

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

China is the state with a strong ideology of Communism. After the founding of the People Republic of China in 1949, the Communist Party of China (CPC) led the Chinese people of all ethnic groups to overcome various difficulties, transforming China from a poor and backward semi-colonial and semi-feudal country into a socialism state with initial prosperity.¹ This regime of Communist was dominant especially in the process of policy. It can be seen from the constitution that more than forty years later, the constitution of PRC adopted at the fifth National People's Congress on December 4th, 1982, committed its preamble to 'the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought'.² Mao declared in 1945 that from the very beginning Communist Party based it self on the theories of Marxism-Leninism because Marxism-Leninism is the crystallization of the most correct and most revolutionary scientific thought of the world proletariat.

Recently, Chinese domestic situation showed the tendency of conservatism followed by the increase of the military influence which ally with CPC and bureaucrat. This tendency can be seen from the intensive anti-corruption campaign, the increase of budget and influence of military in foreign decision

¹ *China Facts & Figure 2007* (China: Foreign Language Press, 2007).

² Allen S. Whiting, *Foreign Policy of China*, ed. Englewood Cliffs. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1958) pg. 251.

making process, stern measures toward rebel, restriction policy of economic sector, news, and information selection.³ In China, which uses the ideology of Communism, communication system is centralized. Common people are not allowed to access internet freely.⁴

While Chinese government is restricting freedom of speech, world is going borderless. China cannot deny that the development of technology and science has made the state boundaries become invisible. By the discovery of internet, the distance between other people and us looks invisible. We can access everything that we want. This is called globalization. Globalization asks for integration of whole human life aspects such as economy, politic, social, and culture. Although China is so protective to its people from any foreign penetration, China should accept this situation. Internet access is one of globalization products that also become a gate to open the information access of the world.

Recently, Chinese government was beginning to be aware of internet access threat. Internet access was being the most scared thing for the government because it was used by its citizen to access unwanted information and as the communication tools of activist movement. This situation should take a step to prevent any unwanted thing through internet censorship.

Censorship of political speech and information, including the one on the internet, was openly regularly used to silence criticism against the government

³ Juwono Sudarsono, Zainudin Djafar, and Fredy B. L. Tobing, *Perkembangan Studi Hubungan Internasional dan Tantangan Masa Depan*. (Jakarta: PT Dunia Pustaka Jaya, 1966).

⁴ *Controversial Cyber Laws Around The World*, November 17, 2009 (accessed August 10, 2010); available from <http://blog.sherweb.com/controversial-cyber-laws-around-the-world/>.

and the ruling of Chinese Communist Party. The government has put down demonstrations from organizations and beliefs that it considers a potential threat to “social stability” and control, as was the case with the Tiananmen Square protest of 1989.⁵

People’s Republic of China controlled content filtering system on internet under a wide variety of laws and regulations. The regime not only blocks website content but also monitors the internet access of individuals. This regulation started on Tuesday 3rd of January 1993. The escalation of the government’s effort to neutralize critical online opinion came after a series of large anti-Japanese, anti-pollution, anti-corruption protest and ethnic riots, many of which were organized or publicized using instant messaging services, chat rooms, and text messages.⁶ Amnesty International notes that China “has the largest recorded number of imprisoned journalist and cyber-dissidents in the world”. The offences of which they are accused include communicating with groups abroad, opposing the persecution of the Falun Gong, signing online petitions, and calling for reform and an end to corruption.⁷

Google Inc. is a multinational corporation invested in internet search, cloud computing and advertising technologies. Google develops a number of internet based serviced-products, and generates profit primarily from advertising through its AdWords program. Google was first incorporated privately on September 4th,

⁵ *People Republic of China* (accessed October 15th, 2010; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Republic_of_China).

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Controversial Cyber Laws Around The World*, November 17, 2009 (accessed August 10, 2010); available from <http://blog.sherweb.com/controversial-cyber-laws-around-the-world/>.

1998, and its initial public offering following on August 19th 2004. The company's state mission from the outset was "to organized the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful".⁸ The dominant markets of Google's services have led to criticism of the company over issues including privacy, copyright, and censorship. This is what has happened in Google.cn.

