

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

The rivalry between U.S. and Russia were hardly getting along with each other since the Cold War era. After the end of the Cold War, and the dissolve of Soviet Union, both U.S. and Russia were trying to maintain their relationship to a new dimension. However, it is undeniable that there are some highlights of events during the process that are reflecting the ups and downs of U.S. and Russia relationship.

Since the era of the World Wars until the end of the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy was focused on preventing the spread of Communism influence in its country and others, so called as containment foreign policy. However, by the end of Cold War and the collapse of Soviet, the U.S. policy switched and a new bridge between U.S. and Russia was established. In 1992, for example, a joint proclamation on U.S. and Russia new era of relations and partnership was issued in a meeting between U.S. President George Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The proclamation has brought some developments in U.S and Russia relations. The U.S. foreign policy changed from preventing Communism influence into promoting democracy, human rights, and free markets. (Wiarda, 2011)

The partnership between the U.S. and Russia is considered as world's most critical bilateral relationship in both expected and unexpected ways. In Barrack Obama's administration for example, the relationship between the U.S. and Russia is reflecting evolution and deterioration<sup>1</sup> at the same time. (Pifer, 2015) In 2009 until 2014 is considered as

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<sup>1</sup> Become progressively worse. (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018)

the milestones for the U.S. and Russia relationship. It is known as the era of “Reset” foreign policy made by Obama administration towards U.S. and Russia relations. However, there are several highlight of events which reflecting the ups and downs of U.S.-Russia relations under the administration of Obama. According to an official statement from the White House, the events that happened during Obama’s administration were not as what the U.S. expected from the “Reset” policy. Therefore, a further discussion on the sustainable relations between the U.S. and Russia should be conducted.

In 2013, Obama and Putin were scheduled to conduct a one-on-one meeting in Moscow. The meeting was aimed to discuss the progress of U.S.-Russia relations. Unfortunately, the meeting was never happened because the U.S. government cancelled the meeting that supposed to be conducted on September, weeks before the G20 Summit in St. Petersburg. The decision of the U.S. government was followed by the arrival of Edward Snowden in Moscow. Snowden is known as the U.S. most wanted fugitive for leaking NSA classified information. His arrival in Moscow became controversial for both the U.S. and Russia governments. The U.S. government attempted to extradite Snowden from Russia in order to bring him to justice for what he committed. However, the diplomatic attempts seemed to be failed since the Russians granted Snowden’s asylum request. The decision of the U.S. government to cancel the meeting was such a disappointment for both U.S. and Russia. (Pifer, 2015)

Hereby, in this paper, the writer is trying to analyze the factors behind U.S. government decision to cancel the one-on-one meeting with Russia in 2013.

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background the research question is: ”Why did the U.S. cancel the Obama-Putin one-on-one meeting?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

As a guideline for the writer to conduct a research and analysis as well as to prevent the occurrence of distortions of the discussion against the object of the research, the writer is trying to propose a theory as a reference to explain the motives behind U.S. government to cancel the one-on-one meeting between Obama and Putin in 2013. Theory is a point of view which explains the occurrence of certain phenomena. (Mas'oeed, 1994) In this proposal, the writer is using and implementing the theory of Foreign Policy Decision-Making by Richard C. Snyder in order to describe the external and internal factors in the decision-making process of U.S. under Obama administration.

### **1. Decision-Making Theory by Richard C. Snyder**

Generally, in International Relations, every state has its own national interest that can be achieved within the formulation of foreign policy. Foreign policy is decided by a nation towards another nation based on national interest and or national power which not only aimed for the state but also for the people. In order to achieve its national interest, a state should formulate the foreign policy through decision-making process.

According to Richard C. Snyder, decision-making process is aimed to acknowledge the relevance of a different decision-making process model towards a decision or policy, and if individuals or groups role in the process influences a decision or not. Different with other decision-making process models, Snyder proposed a more practical procedure of foreign policy decision-making which consists of internal and external settings. (Snyder, Bruck, & Sapin, 1962)

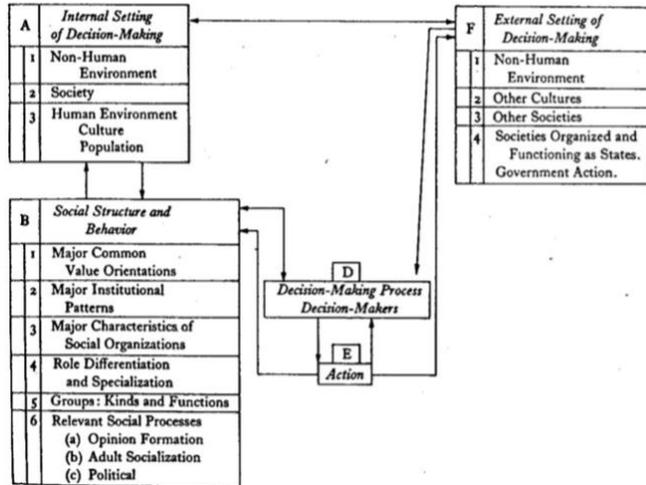


Figure.1.1

Richard C. Snyder Decision-Making Process Model<sup>2</sup>

According to the model of Snyder's theory above, **external setting** means a decision can be made by identifying any factors outside of state territory, or known as international system in which diplomatic law, foreign policy, and other aspects are identified. There are several variables in external setting that might influence the decision-making process; non-human environment, other cultures, other societies, and Societies organized and functioning as states, and government action.

