

# **Indonesian Efforts in Achieve Resolution on Female Peacekeepers in the United Nations in 2020**

Frequency of International Relations  
September, Vol 4 (1) 144-185  
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fetrian.fisip.unand.ac.id  
Submission track :  
Submitted : May 16, 2022  
Accepted : May 22, 2022  
Available On-line : June 19, 2022

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## **Abstract**

The involvement of women has now become an important part of the UN's world peacekeeping mission. However, the involvement of women in peacekeeping missions is not matched by a proportional number in world peacekeeping which decreases every year. Seeing this phenomenon, Indonesia initiated its resolution, the 2020 Female Peacekeepers Resolution, so that women's involvement is stronger in world peace missions. This study uses integrative negotiation theory with dimensions of expanding pie and dual concern. The results of this study are efforts to go through expansion stages including Indonesia's efforts to become a non-permanent member of the UN security council and the agenda of increasing the role of women through the submission of women peacekeepers resolutions as the main agenda proclaimed by Indonesia. Then at the dual concern stage, Indonesia made several efforts such as submitting a resolution proposal, negotiating with other countries, supporting resolutions, conducting informal negotiations in the voting process so that the resolution was approved.

**Keywords:** Indonesia, Integrative Negotiations, Resolution, Women Peacekeepers, United Nations

## Introduction

Peacekeeping is an instrument developed to help a country experiencing conflict to create peace/peaceful conditions. Peacekeeping is not listed in the UN charter, but the UN Charter Secretary describes Peacekeeping as “Chapter six and a Half” because its position is seen as different among Chapter VI of the UN Charter. Peacekeeping is one of the traditional methods of the United Nations to resolve conflicts through peaceful means, by means of settlement through negotiation, mediation or by the method of using force by force (Osmancavusoglu, 2000). Peace operations are an effective way to resolve a country's conflict towards peace. The operations carried out involve members of the army, police from around the world who integrate them into the peacekeeping force with the aim of making peace that is multidimensional. UN peace operations provide security guarantees and political support to assist countries in conflict in carrying out the transition process from previously conflicted to peace (Paramasatya, 2015).

Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) was first formed to carry out relatively standard tasks to carry out a sustainable peacebuilding process and restore conducive conditions for carrying out peace. Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) carries out its mandate through border patrols and the separation of conflicting parties. These duties

and responsibilities have begun to diminish over the last twenty years, after wars between countries began to diminish and were replaced by more complex inter-state and inter-ethnic conflicts. This is a new challenge for the international community, including the peacekeeping community. In facing new challenges, various multidimensional approaches are needed. The multidimensional approach addresses issues that are compatible with peace, including protecting local populations through an understanding approach to local culture, religion, customs, and ways of life. Humanitarian approaches such as facilitating the implementation of new responsive security policies are urgently needed to accommodate different needs and problems (Paramasatya, 2015).

The first peacekeeping mission carried out by the United Nations was the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) which was established in 1948 as a monitoring of the ceasefire between Saudi Arabia and Israel (Indrawan, 2020). Through UN Security Council Resolution No. 50, adopted on 29 May 1948 regarding the work of UNTSO, calls on all governments and authorities involved in the conflict in Palestine to order the cessation of all actions of the armed forces. The resolution further urges all governments and authorities to do all they can, to ensure security at the Holy sites in the area as well as the city of Jerusalem to ensure

access to security, instructs UN mediators in Palestine to be in contact with all parties involved to ensure that the ceasefire was implemented and offered it as many military observers as necessary for the purpose (Indrawan, 2020). In August 1949, the UN Security Council through resolution 73 gave different functions to UNSTO which were in line with four ceasefire agreements between Israel and four Arab countries including Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. UNSTO carries out activities covering the five countries, UNSTO military observers remain in the Middle East region to observe the ceasefire, supervise the ceasefire agreement, prevent minor incidents that are likely to become large and assist other UN peace operations in the region (Indrawan, 2020).

United Nations peacekeeping is a collective action taken in efforts for peace and security in the world. In its development, the United Nations has an agenda for gender balance in peacekeeping missions. Peacekeepers were introduced in 1957 in the period 1957-1979 there were only 65 women out of 6,250 personnel this number then increased to 200 from 20,000 military personnel in 1989. The UN's concentration on the role of women peacekeepers was further strengthened by the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution No. 1325 of 2000 on "Women, Peace and Security". The resolution states that gender issues have become the focus of attention in the world

peace and security agenda. Her presence invites all UN member states to increase women's participation in peacekeeping missions where the main focus is participation, aid protection and recovery. In addition, this resolution also discusses the participation of women in political leadership, recruitment of military officers and soldiers (Osmancavusoglu, 2000). In 2006 there was only an increase in the participation of women in the peacekeeping force. This figure only reached 1,235 out of 65,555 which is 1.8% of the total number of peacekeepers. Meanwhile, in 2007 there were 1,034 women out of 71,673 which constituted 1.7% of the total (Osmancavusoglu, 2000). Meanwhile, in 2007 there were 1,034 women out of 71,673 which constituted 1.7% of the total (Osmancavusoglu, 2000). This is a decrease in the number of women's participation in world peace operations.

