

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

“We need to use the United Nations Security Council and believe that preserving law and order in today’s complex and turbulent world is one of the few ways to keep international relations from sliding into chaos. The law is still the law, and we must follow it whether we like it or not.” This is a strong statement by Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin. He is simply showing to us, how complex our world today and how strategically and important the position of the United Nations Security Council for big power like Russia Federation in preserving world peace.

The United Nations Security Council or known as The UNSC is one out of six organs of The UN’s organs (United Nations General Assembly, International Court of Justice, Trusteeship Council, Economic and Social Council, Secretariat and Security Council itself). According to the UN Charter, The UNSC’s primary mandate is to take a responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Furthermore, The UNSC has four purposes as follows: maintaining international peace and security; develop friendly relations among nations; cooperate in solving international problems

and promoting respect for human rights; to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations¹.

The first security council meeting was held on 17 January 1946 at the Church House, Westminster, London. The UNSC also had taken place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1972), Panama City, Panama, and Geneva, Switzerland (1990) for held its meeting. Currently the UNSC has been permanently in New York, USA. ²All of the countries representative must be present at all times at the UN Head Quarters. Thus, UNSC can hold a meeting at any time depends on its urgency based on international crisis emerge.

The UNSC is special compare to another committees or councils in the United Nations or other international organization. This council has a capability to come up with a directive and binding resolution, from giving a polite and peaceful suggestion through diplomatic approach to the conflicting parties up to giving a permission to have a collective military action. There are five permanent members of the UNSC, which are United States, United Kingdom, Russia Federation, France, and China. The four of them (except Republic of China (nationalist) and Peoples Republic of China was selected to represent the Asia due to of the consideration of its role as a great power that capable to maintain peace and security in Asia) are the dominant actors who won

¹ "Security council, SC, UNSC, security, peace, sanctions, veto, resolution, president, united nations, UN, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, prevention." United Nations. Accessed February 20, 2017. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>.

² Ibid.

the world war 2 and all of them are also known as a nuclear gang, countries that hold nuclear weapon capability. In addition, there are ten non-permanent members consist of ten countries represent five regional groups as follows: Africa, Asia-Pacific, Eastern European, Latin America and Caribbean, and Western European. There are five members elected annually for 2 years' seat in the UNSC.³

Within the UNSC, the politics among the 15 members also interested to be discussed. The politics, simplified by the role of the veto power in the council owned by the permanent members. Thus, every council recommendation and resolution technically should be based on P5 (permanent 5) ⁴agreement. Without their agreement, there will be no resolution from the UNSC. With the exception of one or two permanent members stated as abstain the resolution will continue to be pass. Thus, UNSC is dominated by the P5.

UNSC also become a tool for countries to assert their national interest. For Example, any resolution related to the Israeli-Palestine conflict, US tend to veto it or abstain. Russia and China also veto the resolution that related to the crackdown on anti-government protest in Syria, simply because Bashar al-Assad's administration is Russia's allies. Since 1946, there are 240 vetoes (up to 2016) have been exercised. Precisely, Russia imposed 15 vetoes (mostly exercise during USSR era with 89 vetoes);

³ "United Nations, main body, main organs, General Assembly." United Nations. Accessed June 04, 2017. http://www.un.org/en/ga/62/plenary/election_sc/bkg.shtml.

⁴ Permanent 5 consist of Peoples Republic of China, Russian Federation, Republic of France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and United States of America.

US imposed 79 vetoes (40 vetoes related to the middle east issue and Israeli government); UK imposed 29 vetoes (UK like to exercised its veto right with the conjunction of UK or US); France imposed 18 vetoes; China imposed 10 vetoes⁵

In the international politics, the UNSC play a big role in preserving world stability. Since its establishment in 1946, the UNSC had involved in variety of regional conflict and took series of measurement to prevent any potential conflict. The UNSC also sanctioned countries with various instruments to restore order. Years from 1988s to 1990s, it was one of the challenging periods for the Security Council. The challenge come from the dynamic of the world politics back then but also from the dynamic within the Security Councils. It was in this period after 40 years of the establishment of UN included UNSC, the UNSC actively, use and authorized of the use of force. The UNSC also initiated series of peacekeeping operation, ranging from minor operation such as UNMOT on the border of Tajikistan and Afghanistan (1994) up to the major operation in Cambodia, Angola, Liberia, the DRC, Kosovo and East Timor. ⁶

All of these operations have been conducted without complying to provisions about peacekeeping in the Charter⁷. The UNSC also authorized member states to use of force in Iraq, Somalia, and Yugoslavia. All of these actions have been a criticized because according to the article 24, Chapter VII, the council is mandated not only to

⁵ United Nations. Accessed February 20, 2017. http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/scact_veto_table_en.htm.

