

# Chapter I

## Introduction

### A. Background

Middle east is now heat up. A concept of freedom was raised in the middle of the middle-eastern community. Some countries already had a changing effect from the Middle East region. People in several countries across the Middle East are now taking to the streets to calling for a change and overthrow the regime. On the other hand, the regime of the government is actually trying to maintain its power. In addressing the people's demand, such regimes use military force to quell demonstrators.

Then came the period of unrest in several countries in the region. As a start, Tunisia overthrew President Ben Ali, and then the Egyptian followed to overthrow Hosni Mubarak, and finally the people of Libya overthrew Muammar Khaddafi. People's yearning for democracy continue to attack other countries in the Middle East regions. This continues in Syria which is also controlled by the regime. Syrians began a protest to the Syrian government under President Bashar Al-Assad.

In all these popular protests, always take place acts of violence by the ruling regimes to maintain power. The same thing happens in the middle east crisis, all leaders of the regime acts on violence. People who claim they were attacked with

in the middle east. The riots have resulted in casualties, of which they raise global

One of them is the one happening in Libya this year. Peoples of Libya who were inspired by the success of their neighbor, Egyptians in overthrowing the Mubarak regime, began to demand the government to dethrone Gaddafi. Libyans began taking to the streets and protested Gaddafi regime, to ask Gaddafi to release his position as the leader for decades. Libyan people were called for the urgent implementation of the general elections in the oil-rich country.

The demands of the people are then responded by Libyan government with violence. Military forces were deployed to stop protests and caused many casualties. Libyan people were angry with Gaddafi's treatment. They did not give up and continued to survive for liberating Libya from Gaddafi regime. And so did Gaddafi who would not retreat and wanted to continue to maintain his regime. Libya became more heated. There were clashes between supporters of Gaddafi, supported by the State military forces, and opposition parties in support of the people and NATO countries. Aircraft carriers and battle armors from the superpowers began to approach the territory of Libya, preparing for the war.

Meanwhile in the land of Libya, the soldiers began attacking the demonstrators. Military fighter planes of Libya began to fire on the demonstrators to quell the protest against Gaddafi. Violence is used to dampen the protest. The victims had fallen and this angered the demonstrators even more.

Meanwhile, the court of the UN Security Council, on March 17, 2011, convened and decided to drop the No Fly Zone Resolution in Libya region to

...the United States of America proposal No Fly Zone

addressed to all kinds of flights over the territory of Libya, aims at preventing the cruel attacks on civilians by the government of Libya.<sup>1</sup> It is taken by the United Nations after taking consideration of human rights violations committed by Gaddafi against his people, and on the possibility of Gaddafi attacks against people who are considered traitors who asked Gaddafi down from office.<sup>2</sup>

However, violence continued to occur in Libya. The fight between supporters of Gaddafi government and the opposition supported by NATO got more intensified. Opposition parties, calling themselves the National Transition Council, supported by the Libyan people tried to overthrow Gaddafi and Libya to form a new government. With the support and assistance from NATO, the NTC succeeded in making Gaddafi government inconvenience, creating a crisis situation in Libya.

While the problem in Libya was not resolved yet, the Middle East experienced turmoil again. This time, Syria had its upheaval. Protests against Syrian president, Bashar Al-Assad arose in mid-2011. Their demands were similar to some countries of other Middle-East regions which had experienced a crisis in ending a regime. The demonstrators demanded the resignation of president Bashar al-Assad. Residents began taking to the streets and expressed their demands to the Al-Assad's regime.

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations Security Council. "Draft Resolution on Libya". 2011,

<sup>2</sup> "United Nations Security Council Approves No Flying Zone In Libya" Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/MCPR12/11031711.html#T1&ref=RF1> on

Al-Assad's government was not standing still confront the demonstrators. Its military power, Syrian troops, began firing the demonstrators. Moreover, some of the cities that became the base of opposition forces were surrounded by Syria's military equipment. Air Force began to be used by the government of Bashar al-Assad to quell popular protests, although still in a minimal level. However, air strikes carried out by the Syrian government had caused many casualties on the part of demonstrators.

