

## Indonesia's role as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in Assisting the Resolution of Conflict in Afghanistan for the 2019-2020 Period

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### ABSTRACT

Indonesia has been elected for the fourth time to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Indonesia with its free and active foreign policy is entrusted with this position. Indonesia will serve during the 2019-2020 period. Indonesia has done a lot for world peace under the 1945 Constitution and with its free and active political principles. The author wants to see the role of Indonesia in its membership in the UNSC in helping to bring about peace in conflicting countries, in this case, Afghanistan. However, the long conflict between the United States and the Taliban can be contained and resolved properly. The UN Security Council has the responsibility for this, and Indonesia takes part in it. How Indonesia makes policies and takes a role as a member of the International Organization Agency, which has this sizeable responsibility. By using the theory of Conflict Resolution and international organizations as an analysis tool, the author will discuss Indonesia's role as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in resolving the conflict in Afghanistan in 2019-2020.

**Keywords:** Role, conflict, Peace

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has been elected for the fourth time as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (UNSC) in mid-2018 for the 2019-2020 term. Indonesia in this case managed to beat the Maldives as its main competitor. Previously, Indonesia had held this position three times, namely in 1973-1974, 1995-1996, and 2007-2008 (Firman, Tirto.id, 2018).

The UN Security Council (DK) is the most powerful body in the United Nations that can make legally binding decisions, has the power to impose sanctions, and authorize the use of military force (Firman, Tirto.id, 2018).

All members of the United Nations agree to accept and implement Security Council decisions. While other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to the Member States, only the Security Council has the power to make decisions which are then obliged to implement by the Member States under the charter.

Before serving as a member of the UN Security Council, Indonesia had contributed significantly to peace in Afghanistan such as sending the UNAMA Mission and was active in multilateral talks related to Afghanistan.

One of the responsibilities of peace in Afghanistan is the UN Security Council. In 2018, 2019, and 2020 the topic of Afghanistan was arguably a quite taboo topic to discuss due to tensions in the region due to the election of leaders as well as pressure from the US in Afghanistan where the US itself is also a permanent member of the UN Security Council. (Directorate General of Multilateral Cooperation, 2019).

For this reason, in this case, the author wants to see how Indonesia, which has been elected as the UN Security Council for the 2019-2020 period, carries out the UNSC duties in Afghanistan with all the pressure on the UN Security Council itself or other parties to realize peace in Afghanistan.

## **METHODS**

### **Conflict Resolution**

Conflict resolution is a scientific term that emphasizes the need to see peace as an open process and divides the conflict resolution process into several stages according to the dynamics of the conflict cycle. (Rozi, 2006, p. 18). Empirically, conflict resolution is carried out in four stages, namely: (1) the First Stage is still dominated by military strategies that seek to control the armed violence that occurs; (2) the second stage has a political orientation that aims to initiate the process of re-integration of the political elite from the warring groups; (3) the third stage is more social and seeks to apply a problem-solving-approach; and (4) the fourth stage has a thick cultural nuance because this stage aims to reform the socio-cultural structures that can lead to the formation of a lasting peace community. (Rozi, 2006, pp. 21-22).

Meanwhile, according to Johan Galtung, there are three stages of conflict resolution. The three stages are:

- 1) *Peacemaking* is a process whose aim is to bring together or reconcile the political attitudes and strategies of the conflicting parties through mediation, negotiation, arbitration, especially at the elite or leadership level.
- 2) *Peacekeeping* is the process of stopping or reducing acts of violence through military intervention who play the role of neutral peacekeeper.
- 3) *Peacebuilding* is the process of implementing the social, political, and economic change or reconstruction for the sake of creating lasting peace (Kingsbury, 1996, p.469).

In this paper, the author will focus on conflict resolution according to Johan Galtung and the stages in conflict resolution. With this theory, the author can focus the perspective on Indonesia's role as a member of the UN Security Council in conflict resolution or the realization of peace in Afghanistan, how the stages of conflict resolution will be taken by Indonesia as the UN Security Council, what forms of conflict resolution or appropriate policies to resolve conflicts in the country. For that, according to Johan Galtung's theory of conflict resolution, it can help the author to focus more on the core of the author's question.

