

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Problem Background

From the growth of information technology, international relations have an important role in the growing of globalization era today. The improvement of the phenomenon increases the communication tool including media and technology. It also affects actors who can act across the unlimited territory of a nation to have a relation.

Mass media is one of the communication and information tools which can serve people about some actual news and technology improvement creates public opinion. Public opinion has important role in the democratic government. Today international relations are not only about state actor, but also non state actor. Non state actor can make a regulation freely, but some states do not have such decision freely.

According to Robert O. Keohane, the main transnationalism assumption is the decreasing of nation role as political actor in politics and the increasing of non state actor.<sup>1</sup> According to Richard Falk, transnationalism is a as the transformational in formational and idea across the limit of international territory without any participation or controlled directly by government actor.<sup>2</sup> Transnational relation is many kinds of interactions which directly by passing

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<sup>1</sup> Mohtar Mas'oe'd, *Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990, pg. 271

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 272

governmental environment in national government. Al-Jazeera includes non state actor because Al-Jazeera has a crossed international limit territory by giving current issues and effect world public opinion. In this case society also participates as non state actor.

Besides, in the 1990s, almost all television channels in the Arab countries were governmentally owned and strictly controlled.<sup>3</sup> Until today, these channels still exist, such as Al-Arabiya, Al-Hurra, Al-Thawra, but the situation began to change in 1990s with the spread of satellite television privately owned and non governmental channels introduced livelier programmers aimed at Arabian audiences and current affairs.

Since 1996, Qatar has been doing reformation including opening the space for mass media, drawing any kind of government prohibition and interfering in telling news.<sup>4</sup> The pioneer in this field is the news channel, Al-Jazeera which is financed by the government of Qatar although it is still financed by the government that Al-Jazeera constantly broadcast the news independently.

Al-Jazeera is an Arabic and English television broadcasters which were established in November 1<sup>st</sup> 1996 in Doha, Qatar.<sup>5</sup> To start up the program, the Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani helped Al-Jazeera by giving five hundred million Qatari Riyals (\$137 million) to support its financial.<sup>6</sup> This funding was to cover the first five years, in the hope that in five years, Al-Jazeera

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<sup>3</sup> Arab media: television, Amena. Al-Jazeera special report. Accessed on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2009: available from <http://www.channelarab.tv/>

<sup>4</sup> *Kompas. Etika Profesi Dan Kiprah Stasiun Televisi Al-Jazeera*, Wednesday, Augustus 11<sup>th</sup>, 2004, pg. 3

<sup>5</sup> Al-Jazeera News. Accessed on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2009: available from <http://everything2.com/title/Al-Jazeera>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

could possibly sustain and survive itself by its own advertising incomes. Al-Jazeera tried to be financially independent, as other news channels. The plan was to generate sufficient income through selling advertisement, programmers, and exclusive footage, as well as hiring out equipment to other television station. In fact, Al-Jazeera failed to raise enough income on this way, and it still received financial aids from the government. The government of Qatar spent around U\$100 million each year to sustain the station which was unable to attract enough advertisers.<sup>7</sup>

Besides, Al-Jazeera also got high pressures from other countries in reporting independent news which was based on the fact. Those countries were especially Iraq and United States. Those pressures could be read in several electronic news which were published on Al-Jazeera official website.

The independency of Al-Jazeera could be seen from the reporting on USA attack on the City of Fallujah.<sup>8</sup> The USA army had tried to make suffering of Fallujah population invisible to the world. By practicing total censorship over what the journalists could report, when the USA bombed hospitals and claimed that insurgents were hiding in them, and forbade the media from entering there. In this way, most of the western media was quickly cooperated and then reported about the war crime at Fallujah.