The tension rose in Syria. Bashar al-Assad's government did not want events such as in Tunisia and Egypt happened to them. Al-Assad continuously dampened protests by force. In fact, until November 2011, 3000 Syrians were recorded to be killed in the Syrian crisis.<sup>3</sup> Syria became more intense. The country became a field of war and massacre under the Syrian government. Every day Syrian military attacked and shot the demonstrators and opposers. Human right violations occurred on Syrian soil. Syrians are now living in fear and uncertainty of their fate.

Nevertheless the cruelty of the al-Assad government do not lower Syrian People's expectations to fight the government for justice. They still express their protest against the Syrian government. The government more brutally attack their citizens who try to overthrow them. This is similar to what happened in Libya.

International protests and condemnation of the world were finally addressed to President Bashar al-Assad and the Syrian government. Some world leaders condemned the crackdown from the Syrian government to its people. Some

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<sup>3</sup> "Korban Protes Suriah Capai 3000 Orang".retrieved from

<http://www.kompas.com/berita/2011/10/15/162722/Korban-Protes-Suriah-Capai>

countries such as Britain, United States of America and Saudi Arabia denounced and asked the UN to take all measures necessary to suppress the government under Bashar al-Assad to stop attacking demonstrators. Consequently, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain withdrew their ambassador from Damascus as their criticism to the Government of Syria.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the penalties and sanctions had been obtained by Syria for the violence perpetrated by its government. Among these is the sanction of the Arab League that prohibits officials from the country to visit their country. In addition, several resolution draft on the UN Security Council also had been discussed, including the one about economic and arms embargo against Syria. But the draft was finally unfinished after the veto by Russia and China.<sup>5</sup>

The world's opposition against the Government of Syria grew stronger. Insistence on the United Nation to take an action got stronger. The UN Security Council was asked to immediately take an action to end violence against civilians in Syria. However, the UN Security Council still did not do any action. There are only resolutions of the UN Human Rights Body issued to protect civilians in Syria.

This is quite different from what the United Nations did against Libya. In the case of the crisis in Libya, the UN Security Council dropped No Fly Zone Resolution to the region of Libya to protect civilians from the violence of Gaddafi

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<sup>4</sup> "Amerika Serikat, Inggris, dan Arab Saudi Kecam Suriah" Retrieved from <http://www.tribunnews.com/2011/08/14/amerika-serikat-inggris-dan-arab-saudi-kecam-suriah> on December 6th, 2011. 15.57 LT

<sup>5</sup> "Rusia dan Cina Veto Resolusi Untuk Suriah" Retrieved from

government based on the United States of America proposal. But unfortunately, different treatment received by the Syrian government when they are not in the same resolution imposed by the UN Security Council.

When viewed from the form of violence perpetrated by the two governments, Syria should also be in the resolution of No Fly Zone by the United Nation Security Council. Human right violations and crimes against humanity committed by the Syrian government are similar to the ones conducted by the government of Libya under Gaddafi regime. The Syrian government also brutally attacked its citizens. Moreover, the casualties had reached the number 3000 in November 2011.

The United Nations demonstrated different attitudes toward the Government of the Syrian from the Government of the Libya, and this action could be described as a Double Standard. The two cases are almost identical, but the treatments are different. President Al-Assad and President Gaddafi had equally harsh action against civilians who were protesting against them. Libya then got a No Fly Zone Resolution, but did not Syria.

United States of America, as one country that has a strong influence on the United Nation is behind the decision-making in policy implementation of No Fly Zone Resolution against Libya. The U.S.A government directly supported the struggle of the Libyan people against Muammar Gaddafi. United States of America

United States of America supported the resolution in the UN Security Council

The No Flying Zone Resolution was finally approved and imposed on Libya. But later when addressing the crisis of Syria, the United States of America seemed to be softer and not as hard as when concerning about the crisis in Libya. The crisis in Syria also continues to expand and now Bashar al-Assad's government is still not going to stop to violence against civilians.

