomacy of the Indonesian House of Representatives in support of  
the Indonesian Foreign Policy*

As an institution that represents democracy in Indonesia, the functions of the Indonesia House of Representatives are regulated by Article 20A of the 1945 Constitution. In general, the Indonesian





House is entrusted with three main functions, namely legislative, budgeting, and also oversight. In its development, the Indonesian House's functions and roles are further solidified through Article 69 of Law No. 17/2014, later known as the MD3 Law (the Law on the House of Representatives/DPR, People's Consultative Assembly/MPR, Regional Representatives Council/DPD, and Regional Legislative Assembly/DPRD). Based on the MD3 Law, the Indonesian House also plays both the representative role, as well as the empowering role to the implementation of foreign policy. This is what then institutionalized with the function of parliamentary diplomacy.

The Indonesian House diplomatic role is specifically played by a parliamentary organ called the Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation (BKSAP). Based on the Indonesian House's Regulation No. 1/2014, BKSAP has the main role in developing, fostering, and promoting friendly relations and cooperation with parliaments of friendly countries, both at bilateral and multilateral levels.

Based on its organizational framework, the involvement of the Indonesian House on the foreign policy agenda rests at two levels. The first is institutional level, and the second is diplomatic level. The House plays institutional role through the ratification of international treaties or conventions, while the role of oversight is played over the executive's foreign policy agenda, and the budgeting role in supporting foreign policy agenda. Meanwhile, the parliamentary involvement in diplomatic level is carried out through bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. multilateral parliamentary diplomacy is implemented by taking an active role in international forums or organizations, such as the International Parliamentary Union (IPU), the Parliamentary Union of the OICE Member States (PUIC), the Parliamentary for Global Action (PGA), the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC), the Women Parliaments (WP), the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Partnership (ASEP), Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF), Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), and Forum for East Asia Latin America Cooperations (AEYPM).

As a political instrument of foreign policy, parliamentary diplomacy has an intrinsic privilege, e.g., the characteristic of its diplomacy. Although both are state actors, parliament and executive have slightly different characteristics of diplomacy. The style of parliamentary diplomacy is relatively more adjustable and flexible. It can be carried out either formally or informally. Therefore, parliamentary diplomacy often becomes an alternative channel of communication among countries, especially when tension arises at the executive level.

With that characteristic, parliament has more room for diplomatic maneuver. On the issue of humanity in Rohingya, for example, the stance of the government in ASEAN to criticize and urge Myanmar is very limited by the non-interference principle. However, the Indonesian House is able to do that. In the 39th ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA) forum in 2018, for example, the Indonesian House succeeded in urging the Rohingya issue be included in the deliberation in AIPA, even though, at first, it was strongly opposed by Myanmar and several other countries.



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As regards the issue of discrimination suffered by Uyghur Muslims in China, at first the government had limitations, bearing in mind its cooperation with China. However, the Indonesian House managed to break through the barrier. It openly and strongly condemned the discrimination of Uyghur Muslims in OIC Parliamentary forum in Morocco in 2019. This indicates that parliamentary diplomacy can work beyond the executive can do. The Indonesian House can give voice that the executive can not in international parliamentary forums.

However, as an instrument of foreign policy, the role of parliamentary diplomacy must be optimized in the future. One of the ways to optimize its role is through the synergy of the executive and parliamentary diplomacy agenda. During this time, this has been running at the operational level. In the sessions at international fora, for example, the Indonesian House of Representatives is always involving the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the preparation stage.

But in my opinion, this is not enough. It needs to be a more strategic level of communication between the executive and the Indonesian House in formulating the overall agenda of Indonesian diplomacy.

This book is a collection of speeches I have delivered in the framework of parliamentary diplomacy, at international forums in the period of 2014-2019. It documents important messages on the endeavors undertaken by the Indonesian House to achieve Indonesia's national interests at the global stage. In general, I have constantly emphasized three main points on every speech I delivered in international forums. They are related to the image of Indonesia as the third largest democracy in the world, the image of Indonesia as a Muslim-majority and pluralistic country, and the image of Indonesia as a country that adheres to the free and active foreign policy. These are the three underlying capitals of Indonesia's foreign policy at the global stage.

I hope this collection of speeches can add to the collection of literature on the diplomatic role of the Indonesian House of Representatives. Today it is relatively easy in Indonesia to find literature on diplomatic achievement of the executive. However, what is still quite rare to find are the ones about parliamentary diplomatic activities. Though this book, I also hope that people can get a clearer picture of the messages that the House of Representatives delivered in supporting Indonesia's foreign policy agenda.

**Dr. Fadli Zon**

*The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
President of GOPAC*

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## chapter 01

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# Quest for the Asian Parliament in Asian Century

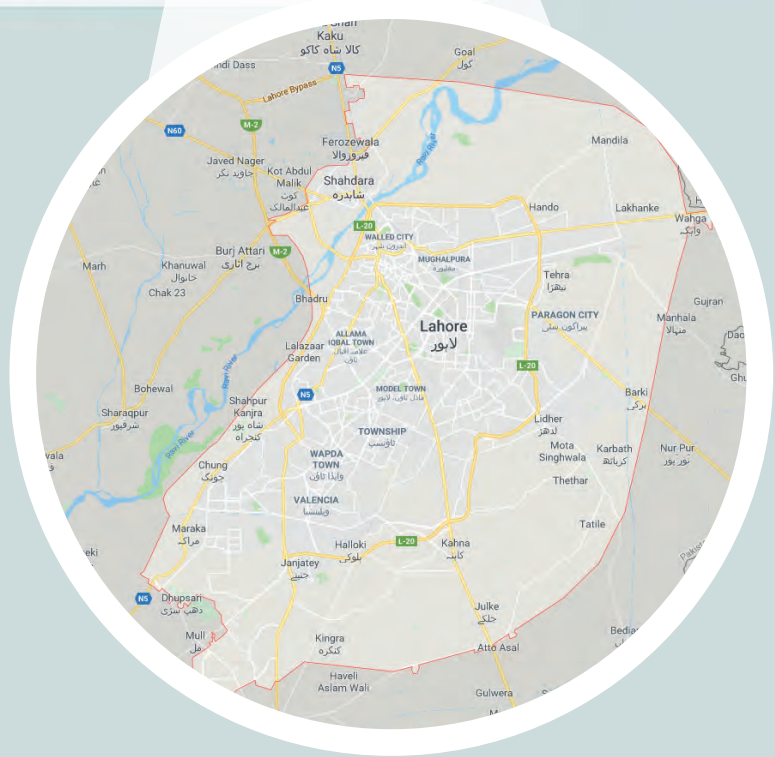
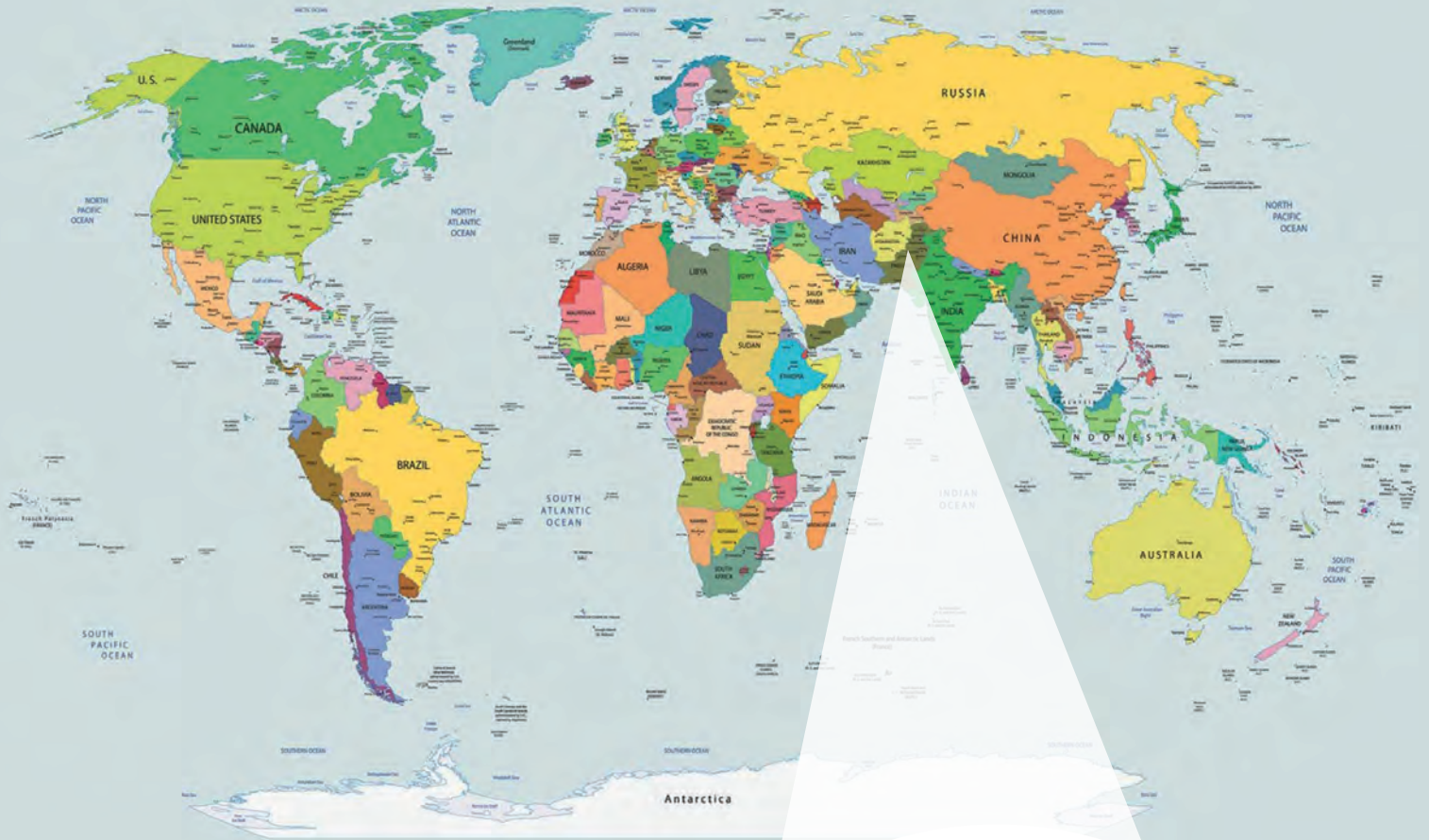
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Speech by

**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 7<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA)

Lahore, Pakistan, 4 December 2014



PAKISTAN

## Quest for Asian Parliament in Asian Century

It is with great privilege and pleasure that I can be here, to be among you, prominent political figures of Asian Countries in this seventh Plenary Session of the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA) held in the rich historical and cultural city of Punjab Region, Lahore.

The idea in bringing the unity of Asia is timely as we are on the era of Asian Century. It is something that has been envisioned by our people long ago. Okakuro Kakuzo, a prominent Japanese Scholar for example, in his book “the Ideals of the East” had directly implied Asia as one.

The APA envisages that Asia will be in a unity, closer than ever before with a view of integration into an Asian Parliamentary Union. It is within that respect, the APA has consistently promote a discourse on such issue. If I may recall, the last APA Troika, held in May 2014, in Islamabad, also discussed issues of integration.

The quest for an Asian Parliament first and foremost requires a political approval of all Asian States. It requests our Governments to make actions, coordinate efforts in bringing together the political will of integration.

One thing for sure is that we need a greater coherence, interdependence between Asian nations through greater campaign that Asia is one. We do also need to foster contact with our inter-governmental forum counterpart such as: the Asia Cooperation Dialogue, ASEAN, SAARC, to mention but a few, conducting campaign on Asian Unity, promoting greater cooperation among Asian Countries, and others.







## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

By doing so, the sense of ownership of the region will be greater and in the end, there is a need for integration in a community or in a union: a single Asia.

Indonesia therefore would like to suggest, that each of APA Member Parliaments could have a more direct involvement to their government counterpart, including in the work of multilateral discussion of Asia Cooperation Dialogue. I believe, in the long run, the ACD may serve as the first gate of our work towards the establishment of Asian Parliament.

However, the road towards such integration is a bumpy one. There is a prerequisite condition to Asian unity. An integration requires peace and stability which will eventually lead to prosperity.

Pro-longed conflicts, violence and instability are daunting challenges for this region.

Asia needs peace and stability to harvest political supports. These supports are essential in the realization of the so-called Asian Parliament. It is therefore, I urge all parties related to conflicts to take actions in promoting dialogue, resolve the differences and refrain themselves from any actions which may disengage the bond of friendship among Asian nations.

We shall recall and reiterate our commitment to the principles of friendship embodied in the Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation in Asia which was adopted by this organization few years ago.

I now would like to draw your attention to the issue of Palestine, as they are also our friends and families. As a big family of Asia, Palestine receive immense moral supports to their quest of the righteous independences—their inalienable rights.

We have taken numerous resolutions to condemn, in our strongest term, to what Israeli has been done to Palestinian. And still there is nothing that change. Israel is consistent to deliberately and repeatedly violating the international law through their unilateral actions.

I have recently made a hearing with the UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Occupied Palestine Territory since 1967, an Indonesian fellow of mine, Mr. Makarim Wibisono. He gave us a shocking fact, that Israeli, in a statement they made at the Security Council, denied that they are not occupying the land of Palestine. They refused to be known as the Occupying Power.

They claimed that they are in their own land, a righteous one for the Jewish. The Security Council at that time does nothing.

We cannot let that happen. The occupation conducted by Israel is undisguised action. It is against the will of the international community on the prospect of peace in the region.





Palestine is part of our big family of Asia. Therefore, we need to send a strong message, the strongest one, that Palestine deserves what all that they have long gone: their sovereignty over their own land and their independence.

A parliamentary solidarity through a symbolic visit to Palestine, Gaza, West Bank may provide a further message that we as parliamentarians, the representatives of the people, are signalling our support for the independence of Palestine.

I strongly urge all of my fellow parliamentarians to do so. To have a first-hand opportunity in Palestine so we can share their pain. Indonesia has done so, and will be happy to do so again in another occasion.

As we speak on the need to have an Asian Parliament, we should be aware that the essential force to support the establishment of such Parliament is a strong supporting system mechanism.

A strong secretariat is fundamental to run the organization, to provide further campaign on the need of Asian Unity. The question now is do we need such strong secretariat in this beginning vision of the Union?

If an Asian Union has not been established yet, what are the roles of the Asian Parliament and further, what are the roles of such stronger secretariat? They are issues that we need to ponder about, as this plenary will also discussed about APA Staff Regulation.

Indonesia is of the view that, while a strong supporting mechanism is inevitably needed by the organization, such assistance can be provided first through the host country and current APA's secretariat. This is with the view that we can save more, instead of raising an issue of contribution to support the provision of APA Staff Regulation.

Therefore, Indonesia deems it necessary to defer the discussion of APA Staff Regulation until further discussion on members' contribution is raised.

To conclude, I would like to place on record my appreciation to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for the warm hospitality extended to me and my delegation. I am happy to be here today. My delegation and I look forward to fruitful deliberation during this plenary and in each of APA meetings.











## chapter 02

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# Strengthening Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific Region

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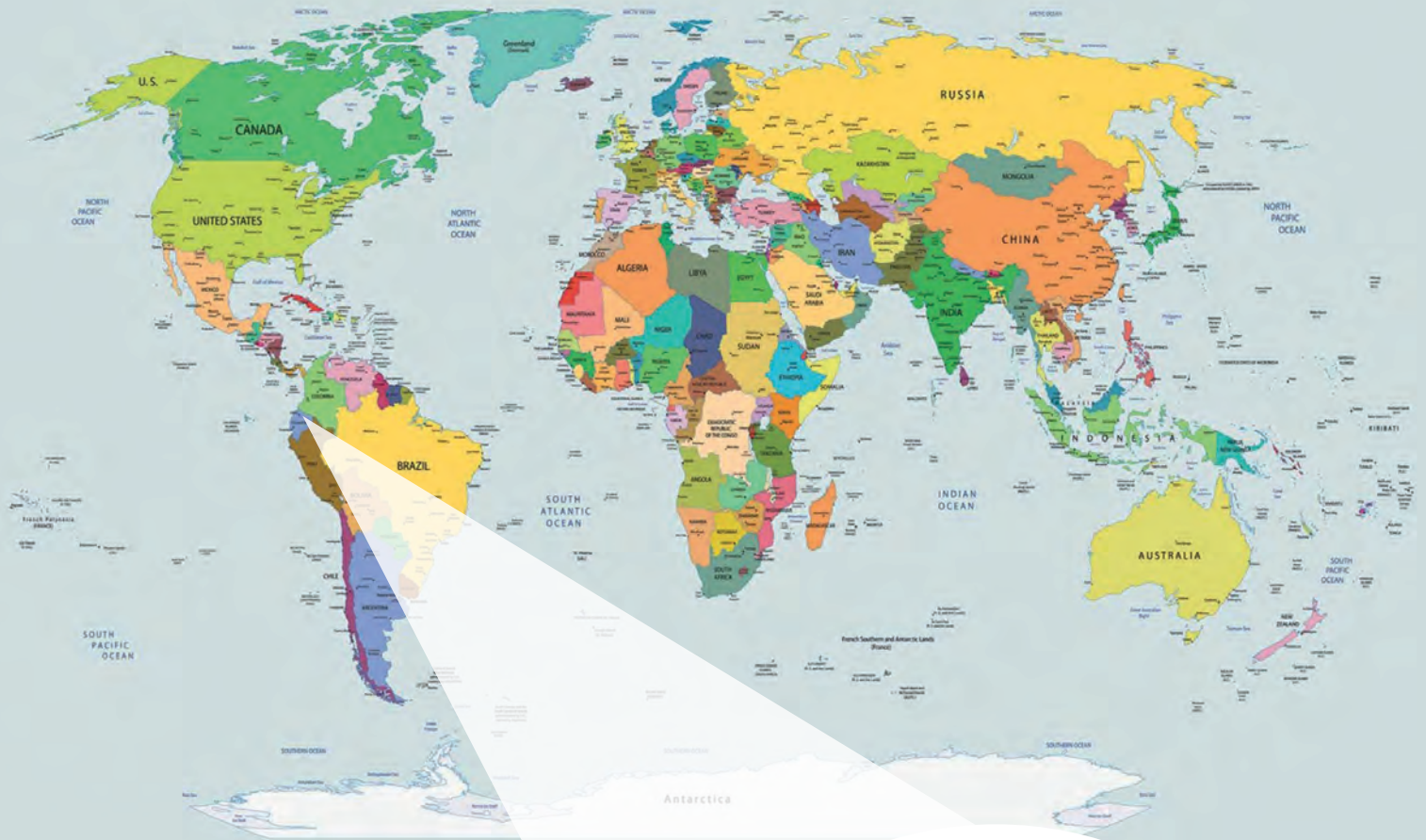
Speech by

**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 23<sup>rd</sup> Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF)

Quito, Ecuador, 12 January 2015





ECUADOR

## Strengthening Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific Region

First of all, allow me to express my appreciation to the National Assembly of Ecuador for the excellent organization of this Annual Meeting. My delegation and I are very pleased to be in the beautiful city of Quito and meeting with fellow parliamentarians from the Asia and Pacific region in this important and timely forum.

Peace and security in Asia Pacific should not be taken for granted. Our region is not immune from both traditional and non-traditional security threats.

The role of Parliament, hence, is also very central in conflict resolution, peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. Peace and security requires representation and accountability, and we have been mandated by those two functions. We are accustomed to hearing people's concern and priorities. We have been trained to channeling multiple and multi-layers aspirations through hearing and debate in our chambers. We also have the mandate to translate the results into legislations that protect citizens from vulnerability to conflict.

Without peace and security, any country or region would not be able to prosper and ensure economic development for the benefit of our people. Economic growth and political stability are deeply interconnected.

Economic development, investment, cooperation may be hampered by uncertainties caused by unstable political environment. As the Asia and Pacific region continues to be the engine of world's economic recovery, it is crucial for countries in the region to maintain regional peace and stability to attain these goals.





## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

In this case, Indonesia is keen to be part of the solution not the problem. Indonesia believes in the strength of ideas and creativity. We need to work together to overcome and turn challenges into opportunities by minimizing potential misperception or miscalculation. Further, we need to establish greater trust, mutual respect and collective action to address common challenges in the region.

For Indonesia, greater involvement in the regional forum is very important. No single country can, in its own, meet the challenges facing us today. For example, since we are getting closer to the completion of the Millennium Development Goals and adoption of the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals, our vision should be on continuing our MDGs achievement and securing sustainable development in the region. In order to pursue that vision, peace and stability are the two essential enablers for sustainable development; for eradicating poverty and ensuring well-being of all. This is why closer cooperation among Asia Pacific countries, including through this Forum, is of utmost importance.







Asia Pacific is relatively a peaceful and stable region. We have learned that confrontation and conflict will only make us suffer. Therefore, Indonesia believes that we need to promote constructive dialogue and cooperation to maintain peace and stability as well as enhance development and welfare of our peoples in the region.

Therefore, allow me in this occasion to encourage fellow parliamentarians of the APPF Member States, as our part in the multi-track diplomacy, to always promote dialogue and consultation. I believe no conflict can be settled without dialogue.

Over the years, APPF has proven to be an effective platform for parliamentary dialogue on political and security matters of the Asia Pacific region. It was built upon the principles of tolerance and flexibility; to embrace diversity rather than to highlight differences as reflected in the Tokyo Declaration 1993.

If I may refer to the New Tokyo Declaration of APPF, adopted during the 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of APPF in 2012, tolerance, moderation and mutual support are the cornerstones of our forum. They are the qualities that allow us to stand united in the face of adversities and to respond effectively to regional and global dynamics.

In this spirit, Indonesia proposes eight draft resolutions on matters related to peace and security in the region:

1. Draft Resolution on the Middle East Peace Process
2. Draft Resolution on Strengthening Peace and Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific
3. Draft Resolution on Enhancing Connectivity between REgions towards Asia Pacific Economic Integration
4. Draft Resolution on Regional Response in combating Cyber Crime
5. Draft Resolution on Protecting the Rights of Migrant Workers
6. Draft Resolution on Combating Drugs Trafficking and Human Trafficking
7. Draft Resolution on Building an Inter-Parliamentary Network on Anti Corruption
8. Draft Resolution on The Protection against the Illicit Ownership of Cultural Heritages

I am seeking your constructive inputs and support for their adoption.

On the work of APPF, inspired by the success of Ecuador in promoting the representation of women in parliament, with more than 40 percent of women MPs, Indonesia would like to propose a meeting of women parliamentarians as a sideline event of the Annual Meeting of APPF. As a starting, Indonesia would like to invite the women parliamentarians in this Meeting to a Luncheon hosted by Madam Dr. Nurhayati Assegaf, the Chairperson of the Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation of the Indonesian House of Representatives, later today.







Allow me to express my firm belief that our deliberations during the 23rd Annual Meeting will be very productive and constructive, and contribute to the strengthening of our long-standing cooperation within the framework of Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum. The Indonesian House of Representatives is looking forward to learning from the vast experiences from our fellow Parliaments as well as share our ideas and best practices for the mutual benefit of our cooperation.





## chapter 03

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# New Asian African Strategic Partnership (NAASP): The Way Forward

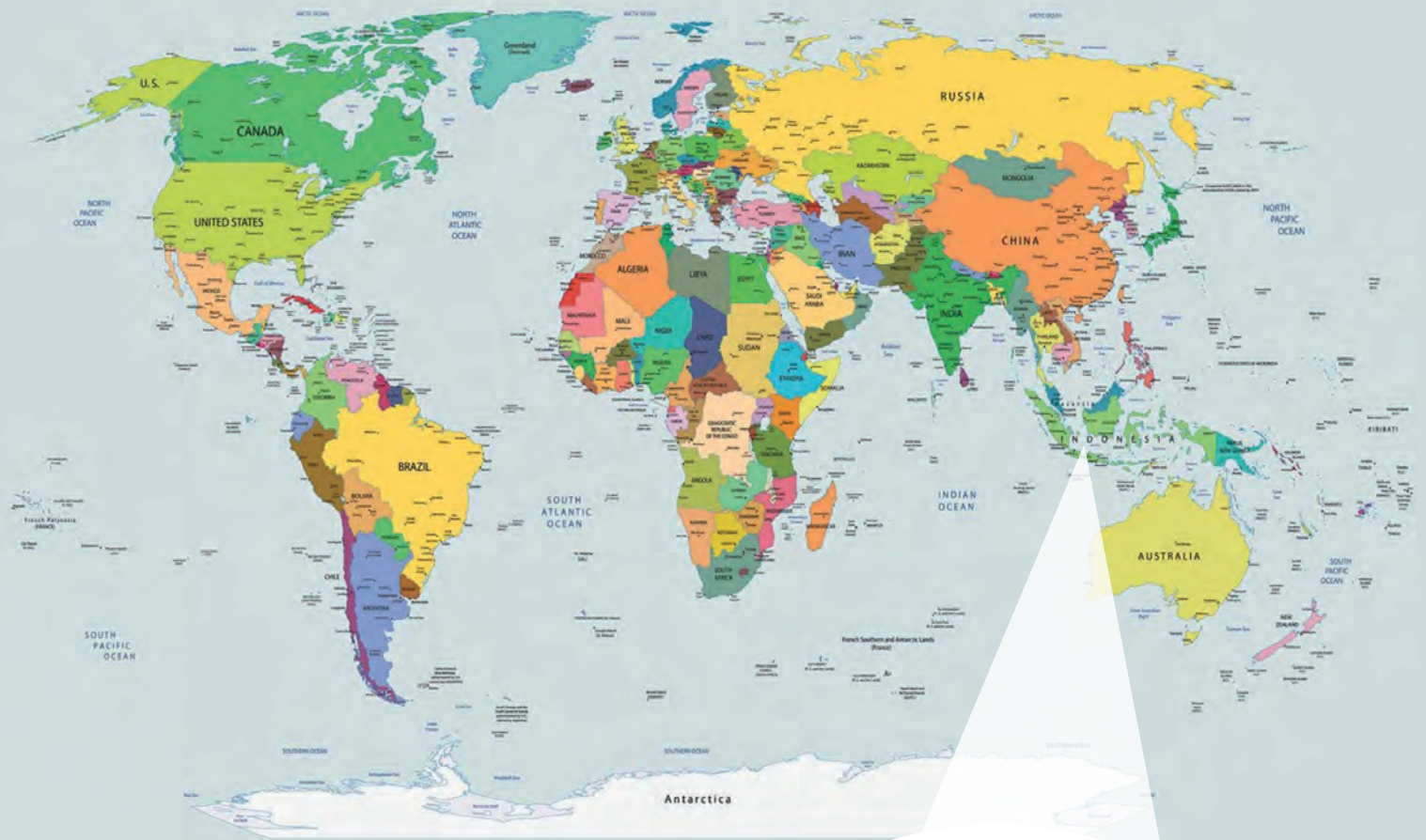
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Speech by

**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The Commemoration 60<sup>th</sup> years Asian African Parliamentary Conference

Jakarta, Indonesia, 23 April 2015



INDONESIA

## New Asian African Strategic Partnership (NAASP): The Way Forward

Commemorating 60 years after the 1955 Asian-African Conference and a decade after NAASP launched, the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia has taken the initiative to revitalize the Bandung Spirit historical significance. This initiative is part of strengthening the role of Parliament in the multi-track diplomacy, as mandated in Law.

This Conference is designed as a forum for parliamentarians in Asia and Africa to generate new perspectives and solutions to overcome the challenges of the future; consolidate and strengthen the role of parliament in the form of South-South cooperation in the context of NAASP; and to provide a perspective of the parliament in Asia and Africa in the Post-2015 Development Agenda and the intergovernmental negotiations on various international agreements.

In this session, I would like to highlight that the NAASP is expected to strengthening cooperation efforts in a broad subject. However, a decade after the initiation of the NAASP, the geopolitical landscape of both continents has changed.

Africa has now emerged as an African Union. South-South cooperation offers self reliance among countries in the global south to tackle the common challenges of the 21st century. It promotes “horizontal partnership” and positioned as the collaborative learning model to share innovative solution. South-South cooperation aims to advance equitable national development agendas with due consideration to the local conditions.



As a conclusion of session II on New Asian African Strategic Partnership (NAASP), we agreed to further discuss the possibility of the establishment of the Asia-Africa Parliamentary Group (AAPG). With regards to that matter, Indonesia is ready to be the host secretariat and is willing to host the next meeting on the establishment of the AAPG.



*H.E. Fadli Zon with  
King Abdullah II of Jordan in the  
Commemoration 60<sup>th</sup> years Asian  
African Conference, Jakarta*

*H.E. Fadli Zon with  
Xi Jinping, President of the  
People's Republic of China in the  
Commemoration 60<sup>th</sup> years Asian  
African Conference, Jakarta*



*H.E. Fadli Zon with  
Robert Mugebe, President  
of Zimbabwe in the  
Commemoration 60<sup>th</sup> years Asian  
African Conference, Jakarta*







...e and prosperity





## Asian – African Parliamentary Declaration “Towards Stronger Partnership for World Peace and Prosperity”

1. We, parliamentarians from over 31 Asian African countries, gathered on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 2015, in Jakarta, Indonesia to commemorate the 60<sup>th</sup> Asian African Conference to further strengthen the role of parliaments in the South-South cooperation and to contribute to the promotion of world peace and prosperity.
2. We reiterate our commitment to the Ten Principles of Bandung Conference, with solidarity, friendship and cooperation as its core principles, which continues to be a solid, relevant and effective foundation for nurturing stronger relations among governments and parliaments of the Asian-African countries and provide guidance in resolving global issues of common concern.
3. We recognize that Asian-African countries have attained significant political progress and economic transformation since the 1955 Conference. Yet, we observe the need to further improve cooperation in resolving the challenges faced by Asian-African countries, including intra and inter-state conflicts, poverty and social inequality and communicable diseases.
4. We endeavour to develop stronger collaboration among parliaments of Asian-African countries as a means to further intensifying dialogue and seeking ways to support the governments of the two-continents in overcoming the challenges.
5. We take note of the need for a stronger coherence among Asian and African countries at all levels, including among its parliaments, among others through better coordination between the Asian and African Groups in the UN and further exploration for new dimensions of cooperation within the South and between the South and the North.



### **Solidarity for Palestine**

6. We, in the spirit of the Asian-African solidarity, are deeply concerned by the illegal occupation of Israel in the Palestinian land which has lasted for more than five decades with no effective recognised international solution thus far. We reaffirm our full support to the just struggle of the Palestinian people and welcome the 2012 UN General Assembly decision to accord the status of non-member Observer State to Palestine as a means of international recognition on the existence of Palestine and their rights for sovereignty over their own land.
7. We also reaffirm that a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can only be achieved based on the Two-States solution, where an independent, viable and democratic Palestine lives side by side in peace and security with all of its neighbours. We are also committed to provide support for Palestine through various means, including the existing platform of the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP).

### **Peace and Prosperity**

8. We share a common hope with our Governments for stable peace and security, as well as for economic and social justice. We envision an equitable international order firmly rooted in the rule of law, the principles of United Nations Charter as well as common but differentiated responsibility and joint commitment to global cooperation and solidarity.



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

9. We are committed to aide our Governments in managing current challenges faced by Asian and African countries in the fight against transnational organized crimes, including people smuggling; trafficking in persons; illicit trade in small arms and light weapons; drug trafficking; illegal, unreported, unregulated fishing as well as wildlife trafficking through the development and strengthening of relevant national legislations.
10. We recognize the growing links between transnational organized crime and acts of terrorism. We resolutely condemn acts of terrorism in all their forms and manifestation, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, to name a few, the violence perpetrated by the Islamic State (IS) movement as well as Boko Haram. We call upon parliaments and the international community to further strengthen their efforts in the fight against terrorism, extremism and radical groups, among others by drawing up legislations which can contribute to the mitigation of citizens joining such organizations, as well as to the exchange of relevant information among States as a common strategy.
11. We stress the importance of the UN reform in attaining equitable global development for all regions, including Asia and Africa, as Asian-African countries make up more than half of UN member states. Furthermore, we highlight the need for the UN Security Council to reform in order to better reflect the current global political landscape and provide an effective, efficient and fair mechanism in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter in asserting international peace and security.
12. We affirm that the journey towards democracy should be undertaken in conformity with the aspiration of the people and their respective norms and cultures. While we believe in the universal value of democracy, we also believe that democracy should be home-grown and no single model of democracy can be imposed upon other countries.







*Commemoration  
60<sup>th</sup> years of Asian  
African Parliamentary  
Conference, Jakarta*

13. We take note of progresses that have been made through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). We support our governments in pursuing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), in particular to the matters relevant to poverty, education and gender empowerment, health related issues, peace and stability, democratic governance, climate change and environmental issues. We are determine to engage ourselves in the earliest possible time to SDGs from its formulation to its implementation by providing adequate parliamentary perspectives and intervention through legislation, budget allocation, program monitoring as well as by involving ourselves in the global development through SDGs.
14. We recognize the urgency for supporting our respective governments in the promotion of economic cooperation in the Asian and African region on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty. We are convinced that an inclusive, universal, open, rules based and non-discriminatory multilateral trading system helps foment global economic growth and sustainable economic development, creating jobs and welfare.

### Asia Africa Cooperation: The Way Forward

15. We underscore the importance of the Declaration on the NAASP of 2005 as a framework to bridge and strengthen practical cooperation between Asia and Africa, and the need for supporting our respective governments in exploring concrete opportunities that could maximise the successful implementation of NAASP.
16. We recognize that Asian-African countries have the necessary resources that could be explored further for the benefit of our people, by expanding infrastructure projects and enhancing connectivity to boost trade, investment, bankable projects and assistances, economy, SMEs development, transfer-technology in Asia-Africa, including through South-South Cooperation.
17. In light of the above, we acknowledge the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean in bridging Asia and Africa. We welcome the chairmanship of the Government of Indonesia in the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) 2015-2017 and encourage our governments to support Indonesia in promoting concrete cooperation in the six priority areas of the IORA, namely: maritime safety and security; trade and investment facilitation; fisheries management; disaster risk management; academic and science and technology cooperation as well as tourism and cultural exchanges.







18. As Governments are preparing for the forthcoming Conference of the State Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP UNFCCC) 21 in Paris, in 2015, we reaffirm our shared commitment to catalyze their actions on climate change, to inspire them to further increase ambition before 2020 and to encourage them to support the 2015 agreement.
19. We underline the importance of bringing the two regions closer through cooperation and coordination as well as mutual supports in various inter-parliamentary forums with a view to work towards the development of the Asian and African Parliamentary Partnership.

#### **Words of Appreciation**

20. We express appreciation to the Parliament and the People of the Republic of Indonesia for the successful organization and warm hospitality extended to the participants of the Parliamentary Conference in Commemoration of the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Asian African Conference and the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership.



## chapter 04

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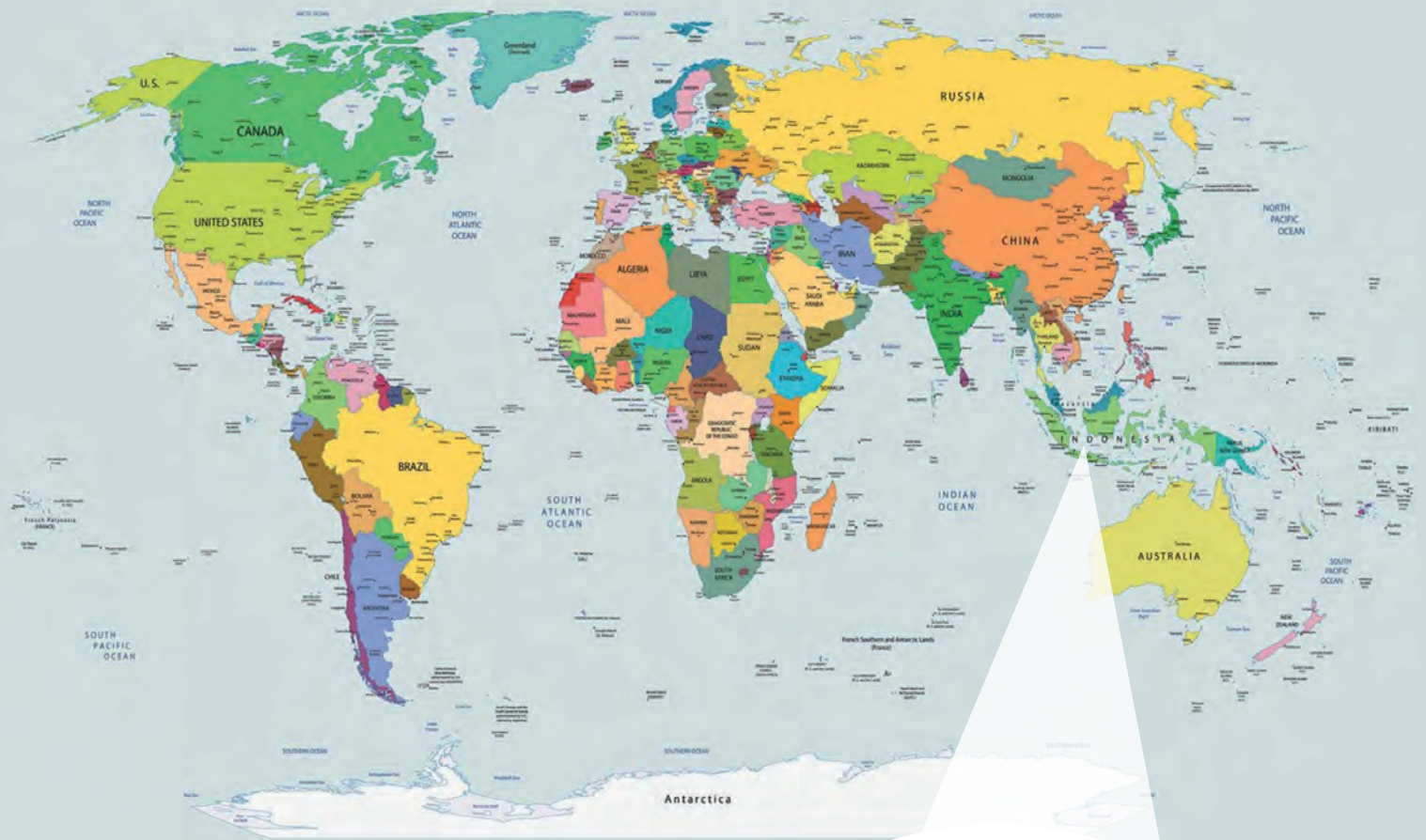
# Linking Economic Growth to Sustainable Development Goals for Peace and Prosperity

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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia at the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), Standing Committee on Economic and Sustainable Development

Jakarta, Indonesia, 19 August 2015



INDONESIA

## Linking Economic Growth to Sustainable Development Goals for Peace and Prosperity

It is a great pleasure and honor for me to be present here together with the participants of Standing Committee on Economic and Sustainable Development - Asian Parliamentary Assembly, driving the theme of “Linking Economic Growth to Sustainable Development Goals for Peace and Prosperity”. As one of the Deputy Speakers of the Indonesian House of Representatives, I would like to welcome all participants of the APA Commission in Jakarta, Indonesia. We are delighted and privileged to serve as the host to parliamentary members of APA’s member countries, gathering you all in the upcoming series of events.

We all share the belief that Asia is rising even stronger as the driver of global economic growth, as the dynamics and economic strength of the countries in this region have become more and more aligned. Certainly, this is not an exaggeration. Qualified sources have revealed that, even though many countries in this region are still facing difficult challenges amid stringent global financial situation and due to the impact of less capital flow to developing countries as well as the tumble of global oil prices, the rate of annual economic growth of Asian countries has been remarkably encouraging in the last four years of declining global economic growth. This achievement surely reinforces the confidence to boost economic development of countries in Asia, moving towards a more inclusive environment in the efforts to eradicate extreme poverty that has been on going in the last two decades.

In spite of our exceptional performance, the economy of this region still puts upon our hands a number of critical issues to be addressed going forward. There is an increasing income disparity, which will only delay efforts to put an end to poverty. If there is no action being taken, this situation may lead to disrupted social solidarity and create political unrest that will in turn





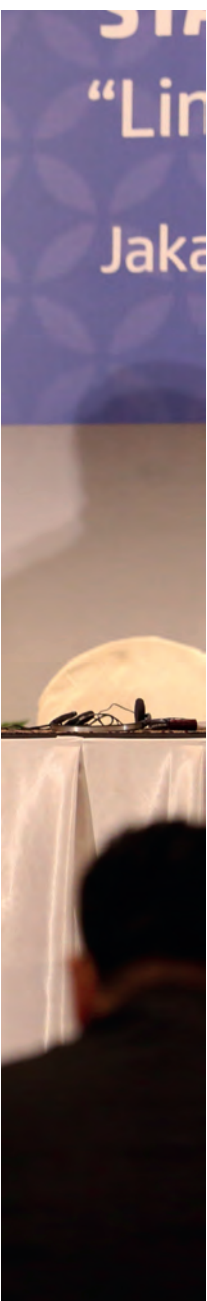
plague the sustainability of economic development itself in the long run. To put it shortly, the challenge of economic development that is yet to be fully inclusive is a major work to be done by this region. Moreover, the sustainable development goals agenda, as part of this region's economic growth strategy, needs to be addressed by showing stronger political will.

As we are aware, important mineral resources and oil and gas reserves will deplete come 2050. Together, we also need to tackle the difficult challenges with respect to the lives of more than 400 million urban population in Asia, which have been predicted to become victims of floods as the level of groundwater increases by 2025. In addition, today, it is estimated that 35% of carbon emission resulted by the world's energy consumption is produced by countries in Asia. This is a far larger number in comparison with the same emission in the period of 1990, in which we accounted for only 17%.

As we fully believe that sustainable development is a prerequisite for economic growth and reduced level of poverty, real, tangible steps and breakthroughs as part of climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts need to be integrated in the strategy formulation and development planning of our region. These efforts are directed towards, as underlined by results of existing studies, not only to reduce the amount of cost that we would have to bear should we take these steps too late, but also and more importantly to uphold the global sustainable development goals post-MDGs.

The challenges before us as a region with the highest density level and the largest region in the world occupied by 4.3 billion people, or around 60% of the world's population, are not small, and they are multidimensional. These challenges bring us here today, addressing and building cooperation between parliaments in Asia. With the power vested in us as members of the parliaments, together we are demanded to be able to articulate our commitment as well as real, tangible, and measurable programs in order to drive further efforts to synergize the agenda relating to economic growth with sustainable development goals. All for the purpose of creating peace and prosperity. We hope that in the two-day meetings we will produce resolution drafts to reinvigorate our efforts, and that we will come up with more effective approaches in the endeavors to realize the goals that I have outlined. The resolution drafts to be discussed in this APA's Commission Assembly will be brought to the upcoming 8th APA plenary assembly in Cambodia.

Allow me to emphasize that through a series of earlier meetings, APA has in fact conducted substantial discussion on economic growth and sustainable development. We have developed considerable number of resolutions and declarations. Nevertheless, I invite us to openly acknowledge that there has not been significant progress made in regards to APA cooperation. This is an issue that we need to overcome together by pursuing measurable output targets, which would result in real benefits for the people in Asia. We carry the hope of many Asian people on our shoulders, the hope to make this region a prosper, peaceful, and amiable place. Therefore, APA must be an effective part of that grand and noble ambition.

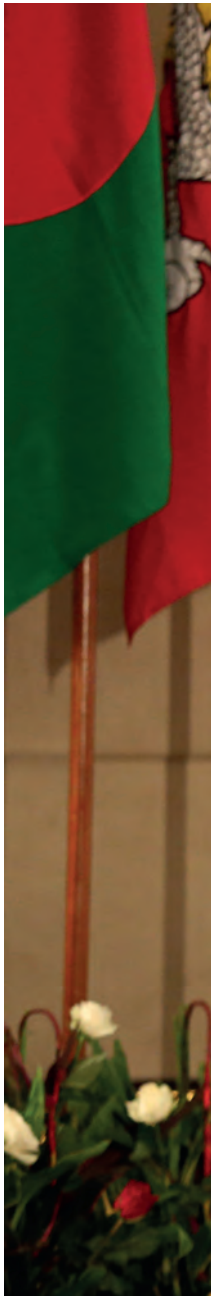






I wish you all productive sessions; I pray that God Almighty will ease our endeavors to bring Asia into prosperity, peace, and friendship.

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful, I hereby announce that the meeting of the Standing Committee on Economic and Sustainable Development - Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), themed “Linking Economic Growth to Sustainable Development Goals for Peace and Prosperity” *shall officially commence.*











## chapter 05

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# Stop Stealing from Us: Tools and Mechanism to Build Anti-corruption Prevention System

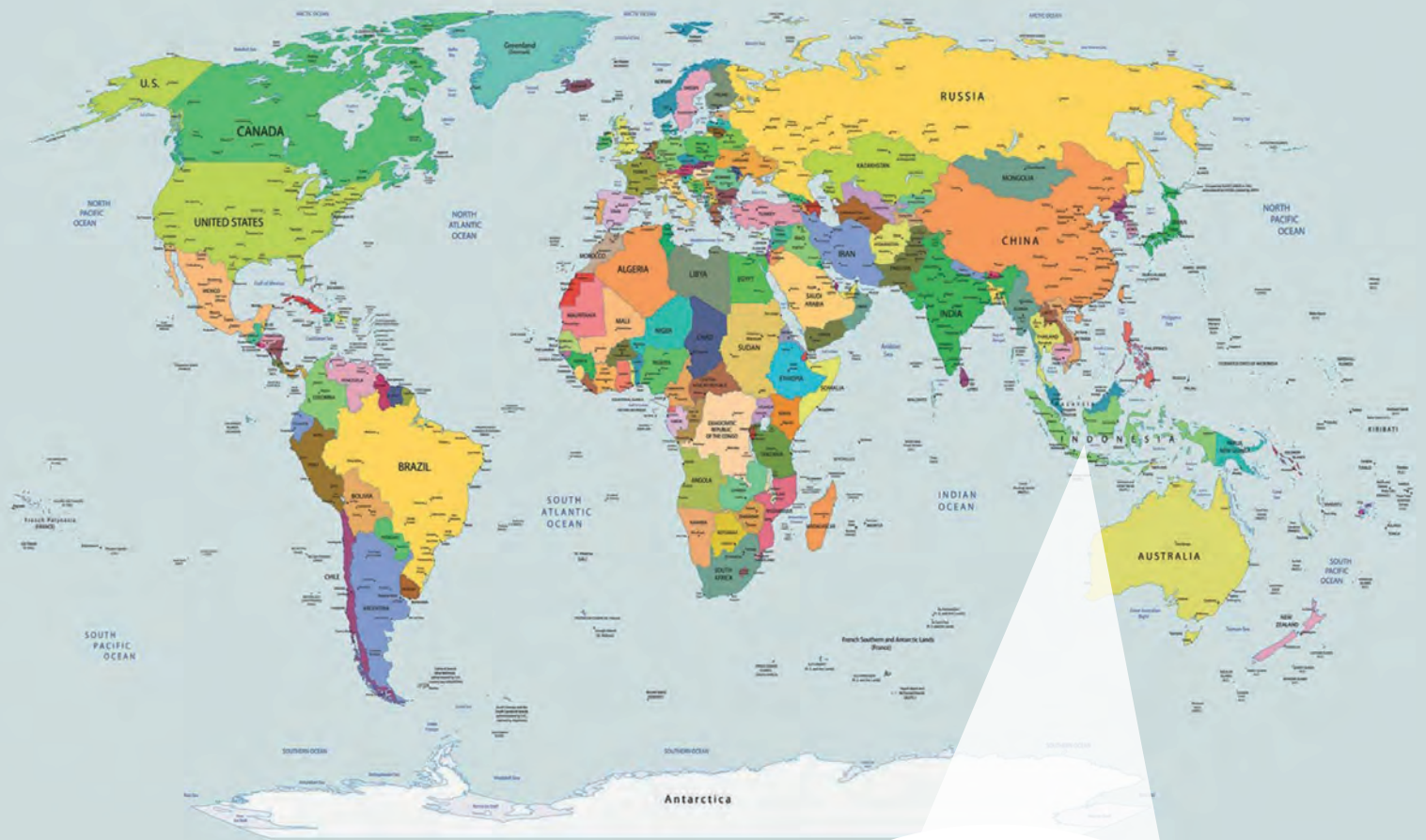
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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 6<sup>th</sup> Global Conference of Parliamentarians Against Corruption

Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 5 October 2015





INDONESIA

## Stop Stealing from Us: Tools and Mechanism to Build Anti-corruption Prevention System

All countries, especially developing countries including Indonesia, face a problem that is corruption. Annually, Transparency International publishes global Corruption Perception Index (CPI) that reveals the rank of each country and the level of corruption in the public sector. Based on the 2014 data of Transparency International, Indonesia scored 34 in CPI, and ranked 107 out of 175 countries. In 2013, Indonesia scored 32 in CPI, 32 in 2012, and 30 in 2011. These numbers show that corruption eradication in Indonesia is slow, nevertheless the CPI score improves.

Cases of corruption also involve those of various backgrounds – bureaucrats (executive body), members of the legislative body, judicial, and private sectors. The high number of crimes of corruption has made this a critical problem for the Indonesian nation and people. Corruption poses a threat to the nation and civic life, harms national economy and state's financial condition, hinders public services and has impact on poverty, social justice, and social welfare.

Repressive actions have been taken incessantly by agencies responsible to handle corruption cases, namely the Police Force, the Prosecutor, and the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). However, even with continuous enforcement efforts, perpetrators or potential perpetrators of corruption are not deterred. This is evident from the increasing number of cases of corruption. This also means that we need other measures to eradicate corruption. A part of corruption eradication that has not received enough attention is prevention. Until now, preventing corruption has not been considered a strategic step in eradicating corruption.





The Government in fact has exerted numerous attempts to eradicate corruption. Laws and regulations have been improved, a dedicated institution for corruption eradication or KPK has been established in addition to existing institutions, the Police and the Prosecutor. These efforts are evidences of the strong will that Indonesia has, as a state and nation, to eradicate corruption.

In terms of its support to international commitment for corruption eradication, Indonesia has ratified the United Nations Convention Against Corruption/UNCAC 2003 through Law Number 7 of 2006 dated 18 April 2006. Indonesia considers that ratifying international instrument for corruption eradication is vital, given that the crime of corruption has become a transnational crime that affects the lives of international community. The Law Number 7 of 2006 considers that “the crime of corruption is no longer a domestic problem; instead it has become a transnational phenomenon affecting all societies and economies and therefore international cooperation is important for the prevention and eradication of corruption, including to recover or retrieve assets accumulated through the crime of corruption; and that international cooperation for the prevention and eradication of the crime of corruption needs to be infused with integrity, accountability, and good governance.”

The UNCAC ratification has implication on the government’s obligation to adopt the content of UNCAC into national law and to implement it. Harmonization of national regulations with UNCAC is required to ensure the effectiveness of law enforcement upon the crime of corruption. Nevertheless, the adoption of UNCAC needs to observe the principles of sovereignty, equity of rights, and territorial integrity as well as to avoid intervention on the domestic affairs of other countries.

Effective corruption eradication efforts should have two elements, namely enforcement and prevention. In times when enforcement has been performed intensively yet the crime of corruption continues to occur, prevention needs to be focused. The prevention of corruption is stipulated in the UNCAC, which is by improving transparency and integrity of government bureaucracy, and that each country should have an effective anti-corruption institution, transparent bureaucracy, increased society participation, and improved government institutions.

The prevention of corruption shall closes the gaps in the government that have been giving room for corruption. In order to be effective, the prevention of corruption cannot be the domain of only a single party; instead, it needs to be performed together and simultaneously across all elements from law enforcement agencies, government bureaucracy, and other elements of the society. Each of these parties are mutually and collectively responsible to prevent corruption in order to realize the Indonesia that is free from corruption. At the very least, prevention efforts that take place simultaneously with enforcement efforts may reduce the number of the crime of corruption.



The House of Representatives that represent the people of Indonesia has been taken actions to eradicate corruption in accordance with its power. In executing its legislative function, the House of Representatives supports the discussion around Bill of corruption eradication through the adoption of UNCAC, such as evidenced by the amendment of Law No. 31 of 1999 on the Eradication of the Crime of Corruption, amended by Law No. 20 of 2001, which had been passed before Indonesia ratified UNCAC. Even though some articles in the Law have been aligned with UNCAC, there were also a number of UNCAC stipulations that the Law had not accommodated with respect to Corruption Eradication, such as stipulation on asset recovery. The House of Representatives has sought to improve the legal basis of corruption eradication in Indonesia and to ensure its effective implementation.

The role of the House of Representatives in corruption eradication also goes beyond our legislative responsibility. The House of Representatives is also leading moral efforts to prevent corruption in the parliamentary environment. On December 12th, 2012, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia declared the establishment of Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC). GOPAC, or the Anti-Corruption Taskforce, is a forum for the parliamentarians of the Republic of Indonesia who have concerns, competence, capacity, and knowledge on aspects relating to anti-corruption. The Taskforce is also the channel for dialogue and communications with parliamentarians in other countries to align corruption prevention efforts at the global level. Through GOPAC Indonesia, members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia are expected to give significant contribution to the fight against corruption – especially amidst public distrust towards a parliamentary institution.

There were around 30 members from the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia of 2009-2014 period, composed of members from different factions and commissions, in GOPAC. The members come from the Structure of the House of Representatives, such as the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Committee (BKSAP), Commission I, Commission III, and Ethics Committee. We hope to see more members of the House of Representatives of 2014-2019 period in GOPAC. The Taskforce certainly needs to be broadened so that parliamentarians can provide meaningful contribution in the fight against corruption. Despite the negative image due to allegations of corruption within the House of Representatives, we are determined to show that we have parliamentarians that strive to maintain their integrity and commitment to anti-corruption issues. The Taskforce is expected to increase the effectiveness and political function of the House of Representatives in efforts to prevent the crime of corruption.

GOPAC stands behind measures of corruption eradication executed by law enforcement agencies. This commitment should be shared by all all members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. Not all of these members are free from corruption. Corruption is an act executed not by one person or a single party, but always involves three parties – from policy makers, namely the government, business players, and the House of Representatives that grants approval. A parliamentarian who speaks about anti-corruption will have some kind of resistance against corruption.





# THE 6<sup>th</sup> GLOBAL CONFERENCE OF PARLIAMENTARIANS AGAINST CORRUPTION

Justice - Equity - Prosperity

6 - 8 October 2015, Yogyakarta, Indonesia







GOPAC fully supports movements that advocate for corruption to be considered a crime against humanity and a violation against human rights, and we fully support the steps taken by all parliamentarians, anywhere in the world, to urge the international community to consider grand corruption as a crime against humanity and human rights. By associating corruption with crimes against humanity and human rights, the jurisdiction of offence will no longer be limited to national territory, but may enter the international territory. Corruption is not only a national issue, but also international.

GOPAC Indonesia also encourages for all stipulations of UNCAC to be adopted in national law, including asset recovery. By having asset recovery in the national law, no one will be able to protect or hide the assets overseas. Moreover, on the International Anti-Corruption Day last year, the House of Representatives initiated online petition to support GOPAC's international campaign, which included bringing grand corruption to trial through international mechanism. Certainly, efforts around this need to observe the national sovereignty of each country. All members of the House of Representatives are expected to join and substantiate its integrity by keeping away from corruption.

When legal enforcement on corruption has not been fully effective to eradicate corruption, measures of prevention need to be priority in the strategy of corruption eradication. All elements of the society need to take part in this effort, including the House of Representatives as the representation of the people. The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia supports the prevention of corruption by forming GOPAC, or the Anti-Corruption Taskforce. In addition, the House of Representatives supports GOPAC's international campaign to have cases of grand corruption brought into trial through international mechanism without prejudice to the national sovereignty of all countries.







## chapter 06

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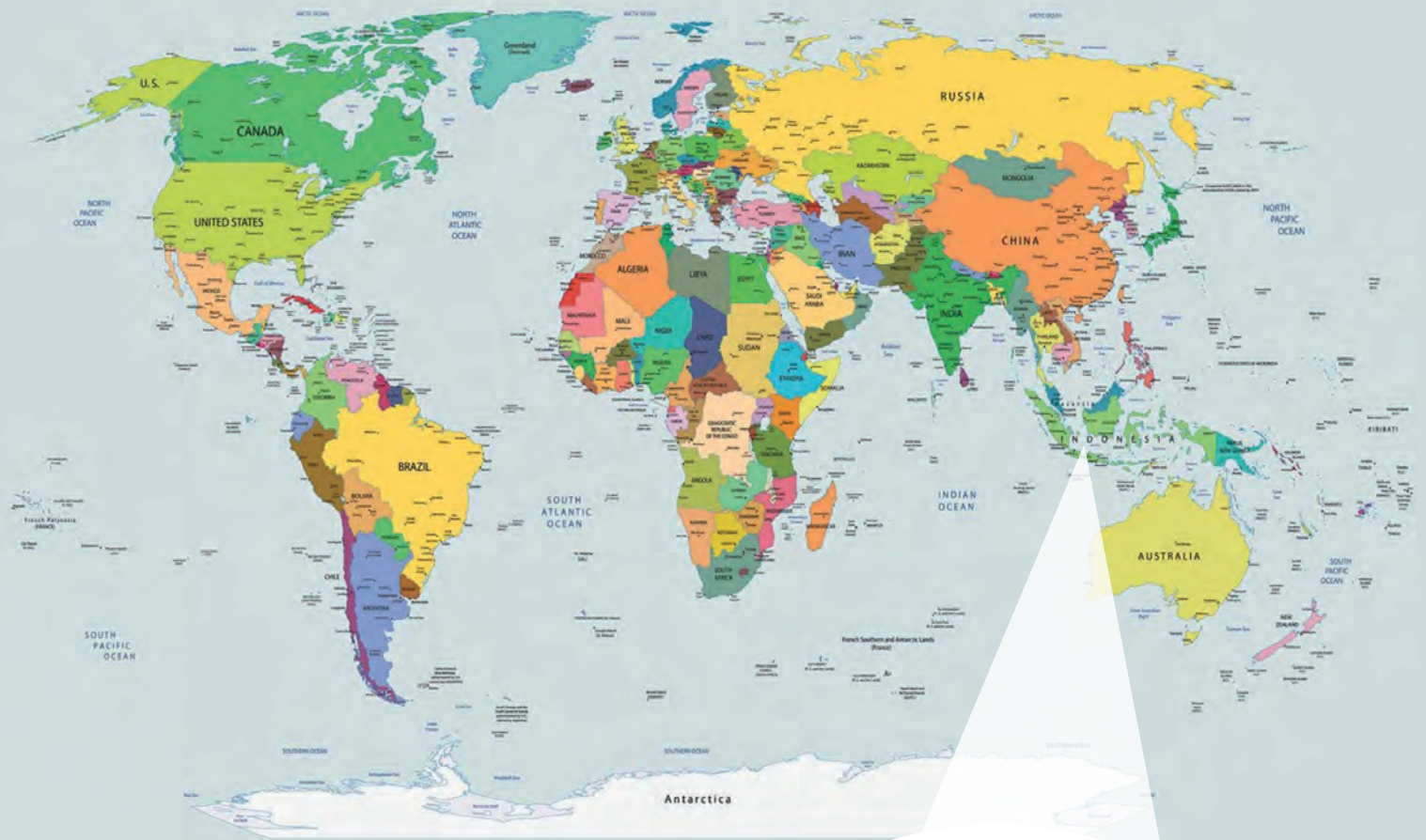
# Acceptance Speech; Chairmanship Speech and Closing of the 6<sup>th</sup> GOPAC Conference

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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 6<sup>th</sup> Global Conference of Parliamentarians Against Corruption

Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 8 October 2015



INDONESIA

## Acceptance Speech; Chairmanship Speech and Closing of the 6<sup>th</sup> GOPAC Conference

First of all, I would like to extend my gratitude to all the Board of Directors who have entrusted me with the mandate to chair the Executive Committee of GOPAC. I consider the trust you have placed in me is sacred and that I will give my utmost efforts to justify this credence.