The slow increase in women's participation in peacekeeping missions is inseparable from the military world which is dominated by men. The military area is considered a more appropriate space for men so that military personnel are also more numerous by men, even though the role of women in the military is no less needed in building peace, providing access and support to women in conflict/local zones, supporting specific needs from women and children, seeking information on gender-based violence and making missions more

gender-friendly. It cannot be ignored that women are vulnerable to becoming victims of war such as murder, rape, torture, and so on, for that women in peacekeeping missions are a necessity (Osmancavusoglu, 2000).

The gender issue apparently does not only occur in the unequal number of peacekeepers, but also occurs in the implementation of peacekeeping programs. One of the UN missions in peacekeeping that presents new problems related to gender is the United Nations Stabilization Mission In Haiti (MINUSTAH). Initially this mission was formed to support the transitional government in ensuring a safe and stable environment, as well as monitoring and reforming the Haitian National Police. However, in practice, a new problem arose. Peacekeepers who were expected to work optimally in creating peace and political stability and security turned out to be sexually abusing boys and girls (Dodd, 2017). A total of 134 peacekeepers, who are Sri Lankan nationals, sexually exploited Haitians from 2004 to 2007. Survey data compiled by the United States Department of Health and Public Service, there were 2916 people interviewed, this number explains that there are two groups of victims ranging in age from 13-24 with a total of 1,457 women and 1459 men. Based on these data, most victims of sexual harassment are male. The details of sexual harassment victims' range in age from 13-17, 4% are women and 7%

are men. Furthermore, in the age range of 17-24 years, the percentage of men is still higher than women, namely 84.4% of men and 69.5% women (Dodd, 2017). Departing from gender issues that occurred in the realm of peacekeepers in the operations carried out, the UN Security Council issued a new resolution no. 2538 Year 2020. This resolution explains that it is important for each member state to commit to increasing the number of female peacekeepers in world security. Member states are obliged to fully promote and provide participation for women to carry out peace promotion, increase the contribution of women in implementing the peace process and continue to prioritize gender equality because the role of women is very much needed to improve the performance and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations (Nation, 2020). Indonesia has contributed greatly in increasing women's participation in the peace and security. The UN Security Council resolution in 2020 is the first resolution that resulted from Indonesia's struggle at the UN Security Council. This resolution was supported by 97 member countries (Setkab, 2020).

The contents of resolution number 2538 of 2020 is the first resolution in the history of Indonesia's diplomacy at the UN Security Council to show Indonesia's contribution to increasing the role of women as troops peace especially in UN peacekeeping missions. This is an important breakthrough because for the first time the UN Security

Council passed a resolution that specifically raised the role of women in world peacekeepers. Extraordinary support has also been given by UN member countries to fight for peace diplomacy and empowering women's roles in peace since the beginning of their membership in the UN Security Council in 2019. This proves Indonesia's active role as a "bridge builder" which has not only succeeded in paving the way for differences in positions but also unites the UN Security Council (Kemlu, 2020). Based on the description above, the participation of women in peacekeeping forces is still very minimal due to the lack of resolutions and policies that discuss this matter. Until 2020, Indonesia vocally fights for resolutions related to this matter, starting from the incessant struggle of Indonesia in fighting for resolutions related to women and peacekeepers. took the research title "Indonesian Integrative Negotiation Efforts in Achieving Resolution On Female Peacekeepers at the United Nations in 2020"

### **Framework : Diplomacy**

Diplomacy in international studies is one of the practices or interactions between countries through official representatives covering the entire process of both foreign relations and policy formation. Diplomacy is operational techniques to fight for its interests carried out by the state through law (Plano, 1982). Diplomacy includes all foreign policy activities in relation to other countries which include



determining and using all human resources or abilities to achieve goals, adjusting the interests of other nations with national interests, in accordance with existing capabilities and personnel, determining whether national goals are in line with the interests of other nations or countries and make the best use of facilities and opportunities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1988). Diplomacy can be carried out through or by departments or ministries of foreign affairs, embassies, consulates, legations, and special missions around the world. Diplomacy in general has a variety of interests ranging from relations between countries to issues of war and peace which if diplomacy fails it will lead to the danger of war causing a crisis (Roy L, 1995). Herman F. Eilts said diplomacy is a science or art that must be carried out relating to the relations or affairs of sovereign states by using the means of official and recognized agents, while according to international law diplomacy is a procedure carried out in the management of international negotiations. Plischke, 1979). Simply put, diplomacy is defined as a political process, namely carrying out foreign relations with each other carried out by political entities in this case the state in the international environment (Ambarwati, 2010).

