

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A. Writing objective

The world's intelligence, espionage, counterintelligence, and secret action have close relation with the name of domestic secret agency or secret police. Those are some special duties that must be done in the function of the national secret agency. Surely, common people have known this through movies and media accesses. However, the theory goes that as intelligence information is rarely, if ever, released to the public. Public will always be in the dark about the true events taking place in intelligence agencies. There are some famous secret agencies in the world. In the United States let say CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), In UK we know the Secret Intelligence Service (often called MI-6 that stands for "military intelligence") and the Security Service (popularly called MI-5), and in Russia, we know KGB that the writer want to talk deeper.

The Soviet Union had a succession of secret police agencies over the course of its existence. This agency, named Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti or KGB, was very great and powerful in the communist era as the committee for state security. KGB was the umbrella organization serving as the Soviet Union's premier security agency, secret police, and intelligence agency from 1954 to 1991. The KGB is pconsidered by some experts as the most powerful internal security organization

("secret police") to have ever existed, with its external intelligence department (PGU) as one of the most effective global intelligence services in the world.¹

In contrast to the United States government, which assigns the functions of domestic counterintelligence and foreign intelligence to separate the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), respectively, the Soviet system combined these functions in a single organization. It means that there was only one government body, the KGB, that play both functions whether in domestic or foreign business of the Soviet Union defense system. In their functions, most of these happen in communist era. KGB was only as the instrument of the government through CPSU² (Communist Party of Soviet Union) to keep their party has huge authority and maintains political power of the leader.

The role of KGB in the communist era was very influencing to create such kind of conducive situation to enforce the soviet people obey all the regulation by the communist government. At that time almost all people could not freely express their idea and were always monitored by the KGB agent. KGB can be very abusive because of the agents who were not accountable for their behavior and who were not easily controlled by their superior. The examples of the KGB abused power were the pervasiveness of its surveillance activity, its threats and annoying searches, and its

¹ *Historical of KGB*, accessed through <http://Wikipedia.org>, on December 24th 2008.

² The communist party of Soviet Union was the ruling political party in the Soviet Union. It emerged in 1912 as the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democratic labor party created a separate party. The party led the October revolution, which led to the establishment of a socialist state in Russia. The party was dissolved in 1991 at the time of the break up of the Soviet Union. (accessed on February

uses of entrapment devices, blackmail, and intimidation. It was especially aggressive in dealing with dissident in the late 1970s.³

By early 1991, the powerful KGB organization was being dismantled and at the same time the communist regime (USSR) was collapse. KGB was dissolved officially in December 1991 a few weeks before the Soviet Union dissolve. Foreign observers saw the end of the KGB as a sign that democracy would prevail in the newly created Russian Federation. As the replacement, the new Russian federations (post-Soviet Union) changed the name of KGB become FSB (*Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti*) with the same function as the domestic security agency.

FSB as the new form of KGB is responsible for internal security of the Russian state, counterespionage, and the fight against organized crime, terrorism, and drug smuggling. However FSB in the new Russian Federation has a little bit different roles compared to KGB in communist era. The new President of Russia, Boris Yeltsin worked hard to implement democracy system over the structural body of the government including FSB. That makes FSB focuses more on the national security issues rather than political business.

Judging this organization (KGB and FSB) in different era of their function, the writer tries to seek what actually made KGB very dominant in the communist era (Soviet Union) and to figure out the factors behind the emergence of FSB as the first

³ *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, third edition, Milton E. Goldberg, Northeastern University.*

sign to build democracy in Russia. This case is interesting to dig in because so far as I know KGB or other national secret agencies in the world have very limited sources for people to access more about this. Looking out some interesting point above, the writer determines the topic, entitled **“The Difference role between KGB in Communist era (Soviet Union) and FSB in the new Russian government”**. **Study case: influence of KGB on invasion of Soviet Union to Afghanistan**

B. Writing Purpose.

This research has some purposes as follows:

1. Give explanation through observing, why KGB has dominant role in the era of communist (Soviet Union)
2. Compare the main function between KGB and FSB including the factors that made FSB rise up after the collapse of the USSR.
3. Seek the solid background about the relation and influence of KGB and FSB in making some decision/policy on the structural Russian government.
4. Complete the writer’s study at Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta.

