

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The undergraduate thesis discusses about the Russian foreign policy in using the veto right in rejecting the UN Security Council resolution on Syria. The focus of the research is analyzing the main reason of Russia's foreign policy on it. This chapter contains the problem background, the research question, the theoretical framework, the hypothesis, the purpose and benefit of the study, the method research, the range of research and the system of writing.

#### **A. Problem Background**

The case of rejecting the UN Security Council resolution done by Russia on Syria basically is not the simple thing. It is complicated and interested to be discussed and analyzed. It has become a severe polemic since a lot of preconceived notions on the emergence of some main reasons Russia's foreign policy decision to reject UN Security Council resolution against Syria. This is what makes the writer want to raise this issue to know its main reason by presenting the analysis as well as the supported facts and data on it.

The crisis that occurred in Syria basically stems from the turmoil of democratization that swept the Middle East for demanding democratic government by forcing the government to step down. Starting from Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Jordan, Libya and Syria as the last, the issue of

democratization continues to be launched and capable of forcing the ruling government in several countries of Middle East to retreat.

The crisis in the Middle East has become an international issue and it is no longer the domestic affairs of government since there are a lot of casualties from the mass which demanding the ruling government to step down. The death toll continues to fall. At least 2,600 people have been killed in Syria since anti-government demonstrations broke out in March. , as reported by Reuters news agency on Monday September, 12, 2011 Navi Pillay the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said that;

*“Regarding Syria, let me emphasize that according to reliable sources in the field, the number of those killed since the start of riots in mid-March 2011 in the country now reaches at least 2600,”*<sup>1</sup>

The crisis in Syria is also started from the protest demanding for the release of political prisoners from mid-March 2011 and immediately responded by Syrian security forces that were initially detained and attacked the demonstrators with batons, and then opened fire, and deployed tanks and naval vessels against civilians. Syrian President Bashar al-Assad refused to stop the violence while in other hand he implement the reforms demanded by the protesters such as the revocation of martial law, the broader political representation and free media. Assad continues to refuse responsibility for the attack on the protesters, placing

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<sup>1</sup> Hutapea, Rita Uli, *PBB: Korban Tewas mencapai 2600 Orang*. Retrieved October, 10, 2011 from: <http://www.detiknews.com/read/2011/09/12/172348/1720561/1148/pbb-korban-tewas-mencapai-2600-orang?nd992203605>

blames the violence on armed groups and foreign conspiracy. On February 16, President Assad called for a referendum to be held on February 26 that will put an end to single party rule in Syria.<sup>2</sup>

By now, UN High Commission for Human Rights Navi Pillay marked the death toll at more than 5000 when she briefed the UN Security Council in early December. Between 26 December 2011, when independent monitors mandated by the Arab League arrived in Syria, and 10 January 2012, there were at least 400 deaths, according to UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs B. Lynne Pascoe. Though the death toll continued to increase with the ongoing violence in the months following, the UN stopped releasing estimates in January 2012 due to the growing difficulty to verify casualties.<sup>3</sup>

Starting from this issue, the crisis in Syria has become an international issue, especially human rights violations as a major concern. France, Britain, Germany and Portugal are the originator of the state to issue a UN Security Council resolution which is fully supported by the U.S. In the process of making the UN resolution for Syria, nine of the 15 member states of the UN Security Council support the resolution. Meanwhile four more countries were abstained. Countries that support the UN resolution are Bosnia, Herzegovina, Colombia, France, Gabon, Germany, Nigeria, Portugal, UK, and USA. The abstained countries are India, South Africa, Brazil, and Lebanon. But the UN resolution made by the French, British, German, and Portuguese have not been able to walk

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<sup>2</sup> Background to the crisis on Syria, retrieved March 18, 2012 from <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria>

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*

because it was vetoed by China and Russia. Moreover, both countries are permanent members of UN Security Council.<sup>4</sup>

The main reason of US and its allies in proposing the UN Security Council against Syria is in the name of human right issues violation in Syria. The urgency was heightened by an assault by Syrian forces firing mortars and artillery on the city of Homs. Activists said more than 200 people were killed in what they called one of the bloodiest episodes of the uprising against Assad. The U.N. says more than 5,400 people have been killed over almost 11 months in a government crackdown on civilian protests.<sup>5</sup> Early Saturday on February 02, 2012 President Barack Obama condemned recent violence against Syrian citizens and called on Assad to step down. He said that:

