

Government Strategy in Electric Energy Security in Indonesia

Ramson Siagian¹, Arry Bainus², R. Widya Setiabudi Sumadinata³, Wawan Budi Darmawan⁴

^{1,2,3,4} *Department of International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia*

Abstract

The availability of energy resources to meet energy needs in each country is of course different, and the unequal guarantee of the availability of energy resources requires a strategic arrangement on energy security in order to create guaranteed energy availability in the country. The purpose of this study is to examine the level of security of Indonesia's primary energy resources for the supply of electrical energy and to analyze the policies of the Indonesian government for electrical energy security faced with the complexities and problems of the sustainability of the availability of electrical energy nationally. This research is a qualitative research with descriptive analysis writing technique. Data analysis and interpretation in this study used a data triangulation approach. This research is deductive in nature, so the conclusions obtained in this study are the conclusions of the researchers on the data that was collected. Interviews were conducted with informants who were determined by purposive sampling taken according to data needs and secondary data obtained and processed from the laws and regulations governing energy security policies and energy governance, especially regarding electricity in Indonesia. The results of the study reveal that the securitizing actors (Government of Indonesia and Commission VII of the House of Representatives) have been and continue to strive to achieve national electrical energy security through a series of policies that have been proclaimed and hearings between private parties and remain committed to environmental issues.

Keywords : Primary Energy, Electricity, Energy Security, Government Policy

INTRODUCTION

Energy security in a country is very dependent on how a country formulates policies and strategies in the utilization of state-owned energy resources. The availability of energy resources to meet energy needs in each country is of course different, and the unequal guarantee of the availability of energy resources requires an energy security strategy to create guaranteed energy availability. Differences in perceptions regarding energy security between countries as one of the national interests in interacting with their external environment always contain the potential to be hostile to each other in order to fight for what is their national interest, one of which is energy security (Wilkinson, 2007).

The energy needed by a country in carrying out life and sustainability activities, especially in the economic development sector, is electrical

energy. Indonesia is currently aware of the issue of the importance of primary energy security related to electrical energy. Primary energy is an energy commodity that can be mined or obtained directly from natural resources such as oil, solid coal, natural gas or produced from primary commodities. (IEA, 2005). In Indonesia, the primary energy referred to is coal and natural gas because they are the main primary energy in power generation. Primary energy is used to drive power plants that produce electrical energy, so it is significant for Indonesia to improve the quality of policies, programs and strategies so that the concept of primary energy security can be realized.

According to a report from the Indonesian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Indonesia already has coal resources of around 120.5 billion tons and proven natural gas

reserves of around 101.54 trillion. This makes Indonesia ranked 15th in the world and 3rd in the Asia-Pacific region (after Australia and China) on the list of countries that have natural gas reserves (PWC, 2017). It is estimated that Indonesia has potential energy reserves of around 146 years of coal and 39 years of gas based on this 2017 production level (Tharakan, 2015). Indonesia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia with a fairly large demand for energy needs, reaching 35% of the demand for all of Southeast Asia where energy consumption in general in Indonesia showed an increase of 5.9% in 2016 (Southeast Asia Energy Outlook, 2017). This number increased by 3.98% at the end of 2017 with electricity consumption per capita reaching 994.41 Kwh.

However, the increase in electricity consumption does not go hand in hand with an even distribution of areas of electricity users. There are still groups of people who do not enjoy electricity in Indonesia. In some areas the electrification ratio is still below 80%, even in East Nusa Tenggara and Papua the electrification ratio is still below 60%. This is a homework that is a challenge for the government to meet the needs for electrification which tends to continue to increase. The problem of the low electrification ratio in these areas is partly due to the unavailability of power generation infrastructure, as well as limitations and constraints in the distribution of the electricity network in these areas.

