

IGJ COVID-19 MONITORING NEWS

A collection of articles published by IGJ regularly regarding the crisis situation amid the Covid19 pandemic in Indonesia and around the world.

- INDONESIA FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE



INDONESIA FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE

-Connecting People and Knowledge for Collective Movement

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SOURCE: REPRO

SECTION - I

INDONESIA IN THE COVID-19 VORTEX

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Detection and Transmission

Since it was announced in Wuhan in December 2019, the Covid-19 outbreak up to the end of Early April 2020 (3 months) has infected more than 1 million people in 201 countries. Statistics show that this fast-spreading virus is likely to cause death and there is no anti-virus yet, but the number of people who can recover is quite high. When it is compared with similar virus outbreaks, the mortality rate caused by Covid-19 is lower, 3.4% (up to March 3rd, 2020) compared to SARS (9.63%) or MERS (34.45%). This comparison makes Covid-19 seem not to be more dangerous than other similar viruses. However, in fact, in 3 months, Covid-19 caused 59,159 deaths globally.

Comparing to similar viruses and the impacts such as SARS and MERS, there are many countries realized that they did not quite anticipate when the outbreak began to infect their citizens. The government of Indonesia in the initial assumption observed that the tourism sector will receive the most significant impact hence the anticipation was more focused on this sector. However, on its development began to be immensely massive, Iran and Europe, especially

Italy, have taken their toll too quickly that the number of mortalities exceeds the figures in Wuhan. The policy to lockdown cities and the entire area of Italy which was also followed by other cities and several countries in Europe turns the situation to develop differently and intensively.

When it began to infect Indonesians, the numbers soon grew rapidly. A virus that does not recognize tribes, religions, races, and inter-groups in a matter of fact attacks anyone; including productive workforces from technical workers to decision-makers. The middle class and above who have access to better treatment and health care have become victims in the first stage. Moreover, it indicates the ability and medical treatment procedures existing in Indonesia. It is not quite different from what is shown at the global level, regional leaders at the national level also compete to show their ability to direct their people according to the conditions of their respective regions.

It is not technically easy to distinguish between ordinary flu symptoms and clear symptoms which indicate Covid-19 infection. While on the other hand, the speed transmission is rapid and massive from one person to another, even though it has not shown the obvious symptoms. The high intensity of national meetings or meetings between the central government and the regions contribute to the high escalation in Indonesia. As well as a series of events which involve large numbers of peoples from various regions. This makes a massive escalation of islands in Indonesia occur in a relatively short time. To the end of March 2020, more than half of the provinces in Indonesia have positive infected people.

Limited early detection devices and the need for time to detect it, making the number of residents got infected with the virus to be accurately unknown. The Covid-19 infection examination procedure is in principle only done to a person when they have clear symptoms. This gives the possibility of having an undetectable spread of the virus in a number far greater than the figures that have been officially announced by the government.

Handling and detection only focusing on patients with clear symptoms were much too risky for late patients who can be treated as early as possible, it was different if the patient can be detected at an early stage. Furthermore, this means increasing the likelihood of high mortality rates, especially as a disease that has not yet have clear and definite treatment procedures. It could be seen as this issue is the cause of the high mortality rate in Indonesia compared to the number of people who recover. This is what differs from the recovered ratio that occurs in many other affected countries.

The application of rapid tests, although it still has a quite high error, is expected to provide early detection hence the handling of infected people will be more optimal. Even though, the initial implementation will cause the probability of social panicking. People who feel healthy and fit can react differently when they realize they have been infected and have to isolate themselves.

The personal reaction of every individual and dealing with other people's reactions or the environment with different understandings is easily risking the cause of tension in between. This situation can create panic, especially in the initial reveal the number of infected people through rapid tests that provide detection results in a relatively short and massive time. This kind of panic is not much different as shown by the reaction of the people who reject the burial of victims in many areas as reported by many media.



SOURCE : REPRO

The complete handling of this outbreak is not easy. Healing and medical treatment, according to the developing knowledge, may at least be done in several ways. Waiting for anti-virus to be made, making efforts to handle it with existing drugs or treatment methods, or relying on antibodies that every human being will have to evolve. These options are not easy and each of them has risks and consequences. Waiting for the medical handling

process where the condition continues to grow and increasingly has a widespread impact in almost all aspects.

The social problems of physical distancing

In accordance with WHO (World Health Organization) recommendations, as is done in many countries, Indonesia also implements social distancing or physical distancing policies. This policy is still the best anticipation in curbing the spread of the Covid-19 virus. Stopping school activities and implementing schools from home using internet facilities are an alternative choice, especially for major cities. Following government appeals, working from home or Work from Home (WFH) also becomes an alternative for many companies, especially in the service sectors. Obviously, not all business sectors can implement this, such as manufacturing, agriculture, plantation, mining and so on.

This situation makes Covid-19 accelerate the process of utilizing the internet in various fields. The taking advantage of shopping, working, studying (of a school), and visiting and so on via online gains popularity increasingly. Each field immediately begins to develop work methods and online facility utilization in almost all fields. Everyone is developing and continuing to improve the online work mechanism for their needs. Various applications began to be made for various needs, both in the context of dealing with Covid-19 and other needs. The protection of weak personal data in Indonesia remains a problem behind the acceleration of this online facility utilization. The Bill (Draft Act) that is being drafted must be ratified immediately before other issues arise regarding the protection of public personal data.

The halting of office and school activities in and around Jakarta has had a direct impact, especially to small traders and the informal sector in major cities. Informal sector workers (74 million) who make up 57% [Central Statistics Bureau/BPS 2019] of all workers in Indonesia are the most vulnerable group to lose their income. Social safety nets are not ready in this situation because those who are refuted through the Social Aid Program, PKH/Program Keluarga Harapan (a family assistance program) and others are the poor. Groups of informal workers who are vulnerable to poverty, and in this very situation immediately become the poor, are not protected in such programs.

The difficulty of earning an income and the low ability to survive made most of these groups begin to migrate to their respective home regions. The government urges people not to return to their hometowns, but it seems that this would be difficult to implement. The risk of expanding the spread

becomes even greater along with this transfer. The local government has begun to prepare for anticipation but that it seems difficult to deal with the arrival of millions of people including to ensure them to do the 14-day isolation procedure. The threat of Covid-19 expansion will still be high, for this reason, regional health facility readiness is an inevitable choice.

Fasting (of Ramadhan) and Eid al-Fitr are one of the peaks of national consumption, including the moment of the entry of a large number of funds from various countries into regions in Indonesia by Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI). But this moment is also the peak for people from cities and abroad goes to the regions in Indonesia. This can turn out to be the peak of a massive spread. The policy on restraining the spread will be difficult, on the contrary, the purchasing power or consumption ability is constrained by the situation of stalled economic activity. This dilemmatic situation makes government decisions very difficult, as does the impact on society.

The choice of a lockdown or total quarantine of cities or countries entirely is not easy. The economic impact which is immediately followed by social reactions will provide shocks that are increasingly challenging to control. On the other hand, the ability of the state is quite limited to bear the economic burden of people directly like other countries. The United States of America is rumored to be providing incentives to its people, Great Britain will also bear part of the salaries of affected employees. This is difficult for the government of Indonesia to implement. The government's decision to implement large-scale social restrictions is a moderate choice which will still have a difficult impact on society.

The quarantine policy is limited to the WFH (Work from Home) appeal that cannot be implemented by manufacturers. Many factories keep running their production and employ their laborers and workers who are not equipped with personal protective equipment such as masks or strict safety procedures. In the other hand, there are also factories applying lockdown, but they do not pay the salaries of workers. The absence of strict provisions or coercion from the government makes the workers finally have to fight for their demands for personal protective facilities to negotiate the provisions of salary deductions.

Moreover, many companies take advantage of the situation to implement layoffs (Termination of Employment) for reasons that are different, yet instead, ask for incentives from the government. However, there are also export factories that have closed production due to the absence of orders. Manufacturing may not implement layoffs this year, but pay half a salary or

leave without pay. Learn from experience that has occurred, a situation like this can be exploited by businessman in the context of debt restructuring, thus to determine the bankrupt status of the company. In this situation, workers will become victims once again.

The development of lockdown narratives and civil emergencies exacerbated widespread public reaction. Social distancing suggestion in many areas has been growing in the act of doing a voluntarily local lockdown on their territory. The community began to block their area or village from entering or passing by other residents. Even in some areas, detailed records are applied for residents when they leave the settlement and report to whom they met. A situation that is much closer to a civil emergency will be difficult to survive given the social and economic resilience of its people. If it lasts longer and without control or coordination with the state apparatus, this situation has the opportunity to create civil disorder.



SOURCE: SHUTTERSTOCK

The implementation of independent isolation and the limitation of economic activities before the fasting month and Eid will invoke a threat to national food availability. Reserve capacity and endurance in cities tend to be lower than in regions or villages. Production in the area has the potential to be stopped or at least disrupted and this initiates possibilities for a food crisis. Meanwhile, the choice of import does not become an easy alternative considering that importing countries also face a similar situation. They will tend to restrain their food exports and prioritize meeting their national needs. Other alternatives in dealing with the possibility of a food crisis should be the government's attention, considering that this situation is not yet clear on how long it will last.

Financially, Indonesia's financial resilience is also under threat. The exchange rate of 20,000 rupiahs per USD, based on the calculations of many experts, is a threshold for the ability of banks to be able to maintain liquidity to prevent default. While until mid-March 2020 the rupiah exchange rate has reached

17,000 rupiahs/USD. How strong will Bank Indonesia be able to maintain banking liquidity? If the situation develops out of control or lasts longer then the scenario of IMF fund entry will be hope in dealing with this situation. The Minister of Finance estimates that the worst situation of Indonesia's growth could reach minus 0.4%.

Economy issues: The Handling, Momentum, and Threats

On March 27th, 2020 the IMF (International Monetary Fund) officially declared the world had entered a global economic recession. At least 80 countries have submitted requests for assistance to the IMF and the G20 calculated the needs for around 5 trillion USD or 6% of global GDP or even more. This situation shows clearly the impact of this outbreak is immensely massive even it is expected to be greater than the previous global economic crisis. Relying on the IMF under the same conditions of demand from many countries is also not an easy choice and has its own risks.



SOURCE: SINDONEWS.COM

The Indonesian government policy to deal with Covid-19 by providing the first economic stimulus (I) at the end of February 2020 which focused on the tourism sector passed so quickly due to assumptions that were too optimistic that it had to be delayed and significantly changed. The next revision was applying stimulus II in the second week of March 2020, which began to touch on the issue of food security and imported raw materials for industry. In early April 2020, along with issuing a Government Regulation in lieu of law (Perppu), the government prepared funds to face Covid-19 in the amount of Rp. 405.1 trillion. The funds are intended for Health

Rp. 75 trillion, Social Safety Net Rp. 110 trillion, tax & People's Business Loans incentives Rp. 70.1 trillion and National Economic Recovery Rp. 150 trillion.

A situation which is developing rapidly enforces a quicker decision making and even exceeds the readiness of implementation in the field. For instance in the president's statement about the suspension of loans or a year installment for motor vehicle loans. The implementation of the leasing party has not received information about it and how it is managed,

resulting in friction between the lease, third parties, and the people. This kind of problem has the potential to arise in many other cases, especially related to banking and financial issues, where un-prepared management, weak supervision, moral hazard, and else of which all benefit from the Covid-19 issue.

OJK (Financial Services Authority) has issued POJK (Financial Services Authority Regulation), related to the suspension of installments and loan interest, especially for MSME (Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises) and low-income people. However, the OJK does not set certain restrictions and provide flexibility to banks in providing installment relief. OJK which tends to wash their hands of this problem may cause “the booming” of bank NPL (Non-Performance Loan), for instance, if they hold a one-year deferment to the KPR (House Ownership Credit).

Learning from the experience of 1998 or BLBI (Bank Indonesia Liquidity Assistance), there are concerns that certain parties will take advantage of the situation by modifying their financial statements; thus, they seem to be problematic so that they can request or get the ease of these facilities. Experience shows that the pattern of game-play was generally implemented on entrepreneurs who have a close relationship with the banks.

The government is quite certain that the emergency situation and the threat of a multidimensional crisis are likely to occur in the near future. Various needs such as food and industrial raw materials need to be maintained through imports. In addition to this, it contains uncertainty due to exporters also having the opportunity to hold their commodities. Moreover, this situation is effortlessly easy to be exploited by national importers. Something smells fishy already here, not to mention the plague reached its peak, some commodities such as sugar have begun to be scarce on the market.

Entrepreneurs of rice, sugar, salt and several other commodities importers which have been polemical so far have the opportunity to take advantage of this situation for the benefit of their businesses and groups. Firmness and meticulousness of the government are needed in dealing with this situation. However, in reality, certain economic and political agendas are still the choices that are questioned by the public. The government’s agenda to modify the APBN (State Revenue Budget) in order to adjust the development conditions due to Covid-19 although it still needs to be observed, this is understandable. However, the imposition establishment of the Omnibus

STIMULUS I & II

In order to reduce the impact of Covid-19, the government issued a policy package in the form of a stimulus to the public and industrial actors at the end of February 2020. Fiscal and non-fiscal stimulus issued by the government through incentives to business entities aims to encourage the level of public consumption.

- Stimulate funds distribution via Pre-Working Card (Kartu Pra Kerja), which is prioritized in 3 provinces;
- Add incentives for the six-month program of Nine Kinds of Basic Needs Card;
- Add subsidized interest and housing down payment, 175,000 livable new housing units;
- Tourism industry incentives for 10 tourism destinations, discounted flights. The budget for influencers and social media is 72 billion and this allocation raises criticism from various circles;
- Provide stimulus of discounts up to 20% for 3 months for 10 tourism destinations;
- Provide aviation fuel discount for 3 months period;
- Reallocation of Special Allocation Funds (DAK) for infrastructure development in 10 Tourism Destinations;
- Hotel and Restaurant Tax Exemption in 10 Priority Tourism Destinations.

The second stimulus was issued in the second week of March 2020. The second stimulus was IDR 22.9 trillion and the first stimulus was IDR. 10.3 trillion. The second stimulus package consists of fiscal stimulus, non-fiscal stimulus, and financial sector stimulus.

FISCAL SECTOR STIMULUS

- Relaxation of Article 21 Income Tax for manufacturing workers for 6 months;
- Relaxation of Article 22 Import Income Tax for 6 months specifically for 19 sectors;
- Reduction of Article 25 Income Tax by 30% for 6 months specifically for 19 sectors;
- Relaxation of accelerated VAT refunds for 6 months specifically for 19 sectors.