Let me commend the hard-work that has been crafted by the previous chair, Excellency Ricardo Garcia Cervantes that despite his ill-health condition, the work of GOPAC in making a corrupt-free world has become significant than ever before. We are now turning thirteen and as an organization we have accomplished a lot. Today, GOPAC has more than 50 national chapters in five regional chapters and some chapters in formation.

We strengthen and empower parliaments in many countries, from those emerging economies up to those countries that are in the battlefield, with the dire need to combat corruption that haunted them. But, numbers are not only the achievement.

After several years observing the negative impact of corruption, GOPAC has come into realized that corruption is not just undermine the rule of law; it kills. We know where we are going today; to bring justice for those who are deprived their rights caused by corruption. In doing so, we have noticed some vital ways in dismantling the shield that is being used by the perpetrators of such crime.

However let me also remind you, that despite we are a global parliamentarians with a global network, we are of course part of the international community. In that sense, we have the obligation to emphasize the work of the international instrument, in particular the UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) as the tool in combatting grand corruption.





In other words, we should speak with the same language as the UNCAC has and we need to be under that umbrella. In the future, GOPAC will seek for a more solid and stronger political support from those States that have become parties to the UNCAC.

They are the mandate holder in crafting international instrument of which they can support the implementation of international cooperation in criminalizing grand corruption.

This conference is held at a critical juncture. Just as this organization has bloomed since its inception, the sustainability of the work of our global network of parliamentarians is being challenged.

We need to secure some funding to ensure that this organization runs well. The financial support provided by the people of Kuwait draws an end. That is why we are in dire need of a new blood to support the core funding of our organization.

in such situation, I bear a grave responsibility to continuing the work that we have. Within short-term anticipation situation, I will seek the possibilities to establish a Supporting Office in Indonesia in securing the management of the Executive Committee as well as the Board. In the longer-term, we will reach out for more options to diversify the funding.

This year marks the symbolic year of political will of change. Last month, the world leaders gathered in UN pledging for ambitious goals of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This month, GOPAC gathers parliamentarians all over the world to adopt ways in criminalizing grand corruptors within international context. In the forthcoming December, the international community will address the greatest environmental challenge that mankind ever face: climate change.

These three things have its strong links as they are cross-cutting issues one to another. They represent changes, a push to the global community to transform. From poverty to prosperity, from disaster-prone situation to climate resiliency. All these changes requires one fundamental action: eliminating corruption whenever it exists and wherever it hides, and we need to do this together.

In this respect let us applaud the newly-elected Executive Committee, whom with them, I will drive GOPAC in strengthening and sustaining the work that we have over the years. Mr. Osei Kyei Mensah Bonsu and Mrs. Paula Bertol as the Vice-Chairs, Mr. John Hyde as the Secretary and Mrs Mary King as the Treasurer (she is not here today). Let me also express gratitude to the support and guidance that has been provided by Dr Nasser Al Sane as the Executive Committee Member at-Large and Mr. John Williams as the President Emeritus. As the veterans of this organization, I will seek for your advice more and more in the coming years.



To the Board of Directors, where all of you are respected figures in your national and regional chapters, we only meet in days, but I believe that your dedication to this organization are reflected in the long-standing commitment on anti-corruption that GOPAC has. We will work towards a stronger and sustainable GOPAC in the future.

To Mrs. Fernanda Borges and all the Audit Committee, your generous support to audit us has strengthen the governance of the organization and I do hope that more check and balances will be provided by your committee.

I congratulate also Mr. Bonsu, that during your chairmanship the Board Meeting was lively and exuberance. The meeting was full of debates and that you can resolve all things in compromising ways.

Last but not least, to the GOPAC Secretariat and its CEO, Akaash Maharaj as well as the Secretariat of the Host country. Without you, this gathering of world parliamentarians would never be as successful as today.

In closing, I congratulate those parliamentarians who are here today for their strong dedication and interest on anti-corruption issues. I want to warmly welcome you to GOPAC. You are now part of our big family now, the global chapter of anti-corruption parliamentarians.

Let us challenge corruption!





*Delivering Chairmanship Speech and Closing of  
the 6<sup>th</sup> GOPAC Conference, Yogyakarta.*





## chapter 07

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# The Moral and Economic Imperative for Fairer, Smarter and More Humane Migration

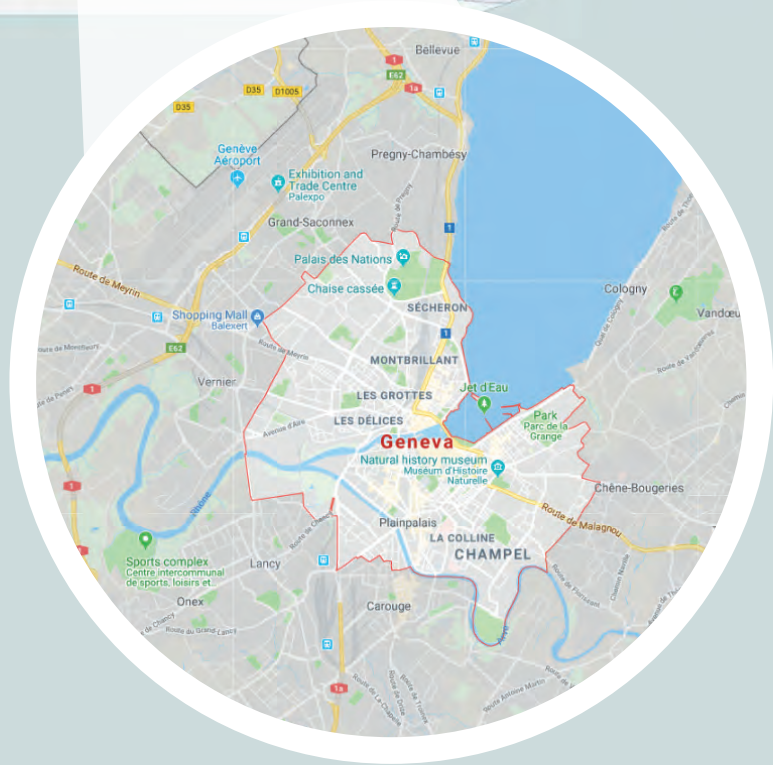
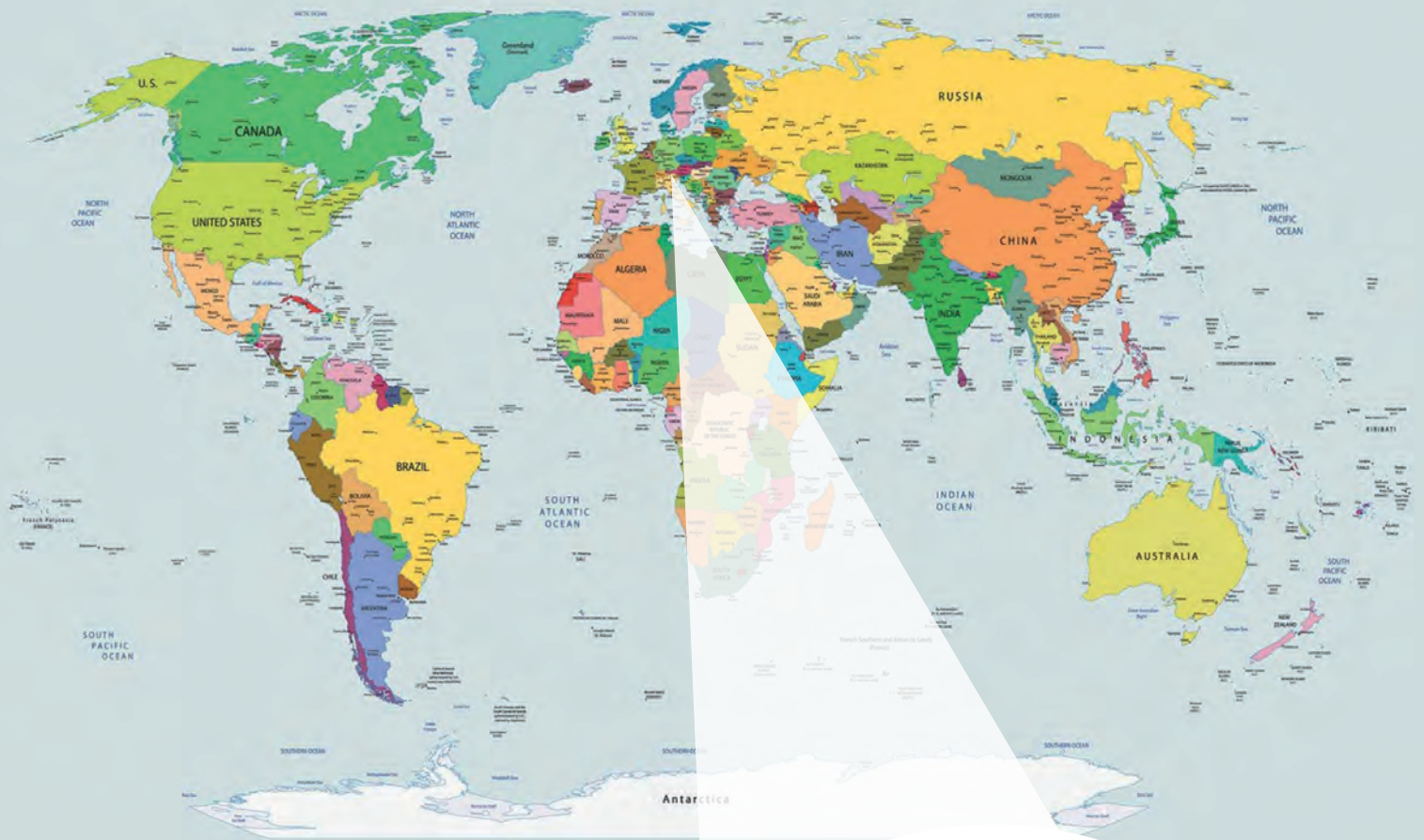
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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the General Debate 133<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Geneva, Switzerland, 20 October 2015





SWITZERLAND

## The Moral and Economic Imperative for Fairer, Smarter and More Humane Migration

Let me begin by first expressing our deepest condolences to those who become the victim of Ankara bombing-attack recently. Our thoughts and prayers are with those who have lost their loved ones, those who become the victim of this brutal-attack, and the people of Turkey. We will stand with Turkey and its people in the fight against such terror.

We are facing the challenges of humanity, the greatest ever to be compared to the human influx during the World War II. For days, weeks and months, an unprecedented migration and refugee crisis have occurred in large parts of the world.

These people are fleeing wars and conflicts from their homeland such as the Middle East, Africa as well as South East Asia. Most of them are heading to Europe with numbers according to the Office of UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2015 data, have reached 579,617 people while 3,080 people already reported dead or missing.

This large human tide has sparked challenges and debate within European countries. We understand the burdens that European may have as it will impact their national identity or it will lead to deeper social-cultural challenges in the future.

Within such context, there is an urgent need to have a European-wide agreement in dealing with the wave of such migration. It is a shared responsibility with the need to sacrificing part of our interests.





As winter draws near only by months, there will be more people, refugees and asylum seekers who live in tents, roads, or shelters, freezing and waiting for the decisions of the Europeans. If they cannot decide, many more will fall. I encourage our European counterpart to provide decisions that are considered to be fair to all members and humane to the refugees.

However, this is not only the responsibility of the European countries. Those countries that have become parties to the Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees should play its role in line with the convention including in the resettlement process. I welcome the resettlement plan pledges that have been made by Parties to the convention and urge those who have not done so to share the burden and fulfill their responsibilities as what have been enshrined under the convention.

As this would lead to solution, there is concern over certain preference on the refugee status determination process, arguing that to some countries, discrimination will prevail under the basis of religious background.

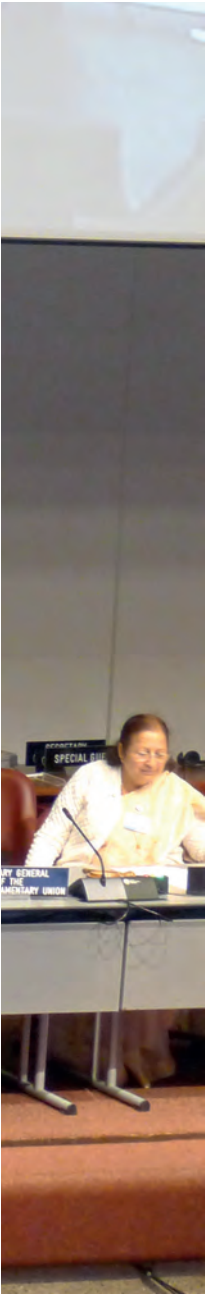
Within this context, Indonesia urges parties to the convention to deeply incorporate the implementation of human rights principles in the resettlement process. No one shall be judged under the basis of race, age, sex or certain religious background.

Again, we understand the challenges that may occurred in terms of “welcoming” these irregular movement to the continent. A set of legal instruments and careful measures should be imposed in a comprehensive manner to address these challenges.

Indonesia supports international migration to be treated as a multi-dimensional reality of major relevance for the development of countries of origin, transit and destination. It should be addressed in a number of different substantive policy areas, including health and population, natural disasters, climate change, education, gender equality and in the case of remittances. Hence, cooperation among countries of origin, transit and destination is of crucial importance and should be continuously pursued.

As a non-party to the refugee convention, Indonesia deems the influx of refugee as irregular migration. Yet, we receive many of these migrants, most of them are seeking for status as refugee. As per August 2015, a total of 13,110 persons of concern—refugees and asylum seekers—are in Indonesia (UNHCR data).

We share no legal responsibility of the convention. Be that as it may, the history of conflicts and the true value of solidarity that we have, taught us that humanity exist for no cause.





In Aceh, Indonesia, we provide shelter to Rohingyas migrants who have been in perilous journey, fleeing from conflict and being stateless. More than 1,300 Bangladeshi and Rohingyas have been saved by the local people of Aceh. In Medan, Indonesia, we take a good care those with no state, despite in a detention centre, before they took for a new dawn away from their nightmare.

Just as the same with the European may do, Indonesia comes with options in managing these kind of migratory phenomenon. But it requires a multilateral response. International solidarity should be at the forefront of this humanitarian situation. We have agreed, with Malaysia, to take care Rohingya migrants by creating temporary shelters in some areas.

The international community must work collectively to solve this problem and should not left the burden to any country alone.

The morality of receiving these migrants lies not only in the international documents but in our heart. Parties to the convention shall adhere their laws to carefully provide a well-received solutions to migrants including the refugees. While those who are not, may share the burden by contributing to the countries receiving the migrants through humanitarian assistances.



It is important also to remain vigilant when it comes to managing the negative impact of irregular movement of people. The motive is not always political, mostly by economic motive, which was then be exploited by crime syndicate to smuggle and traffic them. This is the case of Rohingyas. What they want is a new future, new economic opportunities but some people used them to get money, promising these Rohingyas a better life in other country.

Instead of a new hope, they found themselves caught in a boat full of humans, stranded at the sea with no food. To this syndicate we need to take stern action, individually or collectively, to combat this smuggler and bring them to justice.

Indonesia underlines the importance of addressing the root causes and other contributing factor of the recent influx of irregular migrants, and combating the people smuggling and human trafficking.

Conflicts in many parts of the world has trigger the massive wave of this human movement, while at the same time, due to the inequality of world's economic, people will always strive for a new journey, risk their lives in search of better opportunity.

The newly declared Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) address these issues in a comprehensive situation. Peace has been the integral part of the 2030 vision and fighting inequalities will be a lofty endeavor towards global prosperity. Within this context, Indonesia urges the international community as well as the parliaments to step up, to contribute and engage more to support the successful attainment of the promises of the SDGs

Let me also emphasize the need to bring peace to the contributing countries of such irregular movement.

We urge for a new international measure to bring an end to the war and conflicts in particular in Syria. The situation in Syria has caused suffering and forced nearly 12 million people to leave their home.

Thanks to the generosity of its neighbors: Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq as well as North Africa where they have made shelters for more than 4 million Syrians, the lives of these migrants are saved. Some of them are now in and heading to Europe, waiting for the chance to rebuild their life.

The UN Security Council should be the venue of which it holds the values and principles of UN Charter. If they fail, the international security regime will lose trust. I call upon the UN members to stop politicizing the UN Security Council and seek for durable solution to the issues. Humanity has called us to put an end to these war and conflicts.







## chapter 08

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# The Impact of Corruption on Global Refugee

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Speech by

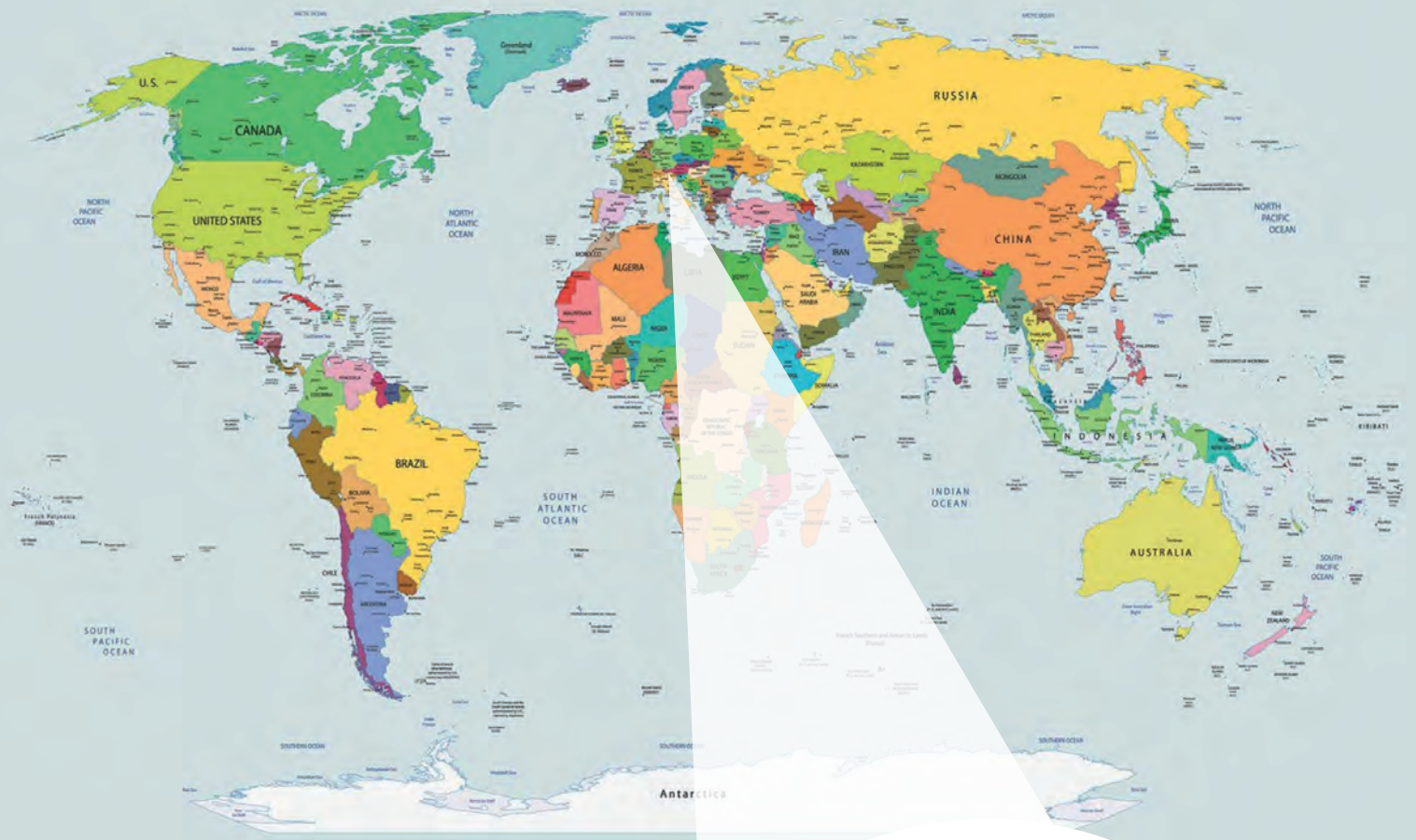
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)

at the 133<sup>rd</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Assembly

Geneva, Switzerland, 20 October 2015





SWITZERLAND



## The Impact of Corruption on Global Refugee

It is my great pleasure to address you today at this 133<sup>rd</sup> IPU General Assembly not only as a parliamentarian but also as the Chair of the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption, (GOPAC). Our membership extends across the world to include current and former legislators from 106 countries, women and men who are dedicated to working together to combat corruption and promote good governance. I am here with Mr Osei Kyei Mensah Bonsu, the Vice-Chair of GOPAC, Member parliament from Ghana.

We believe that the crime of which Transparency International defines as *the abuse of entrusted power for personal gain* exists in most part of the issues of migration.

Another breeding ground for corruption in terms of migration is within the context of migration/refugees aid. There have been reports on how some groups/non-governmental organizations or even governmental institutions taking the advantage from the international contributions and donations by creating proposals where none of them are being implemented in correct manner.

Corruption deprives the fundamental rights of refugees. In a country where the rule of law is weak and state-apparatus integrity is low, migration issues often coupled with corruption. It occurs in every stages of migration from border protection, immigration control, up to the lack of services to the basic needs of the refugees.

Corruption is the facilitator of the migration related crime: human smuggling and trafficking. Smugglers and traffickers as well as corrupt officials use the migrants, those who are desperate enough—most of them are—for personal gain.



Smugglers treat migrants as goods, while migrants are compelled to pay some money as they are in a vulnerable situation that forcing them to do that. In the world of human smuggling, bribery pays: OECD said in their last paper.

Widespread corruption hampers development, leads to poverty, and closes economic opportunities as well as undermines the rule of law. These in the end stimulate people to move abroad, generating influx of human migration.

GOPAC believes that by combating corruption, we can provide a more prosperous and wealthy environment to our people, making them believe that their home provides all the best that they have always wanted. Further, we believe that attacking political corruption is the best way to diminish the drivers of forced migration.

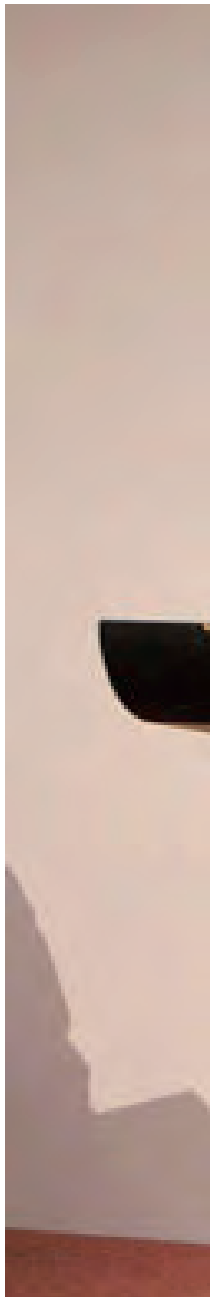
This is because in most parts of the world, power tends to corrupt and by greed and corruption they have become one of the driver of international conflict; political corruption breeds popular resentment and inhibits action on international policy such as climate change.

As Mahatma Gandhi once has said: The world's has enough for everyone's need, but not enough for everyone's greed.

At this valuable conference, let me share you on what GOPAC has done and will do to combat corruption, in particular corruption which may deprives the fundamental rights of our people—including those of refugees. At our 6<sup>th</sup> (sixth) Global Conference in Indonesia, held two weeks prior to the 133<sup>rd</sup> IPU Assembly we have committed to pursue the perpetrators of grand corruption—corruption that is so grave and whose effect on human life, human rights and human welfare are so catastrophic—by seeking the possibility to establish of such international measures such as: an optional protocol to the UNCAC on international court on corruption and UN Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of corruption on human rights.

GOPAC also takes into account the particular Goal No 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) where it pursue the dream of good governance and advocate for peace for the betterment of human life. In the future we will work towards these directions, guided by Yogyakarta Declaration adopted in Indonesia, a country with a strong and robust anti-corruption commitments.

As Indonesia has set the pathway for a corrupt-free nation through the development of an independent anti-corruption commission and court, robust criminalization of corruption and anti-money laundering laws, as well as other anti-corruption prevention legislative instruments, we wish that the same spirit also be embedded to all members of IPU.









GOPAC commits to have a fight against corruption to recover the enjoyment of rights of others. GOPAC officers have also made a strong link of their work into the issue of refugees and its root causes.

But these examples are not enough. We can and should do more and we cannot do this alone. Many more members are needed. Many more partnerships and collaborations are needed. GOPAC calls on each of delegate assembled, on the IPU, to recognise that the refugee crisis is an emanation of a broader corruption crisis, to recognise that we must work together to fight corruption.

## chapter 09

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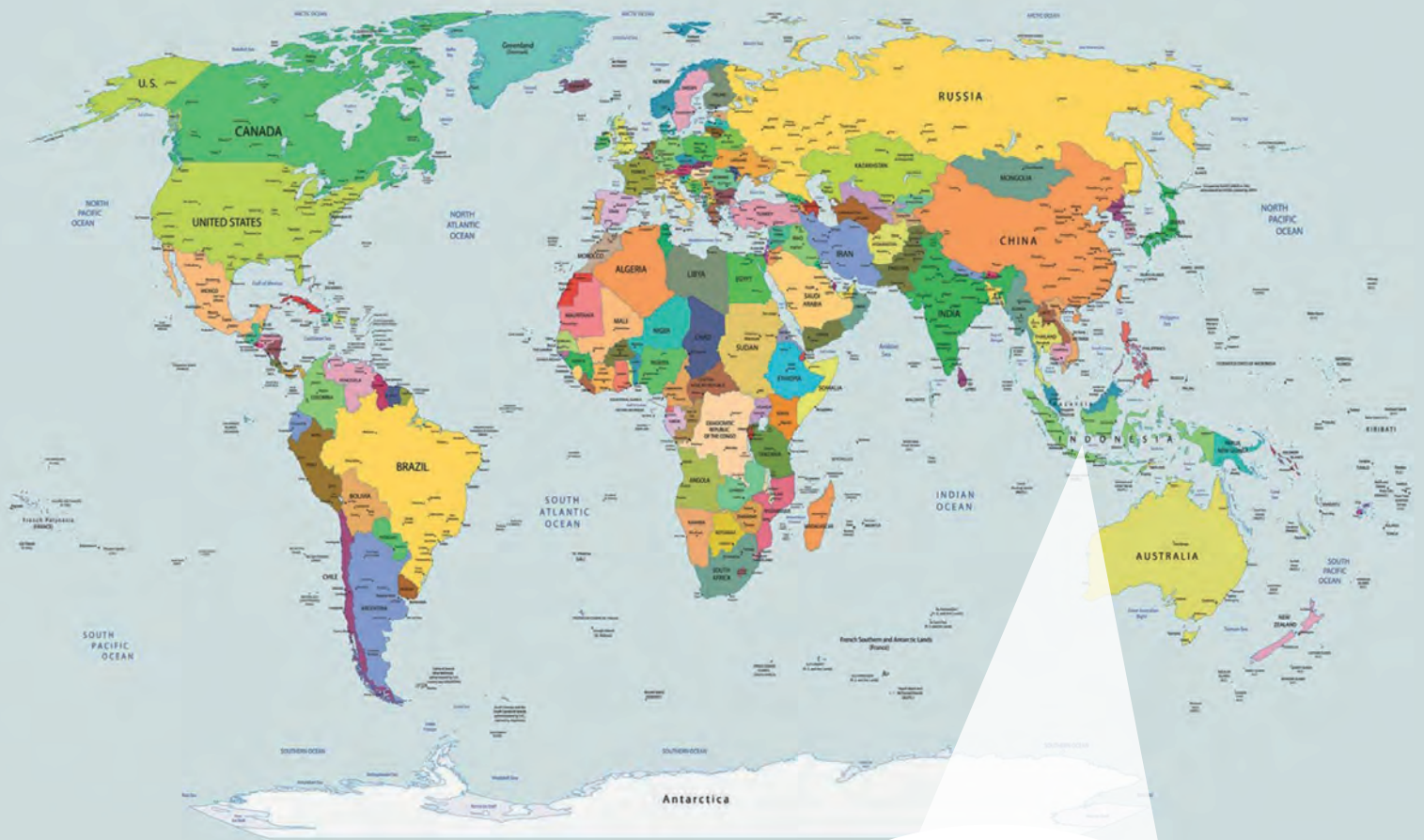
# ASEAN – JAPAN Economic Integration

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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
on the Occasion of AIPA Member Dialogue with Members  
of Parliament of Japan

Jakarta, Indonesia, 24 November 2015



INDONESIA



## ASEAN – JAPAN Economic Integration

It is an honour to be here. Firstly, I would like to thank you AIPA and members of the Japanese parliament for the time that they have provided for us. Japan has always been an indispensable partner and mutual ally for the ASEAN countries for almost 42 years.

It is still strong in our collective memory, the first ASEAN-Japan cooperative partnership has evolved from small dialogue on ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership in 2008.

Today, ASEAN and Japan have broadened and deepened cooperation beyond economic trade into a cooperation that promote peace, stability, development and prosperity in the Asian region. In 2013, ASEAN and Japan had agreed to further cooperate on four key areas: Partners of Peace and Stability, Partners for Prosperity, Partners for Quality of Life and Heart-to-Heart partners. AIPA greatly welcome this initiative and keen to support its implementation.

We would also like to applaud Japan's active role in contributing to ASEAN connectivity which is pertinent to economic development in the region. We take note on Japan and the Asian Development Bank support to strengthen cooperation on regional air and maritime linkages as highlighted in the 2013 Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit. As we all aware, the ASEAN region still needs immense amount of infrastructure development to unleash its regional economic potential. Moving forward, we see in our region today in need to enhance people-to-people relationship through dialogue and forum.

Over the years, AIPA has served remarkably as an organization for ASEAN parliamentarians to connect and to discuss important matters. Japan, as one of the key observer in AIPA, has contributed greatly in widening our perspective. We further reiterate our commitment to extend AIPA dialogue with external partner and parties.



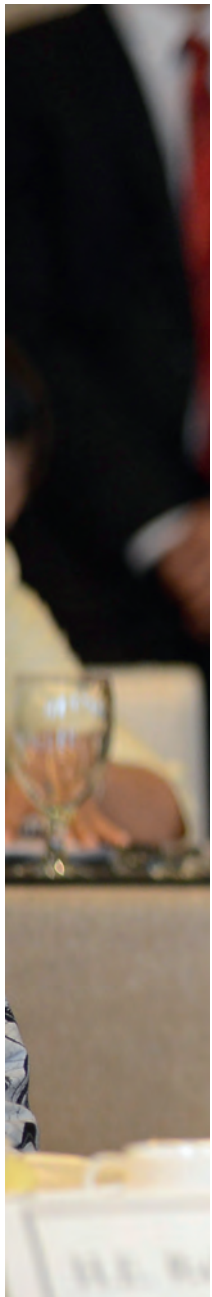
The upcoming ASEAN Economic Integration remains in our top agenda in both ASEAN and AIPA. In the last AIPA General Assembly, we have agreed that the formation of ASEAN Economic Community is the foundation for achieving the ideals of regional integration. In order to support that foundation, we also agreed to notion that the harmonization of policies among ASEAN countries should continue to be made.

The ASEAN charter explicitly stated that the ASEAN Economic Community can only be achieved by full participation of all stakeholders. It is including state and non-state actors. ERIA as an economic policy think-tank has provided a full commitment to support the ASEAN Economic Integration.

We are really helped with the active contribution taken by ERIA. AIPA has received invaluable insight provided by ERIA, through its deep analysis in symposium and other publications published by the organization that support the realization of ASEAN economic community. In the future, we see the need to fully utilize ERIA as a stakeholder for the ASEAN economic community and to further support the work of parliament. AIPA and ERIA can work in collecting best practices from members of AIPA and to provide policy recommendation in order to realise the ASEAN economic integration and equitable economic development.

Another current collective good problem that we need to deal is about disasters. Disasters and the related devastations have increased in the last decade. During 2005-2015 alone, over 700,000 people lost their lives. More than 1.4 million people were injured and approximately 23 million became homeless due to disasters. The world's worry about disasters, more so due to climate change which has aggravated to more than 1.5 billion in the last decade. Several ASEAN countries and Japan are countries which are not immune to natural disaster. From 2004 to 2014 itself, Southeast Asia contributed to more than 50 percent of the total global disaster fatalities, or 354,000 of the 700,000 deaths in disasters worldwide. The total economic loss was US\$91 billion.

In facing natural disaster threat, ASEAN had established a Committee on Disaster Management (ACDM) and developed Standard Operating Procedure for Regional Standby Arrangements and Coordination of Joint Disaster Relief and Emergency Response Operations (SASOP). Nonetheless, we are of the view that the Sendai Framework adopted in the Third UN World Conference this year has brought up three critical elements that were yet covered in previous framework; such as building resilience, promoting local solutions and promoting inclusivity. We see there is urgency to mainstream Sendai Framework into the ASEAN SASOP.









In 2012, AIPA members have pledged to improve public awareness, to promote inclusion and to increase community preparedness through educational efforts on disaster risk reduction efforts. In the light of the newly launched Sendai framework, I would like to call AIPA members to continue our strenuous effort to support the implementation of disaster risk reduction efforts.

Finally, I hope today dialogue could further facilitate and promote social interaction and exchange of views, particularly on deepening relation between AIPA Member of Parliaments and Japanese Parliament Members.

## chapter 10

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# Building the Tools of Democracy and Citizen Engagement

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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 24<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF)

Vancouver, Canada, 19 January 2016





CANADA



## Building the Tools of Democracy and Citizen Engagement

It is a distinct honour and privilege for me to be here in this beautiful city of Vancouver for the 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the Senate and the House of Commons of Canada for the cordial welcome extended to my delegation and me.

Allow me to also extend my highest appreciation to the Parliament, Government, and people of Canada under the leadership of the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau for welcoming the Syrian refugee in a humane and noble manners. On this note, I would like to clearly highlight that recent heinous act of terrorism which happened in some countries, including in Jakarta-Indonesia, should not be defeating our democracy. Terrorism will only undermine the level of democracy. Therefore, I believe that strengthening of law enforcement to fight against terrorism is significant for stability of democracy in this region.

In recent decades, the Asia-Pacific region has made steady gains in political rights and civil liberties. It has also achieved impressive progress in the development of political institutions. Regular electoral systems, modern political parties, and effective parliamentary system are common feature of this region. These development are widely founded by common aims to promote good governance, political stability, and rule of law. There are exceptions, of course, but the broader trend is clear; nations in the Asia Pacific have adopted competitive and freely contested elections than ever before.



In 1998, major financial crisis hit Indonesia. The crisis that began on the financial sector, inevitably led to the socio-political crisis. Following the crisis, Indonesia has experienced a significant political transformation. Since then, there has been some progress toward more consolidated democracy. These include freedom of expression, free and fair electoral process, and direct parliamentary and presidential elections.

Furthermore, we shifted from centralized to decentralized by devolving more executive and legislative powers to our local governments, and by giving them a greater share of resources for own development. Our national police became a purely civilian institution, while our military establishment moved out of politics in order to focus on national defense and security.

In December 2015, Indonesia had just achieved another milestone of democracy. We have successfully conducted simultaneous regional elections in 269 regions throughout the nation. Not only to elect governors and vice-governors, but also mayors and regents to replace those who ended their term of office in 2015.

In dealing with substantial democracy, we also have made progress within that dimension. We reformed the infrastructure of our economy, waged a battle against corruption, collusion and nepotism, and restored the focus of national development for the purpose of people prosperity. We made four substantive amendments to our constitution to ensure that our people fully enjoy their right of suffrage and to refine our political institutions. The presidents have also been limited to two five-years terms.

Today, Indonesia with 260 million people have succeeded to pass peaceful transition to democracy. Since we are also the country with the world's largest Muslim population, we have also become the living proof that Islam, democracy and modernization can flourish together. Indonesia has showed the world that Islam and democracy are compatible. Indonesia has showed as well that there is no contradiction between Islamic ideals and the democratic principles of equality, liberty, and pluralism.

In closing, democracy is not always the best form of government. Democracy is not one size-fit all model around the world. There is no single way in defining how democracy should work in society. Democracy in each state should be developed based on its own culture and history. Democracy guarantees equal opportunity for all citizens. Democracy should be an instrument for the government to achieve prosperity for the people. Therefore, in our perspectives, the idea of democracy contains not only political democracy, but also economic social democracy. And I hope nations in our region will get better and better at being a democracy as the years go by.









*Courtesy Call H.E. Fadli Zon with H.E. Geoff Regan,  
Speaker of the House of Commons of Canada*

## chapter 11

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# Fostering Innovation and Connectivity Engagement

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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 24<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF)

Vancouver, Canada, 20 January 2016



CANADA,



## Fostering Innovation and Connectivity Engagement

The recent global economic slowdown has decreased the economic growth. Many large companies have been severed. The weak demand and tight credit were the main pressure for big companies during the crisis. But, it is not the case for Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) which are based on creative industry. They have been more resilient to economic crisis. At least, they were to be the least affected by the crisis.

The persistence of creative industries from the impact of global economic crisis has been inspiring APPF members to foster innovation. Creative industry is major source of innovative ideas and strong performance in technological innovation, that contribute to the regeneration of new products and services.

Nowadays, it is clear that economic activity of creative goods and services such as arts and crafts, books, design, films, music, new media, visual and performing arts— have been improving. It is marked the new era where the creative industries are very important for economic security.

Indeed, the creative industries are today one of the most growing sectors for the global economy. Small-Medium-Enterprises (SMEs) have become the engine of growth and job creation in the Asia-Pacific. We should consider the creative industry as one of the new growth sectors with tremendous potential. Innovation is the key to survive.

Indonesia with 260 million population is very rich with its cultural diversity. It provides us important sources for thriving creative industry. Indonesia has made significant effort to support SME's activities, including its interactions in global stage. Indonesia-creative industry is highly



*Delegation of the Indonesian Parliament at 24<sup>th</sup>  
Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF)*

diverse split broadly over 14 industry categories including fashion, advertising, design, movie and software development. Fashion remains the dominant subsector of the creative industry in Indonesia in terms of contribution to GDP at 63.3% followed by crafts at 33.2%. This sector has been also very active to grow. Contribution of SME has reached 57% to Indonesia's GDP, in which it is very impressive considering its relative novelty as a commercial subsector.

Economic integration initiative has been priority agenda in the Asia Pacific region. As a global trend policy, economic integration offers opportunities of potential global marketplaces for Small Medium-size Enterprises (SMEs). It provides opportunities for SMEs to upgrade their business models and to grow across borders which can increase SMEs competitiveness, jobs, and promoting substantive economic growth. In this sense, connectivity is very essential. Integrating market through enhancing connectivity.

Indonesia has been doing tremendous efforts to improve its connectivity. As the largest archipelago in the world which consists of thousands islands, building well-connectivity is very hard but essential.

Therefore, as member of parliament, we strongly support for necessary policy, such as allocating significant budget for infrastructure, port and sea transportation, taken by government to accelerate Indonesia's connectivity. It becomes more imperative since ASEAN Economic Community has been effectively started in 2016.

The opportunities for SMEs in global value chains are enormous. We have recognized the importance of integrating creative industries into global chains. Creative industry is important element for economic growth and the resilience against unexpected events such as financial crisis. Economic growth is no longer relied on manufacturing output but rather focused on attracting human capital.

We also suggest that if the creative economy were well nurtured, it can be a important driven factor of economic growth, jobs, and trade. It also will offer positive impact to social inclusion and human sustainable development.





## chapter 12

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# Rejuvenating Democracy, Giving Voices to Youth

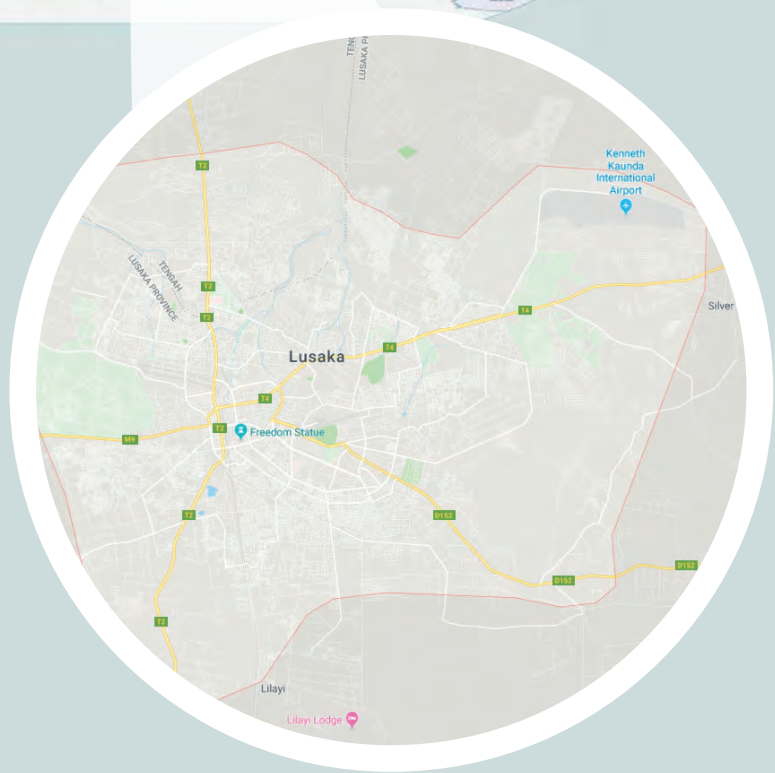
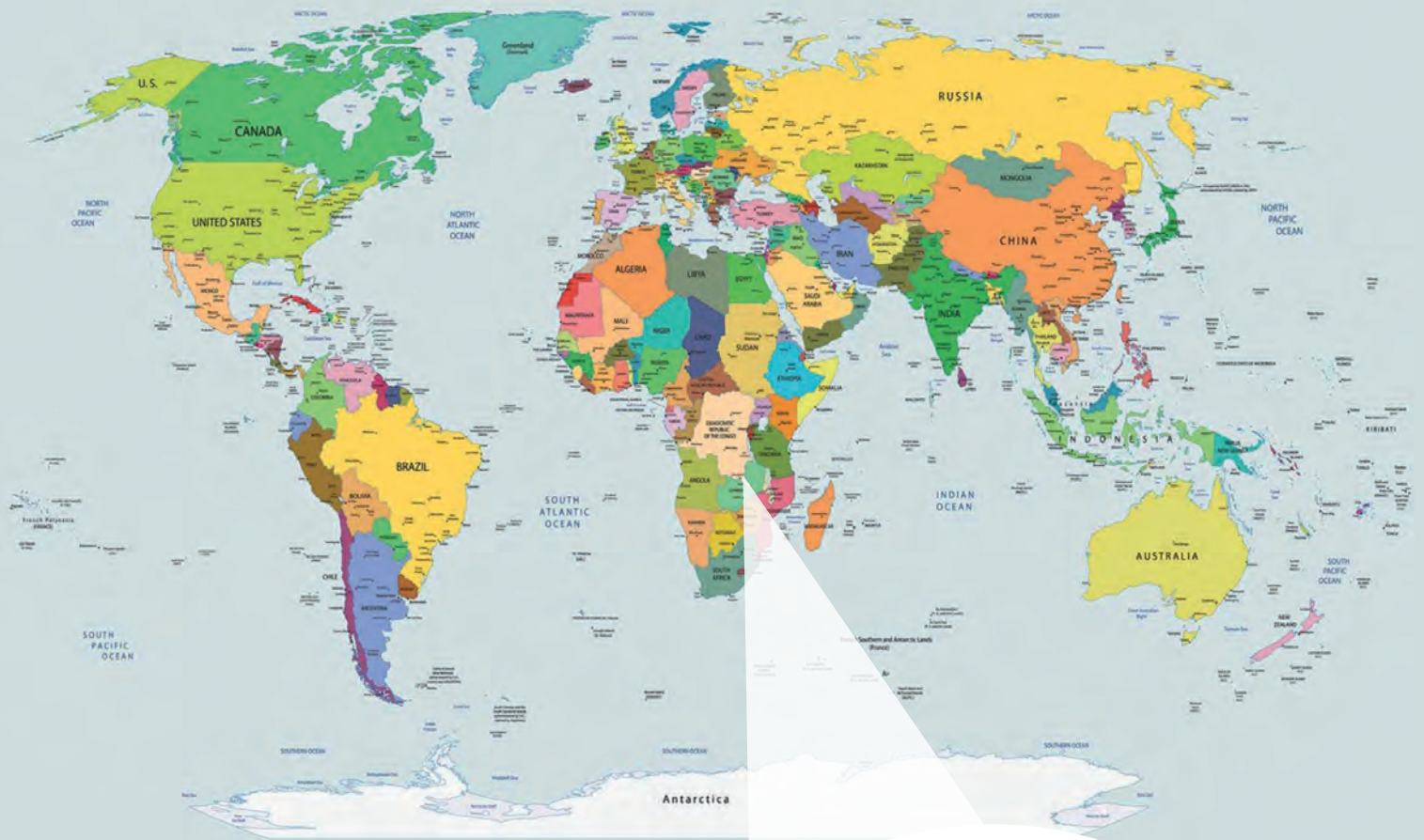
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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 134<sup>th</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Lusaka, Zambia, 21 March 2016





ZAMBIA



## Rejuvenating Democracy, Giving Voices to Youth

At the outset, I would like to congratulate the Parliament of Zambia for successfully organizing the 134<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly and Related Meetings.

As the third largest democratic country in the world, Indonesia consists 260 million people of various ethnic groups and regions. Indonesia is the country with the world's largest Muslim population, where 87,2 percent or 209 million of population identifies as Muslim. We have become the living proof that Islam, democracy and modernization can flourish together. Indonesia is a country whose constitution embraces the spirit of religious tolerance.

*We are united in diversity.*

Democracy in Indonesia has been developing into favorable direction. Particularly in the aftermath of economic crisis 1998, Indonesia has experienced a significant political transformation. Since then, there has been some progress toward Indonesia consolidated democracy. These include freedom of expression, free and competitive electoral process, and direct parliamentary and presidential elections.

However, our democracy is not merely defined by such parameters. We believe that democracy should be home-grown and that there are no one-size fits all democracy. The existence of various models of democracy in Indonesia has given rise to an intellectual question on what kind of democracy is the best fit.



We define our democracy as Pancasila democracy. Pancasila is the philosophical foundation of the Indonesia. As the blueprint of the Indonesian nation, Pancasila consists of five principles: the belief in one God, justice and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy, and social justice for all the peoples of Indonesia. Pancasila is the sole, basic principle of Indonesian life as society, nation, and state.

Indonesian history recorded that the youth played important role in Indonesia's movement, back since 1928, when Indonesian youth from various ethnics, beliefs and socio-economic backgrounds gathered in a conference to pledge Indonesia as their homeland, nation and language of unity.

In 1945, the youth took part in fighting for Indonesia's independence. In fact they were of the key player of the Indonesia's Declaration of Independence. Their role is significant in changing the political landscape of Indonesia, including those in 1966 and 1998 transitions.

Today, being technopiles, innovative and critical group toward national policy, the young generations are the backbone of our country. They are the creative group, the agent of change, and they are our future. They are the positive force for development when they are equipped with knowledge as well as opportunities.

Indonesian youth utilize social media as a flexible instrument to address various social and political issues, which allows them to communicate anything. They use social media to criticize public policies, highlight social problems, sign online petitions to bring about change, and also organize protest on the streets. However, youth virtual political activities appears to be disconnected from its real situation. Virtual activism alone seems to be insufficient to constitute youth political participation in the democratic arena.

It is such a worrying situation to see that the youth are skeptical about politics globally. As parliamentarians, we have to show why politics matters and essential to achieve common good life. We have responsibility to engage more young people to contribute and participate in democracy.

Indonesia gives strong attention on youth inclusion in politics. The number of youth in Indonesia currently is 62 millions people, or 25 percent of national population. Youth formed a significant group as they make up 30% of eligible voters in the last 2014 legislative and presidential elections.





Furthermore, our law on Legislatives Election stipulates that the minimum age of a legislative candidate is 21 years old. In Indonesia national parliament for the period 2014-2019, there are 2.7 percent parliament members aged 20-30 years old, and 14.5 percent aged 31-40 years old. In addition, Law on Governor, Regent and Major regulates that a person aged 25 years old is eligible to run for Major or Regent Election, while the minimum age for gubernatorial candidate is 30 years old. These are the way on how we promote youth to take more active role in politics.

The youth's engagement in politics is essential to sustain democracy. However, it is hard to be realized if there are still many young people face violence and armed conflict in their daily life. Therefore, we as parliamentarians may take appropriate action to prevent conflict and promoting peace. Peace and security are precondition for youth to have more voice in democracy.

Moreover, parliaments should enact legislations that ensure youth to participate freely and actively in politics. The minimum age to vote and to be nominated as legislative candidate should be regulated to provide fair chances for the youth to participate in political process.



Voter's education especially the first time voters, is critical to shape meaningful democracy. Voters should be well-informed to whom they cast their ballot for, eliminating any potential money politics at the onset. The role of political party and political figure on political education is also crucial, the voters will look and observe how political party and the elites behave. We should lead by example.

Let me conclude by emphasizing that we need to empower and involve youth more in politics. The inclusion of youth voices in politics will bring us closer to substantial democratic policy and decision making process. One where no one is left behind, especially the youth. Let us make the youth of today as the leaders in shaping the future.







## chapter 13

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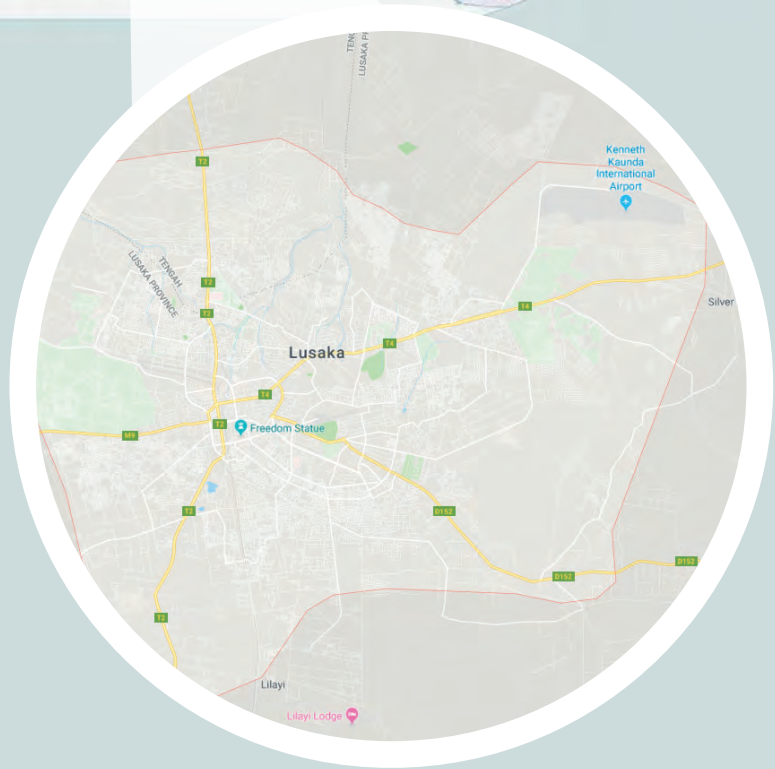
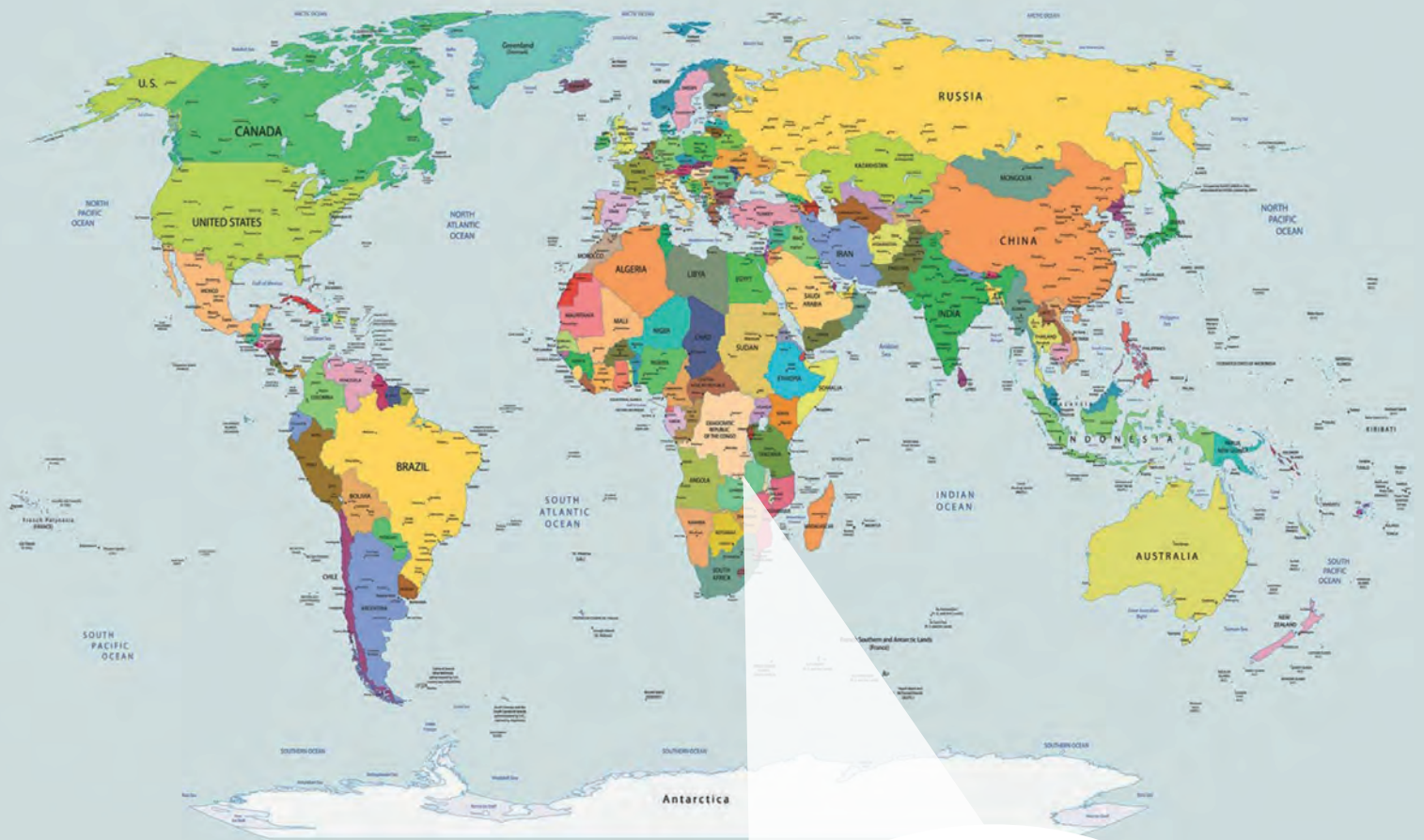
# Youth and Anti Corruption Movement

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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 134<sup>th</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Lusaka, Zambia, 21 March 2016



ZAMBIA

## Youth and Anti Corruption Movement

The active role of youth in democracy is one of the pivotal element for the cause that we stand for: a fight against corruption. We are the only organization that has the membership of current and former parliamentarians who focus solely on anti-corruption issues.

Youth have the potential power to fight against corruption. They are more critical and open to social change. Their active involvement in democracy is essential for success in curbing corruption. The youth's power is important in this endeavor.

We have seen many social movements, rallies and protests, demanding for a fair trial on their leaders who have been allegedly involve in corruption; those who previously are "untouchable". These kind of actions are viral not only because corruption spreads, but also because the action of one, two, three and more young people who were dissatisfied on the cause. And since today's generation are more advance in using technologies. They are using social media as platform to voice out their opinion in a faster, smarter and more creative ways than we can ever imagine.

We have today, the largest youth population ever. There are about 1.8 billion young people between the ages of 10-24. If we combine it more with those in the age group of 25-30, the number will be even larger. And these numbers are bases for the need to involve youth in the struggle to fight against corruption.

Many of these young generation see their potentials are blocked by extreme poverty and by all means, corruption. World Economic Forum's Partnering Against Corruption Initiative and the UN Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has portrayed how the millennial generation (18-34yo) perception on corruption.





At about 72% of those who surveyed said that corruption holding their country back and corruption causing the lost opportunities for their generation.

As I said before, these young people have their own way to express themselves due to the rapid development of technology. If we want to fight the corrupt, we need to bring more allies: the youth. We need to strengthen their will, making them aware on the corruption modus operandi, and shield them with integrity.

That is why the inclusion of youth into policy and decision making process is of importance. As they are integral element to shape the value of tomorrow, we need more young people to actively engage in anti corruption movement.

But sadly, corruption is also a problem in the current democracy. 75% of millennial generation think that election and voting are corrupt. Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer 2013 said that there is increasing evidence around the world on the risk of corruption in political process and within political parties.

It will come in our skeptical thoughts in combatting this kind of vicious circle of corruption. That is the challenge: to fight this kind of vicious circle. We need more parliamentarians who have integrity and concerned on this kind of matter to fix the system; to make ways to the system; to rejuvenate it.

We need more laws that strengthen public participation with no discrimination including youth at all levels of decision-making process, transparency on every kind of public process, laws that equally protects all and others.

