

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **A. Reason For Selecting Topic**

This thesis interpreted the Russian Foreign Policy under president Vladimir Putin. The collapse of Soviet Union confronts Russia on the agenda changes are layered. Russia must adjust the political system, the economic system and search for a new orientation role in the international arena. In the context of foreign policy, Russia is required to create a foreign policy that supports political and economical changes in the country and adapt to changes in the international environment. Leaders substitution also affect the change of direction and strategy of Russia's foreign policy.

As Russia's first president after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Boris Yeltsin sought to realize "New Revolution of Russia", and tried to bring Russia on a new era that was different from the previous era. Yeltsin also trying to expand this influence in the countries of the former Soviet Union and is open to cooperate with other countries for the progress of the Russian economy. Under Yeltsin's leadership, Russia tried to establish a close relationship with western countries for example with Russia joining the World Trade Organization or WTO dominated by western countries. Through the "new revolution of Russia", Russian suddenly entered a new era that was too much different from the previous era, although Yeltsin showed several times to confirm the power of authoritarian attitude as greater latitude in when the communist era.

In May 2000, Vladimir Putin replaced Boris Yeltsin as president of Russia. In essence Vladimir Putin inherited traces of the leader of its predecessor, Boris Yeltsin continuing reforms and the free market. But Putin has the attitude and the different ways of implementing it, he is reviewing the causes deterioration of the country, one of which is the development of oligarchs in Russia. The main focus of Putin is cracking down on the oligarchs and eradicating sometimes undemocratic way was doing.

Vladimir Putin revise the concept of Boris Yeltsin's foreign policy ever enacted in 1993. The new concept was passed on June 28, 2000 further confirms Putin's vision, mission and strategy of political and foreign policy of the Russian Federation. This concept also served as guidelines for the formulation of foreign policy and Russia's actions in a world system which had undergone changes that ultimately Putin firmly decided to move away from the west. Russian foreign policy differences althraeted authors to discuss during the reign of era Yeltsin and Putin talked about his approach and moved away from the west. The theme entitled " Russian Foreign Policy Toward Western Europe Comparative Studies Between Boris Yeltsin And Vladimir Putin".

## **B. Research Background**

The Russian Federation is a country with spanned extensive in the north eastern Europe and Asia. With an area of 17.0752 million km<sup>2</sup>, Russia is the largest country in the world. Area around twice area Republic of China, Canada or

United States. Populated seventh rank in the world after China, India, USA, Indonesia, Brazil and Pakistan.

The country had been once the largest state of the Soviet Union. Russia is the "main heir Soviet Union" because this country inherited 50% of the population, 2/3 area, and approximately 50% of the assets of its economic assets and weaponry. Russia is currently trying hard to achieve status as a superpower again. Although Russia is an important country, its status is still far compared with the status of the Soviet Union first.

Foreign policy is a strategy or plan of action developed by the state decision makers in the face of another state or other international political unit, and controlled to achieve specific national objectives as outlined in the terminology of national interest. Foreign policy run by the government of a state is aimed to achieve the national interests of the community which is ordered despite national interests of nation at that time determined by who in power at that time. According to Rosenau, the definition of foreign policy is the effort of a country through the overall attitudes and activities to cope with and benefit from the external environment. Foreign policy he says is intended to maintain and sustain the viability of the State.

Future government Boris Yeltsin, another reason why Yeltsin is regarded as the main figure is a decision that cannot be predicted. Unexpected actions clearly already has potential to change the scenario. This raises doubts that replacement will have the same strength and potential. Meanwhile, economical

reform towards market orientation has achieved progress, and will probably continue without Yeltsin (Gustafson, 1993).

Russia between the years of 1991-1998 has taught an important lesson about how changes in the economy can be run even if there is viable political opposition which is very great. Throughout that year, Yeltsin insert some economic reformer to the rule (Maxim boyco, 1994).