*“Yesterday, the Syrian government murdered hundreds of Syrian citizens, including women and children, in Homs through shelling and other indiscriminate violence, and Syrian forces continue to prevent hundreds of injured civilians from seeking medical help and Assad must halt his campaign of killing and crimes against his own people now, He must step aside and allow a democratic transition to proceed immediately.”<sup>6</sup>*

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<sup>4</sup> Ajeng RP (October 2011) *Cina – Rusia Veto Resolusi PBB untuk Suriah, AS Gusar*. Retrieved October 10, 2011 from <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/11/10/05/lsl4fz-cinarusia-veto-resolusi-pbb-untuk-suriah-as-gusar>

<sup>5</sup> *Rusia, China veto UN against Syria*. Retrieved February 27, 2012 from [http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202\\_162-57371608/russia-china-veto-un-resolution-against-syria/](http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57371608/russia-china-veto-un-resolution-against-syria/)

<sup>6</sup> *Russia, China veto U.N. resolution against Syria*, Retrieved February 27, 2012 from [http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949\\_1\\_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution](http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949_1_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution) October 10, 2011 from

The Draft Resolution of UN Security Council against Syria contains three major things;<sup>7</sup>

- Arms Embargo

Decides that all States shall prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to Syria, from or through their territories or by their nationals, or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of all arms and related materiel, as well as technical assistance, training, financial or other assistance, related to military activities or the provision, maintenance or use of any arms and related materiel, whether or not originating in their territories,

- Travel Ban

Decides that all States shall take the necessary measures to prevent the entry into or transit through their territories of individuals listed in Annex II of this resolution

- Asset Freeze

Decides that all States shall freeze without delay all funds, other financial assets and economic resources in their territories at the date of adoption of this

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<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/11/10/05/lsl4fz-cinarusia-veto-resolusi-pbb-untuk-suriah-as-gusar>

<sup>6</sup> *Rusia, China veto UN against Syria*. Retrieved February 27, 2012 from [http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202\\_162-57371608/russia-china-veto-un-resolution-against-syria/](http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57371608/russia-china-veto-un-resolution-against-syria/)

<sup>6</sup> *Russia, China veto U.N. resolution against Syria*, Retrieved February 27, 2012 from [http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949\\_1\\_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution](http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-04/general/31028949_1_syrian-president-bashar-veto-power-resolution)

<sup>7</sup> Draft SCR on Syria.

resolution or any time thereafter, which are owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the individuals or entities listed in Annex I of this resolution.

Inevitably, the decision of Russia and China to veto UN Security Council resolution that contains criticism of the Syrian government and also sanctions if Syria continued to launch the violence against civilians makes the U.S. and the western states growled. They condemned the decision of Russia and China vetoed a UN Security Council resolution against Syria. They assumed that Russia is more concerned with their national interests rather than humanity crimes that occurred in Syria. This issue heats up as U.S. ambassador for the UN Susan Rice said the draft written by France, Britain, Germany and Portugal are opposed by the countries which more happy to sell arms to the Syrian regime.<sup>8</sup> In the other hand Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Gennady Gatilov said that the resolution was unacceptable because it favors only sanction, without calling on Assad's government to begin negotiations with the opposition. In addition, he said that the draft resolution does not mention the prohibition against foreign military intervention in Syria, or any aspect of respect for the principle of non-interference in domestic issues of other countries.

The Syrian crisis has been running for about a year but the conflict has not been finished and settled yet. Six Gulf States who are members of the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries (GCC) will soon close their embassy in Syria. The

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<sup>8</sup> Rusia dan Tiongkok Veto Resolusi PBB atas Suriah. Retrieved October, 10, 2011 from <http://www.voanews.com/indonesian/news/Rusia-dan-Tiongkok-Veto-Resolusi-PBB-atas-Suriah-131128888.html>

main reason of its closure is on the safety factor. Furthermore, The Head of the Bay State Council, Abdullatif al-Zayani, said that Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and Kuwait have closed its embassy. This closure is as a measure of protest to the Syrian government who chose the military option and rejects all initiatives dealing with the riots.<sup>9</sup>

In fact, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain have announced the closure of their embassies in Damascus before the decision of the GCC. Saudi Arabia announced the closure of its embassy on Wednesday (14/3), while Bahrain followed on Thursday (15/3). In addition, the six GCC member state boards have expelled the Syrian ambassador of their country.<sup>10</sup>

Simply speaking, the response of the international world towards the Syrian crisis can be categorized into three big parts; first is from the Arabia League. The Arab League initially passive in response to the Syrian government crackdown, stressing that it will not take action itself in response to the crisis. League issued a statement on 25 April condemning the use of force against the protesters in Arab countries without highlighting Syria or proposing measures to end human rights violations. Finally, on August 7, the League released a statement calling for a "serious dialogue" between the Syrian government and the demonstrators.