Etymologically, the term diploma comes from Latin which means trust. In its development, the word or sentence diploma then changed more broadly into the word diplomacy, diplomacy and

diplomatic (Kansil, 2002). The political process known as diplomacy initially took place in hundreds of years BC or ancient times. In the past, the Chinese, Egyptians, Indians and Mesopotamians had sent and received envoys from other countries tasked with resolving disputes and forging peace agreements (Ambarwati, 2010). Whereas in the western world, modern diplomacy began in the 13th century where regional rulers in Europe sent envoys to other regional rulers who were assigned to convey their views and negotiate and make agreements on behalf of the rulers who were represented to the intended rulers.

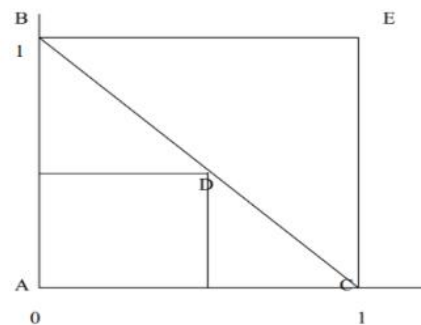
The development of diplomacy expanded with the 1815 Congress of Wina. European statesmen were aware of the need to regulate diplomatic relations between countries. Until finally after the Second World War, the United Nations Law Commission in 1948 drafted a diplomatic convention that regulates the duties and responsibilities of the diplomatic corps (Plischke, 1979). The development of diplomacy has given birth to various rules regarding technical diplomatic relations and other international relations such as the 1961 Wina Convention on diplomatic relations and preferred protocols, the 1963 Wina Convention on consular relations and preferred protocols, the 1969 New York Convention on special missions and protocols. options, the 1973 New York Convention on the prevention and punishment of crimes against persons protected under international law including

diplomats, and the 1975 Wina Convention on the representation of states in relation to international organizations that are universal.

### **Integrative Negotiation**

Diplomacy has supporting elements in it, one of which is explaining about negotiations. Negotiation is an important process in making an interpersonal decision that cannot be done with one party alone (Thomson, 2012). The concept of negotiation has many meanings, but experts agree that the main purpose of negotiating activities is to reach an agreement. According to Zartman, "Negotiation is part of diplomacy, but has an extraordinary scope beyond bargaining (Zartman, 2019). Meanwhile, R.P Bartson emphasized that negotiations are not always about an agreement, but are an effort to understand each other's positions between the parties involved who have interests (Bartson, 2019). In the negotiations, there are forms of negotiation, one of which is the Integrative Negotiation by emphasizing the Fix-pie which can be assumed to be of a concrete nature. In presenting a negotiation, the actors are emphasized to achieve interests that cannot be changed (Trisni, Nasir, & Halim, 2019).

Figure 1.1 Negotiation Achievements



Source: (Diplomacy An early introduction, 2019)

From the diagram, it is explained that at point A the negotiations did not find any results from the parties who carried out the negotiations and went home without bringing any results and achievements from the negotiations. What can be interpreted is that the ongoing negotiations did not happen. In points B and C, it is the understanding of distributive negotiations which is a form of victory and one of the parties does not get anything in the negotiations carried out (victory for one). Point D is a bit more flexible where point D emphasizes the form of compromise that focuses on achieving the interests of each party even though the results are not optimal in accordance with what was desired in the initial achievement (Trisni, Nasir, & Halim, 2019). Point E is an approach that produces a win-win solution. This approach is used as diplomacy in negotiating in every interest (Trisni, Nasir, & Halim, 2019). Thompson explains in his book entitled *The Mind and Heart of Negotiators* that win-win negotiations are negotiations based on opportunities for all possible users to use so

as to get a result that can benefit all parties which is then known as integrative negotiation (Thomson, 2012). This integrative negotiation explains a lot about determining what the basic needs of the two negotiating parties are, not just burdening one party (Trisni, Nasir, & Halim, 2019).

The context of integrative negotiations is known as "expanding-pie" where "expanding-pie" is a factor that distinguishes between integrative negotiations and other negotiations. Expanding pie is intended to expand what is the goal of a negotiation carried out from the related parties (Thomson, 2012). Efforts to do an expanding pie require an understanding of what are the main basic needs in the opponent's appeal, not from the opponent's point of view. So in the expanding pie, the negotiating party must understand well about the goals and objectives in negotiating, then understand the character of the opponent negotiating. This definition is able to show that integrative negotiation emphasizes "dual concern". Not only focusing on unilateral interests, but also considering what the interests of the other party are by looking at the needs needed by each party (Trisni, Nasir, & Halim, 2019). Dual concern emphasizes how the negotiating parties must understand very well what the interests of the parties are and must understand the needs of each between the negotiating opponents so that the goals can be achieved with both parties mutually

benefiting and achieving the desired goals. After that, when you understand the interests of the negotiating opponent, then you will get a meeting point from both parties so that you can achieve the desired goal and not harm one of the negotiating parties.