C. Problem Background

During the Soviet Union regime not much was known about the activities of the Russian state security organization by western intelligence agencies. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the information about the activities of KGB slowly can be investigated even though almost all the secret documents have been

smuggled out by the KGB agents. The KGB has closed all the sources about their operations during Soviet Union era, therefore only a few information or sources that western or other side can gain about the KGB. The question is whether KGB operations during the Soviet Union regime were successful or not.

Before the KGB, there was the Vecheka or Cheka which started on December 20, 1917. The Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin created the Cheka in order that they would be able to counter combat the revolutionary forces in Russia after the Bolsheviks took power. The Cheka later had several names and organizational changes over the years, and then became the State Political Directorate (OGPU) in 1923, People Commissariat for State Security (NKGB) in 1941 and Ministry for State Security (MGB) in 1946. *Lawrenty Beria*⁴ consolidated the Russian ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and the MGB into one body. Within a year, Beria was executed and MVD was split. The reform of MVD retained its police and law enforcement powers while the second, the new agency, the KGB assumed internal and external security, intelligence functions, and was subordinate to the council minister⁵.

⁴ Beria was a Soviet politician and chief of the Soviet security and police apparatus. Beria is now remembered chiefly as the executor of Joseph Stalin's Great Purge of the 1930s, even though he actually presided only over the closing stages of the purge. He was in charge of the Katyn executions, where over 22,000 Polish officers and intelligentsia were murdered. Beria was most influential during and after World War II and immediately after Stalin's death, when he carried out a brief campaign of liberalization as First Deputy Prime Minister. However, in June 1953 he was arrested and then charged with various crimes. In December 1953, he was tried, sentenced to death and executed by firing squad. (accessed on www.wikipedia.com)

⁵ Eastern Europe 1966, Encarta Encyclopedia 2004

The basic organizational structure of the KGB was created in 1954, when the reorganization of the police apparatus was carried out. In the late 1980s, the KGB remained a highly centralized institution, with controls implemented by the Politburo through the KGB headquarters in Moscow.

The KGB was originally designated as "a state committee attached to the Council of Ministers." On July 5, 1978, a new law on the Council of Ministers changed the status of the KGB, along with several other state committees, that its chairman was a member of the Council of Minister of law. According to the 1977 Soviet Constitution, the Council of Ministers" coordinates and directs" the work of the ministries and states committees, including the KGB.

In practice, however, KGB had more autonomy than most other government bodies and operated with a large degree of Independence from the Council of Ministers. This autonomy gave a big space in government and public sphere for the agents of KGB to play their role and function. The case of involving of KGB on supporting the invasion of Soviet to Afghanistan approve that KGB was the success mission of KGB where is the KGB become central role in terms of intelligence information.

Furthermore, local government organs had little involvement in local KGB activities as the part of this structural system. This is like close cooperation between

power to involve themselves in some decision and internal activities of the government. The influence of KGB as the domestic secret agency seems not to reflect their real function because KGB was brave enough to participate and influence the decision in the highest level of Soviet Union government.

In the late of 1990, Gorbachev launched the program "Glasnost and Perestroika". He argued for glasnost', or openness, in a speech to the Communist Party Congress. It was implemented through perestroika, a restructuring of the economy with a new openness to critical political debate. However, the common opinion from the public sphere saw the program could not be successful to be implemented in Russian government. Then, Gorbachev ambition to modernize the Soviet economy under the continued supremacy of the Communist Party failed. His reform had allowed other political and economic views to be expressed.

Glasnost led to greater openness in the state-controlled media and to the information of a large number of independent groups. It contributed to the growth of national movements in the Soviet republics and ultimately, to the breakup of Soviet Union in 1991. However the movement of all elements on the people cannot work successfully without the influence from the KGB. The KGB participation, under the leadership of Gorbachev, was a significant factor in the process of the

led to public demands for complete reform of the security police. Despite these reforms, FSB as the successor to the KGB still play a powerful role in politics⁶.