⁶ Gray, C. (n.d.). the UN and the use of force. In C. Gray, *International Law and the Use of Force* (p. 245). Oxford.

⁷ Ibid

prohibit the unilateral use of force but also to centralize the use of force in the Security Council.⁸ However, UNSC member states back then justified their action with the article 40 that stated the UNSC can take provisional measurement or determine that there was a threat to the peace. Meaning, as long the 15 member states agree on a certain international crisis that labeled as a threat, the UNSC can take any measurement.

However, in the process of determining an international event as a threat or not, P5 has play a big role in narrowing down the debate. All the operations mentioned above are the operations that supported by the US, UK, and France or Russia and China. The two blocks of P5 determine the agenda or the substance of the resolution. In general, we look a strong P5 domination in the council. But besides that, the roles of the non-permanent members are also influential in the process of debate and drafting a resolution. Each country is representing one of five regions in the world. Ideally they are representing the regional interest and agenda. Non-permanent member states also assert their national interest. Having a membership in the UNSC become a country bargaining point in the region and international level. Thus, the UNSC is a strategic council in global politics and base on status quo its dominated by permanent five.

⁸ Gray, C. (n.d.), the UN and the use of force. In C. Gray, *International Law and the Use of Force* (p. 245). Oxford.

Indonesia has managed to be the UNSC non-permanent member for three times. Serving for the first time in 1974-75, continued in 1995-96 for the second time, and 2007-08 marks as the last serving for Indonesia in the UNSC. Indonesia membership on 28 September 1950 legitimized by the UN document number A/Res/491(v). Based on the preamble of the UUD 1945, Indonesia should actively involve in maintaining and preserving world lasting peace, freedom, and social justice. As the largest country in South East Asia, Indonesia become the key country in the region to maintain peace and stability politically and security. Indonesia's Ambassador to the UN 1950, Lambertus Nicodemus Palar stated through his official speech in the UNGA that Indonesia had two priorities focus on the United Nations namely as international security and disarmament.

Lambertus N. Palar's statement marked Indonesia's basic interests in the United Nations namely as global security because Indonesia's believe on the world stability as the basics foundation to build peace and stable global community. Indonesia's basic interests had developed into a major practice. One of the prominent Indonesia involvement in its role was in preserving international security through Indonesia's contribution to Peacekeeping Operation. From 16 current peacekeeping operations across the world, Indonesia involved in 10 peacekeeping operations and contribute 2,840 military and police officers (according to Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2015).

Most of the operation are located in Africa. Peacekeeping operation become Indonesia bargaining point in showing its commitment in maintaining world peace.⁹

Indonesia see the UNSC as the strategic council for achieving Indonesia's interest. Understanding the global challenges and threats that have been shifted since the post-cold-war, Indonesia feel confidence on its capability to contribute to the Security Council as the non-permanent member. Proven by, Indonesia's track record and experience in the Security Council for three times and Indonesia's contribution. Indonesia had declared its candidacy for non-permanent member in 2009, that was stated after Indonesia finished its duty for the third times in the council and official campaign officially launched by the Vice President of Indonesia, Jusuf Kalla in the beginning of 2016.

Indonesia is looking for UNSC seat for 2019-2020. According to the UN election mechanism, all states whom run for the membership need to gain 2/3 majority or 129 votes from 193 UN's member states. Running for the Asia Pacific representation, Indonesia need to compete with Maldives. Small island that has a strong support from entire south Asian Countries and the small island states in the world that threatened by the increasing sea level because of global warming. Maldives has gain 40 commitment votes; Maldives's main agenda is take global warming as the 21th

⁹ "Indonesia and the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Indonesia and the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. January 20, 2016. Accessed February 16, 2017. <http://www.kemlu.go.id/en/kebijakan/isu-khusus>.

global threat that should be address by the UNSC. Currently, Indonesia has collected 70 votes commitment.

The strategic political position of the Security Council and the political dynamic within the UNSC indicate the importance of the council in addressing global challenging and also promoting country's political position in the international stage. It's concluded that countries which seat in the council will be a key actors that qualified to address the global challenges properly and fulfill global interest of peace and security.