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<sup>9</sup> Didi P, (March, 2012) *Kekerasan di suriah berlanjut, enam Negara teluk tutup kedubesnya*, retrieved March 18, 2012 from <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/global/12/03/16/m0yl2m-kekerasan-di-suria-berlanjut-enam-negara-teluk-tutup-kedubesnya>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

The second response is from the GCC (The Gulf Cooperation Council) consist of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates – issued a statement on 7 February recalling their envoys and expelling Syrian ambassadors. The statement was a strong condemnation of the mass slaughter against the unarmed Syrian people, and urged Arab leaders to take decisive measures in response to this dangerous escalation against the Syrian people.<sup>11</sup>

The third response is from the EU (European Union) and the US regarding with the violence in Syria. The Council of Europe announced on May 9, 2011 that will impose an arms embargo on Syria and ban visa and asset on 13 people who identified of being responsible for the conflict. The European Union then imposes targeted economic sanctions, travel bans and freezing of assets in addition to the Syrian government and military officials on August 1, 2011. In a statement issued on the same day, Catherine Ashton, EU officials warned the Syrian government representatives' responsibility to protect the population "and condemned the attacks against civilians in Hama and other Syrian cities. The EU also imposed a ban on oil imports from Syria to increase pressure on the regime on 2 September, and continues to expand economic sanctions against Syria during the conflict. On 23 January the European Union announced the expansion of economic sanctions for over twenty-two. And also lends support to the Arabian League to put UN peace keeping troops. The fourth response is from Russia and China as the actor who give the veto right in rejecting the UN resolution against Syria. Russia's

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*



Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov on Friday stressed the importance of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign states and that the peoples alone have the right to self-determination. In a letter to Valdai International Discussion Club, read by his deputy Mikhail Bogdanov, Lavrov underscored the need for not using the latest developments related to the so-called 'Arab Spring' for foreign interference in the affairs of sovereign countries. He added that the latest developments should not divert the attention away from resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict and other conflicts that have for long been spoiling the political atmosphere in the region.<sup>12</sup>

From the various response of international world towards the Syrian crises, the paper will purposely focus on analyzing the main reason of Russia in using the veto right on UN resolution against Syria does it really on behalf the non-interference factor or there are another reasons behind it.

## **B. Research Question**

This paper will carry out a question as following **“Why did Russia use its veto right to reject the draft of UN Security Council Resolution Draft Syria S/2011/612 and S/2012/77?”**

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<sup>12</sup> R. Raslan, (February, 2012) *Lavrov Stresses Importance of Non-interference in Sovereign States People alone Have Right to Self-determination*, retrieved from <http://sana.sy/eng/22/2012/02/17/401080.htm> on March 19, 2012

## C. Theoretical Framework

### 1. Rational Actor Theory

The decision maker decides one policy based on rational choices that give most beneficial effect. He also should consider its national interest and the goal of its nation. He needs to explain the options related to strategic goals of its nation then he chooses the best choice. All information should be gathered to consider the rational option.<sup>13</sup>

Every international actor will act rationally. Rationality does not carry any connotations of normative behavior. So, behaving rationally does not necessarily mean that one behaves morally or ethically. Rational behavior is purposeful behavior. An actor is behaving rationally if his choices are designed to achieve outcomes consistent with his goals. It is so called by instrumental rationality and in other way actors<sup>13</sup> able to relate means to ends, and they will automatically choose the means that help them to obtain the ends they like most.<sup>14</sup>

The rational actor model treats foreign policy choices as products of the following idealized sequence. Given some problem, a rational decision maker takes into account the foreign policy goals of the nation and determines which ones take priority over others. Then, she identifies and analyzes the various options available. In her analysis, she traces the costs and benefits associated with

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<sup>13</sup> Mochtar Masoed, " *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi*". Lembaga penelitian, pendidikan dan penerangan social.

