

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background:

**Democracy** is the system of rule by the ruled. It is derived from the Greek *δημοκρατία* (*demokratia*), which means "popular government" coined from *δῆμος* (*dēmos*), "people" and *κράτος* (*kratos*), "rule, strength".<sup>1</sup> In modern democracies, supreme authority is exercised for the most part by representatives elected by popular suffrage. The representatives may be supplanted by the electorate in accordance with the legal procedures of recall and referendum, and they are, at least in principle, responsible to the electorate. What is currently understood and most frequently is used, the rule by majority.

Even though there is no universally accepted definition of 'democracy', there are two principles that any definition of democracy is required to have. The first principle is that all members of the society are having equal access to power, and second all members to have the freedom to live their lives as they want to. If democracy is not restricted by a special system of check and balances, that rule can easily deteriorate and ceases to be a democracy and becomes something else, such as an aristocracy (government by the best) or an oligarchy (government by the few).

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<sup>1</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/democracy>

Russian Federation (*Rossiyskaya Federatsiya*) or Russia is one of the world's largest countries; it is almost twice the size of the next largest country, Canada. Russia is a state who tries to find their democracy since the Emporium of Russia until becoming Russian Federation. Russia sprawls across Eastern Europe and northern Asia. It possesses mineral resources unmatched by any other country. Some people who live in the European are a part of Russia, west of the Ural Mountains. The capital city, Moscow regained as capital status after the Russian Revolution in 1917.<sup>2</sup> Moscow is an administrative, commercial, industrial, and cultural hub in the heart of European Russia.

In 1922, Russia began as the world's first communist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union). At that time Russia was the largest and most powerful Soviet republic.<sup>3</sup> After the Soviet Union broke apart in 1991, Russia emerges as a big country with full of problems of both political and economical problems. Russia began transforming itself into a more democratic society with an economy based on market mechanisms and principles. For many Russians the transformation brought a severe decline in the standard of living, and Russia became more integrated by the global economy and got benefit from improved relations with the countries of the European Union as well as its neighbors in Asia.

In the political life, Russia was a bit influenced by western political system. They start the political democratization where articulated on the direct general

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<sup>2</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/russia>

election of president and members of parliament. In addition, the US parliamentary system is adopted by Russia through its bicameral parliament (Federal Assembly); the State Duma and the Federation Council which replace the Congress of People's Deputies.

State Duma is a constitution that gives more impact than Federation Council. It has legacy to control, advice and recommend to the Government. Beside that, this constitution has an authority in processing an impeachment to the president. Federation Council only has a legacy to review legislative in budget and financial along with the foreign policy issues which is ratifying some treaty or declaring a war.

The first president of Russia president of Russia is Boris Yeltsin. He was elected shortly a month before the breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 25 December 1991. Since 12 June 1990 he declared as an independent state. The period of Yeltsin generally showed the characteristic of transition from Soviet Union to democratic republic.<sup>4</sup> In this period the relation between authorities which was not structured well after Soviet Union collapse was increasing political conflict that could not be avoided. Bad economy was an inheritance from Soviet Union became a crucial problem. Boris Yeltsin ended his career as a president of Russia before his term finished. He declared that Putin was his choice for the next president of Russia.

Vladimir Putin the second president of Russia was born in 1952. He is a Russian politician who became the second democratically elected president of Russia in 2000. Putin was born in Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg). He joined the KGB, the secret police of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Putin graduated from law school at Leningrad in 1975.<sup>5</sup> In 1990, he worked in the KGB's foreign intelligence service and invited to Moscow to work in the administration of President Boris Yeltsin. In 1997, he was appointed as the head of the department responsible for carrying out Yeltsin's decrees.<sup>6</sup> A years later he became chief of the Federal Security Service (FSB), one of the two main organizations into which the KGB had been divided when the USSR broke up in 1991. In August 1999, Yeltsin appointed Putin to become prime minister of Russia.