At the beginning, the reformists are facing a number of strong opponents not only from outside but also from inside the governing body. In the beginning, they face resistance from traditional industrial and agricultural interests that have not been reached when the Soviet economy was divided. Furthermore, from the strong banks and energy companies, an institution that is very favorable for reform today. They maintain the status quo against further changes. In addition, the Russian Parliament has also been hostile to market reforms since the first application.

Foreign policy orientation in the span of seven years between November 1991 and August 1998, Russia tried to execute and implement long term economic reform. Their goal is simple: to replace a company built on state ownership, central planning, and administrative control based on individual ownership, coordination of markets and voluntary exchange. In general, reforms are introduced all year long that can be considered very successful. The young reformers such as Yegor Gaidar, Anatoli Chubais and Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of which are pro market intentionally directing foreign policy of Russia

to the Western World and all its institutions for the success of economic reforms over. Given after the resignation of Gorbachev in the late 1990s, Russia experienced a decline in all fields, especially the political, economic, and military (Treismen, 2001).

In 1992 and 1993 the government can be describe as a period of Yeltsin Gaidar Khasbulatov. This time where government authority is located on the initiative of Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar that implements the first wave of neo liberal reforms. Then in 1994 to 1998 can be characterized as a period of Chernomyrdin and Zyuganov. If Victor Chernomyrdin is a holder of governmental authority as prime minister, then Gennady Zyuganov in control of the opposition. Russia's foreign policy reflects the Yeltsin era national interests that are not always confined to the obvious. Russia seeks to balance his position with the West by performing various kinds of cooperation with a view to addressing instabilities in the border regions of Russia.

In keeping with that Russia is also trying to establish relations with the countries of East Asia, which grew rapidly progress. Yeltsin and the young reformers Russia took the initiative to formulate strategy by orienting to the west. Yeltsin himself tried to embrace the United States, the former Soviet Union an enemy in the Cold War to run its Western style democracy.

In foreign policy, the change of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin headed PM Yefgeny Primakov indicate a change towards a new approach emphasizing the role of Russia as a great power that is sovereign in an anarchic,

build international system of its own in which is the state power more valuable than the institutions and norms of international, start from prime minister Primakov. The shaper Russian diplomats and decision makers have stressed again that Russia should have an independent foreign policy, more than just orienting to the West and supplying natural resources to the world market.

Lilia Shevtsova, a researcher at *The Carnegie Endowment For International Peace*, said that the value of the democratic heritage of the Yeltsin era have been questioned and hesitated its essence, because Yeltsin not to develop a democratic state but selective monarchy and capitalism clan. Yeltsin also has failed to develop the role of the opposition. Errors due to the Russian economy standing tax revenue plummeted. Yeltsin policy spawn conflict between reformers with communist made investor getting fear to enter. Russia has borrowed too much and start living deficits, and the need to borrow more and more. Then there is the insistence that Yeltsin retreat (Saragih, 2008).

At the end of the term his office Yeltsin realized that the orientation of Western foreign policy is not in accordance with the Russian natural because it was too much misleading and drown Russia (Fahrurudji, 2005).

Therefore, the wheel of government more controlled and run by Prime Minister Primakov. West has been cause of poor Russia. Anne Williamson argues that there are two errors that lead to the destruction of Russia. First error is the perception of the West that President Boris Yeltsin was seen as a figure to democracy in Russia. The second error is the option to economists, the architect of economic reforms. A Russian economist Larisa Piasheva lovers of market

economy including those designated to draw up strategies for reform. He was appointed by Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov to design the privatization of the assets of Moscow. This program craved acceleration market system.

Mastery Against Oligarchy The Source of Wealth Economic and destruction of Russian economy. Since Yeltsin to power, the entrepreneur in Russia as getting fresh air in running the business. This is thank to the market economy system that Yeltsin proclaim that make competition more open. Though Russia was still in a state of sharp economic decline after the collapse of the communist regime (Saragih, 2008).

Added with the opening of intensive economic cooperation with the western world are increasingly making local entrepreneurs are stimulated to expand his company as well as the pursuit of profit as much as possible to take advantage of the opportunities available. Then to support the achievement of the market economy system, draft privatization program of state owned companies. The fact that eventually lead to the entrepreneurs who get rich quick, and called oligarchs.