The assumption of an integrative approach can cover many things that are needed for various parties. "Dual Concern" an integrative approach can provide many positive impacts for both parties in the negotiation process. The dual concern then makes it easier for the negotiating parties to carry out an expanding pie of what the needs of the two parties are negotiating regarding the humanitarian issues that are the focus of the negotiations. The point is that by conducting integrative negotiations in humanitarian diplomacy, all parties are able to achieve what is needed so that they find a middle way that is able to provide a win-win solution to the problems being faced without ruling out other parties (Trisni, Nasir, & Halim, 2019).

In the expanding pie, the researcher will explain the beginning of Indonesia's struggle to become a non-permanent member of the UN security council so that it can fight for security agendas through a program that was launched if Indonesia became a non-permanent member of the UN security council. After that, the researcher will explain what programs are designed by Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the UN security council, focusing on 2019 to 2020 and

focusing on one of the agendas, namely the submission of the female peacekeepers resolution in 2020. Finally, the researcher explains the background for submitting the resolution. female peacekeepers by Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the UN security council. In dual concern, the researcher will explain the agenda of the event in submitting a resolution for female peacekeepers at the United Nations. Then the researcher will explain how the negotiations that take place between UN member countries, both debates and discussions in meetings to fight for the resolution of female peacekeepers at the United Nations. Finally, the researcher explained the common ground in the ongoing negotiations so that they agreed to approve the resolution of female peacekeepers in resolution number 2538 at the United Nations in 2020.

## **Result**

### **1. Expanding Pie**

In this section, the researcher will explain the purpose of an integrative negotiation for the achievement of the women peacekeepers resolution at the United Nations in 2020 by describing three parts. First, the researcher will explain Indonesia as the party that initiated the women peacekeepers resolution. Second, the researcher explains the agenda, duties and benefits of Indonesia as a non-permanent

member of the UN Security Council which focuses on increasing the role of women in world peace. The last is to explain in detail about Indonesia's agenda in increasing the role of women in world peace which is narrowed in Indonesia's agenda of initiating the women peacekeepers resolution at the United Nations in 2020. In this expanding pie, the effort made by Indonesia is to include an agenda for increasing female peacekeepers to be included in the UN agenda by seeking Indonesia's direct involvement with the UN agenda by becoming a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council to become the Presidium of the Session.

#### **A. Indonesia becomes a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council**

In understanding the expanding pie in achieving a goal, it must begin by explaining who the first party was to bring up an idea or proposal that became a topic in the negotiation. In this study, the resolution of female peacekeepers was first proposed by Indonesia, which at that time was a non-permanent member of the UN security council. Indonesia along with 9 other countries joined the membership on 8 June 2018 for the 2019-2020 period. Indonesia's term of office starts from January 1, 2019 to December 31, 2020 where this is the fourth time Indonesia has become a member of the UN Security



Council which was previously incorporated in 1974-1975, 1995-1996 and 2007-2008 (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021).

In the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly is scheduled to hold elections for non-permanent members for the UN security council with the five seats available for elections in 2018. Penentuan ini ditentukan menurut distribusi reguler antar wilayah dengan komposisi sebagai berikut: satu kursi untuk Grup Afrika (saat ini dipegang oleh Ethiopia); satu kursi untuk Grup Asia dan Small Island Developing States (SIDS) (Asia-Pasifik) (saat ini dipegang oleh Kazakhstan); satu kursi untuk Amerika Latin dan Karibia atau Latin American and Caribbean Group (GRULAC) (saat ini dipegang oleh Bolivia); dua kursi untuk Eropa Barat dan Lainnya atau The Western European and Others Group (WEOG) saat ini dipegang oleh Belanda dan Swedia). Grup Eropa Timur tidak ikut serta dalam pemilihan kursi tahun ini karena jatah kursinya dipegang oleh Polandia hingga 2019 (United Nations, 2021). The UN Security Council consists of 15 member states, namely 5 permanent members (US, UK, France, China, Russia) and 10 non-permanent members. When Indonesia started its membership, the composition of the other 14 member states of the UN Security Council were (United Nations, 2021):

**Table 1. UN Security Council 2018-2020 Period**

<b>Negara</b>	<b>Status Keanggotaan</b>
Amerika Serikat	Tetap
Inggris	Tetap
Perancis	Tetap
Rusia	Tetap
China	Tetap
Cote d'Ivoire	Periode 2018-2019
Equatorial Guinea	Periode 2018-2019
Kuwait	Periode 2018-2019
Peru	Periode 2018-2019
Polandia	Periode 2018-2019
Indonesia	Periode 2019-2020
Jerman	Periode 2019-2020
Afrika Selatan	Periode 2019-2020
Belgia	Periode 2019-2020
Republik Dominika	Periode 2019-2020