In March 2000, Putin was elected to a full term and won almost 53 percent of vote. During His first term, Putin continue what Yeltsin and Gorbachev did in reforming policy by his way. Russia's economy improved dramatically, and many voters credited Putin for this development. At the second term in March 2004 he succeeded again and won 71 percent of the vote.<sup>7</sup> But The International election observer noted that the state-run media displayed a "clear bias" and Putin is denied access of the other candidate.

Putin has orchestrated several changes to the electoral system that he claims will create a strong and stable party system with fewer parties. These changes have

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<sup>5</sup> "Vladimir Putin." *Microsoft® Encarta® 2006* [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*

<sup>7</sup> "Vladimir Putin." *Microsoft® Encarta® 2006* [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2005.

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begun to result in party mergers, that small parties were joining together or joining larger parties in order to survive. The changes include giving parties the exclusive prerogative to nominate candidates, providing state funding that benefits parties that have received more votes.

At the same time, the Putin administration has moved against parties and activities which is he dislike. He was motivated at least in part by his political ambitions and his support for the democratic liberal opposition to a Party in the upcoming Duma election.

Putin seems to aim at bloking the oligarchs (leaders of the top private firms) and other entrepreneurs from gaining greater political influence through support for opposition parties and for candidates in single member district races. Since Khodorkovskiy's arrest and imprisonment, businessmen have sharply reduced their donations to opposition parties, and business groups have pledged fealty to Putin.

The president has a full power and should be advised or over viewed by the Federal Assembly (Duma, the constitution that has a legacy to impeach the

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## **B. Core Problems:**

Based on the problem in the background, hence a core problem, emerge that is:

“Why is Duma under controlled by Vladimir Putin breakdown the democracy?”

## **C. Conceptual Framework / Theory:**

### **Separation of Power**

This is a principle in dividing three constitutional authorities, namely Executive, Legislative and Judiciary. It is in line with John Locke thought “Separating Powers” and Montesquieu who said “Liberty could last only where power was distributed among different department of government”. With that principle, they divide the authority in that three constitution will be independent and give interpedently.

*The Russia federation government is composed of three branches<sup>8</sup>:*

- **Legislative:** The bicameral Federal Assembly, made up of the State Duma and the Federation Council makes federal law, declares war, approves treaties, has the power of the purse, and has power of impeachment, by which it can remove sitting members of the government.

- **Executive:** The president is the commander-in-chief of the military, can veto legislative bills before they become law, and appoints the Cabinet and other officers, who administer and enforce federal laws and policies.
- **Judiciary:** The Supreme Court, Constitutional Court, Supreme Court of Arbitration and lower federal courts, whose judges are appointed by the Federation Council on the recommendation of the president, interpret laws and can overturn laws they deem unconstitutional.

### **Checks and Balances**

This is a system which rows the interior structure in Government. It gives a mutual relation in structural government and as a tool to make the council stay on their place. It will cover one and the others from one act to the others, include the act of two legislative together.

According to the Constitution, which was adopted by national referendum on December 12, 1993 following the 1993 Russian constitutional crisis, Russia is a federation and a semi-presidential republic, wherein the President is the head of state and the Prime Minister is the head of government<sup>9</sup>. The Russian Federation is fundamentally structured as a representative democracy.

An Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the two chambers of the Federal Assembly. The

Constitution of the Russian Federation, which serves as the country's supreme legal document and as a social contract for the people of the Russian Federation but when we saw at On the Concentric Circle, Duma the other legislative in Russia, people representative is not included. The structural, can be said that Russia government system supports the authoritarianism, because ideally the legislative that is people representative is controlled by government. The pattern in structural may not make that things happen.