FSB has emerged as the demand from revolution to complete reform in all the government structural after the breakup of Soviet Union. In general function FSB is not different from what KGB did in the past. FSB is engaged mostly in domestic affairs, while espionage duties are taken over by the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (former First Chief Directorate of the KGB). However FSB also includes FAPSI agency, which involved in electronic surveillance abroad. In addition, FSB operates freely at the territories of the former Soviet Republics, and it can conduct anti-terrorist military operations anywhere in the world if ordered by the President, according to the recently adopted terrorism law. All law enforcement and intelligence in Russia work under guidance of FSB if needed. For example, GRU, Spetsnaz, and Internal Troops detachments of Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs work together with FSB in Chechnya⁷.

FSB is responsible for internal security of the Russian state, counterespionage, and the fight against organized crime, terrorism, and drug smuggling. However, critics claim that it is actually more engaged in suppressing internal dissent, bringing the entire population of Russia under total control, and influencing important political

⁶ *Historical of KGB*, accessed on <http://www.wikipedia.org/html> on November 3, 2007

⁷ *New form of FSB*, accessed on <http://www.fas.org/irm/world/russia/fcb/index.html> on November 3,

events, just as the KGB did in the past. Some observers note that FSB is more powerful than KGB because it does not operate under the control of the Communist Party as KGB did in the past.

D. Research Question

Based on the illustration above, the main problem of the research is

1. How did KGB and FSB act their role to make them easy to involve in the process of foreign policy making at higher level?
2. What are the differences role between KGB and FSB in general?

E. Theoretical Framework.

1. Role Theory

For this research, the writer uses role theory to explain the role of KGB in the process of decision or policy making in the government structure in Communist era (Soviet Union) and the difference between KGB and FSB.

The definition of the role is very comprehensive and depends on the context. Role in common perspective has meaning as a set of connected behaviors, rights, and obligations as conceptualized by actors in a social situation. It is mostly defined as an expected behavior in a given individual social status and social position.

According to Jack C. Plano, the role concept is the behaviors expected by

behaviors expected by the persons who have positions, such as rules maker, party leader, chooser or revolutionary, related with taking decision and the execution of legal policy. The role or set up of role itself is as one of the barrier for the foreign policy makers in their actions implemented in the political process. The emphasis of the role is clear enough. The role itself is a behavior which is expected to be done by the person who has important position⁸. *According to Biddle and Thomas, role is series of formulation which give limitation on behaviors expected by actors who has certain position⁹.*

In the theoretical concept, interaction has been viewed as the combination between the old unity and inside of this there is something which is determined by the existence of norm, other party, and audience. By those things, all of the elements intended to emerge an expectation by each of it and therefore, the expectation or prediction would shape a role.

To analyze the answer of the main question, the role theory is sustaining the writer to explain the answer. The role of KGB in the communist era, if we see from the political perspective, has big influence to interfere the decision; otherwise it is contradictive with their real function as the provider of intelligence information for the communist government. It began from the high level officer or the chief of KGB itself where it got the position in the highest level of the Soviet Union government.

⁸ Colin Powell, A strategy of partnership, Foreign Affairs. January-February 2004 page 22

⁹ Mohtar Mas'ood, Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi, page.234

Indirectly it made the KGB had more access and power to influence the foreign policy making.

In the other side, KGB also had dominant role because of the support from CPSU. At the time, CPSU was the most important vehicle for popular participation and KGB was the agent of the working masses charged with leading them to the communist. CPSU and their friend like KGB took the responsibility for all successes and failures of Soviet political development. Most of the activities and operations of KGB got the influence from the assistance of CPSU. In another word CPSU became a sponsor for this organization especially as the main fund provider. KGB was very aggressive in the government fields, especially their participation in the foreign policy making. It happened because the chiefs of KGB are included as the Politburo members.

