

# **CHAPTER III**

## **INDONESIA IN UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL**

In this chapter, the writer describes the history and dynamics of Indonesia since the beginning of Indonesia joining the UN, more specifically about Indonesia on the UN Security Council. Furthermore, the writer will also discuss Indonesia's performance and achievements in the UN Security Council. Thus, it will be easier for the reader to understand the next chapter.

### **A. United Nations**

#### **1. United Nations in General**

In the beginning, the United Nations (UN) was an idea that was born in post-conflict due to World War II in 1941-1945. The UN was a substitute for the previous organization, the League of Nations, which was failed to prevent the occurrence of the second World War. The UN was an expectation for the international community after the occurrence of World War II, it was hoped that this organization can reduce the risk of war in the future. The conflict that occurred due to the war was prolonged, arousing the desire of the international community to reorganize life, resolve all conflicts that existed in the past and build international cooperation as a new hope. This concern is stated in the opening of the UN Charter 1945:

“we the peoples of United Nations determined to save our succeeding generations from scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought sorrow to mankind...”

The UN is an international organization whose existence is intended to contribute world peace and to reform the international system. The UN was officially established in San Francisco, on October 24, 1945

through the ratification of five countries namely France, United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, China, and South America. In the beginning, the UN stood with 51 member states, and now in 2019 it has 193 members. (Cronin & Hurd, 2008)

Article 1 of the United Nations Charter contains the aim of establishing this organization which is an affirmation of the UN that is: "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security." Article 1 The UN Charter contains several important objectives for the establishment of the United Nations, namely:

- a. to maintain peace and security
- b. to develop friendly relations between nations
- c. to strive for international cooperation in solving problems such as economic, social, cultural and humanitarian in nature and promote and encourage respect for human rights and basic human freedoms
- d. to aligning the actions of nations in achieving these common goals

In carrying out the objectives outlined above, the UN has six main organs that focus on various fields, namely: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. Based on the explanation above, the main task of the UN is to maintain international peace and security whose responsibilities are borne by the Security Council. A broader discussion of the Security Council as the focus of this writing will be continued in the next sub-chapter.

## 2. Indonesia in United Nations

Being the 60th official member in September 1950, Indonesia and the UN turned out to have strong historical ties until Indonesia was known as the "child of the United Nations". But Indonesia's membership in the United Nations did not run smoothly, Indonesia experienced the dynamics when in 1965, on the order of

President Soekarno, Indonesia withdrew from the membership of the world organization. But in the New Order era, in 1966 Indonesia under the leadership of President Soeharto, Indonesia decided to rejoin the organization.

More specific explanations regarding the dynamics of Indonesia's existence at the UN will be elaborated through the following three sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter explain the history of Indonesia's entry into the UN. Followed by a presentation on the withdrew and the reasons behind it. Next is a discussion about the return of Indonesia to the UN and the reasons behind it.

### 1.1 History of Indonesia in joining UN

Since the beginning of its fight for independence, Indonesia and the UN have had a strong historical attachment in which the UN had contributed to support the efforts made by Indonesia towards liberation. Indonesia proclaimed its independence in the same year as the founding of the United Nations in 1945. Consistently, the UN was one of the international organizations that supported the efforts taken by Indonesia in gaining independence to become a sovereign and independent country. The role of the United Nations in Indonesia during the physical revolution was quite large, such as when the Dutch Military Aggression I began, Indonesia and Australia proposed that Indonesia's issues to be discussed at the UN general assembly. Subsequently, the United Nations formed the Three Nations Commission (*Komisi Tiga Negara/KTN*) which brought Indonesia-Netherlands to the Renville Negotiations table. When the Dutch Military Aggression II took place, the UN also formed UNCI (which was formerly called KTN) which brought Indonesia-

Netherlands together in the *Roem Royen* negotiations.

Like a country that has just become independent, Indonesia was still in unstable political, economic and security. Indonesia needed help and support from other countries to maintain its survival and its independence. To obtain that, a country must establish good relations with other countries or join international organizations so that it is not isolated in international arena. However, to establish and enter into an interstate relationship, the state must first be recognized by other countries. Indonesia gained recognition of its first sovereignty by Egypt which was a country that was so vocal in voicing its support for Arab League countries to support Indonesia's independence. Followed by India through its rice diplomacy with Indonesia, then neighboring countries, Australia also helped recognize Indonesia's independence followed by many other countries. In an effort to gain international recognition of Indonesia's independence in 1947, the Indonesian Representative at the United Nations, Lambertus Nicodemus Palar debated the position of Indonesia sovereignty at the UN Security Council even though at that time he was only an "observer" at the UN since Indonesia was not yet a member of the UN. However, the effort taken at that time was quite successful in order to show the existence of Indonesia in the international world.

