

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **A. The Purpose of the Title**

The main reason the writer to choose this title and had desire to discuss more about the cases is because this case related to the Human Right in Universal Declarations of Human Right. As well already wrote in the article 19 in universal declarations of Human Right say that everyone has the same right to be freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. This declaration explain that everyone or every human being in the whole of world have equal right to say the truth in media such as newspaper, television, radio, internet, and others.

Julian Assange as the owner of WikiLeaks is a journalist which has responsibility to collect and search reality and show it on mass media such as newspaper and website. As we know WikiLeaks is media website which after founded in 2006 had purposes to publishing information from the whistleblowers and worldwide news leaks, with a stated purpose to creating open governance in the whole of world. In the 2010 WikiLeaks published Iraq War documents and Afghan

War documents about United States military involvement in the wars, and much other. In otherwise WikiLeaks have relationship with five international media print partners or newspaper such as; *Der Spiegel* (German), *The New York Times* (United States), *Le Monde* (France), *The Guardian* (England) and *El País* (Spain) which began to publish whistleblower of United States diplomatic cables from WikiLeaks sources. Julian Assange before publish the diplomatic cable of United States on his website, he publish it first on the newspaper.

In another reason that makes the writer to choose this title is about Democracy. Democracy as United States ideology since Declarations of Independence until nowadays is a system that safeguards liberties. These are enshrines in rights, which are manifested politically in representation. In democracy it is rights that, through the sovereignty of the people, give rise to authority the same authority sanctioned by law. The result is a system of order on the basis of which the exercise of power is possible and which establishes in principles of equity or justice. In United States democracy give enshrines rights to all institutions such newspaper, television, radio, etc. to be freedom in expression and give political opinion to the government. United States mass media as we know have the highest rate of freedom explorations in the media rather than the mass media in other country. Mass media and United States government according to Dr. Sidik Jatmiko in his book "*Politik dan Pemerintahan Amerika*" said that the right hand of the United States government is mass media and both of them cannot be separated.

In the cases of Julian Assange, writer try to explain and discuss that United States democracy toward United States policy in term of leaks diplomatic cable give enlightenment to Julian Assange cannot be arrested and being United States intelligence suspect target as just like United States already done, that all because of democracy give freedom to expression and opinion to all the people, especially for mass media and journalist.

Finally, in May 2011 Julian Assange awarded Human Right award by Sidney Peace Foundation for exceptional courage and initiative in pursuit of human rights. The Sydney Peace Foundation argues that Julian Assange as journalism has made a historically significant contribution to the operation of United States democracy and the transparency of another country. This award is distinct from the annual Sydney Peace Prize. And for this 14-year history of the Foundation has awarded this gold medal on three previous occasions, to the Dalai Lama (1998), Nelson Mandela (2000) and Japanese lay Buddhist leader Daisaku Ikeda (2009). If this final thesis proved would give great honor and pride for the writer because going to write the cases of person who had a great impact for humanity and journalism.

## **B. Problem Background**

According to Dr. Bambang Cipto the functions of Mass Media in United States with the government are unable to be apart, and sometimes mass media or public service such as television, radio and internet is the fourth part of United States

democracy. Mass media in United States has high freedom to publishing news rather than another country in this world.<sup>1</sup> In this age of media, the formation of mental picture is not the creation of only our personal experiences. Media in many ways are responsible for the creation of these mental pictures. It is convenient to comment that dependency on information has increased substantially due to the satellite communication power in making, remaking, manipulating, and distorting different images and perceptions in the minds of target audiences.

WikiLeaks was founded in 2006 by Julian Assange as founder, journalist and director. Meanwhile that year Julian Assange wrote two essays setting out the philosophy behind the WikiLeaks; first is to radically shift the regime behavior we must think clearly and boldly about what we have learned, and could be used if those regimes do not want to be changed. And the second is must think beyond those who have gone before us and discover technological changes that embolden us with ways to act in which our forebears could not.<sup>2</sup> The mass media play a very significant role in the formulation of images and beliefs of the people.