At the same time, it influenced the formulation of foreign policy at a lower level as an executor of that policy, a provider of information, and a generator of ideas, solutions, and alternatives. For the example, when the *Kremlin* decided to invade Czechoslovakia in 1968, the KGB chief Yuri Andropov, who was an expert on Eastern Europe and had direct line of intelligence from Czechoslovakia, influenced the decision making process significantly. It means that the actors behind the decision

Furthermore, KGB as the main provider of intelligence to the leadership was in a position to influence decision making by screening and interpreting the information. It shows that the dominant role of the KGB was stronger compared to the other institutions in the government structure of the Soviet Union at that time. In the era of Stalin, KGB had been the most repressive instrument for the leadership and CPSU to maintain the power. KGB at that time operates under the control of CPSU, so CPSU has the political instrument or vehicle to protect their rights and power from the disruption which would attack them in the political process in this country. However, the role of KGB was not only committed in domestic affair but also in other countries. They also had some missions related to their function to provide the intelligence information for national interest of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the role of KGB was very significantly dominant in the communist government. It was still running communist ideology and not really too far from the real function as the committee for the state security.

How the influence of KGB and FSB in the process of decision making, for this case is the invasion of Soviet Union to Afghanistan can be answered by this organizational theory on below.

2. Theory of Organizational (organizational process paradigm)

Few specialists in international politics have studied organization theory. It is

makers; behavioral studies of foreign policy organizations from the decision making perspective have not yet been produced.¹⁰

This capsule account of organizational theory provides a context within which outline an organizational process paradigm relevant to foreign policy and international politics. This paradigm should suggest perspective that will be showing the role of KGB and FSB in influencing the foreign policy making process in Russia government. Analysis comparative as the branch of organizational theory also sustain the writer to explain about the difference role between KGB and FSB in each era.

1. *Basic Unit of analysis: Government action as organizational output.* The happenings of international politics are, in three critical senses, outputs of organizational processes. First, actual occurrences are organizational outputs. In the case of the involving of Soviet army in the invasion to Afghanistan, that is the fact that Soviet Army were get influencing from KGB and Politburo as the organizational action. The decisions of government leaders were triggered KGB as the government organization to play their role. Second is an existing organizational routine for employing present physical capabilities constitute the range of effective choice open to government leaders confronted with any problem. Only the existence of men who were equipped and trained as armies and capable of being transported to Afghanistan made entry in Soviet war a

¹⁰ Graham T. Allison, Harvard University.; *Essence of decision, explaining the Cuban missile crisis*

live option for Soviet leaders. The fact that the fixed programs (equipment, men, and routines that exist at the particular time) exhaust the range of buttons that leaders can push is not always perceived by these leaders. But in every case it is critical for an understanding of what is actually done.

2. *Central coordination and control.* Governmental action requires decentralization of responsibility and power. The necessity for coordination and the centrality of foreign policy to the welfare of the nation guarantee the involvement from government leaders. KGB sees on this opportunity to influence the government by using the power of chief of KGB. The close relationship with Politburo made KGB easier to access the formulating process of decision making at higher level. Meanwhile the FSB also lead their privilege to conduct their operations without the agreement from higher government but it could be support from the President. Based on theory of organizational, each organization propensities and routines can be affected by the intervention of government leaders and the chief of organization can do the same things.

3. *Comparative analysis of organization.* It is branch of organizational theory which is learning about the organizational concept from the comparative perspective study and analysis, by means of written records, of the origins and relatedness of different role and function. The implementations to the case if we take from the organizational implementation and priorities can be see in

and the privilege of FSB. The priority of KGB at communist era was effort to become a major institution of Soviet government which has authority in making decision meanwhile the FSB priority actually is totally different from KGB. However the FSB has close relationship with Vladimir Putin made the FSB got the special attention from Russian government.

The three points of organizational process paradigm is tried to create the adequate explanation, analysis, and prediction from the implementation to the case. This paradigm will lead to a more precise formulation of the concepts and propositions of the organizational paradigm related from the role of KGB and FSB influence the foreign policy making.

3. National Security Concept

According to the realist, the international environment has been assumed as the dangerous system and therefore every state must choose the “national security” as the first priority. National security refers to the requirement to maintain the survival of the nation state through the use of economic, military, and political power and the

The late political scientist Hans Morgenthau, author of *Politics among Nations*, defines *national security as the integrity of the national territory and its institutions.*¹¹

Most of the literature which attempts analysis or prescription is based on the concepts of power and peace. Within this universe of debate the concept of security plays a subsidiary role. It tends to be seen either as a derivative of power, in the sense that an actor with enough power to reach a dominating position will acquire security as a result, or as a consequence of peace, in the sense that a lasting peace would provide security for all. We shall argue that the concept of security is much more powerful and useful than its current status would suggest, and that it deserves elevation to equal rank with power and peace as an approach to the problem.¹²

Russia is one of the world's largest countries, with a long history and rich of cultural traditions. Despite the complicated international situation and internal problems, Russia continues to objectively play an important role in the world process. Surely, the international security is also included as the major business for Russia in the process of maintaining the world peace keeping. However, firstly Russia government must strengthen the national security before involving on the global arena.