The rise of the oligarchs has made a lot of debate in government bodies and the general public, especially the lower classes. State enterprises that meet the needs of the Russian people living oligarchy controlled in order to achieve personal gain, colleagues and family. In fact, wealth of the oligarchs widely kept in foreign banks. As a result, many people fall into poverty, unemployment occurs everywhere, the inflation rate more increased from day to day, state debt accumulate, the state treasury is empty so it was unable to finance various

development projects of community infrastructure or hire employees and employees (Saragih, 2008 ).

The climax was the birth of the 1993 economic crisis which destabilized the country's economic foundations and dropping Yeltsin's reputation and reduce support for it in Parliament. No wonder if the oligarchs many blamed and condemned by society because of his behavior was increasingly detrimental to the state and misery to the people of Russia.

Many of the oligarchs plunged into politics and intervenes the various measures taken by the government. Thus making stability of the national economy more disturbed and erratic. Often, conflict of interest between them as a result of the way they are excessive in interfere affairs the state to achieve their respective goals. Slowly but surely, the oligarchs has robbed the state and drained the wealth of the country designated society.

A situation which is very ironic, Russia with various natural resources have and predicate as the owner of natural gas reserves in the world, the owner of the largest coal reserves second in the world as well as owners of oil reserves eighth largest in the world, but instead slumped into bankrupt economy crucial and tragic. Perhaps this is desired by the West (read US) in order to weaken Russia's position and influence in international forums.

Kremlin, a symbol of Russian power, was supposed to be the center of all actions and dirty practices of the oligarchy in the Yeltsin era. Kremlin seemed to be a breeding ground for development of family system and favoritism style

Yeltsin who likes to put people close to the strategic positions in the government. No exception advisors, economists and reformers like Yegor Gaidar, Anatoly Chubais and Tatyana Dyachenko, Yeltsin's daughter alone. They are the initiators of the market economy and liberalism are detrimental to the Russian people but profitable for the oligarchs. Market economic system imposed intentionally accelerated under the pretext that they were worried about possible changes in the attitudes of the citizens of Russia on economic reform and market economy (Saragih, 2008).

Instead of foreign investors, the oligarchs would not want to immediately repatriating capital into the country. With this situation not to be surprised if it is mentioning that the Russian economic crisis is referred to as systemic. Finally in December 1998, Russia declared no longer able to pay debts maturity of approximately 360 million dollars to the London Club. The same thing repeated on 21 April 1999, when Russia default on its debt of 1.3 billion dollars from the legacy of the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov (served September 1998 to May 1999) was able to fix the crisis that culminated in his tenure. The Russian economy has been in a state of despaired. The recovery is very difficult and requires action bitter.

A state that could destabilize the country's economy, Russia needs a new economic leader that has a lot of experience and are able to plan with solid economic transition. Yeltsin tried to replace officials incompetent in the field in ordered to overcome the economic crisis that is getting worse. Nikolai Aksenenko, a former railroad executive of Russia and close relatives Yeltsin

family then asked to become the First Deputy Prime Minister Sergei Stepashin to assist incumbent replace Primakov as prime minister.

But the appointment was not able to resolve the problems facing Russia, even more to make the image of the Kremlin as a symbol of Russian power fade due to be met by officials are only concerned with the nearest Yeltsin personal interests and some groups only. To overcome the economic chaos of Russia, Yeltsin requires a strong and solid team with experience on an adequate market economy and have a strong commitment to the implementation of pro market policies, but it was not met when Yeltsin was in office, because the selection is based on the official kinship system and close relationship.

Not surprisingly, the economic crisis did not let up, even deadlocked in the solution. The Kremlin has been filled with state officials who have the full support of the oligarchs, so they are happy to pave the requests and suggestions of the business group. As a result, the interests of certain groups higher priority and attention than the public interest.