Furthermore Julian Assange as founder, director and senior journalist at WikiLeaks is coming in for both praise and criticism after his classified information clearing house published secret document of United States military relating to the war

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. BambangCipto, *Politikdan Pemerintahan Amerika*, PenerbitLingkaran, 2003.

<sup>2</sup>Daily Mail (London). By:Andy Whelan and Sharon Churcher,1 August 2010 "*FBI question WikiLeaks mother at Welsh home: Agents interrogate 'distressed' woman, then search her son's bedroom*". Retrieved 1 December 2010 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1347336/Tunisia-riots-blamed-cables-revealed-countrys-corruption-dubbed-First-Wikileaks-Revolution.html?ito=feeds-newsxml>

in Afghanistan, Iraq, and many other. Behind is general big issues that could be discussing more in the next chapter which make the owner of WikiLeaks Julian Assange being the target of suspect hunt by United States intelligence, as the newest leaks have uncovered evidence in 2010 about a number of things previously reported including: video of the Baghdad Apache Airstrike on July 2007, video of the Granai American Aircraft on May 2009, the Iraq War Document on 2004 to 2009, the Afghanistan War Document on 2004 to 2009, and the Guantanamo Bay Files on 25 April 2011<sup>3</sup>. All of this leaks document before publish in WikiLeaks, was publishing in five international media print partners or newspaper such as; *Der Spiegel* (German), *The New York Times* (United State), *Le Monde* (France), *The Guardian* (England) and *El País* (Spain), and several international television program such as BBC, and others. Beside of that United States government officials, have been accused Julian Assange as high tech terrorism. United States Vice President Joe Biden said in *The Guardian* (December 2010) would argue that Julian Assange has done things that have damaged and put in jeopardy the lives and occupations of people in other parts of the world.

The impact from the whist blower cases about, the White House condemned the leak of a vast cache on the ground reports from United States military and intelligence personnel on the war in Afghanistan, concerned that the leak of WikiLeaks are not responsible and harms for the national security. Which the

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<sup>3</sup><http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Military/2010/0726/Julian-Assange-the-hacker-who-created-WikiLeaks> - By Scott Bland, Contributor / July 26, 2010

revelation of more than 90,000 classified reports and documents spanning around 2004 - 2009 is likely the largest leak in the history of the United States military or intelligence community. The documents provide a view of the war and reveal, among other things that the Taliban has used portable heat seeking ground to air missiles to bring down United States helicopters, which the military had not previously revealed. United States military and intelligence personnel widely suspect that Pakistan's intelligence agency is cooperating with Afghan militants to plan attacks, and that a secret contingent of United States Special Forces operates outside the coalition command structure in Afghanistan with the goal of killing or capturing top Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders.<sup>4</sup>

Among several reason that United States government made is trying to break their own democracy existence by arrest Julian Assange. With under authority of the media make United States image as democratization state, and after United Stated government proclaimed about arresting Julian Assange, several public figure give opinion about what United Stated has done. "They have arrested him and I don't hear so much as a single protest for freedom of expression", President Lula said at a public event in Brasilia. In another criticized about arresting of Julian Assange, Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin saying it contradicted with the Western avowed

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<sup>4</sup>*The Christian Science Monitor*, "WikiLeaks report harms national security in Afghanistan, says White House" by Kristen Chick, Correspondent / July 26, 2010  
<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/1026/WikiLeaks-ready-to-drop-a-bombshell-on-Russia.-But-will-Russians-get-to-read-about-it>

democratic values. "Why is Mr Assange in prison?" Mr Putin asked at a press conference with ambiguous commentary for United States government "Is this democracy?". United States authorities have made it clear that they hope to prosecute Julian Assange under the thousands release of leaked classified diplomatic cables.<sup>5</sup> This several opinion is asking about the existence of democracy in United States, is it still work or just emblem.

Julian Assange case can be sample as people who published news, although he publishes the secret of United States army and intelligence personnel on the war in Afghanistan and Iraq but United States government with hunt him and want to arrest him in, this is can decrease two of United States government fundamentals principle, first is the democracy especially in freedom of expression and the other is high freedom access to publishing in mass media.

