

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In April 2010, there was a huge incident for the second time of the coup d'état occurred in the young-independence state, Kyrgyzstan. The first coup d'état was happened in 2005 which was well-known as Tulip Revolution and the second coup d'état was April Riot 2010 or some people called as April Revolution or April Uprising 2010. This was the “black history” of democratization in Central Asia region and the world generally. When general election, as one of the identities of democratic process, was not adequate and worked fairly then revolution will be the substitute choice to gain full change. In international politic, the revolution happened in weak state was never left from intervention of powerful state. Kyrgyzstan, for instance, was strongly identified being intervened by powerful states, such as Russia. Thus, the writer will analyze and then elaborate the involvement of Russia in the Kyrgyzstan latest revolution on April 2010. The title proposed in this research is **“The Russia’s Low Coercion Choice toward Kyrgyzstan April Riot 2010”**.

A. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Kyrgyzstan is one of former Soviet republics that got independence after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991. Kyrgyzstan still faces much problematic condition economically, socially and politically. In addition, great states such Russia and United States have a mount of interest inside. After

September 11, Kyrgyzstan became very strategic country where both powerful states drilled to future foreign policy in the issue of fighting against terrorism, because Kyrgyzstan is geographically closed to Afghanistan.

In short, it is very interesting to study the position of Russia in every single enormous incident in its previous occupation in Soviet era, Kyrgyzstan especially. How Russia still puts its influences while other powerful entities also struggle for getting some advantages in that area. United States and China are considerable states that are playing great roles in promoting their interests in the Kyrgyzstan. The clash of interests will be jeopardy for peace in the world.

Through this research, there are at least four significant points would be achieved:

1. The insight about roots of Kyrgyzstan April Riot 2010 and the escalation of Riot.
2. The explanation of Russia's national interest and the different forms of intervention in Kyrgyzstan.
3. The understanding the Russia's low coercion toward Kyrgyzstan's April Riot 2010 case with the consideration of cost and benefit in the terms of geography, economy, social, military and politic.
4. Also, this research is a requirement to obtain the degree of undergraduate (S.1) in International Relations Department of Social and Political Sciences Faculty in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

B. BACKGROUND

In the early nineteenth century, Kyrgyzstan was under the control of Khanate and Kokand, southern area known in Russian as “Kirgizia“ which was incorporated into Russian Empire in 1876. In the Soviet Era, Kyrgyz were called as Kara-Kirghiz Autonomous Oblast which differentiated them from Kazakhs, who were also referred to as Kirghiz.

During the 1920s, Kyrgyzstan developed significantly in culture, social life and education. Especially, language and literacy was highly developed and the standard of language was influenced by Russian literature (according to 1989 survey, Kyrgyzstan was the most Russified Republic in the Soviet Union, which was proven from that 36% Kyrgyz citizens said that Russian was daily use language).¹ Economic and social improvement was also outstanding. Many cultural aspects were hold even through there was high suppression of nationalists’ activity under Stalin government and, hence, the tensions among all Unions authorities were stable.

In the early glasnost of Gorbachev’s year, it had little change on the political situation in Kyrgyzstan. However, national press was allowed to adopt a more liberal posture and to create a *Literaturny Kyrgyzstan*, by the Union of Writers. Other that, those unauthorized political groups were

¹ Venera Djumataeva, (Dec 2009). *1989 Kyrgyz protests verged on ethnic conflict*. Retrieved from: http://www.rferl.org/content/Kyrgyz_Protests_in_1989_Verged_On_Ethnic_Conflict/1901704.html. Accessed on September 20, 2010. 2.42 am.

strongly forbidden, but later some groups those were coming out in 1989 were formally allowed to function.²

After the independence, on August 31st, 1991, Kyrgyzstan was led by Azkar Akayev. Together with the seven representatives of other Soviet Union Republics, he signed the Treaty of the New Economic Community. And at last, in December, only couple month after the independence, Kyrgyzstan was bounded with other four Central Asia republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan) to formally become the member of the Commonwealth of Independence States (CIS). So even Kyrgyzstan had been independent but in fact Kyrgyzstan was still dependent to Russia in political change and public policy. CIS was indicated as the following Russian control to Soviet Union's former republics in the region.