For example, when the Prime Minister Primakov in power had happened reduction in tax rates for certain industries due to the proposed oligarchy. Glow favoritism system actually takes place during the transition to a market economy is going. Many are also of the program and agenda of government financed by the oligarchy. Not only that, most oligarchs have occupied strategic posts in the Kremlin. Corruption was inevitable worse yet, the Central Bank of Russia has also become part of the corruption and manipulation. On the one hand, the crime rate

has also increased sharply due to unemployment and poverty are rampant as well as as the form of the public outcry over the depravity of the performance of Yeltsin and his cronies.

The above situation makes state revenues continue to decline drastically. Many of assets and the main income countries have fallen into the oligarchy, so it only makes their pockets alone, and not a trace of dripping to the Russian people. The economic crisis had reached its peak, while foreign investors began to fear and unplugging investment tumbled out after experiencing the reality of concern. The economic devastation caused by the act of the officials intelligent.

Distorting functions of state institutions. Many oligarchs are entrenched in government has made the Russian political system becomes confused. The business people are more concerned to reap the maximum benefit in order to pursue personal interests and disregard the political strength and stability of Russia's security. They assume that country is in a safe state while the West continues to help and support them. Yet this is guile them to preserve their privileged position in the Kremlin. It is a boomerang for Yeltsin who at first did not think would happen that the economic crisis has made Russia lost its influence in the international arena.

The Reign of Vladimir Putin (2000-2008).

Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin was born in Leningrad, now renamed Saint Petersburg by Anatoly Sobchak, on 7 October 1952. He has served as the second president of the Russian Federation formally after winning the general elections

on March 26, 2000. The victory of Putin to the presidency does not come just like that but through a career that is built from the bottom. Leningrad University law graduate, started his career as Deputy Mayor of Leningrad in 1994, then in 1996 he went to Moscow for a career there to be a mayor (Fahrurudji, 2005).

In this, Putin like a meteor career began. He called the Kremlin to start the work in the government, and then also became a member of Yeltsin's inner circle, known as a family. Deputy Prime Minister Anatoli Chubais was giving recommendations to Putin for this position. He served as a staff member governments alone at first. Later he became head of the Federal Security Service (FSB) in July 1998, previously served as Head of the Control Department. From here he was promoted to prime minister because it shows a good impression and the cooperative for the inner circle of Yeltsin and the oligarchs.

However they are not see the suspicions and sentiments which means inside Putin. Because Putin is very clever and astute in storing sense of antagonism toward "family" Yeltsin as well as its mission and vision are shrouded to arouse the glory of Russia. Putin previously served as Secretary of the Security Council in March 1999, and officially became Prime Minister in August 1999. At that time the environment Kremlin was looking figure and also the replacement candidate PM Yeltsin. And finally Putin served as acting president in December 1999 before it officially became the President of the Russian Federation.

After got a law degree, Putin did not have time to choose a profession as legal practitioners, because it directly into the KGB, one of the intelligence

agencies of the world's most respected class in the US FBI. Experience working in the KGB then a provision for Putin to reach to the top of Russian power. He was the second president of Russia after Boris Yeltsin, which officially began on May 7, 2000. When compared with the previous rulers of the Kremlin, Putin age when it began serving as president of the still relatively young, that is 47 years. Became president at a young age is an achievement for Putin, given Russia's presidency had always occupied by seniors who are relatively old age.

Russia has now become a relatively different countries, where civilians have started to speak. Putin added that if Russia could appreciate the valuable elements of civil society that has been achieved today, the existence of civil society is slowly will create a condition, in which the security agencies are scary it will never reappear. The elements in question is democracy, the rule of rules and behavior that concerned with the public interest rather than any particular individual or group.

When Putin became president, economics has changed the scene of a criminal practice. For example, he saw the transfer of state assets to the private sector in ways that devious and unethical. He was very eager to restore a strong state role. He wants to realign the crooked path that already had been induced oligarchy. Therefore, this group is the target of the first act of Putin, though he said he will not restore Russia to the totalitarian path as in the previous period.