Indonesia, in winning a seat as a non-permanent member of the UN security council, campaigned as a country with a majority Muslim population who has a desire to fight terrorism and violent extremism. It also emphasizes the promotion of preventive diplomacy and may seek to enhance the UNSC's cooperation with regional arrangements, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as

formulated by Chapter VIII of the UN Charter (United Nations, 2021). Indonesia's challenge in the non-permanent membership of the UN security council for the 2019-2020 period began with competing with the Maldives as a strong candidate in the election of non-permanent members of the UN security council in 2018. The Maldives is a member of the UN since 1965 and has never served on the security council. This is the first time the Maldives is running for a non-permanent member seat. In fact, the Maldives has announced its candidacy since 2008. The Maldives has campaigned for the security council under the slogan "common solution, common destiny" and put forward five reasons why its candidacy deserves support. These reasons include: that the Maldives will offer a new perspective; advocacy for tolerance and moderation; work to build negotiating bridges and promote consensus on the UN Charter; advocacy for cross-sectoral reforms; and pledged to operate in a transparent, effective and responsible manner (United Nations, 2021).

The Maldives said it would bring diversity to the UN security council as a country that originates from South Asia, is predominantly Muslim, has a small island territory, and is a developing country that is also a member of the G77 and the Non-Aligned Movement. The Maldives will work to promote the interests of developing countries within the UN system and on the international stage. The Maldives

highlighted its priorities in the UN Security Council on related initiatives for the security of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) countries and the dimensions of climate change. Other priorities include disarmament and non-proliferation, conflict prevention, combating international terrorism, and promoting human rights. However, the Maldives currently does not have peacekeepers for UN peacekeeping missions (United Nations, 2021).

Indonesia's victory in the election of non-permanent members of the UNSC for the 2019-2020 period over the Maldives was due to Indonesia getting a large number of votes during the election on June 8 2018. Some of the reasons for Indonesia's election were due to Indonesia's diplomatic strength with bilateral and multilateral diplomacy patterns. In gathering support for voting commitments from UN member countries, Indonesia is pursuing a campaign by asking for support to be elected at special sessions of bilateral and multilateral meetings with UN member countries. Indonesia has managed to get strong support from Asian, European, African and Latin American countries. On the multilateral diplomacy side, Indonesia is pursuing its campaign in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia (MIKTA), and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). Where in the three forums, Indonesia received a lot of support. Second, Indonesia was selected for

its track record of contribution to world peace. It was recorded that until 2019, Indonesia contributed 2,871 personnel to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) spread across nine UN peace missions, the majority serving the United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) (Boeike Adam Noor). , 2019).

President Jokowi conveyed four reasons for Indonesia's success in becoming a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, namely (Aditya, 2018):

1. Indonesia's democratic domestic condition is stable and peaceful.  
This domestic condition of Indonesia has a big contribution in this win.
2. Track record and contribution of Indonesia's diplomacy in protecting
3. Independence and neutrality of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy.
4. Indonesia's role in bridging existing differences, including countries that are in conflict.

Based on the researcher's analysis, with Indonesia being a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, it will certainly be

Indonesia's first step in realizing various agendas that are Indonesia's priority issues in the international arena, including increasing the role of women in maintaining world peace, one of which is through the achievement of the women peacekeeper's resolution in 2020. Without becoming a non-permanent member of the UN security council, Indonesia lacks the power to realize the agenda, so by becoming a non-permanent member, Indonesia can take an important position in membership and have a greater voice for contribution and existence and achieve various agendas in the international arena.

### **B. Agenda, Duties and Benefits of Indonesia as a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council for the Period 2019-2020**

In this study, after explaining the success of Indonesia as the first party to be the initiator of a negotiation, the next step in understanding the expanding pie is to explain what agenda, tasks and benefits are carried out by Indonesia in the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council so that it is narrowed into one of the agendas. namely increasing the role of women as world peacekeepers which is embodied in a resolution initiated by Indonesia. In implementing the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council, Indonesia holds the basic principles, namely Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and the Ten Principles of Bandung as a product of

Indonesia's monumental diplomacy which is the foundation of the world community's social order. Indonesia has a track record to be proud of in this regard, as reflected in the existence of the "Wisnumurti Guidelines" as a guide for the selection process for the UN Secretary General which has been used since 1996 (United Nations, 2021).