NON-FISCAL SECTOR STIMULUS

- Export simplification or reduction of limited prohibitions which is aimed at improving the the smooth running of exports and the competitiveness of export products;

- Import simplification or reduction of limited prohibitions to increase imports of raw materials;
- Export and import process acceleration for Reputable Traders to 625 Customs Main Partner Companies (MITA) and 109 Authorized Economic Operator (AEO) companies;
- Export and import process acceleration through the National Logistics Ecosystem.

ECONOMIC STIMULUS

- Encourage optimization of the banking intermediary function;
- Maintain financial system stability;
- Support economic growth, especially Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSME).

Furthermore, on March 31, 2020, the government, together with issuing Lieu of Law No.1/2020, state financial policies and financial system stability policies in the context of overcoming Covid-19, by using state financial resources, spent Rp 405.1 trillion. The budget will be allocated to several sectors.

- Perlindungan Sosial (Rp. 110 triliun)
- Kesehatan (Rp. 75 triliun)
- Program Pemulihan Ekonomi (150 triliun)
- Insentif perpajakan dan stimulus Kredit Usaha Rakyat/KUR (70.1 triliun)

Law on Job Creation Bill which contains controversy and has multi-aspect and multi-dimensional implications, as a result of dealing with many sectors and laws, seems to invite major questions.

The efforts to attract investment by deregulating through the omnibus law continue to be forced by the government at a time when the world is experiencing a slowdown, including slowing investment flows. The decision to accelerate at the wrong time and the threat of crisis becomes a decision that deserves to be questioned. Do not let the BLBI case happen again.

The reason for investment does not seem to be the main reason for the imposition of the omnibus law to be enacted. In the food cluster, the Omnibus Law on Job Creation Draft Bill has a change where food imports are equated with national production and reserves. This means that the previous import regulation can only be implemented if the national production and reserves are

not sufficient to meet domestic needs can no longer be applied. The threat of crisis due to Covid-19 is the reason for the application of the omnibus law as a legal umbrella to freely import. Another legal mechanism such as Lieu of Law that can be implemented is not the option of the current government.

Meanwhile, through this omnibus law on job creation, other issues that are still a polemic will also be approved. As an example, regarding the ease of environmental permits for investors, cheap labor, liberalization of foreign labor for start-up and other facilities, especially for foreign investment. This bill also reduces sanctions against monopolies, which provides opportunities for certain national business groups to expand their production, hence it does not hamper their monopolistic expansion; likewise, the other problems which have been criticized by various community groups. The coercion and acceleration of the enactment of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation Draft Bill, which has been prepared before the crisis situation, is ultimately seen as utilizing momentum rather than as a tool in dealing with the serious threat of Covid-19.

Covid-19 has brought Indonesia into a multidimensional crisis, which has a greater chance of the 2008 global economic crisis or even from the 1998 Asian crisis. The monetary crisis of 1998 generally took place in major cities. Conversely, in villages that rely on plantations and agriculture do not experience a crisis situation as great as in urban areas. They can still produce and maintain their vitality. However, the current situation threatens everyone to the villages so that they can no longer work and produce. The result is threatening national production. This certainly opens up possibilities for a crisis of life force.

Indonesia's experience in dealing with the crisis is always accompanied by policy controversies and moral hazards that exploit the situation at the expense of the state and the people. The BLBI case has not yet been resolved since the 1998 crisis. The Century case has also not been clarified since the 2008 crisis. At present, the issuance of Lieu of Law No.1 / 2020, which is controversial because it contains articles that free the KSKS (Financial Sector Policy Committee) and its ranks from chances of criminal and civil charges becomes a big question again. The shadows of the BLBI Case and the Century Case return to haunt the people, as a group that will bear the consequences.

Does Corona bring global changes?

The 1998 monetary crisis only occurred in Asia, specifically Southeast Asia, but this time the crisis occurred globally. All countries in the world are threatened by Covid-19. Developed countries in the North are almost all overwhelmed with the development of infection spread and treatment

as it is relentlessly happening. On a daily basis, it is reported that hundreds of people pass away and thousands of new people get infected. Hospitals are never enough nor are needed medical equipment. Factories change functions to make medical needs and what is needed whatsoever. The economic activity is paralyzed, the stock market everywhere collapses. Some countries in the world are busy and panic, some are preparing for the coming of the virus. The current atmosphere is almost like facing a world war. Third World War, the war against viruses.

World economic growth is estimated to drop to minus 1%. The US central bank spends hundreds of billions of dollars on financial markets as a form of quantitative easing, buyers of US government debt. This is usually done by the US central bank when entering a crisis situation as in 2008-2009. The US government issued a stimulus of 2 trillion USD, the largest in the history of the USA, which will provide incentives of 1200 USD for adults and 500 USD for children. This liberal capitalist country is acting to protect universal basic income, maintain purchasing power by distributing cash to its population. Perhaps this is the first time in the history of the United States.

Will America change? It is not easy to conclude this, considering the domestic election situation. Is Trump's move to take a policy similar to that of his closest rival Bernie Sanders' campaign at the same time in order to attract sympathy? Yet whatever it is, Trump has shown a change in the face of American capitalists. After his protectionist-style policy, this time taking a socialist-style policy, stealing material from the American leftist democratic campaign. Boris Johnson's policy in the UK which would bear 80% of workers' salaries, showed a capitalist face that was not much different and both implemented by the right groups in their respective countries, either conservatives or republics.

Looking at what is developing globally from before until the outbreak comes, where will globalization change its direction? Is Hybrid Capitalism happening? Or is capitalism showing its elasticity in defending itself from collapse and falling? Whatever it is, Covid-19 has become a catalyst that accelerates the process of global change. All that remains is for each component to benefit this as momentum in improving the earth, humans and the interaction between the two.

Covid-19 took place amid capitalism that was entering a crisis, where an open trade war was taking place between the United States and China. The

development of the Chinese economy has shifted the poles of the world and enforced open trade wars, violating rules that have been agreed upon for decades. The Covid-19 outbreak then tested the endurance of each country and how to protect its economy. When the plague recedes, the new 'poles' of the world will become more apparent.

Covid-19 occurs amid increasingly aggressive climate change campaigns in the world, especially in Europe. We remember the story of a teenage girl, Greta Thunberg, who started a climate change action from the parliament in her country, Sweden, to a wave of protests from teenagers throughout Europe to other parts of the world. The message of the younger generation to the older generation, leaders and power controllers is too weak in the co-optation of the grip of the oil capitalist regime. Nature, where the environment and climate, tends to be forgotten, underestimated and only become lips service or even become a tool to dominate it, has now blessed the coronavirus to become an epidemic for humans globally. Through Covid-19, nature gives a clear message of the changes in the world that demand a new balance for nature. Hence nature, the environment, and climate return as an important and major concern in global development and policy. Like it or not, ready or not ready, the waves of nature will definitely come!

Covid-19 when digitalization has begun to become a part of human life. Acceleration of digitalization in almost all fields and needs slowly begins to show the shape of the structure of new industrial and social relations in society. How the interaction in working to social interaction is arranging its new form. Generally, children who are used to digital activities seem to be able to deal with the new social isolation situations with digital facilities

Covid-19 happens when the government is intensively inviting investment into Indonesia. Every effort has been made, providing infrastructure and now accelerating deregulation, changing the Law resulting from the people's agreement. Liberalization since 1998 has received clear resistance from the people, at least as evidenced by the rejection of every law that is contrary to the constitution through the Constitutional Court. The interests of global capitalists on many sides contradict the interests of the people, where it is seen from the INDONESIA IN THE COVID19 VORTEX historical perspective, on the contrary, has given birth to the independence of Indonesia as a nation, as well as a country. The government was chosen by the people and as a service to the people should be on the side of the people rather than on the contrary manipulating the people instead.

Indonesia's experience since 1998 which serves demand on behalf of investment shows not only that investment is not coming as expected, but Indonesia is increasingly dependent on global investment. Basically, the process of demand and fulfillment will only change the state and nation as a container in the framework of serving the interests of global capitalist, far from the ideals of this independent nation.

Covid-19 gives lessons on how greed for profits that have damaged nature, neglected the environment, changed the climate is now returning its impact to us. An Economy by relying on consumption in just a matter of months has been in destruction. An economy that relies on infrastructure alone cannot survive and implement its functions. What kind of investment to look for? An investment runs away easily? The irresponsible investment towards their workers? Investments that do not care about environmental damage and merely on profit? The investment that wants to take over and control the people's assets?

Putting the people's sovereignty back in their portions must be a major concern. Restoring public services as befitting the people placed and served must be done immediately. Developing production based on the people and social solidarity will be a strong foundation for the nation and humanity. Building a country that can meet the needs of its country and building a unique product should be the basis of how world trade is applied in the same respect and equality between countries. Thus, world peace, between state and state, nation and nation, humans and nature become a necessity.

It is a hope when people work together to produce a shortage of medical equipment, clean the environment, build community organizations in protecting their territories and other solidarity activities. Small and medium businesses are turning to produce various needs. On a global scale, some factories have also begun to change their production to meet the shortage of medical equipment, not only for their country but also for other countries. The people's production and social solidarity return to take the real role as the real power of production and fulfillment of needs. Social solidarity, humanitarian solidarity in cooperation becomes the main force as a society, as a nation, as a human being in facing common problems.





SOURCE : Max-o-matic,POLITICO.EU

SECTION - II

POST-COVID19: GLOBAL CHANGE AND DIGITAL WARFARE POST-COVID19

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Soon after the end of the Second World War, the victorious nations created a new world order. Following the birth of institutions such as the United Nations, World Bank, IMF (International Monetary Bank) and including the birth of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). The new world order with a liberalization agenda began to take place and has been implemented systematically since then. Avoiding open mass wars such as the Second World War is the reason for the construction of a new world order. An order that is based on capital power and is built systematically and globally.

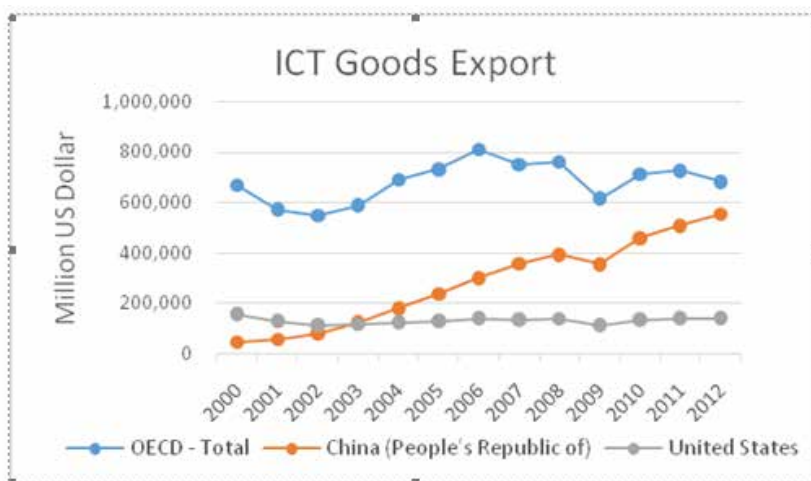
Opposition immediately arose not long after the period of forming the new world order. The situation developed with the strengthening of the Western and Eastern Blocs. Political tensions occurred based on the struggle of market liberalization against controlled markets which have become strong poles. The 'Cold War' for about 40 years only subsided after the Soviet Union collapsed in 1988. This change opened the widest possible opportunity for the free market regime to construct a global neo-liberal economic infrastructure.

Following the formation of the international financial organization, in 1947 an agreement was made to exempt tariffs on trade goods, known as GATT. GATT keeps continuing and developing, the countries involved are slowly growing. The expansion of its members and trade consequences has made GATT's global influence broader and more profound.

Through the Uruguay Round which began in 1986, GATT officially became the WTO (World Trade Organization) with the enactment of trade rules in January 1995. The organization, which currently consists of 123 countries, has the main objective of liberalizing world trade. Since the Uruguay Round, the issue that has been regulated is not only limited to reducing tariffs on trade goods, but has also expanded to issues of services and intellectual property.

China in the Global Liberalization Agenda

The People's Republic of China (PRC), which became independent after the Second World War, has seen rapid economic development with its enormous population power. One of the early signatories to GATT had criticized GATT harshly, and finally made a unique change in its economic strategy. The decision to adopt a market economy while still being led by a centralized



Communist Party eventually led the PRC to re-apply for membership in the WTO organization. After waiting for 15 years, finally in 2001 China officially became a member of the WTO, which previously had a series of trade agreements with the US (United States).

Prior to joining the WTO, the PRC economy had actually experienced

rapid development. To keep pace with the large and increasing production capacity, the PRC needs a broader and wider market. The Chinese electronics market share in the US has increased rapidly from 9.5% in 1992 to 21.8% in 1999. The contribution of computer products from China has also increased from 4% in 1996 to 21% in 2000 for the world market. The hard disk drive products from China for the global market increased from 1% in 1996 to 6% in 2000.

Generally, WTO member countries, especially developing countries, hope that through the WTO they have the opportunity to improve their economies. However in reality, the rules applied by the WTO on the other hand give a burden and make it difficult for many developing countries to export their products. The rules and patterns of WTO decision-making also tend to favor developed countries. This situation ultimately makes the WTO more of a “controller” for world trade rather than a “fair opportunity” for the countries of the world.

The PRC in the process shows a slightly different matter. After joining the WTO, the PRC’s production soon filled the world market freely, at least able to flood many developing countries. It was slowly but surely starting to shift many of the products that have been dominated by developed countries. Reports from several surveys and research show that economic actors in Europe and America finally felt negative pressure after the PRC joined the WTO.

After the WTO was founded in 1995, the globalization process began to systematically strengthen. The power of global capital is increasingly exerting its influence in many places and fields. Globalization strengthens all countries to comply with the rules of trade and capital economy laws globally. Market and financial parameters are strict measures that must be met by every country. The domination of capital that occurs globally develops as without opponents and leaves only the opponent itself, the crisis.

The 2008 crisis has hit the global capital regime hard which hit the United States and European countries. Some European countries have even experienced economic bankruptcy. The transfer of capital and control that follows is a consequence that must occur. In this situation, the German economy, which had grown rapidly, was getting stronger in the European Union. Germany itself has grown to become an economically important country in Europe.

Germany after its collapse after the Second World War and political dynamics, reunification in line with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, managed to grow and strengthen its economy. German industry takes an important position in global trade. On the other hand, Japan after the destruction in the Second World War has managed to grow and become one of the economically important powers in Asia. Unlike Germany, Japan experienced difficulties in facing the consequences of running its economy in the current global capital regime. Japan remains facing economic problems, especially after the 2008 crisis.

On the other hand, the fast growing PRC economy and production which increasingly dominate world trade soon became a new global economic power. The 2008 economic crisis became an important momentum for how China became an important actor in the Global Supply Chain. The shift in production from many countries (the US and the European Union) to China is an important face of how the process of transferring world production to China.