Putting in the time came to power, he remained humble and reluctant to appear in public. He is far from authoritative appearance. Putin also has a facial

expression like the masked man who rarely smiled and spoke in a soft tone. Over the years, he had a reputation as the invisible man, a powerful man behind the scenes. After being elected in the election in March 2000, he then consolidate power vertically. In May 2000, as president, Putin issued a decree that made the 89 regions into districts, which are supervised by the trust Putin himself in order to strengthen the position of the central government at that time.

Putin is known as a figure and a strong spirit of nationalism rooted in his chest. Therefore, in July 2000, Putin proposed to parliament that the rights stripped local governments with the aim of strengthening the authority of the central government. This was followed in 2004, when he changed the electoral system of local government. Previously, Yeltsin gave more authority to local governments through legislation that allows the people can elect the president directly. In December 2000, with the spirit of nationalism blazing, he had time to change the national anthem of Russia to the Soviet era with a slight modification of the sentence in that song.

The sake of lifted his reputation in the eyes of officials and the Russian people, Putin also tactically to protect its predecessors, Gorbachev and Yeltsin. On February 12, 2001, Putin signed a law that guarantees legal immunity of former president and his family. This makes Putin silenced by previous presidents. Almost no criticism for Putin of two presidents in the previous era. In addition, Putin was dubbed as the mysterious, little talking but assertive. However, he is the one who also goes by the mindset of a sharp, intelligent, careful and calculating.

Although Putin characterized as loud and mysterious, she is seen as a liberal and reformist. Putin also idolized by the young, residents of Moscow and intellectuals. He is also known as the head of an organization that is wise and astute in giving doctrine that moves the masses. Gradually getting Putin shows his personal color. In December 2000, his writings on internet is seen as a manifestation of the desire and mission as president. Putin's continuing economic system selected markets its predecessor, but by adjusting the conditions of the Russian economy.

Putin said that Russia is still a country that is based on the strong paternalistic system. That is the system that refer to the role of the state is more prominent than the civilian element. This is consistent with the conclusions of the Dutch social scientists, Geertz Hofstede, who has analyzed the dimensions of Russian culture. From the analysis, it was concluded that Russia has an index of "power distance" relatively high. Western countries generally have an index of "power distance" low, where the main element of democracy into the joint state. Cottage in the country with an index power distance high as in Russia, the relative may receive less democratic authority. As evidenced by the cooperative attitude of the Russian people against any policy of Putin.

Foreign policy orientation change Vladimir Putin.

The main elements of the Putin administration is "order", that is the rule of law and enforcement of the rules. It seems to color the programs and policies of Putin in the years throughout 2000-2008. Putin to run some programs in

government, The first program is which takes place the first two years, is to restore chaos in social life and enforce discipline for government officials. It is important that the authorities do not get stuck on the dirty practices such as corruption, manipulation and favoritism. The second program, which lasted for the next eight to ten years is the introduction of liberal economic development is moderate and adapted to the climate and conditions of the Russian economy. This program will strengthen institutions and the rule of law relating to private ownership. It is important to ensure peace and avoid the robbery of state assets by the oligarchy.

In general, the political basis Putin dubbed "sovereign democracy". It received the citizens of Russia, where the Russian democracy must be determined by Russia itself not outsiders. Russia, said Putin, is not prepared with classical liberalism, and can't be immediate or can never be like the US and the UK. He also criticized the Soviet leaders who fail to galvanize the country, and also Russian reformers who have made a number of mistakes that could have been avoided. However, Putin also like Yeltsin always tried to maintain a close relationship with the reformers. That was shrewdness Putin in diplomacy. Putin still liaise closely with the technocrats who dropped the Russian economy as long as they were worked together hand in hand to revive the Russian economy.

Putin has brought Russia did a lot of breakthrough release of domestic destruction, particularly from the economic crisis inherited by his predecessors. He has returned to the path of development of Russian revolutionary organized.

Where he does not want foreign interference in that process because Russia is able to pick ourselves up.