Azkar Akayev withdrawn through the revolution that will never be forgotten in Kyrgyzstan history, Tulip Revolution, encouraged Kurmanbek Bakiyev sizing in power in 2005. What is arranged the 2005 Tulip Revolution had been the same in 2010 which the political forces divided into two groups, the group supporting former Prime Minister who had seize after Tulip Revolution and group led by former Foreign Minister Roza Otunbayeva, who was seizing as interim government.³ Roza who was in Tulip Revolution comes together with Bakiyev to topple down Azkar Akayev, now she is also the first one who topple down her last co-worker, Bakiyev. This phenomenon was the

² Ibid.

³ Sexton Renard (Juli 2010). *Kyrgyzstan on the edge of even greater ethnic strife*. Retrieved from: <http://www.fivethirtyeight.com/2010/07/kyrgyzstan-on-edge-of-even-greater.html>. Accessed on August 8th, 2010. 04.23 pm.

same as what was happened in Georgia, the opposition who was pro-government of political elite, then opposed the government because different viewpoints. The April Riot led by Roza was the additional history in the world that one regime is collapsed only within 24 hours particularly at 7 April the protestors take over the government.

The April Riot was very fast and massively happened. Even though, on the early April, the issue was only focusing on the coup of President Bakiyev, but then it became the Uzbek - Kyrgyz ethnic conflict, especially in the southern Kyrgyzstan where about 13.8 Uzbek (1999 census) live. There were two sides, those who support the interim government, and other was supporting the ousted president. Thus, it could be derived that the scale of riot is moving from small issue to large issue and it is identified that could destroy the integration of country specifically and regional security generally.

On April 6, in the western city of Talas, about 1.000 demonstrators raged the government headquarters and, in minutes, took government officer hostage. In the other side, after morning, Security forces retook the control of some headquarters and arrest two prominent opposition leaders, Omurbek Tekebayev and Almazbek Atambayev.⁴ In April 7, the riot was in top. While some protestors were arrested, thousand of others gathered, until they could occupy the White House, then police started using live ammunition. It was reported that at least forty-one protestors were killed. And few hours after, it was informed that president has been left Bishkek to Osh, southern

⁴ Dolgin Boris, (April 2010). "*Kyrgyzstan: what will happen to the tulip?*". Retrieved from: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/boris-dolgin/kyrgyzstan-what-will-happen-to-the-tulips>. Accessed on June 21st, 2010. 02.34 pm.

Kyrgyzstan, where Bakiyev was born. By this incident, Bakiyev was retired from presidency and followed by ethnic conflict in Osh.

Related to possible intervention, there are two kinds of intervention that are possibly used, low coercion or high local choice and high coercion or low local choice. Low coercion is the way of intervening to other state which uses the soft and persuasive manner, the combinations of low coercion is consisted of speech, broadcast, economic aids, and support the opposition, in the other term, low coercion is intervention which other than military force usage.

Now, in this case, Russia prefers to do persuasive way to intervene than to do rude way. This phenomenon was so different from Russia's intervention toward Georgia in 2008, which Russia conducted military force attack to save its national interest in the country, yet in Kyrgyzstan Russia was carrying out intervention by low coercion. Moreover, when interim government asked for help in solving southern-ethnic conflict that had killed about 60 victims, Russian President, Dimitri Medvedev, just responded by that Russia itself has not authority to solve, except under the flag of the CIS organization.

Russia was conducting intervention toward Kyrgyzstan April Riot, through *de facto* recognition to interim government immediately when it took power by coup. Furthermore, Russia also continuously distributed economical aids for new government as a tool of negotiating its further interest. Finally Russia send military advisor to prevent future massive rioting, and fully support to interim government by leading CIS's meeting to respond Kyrgyzstan April Riot.

C. RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the introduction above, the research question is why does Russian conduct low coercion toward the Kyrgyzstan April Riot 2010?

D. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Theory and whatever the concept is very important to analyze the problems in the research, to answer the phenomena, and to understand the fact. Therefore, to analyze, answer, and understand the question above, the writer would like to propose one concept and a theory, the concept of intervention and the theory of rational actor, so that it could be lead to find out the hypothesis.

1. Concept of Intervention

Intervention according to Joseph Nye is an action conducted by foreign powers to domestic affairs of one nation and to give an impact for that country.⁵ This impact can be in the format of change of political situation, public opinion, constitution of new policy, even until the collapse of official precedence.