Political institutions should also be strengthened and political parties are no exception. They should adapt in order to engage more youth as their young political cadre. At the same time, laws governing political parties, their institution, and system of work should also be strengthened to close the corrupt gap in every aspects.

GOPAC believes that parliament is the fundamental institution of democracy. Parliament is the heart of law and policy making cycle. GOPAC is working for strengthening integrity, commitment and capacity of the parliamentarians on anti-corruption issues, of which by itself it will lead to inclusivity of youth to democracy.







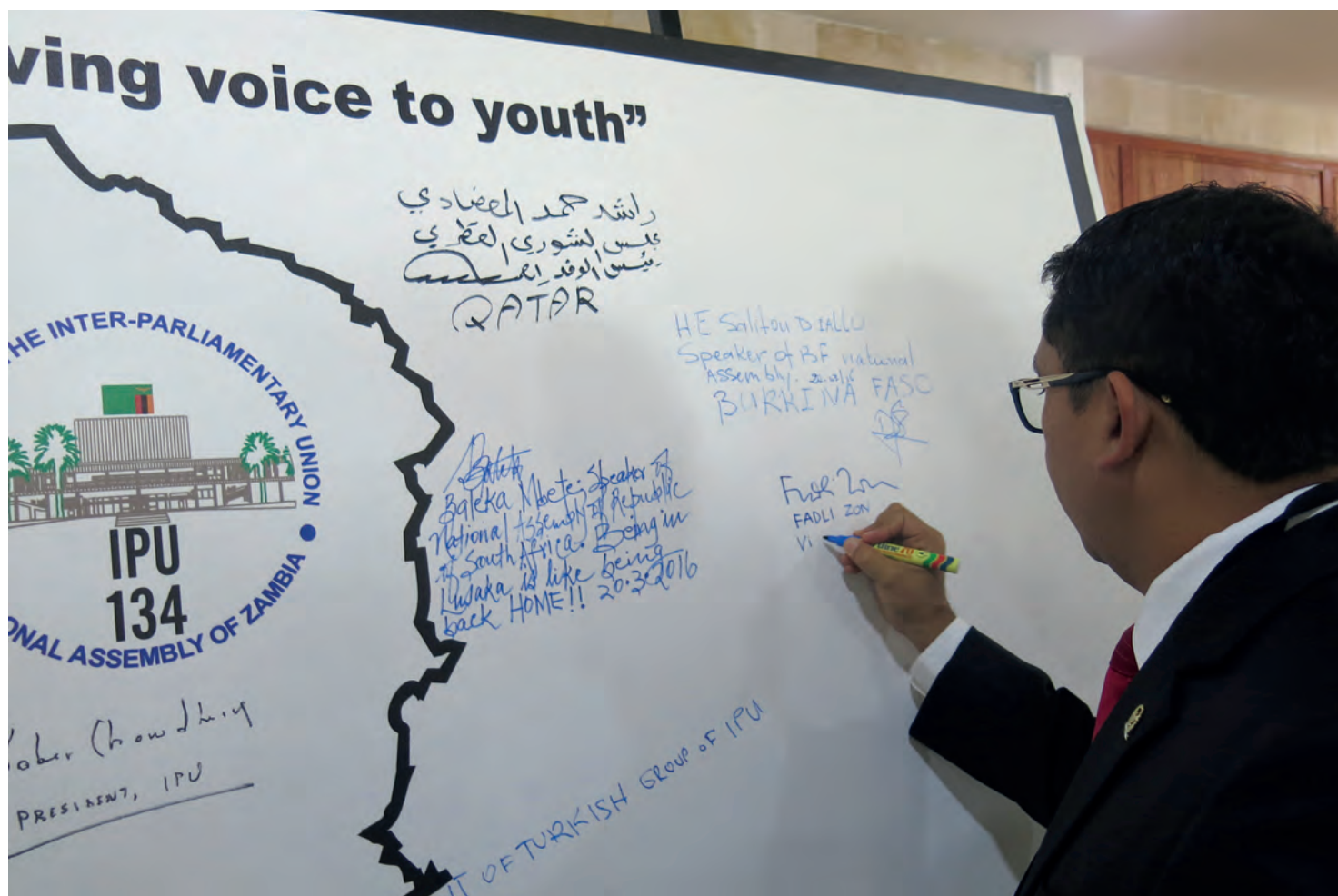




## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Today we are partnering with Islamic Development Bank (ISDB) and UNDP to develop a handbook on parliamentary oversight of resources for development in the context of monitoring the national implementation of the SDGs, to assist parliamentarians in this new task and share innovative practices. This new tool will allow us, as parliamentarians, to explore opportunities to improve our oversight function and to better engage with youth and other marginalized groups as we establish and monitor progress towards our national development priorities.

Let me conclude my speech by quoting John Lenon word; *A dream you dream alone is only a dream. A dream you dream together is reality.* GOPAC is dreaming with the youth to shape the world better without corruption. And if more parliamentarians have the same dream just like we have, the fight against corruption will be even stronger.







## chapter 14

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# Bridging Connectivity and Effective Multilateralism to Address the Challenges of Globalization

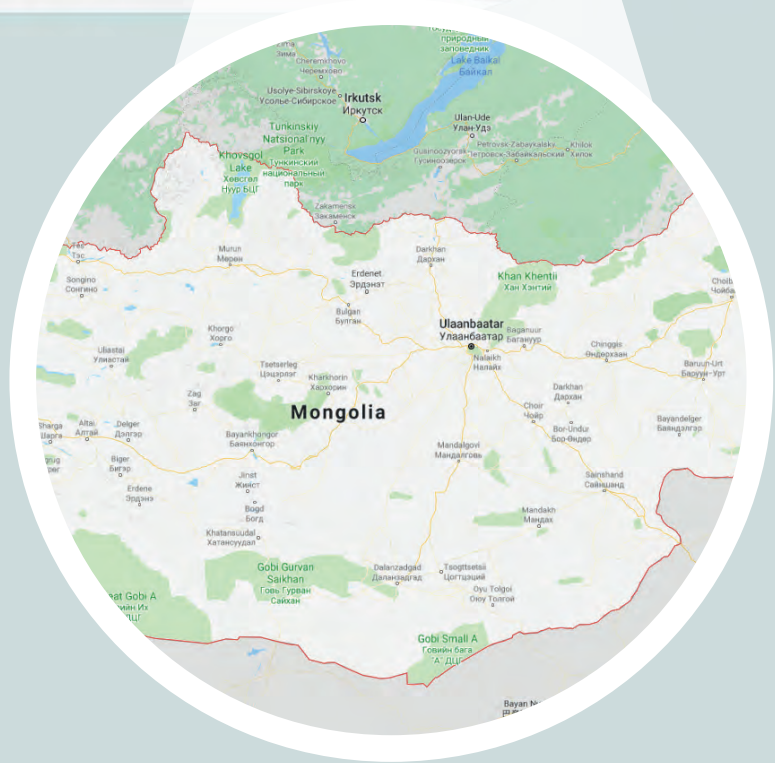
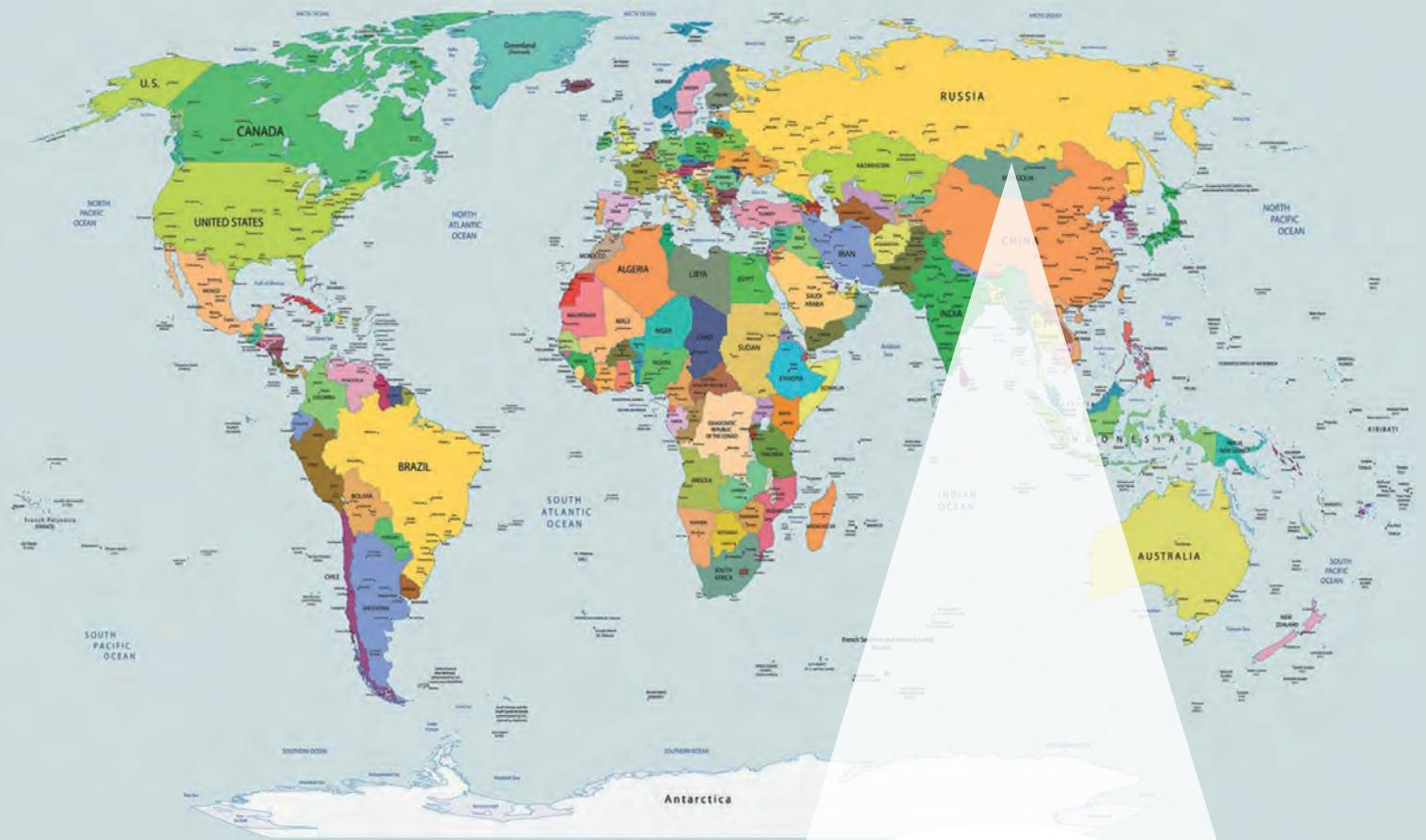
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Speech by  
**H.E. FADLI ZON**

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 9<sup>th</sup> Asia Europe Parliamentary Meeting (ASEP)

Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 22 April 2016





MONGOLIA

## Bridging Connectivity and Effective Multilateralism to Address the Challenges of Globalization

It is a privilege to take part in your deliberations on “Connectivity and Effective Multilateralism,” the two fundamentals in addressing the challenges of globalization.

Over the last fifty years, global economic growth rose sharply. The impact of economic growth has been phenomenal. Infant mortality rate has declined. Literacy rate and life expectancy have increased. The number of people living in extreme poverty was likely to fall to under 10 percent of the global population in 2015, the World Bank projected.

However, the narrative that leads to the declining poverty rates is backed by a huge amount of institutional interest. According to a research by Professor Thomas Pogge from Yale University, the original goal of drawing 836 million people out of poverty under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) has been whittled down to 345 million. In addition, the International Poverty Line (IPL) has been set to serve the poverty-reduction narrative. An IPL of \$1.25 per day utilized by the UN Millennium Campaign is nowhere near to providing the adequate standard of living. Consequently, increasing the number of people above the IPL does not mean freeing them out of poverty. The global claim of the declining poverty is misleading.

In trade activities, globalization and trade liberalization are the two sides of a coin, both provide opportunities and challenges. This often translated to opportunities for all, but in reality, more opportunities for those who prosper, and more challenges for the poor.

Opportunities ramp up from the elimination of tariff barriers, a leeway for countless profit and greater market expansion for large corporations. Globalization and trade liberalization have made friends and foes as competitors and rivals. Unfortunately, billions of people in the developing world and poorer economies are unable to compete in such a competitive environment. As many people gained, more of us are still left behind.







The premises of the potential benefits from trade liberalization are often inferred under idealized market condition. In reality however, market condition is far from being perfect. Globalization has created winners and losers. Among those who gain from globalization, the collective economic welfare is not equally shared by all socio-economic groups.

Many countries are threatened as the backbone of their economies collapsed. For decades, agriculture has been accounted for a large share of GDP, an employment generator, basic necessity provider, and a source of income for millions of rural populations. In line with trade liberalization, the share of developing countries in agricultural exports declined, while their share in agricultural imports increased, thus, excluding millions of people from the agricultural sector, turning land owners into peasants.

Under the present trade regime, our “free trade” practices are neither free nor fair. When global trade policies are harmful for state’s economic condition, they are no longer beneficial and an evolution of the international trade regime is critical. Global trade should be in favor of the poor. In reality however, money flows to those who prosper as food flows to those who have the money instead to those who need it the most. Mounting evidence showed that free trade is not the answer to end hunger and poverty. The two of the world’s greatest problems are not inevitable. They exist as inequality and vulnerability persist at many levels of the global society.

The reality of globalization has triggered different reactions. The resistance can be seen in several forms, one of which led to the concept of fair trade, aimed at confronting the negative impacts of free trade and globalization in developing countries. A fair trade regime entails fair and equitable partnership between producers and marketers which ensure equal opportunities for the advancement of all; openness to public accountability; long-term and sustainable trade practices; appropriate working condition; and the availability of capacity building for traditional producers.

In Indonesia, agriculture remains significant for the national economy. As a form of commitment towards sustainable agriculture techniques, Indonesia launched the Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) standard in 2009, aimed at ensuring that all Indonesian oil palm growers conform to higher agricultural standards. Still, the implementation of anti-dumping duties in the European market has injured Indonesian small farmers in favor of large European corporates.

Another example from the perspective of coffee growers is the certification scheme that limits the market potential and the benefits for coffee growers. Additional endowment paid by consumers is not directly distributed to the farmers. Titled as “fair trade coffee”, the regime has evolved from a socio-economic concern to a novel marketing method, putting the coffee growers as subordinates.





It seemed to be a long way to accomplish the establishment of a factual fair trade regime. With the spread of idea and the political willingness of the world leaders however, a global fair trade regime is visible.

Further on the impact of globalization, household income inequality increased on average in almost all regions of the developing world. Among the developed nations similarly, the Gini coefficient of income inequality in 17 of 22 OECD countries has been continuously increased since 1985.

Winners and losers exist at all levels of society. Globalization has been liable in creating unemployment, increasing income inequality, and further marginalizing the poor in the global economy.

There has been a wide recognition towards the need of a more balanced, reasonable and fair globalization that ensures opportunities for all. If globalization is unavoidable, it should be better managed from the perspective of the global citizens, in favor of fairness, economic equality and social security; by advocating the principles of shared prosperity, inter-connectedness, and mutual benefit.

European foreign-policy makers have utilized the term ‘effective multilateralism’ as a strategic concept aimed at creating cohesion and coherence among the union. It should be effective, by means that multilateralism should be able to build a stronger international society, which governed by well-functioning institutions in upholding international rules. Strengthening the role of the people to be involved in the decision making process, should be at the heart of the spirit of effective multilateralism.

People’s involvement in fact, is also the essence of democracy. However, it is unfortunate that with the increased number of electoral democracies, a large number of people are still unable to fight for their own interests as they continued to be excluded from economic independence. In a world dominated by free market liberalism, political democracy does not guarantee social and economic justice.

Allow me to briefly elaborate my perspective on democracy, referring to the thoughts of Indonesia’s first vice president Mohammad Hatta in his speech, titled “Our Democracy”. Hatta clearly justified that social democracy connects unconditional political democracy and economic democracy. Social democracy embodied in politics under the principles of people’s sovereignty and local autonomy; and in economy under the principles of cooperative and state’s ownership of national resources. Social democracy assures the contentment of the people through adequate food, clothing, housing, proper health care and pension plan. Facing the challenges of globalization, effective multilateralism for Asia and Europe should be applied by promoting the ideology of democracy with the adoption of local wisdom and values.









With regard to inter-regional partnership, Asia and Europe each has driven the world economy. For Asia, Europe is a major trade partner and a locus of science and technological innovation. The shared benefit from better connectivity between the two regions shall generate the establishment of a long-standing relationship based on the principles of social democracy, transparency, accountability, and sustainability.

Asia and Europe should address imbalances on the international trade system by supporting the establishment of a factual fair trade regime; and the formulation of policies that ensure the participation of the poor in the global supply chain and the formulation of income distribution policy to address the ongoing inequality.

Welcoming the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ASEM and ASEP in 2016, allow me to join you to attempt for concrete progress in Asia-Europe collaboration. Through the works of ASEP, we must renew our partnership, set our own targets for the third decade of inter-regional cooperation, ensuring the implementation of policies towards equality, fair partnership and fair globalization.

As part of our commitment to further strengthen connectivity between Asia and Europe under the ASEM framework, the Government of Indonesia will host the 4<sup>th</sup> Transport Ministers' Meeting in 2017. We invite all Governments of ASEM partners to participate in the said Meeting and to work together closely in the transportation sector to enhance connectivity and enhance business linkages for development and sustainable growth in both regions.









## chapter 15

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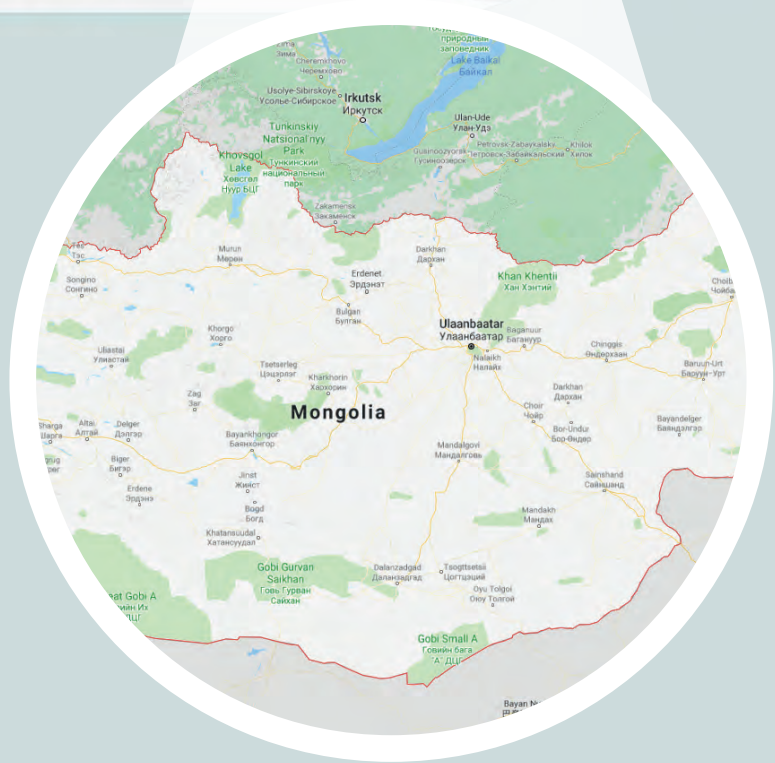
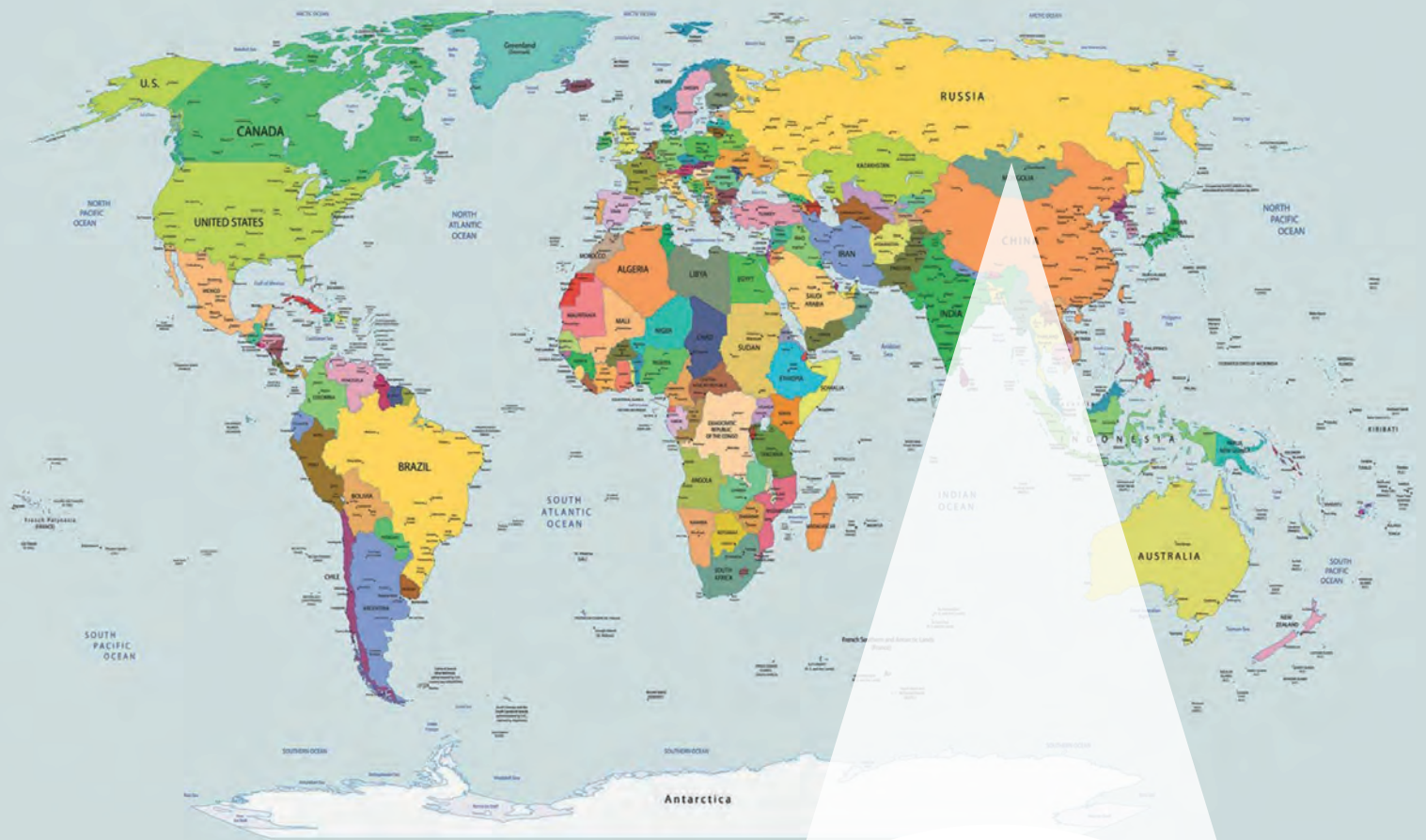
# Role of Leadership and Rise of Social Movements

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the Annual Democracy Forum

Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 25 August 2016



MONGOLIA

## Role of Leadership and Rise of Social Movements

Allow me to begin by congratulating and expressing deep appreciation to the International IDEA and the Government of Mongolia for hosting the 2016 Annual Democracy Forum. I am delighted for joining as one of the panelists in this global event that brings together Member States and partners of International IDEA, politicians, policy makers, civil society and representatives of the academia from around the world. I do hope this occasion will be our effort to promote and foster international cooperation in the field of democracy through dialogue, based on sharing experiences and best practices. In this opportunity, I would like to discuss role of leadership and rise of social movement.

Precisely, there are always struggles in countries for social change in attempting to demand and aspire the so-called democratization. The wave of democratization, as predicted by Samuel P. Huntington, has been historical evidence because it has swept southern Europe and Latin America, middle east, and Asia. Furthermore, it has been global in scope. Eventhough, democracy is not always the best form of government, it guarantees opportunity for the nations to reform and renew the existing system.

Indeed, there will always be within it a social movement that opposes and which is always going to make democracy better. While not all social movement have struggled for democracy, many progressive social movements have been important actors in the development of conceptions and practices of democracy. In brief, social movements are closely associated with a democratic political system and are also often associated with the democratizing of a country and watching them flourish as a result of the same.





Moreover, social movement is the effort by people individually and collectively to bring about a change in the society. A social movement may also be directed to resist a change. Throughout history, social movements have been a staple in the maturation of the countries. Social movements generally reflect a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims as well as participate in public politics.

One of the most recent social movements witnessed in the world is the campaign on combating Corruption. The anti-corruption movement can be considered to be a social movement as it involves people participating in it because they feel for it. Most people have understood and have become aware of the corruption that exists in the country and this would probably be the only way by virtue of which they can seek the government's attention. It is social because it seeks to bring down the amount of corruption through mass awareness and through activities such as visiting the people and ensuring that they understand and extend support. However in a social movement, one gives in their support voluntarily.

Corruption in many emerging democracies is one of the most serious obstacle to deepen democracy and economic growth. According to the World Bank, corruption is a major challenge to SDG's institutional goals of ending extreme poverty by 2030 and boosting shared prosperity for the poorest 40 percent in developing countries. In addition, reducing corruption stands at the heart of the recently established Sustainable Development Goals and achieving the targets set for Financing for Development. It is a priority for the institution and many of its partners.

Corruption has outlived all predictions of its demise. Indeed, it appears to be thriving. The World Economic Forum estimates that corruption adds a ten percent surcharge to the cost of doing business in many parts of the world. Annual Meeting of Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum 2016R RI The term "corruption" is so inclusive as to be almost meaningless, encompassing bribery, nepotism, bid-rigging, embezzlement, extortion, vote-buying, price-fixing, protection rackets, and a hundred other varieties of fraud. Corruption creeps in, unnoticed, "like some odor gas." We smell it but we do not know who the culprit.

Regarding to that matter, I am of the view that corruption eradication requires effective movement and, most importantly, credible leaders. Let me share on this two things.

In raising public awareness and calling for the community to take a stand against corruption, I suggest that an anti-corruption movement needs two major elements: first one is Campaigns: a sustained, organised public effort making collective claims of target authorities; second one is employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media.

Building network among anticorruption movement that fight corruption is crucial, but not enough. Leaders are critical to anti-corruption movements: they inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes.

I would like to highlight three examples of political leaders that took the lead in fighting corruption. Firstly, the late Lee Kuan Yew, former Prime Minister of Singapore. Secondly, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia and the first female head of state in Africa, and thirdly, Atifete Jahjaga, President of Kosovo and the first female head of state in the Balkans. What could Singapore, Liberia and Kosovo teach us?

When Singapore achieved independence, the newly elected Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, announced that he was "sickened" by decadence and corruption, and pledged to rid Singapore of graft. But Lee delivered on the rhetoric, enacting new anticorruption legislation and bestowing real power on the anticorruption bureau. He raised salaries for civil servants, to





minimize any temptation to sell their influence, and instituted harsh jail terms for those caught taking bribes. By the time Lee stepped down as Prime Minister in 1990s, Singapore had gone from being one of the more corrupt countries on the world to one of the least.

President Sirleaf's commitment to tackling corruption even extended to suspending her son along with 46 other senior government officials, for failing to disclose his assets to Liberia's anti-corruption officials. Her political maneuvering appears to be an incredibly effective way to demonstrate to the citizens and hardworking business people of Liberia that she and her government are taking combat to corruption seriously.

President Jahjaga, by contrast, was not a known figure prior to her appointment. Knowing that corruption was perceived as the root of all evils. After taking her office, Jahjaga demonstrated that she both recognized this problem and planned on tackling it head on. She announced the establishment of a presidential anti-corruption council. The council coordinates the work and activities of the main stakeholders fighting against corruption.







*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon  
with H.E. Tsakhiagiin  
Elbedgorj, President  
of Mongolia  
(2009–2017)*

Unfortunately, the story is heartening but anomalous. It is almost unheard of for a nation to expunge a culture of corruption so thoroughly. Some countries get slightly better, some get slightly worse, but, the world over, corruption tends to endure.

GOPAC has working tirelessly and relentlessly to fight corruption by bringing parliamentarians all over the world in strengthening the anti-corruption network. I acknowledge that corruption, particularly grand corruption, is the global tyrant of our time that robs citizens of these fundamental human rights and undermines the ability of states to protect the most vulnerable in society. Therefore, to deter and fight corruption, particularly grand corruption, the world needs strong cooperation and collaboration. The success of anti-corruption efforts are often led by a ‘coalition of concerned’ – by politicians and government officials, the private sector, and by citizens, communities, and CSOs. In doing so, we need a strong cross-sectoral partnership between government, parliament, private sectors, civil society and the media.



That is what GOPAC has always fought for. A strong civil partnership in the fight against corruption is important and for parliamentarians, strong collaboration between parliamentarians and their constituents is something that makes the term partnership even important. This kind of partnership is part of GOPAC's program: the Participation of Society. We believe that by involving those who are affected by a decision, in a decision-making process as well as in law-making process, we guard the value of democracy itself.

To conclude my remark, allow me to quote Bung Hatta's statement, Indonesia's first Vice President, regarding corruption. He once said that it is very dangerous when corruption turns into a culturally accepted practice. We believe that sustainable efforts to combat corruption cannot be done merely by law enforcement and prosecution of the crime alone. It needs a comprehensive approach that also addresses the root causes of corruption.



## chapter 16

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# Better Policies for Inclusive Growth and Economic to Address the Challenges of Globalization

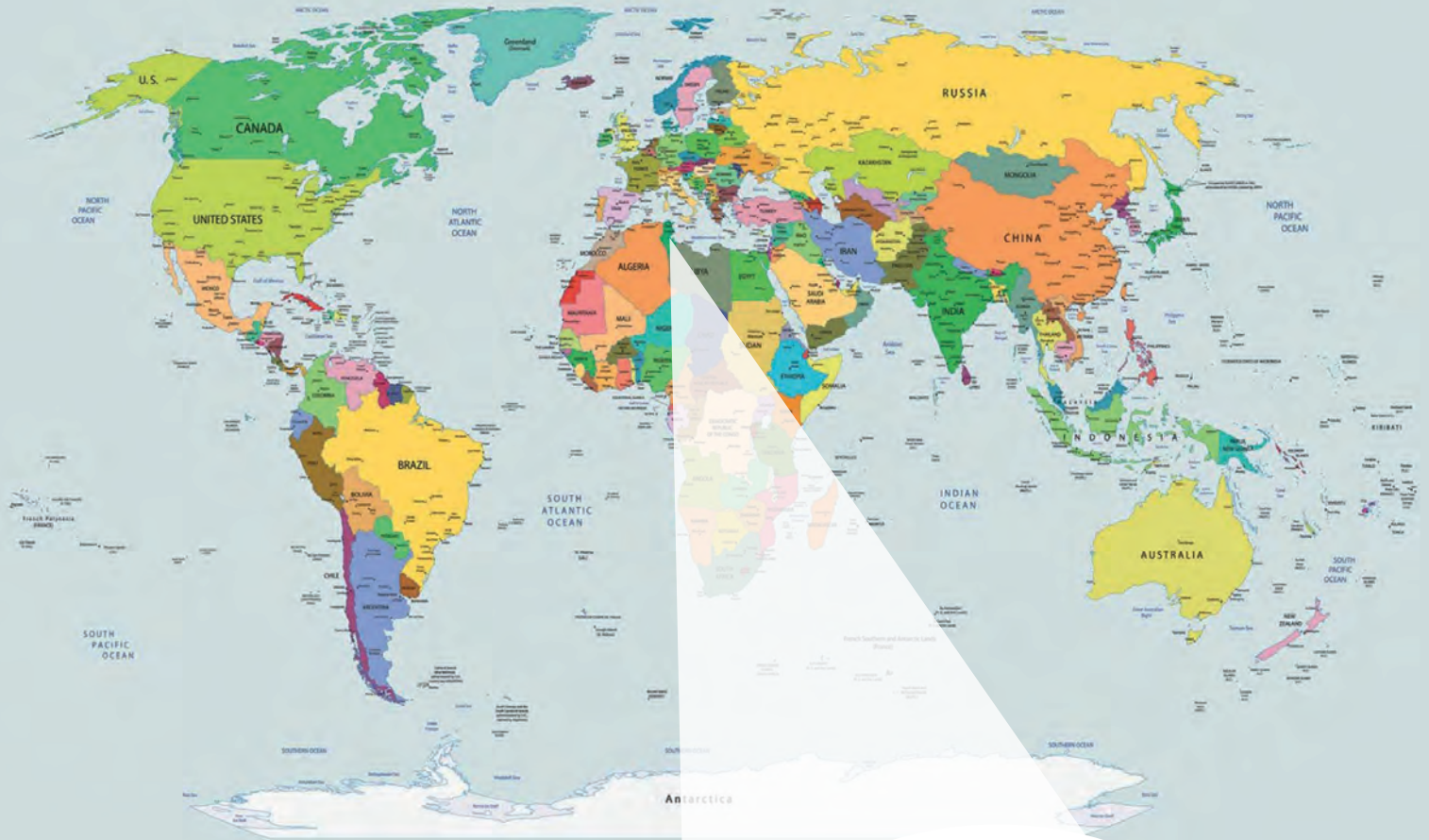
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the MENA-OECD Ministerial Conference

Tunis, Tunisia, 4 October 2016





TUNISIA

## Better Policies for Inclusive Growth and Economic to Address the Challenges of Globalization

First of all, on behalf of Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC), allow me to extend my gratitude to this forum.

I am very pleased and honoured to be here today. Thank you for inviting me to this conference and giving me the opportunity to talk about the role of Parliament in fighting corruption to ensure effective delivery of policies and services for inclusive growth.

If I may borrow the definition introduced by the OECD, inclusive growth is defined as economic growth that creates opportunity for all segments of the population and distributes the dividends of increased prosperity, both in monetary and non-monetary terms, fairly across society. In other words, inclusive growth simply means that no one should be left behind in economic opportunity.

However, inclusive growth can only be achieved when the result is measured and people are accountable. In light of this, we are all aware that corruption is one of the major constraints to inclusive growth. Corruption is a serious problem for development. It undermines economic development, violates social justice, and destroys the trust in state institutions.

According to research, it is evident that the impact of corruption can negatively affect development and society at large. Citizens are the ones who bear the heavy economic and social burdens of this endemic corruption. In particular, it threatens and affects the people who fall below the poverty line the most.



Session 2 :  
Un impact réel au profit des citoyens :  
formuler et fournir de meilleures politiques pour  
une croissance inclusive



Dr. Fadli Zon,  
Président,  
Organisation mondiale  
des parlementaires  
contre la corruption



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

As elected representatives of the people, Parliamentarians hold the responsibility to express people's will and make sure the policies implemented bring prosperity to the people. In this respect, combating corruption through parliament is necessary to ensure an environment for government to introduce better policies for inclusive growth.

Therefore, in this special occasion, there are three points that I would like to discuss. First, the Parliaments approach in fighting corruption. Second, the role of international parliamentary networks. Lastly, I would like to explore the current efforts of inter-parliamentarians network in promoting better policies to create inclusive growth for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Let me start the discussion by highlighting the essential roles of parliaments in fighting corruption

Parliaments have pivotal role in fighting corruption. As mentioned by political scientist, Michael Johnston, parliament can help to channel the interests and concerns of civil society into an open debate, the passing of legislation, and the creation of political will to fight corruption. From this, there are at least four essential ways in which parliaments can support anti-corruption efforts.

First, as a legislative institution, Parliaments have mandate to create a legal-framework needed to eradicate corruption. It can establish rules for the ordering of social, political, and economic activities as well as empowered the government to enforce these rules. In this regard, parliaments can enact legislation that promotes more transparency, accountability, and participation, along with ensuring the establishment of strong legal systems for anti-corruption at the national level.

Second, controlling the finance. Parliaments play a primary role in protecting financial integrity. For example, in almost all countries, one of the significant duties that parliament play is the adoption and monitoring of the annual state budget, or often referred as the "budget cycle". The parliament's role in the budget cycle includes drafting, legislation, implementation, and auditing of the state budget, which is central to anti-corruption efforts.

Third, through parliamentary oversight. As representative of the people, parliament has the mandate to not only set-up the legal framework, but also to oversee its implementation. Therefore, Parliaments must also provide oversight to hold governments accountable. Such as, effective participation in the budgetary process, cooperation with audit institutions, and promoting a media-friendly environment. It can also exercise of parliamentary oversight through anticorruption commissions

Fourth, representation. Parliament has the duty to ensure that public interest is represented in the policy-making process. Parliamentarians can make very valuable contributions to create better policies because they often have more at stake and have a better insight into the needs of their constituents.





It can also lead to the empowerment of citizens to reject corrupt practices and exposure of politicians and officials who engage in corrupt activities, which in turn provides parliamentarians the role to help establishing public standard of appropriate behaviour.

Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen Besides the four ways that I explained, I would like to emphasize two other strategies that can significantly help Parliaments in its mission to fight corruption. The First Strategy is improving capacity building for parliamentarians. Improving capacity building is essential for parliamentarians to engage in anti-corruption efforts. In order to alienate corruption, parliaments can take the first necessary step to create clean and accountable environment inside the institution.

In this regard, equipping parliamentarians with comprehensive knowledge on anti-corruption will strengthen the internal structure and prevent parliamentarians from doing misconduct in their offices.

#### *Inter-parliamentary network*

Furthermore, parliamentarians can prevent corruption by participating in the collective inter-parliamentary network. Fighting corruption can be more effective and taken more seriously if parliamentarians join together as a group, rather than standing up on its own.

The Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) is an example of an international network of parliamentarians that focus solely on combating corruption. GOPAC aims to combat and prevent corruption by strengthening integrity in governance.

The central focus of GOPAC is the development of practical tools and training for parliamentarians. It provides peer support to parliamentarians engaged in combating corruption throughout the world, information services as well as relevant training and education to promote methods for fighting corruption.

Since its inception in 2002, GOPAC has been actively promoting the role of parliamentarians to make progress in deterring corruption through various projects and programs. GOPAC works with multiple partners and stakeholders in conducting specific anti-corruption programs and sector-specific anti-corruption interventions, such as:

(i) Improving parliamentary oversight in the management of development aid and implementing the SDGs; (ii) Developing technological platform to measure anti-corruption performance of legislators; (iii) Grand corruption campaign; (iv) Strengthening international cooperation in facilitating the asset recovery efforts; and addressing (v) Women in parliament issues.



*Delivering Speech at MENA-OECD  
Ministerial Conference, Tunisia*





## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

GOPAC's programming model uses Global Task Forces (GTFs) to promote agendas identified by membership through a regionally representative group of parliamentarians that champion specific issues critical to the fight against corruption. The GOPAC Board and Global Secretariat support GTFs with handbooks, workshops, and capacity building among parliamentarians worldwide.

Through its GTFs GOPAC can support the introduction of legislative and oversight changes in national parliaments to control corruption, promote good governance, and hold the Executive more accountable to the people. Currently, GOPAC has five Global Task Forces, such as GTF for Anti-Money Laundering (GTF-AML), GTF for United Nations Convention Against Corruption (GTF-UNCAC), GTF for Parliamentary Oversight (GTF-PO), GTF for Parliamentary Ethics and Conduct (GTF-PEC) and GTF for Participation of Society (GTF-PoS).

To illustrate my points, I would like to give an example of GOPAC's work in order to promote anti-corruption efforts in parliaments and enable environment for better policies.

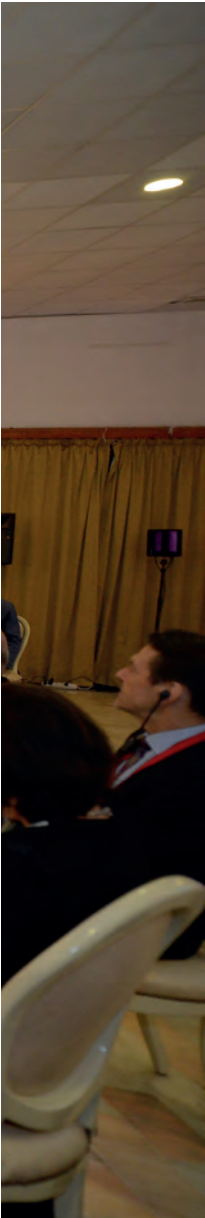
One of the programs recently conducted is "Strengthening the role of parliamentarians in monitoring the implementation of SDGs". This program is under GOPAC Global Task Force for Parliamentary Oversight (GTF-PO), in collaboration with United Nation Development Program (UNDP), Islamic Development Bank (IsDB) and Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD). In this regard, GOPAC has committed on promoting the SDGs, especially target number 16, which has bottom-line in tackling corruption and promoting public accountability which underpins the achievement of the entire 2030.

As you may know, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted by all 193-member states of the United Nations on 25 September 2015. They are a follow up to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were implemented from 2000-2015.

The SDGs, as part of Agenda 2030, is defined as global, long-term development objectives that will, if implemented, establish a more sustainable means of economic and social development in all countries.

It is important to note that SDGs is designed to reach the most marginalized and "leave no one behind" in development. To support these goals, implementation of SDGs will require countries to utilize a wide range of policy and programs approaches. In most cases, to implement new programs, the parliament must adopt or revise the legal framework to allow for more effective programs.

Additionally, we also recognized that the legislative role of parliaments takes on critically important in terms of ensuring that funds are effectively directed towards addressing the most important national SDG priorities





In light of this, GOPAC is developing a Handbook for Parliamentarians that can be useful as a guideline to help parliamentarians in monitoring the development fund, as well as supervision of the implementation process of SDGs.

We are also trying to improve the capacity building for parliamentarians by conducting SDGs Workshop. This workshop ensured the development of the Handbook of the project which provided practical guidance for parliamentarians.

It has piloted with members through a workshop in Jakarta - Indonesia from 30 to 31 August 2016 with the participants ranging from Members of Parliament from Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Myanmar), South Asia (Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka) and Morocco, as well as other SDGs stakeholders from government institutions, civil societies, and scholars.

The workshop provided the opportunity for GOPAC members to discuss and share our best practices in achieving the goals of development, in particular those targeted in the Sustainable Development Goals. We believe that the SDGs workshop in Jakarta produced fruitful results for developing the handbook becoming more comprehensive and also it concluded our commitment through establishing the “Jakarta Declaration” for successful SDGs.

Other GOPAC Programmes

Furthermore, connected with the global anti corruption movement, our GOPAC members around the world also have their own ways to fight against corruption. For instance, to increase participation in society, GOPAC Ukraine collaborates with civil society to force anti-corruption investigation.

In East Europe, our fellow parliamentarians from GOPAC Serbia developed the portal for monitoring public finance to enhance parliamentary oversight. By the same token, our colleague from GOPAC Uganda (APNAC) pushed for greater transparency in the New Oil Exploration and Production Bill.

Without further ado, let me reiterate my points to sum up my remark. We are all aware, a change is necessary for creating a society where everyone has equal economic opportunities and can share the same prosperity. As a powerful institution, parliament can help this change come to reality. Indeed, Parliament approach is not a panacea to eradicate corruption. However, I believe, Parliaments can ensure an accountable, transparent and participatory environment which is necessary for inclusive growth.

Again, I thank you for the opportunity and I hope this discussion offered different perspectives and enhanced our understanding on the parliament’s role to combat corruption, to create better policies.



## chapter 17

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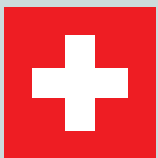
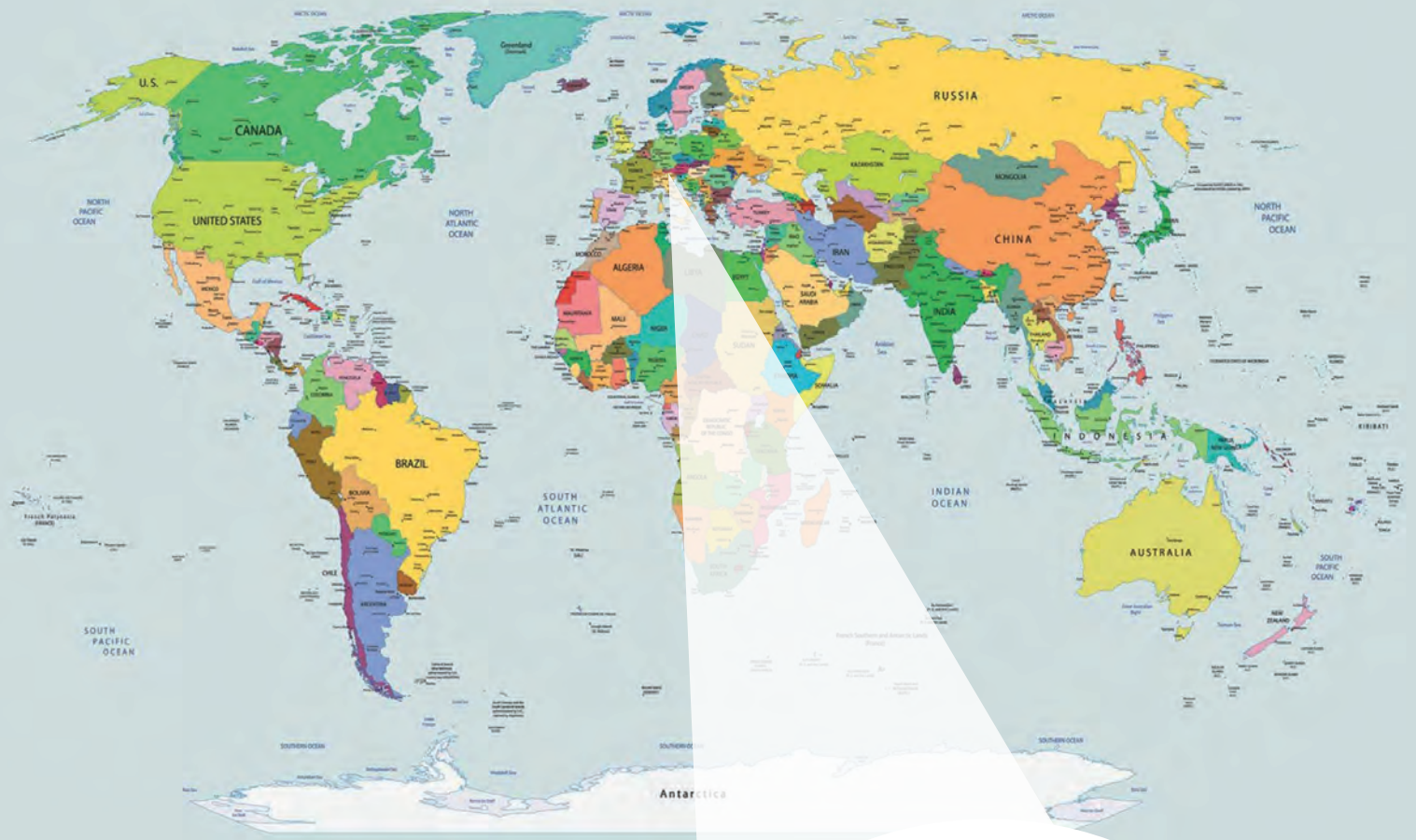
# Human Rights Abuses as Precursors of Conflict: Parliaments as Early Responders

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 135<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Geneva, Switzerland, 25 October 2016



SWITZERLAND

## Human Rights Abuses as Precursors of Conflict: Parliaments as Early Responders

I am honored to address the 135<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly and related meetings. The theme of this assembly is timely as we commemorate the UN Human Rights Council's dedication for the last decade. I do hope that the UN Human Rights Council can continue to play a more effective role in advancing the human rights values and principles.

Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, We are at a treacherous situation. A large scale of violations of human rights has continued to exist all over the world. We have come to an unprecedented era of humanitarian tragedy.

Wars and conflicts emerged; civilians were deliberately targeted; People are fleeing from fear of war in their homeland—most of them rejected from sanctuary, not being provided with protection; the growing intolerance and hatred sparked disintegration. At the same time, we are challenged by poverty, one where the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being is part of indispensable human rights.

Those are all global problems and to some, they are also challenges at home. The key to confront these issues is to provide measures to engage for early warning and early responses to counter human rights abuses. This can be performed by parliament as the first responder of people's grievances and aspirations.

Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Allow me to share some examples from what we have accomplished in terms of the promotion and protection of human rights.





The history of Indonesia's political transformation has been an attestation of how we have advanced the quality of respect to and protection of human rights. The 1998 political transformation urged all political elements including the Parliament to affirm and strengthen efforts to protect and respect human rights. This has been translated through the inclusion of human rights chapter with 10 articles and 26 paragraphs in the Constitution.

Indonesia has been a party to at least eight of nine core international human rights instruments, two Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and all core human rights conventions of the International Labor Organization.

But this is not enough. We are fully aware that we need national infrastructures, mechanisms and processes to promote human rights, to monitor their development and at the same time to respond to the violations that occurred.

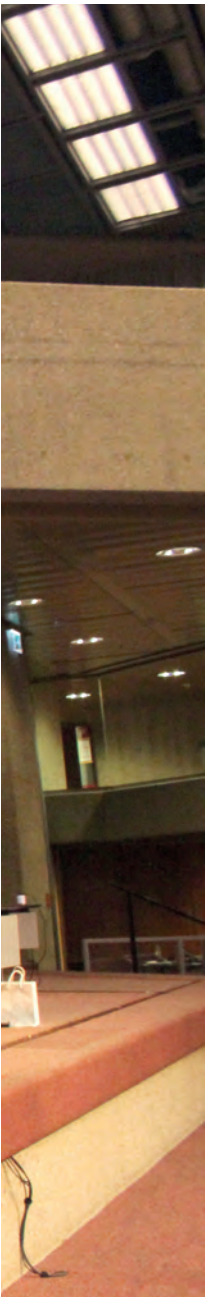
With these in mind, the Indonesian House has enacted the Law on Human Rights to further acknowledge the fundamental rights of people, women and children stipulated in the Constitution. We have established the National Commission on Human Rights as our National Human Rights Institution (NHRI) and Human Rights Court. The Court acts as a judicial remedy for genocide and crime against humanity—the grave violations of human rights.

Through such institutions, Indonesia has the national mechanism to process any grave violation of human rights. However, having acknowledged that some of the grave violations of human rights may occurred in the past, the Law knows no statute of limitations and an Ad-Hoc Human Rights Court may be established by the Indonesian House's recommendation to seek justice for these cases.

The National Commission on Human Rights shall be the commission of inquiry, while the General Prosecutor acting as the investigator and prosecutor of these cases.

Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, As the world's third largest democracy—the largest democracy in the Muslim world, with a population of almost 260 million, we are fully aware that human rights violations such as the occurrence of discriminations, intolerance as well as the arbitrary actions of State Apparatus breed conflicts. Peaceful communities may become hostile to one another and turned into sworn enemies in a blink.

With this in mind and by having an awareness to the growing phenomenon of intolerance, hatred as well as those arbitrary actions exercised by State apparatus, the Indonesian House emphasizes that there should be no place in every corner of the world for intolerance and hatred based on ethnicity, religious groups, opinions and beliefs. There shall be no justification also for State Apparatus to arbitrarily conducting their actions.









These violations should be prevented and stopped. That is why in 2012, the Indonesian House adopted a mechanism in managing social conflicts encompassing efforts to the prevention of and to resolve the conflicts as well as actions on post-conflicts recovery through the Law on the Management of Social Conflict. The Law emphasizes the principles of human rights in managing such conflicts. It also acknowledges the local wisdom that can be used in conflict resolution.

We need to have a strong respect for and protection of human rights not only at home but also at the global level.

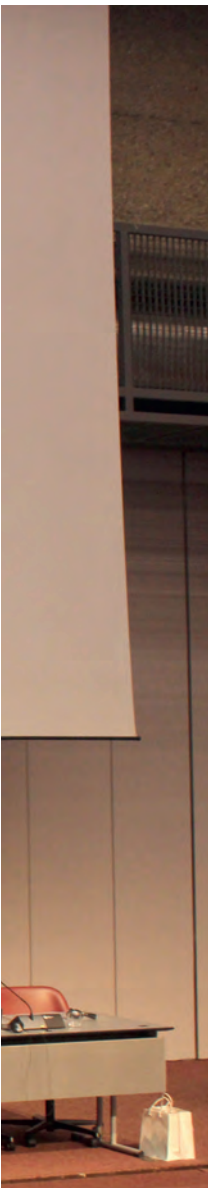
What happened today in Palestine, Syria, and in other Middle East and North African regions and to the rest of the world are a series of violation to the international human rights principle, law and values. I call upon the international community, including the UN and the UN Security Council to take relevant measures to resolve conflicts and bring peace to the world, to protect the universal values of human rights and promote their enjoyment.

This can only be achieved if the advancement of human rights is being pursued globally under the basis of principles of objectivity, impartiality, non-selectivity and the elimination of double standards and politicization.

The Indonesian House shares the vision of peace and justice under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Thus, there is a greater need to reinforce the links between human rights, peace and security, and development.

For our part, it is also important to mainstream the human rights aspects in every policy and law-making process as this has also become the work the UN Secretary General's promoted: The Human Rights Up Front Initiative.

To conclude, I share the belief that by promoting and protecting human rights we are advancing the values of our humanity.





*Delivering Speech at 135<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union, Geneva, Switzerland*

## chapter 18

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# Prosecuting Corruption and Recovering Stolen Asset

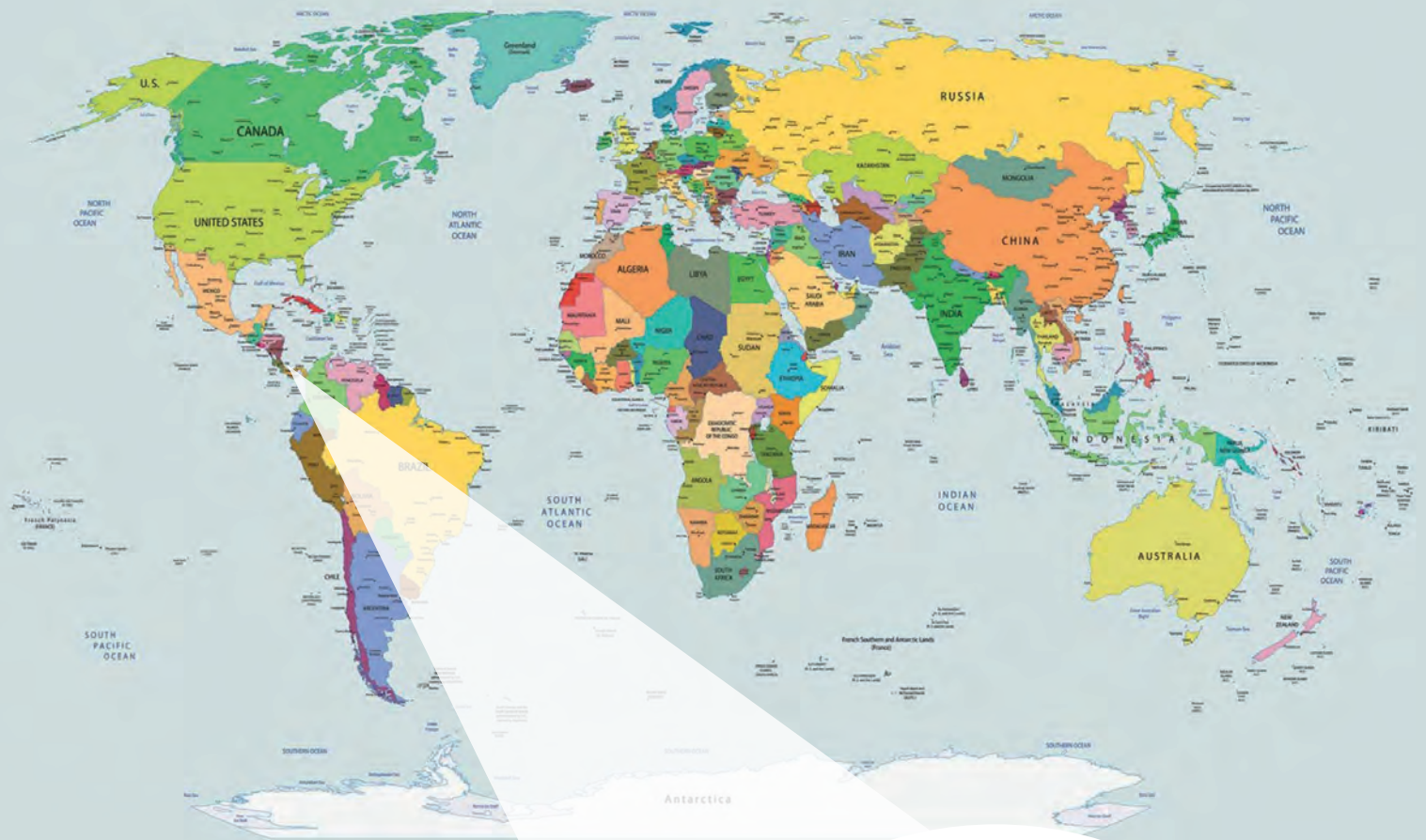
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 17<sup>th</sup> International Anti Corruption Conference

Panama, 3 December 2016





PANAMA

## Prosecuting Corruption and Recovering Stolen Asset

Thank you for this wonderful opportunity. Before I begin, allow me to elaborate the serious problem of the theft of public assets. The Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative (StAR) in one of its report mentioned that the cross-border flow of the global proceeds from criminal activities, corruption and tax evasion is estimated at between \$ 1 trillion and \$ 1.6 trillion per year. Corrupt money associated with bribes received by public officials from developing and transition countries is estimated at \$ 20 billion to \$ 40 billion per year—a figure equivalent to 20 to 40 percent of flows of Official Development Assistance (ODA). These figures have showcased how enormous the damage of the proceed of corruption can be done to the development.

The UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) recognizes asset recovery as the fundamental principle of the convention. Chapter V of the convention provides this framework for the return of stolen assets, requiring states parties to take measures to restrain, seize, confiscate, and return the proceeds of corruption. In doing so, various mechanism may apply, such as: direct enforcement of freezing or confiscation orders made by the court of another state party (Art 54.1.a & 54.2.a), non-conviction based asset confiscation, particularly in cases of death, flight or absence of the offender or in other cases (Art 54.1.c), civil actions initiated by another state party, allowing that party to recover the proceeds as plaintiff (Art 53), confiscation of property of a foreign origin by adjudication of an offense of money laundering or other offenses (Art 54.1.b & 54.2.b), court orders of compensation or damages to another state party and recognition by courts of another state party's claim as a legitimate owner of assets acquired through corruption (Art 53.b and c), spontaneous disclosure of information to another state party without prior request (Art 56) and international cooperation and asset return (Art 55 & 57).





## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

These measures are complex and require deep and comprehensive understanding of not only legal procedures, international cooperation, difference jurisdiction but also the scheme of money laundering (placement, layering, and integration).

Allow me to emphasize a phrase of “it takes two to tango” when we are dealing with money laundering and asset recovery. The UK Transparency International indicates that their country’s institutions and organizations have been used as repositories or intermediaries for stolen funds from several countries, including Bangladesh, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan and Zambia. In a larger context, assets stolen can be further materialize into foreign properties, share-ownership, or laundered so that it can be legally acquired as legitimate ownership under prevailing laws in overseas country or within the country itself. Therefore, if we are going to discuss about asset recovery, we need to apply measures to counter money/assets laundering in all countries.

Distinguished delegates,

Parliament is the provider of legal framework at the highest level: legislation. Through this instrument, we set the framework of asset recovery measures. Parliament ratifies efforts to recover asset bilaterally through Mutual Legal Arrangement (MLA) or other multilateral arrangements including international treaties/conventions as well as enacts laws that are nationally equipped to support asset recovery measures.

The G20 Anti-Corruption Working Group has tabled Nine Key Asset Recovery Principles in its asset recovery benchmarking principles.

Principle (type)	Principle (#)	Principle
Policy Development	1	Make asset recovery a policy priority; align resources to support policy
Legislative Framework	2	Strengthen preventive measures against the proceeds of corruption
	3	Set up tools for rapid locating and freezing of assets
	4	Establish a wide range asset recovery mechanism including recognition of non-conviction based proceedings and private law actions
Institutional Framework	5	Adopt law that encourage and facilitate international cooperation
	6	Create specialized asset recovery team/kleptocracy unit
	7	Participate actively in international cooperation networks
	8	Provide technical assistance to developing countries
	9	Collect data on cases; share information on impact and outcomes



We can see that the development of legislative framework is essential to support the asset recovery measures. These legislative frameworks including: strengthen preventive measures against the proceeds of corruption, set up tools for rapid locating and freezing of assets, establish a wide range asset recovery mechanism including recognition of non-conviction based proceedings and private law actions, up to adopt law that encourage and facilitate international cooperation.

Let us look to success stories of asset recovery, such as Sani Abacha case of Nigeria. During its process where the country has successfully received \$ 500 million of restitution assets from Switzerland in 2005, there are more than three domestic legislative frameworks involved, not to mention other international arrangements such as UNTOC, ECOWAS Protocol on the fight against Corruption, AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption and Related Offences. These domestic legislations are: The Criminal Code Act (1961), Penal Code (1959), Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act (2003), Economic and Financial Crimes (establishment) Act, 2004, Money Laundering (prohibition) Act, 2004.<sup>1</sup> I believe that in other cases, there are also many legislations involved when we are dealing with asset recovery, especially during today's digital era.

What is needed from parliament as political institution of the state and parliamentarians as the political actors is not just a deep and comprehensive understanding of the issue itself. Strong political will and commitment to recover their stolen assets are even more important.

Parliament and parliamentarians can introduce new measures and principles or even legislative reform to support asset recovery measures, including through the application of non-conviction asset based forfeiture—In Indonesia we are currently discussing this through the deliberation of Asset Forfeiture in Criminal Matters Bill which shall include not only non-conviction proceedings but also illicit enrichment provisions.

There is still some hypocrisy in this asset recovery. This can be seen in the development of financial transparency regime, to ease efforts of tracing even confiscate the assets. When I was at the UK Summit on Anti-Corruption last May, I see that some countries have pledged their commitment to provide measures in registration of beneficial ownership. Some tax haven countries such as Cayman Island and Isle of Man has urged big countries such as the United States to join the global financial transparency regime as a trigger to promote further openness and transparency of the US tax haven area. Their question remains: is there enough political will to promote this transparency regime? It is time to end this hypocrisy.

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1 [http://etd.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11394/2558/Opedayo\\_LLM\\_2010.pdf?sequence=1](http://etd.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11394/2558/Opedayo_LLM_2010.pdf?sequence=1)







In terms of corruption, the role of third parties that offered their service and advice to facilitate the laundering of assets should receive more attention. Panama Papers reveal how our politicians, government even our banking officers establishing shell company overseas which were facilitated by Mossack Fonseca & co, a law firm and corporate service provider in Panama. If assets can finally be recovered, a concern has been raised that victim countries cannot meet the terms and conditions applied by countries where proceeds of corruption are hidden or other multilateral institutions that provide support to such process. The recovery of assets will be difficult even more.



Many countries lack the capacity to prepare indictments, collect, preserve and present evidence, properly adjudicate cases and obtain convictions, as well as trace the proceeds of corruption and obtain valid freezing and confiscation orders.<sup>2</sup>

There is a strong need within the international level to ending the impunity. A multilateral agreement should be pursued to apply measures in ending the impunity including the denial of entry, no safe-haven for stolen assets and that measures should be established towards it including through the application of beneficial ownership mechanism, robust tracking and freezing system and others.

International mechanism of prosecution of grand corruption; that for those grand corruptors the violation of international law shall apply. This can be explored through the same mechanism of International Criminal Court or other Special Courts, the application of universal jurisdiction to the corruption where its damage to the development so grave and status of criminals as *hostis humani generis* (enemy of humankind). At our 6<sup>th</sup> Global Conference in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 2015, we determined to seek the possibility of this international mechanism through linking the crime of corruption to the enjoyment of full human rights. We have called the UN to re-establish their Special Rapporteur on the impact of corruption to the full enjoyment of Human Rights. This international mechanism aimed to not only criminalize the corrupt, but, to end the impunity that attached to those corrupts.

To further succeed the recovery of stolen assets, there is a need to apply multiple legal approach: it will not only include criminal proceeding but also civil proceeding.

We have the momentum to recover the assets. There is a plan for a Global Forum for Asset Recovery in next year. Supposed this forum is establish it will be an important arena to urge our Government and law enforcement agencies to work together, with no string attached, to recover any stolen assets. We have received information that there are at least 22 countries will introduce new legislation on asset recovery, 14 countries will strengthen their whistleblower protection mechanism and 11 countries will promote a crime regime to corporate that fail to prevent crime of tax evasion or other economic crimes. We do hope that more will follow.

GOPAC will continue to work to strengthen the political will, awareness, understanding and familiarization of the complex issues of asset recovery through capacity building, peer-to-peer support and others so that parliament through their parliamentarians are willing and able to provide required frameworks to detect, trace, forfeiture, confiscate, and even lobbying the international communities to recover assets to those who belong. The support should also be aimed to strengthen public institutions check and balances capacity to further increase accountability and transparency.

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2 UNODC & The World Bank, *StAR initiative: Challenges, Opportunities and Action Plan*, The World Bank, 2007, page 27.







## chapter 19

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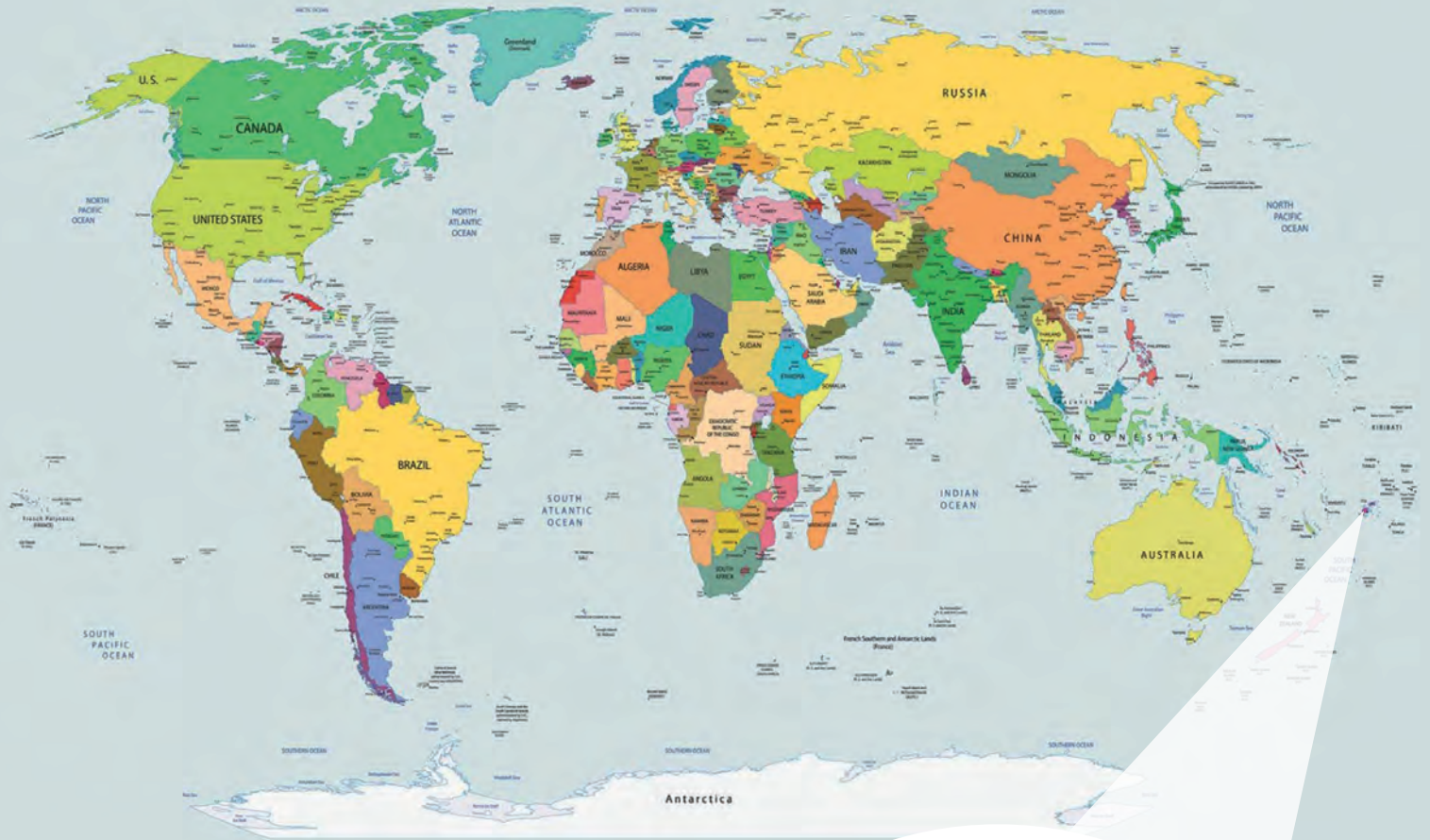
# Peace and Security in the Asia Pacific Region and the International Community

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 25<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF)

Natadola, Fiji, January 2017



FIJI

## Peace and Security in the Asia Pacific Region and the International Community

I am very pleased to be here in this beautiful island of Viti Levu, Fiji. I am mesmerized with the beauty of hibiscus flower, the white sandy beaches and the friendliness of its people. At the outset, I would like to extend my gratitude to the Parliament of Fiji for inviting me here to discuss a number of topics on peace and security, economic and trade as well as regional cooperation.

Although being considerably stable in the last few decades, The Asia and the Pacific regions are still prone to conflict, escalation of military might and home to terrorism.

The prolonging Korean Peninsula tension over the nuclear weapon program by North Korea, over the stalemate of 6-party negotiation; the territorial disputes over the South China Sea—whereas 6 countries are claimants and the humanitarian crisis in Rakhine state of Myanmar ignited by military troops who tortured the ethnic group of Rohingya are some of the examples of security challenges within our proximity.

Indonesia deeply concerned over North Korea's nuclear test last September. As a staunch proponent of nuclear non-proliferation concept, Indonesia would like to call all related parties to seek more concrete solutions to prevent the use of nuclear weapon in the future, including through the six-party talks mechanism. Indonesia also call upon all conflicting parties to deescalate tension in South China Sea and cease to mobilizing military might within the disputed territories.

On the Myanmar humanitarian issue, Indonesia welcomes the establishment of an Advisory Commission on Rakhine State organized by the Government of Myanmar and the Kofi







## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Annan Foundation. This advisory commission is tasked to undertake assessments and make recommendations on conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance, rights and reconciliation, institution building and promotion of development of Rakhine State.

As mandated by our Constitution, Indonesia plays a major role in maintaining international peace and security under UN peace keeping missions and to materialize our roadmap of 4.000 peace keepers. We have dispatched 2.591 personnel as of January 2017 participated in Haiti, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, South Sudan, Lebanon, Central African Republic and Mali.

If we are to maintain the stability to this region, we need to build trust among countries. Trust deficit would inflict conflict and confrontation. We therefore should build and foster trust overtime among us. Consistent engagement and mutually open dialogue is way forward to our everlasting peace and stability.

Over the broader perspective, we should also perceive to the conflicts that happened in the middle east and other parts of the world. Our global communities are still faced with lingering threat to security such as: armed conflicts, terrorism, as well as trans-national organized crime.





Civil war over Syria which has killed more than 220.000 Syrian people since 2011 should come to an end when conflicting party engage in open dialog and build trust upon themselves.

In Palestine, a road to find peace and international acknowledgement with its recognized 1967 territorial border will depend to the great will of international community including the Asia Pacific. It will be even more difficult as global powers transferred to unpredictable political direction.

Indonesia seeks greater role of the UN particularly the UN Security Council (UNSC) to be able to cease arm conflict and tensions. In this regards, Indonesia sees the urgency to reform the UN particularly the Security Council to ensure equal footing among regions.

To conclude, I call upon Parliamentarians of the Asia and the Pacific, to play bigger role in to bringing peace and security not only to our region but also to the rest of the world.



## chapter 20

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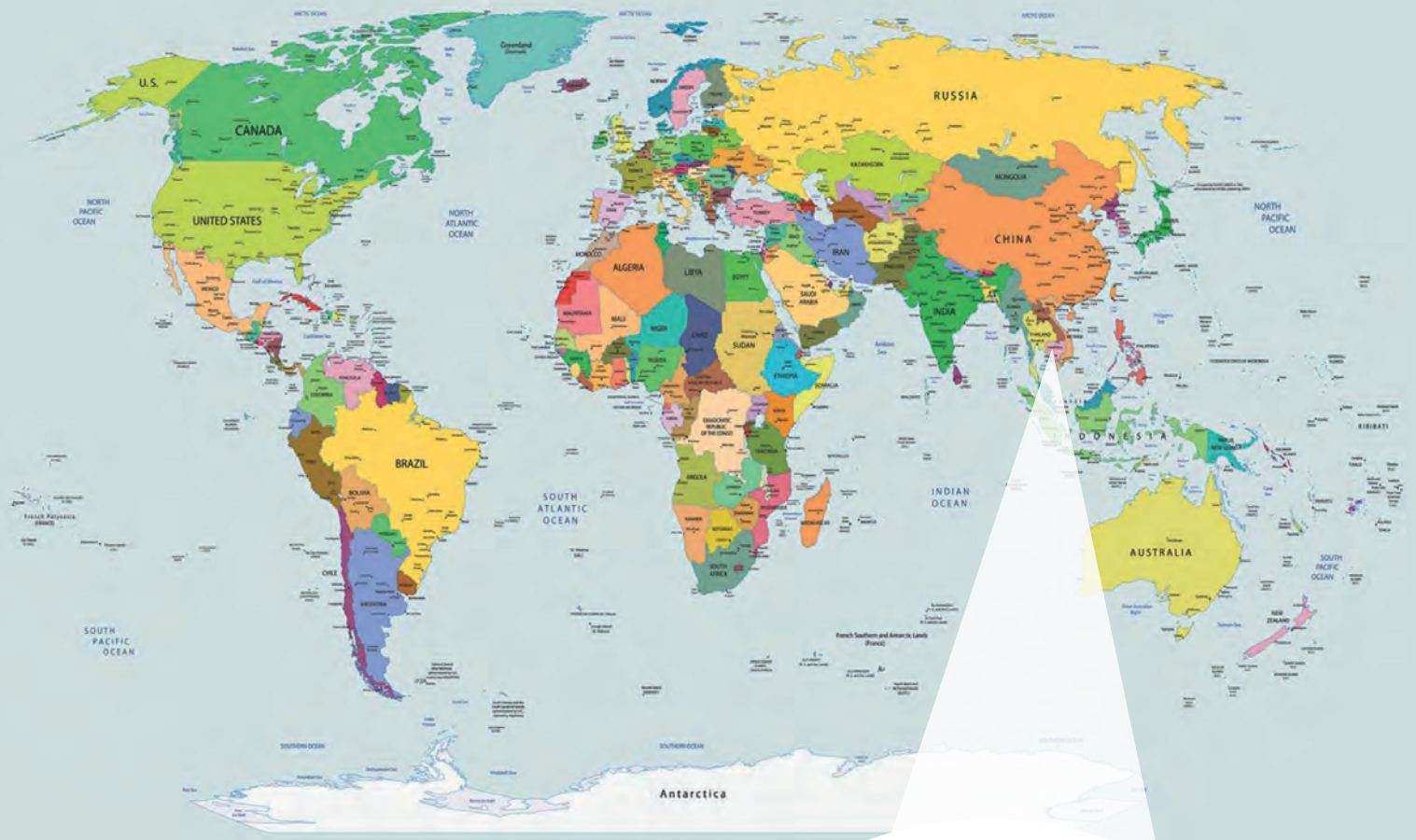
# Impetus for Political Actors to Lobby for SDGs — Parliamentarians' Role

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) Young Political Leaders  
CAUCUS Meeting 2017 for SDGs

Siem Riep, Cambodia, 3 February 2017



CAMBODIA

## Impetus for Political Actors to Lobby for SDGs – Parliamentarians’ Role

First of all, on behalf of the Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC), allow me to extend my gratitude to this forum.

I am delighted and honored to be here in Siem Reap today, particularly with such distinguished and knowledgeable young political leaders. Thank you for having me on this important discussion, and giving me the opportunity to talk about the Impetus for Political Actors to Lobby for SDGs, particularly on the Role of Parliamentarians.

Allow me to convey the issue of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and begin with highlighting the pivotal role of Parliamentarians in shaping the political impetus for development agenda. As we are all aware, the SDGs – a wide-ranging roadmap to sustainability covering 17 goals and 169 targets – is ground breaking in its vision for a more inclusive, prosperous and equal world. It seeks to address the full spectrum of development challenges facing countries and communities, and should provide benefit to the vulnerable and most marginalized people. By committing to the “leave no one behind,” all stakeholders are expected to take part in implementing the SDGs at the local, national, and international levels. This includes Parliamentarians, which I believe are obviously at the forefront of those imperatives.

As the elected representatives of their people, Parliamentarians have a crucial role to play in driving forward people-centered development that is reflective of and responsive to the needs of their constituents. Through their constitutional mandates – for instance, in making laws, enacting and scrutinizing the government budget, overseeing government policies and programs, as well as representing the views of their constituents – Parliamentarians are valuable partners in ensuring accountable, inclusive, participatory and transparent sustainable development for all.





I'd like to start by elaborating the successful role of Parliamentarians thus far, in achieving some good strides and pushing forth the SDGs. The First one is by helping to shape the overall 2030 Agenda. Through regional and global groupings such as Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Parliamentarians around the world were actively involved in assessing gaps, opportunities and priorities for action. Their inputs were later fed back into the formal UN consultation which produced and designed the final SDGs document.

As a result, we can see now that the pivotal role of Parliament is explicitly recognized in the Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, declared at the UN Summit in 2015. This shows many progress has been achieved since the previous MDGs, where Parliamentarians were arguably brought relatively late into the whole implementation process. The Second role of Parliamentarians thus far is the inclusion of SDGs into the parliamentary agenda. This has been done nationally up to this point by establishing the special SDGs Task Force, Working Group, or Caucus in their respective Parliaments.

Although parliamentarian engagement is quite varied globally, we can see some countries have been started, such as: Indonesian Parliament with the SDGs Working Committee, Pakistan National Assembly with the SDGs Task Force, Trinidad and Tobago Parliament with Joint Committee on the SDGs, and Zambian Parliament with SDGs Caucus. These cross-party groups are important not only to discuss the promotion of legislation that reflect those interests, but also to promote debates, engage, and increase awareness of MPs on the issues of SDGs.

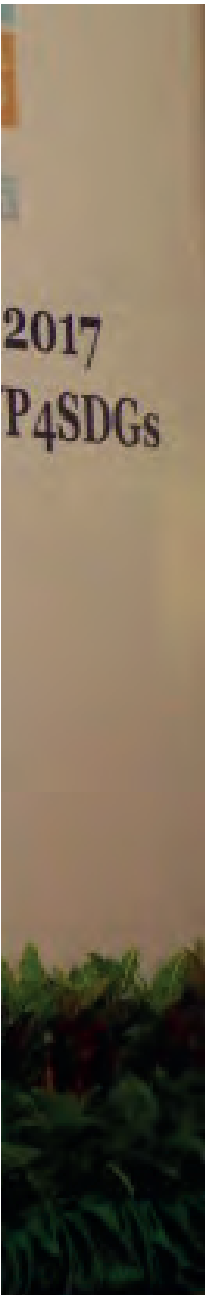
Regardless those valuable role and progress that have been achieved to date, we have to admit that there are still challenges ahead. The most significant ones are the lack of awareness, weak institutional capacities, and not all Parliaments have the equal capacity to take on the heavy demands of SDGs framework.

Concerning the challenges and recognizing their role, Parliaments must continue to be strategically empowered, actively engaged and sufficiently equipped to help mobilize domestic resources on achieving the SDGs targets. Here, I'd like to outline several points on what more can be done by Parliaments to promote, deliver and monitor the SDGs agenda further.

First, it can be done by maximizing and strengthening Parliament's constitutional mandate. Let's take a brief look at the main mechanisms in which Parliaments can assure the implementation of the SDGs through their basic functions:

- *Law-Making and Law Reform*

Parliaments need to use this ability to facilitate the SDGs implementation not only by adopting the global agenda into national action, but also to review the existing legislative framework. This should be done to identify gaps and opportunities for reform, as well as to support the enactment of legislation which accommodate SDGs values; such as laws to promote gender equality and the inclusion of marginalized groups.





– *Representation*

More than almost any other state official, Parliamentarians have a direct relationship to the public, since they are the elected representatives. This provides an invaluable opportunity to promote domestic accountability for SDGs achievement that is “people-centered,” meaningfully addresses the diverse needs of the public and benefits all. Thus, they should engage and facilitate public participation, so that every citizen is empowered to demand action and provide feedback on SDGs implementation.

– *Policy Oversight*

Parliaments should also reflect upon their existing oversight mechanisms, to ensure that they have sufficient power and tools needed to assure that national resources and development aid are managed effectively and with integrity. In this regard, Parliaments play a critical role as one of the most powerful domestic accountability mechanisms in a country.

– *Budgeting*

The fourth and most important constitutional role is Parliament’s responsibility to adopt the national budget. In this regard, Parliaments must review the existing parliamentary budget mechanisms to ensure that they have the power and capacities to effectively engage with budget development, approval and oversight processes. This has to be done in order to promote effective, efficient, transparent and accountable SDGs implementation.

Moreover, Parliaments can also use innovative budget monitoring tools to track SDGs expenditures and impacts. For instance, in Serbia the National Assembly is working with GOPAC Serbia and UNDP to develop a budget and expenditures portal that will enable better monitoring of public budget expenditures through an online platform.

Besides maximizing on their four constitutional roles, the Second way that need to be done by Parliaments to support SDGs implementation is coordinating efforts with other relevant stakeholders. They must be partnering closely with the Executive branch to engage in national SDGs policy processes. This includes, for example, through mechanisms such as the National SDGs Task Force. Parliaments should also foster cooperation with independent accountability institutions; such as National Human Rights Body, Anti-Corruption Commission and Supreme Audit Institution. They also need to work closely with the media and civil society organizations (CSOs), as well as the international and regional institutions to develop comprehensive partnership.

It’s also important to urge governments and related multilateral organizations; such as the UN and IPU, to initiate a broad national consultative process involving Parliament before submission of national review and reports to the global SDGs processes. In sum, Parliament



should ensure that there is a coherent, coordinated, and all-inclusive participatory approach to the effective implementation of SDGs.

The Third improvement that should be made by Parliaments is to support localizing the SDGs and monitoring at the sub-national level. SDGs are very good globally, but it's also important to prioritize the local need and how it could actually affect people's life. Parliaments are very close to their constituents, so they could engage from the early stages of the process to ensure the context that is specific to the local area are reflected and properly represented.

The limited decentralization mechanism in executing SDGs could result in a low level of inclusiveness and contributes to the persistence of social and regional disparities. Therefore, an effective two-way communication mechanism should be established between the national parliament and local assemblies, to ensure a regular dialogue on key development issues. Especially in some countries where the executive haven't done much, Parliament should be able to provide adequate support to sub-national elected bodies (provincial, regional, or district) in monitoring the local implementation of SDGs.

Lastly, these all should be done in an open, accountable, and transparent framework as the Fourth process that should be carried out by the Parliaments. They have to support the development of tools and mechanism to strengthen parliamentary inclusiveness, access to information, accountability and transparency in order to encourage increased public and civil society engagement in the whole SDGs implementation.

Besides all those roles and improvements that should be done by the Parliaments, GOPAC also recognizes the importance of Parliament to deal with corruption in implementing the SDGs and development assistance at large. Likewise, the SDGs itself, particularly on the Goal 16 (Target 16.5) calls on countries to "substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms," with the UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) providing a guiding framework for implementing this target. Significantly, a key element of UNCAC and the broader effort to tackle corruption is by enhancing institutional capacity and ensuring legislative reform. This is where GOPAC takes its part.

As an international network of Parliamentarians that focus solely on combating corruption, GOPAC aims to combat and prevent corruption by strengthening integrity in the Parliament. It provides peer-support to its member, which are Parliamentarians engaged in combating corruption throughout the world, by developing practical tools, delivering relevant training, capacity building, and education to promote methods for fighting corruption.

Since its inception in 2002, GOPAC which has an international network in at least 59 countries with regional chapters in Africa, Arab, Latin America, Oceania, and Southeast Asia — has been actively supporting Parliamentarians in their advocacy and legislation through various



programs. As of now, it is currently focusing on 5 areas of Global Task Forces (GTF), which are: 1) Anti-Money Laundering; 2) UN Convention against Corruption; 3) Participation of Society; 4) Parliamentary Ethics and Conduct; and 5) Parliamentary Oversight.

The latest project being conducted is “Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians in Monitoring the Implementation of SDGs,” in cooperation with the UN Development Program (UNDP) and Islamic Development Bank (ISDB). This project was initiated with the awareness that corruption is a major barrier to sound and equitable development. Therefore, it is important to strengthen Parliament’s role in eliminating corruption of development programs, in order to maximize its benefit for all people.

Through this project, GOPAC and its partners are developing a Parliamentary Handbook on SDGs as guidance for Parliamentarians to successfully implement the SDGs, especially by monitoring the effectiveness of any development assistance. The handbook emphasizes GOPAC’s work of countering the possible corruption in SDGs implementation, by exploring any parliamentary initiatives that can be performed. GOPAC is now actively promoting and encouraging all Parliamentarians to make use of this Handbook as a valuable resource in achieving SDGs targets.

You may recall that I explained about the inclusiveness of SDGs, and how every stakeholder should take part on turning those targets into reality. I want to emphasize that besides Parliament, the other important stakeholder is the young people — whom I believe are now being the largest part of our world population, and the majority of them lives in Asia. We must see this demographic advantage as an asset, where youth must take an active part to contribute fully into the effective implementation of SDGs.

Moreover, the youth who are already involved in a structured mechanism for participation and decision-making such as political party, must seize the opportunity in mainstreaming SDGs into their party’s platform. They should be able to convince political party that the SDGs values can serve as a useful pillar in party’s agenda, focusing the attention of their voters regarding the importance of making progress on these goals. Reassuring their commitment on SDGs will also make a worthwhile capital for political parties, especially in retaining citizen’s support and favor.

In addition, young people can also support the implementation of SDGs through catalyzing change at the ground level. As an active driver of change in local communities, young people have a role in engaging people at the grassroots level and in communicating the development goals to a wider society. This could be done by boosting more real-time movement; such as using technology and social media to distribute the messages, and other innovative channels possible.



Throughout the history, young people have undoubtedly participated, contributed, and even catalyzed important changes in political systems and power-sharing dynamics. Hence, I do believe that you, the young people, are surely able to accelerate this process and be the game-changer in supporting SDGs.

As a final message, I would like to reiterate that at the end of the day, the only way to measure the real success of SDGs is for people around the world to feel that their lives have markedly improved. If they are faced with corruption in their daily lives, this will not happen. The barometer of the success of the SDGs will be the number of real people, living real lives, who say that they are not asked for a bribe, that the courts treat them fairly, that they can equally access health care, sanitation, education and all basic public services. When corruptors stop looting the states, then sustainable development will be a reality.

Let us work to help break the culture of corruption and impunity, and help ensure that Parliament and other public institutions are accountable and trustworthy. I truly believe that when Parliament and Parliamentarians are fully aware to the SDGs, each country will take its benefit.





*H.E Fadli Zon with the Participants  
of KAS Young Political Leaders  
Caucus Meeting 2017*

## chapter 21

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# Redressing Inequalities: Delivering on Dignity and Well Being for All

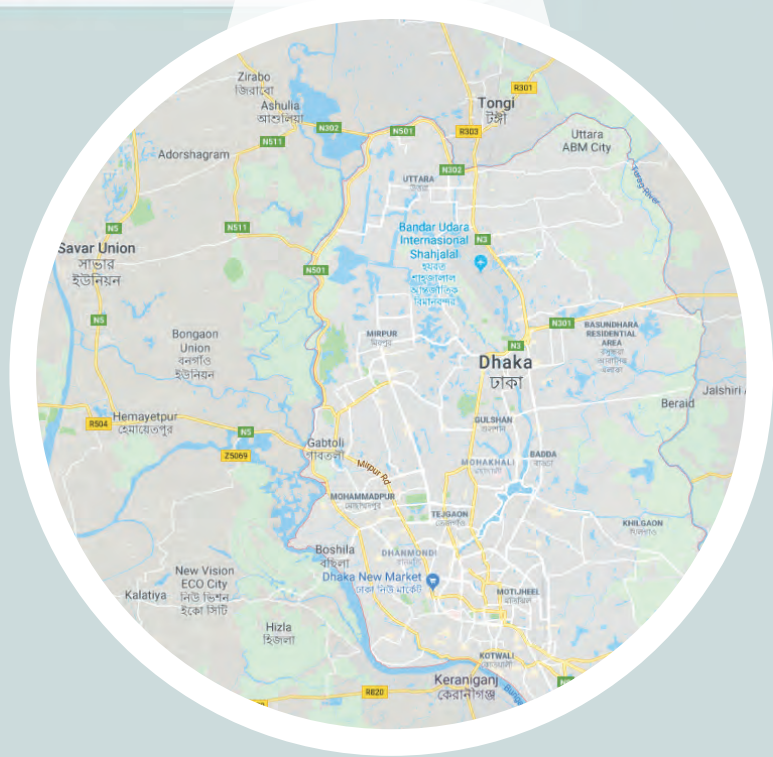
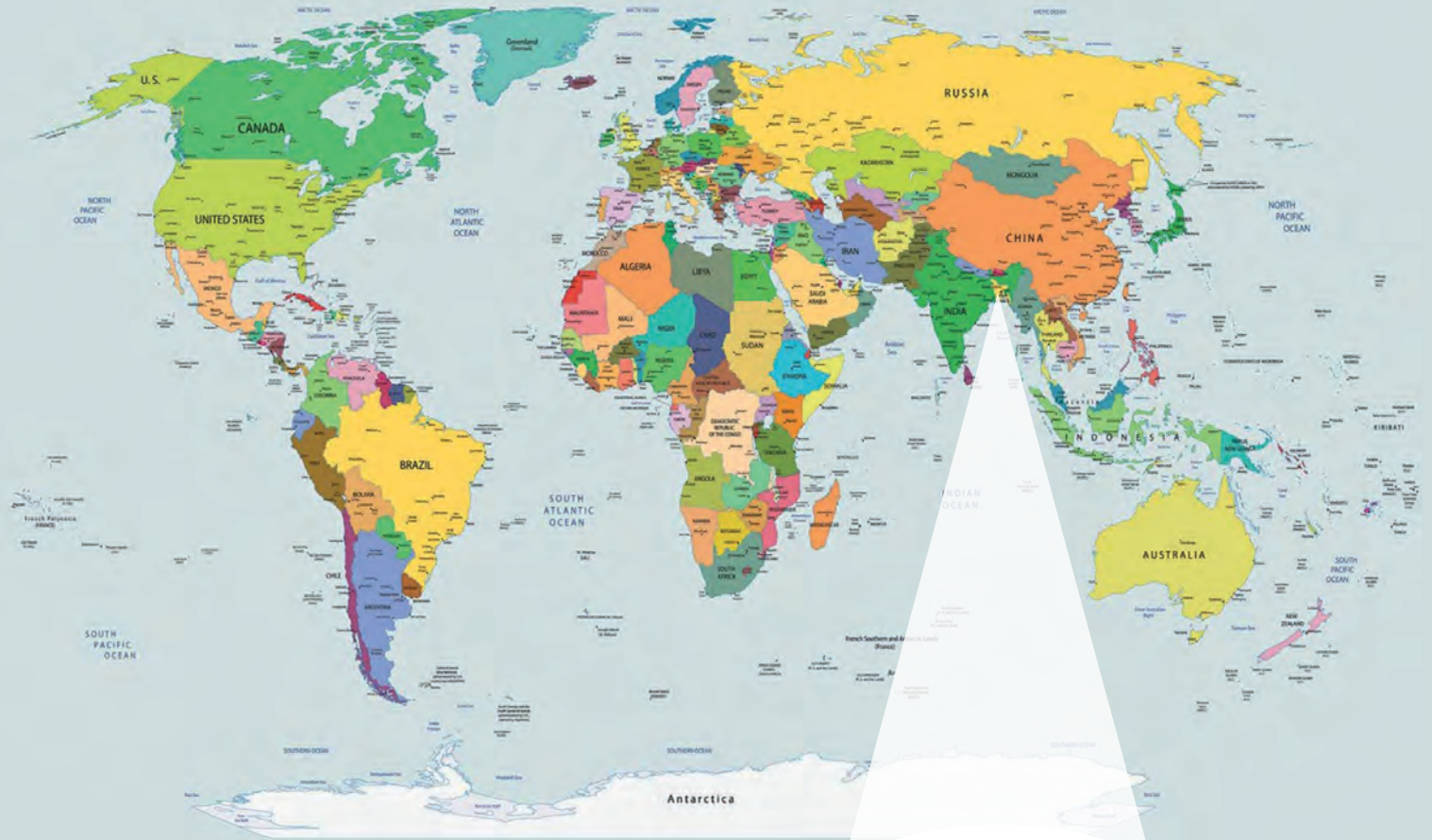
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 136<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Dhaka, Bangladesh, 1-5 April 2017





BANGLADESH



## Redressing Inequalities: Delivering on Dignity and Well Being for All

Let me begin by expressing my deep appreciation to the hard work and dedication carried out by the Government and Parliament of Bangladesh as well as the people of Bangladesh for the successful organization of the 136<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly and related meetings in the city of Dhaka.

We are a country no different than yours. Today, inequality remains and continues to significantly increase. Our economy has been in sustained growth for the past 15 years but it has only benefited the rich. The economic situation of the poorest has not changed much.

A recent inequality report published by Oxfam and the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) disclose the fact that the wealth of four richest Indonesians is equal to the wealth of the country's poorest 100 million citizens. Wealth inequality has widened within the last decade. In 2002, the 10% wealthiest Indonesians consume as equal as the 42% of the poorest and in 2014 they consume as equal as the 54% of the poorest.<sup>1</sup>

In land acquisition, at around 0.2% of the elites own 56% of land. Big corporations have big assets of lands while small farmers acquire less than half hectare of land. In an agricultural country like Indonesia, around 13.57 million farmers have no cultivation land.<sup>2</sup>

The state of national inequality is no different than the global situation. The condition where the richest 1% has more wealth than the rest of the planet pictured how global inequalities occurred.

<sup>1</sup> <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/870151468197336991/pdf/101668-BAHASA-WP-PUBLIC-Box394818B-Executive-Summary-Indonesias-Rising-Divide.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> *Majalah Tempo, Bertani di Lahan Sempit, Laporan Khusus Ketimpangan Ekonomi: Kaya Raya Miskin Papa, Edisi 20-26 Maret 2017, Jakarta: PT Tempo Inti Media Tbk, Hal 98-99*



Far in the dark corner of the world, many men and women are still working more than eight hours a day and yet they still unable to meet their families' needs for that day. While on the other side, there are elites enjoying lavish and glamorous life, earning money more than the others can have in a year. There are these boys and girls who can only dream to have decent education just because they don't have the money to go to school, while the children of the few spent their way in luxurious entertainment without worrying for their future. The world seems unfair.

Indonesia believes that ensuring equality and social equity is a key part of fighting poverty and securing a sustainable future for all. Inequality mostly represents as income inequality as well as inequality in access to basic needs and services. In any form, inequality deprives individuals from the opportunity to increase their productivity and advance their wellbeing.

If we are debating about inequality, one we have to underline is that we need to be equal in all access. Indonesia translates this by ensuring access to basic needs and services: education and health. Our national constitution mandated the allocation of 20% of national budget for education, to guarantee that all Indonesians can access education with no cost.

The Law on Health requires the state to allocate 5% of national budget for health sector. Further, to ensure equal access and basic protection to healthcare services, the Indonesian House adopted Law on Social Security Service Agency to provide universal social security for all Indonesians with no exception.

This costly policy should be supported by fiscal reform. Indonesia is currently in its efforts to do so. We are reforming our national taxation system. Progressive tax rate system is one way but most importantly is that we need to ensure that no one can hide their wealth and assets anymore. We are in a process to harmonize our Law on Banking with the globally acknowledged system of Automatic Exchange of Information (AEOI) which will be in force in 2018.

Another issue which we should address are: decent wages and land ownership. Jobs creation is not the solution to closing the wealth gap. It should be accompanied with a decent wage. We cannot let men and women working hours without proper job arrangement and even more decent wages. That is why we need to intervene by not only regulating minimum wages but also stimulating efforts to promote more skilled and professional labours as well as promoting entrepreneurship.

Government intervention in land acquisition is also needed. A country where it leaves the business of land ownership solely to the market will only widen the gap between the poor and the rich. We cannot let that happen.





We believe that land ownership is one of the first economic resources of our people. We want our farmers to be productive and rich. That is why Indonesia is exploring ways for redistribution of lands to the bottom 40. In 2017, Indonesia will re-distribute around 9 hectares of lands and 12.7 hectares of social forest to the bottom 40.

Our challenge in inequality is even greater. The Gini coefficient on household consumption has declined from 0.408 in March 2015 to 0.397 in March 2016, and yet, much works need to be done. Regional disparity is also a challenge to an archipelagic country like Indonesia.

Today, we see more people working and living in big cities compared to that of rural areas. That is because they lack access to primary source of income generation, job with decent income or business with proper profit. As the law maker, the Indonesian House of Representatives captured this phenomenon: that we need more fiscal-cycle in the village and rural areas. That is why we have adopted Law on Village Fund. The law guarantees budget allocation of funds to around 74,093 Indonesian villages so that they can finance their own development through an inclusive village governance.

Of all these national practices, a social situation on the looming gap of the rich and the poorer continue to exists. What makes the rich richer and the destitute one stay the same?

These elites control our politics. Those who have power have everything and can do anything. Their hands may be invisible, yet, they take benefits from certain policies formulated in their favour.

A world where wider inequalities prevail could never be stable and we need to stop this. Wars and conflicts continue to be unabated only because the international community collective power to maintain peace and stability is concentrated in the hand of the few.

Therefore, political inclusion is a necessity. It has been too often, that the national and global policy are acting for the sake of the few. It is time to end this.

It is our job, to redress these inequalities through political inclusiveness and it should not be gender biased.

It is also our call, to urge for a more democratic international community, for more appropriate representation in multilateral institutions, so that we can have what we called: our fair share of development.

## chapter 22

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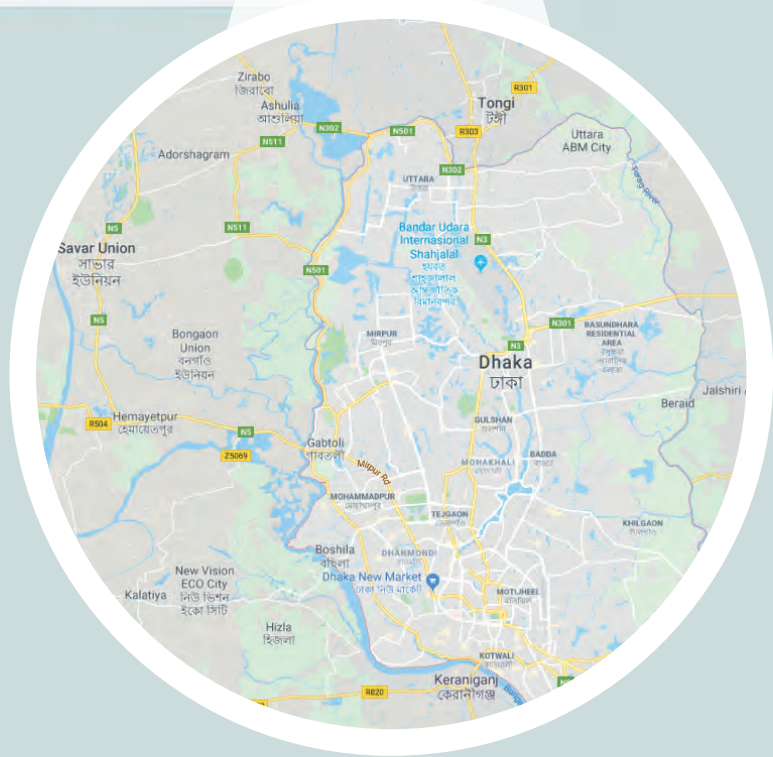
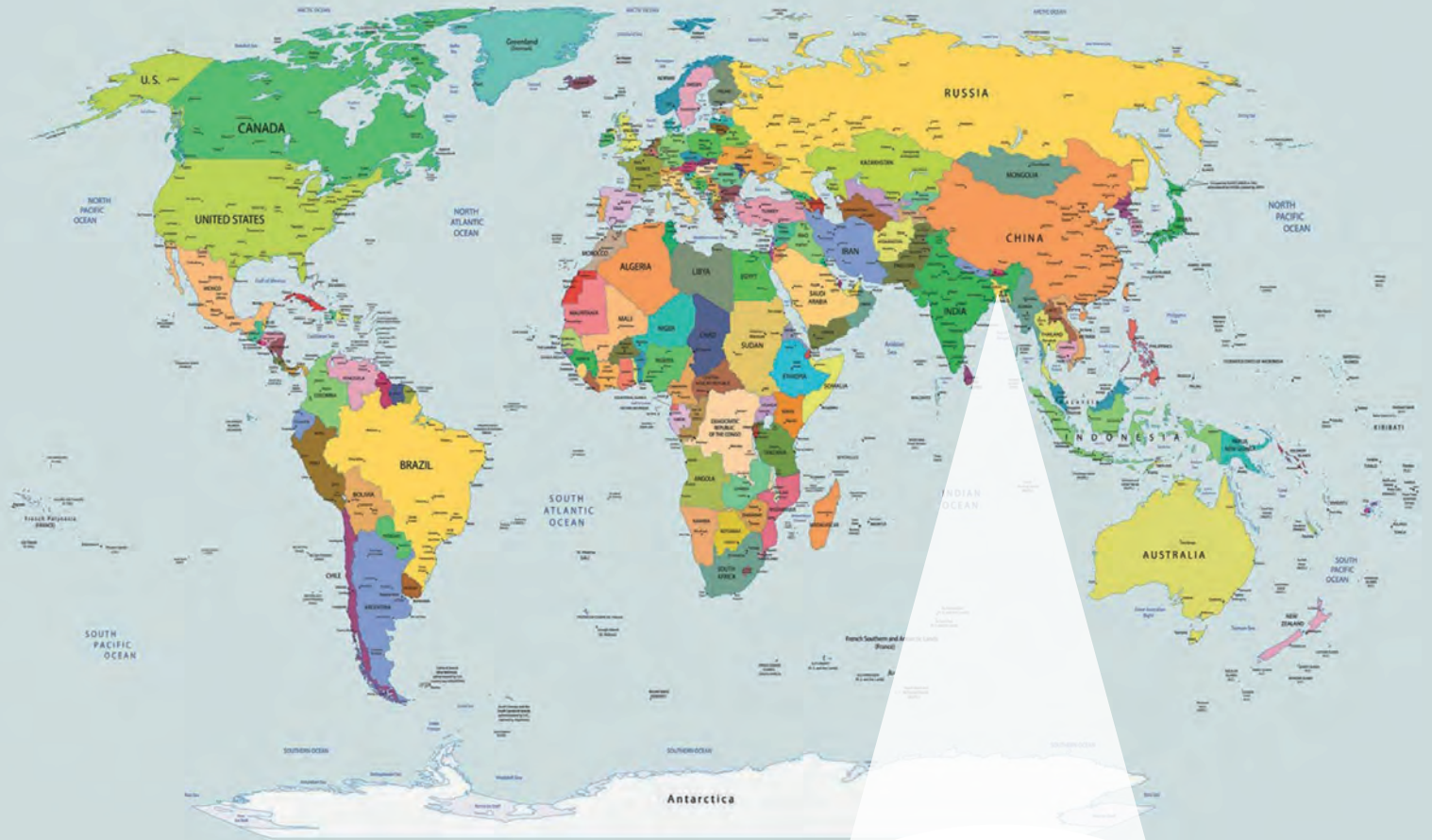
# Redressing Inequalities Through Combating Corruption

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 136<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Dhaka, Bangladesh, 1-5 April 2017



BANGLADESH



## Redressing Inequalities Through Combating Corruption

I would like to join other parliaments in congratulating the Parliament of Bangladesh for their successfully convening the 136<sup>th</sup> Assembly of the IPU. Allow me to take this opportunity to introduce GOPAC.

We are the only international network of parliamentarians focused solely on combating corruption. Our members represent more than 50 countries in all regions of the world, they consist of current and former legislators and the nature of our collaboration is non-partisan.

The theme of this general debate is significantly important to us in GOPAC. In our Yogyakarta Declaration, we affirm our vision of an equitable world where all citizens can live in equality of opportunity and prosperity.

The 2016 Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) iterates the strong connection between corruption and inequality. High gini ratio is almost always accompanied with high CPI which confirm our belief that corruption, imbalance distribution of power and unequal distribution of wealth, together form a vicious circle that perpetuates each other. Furthermore, many studies suggest that corruption may impose substantial limitations on developing countries efforts in redistributing wealth through taxation as well as other poverty alleviation measures.



Too many countries in the world suffer because of corruption. Their people are excluded from decision-making process, deprived of their basic rights and economically disadvantaged due to entrenched corruption. The powerful and corrupt ones are clutching to the power and resources to sustain their lavish lifestyles while majority of the population left with small portion of wealth to be shared among them.

What makes it worse: they enjoy it with impunity.

Nearly \$1 trillion illicit finances, much of it amassed by those in positions of high authority, is estimated to leave poor countries each year—money that could help replace shrinking aid budgets and support the attainment of Sustainable Development Goals instead. Yet, while the world's poorest economies are bleeding, the corruptors are hiding their assets, laundering their money and evading tax. These crimes are enabled by the secrecy of the global financial system.

That is why when the world leaders gathered in the UK for Anti-Corruption Summit in London, last year, GOPAC is in position to support the development of regime aimed to ending this secrecy. We have reached many commitments and action pledges during the summit including the development of beneficial ownership registry in some countries.

Because we believe, in order to eradicate corruption, in order to reduce inequality, an open regime shall prevail.

Corruption in the state resources drives inequality and widening disparity. Political capture feed corruption and inequality. GOPAC as an organization solely focus on the issue of corruption and anti-money laundering believes that through equal opportunity and participation in the field of politics, social and economy we can reduce the widening gap of inequality.

While we are trying to develop the regime which promotes equality in political participation, economic opportunity and social activity, embedded under the dream of Agenda 2030: the SDGs, we need to know how to maximize and utilize our power to use the resources to create prosperity and welfare for our people.

GOPAC is deeply aware on the pivotal legislative and oversight roles of parliamentarians as well as its parts scrutinizing budget and advocating the causes of grass-root. It is within such awareness that we are championing the mainstreaming of SDGs into the work of parliaments and member of parliaments especially Goal 16 targets of substantially reducing corruption and bribery and developing effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.





Since early 2016, GOPAC in cooperation with the Islamic Development Bank and the UNDP have been developing a Parliamentary Handbook on the SDGs. This Parliamentary Handbook will be the guideline to embed the SDGs into the work of parliaments and parliamentarians including through the monitoring of any development assistance.

The handbook emphasizes our work of countering the possible corruption which by itself will lead to the reduction of inequalities in the implementation of SDGs. It is sought to provide good practices and various parliamentary initiatives from all over the world which may be useful for lesson learned. I encourage all parliamentarians to make use of this Handbook, which will be published soon.

As a final message, I wish to invite all members of parliaments to join GOPAC and establish national and regional chapters, to take part in this global network and in our efforts to reduce inequality by combating corruption. I wish to invite all parliaments that are interested to hold a global gathering of parliamentarians who focus on the issues of anti-corruption. This year, it is our time to once again assemble in joining global forces against corruption.

## chapter 23

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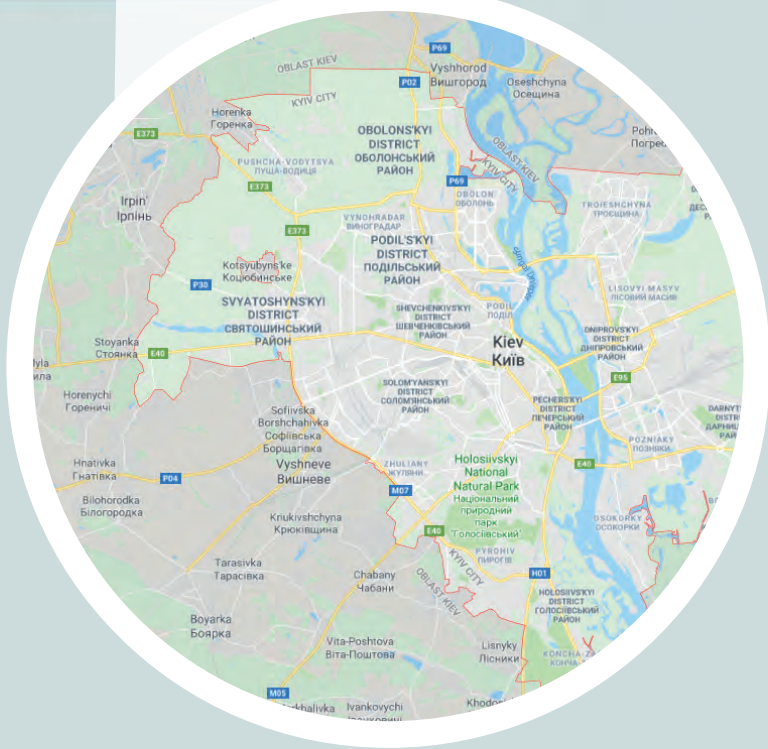
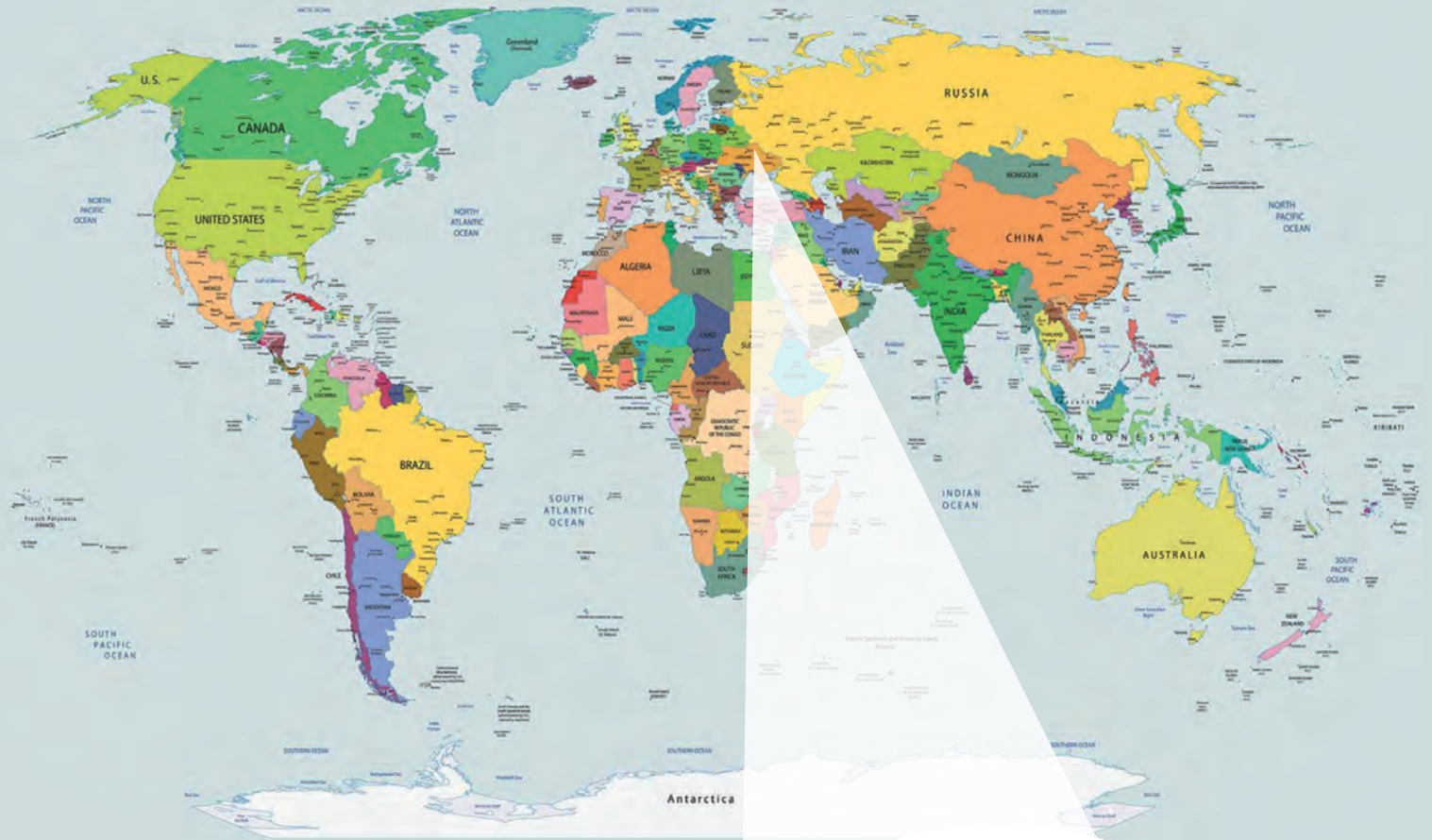
# Parliaments, Citizen Trust, and Openness

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Global Legislative Openness Conference

Kiev, Ukraine, 19 May 2017



UKRAINE



## Parliaments, Citizen Trust, and Openness

At the outset, allow me to express my sincere appreciation to the House of Democracy Partnership for organizing The 2<sup>nd</sup> Global Legislative Openness Conference. I am very pleased and honored to be here today. And I would like to thank for inviting me to this conference and giving me the opportunity to talk about Parliaments, Citizen Trust, and Openness.

Let me to discuss about two specific issues that I am sure we are really concerned. First, is about the phenomenon of low level public trust in government institution, particularly in parliament. And I will follow it with the issue of nexus between the paradox of democracy and the parliament's openness. Second, allow me to share some experiences on ways to promote open and transparent parliament, that have been made by the House of Representatives of The Republic of Indonesia.

The low level of public trust in government institutions in general, and in parliament in particular, has been a worldwide problems in most democratic countries. To overcome this condition, many parliaments have introduced the reform agenda to repair and even to improve the connection with citizen. This way is adopted by parliaments with an expectation to regain the lost public trust.

However, it is often found that the reforms in many countries have had little effect. Here I notice that the ineffectiveness of reform agenda is strongly related with the root of reasons. As have been suggested by various studies, there are three level explanations to trace the roots of low level public trust in government institutions, including in parliament.



# Global Legislative • Openness Conference Ukraine 2017

## BUILDING CITIZEN TRUST THROUGH OPENNESS AND ENGAGEMENT



First, the explanation which emphasizes that there are functional problems in the parliament institutions. Among the causes such as the low ability of Members of Parliament to express their opinions, the decline of quality of the parliamentarian's candidates, and the inability of political party to connect civil society with the parliament as a state actor. As a consequence, the parliaments deserve to the low level of public trust.

Second, the explanation that strongly focuses to the individual factors, such as his/her personality, status in society, and personal experiences. According to this explanation, factors such as individual gender, social background, level of education, and economic condition are central to influence the low level of public trust to the parliament.

And third, the explanation which emphasizes on the influences of systemic, environmental, and social factors. In regard with this factor, several studies suggests that in states in which the level of proportionality in the election results is higher, the level of trust is higher than in states in which the system of elections is majoritarian.

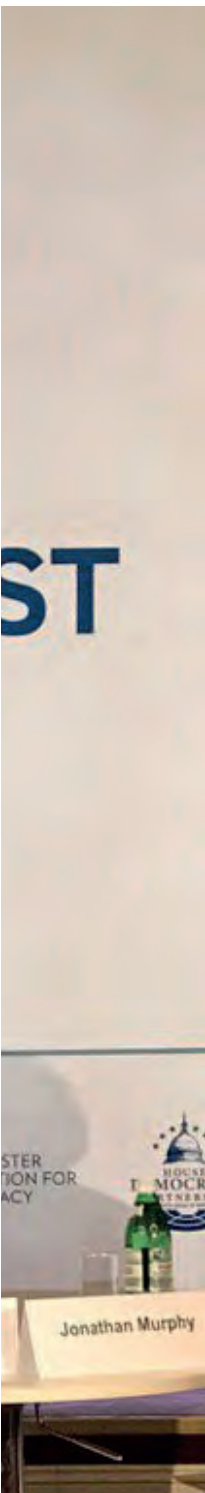
In addition, the effort of parliament to improve its public trust is even harder. Despite the same status as government institutions, unlike executive branch the parliament body is composed by parliamentarians with diverse and various background. Therefore, it needs extraordinary efforts to build strong understanding among parliamentarians for the success of parliamentary openness.

