

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The International world has now entered a period of instability. Uncertainty in politic, economic, and security have created a changes in global dynamic. The rivalry between big countries occurs in all sectors of state life. Indonesia assumes that while global challenges are increasingly complex, as they are today, the best answer towards this phenomenon is a global partnership which is a form of synergy from all parties to create a safer and more peaceful world. Countries should prioritize integration as means of unification of forces each country possesses in multilateral relation. In such relations, the sovereignty of each member country will be fully respected (Berty, 2018). Moreover, once a country was engaged in such multilateral relations, each member country is committed to foster cooperation in maintaining peace. As the greatest global institution throughout the world, the United Nations (UN) is now consisting of 193 countries. It plays an important role in maintaining world peace, security and stability as stated in article 1 of the UN charter.

In his speech at the UN Headquarters, Jusuf Kalla, Indonesia's vice president, said that "peace is never given but it must be strived for". Peace is achieved by efforts through a process of dialogue, inclusiveness, peaceful dispute resolution, instead of through violence (Kompas, 2017). If this cannot be achieved, a war might occur. War and conflict are not only useless actions but also destructive, thus must be avoided. In line with that, As sharing the same idea, President Joko Widodo also said that rivalry between countries would only lead to a chaotic world. For countries which currently in conflict even to those that already lead to war, there is no point in celebrating victory amid the destruction, he insisted.

(Kompas, 2017). Therefore, this is a vital function of the UN Security Council as one of the organs of the UN is the vanguard of world peace and security.

As a an active member of UN, many put Indonesia in the process of international discussion and lobbying with its strategic position. In diplomatic, Indonesia's role is also seen as a bridge builder in world security issues. Other form of Indonesia's contribution to international security includes the spread of more than three thousand blue berets in 9 different UN peace missions. Based on the UN data, dated on late November 2018, Indonesia takes the 7th place out of 124 contributing countries in the world (Kemlu, 2019). As it is known, this is such a remarkable achievement, especially since this position has exceeded the target before. Indonesia targeted itself to become top 10 troops contributing countries by deploying more than 4000 soldiers. Yet, the target to reach 4000 personnel remains to be accomplished. According to Retno L. Marsudi, as quoted from voanews.com, the involvement of female soldiers is also Indonesia's commitment in the future, especially in conflict areas where many victims are women and children (Voa News, 2019).

Effective as of January 1, 2019, Indonesia had officially joined 14 other countries to fill positions in this UN's strongest body to help alleviate war, conflict and tension throughout the world. This is a concrete step for Indonesia in realizing its commitment to help maintain world peace. The voting process for nominating non-permanent members was held on Friday June 8, 2018 at the General Assembly. This occasion was attended by 190 countries including Indonesia. Indonesia, which was represented by Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno L. Marsudi and other Indonesian diplomats representatives. During the voting process in the General Assembly, Indonesia competed with the Maldives to win the seat of non-permanent members representing Asia Pacific region. Indonesia won 144 votes out of a total of 190, while

Maldives got 46 votes. Indonesia's victory was achieved because it received votes of more than 2/3 of the votes present at the General Assembly. Like a coin which has two sides, the election of Indonesia as one of non-permanent member on the UN Security Council is both a notable achievement and also such a big responsibility on the other side.

The UN itself, in carrying out its duties to handle various international issues, has 6 main bodies with their respective concern. The six bodies include: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat. The main responsibility possessed by the Security Council is to maintain security and peace between countries as stated in the UN Charter article 1. Accordingly, in carrying out their duties, the Security Council is given the authority to make decisions, the one which require all members of the UN to comply with, as stated in article 25 of the United Nations Charter. The description of the article is: "the members of the UN agree to accept and carry out decisions of the Security Council". The decision made by UN Security Council is known as the UN Security Council Resolution (Hurd, 2007).

In Article 23 of the UN Charter, the Security Council's membership consists of 15 countries categorized as permanent and non-permanent members. Permanent members, known as "P5", consist of five countries, namely China, France, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The five countries were not chosen randomly, but were a representation of the great power of World War 2 (Hancox, 2017). These countries initiated the founding of the United Nations. Permanent members have veto rights that distinguish privileges from other members. The formulation in granting veto rights to permanent members was decided through the Yalta Conference. Veto can cancel a decision. Meanwhile, the other 10 countries are non-permanent members elected through General Assembly

voting. The configuration base for non-permanent membership in the Security Council is also regulated in charter 23. According to the charter, non-permanent members are elected for two-year terms based, as stated that:

“...in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organizations, and also to the equitable geographical distribution” (United Nations Charter, 2019).