Naturally, intervention is representation of law making by powerful state to weak state. Powerful state is in ascendancy before decisive law. Consequently, it can destroy the social harmony of international relations.

⁵ Nye Joseph S. (1997). *Understanding international conflict: An introduction to theory and history*, Howard University: Longman Inc., Page: 134

Intervention conducted by powerful state can be derived from three models, amongst are:

a. Invited by the ruler⁶

Men in power or king proposed external power of state to protect the country from the anxiety of other states or to pressure the power of insurgent. Sometimes, it was applied by the weak state; it is either in military or in politic.

b. Requested by opposition group

Nation existence is supported by the large number of many groups in a limited border. Every group has its own standard of national understanding and future. If one of the groups has not faced the objective, then consequently it will support the social segregation.

When Social segregation happens, social communities tried to use the effective ways to attain the goal by political action or even radical way. Moreover external power which means suggesting super powers to take part into is an effective ways to change the situation radically.

c. Interventionist's agenda⁷

Intervention is symbiosis mutualism. In this modern era, the main motive that shores up powerful state to intervene other states is to assure the subsistence of government where it is in the cycle of sphere of influence.⁸ The

⁶ Jatmika Sidik. (2003). *Sebab-sebab konflik di Timur Tengah*, Unpublished lecturing material of Government and Politic of Middle East, Faculty of Social and Political Science. Page: 4

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ K.J.Holsti, (1998). *Politik internasional, kerangka untuk analisa*, Translated by: M. tahir Azahary, S.H. Surabaya: Erlangga. Page: 9.

interventionist can be exactly derived from powerful state because to intervene needs funds, technology, network, and even powerful military forces.

Interventionist could intrude in the name of a certain community or faction. After the power is achieved, it will influence the community to guarantee its foreign policy. In fact, nowadays, every unstable political community in state – especially a weak country – will open the possible intervention from outside power. Therefore it can be assumed that higher the ethnic, religious, economic or even ideological conflicts in a group of people, the higher the possibility of other outside political entities to do intervention in order to forward their interest in a country.

The level of interventionist power to state is composed from lower enforcement to continually moving higher level. It could be seen from the following table:⁹

Table 1: Intervention Level

Speech	Broadcast	Economic Aids	Military Advisor	Support Opposition	Blockade	Limited military Action	Military Invasion
Low coercion (High local choice)						High coercion (Low local choice)	

Sources: Joseph Nye, Page: 134

⁹ Op.cit, Page: 134

To differentiate low coercion and high coercion, it needs to explain the forms of actions. Low coercion could be identified by minimal use of military forces. In the contrary, high coercion is optimal use of military forces. There are five forms of low coercion and at least three forms left are high coercion forms. Low coercion is the combination of speech spoken by government officers in overseas to recognize or even to influence a state's domestic affairs. Furthermore, the statesmen's speech revealing the domestic affairs of the state is sometimes very sensitive, because it indicates the relations between two or more sovereign states. Additionally, the national interests and the positions of actors in international relations were very significant for the content of speech.

Next form is broadcasting; the media is the public opinion reconstruction such as television, newspaper, magazine, radio, and internet. It could lead foreign imaging and informing to easily intervene the affairs of the state. After influencing the broadcasts, the way to more deeply take a part in managing domestic affairs of the state is giving economic assistance. Economic assistance seems to be the more effective way which is popularly performed by some great states to weak states. Moreover, economic assistance could be given as aids or loans. Besides, providing military advisor or consultant is also classified as one of the forms of low coercion. Definitely, military advisor is not included in military forces because of own capacity. Finally, supporting the opposition as the way to take over decision making process is very significant. In democratic state, the more democratic one state system is the more sufficient the resurgence of opposition as the characteristic

of power balance democracy. Sometimes, the power of opposition could be gained from outside support.

After low coercion, it is going to the other level of intervention which is high coercion. High coercion is combined by blockade, limited military action and complete military invasion. Blockade is done by isolating the access inside the state geographically. Indeed, blockade needs full supports of military forces. The use of military forces also could be in the military counter for civil and humanitarian intervention in conflicting states. For instance, Soviet Union helped a group combating a civil conflict in South Yemen. Finally, the complete use of military power is military occupation or invasion. This way is passing out the sovereignty of state which, by international law, is absolutely forbidden. For example, Soviet forces had conducted military invasion toward the countries in Eastern Europe.