Indonesia's membership is for a period of 2 years, and then Indonesia will again be outside the security council. In this regard, one of the issues that Indonesia has consistently voiced is the need for reform of the security council to align with a more inclusive global order. Therefore, the opportunity for membership in the Security Council opens a very strategic opportunity to encourage the process of reforming the security council from within the security council itself (United Nations, 2021). During the period of Indonesia's membership in the UN security council in 2019-2020, Indonesia is projected to become the President of the UN Security Council twice, namely in May 2019 and in August / September 2020. Indonesia also holds a penholdership (responsibility for the preparation of the UN Security Council meeting documents, such as draft resolutions, press statements, etc.) on a number of issues, namely regarding Afghanistan and Germany, and regarding Palestine with the US and Kuwait. In addition, Indonesia will also become the Chair of a number of

subsidiary bodies or committees under the UN Security Council, related to counterterrorism and non-proliferation (Kemenlu RI, 2019).

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

1. Indonesia is committed to Continuing its contribution in efforts to achieve world peace, among others through strengthening the ecosystem/geopolitics of global peace and stability by promoting dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution. Indonesia has taken several steps, including:
  - a. Promotion of peaceful dispute resolution through partnership and regionalism.
  - b. Improvement of Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding by improving the quality and effectiveness of peacekeeping missions; Promote partnerships in sustaining peace; and Increasing the role of women in the peace process.
2. Indonesia builds synergy between regional organizations to maintain peace and stability in the region. In this case, it is emphasized the need to strengthen regional organizations, given the current challenges that are very dynamic, the role of



regional organizations is important and needed to deal with problems.

3. Indonesia increases cooperation between countries and the UN Security Council to combat terrorism, extremism and radicalism by creating a comprehensive approach and addressing the root sources of terrorism, radicalism and violent extremism.
4. The Government of Indonesia will also try to synergize efforts to create peace with sustainable development efforts. To achieve this, Indonesia has taken several steps, including:
  - a. Ensure peace, security, and stability to ensure the fulfillment of the 2030 Agenda, including in Africa
  - b. Forming a Global Partnership to discuss the implications of security on the economy, health, and the environment
  - c. Increase the role of women in the peace process.
5. Indonesia specifically pays attention to the Palestinian issue.

It is hoped that through the inclusion of Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, it can provide benefits to the people and the country both in terms of politics and economy. The strategic benefits of Indonesia's non-permanent membership in the

UN security council include (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019):

1. The form of embodiment of the constitutional mandate of the 1945 Constitution to participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice.
2. Increasing the role of Indonesia's international leadership both in increasing Indonesia's capacity to have a voice in international decision-making on various issues of world peace and security. In addition, it allows Indonesia to apply the Indonesian perspective as mandated by the Bandung Principles and the principles of a free and active foreign policy, namely: encouraging a more balanced approach, voicing the interests of developing countries, and laying a strong foundation for "political investment" with developed and developing countries.
3. Opening greater opportunities for Indonesia in providing technical cooperation assistance to other developing countries.
4. Increasing Indonesia's role and contribution to Indonesia's peacekeeping mission (MPP). Indonesia has a vision to be part of the top 10 countries that contribute personnel and place 4,000 personnel in various UN MPPs. Currently, the top ten targets has been achieved, and the vision of 4,000 personnel is expected

to be achieved in the not too distant future. By the end of November 2018, Indonesia had been ranked 7th out of 124 countries contributing personnel to the UN peacekeeping mission, with 3,544 Indonesian personnel, 94 of whom were women.

5. Increase opportunities to encourage reform of the UN Security Council, especially working methods.

Based on the researcher's analysis, by explaining Indonesia's agenda in the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council, Indonesia prioritizes increasing the role of women as important actors for world peace. In addition, Indonesia places great emphasis on dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution in contributing to maintaining world peace so that Indonesia has no personal interests and prioritizes common interests to maintain peace. So it can be concluded that, Indonesia is making great efforts in increasing the role of women as part of world peacekeeping, one of which is implemented by resolution.

### **C. Agenda of Women Peacekeepers by Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council**

In one of Indonesia's agendas as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the 2019-2020 period, the agenda that becomes the focus is increasing the role of women in the peace process

as a contribution to realizing world peace through strengthening ecosystems/geopolitics of global peace and stability by promoting dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution. According to Foreign Minister Retno Mashudi in her speech after Indonesia became a non-permanent member of the UN security council, the role and participation of women became one of Indonesia's main focuses as a non-permanent member of the UN security council which aims to increase women's participation in peacekeeping efforts, both as civilian officers. as well as uniformed troops (Dian Septiari, 2019).