Based on the geographical distribution, the world is divided into some groups, namely African States, Asian States, Latin States, Central and Eastern States, West European and Western States.

In its geographical representation, Indonesia is a candidate for representation of the Asia Pacific to replace Kazakhstan, whose membership ended in December 2018. Meanwhile, to seize this position, Indonesia must compete with the Maldives which is also a representation of same region. Maldives is an archipelago country lies in the Indian Ocean. Maldives joined UN since September 1965. Maldives has been wanting to seat on UN Security Council for about 51 years since its membership in the UN. In 2008, Maldives had announced its candidacy for this position. Despite being the first time in candidacy, Maldives was not a trivial rival. This country is certainly an active member of Small Islands of the State Development (SIDS) which is active in the field of development (Fitriyanti, 2016). Maldives came to candidature by bringing up issue of unique and fresh perspective to old challenges, Maldives believed they should be representative of SIDS which constitutes 20% UN membership. Furthermore, there are many other facts about the participation of Maldives on the world stage, especially on the UN scene, such as: Maldives was listed as a member of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and an Executive Board of the

United Nations Entity for Gender Quality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). Whereas, the experience of the Maldives leadership on the international scene was becoming chairman of the Alliance for Small Island States (AOSIS).

As with Indonesia, this country has its own dynamic relation with UN. Becoming a member since 1957, this opportunity was the 4th time to Indonesia occupying this position; after previously serving in three different periods of 1973-1974, 1995-1996, and 2007-2008. In the period 1973-1974, Indonesia was side by side with Kenya, Peru, Australia and Austria. Then, in the year 1995-1996, it was side by side with Bostwana, Honduras, Germany and Italy. Then in the third period, 2007-2008, Indonesia was side by side with South Africa, Panama, Belgium and Italy. A little of the history of Indonesia's significant leadership in international scene is, that it is one of the founding countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of G-77 (G77) and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Indonesia is also a member of the G20 from emerging economies. In UN, Indonesia is also a country that encourages the need for UN Security Council reform to be more democratic, responsive and credible.

In fact, in the UN charter, there is no explanation for the existence of any condition and mechanism for candidature of a non-permanent member candidate of the UN Security Council. Basically, the state is free to represent and run for its geographical distribution. Before the election takes place, the country that is running for candidature must declare itself to other countries in order to gain votes. In this election, Indonesia declared its candidacy through the official speech of Indonesia's Vice President, Jusuf Kalla in New York in 2016.

In last September 2016, Indonesia officially nominated itself to represent Asia Pacific in the 2018 elections. The declaration of Indonesia candidature was disclosed directly by Vice President Jusuf Kalla in the 71st

UN General Assembly at UN Headquarter, New York. The ceremonial was held with a reception from the Indonesian arts and culture performances which were attended by hundreds of foreign diplomats and the chairman of the House of Representatives Commission I, Abdul Haris. Where on that special occasion, Indonesia used the opportunity to start doing campaign to gain support from invited countries. Through his speech, Kalla mentioned Indonesia's commitment and contribution to the UN and its readiness to be "true partner for the world". The same argument was stated by Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi who also optimistically voiced her support to Indonesia candidature. She also believes that Indonesia is competent enough to compete for qualification to represent Asia Pacific. (Parameswaran, 2016)

Figure 1.1
Indonesia Campaign Logo



Source: (Kemlu, 2019)

The tagline carried in the official campaign of Indonesia candidature is "a true partner for the world peace, security and prosperity". This slogan illustrates the role and face of Indonesian diplomacy now and later to create world peace. As a middle power country, Indonesia emphasizes its image to always be in solidarity with developing countries and is ready to be a reliable partner for developed countries to maintain world peace. Indonesia also highlights itself as a bridge builder who has a strategic role

as a mediator for many international conflicts. By becoming one of the non-permanent member candidates in this period, Indonesia shows its strong will and commitment to play a bigger role in international stage (Norlyanti, 2018).

