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A Proposal for UN Reform and the Role of Indonesia

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Abstract

As of writing this article, the United Nations (UN) has turned 75 Years old. Formed from the end of World War II, the UN's leadership is made up of the War's victorious countries. The organization consists of 193 states from around the world. After 75 years, the UN has been criticized as being slow in responding to issues concerning International peace and security, even though the handling of such issues constitutes one of the main objectives of the UN. Proposals for UN reform have emerged since 1949 until today, but there were never any real efforts to restore the UN to its original function. Mandates from some Member States have urged the reformation of the organization. This paper discusses the efforts of the UN in responding to proposals for reform and the role of Indonesia as one of the member states of the UN. It is hoped that Indonesia can support and bring change to the UN.

Keywords: Indonesia, Reform, UN

Gagasan Reformasi PBB dan Peran Indonesia

Abstrak

Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa atau biasa disingkat PBB, sudah berumur 75 Tahun. Dibentuk dari berakhirnya perang dunia kedua, PBB dikuasai oleh para negara pemenang perang dunia. Lima Negara Anggota Permanent menginisiasi untuk membentuk PBB, dan kemudian bersama negara-negara di dunia membentuk Organisasi terbesar di dunia yang melingkupi 193 negara di seluruh dunia. Setelah 75 tahun usianya, PBB dinilai lambat dalam merespon isu yang berkaitan perdamaian dunia padahal isu tersebut merupakan tujuan dari dibentuknya PBB. Usulan untuk melakukan reformasi pun bergulir dari tahun 1949 hingga saat ini, namun belum pernah ada upaya yang riil untuk mengembalikan PBB kepada fungsi aslinya. Berdasarkan mandat dari beberapa negara Anggota PBB, PBB didesak untuk melakukan reformasi. Pada Makalah ini akan dibahas mengenai usaha yang dilakukan PBB dalam menyikapi Reformasi PBB dan Peran Indonesia sebagai salah satu negara anggota PBB. Indonesia sebagai negara anggota PBB berharap bahwa dukungannya dapat membawa perubahan bagi PBB.

Kata Kunci: Indonesia, PBB, Reformasi

A. INTRODUCTION

"...to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security..."

(Opening at UN Charter and Article 1 UN Charter)

The United Nations (UN) is the largest international organization in the world and is considered a subject of International Law.¹ The organization consists of member States, hence classifying it as an Intergovernmental Organization.² As a subject of international law, the UN has rights and obligations under international law. The problem arises when the UN is considered to have failed in fulfilling its obligations.

From 193 member States, there are 5 that have additional privileges and powers, which are the United States, United Kingdom, China, France and Russia. These 5 states are the 5 permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). As permanent members of the UNSC, they have special rights that can veto UNSC Resolutions. These vetoes may block key resolutions that address pressing matters for international peace and security. From that the United Nations is expected to undergo reformation to become a better fit as the 21st Century Modern International World Governmental Organization.

United Nations Reform has been an issue from 1949, the legitimacy and practically of "global organization" has been at question. Antonio Guterres, the UN Secretary-General, has already voiced for reform. But Antonio is not the first man who voiced the United Nation reform, Ban Ki Moon, the latest United Nations Secretary General before Antonio and seven of the eight Secretary General have promised and established some form of The United Nations Reform, but the same

problems of the effectiveness of The United Nations still stand. (Ban Ki Moon 2008)

Discourse of United Nations Reform has been rolled out for a long time since the end of the Cold War. United Nations Reform carried out comprehensively, hinting at the process of reorganization in management, budget, efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations, reflecting the modern era. On 17 December 1996, Annan Kofi, Secretary General of United Nations in that time, stated its will to United Nations in his leading can be more effective, efficient, and responsive to necessary and hope All Member States and also the objective and commitment that more realistic. (Anan Kofi 1996)

However, three major institutional problems with the United Nations arise. The first is the belief that the United Nations produces, and maintains, a small elite group of member states to control the United Nations and world politics. The second problem is a question of the goals or objective of the United Nations, the advancement of globalism is a constant threat of member states sovereignty. And the final problem is a question of the effectiveness of the United Nations to prevent conflict and to deliver and protect humanitarian services. These questions of The United Nation's integrity and functionality are great problems for the United Nations, as they de-legitimize the Organization.³

If we look at the long history that led to the birth of The United Nations, we will realize That United Nation is born from League of Nations' Failure. The League of Nations failed World War Two. The result is, World War Two had 5 key victor States, and now those 5 States became the "superior" states of the United Nations, because they initiated the formation of The United Nations. Before the United Nations became

¹ J.G. Starke, *An Introduction to International Law*, Fourth Edition, London: Butterworth & Co Ltd, 1958 p. 38-45.

