

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Problem

Russia that has an estimated of 142 million peoples has a centralized democracy political system with the power concentrated in a president and a prime minister that is chosen by the president. The president has broad authority to issue decrees and direction that have the force of law without legislative review. Since 2000, the president of Russia is Vladimir Putin, although in 2008 according to constitution, he stepped down and substituted by Dmitry Medvedev (the first prime minister). In 2012 Putin was re-elected as a President until now. The Federal Assembly consist of a lower house (State Duma) and an upper house (Federation Council). State Duma is the most powerful house, so all bills, even proposed by Federal Council must first considered by Duma. The Duma has 450 members who are known as deputies, and headquartered in Moscow. The Federation Council has 170 members who are known as senators. The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation consist of 19 judges, one of them being the Chairman and the other being the Deputy Chairman. The Constitutional Court is a court of limited subject matter jurisdiction. The court is authorized to rule on violations of constitutional rights, to examine appeals from various bodies, and to participate in impeachment proceedings against the President.¹

¹ <http://www.rogerdarlington.me.uk/Russiapoliticalsystem.html>

The Russia President, Vladimir Putin has the tendency towards a balance foreign policy into one of main pillars of his general strategy. As the foreign policy concept that adopted in 2000, "Russia will seek the formation of a multipolar system of international relations adequately reflecting the multifaceted nature of the contemporary world with its diversity of interests." The Kremlin believed this position was necessary not only to satisfy Russia's own ambitions, but also to guarantee world peace and security.²

Due to that interest Russia develop a wide international relation. For example, the relation between Russia and Asia-Pacific region. Developing a good relation with Asia Pacific region is one important goal for Russia foreign policy. The priorities are to protect their national security, consolidate multipolarity in international relations, and advance Russia as a respected pole of influence in international relations. This relation also give some benefit for Russia like, there are no blocs states, Russia is not directly involved in local conflict and Russian Federation is welcome as a participant in the political and economic in the Asia-Pacific region.

The other foreign relation of Russia is the relation with US. Russia and US have some goals in the relation like fighting international terrorism. Russian Federation also need to cooperate with US not only in the field of foreign policy but also in order to achieve the internal goals are creating an effective market economy and sustainable of democracy. In contrast to the relation with US, Russia relation with Europe have much longer history than its relation with US. As Russia's economic and political values align

² Tatiana Zakharenko, *The Current Foreign Policy of Russia*

increasingly with the realities of globalizing world, Russia and Europe will share more security priorities.³

The other relation is between Russia and Egypt. Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Egypt were established on August 26, 1943. Nowadays the Russian Federation and the Arab Republic of Egypt are partners in both bilateral relations and on international arena. On April 26-27, 2005 is the first time Vladimir Putin, President of Russian Federation visit to Egypt. As a result of negotiation of Vladimir Putin in Cairo will deepening the friendly relations between the Russian Federation and the Arab Republic of Egypt. Since then, between Russia and Egypt continue some cooperation like in technology, security and bilateral cooperation.⁴

Russia and Egypt signed a military-technological cooperation agreement. In a statement published, the ministry said:” The two sides discussed results of military-technological cooperation between the two countries last year and prospect for cooperation in this area in the current years.” This meeting will sum up results of the previous year, map out cooperation priorities and sign documents drawn up by their experts. “The fulfilment of the agreements reached at summit negotiations in Cairo in February are a priority,” Shoygu stressed. This military-technological cooperation agreement is one of developing friendly relations between Egypt and Russia.⁵

On February 09-10, 2015, Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Egypt for the first time since 2005, when Mubarak was still in power. The two sides signed additional

³ ibid

⁴ www.egypt.mid.ru/eng/hist/index.html

⁵ www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/Thursday.05March2015/Egypt-russia-sign-military-cooperation-agreement

economic and commercial agreements, to the significant increase in trade between the countries. This visit is also for the signing of a memorandum of understanding between two governments on Russian aid for the construction of a nuclear reactor in western Egypt.⁶

Actually, Egypt have been started to build nuclear reactor in the last decades. Egypt set up its Atomic Energy Commission in 1955. New nuclear cooperation agreements were signed with Russia in 2004 and 2008 to continue the Egypt's plans for a nuclear power and desalination plant there. On the basis of the feasibility study for a cogeneration plant for electricity and portable water at El-Dabaa in October 2006 the minister for Energy announced that a 1000 MWe reactor would be built there by 2015. In April 2013 Egypt approached Russia to renew its nuclear cooperation agreement, focused on construction of a nuclear power plant at El Dabaa and joint development of uranium deposits. In October 2013 the Minister for Electricity and Energy reactivated plans for El Dabaa, and announced a site office there for the Nuclear Power Plant Authority (NPPA). The Russian Foreign Minister said in November 2013 that Russia was ready to finance an Egyptian nuclear plant. In January 2014 the Ministry said it would issue a tender at the end of the month and announce the contractor in June, using Worley Parsons as consultants. In mid-2014 the target date for the tender was December 2014, and it was made plain that the winner would need to finance the plant.⁷ In 2015, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi signed an agreement to build