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<sup>7</sup> Qatar's Al-Jazeera TV: The Power of Free Speech by Gary C. Gambill. Middle East Intelligence Bulletin News. Accessed on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2009: Available from [http://www.meib.org/articles/0006\\_me2.htm](http://www.meib.org/articles/0006_me2.htm)

<sup>8</sup> An Endangered Species by Rana Kabbani, Wednesday November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2005. Agence Global News. Accessed on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2009: available from <http://www.agenceglobal.com/linksfollow.php?lh=VVEPAIEHA1BT>

The British Broadcasting Company, for example, failed its worldwide audience when it came to reporting the prolonged war crime at Fallujah. Its reporter, Paul Wood, filed naive reports about the operation using US military propaganda terms unquestioningly.<sup>9</sup> However, unlike embedded journalists from the BBC or CNN, who parroted what their American minders were feeding them, Al-Jazeera's Ahmad Mansur was telling a different story.<sup>10</sup> Since the previous November, he had been filing reports from within the city's wrecked homes and hospitals. He and his camera crew had dodged bullets and bombs before their viewers' eyes, as they interviewed doctors, wounded people, local officials, etc., to give those who could understand Arabic, a hellish glimpse of what it was like to be a civilian in Iraq's Guernica.

Saturday, August 7<sup>th</sup> 2004, Al-Jazeera reported about Iraq, the continuing crash between United States army and Syiah in Baghdad, and the Holy City of Najaf on Saturday. As the consequences, Al-Jazeera satellite television channel was forbidden to broadcast by Minister of Domestic Affair, Falah al- Naqib as representative the government of Iraq.<sup>11</sup> And on Sunday, October 7<sup>th</sup> 2001, Al-Jazeera broadcasted about USA also, which was about the aggression Afghanistan and it got support by England.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Al-Jazeera once broadcasted Osama Bin Laden's speech on his disagreement about the invention to Afghanistan and Palestine. As consequences, United States required Al-Jazeera not to give a place for Osama Bin Laden to express his message on Al-Jazeera's channel, while at the

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Kompas. Pemerintah Irak Tutup Al-Jazeera Sebulan*, Sunday, Augustus 8<sup>th</sup>, 2004, pg. 1

<sup>12</sup> *Kompas. Al-Jazeera Selalu Menjadi Korban*, Tuesday, October 9<sup>th</sup> 2001, pg. 3

same time USA already claimed for being the only country which gave rights to express the freedom of speech toward society.<sup>13</sup>

Although it is still financially supported by the government, Al-Jazeera keeps on reporting a brave and professional story, about current news and information of Arabic and Western. By giving information about the news above there were several implications toward the existence of Al-Jazeera channel in Iraq and USA.

From the fact above, Al-Jazeera remains to keep its professionalism on giving independent news to all over the world, especially United States and Iraq conflict. Therefore, it makes the writer interested in doing a research, because Aljazeera is still objective in giving global news despite the threats received by Al-Jazeera from Iraq and USA.

## **B. Research Question**

Base on the background mentioned in the previous sub chapter, a research question is for mentioned, on **“Why does Al-Jazeera still give an independent news under the threats received from Iraq and United States of America?”**

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

### **C. Research Purpose**

1. To describe and explain the significance of Al-Jazeera's independence report.
2. To understand the reason of why Al-Jazeera gives in independent news under the threats received from Iraq and USA.
3. To implement the political theory that is relevant to the problem.

### **D. Theoretical Framework**

The writer explains the above problems using a theory. Theory is an abstraction that represents an object, characters of an object, or a certain phenomenon.<sup>14</sup> One of its functions is to organize ideas, perception, and symbols in the form of classification and generalization.<sup>15</sup>

The writer wishes to explain the above problems using a concept and theory. Theory helps us to explain and predict a phenomenon. According to McCain and Segal, theory is a series of related statements consisting of (1) sentences introducing terms that refer to the basic concepts, (2) sentences relating the basic concepts, and (3) sentences relating several theoretical statements with groups of probable empirical analysis on the object (hypothesis).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Mohtar Mas' oed, *Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990, pg. 109

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 111

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 219

## **1. Theory of Political Communication System**

### **a) A System**

In every organization, institution or association from the smallest part to the more complicated and complex, these all will be created by elements, function, procedure, and activity process.<sup>17</sup> The persistence of an activity process involving all units provides of system, in which between a unit and another unit have interdependence and a strong affinity in a special procedure, so this is qualified in a work system. If we want to question the system, we need to pay more attention in some definition on the general purpose or on the special meaning.