The production of ICT (Information Communication Technology) and other products, especially those made from rare earths, is increasingly dominating the world. China is estimated to control 97% of the world's rare earths. Important materials for modern equipment such as electronics and other modern equipment including defense technology. Rare earth is also a key ingredient for environmentally friendly technologies such as wind turbines and other similar technologies, where the development of modern alternative technologies is currently developing in this direction.

In 2013, following the development of its economy, PRC launched the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative or also known as the Belt Road Initiative (BRI); Marking the most ambitious land and marine infrastructure development program today. The idea that connects infrastructure and economic relations takes almost 2/3 of the world. It is not limited only to transportation infrastructure and its supporters, but also telecommunication infrastructure and digital facilities which previously have developed as well. The land, sea and "air" transportation networks cover a large area. The north and west sides pass through West Asia to Europe, the east side through East Asia to the Pacific, the south side covers most of Africa and penetrates into southern America.

The development of the PRC is not limited to trading in goods alone, China's financial strength has also begun to show its influence and strength globally.

In line with the OBOR/BRI idea, after the prolonged 2008 crisis, China also took the initiative to establish the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Financial institutions consisting of Asian and European countries. A financial institution that offsets the ADB (19866) which is dominated by the United States and Japan where each has a share of 15.7%. This shows China's intention to take an important role in the global economy, at least in the Asia and Pacific region.

The 2008 economic crisis has shown how China can recover its economy more quickly and even get reinforcement from the crisis situation. After showing how Chinese production dominates the global market, the next phase encourages the development of global transportation infrastructure and continues in the financial sector. This global strengthening has placed China in an important position in the global economy. Changes in the map of global economic power began to experience a shift with some weakness in developed countries and strengthening in developing countries. This situation is represented in the "economic war" that occurred between the US and PRC.

The New World Order Post-Covid19

In a situation the heating up of the economic war between the US and PRC as well as falling world oil prices and global economic developments that are increasingly entering a new crisis, the Covid19 pandemic has emerged. The lock down policy implemented in almost all countries of the world has immediately given strong and deep economic pressure greatly. The economic blows were global, at least in the first few months after the pandemic broke out.

The Covid19 vaccine, which has started to enter the production phase, has given hope that the situation will soon recover in the not-too-distant future. This means that conditions will soon recover, but the situation is going to be not exactly the same as before the crisis. Countries that are quicker to cope with the pandemic situation and restore their economic activity will have the opportunity to benefit and strengthen their economy. For countries with significant potential and capacity, it is an opportunity to become 'stronger'

What is the situation for the global economic power map post-Covid19? Will the PRC get new momentum that could benefit them, just like the 2008 crisis? Or will a global capital regime gain momentum in returning their power and "control of the game"? Or will this situation emerge a completely new map of global economic power? Generating new ideas for a new global economic form?

Whatever it is, digitalization will be an important factor in the future development of the global economy. This can be seen from the number of fields and sectors that have undergone a deeper digitalization process. The global lock down policy during the pandemic has also provided important lessons on how digital mechanisms play an important role with an increasingly developed potential.

Businesses with digital services will clearly have a broader space in economic activity and various service needs. New digital-based business models will also grow, even faster than expected. Likewise with digital products that will increasingly grow with innovations that may not have been previously imagined. Several digital applications during the lock down period have shown this matter.

Digital warfare will have the opportunity to determine the course of the 'game' and global economic struggle. Various regulations must be able to adapt immediately and anticipate this development or will continue to be left behind. The pace of digital and telecommunication development and the impact it causes is fast, extensive and profound. Continuing with the pre-pandemic situation, the battle for technology and digital domination between the US and PRC will be an important color in the global digital battle.

The US as a pioneer country in digital technology will clearly rely on its Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) as a "weapon". Meanwhile, the PRC with the power of data as a consequence of their large population will become an important mainstay. The fight and the race for new technology itself such as 5G has become increasingly fierce, considering that China has shown its aggressiveness in developing this technology in many countries, even to Europe. The expansion of China's technology-based network of connections and infrastructure has spread rapidly and widely.

One of the important 'competitions' in the digital world is data mastery. Mastery of data is the mastery of many things covering massive fields and sectors of life, and not only related to the economy. Through technological developments, such as Artificial Intelligence or AI and Big Data, there is no longer meaningless data. All data can be important and valuable. Mastery of data also means mastery of knowledge, mastery of the development of various fields, control of the market, control of policies and many more.

Data control is implemented by collecting data through all possible tools

and applications. Data collection through networks, digital infrastructure and telecommunications is highly important and strategic. The battle is not only limited to competition against products and control of the ITC (Information Telecommunication Technology) market, but also involves the extent to which the collection and control of data occurs.

The absence of regulations which control the collection, control and utilization of data creates a massively large space for major digital and telecommunication companies or Big Tech to dominate the market and control the data behind it. This includes direct and indirect consequences for controlling the data. The capital support behind Big Tech companies makes them even stronger in controlling and monopolizing the digital space and telecommunications.

The liberalization of electronic and digital transmissions is the foundation on which global developments are built. Freedom to transmit across countries and regions is a prerequisite. Freedom that is not bound by local or state regulations on digital facilities is a model that must be implemented by every country. Freedom of control over the source code of digital applications is a “right” that cannot be disturbed. Tax and customs exemptions on electronic transmissions and digital goods are models that are being maintained globally.

These matters are at least a frame for how Big Tech, the developed country, the masters of communication and digital technology have been using the collected data. How this very loose rule has become a safe-haven for getting the most out of data. Even though in reality, this utilization is not as big as it is today, but from time to time the usage of data keeps getting bigger and expanding exponentially.

There are at least two phenomena that have been noted in the development of digital and telecommunications, especially those related to the use of AI. First, the entry of a developing country, China, as an important “player” in the global development of telecommunications and digital. The flood of Chinese products has disturbed the “spoiled” situation previously enjoyed by developed countries. The reaction to demand a change of rules or the creation of new rules is seen as an attempt to restore the situation to the “old players” with the support of the power of capital behind them. Second, the creation of the GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation) in 2018 in Europe. The Snowden scandal has shown how digital service providers through their applications and electronic equipment have become data collection tools for various needs and not solely for business needs,

even for the intelligence needs of countries like the US. The presence of the GDPR has at least disturbed the “data collection paradise”. Access to data collection for Big Tech companies is becoming increasingly limited, at least in Europe. The impact that seems to also affect the development of AI for European countries.

Realizing that AI will have an important role in the development of digital and telecommunications, the two phenomena above have created a map composition of global competition in the digital world. Although the US still dominates the mastery of technology, the PRC has shown progress and a highly competitive capability, even excellence in some parts of the digital world. Europe, on the other hand, is lagging a little behind in the ‘competition’.

In developing countries, digitalization is a new hope for increasing their economic potential as well as solutions for the provision of various service facilities. Education, health, social and other services are becoming more likely to be available in a relatively shorter time. For billions of people and micro, small and medium enterprises, it is an opportunity to open markets and capacities for their production. The provision of telecommunications and digital infrastructure is an important requirement for fulfilling these expectations. The role of digital and not limited to economic issues, is increasingly showing its important role in the model of global change that will occur.

The Covid19, which occurred when entering a global crisis, has forced dramatic changes. The inevitable ‘flash’ crisis has occurred in almost all countries and is forcing the entry into a ‘new climate’ globally. The composition of global economic forces is driven to face new dynamics with demands for changing “rules of the game”. Trump has at least demonstrated these demands in a straightforward manner both in his attitude and his demands of international institutions for changes in global rules. Significant change demands over what has been built up since the end of the Second World War.





SOURCE: DOC.IGJ

SECTION- III

INDONESIA IN COVID-19 VORTEX: "WORKERS' RESISTANCE TO WAVES OF MASS LAYOFFS & OMNIBUS LAW"

PUBLISH :
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AUTHOR:
Rachmi Hertanti

The multidimensional crisis is emerging due to Covid-19 outbreak and give impacts to the working class in Indonesia. Not to mention the receding issue of layoffs due to the economic crisis experienced before the arrival of COVID-19, now the wave of mass layoffs has jumped significantly as a result of the stagnation of global and national economic activity amid the pandemic. With the increase in unemployment, there is undoubtedly a high chance of causing social unrest in the community if this situation lasts a long time.

The social security program issued by the Government to deal with the social crisis due to rising unemployment is questioning its effectiveness. Whereas on the other hand, there is no decisive action from the Government to employers who often take advantage of the pandemic situation as an excuse to lay off thousands of workers. Including the pragmatic response of the Government, which has again encouraged the acceleration of the completion of the Omnibus Law discussion as a false solution, especially in dealing with national economic problems due to the global economic crisis that occurred after the 2008 global

financial crisis. It is estimating that the global economic crisis will be worse than the previous crisis in 2008. Surely this will drive many changes to the global order, including global supply chain activities. Moreover, it is very difficult to predict when this pandemic will end. In the end, it forces us to live in "new normal conditions" with various kinds of changes occurring in global and national societies. Therefore, the challenges of the Indonesian labor movement amid a pandemic will become severe in the future.

Above was highlighted sharply by three key speakers in the Economic Justice Discussion Series organized by Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ), the People's Struggle Unity (KPR), and the Indonesian Labor Struggle Federation (FPBI) on April 29, 2020, ahead of International Labor Day.

Workers In Pandemic

Workers are strongly affected by the policies issued by the Government in the handling of a pandemic. At least three issues have been concerned by the labor movement, which clearly explained by Ky Seza, one of the leaders of the Indonesian Labor Struggle Federation in Bekasi area.

First are health and safety. Efforts to tackle the spread of COVID-19 by the Government with the implementation of social distancing or PSBB, are not in line with expectations. This policy is not adhered to by many stakeholders, including employers. Today's workers still have to keep working. The workers are facing dilemmatic conditions. When workers work, they have to deal with the threat of being infected with a virus due to non-compliance with employer protection standards. However, when they do not work, employers do not pay their wages. Until now, there have been several companies whose dozens of workers were infected by COVID-19.

Second, the issue of mass layoffs and furlough without pay the wage. In almost all FPBI bases in several provinces, there has been a practice of cutting wages by employers. For example, in the electronics sector, the employer only paid 50% of wages, and some paid only 10%. It certainly has an impact on reducing the quality of worker welfare.

This practice legitimized by The Letter of the Minister of Manpower No.M / 3 / HK.04 / III / 2020 concerning Worker Protection and Business Continuity in the Context of Preventing and Countering Covid-19. This letter stated that for companies who limit business activities due to the prevention and control of Covid-19, which causes some or all workers not to work, taking into account business continuity, changes in the amount

and payment method of wages must be agreed upon between employers and workers.

Third, the low bargaining power of workers who do not have a union. The problem is that all this time, the employer's decision always unilaterally. Even for workers who work in companies without unions, the decision could be even worse. The situation has made the condition of workers in Indonesia worsen because there are still many workers who do not have a union. Based on data compiled by FPBI, only around 1.6 million workers are unionized, and about 3.6 million workers are not unionized. In the end, a wave of mass layoffs cannot be avoided. The latest data released by the Ministry of Manpower, there are around 2.6 million workers who have been layoff. But it seems the numbers have now gone up.

The Omnibus Law's Fake Solution: "Accelerating Digitalization ???"

The Government's Policies in handling COVID-19 clearly show that the State is not working for the welfare of the people. The focus of handling Covid-19 is more emphasis on efforts to manage economic growth problem, which then answer with a solution that returns in favor of capital interests. One of them is by accelerating the discussion of Omnibus Law on Job Creation, which is conduct without democratic spaces. The State seems to use the covid-19 situation to avoid protests from the public who are "forced" to remain at home as the implementation of the Large Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) policy.

The research coordinator of IGJ, Olisias Gultom, considered the Omnibus Law on Job Creation program to encourage the acceleration of economic digitalization in Indonesia. The presence of Covid-19, which forced the public to carry out limited activities, ultimately led to an accelerating process of adaptation of digitalization. This condition will eventually be used by entrepreneurs to accelerate their transformation.

Omnibus Law on Job Creation compiled before the virus outbreak. According to Olisias, in the previous scheme, Omnibus Law would encourage the formation of a new industrial model based on digital, manufacturing, and other public service industries. There is a desire from the Government to get foreign investment opportunities based on the global digital trends that are developing today. It is what the Government expects from the Omnibus Law, which is inviting a lot of foreign investment to support the economic and industrial transformation in Indonesia.

Olisias also noted that there is a broader privatization agenda in the digital-

based public service sector, which is trying to regulate by the Omnibus Law. Covid-19 can open space for the acceleration of privatization when the use of digital becomes more open. It will certainly impact public data protection when private companies manage a lot of public data in service activities, such as education, health, banks, and other supply chain activities. In the future, digitalization will be used to answer the post-covid19 "New Normal" life model.

The pandemic condition is likely to be utilized by the Government and corporations to accelerate the Omnibus Law, including changes in the industrial relations model with the workers. Even though the employment cluster under the omnibus law will be postponed, this economic transformation plan will still continue to include worker's issues. It is just waiting for the time.

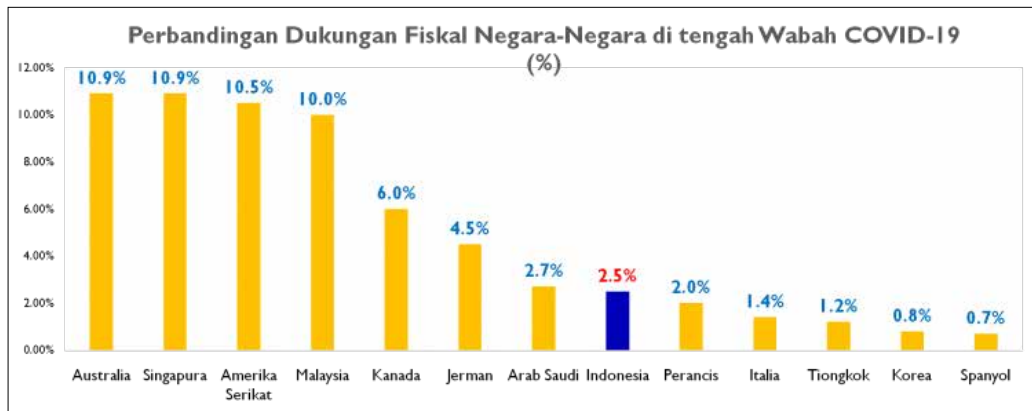
The process of industry digitalization certainly has the potential to create mass layoffs. Before covid-19, there were already symptoms that some of the layoffs carried out by companies in specific sectors were efforts to industrial transformation, such as the automotive and electronic sectors. The presence of a digital-based industry will create new working relationships, where the Omnibus Law on Job Creation will regulate it, especially on the provision of status of the worker. With digital trends, a new model of work status will undoubtedly emerge, often workers are considered as partners. In fact, from a number of existing practices, this new model of work status also raises problems, especially on the protection of their rights.

