Indonesia as Non-Permanent Member of United Nations Security Council
Pursuit of Peace for Rohingya and Palestine

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Abstract: Indonesia as a sovereign state goes through all the way to make a difference with its foreign policy. As a democratic state with bebas aktif foreign policy, Indonesia keeps showing its commitment to spread the value of peace outside its territory. June 2018, Indonesia is announced as a non-permanent member in United Nations Security Council for two years. With this fact, this writing emphasizes the importance of international cooperation that Indonesia has been participating on, United Nations. Also see the background of the motive of Indonesia to join the election as non-permanent member in UN Security Council. As stated by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Indonesia, H.E. Retno L.P. Marsudi, the Rohingya crisis and Palestinian conflict become the focus in Indonesia activeness if elected as a member of non-permanent member in UN Security Council (UNSC). This writing will use the work of Robert Keohane's about International Cooperation concept and Alexander Wendt's work on Constructivism.

1   INTRODUCTION

Early June 2018, when 144 states voted for Indonesia's membership as Non-Permanent Member of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) at United Nations (UN) General Assembly in New York, Retno Marsudi stated on her speech that Indonesia wanted to be a true partner for peace keeping and peace building. Earlier on the campaign to be a as Non-Permanent Member of UNSC on January 2018, Retno stated that Indonesia stand on Palestine issue,

"Indonesia's diplomacy shall continue to strive for Palestine for humanity and for justice. Indonesia's support for Palestine is not only in the form of political support but also economic support and technical cooperation. Specifically, in the field of economy, Indonesia has applied "zero tariff" for various Palestinian products entering the Indonesian market. This year, Indonesia will also strengthen cooperation in water desalination and health. Once again, Palestine is at the heart of Indonesia's foreign policy, and in every breath of Indonesian

diplomacy, there you will find our struggle for Palestine. On this August occasion, Indonesia once again calls upon the international community to continue providing its support for Palestine."

Along with that Indonesia also stated it is position in Rohingya / Rahine State issue as mentioned in the same occasion:

"Still on the subject of humanitarian issues, in 2017 we also witnessed with concern the humanitarian crisis unraveling in Rakhine State, Myanmar, resulting in thousands of refugees fleeing to Bangladesh. Indonesia was one of the first countries to arrive in Myanmar and Bangladesh in the aftermath of the "new cycle of violence" in August 2017. Indonesia calls for: the end of all forms of violence, the restoration of security and stability, protection of all persons, the opening of humanitarian access, and the implementation of the recommendations contained in the Kofi Annan Report. As a reflection of our solidarity, we delivered humanitarian aid both to Myanmar and Bangladesh. The second phase of development for the Indonesian Hospital in Mrauk U, Rakhine State, was also commenced last month. Indonesia has been the driving force behind the ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance Centre in

Rakhine State. Indonesia welcomes the Arrangement on Repatriation between Myanmar and Bangladesh, and looks forward to its full implementation."

Based on the campaign speech that the Foreign Minister said, it showed that Indonesia has a strong will and commitment on running the as a Non-Permanent Member of United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The result on June 2018 showed the commitment of Indonesia on taking the two other states issue seriously into the journey of UNSC. As a note, Indonesia has been elected on the position for the fourth time during history. Through the speech of Retno Marsudi, it can be seen that the main goals of Indonesia's candidacy are on peace and stability.

Figure 1: Indonesia Campaign Logo (Kemlu, N.d.)

In the official campaign by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, Indonesia stated itself as *'A True Partner for Peace and Security'* which supported by the fact that since 1957 Indonesian Personnel of UN Peacekeeping Operations has reached the number of 37,218 persons. (Kemlu, N.d.) On 2017, Indonesia was on the eighth rank of state which deploy large troops/police on UN Peacekeeping Operations.

1.1 Indonesia and the United Nations

History wrote that Indonesia is one of early member of United Nation. Soekarno, as Indonesia first

president showed his capability and intention to build a better region and cooperation among states. Indonesia join the UN in 1950, five years after Indonesia gained its independence. But Indonesia withdrew its membership from UN on 1965 because of Malaysia was elected as Non-Permanent Member of United Nations Security Council. As a protest, Soekarno decided to withdraw the Indonesia's membership in UN. Later when Soekarno was no longer president and replaced by Soeharto, Indonesia joined the UN again (Taylor, N.d). Indonesia also actively being a part of several UN Mission on Peacekeeping as the real contribution in UN especially in UNSC.