The leaked of United States diplomatic cable begins from Bradley E. Manning which is a United States army who was arrested in May 2010 in Iraq because the suspicion of having passed classified material to the whistleblower website WikiLeaks. Bradley Manning was arrested because he allegedly gave the classified video to Wikileaks. Manning also admitted to giving Wikileaks 260,000 pages of confidential diplomatic cables and intelligence assessments, all of which could be severely embarrassing to the United States. With arrested Bradley E. Manning as

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<sup>5</sup><http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-11966193> - News Latin America and Carribean, Contributor 10 December 2010 at 00:55 GMT

whistleblowers and Julian Assange as the owner of WikiLeaks because the publishing diplomatic cable document of the United States will merely realized that United States government did not pursuit democracy, especially for freedom of expression and opinion.

And also in the article 19 in Universal Declarations of Human Rights that related to the Julian Assange as owner of WikiLeaks are everyone has the right to be freedom in giving opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

### **C. Research Question**

According to the explanation about background above, the research question is: *“What is the impact of Julian Assange cases toward United States mass media images on the implementations of Democracy?”*

### **D. Theoretical Framework**

Theory is the statement that can answer the question of what. It mean that using theory is explaining the meaning of the phenomenon that happened. The statement that is called theory is a group of generalization that includes some concepts. Therefore, the theory can also be a statement that correlates some concepts



logically.<sup>6</sup> Earl Babbie in his book "*The Practice of Social Research*" explains that a theory is a systematic explanation for the observed facts and laws that relates to a particular aspect of life. He also remarks at least it has an organized concept as a basic building block of theory.<sup>7</sup> In order to answer the research question above, the writer will use two concept namely *Democracy Concept*, and *Images Concept*. These two concepts are best describing an analyzing this case and in the end will answer the question above.

### **1. Concept of Democracy**

Democracy is an egalitarian form by the government which all the citizens in a nation together determining the public, the laws and the actions of the state to requiring that all the citizens meeting certain qualifications have an equal opportunity to express their opinion.<sup>8</sup> In the practices of democracy is the extent to which a given system approximates this ideal and a given political system is referred to as a democracy if it allows a certain approximation to the ideal of democracy. Although no country has ever granted all the citizens including minors of the voter, and most of countries today hold regular elections based on egalitarian principles, at least in theory. The main elements of democracy considered to the essential ideas include freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press,

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<sup>6</sup>Mohtar, Mas' oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*, (Jakarta, PT. Pustaka LP3ES 1990) p. 186

<sup>7</sup>Babbie, Earl, *The Practice of Social Research*, (California, Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1983), P. 37

<sup>8</sup>Birch, Anthony H. (1993). *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy*. London: Routledge

which mean all citizens are adequately informed and able to vote according to their own best interests as they see. The term of democracy is often used as shorthand for liberal democracy, which may include elements such as political pluralism, equality before the law, the right to petition elected officials for redress of grievances due process, civil liberties, human rights, and elements of civil society outside the government.

In democracy system give people a chance to be leader or be leaded depend on the capability, because the democracy is from people to people as we can see. All those things inside of democracy is share a path of truth, the leader could be share only truth, the press and the media also share a truth, and Julian Assange as the journalist should be listened because he is the journalist and already give or share the path of truth to the people although what he share is the leak document of United States government.

While there is no universally accepted definition of the democracy, equality and freedom have both been identified as important characteristics of democracy since ancient times. These principles are reflected in all citizens being equal before the law and having equal access to legislative processes. In representative the democracy, every vote has equal weight, no unreasonable restrictions can apply to

anyone seeking to become a representative, and the freedom of its citizens is secured by legitimized rights and liberties which are generally protected by a constitution.<sup>9</sup>