### **International Organization**

The International Organization is an "institution" whose function is to link affairs (business) between countries. International organizations are bound by agreements to guarantee common goals (Krisna, 1993).

According to Clive Archer in his book "International Organization",

*The international organization is defined as a formal and sustainable structure formed by an agreement between members (Government or Non-governmental) of two or more sovereign countries to pursue the common interests of their members. (Clive, 2006).*

International organizations are formed based on agreements agreed upon with their members. The agreement to form this organization includes the objectives, powers, and institutional instruments reflecting the trade-offs of the interests of its member countries. Once

approved, international organizations stand as rational-legal authorities. This means that it has official powers recognized by its member states (Citra Hennida, 2016, p.19).

The author of this study will focus on universal international organizations, with general objectives, namely the United Nations (UN). One of the goals of the establishment of this international organization is to maintain world peace. The UN has many sub-organizations that have different focuses. In this case, the most influential body in the United Nations will be discussed, namely the UN Security Council. As one of the most important bodies in the UN, of course, the UN Security Council is very influential on the UN as a whole international organization. All international actions and policies as a whole. All actions and policies are taken by members of the UN as a whole and the UN Security Council that is international and on behalf of the organization, it must come under the UN Charter and be registered as the policy of the Organization. For this reason, in this case, Indonesia's policies will be viewed from Indonesia's perspective as a member of the International Organization.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **UN Security Council**

The United Nations Security Council is one of the main bodies of the United Nations. The security council is one of the most important bodies in the United Nations because it is tasked with maintaining world peace and security. In the UN Security Council, 5 permanent members are the founders of the UN, namely China, the United States, France, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom. Besides, 10 non-permanent members are elected every two years by the UN General Assembly. (Nailufar, 2020)

The UN Security Council has certain duties that differentiate it from other UN members. The UN Security Council is responsible for the implementation of international peace and security. The duties of the UN Security Council include settling disputes peacefully, taking preventive or coercive measures to maintain peace and security, and supervising the areas in dispute. (Hidriyah, 2018). Meanwhile, the objectives of the UN Security Council itself according to the UN Charter are (Nations, United, nd): (1) to Maintain International Peace and Security; (2) to develop friendly relations between countries; (3) to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and (4) to be central in harmonizing State actions.

Under the Charter of the United Nations, the functions and powers of the Security Council are (UNSC, 2018): (1) to maintain international peace and security under the principles and objectives of the United Nations; (2) to investigate any disputes or situations that may cause international friction; (3) to recommend a method for adjusting the dispute or settlement terms; (4) formulate a plan for the formation of a system to regulate weaponry; (5) to determine if there is a threat to peace or acts of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken; (6) to call on members to impose economic sanctions and other measures that do not involve the use of force to prevent or stop aggression; (7) to take military action against the aggressor; (8) to recommend admission of new members; (9) to carry out the functions of the UN representative in "strategic fields"; and (10) to recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of a Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect Judges of the International Court of Justice.

## The Reasons for choosing Indonesia to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council

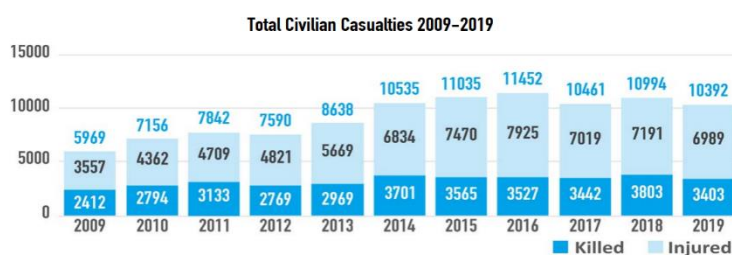
There are several reasons why Indonesia was elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, 4 of which were mentioned by Jokowi in his speech (Kumparan News, 2018) that is: (1) the stable and peaceful political condition of Indonesian democracy; (2) the track record and contribution of Indonesia's diplomacy in helping to maintain world peace; (3) Indonesia is considered to have neutrality and independence in foreign politics; and (4) Indonesia plays a role in bridging differences, including conflicts that have occurred in various countries (Kumparan News, 2018). (Kumparan News, 2018).