² Globalization 101, *International Law and Organization*, U.S.A: Suny Levin Institute ,2010, p. 9

³ Zack A. Tucker, *A Proposal to Reform United Nations' Organization Structure*, Manticello: University of Arkansas, 2009, p. 4.

bigger and had more Member States, Five States that won World War Two, took a position as The United Nations Security Council. That Five States act like police that guard and control the policy of The United Nations.

The Five Permanent Members, aware that the power they hold is absolute, created the structure of the organization as written in the UN Charter. That structure consists of a United Nations General Assembly that consists of All Member States of the United Nations who make decisions relating to the international legal system of international law making. But The second Organs, The Security Council, have a veto power that can cancel UNSC resolutions if a permanent member exercises their right of veto. The next organs are the Secretary General, International Court of Justice, Economic and Social Council, and Trusteeship Council.

In the development of the United Nations, the Secretary General's powers are limited to the rights of the UNSC. Even when all Secretary-Generals from time to time voiced that the United Nations need reformation. The reformation is not just to improve the United Nations performance and communication between Member states, but to re-organize the structure and re-evaluates the aim and the priorities of the United Nations.

The United Nations has already become the most powerful organization in the world, but sadly it could not respond to the US aggression in Iraq after they accused Iraq of developing weapons of mass destruction. The failure to prevent this continued act of aggression gave rise to a new conflict in the Middle East which was later called The Arab Spring.⁴ The United Nations also cannot prevent other pressing issues such as Rohingya Discrimination, Uyghur Discrimination, and much more. Under Ban

Ki Moon Leadership, his efforts to initiate reform as the Secretary-General were unsuccessful as it had failed to garner support from key member States. The solution of the United Nations becomes hopeless until the new Secretary General hires and vows that he will do United Nations Reform and Diplomatic 'surge'.⁵ Guterres, the current Secretary-General has said the United Nations was irreplaceable and its actions had reduced suffering. But he is also aware of the shortcomings and the failures of the United Nations. That is why he is committed beforehand to surge in diplomacy for peace, to make The United Nations more effective in trying to address the dramatic multiplication of conflicts that are witnessing and to put full priority on the prevention of those conflicts. Under Guterres predecessor, Ban Ki Moon, The United Nations tried and has so far failed to make peace between warring sides in Syria, Yemen, Libya, and many else, while wars in Ukraine, South Sudan, Nigeria, and elsewhere have continued.⁶

The United Nations must Reform the structure and do something for the Veto from the Security Council. Beside Antonio Guterres from his position as Secretary General, Indonesia as Member States can make more efforts and ways to make United Nations Reform. Indonesia became a United Nation Member States from 28 September 1950 based on United Nations General Assembly Resolution Number A/RES/491(V) About "Acceptance Republic of Indonesia in Membership of United Nations". Indonesia is the one and only country that has withdrawn from the United Nations on January 7th, 1965, and joined again on 19 September 1966. In One Year, Indonesia built CONEFO with support from China, Korea, and Vietnam. That Political power can be more developed to International Peace and Security if

⁴ Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, "Arab Agency and the UN Project: The League of Arab States between Universality and Regionalism", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 37, Issue. 7, 2016, p. 1221.

⁵ Pierre Albouy, "Guterres Vows UN Reform and Diplomatic Surge", accessed from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-un-guterres-idUSKBN1521KH>, accessed on 20th of December 2018.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Indonesia can take place in Strategic Position like Security Council Member and International Court of Justice.

Indonesia always take a part in International Moment like Israel-Palestine, Iraq-Iran, Rohingya Genocide, and Uyghur Discrimination in China. Indonesia always take a part in International Peace and Security that involving Human Rights and Muslim. Indonesia's commitment and increased effort to protect International Peace and security are because these actions are a mandate from the Constitution of Republic of Indonesia, that are written in Preamble (Opening) in Indonesia's Constitution.⁷

These roles cannot be released from the State Goals determined by the Constitution. This Paper will attempt to look at the current structure of the United Nations and analyse for Reformation the United Nations to formulate the proposed reform to better solve the issues. First, why does the United Nations need to Reform and why have reformation efforts always failed? Second, what can the United Nations itself do to Reform? Finally, what can Indonesia do to support reformation efforts? This Paper is made to answer the problem in effort to reform the United Nations and what Indonesia can do about United Nations Reform.

B. URGENCY OF UNITED NATIONS REFORM

The United Nations was created with lessons from the League of Nations' failure since the League of Nations could not prevent World War II. The war between the Axis Powers and the Allied Powers was won by the Allied powers that consists of the United States of America, United Kingdom, Republic People of China, Uni Soviet, and France. Those Five Countries initiated to prevent another world war from occurring.

This purpose we can look at from the Opening of the United Nations Charter.