Google.cn is a subsidiary of Google Inc., the world's largest Internet search engine company. Google china was founded in 2005 and was originally led by Kai-Fu Lee. In January 2006, Google launched its China-based google.cn search page with results subject to censorship by the Chinese government.⁹

Google gave a good contribution to China for national income. China had more than 350 million internet users and received income up to one billion US Dollar. Google.cn served a market of mainland Chinese Internet Users that was estimated in July 2009 to reach the number 338 million. The income of Google in 2008 was 300-600 million US dollars. Google China had a market share in China of 29% according to Analysis International.¹⁰ Google started their operation in Mainland of China since 2006 and employed around 600 employees, half of Google's employee in the world. It could be seen from that number of employee that Google gave a big contribution in gaining employee. The research center in

⁸ *Google* (accessed October 15th, 2010); available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google>.

⁹ *Google China* (accessed October 15th, 2010); available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google_China.

¹⁰ *Pertarungan Google dan Cina, Siapa Penguasa Sesungguhnya*, August 10, 2010 (accessed October 19th, 2010); available from <http://blog.stikom.edu/tonys/2010/08/10/pertarungan-google-dan-china-siapa-penguasa-sesungguhnya/>.

China has been one of main innovation source for Google, especially because China had a lot of software talent from university.¹¹

The first time Google came to China, they agreed with the regulation of the government about internet access. In February 2006, Google made a significant concession to the Great Firewall of China, a regime of filtering content in China, in exchange for equipment installation on Chinese soil, by blocking websites which the Chinese Government deemed illegal.¹² *TIME* magazine reported that Google protested that it was in a tough situation but said it ultimately had to obey local laws.¹³

In March 2009, China had blocked the access to Google's YouTube site and the access to other Google online services was denied. The other action followed. China were starting to do self censorship. Prior to Google China's establishment, Google.com itself was accessible, even though much of its content was not accessible due to censorship. According to official statistics, google.com was accessible 90% of the time, and a number of services were not available at all.¹⁴

¹¹ *Google Tanpa Sensor Dialihkan ke Hongkong* (accessed October 19th, 2010): available from <http://web.bisnis.com/sektor-riil/telematika/1id169987.html?PHPSESSID=ho0g7sroan0vo11h8f3d7r6p81>.

¹² *Internet Censorship in The People Republic of China* (accessed October 20th, 2010); available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Internet_censorship_in_the_People%27s_Republic_of_China.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Google In China* (accessed October 13th, 2010); available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8582233.stm>.

Time after time, Google began to feel that this kind of censorship was very annoying. A lot of users complained that Google and other facilities such as YouTube and Gmail were difficult to access.

The censorship done by Chinese government in controlling any information accessed by user, and then if there was any unwanted information, the operator would directly block those sites. Since announcing its intent to comply with Internet censorship laws in the People's Republic of China, Google China had been the focus of controversy over what critics view as capitulation to the "Golden Shield Project".¹⁵ Due to its self-imposed censorship, whenever people searched for prohibited Chinese keywords on a blocked list maintained by the PRC government, google.cn displayed the following at the bottom of the page (translated): *In accordance with local laws, regulations and policies, part of the search result is not shown.* Some searches, such as (as of June 2009) "Tank Man" were blocked entirely, with only the message "Search results may not comply with the relevant laws, regulations and policy, and can not be displayed" appearing.¹⁶ China was getting angrier.

The conflict between Google and Chinese government emerged. Some people regretted the government's warning on Google, but the others agreed with this regulation. For China, Google had provided a space for freedom of expression which is the most scared thing for Chinese government.

¹⁵ *Google In China* (accessed October 13th, 2010); available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8582233.stm>.

¹⁶ *Google In China Google In China*, March 23, 2010 (accessed October 13th, 2010); available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8582233.stm>.

B. Research Question

Based on the background of the problem explained above, a research question was made: “Why China took a tight policy toward Google.cn?”

C. The Purpose of The Research

The purpose of this research was to identify the reasons why Chinese Government took a tight policy to Google.cn.

D. Theoretical Framework

To understand and analyze the phenomenon above, theories and concepts were used in this undergraduate thesis. According to Mochtar Mas’oed, theory is most general explanation to identify the rising of research question, while concept is an abstraction which represents an object, attribute of an object or specific phenomena. This research used one theory. The theory used was *Perception Theory*.