Putin thought the character that slowly but surely have succeeded in making Russia organize themselves, both domestically and abroad. Russia's foreign policy under Putin is increasingly finding its forms, not just fun western as in the early days of post, Soviet Russia at the beginning of the 1990s when Yeltsin came to power. But Russia can determine its own mission and vision of foreign policy that is free of external involvement. Thus ended the prolong debate about the motivation of Russia's foreign policy. Many political slogan that echoed and championed by Russian nationalists before Putin came to power (Saragih, 2008).

Like the slogan "working together with former enemies", "build a democratic hemisphere arc north", and "washed the feet in the ocean south". However, there remained only one wish for Putin is rebuilding the glory of Russia. Without communism, Russia is like a normal country, not bound by ideological messianism. Without the burden of imperial Russia could loosen itself from the obligation to militarily protect, for example, in the West Georgia and Kazakhstan in southeastern Russia. Russian geography that stretches from Europe to the west to the Pacific coast in the east seem not to be seen as a burden but as an opportunity geopolitical geostrategic for achieving national goals of Russia. "The Commonwealth of Independent States" (Commonwealth of Independence States, CIS) can be a diplomatic hurdle in the Western hemisphere, while the "Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (Shanghai Cooperation Organization, SCO) into a pillar in the east (Anggoro, 2006).

All that would not appear in an instant. Basics changes previously laid by Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin gave the contribution that can't be ignored. Strategic culture that was rooted in the greatness of Peter the Great is certainly an important factor rooted in almost every Russian leader today. Vladimir Putin gives its own color, either because his views were more cosmopolitan than its predecessors, as well as its success to consolidate the elite, and grasp back the outskirts of Russia. Within about two years at the reins of the throne. President Putin managed to fix what is by Nodari Simonia known as "complete anarchy" (Felgenhauer, 2003).

Factionalization among the foreign policy elite, a very strong tradition during Yeltsin's leadership, it seems are also getting recede. Supported by liberals are often referred to as the Petersburg and colleagues during serving in the intelligence environment (Payne, 2006).

Putin completely in control to be in the middle of them make Putin has space for free to realize their ideas. Moreover, support for the "war against terrorism", which packaged with a language that is more sensible than the phrase that is often used President Bush, West soften without hurting Muslim countries.

The ability to control various upheaval in the suburbs convince the West that Russia is not a weak country; and at the same time the nationalists in the country of Russia believes that the revival of Russia are on the eyelids. Therefore, both inside and abroad, President Putin managed to build its image as a leader who can be trusted, and to whom they should speak. A new, more powerful

consensus is that economic interests must be a top priority compared to other interests, such as politics and security. Like Napoleon III, Putin believed that economic liberalization led to inter-state relations became more intimate and contribute to national security. As Deng Xiaoping, Putin considers that the liberalization of the economy it can be done without having to do politics in a liberal democracy.

### **C. Research Question**

Why does Russian Foreign Policy under Presiden Putin moved away from the West ?

### **D. Theoretical Framework**

Theory concepts are interrelated according to the rules of logic into a particular form of expression that can explain the phenomenon scientifically (Mas'oed, 1998). To answer the question raised in the formulation of the above problems, the author uses the theory, Theory Policy Making Foreign Policy.

#### Theory Policy Making Foreign Policy

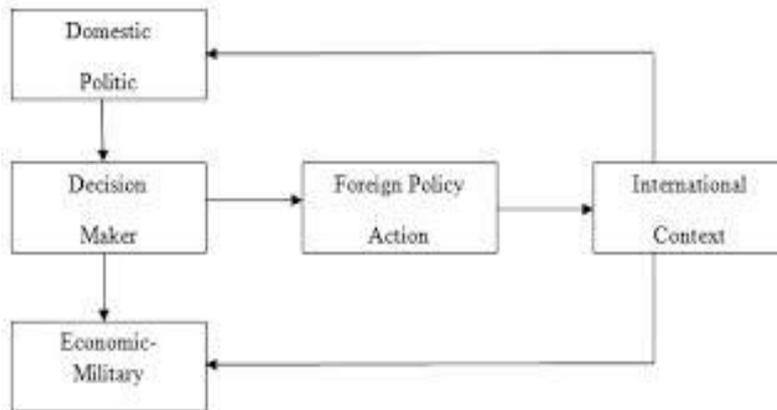
According to Coplin, to be able understand why a country to behave in line with their areas of interest, we have to understand also why or what lies behind their leaders make decisions. However, it would be a mistake if we assume