In its fifth year, Indonesia officially joined the United Nations on September 28, 1950. Indonesia was accepted as the 60th members. Thus, it means Indonesia's independence had been recognized by other countries in UN and thus had

the same position as 59 other member countries. In the speech, Indonesia also said to be ready to carry out the obligations and rights as members of the United Nations. Also, Indonesia had the same rights and obligations as other member countries to participate in creating and implementing world peace order.

## 1.2 Indonesia withdrawal in PBB

In January 2019, Indonesia made a big decision to leave the UN. The decision was made not without reason, but was based on Indonesia's disappointment with the United Nations for some reasons. It is known that since 1963 Indonesian relations were heating up with Malaysia. All began when the Malaysian Government announced on September 16, 1963, that the Federation of Malaysia would be formed. Indonesia considered this decision as a form of underestimating the dignity of the United Nations regarding the status of Sabah and Serawak investigations that had not yet been completed. This was also seen as a form of "act of bad faith" from Tengku Abdul Rahman against President Soekarno. As a result, on September 17, 1963, Indonesia severed all forms of diplomatic relations with Malaysia.

With the formation of the Federation of Malaysia, President Soekarno assumed that this was only a product and object of neo-colonialism which was a UK's puppet state. Malaysia was formed based on British interests which could endanger the Indonesian revolution, especially with the existence of the Indonesian people who had just proclaimed their independence at that time. Basically, the intention of Soekarno's thought was not to be purely hostile to a group of

Malays, but he wanted to inflame the spirit of nationalism and drove away all forms of imperialism and colonialism as a form of support for countries that wanted to liberate themselves. On September 25, 1963 the politics of "*Ganyang Malaysia*" which means to destroy Malaysia which was encouraged throughout the country, illustrated the widening distance disputes between the two countries. Followed by a speech of President Soekarno at the Merdeka Palace in May 1964 nas cited below:

“Malaysia is a danger, overwhelming, endangering the Indonesian Revolution. Because of that, we are all together, we have to Ganyang Malaysia.” (Srijanto, 2010)

The situation had become increasingly unfavorable since UK discussed the discourse to include Malaysia as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Upon knowing this, Indonesia had shown a signal of disagreement, even President Soekarno threatened that Indonesia would leave the UN if the plan was realized. Through his direct speech, President Soekarno appealed to the members of the United Nations not to support Malaysia's entry to the United Nations and to further support Indonesia's current membership. He also emphasized that he would seriously implement his intentions if that really happened. However, it seemed that this did not get a good response from the UN.

On January 7, 1965, Malaysia was officially elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council by United Kingdom support. President Soekarno's disappointment made his intention to bring Indonesia withdrew from the UN. He sent the Foreign Minister on duty at that

time, Dr. Soebandrio, to send an official letter containing Indonesian withdrawal from the United Nations dated January 20, 1965.

The withdraw of Indonesia from the United Nations were based on many reasons following Indonesia's disappointment in expecting that the organization should have been a forum for its member countries that have different ideologies and systems of government to communicate with each other and to resolve world problems without any partial consideration on the one side. In his speech, President Soekarno had criticized the UN in many ways. The UN was considered as an organization that was not neutral and leaning towards the West. At that time, when the cold war took place between the west and east blocs, there should be an organization based on the principle of independence, peace and consideration. The United Nations was neutral and sought international peace and security and even helped to solve economic, social and humanitarian problems faced by its member countries. However, over time, it seemed that the UN was leaning towards one of the blocks, that was the West Block. President Soekarno criticized the neutrality of the location of the UN headquarters in New York, United States, where it is situated in one of the involved blocs. The UN bias towards the Western bloc is feared to be exposed to the influence of the notions of colonialism and imperialism known as the products of the Western state system.

President Soekarno also expressed his concern about the reality experienced by the United Nations that this organization was unable to resolve the conflicts of its member countries. Since then, he was worried that this organization

would also be disappear like previous organization which failed to solve the existing problems. The UN absence which was felt by Indonesia at that time was when the case of West Irian had been brought to the UN Assembly since 1954. Even until President Soekarno delivered a speech of his criticism of the UN entitled "to Build the World A New" in the 15th UN General Assembly in 30 September 1960, this case still did not come to light.