According to Aristotle in his book "*Politics*" said the underlying principle of democracy is freedom, since only in a democracy the citizens can have a share in freedom. There are two main aspects of the freedom: being ruled and ruling in turn, since everyone is equal according to number, not merit, and to be able to live as one pleases. The fundamental principle of the democratic form of constitution is liberty, mean everyone usually asserted to be implying under the constitution participate in liberty, to assert liberty as the aims of democracy. One factor of liberty is to the govern and be governed in turn, for the popular principle of justice is to have equality according to number, not worth, and the principle of justice is prevailing, then multitude must of necessity be sovereign and the decision of the majority must be final and must constitute justice, in democracy each of the citizens ought to have an equal share, so that it results in democracies the poor are more powerful than the rich, because there are more of them and whatever is decided by the majority is sovereign. Then is one mark of liberty which all democrats set down as a principle of the constitution. And one is for a man to live as he likes, for they say that this is the function of liberty, in as much as to live not as one likes is the life of a man that is a slave. This is the second principle of democracy, and from it has come the claim not to be governed, preferably not by anybody, or failing to govern and be governed in

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<sup>9</sup>M. Hénaff, T. B. Strong, *Public Space and Democracy*, University of Minnesota Press

turns; and this is the way in which the second principle contributes to egalitarian liberty.<sup>10</sup>

Related to the case of Julian Assange, as we know the democracy is the basic ideology of United States government give freedom to the WikiLeaks under Julian Assange to publish anything in their website. But the fact is United States intelligence and Interpol is hunted for Julian Assange and will arrest him because of the leak and publish the secret military of United States army. Two of the main elements of democracy considered to the essential ideas include freedom and freedom of the press already give Julian Assange freedom to do what he want as long as related to the fact in newspaper and website because Julian Assange is journalist. Otherwise in the free press dictatorship cannot tolerate free and critical mass media and democracies cannot be work without the observations public fact proving by them. One of the clearest ways to determine the degree of democracy in a country is to see how free its press is. The mass media provide citizens with fact, raise public awareness, and keep rulers responsive to mass demands. Without a free and critical press, rulers can disguise wrongdoing and corruption and lull the population into passive support.

According to Justice Hugo Black

“Only a free and unrestrained press can effectively expose deception in government. And paramount among the responsibilities of a free press is the duty to prevent any part of the Government from deceiving the people and sending them off to distant lands to die of foreign fevers and

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<sup>10</sup>Aristotle, *Politics*.1317b (Book 6, Part II)". Perseus.tufts.edu. Retrieved 2010-08-22.

foreign shot and shell. The newspaper nobly did precisely that which the founder hoped and trusted they would do”.<sup>11</sup>

In a nation state especially for the state which uses democracy as their system, then press or mass media as the hand of government to be closer to the public must be free and without any manipulations from the government. Public needing is the truth and hopes to the government also always give a truth.

## **2. Concept of Images**

According to Lawson and Bond Bovy (1997), Mathieson and Wall (1982), the image is an expressions, prejudices, imaginations, and emotional thoughts and individual or group have of particular object or place.<sup>12</sup> Image as a simple explanation, is an idea and the value judgments of a target audience on a specific country, nation, subject or a product. It is how the audience shapes the publicity in their mind. Beliefs, ideas, feelings and impressions shape the individual's thoughts and by the light of it, image is the cluster of meanings that are shaped in minds by which are heard, told and remembered. This explanation shows that image is formed by many factors, and behaviors of the individuals are affected by the objects. The factor that is formed by images is enemy, ally, colony, degenerate image have

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<sup>11</sup>Michael G. Roskin, Robert L. Cord, James A. Medeiros, Walter S. Jones, *Political Science an Introduction*, Prentice Hall International London, 2000.

<sup>12</sup> I GedePitana, *Sosiologi Pariwisata*, (Yogyakarta; Andi) page 64

identifiable and interrelated component. Another main principle of image is, when they are established once, it is too difficult to change.