In addition, in the UN Security Council's open debate on Investment in Peace with the theme of improving the safety and performance of UN peacekeeping, Minister Retno Mashudi said that female peacekeepers are more effective in winning the hearts and minds of local residents and providing comfort for those traumatized by conflict. This is evidenced by the participation of women in the peace process increasing the likelihood of sustainable peace by 20%, contributing to a longer and more resilient peace. Therefore, the United Nations should make peacekeeping more conducive to women peacekeepers, by working in partnership to overcome barriers to women's meaningful participation in peacekeeping and developing specific training schemes to enable women peacekeepers to maximize their potential. Minister Retno Mashudi also said that Indonesia was

committed to increasing the role of women peacekeepers. For the first time, the number of Indonesian female peacekeepers exceeds 100 troops and is committed to achieving more and besides women peacekeepers, Indonesia is determined to continue to increase the role of women as peace agents. (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019)

As an effort to realize the agenda in increasing the role of women in peace operations, Indonesia immediately targeted an important position as President of the UN Security Council for the period of August 2020. During his tenure as the Presidency of the UN Security Council, Indonesia has chaired 12 open meetings, 12 closed meetings, 5 additional agendas, and 12 meetings. UN Security Council Subsidiary Body. In addition, the UN Security Council also produced 4 resolutions, 3 Press Statements/Elements for the Press. While holding the presidency, Indonesia continued to strive to play the role of a bridge builder, to contribute to world peace during the COVID-19 pandemic and to maintain the principles of international law (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020). The most important point during the Indonesian Presidency, the UN Security Council has passed 4 resolutions, one of which is the women peacekeepers resolution initiated by Indonesia. The UN Security Council resolution regarding female peacekeepers is the first resolution in the history of

Indonesia's diplomacy at the UN Security Council and is sponsored by 97 UN member countries, including all UN Security Council member countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020). The women peacekeepers resolution initiated by Indonesia is a form of Indonesia's contribution in increasing the role of women as peacekeepers, especially in UN peacekeeping missions. This ratification is an important breakthrough because for the first time the UN Security Council passed a resolution that specifically raised the role of women in world peacekeepers. The extraordinary support given by UN member countries cannot be separated from Indonesia's consistency in fighting for peace diplomacy and empowering the role of women in peace since the beginning of its membership in the UN Security Council in 2019.

Based on the researcher's analysis, the explanation of Indonesia's focus on increasing the role of women as part of world peacekeeping, which is strengthened by various statements by the foreign minister, is a benchmark that Indonesia is really serious and consistent in realizing this agenda. This is supported by Indonesia's strategic position as the Presidency of the UN Security Council, making Indonesia have a strong position in negotiating with various countries to realize an Indonesian agenda that is oriented towards international interests, one of which is Indonesia's agenda in achieving the women's peacekeepers resolution in 2020. In realizing the

increased role of women In world peace through the resolution framework, Indonesia then carried out several stages in submitting the women peacekeepers resolution so that it was approved by the UN Security Council. In this stage, the researcher will explain it in the dual concern section in the concept of integrative negotiation.

## **2. Dual Concern**

In this section, after knowing the expanding pie which explains Indonesia's efforts to include the female peacekeepers agenda in the UN agenda, in dual concern, the researcher will explain in detail the stages or steps taken by Indonesia in achieving the 2020 women peacekeepers resolution at the United Nations. The stages in reaching a resolution start from the submission of a draft resolution from Indonesia as the initiator of the resolution, then negotiations by gathering support from other countries, then the voting stage by the member countries of the security council and finally the stage where the resolution is approved and ratified by the UN Security Council led by Indonesia.

### **A. Stages of Submission of the Draft Women Peacekeepers Resolution by Indonesia**

At this stage, Indonesia as the Presidency of the UN Security Council for the period of August 2020, sent a letter to the Permanent

Representative of the UN Security Council with the number S/2020/838 containing a request for the 2020 women peacekeepers draft resolution. Indonesia submitted the draft resolution considering that women have an important role. in improving the overall performance and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. In addition, this design was proposed as an effort to recognize that the presence of women contributed to the credibility of the mission carried out, especially those related to community protection and community involvement in post-war recovery and peacekeeping which was continuously improved. In addition, this resolution will reaffirm the basic principles of peacekeeping, such as the agreement of the parties, impartiality, and the use of force, except in self-defense and maintaining the mandate, and recognizes that the mandate of each peacekeeping mission is specific to the needs and situation of the country. concerned (UN Security Council, 2020).

The draft 2020 women peacekeepers resolution also emphasizes that efforts must be made to promote increased participation of women in peacekeeping operations. These efforts require a collective commitment and concerted effort by all Member States and the United Nations Secretariat, and should be supported with appropriate resources to increase women's participation in peacekeeping operations, including by providing uniformed female personnel with equal access



to education, training and capacity building, networking opportunities, and taking steps to better understand and address barriers to women's participation in peacekeeping (UN Security Council, 2020).