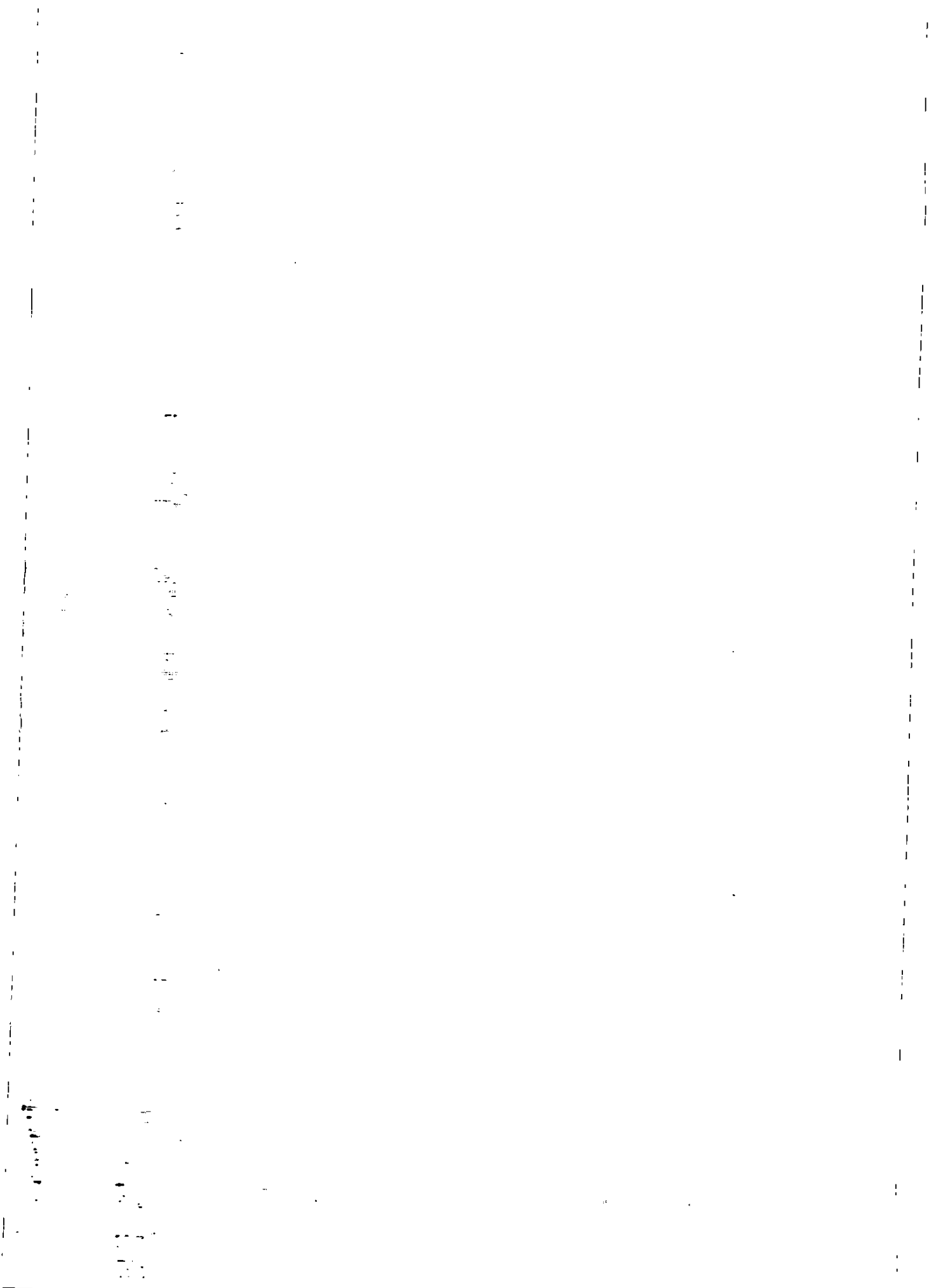
¹¹ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations, The Struggle For Power and Peace*, 6th edition, page 424

¹² *People, states, and fear. The National security problem in international relations*, by Barry Buzan, the University of North Carolina press Chapel Hill.