Intervening super power state will shape cohesive characters, such as:¹⁰

- a. Asymmetry of big power undergoing between superpower states and the targets. Intervention is considered as ultimate way to attain the easy solution.
- b. Super power will always offer allied states to divide the domination. State allies were partners understanding the basis and aims, then they will keep an attention to every action done in collective legitimacy. Hence, this action was established and in the shake of regional organization.

¹⁰ Conway W Henderson (1998). *International relations: conflict and cooperation the turn of 21th century*, Mc Graaw Hill International Editions, Political Science Series. Page 151.

- c. To minimize the possibility of stigma or worse assumption caused by that intervention, super power state pertained occupation method, which “fast in and fast out”. Hence, they will not stay for longer in victim state more than 2 weeks or couple of months.
- d. Intervening motive is to occupy group (s) which is supported to lead government and arrange the continuation of power.

In “Just and Unjust War”, Michael Walzeer revealed there were four situations where war and military intervention are morally right.¹¹

- a. The intervention in the aim of preventing something more worse, it is also called as preemptive intervention. In this term, the case or threat must be forthcoming. There are also differences between preemptive and preventive war. Preemptive action will happen when the war is forthcoming, yet preventive action occurs when the actor barely thinks that the war now is better than later.
- b. Intervention as balancer for previous intervention by other actors. It is also called as counterbalance intervention. This kind of intervention is only permitted to guarantee that the local people could determine their own fate, and not to be perfectly intervened by prior interventionist.
- c. Humanitarian intervention, the intervention that aims to save people with potential killed in mass slaughtering/genocide. The intervention could be

¹¹ Op.cit. Page: 136-137

done if people felt that they would be massacre. No reasons to not intervene if people are threaten by total destruction.

- d. Working with separatist when they could show the representative identity and character. The separatism group of a state clearly wanted to separate themselves from the sovereignty of state. Hence, intervention is right because it will help the group to gain right and form autonomous autonomy as a nation entity.

2. Theory of Rational Actor

Mohtar Mas'ood in the book "Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi" explained that the model of Rational Actor... Foreign politics is considered as consequence of rational actors' actions and behaviors, especially for the government created for certain purposes. Decision making process of foreign politic was described as intellectual process. Government behavior was analogized to common sense and coordinative individual action. In this analogy, the actor of individual passed the intellectual phases, by considering real reasonable choice toward the available alternatives. So, unit of analysis of this decision process model was the alternatives designed by government. In addition, analysis of foreign politic must pay deep attention toward examination of national interest and the purposes of a state, the alternatives of policy direction that could be taken by government and

calculation of cost and benefit for each of alternative.¹² Beside that, Graham T.

Allison concluded that there are two characteristics of Rational Actor:

- Governments are treated as the primary actor. Governments play important role in decision making process.
- The government examines a set of goals, evaluates them according to their utility, then picks the one that has the highest "payoff."¹³ The examination of cost and benefit is very important step to determine the policy and meet the national interest.

According to Brown and Marcum, rational actors are simply goal-oriented, their goals may involve, for example, increasing individual wealth or improving the welfare of other actors. The decisions made are in accordance of long future orientation. The actors or decision makers need to calculate about the future and consider the consequences that would be risked in the long term period.¹⁴

Every state is illustrated as rational actor who they always acted based on the interest of theirs. Basically, it is to keep the sovereignty and meet national interest. In this model, it could be expressed that decision makers are doing the alternative policies to reach the optimal result. In this theory, the cost and benefit considerations were created and applied by the decision

¹² Mohtar Mas'oe'd (1990) *Ilmu hubungan internasional, disiplin dan metodologi*", Jakarta: LP3S. Page: 234.

¹³ _____ *The essence of decision, graham allison*" Retrieved from: www.ssundaram.com/.../The%20Essence%20of%20Decision.ppt Accessed on October 16th, 2010, 03:41 am.

¹⁴ Brown N. Jonathan & Marcum S. Anthony, (May 2007) *Changing the linchpin: motivational foundations of rational choice in international relations*", Retrieved from: http://www.bsos.umd.edu/GVPT/irworkshop/papers_spring07-spring09/Brown_Marcum.pdf. Accessed on 7 August, 2010. 11.52 am.

makers upon alternatives provided to be chosen. Below table will give us little description of alternative related to cost and benefit.