2. METHODS

This writing used the concept of cooperation by Liberalism Institutionalism thought in International Relations. Along with that concept the analysis will be guided by the constructivism values to explain Indonesia's motive on taking Rohingya-Palestine issue as their focus after joining the Non-Permanent Member of UN Security Council. At first, the concept of cooperation that Robert Keohane wrote based on two elements 1) actor behaviour is directed toward some goals, 2) the definition implies that cooperation provides the actors with gains or rewards (Helen Milner, 1992:468). The basic assumption on Liberalism shows the importance of collaboration among actors in international relations. The good deeds between actors and their interests give the space of collaboration and peace a stand. In the world nowadays, the role of UN is clearly seen as an example of collaboration among states to pursue any kind of peace establishment.

The constructivism explores the various variables of how factors can be determined as a key factor. Peter J. Katzenstein mentioned in his early writing *'The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics'* there are three variables of how constructivist build its content. *"Issues dealing with norms, identities, and culture are becoming more salient. An institutional perspective permits us to investigate more closely the context, both domestic and international, in which states and other actors exercise power"* (Katzenstein, 1996).

In the deeper deflect, Katzenstein explain that the context exploration is more important to be explored especially after the Cold War era.

Norm, identity and culture are three main factors of how constructivism based its analysist. Katzenstein definition for three factors,
1) **Norm** *is to describe collective expectations for the proper behaviour of actors with a given identity... norms have "regulative" effects that*

specify standards of proper behaviour r. Norms thus either defines (or constitute) identities or prescribe (or regulate) behaviour, or they do both. ,

2) **Identity** *as a shorthand label for varying constructions of nation- and statehood…. refer as well to variations across countries in the statehood that is enacted domestically and projected internationally,*

3) **Culture** *refers to both a set of evaluative standards (such as norms and values) and a set of cognitive standards (such as rules and models) that define what social actors exist in a system, how they operate and how they relate to one another* (Katzenstein, 1996).

Those three factors that stated above are drawing an important portrait to take the case into an analysist.

3. RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

From the liberal institutionalism, the author tries to explore the behaviour of Indonesia in joining UN. Even Indonesia once withdrew from UN, but the decision to re-join indicates that Indonesia as an actor is embracing democracy and freedom as it embodied in the spirit of anti-colonialism. Keohane argued, if an actor does a cooperation because the goal of the actor is suitable with the organization's offer. In the other hand, organization also embraces the activeness of the actor to work in the same goal. In this case, the reason of Indonesia returns to the UN and the presence of UN itself are a proof that both parties working in the same direction toward the same goal. Related with the second argument by Keohane, actor and organization also working together to gain reward. UN is working under the values of humanity and promoting peace as well as Indonesia who works to gain more acknowledgement from international society for the same motives.

Continuing the analysis in the constructivism perspective, the analysis becomes more comprehensive since the three variables in constructivism intersect with the three actors, Indonesia, Rohingya, and Palestine. The constructivism factors rely on, 1) Norm, 2) Identity and 3) Values. The intersection of the three variables and the three actors will be divide into two relations, Indonesia – Rohingya and Indonesia – Palestine.

Rohingya is a name of an ethnicity in Myanmar. Geographically Myanmar is a part of ASEAN as well as Indonesia. Both states shared ASEAN values, norms and identity.

"…constructivism directs our gaze away from such conflictual, political questions towards what is shared and consensual, and when are try to grasp at why norms are shared and consensual, the explanation runs through our fingers until we are left grasping the minutest unit of analysis – the individual human being" (Jones, 2009:7)

. The interesting part of Rohingya case is the fact that even though Rohingya is part of Myanmar, but Rohingya is a minority in there. Rohingya is suspected getting the discrimination from its own government. Located in Southeast Asia, Myanmar which joined ASEAN in 1997 along with Laos, has many challenges in their domestic affairs. In *'Burma's Entry Into ASEAN: Background and Implications'* by Robert Cribb stated that Myanmar is a resource-rich economy state whose struggling with its human rights performance. Myanmar also fights against socio-economic disparities. Regarding its human rights homework at home, Myanmar is struggling to overcome the dominant interest group internally and externally while searching for the way to bringing peace upon their domestic mess (Thuzar, 2017).

"The expulsion of Rohingya is not only because of the conflict initiated by the indigenous ethnic predominantly Buddhist, also because of the differences in overall, urge the Government of Myanmar to create rules, which bans the Rohingya in the country. Where more than a million refugees already stranded on the sea in despair in a hope to get the rights they should have gotten in a land (country), as well as domestic policies of Myanmar to not to give citizenship to Rohingya ethnic." (Hasan and Yudarsan, 2017:103).

Many writers stated that Indonesia took the main role when for the membership of Myanmar in ASEAN. It seems that Indonesia is working hard to contribute on the ASEAN integration through Indonesia's foreign policy, *bebas aktif*. ASEAN values, identity and norms create a stability in the region as said by Amitav Acharya on explaining ASEAN member behavior.