<sup>14</sup> Slantchev. Branislav L. (2005) *Introduction to International Relation, Lecture 3: The Rational Actor Model*, Retrieved March 8, 2012 from <http://slantchev.ucsd.edu/courses/ps12/03-rational-decision-making.pdf>

each option, that is, she tries to estimate the likely consequences of making particular choices. This involves not just the gains and losses, but also estimating the relative likelihood of various outcomes. She then ranks the options from most preferred based on this analysis: on the bottom go options that are costly and unlikely to produce benefits close to the important goals, and on the top are options that are quite likely to work at no great cost. The decision maker then chooses the option that is ranked highest among the alternatives.<sup>15</sup>

In the other hand, Allison mentioned that the rational actor is considered to represent the efforts to combine the action with the rational consideration. Then He also mentioned that the rational actor of the decision makers is the actor who is able to explain detail what their aims and goals are. He is also able to explain the goals from the available alternatives and identify the consequence which might be emerged from every choice or decision before he makes the decision.<sup>16</sup>

He proposed several basic components of the rational choice as follows:

1. Goals and Objective. National security and national interest are the principle categories in which strategic goals are conceived
2. Option. Various sources of action relevant to a strategic problem provide the spectrum of options.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>16</sup> Graham T.Allison. (1971). *Essence of decision*. Little Brown, p.38

3. Consequences. Enactment of each alternatives source of action will produce a series of consequences. The relevant consequences constitute benefits and costs in term of strategic goals and objectives.
4. Choice. Rational choice is value maximizing. The rational agent selects the alternative choice consequence rank highest in terms of the goals and objectives.

Under the rational theory proposed by Allison, I will attempt to correlate the case of Russia's reason to use the veto right in rejecting UN resolution against Syria by the theory explained above. There are basically two rational choices which might be taken by Russia regarding the UN resolution against Syria proposed by the west and its allies, supporting or rejecting it. Each decision has its consequences.

There are several important consequences gotten by Russia for its rejection on the draft resolution against Syria;

1. Expanding domination is their first priority. Since the end of the world war both powers don't directly get in a war. But they expanded the domination throughout the other aspects such as; economy, weaponry trade and particularly the ideology.
2. Russia is still able to maintain its influence in the Middle East by the existence of Syria as the main alliance.

On the other hand, rejecting the UN resolution is bringing more benefit rather than harm because supporting the UN resolution means Russia agreed on the west intervention on Syria and it will bring more harms due to several factors

1. The west intervention towards Syria will automatically topple down the Syrian government and if it is happened it will reform the bilateral relationship between Russia and Syria. The tangible evidence is on the case of Libya, on how the west intervention cause to the total government reformation.
2. Russia and Syria has good bilateral relationship I the economic sectors such as the building of economic infrastructure in 1960s and the weaponry trade today.

Therefore using the veto right in rejecting the UN Security Council on Syria is the rational decision taken by Russia.

## **2. Balance of Power**

Kenneth Waltz sees the balance of power as an attribute of the system of states that will occur whether it is willed or not. He believes that the state is a rational and a unitary actor that will use its objectives, states inevitably interact and conflict in the competitive environment of international politics.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, The use of the term voluntarism differs somewhat from the technical use of the term by many philosophers, *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 5, no 7 and 8 (New York:Free Press, 1972), pp. 270 - 72

On the other hand, Hans J Morgenthau acknowledge the balance of power as a tendency within international politics while, at the same time prescribing what statesmen should do to maintain the balance. He argued that the balance of power and policies aiming at its preservation are not only inevitable but are an essential stabilizing factor in a society of sovereign nations.<sup>18</sup>

The balance of power concept is quite appropriate in describing the case of Russia's rejection on the draft of UN Security Council against Syria. What had been done by Russia essentially is a form of rational actors who seek to preserve its interest to maintain the political influence in the Middle East. As described by the waltz that willingness to balance the power are inherent in nature and to deal with the global competition in the international politics arena.