Indonesia's contribution to the cause of global peace dates back to the early years of its independence (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, nd). It can be said that Indonesia has contributed a lot to world peace, long before becoming a candidate for the UN Security Council. These Indonesian contributions are the reasons why Indonesia is trusted to return to occupy the seat which is replaced every two years. It cannot be denied that Indonesia's achievements in the international world are considered quite significant and have proven to be effective in helping to resolve existing conflicts.

## The History of conflict in Afghanistan

The conflict in Afghanistan is a conflict that has lasted quite a long time and is very complex. It has been around since the early 20th century. However, in this case, the author will focus on the beginning of the conflict which continues to this day. The conflict began in 1973 when the then King Muhammad Zahir Syah was deposed by the former prime minister and his brother-in-law Mohammad Daud Khan who also ended the Monarchy system in the country. (Mahabharata, 2019). After this event, every leader in Afghanistan always ends up in a coup. With this situation, many rebel groups have emerged who want to fight against a government that is considered unstable. One such group is the Taliban. The Taliban was founded in the early 1990s in northern Pakistan after Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan (BBC News, 2009). Taliban derives from the word thalib, which is the plural form in Arabic which means prosecuting or seeking knowledge addressed to men. In Persian and Pashtun, thalib becomes the Taliban. The name Taliban itself was used by a group of troops in Southern Afghanistan, to be precise in Kandahar Province in 1994 (Son, 2019).

Mullah Omar, the chairman of the group, wants to return Afghanistan to peace and stability and to implement Islamic law at every end of the life of the state. At the beginning of the Taliban's rule, the Afghan people welcomed its presence which was considered a breath of fresh air for the country. However, over time, the policies imposed by the Taliban were deemed too discriminating and limiting human rights so that they could not be accepted by other Afghan community groups, which eventually led to resistance against the Taliban.



Source: (The National Defense Authorization, 2019)

The new chapter of the conflict in Afghanistan began in 2001, on September 11, where the terror incident at the WTC, New York, United States killed nearly 3,000 people. (Hidayat, 2020). Al-Qaeda is believed to be behind the case. The leader of the group Osama Bin Laden later became a US fugitive but was hidden by the Taliban. Starting from here, the conflict between the US and the Taliban lasted until now where on October 7, 2001, the US invaded Afghanistan. The conflict between the two sides has claimed a lot of victims. The following chart shows the number of civilian casualties (deaths and injuries) documented by UNAMA for each year since 2009:

### **Indonesia's Role as a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council in Assisting Conflict Resolution in Afghanistan**

For the implementation of Indonesia's non-permanent membership for the period 2019-2020, Indonesia has determined 4 Priority Issues and 1 Issue of Special Attention, namely (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, RI, 2019):

1. Continuing the contribution of the Government of Indonesia in its efforts to achieve world peace, among others by strengthening the ecosystem/geopolitics of global peace and stability by promoting peaceful dialogue and conflict resolution.
  - a. Promotion of peaceful dispute resolution through partnerships and regionalism.
  - b. Enhancement *Peacekeeping* and Peacebuilding:
    - 1) *Peacekeeping*. Indonesia as explained in the previous sub-chapter that Indonesia has sent peacekeepers who have joined UNPKO (United Nations Peace Keeping Operation) since the 1950s, and spread 8-9 UNPKO. Among them, UNIFIL, UNAMA, and others (Kombes Pol Jabinson Purba, 2019). Where Indonesia is one of the countries that send the most personnel, Indonesia is included in the 8 largest PKO contributor countries. After serving on the UN Security Council, Indonesia wants to continue this contribution by increasing the number of personnel and their quality.
    - 2) *Peacebuilding*. Indonesia has always been active in the UN Peace Building committee, to ensure the availability of post-conflict development resources (Diplomacy Tabloid, 2018).
2. The following are forms of improving Indonesia's peacekeeping peacebuilding at the UN Security Council
  - a. Increasing the quality and effectiveness of peacekeeping missions;
  - b. Advancing "partnership" partnerships in sustaining peace; and
  - c. Increase the role of women in the peace process.
3. Build synergies between regional organizations to maintain peace and stability in the region. This case emphasized the need to strengthen regional organizations, given the current dynamic challenges, the role of regional organizations is important and needed to deal with problems.
4. Increase cooperation between countries and the UN Security Council to combat terrorism, extremism, and radicalism.
  - a. Creating a comprehensive approach. The comprehensive approach here is meant to be a broader and comprehensive approach involving all aspects and touching several groups such as women etc.
  - b. Overcoming the root sources of terrorism, radicalism, and violent extremism.