*"...We the People of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, ..."*⁸

The United Nations was made to prevent World War Three, guard International peace and security, protect human rights of all mankind, and of course make a better world for next generations. Such a noble goal requires support and encouragement if it has hopes of being fulfilled. We can see that support and encouragement from a structure that forms the United Nations. United Nations based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.⁹

Sovereign equality that is mentioned in Article 2 United Nations Charter is intended to guarantee and provide legal certainty to all Member states that join the United Nations. Although the United Nations does not include North Korea and Palestine as member states, that does not mean that these two countries do not have sovereign equality. The problem is a few independent countries cannot accept them as Member States of the United Nations. Their Sovereignty include the rights to accept or not accept these two countries in the United Nations General Assembly.

Membership of the organization is regulated in the next Chapter. The requirements to become member states of United Nations include; participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco 1942, having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, Sign the present Charter, ratify it in accordance with article 110, accept the obligations contained in the present charter, and decided through decision of the General Assembly (Resolution) upon the recommendation of

⁷ Fourth Paragraph, Opening of the 1945 Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia.

⁸ First Paragraph, Opening of United Nations Charter.

⁹ Article 2, Number 1, United Nations Charter.

the Security Council.¹⁰ These requirements mean that all countries on the earth can be member states of the United Nations. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states.¹¹

Beside dealing with issues between States and matters regarding sovereignty, the United Nations Charter also guarantees gender equality between men and women in the name of Human Rights fulfillment.¹² Along with gender equality is the recognition of fundamental human rights, becoming a core objective contained in the UN Charter. These goals and objectives are codified into key international human rights treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1979.

During 1999, the United Nations Secretary General, Anna Kofi, continued to move forward with the United Nations program of administrative and budgetary reforms. Between 2000 and 2001 the United Nations budget came in at virtually the same level as the initial budget approved for the previous biennium, 1998 and 1999, administrative overhead costs were steadily reduced and the Office of Internal Oversight Services identified millions of dollars in cost savings.

Many of the Secretary General's "Track One" and "Track Two" reforms were implemented, improving the efficiency of United Nations activities in the areas of Development, humanitarian relief, human rights, and peacekeeping. By the end of 1999, however the Secretary General had not yet acted on that time other recommendations put forward by the Secretary General that are priorities for The United States, the results were based on budgeting which uses performance

indicators to access progress toward specific objectives and sunset provisions for the new United Nations programs. The United States continues to press for implementation of these measures.

Apart from these efforts, discussions about why the United Nations need to be reform continued regarding reforming a few of United Nations operations such as Peacekeeping Reform and Security Council Reform.¹³ Peacekeeping operations, which have been carried out by the United Nations to achieve its objectives must be re-evaluated. The reason is related to cases that have some of similar topics such as State Aggression to other State, Human Rights violations, and a dispute between countries. The United Nations still need to conduct self-introspection from their procedures in response to International cases between Countries. The United Nations still felt slow in responding to the issues of refugees and war between countries. The United Nations must maintain harmony between all member states in the United Nations and efforts made by the United Nations must urgently address refugees and inter-State conflicts.

Situations and threats of armed conflict have historically occupied a place of privilege on the United Nations Agenda. The United Nations organ mandated to deal with such issues is the Security Council, which effectively functions as a 15 nations executive committee, whose decisions can be binding on all member states. The relative attention devoted to "peace and security" issues (as they are called in the Security Council section of the United Nations Charter) has prompted resentment among non-industrialized nations over the

¹⁰ Article 3 and 4 Number 1 and 2, United Nations Charter.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Article 8, United Nations Charter.

¹³ CNN, "Anan: Adopt U.N. Reform Package", <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/US/03/21/un.reform/index.html>, accessed on 24th of December 2018.

lack of priority for economic development.¹⁴

The threats and dangers of today's world are like Hydra-heads: attacking single heads will not get to the heart of the problem. For an example of how a source of insecurity can feed one another, we need look no further than Afghanistan, one of the most afflicted locations of our times. Afghanistan's down-road spiral began with its occupation and domination by the Soviet Union, provoking a civil war that was stocked as it served as a Cold War Proxy battlefield. After the Soviet Union pulled out, a more local/regional war raged on. Years of devastation were compounded when the Taliban victors were consumed by fundamentalist obsessions that diverted them from normal government functions. Thus, Afghanistan became a sanctuary and headquarters for Osama bin Laden's terror network. All the while, the economic standout of the country was (and is still to this day) cultivation of poppies for the international narcotics trade. So here it all is: war breeding chaos, which in turn leads to poverty, human rights abused and breakdown of the rule of law thereby creating an opening for terrorists and other criminal and financial networks. A very similar similarly tragic sketch could be given for Sudan, though with genocidal mass atrocities and a different natural resource, oil). The question of Afghanistan's post-Taliban recovery and future prospect is a separate one. The point here is that 21st Century international security is *one unified agenda* and not a collection of distinct concerns where nations benefit only as their parochial priorities are met. In other words, what is lost in the idea of a "grand bargain" is *Nations demonstrable interest* in the priorities of others.¹⁵ Given the interconnections of the various threats at play in Afghanistan alone, the surest path to security is an aggressive effort to reduce

extreme poverty and terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. To quote a formulation that United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan often uses: "We will not enjoy development without security, we will not have security without development and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights" (Annan Kofi 1999).