According to Almond and Powell, a system implies the interdependences of parts, and a boundary between in and its environment. By 'independence' we mean that when the characteristics of one part in a system changes, all the other parts and the system as a whole are affected.<sup>18</sup> From the opinion above, it shows that essentially a system has a typical characteristic, which is the interdependence between each unit, so functionally, each unit can not be changed by another unit. Therefore, the system activity consists of interdependence between unit and component in the process.

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<sup>17</sup> Sumarno, AP, *Dimensi – dimensi Komunikasi Politik*, Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti, 1989, pg. 39

<sup>18</sup> Rusadi Kantaprawira, *Sistem Politik di Indonesia*, Bandung: Sinar Baru, 1983, pg. 40

### **b) Political System**

The use of system in “political system” shows to a special governmental state. Political system is the whole governmental process with its function and activities involving the whole aspect in the governmental scope of a state.<sup>19</sup> In this political system discussion, it can not be separated from the “social rule” discussion, because according to sociological observation, governmental structure, political system or political rule is a part of social rule. Even, political system is a subsystem in a social system.

Besides, the continuing political system is inspired by the communication press, because in each process and step, it will involve some communication message. In a political system, political communication goal is to defend and keep survive the system exist, so the values in the system can be replaced from a political does in one period to another period.

### **c) Political Communication**

Communication is the process of sharing ideas, information, and messages with others in a particular time and place. Communication is a vital part of personal life and also important in business, education, and any other situation where people encounter each other.<sup>20</sup>

According to Jack Plano in political analysis dictionary, Political communication is the spread of action, matter or message that has connection with the function of a political system. Most of political communication is under the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pg. 41

<sup>20</sup> Accessed on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2009: available from <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/komunikasi/>



authority of special institution, like mass media, government information institution or political parties.<sup>21</sup> Political communication is a process of giving message from one side to others, through media (visual, verbal, and non verbal communication). In order that aside do something as what the sender want to the condition of a communication is that there is a miss communication between the sender and the receiver (mutual understanding) in translating the message.

From these frameworks, a political communication system, Al-Jazeera wants to communicate to public that giving information must be based on the real fact which is suitable to some journalistic basic principal Al-Jazeera because Al-Jazeera also has journalistic code of ethics , such as honesty, independent, fairness, balance, believable, non party and not provocative. There are three principal a journalistic involving Al-Jazeera such as, what is journalism for, independence for faction, and make the news comprehensive and proportional.

According to the book of *The Element of Journalist*, it is mentioned that there are three of basic principle journalistic, such as:

1. The fist element of journalist is what journalism is for. What is journalism for means that journalism was for building community, journalism was for citizenship, and journalism was for democracy.<sup>22</sup> Journalism for in Al-Jazeera means that the journalists Al-Jazeera want to give place for Qataris who want to give idea or opinion. Al-Jazeera also wants to show the reality

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<sup>21</sup> Jack Plano dkk. *Kamus Analisa Politik*, Rajawali Jakarta 1989.

<sup>22</sup> Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, *The Element of Journalis: What Newspeople should Know and the Public should Expect*, New York: ISBN, 2001, pg, 11

and what is happening all over in the world, especially conflict that happens in Arab.

2. Independence for faction, means that journalists must maintain an independence from those they cover.<sup>23</sup> According to Gallagher, the important step in chasing the truth and giving information to the people is not the neutrality but the independency.<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile, C.P. Scott, the redactor of the famous the Manchester (Great Britain), Guardian, said that command is free, but fact is holly, it means that fact is above everything. Al-Jazeera is the media which is well known by its independent news coverage, credibility and diversity. Al-Jazeera's program is often controversial and it has prompted over 400 complaints to the Qatar government from various Arab State over the last half decade.

3. Make the news comprehensive and proportional, means that journalists should keep the news comprehensive and in proportion.<sup>25</sup> The Ethic of journalism depends on complete and proportional, because it will create credibility in a media. The element key for credibility is transparent and motive of journalist.<sup>26</sup> People do not expect a perfect media the society wish for sincerity, (honesty and transparency).

Al-Jazeera is one of the most widely watched news channels in the world and it is one of the most controversial channels. With more than fifty million viewers and set up by the eccentric Emir of Qatar, Al-Jazeera quickly become a

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 118

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 121

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 208

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 219

household name in the west after September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 by delivering some of the biggest scoops in television history, including airing a taped speech from Osama Bin Laden.