While trying to increase the national electrification ratio, the Indonesian government is also facing other problems in the national energy supply. The electricity programs run by the government show an increase in infrastructure development, such as the program for building a power plant with a total capacity of 35,000 MW which is planned to be completed by the end of 2019 experiencing a setback, possibly until 2024. Increasing the development of electricity infrastructure built by the State Electricity Company (PLN) as a state company in providing the availability of electrical energy as well as private parties building power plants that are sold to PLN, requires the availability of primary energy resources that can ensure the

operation of power plants that will be distributed to the people.

The problem of security of supply of primary energy resources is very systemic, which needs to be studied from various perspectives, related to the economy (related to price fluctuations in the global market, purchasing power), politics (government policies and international organizations in energy policy) as well as environmental and social. As we know in the supply of electrical energy in Indonesia, 80-90% of primary energy resources come from fossil fuels which have problems, namely: 1) fossil fuel reserves continue to decline and Indonesia has relied on imported supplies to obtain fuel oil; 2) the burning of fossil fuels causes environmental problems, which are of international concern; 3) ownership of primary resources which are not entirely owned by the state, causing Indonesia to be closely related to primary energy prices in the global market which greatly determines the level of buying and selling value of these primary energy resources. This encourages the need for the government to be able to manage the problem of the availability of primary energy for the security of primary energy supply for the future to ensure the availability of electricity for the whole community.

Researchers have conducted a literature analysis on previous research which is considered to have a correlation with the subject matter to be developed in the further research process. Regarding the issue of energy security, it focuses on discussing the efforts of countries in the world in carrying out energy security policies to meet energy needs every year but at the same time having to think about the impact on ecosystem and environmental conservation, especially on the impact of future weather changes (such as Longwell et.al, 1995; Nersesian, 2007; Horn, 2010; Nugroho, Fei-Lu & Firmansyah, 2017; Shukla & Sharma, 2017; McCaley, 2018). These studies also focus on the urgency of developing and utilizing alternative and renewable energy to reduce environmental degradation but at the same time still being able to meet energy needs for future generations.

Several studies have examined the importance of developing conceptualizations and key

indicators in determining an ideal condition for energy security, especially in countries that are heading towards industrialization (eg Kruyt et.al, 2009; Loschel et.al, 2010; Chester, 2010; Sovacool and Mukherjee, 2011; Sovacool and Brown, 2010; Winzer, 2012; Martchamadol & Kumar, 2012; Jansen et.al, 2004; Vera & Langlois, 2007; Cabalu, 2010; Streimikiene et.al, 2007; Bahgat, 2006; Badea et.al; 2011). These studies show that the conceptualization of energy security is always evolving based on human needs. At least these research studies try to provide indicators that are long-term or long-term security of supply (SOS).

In this study, researchers seek to examine Indonesia's energy security in terms of primary energy needs, which are focused on electrical energy. This is done to fill the gaps that exist in previous research on energy security in the world so that this research tries to understand and explore primary energy security programs and strategies in Indonesia and how the Indonesian government's policies for electrical energy security are faced with the complexity and problems of sustainable availability national electricity.

The remainder of the present paper is structured in the following manner. Section 2 contains the Literature Review used in this research. This is followed by Section 3, which explain the Research Method. In Chapter 4, the results of the Research and further discussed. Finally, Section 5 concludes the paper.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Energy Security

Traditionally, energy security is seen as one of the factors that strengthens the country's ability to maintain economic stability and political stability. The importance of energy security is also related to the issue of human security. For the state, energy security is of prime importance for development and the movement of industry for economic development. Yergin (2011) defines energy security as the condition of the availability of uninterrupted energy resources at affordable prices. The International Energy Agency defines energy security as a state of

adequate, affordable and reliable energy supply (International Energy Agency 2007). Sovacool (2010) shows that energy security can be seen as a link between the factors of availability, affordability, efficiency and environmental stewardship, which together affect the energy security of a country.