that foreign policy makers to act in a vacuum state. Instead, any foreign policy that is given can be seen as a result of the three categories of considerations that influence the foreign policy decision makers countries. The first is domestic politics in the policy decision makers countries. The second is the economic and military capabilities of the country. The third is the international context, particular position in which it finds itself, particularly regarding its relationship with other countries in a system.

Three categories of considerations that influence the foreign policy of a country:

1. Domestic political situation that domestic politics is just a set of determinants that work in the foreign policy of countries. Although the openness of a political system or the level of internal stability experienced by the system could form aspects of foreign policy specific, other factors can also work therein. We can cite the personality of decision makers or international concept structure.
2. Economic situation and domestic military. Which means a country should have the ability and willingness to create the capacity needed to sustain its foreign policy. Including geographical factors that always underlie defense and security considerations.
3. International context, there are three important elements in discussing the impact of the international context of the foreign policy of a country, namely: geographic, economic, and political. International environment of each country consists of the location it occupies, in relation to the state.

*Diagram Theory Policy Making Foreign Policy*



The basis of Russian Foreign Policy

Even though the Soviet Union had broken out and been replaced by the establishment of Russia as the successor state of the Soviet Union, Soviet Union still provide some legacy which is still maintained in governance and public life of Russia. Legacy left by the Soviet Union, among others, (1) There is the perspective that Russia is a country greatpower. In history, Soviet Union was previously a big influential countries in the international system and never won a competition against Napoleon. Although physically, Soviet Union and communism has collapsed, but people still believe that if the Soviet Union still exists and remains a country with great strength.

(2) The idea of the primacy of geopolitical consideration. Soviet Union has previously had a very concerned political territory through a strong military force and defense arena incredible war. It also occurs in Russian politics with the

politics of the region. Political presence also affects the region of Russia's foreign policy. There is the view that the existence of large areas, high population levels and are rich in natural resources is a source of Russian power.

(3) The perspective that international system can't be managed by a single country, but need to balance the distribution of power. Russian leaders assess the existence of the international system and the actions of Soviet Union is now determined by other actors. Additionally, an idea inherited from the Soviet Union is the need to balance the power to prevent Russia into a single force. From a historical well, Russians never felt being the sole superpower because it must share with other kingdom when they become public Eurasia.

(4) Avoiding the existence open warfare. This has been done since the days of the Soviet Union which was detrimental to assess the open war and opted for war secretly. However, this also had a positive impact with exceptional pass on knowledge about the knowledge of intelligence. Some legacy has a great influence for Russia both domestic and abroad. The legacy be one forming characteristic of Russian society in the contemporary era and also in the process formation of Russian foreign policy.

In foreign policy Russia itself there are three things that affect, among others, firstly the idea of foreign policy. There are differences in foreign policy in Russia, namely the difficulty of determining the direction of the policy because it has no ideology is more heterodox transformation with the mixing realist ideology of socialism and semi liberal economics. In the Russian era, the socialist is not

entirely abandoned but rationalized and flexible. Three other characters between the first socialist, national interest defined decentralized deconcentration and where there is no longer authoritative. Socialism is still considered important and not entirely accept western understand that is still considered a western idea.

The international system should not lead to a unipolar order. Russia is now beginning to develop multilateral relations as conscious focus should not be only military but also regulation, norms and other aspects. Third, Russia thinks if the international system is not controlled by the power of the actual stages. This contrasts with the assessment of other countries. Russia embraced the classical realist ideology which assesses despite the level of power in the international system but still there is potential for anarchy by each country. Therefore, Russia has always considered it important for each country regardless of the developing countries or developed because there is always the potential anarchy.