### **3. National Interest**

National interests can be interpreted as an interest for a minimum of public welfare, the right to maintain viability (survival) of a State, the right economic interests, rights of legal protection. In a more specific meaning which is preserving and maintaining a political identity and culture. So for its national interests are realized, a state could have made a cooperation or even conflict.<sup>19</sup>

KJ Holsti explains, is basically the national interest in a state include the four elements of interest, namely:<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Hans. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 4th ed, (New York: Knoof, 1996) p. 161

<sup>19</sup> J. Frankie, *Hubungan Internasional*, terjemahan Laila H, Hasyim Jakarta, Bumi Aksara, 1991.

<sup>20</sup> K. J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analisis*, New York Prentice Hall International Inc, 1995. Hal. 137.

## 1. Security

It is the main aim of every state to defend itself (self-defense) in the sense to protect population, territory and sovereignty and keep the threats are not just a war or things that are physical, but also include residents, government, ideology and economy.

## 2. Autonomy

Ability to formulate domestic policy and foreign policy based on government's own priorities with all the risks, and the ability to withstand pressure, influence, or the threat of another state.

## 3. Welfare (welfare)

Factor in providing a barometer of success in a State. Countries that are worse example are the state which has a large military force, but less attention to the welfare of its people. But on the contrary, the state with a weak military but has a great attention to the welfare of its people is a good country.

## 4. Prestigious

Excellence in science and technology involved plays an important role in addition to the traditional view that considers the main source is the status of military power. For example, countries that are developing in the industry to change its status to a State.

According to H. J. Morgenthau, the essence of foreign policy is national interest, so that the foreign policy of a country based on the interests of domestic or foreign policy is extensions of domestic political summarized in the national interest.<sup>21</sup>

Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton define national interest as:

*"The fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy. The national interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of those elements constitute That the state's most vital needs. These include self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well being. "*<sup>22</sup>

According to Hans J. Morgenthau, the national interests of each country is pursuing power, that can establish and maintain "control" one country on another country. The relationship of power or control can be created through the techniques of coercion and cooperation of other States.<sup>23</sup>

The definition of Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton on the meaning of national interest is the best description in explaining the Russia's interest on Syria which are involving military security, territorial integrity and the economic well being. From the economic sector Russia has been playing the big role in developing the Syrian economic. The Syrian economic ministry Ramzi Asawda, highlighted the

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<sup>21</sup> Mohtar Mas' oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, Disiplin dan Metodology, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1990, hal. 164.

<sup>22</sup> Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, *The International Relations Dictionary*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Western Michigan University: New York, 1969, hal. 128.

<sup>23</sup> *Mohtar Mas' oed, op.cit., hal. 143*



historic role that Russia – as part of the former USSR – had played in the development of Syria’s economy. “Thanks to the cooperation between our countries that has been developing since the 1950s, the foundation of Syria’s economic potential was established.” With the participation of the USSR and then Russia, 90 industrial facilities and pieces of infrastructure have been built in Syria.” Furthermore he said, Soviet-era assistance led to the development of one-third of Syria’s electric power capacity, one-third of its oil-processing facilities, and the three-fold expansion of land under irrigation.<sup>24</sup>

#### **D. Hypothesis**

The Russia’s veto in rejecting the draft of UN Security Council Resolution on Syria because of the following considerations;

1. Russia has a great interest on Syria for its geo – political factors in the Middle East as well as to balance the western influence.
2. Russia is the greatest exporter of military armament for Syria

#### **E. Research Method**

This is a library research. Thus data will be gotten from books, encyclopedia, magazines, newspaper and journals. In addition, the internet media will be valuable resources used in order to obtain data, reports, and surveys, due to its availability in the only internet media. From these resources, I try to elaborate the research.

## **F. Structure of Writing**

The outline of this thesis is described as follows:

CHAPTER I will discuss about the problem background, research purpose, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research model, and writing system.

CHAPTER II will discuss about the nature and condition of Syria from the various aspects such as economical aspect, social aspect, and particularly from the political as well as the governmental aspect

CHAPTER III will discuss about the triangle relation between Russia – Syria, the West – Syria, and Russia – the West. It is important to know the triangle relation, because except other factors that affect Russia rejection on UN resolution against Syria, it is also strongly influenced by the triangle relation.

CHAPTER IV will give explanation about the option of rational choice taken by Russia. It will elaborate more on the cost and benefit whether she supported the UN resolution against Syria or rejected it. It also explain the possibility of the triangle relation between Russia – Syria, The West – Syria as well as Russia and the west after the Russia's rejection on UN resolution against Syria.

CHAPTER V is the closing part of this thesis that contains conclusion.