Parliamentary openness and transparency are necessary element for democracy to function better. But it is not easy to achieve. Not only because of the low level of public trust in parliaments, but also because of today's democracy is experiencing a distinct paradox.

As we may have observed, the early years of the twenty-first century have seen a distinct paradox between democracy and its practice. On the one hand, we have witnessed the triumph of democracy in most countries of the world. However, on the other hand it is still found that democracy in practice rather show a contrast between what has been promised and what has actually come about. And it makes the problem of public trust in parliament worse.

To address this paradox, I notice that the parliaments have a key role. As pillar of democratic governance, parliament is the central institution through which the will of the people is expressed, laws are passed and government is held to account. But, to undertake that role, parliament itself must align with the principle of democracy. And so in that spirit, another central question that may arise is what makes a parliament itself democratic?

In order to build a democratic parliament, I argue that there are at least five key characteristics which every parliament should have. And these five keys are essential. They should be representative, transparent, accessible, accountable and effective. These are the virtues that support the parliament to be more responsive to the public needs.







Allow me to share some experiences of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia to promote parliamentary openness and transparency. To implement the open and transparent parliament, since 2010 The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia has set an open parliament action plan. The first action plan was set from 2010-2014. The action plan contains a series of commitment to parliament's reform. It calls the Indonesian parliament to develop several aspects, such as code of ethics for members of parliament, improving physical infrastructure, and creating more openness for public to engage with legislative process.

To continue the progress of the first phase, in 2015 the commitment for open and transparent parliament has been strengthened. Therefore, in the second phase, from 2015-2019, Indonesian parliament has developed a set of plan what we call as Towards the Indonesian modern parliament action plans.

The action plan of the Indonesia modern parliament recognizes three fundamental principles. The first principle provides the framework for the making parliamentary information transparent. To ensure that framework, Indonesia parliament has initiated Public Information Disclosure Bill which has been passed in 2008. This bill has also been adopted by our national parliament into a parliament internal code of conduct. Under this framework, we offer proactive publication of parliamentary information. It includes parliamentary agenda, schedule of meeting, report of plenary, and information on the management and administration. All of these are published in the parliament's website.

The second principle is the easing access to parliamentary information through an online technology. Nowadays the parliaments are struggling with an increased pressure to provide real-time access to their information and activities to the public. In the Declaration on Parliamentary Openness, stated that "Parliamentary transparency policies shall be publicly available and shall specify terms for their periodic review to take advantage of technological innovations and evolving good practices."

To adopt that commitment, Indonesian parliament has implemented the use of technology through multiple channels. This effort is central to ease and expand public access to parliamentary information. For instance, our parliamentary bureaucracy management has been connected through the online platform system. Each parliamentarian has also been equipped with a personal blog which linked to the parliament website. This parliamentarian's blog provides information about the backgrounds, activities of members, including sufficient information for citizens to make informed judgments regarding their integrity and probity. We also have TV's parliament and build dedicated channel in partnership with several national televisions. And to increase the parliament outreach especially to the youth, we have actively engaged with social media by posting parliamentary activities regularly. These online platforms system are built to ensure an aspiration of constituent, feedback on legislative product, and public criticisms are promptly received and responded.

The third principle that we have adopted is the framework of representativeness. We recognize that representativeness is an essential, particularly to increase citizen trust in parliament. It is our conviction that increased representativeness increases the legitimacy and standing of parliament.

To ensure the highest degree of representativeness, we have demonstrated several proactive structural mechanisms. For instance, the parliamentarians are required by law to have five sessions a year for constituency service activity. It is the session for Members of Parliament to devote major portions of their time to hear constituency's needs, and even providing assistance to individual constituents. On the institution level, we have improved the public online gateway to enhance and encourage citizen's presence in parliamentary activities. To intensify communication between parliamentarians and their constituents, parliament has facilitated member of parliaments with a "house of aspirations" in all electoral districts. House of aspiration is aimed to bring constituents closer to Member of Parliaments. Through adopting this framework, we ensure that the parliament activities in legislation, oversight, and budgeting, in line with the public needs.

Let me to conclude by expressing that today, more than ever, we have witnessed that the agenda of open parliaments is at the core of mandate of parliamentarians around the world. And today conference is solid evidence on how we transform that mandate into a real agenda.

And since its inception in 2013, Open Parliaments has transformed itself into a global movement. I am among those who regard that more openness on parliament could improve more trust of citizens to the institutions. And I also believe we all share the view that openness and transparency are keys to build a democratic parliament.

Furthermore, although the problem of low-level of public trust in parliament remains a fundamental issue that still needs to confront, don't let it makes us pessimistic. Instead, what we need to day is the continuous and creative effort to improve citizen trust in parliament, particularly by advancing the use of technology in the parliamentary activities.





## chapter 24

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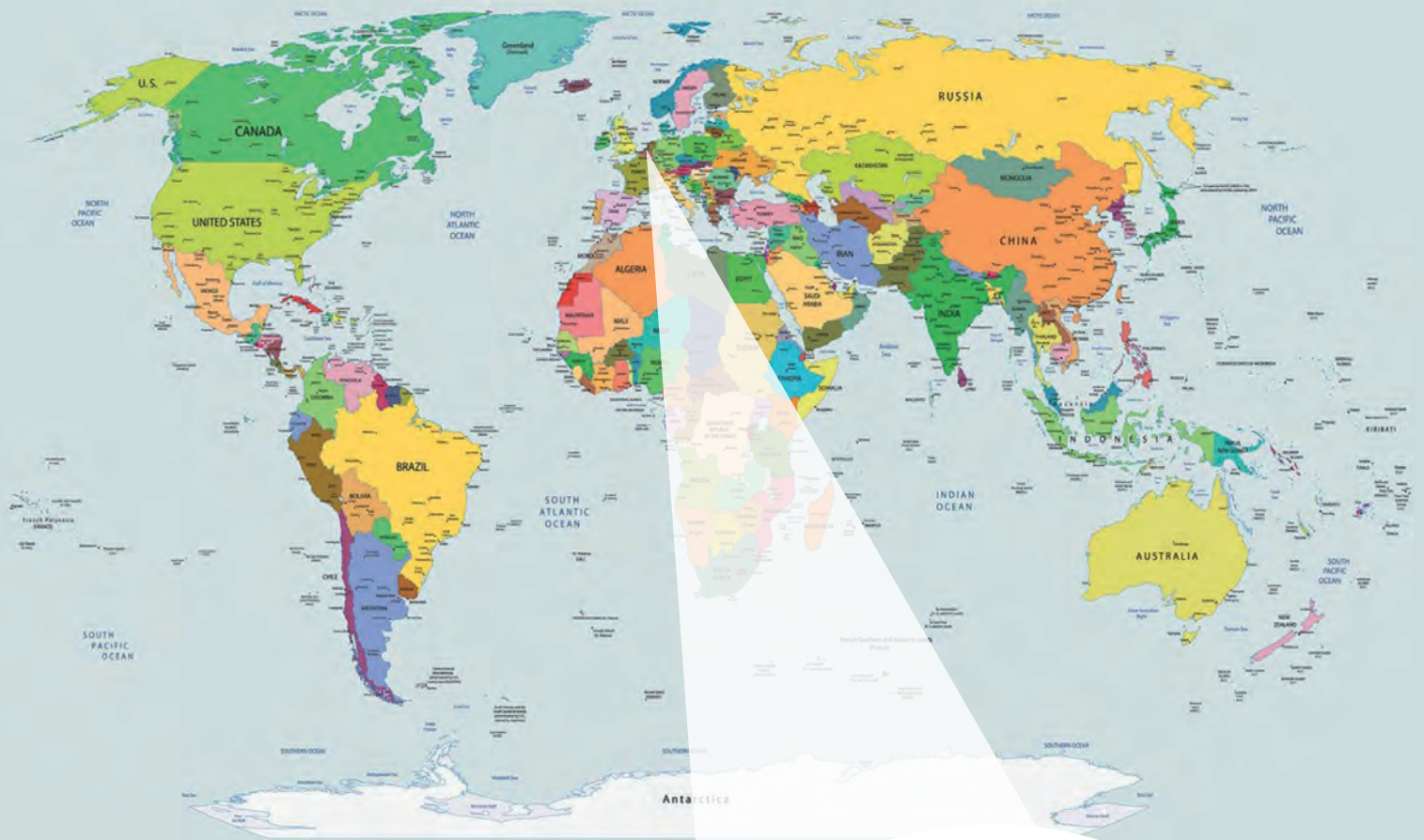


# Combating Corruption: New Approaches and Proven Strategies

Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the World Justice Project's (WJP) Inaugural Anti-Corruption  
Commissions Symposium

The Hague, Netherlands, 11 July 2017



NETHERLANDS

## Combating Corruption: New Approaches and Proven Strategies

First of all, on behalf of Global Organization Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC), allow me to extend my gratitude to this forum. I am very pleased and honoured to be here today.

Thank you for inviting me and giving me the opportunity to talk about the “new approaches and proven strategies in combating corruption”.

Allow me to start the discussion by highlighting the essential roles of parliamentarians in combating corruption. Corruption is not only a threat to democracy but also is a threat that undermines economic development, violates social justice, and destroys trust in state institutions.

It goes without saying that corruption can negatively affect a country’s development and society at large. What is more alarming is the fact that citizens are the ones who bear the heavy economic and social burdens of this endemic corruption.

As elected representatives of the people, Parliamentarians hold the responsibility to express people’s will and make sure the policies implemented bring prosperity to the people. Parliamentarians have both the moral and constitutional authority as well as the legitimacy that gives weight to their roles and involvement in the fight against corruption.





*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon with others speakers namely Sreerupa Chowdury (Co-Founder, Bribe Hackers, India), Martin Manuhwa (Chair of Anticorruption Committee), and Raymond Ng (Director of Community Relations, Independent Commission Against Corruption Hongkong)*

In this opening remark, I would like to mention four pivotal ways in which parliamentarians engage anti-corruption; First, through its ability to make laws and also reform laws when desired. As a legislative institution, Parliaments have the mandate to create a legal-framework that is needed to eradicate corruption and reform laws when necessary. Second, the Parliament's role in enacting and criticizing the government budget is significant in protecting financial integrity and keeping the financial flow accountable. Third, as representative of the people, parliament has the mandate to not only set-up the legal framework, but also to oversee its implementation. Fourth, Parliament has the responsibility to ensure public interest is represented in the policy-making process.

In other words, Parliaments and Parliamentarians have pivotal roles in fighting corruption by channeling the interests and concerns of civil society into an open debate, passing the necessary legislations, and creating the political will to fight against corruption.

However, at the same time, parliamentarians' roles in policy-making, authorizing budgets, and providing oversight give them extensive opportunities for political or financial gain.

For instance, some legislators encounter many opportunities to engage in corruption either to ensure their re-election (vote buying, illicit party financing) or to obtain private financial gain from their work.

Therefore, those mandates perform like 'two sides of the same coin'. In this context, Parliamentarians can be responsible for either flourishing or perishing of corruption depending on their political will.

Being aware of those circumstances, I would like to emphasize another approach that can significantly help Parliaments and parliamentarians in its mission to fight against corruption, which is building coalition through Inter-parliamentary networks.

The Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) is an example of an international network of parliamentarians that focus solely on combating corruption.

GOPAC members are current or former legislators or legislators who have been denied their right to take office. Their collaboration is non-partisan. Currently, GOPAC has 5 regional chapters in Africa, Arab, Latin America, Oceania, and Southeast Asia, with 62 National Chapters, and more than 1000 members already join our movement.

It was created in October 2002, when Parliamentarians from around the world met in the Chamber of the Canadian House of Commons, and formed the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC).





GOPAC aims to combat and prevent corruption by strengthening integrity in Parliament. Since its inception, GOPAC has been actively promoting the role of parliamentarians to make progress in deterring corruption through various projects and programs. Such as:

Improving parliamentary oversight in the management of development aid and implementing the SDGs.

Developing technological platform to measure anti- corruption performance of legislators;

Grand corruption campaign;

Strengthening international cooperation in facilitating the asset recovery efforts;

Addressing women in parliament issues.

GOPAC's programming model uses Global Task Forces (GTFs) to promote agendas identified by membership through a regionally representative group of parliamentarians that champion specific issues. As of now, it is currently focusing on 5 areas of Global Task Forces (GTF), which are;

1. Anti-Money Laundering
2. UN Convention Against Corruption
3. Participation of Society
4. Parliamentary Ethics and Conducts
5. Parliamentary Oversight.

Through its GTFs oversight changes in national parliaments to control corruption, promote good governance, and hold the Executive more accountable to the people. It is our belief that fighting corruption can be more effective and taken more seriously if parliamentarians join together as a group, rather than standing up on its own.

Corruption is the misuse of public power for private gain, which leads many people to suffer. It is a hindrance to the country's social and economic development and therefore it is necessary to strengthen the anti-corruption movement and eradicate corruption as soon as possible.

In this war against corruption, we face great challenges but by collaborating with different stakeholders and actors, and share our approaches, I believe we can overcome it together.

There is no 'one size fits all' strategy in combating corruption. Anti-corruption strategies need a holistic approach and involve a broad coalition of relevant actors, including government bodies, parliaments, civil societies, and private sectors. Only through collaborations and partnerships, or joint efforts, we can eradicate corruption.







It is thus necessary to strengthen the anti-corruption movement, by taking most out of every opportunity when different actors meet like today, share their respective approaches and join forces. In this context, Parliaments and Parliamentarians are valuable partners in the anti-corruption movement.

GOPAC plays an important role especially as a platform to promote mutual commitment and cooperation among parliamentarians in combating corruption. I hope my brief introduction of GOPAC and its approaches has offered some insights and I believe this discussion was able to offer different perspectives and enhanced our understanding on anti-corruption approaches and strategies.



## chapter 25

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# The Role of AIPA in The Age of ASEAN Community

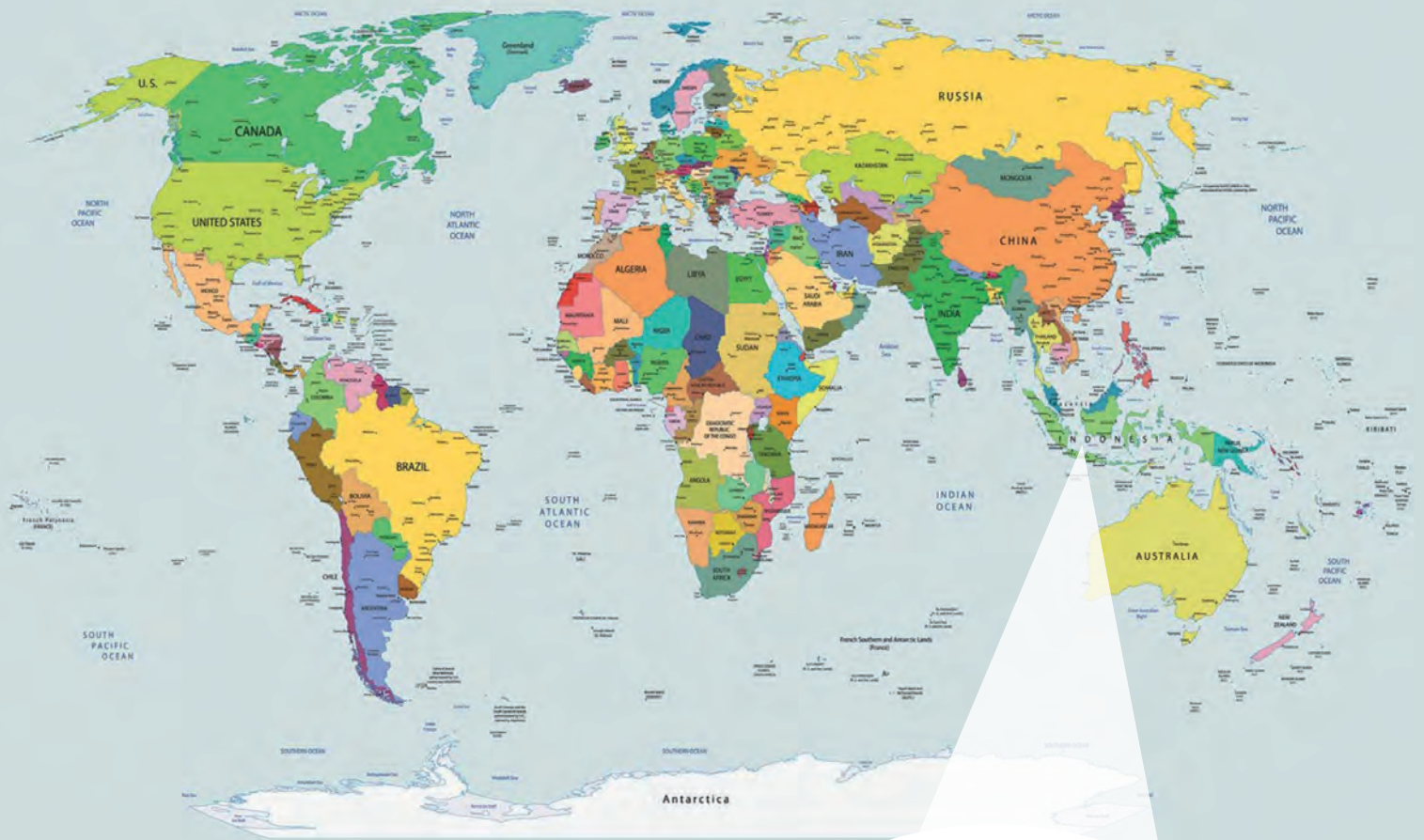
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA) CAUCUS Meeting

Fairmont Jakarta Hotel, Indonesia, 17–20 July 2017





INDONESIA

## The Role of AIPA in The Age of ASEAN Community

On behalf of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, I would like to warmly welcome you to the 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly Caucus held in the capital of Indonesia, Jakarta. AIPA Caucus is a crucial mechanism to ensure that we are doing concrete efforts to implement the resolutions we have adopted in the General Assembly (GA) and to explore the possibility of initiatives on issues of common concerns.

We have reached a significant progress of ASEAN development. Many initiatives have been established to further strengthen our regional community. At the same time, AIPA has delivered a greater response to such progress. The 37<sup>th</sup> General Assembly held last year, for example, has provided an avenue where many of our members shared their aspiration on ASEAN issues and reach consensus on constructive outcomes. I am sure that all AIPA Member Parliaments are committed to implement the resolutions with a view that through our constitutional parliamentary mandates including the legislative, budgetary, oversight as well as representative roles, we have made important contribution to develop ASEAN Community under its three pillars: The Political Security, Economic and Socio-Cultural Pillars.

I believe there have been questions on this year Caucus' issues. Questions on the number of working groups that exceeded previous Caucus and the new initiative that we proposed: A Special Session focusing on the AIPA Capacity. Let me briefly elaborate why we opt to highlight these issues for the caucus.

The underlying cause for this year Caucus theme entitled Strengthening Maritime Cooperation and Peaceful Resolution to Conflicts in ASEAN is that we are aware that the ocean is dominating our region. ASEAN is a region with 80% covered by the sea. Our sea provides opportunities to strengthen the regional community, an avenue for us to enhance ASEAN inter-state affairs.







## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

However, for us to use that opportunities and secure the success of our socio-economic cooperation, we must ensure the security and stability situation at the sea. While the sea lanes are being used to facilitate trade amongst us, at the same time we must not forget that our sea lanes are used for smuggling activities of drugs, weapon, and human; trafficking of migrant workers, refugees, and asylum seekers; and susceptible to Foreign Terrorist Fighters that could cause serious impacts to the region's stability and peace.

We must also divert our attention to the marine resources in our sea as they are integral to life and are closely linked to food security, employment, and economic growth in Southeast Asia. We must join the global community to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal of Conserving and sustainably using the Oceans, Seas and Marine Resources for Sustainable Development.

AIPA should bring the maritime issue at the forefront of inter-parliamentary deliberation as an important subject since ASEAN has in place various initiatives and mechanisms to deliberate on maritime issues. The Indonesian House is of the view that Caucus is an important avenue to go into the depth of the maritime cooperation issues, bearing into the mind that the goals of the





Caucus are to seek the harmonization of laws among Member Parliaments as well as to pursue a common initiatives or regional mechanisms that allow us to strengthen the recent and future maritime cooperation. The land divides but the sea unites us.

As maritime issue is essential to boost economic development through our vital maritime trade route, we believe that stability and security are strong foundation for the creation of economic development and promotion of equal access to welfare.

We have seen remarkable journey of democratic reform in each ASEAN Member State. But challenges remain. ASEAN and each of its members are being confronted with many social and cultural challenges. If we fail to manage the complexity of such challenges, they may lead to the occurrence of conflicts.

ASEAN also aware that the regional tensions, disputes, and conflicts issues may undermine the development of the community. In this context, we are hoping that the Caucus can be part of solution by providing the avenue for initiatives and legislation sharing in our efforts to promote peaceful means to conflict resolution.







The 9<sup>th</sup> AIPA Caucus is held at timely events. This year, ASEAN commemorates the historic 50 years of its establishment. AIPA will also be in its four decades of journey this year. As we grow older, there will be times to look behind to review what we have accomplished in such a short time. There are also times where we need to re-evaluate our journey towards a better future.

We appreciate all the establishments that we have in AIPA, including the cooperation held by AIPA and the ASEAN Wildlife Enforcement Network (ASEAN-WEN) which seek regular deliberation of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) in AIPA Caucus. However, we believe that it is the time to initiate a discussion to review, assess, re-evaluate the institution of AIPA so that we can better reflect and respond to the dynamic aspiration of ASEAN Citizens. It is within our hope that under this Special Session, we can seek a preliminary guidance, vision, from the respective delegates on the future of AIPA. It is with that spirit in mind, we held the initiative for a special session on developing AIPA Capacity.

I am convinced that with wisdom and constructive deliberations, our meeting will be fruitful and productive. I wish for happiness and enjoyable time during your participation in the meeting.

To conclude, allow me to declare the 9<sup>th</sup> AIPA Caucus open.





## chapter 26

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# Parliamentarians as the Key of SDGs Success

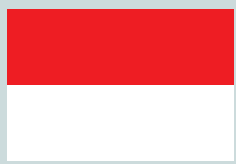
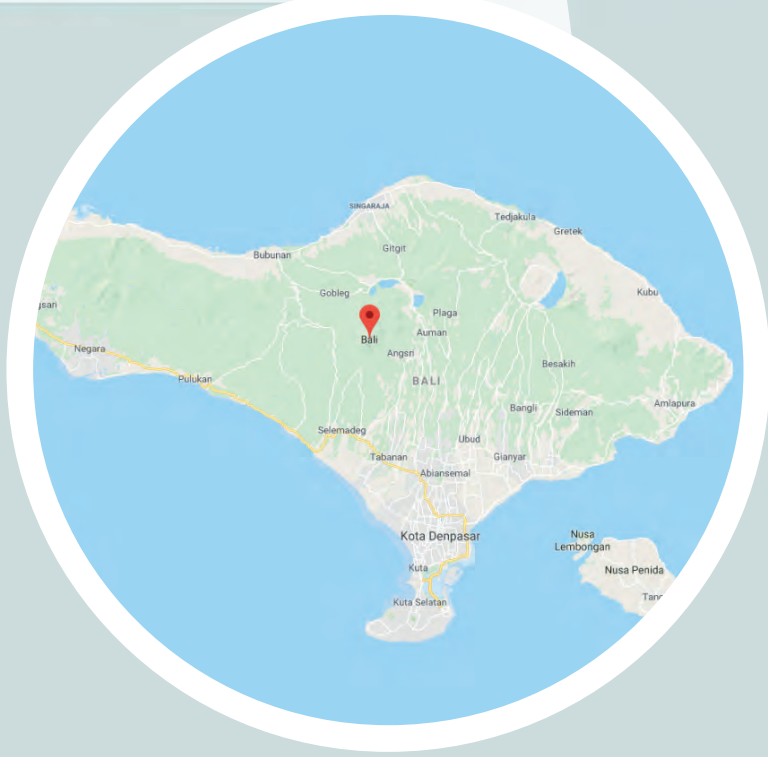
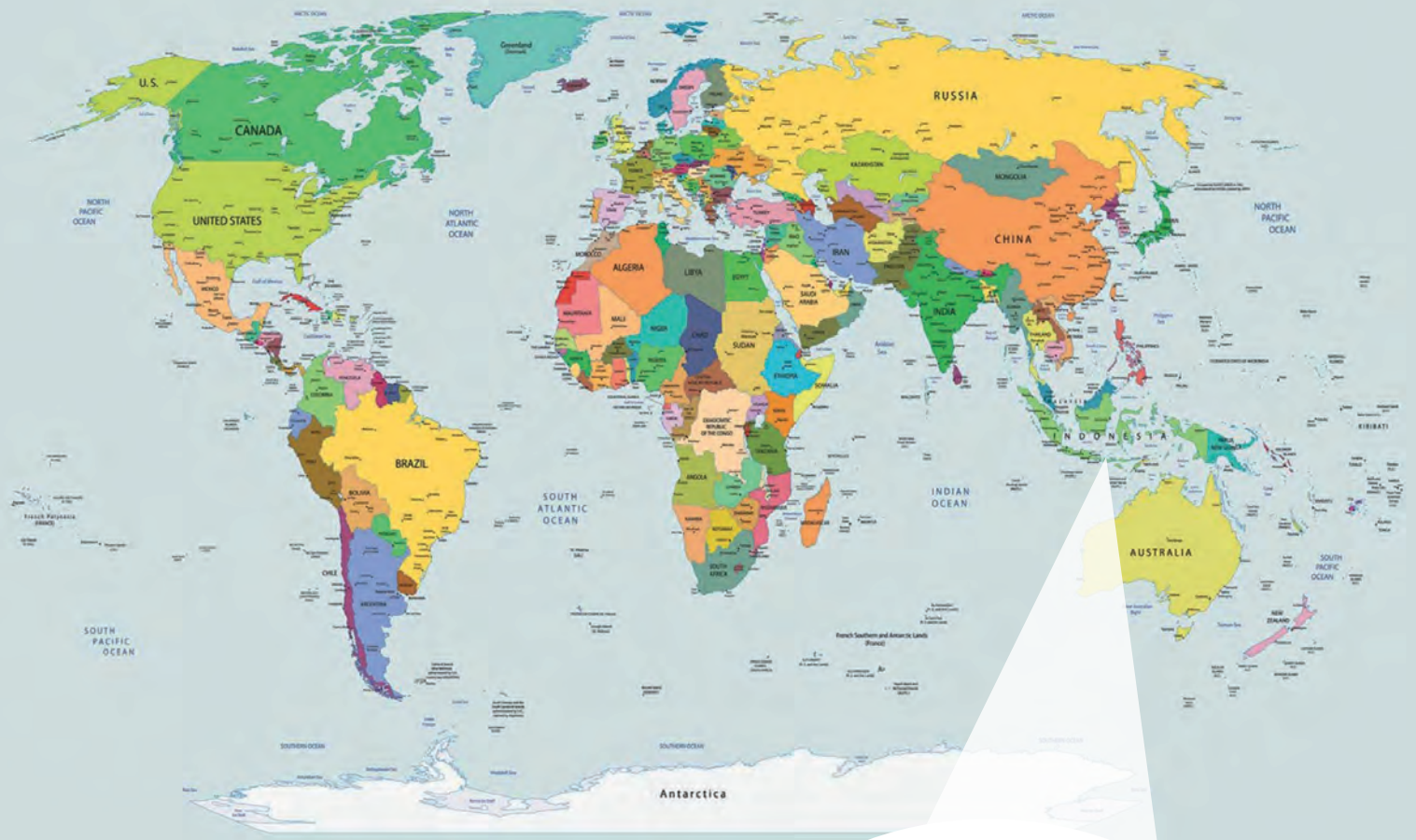
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development

Bali, Indonesia, 7 September 2017





INDONESIA



## Parliamentarians as the Key of SDGs Success

It is an honor for me to welcome you all, fellow Parliamentarians, to be here in Nusa Dua today. Thank you for taking your time to attend this Partner Session, to discuss about “Implementing Parliamentary Engagement on SDGs.”

On behalf of the Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC), allow me to extend my gratitude to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Islamic Development Bank (IsDB), and United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); who work together with us for this special session. I hope that our discussion could be a momentum for Parliamentarians to gather, evaluate, and encourage their role in supporting the SDGs.

Allow me to convey the issue of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and highlighting the reason of why Parliamentarians hold a pivotal role in ensuring successful achievement of that global development agenda. As we are all aware, SDGs — a wide-ranging roadmap to sustainability covering 17 goals and 169 targets — is ground breaking in its vision for a more inclusive, prosperous, and equal world. They now form the framework of the international system itself, and will be the metrics by which human progress will be measured.

By committing to the “leave no one behind,” all stakeholders are expected to take part in implementing SDGs at the local, national, and international levels. This includes Parliamentarians, which I believe are obviously at the forefront of those imperatives.



As the elected representatives of their people, Parliamentarians have a crucial role to play in driving forward people-centered development that is reflective and responsive to the needs of their constituents. For the people and related stakeholders within their respective countries, Parliamentarians are valuable partners in ensuring accountable, inclusive, participatory and transparent sustainable development. They can assure the implementation of the SDGs through their constitutional mandates:

*First – Law-Making and Law Reform* Parliaments are the ones who can facilitate the SDGs implementation by adopting the global agenda into national action, and support the enactment of legislation which accommodates SDGs values.

*Second – Representation* More than almost any other state official, Parliamentarians have a direct relationship to the public. They engage and facilitate public participation, so that every citizen is empowered to demand action and provide feedback on SDGs implementation.

*Third – Oversight* Parliaments have sufficient power and tools to assure that development aid and other national resources are managed effectively and with integrity.

*Fourth – Budgeting* The arguably most important role is that Parliamentarians are responsible to scrutinize and adopt the national budget. Thus, they could promote effective, efficient, transparent and accountable SDGs implementation.

Concerning those pivotal roles, GOPAC believes that Parliaments must continue to be strategically empowered, actively engaged and sufficiently equipped to help mobilize domestic resources on achieving the SDGs targets. Therefore, in 2015, GOPAC started a project called “Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians in Monitoring the Implementation of SDGs,” in cooperation with our partners – the UN Development Program (UNDP), and Islamic Development Bank (IsDB).

Through this project, we are developing this Parliamentary Handbook on SDGs as guidance for Parliamentarians to successfully implement the SDGs, especially by monitoring the effectiveness of any development assistance. This handbook is designed to be an easy-to-use resource, which lists good practices and tools from around the world that can be adapted as needed, depending on the national context

This handbook and the whole project would not be complete without the invaluable support and contributions our distinguished partners, the UNDP and Islamic Development Bank. Hence on this occasion, allow me to express my sincerest gratitude and the highest appreciation to them.







## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

This major toolkit was previously launched during the World Bank and IMF Global Parliamentary Conference in April 2017. It was also piloted through a regional workshop in Jakarta last year, with participants ranging from Members of Parliament from South and Southeast Asia. We are now actively promoting and encouraging all Parliamentarians to make use of this Handbook as a valuable resource in achieving SDGs targets.

As a final message, I would like to reiterate that at the end of the day, the only way to measure the real success of SDGs is for people to feel that their lives have markedly improved. If they are faced with corruption in their daily lives, this will not happen. Let us work to help break the culture of corruption, and help ensure that the implementation of SDGs is effective and accountable.

Before finishing my speech, allow me to once again invite you to use this handbook, and as practical tool to promote engagement on 2030 Agenda. I truly believe that Parliamentarians are surely able to accelerate this process and be the game-changer in supporting SDGs.

I hope this forum is a huge success, and will support us to take positive steps towards responsible and sustainable development for all.









## chapter 27

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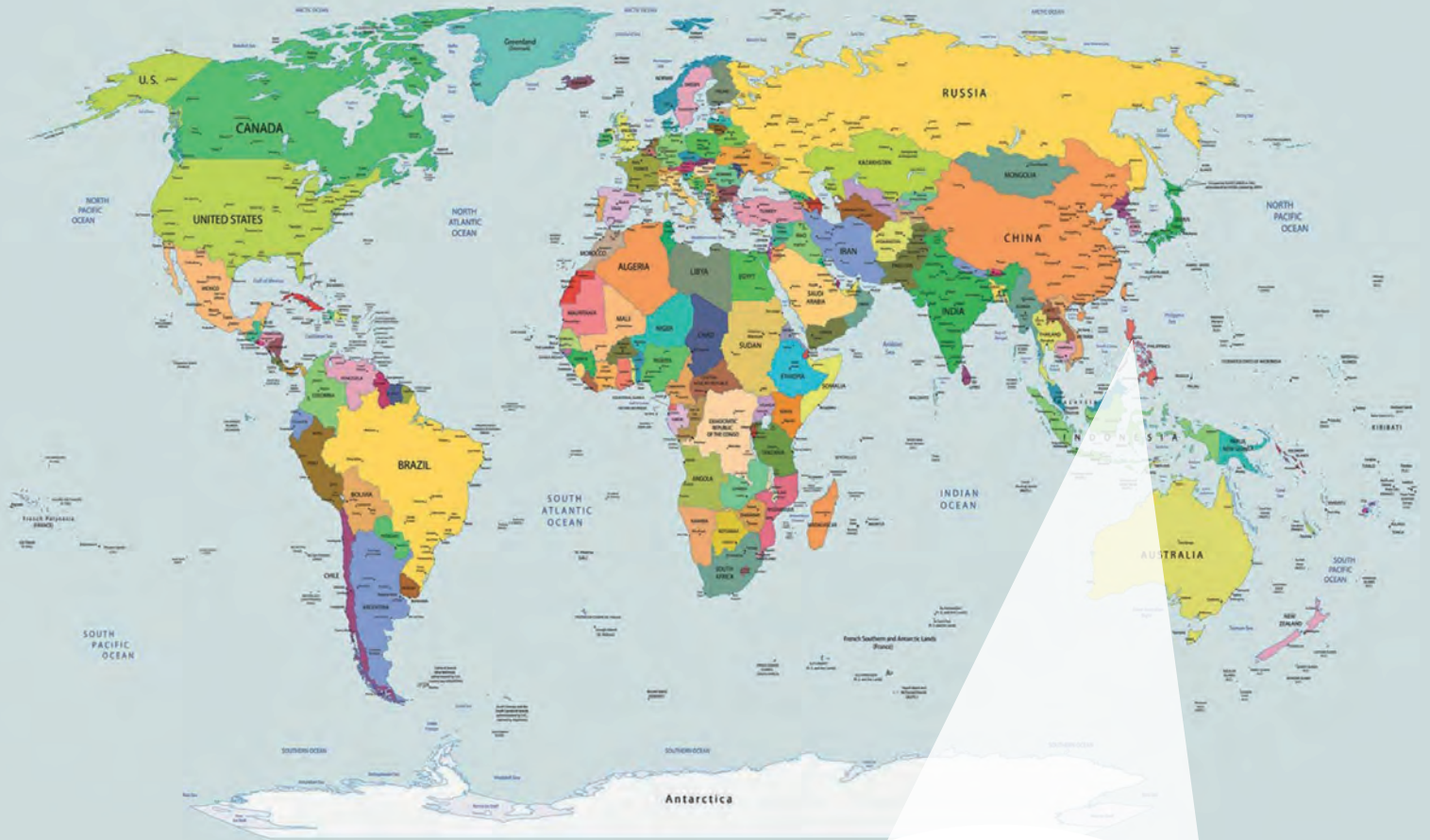
# AIPA and ASEAN: Partnering for Inclusive Change

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 38<sup>th</sup> AIPA General Assembly

Manila, Philippines, 18 September 2017



PHILIPPINES

## AIPA and ASEAN: Partnering for Inclusive Change

Let me begin by expressing my sincere appreciation to the House of Representatives and the People of the Philippines as the host of the 38<sup>th</sup> AIPA General Assembly for their warm hospitality. They have done their very best to ensure the success of our Meeting.

I would like to take this opportunity to address the critical aspect of partnership between the legislative and executive bodies as an indispensable part of regional integration, as have been raised by the host country through its theme “AIPA and ASEAN: Partnering for Inclusive Change”. The message is clear, that ASEAN’s transformation into an integrated region should be inclusive: leaves no one behind.

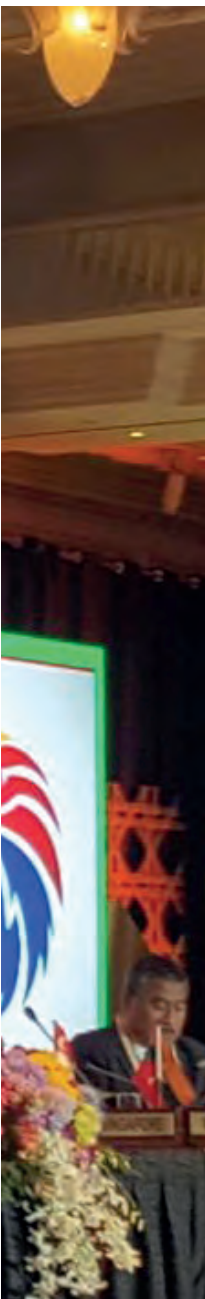
True, we have come a long way to get to where we are. The AEC has been implemented since 31 December 2015, and since then, at its 50<sup>th</sup> year anniversary, ASEAN continues to score positive growth while other regions stood in stagnation. Hence, along with our strong determination to put the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025 into reality, we are facing numerous internal and external challenges. The global environment is changing rapidly. As more actors involved in the process, partnership has becoming more significant.

As the two prominent institutions in Southeast Asia, AIPA and ASEAN need to respond to this situation by continuously building and evolving their partnership approach. A constructive approach which demonstrates our objectives, reflects our values, and explains who we are, and who are we working with. We need to replace our traditional way of interaction and communication with a range of more diverse strategies, including through increasing the involvement of each party in policy formulation and decision making. It calls for partnership reform.





There are at least five key challenges that we are all facing today: persistent poverty, socio-economic gaps, climate change, territorial dispute and internal conflict. Twenty years ago, we were shocked by the alarming impact of the Asian financial crisis. We did not realize how far we have been attached to one another. But today, we have gone even further. When regional integration is only a matter of time, we could not tolerate another crisis.



Unfortunately, major potential risks, including shocks in the global economy and violent conflicts, persisted. As a prevention, policy formulation and decision making need to adapt with the ongoing challenges, focusing at the regional level to prevent catastrophes. Yet, the most critical challenge is how to improve the capacity and the relationship of regional institutions to enable them to respond and to apply coherent actions collectively in an increasingly dynamic region.

A collective action plan, involving both the legislative and the executives, should be pursued in an unprecedented scale. Considering the multi-dimensional state, more actors with varied authorities and capabilities, should be involved in the process.

Allow me to outline the main options available for partnership reform:

*First*, we need to change our perspective through innovative approach. I am personally convinced that together, we can improve, adjust, and harmonize legislation and policy implementation by involving more actors, including NGOs, CSOs and academia in the upcoming AIPA meetings; and

*Second*, while recognizing the significance of an annual AIPA-ASEAN meeting to promote the connectivity between the legislative and executive bodies, further approach must be taken. For example, by establishing a “AIPA-ASEAN Partnership for Change” Committee which represented by MPs and high officials from ASEAN countries to overcome the gap between the “two worlds” and to build a strong partnership through regular meetings where members of the committee discuss to create transfer of knowledge, and to balance between the objectives of the AEC Blueprint with the interests of ASEAN citizens. Closer partnership between the two bodies may also assist in accelerating the ratification of ASEAN’s instruments.

In principle, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia pledges to continue fostering its involvement in AIPA while reaffirms its support for the achievement of the ASEAN Community 2025.

On the ASEAN Political Security Community pillar, we remain committed to maintain regional peace and stability as the key for sustainable development. It is within our heartfelt consideration that the issue of Rohingya has affected the neighboring countries and taken the entire region to a setback. While appreciating the efforts made by the Government of Myanmar to address this issue, we urge the Parliament of Myanmar to support access for humanitarian aid and to be more transparent in the delivery of information. In facing the external threats, we reaffirm our position as a non-claimant state to the South China Sea while encouraging a peaceful settlement. Without peace, a regional integration is more unlikely to be accomplished.

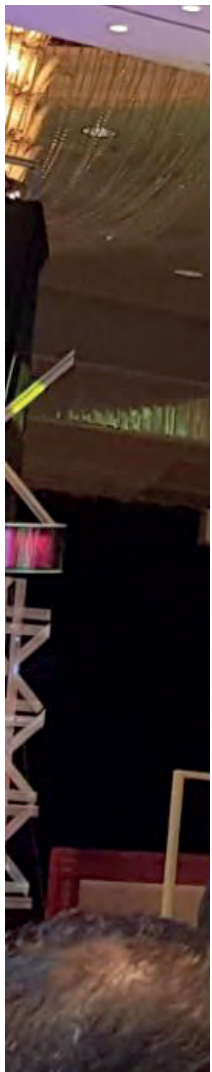




In the creation of ASEAN Economic Community, both AIPA and ASEAN should seek to promote the involvement of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the regional supply chain and advocating rural development by providing access towards affordable communication technology to ensure that no one is left behind. While the AEC Blueprint 2025 has recognized the significance of digital economy, it remains at the periphery.

With regard to the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, we recognize ASEAN's effort on building a people-oriented, people-centred ASEAN Community. However, the formulation of ASEAN Community blueprint and action plan should not be exclusive. Therefore, all stakeholders must be involved in the process to bring the people to the heart of regional integration. To guarantee an inclusive change, AIPA and ASEAN must also work together to ensure that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is carried out effectively.

Partnership reform between AIPA and ASEAN will enable us to successfully unifying different people with diverse background, religious values, and ethnicities into one community. Along with inter-organizational partnership at the regional level, we need to strengthen horizontal coordination across ministries and emphasize the need to raise awareness on ASEAN among educational institutions. With stronger partnership between AIPA and ASEAN, there will be more potential to encourage innovative problem solving, while the interest of the people will be more likely to be accommodated.







We believe that by working with Parliaments – rather than directly implementing their projects themselves – ASEAN is more likely to achieve a wide-scale impact among the people, including the poor, the rural community and the marginalized.

At the heart of our interest, is equal partnership based on mutual respect, trust, understanding, shared responsibility and joint action towards the successful implementation of ASEAN Community Vision 2025 by shifting power relations in favour of the poor.

AIPA-ASEAN partnership reform is not meant to gain power over the other, but to seek more power together to achieve our shared goals. Each institution has its own limitations. By continuously exchanging and sharing resources, knowledge, and information, we can identify our strengths and exceed our own boundaries.





We identified the lack of awareness and understanding between the people as the most significant barrier which continue to slowing down the process of regional integration. How the people identify themselves as citizens of ASEAN will determine the successful establishment of the ASEAN Community. ASEAN should be known.

*The Executive Meeting  
of 38th AIPA General  
Assembly*

Regardless of our political system or the size of our constituencies, we should see ourselves as the lifelong agents of change. The inclusiveness of ASEAN Community will depend on our efforts to reach our constituents while increasing their awareness and building their capacity to become the key players in regional integration.

There will be no community without the people, and therefore, the interest of the people should be at the heart of AEC Blueprint.

## chapter 28

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# Promoting Cultural Pluralism and Peace Through Inter-faith and Inter-ethnic Dialogue

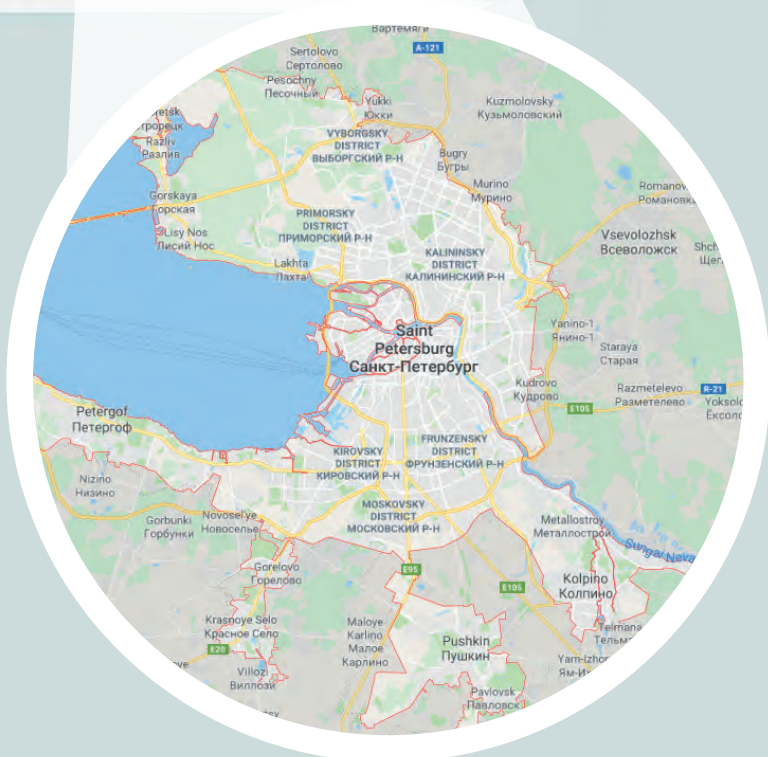
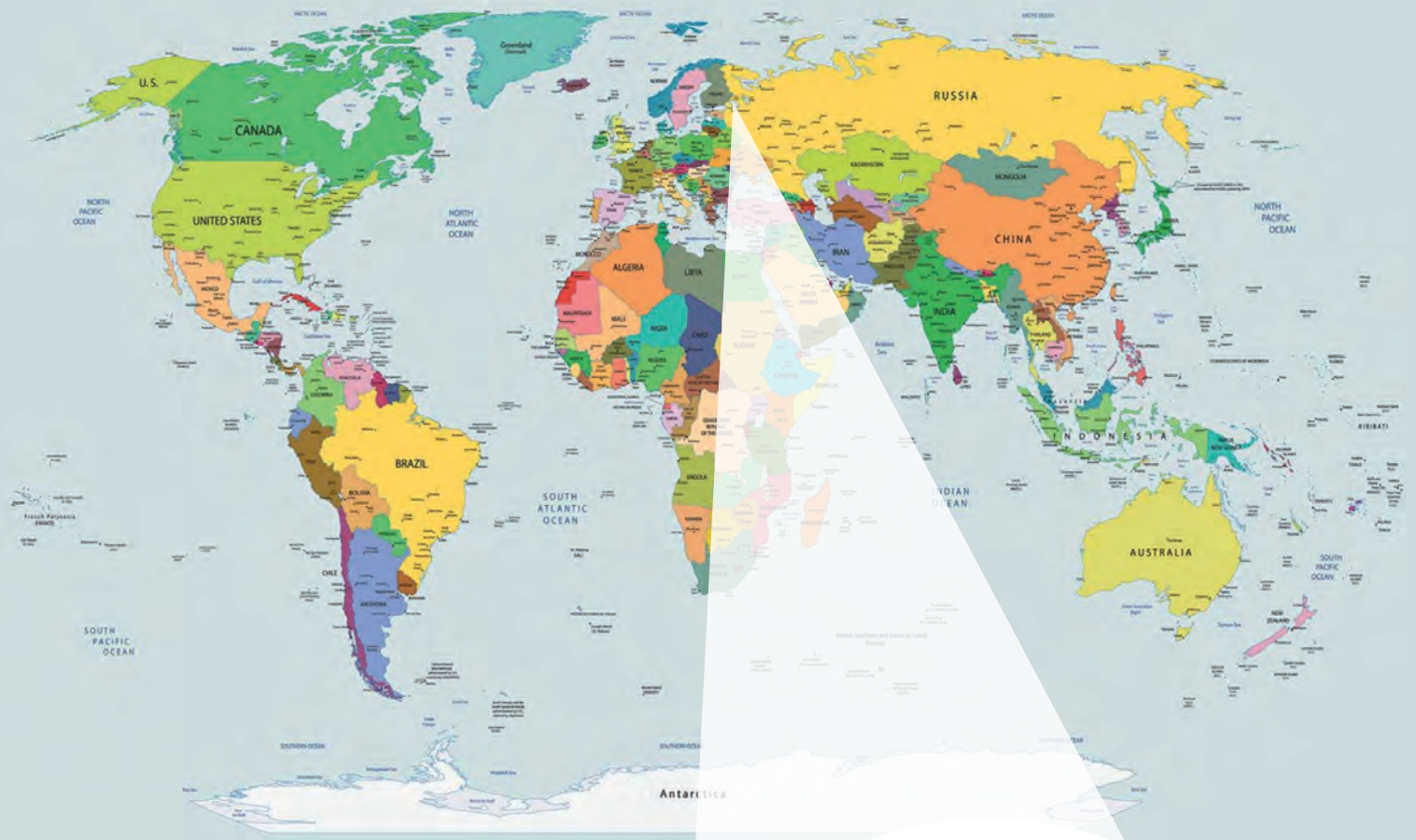
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 137<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)

St. Petersburg, Russia, 17 October 2017





RUSSIA

## Promoting Cultural Pluralism and Peace Through Inter-faith and Inter-ethnic Dialogue

Let me begin by expressing my highest appreciation to the hard work and dedication carried out by the Government and Parliament of the Russian Federation as well as the people of the Russian Federation for the successful organization of the 137<sup>th</sup> IPU General Assembly and related meetings in St. Petersburg.

Throughout history, religion and ethnicity have become the key elements of identity for many people. Based on our shared mission to promote global peace and pluralism, we have the responsibility to establish close and respectful relationships with other people with different beliefs and ethnicities. This is the foundation for global peace, justice and sustainable development. In the same direction, Indonesia had organized the Parliamentary Event of Interfaith Dialogue in November 2012 which produced the Bali Declaration in Promoting Interfaith and Intercultural Cooperation. The meeting demonstrated the commitment and the willingness of people of different faiths, beliefs and ethnicities to have constructive dialogues while promoting the spirit of mutual trust, respect, understanding and tolerance. Also in 2012, we passed Law on Social Conflict Management which emphasizes the need to intensify dialogue among different communities in preventing conflicts.

While many people have come to understand and value our differences, challenges remain. The most recent conflicts of our time were triggered by ethnic discrimination or religious sentiments, which further exacerbated by the lack of education and shallow representation of religious values and cultural norms. Regrettably, this attitude has been passed on to the young generation, increasing the risk of violence in the forthcoming years.





We recognize that the lack of interfaith, intercultural and interethnic tolerance, understanding and respect often lead to tensions and conflicts. While the global communities are culturally and religiously diverse, social stability can be enhanced through the promotion of interfaith dialogues.

We reaffirm the progress made through the Larnaca Action Plan, the Nanjing Statement, the Amsterdam Statement and the Seoul Statement. We also recognize the global initiatives that have been taken, including the Alliance of Civilizations, the Tripartite Forum on Interfaith Cooperation for Peace, the Ministerial Meeting on Interfaith Dialogue and Cooperation for Peace, and the resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly on the promotion of interreligious and intercultural dialogues. We believe that various initiatives on interfaith and intercultural dialogues are mutually reinforcing one another.

However different they may be, I believe that all religions call for peace and empathy toward others. It is the individuals that should be blamed for hatred, discrimination and violence. They exacerbate tensions and spread misunderstanding and mistrust between adherents of different faiths.

On behalf of the Indonesian House of Representatives, I strongly denounce violent extremism as a major barrier for our collective efforts in maintaining global peace and security, achieving sustainable development, and protecting human rights. Alongside the need for continuous dialogues, we stress the need to respect religious freedom as a fundamental human right including the rights to freedom of expression, freedom of thought, and conscience as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As part of our commitment in creating global peace and stability through interfaith, interethnic and intercultural dialogues, we call for the following actions: first, involving and urging the religious leaders to promote pluralism, tolerance and peaceful coexistence; second, promoting inclusive education at all levels in order for diversity to be understood and appreciated by different groups of societies and communities at all ages; third, continuously working to alleviate poverty by ensuring equal rights and economic opportunities for the minorities; fourth, involving the people in dialogue among leaders of cultural and religious groups; fifth, identifying the root cause of religious extremism; and sixth, enhancing the role of media in eliminating prejudice, sexism, chauvinism, bigotry and any other forms of intolerance and discrimination.



While promoting such efforts, we believe that the main purpose of dialogue is to learn, to change our perspectives and improve our understanding of reality, and to act accordingly. Inter-religious, interfaith, inter-ideological, interethnic, and intercultural dialogues must be consensual between and within each community and are not meant to convert one another but to extend our respect for other's faiths, beliefs and cultures, and to identify our common interests, to enrich ourselves, learn and support each other to achieve our shared goals and ideals.

We should recognize the fact that dialogues is not an end in itself but a continuous process. Dialogues can be utilized as a universal tool for conflict resolution. Yet, dialogues alone, is far than enough. Immediate, intensified and concrete actions should be taken against today's religious and cultural conflicts.

It is within our heartfelt consideration that the ongoing Rohingya persecution in Myanmar has been affecting the neighboring countries and taking the entire region to a setback. We must remain adamant to ensure the safety and the livelihood of the Rohingyas. For decades, their voices have been non-existent, be it in domestic affairs, regional and international forums. We urge all parties to respect the rule of law, exercise maximum self-restraint and to end the on-going violence against the ethnic minority in the Rakhine State. The Government and Parliament of Myanmar must restore peace and stability, and provide security and assistance to all those in need irrespective of their ethnicity, race, religion and belief. Collectively, IPU members must put an end to the displacement and to the suffering of all communities affected by the escalation of violence. We urge the Government of Myanmar to follow the recommendations made by the UN Advisory Commission on Rakhine State, to provide access for humanitarian assistance, and to conform to the international humanitarian law.

Violent attacks against the Rohingyas in all its forms and manifestations are among the most imminent threats to global peace and security, undermining the fulfilment of human rights. With highest respect to the principle of humanitarian solidarity, the parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Indonesia to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, requests the 137<sup>th</sup> IPU Assembly to call for an emergency item entitled "Strengthening Efforts in Ending Violent Attacks on Rohingya and Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar".

We believe that the Inter-Parliamentary Union has the necessary capacity in building alliances, coalitions, and movements to recognize and put an end to the atrocities, including by promoting interfaith and interethnic dialogues for peaceful resolution.



*Courtesy Call H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon with H.E. Iliyas Umakhanov,  
Deputy Speaker of Federation Council of Russia*





## chapter 29

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# Promoting Cultural Pluralism Through Anti Corruption Movement

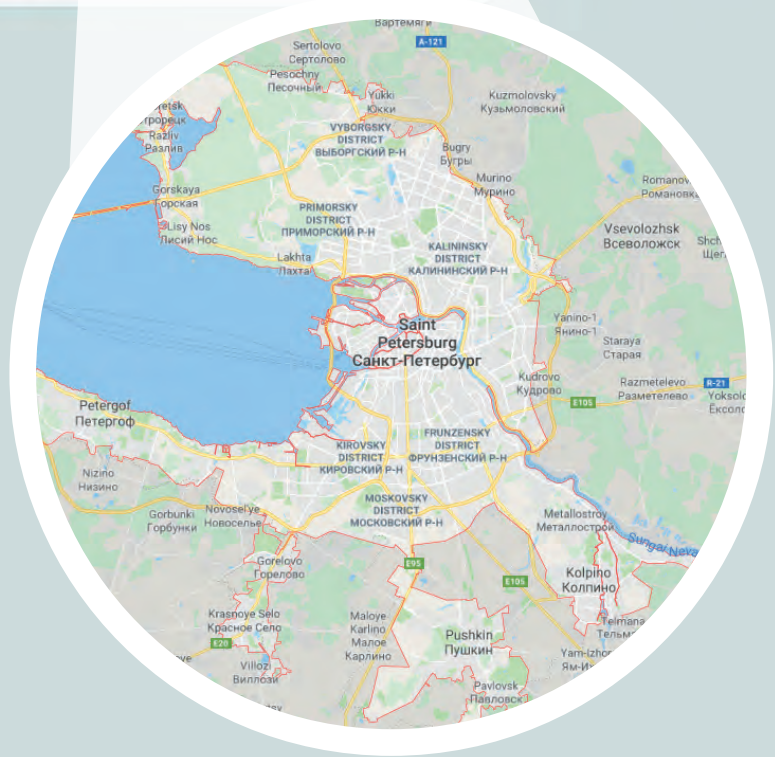
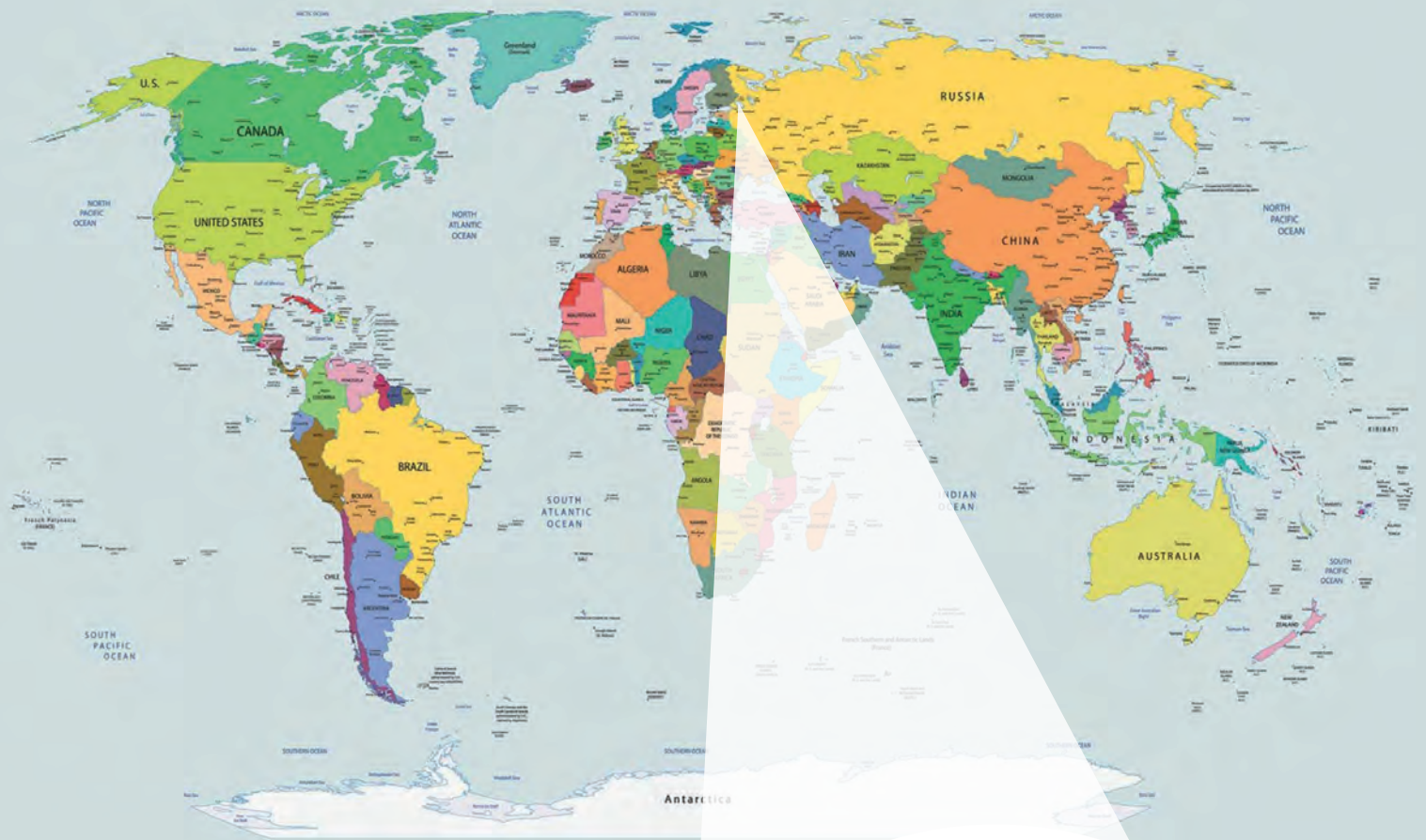
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
at the 137<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)

St. Petersburg, Russia, 17 October 2017





RUSSIA



## Promoting Cultural Pluralism Through Anti Corruption Movement

On behalf of the Chair of Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption HE. Fadli Zon, I wish to extend our great appreciation to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (the State Duma and the Council of Federation) for the successful organization of the 137th IPU Assembly.