The main actors in the process of Russia's foreign policy. Different when Soviet times who has poliburo as the supreme body that has the right to control the economy, Russia also has the highest weight, but focus on security and defense. These institutions are often referred to by the Security Council, but a more humane and democratic. This body was formed when puttin era and is often referred to puttin's Politburo (Kryshtanovskaya, 2003).

The notion of security agencies are defense, foreign policy and overseas economies should be related and efficiently. Actor in foreign policy did not change much that is elitist remain a foreign policy, but that has changed is the

existence mass media and state companies or industrialists take effect. The choice of international strategy has undergone a change with more incorporated into international organizations and institutions more priority than the war (Wahyu, 2015).

#### UNDER GOVERNMENT VLADIMIR PUTIN (PERIOD 2000-2008)

Vladimir Putin explicitly stated orientation of foreign policy of the Russian Federation based on pragmatism, effectiveness of the economy and national interests as a priority. Realization of foreign policy of Putin's more based on the value of greatness (great power) that once carried the Russian past (empire and the Soviet Union). The rhetoric of past glory and hope to be able to restore the glory of those at present used as Putin as one of Russia's strategic policy objectives, namely creating a multipolar world system.

Step Putin made Russia as one of the "new power" in a multipolar world system began with internal reforms, particularly the economic field. Putin paid great attention to the economic reforms with the aim of making Russia as an economic magnet for the countries of the former Soviet Union. He views the CIS as a traditional partner of Russia and Putin continues to tried to build bilateral and regional relations with the CIS countries in a variety of strategic cooperation.

This strategic cooperation are created in areas of trade, especially oil and gas. Putin revised the concept of Yeltsin's foreign policy ever enacted in 1993. The concept of the new foreign policy which states that Commonwealth Of Independent States (CIS) is a key priority of Russia's foreign policy. The main

reason of the leaders of Russia, particularly Putin, to keep the CIS region as a top priorities because countries that are in this region is a neighbor to closeness the history, culture and economy for centuries.

Moreover, tens of millions of Russian citizens living in these countries. Russia under Putin tried to reinforce its influence in the near abroad, especially by making the economic field dependence of the countries in the region on Russia as a source of new strength. Cooperation in economics clearly pragmatic option for Putin in his efforts to secure the territory of the former Soviet Union.

### **E. Hypothesis**

Russian Foreign Policy under president Putin move away from the West because (1) Domestic pressure from Russian parliament, (2) Western economic and military pressure for russia.

### **F. Writing Purpose**

1. To prove answer to the problem formulation and validating the theory as well as relevant data.
2. Gives an overview and explanation of Russian Foreign Policy Differences between Vladimir Putin to Boris Yeltsin

3. To complete the final task as a condition of obtaining a degree S1 and S2 to continue studying at the Department of International Relations, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

### **G. Range of Research.**

Reach this study using a period during the leadership of Vladimir Putin with Boris Yeltsin.

### **H. Research Methods.**

The technique used by the author was to study library derived from various literature related to the research to be conducted either in the form of books, journals, newspapers or magazines. Moreover the data search were also done by searching across multiple data sources internet (Suharsono, 1996).

#### a) Types of Research

The research used by the author is descriptive quantitative and qualitative describe differences Politics Russian Foreign Policy during Vladimir Putin with Boris Yeltsin. As is the quantitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words of a person and observed behavior, while quantitative research is a research procedure that produces data in the form of numbers. writers need to combine the two types of research because

the data needed to support the quantitative data describing the existing problems, and as a strong evidence of the results of research that has been done.

b) Data and Type.

Data are any information or information on all matters related to the research. The data required in this research is secondary data, ie data that are arranged in the form of indirect form such as documents relating to the cases that are being examined.

## **I. Organization of Writing**

Chapter I : Proposal

Chapter II : Russian Foreign Policy Under Yeltsin

Chapter III : Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin

Chapter IV : Factors Affecting Russian Foreign Policy During Putin era

Chapter V : Conclusion

Chapter VI : Bibliography