In the case of the U.S. policy to cancel the meeting with Russian president, Russia appeared to be an important actor in the external setting of the decision made by the U.S. government. The role of Russia in the external setting of the decision-making is related to the case of Snowden granted asylum by the Kremlin. As explained in the background above, Edward Snowden is U.S. most wanted fugitive for leaking U.S. classified information. The decision of the

<sup>2</sup> Richard C. Snyder et al., Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited) (New York: The Free Press, 1962): pp.201

Russian government to grant the asylum request has given a big influence on U.S. decision to cancel the meeting with Russia.

While, the **internal setting** in Snyder's theory means a decision can be made by considering the factors coming from the territory of the state such as domestic politics, public opinion, social values, and social structure and behavior. In internal setting, Snyder proposed to involve individuals and groups role as one of the considerations in the decision-making process. There are several variables in the internal setting that are similar with the variables of the external setting, while there are several additional variables of the internal setting and social structure and behavior that might influence the decision-making process; society, human environment (culture, population), value orientations, institutional patterns, social organizations characteristics, role differentiation and specialization, type of groups and its function, social and political opinion.

In order to describe the internal setting or factors that influence the decision of the U.S. government to cancel the one-on-one meeting in Moscow with Russian government, it is important to identify what U.S. government is facing in their domestic area, especially in the White House. As explained in the background of this proposal, there are some highlights of event that might have significant influence in the development of U.S.-Russia relations. In a statement, the White House Press Secretary, Jay Carney stated that one of the factors why the U.S. government decided to cancel the one-on-one meeting with Russia is the "lack of progress" of the bilateral agenda with Russia. As we know that under Obama's administration, the U.S. government was expecting to develop a better partnership with Russia by implementing the "reset" foreign policy. However, according to the White House, the relation between U.S. and Russia is facing deterioration, not evolution. (The Washington Post, 2013)

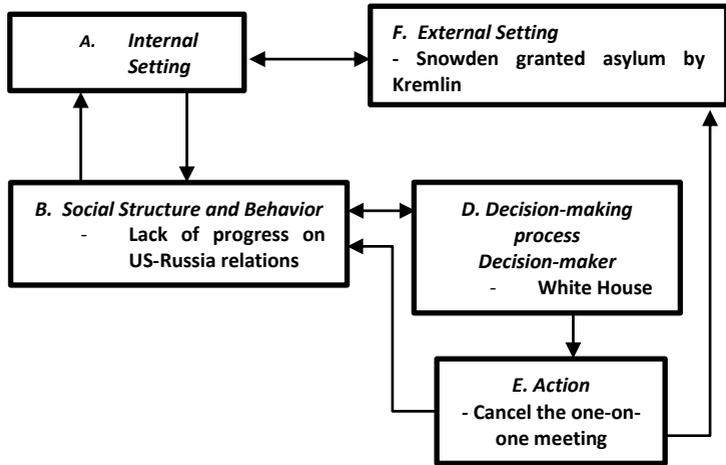


Figure 1.2  
Implementation of theory

## D. Hypothesis

As the background above, the decision of the U.S. on cancelling the one-on-one meeting between Obama and Putin was influenced by:

1. The disappointment of the U.S. government towards Russian government decision to grant Snowden's asylum request.
2. The "reset" of the U.S.-Russia was beyond U.S. government expectations and faced a lack of progress due to disagreements and tend to conflicts than the cooperation.

## E. Research Methodology

This research is formulated in two methodologies: method of data collecting and method of explanative research. The method of data collecting is conducted through the library

research and also through the media; printed and electronic media, internet, articles or journals and some reference books.

The other method is the method of explanative research; a research which studies the connectivity of cause and effect between two phenomenon or more. The explanative research is used to decide whether the connection of the cause and effect is true or false. Referring to the research question, the aim of the explanative research is able to explain factors of U.S. foreign policy to cancel the one-on-one meeting with Russia in 2013.

## **F. Research Period**

This research will emphasize the event of U.S.-Russia relations in Barrack Obama administration from 2009 as the beginning of the administration of Obama and the implementation of “Reset” foreign policy towards U.S.-Russia relations until 2013 when the White House decided to cancel the one-on-one meeting between Obama and Putin.

## **G. Organization of Thesis**

This thesis consists of 5 chapters and the explanation of each chapter will be elaborated in detail through sub chapters. The case is elaborated thoroughly in chapter I as the case of attempting to write a coherent and systematic paper. The writing systematic of the research is as follows:

CHAPTER I describes the background to the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes of research, research methodology, the scope of research and organization of writing.

CHAPTER II elaborates the dynamics of U.S.-Russia relations after the Cold War and during Obama’s administration era.

CHAPTER III focuses on the study of the background of Edward Snowden as a former employee of NSA and the leaking of NSA’s classified information by Snowden. The political dynamics of U.S. to extradite Snowden from Russia

and the interest behind Russian government decision to grant Snowden's asylum request will be explained in this chapter.

CHAPTER IV will explain the factors of the decision made by U.S. and explanation of its influence on U.S.-Russia relations. This chapter will explain about the policy made by the U.S. government to cancel the meeting with Putin in Moscow which was influenced by external setting which is the decision of Russian government to grant Snowden's asylum request, and internal setting which is the lack of progress in the bilateral agenda between U.S. and Russia. This chapter will also explain about the influence of the decision made by the U.S. government to cancel the meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin towards U.S.-Russia relations. It will be closely related with the previous chapter.

CHAPTER V contains the conclusions of all the explanation that has been presented in the previous chapters.

Besides that, in analyzing the related data, the deductive method will be used. The way of the analysis of the deductive method is by developing the available theory based on the factual evidences then draws a specific generalization. In this case, the deductive method will explain a phenomenon by considering the conclusion and a part of logic consequences from the presumption being used.