- c. The Indonesian government will also try to synergize efforts to create peace with sustainable development efforts.
- d. Ensure peace, security, and stability to ensure fulfillment of the 2030 Agenda, including in Africa
- e. Forge Global Partnerships to address security implications for the economy, health and the environment
- f. Increase the role of women in the peace process

Besides that, Indonesia will also pay special attention to the Palestinian issue. Indonesia has several strategies, namely focusing on peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Where it is two of the three stages in Conflict Resolution(Hermawan, 2007, p. 93). For this reason, in helping to resolve the conflict in Afghanistan, Indonesia will focus on both stages of the resolution. Below is a form of Indonesia's role and achievements as the UN Security Council in realizing peace in that country. Where this role is stated as Indonesia's role as the UN Security Council, not Indonesia as a country because all these agendas are included in the UN Security Council agenda, even though it was triggered by Indonesia(Directorate General of Multilateral Cooperation, 2019).

#### **Achievement of Conflict Resolution in Indonesia as UN Security Council in Afghanistan**

No.	Peacekeeping	Peacebuilding
1.	Extend UNAMA Mission and Pass a Resolution	1988 Taliban Committee
2.	US-Taliban Party Mediator	Active in the Multilateral Forum and joined as an Honorary Member in the Group of Friends of Women of Afghanistan

Source:(Ministry of Foreign Affairs, RI, 2019), (Directorate General of Multilateral Cooperation, 2019), (United Nations Security Council, 2019) (Salengke, 2019) and several other sources.

#### **Peacekeeping**

*Peacekeeping* is understood as managing conflict by inter-positioning peacekeeping between conflicting parties by taking steps to defuse tensions, and by building confidence in a ceasefire or peace treaty (Coning, 2018). Peacekeeping prevented the resumption of fighting after the conflict, including; (1) *Peacekeeping* consists of activities intended to create conditions favorable to lasting peace; (2) *Peacekeeping* reduces civilian deaths and battlefields, and reduce the risk of new wars; and (3) *Peacekeeping* protects civilians by actively reduce conflict, reduce violence, and strengthen security (Khan).

The following is the conflict resolution in the peacekeeping stage that has been carried out by Indonesia as mentioned in the previous table;

##### **1. Extend UNAMA Mission and Pass a Resolution**

Indonesia's agenda with Germany to pass a resolution of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), in which the agenda was finally agreed upon by the entire UNSC. As one of the UN Political Missions, UNAMA has a strategic mission in supporting the peace process in Afghanistan in various fields.

The UNAMA mission is one of Indonesia's focuses because it is a form of Peacekeeping in Indonesia as the UN Security Council in Afghanistan. UNAMA as one of the UN Peace Mission operations in Afghanistan is very influential in maintaining peace in the country. Indonesia itself is the 4th country that sends the most UNPKO (United Nations Peacekeeping Operation) personnel and one of its operations is at UNAMA. (Primary, 2020).

UNAMA itself is the direct mandate of the UN Security Council. Where in this extension of the UNAMA mission, it gave a new mandate for UNAMA, namely to support the capacity of the Government of Afghanistan in upholding Human Rights, Gender Equality, Empowering Women, and Protection of Children. Besides, UNAMA has the mandate to support preparations for the Presidential General Election which will be held on September 28, 2019 (Hasan, 2019). For this reason, international support is needed especially before the Presidential Election at that time which will become a symbol of upholding democracy in Afghanistan.