The contents of the draft women peacekeeper's resolution submitted by Indonesia explained several points, including (UN Security Council, 2020):

1. Calls on Member States, the Secretariat of the United Nations and regional organizations to strengthen their collective efforts to promote the full, effective and meaningful participation of civilian and uniformed women in peacekeeping operations at all levels and in all positions, including in senior leadership positions.
2. Encourage Member States to develop strategies and measures to increase the deployment of women in uniform for peacekeeping operations, including by:
  - a. Disseminate information about and provide access to placement opportunities for female personnel, including for senior positions;
  - b. Provide access to training for uniformed women personnel, and ensure that trained uniformed women are deployed for peacekeeping operations;

- c. Develop a national database of trained female personnel who are interested and available for candidacy and placement;
  - d. Identify and address barriers to the recruitment, placement and promotion of uniformed female peacekeepers;
  - e. Considering appropriate means, to increase the participation of women in the national military and police;
  - f. Support the capacity of regional organizations to train women in uniform;
  - g. Take steps to provide support and incentives including childcare and other relevant needs;
3. Calls on the Secretary-General to continue to implement the System-Wide Strategy on Gender Parity and Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy 2018-2028, and to continue to monitor and evaluate progress and challenges in achieving the targets, taking into account the views, best practices, and lessons learned from Member States , in particular the Troops and Police Contributing Countries and countries hosting peacekeeping operations, and further calls upon all Member States to continue to support the strategy, including by

increasing the number and participation of women in uniformed personnel in peacekeeping operations;

4. Encourage Member States to strengthen cooperation to support greater participation of women in peacekeeping operations, including through sharing of best practices for the recruitment, retention, training and placement of women in uniform;
5. Encourage cooperation between the United Nations and regional and sub-regional organizations in promoting a greater participation and role of women in peacekeeping operations;
6. Calls on Member States and the United Nations Secretariat to ensure a safe, enabling and gender sensitive work environment for women in peacekeeping operations and to address threats and violence against them, urges the United Nations Secretariat or States Forces and Police Contributors, where necessary, to provide adequate and appropriate infrastructure and facilities for women on mission, such as accommodation, sanitation, health care, protective equipment, taking into account their particular needs as well as demands relating to security and privacy, further urges Member States and the Secretariat of the United Nations to provide adequate resources in this regard;

7. Expresses concern regarding allegations of sexual harassment in peacekeeping operations, affirms his support for the Secretary-General's zero-tolerance policy on all forms of sexual harassment, and asks the Secretary-General to strengthen efforts to prevent and address sexual harassment in peacekeeping operations, in close cooperation and consultation with Member States;
8. Encourage Forces and Police Contributing States to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities in missions, and request the United Nations Secretariat to provide and update necessary guidance and training materials;
9. Encourage Member States and the United Nations Secretariat to enhance partnerships to support targeted training and capacity-building programs for uniformed female personnel, including through Light Coordination Mechanisms, triangular partnerships, bilateral and regional frameworks; further encourage Member States to nominate female personnel in uniform to participate in such training activities and to promote their placement in peacekeeping operations;
10. Requests the United Nations Secretariat to continue public communication and advocacy to encourage women's

participation in peacekeeping operations, in collaboration with relevant stakeholders;

11. Encourage Member States, United Nations Secretariats and peacekeeping missions to facilitate networking opportunities and develop sustainable networks among former, current and prospective women peacekeepers, as a means to exchange experiences and information on participation in peacekeeping operations and to inspire more women to participate in peacekeeping operations;

12. Urge peacekeeping operations to promote the full, effective and meaningful participation of women in all components and functions and at all levels at headquarters and in the field, including through the establishment of mixed engagement teams that include men and women, and increased peacekeeping engagement women in components and functions where they are under-represented;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to report on the progress of implementation of this resolution and other related aspects of women's participation in peacekeeping operations in the comprehensive annual briefing mandated by resolution 2378 (2017);

Based on the researcher's analysis, the draft resolution proposed by Indonesia is the key to the success of the approval and ratification of the 2020 women's peacekeepers resolution at the United Nations. The contents of the draft resolution that explain the importance of the role of women in world peace, then the encouragement to all countries and the various ideas presented show that the urgency of having a women peacekeepers resolution is very much needed. Finally, Indonesia's position as the Presidency of the UN Security Council in the August 2020 period gives more power over Indonesian initiatives. Especially with Indonesia's strategic position, being able to garner support from other countries to participate in submitting the women peacekeepers resolution to be approved by all members of the UN security council.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter will discuss Indonesia's success in integrative negotiations for the achievement of resolution on female peacekeepers at the United Nations in 2020. In answering this research, the researcher uses integrative negotiation theory, with two dimensions, namely expanding pie and dual core. In the expanding pie dimension, the researcher will explain what the goals of the negotiations carried out by Indonesia are in achieving the female peacekeepers resolution at the United Nations in 2020. Efforts to expand the pie require an understanding of what are the main basic needs in the opponent's

appeal, not seen from who the opponent is negotiating. So in the expanding pie, the negotiating party must understand well about the intent and purpose of negotiating, then dual concern focuses on understanding the negotiating opponent so that it can determine the meeting point of the interests of the negotiating opponent.

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### **Declaration of Conflict Interest**

The Author(s) declare(s) that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this article.