As GOPAC main work is to promote the robust development of an anti-corruption regime through parliamentary means, we are of the view that in such work, a strong democracy should be in place. A democracy where all people, irrespective of their race, sex, gender, groups, religions, expression and/or opinions as well as political affiliations, are on the same footing. This by no means, shall include the full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms with no exception. In order to achieve this ideal, a bridge of understanding among different groups of ethnics, faiths, and religions, should be built.

The promotion of culture, religious values and tenets as well as norms of anti-corruption, good governance and all aspects relevant to the establishment of a strong and robust anti-corruption regime may serve as one of the fundamental basis for dialogue among people of different faiths, religions, cultures, and ethnics. Anti-corruption issues can strengthen this bridge of understanding.

A country with strong recognition to pluralism will present more fair, balance, aspirational, transparent and just governance of state. In a country with low levels of corruption, the increase of corruption will have less effect on peace. However, once a certain threshold is reached, a



small increase in corruption can result in a large decrease of peace, according to the Institute for Economic and Peace.<sup>1</sup>

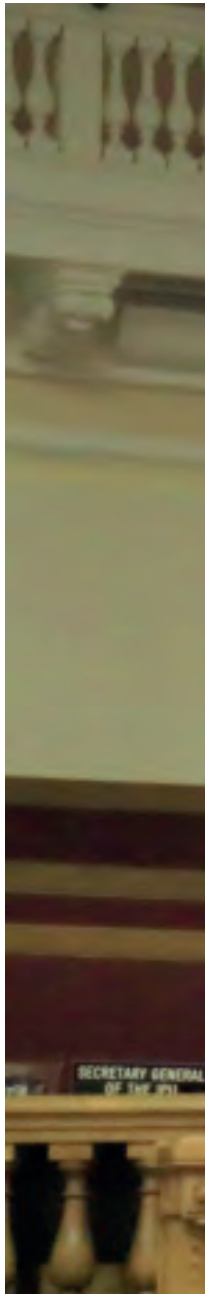
I wish to highlight what has been mentioned by many international community actors and included in the UN Agenda 2030 Declaration: there can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development. This notion implies one thing: that we are working towards SDGs in particular Goal 16.

We want our societies to be inclusive, to be available for all, no matter who they are and where they come from. We want our people, whoever they may be, can walk safely around the neighbourhood without fear of discrimination, free from any hateful expressions or opinions due to their origins, status, religions, or ethnicities. Most of all, we need our parliamentarians to stand by our side, to defend our aspirations and to control those in power so that nothing can be corrupted nor hidden.

We need our parliamentarians to be strong and fully aware to the global pledge of SDGs. It is within such awareness that we are championing the mainstreaming of SDGs into the work of parliaments and members of parliaments by developing a Parliamentary Handbook on the SDGs, a joint work with the Islamic Development Bank, the UNDP and GOPAC.

The handbook sought to provide good practices and various parliamentary initiatives from all over the world which may be useful for lessons learned in strengthening parliamentary roles in the implementation of SDGs. I wish to invite all parliaments and parliamentarians to make use this handbook for the benefit of our people.

As a conclusion, GOPAC highlights the notion of promoting cultural pluralism and peace by advancing anti-corruption discussions as the subject of dialogue of inter-faiths and inter-ethnics dialogue as well as by generating more faiths, religious or ethnics leaders that can lead by example in combatting corruption. Through such promotion, we are granting ourselves efforts to further prevent the negative impact of corruption.









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1 <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Peace-and-Corruption.pdf>

## chapter 30

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# The Role of GOPAC in Parliamentarian Support Including the SDGs Handbook

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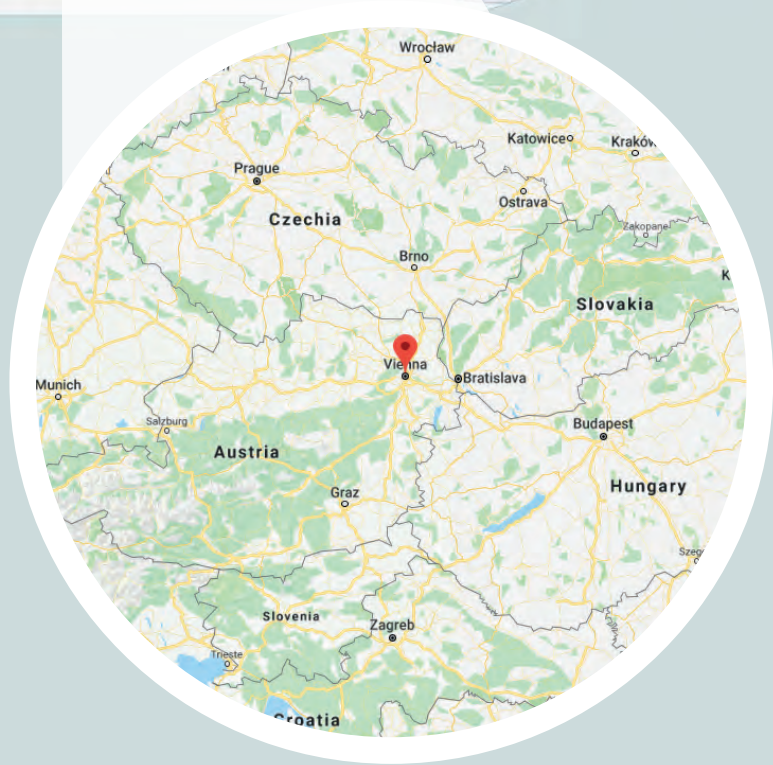
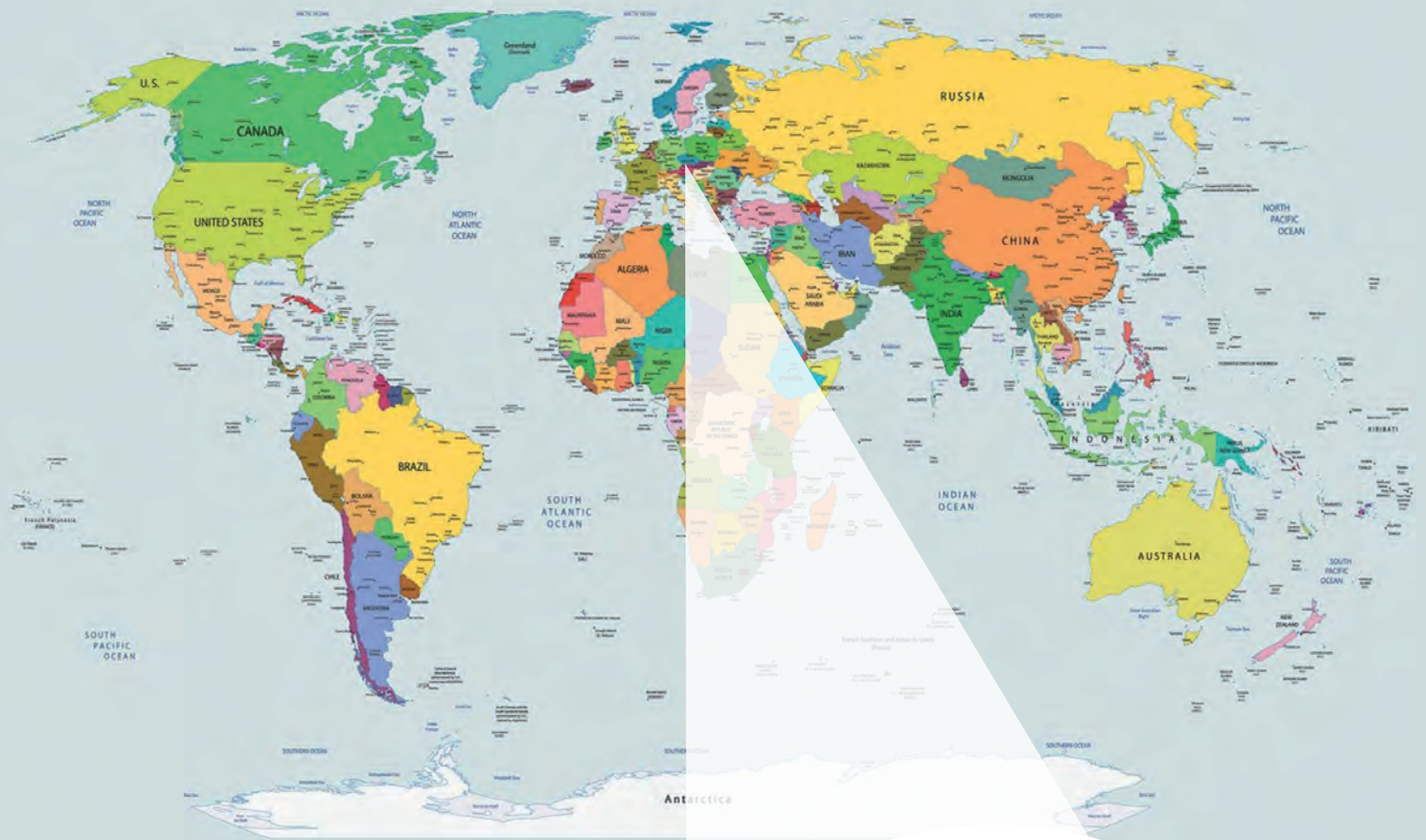
Keynote Speaker

**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
The 7<sup>th</sup> Forum of Parliamentarians  
Special Event at the Conference of State Parties to the UNCAC

Vienna, Austria, 9 November 2017





AUSTRIA



## The Role of GOPAC in Parliamentarian Support Including the SDGs Handbook

Thank you for making your time to attend GOPAC Special Session at the 7th Session of the Conference of the State Parties to the UNCAC, to discuss about “*Oversight Matters and MPs Improving Development Effectiveness.*”

The theme of this session has a strong link to our daily work as parliamentarians. Oversight is one of the core parliamentary mandates. Our job in this area of oversight is to hold our government—the executive—to account. With no parliamentary oversight, the executive power will be absolute, often leads to abusive power, making people powerless.

The tools, procedures and even subject of this parliamentary oversight may vary. Some of which may have the strongest actions which lead to a full and details government scrutiny and some may come in a more modest way, only to ask—in a committee hearing, inquiry and others—with no certain consequences to public governance. It, therefore, depends on how strong a political will of a state to provide a strong governance to defend the public.

### THE SCOPE OF OVERSIGHT

The 2017 IPU Global Parliamentary Report focusing on Parliamentary Oversight illustrates the scope of parliamentary oversight to be: the review, monitoring and supervision of government and public agencies, including the implementation of policy, legislation and budgets.

It is important for parliamentarians, to reserve the rights of oversight be on individual basis or a collective one as a parliament. Yet, this set of institutional restrain of power will be meaningless if we have low political will or the institution of parliament is, generally, weak.



GOPAC finding reveals that corruption flourishes where institutions of governance are weak, where government's policy and regulatory regime provide scope for it, and where oversight institutions (e.g. parliament, judiciary, civil society) are marginalized or have become corrupted.<sup>1</sup> A similar finding was then released in 2012 by Routledge Research: that corruption flourishes not only in condition of weak public institutions but also of poverty.<sup>2</sup>

### THE STATE OF PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT

This has led us to a question about the state of our parliamentary oversight today in terms of controlling corruption. In 2013, Transparency International found that two-thirds of parliament fail to be the watchdog of defense corruption. At about 85% of parliaments lack effective scrutiny of defense policy. The global cost of such corruption is estimated at around US\$ 20 billion per annum.<sup>3</sup>

This is just one sector, where parliament should have more control in the budgetary spending of a State. We cannot imagine how much money that are wasted, lost, stolen and corrupted in others field of development as the result of the weak and ineffective parliamentary oversight.

### THE ROLE OF GOPAC

As the international network of parliamentarians, GOPAC believes that improving the capacity of parliamentarians as well as strengthening the oversight system is crucial. But it is not something without challenges.

Parliament is, in its very nature, a political institution. It is the place of parliamentarians with various ideological and political, views, backgrounds as well as stance. It therefore, requires an international network that is non-partisan to provide support for any parliamentarians and parliaments throughout the world.

Our vision is to achieve accountability and transparency through effective anti-corruption mechanism and inclusive participation and cooperation between parliamentarians, government and civil society.

We are working to provide support for parliamentarians who are genuinely wish to combat corruption in all aspects at both levels: national and international levels.

1 *GOPAC, the World Bank, and Parliamentary Centre of Canada, Controlling Corruption: A Parliamentarian's Handbook, August 2005, page: 21, [https://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/cch\\_final\\_aug\\_05\\_eng.pdf](https://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/cch_final_aug_05_eng.pdf)*

2 *Pelizzo, Riccardo and Stapenhurst, Frederick, Parliamentary Oversight Tools, a comparative analysis, (London, New York, Routledge: 2012), page 77.*

3 *[https://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/two\\_thirds\\_of\\_parliaments\\_fail\\_to\\_be\\_watchdogs\\_of\\_defence\\_corruption](https://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/two_thirds_of_parliaments_fail_to_be_watchdogs_of_defence_corruption)*







The central focus of GOPAC is the facilitation of networking among parliamentarians and international organizations focus to combat corruption and other relevant issues, the development of practical tools, knowledge resources, outreach and strengthening capacity programs. It provides peer support to parliamentarians engaged in combating corruption throughout the world, provide relevant training and education to promote methods for fighting corruption.

In the elaboration of our work, GOPAC established five Global Task Forces (GTFs), with subjects that are crucial for parliamentarians in the development of their anti-corruption works, they are: GTF on UNCAC, GTF on Parliamentary Ethics and Conducts, GTF on Participation of Society, GTF on Anti-Money Laundering and GTF on Parliamentary Oversight.

### **SDGs and DEVELOPMENT OVERSIGHT**

As I mentioned before, corruption is flourished in the condition of poverty and of weak public institutions. It is the single greatest obstacle to economic and social development around the world. Every year US\$ 1 trillion is paid in bribes, while an estimated US\$ 2.6 trillion are stolen annually through corruption – a sum equivalent to more than 5 per cent of the global GDP.<sup>4</sup>

Instead of pouring more than US\$ 1.4 trillion a year<sup>5</sup>—the amount of money needed to end extreme poverty—into low- and lower middle-income countries for health, education, agriculture and food security, social protection systems, energy, infrastructure and ecosystem management, in a bid to meet the global goals of development, we lost more than US\$ 3 trillion per year due to corruption in all of its forms.

We are being challenged by corruption.

### **GOPAC WORKS on PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT**

If we are going to meet the SDGs, we should fight against corruption. GOPAC learns that parliaments and parliamentarians are significant in this fight. We can exercise our oversight role at the maximum level to ensure that every penny of public funds is delivered and dedicated to those who are righteous.

It is worthy to note that the goals of parliamentary oversight are not only to ensure the accountability of public funds but also its effectiveness. An effective delivery of public funds can guarantee the destitute access on health, education and others including their economic empowerment.

4 [http://www.anticorruptionday.org/documents/actagainstcorruption/print/materials2016/corr16\\_fs\\_DEVELOPMENT\\_en\\_PRINT.pdf](http://www.anticorruptionday.org/documents/actagainstcorruption/print/materials2016/corr16_fs_DEVELOPMENT_en_PRINT.pdf)

5 <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/18/14tn-dollars-a-year-needed-to-reach-global-goals-for-world-poorest>

### THE IMPACT OF EFFECTIVE OVERSIGHT

Effective oversight has a direct link to the improvement of democratic process. It brings more people into decision-making so that decisions better reflect the interests of the society as a whole; it improves accountability and transparency and reduces corruption; it enhances parliament's legitimacy as a responsive, inclusive and representative institution.

There is also linkage between effective oversight and economic and human development: policy and legislation are strengthened, and governance becomes more effective as a consequence of review and amendment (improving policy outcomes).<sup>6</sup>

Another positive impact on the exercise of effective governance is on the electoral. Parliamentarians are taking advantage of oversight function to gain trusts from their voters and even new voters. By performing such role, the constituents know exactly that their representatives are fighting for their aspirations and rights. This in the end, will increase their credibility, integrity and responsiveness as a member of parliament.

### FINANCIAL OVERSIGHT

When it comes to financial oversight, we further urge parliamentarians to exercise their oversight role where donor funded programs and projects are concerned. When parliamentarians engage with donor agencies and the funding process, they can not only increase the effective use of donor aid and loans, but can also deter any dishonest use of these funds.

The Parliamentary Oversight Global Task Force (GTF-PO) focuses on financial and operational integrity which includes: the on-going review of all government revenue and expenditures; and legislation and other parliamentary rules establishing government financial control practices, procedures to account for and report revenues and expenditures, as well as procedures and authorities for parliamentary oversight of financial administration. It also includes legislation and other rules which guide and enable parliament to oversee the implementation of the UN Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC).

In 2013, GOPAC and the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, in collaboration with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, developed the "Guidelines to Strengthen Oversight through Parliamentarian-Donor Collaboration" to provide critical guidance to parliamentarians regarding the role they play in combating donor fund related corruption.

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<sup>6</sup> [www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/library/](http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/library/)





## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

In 2015, GOPAC GTF PO started a project called “Strengthening the Role of Parliamentarians in Monitoring the Implementation of SDGs,” in cooperation with our partners – the UN Development Program (UNDP), and the Islamic Development Bank (IsDB).

Through this project, we are developing a Parliamentary Handbook on SDGs as guidance for Parliamentarians to successfully implement the SDGs, especially by monitoring the effectiveness of any development assistance. This handbook is designed to be an easy-to-use resource, which lists good practices and tools from around the world that can be adapted as needed, depending on the national context.

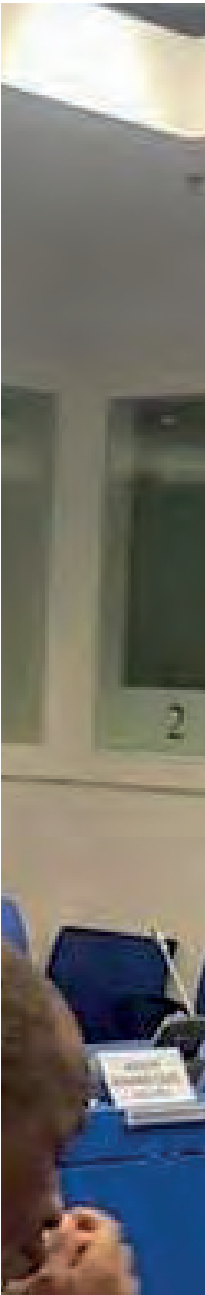
The Handbook has been previously launched during the World Bank and IMF Global Parliamentary Conference in April 2017. It was also piloted through a regional workshop in Jakarta last year, with participants ranging from Members of Parliament from South and Southeast Asia.

The handbook itself has been already available for download, for free, at GOPAC as well as the UNDP websites.

The next target is to develop a national handbook as well as action plans on SDGs, with a view to ensure that no corruption can breed in the national implementation of SDGs.

As a final message, I would like to reiterate that Parliamentary oversight can do much to reduce or weaken opportunities for corruption. And I hope today discussion could be a momentum for Parliamentarians to gather, evaluate, and maximizing their role in supporting parliamentary oversight.

I encourage all of you present here to make use of the parliamentary handbook on SDGs and to successfully contribute to the national implementation of the SDGs.





## chapter 31

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# The Important of Muslim Unity to World Peace

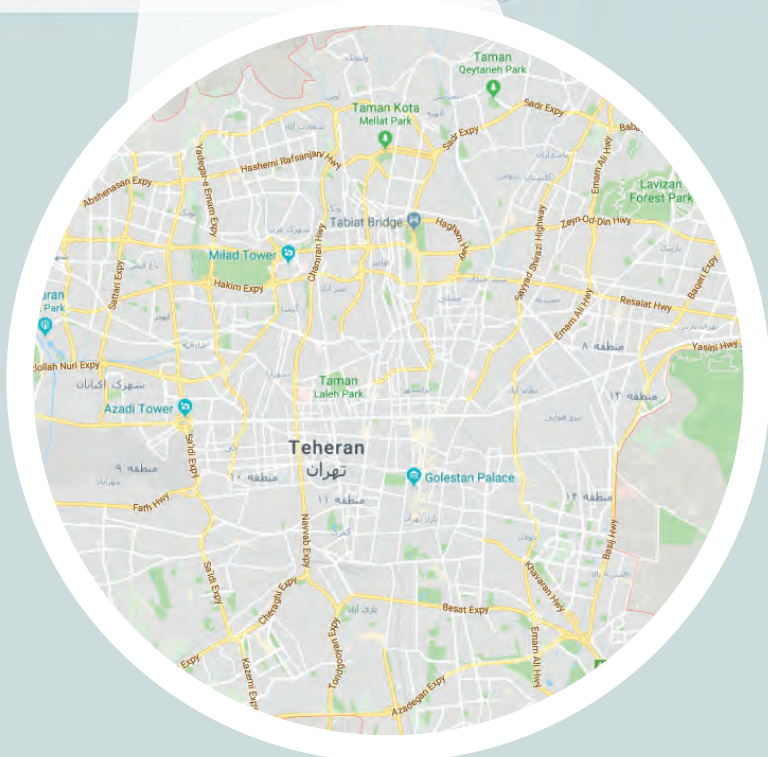
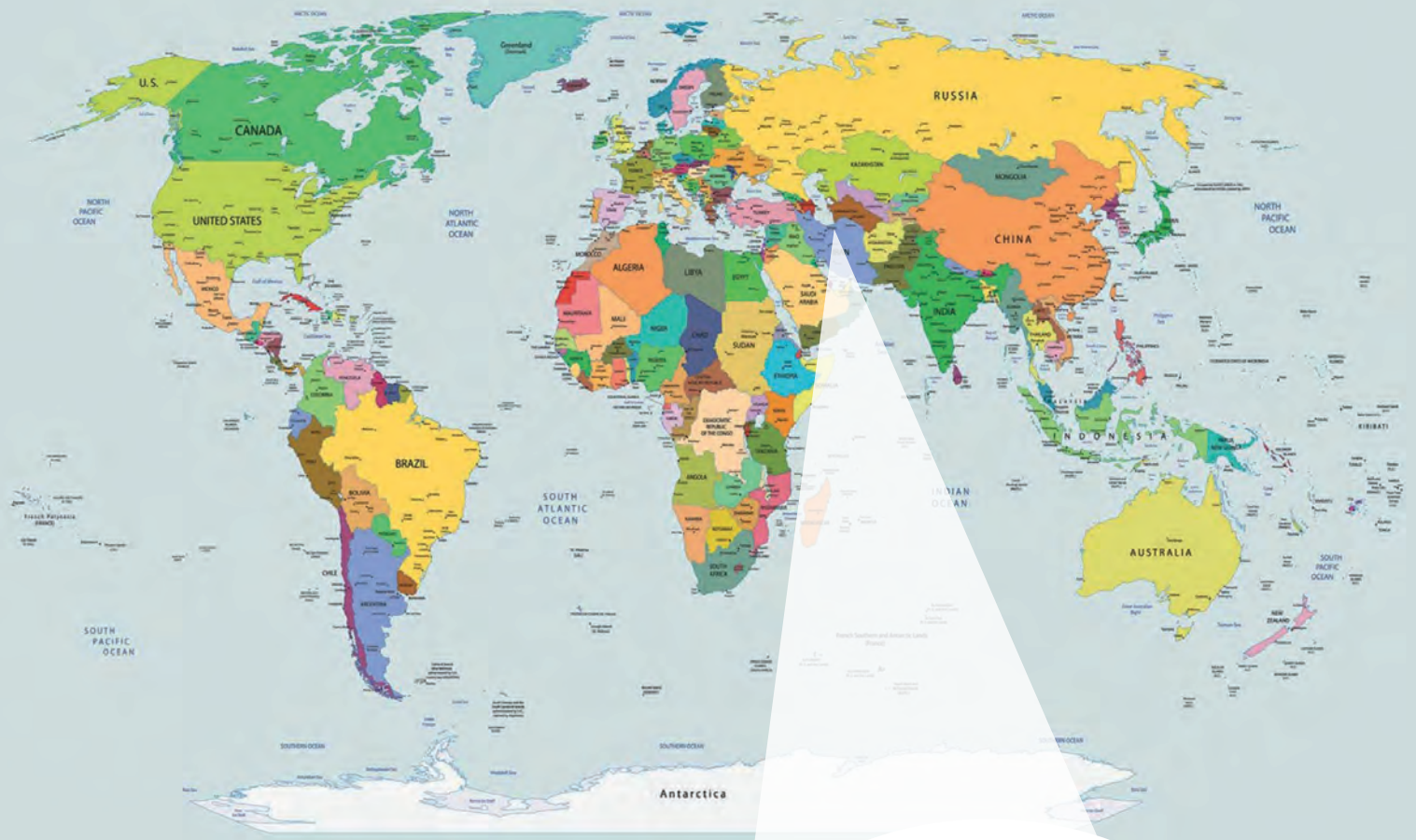
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The 13<sup>th</sup> PUIC Conference

Tehran, Iran, 13-17 Januari 2018





IRAN

## The Important of Muslim Unity to World Peace

It is an honor for me and my delegation to be here, joining high-level Islamic political figures in discussing relevant solutions for the problems facing our Ummah. On the outset, we would like to convey our heartfelt prayers and condolences to the Iranian and Bangladeshi people for the loss of lives in recent tanker accident in East China Sea. As the head of Indonesian Delegation, also allow me to extend our sincere gratitude to Islamic Republic of Iran for hosting the 13<sup>th</sup> Session of PUIC Conference and related meetings. Our attendance reaffirms our full support for the stability of Iran and our strong rejection to all forms of foreign intervention that may potentially destabilize the country. I further fully believe that the country is able to handle the situation smoothly and peacefully.

Without any doubt, the division among Muslims is a real threat to the future of Islamic world. It also detrimental to the cause of Palestine, as Islamic nations' common concerns particularly Al-Quds Al-Sharif as one of the holiest sites of Muslims. Hence, it is not surprising that the Islamic world's reaction is powerless when the US Administration officially recognized Jerusalem as the Israel's capital.

I have to share here a recent study that revealed that half of global poverty resides in Islamic world while the Muslim population is 24% of the total global population. I am worried about the increasing poverty in Islamic nations that arguably contribute to growing terrorism and other radical expressions. Some experts stand with that view.

Furthermore, some Muslim communities have long experienced persecution from repressive regimes. In term of that, Muslim Rohingya regarded as the most persecuted minority and world's worst human tragedy throughout 2017. It is reported that Rohingya Muslim death toll hit 6,700 in one month. Around 1,1 million Rohingya Muslims have fled Myanmar into Bangladesh to escape what the United Nations has called a systematic "ethnic cleansing".







Recently, I am honored to lead the mission of the Parliament of Indonesia in an official visit to obtain the first-hand of information concerning Muslim Rohingya refugees. I was in the southern Bangladeshi district of Cox's Bazar where I heard from child survivors and their families about the most horrific atrocities, committed against them including killing and maiming, abductions, different forms of sexual violence, persecution and forced displacement. That is the heinous ethnic cleansing and genocide against humanity.

At the recent General Assembly of ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), I firmly urged both the Government and Parliament of Myanmar to immediately restore peace and stability, and provide security and assistance to all those in need irrespective of ethnicity, race, religion and belief. I also urged ASEAN Member States to work closely to end the displacement and suffering of all communities affected by the escalation of violence. I further insisted that the Government of Myanmar to implement the recommendations of the UN Advisory Commission on Rakhine State as well as to open their country to humanitarian assistance and to be observant to international humanitarian law in addressing the refugee crisis.

As I am here to represent the world's most populous Muslim-majority country, I emphasize the full commitment of Indonesia to assume its responsibility to Islamic world's causes. Our founding fathers have envisaged the country to actively contribute in the implementation of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice. It is also guided by Islamic noble teachings that are embedded in the most of Indonesia people's beliefs.

Indonesia is fully committed to stand Palestinians in their struggle. In my country, the cause of Palestine is a shared major concern of our people regardless of their different faiths, races, as well as political preferences. For Indonesian people, the plight of Palestine is about humanity suffers resulting from the occupation of Israel. Our constitution explicitly stipulated, *"With independence being the right of every nation, colonialism must be eliminated from the face of the earth as it is contrary to the dictates of human nature and justice."* In that light, any effort made for making diplomatic relation with Israel is null and void.

Hence, I would like to echo the official statement of the Government of Indonesia at the recent Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Extraordinary Summit in Istanbul, which asked OIC Member States to reconsider their relationship with Israel. Indonesia also urged countries that have not yet recognized the state of Palestine to do so. In line with that, the Parliament of Indonesia has exerted its full support for Palestine by mainstreaming the Palestinian cause as a crucial agenda at various parliamentary foras such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF), ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), and among others and under bilateral groups. Moreover, the issue of Palestine is at the heart of our people. Our recent so-called "1712 rally" was the biggest public action held to denounce the US unilateral proclamation on Jerusalem as the capital of Zionist Israel. More than three millions protesters expressed their strong stance to stand along with the Palestinian people.



In my opinion, PUIC as the representatives of Islamic world's people has to assume its responsibility to deal with the challenging situation facing us and to closely seek for and explore comprehensive solution. The works of PUIC then should be revitalized so as to generate the appropriate responses and solutions. I call for the reformation of PUIC to improve its roles in advancing Islamic nations. All measures made by PUIC have to reflect accordingly.

I am of the view that divisiveness within Islam is our biggest challenge. Instability and insecurity are detrimental for Islamic nations to move forward. Our main mission should be to create unity of Islam as the implementation of the words of Allah, Almighty "...and obey Allah and His Messenger, and do not dispute and [thus] lose courage and [then] your strength would depart; and be patient. Indeed, Allah is with the patient." (Al-'Anfāl: 46). The message is very clear that our unity is our strength.

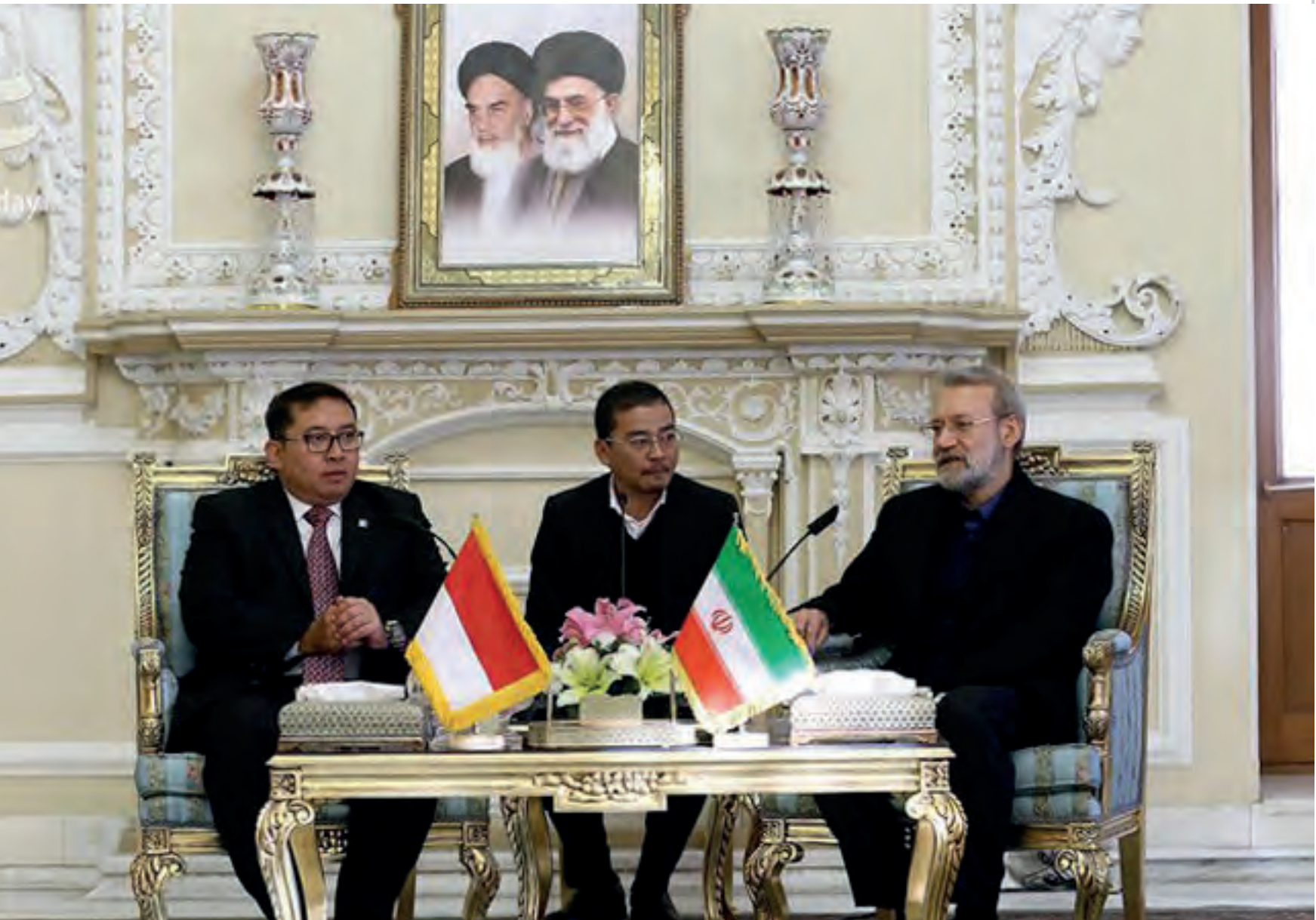
In addition, the Prophet (PBHU) brought unity amidst strong tribalism in Makkah with his leadership and wisdom and the teaching of Islam, we should follow his step and create peace and unity among Islamic Ummah. Again,. I would like implore all the Ummah to create unity and harmony just like the Prophet united different tribes in Makkah with with his leadership and wisdom and the teaching of Islam . We need to see that unity and harmony will lead us to peace, stability, security, and situation that is conducive to sustainable development, thus allowing us to realize our shared prosperity. I truly believe that this PUIC forum can contribute and can partake in the efforts to strengthen unity and congruity in the Islamic world.

As the final part of my address, I would like to share my great expectation towards the 13<sup>th</sup> PUIC Conference. May this forum formulate concrete steps in the efforts to unite all Muslim countries of the world.









*Courtesy Call H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon with H.E. Ali Larijani,  
Speaker of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran*

## chapter **32**

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# Strengthening the Global Regime for Migrants and Refugees: The Need for Evidence-Based Policy Solutions

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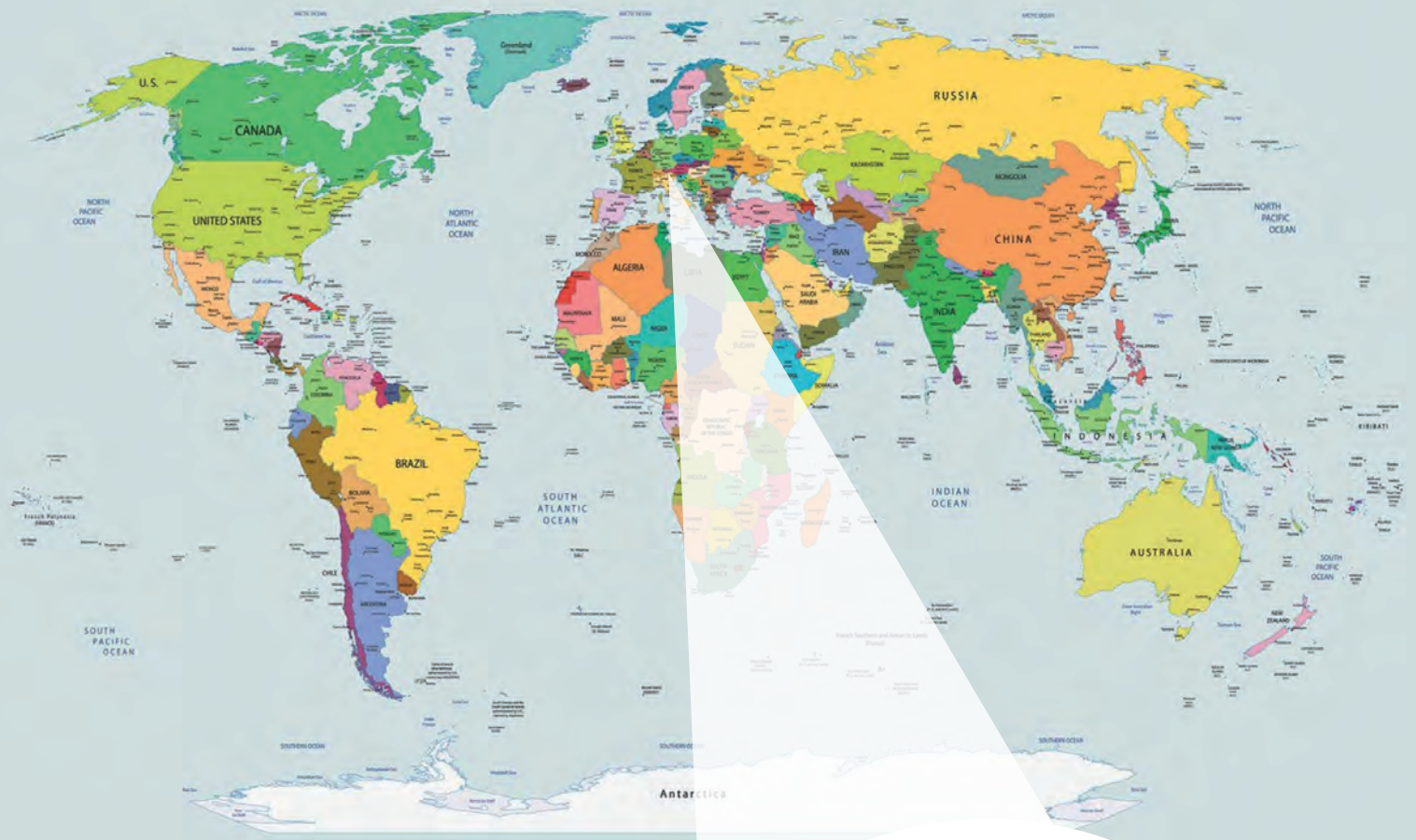
Speech by

**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
The 138<sup>th</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Geneva, Switzerland, 26 March 2018





SWITZERLAND



## Strengthening the Global Regime for Migrants and Refugees: The Need for Evidence-Based Policy Solutions

It is my great pleasure to address you today at this 138<sup>th</sup> IPU General Assembly as a parliamentarian who represent a network of anti-corruption at the global level: The Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC). Our membership extends across the world to include current and former legislators from 106 countries, women and men who are dedicated to working together to combat corruption and promote good governance.

I would like to begin by applauding the IPU for highlighting, once again, the issue of migration as one of the pressing issues of this century. It is a high time for us to take actions in providing parliamentary perspectives to a new global cooperation framework which will set a new course for the development of a new migration regime.

Corruption is linked to migration in many ways. Corruption also has many faces such as bribery, influence peddling, embezzlement, misuse of public funds, nepotism, to name a few. To those who are unfortunate, which shape the large proportion of today's migrants, corruption is a necessary evil. I will explain why.

A study at the Migration Policy Institute reveals that corruption facilitates illegal migration which often involves border bribery and document forgery by paying bribe. Bribery also sometimes afforded migrants/asylum seekers protection and facilitates their journey when they have to turn to human smugglers, due to certain restriction from countries of recipient. These smugglers are heavily dependent to corrupt officials.



In terms of remittances, corruption also impedes the benefit of migration. Migrants who send their money to their homeland are being abused by officials or private entities by imposing “un-explained fee” for service delivery of remittances. It is far too often we see that during their return, migrants bear certain amount of fee for “administrative reason” which lessening their income.

Corruption breeds almost in every area of migration. What makes it more ironic is that corruption even may exists in the delivery of aid. There have been reports on how some groups/ non-governmental organizations or even governmental institutions taking the advantage from the international contributions and donations by creating proposals where none of them are being implemented in correct manner.<sup>1</sup>

The world currently is witnessing unprecedented flows of human migration. This kind of situation may also be fueled by corruption. The Transparency International research shows that corruption often a chief contributor to the overall violence and instability forcing people to run for their physical and psychological safety. Widespread corruption undermines the legitimacy and stability of a government especially if it fails to meet the needs of its people.

<sup>1</sup> Read more <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2015/03/lebanon-corruption-syrian-refugees-aid.html> retrieved by 19 October 2015.

*Courtesy Call  
H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon  
with H.E. Kofi Annan,  
UN Secretary General  
1997-2006 at Geneva,  
Switzerland.*

## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Many current conflicts around the world which resulting a massive flux of human forced migration are a testament where the breeding ground of such situation derives from public dissatisfaction for corrupt governmental services.

In terms of forced migration, often we see that it breeds from conflict or post-war situation in countries of origin. The impact is more disastrous. In the case of Rohingya for example, the migration influx from Myanmar to Bangladesh are often a case of abuse from the authority, either violence as well as economic abuse. During my visit to Cox Bazaar, Bangladesh, recently, I have seen that such massive abuse has lead to humanitarian tragedy of our time.

We need to take actions. Yet, it requires an international cooperation. As the global stakeholders of a world without corruption, GOPAC welcomes the publication of the zero draft plus of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regulated Migration. The zero draft has also included the anti-corruption principles in terms of the promotion of transparency mechanisms, the development of accountability, the commitment to have faster, safer, and cheaper remittances, as well as the pledge to develop incorrupt institutions relevant to migrations.

We believe that to have a safe, orderly, and regulated migration, we need to promote sustainable development policies which are linked to the global pledge of our time: the SDGs. We need to recognize that migration should be address in multi-dimensional aspects of developments. In this context, we are of the view that parliament can contribute themselves through their constitutional role in the promotion of the SDGs.







A key part in it, is actions to oversee policies and programs of SDGs. As GOPAC recognizes SDGs as global goals towards human prosperity in a corrupt-free environment, we have, in a joint project with the Islamic Development Bank and the UNDP, developed a Parliamentary Handbook on SDGs. The handbook will provide insights for you, as parliamentarians, on ways we can do to promote SDGs. I encourage you to use the handbook and develop national actions towards the SDGs.

We need more actions to create better migration regime. After all, we are also a migrant to our world.

**Statement by Head of Indonesian Parliament Delegation on  
the Plenary debate on the emergency item:**

**“The consequences of the US declaration on Jerusalem  
and the rights of the Palestinian people in Jerusalem in  
the light of the UN Charter and resolutions”**

The decision of the United States of America to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and relocate its embassy from Tel Aviv was deeply regrettable. Such a decision seriously undermined the peace process and was irresponsible, inhumane and unacceptable. The policy to cut US\$125 million in funding for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) further demonstrated the lack of political will on the part of the United States to end the suffering of the Palestinian people, and thus demonstrated the failure of the United States as a global leader. The international community should insist that Israel and the United States complied fully with all international legal instruments. The recent decision by Israel to construct more than 1,200 new settler units in the occupied West Bank was a violation of United Nations Security Council resolution 2334, which called on Israel to immediately cease all settlement activities in the occupied territories. Any desecration of religious sites in Jerusalem could further destabilize the situation, fuelling conflict and extremism. The flagrant disregard for the rights of the Palestinian people was in grave violation of numerous United Nations resolutions. The IPU Member Parliaments should recognize the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to self-determination and independence. The resolution to be adopted by the Assembly on the emergency item should urge a two-State solution, in line with the 1967 borders and with East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine. The resolution should clearly state that the parliamentarians of the world stood for peace, democracy and justice.

## chapter **33**

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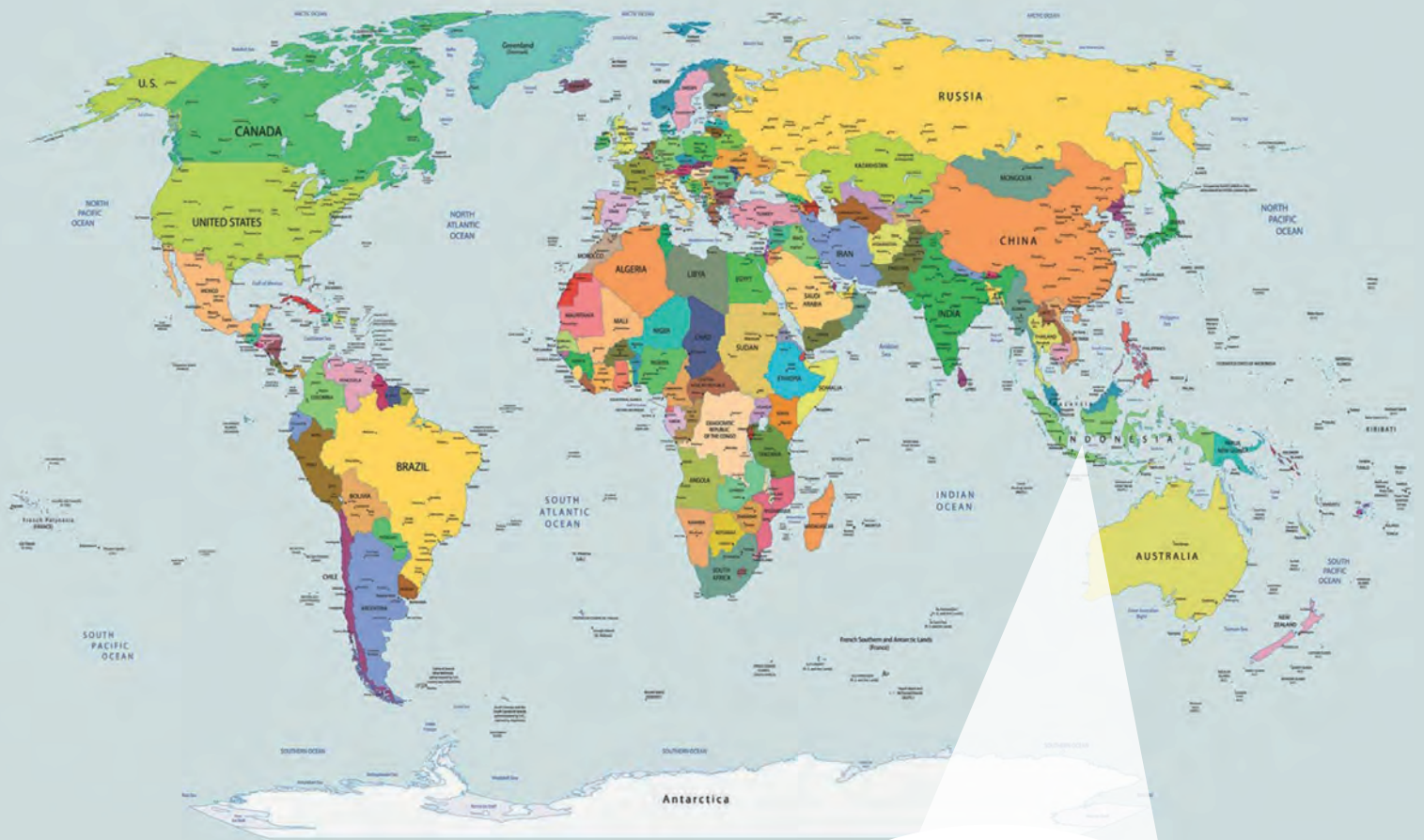
# Improving Indonesia–Pacific Parliamentary Partnership

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
Indonesia–Pacific Parliamentary Partnership

Jakarta, Indonesia, 23 July 2018



INDONESIA



## Improving Indonesia–Pacific Parliamentary Partnership

I thank all the Speakers, Vice-Speakers and Members of Parliaments of the Indonesia – Pacific Parliamentary Partnership meeting for your active participations and contributions.

I thank to all the panellists who have joined us today for their enlightening presentations and who have make us aware more on the need to forge stronger parliamentary partnership between Indonesia and the Pacific Islands Countries.

Today is historical for our future.

It is the first time we had a meeting with our parliamentary colleagues of the Pacific Islands Countries. With most of you are here today, it represents the positive vibe in progressing this parliamentary partnership.

Today is the beginning of a more intensive parliamentary engagement for us. We discussed issues that are crucial for our people in the region. We shared ideas to develop this partnership and others existing framework of cooperation and partnership that we have.

We noted and heard aspirations and delivered perspectives on mutual actions and prospective cooperation in the promotion of sustainable blue economy for the well-being of our people and ocean. We shared stories and lesson learned and explored initiatives that are fit for purposes for human capital development needs.



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

What we have today is a highlight of all the challenges in the development of this region. Nevertheless, we believe that Indonesia and Pacific Islands Countries can advance together. We are partners for future developments.

We have come to the end of our meeting today. Tomorrow, we will invite you to visit the Parliament Building and to enjoy the atmosphere of Ancol, an integrated and sustainable eco development area in the Jakarta Bay.

But first, we will have a great dinner tonight in the Tugu Kunstkring Paleis, Menteng, a grand historical building originally housed the Fine Arts Circle of the Dutch East Indies.

I wish you have pleasant days in Jakarta, Indonesia and hope that it will be a memorable one for you to share at home. What we have today will become modalities to strengthen deeper inter-parliamentary interactions and personal relations as part of the pacific citizens. I encourage more parliamentary actions which specifically design to strengthen our inter-parliamentary contact and cooperation can be initiated.







## chapter **34**

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# Committee on Political Matters the 9<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of AIPA

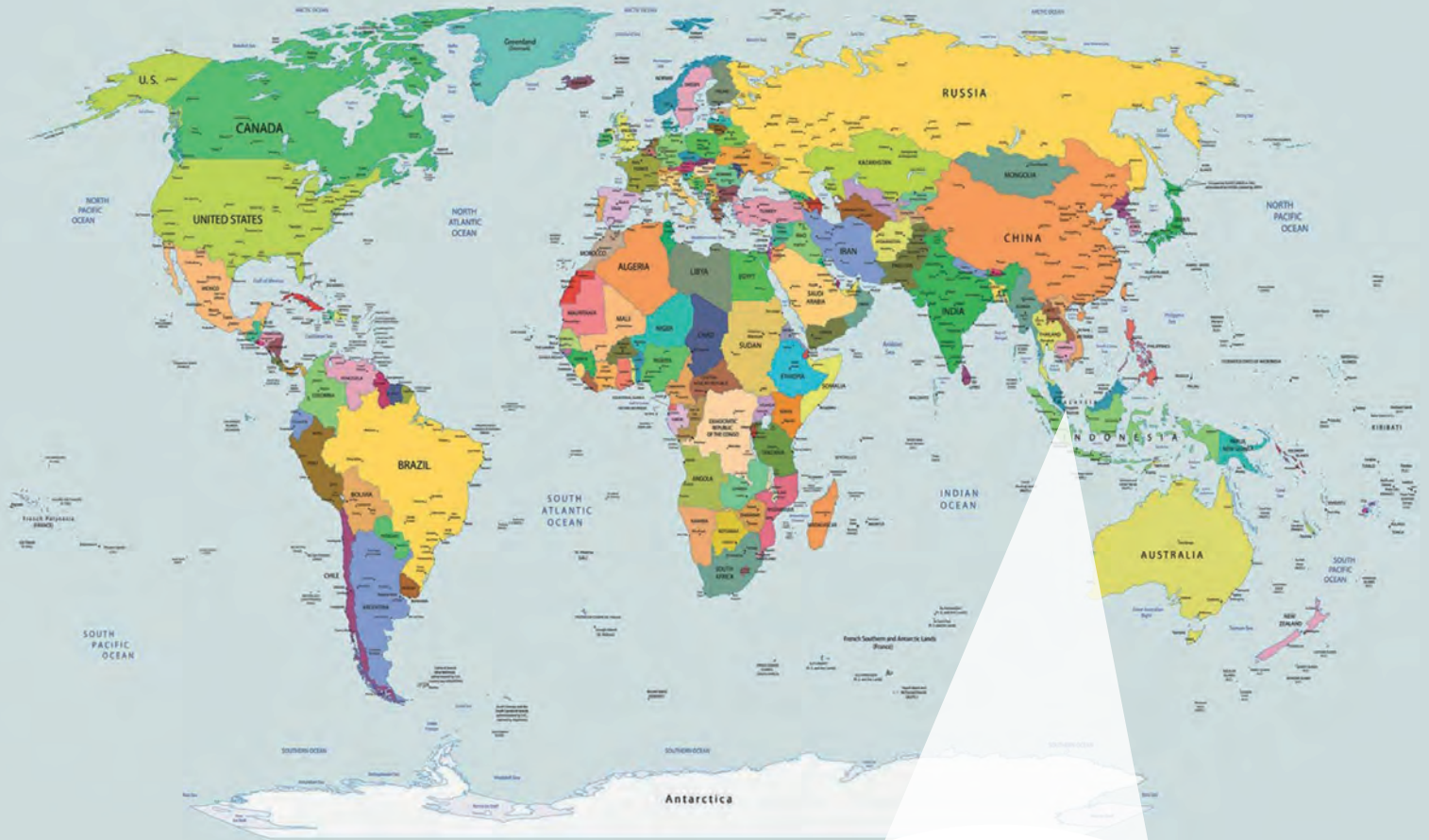
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
at the 9<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of AIPA

Singapore, 5 September 2018





SINGAPORE



## Committee on Political Matters the 9<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of AIPA

Allow me to take this opportunity to extend our appreciation to the Parliament of Singapore as the host of the 39<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of AIPA.

It is an honour for us to participate in this Committee Meeting and we are looking forward to contribute to the work of this year General Assembly of AIPA.

The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia recognize that economic growth, development and sustainability are hardly possible to achieve without peace, security and stability. While ASEAN has been very competent in maintaining ecosystem of peace, we shall not undermine the global and regional dynamic that may impact the regional stability. In line with the ASEAN Leaders' Vision for a Resilient and Innovative ASEAN, in which the ASEAN Leaders recognizes the increasing complexity of non-traditional and transnational security challenges such as terrorism, violent extremism, cyber threats, environmental degradation, climate change, and maritime issues; we see the need for AIPA to provide a legislative support toward efforts to address those challenges. In this General Assembly of AIPA, we are proposing for a draft resolution on Enhancing Cooperation on Maritime Security in ASEAN based upon our awareness that majority of ASEAN Member States are connected by one factor, the ocean. We see the need for us to continuously revisit our cooperation on regional maritime security and exercise utmost efforts within our constitutional mandate of legislation, budget and oversight.

The second draft resolution that we are proposing for this Committee is draft resolution on Violent Attacks on Rohingya and Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar. After constructive contribution from our colleagues during the Executive Committee Meeting, and upon approval



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

from Myanmar delegation, the title of this draft resolution has been change into Draft Resolution on Humanitarian Situation in Myanmar. We appreciate the Executive Committee to indulging our proposal and congratulate the President of AIPA for his leadership during the Executive Committee Meeting that enables us to seek compromise. We are looking forward to discuss this draft resolution under the ASEAN spirit of solidarity.

One of the key principles of our collective vision and commitment to build a Resilient and Innovative ASEAN is the reaffirmation on our commitment to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is, therefore, necessary for us to secure the rights of refugees while maintaining our utmost efforts to maintain peace and stability in the region.

With that, we're looking forward to the constructive amendment to our proposed draft resolution.





## Global Updates on the International Responses to Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar

On 12 March 2018, the Fact-Finding Mission of the UN Human Rights Council interim report to the 37<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN Human Rights Council confirms the seriousness of the situation in Rakhine and seriousness of human rights violations, and called on Myanmar authorities to stop dismissing reports that serious human rights violations have been committed in Kachin, Shan and Rakhine states.

In August 2017, the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State led by former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan. The Advisory Commission recommends that the government take concrete steps to end enforced segregation of Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims; ensure full and unfettered humanitarian access throughout the state; tackle Rohingya statelessness and “revisit” the 1982 Citizenship Law; hold perpetrators of human rights violations accountable; and end restrictions on freedom of movement, among other recommendations.

*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon  
visited Rohingya Refugee  
Camp, Aceh Indonesia*





*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon  
discussed with Refugee  
from Rakhine State,  
Myanmar at Langsa,  
Aceh, Indonesia*

The Inter Parliamentary Union has issued Emergency Item Resolution on “Ending the grave human crisis, persecution and violent attacks on the Rohingyas as a threat to international peace and security and ensuring their unconditional and safe return to their homeland in Myanmar” during the 137th IPU Assembly on October 2017 in St. Petersburg, Russia. The emergency item called for all IPU Member Parliaments to join the efforts towards securing the basic rights of the Rohingya, extending humanitarian support to the Rohingya and supporting the action of Bangladesh and the international community aimed at the sustainable return of the Rohingya people to their homeland of Myanmar, and also invites them to contribute to the restoration of stability and security in Rakhine State. It also stresses that the Government of Myanmar must eliminate the root causes of the crisis, including the denial of citizenship to the Rohingya people based on the 1982 Citizenship Act which has led to their statelessness and deprivation of their rights, and to their continued dispossession.

Until April 2018, Indonesia has contributed approximately USD 1,3 million as humanitarian aid to develop shelters; deploy paramedics; provide emergency healthcare facilities, mobile clinics and ambulances; deliver food and educational materials; install solar panels and mosques.

Given the magnitude of this refugee crisis, more is certainly needed. The international community should do more to help the refugees, particularly those in the border of Bangladesh. Collaboration for effective mobilization and distribution of assistance is the key here. To note, UN OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) calculated that there is a need of USD 434 million in order to execute a full scale humanitarian response plan in Bangladesh.