Perception is the way of someone’s view on a phenomenon based on the fact and information that has been provided¹⁷. Perception is related to the value and image of something. Perception usually will influence the attitude of someone to something and other people.

¹⁷ Ole R. Holsti, *International Politic A Frame Work For Analysis*, 3rd Edition. (New Jersey : Prentice Hall Mc Englewood Cliffs, 1997) p. 367

For a state, the attitude of the state depends on its perception on certain conditions. Thomas Franck and Edward Weisband assume that the way two states value each other will determine their way in interacting with each other. The systematic cooperation pattern will not develop among the states valued as aggressive, bad and immoral¹⁸.

Based on Robert O. Tilman, on the book of “*South East Asia and the Enemy Beyond: ASEAN Perception of External Threats*” There are 5 factors or dimensions that influence the perception:

1. Structural Dimension

The structural dimensions involve a consideration of political and bureaucratic machinery through which foreign policy is formulated and executed. Central to this is the question “Who makes the policy?” but there are other consideration as well. The foreign affair bureaucracy may selectively gather, filter, or subtly alter the message it transmits to the policy makers on top.¹⁹

2. Geopolitical Dimension

¹⁸ Mohtar Mas’oed, ”*Studi Hubungan Internasional: Tingkat Analisis dan Teorisasi*. (Yogyakarta: Pusat Antar Universitas – Studi Sosial Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1989). p. 19.

¹⁹ Robert O. Tilman, *South East Asia and the Enemy Beyond: ASEAN Perception of External Threats*. Boulder: Westview Press Inc., 1987) p. 7-9.

This is probably the most readily apparent cluster of influences. An enemy that is far away, all other things being equal, certainly seem much less threatening than one that shares a common land border.²⁰

3. Historical Dimension

This cluster influence is more complex and more difficult to deal with, for history must be considered at the personal, institutional, and national levels. Policy makers have had unique historical experiences that affect their perceptions, and in countries with strong oral traditions these personal historical experiences may continue through several or many generations. Of course, history reports that some countries have been friends and some have been enemies, and past relations obviously affect perceptions of the future.²¹

4. Socio cultural Dimension

The ethnic, cultural, and religious make-up of a country, and its policy makers, can be expected to influence foreign policy formulation.²²

5. Economic Dimension

The economic dimension may encompass several aspects. Firstly, foreign investment creates reciprocal obligation between investor and the host country, and these obligations may affect the formulation and implementation of relevant

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

foreign policies. Secondly, disproportionate foreign trade exchanges, one-way, may do the same.²³

Of those five dimensions, this research used three dimensions related to the case focused: structural dimension, historical dimension, and socio-cultural dimension. In structural dimension, Chinese government Communist regime plays a dominant role in the process of decision making. The decision making process also is based on and influenced by the principal of communist ideology. In historical dimension, since the victory of Communist at 1949-1970, China has been considering US as its enemy. Wishing that political revolution will be followed by social and economical revolution comprehensively, China struggled to clean-up the state from foreign penetration and established it citizen based on pure social principal.²⁴ Although its trading relation got better, China did not let its relationship with US get stronger. Chinese government agreed that they would not ally with US. It was because the effort to prevent US hegemony was one of the basic principal of Chinese foreign policy. Seen from socio-cultural dimension, the world has recognized that China is the oldest civilization in the world, and China is so proud of that. It strongly keeps its culture, and rejects the external penetration. China is also proud of its language. Chinese language is the must language. This rule is not only applied to its citizen, but also in a lot of colleges especially for foreign students. They must learn Chinese mandarin. The people in

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Walter S. Jones, *Logika Hubungan Internasional: Persepsi Nasional*. (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama. 1922). pg.194.

China don't really have a freedom of speech. The people are not allowed to criticize the communist regime, make a protest movement, or rebel.

The perception is closely related to the international attitude of one country. It is because the perception influences the decision making process on that country, especially in foreign policy decision making process. The perception of the decision maker depends on the belief system of decision maker himself/herself as well. The perception comes from the information based on the existing fact. Besides seeing the fact, the decision maker is also guided by the value that he/she believes. After combining the fact and the value, he/she produces his/her perception and make the decision which is suitable with his/her perception.