United Nations reform must be done to guarantee a better organization for all states in the World, not only member states of the United Nations but for all nations or states who are on Earth. Besides the reason for Peacekeeping operations such as in Afghanistan and many others, a number of Member States feel that the United Nations is controlled by two or three stronger member states. Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, President of the 63rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, delivered in his final statements of the session in September 2009, an explanation of the attitude in the world.

"Certain Member States think that they can act according to the law of the jungle, and defend the right of the strongest to do whatever they feel like with total and absolute impunity, and remain accountable to no one. They think nothing of railing against multilateralism, proclaiming the virtues of unilateralism while simultaneously pontificating unashamedly from their privileged seats on the Security Council about the need for all Member States conscientiously to fulfil their obligations under the Charter, or be sanctioned (selectively of course) for failing to do so. The sovereign equality of all Member States and the obligation to prevent wars are, for them, minor details that need not to be taken very seriously."

In his speech before the United Nations General Assembly, Father d'Escoto talked of the two attitudes of the member states with the current function of the United Nations.

¹⁴ The Stanley Foundation, *United Nations Reform in Context*, Muscatine: The Stanley Foundation, 2006, p. 3.

¹⁵ The Stanley Foundation, *Op.Cit.*, p. 4.

Smaller member states have lost hope in the United Nations, they (Small Country and Developing country) believe two or three stronger member states have control of the entire organization and their vote, their voice (Small States and Developing Countries), is "worthless". The larger member states, although their governments support the United Nations, their people do not. Citizens of most of the Stronger member states are afraid participation in the United Nations will compromise their nation's legitimacy and sovereignty.¹⁶

With both of these lines of thought in the majority of the international community, the effectiveness of the United Nations compromised. A new question arises; if very little countries don't have a negative idea about the United Nations, why does anyone participate in it. The organization operates on an average of \$10 billion a year, a big chunk of change to most member states, but all member states justify spending the cash. Never in the history of the United Nations, just like any nation, has the General Assembly spend less than the year before. The addition of spending, and participation as a whole, Erskine Childers of Hesburgh Centre for International Studies states, *"the purpose and cause of the United Nations is fully supported by the world, it is the structure, and organs of the United Nations that are in question, not the United Nations"*.¹⁷ This is very true, too many times do academics or critics discuss the removal of the United Nations because of their disapproval of its functions, a more focus on the functions of the United Nations should be made.

Either the Security Council or other Organs must re-evaluate so that peacekeeping operations that are mandated from the United Nations Charter

serve the purposes of the United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly still is not correct for putting the priorities to maintain international peace and security, even though the United Nations General Assembly was negligent, United Nations Security Council should not have been negligent too. The United Nations also spends so much more in a year than the previous year. Besides the problems caused by the negligence of the United Nations General Assembly in responding to the issues about maintaining International Peace and Security and United Nations Security Council in its exclusiveness controlling the entire organization in the United Nations. United Nations reform must be carried out to provide legal certainty and return Economic and Social Council to its original function, that is get the results of research conducted by organs under the United Nations like as United Nations Commission of Human Rights (UNCHR), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and much more for the other Organs.

Economic and Social Council is made to allow the General Assembly to address pressing issues concerning human rights and the well-being of individuals. The truth is, Organs under the United Nations do not give the results of research to the United Nations General Assembly. If the Organs under the United Nations that were made by the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution, then what function does the Economic and Social Council serve? The Economic and Social Council has the rights and authority based on the United Nations Charter. If the Organs under the United Nations are violated the United Nations Charter, then the United Nations General Assembly cannot accept the results of

¹⁶ Miguel d'Escoto, (Brockmann), "Closing statement by the President before the General UN Assembly", 2009, United Nations General Assembly Records, <http://www.un.org/ga/president/63/presskit/president.shtml>, accessed on 25th of December 2018.

¹⁷ Erskine Childers, "Symposium on The United Nations at Fifty: Creating a More Democratic and Effective UN", Hesburgh Centre for International Studies University of Notre Dame Conference December 2, 1994, <http://globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/28/32395.html>, accessed on 25th of December 2018.

research that was conducted by Organs under the United Nations.

C. CAUSE OF FAILURE OF UNITED NATIONS REFORM

Trias Politica, Latin for separation of power, is a model for the governance used since the Roman Republic which is still implemented and adhered to in modern governments. This model of government popularized by the Romans to check a single power in a governmental, or organizational, system from dominating. The government is typically divided into branches or estates (an executive, a legislative, and adjudicative branch), each branch being given as much equal authority as possible in the system. The European Union adopted an estates format when organizing the European Union. These are five institutions of The European Union adopted an estates format when organizing the European Union.