### 1.3 The rejoining Indonesia in UN

The transition of the government system and presidential at that time, from President Soekarno to President Soeharto, certainly changed the policies taken by Indonesia. The policy includes Indonesia's attitude towards the UN. With its withdrawal from the UN on 1965, Indonesia had narrowed its relations in international world. Over time, the number of domestic needs that cannot be fulfilled alone, made it inevitable for Indonesia to expand its movement in the international world. Under the leadership of President Soeharto, Indonesia expressed its desire to rejoin the UN. This was also agreed by representatives of the DPR at that time who urged the government to rejoin to the UN.

The rejoining of Indonesia in the UN was also based on many reasons, namely:

- a. Normalization of relations between Indonesia-Malaysia and other neighboring countries whose relationship had been tenuous during the previous administration. Indonesia chose to forget some issues in the past and agreed to maintain mutual harmony between those countries.
- b. The similarity between Indonesia and the UN, both of which were born after World War II,



made them share same values to aspire in maintaining world peace and security for a better life. Indonesia has national interests which are also the goals of the UN guided by the value of independence, peace and justice.

- c. Actually, Indonesia wants to participate in the 21st UN session at that time, but since its withdrawal from the UN, it means that Indonesia has no more representatives in the UN assembly. At the time, the case to be discussed in the assembly was Palestinian and Israeli dispute. In this case, Indonesia could not voice its vote towards the case. Moreover, Palestine is a Muslim fellow country for Indonesia, where both have shared common values. This makes Indonesia wanting to contribute more and help solve the problem.

Based on aforementioned considerations, Indonesia's desire to become a member of the United Nations again was conveyed through a direct message to the Secretary General of the United Nations on September 19, 1966 (Wirayudha, 2015). Shortly afterwards, on September 28, UN General Assembly expressed its warm welcome for Indonesia to rejoin UN. The policy changes taken by Indonesia at that time was to improve the image of Indonesia in the international stage.

## B. United Nations Security Council

### 1. United Nations Security Council in General

The Security Council is one of the six main organs of the UN that has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. UN Security Council held its first session on January 17, 1946 at Church House, Westminster, London.

Membership of the UN Security Council is regulated in Chapter V Article 23. The total membership of the UN is 15 countries. The membership is divided into two types, namely permanent and non-permanent members. Non-permanent members consist of five countries in which all represent large powers after World War. The five countries are known as Permanent Five or P5, namely China, France, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. The five countries are countries with great powers that are expected to be able to participate in initiating and being responsible for maintaining international peace and security. The P5 country holds veto right. Veto is the privilege to give a final vote on every decision to be made through a resolution. Resolution is a form of decision that is produced in a UN Security Council session on certain issue that is binding all members. In addition to the permanent members above, there are ten other countries that are non-permanent members. The term of office of non-permanent members is 2 years, of which every January five new members are appointed alternately with the five previous members. The selection of non-permanent members is carried out through general election on the decision of General Assembly. The composition of non-permanent membership is based on representation of geographical area.

## 2. Indonesia in United Nations Security Council

### 1.1 History of Indonesia Membership in UN Security Council (Period of 1974-1975, 1995-1996, and 2007-2008)

Indonesia's achievement since Indonesia's first entry into the UN Security Council was when the period 1974-1975. In its capacity as a member of the Security Council, Indonesia focuses on security issues in the Middle East. As a country with a majority of Muslim

populataion, Indonesia has an emotional closeness to countries in the Middle East Region. Indonesia played its role in mediating the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Indonesia sought to provide independence for the Palestinian people to establish a sovereign Palestinian state and to live side by side with Israel.

Then, in 1995-1996, Indonesia was again elected a member of the United Nations in that period. During this period, Indonesia was in the New Order era led by President Soeharto, which coincided with the world situation; end of the Cold War period. At that time there was a change in world political arena where the role of the United Nations shifted from the beginning of its formation focusing on stopping and preventing war to focusing on seeking world peace. Indonesia's focus as a member of the UN Security Council is still around the issue of the Middle East Regions.

## 1.2 Indonesia Membership in UN Security Council (period 2019-2020)

In the fourth candidature, Indonesia has planned long ago since September 2016. The statement of Indonesia's candidacy was delivered directly by Vice President Jusuf Kalla at the 71st UN General Assembly. The theme that is carried by Indonesia campaign this time is "a true partner for world peace". To compete for the Asia Pacific group representative seats, Indonesia must compete with the Maldives. The effort taken by Indonesia to gain votes was by diplomatically lobbying many countries both bilaterally and multilaterally in international forums. The efforts of Indonesian diplomats were paid off, Indonesia received support from 144 votes from 193 countries to be the winners

in the vote in the General Assembly. The election of Indonesia as a member of the Security Council is a strategic position because the achievements resulting from this membership will determine the direction of international policy, especially in strategic issues which involve Indonesia's national interests.