Energy security has become a concern in the study of International Relations since the beginning of the use of fuel as an important commodity in conflicts between countries, as a fuel for war equipment as well as a weapon in exerting pressure on industrialized countries that rely on the supply of energy resources from other countries. Energy insecurity can be seen from the high fluctuating world oil prices faced by many countries including Indonesia, the increasing dependence on fossil resources, and this combined with limited renewable energy resources and the problem of global climate change. This insecurity is caused by various complex factors that directly affect people's lives in a country.

Vulnerability of Primary Energy Sources of Energy Security

The concepts of interdependence sensitivity and vulnerability are key terms in complex interdependence theory. Sensitivity interdependence is defined by Keohane and Nye (2011) as the level of responsiveness in a policy framework, which focuses on how quickly changes in one country lead to problems of change in other countries and how big the effects of these changes are. The sensitivity of interdependence is measured not only by the volume (transactions) flowing across borders but also by the effects of problems that occur in changing transactions for society or the government (Keohane, 2011).

The burden that must be incurred as a result of policy adjustments and other strategies reflects the level of vulnerability of a country. In the view of Keohane and Nye (2011), the level of vulnerability from interdependence is a measure in understanding the political structure of the interdependence relationship that occurs between actors, because this level of vulnerability includes strategic dimensions that are not considered in sensitivity. Vulnerability of

interdependence is a measure of the extent to which actors bear the consequences of external events, even after alternative policies have been made. Vulnerability can only be measured by looking at the consequences for making effective adjustment policies to a changing environment over a certain period of time (Keohane, 2011).

Securitization in Energy Security

Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998: 23-45) began to develop a securitization model in the study of International Security which is a model for the decision-making process in the security sector (policy-oriented). Furthermore, security is a concept of a sense of security in a broad sense, while securitization is a process and action to create or achieve a sense of security in various aspects of life. The final result (output) of these processes and actions can be in the form of securitization (security policy in response to threats) or desecuritization (the issue has not been determined as a political policy but is still in the form of political discourse at the elite level). In other words, how to achieve security is by securitization.

By the researcher argues, securitization is a political process that is common in democratic countries such as Indonesia in determining policies to reduce the level of threat to the security of a field, conditions that facilitate a successful securitization process to the formulation of its operational strategy or security apparatus. The political process aims to determine policies related to security and defense issues. If in communist countries, the process is only dominated by a single leader, but in a democratic country, the decision-making process or politicization of security issues must also involve all relevant stakeholders, including the government, legislature, security apparatus to industrial groups, mass media and the public. civilians, especially in perceiving threats that are sensitive in nature, may even threaten state security.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a qualitative research that emphasizes the study in the form of observations and interpretations of researchers as research

subjects. The procedure for collecting, processing and analyzing data cannot be separated from the experience and background of the researcher himself (individual experience) and also does not forget the different perspectives (collective knowledge) obtained from resource persons through structured interviews and secondary data. (Stake, 2010). This study aims to understand the process of securitization of primary energy security to meet electricity needs in Indonesia by looking at the vulnerability and evaluating the governance policies of primary energy sources for electricity in Indonesia. The writing technique in this study is descriptive analysis with reference to Stake (2010) as a methodological guide, which describes the state of the research questions posed through systematic, factual and accurate data.

In this study, the primary data that will be searched and processed include laws and regulations governing energy security policies and energy governance, especially regarding electricity in Indonesia as well as structured interviews with securitizing actors such as the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources and Commission VII of the House of Representatives, and field observations in several related institutions that are relevant to efforts to securitize primary energy security for electricity in Indonesia. In addition to securitizing actors, researchers will also conduct structured analysis and interviews with functional actors that affect the securitization process for primary energy security for electricity in Indonesia, namely PT. PLN, PT. Pertamina, foreign private oil and gas companies and NGOs who are concerned about environmental issues as a counterweight to the speech act process carried out by securitizing actors. Secondary data was obtained through library research and internet research by using various data and information related to primary energy security securitization efforts for electricity in Indonesia as much as possible from books, journals, magazines, newspapers, special publications, official websites and meeting minutes owned by securitizing actors with

functional actors as well as other references deemed appropriate to this research.