*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon  
accompanied by  
members of Indonesia  
Parliament visited  
Rohingya's Refugee  
Camp at Langsa,  
Aceh, Indonesia*

**Indonesia's position on the issue:**

- Within the ASEAN, Indonesia is trying to be the bridge builder. Indonesia has recommend 4N + 1 formula to the Government of Myanmar including urging all parties to respect the rule of law, exercise maximum self-restraint and stop the on-going violence against the minority in Rakhine State; restoring peace and stability, and provide security and assistance to all those in need irrespective of ethnicity, race, religion and belief; ending the displacement and suffering of all communities affected by the escalation of violence; opening up access to humanitarian aid; and implementing the recommendation of the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State.
- Indonesia perceives that aside from humanitarian assistance, we must address the root causes of the problem to avoid the recurrence of such incident. The issue of Rohingya refugees started in Rakhine State, Myanmar. We must not forget that the root cause of this issue falls within the jurisdiction and sovereignty of Myanmar.
- Indonesia believes in the importance of maintaining constructive engagement to earn the trust from the Government of Myanmar because it is impossible to address the situation without full cooperation of the Government of Myanmar.



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

- In our constructive engagement with Myanmar, we have to continue to call all parties to take all measures to restore peace and stability. We should urge Myanmar to exercise maximum restraint; end all violent acts; protect and respect human rights to all communities, including the Muslim Community in Rakhine State; and also implement Advisory Commission's recommendations.
- Indonesia welcomes opportunities to cooperate with all parties in this regard through various mechanisms, namely Bali Process.
- Within the OIC, Indonesia believes that we should explore the possibility to take part in economic development in Myanmar, in the context of peacebuilding and sustaining peace. The OIC should position itself as a partner for Myanmar in its economic development by encouraging the OIC Member States as well as developing cooperation with the Islamic Development Bank to establish contact with Myanmar in order to take part in the economic development, through trade and investment cooperations. Private sectors of the members of the OIC may also contribute in advancing business and economic development in Myanmar, most notably in Rakhine State.



*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon  
visited Rohingya  
Refugee Camp in Cox,s  
Bazar, Bangladesh*



*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon accompanied with Ms. Ledia Hanifah (MP from PKS) and Mr. Nurmansyah Tanjung (MP from PDIP), visited Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh*

- Indonesia also believes that we should undertake greater coordination among related international fora, such as the UN, ILO, OECD, G-20, and ASEAN, with a view to support capacity-building, technology-transfer and innovation, through South-South Cooperation and Triangular Cooperation to support the development in Rakhine State.
- The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia has response to the report of the UN Fact Finding Mission by stating that there is minimum progress in Rakhine State. All parties understand the complexities of the issue and there is an on-going reform in Myanmar. However, Myanmar shall no longer make the complexity as an excuse and encourage all parties to exercise utmost efforts and commitment to address implement recommendations from the global communities.



## chapter 35

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# Responsible Energy Consumption and Production for Sustainable Cities and Communities

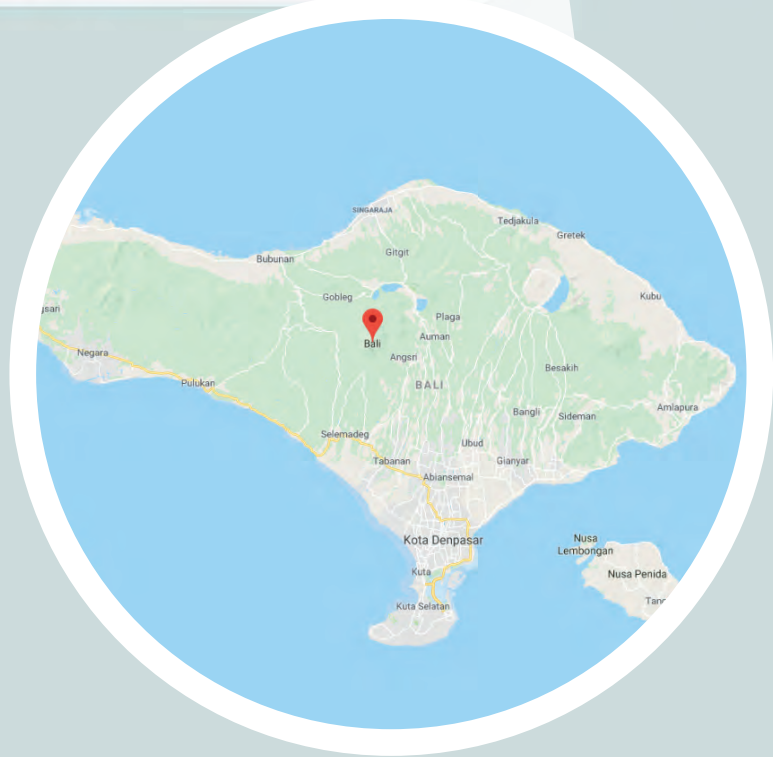
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The 2<sup>nd</sup> World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development

Denpasar, Indonesia, 12 September 2018





INDONESIA

## Responsible Energy Consumption and Production for Sustainable Cities and Communities

I would like to start by welcoming you all. My name is Fadli Zon, Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of Indonesia coordinator for political and security matters, and it is an honor for me to facilitate the First Plenary Session.

We will start our gathering in Bali within these two days with discussing issue on Responsible Energy Consumption and Production for Sustainable Cities and Communities.

Our world is currently facing serious challenges. Human use of natural resources and associated environmental impacts affect basic ecosystem services such as the provision of food and water as well as cycle of nutrient, which are supported by biodiversity. This is also impacted by climate change in a negative way, with unknown long-term consequences.

To a large extent, energy is a central resource which makes it possible to utilize other resources for human needs, like building infrastructures, supplying food and water. Available and affordable energy is the prerequisite for combatting poverty in developing economies.

Higher demand for consumption leads to increasing use of resources. Further, energy consumption has negative impacts to the environment. Most of energy consumption occurs in cities because of the high concentration of human activities as well as energy demand. Thus, cities are responsible for a big share of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) as well as significant amounts of other greenhouse gases.



*Opening Ceremony The 2nd World Parliamentary Forum  
on Sustainable Development Goals, Bali, Indonesia.*



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Effort to achieve sustainability will benefit considerably from the support of parliamentarians who are ready to use their political capital for the promotion of affordable and clean energy. With most Legislatures responsible for legislating, policy oversight and budget approval, Parliaments are central to the development agenda. Parliament is, therefore, uniquely positioned to influence the shape and content of the national development agendas and ensure the implementation of the SDGs. This also in line with the goal 11 of 2030 Sustainable Development Goals Agenda

In this first plenary session, we will discuss interesting and crucial aspects of energy access, energy consumption and energy production to sustainable development, as well as their impacts to higher productivity and better living standards, including in rural and remote areas. The meeting will also attempt to draw some perspectives and seek ways to ensure the quality of life without increasing environmental degradation and without compromising the resource needs of future cities and communities, and therefore making possible sustainable development.

Please allow me to extend my appreciation to all delegates and speakers. I thank you for your contribution.







## chapter 36

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# Closing Remarks The 2<sup>nd</sup> World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development Goals

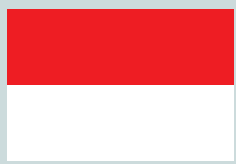
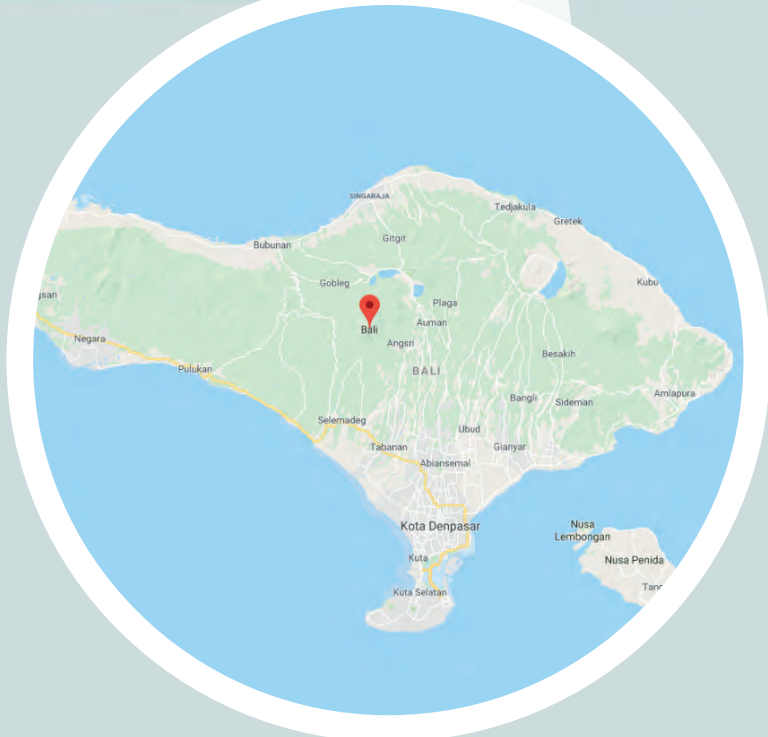
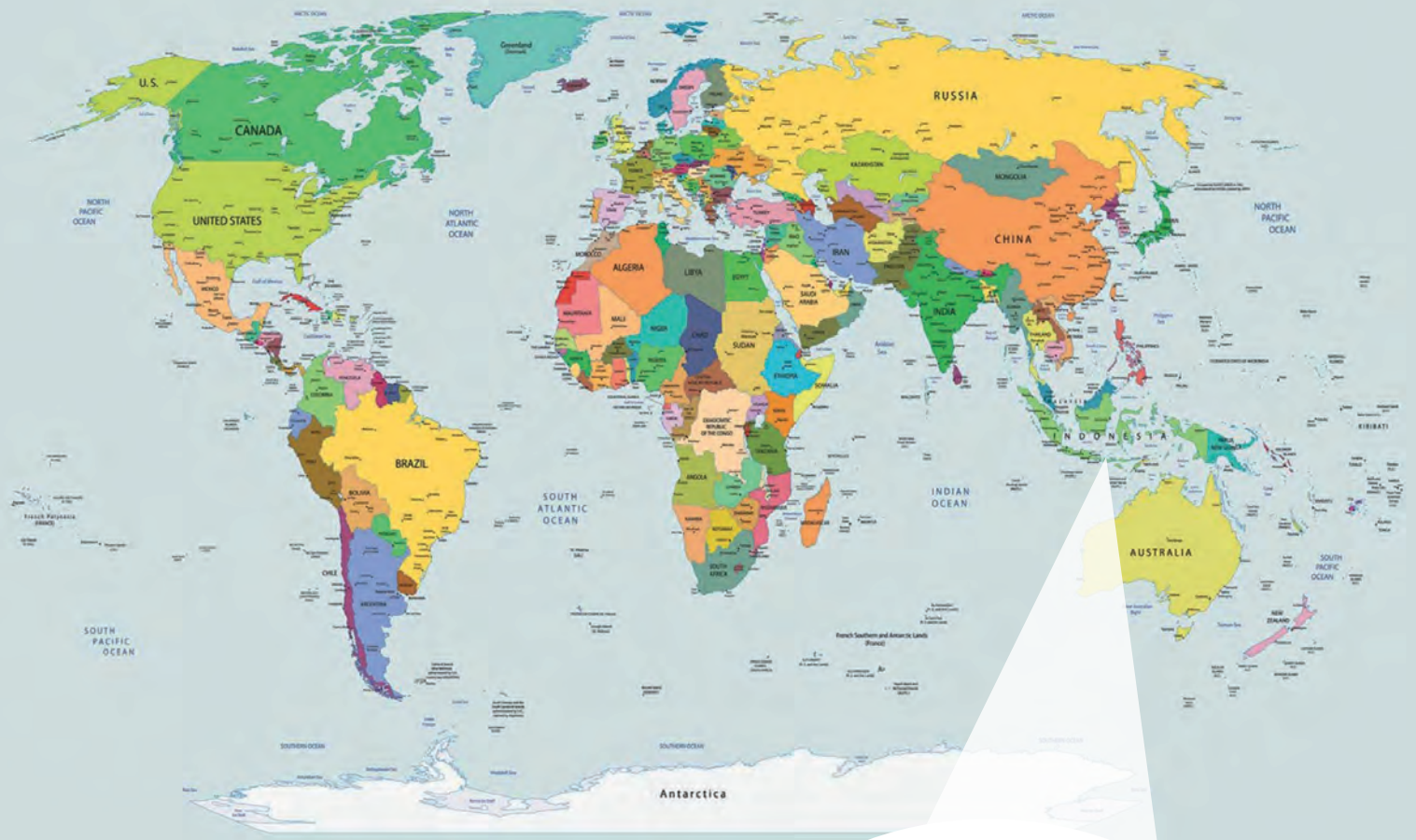
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The 2<sup>nd</sup> World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development

Denpasar, Indonesia, 13 September 2018





INDONESIA

## Closing Remarks The 2<sup>nd</sup> World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development Goals

We have come to the end of our meeting and we have learned enlightening insights from the experts and inspiring best practices from various countries. I am pleased that the meeting ran smoothly, as we all expected.

Allow me to express my heartfelt gratitude for your presence and important contribution during this event. It is always a blessing for the Indonesian House of Representatives to welcome the Parliamentary Delegates of friendly countries in our homeland.

Our discussion in the last two days has certainly shed light on the importance of sustainable renewable energy. As have been mentioned by our Distinguished Speaker, H.E. Bambang Soesatyo in his opening speech, sustainable energy is indeed critical, considering the limited amount of fossil fuels while the global demand for energy continues to increase along with the growing world population. Meanwhile, renewable energy has the potential to provide continuous supply of clean energy, free from pollution, and thus reducing the negative impacts of climate change. For this reason, the international community, the developing countries in particular, need easier access to advanced and clean technology to enable them to optimally develop, explore and utilize renewable energy.

I am fully certain that the meetings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> WPFSD generated more ideas and encouraged us to initiate the follow-up actions that need to be taken and to prepare the necessary steps in ensuring sustainable renewable energy development in our respective countries, as have been outlined in the agreed outcome document, the Bali Commitment.







## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

On our part, Indonesia remains committed to continue our journey towards sustainable development through renewable energy. What we consider today as alternative energy sources must become a solution for the future generation: that is environmentally-friendly, zero carbon energy. In line to this ideal, the Indonesian House of Representatives is currently working on the necessary legislations to enable the development of renewable energy in achieving energy independence and most importantly, sustainable supply of renewable energy that attracts investors.

When we go back to our country, I hope we all could double our efforts in the realization of SDGs goals especially in connection with our function in the parliament in budgeting, oversight and making the right legislation.

Before closing this session, again, I would like to thank all delegates for adding a wonderful spirit to our event. Your presence made this forum more meaningful and relevant.

I hereby close the Second World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development. Thank you, best wishes to all of us and see you again in the 3<sup>rd</sup> WPFSD meeting.







## chapter 37

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# Economic Cooperation, Environment and Sustainable Development in Eurasia

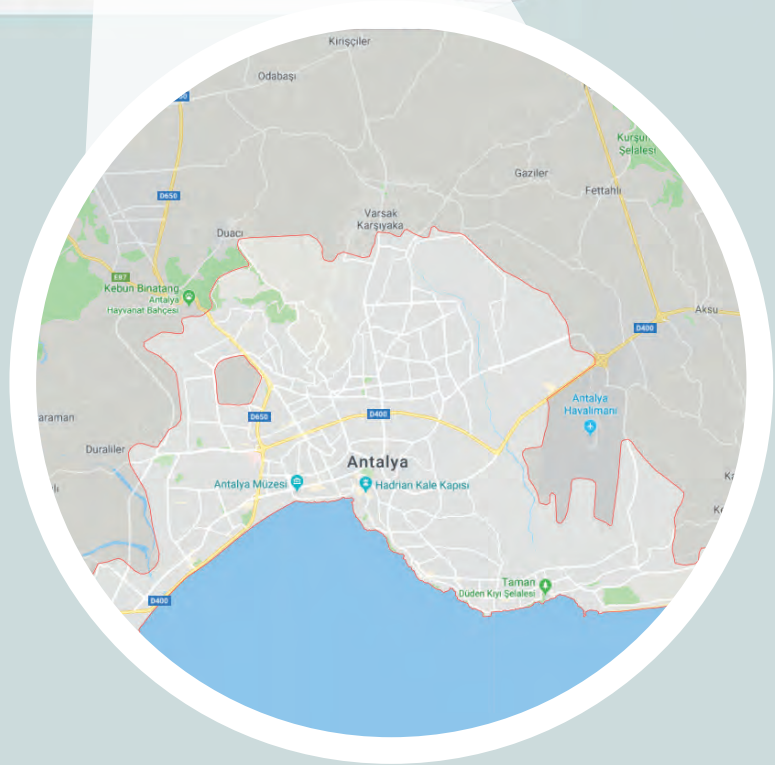
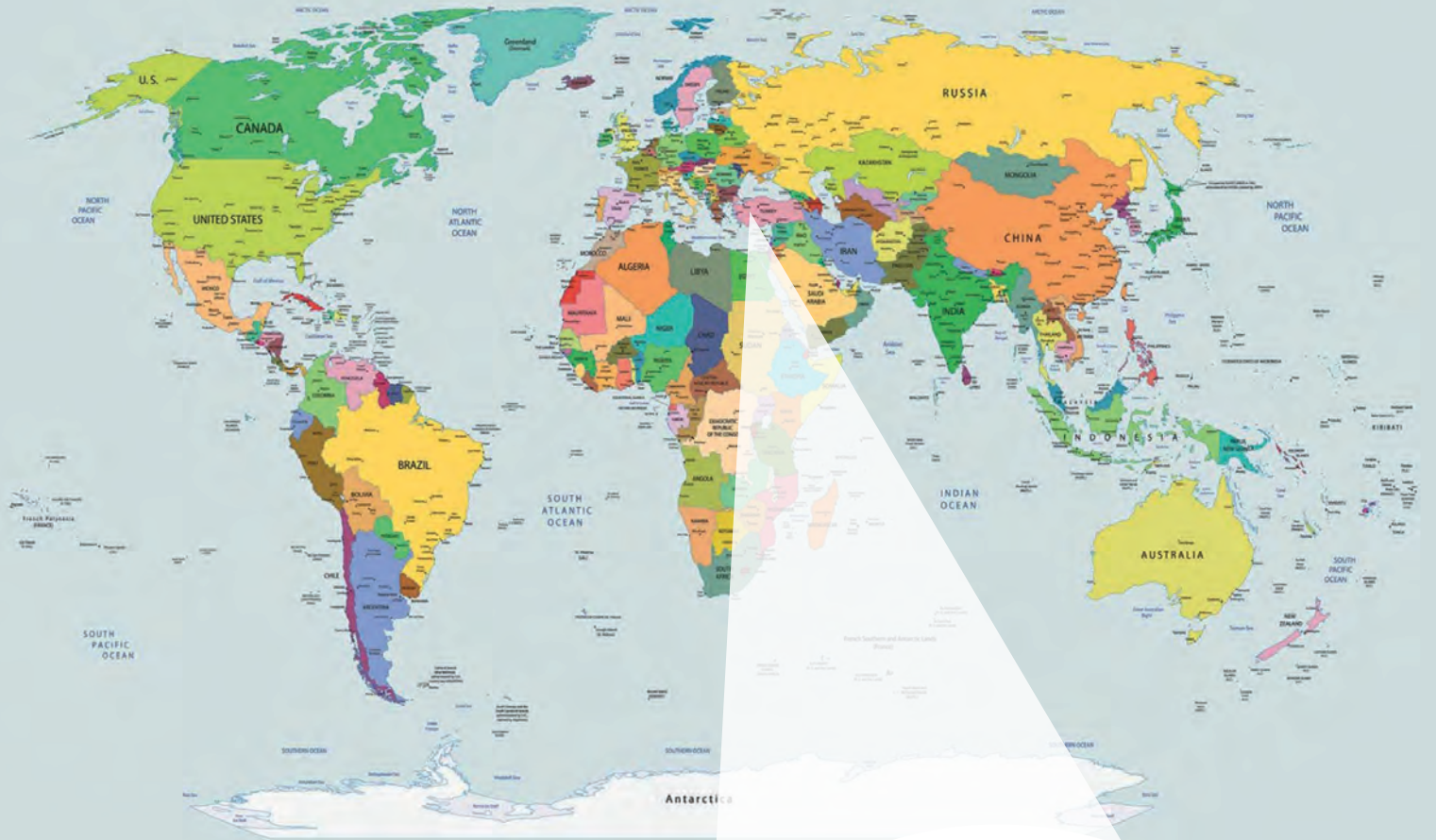
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of Speakers of Eurasian Countries' Parliaments

Antalya, Republic of Turkey, 8-11 October 2018





REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

## Economic Cooperation, Environment and Sustainable Development in Eurasia

It is an honor for me to be here in Antalya for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of Speakers of Eurasian Parliament. I believe our gathering in this city cited as the Pearl of Mediterranean and the Turkish Riviera will be fruitful and beneficial for our partnership and cooperation in the future.

Our world today is at risk of economic uncertainty. The United States (US) and China are waging trade war through new rules of tariff on goods. What makes this looks more complicated than only a simple trade war is that it potentially creates a domino effect and generates more risks to the global value chain in other countries.

The situation is being exacerbated by the volatility of our national currency due to policy of one country. We can no longer resort to this situation. We need action to promote fiscal stimulus and sustain our currency stability.

We deem that this meeting is of great importance and timely as we gather at such situations. A meeting of significance to garner the Eurasian voices for a stronger role of the multilateral trade system through the WTO and to take a paradigm shift on currency use.

The WTO should play a greater role in making countries pay more respect to the international governance that we are agreed on. An international trade system that should be based on a free and fair trade for the benefit of all. In terms of currency use, the Indonesian House calls upon Eurasian countries to promote a wider use of local currencies to facilitate and boost trade and investment in their respective country.





*The 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of Speakers of Eurasian Countries Parliaments*



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Indonesia has initiated this measure through Local Currency Settlement Framework (LCSF) with Malaysia and Thailand. We have also established bilateral currency swap with several trade partners including Australia, China, Japan, Republic of Korea and expects for more in the future.

Indonesia is of the view that a stable and sustained economic is fundamental for the achievement of the Agenda 2030: The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). History has taught us to promote more prudent monetary and fiscal policies as the basis to create national economic resilience.

Indonesia has been committed to a series of financial system reforms and formulate sounder macroeconomic growth. An example of institutional reform is the restructuring of Central Bank in 1999, in which it was made into an independent institution apart from the Government. A Financial Services Authority has been established in order to overhaul regulatory oversight. Establishment of FSA confirmed our commitment toward enhancing risk-oriented banking supervision according to Basel principles and reforming the accounting system. Establishment of FSA gave opportunity for the Central Bank to focuses on macroeconomic prudential policies to guard against systemic risk.

We need to work together if we are committed to advance the Eurasian. A strategic economic partnership between Eurasian countries including through LCSF is a start for a larger trade and economic cooperation among Eurasian.

Further, as the Eurasia Economic Union (EAEU), European Union (EU), Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), ASEAN and others can be considered as the sub-organizations established within the supercontinent of Eurasia, Indonesia encourages a stronger partnership and cooperation of these organizations towards the Eurasian Community, which will give mutual benefit to our citizens.

In terms of sustainable development, parliament has crucial roles to support the achievement of SDGs. We are the stakeholders of the SDGs. Thus, having the SDGs implementation accountable to the people is a mandatory for us. The Indonesian House established the SDGs Task Force as a means to strengthen parliamentary roles on SDGs. The Task Force is a cross-factions and cross-commissions membership with mandate to monitors the SDGs implementation and recommend SDGs policy at the national level.

The Indonesian House deems that we need to integrate economic, social and environment pillars of the sustainable development into a coherent, cross-cutting and comprehensive policies to be implemented by our national stakeholders.





*Dr. Fadli Zon with H.E. Umakhanov, Head of Delegation of Russian Parliament  
at 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of Speakers of Eurasian Countries Parliaments*

## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

To give you an example, let us discuss about climate change. As we race to be the top economies, we often overlook the fact that massive development and high economic growth often depleting our natural resources. We need ways to balance the economic growth while at the same time sustainably manage the environment.

I am grateful that the world has work together to counter and adapt with the climate change. In an effort to do so, Parliament of Eurasian Countries should also work together to garner political support in scaling up actions to combat the adverse impact of climate change. Indonesia has ratified the Paris Agreement and commit to enhance efforts through climate change related legislation, budget allocation for climate actions and Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) monitoring. The Indonesian House urges countries who have not done so to ratify the Paris Agreement and set a proper balance to integrate the three pillars of sustainable development into SDGs national policies.

SDGs are a world pledge with national and sub-national actions to implement them. Yet, we realize that despite many countries differ in their challenges, we have the same goal to set actions for our people, planet, and prosperity. It is therefore, international cooperation among countries are inevitable as a means to garner more support for the SDGs.

Indonesia emphasizes the need to engage more parliaments in the work of SDGs. By generating interparliamentary cooperation, we will have more supports, inspiration, lesson-learned and stories to tell, about the successful parliamentary work on SDGs.

In this connection, I wish to refer to the outcome document of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Parliamentary Forum on Sustainable Development (WPSD)—an interparliamentary platform focusing solely on sustainable development issues—held in Bali, last September: *The Bali Commitments*, which outlined the specific roles parliament could take in advancing the SDGs implementation. To conclude, I wish through this meeting we can pave our way to work towards Bali Commitments and call upon Eurasian Parliaments to fully embrace a proper balance between the three pillars of sustainable development.







## chapter 38

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# Parliamentary Leadership in Promoting Peace and Development in the Age of Innovation and Technological Change

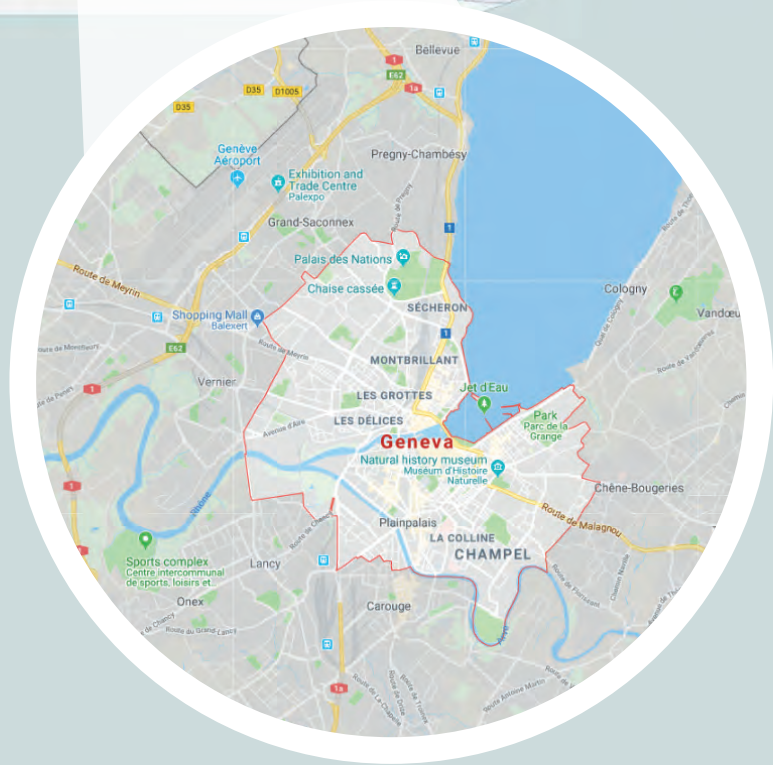
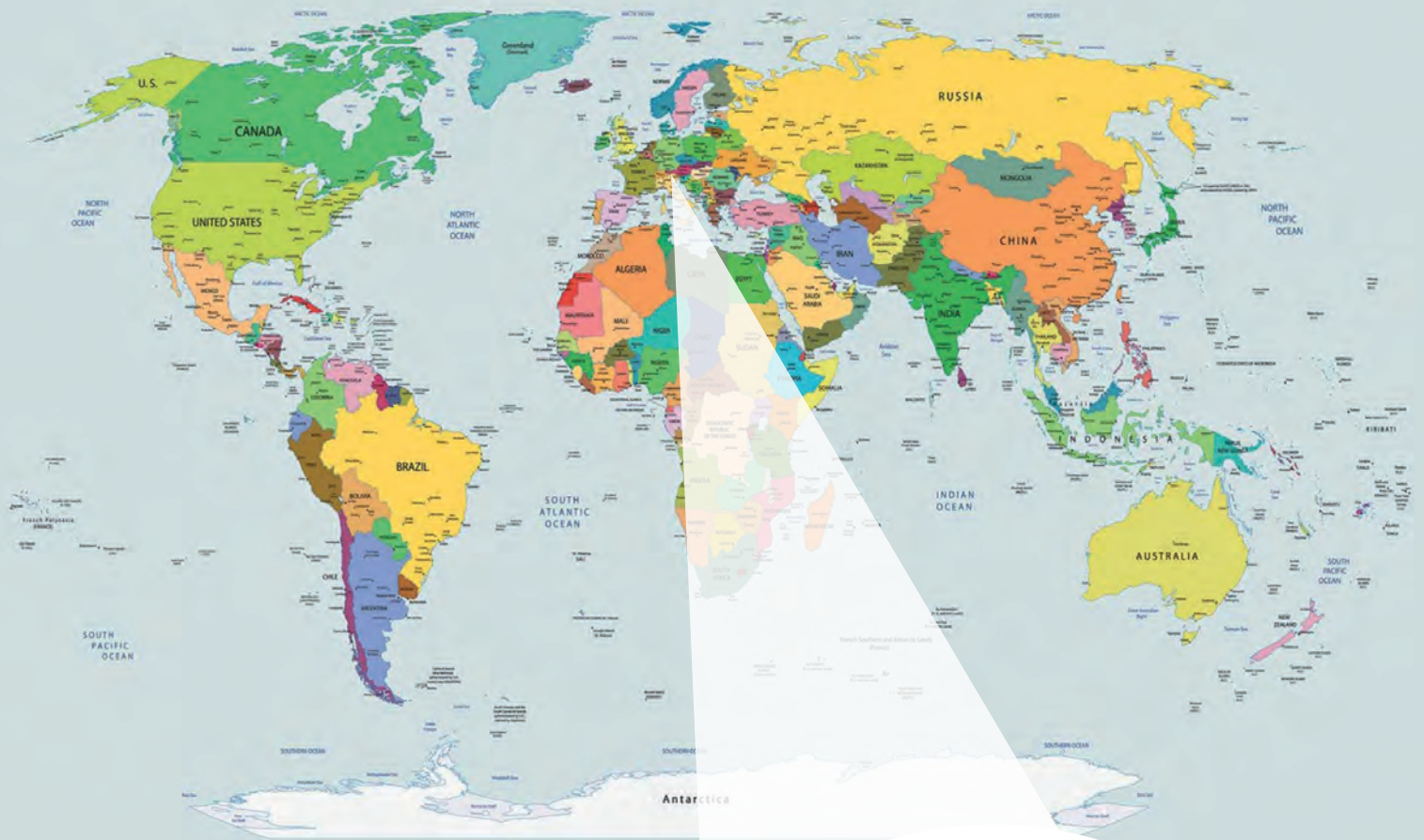
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The 139<sup>th</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Assembly and Related Meetings

Geneva, Switzerland, 15 October 2018





SWITZERLAND



## Parliamentary Leadership in Promoting Peace and Development in the Age of Innovation and Technological Change

First of all, on behalf of the *Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption* (GOPAC), allow me to extend my gratitude to this forum.

I am pleased and honored to be here in the 139<sup>th</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union Assembly today. Thank you for having me on this important discussion, and giving me the opportunity to talk about the parliamentary partnership in promoting peace and development through an anti-corruption global movement.

It has been massively discussed and widely recognized that corruption has a detrimental impact on economic growth and development. However, it is worth to note that corruption has also been increasingly acknowledged as a major threat to peace and stability in many ways. Therefore, Parliamentarians have put these two agendas simultaneously – eradicating corruption and promoting peace – as priority.

The correlation between corruption, conflict, and peace has been revealed academically by many studies. A study from the World Bank in 2011, suggested that corruption has detrimental impacts on the risk of violence. Almost all countries that are classified as highly corrupt also have weak political, administrative, and economic institutions. Weak state institutions, however, are often a consequence of civil conflict. And conflict may create an environment where corruption is rampant.

A study from Institute for Economic and Peace in 2015 has also revealed that the level of corruption will determine the peace condition in a country. For instance, a high number of corruption in judicial and law enforcement agency will increase political instability and lead to the collapse of those institutions, which were designed to prevent violence and conflict.



Corruption may fuel to conflict and instability at least in three ways. *First*, corruption can undermine a sense of inequality and injustice, as corruption distorts government decisions and threaten the provision of public services such as education and healthcare. These grievances can be mobilized and creates social and political instability. *Second*, the rents seeking opportunities that caused by corruption may provide incentives for violent conflict. Those who excluded from power use violence to seek access and control over these opportunities. *Third*, corruption weakens the ability of the state to provide security. Corruption may also diminish state legitimacy as the government fails to fulfil citizens' expectations, and increasing willingness to violently challenge the government.

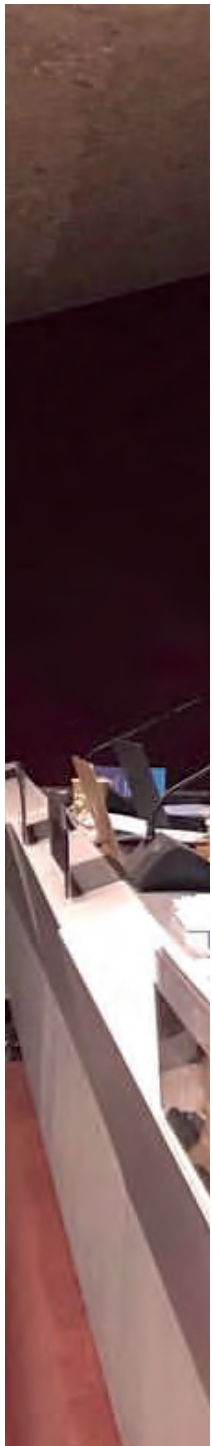
As the elected representatives of their people, Parliamentarians have a crucial role in combating corruption and promoting peace. Parliamentarians are valuable partners in ensuring accountable, inclusive, participatory and transparent political process. Concerning those pivotal roles, GOPAC believes that Parliaments must continue to be strategically empowered, actively engaged, and sufficiently equipped to achieve a sustainable peace for the international society. I would like to emphasize another approach that can significantly help parliamentarians in their mission to fight corruption and promote peace, which is building coalition trough inter-parliamentary networks. As the only international network of parliamentarians dedicated to combat corruption, strengthen good government and uphold the rule of law, I believe GOPAC could be a great platform to address those issues.

Currently, we have 5 Regional Chapters and 62 National Chapters across the globe, with more than 1.000 members who are current or former legislators, or legislators who have been denied their right to take office. Additionally, we have five Global Task Forces which are focused on specific issues, such as: i) Anti-Money Laundering; ii) UN Convention against Corruption; iii) Parliamentary Oversight; iv) Parliamentary Ethics and Conducts; and v) Participation of Society. Through this network, we continuously support parliamentarians in strengthening their institutions in order to achieve sustainable peace.

As a final message, I would like to reiterate that eradicating corruption is essential in promoting peace and societal development. In doing so, a more collaborative action and strategic partnership among parliamentarians are imperatives. Let us work to help break the culture of corruption, and help ensure that the sustainable peace will benefit all people.

To conclude this speech, allow me to invite you to join us in the anti-corruption global movement. I truly believe that parliamentarians are surely able to accelerate this process and be the game-changer in maintaining peace and stability.

I hope this forum is a huge success, and will support us to take positive steps towards sustainable peace for all.









## chapter 39

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# Parliamentarians Acting Now in Partnership

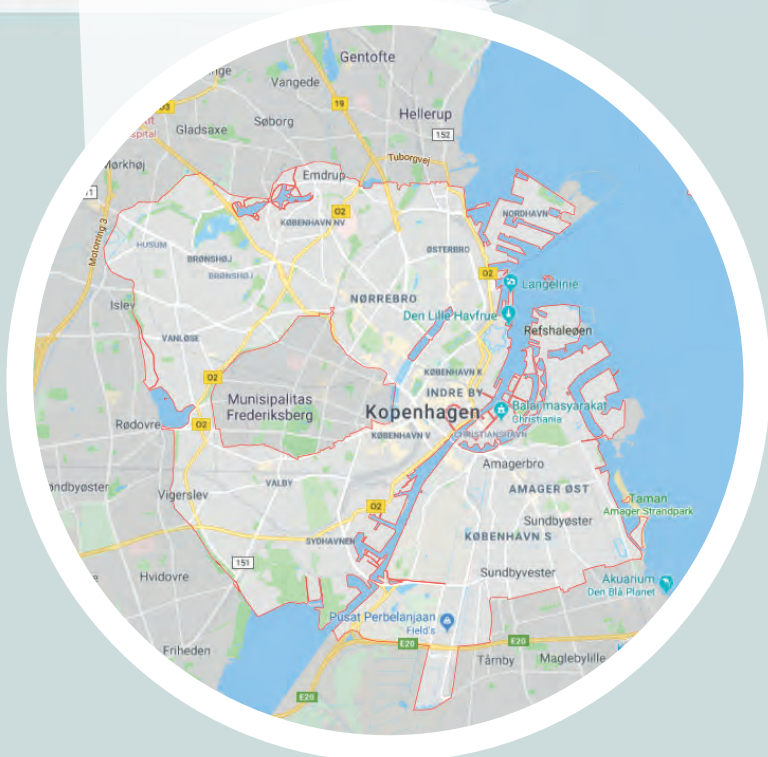
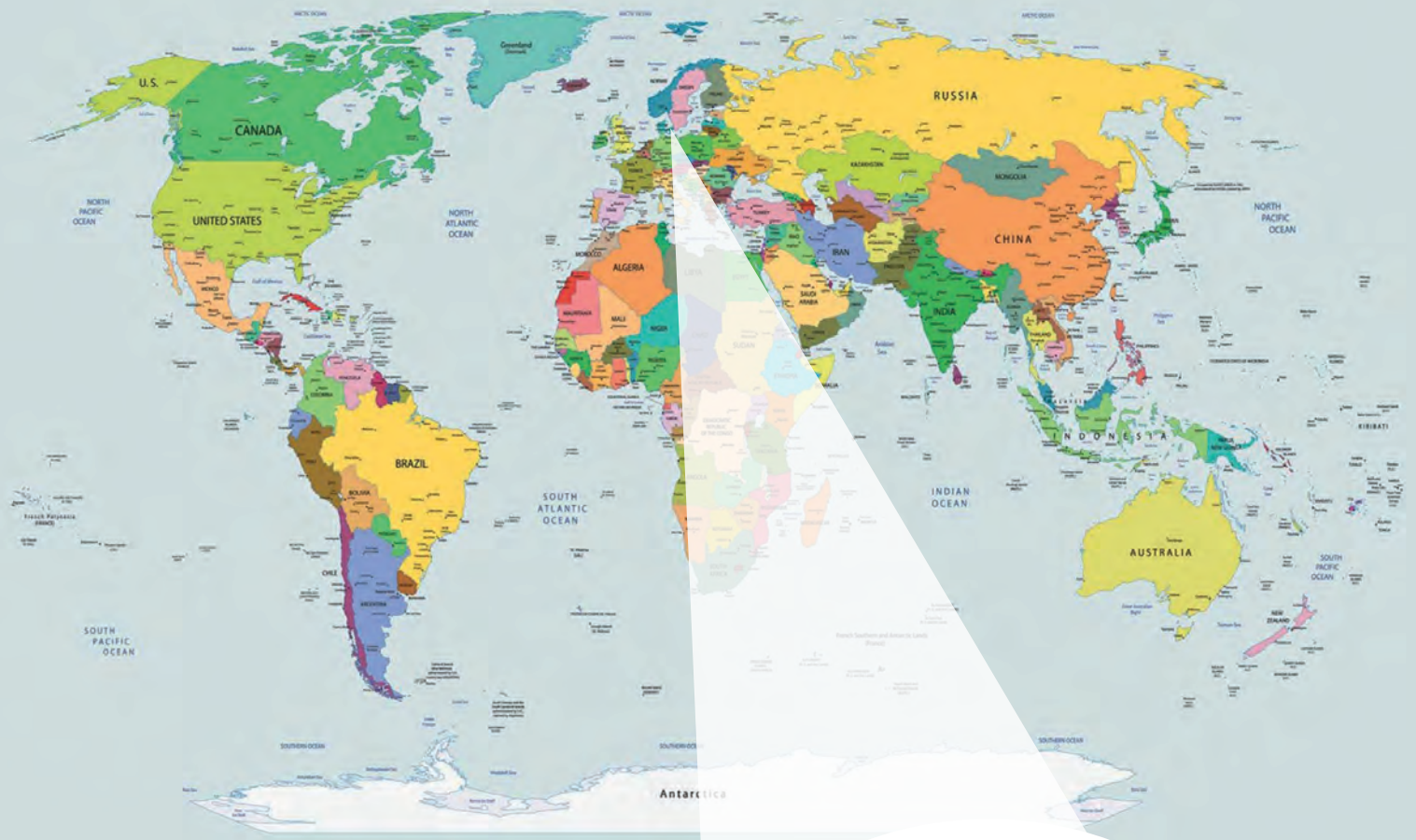
Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The 18<sup>th</sup> International Anti-Corruption Conference "Together for Development,  
Peace and Security: Now Is the Time to Act"

Copenhagen, Denmark, 24 October 2018





DENMARK



## Parliamentarians Acting Now in Partnership

I am pleased and honored to be here in Copenhagen today. Thank you for having me on this important discussion, and giving me the opportunity to talk about GOPAC's works to strengthen parliamentarians' role and foster strategic partnership in the anti-corruption global movement. I hope that our discussion today could be a momentum for Parliamentarians, civil society, and other related stakeholders to gather, evaluate, and collaborate in taking measurable actions and ensuring a more coordinated fight against corruption.

Let me begin by highlighting the detrimental effects of corruption in political process, and why we should take collaborative engagement to address it. Corruption is not only seen as a threat to democracy, but it also perceived to undermine economic development, violate social justice, and damage public interest. It can even destroy trust in state institutions.

According to a research by the University of Amsterdam in 2010, widespread perceptions of corruption are most harmful to affect public trust towards parliament. In 2012, a report released by Transparency International ranked Parliament as the 3rd in the list of public institutions deemed most corrupt by civil society.

As a transnational extraordinary crime, tackling corruption is hardly done by a single actor. Cooperation, collaboration, and partnership among related stakeholders are an indispensable tool for effectively combating corruption. Through such alliance of important actors, the problem can be resolved from multiple angles and the impact of individual action in ensuring the success of anti-corruption measures can be increased.



## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Parliaments are essential pillars of a country's democratic system, and have a key role to play against corruption as the institution holding government accountable to the electorate. In terms of fostering strong partnership, it is important to build and support parliamentary networks, and work in partnership with the government, civil society, and other relevant stakeholders. This is where GOPAC takes its role.

As an international network of Parliamentarians focus solely on combating corruption, GOPAC aims to combat and prevent corruption by strengthening integrity in the Parliament. It provides peer-support to its member, which are Parliamentarians engaged in combating corruption throughout the world, by developing practical tools, delivering relevant training, capacity building, and education to promote methods for fighting corruption.

Since its inception in 2002, GOPAC has been actively involved in global anti-corruption network, while at the same time fostering a strong anti-corruption partnership among parliamentarians. Up until now, we have more than 1.000 members worldwide, as well as coordinated networks through 62 National Chapters and 5 Regional Chapters in Arab, Africa, Southeast Asia, Oceania, and Latin America. In conducting our programs, we have 5 areas of Global Task Forces: Anti-Money Laundering, United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), Parliamentary Oversight, Parliamentary Ethics and Conduct, and Participation of Society.

Let me highlight several GOPAC recent strategic partnerships with parliaments, national executive branch, international networks, and civil society. Through our GTF Parliamentary Oversight, GOPAC has been working with the Islamic Development Bank (IsDB) and UN Development Program (UNDP) in developing a Parliamentary Handbook on SDGs as guidance for Parliamentarians to successfully implement the SDGs, especially by monitoring the effectiveness of any development assistance. This handbook is designed to be an easy-to-use resource, which lists good practices and tools from around the world that can be adapted as needed, depending on the national context.

This major toolkit was previously launched during the World Bank and IMF Global Parliamentary Conference in April 2017. It was also piloted through a regional workshop in Jakarta last year, supported ISDB, UNDP, and Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) with participants ranging from Members of Parliament of the South and Southeast Asia.

We are now actively promoting and encouraging all Parliamentarians to make use of this Handbook as a valuable resource in achieving SDGs targets. GOPAC also works collaboratively with its National Chapters, for instance by supporting the Indonesian House of Representatives to mainstream the SDGs into their parliamentary works by establishing a special task force which provides recommendations as well as budgeting and legislative supports in achieving the SDGs and promoting green economy.







Furthermore, GOPAC is currently working with the Open Government Partnership (OGP) and the network of Legislative Openness Working Group to encourage parliament becoming more open, transparent, accountable and inclusive. Recently, on 29 August 2018 the Indonesian House of Representatives declared its commitment as the first country in Asia to implement the Open Parliament initiative. We work with civil society and the executive branch of OGP national secretariat which consists of the Presidential Office, Ministry of Development Planning, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs to develop the Open Parliament Action Plan which is comprised of 5 commitments:

- i) Enhancing services that provide data and information about governance and legislation. One of the initial products is a mobile apps called “DPR Now” as a technological instrument in supporting parliamentary openness;
- ii) Strengthening the use of parliament information technology;
- iii) Reinforcing the parliamentary openness and public information;
- iv) Developing the Open Parliament roadmap; and
- v) Institutional arrangement of Open Parliament Indonesia

Furthermore, this initiative will enable society to monitor the legislative process, especially in enhancing citizen participation in every legislative process and bringing MPs closer to the people they represent. As such, it will ensure the publication of minutes and summaries of a number of meetings and detail the stages of policies the parliament is discussing. That way, the citizen will be aware of all the policy-making processes and will be able to provide their input as well as get involved in the de-bottlenecking process. Moreover, the citizen will have the opportunity to propose new appropriate policies.

Deriving from our successful effort to foster strategic partnership between the Indonesian House of Representatives, government, and civil society; GOPAC is eager to collaborate further to actively support and encourage parliaments in other country in replicating the open parliament initiative. With the focus on opening parliament, I believe we could achieve our common goals of a more transparent, accountable, and ensure citizen participation to combat corruption.

As a final message, I would like to reiterate that we do have great challenges which can only be solved by working together. Hence, we should strengthen the anti-corruption movement by taking great opportunities to collaborate and work towards the same goals with the same level of ambition.



*H.E.. Dr. Fadli Zon  
with members of  
GOPAC's Board  
of Directors*

In this context, if parliaments are recognized as part of the corruption problem, they must also be recognized as part of the solution and can no longer be excluded from anti-corruption discourse. GOPAC is once again open to collaborate, and look forward to fostering strategic partnership in improving institutional capacity and ensuring the effectiveness of legislative reform.

As a famous proverb says, *"If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together."* Let us work together to help break the culture of corruption, and help ensure that Parliament and other public institutions are accountable and trustworthy for the benefit of all people.





## chapter 40

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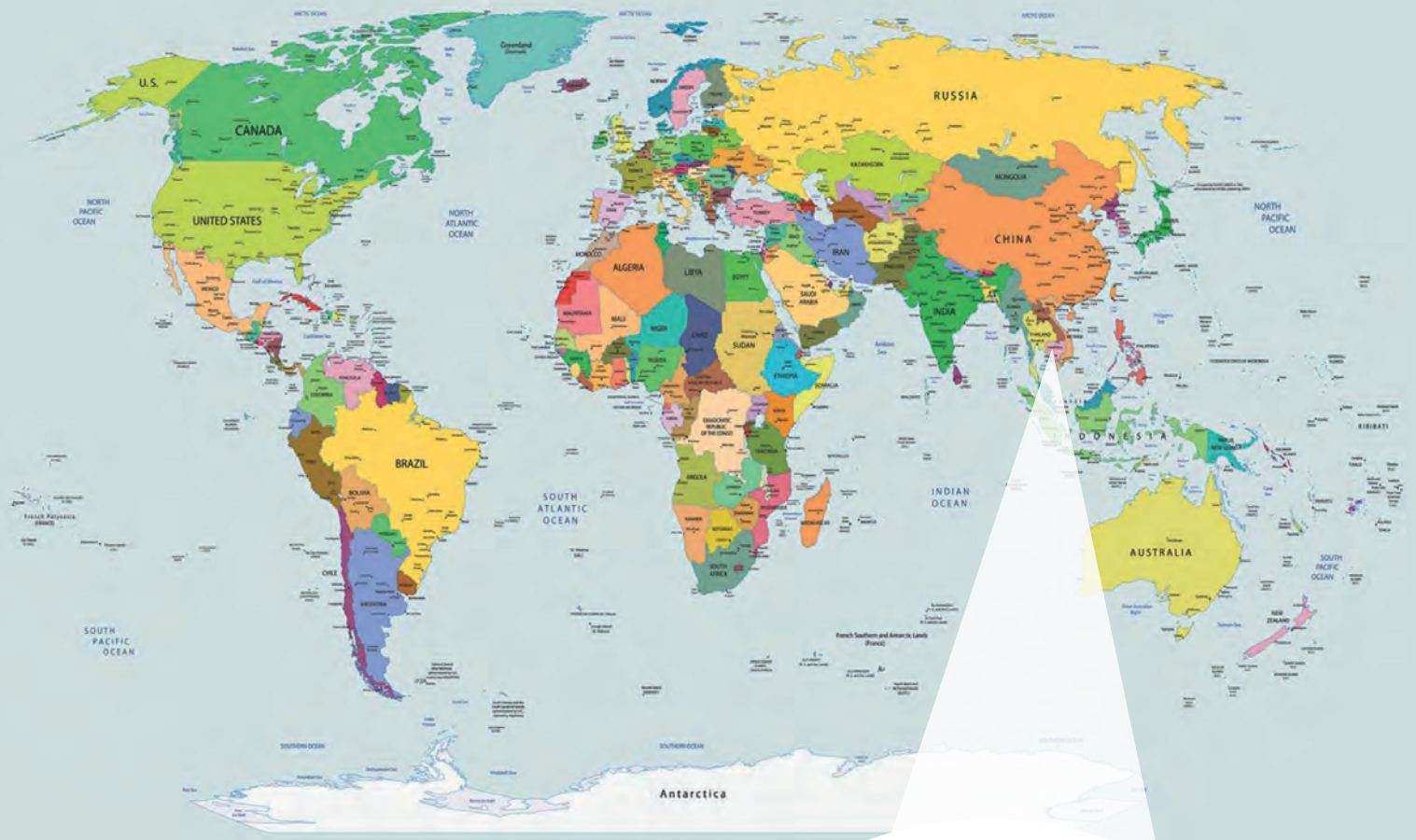
# Political and Security Matters Building Trust for Peace, Security and Sustainable Development in the Region

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The 27<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum

Siem Reap, Cambodia, 11-14 January 2019



CAMBODIA

## Political and Security Matters Building Trust for Peace, Security and Sustainable Development in the Region

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Cambodian National Assembly for hosting the 27th APPF Annual Meeting in Siem Reap, a real historical hub, being the center of important changes and development at many different stages of Cambodian history. With this background and with spirits of solidarity I believe APPF will come up with fruitful resolutions.

Peace, security and sustainable development remain the prevailing trend. The world economy has overcome the crisis and is now recouping toward sustainable development. Be that as it may, challenges and concerns do not seem to subside as rapid, complex and unpredictable changes are taking place around the globe. Increasingly serious threats have arisen from armed conflicts, territorial disputes, the use and threat of force, human rights violation, and the rise of terrorism as well as non-traditional security challenges such as climate change, epidemics, and resource scarcity, among others.

In recent years, the Asia Pacific region remains the engine of global economy, powering trade, investment and jobs. Two-thirds of the region's economies grew faster in recent years and this is expected to continue in 2019. The region's challenge now is ensuring this growth is robust, sustainable and mobilized to provide more development financing. It is certainly an opportunity to accelerate towards achieving the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development. The region, however, still faces many problems such as escalating tension in the Korean Peninsula, territorial disputes in the East Sea and East China Sea, and especially trust deficiency - the key factor that makes peace and stability in the region not as durable as we expect.

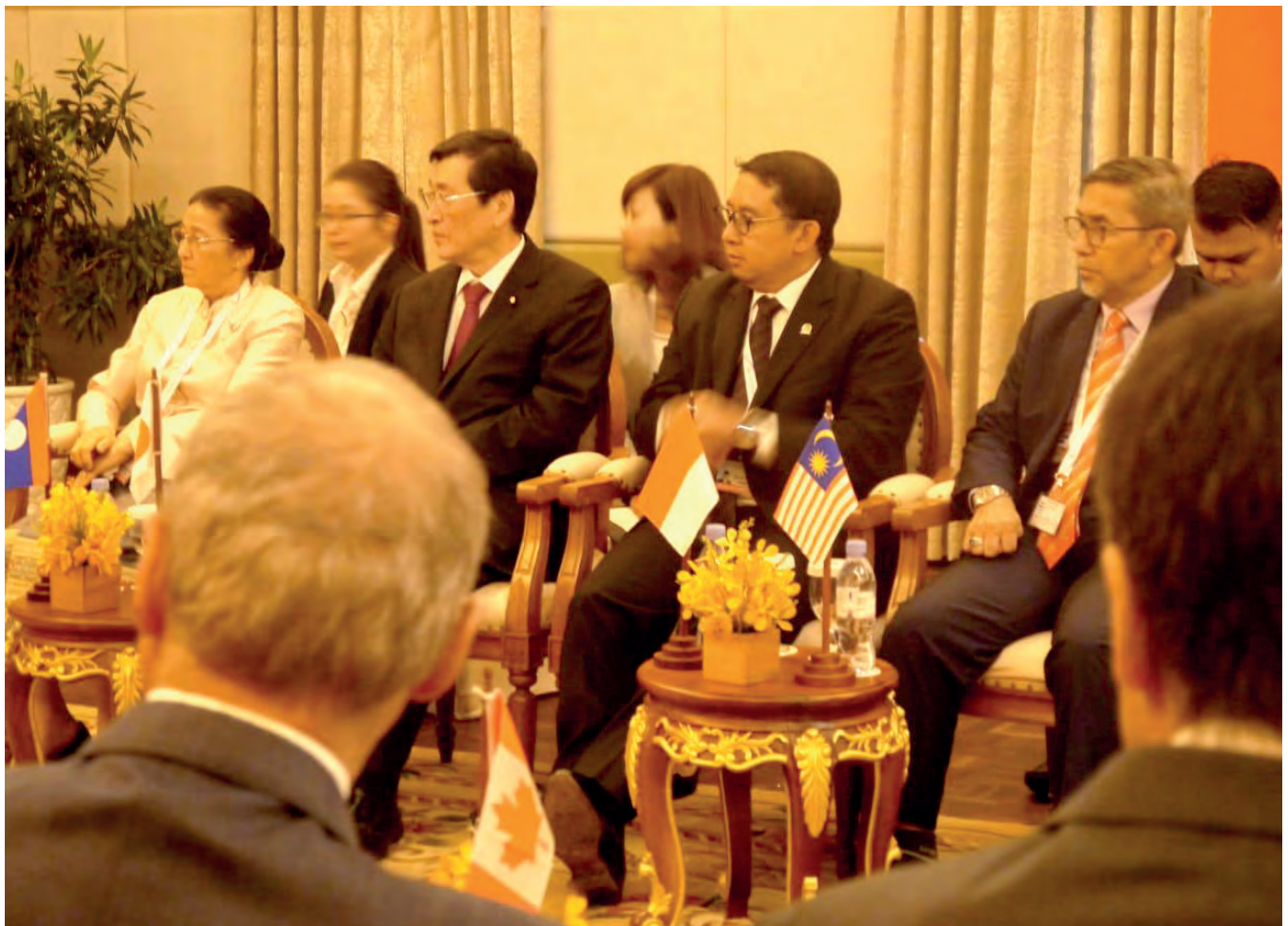




## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

The paradigm of sustainable development demand us to leave to future generations at least the same or better possibilities for development as they present today. Hence, a balanced development of economy, society and environment, and the absence of wars, terrorism and conflicts are required. Wars, terror attacks and conflicts are causing serious damage to the development, including loss of human lives, destruction of property, and decrease in economic activity, threatened individual freedoms, and destruction of natural environment.

It is therefore very important for sustainability to establish a secure global environment. This requires both protection against violence and elimination of its root causes, as well as active work of individuals, national states, non-governmental and international organizations toward peace.







*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon with H.E. Hun Sen,  
the Prime Minister of Cambodia*



There can be no peace without sustainable development and no sustainable development without peace. Sustainable development strengthens peace and more peaceful and inclusive societies create an environment conducive to sustainable development. Therefore, sustainable peace is both an enabler and an outcome of sustainable development.

Achieving sustainable development is impossible without peace and security. Peace and development are continuous processes that require constant efforts of trust and confidence building particularly in a politically dynamic region such as in the Asia-Pacific. Wars, terrorism and armed conflicts could bring a damaging impact to development, which will affect economic growth and hamper the achievement of sustainable development. On the contrary, sustainable development would appear to be more achievable when security is ensured and peace is well maintained.

The implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is also a crucial step towards a more coherence three pillars of the United Nations, namely peace and security as well as development and human rights. In that regard the House of Representatives of Indonesia perceives that it is crucial for APPF parliamentarians to Discuss, exchange views and share best practices on how to improve cooperation among APPF Member States, as well as on parliamentary functions (legislation, budgeting, supervision and diplomacy), which will contribute to the effective implementation of both the SDGs and Sustaining Peace.

It is also important that parliamentarians of APPF Member Countries to work closely with respective governments, international organizations and civil society in order to seek peaceful solutions and resolves impending conflicts in the region, since stable situations would provide an environment that is conducive to sustainable development and sustaining peace.