In the name of national security, the state will allocated the big budget to strengthen and set up the solid defense of the state. The national security in perception of the realist is the important value, especially if the stability of the state has been disturbed by some attacks from inside and outside. There are growing threats to the national security of the Russian federation in the information sphere.

There is a major threat in the striving of some countries to dominate the world information space and drive out Russia from the foreign and domestic information market. Threats to the national security of Russian federation sphere can be seen in the attempts of other states to hold back the strength of Russia as a centre of influence in the multi-polar world to prevent the implementation of its national interests and weaken its position in Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia and Asia Pacific. One more serious threat for Russia and also for the global community in the world is terrorism which has been the trans-boundaries and international crimes. The problem of terrorism, which is transnational in nature and threatens stability in the world, has grown in many countries, including the Russian Federation.

To prevent and successfully combat international crime and to balance the power in domestic Russia facing the elaboration of some countries which indicate to drive out Russia from the global information market, this role and function of KGB are needed. As the writer explains that KGB has the largest agent in the world, the existence in those countries has the purposes and mission to monitor the development of each country in the relation to keep the balance of power in the world.



On the other hand, KGB agents which spread in the world have the duty to keep on delivering the message and other secret information to the KGB headquarter related with the national interest of Russia. KGB agents have the same role as the diplomat depend on the instructions and command from the foreign affair department of Russia. Those things are conducted by the KGB in the name of Russia to ensure the world that Russia has a solid defense system to secure the national security.

Based on this concept, the national security of Russia federation (post-Soviet Union) will be strong if there is a defense body in the government structure. Here, KGB or FSB has been set up to run their function to protect the national interest and maintain the peace for the national security of Russia.

F. Hypothesis;

As the explanation and description of theory and concept above, the writer has two statements to answer the research question:

1. The chief of KGB has the strategic position in Politburo, therefore it makes the KGB easier to involve in the process of foreign policy making by their own interest meanwhile FSB has a privilege to conduct their mission without any permission from central government.
2. In general, KGB operated in the communist era and worked under the CPSU meanwhile FSB is more independent unlike KGB in the past

G. Range of research

In order to direct the research become more focus on the problem which had been determined, the writer makes limitation related to the case firstly from the new form of KGB in 1954 where Ivan Aleksandrovich Serov served as the chairmen until the dismantled of KGB in 1991 and secondly from the emerge of FSB in 1991 until Vladimir Putin as the chairman of FSB. The limitation will facilitate the writer to explore and analyze the data for keeping the research focuses on the track. The writer tries to depict what happened in the different era between communist and democracy in Russia to sustain the completeness and the clearness of information.

H. Method of research

To get some data and material which support the writer in this research, the writer will use a common method to sustain and gather the data. By collecting the data from library research, internet media, newspaper, magazines, scripts, electronic journal, and some sources related with the condition of KGB in the past and FSB at the moment, the writer combines the old sources as the KGB data in the era of Soviet Union and the new data with the real facts happening on FSB in the era of Russia today.

I. System of Writing

CHAPTER I: Chapter I contends the Introduction of this thesis. It will explain about the Problem Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Purpose and Benefit of Research, Research Method, Range of Research and System of Writing.

CHAPTER II: will explore more about the KGB. This will give profile of that security institution, the origins of the KGB, its organizational structure and modus operandi of KGB, and also its function as the National Security Committee of Soviet Union.

CHAPTER III: is talking about the influence of KGB and FSB in the process of foreign policy making at higher level of government, examine about the priority of Russian foreign policy, and compare the role of KGB and FSB by presenting the case of KGB on Soviet war in Afghanistan and the privilege of FSB.

CHAPTER IV: focuses on proofing the hypothesis, about the significant different role between KGB and FSB in some perspective and describe about the Vladimir