Data analysis was carried out during and after the data was collected. The data that has been collected for the first time will be reduced to select which data are relevant to the research, or which are irrelevant, or repetitive data. Irrelevant or repetitive data will be discarded. Furthermore, the data is classified (data codification) based on the theme of the data that is adapted to the Thinking Framework. Furthermore, the interpretation of the interrelationships of one data with other data is carried out. This research is deductive, so the conclusions obtained in this study are the conclusions of researchers on the data that has been collected. In order to maintain validity in making conclusions, in testing the validity of the data, the researcher will use the triangulation method of data sources.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Electricity Providers and Stakeholders in Indonesia's Electricity Policy

Electricity Law No. 30 of 2009, shows that stakeholders related to electricity policy are divided into aspects of control and exploitation. The control aspect is related to ownership by the state and local governments. In the provision of electricity, the Government and Regional Governments in accordance with their respective authorities shall stipulate policies, regulations, supervision, and carry out the business of providing electricity. The implementation of the electricity supply business is further carried out by State-Owned Enterprises and Regional-Owned Enterprises. In relation to this, Article 56 of Law no. 30 of 2009 states that the State Electricity Company (PLN) is a State-Owned Enterprise that already has a business license for electricity supply, and this confirms PLN's position as the only State-Owned Enterprise that oversees electricity affairs in Indonesia.

Apart from State-Owned Enterprises, the business of providing electricity can be carried out by private enterprises, cooperatives, and non-governmental organizations. For areas that have not yet received electricity service, the government or regional government in

accordance with their respective authorities shall provide opportunities for Regional Owned Enterprises, private business entities, or cooperatives as the organizer of an integrated electricity supply business.

State Electricity Company (PLN)

PT. PLN as a state-owned electricity company that plans and implements power projects with long lead times, so PLN naturally needs to have a plan for a long-term power system development program. Thus, the electricity system development plan required by PLN must be long term, which is 10 years. The construction of power plants and part of the electricity policy managed by PLN are the energy renewal policy, the primary energy demand policy for coal, the primary energy policy for natural gas, the new renewable energy policy and the primary energy policy for fuel oil. Also power generation policies, transmission network development policies and distribution network development policies. For the implementation of the policy to develop power plant capacity until 2028, PLN cannot alone build all the needs for new power plants, thus some power plant projects are carried out by Independent Power Producers (IPP).

Independent Power Producer (IPP)

Independence Power Producer is a special purpose company, formed by a sponsor or consortium, to implement electricity purchase agreements with PLN and to develop, build, own and operate power plants. Given the enormous investment needs of the electricity sector, PLN cannot alone build all the needs for new generators. Thus, some of the power plant projects will be carried out by private electricity companies as Independent Power Producers (IPP). Problems in the development of private electricity, among others, are the problem of land acquisition, the withdrawal of financial close and so on. Therefore, in the development of private electricity, developers are needed who are really able to carry out the project well. In general, the share of private electricity development is wide open together with PLN in the development of electricity in Indonesia.

However, the Power Purchase Agreement between PLN and IPP is not always beneficial

for PLN, especially when there is an oversupply of electricity due to declining electricity consumption. A scheme that requires PLN to absorb private electricity supply or has to pay a fine (take or pay) when PLN does not absorb the supply in accordance with the contract. The existence of an IPP is needed for electricity supply projects because it tends to be expensive, but PLN's position as the sole buyer has a high financial burden when the amount of electricity supply from the IPP exceeds the level of electricity consumption.