An image gives positive and negative information toward domestic and foreign tourist. An image can be explained and clarified the correct information through mass media and other promotion ways, with consideration to security guarantee. When the case of Julian Assange hunted by United States intelligence spread in newspaper and internet, many people seek and justified that United States policy was incorrect and according to Russian President Vladimir Putin in press conference said “*is this democracy?*”

In order to take the relativity to the case of Julian Assange and WikiLeaks as the actor of the leaks United States diplomatic cable, United States as known is a country which have high rate of freedom in most of all aspect behind the government like newspaper, television, radio, internet and other mass media. When the cases of Julian Assange which is Journalist going to jail and arrested because of the publishing document in newspaper and in WikiLeaks, it mean the United States government obviously trying to decrease or probably broke the mass media image in United States which already known and given by the government. As democracy principle from United States government is give freedom to all the people to be free in expression and speech or publishing in mass media as long as that was the fact. According to McQuail (2000) in acknowledging the rapidly changing environment in which the mass media operate offer us a useful set of criteria through which we can

define the contemporary mass media. He sees the mass media significance as arising from its near universality of reach, great popularity and public character. McQuail argues that these features consequences for the cultural and political organization of contemporary societies.

In respect of politics McQuail defined the mass media as:

- An essential element in the process of democratic politics by providing an arena and channel for wide debate, for making candidates for offices widely known and for distributing diverse information and opinion.
- A means of exercising power by virtue of the relatively privileged access that politicians and agents of government can generally claim from the media as a legitimate right.<sup>13</sup>

The mass media as the hand of the government mean doesn't control all those things inside of the mass media, like share a information which is already move away from the truth or telling lies. The mass media as the hand of government is to give the right to the people or public about the thing which is real and really happen, whether it bad or good news, people or public had to know.

## **E. Hypothesis**

From the background above, the writer get two hypotheses. From the implementation of democracy, first impact from Julian Assange as journalist cases toward United States mass media images is the government of United States denied the truth. And the second is there are no more freedom of expression, freedom of

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<sup>13</sup> Devereux Eoin, *Understanding the Media*, Sage Publications London, 2003

opinion, and freedom publications as known as the main element of democracy in United States.

### **F. Purpose of Research**

The purpose to choose this research is:

1. To analyze the impact from Julian Assange toward United States democracy which already being suspect and target hunted of Interpol and United States Intelligence.
2. To explain the effort of United States government on the case of Julian Assange as owner of Wikileaks in the case of publishing United States diplomatic cable in the newspaper and website.
3. To discuss the possibility of United States government to broke their mass media image as high rate of free express the opinion in mass media when try to arrest Julian Assange.
4. To apply the theory of International Relations related to the study case.



### **G. Method of Research and Data Analysis**

In order to conduct the research and discussing the material mentioned in the system of writing, the writer utilizes several methods below:

1. Study of literature, this thesis is using descriptive methods which describes and explain problem based on the data and information. Data collections are collected through library research that is related to the content analysis and expertise concept that is published in the articles, textbooks, journals, website, and other resources.
2. Data analysis, the relevant data that are obtained through study of literature will be analyzed and examined in order to gain the validity and relevancy to be used as the sources in the research.
3. The verification of hypothesize is derived from discussion of the problem and data analysis.

### **H. The Range of Research**

In making the research to be focus, the range of research is from 2006 since WikiLeaks born until 2011 when Julian Assange has become target hunt of Interpol and United States intelligence. However, this research is opened for other relevant data outside that range as long as connected to support the research.

## **I. System of Writing**

The outline of this thesis is described as follow:

### **CHAPTER I**

This chapter about introduction which is included problem background, research question, research objectives, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purpose of research, method of research and data analysis, and the range research.

### **CHAPTER II**

#### **The Background of United States Democracy and The Story Of United States Mass Media Before Julian Assange Cases**

This chapter describes about United States Democracy as the ideology of United States government since the declaration of independence and the images of the mass media before case of Julian Assange and Wikileaks which make mass media of United States as high rate in publishing being smears.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **Julian Assange and Wikileaks as The Main Actor of Leaks United States Diplomatic Cable**

This chapter will give general description about WikiLeaks and Julian Assange as the main actor in the cases of leak or hacking the United States and other country secret diplomatic cable.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **The Impact of Wikileaks Toward United States Mass Media Under Democracy**

This chapter describes about the United States images especially in mass media after the cases of Julian Assange and Wikileaks.

## **CHAPTER V**

Conclusion.