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Statement by

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Mr. President,

I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the 64th session of the General Assembly. I am sure that under your leadership our deliberations will bear fruit. May I also congratulate your predecessor, H.E. Miguel d'Escoto Brockman, for guiding the 63rd session.

We meet today while the world is in the grip of intertwined crises, from which we must break free if we are to ensure our long-term survival. The most urgent of these is the economic and financial crisis: it has put scores of millions out of jobs, shut down tens of thousands of factories, and pushed down more than a hundred million people below the poverty line.

A few days ago, at the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh, the 20 largest economies of the world, both developed and developing, addressed this crisis by agreeing to reform the global financial architecture to meet the needs of the 21st century.

No more will we depend on just a few industrialized nations to solve the world's economic problems. The developing world is now part of the solution to these problems. Through the G20 the voice of the developing world will be heard in international economic and financial decision-making.

Thus we are building today a new and constructive power equation in terms of sharing of responsibilities and contributions as well as participation in decision-making. This redistribution of power constitutes fundamental reform, which should be replicated in other bodies, such as the Security Council.

And no more will our economies be left to the tender mercies of the market. Financial institutions and financial instruments will have to be regulated and closely supervised. There will be close consultations and mutual assessment of national economic strategies to ensure coordination at the global level—and to identify potential risks to financial stability.

For our part in Indonesia, we are working hard in the G-20 to reform the mandate, mission and governance of the IMF and our multilateral development banks. These MDBs must deliver accelerated and concessional financing without conditionalities to the low income countries to cushion the impact of the crisis on the most vulnerable and the poorest.

All these have set refreshing precedents in terms of access to financial resources for developing countries and in terms of transparency. And, most important, it reflects current global realities rather than the world of sixty years ago. As such, it represents a democratization of the global economy and the international financial architecture.

It has also given us a remarkable insight: that it is not an array of disparate crises that is confronting us. We are actually in the grip of one systemic crisis.

The economic and financial crisis, the challenge of climate change, the food security crisis, and the energy security crisis are problems that fed on one another so that they

all grew to critical proportions. That is the reality that came about because the international community has failed to form an effective global partnership to address the large bundle of challenges that ultimately affect all humankind.

In that sense, the root cause of this overarching crisis is a failure of multilateralism, a failure to forge a system of democratic governance at the global level. But we can rectify that failure through all-encompassing reform—reform of the relationships between and among nations in the world today.

In December in Copenhagen we can strive to reach a new climate consensus that is more effective in averting climate disaster by forging an equitable and transparent partnership between developed and developing nations.

As the host country to the Bali Conference on Climate Change, which adopted the Bali Roadmap by consensus, Indonesia fervently desires that the Copenhagen meeting will yield a new framework of commitment that will strengthen the Kyoto Protocol in 2012. This framework must stipulate deep cuts in emissions and sufficient financing for adaptation to and mitigation of climate change.

We would like to see the role of forests given the top priority that it deserves. We look forward to ocean issues being mainstreamed into the new climate regime.

And we cannot allow the negotiation process to be derailed: the stakes are too high.

We need not even wait for a consensus. We can already forge partnerships to carry out concrete projects like the Indonesia Forest Carbon Partnership, which by itself is already a contribution to climate stability. In the same spirit, Indonesia is hosting a Forest-11 ministerial meeting in Jakarta next month.

By the same token, we can launch a more successful and durable Green Revolution based on the same kind of partnership that gives developing countries sorely needed access to resources and technology. That partnership can and must provide for the massive investments that must be poured into agricultural production and the building of agricultural infrastructures.

When sufficient investment is channeled to agriculture, the result is the productivity that Indonesia has enjoyed in the past several years. We have a surplus production of rice: part of that surplus will be a buffer stock for our national food security. Part of it will be allotted as our contribution to global food security.

Through similar reform we can involve more nations in a coordinated quest for new sources of renewable and clean energy, without compromising food security. A global partnership for energy security, rather than a scattering of individual efforts, has a much better chance of making a technology breakthrough that will enormously increase current fuel-burning efficiencies.