In fact of Al-Jazeera's news, the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani also chose to give the fact about news happened in the world. This case happened, because Al-Jazeera program has been showed in Qatar and also Qatar has begun parliamentary life has been doing reformation that showed that press freedom must be respected and based on credibility, include opening the space for mass media, draw any kind of government prohibition and interfere in telling news.<sup>27</sup>

Al-Jazeera is objective in broadcasting news and information that have happened in the world. By giving information about the news above there are several implications toward existent of Al-Jazeera channel in Iraq and USA. Al-Jazeera still gives independent news under the threats received from Iraq and USA.

## **E. Hypothesis**

Al-Jazeera still gives independent news under the threats received from Iraq and USA, because Al-Jazeera implement three basic principal ethic professionalism of journalistic and Al-Jazeera is the only politically and financially independent television station in Middle East.

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<sup>27</sup> Kompas, *Al-Jazeera, Televisi Pemberani Dari Qatar*, Tuesday, October 9<sup>th</sup>, 2001, pg. 3

## **F. Method of Research**

The writer use a common method to sustain and arrange the data. Therefore, the library research method will be used in order to explain the problems and verify the hypothesis based on empirical reality. By using qualitative research, the writer will also get the secondary data.

The sources of information is collected by references in the forms of books, encyclopedia, newspapers and journals. In addition, various data from internet is also used since some information and data dealing with the topic forwarded are only available through the internet media. The writer also conducts media research by surveying the data from internet. The writer makes surveys to the media website Al-Jazeera, which also has an official site to analyze the phenomenon of fact independent news.

## **G. Range of Research**

It is important to draw limitation. This helps the writer to explore and analyze the data, to prevent the subject from being expanded and thus keeping the focus of the discussion on track. In this research, the writer focuses the discussion from the case of bombings on September 11, 2001 in USA to 2005.

The writer want to explain the condition of Al-Jazeera, which quickly became a household name in the west after September 11 2001 by delivering some of the biggest scoops in television history, including airing a taped speech from Osama Bin Laden. With more than fifty million viewers, Al-Jazeera is one of the

most widely watched news channels in the world. And it is one of the most controversial station television channels in the Middle East.

Besides the case of bombings September 11, 2001 in United States, in 2003, Al-Jazeera also reported the vicious bombings in Saudi Arabia and Morocco. Both of attributed to the Al Qaeda terror Franchise, Al-Jazeera received taped message.<sup>28</sup> In the following year, Al-Jazeera also reported the news which deal with Iraq, for example on Tuesday, April 8<sup>th</sup> 2003, during a shoot – out between American and Iraq militiamen. It caused another Al-Jazeera journalist was killed.<sup>29</sup>

In 2004, Al-Jazeera broadcasted a kidnapping and taking hostage who was threatened that he would be executed.<sup>30</sup>

In 2005, Al-Jazeera again broadcasted the news about kidnapping victims in Iraq since the fall of Saddam Hussein, the Official figures showed that about 40 people were kidnapped every day.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Hugh Miles, *Al-Jazeera: How Arab Television News Challenged the World*, Great Britain: By Abacus, 2005, pg, 295

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, pg, 329

<sup>30</sup> Voanews Archive. Accessed on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2009: available from <http://www.voanews.com/indonesian/archive/2004-08/a-2004-08-08-1-1.cfm>

<sup>31</sup> Al-Jazeera Special Report. Accessed on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2009: available from <http://english.aljazeera.net/>

## **H. System of Writing**

The outline of this research is as follows:

CHAPTER I explains about the Problem Background, Research Questions, Purpose of Research, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Method of Research, Range of Research, and the System of Writing.

Chapter II describes the dynamic of Al-Jazeera, such as history of Al-Jazeera which is followed by the networking and influence in Qatar and, the writer will also explain the ideology of Al-Jazeera.

CHAPTER III I discuss about the threats received by Al-Jazeera from Iraq and USA. This chapter includes the information about Iraq and United States pressure to Al-Jazeera reporting.

Chapter IV is the answer part of the Research Question which discusses that the Al-Jazeera still give independent news despite the threats received by Al-Jazeera from Iraq and United States of America.

Chapter V is the end of the research which contains the conclusion and suggestion.