

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter is going to explain about essential things in regard of this undergraduate thesis. It explains briefly about background of the problem which causes the appearance of the problem. Then, the writer will explore about the theories which are used to answer the research question and finally get the hypothesis. This chapter will also explain about the purposes and benefits of research, research method, research area, and organization of writing.

### **A. Background of the Problem**

Russia has gone through a long journey to be in the democracy system. Difficulties to implement the "New Russia" is seen clearly the authoritarian nature still haunt the current Russian government. Long history of authoritarian system that Russia had in the past is one reason why Russia still needs to learn more deeply to implement an actual system of democracy.

The evolution in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century that brought the collapse of the Soviet Union and communism reactionary of coup, which aimed at crushing the Soviet democratic movement and the restoring traditional communism power. Democracy in Russia was formed when president of Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev announced resignation on December 25, 1991. Boris Yeltsin was the vital figure in both provoking and defeating the coup and succeeded led the

revolutionary transformation that followed it. Yet without Mikhail Gorbachev's reform, Yeltsin could not have opportunity to hold the victory of Russian democracy.<sup>1</sup>

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin selected as the first president of the new Russia. Russian Federation is a country the largest fraction of the Soviet Union with an area of 17,075,000 km<sup>2</sup>. On 12 December 1993 approved a constitutional federation of Russia declared as: "constitutional state in the form of a federation with a presidential system of government." The Constitution emphasizes the principle of separation of powers judicial, executive and legislative branches.<sup>2</sup>

The transition from communism to democracy is a difficult time for Yeltsin to bring Russia rising from destruction by the Soviet Union. Economic collapse became a major issue of Russian-owned at the time. The image of Russia in the western media during the Yeltsin era was often one severe economic, social and political disorder, including the high number of unemployment and poverty, massive corruption in privatization of the economic holdings of the socialist state and extensive corruption of government official.<sup>3</sup>

Yeltsin end of his administration before the second period ended with the announcement of his resignation on December 31, 1999. He appointed Vladimir Putin who was the Prime Mminister, to be announced as acting President and became the next leader of Russia. Here we see that the Democratic system in Russia, both of the State Duma elections and presidential elections as had been

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<sup>1</sup> Ellison, Herbert J, 2006, *Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Democratic Transformation*. University of Washington press, United state of America.p.13

<sup>2</sup> Fahrurodji.A, 2005, *Rusia Baru Menuju Demokrasi –pengantar sejarah dan latar belakang budayanya-*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta. p. 193-194

<sup>3</sup> Ellison, *Op.Cit* p.5

prepared carefully to support succession.

The Emergence of Putin as a candidate president surprised many people. Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin was virtually unknown, both in Russia and abroad, but he became very popular after Yeltsin believed Putin as the "crown prince" for the next Russian leader to beat some well-known names such as Stepashin, a former foreign minister and prime minister, or charisma Yursi Moscow mayor Luzhkov.<sup>4</sup>

Vladimir Putin was born in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) on October 7, 1952. After he graduated from Leningrad State University law faculty in 1975, he applied to the KGB (the *Komited Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti*-Committee for State Security) and successfully come in to KGB. Where later he continued his studies and won a PhD for economics. Putin is a former KGB secret service and the highest leadership summit held intelligence organization before he eventually held important positions in the Kremlin such as Security Council secretary and the Prime Minister of Russia replaced Sergei Stepashin. But the other case the public already knows the various achievements such as the eradication of Chechen separatist movement. At the time in 1991 Yeltsin astonished everyone by resigning his administration and making Putin Russia's acting president.<sup>5</sup>

In his administration, he was confronted with a staggering occur of heavy problem. That time Russia is in the midst of one of the moist difficult period in its history. The country's economy was in shambles, its political system was in chaos,

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<sup>4</sup> Fahrurdji. *Op.Cit* p.202-204