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background above, the research question proposed is, "*Why did United States of America have double standards in applying No Fly Zone Resolution to Libya and Syria?*"

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

Theory and the concept are important to analyze a case, to answer a phenomenon, and to explain a fact based on data which is then analyzed in a research. Thus, to analyze, to find an answer, and to understand the question above, some theories and concepts are used in this paper. The theory and

... 1 ... the theory of Realism and the concept of National Interest

## 1. Theory of Realism

Realism is a theory that is considered as the oldest theory on earth. This theory is also commonly referred to as political realism.<sup>6</sup> This theory was made in the war of Peloponnesian written by Thucydides in 431 BC. Some figures of realism are Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes.

Realism emphasizes the concept of power politics and the pursuit of National Interest.<sup>7</sup> Realism is the key assumption of the state as the main actor in international or world stage. Realism Scholar, EH Carr (1939) and Hans Morgenthau (1948) also opposed the idealist belief in internationalism and natural harmony. Instead, Realism in the world believes that there is no higher power than a sovereign state. International politics is characterized by anarchy, not harmony.

This is why the realist puts the role of power in international issues, because basically Realism assumes that the State is a major actor in international relations, and the world stage is anarchy, not a nation above other nations. Realism also explains that each country will continue to strive to meet its National interests.

Morgenthau mentions six principles of political realism, there are:<sup>8</sup>

1. Political Realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human Nature. We need to understand

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<sup>6</sup> Heywood, A., Politics. Macmillan Press LTD. 1997. London



about the law in a society to improve society. Realism must also believe in the possibility to improve rational theory that reflects, though not perfect and sometimes sided, to the objective laws. It also has to believe in the possibility in politics to distinguish between truth and opinion, between the objective and rational, between supported by facts and explained by reason, what is only a subjective judgment, divorced from the fact as and what is informed by prejudice and wishful thinking.

This means, Realism is concerned with a fact. It is assumed that the character of a country's foreign policy can be ascertained only through an examination of the political acts performed and of the future consequences of these acts. Even so, the examination alone is not sufficient. To understand the factual raw material of foreign policy one, must approach the political reality of the decision maker actor.

2. The second principle that must be held by political realism in international politics is to understand the concept of interest, in this regard is Power. The concept of interest defined as power imposes intellectual discipline upon the observer, infuses rational order into the subject matter of politics, and thus makes the theoretical understanding of politics possible. A realist theory of international politics will keep the two major faults: the concern with motives and the concern with ideological preferences. To get a hint in the foreign policy of the motives of statesmen is something futile and misleading since the motive

Statesman, we can not predict what foreign policy in the capture and how it impacts.

According to adherents of Realist theory, international politics will avoid the false idea, namely, to equate foreign policy statesman with philosophical or political sympathies. The statesman makes its foreign policy in terms of philosophical and political sympathy for the support for them. They strive to realize their political and moral principles throughout the world. Political realism does not require indifference to political ideals and moral principles.

In the international field, it is not exaggerating to say that the actual structure of international relations tends to be different, and largely irrelevant to the realities of international politics. The former considers "Equal sovereignty" of all nations, called lately dominated by the inequality of nations is extreme.

Political realism contains not only a theoretical element, but also elements based on the norm. Understanding political realism means understanding that the political reality is full of uncertainties and circumstances that make no sense and systemic, and point to their influence on foreign policy. However, realism is shared by all social theories. The need for theoretical understanding is to suppress the rational elements of political reality, as rational element is what makes the reality become a theory. Political realism presents the theoretical concept of a rational foreign policy, which can never be achieved entirely from experience. At the same time, political realism considers a rational

foreign policy that minimizes only the rational politics that minimizes risks and

increase profits as much as possible and remains in compliance with the rules of morality and wisdom as well as political terms in order to achieve success.