Becoming a member of the Security Council is certainly a prestige which come with huge responsibility and full of expectations in a package. Moreover, every member of the Security Council, both permanent and non-permanent, has the advantage of being able to put its interests in decision making process. This then made countries compete to get the UN Security Council seat, one of which was Indonesia. By winning the seat, Indonesia should use this strategic opportunity to actively participate in both lobbying and drafting resolutions process.

Looking back from history of Indonesia's vote on the UN Security Council resolutions, on last tenure 2007-2008, Indonesia abstained on resolution of economic sanction against Iran (Bayuni, 2018). In that case, Indonesia cited the principle of non-interference to its decision. Both at home and international, many assumptions showed up regarding Indonesia's decision. Some say, this political maneuver has created the impression of Indonesia's inconsistency. This phenomenon also injured the image of Indonesia as a neutral country in the flow of many global interests and its commitment to support various peace efforts.

Therefore, in resolving many security issues, the role and decision of a country sitting on the Security Council is a matter for others (Charron, 2011). A country's position should be coherent and consistent over time. By being predictable and consistent will make others willing to interact with the country and are able to make allies. Otherwise, the country will end up being no-one in Security Council (Verbeke, 2018). While seated in the UN Security Council seat, Indonesia has an important role in making diplomatic efforts to accommodate Indonesia's

interest. Therefore, the writer needs to analyze the reason behind Indonesia membership in UN Security Council for the period 2019-2020.

B. Research Question

Based on the aforementioned discussion, the formulation of the problem proposed by the writer is:

“Why does Indonesia want to become a non-permanent member of United Nations Security Council period 2019-2020?”

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to examine the problem stated above, the writer use Constructivism Approach in Policy Making Process by Alexander Wendt as decribed below:

Construtivism approach

This paper analyzes why Indonesia wants to become a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in accordance to constructivism approach. Constructivist approaches in global phenomena can be seen through several events in International Relations studies. The emergence of Constructivist Theory is considered as a form of criticism of the existing or mainstream theories that are considered too rigid to interpret todays interactions. Constructivism is a perspective that focuses on human consciousness and its role in international relations. It also recognizes the significance of nonmaterial factors.

As theory that emerged after the end of the Cold War, this theory comes up as an alternative to the previous theory of international relations which was considered not able to explain that phenomenon appropriately. (Reus-Smit, 2010). The key thought of constructivism is that the social world including international relations is a human construction, it is not something that given (Jackson & Sorensen, 2005). One of the key of constructivist concepts for understanding the phenomenon in international relations is the concept of identity which had never been

discussed in any theory before. Thus, role of constructivism is considered to contribute and enrich the paradigm of international relations.

In his theory, Alexander Wendt assumed that the dimension of ideas was more important than the material dimension and that identity and interests were determined by that idea. He also examined that through identity, constructivism is considered have ability of bringing back social aspects, history, and norms in international relations. Thus, the logic of constructivist thinking is very different from realist. If the realist emphasizes the material dimension in the form of the distribution of power capabilities between countries, on the other hand constructivists emphasize non material dimensions in the form of shared understanding and intersubjectivity between countries (Guzzini, 2000). Constructivism shows how international norms develop, the influence of ideas and values that can shape a country's action through policies, and the influence of state identity on it (Reus-Smit, 2010). Wendt's basic assumption about identity is that identities are the basis of interest. Therefore, identity is the basic foundation of actor behaviour in international relations before the existence of national interests (Wendt, 1992). The national interest is the result of the identity itself. The state will uphold its national interests when the country knows about what it has in itself and what must be achieved by the state.

The figure 1.2 below shows the illustration of decision making process through constructivism approach by Alexander Wendt.

Figure 1.2
Policy Making Process in Constructivism



Source: (Wendt, 1992)

Before we go further, we need to agree the understanding about the construction and concept of identity and the national interest in foreign policy from the constructivism point of view.