<sup>5</sup> Herspring, Dale Roy. 2007. *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, future uncertain*. Rowman & Littlefield. p.3

and its social and moral structure was in an advanced state of decay.<sup>6</sup> After the Soviet Union ended the life of Russian economic hit to the grassroots level, at the time of the first president, Yeltsin has prepared economic structure geared toward the free market. But the movement of the economy looks still very slow because of the weight problems faced not only economic, political also makes Russia needs time to the changes. Putin succeeded in bring Russia up from adversity of economic problems. In fact from the Putin's reform in economic fields, the finance performance of Russia raised from 1999 the balance of total revenue and total expenditure -3.2% and in 2000 under Putin's administration the balance increase up to 3.3%.<sup>7</sup> In the first period of 2000-2004 on March 26, 2000 Putin stood for election and won over 52% of vote. Putin had been successfully overcome existing problems in first administration and eventually Putin re-election on March 23, 2004 with pocketing more than 71.31 percent of the vote.<sup>8</sup>

However, success in overcoming the major problems Putin in Russia is not comparable with the movement of freedom of the press. As we know, indicators of the democracy country are freedom in the electoral system, political liberties and civil liberties. Freedom of press is sub point of civil liberties that it's becomes right of people. Right now, we can see democracy in Russia is visible from the general election of the president. However, there are still many deficiencies that occur in running the system democracy one of them is freedom of the press. As reported by the Organization advocates press freedom, Reporters Without Borders

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<sup>6</sup> Herspring. *Op.Cit* p.1

<sup>7</sup> RF Ministry of Finance: *World Bank, Russian Economic Report* (March 2003): EIU, Russia: Country profile (London, 2002)

<sup>8</sup> Fahrurudji.*Op.Cit*.p.208

(RSF- *Reporters sans frontières*), re-released the list of 40 worst press freedom predators, Monday, May 3, 2010. A total of 17 presidents and several heads of government in the list, including Vladimir Putin is one of the feared leaders in the freedom of press.

Violence to the journalists, reporter and several workers related to mass media in Russia also exist, such as in the murder of reporter Anna Politkovskaya. The controlling of television, radio and blocking of some websites is also made to restrict the freedom of information, in this case 70% of the Russian population get information from television where everything was controlled by the government.<sup>9</sup>

After 22 years of democracy, the freedom of press is far from satisfactory here the writer will focus on freedom of the press during the reign of Vladimir Putin during the first and second periods.

## **B. Purposes of Writing**

The generally purpose of writing namely;

1. As the requirement to achieve bachelor in International Relation
2. Describing the situation of Democracy in Russia under Vladimir Putin administration in 2000-2008.
3. The writer attempts to see the ability of Russia implement the democracy system.

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<sup>9</sup> Renne R.A Kawilarang, H. F. (2010, Mei Monday). *Inilah nama nama yang mengerikan bagi press*. Retrieved October 1, 2012, from [http://dunia.news.viva.co.id/news/read/148378-inilah\\_nama\\_nama\\_yang\\_mengerikan\\_bagi\\_pers](http://dunia.news.viva.co.id/news/read/148378-inilah_nama_nama_yang_mengerikan_bagi_pers)

4. To measure the effectiveness of democracy in Russia toward the freedom of press in Russia under Vladimir Putin's administration.
5. Looking the responses of Russian people and international awareness toward the freedom of press in Russia under Vladimir Putin administration.

### **C. Research Question**

From the background part of this paper, the writer likely to stand the research question on; "How did Putin's administration implement the freedom of press in 2000-2008?"

### **D. Theoretical Framework**

In order to analyze this case, the writer uses two theoretical frameworks as followed:

#### **1. Leadership Theory**

According to Bernard M. Bass, leadership can be design as an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and the perceptions and expectation of member. Leadership has always been a desirable model and major contributor to progress in many cultures. However, it must be pointed out that not everyone has the characteristic necessary to become an effective leader. Effective leaders utilize good decision-making skill, articulate the needs of their organization effectively, and communicate

clearly.<sup>10</sup>

There are three styles of leadership that should be applied, among other things:

*a) Authoritarian Leadership Style*

Authoritarian leadership style is a leadership style that focuses every decision and measures taken of him in full, all division of tasks and responsibilities held by the leader authoritarian, while the subordinates only carry out tasks given. This leadership is using the power approach in reaching decisions and development structure. So the leader has a very dominant power.