There are five institutions of the European Union, the European Commission acts as a independent executive, the European Parliament is one half of the legislative branch, the Council of the European Union itself, acts both as the second half of the legislative branch and also holds some executive functions, The European Court of Justice acts as the independent judicial branch and the European of Auditors, it is an independent auditory. This system ensures that no single group can become dominant across the playing field; all member states will get opportunities to check the action of any other member states.

The United Nations functions under a similar system. The United Nations General Assembly acts like a legislative body, however, it has no actual authority to enact binding legislation. The Security Council, which is a legislative body, acts also as an executive body, all resolutions of the United

Nations General Assembly must be approved by the Security Council and The Security Council sets the agenda for the Secretariat or Secretary General. The Secretariat is the official administrator of the United Nations but cannot act without approval from the Security Council. There is also the Economic and Social Council which makes suggestions to the General Assembly and Security Council and the International Court of Justice which acts as the judiciary of the organization. One can see some problems with the current United Nations use of separation of power, out of the five organs of the United Nations (not including the Trusteeship Council), only the Security Council has actual authority. There seems to be a lack of balance of power throughout the organization.

Dividing the government into estates is not the only form of separation of powers, there is also federalism. Federalism exists when powers are divided between a central authority and constituent political units. The European Union has many of the characteristics of federalism. The European federalists campaigned in favor of a directly elected European Parliament and were among the first to put European Constitution on the agenda. Opponents of European Federalists are both those in favor of a lesser role for the European Union and those who wish for the European Union to be ruled by the member states rather than with a directly elected parliament.¹⁸

The United Nations lacks any form of federalism in its organizational structure. Federalism is one of the major components to ensure the maximum amount of participation, thus being more democratic.¹⁹ By allowing more participation at the different levels, as the European Union (people and member states have participation roles), the more legitimate the United Nations can become. Several movements have been created to

¹⁸ Felix Knüpling, "Federalism and Multi-level Governance: Comparing the EU with Other Federal States", *Towards Multi-Level Governance in Europe*, 2009.

¹⁹ Robert A. Dahl, "Federalism and the Democratic Process" in J. R. Pennock and J. W. Chapman, eds., *NOMOS XXV: Liberal Democracy*, New York: New York University Press, 1938, p. 95-108.

push from more participation in the United Nations. The most involved is currently ongoing, is a movement to form a United Nations Parliament.

The Campaign for the Establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly is a global network of more than 150 non-governmental organizations and 550 Parliamentarians from around 120 countries devoted to establishing a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. A direct elected United Nations Parliament would allow, just as the European Union does, the "people of the world" to have participation in the United Nations' functions. The majority of the advocates against a United Nations Parliament, just as the European Union, state a directly elected parliament would remove sovereignty and control of the organization from the member states governments. A directly elected parliament would remove some control of the member states governments, but it would be putting that authority in the hands of the people of those governments. As for removing sovereignty, this is not so, the elected officials to the United Nations Parliament would act in the interest of the member states, as the currently appointed position in the United Nations' act.

Now the simple establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, will not be the salvation of the United Nations, still there are problems with the Security Council, and elitism within the United Nations structure. The establishment of more participation is needed. A second layer of federalism can be added in the form of regionalism. Regional influences have worked in Europe and South America, but the rest of the world seems to be lacking in this area. Carr stated that "*Nations of the world must learn to cooperate and strategize in regional blocs. Together a region can be stronger than any United Nations or Russia*".²⁰ By establishing regional influences in the world, the

member states of each region can grow inward to produce a more effective world political system and better regulation to maintain peace and security from each region. The United Nations could be a forum to force states to work together more within their regional neighbourhoods. The creation of a United Nations Provincial Senate could be very beneficial to the United Nations and world politics.

Currently the United Nation structure includes a form of regional blocking but is very ineffective. The United Nations has five groups: African States, Asian States, Eastern European States, Latin American and Caribbean States and Western European and Other States. These groups only come into play when appointing members of the Economic and Social Council (certain groups get a specific member of seats on the Council) and an Unofficial rotation of electing the President of the United Nations General Assembly. These groups are based on cultural and political association, basically nations already working together. There is now an outside United Nations of this group's system.

Regional groups should be based on continental divides. This would allow regional blocks to work on resources, trade, and services with their regional groups and become stronger as a region, then being more successful to work at a world stage. The world should be divided into seven World Provinces: The North American World Province, the South American World Province, the Western European World Province, the Eastern European World Province, the Southern Asia World Province, the African World Province, and the Oceania World Province.

A Question of member state sovereignty is made again when discussing regional organizations like the European Union and the same justification can be applied. The proposal of the World Province system, just like the United Nations itself, is

²⁰ E.H. Carr, *What Is History?* Palgrave Macmillan Limited, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1973, p. 1.

not to replace the nation with a regional government but allow the member states to have more participation in the process, therefore it is not removing a nation's sovereignty by enhancing it, with world politics.