Private Power Utility (PPU)/Captive Power Plant (CPP)

Private power utility (PPU) or Captive Power Plant (CPP) known as an integrated private power plant, is another form of power plant run by private parties for their own use/other companies, reducing the burden on the network while increasing reliability, reducing business costs, and can quickly deploy power to areas that are currently underpowered. The existence of this PPU can also contribute to the fulfillment of electricity supply needs in Indonesia. The existence of PPU has developed in industrial areas with the main objective of supplying electricity needs in an industrial area, especially strategic industries. PPU provides benefits in the form of increasing the reliability of the local electricity system due to the presence of a generator near the load center, and also reducing the main grid load and losses in electricity transmission. In addition, the PPU can provide the additional benefit of supplying electricity to the PLN system. On the one hand, the capacity of the PPU provides a guarantee for electricity needs in industrial areas, but this also has the potential to reduce the potential for electricity sales of PLN. Therefore, there is a desire from the government to limit the granting of business permits for new PPUs, taking into account the capacity of the electricity infrastructure, electricity demand and the funding capacity of PLN.

Primary Energy Security Threats for Electricity in Indonesia

Primary energy conditions, such as coal resources, will continue to be the largest source of power generation in Indonesia, until around

2056, because most of the existing power plants as well as those in the planning process will use coal as primary energy. In the Indonesian government's plan to build power plants, including the 35,000 MW program and the 7000 MW program, the greatest need will be to use coal as primary energy to generate electricity nationally.

Indonesia's coal production has increased over the last 10 to 15 years, and Indonesia has emerged as one of the largest (thermal) coal exporters in the world. However, this is not always consistent, the rise and fall of Indonesian coal production is influenced by the high and low global coal prices, where rising coal prices encourage Indonesian producers to increase production to meet the needs of world export markets, while coal prices tend to fall and unattractive, Indonesian coal producers tend to reduce the amount of production to meet Indonesia's domestic needs.

Even with abundant coal production and reserves, exporting coal is a dilemma for the Indonesian government. With the uncertain global market conditions, future demand may very much depend on how the Indonesian government's energy policy is in maintaining the supply of coal, and the government is responsible for implementing it, following through on its vision to use the country's coal more domestically than exported. The need for political will from the government to ensure the availability of coal that is economically affordable by PLN is very important and must be a priority of the national electrical energy policy. However, the use of coal as primary energy in national electrical energy also has a negative impact on the environment. Indonesia as one of the parties that signed the Paris Agreement has ratified it with Law Number 16 of 2016 concerning Ratification of the Paris Agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Furthermore, Indonesia is committed in the first period to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 26% by 2020, Indonesia's NDC (Nationally Determined Contribution, namely the commitment of the national contribution of each country that is the target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions) is

structured to increase actions and conditions that support the achievement of more ambitious goals after 2020 that will contribute to efforts to prevent global temperature rises below 2o C and pursue efforts to limit global temperature rise to 1.5o C compared to pre-industrial times.

The Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry is aware that thermal power plants are one that has the potential to contribute to greenhouse gas emissions resulting from air pollution from coal burning dust, so it is necessary to control the emissions it produces. Through the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Number:

P.15/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/4/2019

concerning Emission Quality Standards (BME), which changes the emission limit for coal, which since 2008 has not been adjusted to the emission quality standard parameters. Based on the BME regulations, there are efforts to improve the emission quality standards of power plants with coal primary energy, which are more stringent than the previous regulations.

Another primary energy used as electricity in Indonesia is natural gas. Natural gas is primary energy which is also available in Indonesia, although not too much, because only 1.5% of the world's natural gas reserves, namely 142.72 TSCF, which is spread mainly in the Natuna islands, South Sumatra, East Kalimantan, Masela in Maluku. and Tangguh in West Papua. Based on the analysis of the natural gas balance and the national electricity policy, there are three scenarios for utilizing natural gas in the future. Two of the three scenarios from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources indicate that there is a possibility that Indonesia will become a natural gas deficit, meaning that there is insufficient domestic natural gas availability. PLN as one of the main consumers of domestic natural gas supply requires efforts to import LNG, to meet its operational needs. So that the resilience of natural gas supply to PLN will be more vulnerable to the availability and fluctuations of international LNG prices. Looking at the three scenarios in the natural gas balance, the security of natural gas primary energy for national needs will be threatened.