UNAMA also functions as a support, observer, and provider and to build peace in Afghanistan. UNAMA itself states that its main function in Afghanistan is to build a culture of peace, including supporting conflict prevention and resolution, as well as the peace process; strengthening regional cooperation in supporting peace and stability; supporting gender-sensitive and friendly peacebuilding and recovery processes; and the application of transitional justice; strengthening Afghanistan by promoting national ownership and accountable institutions that are built on the rule of law, good governance, and respect for human rights, and that provide basic services to people across the country; and international civil society efforts in the fields of peace, government and development (Efendi, 2019).

For this reason, it is an achievement for Indonesia together with Germany to successfully pass a resolution and extend the UNAMA Mission, which UNAMA under the mandate of the UN Security Council can continue to accompany the peace process in Afghanistan.

## **2. Play an active role as a US-Taliban Mediator**

Indonesia is one of the countries that acts as a mediator between the Taliban and the US. On July 27, 2019, a delegation from the Taliban group visited Jakarta to discuss peace talks with the Afghan and US sides. The Taliban, in this case, prefers Indonesia to be seen as neutral and not influenced by other parties. This is in line with Indonesia's free and active foreign policy so that Indonesia can easily make decisions without hidden interests in it. Indonesia itself has joined in a co-facilitating country, where this position was obtained outside of Indonesia's position as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, but because it is considered as one of the countries that have contributed the most to peace in Afghanistan.

One of the successes of the co-facilitator is that together with 15 members of the UN Security Council currently passed resolution 2513 related to UNAMA. Where some of the members of the co-facilitator are members of the UN Security Council itself, which resulted in the Taliban's agreement with the US to sign a peace agreement. This agreement was finally implemented, marked by the handshake of Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar as the leader of the Taliban, and Zalmay Khalizad who was the US envoy. The agreement was signed in Doha, on Saturday, February 29, 2020. The draft peace agreement consists of four parts as the main subject. The first part outlines the guarantee that Afghan soil cannot be used by anyone to attack the security of the US and its allies. The second part contains guarantees and a mechanism for the US to withdraw all of its troops from Afghanistan. The third part is that the intra-Afghan talks will be held on March 10, 2020, and will be carried out after the two parties fulfill the obligations in the first and second parts. If the first and second parts are not violated, it will open the way to sections three and four (Aswara, 2020).



**Figure 1. US Side Shake with the Taliban**

Source: (Utomo, 2020)

The image above marks a peace agreement between the US and the Taliban that has lasted more than 18 years.

### **Peacebuilding**

*Peacebuilding* It aims to profitably reduce the risk of conflict falling or recurring by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management and laying the groundwork for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding is a complex long-term process to create the conditions necessary for sustainable peace. Peacebuilding addresses core issues affecting the functioning of society and the state and seeks to increase the capacity of the state to effectively and legally carry out its core functions (UN Peacekeeping, nd).

*Peacebuilding* was more than just a process that has a post-conflict agenda and more than an instrumentalist method of securing peace. An important part of peacebuilding includes the reintegration of former combatants into civil society and strengthening the rule of law through training, restructuring of local police, and judicial and penal reform. This includes increasing respect for human rights through monitoring, educating, and investigating past and existing abuses, and providing technical assistance for democracy-building such as election assistance and support for free media, for example. Peacebuilding must include the promotion of conflict resolution and reconciliation techniques (Monica, 2014). For this reason, as part of the stages of peacebuilding conflict resolution that have been carried out by Indonesia as mentioned in the previous table, namely:

#### **1. Indonesia Became Chair of the 1988 Taliban Committee**

Indonesia became chairman of the committee in 1988. The committee is composed of 15 members of the Security Council and makes decisions based on consensus. The current chairman of the committee, Dian Triansyah Djani from Indonesia. The two Deputy Chairs for 2020 are the Russian Federation, Saint Vincent, and the Grenadines. The committee has guidelines for doing its job. The committee's formal and informal meetings are published in the UN Journal. The Committee's work is supported by the support of the Analytics and Sanctions Monitoring Team under resolutions 1526 (2004) and 2253 (2015) on ISIS, AL-Qaeda and the Taliban as well as related individuals and entities (hereinafter referred to as the Monitoring Team) (United Nations Security Council, 2019).