"(1) regions are not just material constructs but also ideational ones;

(2) regions are not a given or fixed, but are socially constructed—they are made and remade through political, economic, social, and cultural interactions;

(3) just like nations states, regions may rise and wither." (Acharya, 2010:1001).

Even it is social constructed, ASEAN does share its values with its member. Therefore,

constructivism is a proper approach to this issue. Regarding to the topic, Indonesia does share values, norms and identity through ASEAN to Myanmar. For Rohingya (Rakhine State), Indonesia specifically shared the identity of Islam. As a minority in Buddhist majority, Rohingya people embrace Islam as their religion. For that point, Indonesia planted their identity and extend their strong will to protect the commitment of peace.
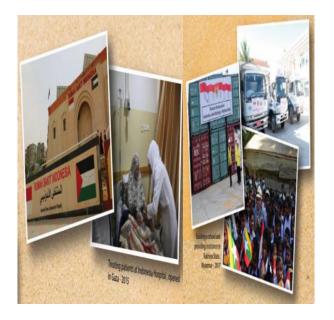

Figure 2 : Indonesia's Aid to Palestine and Rakhine State (Rohingya) (Kemlu, N.d.)

Indonesia through all its peace channel, work simultaneously on Palestinian conflict. On the document of Aide Memoire of Indonesia's Candidature for Non-Permanent Membership of UNSC 2019 – 2020, clearly stated on the point 12

'As the world's largest Muslim population and as a founding member of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Indonesia is committed to facilitating peaceful talks for resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Indonesia is also a strong proponent for moderation and tolerance in defending Islam as a religion of peace, and it seeks to strengthen the bonds of solidarity and enhance economic-social and technological cooperation among OIC member states' (Kemlu, N.d.).

Different with Rohingya case, Palestine case seems to be the major priority for Indonesia regarding its foreign affairs. Clearly seen that Palestine and Indonesia's norms, values and identity are beyond geographically location. Indonesia and Palestine share no close border. Both actors strongly share the identity through Islam. Indonesia, a country with the most Muslim population in the world, is pushed by several norms and values to help Palestinian conflict. In fact, Indonesia is not a state with Islamic law unlike in the Middle Eastern states.

The Non-Permanent Members in UNSC of course has a contribution to the world. Even the permanent members have a veto to determine the role of UN toward several issue, but for developing states this chance is a major improvement to be heard in international forum.

"Today, NPM (Non-Permanent Member) have more possibilities of forming powerful ad hoc alliances on several issues among them, as well as with some permanent members, who rely more and more on the former, and this tendency is likely to increase. In short, non-polarity might very well translate in a growing potential for NPM to influence mechanisms and outcomes of the most important organ of the UN, which in order to remain vital in world affairs needs to respond to these changes and challenges" (Rodiles, 2013:339).

Among all of the issues that running on the world, Indonesia commits its contribution into these two conflicts.

"The Security Council is an executive committee of a small size in a state of constant alertness. Its members, even non-permanent members chosen for two years period, can accumulate considerable knowledge and skill with respect to disputes and situations brought to its attention" (Goodrich, 1958:285).

Non-Permanent Member of UNSC also has a significant role despite its status in the world (as a superpower stat or not). The permanent member of UNSC consists of five superpower states with veto, but the goals of the existence of non-permanent member is to give an exposure for the dispute(s) that may not have the spotlight or the world's attention.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Peace indeed is hard and long work. Indonesia through its Non-Permanent Membership in UNSC hopefully will bring a significant change to both Rohingya crisis and Palestinian conflict. The two concepts as a fundamental of the analysis showed clearly that the goals of UNSC and UN goes along

with Indonesia's goals on peace. With the reason above, the two issues that Indonesia put its concern on, in the name of democracy values regarding their independence is simultaneously in rhythm with the identity – values – norms the actors have in themselves.

Democracy is the main reason behind all of this work. The freedom on the democracy value is the major reason of the states' collaboration to embrace the peace. Regarding to the identity, Islam is the reason of Indonesia to put the Rohingya and Palestinian's case as their mission in UNSC. They cannot be titled in the same geographical region, but the spirit of companionship among the Muslim people penetrate the agenda. In this context of writing, as constructivist argues, value, identity and norm held an important role in the related case. The worry of peace that can never be achieved is just the matter of time. Honestly, that worry can be tackled, but it needs high motivated actors and non-stop efforts to be achieved fully. In addition, the facts that the most followers of Islam in the world are in Indonesia can later make the Rohingya and Palestinian issues appointed at the UN Security Council.

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