*b) Democratic Leadership Style*

Democratic leadership style is a leadership style gives authority to his subordinates widely. Every problem always involves subordinates as a team intact. In a democratic leadership style provides many information about the duties and responsibilities of subordinates. This style is characterized by the development of a structure using a cooperative approach to decision making. Under the democratic leadership, it is inclined to high moral cooperation, giving priority to the quality of work and can drive themselves itself.

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<sup>10</sup> Waite R. Mitchell.2008. Five Service Leadership:Theories and Practices. Jones & Bartlett learning. p.1-2

### c) *Free Leadership Styles / Laissez Faire*

Leaders give full power to subordinates, the structure government leaders are loose and passive. To implement a democratic country, it definitely also need a leader who has a democracy style.

From some explanations of leadership styles can be concluded Putin has combined the style from democracy and authoritarian. It cannot make Russia despite from the shadow of the authoritarian days of the Soviet Union. Putin made Russia be more democratic, especially in the economic field. But he always bewares made on any action in carrying out the task making Russia still restricted to be a true democracy. Economy proved to be more democratic but the freedom of the press do not much change compare the past.

## **2. Democracy Theory**

Democracy has various terms those exist in this world. There called constitutional democracy, parliamentary democracy, guided democracy, democracy, people's democracy, soviet democracy, national democracy, *Pancasila* and so on. All these concepts are using the term according to the origin of the word democracy means that the people power or government by the people. Word democracy comes from the Greek word *demos* meaning people and *kratos* meaning power.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Budiardjo, Miriam, 2007. *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.p.105



According to James Madison, democracy theory is an effort to bring off a compromise between the power of majorities and the power of minorities, between the political equality of all adult citizens on the one side, and the desire to limit their sovereignty on the other. As a political system the compromise, except for one important interlude, has proved to be durable.<sup>12</sup> Instead, democracy is better thought of as a means of managing power relations so as to minimize domination.<sup>13</sup>

Another opinion from Diamond, Linz and Lipset thought that was inspired Dahl defines democracy. According to them democracy system in a government will be satisfied with three fundamental requirements. First is competition, this fundamental to genuine and widespread among individual organization and groups to take government positions at a regular term and do not involve to use force power. Second point is political participation, involve as many citizen in election of leader or policies with regular and fair election. The last fundamental is civil and political freedom, this point consist of freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom to establish and join the organization, which is quite ensure the integrity of competition and political participation.<sup>14</sup>

Freedom of the press also reinforced by Diamond's responses toward the Huntington's opinion about democracy itself. According to empirical and pragmatic view of Huntington, democratic system of collective

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<sup>12</sup> Dahl, Robert A. 2006, *A Preface to Democratic Theory, Expanded Edition*. University of Chicago Press. p.4

<sup>13</sup> Shapiro, Ian. 2005. *The State of Democratic theory*. Princeton University Press.p.3

<sup>14</sup> Mas'Oed Mohtar. 1994. *Negara, Kapital Dan Demokrasi*. Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar..

decision-makers are the most powerful in the system was chosen through fair, honest and periodic elections, and in that system the candidates freely compete for votes and nearly all of the adult population eligible to vote. And the empirically view is enhanced by the Diamond to distinguish between electoral democracy and liberal democracy. According to Diamond the opinion expressed by Huntington as democratic elections, a minimal concept of democracy and diamond adds a minimalist conception of democracy as a system that recognizes the minimum requirement of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and freedom of assembly in the order in which there is competition and participation significantly.<sup>15</sup>

A State can be said to be a democratic country with the following requirements:

- a) The means of coercive measures to force neutralized.
- b) The country has a vibrant pluralistic society and modern.
- c) The power of government is not only focused on the head Countries, so the vice president or the prime minister remains have power.
- d) The existence of the general election (election) is honest and fair.
- e) The country is culturally homogeneous, or heterogeneous, not is divided into several sub-culture of strong and different or if it is divided like that, its leaders must succeed to manage conflicts sub-culture.