Increased participation in the United Nations has potential to solve several problems within the organization including the availability of a small elite group of member states to control the United Nations and the advancement of globalism as a threat to member states and the effectiveness of the United Nations to prevent conflict and to delivery and protect humanitarian services, by ensure trust in the United Nations organization.

The United Nations consists of 193 countries from 6 continents and 5 World Provinces. 193 countries have a contribution in the United Nations, but not all the member states have the same proportions. There are two or three countries that have some power to control the entire United Nations, including the power to decide when the United Nations need reformation and why the United Nations still not yet to be reform.

The United Nations General Assembly and Secretary General always recommended to United Nations Reform. But not all member states have accepted proposals for reform. The States who decline the ideas are those two or three countries who control the entire organization. The United Nations Security Council consists of 15 member states. Among these 15 countries there are 5 of them who have some special rights that are called veto, Veto can cancel the decision or resolution made by the United Nations General Assembly. The problem is that vetoes are issued by two or three countries related to the special rights named Veto. The Veto has never been mentioned in the United Nations, but there it has some

special statement in the resolutions of other organs except the United Nations Security Council shall assist the Security Council's request (Article 23, 24, 49,53, 64, and many else).

According to Reuters, Russia and China have used their veto four times to block resolutions related to Syria : Three times to thwart the threat of sanctions on the regime of Syrian President Bashar Al-Asaad and once to block Syria's referral to the International Criminal Court.²¹ Without a doubt that Russian and Chinese diplomats weren't the only ones guilty of misusing their veto powers that counter international organizations and rights groups, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the Global Center for the responsibility to Protect peace and security.

In the past there were only 11 countries that became member states of the Security Council, but in the development this amount was increased to 15 countries. Some countries other than the 5 permanent members of the Security Council, such as Japan, India, Brazil and Germany have expressed intention to become Permanent Member States of the Security Council, that proposal has come because of the worried situations under United Nations condition after 1999. The United Nations General Assembly has become more costly, more ineffective and inefficient, and exhibited many another worrying conditions.

United Nations Reform always fails because of the arrogance of the elite group of the United Nations Security Council. Overall, the United States supports the Secretary General's proposal as a major contribution to the ongoing United Nations process. That reformations agenda is relating to the United Nations Security Council Permanent Member States, United Nations' Headquarters, and United Nations Peacekeeping system operations. But other

²¹ Ishaan Tharoor, *"The UN Veto is a problem that won't go away"*, <https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/02/the-u-n->

[veto-is-a-problem-that-wont-go-away/%3foutputType=amp](https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/02/the-u-n-), accessed on 3rd of August 2019.

countries in the Security Council still cannot accept the ideas of United Nations Reform. Still if just one country released Veto in the Security Council, the Resolution cannot be implemented.

United Nations reform always fails, from Annan Kofi two Track of United Nations Reform Package, Ban Ki Moon proposal of United Nations Reform and Antonio Guterres vows to bring United Nations Reform into real action.²² In the next sub chapter, we will discuss what the United Nations does to the Reform process.

D. UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS

The United Nations Secretary General is the most vocal organ in the United Nations who always initiated the United Nations Reform ideas, issuing recommendations to the United Nations General Assembly and lobbying the United Nations Security Council to accept the United Nations reform in all fields. Annan Kofi, during 1997 separating two plans of United Nations Reform packages, "Track One" and "Track Two". Track One, in March 1997, The Secretary General, Annan Kofi announced ten administrative, budgetary, managerial, and personnel reforms that he could undertake on his own authority. The budget of the United Nations has remained essentially flat for the several years, over 900 personnel positions have been abolished within the United Nations. A Code of Conduct has been adopted and administrative costs are being reduced.²³

Track Two, In July 1997, the Secretary General proposed a more comprehensive set of reforms which streamlined some departments, improved administrative activities and effected major improvements in development, humanitarian relief, human rights, and peacekeeping activities. Key measures in effect include creating a Deputy Secretary General position,

adopting a cabinet-style management structure (like a state governance) that brings together senior officials responsible for once United Nations functions, enhancing coordination of United Nations development activities at headquarters and in the field, upgrading the communication line to spread the information about peace and security around the world, improving delivery of humanitarian assistance and integrating human rights concerns throughout all United Nations activities.²⁴

After Annan Kofi, Ban Ki Moon tried to enhance the United Nations Reform process, but he did not process the same programs as Anna Kofi, and the result is that Ban Ki Moon has failed in its efforts to reform the United Nations. The next Secretary General, Antonio Guterres vows he will initiate the United Nations Reform, and will continue what Annan Kofi started. He gathered the support from All Member States of United Nations, and not forget to inviting Developing Countries and Muslim Countries such as Turkey, Indonesia, India, and much more.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey's President stated that United Nations Reform cannot be delayed or ignored especially by the United Nations Secretary General who is responsible for international peace and security.²⁵ Today, mankind is against some serious threats, such as Climate Change, Ethnic cleansing, Starved Problems, Xenophobia, Islamophobia, Epidemic and Pandemic problem like Covid-19, and the looming threat of terrorism. It is impossible for any one country to solve these problems alone. A problem that threatens humanity and disturbs International Peace and Security shall be given more attention to from the United Nations.