### **Concept of Power**

Political scientist have no agreement on the meaning of power, there is many definition of power from Political scientist. The definitions are:

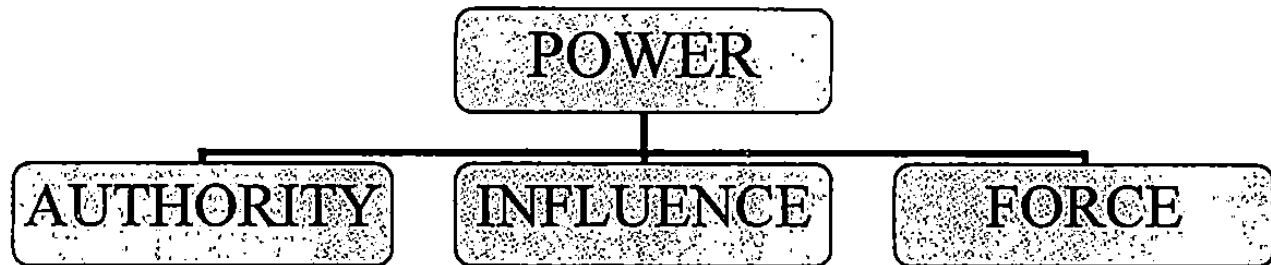
- Power is a men control over the minds and actions of other men  
(Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau).
- Power is a short of enabling device to carry out implement policies or decisions. (Michael Roskin)
- Power is the capacity to influence behavior throught the threat of coercion.  
Power depends upon the use, or threat of use, of negative or positive sanction.  
(Mark R. Amstutz).

From that definition writer took a point that definition in above that Power is a

... .. to control the others. It is a way to get



Main parts of power:<sup>10</sup>



There are three main parts in the concept of power: Force, Influence and Authority. Force is *an explicit threat or military power, economy or other ways that are used for threatening or pushing some one to get his/her political goals.*<sup>11</sup> In force there is coercion, it is a tools to show of force or the use of threat to intimidate person or group. Coercion means a man capacity to coerce the behavior of the other through the threat of sanction.

Influence is *persuasive tools (without violence) by an actor to guarantee someone acts are equal, with his/her political goals.* A person is said to have influence over another person when he can get him to do some thing he would not do the other wise and needs persuasion to convince a person that's equal with what he done.

Authority is *the capacity of a person or institution to command obedience without coercion.* The volunteer attitude from a person or institution those act equal with an order from a person who gives an order. Authority is a legitimate power, but this political power not always in close with legitimacy. Authority is not based on the

superior force of those issuing commands but derives from the popular recognition that some people and situations have the right to issue commands. If the government authority is based on voluntary acceptance of the right to rule, the degree of authority is directly proportional to the level of legitimacy (*an attitude or behavior from people that accept to the moral right of leader to govern, order, make and role the political decision*).<sup>12</sup>

Authority is power, but power not always authority. Authority in this statement is different with the part of power. A person who has power in politics can make a decision in politics. In authority the decision made always based on the source of moral (Power in position, capability, normative and popularity). The principle of moral is more than general value, it can be written law or tradition or every kind of thing that is unwritten. Moral is controlling the attitude of leader and people who accept the order. That means moral is decided who has a right to lead and who gets an order.

Source of authority<sup>13</sup>:

1. *Right from tradition*, it means a person needs a blue blood to lead. If he/she is not from the king or sultan or the past leader generation he/she cannot be a leader.
2. *Right from god*, this right to lead is got from god through a choice by a sakral way. For example the Emperor Hirohito from Japan (and his replacement), people in Japan believe that he is the son of Sun (God).

3. *Right from charisma*, this is a special leader. Not every people have a charisma in to become a lead. A leader who has charisma has self Quality to enchantment to every people who saw him/her. His physical posture and performance give him popularity.
4. *Right from people by rule*. It choice by procedure and requirement.
5. *Right from skill and rich*. The Skill means how to govern that is measuring on his science and knowledge of technology. The Rich is mean he/she use his/her money, land or wealthy to lead and become a leader.

The concept of power is use full to show the way of Putin in lead the Russia, Putin is a man who has Power to control, authority to lead and legitimacy from people in Russia. He use his charisma and skill to influence his group and force his opposite who threat his place and who want to brake the system that made by him and his group.