## chapter 41

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# Transparency and Accountability: Finding a Common Ground

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Speech by

**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia

The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians

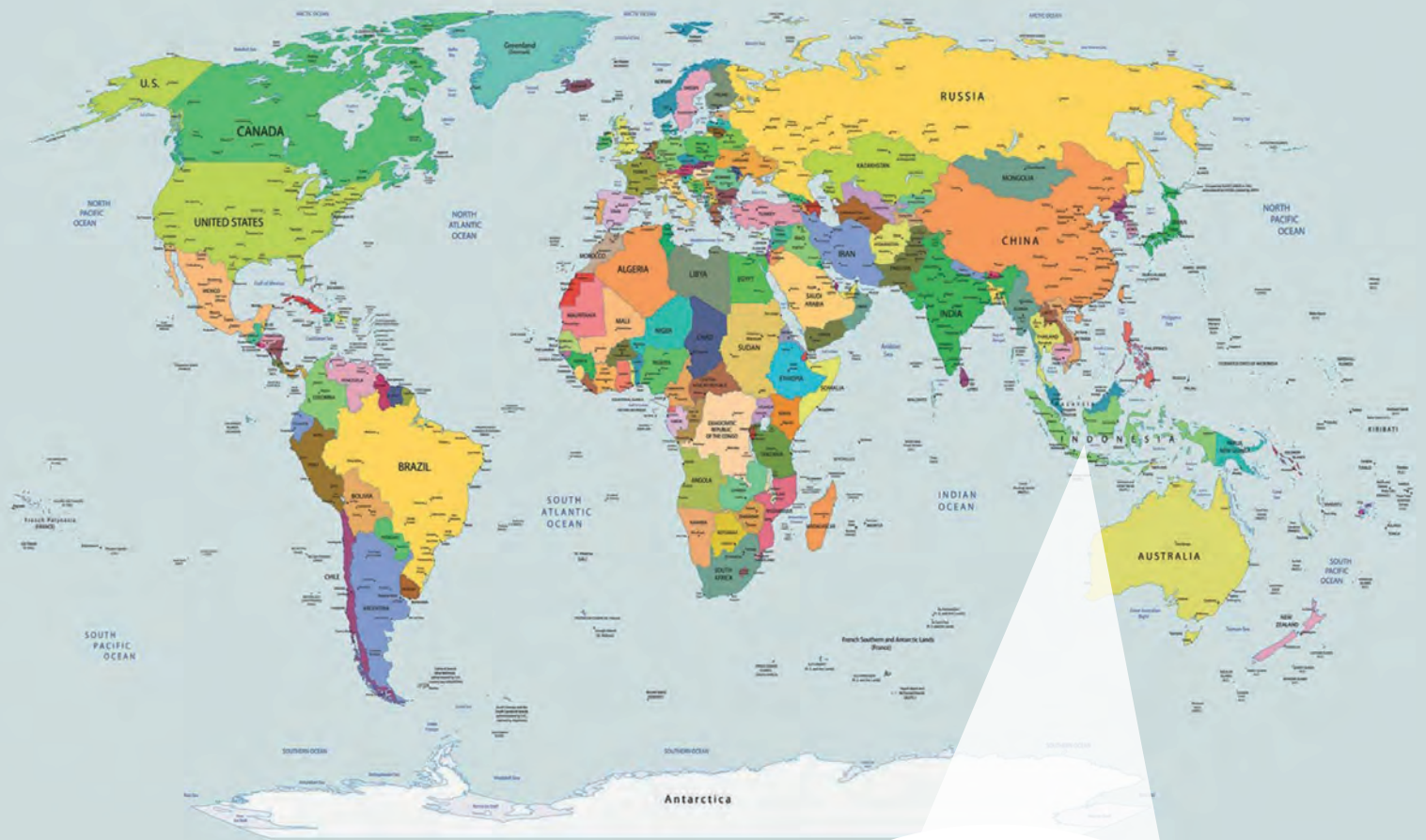
Against Corruption (GOPAC)

ASEAN – ASEANSAI – AIPA JOINT SEMINAR

“Laying the Foundation for Future Cooperation in Promoting  
Accountability and Transparency in Southeast Asia”

Jakarta, Indonesia, 26 February 2019





INDONESIA

## Transparency and Accountability: Finding a Common Ground

First of all, on behalf of the *Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption* (GOPAC), allow me to extend my gratitude to this forum.

I am pleased and honored to be here today. Thank you for having me on this important discussion, and giving me the opportunity to talk about GOPAC's works in fostering transparency and ensuring parliaments' accountability. I hope that our discussion today could be a momentum for Parliamentarians, Supreme Audit Institutions, civil society, and other stakeholders to gather, evaluate, and promote accountability and transparency through an anti-corruption global movement; as well as foster a regional common ground in Southeast Asia.

Let me begin by highlighting the importance of transparency and accountability as a precondition for the achievement of good governance. By being open and transparent, it ensures the delivery of public services and helps to sustain economic growth and development. As a part of ASEAN countries, we need to collaborate and promote accountability and transparency by doing active cooperation as well as providing assistance to each other.

We have to acknowledge that implementing the good governance is not as easy as it seems. The countries face continues threats and challenges in order to implement an accountable and transparent government. Democracy is coming hand-in-hand with a transparent and accountable government. However, as we may know, most of the ASEAN countries are still in the phase of pseudo-democracy. Moreover, the power to influence the countries that are less democratic to improve their transparency and accountability is limited due to the ASEAN values of non-interference.







## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

In addition, the widespread corruption disrupt governance, destroy trust towards state institutions, and become a barrier in achieving sustainable development. Corruption purges the opportunities to build a better livelihood for the people as it steals away their rights to achieve equality, security, and prosperity.

We realize that addressing corruption is hardly done alone. Participation from every stakeholder is essential to ensure the success of anti-corruption measures. Through cooperation and collaboration, the problem of corruption can be approached from various perspectives and produced more comprehensive solutions.

Both the executive and the legislative bodies should be able to work together as a symbol of a balance of power. Moreover, cooperation between Parliament and Supreme Audit Institutions is essential to ensure accountable, inclusive, participatory and transparent sustainable development. Fostering strong financial management, through reliable reports and controls, could detect and prevent corruption as it promotes transparency and accountability in government programs and activities.

Since its inception in 2002, the Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC) have been actively involved in the global anti-corruption network, while at the same time fostering a strong anti-corruption partnership among parliamentarians. Up until February 2019, we have 1397 members worldwide, as well as coordinated networks through 62 National Chapters and 5 Regional Chapters in Arab, Africa, Southeast Asia, Oceania, and Latin America. GOPAC is the only international network of parliamentarians dedicated to combat corruption, strengthen good government and uphold the rule of law.

We developed several oversight handbooks such as: Financial Oversight, Improving Democratic Accountability Globally, and Guidelines to Strengthen Oversight through Parliamentarian Donor Collaboration. The handbooks intended to be a guide to how parliamentarians can increase the effectiveness of their oversight role and how to work together with partners to achieve the goals.

Previously, we have also been partnering with international organizations, including encouraging and supporting the successful implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Together with the Islamic Development Bank (ISDB), UN Development Programme (UNDP), and Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), GOPAC developed a Parliamentary Handbook as guidance for Parliamentarians to successfully implement the SDGs, especially by monitoring the effectiveness and accountability of any development assistance. As of now, the handbook has been localized and developed into national version. We are now actively promoting and encouraging all Parliamentarians to make use of this Handbook as a valuable resource in achieving SDGs targets.





I would like to briefly elaborate the contributing factors which made those GOPAC works possible. The **first** one is by effectively identifying the needs of parliamentarians, so that our tools could really provide practical guidance for them. For instance, while developing the SDGs Handbook in 2016, we organized a pilot workshop for parliamentarians from ASEAN countries to hear their feedback and accommodate their demands.

Besides making sure that our tools could be easily adapted, we also ensure that they serve as opportunity to start discussions among key actors within and outside parliament. Hence, the **second** contributing factor is strategic partnership and coordinated efforts that we foster with related stakeholders; such as international institutions, academia, and civil society organizations. Our partners have contributed in formulating the handbooks, conducting workshops, providing consultation, as well as promoting the adoption and localization of our tools.

The **third** contributing factor is parliaments' commitment in promoting accountability and transparency within their own institution. Although the engagement is varied regionally, parliamentarians are undertaking efforts to enhance their role in oversight function, such as by working on cross-party committees or working groups to push for their main objectives, and ensure the effective implementation of commitments adopted.,

Regardless those progress that have been made in pushing forth the transparency and accountability, we have to admit that there are still challenges ahead, especially in our region. Here, I would like to outline several points on what more can be done to promote and deliver the regional transparency and accountability process, as well as strengthen parliamentary roles in achieving this agenda.

**First**, ensuring an effective democracy-building process in the region, as a prerequisite of accountable and transparent governance. This democratic consolidation is very important – because without democracy, there will be no participatory process, and even mere transparency will not translate into stronger accountability. In this regard, GOPAC is willing to intensify our support in democratizing states within the region, by encouraging ASEAN Parliaments to be more democratic. We call fellow ASEAN parliamentarians to strive for a much more representative, open, transparent, accessible, accountable, and effective legislative body in their respective countries.

**Second**, ensuring that ASEAN ways of consensus are built upon the commitment of transparency and accountability. The democracy-building as a collective regional objective which I previously mentioned, implies that all ASEAN member-states should become democracies. That would require peer pressure on non-democratic member states; while at the same time this 'pressure' would arguably contradicts the existing ASEAN's principle of strict non-interference in the domestic affairs. However, we should remember that the ASEAN Charter itself clearly obliges member-states to “*strengthen democracy, enhance good governance and the rule of law.*” Especially



considering the real threat of transnational corruption and the pressing needs to maximize sustainable development, I call ASEAN to prioritize the principles of transparency and accountability in its internal decision-making process. This really is the common ground that we should aim for a strong regional community.

**Third**, encouraging all ASEAN Parliaments to strengthen their public financial oversight mechanism, by establishing Public Accounts Committee (PAC) or equivalent audit working groups. This is very important, because parliament doesn't only have a role in approving budgets, but also in reviewing government spending and hold them accountable. The PAC should also establish liaison and work closely with the Supreme Audit Institution (SAI), as they have a common ground to oversight and audit government budget. The committee could review and make use of auditors' reports as the basis for their inquiries. GOPAC also calls for a productive relationship between PAC and SAI, where expert audit institutions could inform committees on the quality of financial management across the government, and identify areas for attention.





**Fourth**, we should also push these agendas forward within the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA). The issues of democratic consolidation, assuring transparency, and improving parliament's accountability should be at the center of discussion among members of ASEAN Parliaments. Through their constitutional functions, parliamentarians should position themselves as the leader on implementing these principles in the region.

As a final message, I would like to reiterate that we do have great challenges which can only be solved by working together. Hence, we should promote transparency and accountability in the ASEAN region by taking great opportunities to collaborate and work towards the same goals with the same level of ambition.

GOPAC is open to collaborate, and look forward to fostering strategic partnership in improving institutional capacity and ensuring the effectiveness of legislative reform.

Let us work together to help break the culture of corruption, and help ensure that Parliament and other public institutions in the region are accountable and trustworthy for the benefit of all people.

## chapter 42

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# Strengthening Solidarity in the Islamic World

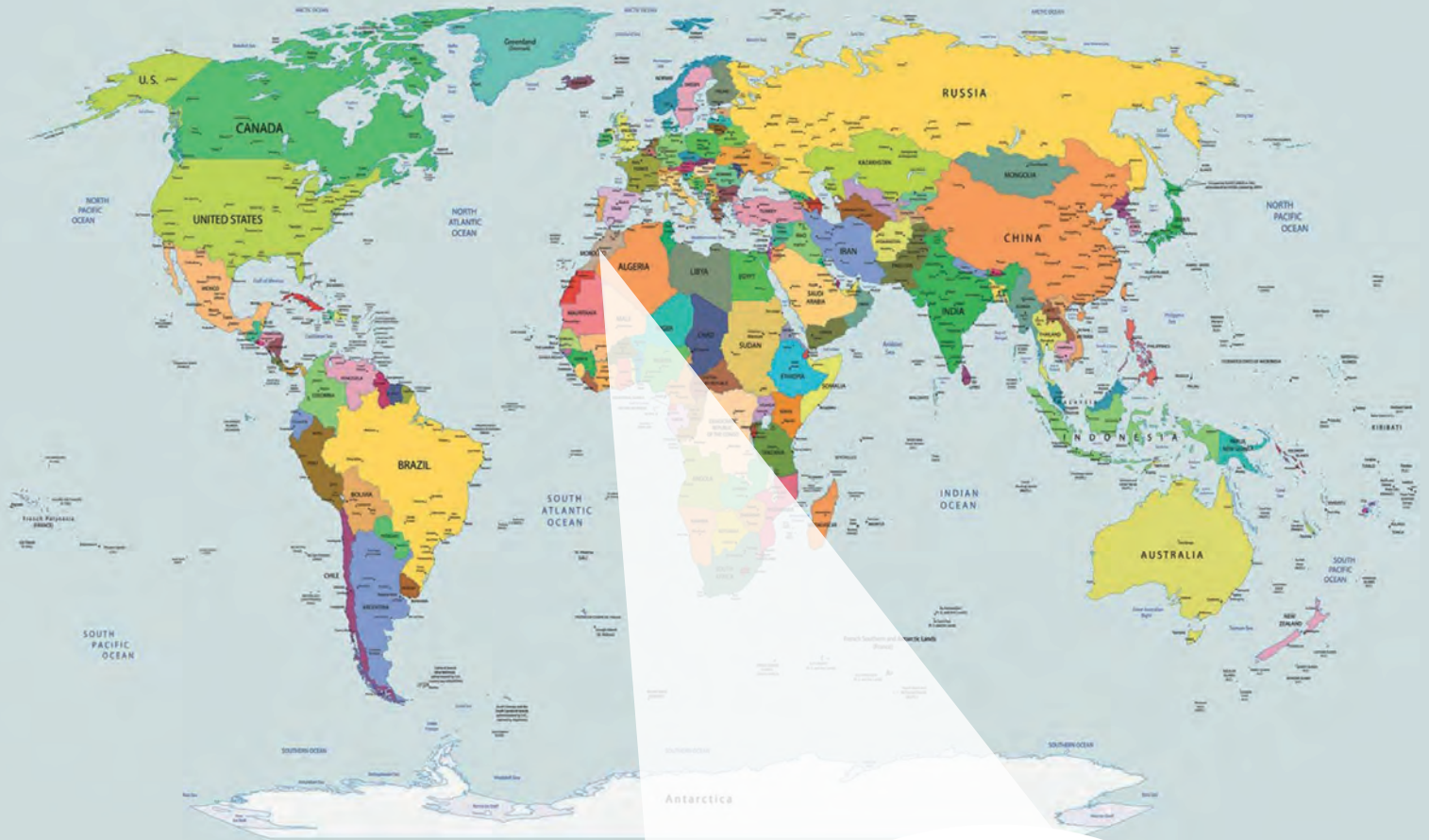
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The President of Global Organization of Parliamentarians  
Against Corruption (GOPAC)  
The 14<sup>th</sup> PUIC Conference

Rabat, Morocco, 14 March 2019





MOROCCO



## Strengthening Solidarity in the Islamic World

I am really honored for being here, among high parliamentary figures of Muslim nations, to address the common global challenges such as conflicts, political crises, poverty, educational decline, environmental degradation, terrorism, natural disaster, and others. Before proceeding to my address, on behalf of Indonesia Delegation, I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to both the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors of the Kingdom of Morocco, for hosting the 14<sup>th</sup> Session of the PUIC Conferences. I fully believe that today event is constructive and contributive for the better Muslim world.

The existing political landscape of Muslim nations for more decades has not moved from the number of the conflicts. Political transition and shifting in the most Muslim nations does not happen smoothly and softly. In many nations, unfortunately such transition has ignited the bloodshed among people.

It is a fact that more than 60 percent of all conflicts in the world occur in Muslim countries. Conflicts of our times are manifestations of growing anger, hatred and a sense of helplessness, injustice, oppression and the denial of fundamental freedoms and rights. More than 80 percent of global conflict fatalities and almost 90 percent of global terrorism fatalities have taken place in Muslim countries. Millions of people have been forced to leave their homes. Two-thirds of world refugees originate from Muslim countries. As result, a larger share of Muslim countries remains low on the human development index compared to other countries. It also constitutes that many Muslim countries suffer from weak states and poor governance. In addition, certain Muslim minorities and communities living in non-OIC countries are facing racist treatment such as in Myanmar (Rohingya) and China.



Indonesia, as the world's largest Muslim-majority nation and the largest democracy in the Muslim world, has shifted to democratic state in 1998. Since that time, our people have actively taken in expressing their political rights freely. Our constitution protects their fundamental rights in all aspects. Every conflict may arise from difference of desires' Indonesia people has been resolved through the softest and smoothest manner. Indonesian people realize that the practice of genuine democracy is the right path to move forward. Violence in all manifestations is devastating instead building. The dialogues and consultations as it is called '*Shura*' in Islam is in line with democracy. I wish to call on Member States of PUIC to comply with the concept of Shura, providing an ample engagement for their people to freely exercise their fundamental rights including in politics.

The more two decades of political reformations in Indonesia have positively affected all institutions including parliament. The strong institutions are able in ensuring the prevention of abuse of power especially from governments. It is no authoritarianism creates peace, security, stability and prosperity for human. I underline the urgent need to promote political reformation in Muslim nations.

I am very confident that true political reformation would lead to resolve multi-dimensional challenges in Muslim nations. It is an undeniable fact that most developed nations hold democracy as their way. Muslim nations have to take into account that fact. They also should be fully aware that politics affects almost all aspects of human life. The challenges of poverty, lacks of education, discrimination, colonialism, violence, and terrorism could be tackled by political settlement.

In that regards, PUIC as the largest people representatives of Muslim nations, has to bear its responsibility in instilling the concept of Shura into its members. The organization further has to take the necessary measures for that purpose. It also has to play its real roles in convincing its members that concept of Shura and democracy is their right path for addressing challenges. In short, PUIC should be the main enabler for the promotion of political reformation in Muslim nations.

Allow me to express Indonesia deep concerns over the current situation in the Muslim minority region in China. Indonesian people have responded by taking to the streets to demand an end to the crisis in the region. On the other hand, Indonesian government has summoned the Chinese ambassador for clarifying the alleged human rights abuses in Xinjiang. The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia has further sent the letter to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) to take an active and necessary response on the issue.

I deeply deplore when minority Muslim Uighurs cause does not meet proper solidarity from most Muslim nations. They close their eyes to the heinous situation in Uyghur region. It is a fatal mistake to ignore what is going on over there. The beneficial trade relations with China should not hurdle the Muslim solidarity.







I wish to remind that there are around 10 million Uighurs that have long been subjected for cultural, religious and economic discrimination from Chinese government. The recent UN human rights panel estimates that two million Uighurs and Muslim minorities have been forced into “political camps for indoctrination” in the western Xinjiang autonomous region. They are being brainwashed in a massive campaign to enforce conformity with Chinese society and encourage them to abandon Islam. Furthermore, recent many reports from diaspora groups, media, and a UN Committee of experts on racial discrimination detail a raft of restrictive provincial and local regulations that restrict religious expression – banning hijab and beards, subjecting religious sites to intense surveillance, and hampering ordinary citizens’ ability to observe the fast during Ramadan, undertake pilgrimage to Mecca, or read the Quran. Such inhuman treatments have caused several Uighurs seeking for asylum in other countries, fear of being persecuted.

It is crucial and very timely for the PUIC, as the assembly of global Muslim people’s representatives, to take a leading vocal on the issue. The organization is required for fostering coordination among peoples of the world in order to respect and defend human rights and humanitarian principles and establishment peace, based on justice, as enshrined in its objectives. In that regard, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia has proposed to the secretary of PUIC to put Uyghur cause as its agenda.

I extend my appreciation to the PUIC Delegation that visited to the Rohingya refugees’ camps On 11-12 September 2018. That initiative shows the PUIC real role in addressing Muslim minority suffering in non-OIC member states. I myself had preceded the PUIC visit to reach the first-hand concerning Muslim Rohingya refugees. I was in the southern Bangladeshi district of Cox’s Bazar where I heard from child survivors and their families about the most horrific atrocities committed against them including killing and maiming, abductions, different forms of sexual violence, persecution and forced displacement. That is the heinous ethnic cleansing and genocide against humanity.

I also appreciate the UN General Assembly that approved a resolution in December last year strongly condemning “gross human rights violations and abuses” committed against Myanmar’s Rohingya. However, the heavy suffering of Muslim Rohingya continues. While Muslim Rohingya refugees living in desperate humanitarian conditions, the government of Bangladesh last week said to stop accepting more Myanmar refugees. In addition, the promise of the Myanmar government to repatriate the refugees is obscure. Therefore, I reiterate the urgent need to fully support the Government of Bangladesh dealing with the refugees.

I wish to conclude my address by calling on Member States of PUIC to unite in confronting the magnitude of current challenges. I also expect the four days event meets fruitful and helpful contribution for the sake of the better Muslim world.

## chapter 43

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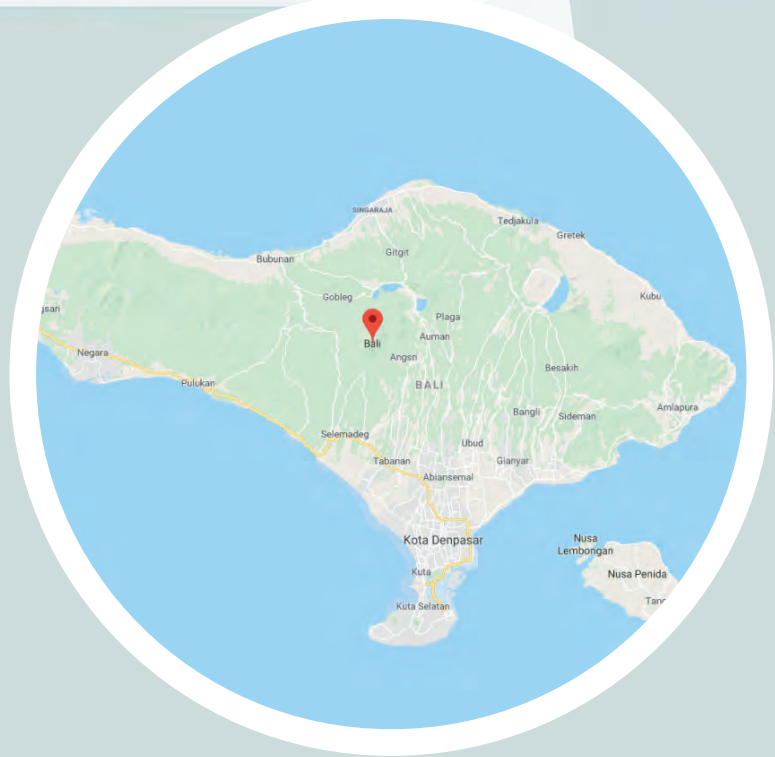
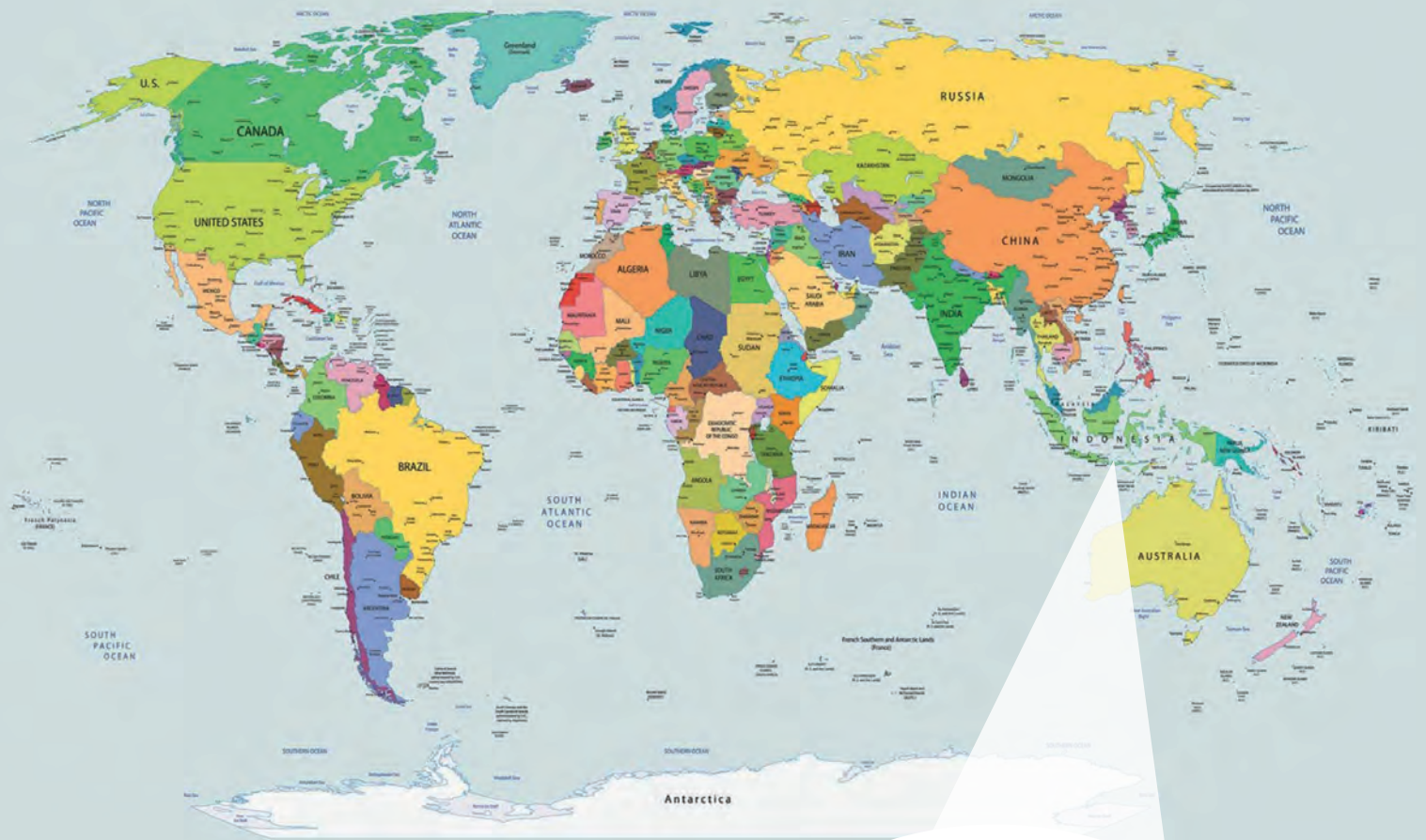
# Open Parliament: What it Means for The Indonesian House of Representatives and the People

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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The Asia Regional Meeting on Open Parliament

Bali, Indonesia, 5 April 2019



INDONESIA



## Open Parliament: What it Means for The Indonesian House of Representatives and the People

First of all, on behalf of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia I wish to welcome you in this beautiful Island of God: Bali. I would also like to extend gratitude to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy for organizing this event as a medium to learn from each other and discuss more on the issue of Open Parliament.

Indonesia is honored to be the host of this Regional Meeting on Open Parliaments. Open Parliament itself will signify the journey of democracy that we had. Indonesia, as an archipelagic country, is built upon more than 17.000 Islands, hundreds of dialects and languages and more than 267 millions of people of various ethnic groups and religions.

Our foundation of democracy is crafted along the history of the nation. After 32 years of New Order, where the national army had its dual functions through their significance presence in public and military services and even had its reserved seats in the parliament, Indonesia began to walk into the path of democratic transition in 1998. We began to expand and open our electoral system.

Election system is continuously transform to adapt with our socio and political situation of the nation. Before 1998, Indonesia only had two political parties (the Indonesian Democratic Party and the United Development Party) and one Functional Group (Golkar).

The first election after 1998 political transition was held in 1999 and followed by 48 political parties. Five years later in 2004, we adapt our election system and beginning to directly elect the President. In 2009, we changed the electoral threshold into parliamentary threshold of 2.5% the national votes which then changed again into 3.5% in 2014 and now 4% for 2019 election. This is a way where Indonesia exercises its democratic consolidation.



Today, with less than two weeks, Indonesia will again begin to initiate a new election reform. We will begin to elect simultaneously the President and Vice President, members of the House at the national and regional levels as well as members of the Regional Representatives Council with 20,528 seats all over Indonesia. As for the Indonesian House, we also expand our future membership from 560 seats to 575 seats in this year election to adapt with the new addition of multi-member electoral districts. Election system in Indonesia is likely the most direct election methods ever exist compare to other democracies such as the US or India and even the United Kingdom or countries in Europe.

Our challenge today is to seek the best fit of our political transition methods as a means to establish a stronger and consolidated democracy. There are concern on the current political financing methods as well. The fact that we use an open proportional system, where we can compete not just between parties but also among people of our own party may raise issue on high political costs.

Therefore, it is important also to address political financing. Today, the public funding of political parties is around Rp 1,000 or 7 cent US\$ per vote. There are views from civil society as well as political party to raise the bar of public funding to Rp 5,000 (35 cent US\$) per vote or up to Rp 10.000 (70 cent US\$) per vote as a means to diminishing the reliance of party on private donors.

This small piece of story about Indonesian Democracy is something that I think valuable to share with you as a food for thought that every journey of democracy had its own way. There are no one size fits all. Democracy should be build upon each of our own local wisdom and adapted to fit each national social, cultural and political context. But one thing is certain, that democracy is all about people and to put people at the heart of the very foundation of policy making is one way we can translate the Open Government and Open Parliament.

When Open Government Partnership (OGP) was launched in 2011 with Indonesia as its founding countries, it did not touch upon the issue of legislative openness. It all started in 2013, when a new thematic working group on legislative openness was introduced at the OGP Summit in London. From that on, the issue is evolving by stressing out the importance of parliament to promote also an openness regime. Some of the parliament, even introduce their own national action plan, such as the French National Assembly and the Georgian Parliament.

Soon after, in 2018, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia considers that it is also the time for parliament to take actions of openness and to be involved in the global openness regime by submitting our own national action plan to the OGP. Thus, today, we are now officially becoming part of the multilateral initiative aiming to promote greater openness and good governance in the legislative area.







I believe that everyone here will say, “We have done that” or “We are already open” when we hear the Open Parliament term. Indeed, for some parts, Parliament should be available all the time to public.

For example, one may consider open if we publish the law we have adopted. Others, may deem parliament is open when we provide an open information about the bills that are being tabled in the parliament. But how far is openness coined in each parliament is something that is debatable.

The issue of open parliament is not new for us, especially for Indonesia. Today, our parliament perhaps one of the most open institutions in Indonesia. Everyone can be here. Everyone can attend any parliamentary meetings as an audience or as an invitee. Everyone also, can stream any meetings in the parliament through their gadgets. In addition to that, our Law on Parliament stresses that **all meetings in the Parliament are open unless stated otherwise**. It means, to this extent, we are already open.

But we want to take one step further. We realize that by promoting an open parliament, we will have a better impact on policy process and its implementation monitoring. That is why we joined this global movement towards openness regime.





I would like to share to you our perspectives on what is meant by Open Parliament. For the Indonesian House of Representatives, Open Parliament means that **we are acting to ensure the public can freely exercise their basic right which is the right to know as guaranteed and protected by our Constitution** that said as follows:

*“Every person shall have the right to communicate and to obtain information for the purpose of the development of his/her self and social environment, and shall have the right to seek, obtain, possess, store, process and convey information through the utilization of all channels available,”* (article 28F).

But it is not only about information. **It is also about public participation.** Open Parliament is also a way to engaging the public into legislative-making process. Parliament is the representative of the people. We need to act upon their approval. In order to serve their interest, parliament should provide any means to increase public engagement including by the use of technology.



To do so, we need to develop the legislative infrastructure which serve as the basis of parliamentary openness. Thus, several laws were adopted. Among the few are: Law on parliament providing the legal basis for public engagement and parliamentary openness, Law on Electronic Information and Transaction as a basis for technology use as well as Law on Public Information to guarantee public access to information.

The Indonesian House of Representatives has adopted a new vision of a modern parliament. A parliament that is transparent, technologically available and representative. This is in line with the spirit brought by the Declaration on Parliamentary Openness which was launched by multilateral stakeholders at the IPU World E-Parliament Conference in Rome, Italy, 2012.

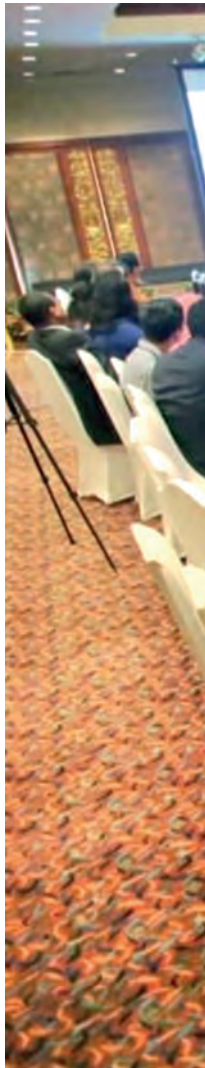
The Declaration promotes principles on parliamentary openness as follows: (i) promoting a culture of openness; (ii) making parliamentary information transparent; (iii) easing access to parliamentary information; (iv) enabling electronic communication of parliamentary information.

In this valuable opportunity, It is a privilege for me to inform you that **the Indonesian House of Representatives has submitted an independent national action plan on parliamentary openness to the OGP in September 2018**. The action plan, which was developed under the umbrella principles of the OGP, including co-creation with the civil society, encompasses five commitments as follows: (i) improvement of data and legislative information services; (ii) utilization of parliamentary information technology; (iii) promotion of public information transparency; (iv) development of open parliament road map; and, (v) institutionalization of the Open Parliament in the House.

These commitments were developed based on inputs by civil society and working with them is a necessity in the development of Open Parliament. We cannot do it alone. We need more perspectives and we need some others institutions to do check and balance to our openness and transparency.

All of these commitments were also in line with efforts we are implementing towards a modern parliament.

We are currently working to gradually make parliamentary information more transparent through the development of Legislative Information System (SILEG) which will monitor all the bills tabled in the house with their records of minutes, hansard, decisions, and others. It will by itself covers the issue of proactive disclosure of public information and support the commitment no 1,2, and 3.









*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon  
with H.E. Dr. Shiva  
Maya Tumbahamphe,  
Deputy Speaker of  
House of Nepal*

We are also working to ease the access on parliamentary information through digital technology including through the use of social media platform. These online platforms system were established to adapt with the current trend of interaction among society. It is also useful to accommodate aspirations of the constituent, provide feedback on legislative products, and manage public criticism in prompt and proper manner.

Today, the Indonesian House has also developed a new mobile application: DPR Now! As a tool to bridge information between the House and the public. Through this mobile app, which you can easily download it through Google Play and Apple Store our citizens now can monitor their representatives in a lively manner, including through live streaming parliamentary meetings.

We are also exploring the best way to accomodate people's aspiration on legislative making process through the utilization of all channels available, offline and online. A pilot project has been developed through **Public Participation on Legislative Drafting System**, a web-based channel to ensure public perspectives and aspirations channeled through online mechanisms. In the future, we aim to upgrade the system, to cover all bills initiated by the Government, the House of Representatives as well as the Regional Representatives Council that are tabled within the National Legislation Programme (Prolegnas).

Through these channels, we do hope, that the House of Representatives can provide a better legislative product which accommodate the best interest of the people. In addition to that, such online channel will also help to strengthen the parliamentary constitutional functions in terms of legislative, budgeting and monitoring.

Open Parliament means also as an **effort to strengthen trust to public institutions** in particular the parliament. It is widely recognized that public trusts in parliament is commonly low compare to other public institutions. It's a common problem to democracies. A recent study reveals that in most democracies, less than half of the citizens trust parliament. Even in the United States for example, trust and confidence in the legislative branch, according to the 2018 data pooled by Gallup, reach only 40% and is considered the highest of the past nine years.<sup>1</sup> While in Indonesia, the Parliament as usual is among the few institutions that receive trust the least from the public, ranging from 49% (Charta Politica, August 2018) to 60% (ICW-KPK, December 2018. Note: after Open Parliament Declaration).

At the same time, Indonesian citizens are the most vibrant and active society in terms of their involvement in the digital world. There are now more than 88 millions of social media users in Indonesia. If parliament provides the best ways and channels their communication and interaction properly, we can regain the loss trust from the society. One of such ways is by promoting openness and transparency within the parliament.

As you may all know, the House of Representatives has now officially joined the global movement towards an openness regime. Openness and transparency are necessary elements for democracy to function. We believe that parliament as democratic institution should work towards openness and transparency not because we should do these but because we need them to do our work.

Today, we have joined several parliaments in the world that promote open parliament and actively involved within the OGP cycle and process as well as guided by their principles. We believe, that it is a necessity for parliament to be open.

We expect you to also join this movement and let us work for a stronger democracies which put the interest of the people at its heart. I do hope that this two-days event held by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, can serve as a tool for all to have the best of knowledge on Open Parliament and Open Government Partnership and to share the future of practices on bringing this multilateral initiative to the desk of our respective parliament.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://news.gallup.com/poll/243293/trust-legislative-branch-highest-nine-years.aspx>





## chapter 44

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# Parliamentary Delegation for Legislative Election Observation Mission in Indonesia

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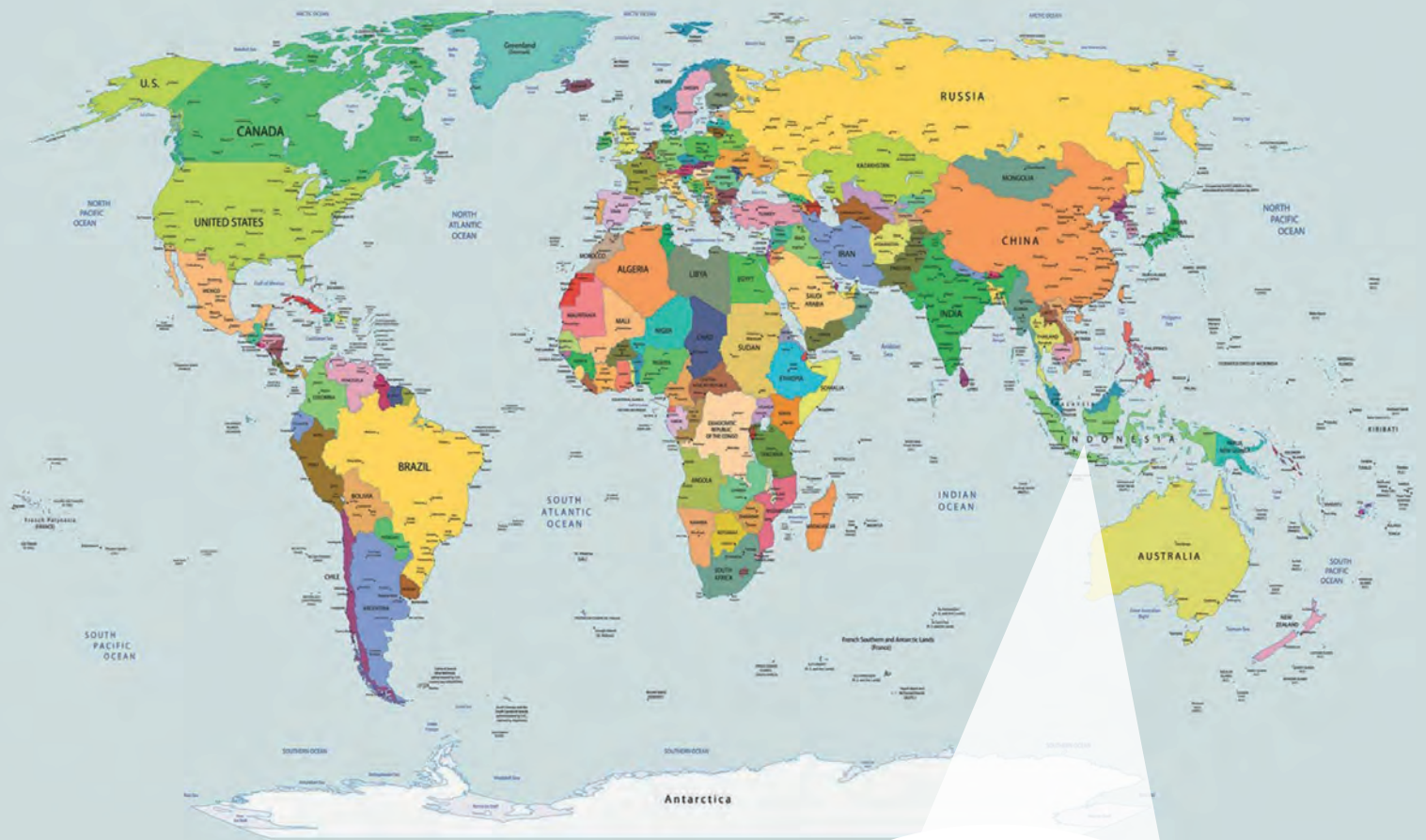
Speech by

**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta

Jakarta, Indonesia, 16 April 2019





INDONESIA



## Parliamentary Delegation for Legislative Election Observation Mission In Indonesia

Let us extend our praise and gratitude to Allah SWT, the God Almighty, who has given His mercy and blessing to all of us so that we can gather here to attend this Focus Group Discussion for Parliamentary Delegation as Legislative Election Observation Mission In Indonesia. I am very grateful that this event can be held as part of a form of mutual respect among fellow countries and international parliamentary organizations on the holding of elections in a country. Moreover, this observation mission is also a part of diplomacy exercised by the Indonesian House of Representatives to provide a full picture of the democratic process in Indonesia through the holding of 2019 General Election.

I would like to extend a very warm welcome to all delegates from Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey, GOPAC, PUIC, and the representatives of Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD). It is a great honour for the Indonesian House of Representatives to have you here, in this building, to discuss a very important matter, the 2019 general elections which will held simultaneously.

Indonesia is one of the major countries in the world that is characterized by its population of more than 250 million people, an archipelago of more than 17.000 islands, a territory of around 2 million square kilometer, a society of more than 300 ethnic groups that speak 700 local languages, and the largest Muslim country in the world that can live side by side with other religions such as Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist and Confucian.

For this reason, it would be a moment of celebration when Indonesia can once again hold the biggest general elections in the world for the twelfth time since its declaration of independence on 17 August 1945. Indonesia deserves the status of one of the world's largest democracies when the parameter is successful organization of general elections amidst vast pluralism, total area, and population.





## STRENGTHENING THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

On this opportunity, before we all get a first-hand experience of observing the Indonesia's general elections tomorrow, we will first have presentation and discussion on what and how the general elections are organized by some of our professional colleagues from the organizing institutions (the Indonesian General Elections Monitoring Agency and General Elections Administrator's Council), as well as an academician from University of Indonesia, Ms Chusnul Mariyah, PhD.

This is a particularly important forum for us to learn about everything relating to the Indonesia's general elections, its history, and Indonesia's political system. For your information, starting this year, the general elections in Indonesia is held simultaneously to vote for the Members of the House, the Regional Representatives Council, Provincial Council, City/District Councils and the President and Vice President. This will, of course, particularly be interesting not only substantively with a very complicated election system but also technically with considerable time needed as well as high endurance of all the organizing institutions as the general elections constitute the fate of this country in the future that democracy can run well in Indonesia.

In the elections, 16 national political parties are competing in the election to vote for legislative Members including 4 special local parties in Aceh Province. As for the election to vote for the President and Vice President, two pairs of candidates, that will compete in the presidential election, are proposed by combined political parties participated in the general elections. In addition, as regards the election to vote for the members of the Regional Representatives Council, the number of individuals running for the seat is different. In the end, there will be 4 persons that will represent each province.







I am very hopeful that this discussion will give you an opportunity to learn more about the Indonesian general elections system and mechanism, as the purpose of this observation mission is that you will learn and observe the elections in Indonesia directly.

*H.E. Dr. Fadli Zon with  
Parliamentary Delegation  
for Legislative Election  
Observation Mission*

On this occasion, I would like to thank Mr. Secretary General, who also serves as an acting Head of the Parliamentary Expertise Agency, and all officials, for all the efforts to make this event possible as well as the facilities provided. This shows that the Indonesian House, supported by the Secretariat General and Parliamentary Expertise Agency, is taking part for the success the 2019 general elections. It is our sincere hope that the general elections in Indonesia will become a model for democratic general elections in the world.

Finally, I wish you all a fruitful discussion today, and I am pleased to invite you to observe the elections process tomorrow starting from the beginning, vote casting, to ballot counting at the polling stations and the vote tabulation center. Hopefully, what you will witness tomorrow provides benefit and lessons to promote democracy around the globe. We would like to apologize for any shortcomings in our reception and agenda.

Hopefully, the 2019 elections which will be held tomorrow will run smoothly, peacefully and safely for the sake of our goals as the Indonesian nation, namely the solidity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the increase of our prosperity as a nation. May God Almighty bless us with strength and wise guidance.

## chapter 45

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# The Role of Parliamentarians in Shaping International Architecture of Peace and Security

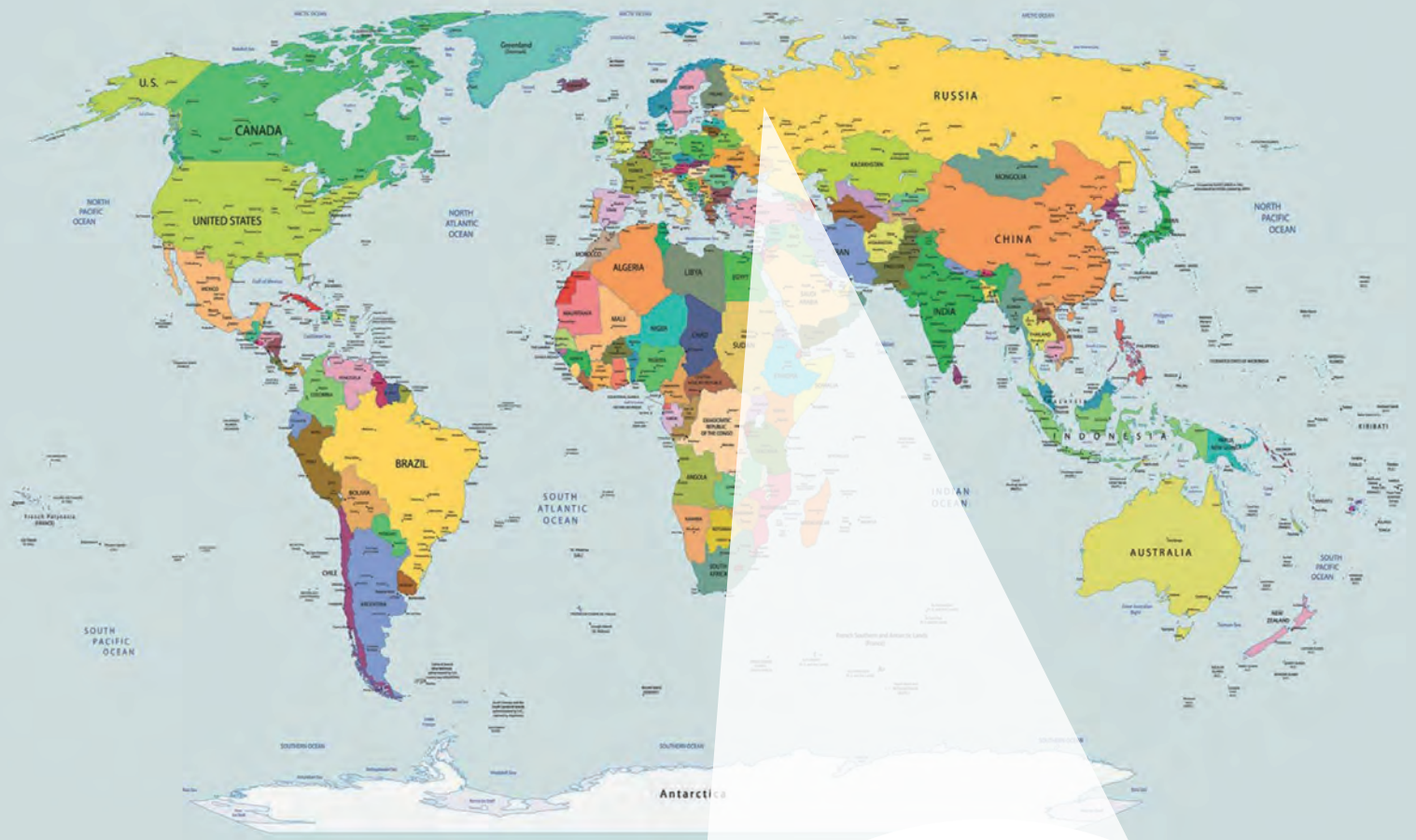
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Speech by  
**H.E. DR. FADLI ZON**

The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia  
Second International Forum "Development of Parliamentarism"

Moscow, Russia, 30 June - 3 July 2019





RUSSIA



## The Role of Parliamentarians in Shaping International Architecture of Peace and Security

The theme of this section is very crucial and timely. As we are living in an era of interconnectedness, multitude of threats transgress national boundaries and impact the population globally. Building peace and adequate security amid the highly dynamic world of today requires multifaceted approaches and policy. It certainly involves diverse actors at national and international levels, including parliamentarian.

In line with our foreign policy, Indonesia is keen to take active participation in global endeavor to maintain peace and security. Our active and longstanding role in UN Peacekeeping is one of the testaments. We are also constantly supports UN initiatives aimed at strengthening peacekeeping to be fit for purposes in resolving peace and security challenges, and, therefore ready to render our support to the effective implementation of Action for Peacekeeping.

The most notable threat to our peace and security today is terrorism. Terrorism is also closely connected to the transnational organized crime, illicit drugs smuggling, money laundering and illegal arms and human trafficking. Indonesia remains highly committed to combating terrorism and transnational crimes. We will continue to take every effort in ensuring safety and security for all citizens and foreign nationals in Indonesia with balanced approach of law enforcement and prevention measures.

In addition, maritime security has become one of the salient issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Ocean has always been a vital element for trade and economic growth as 90% of today's world trade is made by sea. It is within our collective interest that the oceans remain peaceful, secure and safe for world trade. Ocean shall not be used as a source of conflict over natural resources, territories and maritime supremacy. Cooperation among national parliaments is essential to promote friendly consultations and negotiations in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law to a sensitive issues in areas with high potential of dispute such as in the South China Sea.



*Dr. Fadli Zon delivered a speech at Second International Forum "Development of Parliamentarism".*

The use of sea-lanes as the connecting pathway between nations also has the consequences of non-traditional maritime security threats, such as piracy and armed robbery, illegal fishing, people smuggling, and terrorism. This is one of the issue that is very dear to us since Indonesia is an archipelagic nation and among the busiest shipping lanes in the world. We are in pursuit of keeping order at sea through active engagement in various bilateral, regional and multilateral forums. Indonesia has also a leading role in enhancing maritime cooperation within the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) framework.

Another looming threat for global stability is related to cyber security, as our world today is shaped by the advent of technology and innovation over the cyberspace. The growth of online users drives more innovation in this realm of technology. However, if goes ungoverned, the cyberspace may become a breeding ground to spread fear, hatred, and false news.

One of the global security issues that is continue to be the main focus for Indonesia's foreign policy is the issue of Palestine. Our unwavering support for the Palestinian people is based in our national constitution, which we condemn any colonization in every place of the earth. It is in the heart of our foreign policy that we should take an active part in the maintaining of the world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice. While we are on the subject of independence and freedom, lest we forget that in some parts of the world there are minorities that are being denied of their fundamental rights. Systematic persecution and discrimination to minorities such as Rohingya and Uyghurs are currently taking place, and made them living under fear. The UN human rights panel in the last quarter of 2018 estimates that two million Uighurs and Muslim minorities have been forced into "political camps for indoctrination" in the western Xinjiang autonomous region. This is happening right in front of our eyes amid the slow progress of ensuring the unconditional and safe return of the Rohingya to their homeland in Myanmar.

The question we should ask ourselves is how we can contribute to the international architecture of peace and security?

I believe, parliamentarian can contribute through various constructive ways in both conflict and post conflict situations.

**First**, in a conflict situation, parliament could act as agent of peace and security. Parliament has important role to translating international commitment into national legislation and overseeing fulfilment of government's commitment to international treaties. Parliament could become the representative of their community and striving toward peace accord and its implementation.

**Second**, in a post-conflict situation, parliament plays a significant role together with government to sustain peace and lay the foundation of sustainable development. To a large extent, involvement of parliament will safeguard the principle of inclusivity in the atmosphere of democracy. Involvement of the representatives of people is a key to ensure that all



aspirations and needs of all segments of society are taken into account as modality to exercise sustain peace and development program. Legislative and oversight power of parliament can be channeled for voicing national priorities and strategies to the government, calling for more accountable governments works and enabling budget in order to advance sustainable development programs coherent with sustaining peace agenda. Together with government, parliament could sponsoring active dialogue among various community members to deliver tolerance; creating free and fair elections, judiciary, and media; as well as encouraging more efforts in supporting national reconciliation and transitional justice. To maintain the principle of inclusion, parliament could conducting stronger engagement with government to promote gender equality by ensuring women’s meaningful participation at all stages of sustaining peace agenda, promoting women’s role in advancing culture of peace and protection of children, and encouraging national budget to be more responsive.

Strong parliamentarians’ collaboration could indeed contribute to enhance national legislation framework to fully implement international commitment on peace and security. Among others are by exchanging best practices, challenges and achievements. Furthermore, by formulating legislation that will support our common endeavor to maintain international peace and security. There are several key points that I would like for us to consider in the future in developing parliamentarism on the issue of peace and security.



*Dr. Fadli Zon and the Chairman of Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Federation, Mr. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy at Development of Parliamentarism Forum, Moscow, Russia.*



*Dr. Fadli Zon attended Closing Session of Second International Forum "Development of Parliamentarism". President of Russian Federation Vladimir Putin presented to deliver a closing remarks.*

**First**, national legislation should be built on the culture of peace. It should contribute to build, cultivate and nurture peace itself.

**Second**, there must an emphasis on national legislation that can promote effective implementation of SDGs, equitable distribution of development, and narrowing development gaps among region.

**Third**, there should be national legislation that can facilitate effective implementation of various international commitments on peace and security, in line with national priorities and legislative framework. Indonesia in this regard already has various national legislations, including ratification of international conventions, and in the process of formulating a UN Act legislative framework.

In closing, I must emphasize that our inter-parliamentary cooperation has the opportunity to act as catalyst of peace and to mitigate security threats. For that, we should empower our dialogue within this Forum to strengthening parliamentary diplomacy as an important means of maintaining peace and security, fostering stability and dynamism for growth, as well as achieving sustainable development and prosperity. I certainly believe in the merit of our engagement in this Forum as a platform to seek common perception on security issues of collective concern.



## biography

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### **Dr. Fadli Zon**

#### **The Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia**

Fadli Zon was born in Jakarta on 01 June 1971. He holds his Bachelor's Degree majoring in Russian Studies from the Faculty of Humanity of the University of Indonesia, his Master's Degree majoring in Development Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in United Kingdom and his Doctoral Degree on the History of Mohammad Hatta's Economic Thought from the Faculty of Humanity of the University of Indonesia.

Fadli Zon, established the Fadli Zon Library in Jakarta, Fadli Zon Cultural House in Aie Angek, West Sumatera, Fadli Zon Creative House in Cimanggis, West Java and Sundanese Cultural Village in Bogor Regency, West Java. He was an influential activist during his time as a university student in early 1990's. In 1994, he was crowned as the first winner of the most outstanding student of the University of Indonesia and the third winner for the national level. He was also elected as the Member of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly (MPR RI) for 1997–1999 period.



In the 2014 General Election, Fadli Zon, co-founder the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), won election to the Indonesian House of Representative as a member of parliament from Bogor Regency constituency. He is then selected as the Vice Speaker of the House for 2014-2019 period.

Besides his activities in the parliament, he is also the Vice Chairman of Gerindra Party Central Board for the 2008-2020 period, the President of the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) for the 2015-2017 period, the Chairman of the Indonesian Farmers Association (HKTI) for the 2015-2020 period and the Editorial board of HORIZON, a Literature Magazine, since 1993. Chairperson of the Minang Family Association (IKM) for 2017-2022, the Chairperson of the Indonesian Philatelist Association (PFI), the Chairperson Indonesian Keris National Secretariat (SNKI) for 2016-2021.

Fadli zon has authored a number of books, among others, are *Gerakan Etnonasionalis: Bubarnya Imperium Uni Soviet* (Ethno-nationalist Movement: the Collapse of the Soviet Union) (Sinar Harapan, 2002); the IMF Game: The Role of the IMF in Bringing Down the Soeharto Regime (IPS, 2004); *Politik Huru Hara Mei 1998* (the Politics of May 1998 Riots) (Soltice, 2004); *Mimpi-Mimpi yang Ku Pelihara* (Dreams I Keep) (Horison, 2010); *Hari Terakhir Kartosoewirjo. 81 Foto Eksekusi Imam DI/TII* (the Last Day of Kartosoewirjo. 81 Pictures of the DI/TII Islamic Leader) (FZL, 2012); *Idris Sardi, Perjalanan Maestro Biola Indonesia* (Idris Sardi, The Journey of Indonesian Violin Maestro) (FZL, 2013); *Dreams I Keep* (FZL, 2013); *Air Mata Buaya. Kumpulan Puisi* (Crocodile Tears. A Poetry Anthology) (FZL, 2015); *Keris Minangkabau* (Minangkabau Kris) (FZL, 2016); *Pangan dan Pertanian di Era Neoliberal* (Food and Agriculture in the Neoliberal Era) (FZL, 2016); *Menyusuri Lorong Waktu* (FZL, 2016); *Pemikiran Ekonomi Kerakyatan Mohammad Hatta: Jalan Politik Kemakmuran Indonesia* (Mohammad Hatta's Thought on People's Economy: the Road to Indonesian Prosperity Politics) (FZL, 2016), *Orkes Gumarang: Kisah Syaiful Nawas* (FZL, 2017), *Soul*, Yoes Rizal (FZL, 2017), *Kumpulan Puisi Memeluk Waktu* (FZL, 2017), *Berpihak Pada Rakyat* (Standing by the People) (2018), *Passing Through the Hall of Time* (FZL, 2018), *Lombok Keris* (FZL, 2018), *Passing Through the Hall of Time Kujang* (FZL, 2018), *Asmujiono Pengibar Bendera Merah Putih di Puncak Everest* (The Indonesian Flag Raisers on the Top of Mount Everest) (FZL, 2018). He was also an editor of around 10 books and wrote for several anthologies, journals and national mass media.

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 [fadlizon@fadlizon.com](mailto:fadlizon@fadlizon.com)

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## DR. FADLI ZON

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Secretariat General and Expertise Agency  
of the House of Representatives  
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Nusantara II Building, Ground Floor  
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto, Senayan  
Jakarta 10270, Indonesia  
Email : bag\_penerbitan@dpr.go.id  
Telp : +6221 571 5349