3. Realism considers that the main concept of interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally applicable, but does not give the nature of the concept with meanings that have been determined definitively. The idea is that the essence of political interests is not affected by the circumstances of time and place. But the pattern in determining the importance of political action in a particular historical period would depend on the political and cultural context, and on the context of foreign policy formulated. Targets that may be pursued by nations in their foreign policy may include a series of goals belonging or to pursued by a nation.

Political realism does not assume, that the contemporary circumstances that exist in current foreign policy was held, with a striking the inability and the ever-present threat of violence on a large scale, can not be changed. What is true of the general nature of international relations is also the nation-state as the principal referral nature of contemporary foreign policy. The realist believes that the interests of an ongoing norm which are used to assess and direct political action, the contemporary relationship between interests and the nation-state are the products of history, and should disappear in the course of history. The realist ensures that this change can only be achieved through orderly manipulation of the forces that can last long have shaped the past, and will shape the future.

4. Political realism realizes the moral of political action. Moreover, political realism is also aware of the inevitable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action. Political realism does not want to eliminate that tension, in hopes of making vague moral or political issues, and then displays it as if a hard political fact is morally more satisfying than the actual state, and the moral law is not quite right according to actual circumstances. Realism maintains that universal moral principles can not be applied to the actions of states and their abstract universal formulation, but will have to be filtered through the state, time, and a concrete place.
5. Political realism refuses to identify the moral ideals of a particular nation as the moral laws that control the universe. Political realism distinguishes between truth and opinion and also between truth and excessive veneration. All nations are tempted to reach the ideals and their own specific actions for the moral purpose of the universe. To know what a nation's subject to moral law is one matter, while pretending to know certainly what is good and evil in the relations among nations is totally different. There are a lot of beliefs that all nations submit to God's decision, difficult to understand the human mind. The concept of interest defined, in terms of power, saved us from the excesses of moral and political foolishness.
6. The difference between political realism from other school of thoughts is real and thorough. Political realism often means that no one denies the intellectual

realist maintains the autonomy of the political world, as economists, lawyers, moralists defend their field environment. The realists recognize the existence and relevance of politics. As a realist, one is forced to put other norms lower than political norms. It ignores other schools if the school of politics imposes standards of thought appropriate to the other field. Political realism does not agree with the "legalistic-moralistic approach" to international politics.

The defense of the realists on the autonomy of the political world to that subversion other way of thinking does not imply neglect of the existence and importance of these other ways of thinking. Political realism is based on a pluralistic conception of human nature. By recognizing the different facets of human nature, the political realism also acknowledges, that in order to understand one facet of it, we must confront it in its own way.

In the case of double standards in the United States of America proposal, here it is clear that every country wants put forward its National Interests. Some States also showed strong powers to protect its national interests. For the case of Syria and Libya, there are many interests of certain countries who wish to protect their national interests. This further confirms that the State is still the main actors in International Relations. As we know that United States of America also defined both Syria and Libya as their enemy. But the statesman distinguish the Libya and Syria as different case. Toward the Libya, the United

It is depend on the traditional relations between United States of America and Muammar Gaddafi office. The high tension between the two states was put Libya as the enemy of the United States of America in the past. But to the Syria, the United States of America does not has any thing to get a high tension to the Syria.

## 2. Concept of National Interest

Actually, the concept of national interest is often used to describe the behavior of a state in their foreign affair. Because of national interests is an objective to be achieved by a country based on what became a national desire.

Meanwhile, Morgenthau explained the concept of National Interests of each country is the pursuit of power, those anything that can establish and maintain control of a country on another country, which was created through techniques contained coercion and cooperation.<sup>9</sup>

The concept of national interest which includes the sense of minimum, it is survival. The point is the minimum capability of a country is to protect the identity of the physical, political, and cultural disruption from another country. This means that a country should be able to maintain its territorial integrity, defend political-economic regime, and maintain the norms of ethnic, religious, linguistic, and its history.<sup>10</sup>

Jack C Plano and Roy Olton describes National Interest as a concept that describes the most fundamental objectives as well as the most decisive factor that guides decision makers in formulating foreign policy.<sup>11</sup>