Thus, five non-permanent members that will be elected in 2018 will determine UNSC in the next 2 years, influencing in the terms of agenda setting through UNSC's presidency and UNSC decision on addressing an issue. Indonesia in another hand has a confidence to perform better compare to Maldives. However, Maldives offer something fresh during the campaign regarding world stability which global warming as a threat towards international security.

The study of Indoensia's campaign is important to be assessed in order to give a picture of Indonesia's national interest of its projection as the middle power in the international politics and emphasized that Indonesia look the UNSC as a tools to assert Indonesia's national interest and leverage the political position in the region and international stage.

1.2 Research questions

This research will be guided by the following questions to create a clear direction for this study:

1. What strategy has been adopted by Indonesia from 2009 to 2017 regarding its candidacy for the 2018 Non-Permanent Member election?
2. What are the impact of Indonesia's campaign strategy towards its readiness in 2018 election ?

1.3 Research Objectives

The strategic position of the UNSC in the international system and its role in preserving world peace has made this council importance for Indonesia. Therefore, the objective of this research is to assess Indonesia's campaign strategy during its campaign 2009-2016. During its campaign, there are 3 Indonesia's eminence, as follow: First, Indonesia's domestic stability has lead into Indonesia's positive foreign policy and regional stability. Second, Indonesia strategic geographical location and Jokowi's vision to actualize Indonesia as the world maritime pivot has made Indonesia as the key country who responsible for maintaining regional stability. Third, Indonesia's activeness in combating terrorism and promoting democracy that running side by side with six religions especially with the moderate Islam. These 3 eminence will be the foundation of Indonesia's a campaign and agenda brought up during the campaign. A long with that, this study also has an objective to assess the variety of

Indonesia's strategy on collecting vote commitment in a form of *Note Verbale* collected from reciprocal agreement. This reciprocal strategy considered as the prominence strategy.

The assessment of Indonesia readiness and winning probability from Maldives as the competitor becomes the pinnacle of this study. At the end this research is dedicated for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate General of Multilateral Affairs with the objective of giving an additional academic research on the campaign strategy recommendations for a better campaign strategy in the rest of time we have.

1.4 Research Contribution

Generally, this thesis will contribute to the campaign team in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the Directorate General of Multilateral Affairs. This thesis will review Indonesia's campaign strategy that has been done up to 2017. This research will contribute through several discussions that pin point the fundamental factors that will strengthen the campaign strategy. It will conclude Indonesia's S-W-O-T (Strength, Weakness, Opportunities, and Threat) on its campaign.

At the end this thesis will contribute on giving additional academic reference for the study of Security Councils Election, UNSC political dynamics, Indonesia's perspective on global security, and campaign strategy that aimed to the possible evaluation and improvement of Indonesia's winning strategy as the UNSC non-permanent member 2019-2020.

1.5 Structure of Writing

Chapter 1 Introduction

Generally, this chapter briefly discuss about the fundamental background of this thesis. Through this fundamental background that consist of general background explanation that dominated by the explanation of the dependent variable and follows by research questions as the guidance of the research. End up by the research objective and contribution as the purpose of this research

Chapter 2 Framework

This chapter overview all the literature reviews and resources been used during the research including the conceptual framework and theoretical basis. Shortly, in this chapter all theoretical basis is explained aimed to give a clear theoretical basis.

Chapter 3 Research Methods

This chapter briefly explain the methods of the research meaning all methods that support this study from the data collecting techniques, data analysis techniques up to the discussion of research limitation will be explain it in this chapter. This chapter give a clear information on how the researcher conduct its study.

Chapter 4 Result and Discussion

Chapter 4 is the core of the study, because this chapter emphasize the discussion and analysis of its research, observation, and analysis. This section will be divided into seven discussion, as follows the discussion on Indonesia experience and existence in the council, the UNSC election dynamic, the Campaign Substance, the Campaign Methods, the Campaign Theater/Dimension, the Campaign Approaches, and the Campaign Effects.

All of these seven discussions reflect the narrative of the study of national campaign, it's show the background up to the technical approach in the campaign arena. At the end we will see the impact of the campaign effort done by Indonesia campaign team in many layers of campaign. At the end this section will be comprehend with the discussion of Indonesia S-W-O-T assessment which will narrow down into a conclusion and prediction bases on the pattern research, interview, and literature research.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and Recommendation

The last chapter will be consisting of two sub-sections which are the conclusion and recommendation. Which highlight the answer of each of the research question and recommendation for the study and academic.