In general, the mandate of this committee is to oversee the implementation of sanctions, listing and de-listing individuals and entities (including imposing travel ban exemptions), determining exemptions from sanctions, conducting periodic and special reviews, examining MT reports, submitting implementation reports, and conducting outreach/engagement and field visits regarding Taliban-linked individuals and entities. Indonesia focuses on this committee because the work or duties of this committee are closely related to the peace process that is ongoing in Afghanistan (Directorate General of Multilateral Cooperation, 2019).

During this time as the Taliban Committee or the 1988 Resolution, Indonesia has facilitated travel exemption for several Taliban people who are listed in the 1988 Taliban Committee sanctions list to support the peace process in Afghanistan, as a form of conflict resolution in the peacebuilding stage. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, RI, 2019, p. 19).

## **2. Active in the Multilateral Forum and joined as an Honorary Member in the Group of Friends of Women of Afghanistan**

In line with the previous commitment of the Indonesian government, Indonesia continued this agenda after becoming a member of the UN Security Council, namely undertaking trust-building efforts, capacity building programs, and taking an active role in multilateral forums to support the peace process in Afghanistan. The government has successfully held a Dialogue on the Role of Women in Building and Sustaining Peace for Afghan women on November 26-30 2019 in Jakarta. This activity was attended by 38 female Afghan participants from various backgrounds and regions, including from conflict-affected areas. This initiative received a positive response from the Government of Afghanistan which assigned the Afghan Minister of Information and Culture as head of the delegation.

This dialogue has succeeded in identifying common interests in women's issues as building blocks for the Afghan peace process, prioritizing the role of women as agents of peace, and sharing Indonesia's experiences in women's empowerment.

This is the form of Indonesia's influence as the UN Security Council to embrace Afghanistan with a different approach. Approaches like this are a form of peacebuilding by Indonesia in supporting the peace process in Afghanistan. Where, as previously explained, peacebuilding is not only in the form of rebuilding damage caused by conflict but also includes empowering victims and combatants around conflict areas in the form of monitoring, education, etc. (Monica, 2014).

## **3. Another achievement**

Apart from building peace, Indonesia also frequently visits Afghanistan. These visits confirmed the desire of Indonesia together with the UN Security Council in the realization of peace in Afghanistan.

Apart from that, as previously mentioned, Indonesia along with 4 other countries are joined as facilitators or co-holders or like-minded countries that have so far contributed greatly to peace in Afghanistan. The 5 countries that have joined as co-facilitators are Indonesia, Germany, Norway, Qatar, and Uzbekistan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, RI, 2020).

As long as Indonesia served as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, Indonesia encouraged improvements in the work methods of the Security Council and the United Nations, increased transparency, efficiency and effectiveness of the UN Security Council. → Indonesia encourages innovative ways such as sofa talk.

## CONCLUSION

All of Indonesia's roles and contributions during its tenure as the UNSC towards the realization of peace or conflict resolution in Afghanistan are extraordinary achievements. As explained above, Indonesia can achieve this position and carry out its duties properly, one of which is because of the free and active foreign policy it adheres to. So that it can be trusted to take office and issue policies for the UN Security Council which are considered quite efficient. Given that Indonesia plays a role as a member of an international organization, the regulations used and the policies issued must also be in line with the mandate and rules of the organization.

Indonesia as the UN Security Council has implemented both stages in Conflict Resolution. Indonesia has implemented peacekeeping and peacebuilding in making and making decisions at the UN Security Council related to peace in Afghanistan. Both, it can be seen from the agendas and their achievements above, some have been implemented and are quite influential, but some of them are still in an ongoing process and some of them have not seen significant results, considering Indonesia's position in the UN Security Council is still ongoing until the end of 2020.

The author's suggestion, in this case, is that Indonesia has been elected as a member of the UN Security Council because of its free and active foreign policy and contributions so far. Indonesia's role as the UN Security Council in helping to resolve the conflict in Afghanistan is quite significant. It is hoped that in the future Indonesia will not be complacent and will continue to support peace not only in Afghanistan but in other countries and not only because of certain positions.

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