Olisias also stressed that the Government's desire to make the transition to digitalization is not accompanied by efforts to protect labor rights and public data. The Government is still stuttering in facing future needs. It will again open up a new monopoly space for investors.

Questioning the Role of the State

The outbreak of the covid-19 will cause a sharp social upheaval if the State is unable to cope appropriately with its effects. A terrible global recession will occur, and it seems the State is stuttering in responding to the outbreak. Various policies issued even tend to be questioned for its alignments with the people. This situation was discussed in detail by Bhima Yudistira, INDEF Economist, about the slow response of the State in overcoming the crisis that arose due to covid-19, especially in providing proper protection to workers. Bhima considered that The disruption of global economic activity had seen

FIGURE - 1



SOURCE : IMF, TAKEN FROM BHIMA YUDISTIRA'S PRESENTATION

the impact on Indonesia. The occurrence of mass layoffs amid the pandemic has shown an increase in projections of unemployment and poverty. In the worst-case scenario, the open unemployment rate can increase almost twice from 5.2% to 9%, which could reach up to 10 million by the end of 2020. SMERU's data prediction in 2020 states that if Indonesia's economic growth only increases by 1%, then the potential poverty rate will grow by 12.3%. It is an alarm for the Government against the worst situation going forward.

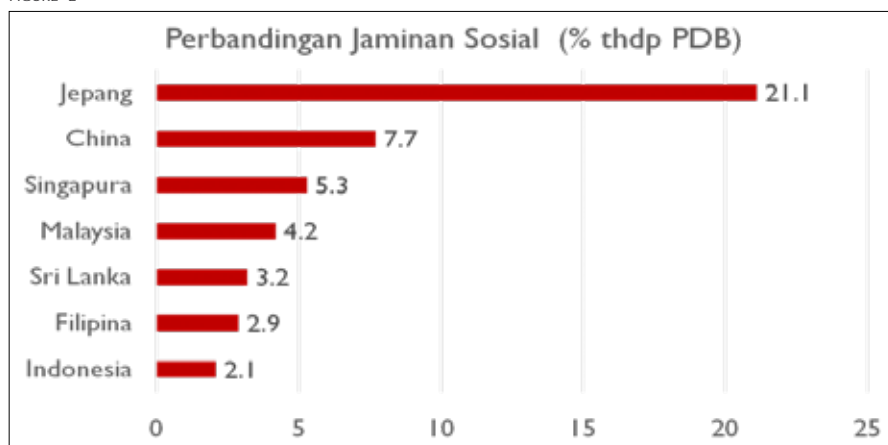
Bhima further explained that the fiscal stimulus policy issued by the Government to handle covid-19 is small compared to other countries (see **Figure-1**), which is only 2.5% of the country's GDP, amounting to Rp.405 trillion. From this figure, the allocation of social incentives is only Rp. 110 Trillion compared to the allocation for industrial stimulus, which reaches Rp. 220 Trillion. Even the allocation for health is only Rp. 75 trillion.

The Figures above become an indicator for Indonesia who will lag behind other countries. According to Bhima, a country that has large social protection will be able to recover its economy faster after covid-19. For example, the budget allocation of social security in Japan reaches 21% of GDP, and even China reaches 7.7% of its GDP. But Indonesia is far behind Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines (See **Figure 2**), which seems they will recover faster.

Millennial Oligarchy: Taking Profit Amid the Pandemic

The policy issued by the Government strongly illustrates that the State is not protecting people. The State has failed to protect the people because millions of workers are laid off and can not access the pre-employment card

FIGURE - 2



SOURCE: ADB, TAKEN FROM BHIMA YUDISTIRA'S PRESENTATION

provided by the Government. This social protection scheme, once again, is becoming a false solution.

The pre-employment card is a failed program forced by the Government. This card intends to push people entering the digitization phase. The Government is not aware that many workers that have been layoffs over 40 years old, who have very low adaptability to technology. The digital registration mechanism used in the pre-employment card also makes many workers unable to pass the selection process. In the end, they cannot enjoy the assistance of the pre-employment card.

Besides, the concept of pre-employment cards is unrelated to the needs of employers. For example, the training content provided by the card is completely questionable as to the results of the skills that workers will have. The difference is, for instance, with the previous Work Training Centers (BLK), which are very related to the business world's needs. Thus, the certificates issued from this pre-employment card cannot be absorbed by the business world either.

As information, the pre-employment card program is a training fee and living incentives provided by the State for 5.6 million workers, job seekers, and micro and small businesses who have lost their jobs and experienced a decrease in purchasing power. Each pre-employment card beneficiary will receive a total benefits package of Rp.3,550 million. This package consists of a training fee of Rp.1 million, which can be used to purchase various training packages on digital platforms designated as government partners

such as Tokopedia, RuangGuru, MauBelajarApa, Bukalapak, Pintaria, Pijar Mahir, and Sekolahmu. Incentives will be transferred through a bank account or other fintech applications such as e-wallet, LinkAja, OVO, or GoPay. Besides, the Government will provide Post-training completion with Rp 2,4 Million for four months of Rp. 600 thousand / month for four consecutive months with a total of Rp. 2.4 million. Then, post-survey incentives for three surveys with a total of Rp.150 thousand.

It is also important to be criticized, related to the state budget of Rp. 5.6 trillion allocated for training content that can actually be accessed free in several other applications such as YouTube. In the end, once again, the digital platform companies are taking advantage of selling training content in pre-employment card programs subsidized by the State budget.

Furthermore, Bhima considered that the pre-employment card scheme had created a new oligarchy model, namely millennial oligarchy. It is because most of the owners of digital platform companies designated by the Government are occupy many public officials. Moreover, the program that harms the people is protected by regulations that provide impunity for companies including public officials who have the potential to harm state finances. It governs under Perppu No.1 of 2020 concerning State Financial Policies and Financial System Stability for Handling Covid-19 Pandemics.

With the impunity provision under the Perppu, then if the pre-employment card program becomes problematic, and it cannot be considered as State loss. It cannot be sued in court, both criminal, civil, and administrative. The pre-employment card uses a State budget of Rp.20 trillion, which is bigger than the Century Bank bailout scandal. It can be imagined how people cannot claim the loss of State budget due to the failure of pre-employment cards.

Build People's Economic Solidarity

One thing that must be a serious concern of the people's movement today is the potential for a prolonged crisis, both in terms of waves of layoffs and food crises. Nobody can predict when a pandemic ends. By looking at the differences in the capacity of countries in the world in handling this pandemic, the possibility of disruption of global supply chains will continue to drive global economic bankruptcy.

The 1998 economic crisis has the experience that the economy's backbone was in the hands of the people's production and not big corporations, including the State. Therefore, in facing a prolonged multidimensional

crisis, the people's movement must develop a collective economic strategy, including building a collective production network.

Bhima conveyed, for example, in Yogyakarta that the Movement called "Rakyat Bantu Rakyat" had built a supply chain network from farmers to help workers affected by layoffs, including other poor people to meet their food needs.

Including FPBI in the context of building economic solidarity, currently has established stations in each factory and advocated the issue of layoff waves by forming FPBI-Care. Ky Seza also said that besides the solidarity, FPBI also saw that the conditions of layoffs that encourage the cessation of production should be an opportunity for the labor movement to take over the factory and develop a collective strategy about the supply chain production.

This initiative must connect with the strength of the village. Villages are a key to production and a much stronger economic endurance base. Responding to this, Olisias also stressed that there is an opportunity to link the power of the village economy with the power of digital technology to maximize the strength of the people's economy. For example, learn from China where one of its economic strengths lies in the village by building village-based small scale industries. That is reinforced and connected with digital technology, which is now becoming a powerful accumulation. It is what we need to do, reclaiming the people's economy.





SOURCE : DOC.IGJ

SECTION - IV

KNOWLEDGE MONOPOLY IN THE COURSE OF COVID-19 ACCESS ON HEALTH INNOVATION AND EQUITABLE COMMON USE

PUBLISH :
JULY 11, 2020AUTHOR :
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Almost all countries in the world have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, not only developed countries such as the United States of America, the European Union (countries), and the United Kingdom, but also developing countries, for instance, Indonesia. For Indonesia, as a developing country, handling the COVID-19 pandemic is such a huge challenge, moreover due to its limitation and dependability towards imported medical equipment for overcoming the pandemic. Economic Justice Discussion series with a topic on Knowledge Monopoly in the course of COVID-19, Access on Health Innovation and Equitable Common Use aims to observe how international structure affects knowledge regarding COVID-19 for developing countries, regulations, and the state budget of the Indonesian Government in handling the COVID-19 pandemic

Inequality among Developed and Developing Countries affects access to health.

Handling the COVID-19 pandemic must not be separated from the need for medical equipment such as Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), test kits, ventilators, medicines, vaccines, and many more. As a result, various

kinds of medical equipment have become a challenge for many countries, causing their prices to be unaffordable. Especially when there are several countries which are able to pay higher prices, hence that equipment which has been scheduled-to-export can be canceled in order to be purchased by other countries.¹ Furthermore, a similar case happened to medicines, although the WHO states that no medicines have been proven effective, medicines such as remdisivir and lopinavir are also contested. In the midst of this condition, several pharmaceutical companies such as Gilead, which produces remdisivir and Sanofi that conducted research upon vaccines, has stated that it will prioritize large markets such as the United States.

Global initiatives need to be encouraged to ensure access for developing countries. Several initiatives have been initiated by WHO even though there are also several groups involved, such as the European Union which has agreed to jointly fund vaccine research. Moreover, the European Union has proposed a draft resolution for COVID-19, but the draft has not been able to ensure access and distribution for others. In this global initiative, the Government needs to push for a WHO draft resolution that supports developing countries in access to medicines. Domestically, several universities are encouraged to conduct researches related to medical needs. MSMEs are also encouraged to make various medical devices such as PPE and ventilators.

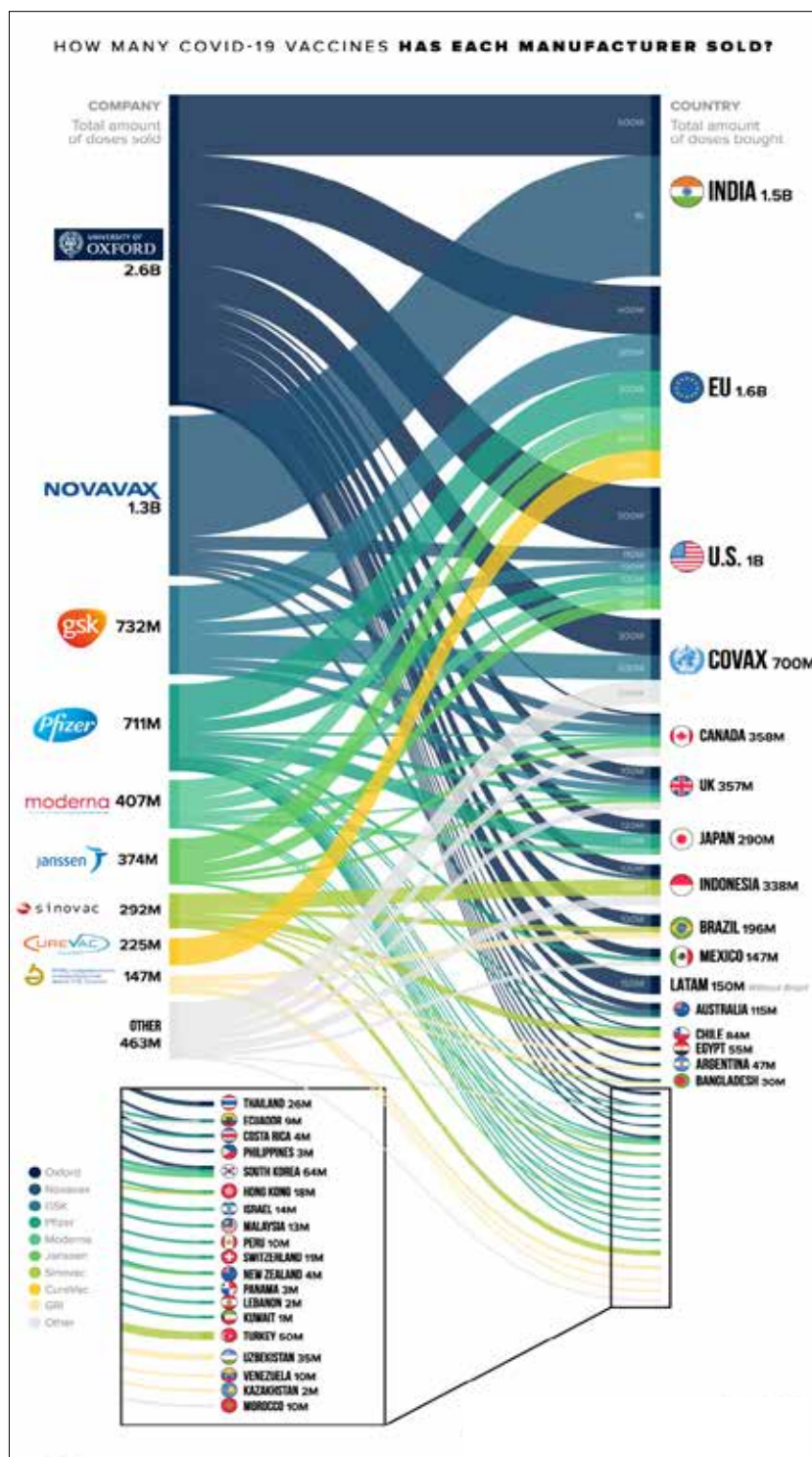
Overlapping Domestic Regulations

In implementing policies concerning COVID-19, the Government needs various legal instruments. This regulation will serve as a basis for the government. However, in its practice, it is often less than optimal. For instance, the government is often in dilemma in issuing legal instruments to control society. As cases increase, the government has apparently loosen the regulations. Efforts to research and managing the pandemics have been hampered by overlapping regulations.

The government issued four policies, First, forming a covid research and innovation consortium. Second, membership of COVID-19 research and innovation. Third, conducting a research consortium program. Fourth, collaboration between the consortium and Non-Ministerial State Institutions. However, these policies are still overlapping. In the search for vaccines, for example, there is no term referring to the formation of a special team to seek the discovery or supply of vaccines.²

The government must resolve these overlapping regulations immediately because in handling such a pandemic, strong legal instruments are needed

1. *Delivered by Lutfiah Hanim, Third World Network in the Discussion Series on Economic Justice, Knowledge Monopoly in the course COVID-19, Access to Health Innovation and Equitable Common Use*
2. *Delivered by Muhammad Azhar, an academic from the Faculty of Law of Diponegoro University, in the Discussion Series on Economic Justice, Knowledge Monopoly in the course of COVID-19, Access to Health Innovation and Equitable Common Use* Sebagai dikutip dari paparan Lutfiyah Hanim (Peneliti TWN) dalam diskusi keadilan ekonomi IGJ 19 Mei 2020.



for the public interest. Overlapping regulations will hamper several other regulations, such as the compulsory license which has been accommodated by the Patent Law, yet still requires more specific legal instruments regarding public emergencies. Moreover, the broad definition of a public emergency in Article 109 of the Patent Law is in line with Article 31 of the TRIPS.