The Government of Indonesia through the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Regulation Number 1750 of 2017 concerning Determination of the Allocation and Utilization of Natural Gas for the Provision of Electric Power by PLN provides certainty of natural gas allocation for all natural gas-fired power plants in accordance with the 2017-2026 Electricity Supply Business Plan (RUPTL). With the Ministerial Regulation, PLN will continue to receive natural gas allocations in a natural gas area that still has natural gas reserves even though the Cooperation Contract Contractors (KKKS) have completed their contracts and have been replaced by new contract. On the other hand, the Government also supports PLN to obtain reasonable natural gas prices by issuing the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Regulation Number 45 of 2017 concerning the Utilization of Natural Gas for Power Generation. The regulation regulates the price of natural gas which is linked to the price of crude oil as well as provides a reasonable price limit for natural gas to reduce the cost of primary energy in the production of electricity.

Government of Indonesia Strategy and Policy on National Electrical Energy Security

Based on the results of interviews with informants, the Indonesian government's effort to maintain national electrical energy security is to involve the participation of the private sector in the development of the electricity sector. The greater involvement of the private sector in electricity development can also be seen from the policy for the construction of a 35000 MW power plant with a smaller portion of the government than the private sector (IPP). The government's commitment to provide an additional 35,000 MW was carried out by the Government together with PLN and IPP by building 109 power plants, each of which consisted of 35 projects by PLN with a total capacity of 10,681 MW and 74 projects by IPP with a total capacity of 25,904 MW. Where in 2015 PLN has signed a 10000MW power plant contract as phase I of the total 35000MW (PLN, 2019). In the government's view, the interests of the national economy depend on the availability

and adequacy of national electrical energy, the limited ability of the government to provide development funds for the development of electricity infrastructure, the role of private investment and other business entities is very necessary, in order to meet the national electricity demand. Of the 35 thousand MW power plants to be built, more than 1,127 trillion rupiah is needed. Therefore, IPP involvement is absolutely necessary (PLN, 2019).

The existence of these policies places an important role for the private sector in providing electricity generation business in Indonesia. By the researcher argues, the domination of the private sector in the business of developing power plants is not a threat because the construction of power plants by the private sector will be preceded by a binding power purchase contract with PLN, so that the private sector cannot unilaterally change the selling price. This national electrical energy security can also be seen from the government's policy that places PLN as the only institution in charge of distributing electricity to consumers. So that although the power plants in the 35,000 MW program are dominated by the private sector, they cannot directly sell the electricity they produce to consumers, but only to PLN.

In relation to this provision, the government has set rules that can be used as a reference for the provisions on buying and selling electricity from IPP to PLN from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, namely: Minister Regulation No. 10 of 2017 concerning the Principles of the Electricity Sales and Purchase Agreement; Minister Regulation No. 11 of 2017 concerning Utilization of Natural Gas for Power Generation; Ministerial Regulation 12/2017 concerning Utilization of New Renewable Energy for the Provision of Electric Power; and Ministerial Regulation No. 19 of 2017 concerning the Utilization of Coal for Power Generation and Purchase of Excess Electricity. Based on these regulations, the researcher argues, it can be said that the price of electricity purchased by the state through PLN must be lower than the national cost of production, so that it is still possible to sell electricity to consumers in accordance with

the basic electricity tariff set by the Indonesian government.