Interests of each country would vary, but basically almost the same goal, which ranges in five general categories as follows:

1. Self Preservation, namely the survival of the nation and the state
2. Independence, which means independence and are not colonized by other countries
3. Military Security, which means security in the country
4. Territorial Integrity
5. Economic Well Being, or economic welfare<sup>12</sup>

According to Morgenthau, the general goals that then affect a country's leaders in making national policy, or attitude of his country against another country, be it a form of cooperation, and conflict.<sup>13</sup> For example the arms race, foreign aid, the formation of alliances, economic warfare, propaganda, and even intervene to an international organization.

Of some concepts of national interest above, basically every country trying to survive in the international life. This means that to survive economically, political, military, and even the image. Each country will definitely defend its

national interests on the world stage, even if it should be in an international organization like the United Nations.

### 3. Theory of Perception

Perceptions can be interpreted as a way of looking someone in the view of a phenomenon based on knowledge, information and facts that he knew. According to Mochtar Masoed, the theory of perception is to determine, retrieve, and respond to a phenomenon, someone will take based on what he knew and how he interpreted the phenomenon.<sup>14</sup> Masoed also called perception is dynamic. Perception is always changing and is very subjective to a fact. Different attitude of someone very close to the differences in their views on a reality. People's attitude is influenced by his own Perceptions.

Perception or "image" is a dynamically individual.<sup>15</sup> Perception of someone is sometime changing. According to Kenneth Boulding, when we react to our surrounding, actually we also reacting to our images about the world. The reality and our perception about the reality maybe can be different. For the first time, value and someone needed, belief to decide the attention, to determine the stimulus, the object and who becomes the attention will get more reaction.

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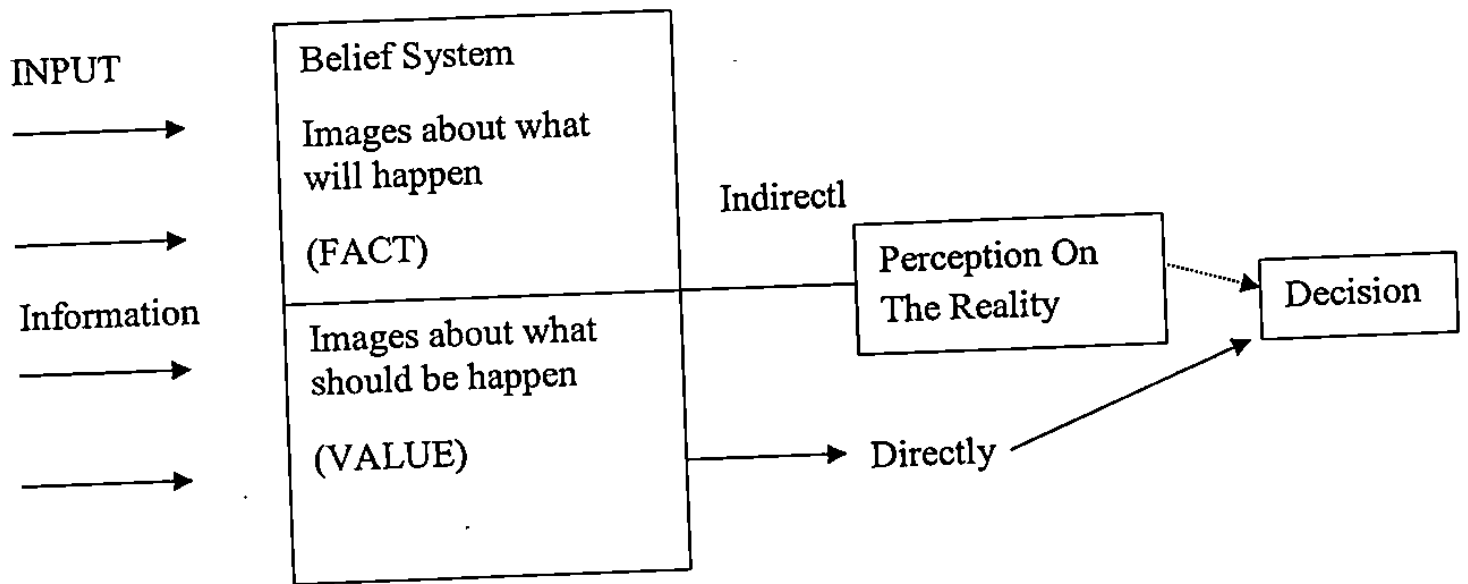
<sup>14</sup> Masoed.M., Studi Hubungan Internasional Tingkat Analisis dan Teoritis. Yogyakarta. Pusat Antar Universitas-Studi Sosial Universitas Gadjah Mada. Page.19