Indonesian can also take part in United Nations Reform, that participation based on Indonesia International Political will and

²² Pierre Albouy, *Op. Cit.*

²³ *United States Participation in the United Nations*, U.S.A, 1999, p. 49-52.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Tumay Berkin, "Turkey Serukan Reformasi PBB", <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20181025073526-120-341248/turki-serukan-reformasi-pbb>, accessed on 25th of December 2018.

Policy that is named “Bebas Aktif” (Free and Active). Indonesia is one of 193 Countries of All Member States of the United Nations that take part in the United Nations Reform Process. Indonesia has supported the Secretary General initiative action that has been done since Annan Kofi, Ban Ki Moon and Antonio Guterres.²⁶ Multilateralism shall be enhanced to overcome the global threats against International Peace and Security which has become the central role of the United Nations.

The United Nations General Assembly has already pressed the budget, the United Nations Secretary General also evaluated and cut the bureaucracy and decreased the positions of the Deputy of United Nations Secretary General. Some of the permanent member states of the United Nations Security Council still disagree with United Nations Reforms such as China and Russia, but the United States also only chooses choices that only benefit them rather than the international community.²⁷ This will be a problem that requires serious attention. Permanent Members must re-evaluate and self-introspect from all the decisions that they made. Like Russia and China which vetoes any UNSC Resolution concerning Syria, and the United States which vetoed anything happening with North Korea, Afghanistan, Palestine and many Muslim countries. The veto powers need to be used wisely, and their absolute powers must be relaxed.

E. INDONESIAN ROLE AND PARTICIPATION

In the previous Sub Chapter, we discovered that the United Nations has previously attempted to initiate some efforts to reform, but such efforts always failed because of differences of opinion that occur

between the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. China and Russia accept the United Nations Reform but not the exclusivity of the United States, the United States accept the United Nations Reform but only choose the choices that benefit them. Indonesia has given support to the United Nations with participation in various ways, like being a Security Council non-permanent member that influences the permanent members to make a consideration between the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution and other policy that has been processed by the United Nations like United Nations Reform. Not only as a non – permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, Indonesia also carried out the United Nations General Assembly meeting as a President of United Nations General Assembly in 1971 on the 26th Session and represented by Adam Malik. Adam Malik was the second person who represented Asia after Philippine's representative, Dr. Carlos Pena Romulo.²⁸

Indonesian also elected to the United Nations Security Council by Four times. In 1974-1975, 1995-1996, 2007-2008, and the newest is 2019-2020. Indonesia believes that our representation in this time period can bring more change in the United Nations especially in the maintenance of International Peace and Security and United Nations Reform. Indonesia became the member of United Nations Economic and Social Council during many periods, between 1956-1958, 1969-1971, 1974-1975, 1979-1981, 1984-1986, 1989-1991, 1994-1996, 1999-2001, 2004-2006, 2007-2009, and the newest is 2012-2014. Indonesia was elected as President of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1970 and 2000. He was elected as Vice

²⁶ Firdia Lisniawati, “Indonesia Minta PBB Lakukan Reformasi”, <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/358650/indonesia-minta-pbb-lakukan-reformasi>, accessed on 25th of December 2018.

²⁷ “Kontroversi Seputar Reformasi PBB”, http://parstoday.com/id/radio/world-i45047-kontroversi_seputar_reformasi_struktural_pbb, accessed on 25th of December 2018.

²⁸ United Nations General Assembly's Resolution, Number A/RES/491 (V).

President of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1969, 1999, and 2012.

Indonesia has also been elected three times as a member of the United Nations Commission of Human Rights since that Commission was formed in 2006. Indonesia has been the membership of the United Nation Commission of Human Rights since 2006 and 2014. Indonesia became Vice President of United Nations Commissions of Human Rights on 2009-2010 which was represented by Indonesia Ambassador Dian Triansyah Diani.

After becoming the United Nations Primary Organs, Indonesia is targeting to support more of effort to United Nations Reform. Indonesian participate in International Peacekeeping operations to ensure that the United Nations more closely to progress the United Nations Reform. Indonesia gave its best services in 64 years joining the United Nations in 2014. Indonesian prepares bases and operational capabilities to support world peacekeeping missions. President of Indonesia, Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono, inaugurated The Area of Indonesian Peace Security Center (IPSC) on 7 April 2014. After That Indonesia prepares 4000 Personnel of peacekeeping forces that support the International peace and Security operations and encourage the United Nations Reform.

In other ways, Indonesia has also supported many United Nations Declaration and ratified key Conventions. The United Nations convention that Indonesia takes is a big part like the United Nations Convention on The Law of The Sea (UNCLOS) 1982 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Also, to mention that Indonesia has amended its Constitution body to have basic human rights that are already mentioned by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Beside the fact that Indonesia ratifies all Treaties and International Convention that will affect its sea and maritime issue, Indonesia has also ratified the Paris Agreement to The United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change

(UNFCCC) 2015 and the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) 2003.