With this new spirit of reform and multilateralism, we can break the impasse in the Doha Round of negotiations in 2010, leading to an outcome that is pro-development. With that same spirit we can tear down the barriers of protectionism that are rising

again out of fear of the economic crisis. With trade thus revitalized could bolster world GDP by \$700 billion a year.

A global partnership that reforms the international financial architecture, and works for climate stability, for food security and energy security, and brings to a successful conclusion the Doha Development Round should also bring about the fulfillment of the Monterey Consensus. This will ensure the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals.

If this new spirit of multilateralism and reform can pervade international socioeconomic affairs, there is no reason why it should not also find its way into the politico-security field. It can resuscitate the disarmament agenda, especially nuclear disarmament, which has been lying moribund for decades.

In a truly democratic world order, the nuclear powers will live by their commitment to the Non-proliferation Treaty by slashing

their nuclear arsenals and abiding by the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In turn, we non-nuclear countries continue to refrain from developing nuclear weapons.

This is no longer an impossible dream: a window of opportunity has been opened with adoption of UN Security Council resolution no 1887 (2009) on Maintenance of International Peace and Security leading to a nuclear free world, and with the current process between the United States and the Russian Federation toward deeper cuts in their respective nuclear arsenals. Thus the disarmament agenda is being revived.

Even the persistent Middle East conflict, with the question of Palestine at its core, can be more expeditiously resolved if the task of promoting the peace process involved a wider base of stakeholders.

The main problem in reviving the peace process at the moment is the intransigence of Israel on the issue of illegal settlements. But the early engagement of the Obama administration in the peace effort and its even-handed multilateral approach to the problem brings hope for an eventual two-state solution.

Let us therefore respond to President Obama's call for partnering for peace.

Likewise, the challenge of terrorism demands the broadest possible coalition of nations to put an end to it—not only through sheer force of arms but mainly through a dialogue of faiths, cultures and civilizations that will put the merchants of hate out of business.

Every major problem in the world today calls for a concerted effort of many nations to carry out its solution: transnational challenges like piracy, irregular migration, money laundering. Human rights violations. The threat of a pandemic. And natural disasters. All these problems demand reform and strengthening of international cooperation.

A clamor for reform that must now be heeded is for the overhaul of the composition and workings of the UN Security Council. For by no means does the Council reflect

the realities of our time: it is a throwback to the world at the end of the Second World War.

In the same way that the G8 can no longer solve the economic problems of the world, a Security Council paralyzed by its undemocratic composition and the veto system can no longer guarantee our collective security. It needs to be more democratic, transparent and accountable. It needs new sources of strength that the developing world and their ancient civilizations can help provide in the same manner of the inclusivity of the G20.

Mr. President,

We in Indonesia are great believers in democratic reform—because that is what saved us from being totally crushed by the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997. Over the years until then, we had focused too much on the market, on the growth of our GDP—to the neglect of our political development. The only way out of the crisis was reform—reform of every aspect of our national life.

And so we made our transition from a highly centralized authoritarian regime to a decentralized, more fully democratic system. We reformed the military, our bureaucracy and justice system. We modernized our economic infrastructure.

And since October 2004, the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has been consolidating and fine-tuning earlier reforms. Now, having won reelection in only the second direct presidential elections in our history, he is ready to launch a second wave of reform that would lay the foundations for Indonesia becoming a developed country by 2025.

Meanwhile we have come to be known as the world's third largest democracy, the land where democracy, Islam and modernization not only go hand in hand but also thrive together. We intend to keep on earning and deserving that recognition—by, among other ways, learning from others and sharing with them our own experiences in political development.

That is why we organized last December the Bali Democracy Forum, the first intergovernmental forum in Asia on democracy. We are making this forum an annual affair.

And it is our hope that the world, as it reforms its economic governance, will learn a truth that we came upon during that crisis some twelve years ago: that prosperity without democracy is but a bubble. And democracy that does not deliver development will not endure. Economic and political development must march hand in hand.

As it is with a country like Indonesia, so it is with the world. It is not enough for the world to get its economics right. It must also get its politics right. For man does not live by bread alone. He must also have his freedom.

I thank you.