Table 2: Optional Cost and Benefit

Options	Cost	Benefit
1. Alternative A	✓	✓
2. Alternative B	✓	✓
3. Alternative C	✓	✓

The alternatives are going to be low coercion or high coercion, optimal gain or un-optimal attainment for with considerable national interest of Russia.

Related to concept of intervention, the writer will draw the table of cost of benefit reached by low coercion and high coercion:

Table 3: Comparison

Intervention	Cost	Benefit	Result
Low Coercion	Cost could be decreased	Optimal achievement	Highly Potential
High Coercion	Much cost spending	No optimal achievement	Lower potential

The experiences of Russian intervention in some enormous incident in the former USSR, Taking lesson from Kyrgyzstan's "Tulip Revolution",

Russia intervention in Georgia is the latest, and most obvious, example of the peculiar role that Russia plays in the various so-called frozen conflicts in former republics of the USSR.

There are at least four significant reasons to explain the Russian intervention in Georgia. First, the Russians maintained that NATO's intervention in Kosovo was illegal; it is difficult for them to use it to claim legality of their actions here. Second, the facts on the ground are quite different— while it seems that Georgian forces did move first in South Ossetia, there is no evidence that they were undertaking any kind of ethnic cleansing. As for whether Russia, as a peacekeeper, is authorized to undertake bombing throughout Georgia, that is also an open question. Third, to the other extreme, calling to mind that secessionist conflicts are internal conflicts and that third-party states need to respect the sovereignty of the state attempting to resolve its internal conflict, there is a rather strong argument that Russia acted precipitously and well beyond what could be expected under the circumstances. Fourth, even though Russia is technically both a mediator in these conflicts and also a peacekeeper, it has nonetheless consistently supported the separatists in South Ossetia and Abkhazia since about 1994. Russia has supplied separatists in South Ossetia and Abkhazia with military equipment and at times supported them with actual military action, such as the recent Russian shoot-down of a Georgian surveillance drone. This assistance and diplomatic support has increased dramatically since Kosovo's declaration

of independence. As a formal matter, though, Russia still has not recognized either South Ossetia or Abkhazia.¹⁵

E. HYPOTHESIS

By examining the theoretical framework and the data mentioned above, the writer will draw the hypotheses that Russia prefers to accommodate low coercion than to execute high coercion because of cost and benefit consideration socially, economically, socially, militarily as well as politically; that is low coercion might need less cost but optimal benefit, whereas high coercion might need more cost but probably gain less benefit.

F. RANGE OF RESEARCH

It is very important to limit the time period in which the research is going to be done, in order to avoid the topic from being expanded and out of context. Regarding to the title and related to the background about the Kyrgyzstan riot, the writer will limit the period only around April 2010.

G. RESEARCH METHOD

In this type of research, the writer is allowed to analyze the object without direct involvement.¹⁶ The data collection on this research will be the

¹⁵ Borgen Chris. *International Law, Power Politics, Russian intervention to Georgia*. Retrieved from: <http://opiniojuris.org/2008/08/09/international-law-power-politics-and-russian-intervention-in-georgia/>. Re-accessed on August 21th, 2010. 03.42 pm.

¹⁶ Earl Babbie and Theodore C. Wagoner (1983). *The practice of social research method*, California: Wadsworth. Page: 274

library study which is finding out the secondary data such as books, magazines, journals, annual reports, tabloid, surfing and browsing internet.

H. SYSTEMATIC OF WRITING

Chapter I: Introduction. This chapter outlines the background of the research, determines the exact problems to answer, verifies purposes and signification of research, decides the theoretical frameworks and methods to be implemented, and establishes the hypothesis as well as the systematic of writing.

Chapter II: This chapter will describe the relations between Russia and Kyrgyzstan, socially, economically, and politically.

Chapter III: This chapter will more explain about dynamic of riot escalation in Kyrgyzstan. There were several main concerns on this chapter: the actors involving, the enlargement of riot spark, and the impact of the riot, as well as the forms of Russia's intervention in Kyrgyzstan April riot.

Chapter IV: This chapter will discuss about the factors effecting Russia's low coercion in the Kyrgyzstan April Riot 2010. The cost and benefit deliberation would be critically analyzed through all aspects of possible alternative, geographically, economically, socially, military and last politically.

Chapter V: This last chapter will give the conclusion of the research.