⁶ Ephraim Kam and Zvi Magen, An Integrated President Putin Visits Egypt, *INSS Insight* No. 665, February 22, 2015

⁷ <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/Country-Profiles/Others/Emerging-Nuclear-Energy-Countries/>

Egypt's first nuclear power plant, after the two leaders met in Cairo on 9-10 February 2015.⁸

In Early February 2015, Russian President Vladimir Putin and President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi agreed to set up a nuclear plant in Dabaa, on the Mediterranean coast west of the port city of Alexandria. Putin offered Egypt Russia's full-scale assistance in building the country's first nuclear energy facility. Russia will not only help to build a nuclear power plant but will be able in creating an entire nuclear power industry including training personnel and help with scientific research. Building the nuclear power plant needs the finance to make it happen. The sourcing for finance for the project still on the negotiation. While, this is comprehensive cooperation. Moreover, Russia will also provide relevant financial support in the form of an intergovernmental. The Egyptian political leadership regard nuclear power plants as an important and indispensable source of energy that will support sustainable growth of the country's economy. According to Anton Khlopkov, director of the Center for Energy and Security Studies (CENESS) and Dmitry Konukhov, research associate at the Center for Energy and Security Studies (CENESS), the success of the Egyptian nuclear project will depend on three key factors: stabilization of the political and security situation in Egypt, a viable financing mechanism that reflect the country's economic situation, and the government's ability to secure support for the project among the local society of El Dabaa.⁹

⁸ <http://www.forbes.com/sites/annaborshchevskaya/2015/02/13/russia-egypt-nuclear-power-plant-deal-why-ignoring-egypts-needs-is-bad-for-the-u-s/2/>

⁹ www.pambazuka.net/en/category.php/comment/94291/print

There's a pro and contra on nuclear issue. Nuclear energy have advantage for users. The advantage of nuclear is to reduce the amount of energy generated from fossil fuels like coal and oil. To less on the use of fossil fuels means lowering greenhouse gas emissions like CO² and others. Now, fossil fuels are over consumed than the production, so in the future fossil fuels will be rare or the next generation will not get it. Reducing the consumption of fossil fuels, may reduce the global warming and global climate changes, improving the quality of air. Hopefully it will enhance the quality of life. The other advantage is that nuclear is more save because fuel that is used less but can produce more energy and it automatically will save the cost of fuel. This continuity benefits the electrical planning. Nuclear power not depend on natural aspects. This is a solution for the disadvantage of renewable energy like solar energy or Eolic energy, because hours of sun and wind not always coincide with the hours with more energy demand.¹⁰

Nuclear also has disadvantage. Despite the high level of sophistication of the safety systems of nuclear power plants the human aspect always gets an impact. Facing an unexpected even or managing a nuclear accident people not have any guarantee that decisions people took are always best. One example of the accident of nuclear is the Chernobyl Nuclear accident. This is the worst accident of nuclear where the wrong decision during the management of nuclear plant caused a big nuclear explosion. The weakness of nuclear power is the difficulty in the management of nuclear waste. It takes many years to eliminate its radioactive and risks. Nuclear power plant also give external dependence. Not many countries have uranium mines and not all the countries have nuclear technology, so they have to hire both things overseas. Sometimes, nuclear

¹⁰ <http://nuclear-energy.net/advantages-of-nuclear-energy.html>

weapons have advantage for security. If one time country gets attack from other country, the nuclear weapon can be very useful. But sometimes, nuclear weapon is used to attack another country and makes war like in World War II, and the effect of nuclear can kill many people, so this nuclear weapons must be used properly.¹¹

Nuclear weapon, like other weapons, are more than tools of national security, they are political objects of considerable importance in domestic debates and internal bureaucratic struggles and can also serve as international normative symbols of modernity and identity. According to the security model states build nuclear weapons to increase national security against foreign threats, especially nuclear threats. The domestic politics model” which envisions nuclear weapons as political tools used to advance parochial domestic and bureaucratic interests, and the norms model, under which nuclear weapons decisions are made because weapons acquisition, or restraint in weapons development, provides an important normative symbol of a state’s modernity and identity.¹²

Nuclear weapons could also be developed to serve either as deterrents against overwhelming conventional military threats or as coercive tools to compel changes in the status quo, the simple focus on state responses to emerging nuclear threats is the most common and most parsimonious explanation for nuclear weapons proliferation. George Shultz argues: “Proliferation begets proliferation.” Every time one state develops one nuclear weapons to balance against its main rival, it also creates a nuclear threats to

¹¹ <http://nuclear-energy.net/disadvantages-of-nuclear-energy.html>

¹² Scott D. Sagan, *Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb*, *International Security*

another state in the region, which then has to initiate its own nuclear weapons program to maintain its national security.¹³

B. Research Question

What are the interest of Russia which cooperate to develop nuclear in Egypt?

C. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is a part which consist of description which explains the variables and the relations between variables based on certain definitions. Theory is a form of expression that answer the question why the phenomenon occurs.¹⁴ Concept is an abstraction that represents an objects or phenomenon.¹⁵

To make the writer easily explaining the analysis of the problems and to choose the right concept in forming a hypothesis, the writer needs the theoretical framework. In this case, writer use:

1. Rational Choice Theory

Every states have and use the foreign policy as an instrument to get the national interests. States as a rational actor tries to choose every alternative choice to get maximum benefit and minimum cost. For analyzing the cost and the benefit that is gained by one state, this research uses the Rational Choice theory. Rational choice

¹³ ibid

¹⁴ Mohtar Masoed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi*, Jakarta, LP3ES, 1990, page 219.

¹⁵ Sofyan Efendi, *Unsur-unsur Pengertian Ilmiah*, Jakarta, LP3ES, 1990, page 14.

theory in international relations formed in early 1960s. Rational Choice theory as an instrument about purpose and objectives or option from goal-directed an actor.¹⁶

To decide what option will be taken by actor, rational choice theory explains about optimal option for decision making.¹⁷ Rational Choice theory is a theory that used to answer what is the best decision to achieve the interests of actor in international environment. A more detail explanation of rational choice theory is expressed by Stephen M. Waltz in his journal titled: "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies." In his journal, Waltz saiy:

1. Rational Choice Theory is individualistic: social and political outcomes are viewed as the collective product of individual choices (or as the product of choices made by unitary actors).
2. Rational Choice Theory assumes that each actor seeks to maximize its "subjective expected utility." Given a particular set of preferences and a fixed array of possible choices, actors will select the outcome that brings the greatest expected benefits.
3. The specification of actors preferences is subjects to certain constraints: (a) an actor's preferences must be complete (meaning we can rank order their preference from different outcomes) and (b) preferences must be transitive (if A preferred to B and B to C, then A is preferred to C)."¹⁸

¹⁶ Robert Jackson & Geor Sorensen, 2009, *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Belaar, page 297

¹⁷ ibid

¹⁸ Stephen M. Waltz (1999) "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies " MIT Press Journals

In the case of Russia and Egypt cooperation to build the nuclear power, this Rational Choice Theory used to know the cost and the benefit of this cooperation.

The calculation of the cost and benefit are:

- a. If Russia help Egypt to build the nuclear power plant, Russia can get some advantage like can expand the nuclear power, can cooperate in free trade zone and can increase the economics of Russia.
- b. If Russia not help Egypt to build the nuclear power plant, Russia can save their finance because when Russia help Egypt, Russia must support the finance, and Russia more focus on their nuclear cooperation than help to build nuclear power in Egypt.

D. Hypothesis

According to the rational choice theory that Russia will get more advantage than disadvantage from the cooperation. The writer has a hypothesis that the interest of Russia behind cooperate to build nuclear in Egypt is Egypt is one of countries which have so many natural resources and strategic area, so because that if Russia help and cooperate with Egypt to build nuclear, Russia can expand the power influence for their national interest and expand the nuclear power.

E. The Objectives of Research

This thesis has purposes to:

1. To know about Russia political system and foreign relations between Russia and

2. To know the nuclear build in Egypt and the relation with Russia.
3. To understand, the interest of Russia that help Egypt to build the nuclear.

F. Research Method

In this thesis, the writer use the library research. With the library research, the writer hops to find some data and fact that appropriate with the problem. Library research has model to collecting the data, explaining the problem and analyzing the hypothesis. The data will be taken from books, journals, newspaper and internet. The writer can also use interview to get the real information from informant.

G. Range of Research

To simplify the research, the writer limits the range of research. The focus of this research is from 2013 until 2015, because between Russia and Egypt started have serious discussion about nuclear development in Egypt and in 2013 until 2015 the cooperation between Russia and Egypt to build the nuclear development continue, also the building of nuclear power plant in Egypt started.

H. Systematic of Writing

Chapter I

In this part, will content about background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, the objective of research, research method, range of research, and systematic

Chapter II

This part, explains about Russia, politics and diplomacy of Russia, some relations among Russia and another country and one of them is the relation between Russia and Egypt.

Chapter III

This part, will explain about nuclear in Egypt. The relation between Russia and Egypt in nuclear development and the importance of Egypt to build and have nuclear power plant.

Chapter IV

This part explains and calculate the advantage and disadvantage of Russia which help