Maximizing the Use of the COVID-19 Budget

The government in making policies related to the budget should be the focus on three priorities; namely, first, the health sector of IDR 75 trillion, social safety net of IDR 110 trillion, and supports from the business world (DTP Taxation /borne by the government (DTP Tax and DTP Import Duty) of IDR 70.1 trillion.⁽³⁾

The budget for handling the COVID-19 does not only involve the Central Government but also involves the Regional Government. The government issued the Regulations of the Minister of Domestic Affairs Number 20 of 2020 which regulates the acceleration of the handling of COVID-19 within the Regional Government. Some regions procured their own medical devices outside of those provided by the Central Government.

Seeing from this case, the government is also encouraging the production of medical equipment such as PPE and medicinal raw materials in the country.⁽⁴⁾ The government, through Ministries and Agencies led by National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), has also prepared a road map for health insurance and reform of the National Health System.

Handling COVID-19 requires comprehensive efforts from the Government. The government must be able to make a strong commitment to utilizing existing resources such as maximizing the use of TRIPS flexibility in order to encourage access to medicines and promote health as a public good, not as a commodity. On the other hand, the government must also anticipate external forces, specifically from foreign countries that continue to demand a more comprehensive regulation of TRIPS, commonly known as TRIPS Plus in various FTAs.



3. <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20200511/10/1238791/ini-rincian-belanja-sosial-covid-19-dan-dukungan-umkm-dari-pemerintah>

4. [4] Delivered by Yenny Sucripto, an expert of Public Budget, in the Discussion Series on Economic Justice, Knowledge Monopoly in the course of COVID-19, Access to Health Innovation and Equitable Common Use



SUMBER : [HTTPS://WWW.JONESDAY.COM/](https://www.jonesday.com/)

SECTION - V

INDONESIA'S COVID-19 VACCINE DIPLOMACY: "THE CHALLENGE OF PUBLIC ACCESS TO EQUITABLE VACCINES AND HEALTHCARE SERVICES"

PUBLISH :
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AUTHOR :
Agung Prakoso
Intan Baretta Nur Azizah
Rachmi Hertanti

Economic Justice Discussion

A belief that the only way to return to normal life is to ensure that the spread of the virus can be slowed down while accelerate research and development of diagnostic technology, availability of adequate medical tools and treatments, and including vaccines. However, in the process, there are still many countries that do not yet have the technology and infrastructure which are capable of procuring vaccines, especially the knowledge about this is often monopolized by corporations from developed countries.

Indonesia itself experiences limitations in infrastructure and technology, thus vaccine procurement still requires cooperation with other countries through bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.

The business approach is still applied in handling Covid-19. Strengthening patent protection regulations which impact on the monopoly of knowledge and production leads to price and supply controls. This will certainly make developing countries, especially Indonesia, face the problem of financing the procurement of vaccines and

other medical devices related to the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in the midst of an economic recession that is still looming.

Implementation in vaccine production and distribution has become the spotlight of the people nowadays, especially to ensure access to vaccines and other medical devices as public goods for all levels of the society without exception. Including the vaccines in circulation, their safety and effectiveness will be guaranteed for the people.

This issue has been discussed by Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ) together with the Indonesia AIDS Coalition (IAC) and the Coalition for Affordable Medicines in an online discussion entitled "Diplomacy of Indonesian Covid-19 Vaccines" on 12 November 2020. Various sources and perspectives have been drawn from CSOs, academics, public health experts, the government, and the House of Representatives of Republic Indonesia. This discussion aims to ensure that the public is informed about the importance of accessing vaccines and medical devices into public goods and not being commercialized in the midst of a pandemic, including ensuring the protection of IPR, especially patents, is not misused in the interests of pharmaceutical companies and groups trying to make a profit amid the current pandemic.

The Global Effort in Granting Vaccine Access for All

"No one is safe until everyone is safe"

(Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus)

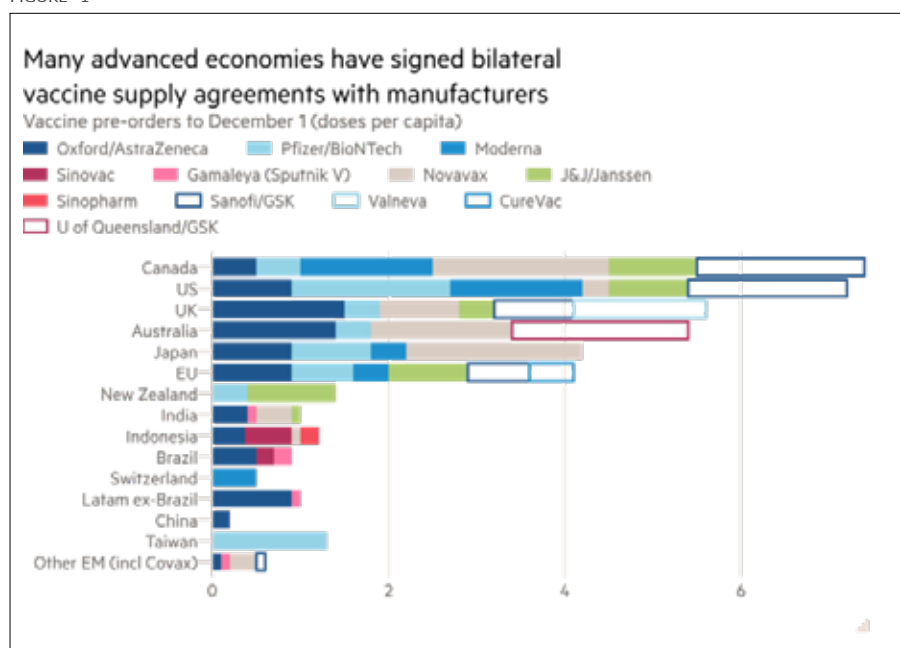
Speaking of the handling of covid-19, almost everything is related to the issue of protecting Intellectual Property Rights (IPR). Third World Network researcher, Lutyah Hanim, explained that almost all health products in handling Covid-19 such as test kits, diagnostics, masks, medicines, vaccines and ventilators are protected under patents, trade secrets and industrial designs. Moreover, the TRIPS rules at the WTO are still being maintained until now, and Indonesia has changed its IPR rules a lot after ratifying the WTO.

IPR protection provisions have monopolized knowledge which is fully controlled by the pharmaceutical industry in developed countries. Therefore, handling Covid-19 poses enormous challenges, especially when pharmaceutical companies still apply the business as usual approach in practice. We are facing the Pandemic, hence it is very important to ensure that everyone in the world has access to it and that no one is left behind.

In handling the Covid-19 pandemic, there are many challenges, both in terms of economic and security, access (price, accuracy, adequacy), allocation, and implementation (distribution). With a business approach by corporations, it definitely will be very difficult for us to be able to answer the challenges, especially if IPR protection regulations are still tightened. Furthermore, Hanim explained that at the international level, there were at least several efforts made by countries in the world to answer the challenges of handling the Covid-19 pandemic.

First, bilateral efforts. There have been many countries that have conducted bilateral transactions with pharmaceutical companies, especially developed countries which have the ability to buy directly. However, most certainly, with bilateral efforts or what is often referred to as the issue of vaccine nationalism, it tends to raise the problem of disparities with developing countries and least developing countries due to their limited financial capacity. This effort is implemented even though the vaccine has not been declared safe (See Figure 1). Today, we often hear one-sided claims from pharmaceutical companies competing to say that the vaccine they invented has up to 90% effectiveness. For instance, of the 154 pre-clinical vaccine candidates currently being tested, only 21 vaccines are entering phase 1 clinical trials that are being tested for safety in healthy young people, 13 vaccines are currently being

FIGURE - 1

SOURCE: DOWNLOADED FROM [HTTPS://WWW.FT.COM/CONTENT/3A37C3F5-20FC-4D1F-8DD4-2FD966C27542](https://www.ft.com/content/3a37c3f5-20fc-4d1f-8dd4-2fd966c27542)

tested in phase 2 clinical trials in groups of people, and so far there are only 10 vaccine candidates that are already in phase 3 clinical trials and are currently undergoing international Covid-19 impact trials. The final results are yet to be announced. Therefore, there is no vaccine that has been approved and given permission by WHO for the public.

Second, the TRIPS Waiver Effort. This proposal was proposed on 2 October 2020 by India and South Africa at the WTO to allow all countries not to provide or not enforce IPR regulations related to handling Covid-19 both for medicines, test kits, vaccines, or other technologies during the pandemic until global immunity is reached. This is highly important in order to provide ample policy space for all countries, especially developing countries, for research, local manufacturing, supply, and others in the context of handling Covid-19. Indonesia itself has agreed, but in the process of discussion there is still a great tug of war between supporting and non-supportive countries. Although Indonesia supports the TRIPS Waiver proposal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself will still observe to what extent the dynamics of the TRIPS Waiver proposal will provide Waiver as a whole or whether there will be more bargains in the future. In this case, Indonesia's position is more to find a middle point, because, if it is too extreme, it will also face political challenges.

Responding to this, Sriwijaya University International Relations Scholar, Ferdiansyah, said that the diplomacy conducted by the government towards vaccines should emphasize humanitarian diplomacy. The South-south cooperation model can also be encouraged, because in general this cooperation model builds solidarity, rather than competition brought by northern countries. Therefore, the ideal choice for a country like Indonesia is if the TRIPs Waiver proposal can be agreed upon, hence we can have a policy by producing local vaccines. If it can be accepted and implemented in its member countries, TRIPs Waiver will be able to overcome IPR barriers to ensure fair distribution, policy regulation, including efforts to reduce prices.

Third, efforts through Access to Covid-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator. This initiative is a global collaboration to accelerate the development of production and equitable access to Covid test kits, treatments, and vaccines. There are several parties involved, including WHO, Gavi, CEF, Unitaid, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Wellcome, World Bank, The Global Fund, and Find. Especially for vaccines, it is discussed in one pillar called The Covid-19 Technology Access Pool (CTAP). CTAP as a forum for sharing voluntarily shares knowledge, intellectual property, and data related to COVID-19 health technology. However, this is the challenge of CTAP, where it is only voluntary where many pharmaceutical

companies are reluctant to share, especially with the profitable approach. Other challenges that also arise in this initiative are related to transparency and questionable governance, particularly in making vaccines and other medical devices as something that public may know (or consumable).

Vaccine Diplomacy: "Efforts to Procure Vaccines in Indonesia"

Indonesia is currently very active in conducting diplomacy and negotiations to get access to vaccines. Erik Mangajaya, Directorate of Law and Economic Agreements at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia said that efforts to procure vaccines by the Indonesian government are conducted in two ways, namely bilateral agreements, CEPI (Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovation) and GAVI (Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization) cooperation, and national vaccine development efforts, known as red-and-white vaccines. Vaccine diplomacy implemented by the Government is definitely in order to ensure the availability of vaccine needs for the people of Indonesian.

Through Presidential Decree No. 18 of 2020 Articles 9 and 10 concerning the National Team for the Acceleration of Handling COVID-19 and Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2020, the Minister of Foreign Affairs plays a role in the COVID-19 Vaccine Development Team. Apart from that, Presidential Regulation No. 99 of 2020 has also mentioned cooperation with international institutions or bodies such as CEPI and GAVI. This legal basis then becomes the basis for the implementation of vaccine diplomacy to accelerate and ensure the procurement of the Covid-19 vaccine according to government needs.

Up to now, bilaterally, Indonesia has collaborated with several Covid-19 vaccine candidates, including with the People's Republic of China through Sinovac, England through Astra-Zeneca, United Arab Emirates through G24. On 3 December 3 2020, through the Decree of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia number HK.01.07/MENKES/9860/2020 concerning the Determination of Vaccines for the Implementation of Covid-19 Vaccination, the Government has determined six types of vaccines to be applied in Indonesia. First, the vaccine produced by PT Bio Farma (Persero). Second, the vaccine produced by AstraZeneca. Third, the China National Pharmaceutical Group Corporation (Sinopharm) vaccine. Fourth, Moderna. Fifth, Pzer Inc. and BioNTech. Sixth, Sinovac Biotech.

In seeking vaccines, the Government of Indonesia also encourages cooperation related to technology transfer. For example, the cooperation

that the government has built with Sinovac also requires the transfer of technology to the national industry. According to Erik, this is highly important, especially when the Covid-19 occurs, it has had a significant impact on the national health sector which is greatly dependent on imports. Not only medicine, but also other medical devices. For this reason, the Government of Indonesia will take advantage of this situation to encourage increased independence for the Indonesian health industry.

For instance, one matter which the Government is also targeting in the CEPI collaboration is exploring opportunities for cooperation as a CEPI vaccine development and production partner where Bio Farma has been included in the shortlist of potential manufacturers for CEPI's Covid-19 vaccine. Responding to this, Member of Commission IX of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Netty Prasetyani, also expressed Commission IX's insistence on the Government to make Covid-19 a momentum for Indonesia to be able to implement Presidential Instruction No.6 of 2016 concerning accelerating the development of the pharmaceutical industry and medical devices. Ensuring national independence and the level of domestic content can be improved. For this reason, in relation to the procurement of vaccines, Commission IX hopes that Indonesia can immediately produce the "Red-and-White" Vaccine, although it may only be completed in 2022.

Another thing that was emphasized by Netty was regarding the procurement of vaccines, she stressed the importance of the government in conducting good public communication. This is due to many people are distorted from information which has an impact on the skeptical response of the efforts being made by the Government today. Don't let this become a major obstacle in handling Covid-19.

Information disclosure to the public that must be implemented by the Government, namely: **First**, regarding the safety assurance of vaccines. There needs to be a sufficiently detailed explanation from the government regarding the effectiveness and safety of vaccines. The government must ensure that the vaccines purchased can be guaranteed not to cause harmful



SOURCE: DETIK.COM

side effects, thus the public is willing to be vaccinated. Based on the current information available, the Government claims the third phase of the clinical trial of the Sinovac Vaccine can be said as safe, because no harm has happened to the volunteers who received the vaccination. Side effects were found but were in minor scale and mild level in some of the volunteers.

Second, about the ability to procure vaccines. To achieve herd immunity, at least the government must vaccinate 70% of the total population, and that must be conducted twice. Based on Presidential Decree No. 99 of 2020 Presidential Regulation on Vaccines Procurement and Implementation of Vaccinations, the government has appointed BioFarma directly. BioFarma's production capacity is of course also limited and must partner with other companies to expand their production capacity. Regarding vaccine availability, on 6 December 2020 the Government announced that as many as 1.2 million doses of Sinovac Vaccine had arrived in Jakarta, and another 1.8 million doses would be sent in January 2021.