Every International Convention that is made by the United Nations, Indonesia always participates in drafting the conventions or just ratifying it to support the convention so it can enter into force soon as possible. Indeed, Indonesia is one of many United Nations member states that give so much contribution to the United Nations to aid in efforts of keeping world peace and security. Furthermore, Indonesia is also one of few members who took the initiatives to make Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Founded with Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, and Singapore. Even the Secretariat Office of ASEAN took place in Jakarta, The Capital of Indonesia. ASEAN is a true Example of Regional International Organization that supports the idea of The World Provinces System. Each Continent can make their own Group of States that can form the new construction of the United Nations. Indonesia can bring these ideas and proposals to the Security Council to get proper confirmation from other members of the Security Council. Furthermore, this proposal could make United Nations Reform happen more promptly.

Not to mention the heroic action of Indonesia that maintains and keeps world peace and security. Indonesia with Pasukan GARUDA (GARUDA Troops) began participating in sending troops as part of the United Nations peacekeeping force in 1957. After that Indonesia became more active in response and sent troops to conflicted states, countries, or areas like Republic Congo, Egypt, Sudan, and many else. Before the Cold War, the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation (UNPO) mission was to maintain a ceasefire and stabilize the situation while and after war. A ceasefire is important to provide opportunities for political and diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict. In fact, Indonesia always bring the expected results from its mission.

Currently, Indonesia is ranked eight among the 124 peacekeeping contributing countries with a total of 3.080 peace personnel (106 of which are female) having been deployed on eight peacekeeping missions.²⁹ Indonesia gave an example that Women Peace Personnel have the same rights just like the men agents, proving that Indonesia respects women and combats any discriminant act, consistent with CEDAW 1979. Also, women agents are needed to better handle Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and Conflicted-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) that may occur. The women agent manages to gather information about sexual abuse even giving healthcare, education, and cultural sharing with local society. Indonesia have successfully facilitated the processes of disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, reintegration, and resettlement (DDRRR), especially the handover of weapons from one of the warring parties. The weapon handover to Indonesian troops proved the local society's trust in the capacity of Garuda Troops in ensuring regional peace and security.

All of the contributions given by Indonesia to support the United Nations and participate in world peace and security's mission is from Indonesia mandate from its Constitution. After mentioning the Bebas-Aktif (Free and Active) Principle it applies, we can see now that Indonesia is State Law based on its Constitution too. Indonesia has rarely acted inconsistent with international law and always supported the United Nations in many ways because the organization has the same ideals and objectives as Indonesia. Indonesia took initiative to make ASEAN that inspire many regional Organizations like European Union, League of Arab States, and African Union. That can provide some back up to propose United Nations reform that is based on the World Provinces System

and Regional Group of States to construct the new form of United Nations in future.

F. CONCLUSION

The UN must be reformed because of its inefficiency and ineffectiveness when addressing threats to international security. Other causes that encourage the issues is because of the exclusivity of the 5 UNSC Permanent Members who have veto rights. Vetoes always hold up crucial resolutions meant to address pressing issues for political reasons. So far, reformation attempts have been unsuccessful and have been hindered by the bureaucracy of the UN itself. Permanent members of the UNSC have especially been a hindrance to meaningful reform to serve their own self-interest. They have consistently denied proposals to add UNSC Permanent members. Efforts to reform the UN should be initiated by the United Nations Secretary General, in accordance with recommendations from the General Assembly.

Indonesia's role to United Nations Reform is truly remarkable, as Indonesia has increased participation in key positions in the UN, and has seated more strategic positions in the organization, such as United Nations Security Council non – permanent member, President of United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Economic and Social Council President and Vice President position, Vice President of United Nations Commission of Human Rights and Prepares bases and personnel of peacekeeping forces and system.

Indonesia has increased its efforts 2019-2020, and its position as a non – permanent member of the Security Council can give more change to the United Nations and more participation in maintaining International Peace and Security.

²⁹ Budi N, "The Crucial Role of Women as Agents of Peace, Tolerance, and Prosperity", <https://www.voinews.id/index.php/component/k2/it>

em/4522-the-crucial-role-of-women-as-agents-of-peace-tolerance-and-prosperity, accessed on 3rd of August 2019.

The UN shall speed up reformation efforts with the help of the Secretary-General. The UNSC must add more permanent members to better reflect its diversity such as India, Japan, and Germany. With the addition of permanent UNSC members, the bureaucracy of the UNSC Permanent Members will be more democratic and dynamic than it is today. Indonesia can also give participation in United Nations Reform with key leadership roles in the core organs of the UN.³⁰ These changes mean that the UN can better reflect its geographical, historical, political and cultural diversity.

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