According to Alexander Wendt, identities are the basic of interest. Constructivist views that identities play a key role in the process of policy making. Identity first formed by ideational structure. Ideational structures are known as non-material or normative form of ideas, norms, values, beliefs, history, etc. This identity therefore shaped national interest of a country and it used by actor in taking action. Referring to Alexander Wendt's view, identity is something that can be developed and transformed continuously through interactions of the actors (Zehfuss, 2002). Also, identity is a continuation and reflection of the values believed of a country. Therefore, Burchill described national interest:

“The national interest is a product of shared ideas, national identity, inter-subjectivity and normative practices. Far from being a set of permanent, objective conditions, the national interests of states are formed within a cultural context and are the outcome of social interaction. This should be the focus of those inquiring into the subject. They are not determined in response to an external given, nor are they fixed. Rather they vary as social

conditions and national identities change.”
(Burchill, 2005)

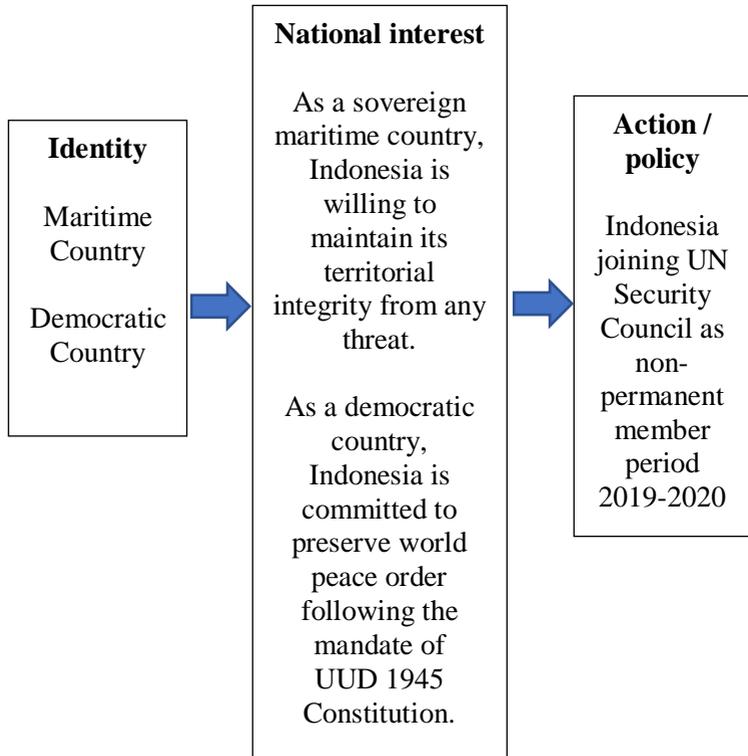
From Scott Burchill, we understand that national interest is thus changing through social interaction and historical memory related to the national identity. Whereas, according to Alexander Wendt:

“I define national interest as the objective interest of state-society complexes, consisting of four needs: physical survival, autonomy, economic well being, and collective self-esteem.” (Wendt, 1999)

State’s interpretation to those interest are vary depends on how they identify themselves. National interest are therefore subjective interests because states interpret their identity and need based on their different political, economic, and cultural context. Thus, state national interest become the foundation of state’s foreign policy behaviour.

Beside identity and interests, there are significant elements in constructivism as well, such as actors, structures, and actions. All these elements are interrelated with one another in the formation of existing social realities.

Figure 1.3
Implementation of Policy Making Process in
Constructivism Approach



In the context of Indonesia joining the UN Security Council, the concept of Indonesia's identity as a maritime country and the concept of Indonesia's identity as a democratic country towards the United Nations can be applied to initiate an understanding of the reasons and interests Indonesia wants to achieve in its membership in

the UN Security Council. In the concept of personal identity, identity is attributes and this characteristics is inherent in the actor whose existence appears without the need or a process of differentiation with others. In this case, the attributes that have been inherited from the beginning are components that formed the establishment of an entity or state such as territory, the concept of sovereignty, recognition, national interests, ethnicity, religion, culture, etc. These components then makes them unique and distinguishes from other entities. Indonesia as a maritime country is an identity that has been attached since the beginning of Indonesia independence. Even long before that, in his vow, Patih Gajahmada in the Majapahit era called the region along Sumatra to Papua, which is now considered as an Indonesian territory with the term "*Nusantara*". *Nusantara* is taken from Sanskrit which means islands or achipelago. As a country whose islands are exceeding the number of 17000 and whose two-thirds of territory is ocean, Indonesia's identity as a maritime country is inherent. With its bestow as a maritime country for its land is dominated by ocean, Indonesia tries to uphold and maintain its territorial integrity from any threat that may harm the sovereignty of Indonesia territory. Then, in the concept of collective identity, based on its understanding, identity is formed when there is a group of states or actors who share same understanding or values and are willing to form an identity by joining the group with the motivation of common good. Indonesia as a sovereign democracy country adopt Democracy of Pancasila which originated from the personality and philosophy of life of Indonesia which this is known as a manifestations of UUD 1945 Constitution:

“Whereas independence is the inalienable right of all nations, therefore, all colonialism must be abolished in this world as it is not in conformity with humanity and justice;”(first paragraph of UUD 1945 Preamble)

“...and in order to advance general prosperity, to develop the nation's intellectual life, and to contribute to the implementation of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice, Indonesia's National Independence shall be laid down in a Constitution of the State of Indonesia,” (fourth paragraph of UUD 1945 Preamble)

According to the construction of identity, it is understood that as a sovereign democratic country with Democracy of Pancasila principles, Indonesia seeks to actively participate in maintaining world peace and security as the manifestation of the mandate of UUD 1945 Constitution. To realize it, since its initial membership in the United Nations, Indonesia has begun to take the policy to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in period 2019-2020 with the reason for common good. Principally, Indonesia and the United Nations share same values in upholding peace, democracy and human rights. The resemblance of identity and interests underlies Indonesia to choose and implement a policy to become a member for the fourth time in UN Security Council. This is also reinforced by the statement of the Minister of Relno L. Marsudi, that the UN Security Council is the right platform for Indonesia to achieve its national interests and to project Indonesia's active free foreign policy.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the aforementioned illustration and implementation, it can be hypothesized that there are some reasons for Indonesia membership in UN Security Council, namely:

1. Through its identity as a sovereign maritime country, Indonesia is willing to achieve its national interest in maintaining its territorial integrity from any threat.

2. Through its identity as a democratic country, Indonesia is committed to fulfilling its interest in preserving world peace order following the mandate of UUD 1945 Constitution.

E. Research Methodology

This research used a qualitative research method that sought to analyze an essential of social phenomena based on existing theories and data to reveal Indonesia's interests in its non-permanent membership in the UN Security Council. The data collection technique done in this study was the library research. The writer collected, studied, and reviewed the issue according to the relevant theoretical framework. The gathered data was compiled from books, journals, newspapers, internet and other sources that support this research; allowing this research as a scientific study. Whereas, the data obtained was that of secondary data from various existing relevant sources.

F. Scope of Research

To simplify this writing, the writer limit the scope of study so this writing does not go far from the themes or objectives that have been formulated before. The main focus of this paper is to discuss Indonesia's interests in occupying the seats of non-permanent members in the UN Security Council. The time limit of this research is from 2018 to 2020. In 2018, the voting process took place in General Assembly, Indonesia come as the winner with 144 member votes. In 2019, Indonesia officially become a non-permanent member of UN Security Council and took its first presidency in early May. In 2020, Indonesia will took its second turn of presidency in UN Security Council, this year will be the last year of Indonesia membership in this period. However, there is possibility the writer will refers back to previous events to strengthen data or to take them as supporting data for the writing, with a note of their relevance.

G. Purpose of Research

1. To analyze Indonesia interests to be achieved in its membership as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the period 2019-2020.
2. To elaborate Indonesia Free and Active Foreign Policy as the projection of Indonesia interests.
3. To know the facts of history and current Indonesia involvement in the United Nations Security Council.
4. To enrich the knowledge of the writer and as a requirement to obtain a Bachelor Degree from Departement of International Relations in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

H. System of Writing

This paper will be divided into five chapters with different discussion based on the issue consisting of:

Chapter I

This chapter is an introduction which elaborates the reason behind title selection by the writer, background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methodology, the scope of research, the purpose of research, and system of writing.

Chapter II

This chapter describes Indonesia foreign policy. It first explains the history of Indonesia foreign policy. It is then continued by elaborate more about free and active foreign policy. Lastly, this chapter includes the explanation about policy implementation in Joko Widodo administration era.

Chapter III

This chapter first discusses UN and Indonesia membership in the UN itself. Then continued by the discussion about the UN Security Council in general and followed by an explanation of Indonesia membership in it.

Chapter IV

This chapter aims to answer the research question above by discussing the analysis of Indonesia's reasons for its membership in UN Security Council 2019-2020. There is two interest which Indonesia wants to achieve in its position.

Chapter V

Chapter four is the closing chapter, which concludes the entire chapters as well as the answer to the formulation of the problem raised.