Third, the need for transparency in the aspect of financing. The price issue has become a sensitive issue, for example the past experience of the Rapid test and PCR pricing. Including the disclosure of information regarding the ability of the state budget to provide vaccines for the entire population for free. The latest decision from President Jokowi on 16 December 2020, he stated that the Government will make vaccines free for all people.

However, transparency regarding prices obtained from pharmaceutical companies also needs to be disclosed, because this will have an impact on the burden on the state budget. For example, in the discussion of the Committee on Medicine Management at Commission IX also noted the amount that must be paid by the Government regarding the purchase of raw materials from Sinovac, which could reach tens of trillions of rupiah. The process must be transparent, the budget used is also accountable. The Government must be able to explain how much is the purchase amount, how much is the price, then when it is mass produced, how much will it cost per unit of vaccine.

Vaccination, Who Will Be Served First?

In order to achieve "herd immunity" and reduce the death rate of Covid-19, vaccination is an utmost important step. The Expert Council of the Indonesian Public Health Expert Association, Dr. Sumarjati Arjoso, said that vaccination is an effective and essential way to increase immunity and prevent disease transmission. However, vaccination must be conducted carefully, because it must ensure its safety and effectiveness/usefulness.

FIGURE - 3

SASARAN VAKSINASI COVID-19 Pentahapan Prioritas sesuai dengan ketersediaan vaksin, penduduk dan wilayah berisiko, tahapan pemakaian dan indeks pemakaian			
IDEAL : SELURUH PENDUDUK OPTIMAL : 80% PENDUDUK BERISIKO TERTULAR			
Prioritas	Kelompok Prioritas	Jumlah Orang	Kebutuhan Vaksin (Dosis)
1	Garda terdepan : Medis dan Paramedis Contact tracing, pelayanan publik termasuk TNI/Polri, aparat hukum	3.497.737	6.995.474
2	Masyarakat (tokoh agama/masyarakat), perangkat daerah (kecamatan, desa, RT/RW), sebagian pelaku ekonomi)	5.624.0106	11.248.020
3	Seluruh tenaga pendidik (PAUD/TK, SD, SMP, SMA dan sederajat PT)	4.361.197	8.772.3942
4	Aparatur pemerintah (Pusat, Daerah dan Legislatif)	2.305.689	4.611.378
5	Peserta BPJS PBI	86.622.867	173.245.734
	Sub total	102.451.500	204.903.000
	Masyarakat dan pelaku perekonomian lainnya	57.548.500	115.097.000
	Total	160.000.000	320.000.000

SOURCE: SUMARJATI ARJOSO'S PRESENTATION IN THE IGJ DISCUSSION "INDONESIAN VACCINE DIPLOMACY" (12/11), TAKEN FROM THE GRAND DESIGN/ROADMAP FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COVID-19 VACCINATION, MINISTRY OF HEALTH 2020.

The Ministry of Health has made a Grand Design for the implementation of the Covid-19 vaccination. At least vaccination is conducted for 80% of the total population. In fact, the government has determined priority groups of vaccination activities (See Figure 3). Regarding the priority criteria for vaccine recipients, the government must explain openly, including the priority areas for vaccine recipients. This is a massive problem as well, because the readiness of healthcare services in Indonesia is different at every district/city.

Sumarjati further explained that the Minister for National Development Planning Agency/Head of National Development Planning Agency herself estimated the budget requirement for the procurement of Covid-19 vaccines, which reached IDR 46 trillion to IDR 62 trillion, this does not include the budget for providing facilities and infrastructure for immunization services. Moreover, logistic and distribution support is also a problem in itself. Therefore, the State must be able to communicate to everyone about the guarantee that there will be no discrimination against access to vaccines, both in terms of price, distribution, and affordability.





SOURCE: INTERNET

SECTION - VI

STORIES FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY: "COLLECTIVE ACTION OF INDONESIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN RESPOND TO COVID19"

PUBLISH :
September 1, 2020

AUTHOR :
Muslim Silaen

The Covid-19 pandemic brings a heartbreaking story for the people of Indonesia. The sad story added to the Government's tardiness in anticipating and overcoming disasters in 2020. Government policy by making and implementing Government Regulation Number 21 of 2020 concerning Large-Scale Social Restrictions in order to accelerate the Management Handling of Covid19 on March 31, 2020. This policy has had many impacts, especially contributing to the delay in tackling Covid-19.

A dilemma arises from this policy, ranging from a long-term reduction in economic activity which led many companies to adopt a policy of reducing workers, decreasing public purchasing power as a result of limiting social activities, distance education which left technical and non-technical problems. Health services that are disrupted due to the paranoid spread of Covid19 have resulted in difficulties in meeting food needs and other additional needs.

The slow participation of the Government in accommodating the arising problems has made many people lose confidence in the government's capacity to

assist them in dealing with the current situation. The State Institution is the only social institution that has the resources to respond to current conditions, it turns out that it only provides BLT (aid in cash transfers) solutions sourced from State Budget (APBN) and Village Budget (APBDes). The people's patience to trust the Government as executing the leadership of the State to the point of losing trust, the people began to organize themselves in various solidarity activities that originated from the people's own resources. A collective action of social movements has emerged in several regions of Indonesia to respond to the pandemic situation in order to strengthen solidarity among communities .

The story was conveyed in the discussion of the Voices from across the Country which was held by Indonesia For Global Justice (IGJ) with the People's Struggle Union (KPR), mid 24 April 2020 to 20 May 2020 with 8 series of discussions, having the participation of speakers from 17 Provinces in Indonesia who told stories about the emergence of social movement models responding to the tardiness of the State. Various models have emerged, ranging from solidarity as a quick response by raising funds for the fulfillment of personal protective equipment (masks, hand sanitizers, etc.) to meeting food needs on a massive scale. Moreover, an organized movement with the strengthening of cooperatives to help members and the surrounding community, develop agricultural land to establish a Public Kitchen

West Sumatra: Independent and Liberated Cooperative Movement

The Young Lecturer Council Community at Andalas University prior to the pandemic pioneered a cooperative movement. During the pandemic they strengthened their capacity as part of a collective solidarity movement to help the people. This movement assesses that there are several jobs that have experienced a quite drastic decline in income through a survey conducted by the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Andalas University, namely small traders of MSMEs, casual daily workers, employees with irregular salaries, drivers, motorcycle taxis and domestic workers. From the 1007 respondents interviewed, only 36% had regular income, 12% experienced an increase in income and 52% experienced a decrease in income. Respondents who complained about a decrease in income of around 70%. They experienced an increase in spending, between 10 and 25% from the previous days.

Independent and Liberated Cooperation (KMDM) has seen the slow pace of the government in providing social protection to the people, taking

a thesis that the economic movement with the cooperative model has become concrete evidence of the need for strengthening the people in the economic field. The movement which has been pioneered has turned out to be relevant when Covid19 became a global pandemic, including, as a response to the global economy of capitalism which continues to erode resources in Indonesia.

This movement acknowledges the symptoms of a multi-dimensional crisis due to the pandemic. KMDM builds or creates a market, which they call the Wednesday Peasants Market or PRT. This market focuses on distributing food products from the community around the campus with target consumers or regular customers from the lecturers at Andalas University. The impact is also significant, this movement has proven to help the community around the campus, to survive the pandemic and other poverty problems, since it can accommodate products from farmers around the campus.

This cooperative movement maximizes communication and information technology. The process of procuring goods that runs to collect food ordered by consumers through the WhatsApp application. For consumers who want to order goods, practically any food ingredients they want to buy, they can order via their cell phone. Practically without the participation of the government, community groups around the campus have been able to help each other without class boundaries between peasants and lecturers around the Andalas University campus. This model has the potential to spread and strengthen solidarity even beyond the territory of around the campus.

Semarang: "The People Help the People Movement"

Located in the city of Semarang, dozens of people's organizations spearheaded the People's Assistance Coalition (KOBAR) as a response to the Government's tardiness. Especially after seeing that the Government does not have valid navigation to deal with Covid19. This movement accommodates around 64 organizations spread across 35 Regencies/Cities in Central Java Province. Legal Aid in Semarang which became the Joint Secretariat several times issued 8 (eight) long reports and 2 (two) short reports. KOBAR sees this objective situation as having the potential for a food crisis, if the government only works in slow conditions.

Start by distributing pamphlets on the importance of anticipating the food crisis. The pamphlets were distributed throughout Central Java and nationwide networks. Seeing symptoms of a national crisis and encouraging

people to independently implement efforts to navigate Covid19, since it seems that the Government does not have a navigator in handling Covid19.

Coalitions work in alternatively, starting with alternative people organizing to alternative political education. The system works with people from each representative to report daily regarding the conditions in their area continually on a daily basis. Then 3 days later, summarize all the notes that were compiled in one primary report. This coalition eventually formed a peasant union group for the city of Semarang. The Peasants Union is the people's initiative to anticipate the food crisis.

The decision to farm triggered a movement that in less than 1 month had provided 7 donated land for planting with an area of 700 to 1500 m2 and dozens of volunteers who had joined the farm. This movement has fostered cross-class solidarity, with many willing to make donations ranging from donations of seeds, donations of Agricultural Capital and even providing foods for breaking the fast (iftar) at that time.

Jogja Food Solidarity (SPJ)

The Mobile People's Alliance (ARB) in Yogyakarta collectively encourages the volunteer movement for Jogja Food Solidarity (SPJ). This movement has produced around 12 kitchens around the city of Jogjakarta. In response to the current state of the outbreak, this movement sees the impact of the Large-Scale Social Restrictions policy which results in food shortages for the people, especially for those with low income and students who have migrated to study and cannot leave their residential areas.

Various communities and individuals who came from various backgrounds such as artists, students and so on made this movement which later joined by a lot of people. With the existence of Covid19 the Government looks indifferent, peasants still have hope because the harvest season is around 3-4 months. However, seeing that the policies enacted have not navigated the need for food during the pandemic period, the people are highly threatened.

Raising solidarity realizes that the donation will not always occur for a long period of time, hence Jogja Food Solidarity started thinking about cultivating some land to support the public kitchen. The kitchen has started to cultivate some land, in the future some land to be planted with vegetables, cassava and many more. This was inspired by the solidarity of the Kulon Progo Peasants Association (PPLP), the coastal land peasants organization that donates vegetables voluntarily every Thursday. Therefore, the

SOURCE : [HTTPS://WWW.KONDE.CO/2020/12/8288.HTML/](https://www.konde.co/2020/12/8288.html/)

vegetables from the PPLP may provide ingredients for 12 public kitchens. This solidarity shows loyalty in humanity. In the midst of facing the eviction of the iron sand mine, they still provide food security for the small people in the city of Jogja

Collective Movement of the People Movement in North Sumatera

In the city of Medan, the people's organizations such as KPR-FPBI, Legal Aid in Medan, with SAHDAR, AJI Sumut formed a joint post to receive Covid19 case reports. Employing the complaint post they tried to reach out to vulnerable groups who were affected by the policies during the Large-Scale Social Restrictions. This is an effort to help those who are in trouble and don't know where to go for help. Several workers came to complain to the complaint post at the Legal Aid.

Their various problems arose, such as being laid-off by the company, but the settlement and layoffs were also unclear, including the right to wages, Mandatory Religious Holiday Allowance (THR) and others. Apart from

workers' complaints, there are also survey results related to economic resilience, which basically targets workers, peasants, fishermen, as well as women from the respondents who are accepted, on average, those affected are the main breadwinners of around 72%, with age ranging from 20 to 40 years. Then for the number of dependents between 2 to 5 children.

At several points in the city of Medan, a Movement has begun to emerge over people's distrust of government programs. Especially for meeting the food needs of the people in several points of Medan, the people automatically built public kitchens. The post tries to exceed its capacity by starting to gather potential to meet the basic needs of each region. For this reason, they start to map areas that have economic potential, especially for the fulfillment of public kitchens, so that they can be built by the people themselves.

This is a response to the Government's tardiness, seemingly neglecting to protect its people. In the midst of a pandemic, in the midst of a crisis situation the Government has not shown its good intention to answer the problems experienced by the people. Moreover, it is hoped that this movement will begin to build an understanding of the importance of the people in recognizing their own strengths, by mapping their economic potential, hence they can be linked from one region to another. When another region needs one product but another region has it, the people can form its own supply chain and do not wait for the government to answer the problems experienced by the people.

"Let's Plant" Movement

- **Moluccas:**

The people of Moluccas with the occurrence of Covid19 face serious challenges which will certainly be faced with the condition of the region separated by the sea. When people are not connected between islands, there will be a shortage of supply for the needs of the Substitute. However, the local wisdom of the Moluccas people, especially the city of Ambon, made them then have to return to local food and start planting.

This condition is seen by the Humanum community for the emergence of solidarity, with that which then campaigns and organizes using the tagline *Mari Bakabong*. In the Moluccas language, *bakabong* means gardening. This campaign is to encourage independent gardening movements. The results of planting are advised not to be sold. A

campaign to start planning to fulfill daily needs to anticipate the challenges of food scarcity of the people in the future.

- **Padang & Palembang:**

Legal Aid in Padang also monitors and encourages efforts to cultivate independently. Starting by encouraging each member to socialize the importance of planting for household needs to the people. This movement is intended for the people to create a planting platform to anticipate the food crisis. Several other plants, such as vegetables and many more.

Whereas, Legal Aid in Palembang conduct almost the same movement to organize independent planting activities in order to prepare for food security, this movement was prepared for a state of food security both during the Covid19 and post-Covid19 periods. The movement's further efforts to encourage strengthening of communication with network friends and the people.

Community Responds Quickly to Covid19, Raising Public Awareness

- **East Nusa Tenggara :**

In East Nusa Tenggara, there has been an independent movement by building a post. The post was built by people's groups to raise assistance and distribute aid such as masks for village communities, and motorcycle taxi drivers who do not have masks. In addition, other posts are conducted to anticipate the spread of the virus by creating a gate to restrict the movement of people from the village to outside and from outside to enter the village, including the preparation of water for washing hands at the village door.

The people did not wait for the government, and made initiations because they saw that this virus was deadly enough that the people were serious enough to anticipate it. Furthermore, even the community has even independently limited it to rituals of worship in their homes, such as the celebration of Easter

- **South Sulawesi :**

In South Sulawesi, various activities are implemented, by BPD KPR, which is one of the communities that encourages solidarity in Makassar, South Sulawesi. To help their fellow citizens, they design solidarity such as the first, namely collecting gallons of water, to be given to residents to wash their hands. Second, conducting an education about the rights of the urban



SOURCE : Keith Negley - NYTIMES.COM

poor people who are scattered in several points, especially the right to social protection, hence it becomes the basis for understanding their social rights from the Government. Since the aid from the government, which is expected to be able to support the necessities of life, does not come, and many people do not know the information regarding the right to aid.