<sup>15</sup> Ibid



Image 1.1

Relation between Belief System and Decision Maker



Source : R. Holsti, "The Belief System and National Images : A Case Study", from Mochtar Masoed, Studi Hubungan Internasional tingkat Analisis dan Teorisasi pages 21

Belief system is a horde of belief, images or "model" about the world which is followed by someone. According to Holsti, belief system run an important role for someone. Initially, one's belief will help the people to determine its concern, in determining what its stimulus, what has been seen and what has been concerned. Then, according to the attitude and image which has been kept and held by the people so far,

information, although it might be contradictory with the image that has been held by the people so far, while it also combines with the image that has been held by the people. In the other hand, Closed Image rejects the change and ignores the information which is contradictory with its own perceptions, while tends to choose the specific part of the information which can be used to support the existed image.

According to Robert Jervis, Policy Decision Makers tends to ignore the possibility that their message, speech, or other communication might have been received unclearly by the people, even they have might to make it clearly. Secondly, they did not realize that their attitude was not reflecting on what they should have communicated to the people.<sup>16</sup>

In case of United States of America double standards to the Libya and Syria crisis, proposal be submitted by the United States to the United Nations is based on how the United States statesman makes the perception of Libya and Syria. United States to give different treatment to the two countries based on the relationship between the United States against the two countries.

## **D. Hypothesis**

Based on the problems described above, supported by theory of Realism, and the concept National Interest as a theoretical framework for analyzing the

standard because of their perception towards Libya and Syria. United States of America defined Libya as their enemy for a dozens years, since Muammar Gaddafi started to lead Libya. On the other side, United States of America consider Syria not as their enemy. The United States of America have more intension towards Libya in order to fulfill their National Interest, in this the needs of Oil.

## **E. Research Method**

This research uses secondary data collection methods to conduct library research on literature, journals, clippings, newspapers, papers, sites on the Internet, and other reliable and relevant sources related to the problem.

This research, describes and explains phenomena using the theory and concept to obtain accurate analysis of the existing problems.

## **F. Scope of Research**

To avoid widespread discussion, this research limits the scope from the 2006 to December 2011, to explain the traditional relations between Libya and United States of America, and Syria and United States of America. This will be necessary in order to explain what makes United States of America take different

attitudes to respond to crisis in Libya and Syria

## **G. System of Writing**

In general, the writing of this thesis will be divided into five chapters. The discussion in all chapters are closely interconnecte. To form a coherent and systematic paper. The system of the writing is as follows:

Chapter One includes the introduction, which consists of background to the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, data collection method, scope of the research, and system of writing.

The second chapter explains about what it No Fly Zone Resolution is, what the mechanism to make the resolution is, and several examples of cases of No Fly Zone Resolution in the world.

The third chapter, explains about how the United States of America views the phenomenon that needs No Fly Zone Resolution. There is also the form of No Fly Zone proposed by the United States of America, and the United States of America attitude towards the crisis in Libya and Syria.

The fourth chapter discusses the promotion of the United States of America on the resolution on Syria and Libya to the United Nation. How statesman discussion of the United States of America could take a decision will be explained in the section and be part of this chapter. Additionally, it will also clear about the military capabilities of air which is owned by Libya and Syria.

The Fifth Chapter will describe about the Conclusion and Closing