The Indonesian government continues to strive to meet the needs of national electricity supply at affordable prices for the community and continuously available at affordable prices. This requires policies that ensure the availability of affordable primary energy supplies, one of which is by determining the selling price of coal. The state policy to prioritize the fulfillment of coal primary energy needs for PLN is contained in the policy that regulates the determination of the selling price of coal in the Regulation of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 1395 K/30/MEM/2018 concerning the Price of Coal for the Provision of Electricity for the Interest General. The researcher argues, the policy of securing primary energy supply for power plants can have an impact on two points of view, namely from the point of view of PLN which requires supply and price guarantees, and from the point of view of primary energy business actors who require certainty of investment and profit, where they are given the widest possible opportunity to supply primary energy needs for power plants in accordance with their economic value. However, this government policy has not been able to fully guarantee the supply of primary energy for PLN. In addition, another problem related to the security of electrical energy is the sustainability factor of PLN related to the determination of the selling price of electricity (electricity basic tariff) as a product of PLN which is assigned by the government to provide national electrical energy needs. The Indonesian government sets the basic electricity tariff by considering economic factors that are affordable for the community. Until now, the policy of setting electricity prices is under the authority of the government, but it has not been sufficient to cover the basic costs of electricity production for PLN and has caused an increase in the financial burden for PLN. The main factor in PLN's cost of production, which is higher than the basic electricity tariff, is dominated by the price of primary energy fuel for power plants. Meanwhile, the factors that make it difficult to increase the basic electricity tariff to cover the basic costs of production are

influenced by the economic capacity of the community and the political will of the government.

The researcher argues, electricity is a basic thing for Indonesia because it is not only for economic interests caused by the development of an energy-intensive industry, but also economic growth that contributes to an increase in electricity demand. In addition, it has the potential to pose a national security threat by causing disruption to strategic infrastructure, massively cutting off communication lines, including defense and cybersecurity systems. Seeing the importance of electricity for national security, the Indonesian government should reduce dependence on one of the primary energies. The majority of Indonesia's electricity relies on coal and natural gas, so efforts to secure guarantees for the availability of coal and natural gas are part of Indonesia's national security. A continuous supply of primary energy is needed to ensure the reliability of electricity supply in Indonesia.

The statement from the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources that proclaimed Energy Independence became a campaign to ensure the availability of primary energy for electricity in Indonesia. The campaign was carried out as a form of speech act to convince the public in the midst of debates, between the interests of the economy and the availability of primary energy, as well as between economic affordability and sustainable development. The government also ensures that the use of coal as primary energy for electricity will be accompanied by converting the coal business in accordance with global and domestic developments, for example applying Clean Coal Technology (CCT).

Based on the results of interviews with Commission VII of the House of Representatives, as securitizing actors in one of the determinants of national electricity energy policies, it was found that the House of Representatives tends to highlight the importance of Domestic Market Obligation (DMO) guarantees that all coal mining companies must comply with, to ensure the availability of primary energy supply for

electricity. In several hearings, the spotlight from Commission VII was related to the government's firmness in maintaining the obligation to fulfill domestic supply, which often did not reach the target. The focus on monitoring DMO policies always seems to be the attention of Commission VII in hearings with partners, especially with the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. Maintaining the DMO policy along with the provisions on the maximum price is a form of speech act carried out by the legislature as securitizing actors in maintaining national electrical energy security.

Therefore, the House of Representatives asked the Government, especially the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources to carry out strict DMO supervision to meet the 25% coal DMO regulation in order to maintain guaranteed supply for power plants. If a number of private companies are still determined not to allocate coal to the state (PLN), then the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources can impose penalties on these companies, such as reducing their quota permits and being fined. This view reflects that DMO is a statutory mandate for primary energy security in order to prioritize the interests of domestic supply rather than corporate profits from coal exports which have high prices in the global market. Following the market price for domestic needs is considered to be burdensome for PLN which will eventually lead to an increase in electricity price rates which will burden the community.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a vital energy system, electricity in Indonesia supports sustainable economic growth and the interests of national security. If electrical energy security is not managed effectively, it will disrupt traditional national security and military security.

Of course, a country's energy security policy requires planning and scenarios to anticipate risks that could pose a threat to security in the future. The preparation of plans and scenarios for energy security policies needs to be based on more precise and reliable studies to predict energy demand and security, including

developing quantitative-based research or using mathematical modeling.