Of all the stories regarding the previous “the people help the people”, many have survived up to this moment, mainly because it is proven that the Government is still stuttering to deal with Covid19. Hundreds of thousands of people have been exposed to this virus and it is causing a lot of trouble. Meanwhile, the Government is still making policies with an economic paradigm. The global economic downturn is seen as an opportunity to boost economic activity, while many people are still neglected and even lost their lives because of unclear efforts to overcome Covid19. People are still restless and continue to improve their solidarity model. Hence, this is the capital for the people to anticipate piracy of access to resources from the people’s power. What determines tomorrow is the people who determine their own sovereignty.



STORIES FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY: "PROBLEMS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT SOCIAL AID IN HANDLING COVID19 & THE PEOPLE'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY"



SOURCE : LIPUTAN6.COM - JOHAN TALLO

SECTION - VII

STORIES FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY: "PROBLEMS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT SOCIAL AID IN HANDLING COVID19 & THE PEOPLE'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY"

PUBLISH :
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AUTHOR :
Roy Silalahi

The Covid19 pandemic affects all dimensions of people's lives, especially when the Government implements a Large-Scale Social Restriction (PSBB) policy. All economic activities have stopped. Many workers or laborers were laid off, sent home without clear status. Peasants lose money because their harvest cannot be distributed properly and correctly. Many crops have decreased in price, even a little is wasted. Education has also been affected, with the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy and regulations for working and studying from home.

The government then issued a number of policies in response to the Covid19 pandemic that occurred since early March 2020, one of which was by forming a Task Force through Presidential Decree No.7 of 2020 concerning the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid19) in March 2020, whose hope is that this task force can implement optimal handling in this Covid-19 pandemic, including providing solutions to improve the distribution of Covid19 Social Aid (Bansos). Various aid programs from the government have been disbursed to overcome economic problems faced by the

community in the midst of a pandemic, especially when the Large-Scale Social Restriction was implemented.

The aids provided by the Government is not only in the context of handling Covid19, but also in order to deal with the worsening economic crisis due to this pandemic. As of June 2020, the Government began to revoke the Large-Scale Social Restrictions status and implement the New Normal condition in order to accelerate the national economic recovery by forming the Committee for Handling Covid19 and National Economic Recovery (PEN). The government has prepared additional stimulus funds for this, and social incentives have been allocated as much as Rp 110 trillion. Although this figure looks smaller than the stimulus figure prepared for the industrial world, which is Rp 220 Trillion.

In relation to the above-mentioned Government policies, Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ) and the People's Struggle Union (KPR) have conducted a series of webinars with various community groups from 17 Provinces in Indonesia to hear problems arising from the implementation of the Government's social assistance policies both in the context of handling covid19 and economic recovery. This paper is a summary of the stories raised in the discussion series Voices from across the Country held by IGJ and KPR circa May-June 2020 regarding the situation that occurred in the community during the pandemic.

Basic Needs Groceries Aid

In dealing with the Covid19 pandemic the Government has provided several forms of social aids, one of which is in the form of basic needs groceries that have been distributed since the beginning of the Covid19 pandemic that occurred in Indonesia in March. This assistance is provided to residents in DKI Jakarta and its surrounding areas, namely Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, South Tangerang and Bekasi.

In DKI Jakarta, basic needs groceries aid is provided to 2.6 million people or 1.2 million families. The amount of basic necessities given is Rp 600,000 per month and is given for three months. The allocated budget is 2.2 trillion. Furthermore, basic needs groceries for the Bodetabek area was given to 1.6 million people or 576,000 families. The amount is the same, which is Rp 600,000 per month for 3 months. The total budget is Rp 1 trillion rupiah. Thus, a total of 4.2 million residents in Jabodetabek will receive this basic needs groceries aid. The total value of the basic food items received by each citizen during the three months, namely April, May and June is Rp

1.8 million. Regarding the data that has received the social aid, there are still many people who complain that they have not received it until today, even though the program has been running for several months. The difficult times for the community due to the impact of the pandemic have made people even more distrustful of the Government. This is due to many of the people who should have registered to get social aid from the Government have even received aid from other fellow citizens who took the initiative to move to help with "the people help the people movement". Moreover, this has happened in several regions of Indonesia, one of which is in Semarang which was initiated by the Semarang Legal Aid (LBH), by making public kitchens and also in solidarity distributing seeds, fertilizers and many more to peasants affected by Covid19.



SOURCE: ANTARA - INDRIANTO EKO SUWARSO

Cash Social Assistance

Similar to basic needs groceries aid, the Cash Social Assistance (BST) program has also been disbursed since the beginning of the Covid19 case occurred in Indonesia. The difference is, this cash aid is targeting residents outside Jabodetabek. This program provides cash funds of Rp 600,000 to the community for 3 months, namely April, May

and June. Cash Social Assistance recipients are citizens who are deemed worthy of receiving assistance and are directly affected by the economic impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and are equipped with data such as BNBA (by name by address), ID number and cellphone numbers.

This assistance is provided to residents affected by Covid-19 who have or have not been included in the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) belonging to the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos). Local Governments are given the discretion to propose beneficiaries. The proposed data will then be verified by the Ministry of Social Affairs team to ensure that the person concerned is not included in the list of other central government aid recipients that existed prior to the pandemic, hence there is no duplicate data.

Stories from across the country share experiences in each region, the reality



SUMBER : DOK.SINDONEWS/YUSWANTORO

that is happening in the field is not as easy as government regulations that are enforced to access existing social assistance. What happens in the field is a far cry from what the government, both central and regional, has always voiced. Many complaints that came from the people, related to data and the process of distributing social aid during this pandemic, experienced disappointment, confusion, where all state apparatus, state agencies, down to the village level participated in regulating the social assistance distribution process and that was what caused confusion in the people; whose voice to listen to. Each of them provided unclear information, while the community data itself was not recorded properly. Who should get social aid. How many breadwinners of the family should receive this aid is not well recorded. A lot of data and information is confusing among the public with the existence of different rules and policies that are circulated and obtained by the public. As happened in West Java and Banten, especially Indramayu, where they were greatly confused with the data which changes every day regarding data on social aid recipients.

It is different from what happened in several other areas. The story was obtained from East Java, especially Blitar, the village head that was overwhelmed in handling the aid distribution process, from data collection to verification of beneficiaries according to the criteria set by the Government. The program is run by verifying aid recipients, both the

Ministry of Social Direct Aid in Cash Transfers, Village Funds, and Social Safety Nets in collaboration with Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs). Furthermore, the problem of duplicate data due to poor data collection systems occurs in East Java and Central Java.

Like in other regions, Nusa Tenggara also received Direct Aid in Cash Transfers from the Ministry of Social Affairs which was channeled through the local post office, and other aid was distributed by the local government. The social aid that is expected by the people of East and West Nusa Tenggara is not entirely targeted fairly and equitably, there is a lot of data on multiple recipients, so that the village government has to re-enumerate who are actually beneficiaries of aid. Not to mention the late arrival of aid related to the distribution process, many of whom did not receive this aid.

South Sumatra said that social aid during the pandemic was not very contextual, not conducive. The data used as the receiver is old data. The recipients of social aid are not on target, the wealthy ones who shouldn't get help get it and the poor who should get help here do not get help. Not contextual means that this social aid is only to keep the people from staying at home and not working outside their home.

The local government of Bali which did not implement Large-Scale Social Restrictions replaced them with restrictions on community activities with unclear legal grounds. The community is only advised by the local government to be disciplined and not to leave the house during the specified time during the pandemic. The weakening of the economic sector is a major problem in the society. The people really hope for assistance from the government, especially those who have been laid off and sent home due to the pandemic. In Bali, the victims of layoffs and the employees who were sent home did not receive any aid.

Village Fund Direct Aid in Cash Transfers

The government also diverted part of the village fund budget for this Direct Aid in Cash Transfers in order to face the economic impact of the Covid19 pandemic. The Village Fund Direct Aid in Cash Transfers was distributed in two batches. Per month, each beneficiary family (KPM) will receive aid of Rp 600,000, but in the second batch the amount of aid received is lower, namely Rp 300,000 per month. Many people from remote areas of Kalimantan and Moluccas think that the provision of Direct Aid in Cash Transfers only makes people dependent. They hope that the government can provide more aid than that, where in the future they can have a

sustainable life. Like land for instance, which can make them produce plants to help their food security.

Data problems occur, including in Lampung and Medan. Non-transparent data, social inequality there. Who is eligible for aid is not clear. The rules and criteria that the people thought were unreasonable were given by the local government to the villages. For instance, those who have received Direct Aid in Cash Transfers, do not get the Indonesian Conditional Cash Transfer Program (PKH), or if they already get Indonesian Conditional Cash Transfer Program they do not get Non-Cash food Aid (BNPT) and many more. That's the case in Garu 2, Medan.

Electricity Tariff Incentives

Moreover, the Government provided electricity tariff incentives for customers affected by the Covid19 during the pandemic. These incentives are in the form of bill waivers, electricity discounts, elimination of minimum fees, and elimination of subscriptions. The total budget for the electricity



SOURCE : DOK.SINDONEWS/YUSWANTORO

tariff incentive program is around Rp 15.39 trillion for 33.6 million customers of PT Perusahaan Listrik Negara (Persero). Customers who get subsidized electricity are customers of 450 VA, and subsidized 900 VA. Electricity bill relief was then extended to MSME businesses, namely 900 VA for business and 900 VA for industry.

Pre-Employment Card

Another aid launched by the government is the Pre-Employment Card, which according to the government, can help employees affected by layoffs as a result of the Covid19 pandemic and unemployment. Participants of this

program will receive incentive assistance for job training of Rp. 1 million per month. The government provides funds of Rp 3,550,000 for participants who qualify as recipients of the 2020 Pre-Employment Card. The rest is for incentives. Another story from across the country, people say that this pre-employment card is not effective in helping during a pandemic, because what the community needs right now is assistance that can be accessed directly in meeting their daily needs. Many

of them disagree with the existence of this pre-employment card, which only disburses funds for the benefit of digital business people. Besides that, the pre-employment card can only cover 5.6 million while those who have registered are 8.4 million people, meaning that many people indeed need government protection, meaning that currently direct aid in cash transfers is highly expected by the people. Not to mention the difficulties in accessing this pre-employment card funds.



SOURCE: CNNINDONESIA/BASITH SUBASTIANI

for 4 months. The provision of Direct Aid in Cash Transfers of Social Security Administrative Bodies – Employment is planned to be distributed in stages.

Direct Aid in Cash Transfers of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)

The last social aid announced by Jokowi on August 24, 2020 is a business capital aid for micro and small entrepreneurs in the form of grants or Direct Aid in Cash Transfers. An aid worth Rp. 2.4 million will be transferred through an account to be accessed by the micro business actors. The plan is that the aid will be distributed

to 12 million micro and small businesses in stages. The requirements for obtaining this assistance are if the micro business actors have never received loan assistance from a bank. Moreover, the Government hopes that the micro and small business actors will actively register themselves with the local cooperative office.

We will see if the social aid that has just been launched by the Government is optimal in practice as hoped when the Government is committed to helping improve the lives of people affected by Covid19 and the formation of a Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid19. The Committee for Handling Covid19 and National Economic Recovery, which is now a replacement for the Task Force, is expected to be more able to

address problems from all corners of the country to truly restore economic conditions in Indonesia. Stories from across the country illustrate that the records of our society are still bad, old data is still used, even the data of the passing are still circulating. Government assistance is also expected to be in accordance with the respective issues and problems faced by the community. Not only can they receive assistance during a pandemic, but they can also support them in the future. The government must evaluate the form and process of distributing aid to the community, thus all people in all across the country receive proper and equitable aid



SOURCE : DETIK.COM-M FAKHRI APRIZAL/TIM INFOGRAFIS)



THE LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL RESTRICTION POLICY IS IMPLEMENTED, THE STATE IGNORES THE FULFILLMENT OF ITS PEOPLE'S RIGHTS



SOURCE : DOC.IGJ

SECTION - VIII

THE LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL RESTRICTION POLICY IS IMPLEMENTED, THE STATE IGNORES THE FULFILLMENT OF ITS PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

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The people's stories are being voiced amid this pandemic. All stories were told and complained about in a series of voice discussions from across the country held by Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ) in collaboration with the People's Struggle Union (KPR) on April 24 to May 20, 2020. In that discussion, the people from various regions complained about the Government's response in dealing with a pandemic that does not pay attention to the fulfillment of the people's rights. In particular, with regard to the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy implemented by the respective Regional Governments which are running inconsistent with the fulfillment of the people's rights. You can imagine when the large-Scale Social Restriction policy was implemented, the people were asked to stay at home. Meanwhile, there is no guarantee for the people to fulfill their daily needs. Then, how about their fate in facing this Covid19 pandemic.

The Large-Scale Social Restriction policy in the midst of the Covid19 pandemic has definitely added to the anxiety of the Indonesian people. Many sad stories were told by our siblings from various regions in a series of voice discussions from across the country. Including complaints about the slowdown

in the community's economy due to social restriction policies. The people cannot carry out their activities normally since there are restrictive rules for preventing the corona virus. Meanwhile, the Government is not responsive in responding to the anxiety that occurs in public, even the Government's strategy is not yet mature enough to deal with this Covid19 pandemic.

South Sulawesi: The Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy Damages the People's Economic Chain

In Sulawesi, the social restriction policy has an impact on the people's anxiety, because they cannot sell their agricultural products. Like corn which is usually sold for animal feed, it is now difficult to sell it. Then, the cows that are usually sold to the people who will hold a wedding party/reception now there is no one accommodating their cows.^[1] Since hosting a wedding party/reception has surely been prohibited since the Covid19 pandemic, the result of this social restriction has destroyed the economic chain of agricultural products and livestock for the people of Sulawesi.

Sadly, the government in the Sulawesi region only made an appeal to the Village Head to divert village funds to provide social aid to the community. However, it is not clear that the policy scheme is used and even there is no concrete effort to restore the economy of people who depend on the food sector for their livelihoods.