Putin has orchestrated several changes to the electoral system that he claims will create a strong and stable party system with fewer parties. These changes have begun to result in party mergers, with small parties joining together or joining larger parties in order to survive.

He controls every importance place that becomes a main place of politic. He manipulates the information in media to increase his popularity and block his opposite who want to fill on his govern, he several changes to the electoral system to

movement and NGO which is threat his politic. Putin and his group purpose are to sit on his governance and stay on his place as a leader. This will discuss more intent and give much evidence that show on chapter III.

### **Superpresidentialism**

One of the most salient and consequential features of the Russian political system is superpresidentialism. It is a constitutional order that provides for an extraordinarily strong president and relatively weak legislature. In a superpresidentialism system, the president enjoys the power to legislative by decree, to determine the composition of government, and to shield the executive branch from parliamentary scrutiny.

The president also lords over a sprawling, multilayered, and multifaceted bureaucratic apparatus that is far larger than analogous structures in western democracies. Many Russians believe that a strong presidency furnished the firmest institutional basis for concentrating power and promoting governmental decisiveness and effectiveness.

Same as like presidentialism or parliamentarism, superpresidentialism is a form democracy.<sup>14</sup> Superpresidentialism regimes provide for regular, open elections as well as for associational right and civic freedoms, including the right to criticize the president and to organized opposition parties.

Superpresidentialism lodges most of power of control and expenditure of state resources in the executive branch and provides for little or no oversight of the executive by legislature. It will give much opportunity to Putin to have a full authority in do his politics in role the official government.

**D. Hypothesis:**

Duma is under controlled by Putin that breakdown the democracy because:

1. Putin has a strong political power that can manipulate media, election and political movement. He infiltrates duma and some other political institution by his men.
2. Superpresidentialism in Russian government make the checks and balances mechanism between executive and legislative of governments in Russia are ineffective, so that the president that cannot be controlled by Duma.

**E. Scope of research:**

In this research, the writer will make time limitation related to the cases from the era of Russia Empire up to Putin government. The time limitation will facilitate the writer to explore and analyze the data, thus keeping the research focuses on the

From Russia Empire is to depict the beginning

of Russia, and why until Putin era Russia still finding their democracy, thus showing political decision and ideology to reach their democracy.

After all, it does not cover the possibility; the writer will enroll another data beyond the time and explain other phenomenon that has strong relation with this case. It is strongly recommended to sustain the completeness and the clearness of information.

**F. Method of research:**

This research is using a technical collective data from some document study that done it by gathering the secondary data. The information from every literature relevance with the problem of the research that considered by:

1. The technical collective data on this research are using qualitative data which is based on literature research and use a relevance literature, such as from book, magazine, journal, news and internet.
2. The characteristic of the research purpose is giving an explanation to answer the question "Why" that formed as collective evidence from qualitative data.
3. The writer tries to elaborate with the real facts happening in the world today, thus implementing the theory related to the case and the hypothesis

## **H. System of Writing**

**Chapter I** is the formulation of background of main problem and idea of framework and also proffering of main problem, hypothesis and theoretical framework which is related to problems background. This chapter also mentions writing purpose of this thesis, technique of collecting the data, scope of research and System of writing of this thesis.

**Chapter II**, in the first of this chapter author will explain about Russia Empire is to depict the beginning of Russia Empire to become Federation of Russia. In the further will explain about the history of Russia, Revolution, Russian Federation and the system of government.

**Chapter III**, first part of this chapter will explain about Putin Powers, Putin figure and how Putin role Russia. The second, author will explain about democracy in Russia and Trends in democratization. This part will give some evidence and discuss about the Election, Media Influence and Civil Society in arguing Russian democracy, Political Party, Public chamber and Public Opinion.

**Chapter V** as the last chapter in this thesis and also as the closing of the thesis. This chapter will mention conclusions from the explanation in chapter I, II, III,