Thus, primary energy security is a vital Indonesian national interest. Without energy security, it will pose a threat to national security, economic growth and the socio-political life of the community. For this reason, primary energy security is needed, as well as the addition and maintenance of transmission, substations and distribution in the plan for developing electric power with a stable and sustainable primary energy supply.

REFERENCE

1. Buzan, B., Waeber, O. & de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A New Framework of Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
2. Dewan Energi Nasional. (2015). *Ketahanan Energi Indonesia 2015*.
3. Direktorat Jenderal Ketenagalistrikan. (2018). Buletin Ketenagalistrikan. *Buletin Ketenagalistrikan*, 55(14). www.djk.esdm.go.id
4. Direktorat Jenderal Minyak dan Gas Bumi. (2021). *Grand Strategy Mineral dan Batu Bara*. Kementerian ESDM.
5. Direktorat Jenderal Minyak dan Gas Bumi. (2021). *Statistik Minyak dan Gas Bumi, Semester 1 2021*. Kementerian ESDM.
6. Direktorat Jenderal Minyak dan Gas Bumi. (2022). *Realisasi Produksi & Penjualan Batu bara. Minerba One Data Indonesia*. Kementerian ESDM. <https://modi.esdm.go.id/produksibatubara>
7. Direktorat Jenderal Pengendalian Perubahan Iklim. (2017). *Strategi Implementasi NDC (Nationally Determined Contribution)*. Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan.
8. International Energy Agency (IEA). (2005). *Manual Statistik Energi* (Bahasa Ind). International Energy Agency; Eurostat; OECD.
9. International Energy Agency (IEA). (2007). *Oil Supply Security: Emergency Response of IEA Countries*. Paris: OECD/IEA.
10. Kementerian ESDM. (2015a). *Dokumen Rencana Strategis Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral 2015-2019* (pp. 1–182). Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral.
11. Kementerian ESDM. (2015b). *Perkembangan Penyediaan dan Pemanfaatan Migas, Batu bara, Energi Baru Terbarukan, dan Listrik* (1st ed.). Pusat Data dan Teknologi Informasi Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral.
12. Kementerian ESDM. (2018). *Neraca Gas Bumi Indonesia 2018-2027*. Direktorat Jenderal Minyak dan Gas Bumi.
13. Kementerian ESDM. (2020). *Bahan Ditjen Ketenagalistrikan*.
14. Kementerian ESDM. (2022). *Siaran Pers Nomor: 1.Pers/04/SJI/2022*. <https://www.esdm.go.id/id/media-center/arsip-berita/hindari-pemadaman-10-jutapelanggan-pln-pemerintah-larang-sementara-ekspor-batubara>
15. Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2011). *Power and Interdependence revisited* (Vol. 58). New York: Longman Classics in Political Science.
16. PT. PLN (Persero). (2019). *PT PLN (Persero) Electricity Supply Business Plan 2019-2028*.
17. PWC. (2017). *Global annual review*.
18. International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. (2017). *Southeast Asia energy outlook 2017*. IEA.
19. Sovacool, B. K., & Brown, M. A. (2010). *Competing Dimensions of Energy Security: An International Perspective. The Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 35, 77–108. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-042509-143035>
20. Stake, R. E. (2010). *Qualitative Research: Studying How Things Work*. New York: The Guilford Press.
21. Tharakan, P. (2015). *Summary of Indonesia's energy sector assessment*.
22. Tharakan, P., Gubbi, S., & Lillis, M. C., Li, J. (2015). *Finance and Investments in Renewable Energy in Asia. Handbook of Clean Energy Systems*, 1-28.
23. Wilkinson, P. (2007). *International Relations: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

24. Yergin, D. (2011). *The Quest: Energy, Security and the Remaking of the Modern World*. New York: The Penguin Pres.