In addition, the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy was complained about by out-of-the-region students in South Sulawesi. They cannot return to their hometown, and must continue to carry out lecturing activities online. The dilemma was conveyed by friends of the People's Struggle Union that students had difficulty funding to buy internet packages during online lectures. The cost to buy an internet data is massive plus the money for their daily needs (such as: food, drink, etc.). Meanwhile, their parents in the village are also experiencing economic difficulties amid this pandemic. What is complained about is that there is not the slightest incentive for internet data for students provided by the campus or the regional government in Sulawesi.^[2]

North Sulawesi: The Large-Scale Social Restriction Is Not Implemented

There is no Large-Scale Social Restriction policy in North Sulawesi. Legal Aid in Manado conveyed its story in a voice discussion from across the country that the North Sulawesi Provincial Government did not implement the Large-Scale Social Restriction because the Provincial Regional Fund could not finance or cover the needs of the community, starting with the provision of basic needs and other aid. Apart from the absence of a Large-Scale Social Restriction policy,

1. [1] Armin Salasa, FIAN Indonesia – Sulawesi Selatan, diskusi melalui daring "Suara Dari Pelosok Negeri" sesi Sulawesi yang diselenggarakan oleh KPR (Kesatuan Perjuangan Rakyat) dan Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ) pada Mei 2020.
1. [2] Tenri Sompia, People's Struggle Union of South Sulawesi, online discussion "Voice from across the Country" Sulawesi session conducted by People's Struggle Union (KPR) and Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ) in May 2020.

Manado also allows people who want to go home, provided that they must be quarantined in their village for 14 days.

Meanwhile, Legal Aid in Manado³ opens a complaint post or online consultation through social media (Facebook) Legal Aid in Manado for labors/workers who are sent home or people who need assistance in cases amid the Covid19 pandemic. At least after they opened the complaint post, there were 13 cases that had entered the complaint channel, including cases of workers who were sent home, layoffs and even not being paid by the company. Then Legal Aid in Manado helped the community complaint cases by forwarding it to the Government to present solutions for people who were facing problems amid this pandemic.

Bali: Not Implementing the Large-Scale Social Restriction, yet Social Restrictions Are Extraordinary

Based on stories from friends from the Manikaya Kauci Foundation,⁴ that in Bali they do not want to propose a large-scale social restriction policy to the Ministry of Health. However, the restrictions on social-community activity are extraordinary. Therefore, Manikaya Kauci's friends believe that the Provincial Government of Bali to the City Government Regency Government in Bali wants its people to obey to stay at home, but the guarantee of the people's needs for life does not want to be fulfilled. To do this, the Bali Provincial Government uses the role of traditional villages to regulate restrictions on community activities. This traditional village then formed a Covid19 task force called "Mutual Cooperation" which was filled by the Bali Indigeneous Police to supervise all social activities of the community, so they did not congregate.

JCentral Java: The Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy Should Have Provided Solutions for the Drop in Prices for Peasants' Commodities

The Large-Scale Social Restriction policy in Central Java did not work effectively. Even though there have been calls for social restrictions, the community is still busy and gathering as in normal situations. The people of Central Java experience their own dilemma from the existence of a social restriction policy. Since if you listen to the advice of the Central Java Provincial Government by staying at home, then how do they support their families.

Even though the social safety net budget for handling Covid19 in Central Java is Rp 1.3 trillion. The numbers are quite fantastic when it is used to buy agricultural products directly from peasants. Apparently since this pandemic, the price of agricultural products has dropped dramatically, such as red guava in

3. Frank Kahiking, *Legal Aid in Manado*, online discussion "Voice from across the Country" Sulawesi session conducted by People's Struggle Union (KPR) and Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ) in May 2020.

4. I Nyoman Mardika, *Manikaya Kauci Foundation*, online discussion "Voice from across the Country" Sulawesi session conducted by People's Struggle Union (KPR) and Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ) in May 2020.

Central Java which is usually sold to middlemen for Rp 5,000 now it has dropped to Rp 750. Likewise, the prices of other commodities that also fell, such as chilies, vegetables and fish. What is unfortunate is that the Governor of Central Java did not focus on providing solutions to the drop in commodity prices for peasants, instead he was busy handling the parking polemic at Pantura. Thus, the Central Java Provincial Government does not have a navigator to deal with the threat of a food crisis that will occur amid the pandemic.

East Java: Building a Food Barn during the Large-Scale Social Restriction

Slightly different from other provinces, the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy in East Java is still implemented. The East Java Provincial Government calls on the people on all activities outside their houses to wear masks, apply hand sanitizers and avoid crowds of more than four people. From the implementation of these social restrictions, people definitely complain about access to basic needs groceries that are difficult to find in the general market. This is due to restrictions on buying and selling activities in busy places. This condition has been complained of by people who usually trade and consumers who buy in the general market.

However, the East Java Provincial Government initiated by building the East Java Expo food barn, in which there are various basic food needs of the people. Hence, this food barn was built as a stock of food needs and could be accessed by all people of East Java. The policy of making food barns for the East Java Expo is also aimed at closing general market access which is usually used by the people for shopping for basic needs groceries, with the consideration of health in the midst of a pandemic, a food barn that can be accessed by all people is built.

South Sumatra: Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy Is Lately Implemented, Public Purchasing Power Decreased

The South Sumatra Provincial Government established the Large-Scale Social Restriction status on May 7, 2020, while many people in Palembang have been exposed to Covid19. In this case Legal Aid in Palembang deeply regretted the tardiness of the Provincial Government in responding to the pandemic, especially the implementation of the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy. According to him, there are many vulnerable groups exposed to Covid19 and must be protected, such as the urban poor.

In addition, he considered that the social restriction policies that were implemented did not pay attention to meeting people's needs. Therefore, many South Sumatra people will fall into poverty. He conveyed that Statistics

Indonesia data contained around 1.6 million people who were vulnerable to poverty, if there was no serious protection from the government it would increase the number of poor people after the pandemic.

The restriction policy also reduces people's purchasing power in South Sumatra, because many businesses are closed, including many workers/laborers who have been laid off and sent home. Including consumer demand for traders is also decreasing. The Large-Scale Social Restriction policy in South Sumatra which closed schools also had a negative impact on students, in addition to disrupted teaching and learning activities students also tended to be lazy to study at home.

Lampung: The Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy Is Being Taken into Advantage by Employers to Castrate Workers' Rights

In Lampung, the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy was implemented but the people activities were running normally. Only a few activities are temporarily closed, such as closing of schools and mosques. The Lampung People's Struggle Union (KPR) said that the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy was actually used by employers to lay off workers and send home workers/laborers. From the data compiled by the KPR as of April 2020, there were around 1,600 workers who were laid off, if combined with workers who were laid off, the figure could reach around 2000 workers. In addition, the KPR also conveyed that the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy condition in Lampung did not ease the payment of tuition fees for students whose campus activities were implemented online. Many Lampung students complain about online classes, because it costs a lot of money. Moreover, the campus also did not make regulations for waiving tuition payments, instead they collected payments as in normal circumstances.

Indramayu: Agricultural Products Are Not Absorbed due to Large-Scale Social Restriction

The Head of Kalensari Village, Indramayu, in a voice discussion from across the country, stated that in Indramayu the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy was implemented in conjunction with the peasants' harvest season. However, he said that peasants were still allowed to go out to harvest the products from their farms. The concern of peasants in Indramayu is where to sell their agricultural products, because all transportation access is closed. It is said that the grain is not absorbed by the market. Due to concerns that agricultural products will not be absorbed by the market, the Village Head of Kalensari has made policies on a local scale related to the strategy for rice absorption. A local strategy that was made to sell agricultural products such as rice by marketing

to Covid19 volunteers, on average, the volunteers bought rice from Kalensari village farmers at a price of Rp9,700. Apart from making the policy, most of the peasants' produce in this village is being kept. In Kalensari village there are around 385 households (KK), if in 1 family they save 2 tons of unhulled rice, then there are around 1000 tons of peasant's grain. You can imagine there are 315 villages in Indramayu, how many tons of unhulled rice is stored and has not been absorbed. Kalensari Village Head questioned the role of Bulog which he said could accommodate peasants' grain, Bulog should be able to absorb peasants' grain yields whose market is unclear amid this outbreak.

The price of harvested dry unhulled rice is around Rp 3,000 to Rp 3,800, if you sell it to BUMDES, you receive it at Rp 4,300 and the middlemen usually collect below that price around Rp 4,100 and some even Rp 3,000. Grain is usually bought by middlemen, because middlemen in this village have production tools such as rice mills, thus many farmers sell their unhulled rice to middlemen. Even though it is sold at a price below the reference price for food.

Moluccas: The Moluccas Government's Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy Does Not Guarantee the Effectiveness of the Economic Chain and Community Distribution

The Regional-Scale Social Restriction Policy (PSBR) established by the Moluccas Provincial Government to limit community activities between islands. Policy However, like most other areas, the Large-Scale Social Restriction and Regional-Scale Social Restriction policies make it difficult for peasants to market their agricultural products to the market due to access to transportation and restrictions on public markets. One civil society organization named HUMANUM questioned the clarity of the policy issued by the Maluku Government regarding the Regional-Scale Social Restriction, because this policy was not accompanied by education to the public. So that many people are afraid to over-face this pandemic, and are even afraid to market their agricultural products. As a result, people's agricultural products have piled up and they don't know where to sell them. The organization HUMANUM stated that the government may urge people to stay at home, but the government must also ensure how to keep the economic chain of society running.

As for the selling price of agricultural products, such as onions and vegetables, it is practically highly expensive unlike usual. Fishermen also experience distribution problems. From their catch, they are confused about where to distribute them. Moreover, fishermen who live in small islands in Moluccas, find it difficult to access transportation amid the Regional-Scale Social Restriction policy. The organization HUMANUM has concerns about how the government

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SOURCE : TRIBUN JOGJA/ AHMAD SYARIFUDIN

should ensure that the distribution chain of the people is not cut off and that consumers can also access their food needs amid this pandemic. The Regional-Scale Social Restriction policy made the HUMANUM organization limit advocacy and aid activities that gathered large numbers of people. However, they alter it to personal (1 or 2 people).

HUMANUM also provides education to the public with the tagline “Mari Bakabong” which means “Let’s Gardening” for their respective needs. Hence, they are campaigning not to think of selling, think of gardening for their own needs. This educational activity according to HUMANUM is to anticipate the scarcity of food needs during a pandemic.

East Kalimantan: Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy Is Not Implemented in the Mining Oligarchy Area

In East Kalimantan, there is no stipulation of the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy issued by the Provincial Government. The JATAM organization highlighted the absence of such a Large-Scale Social Restriction policy, even though 251 people had died infected with Covid19. They said that the Covid19 infection had spread to 3 mining company employees, namely PT. Kaltim Prima Coal (KPC) which recently returned from India and Jakarta.

The absence of a Large-Scale Social Restriction policy certainly keeps their mining activities running. It is proven by every time the barges carry coal with a cargo of around 45,000 to 50,000 tons. Therefore, JATAM believes that there will be no implementation of the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy in the mining oligarchy area, because to ensure that all their mining activities continue, especially in the East Kutai, Kutai Kertanegara and North Penajem Paser regions, because that’s where the ATM oligarchy and mine tycoons are.

Balikpapan is one of the cities with the most spread of Covid19, based on information obtained by JATAM that the Mayor of Balikpapan will propose a Large-Scale Social Restriction implementation to the Ministry of Health. However, they are still calculating whether the Regional Fund is sufficient or not to meet the basic needs of its residents of around 70,000 people. After consideration, the Mayor was not sure that the Regional Fund would meet the needs of its citizens. What is worried about is the call to stay home by the government, but the food needs of the people are in a crisis situation.

West Sumatra: The Large-Scale Social Restriction Policies which Counter Human Rights Upholding

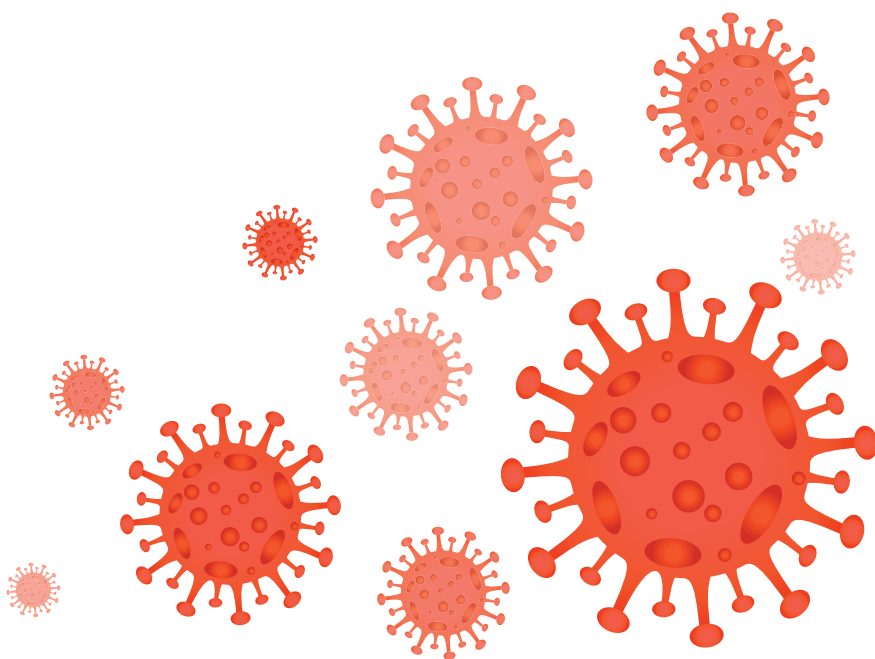
Implementation of the status of the Large-Scale Social Restriction in West Sumatra is since April 22, 2020. This Large-Scale Social Restriction policy was made by setting a curfew in several districts/cities in West Sumatra. Legal Aid in Padang questioned the legal basis for setting hours by the West Sumatra Provincial Government. Some districts/cities impose a curfew on the community that prohibits activities from 10pm to 6am. Legal Aid in Padang revealed that indeed in social and political freedom there is freedom that can be limited under certain circumstances. However, it must be with clear regulations. Since if the regulations are not clear on the legal basis, the implementation and procedures can violate human rights.

Legal Aid in Padang received reports of a street singer being beaten because he was still around at 22.30 at night. However, after being reported to the Police, he did not receive a serious response from this persecution report. Legal Aid in Padang also highlighted the distribution of social aid that should have been channeled by the government prior to the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy. Thus, the community has met their needs, from food to money. Then after the implementation of the Large-Scale Social Restriction for 20 days, the community has not received social aid..

North Sumatra: The Large-Scale Social Restriction Policy Runs Halfheartedly

Civil society organizations in North Sumatra have criticized the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy implemented by the provincial government. KontraS North Sumatra revealed that Large-Scale Social Restriction is running half-heartedly, why is it said half-heartedly because one side of the community has limited mobility not to leave the house. On the other hand, the government cannot afford to pay for people who have to leave their homes to make ends meet. He expressed that people need assurance from the provincial government, at home who will pay for their economic needs and to what extent do they have to be at home, hence this policy is not clear. The government in North Sumatra did not take a concrete policy, whether to limit it at home, or just let it go. This is because the governor of North Sumatra took this matter lightly by saying that North Sumatra was not yet a red zone, the red was still pink. Therefore, the Large-Scale Social Restriction policy is still being implemented half-heartedly.





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