Holsti has described the relations between the belief system and the foreign policy decision maker (See Appendix 1).²⁵

To organize perceptions into a meaningful guide for behavior, the belief system has the function to establish goals. Thus, it actually has a dual connection with decision making. The direct relationship is found in that aspect of the belief system which tells us "what ought to be", acting as a direct guide in the establishment of goal. The indirect link—the role that the belief system plays in the process of scanning, selecting, filtering, linking, reordering, organizing, and reporting.

²⁵ Ole R. Holsti, "*The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study*" (accessed November 3rd, 2010); available from <http://www.cas.buffalo.edu/classes/psc/fczagare/PSC%20346/Holsti.pdf>.

Belief can be defined as proportions that policy makers hold to be true, even if they can not be verified. They are the foundation of national myths and ideologies, and efforts to question or examine them systematically are often met with hostility or even persecution. *Image* can be defined as any delineation of objectives, choice among courses of action, or response to a situation in the environment.²⁶

China with a strong ideology of Communism is very careful about the openness of information especially in mass media. In China, mass media is under the control of the government. In the other hand, although China has been trying to prevent the flow of western ideology to China by their symbol of The Great Firewall, China cannot deny that the phenomena of globalization can break through that Firewall. The openness of information access made people in China is getting smarter and more open toward anything around their life. Google as the product of US has came to China. Google is the most favorable search engine in the world. Google is the product of US with the mission “to organize the world’s information and make it universally accessible and useful”. The ideology of Democracy in US uses mass media as the most central role in democratic system, in which the media is used as the bridge between government and people. So, this mission is based on the democratic principle of US that mass media is one of the pillars of democracy, and then people should be able to access information freely. All kinds of opinion either in the form of critic or protest become input for

²⁶ Ole R. Holsti, *loc. cit.*

government. This kind of situations also reflect any kind of freedom that Chinese people want to achieve.

Value points out the general direction toward which our action should be redirected, and for policy makers, it also serves as reasons and justifications for goals, decisions, and actions.²⁷

In China, mass media is the tool to deliver the ideas which “must” support and strengthen Communist Ideologies and it has been commonly called as “*thought work*” since 1966. It aims at controlling all the media under government. That is all because according to socialist principle that the national priority is public wealth, not individual wealth. Any kind of freedom should be restricted by the government because it tends to endanger and cause national instability.

The existing *fact* stimulated a *perception*. China sees the western democracy as a dangerous thing. Western democracy tends to support over liberalization. Freedom of speech, freedom of unity, and the other freedoms of western democracy are the factors that cause rebellion, protest movement, or insult to government. The freedom in accessing information also becomes one of the dangerous things. Any unwanted information can be accessed, such as porn sites, human right violation, separatist movement, racialist, etc. These things are considered by Chinese government as the content that will endanger national stability and unity. Therefore, China has a perception that Google is used by US as the hegemony and political means that can endanger national stability in China.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

These perceptions become a basic reason for the government to make a decision, while the value directly becomes a decision. These perceptions pushed China to decide to take a tight policy toward the existence of Google.cn.

E. Hypothesis

Chinese Government took a tight policy to Google.cn because of their perception based on structural, historical, and socio-cultural dimensions.

F. Method of Research

This research was controlled through library research as the way of collecting data for explaining the problems as well as analyzing the hypothesis. All information supporting this research used secondary data comes from books, Newspapers, Journals, Internet, and other literature resources.

G. Range of Research

Focusing more on the topic of research, the writer limited the time the research was controlled. This research focused on the conflict between Chinese government and Google.cn in March 2009 when China started to block the access to several services of Google until January 2010 when Google announced that it was no longer willing to censor searches in China and might leave the country.

H. System of Writing

The system of writing was used as an important item of the scientific research. Thus in the process of writing, the thesis obeyed the structures and formal rules of scientific research's thesis.

Chapter I explains about the problem background, research question, purpose of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research, and system of writing.

Chapter II discusses about Chinese government that is based on the principle of Communism. It emphasizes how Communism principle has a great influence in controlling the technology of Information and its policies related to the access of information.

Chapter III discusses about Google and Google.cn. This chapter also discusses the tight policies of Chinese government toward Google.

Chapter IV analyzes why China took tight policy toward Google.cn. This chapter will elaborate from theories explained before and deeply correlate them to the case.

Chapter V gives the conclusion of all aspects discussed in the previous chapters.