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<sup>15</sup> Nurcahya Tandang, 2005. *Agenda Pemerintahan Pasca PilPres*, Vol.1.No.1. Mei 2005. Wacana Indonesia: Jurnal pemikiran mahasiswa pascasarjana se-Indonesia, Yayasan Obor Indonesia

- f) The country has a political culture and beliefs, especially among political activists, who support institutional democracy.
- g) The does not undergo the intervention of the State outside hostile to democracy.<sup>16</sup>

To implement democratic values have held several points as follows:

- a) Responsible government.
- b) A representative parliament factions and interests within society and it is elected by free and confidential, and on the basis of at least two candidates for each seat fatherly. Dean Representatives held a supervision (control), enabling a constructive opposition and allow assessment of the continuous government policy.
- c) A political organization that includes one or more political parties (bi-party system, multi-party). The parties held a continuous relationship between the general public and its leaders.
- d) The press and mass media are free to express their opinions.
- e) Independent judicial system to guarantee human rights and defend justice.<sup>17</sup>

Russian ability to run a democracy becomes difficult with a long authoritarian background. When democracy becomes the life's guide of Russia, civil liberties have liberated the press is still restricted. The press is controlled by the powerful that has violated the rules of democracy. Besides,

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<sup>16</sup> Robert A Dahl, 1992. *Demokrasi Dan Para Pengkritiknya*, Jakarta, Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

<sup>17</sup> Budiardjo. *Op.Cit* p.120

violence still occurs to some journalists in Russia. This theory will be paramount to the development of democracy in Russian press.

#### **E. Hypothesis**

The implementation of democracy toward freedom of the press during the 2000-2008 administration of Vladimir Putin in Russia is unsuccessful. Life of the press was more noticeable as the days of authoritarian press which is very far from the nature of democracy that gives freedom in spreading information that is not much different as in Soviet times. All sorts of information that comes out is fully controlled by the government, besides the violence to journalists showed democracy in Russia is not followed by the progress of freedom of the press.

#### **F. Method of Writing**

A method of writing in this thesis is using the qualitative method. However, in this writing, the writer uses several ways to collect the data in order to discuss the problem, there are as follows:

1. Media research, collecting the data from media likes the internet websites in order to find references and sources to accomplish the explanation of the problem.
2. Library research, this method is used to study the relevant sources in order to discuss the problem (secondary data).
3. Data analysis, the data gained from the internet and the library (books), were checked for the relevancy in order to be used as the sources in the final paper arrangement.

4. Proving hypothesis, derived from the meaning of the title, the discussion of the problem, and the data analysis.

#### **G. The Research Area**

To make the discussion is not too wide and not out of topic to be discussed, the writer tries to impose limits on preparation of this thesis. The writer will discuss only along democracy's development of Russia under Vladimir Putin's administration on freedom of the press in the first and second administration, from 2000 to 2008. However, it is possible the writer will discuss some of the few events of Putin's actions or the previous administration that affect democratic development toward the freedom of the press.

#### **H. Organization of writing**

In this writing, the writer shared the topics into chapters where it involved each other as a united structural topic.

Chapter One: This chapter will be an introduction chapter of the problem. The requirements are the problem background, purpose of writing, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methods of writing, the research area and also the organization of writing.

Chapter Two: The second chapter will be explained the general profile of Vladimir Putin.

Chapter Three: The third chapter will explain about the general description of democracy in Russia. Including the reforming and the challenge and achievement in Putin era 2000-2008.

Chapter Four: In this chapter will discuss the situation of freedom of press. Include the interfere government in media mass, violation to journalist, and the reason Putin did controlling in media mass.

Chapter Five: The fifth chapter or the final chapter of this thesis would be explaining about the result of the data. The answer will be explained for this chapter.