

EDWARD SNOWDEN'S COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AGAINST INFORMATION DOMINATION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

This research explains how Edward Snowden disseminates data from the National Security Agency (NSA) secret program. As a result of Edward Snowden's espionage action, Snowden received sanction from the United States Department of Justice to file criminal charges against Snowden. In its implementation, the results of the leakage have an important on distrust between the allies and the United States government. Allied countries and the international public are asking the United States government to reform the NSA to be more transparent. This research focuses on qualitative research methods. Data analysis in the form of data reduction, data display, drawing conclusions and verification. The results showed Edward Snowden's communication strategy against the dominance of information by the United States government was to join the board of the nonprofit organization Freedom of the Press Foundation. The media that includes the disclosure of crime leaked by Edward Snowden are known as The Intercept, which means the media focuses on the disclosure of crime by the state based on documents leaked by Edward Snowden.

Keywords: *Communication Strategy, Information Domination of the United States Government, National Security Agency.*

A. INTRODUCTION

This publication describes Edward Snowden's strategy against the information domination of the United States government. In 2013, there were international problems involving many parties, especially the United States, that is the case of leaking the *National Security Agency* (NSA) program by Edward Joseph Snowden, who is an employee of the NSA. The NSA was founded by President Harry S. Truman on November 4, 1952. The NSA's job is to collect and analyze communications from other countries, and to protect information belonging to the United States. The problem regarding the leak of a secret NSA program that turned out to have been spying in secret by using information technology companies. Edward Snowden's secret program belonging to the NSA has been leaked.

Snowden leaked a secret program called *Privacy in Mobile Information and Communication System* (PRISM) run by the NSA. The PRISM program authorizes the NSA and FBI to access electronic services including cellular that contain internet data from internet services users such as Facebook, Google, Microsoft, Yahoo, PalTalk, AOL, Skype, YouTube, and Apple. In addition to the PRISM program called XKeyscore. XKeyscore program is a dangerous program because it can access all data from internet network in the world. From the XKeyscore program, the NSA can track a person's entire identity from the internet activities they use (Baers, 2013).

The leaks carried out by Edward Snowden ultimately shocked the international public because of the fact that the United States had violated the privacy rights of individuals, organizations and countries. The reason Edward Snowden dared to divulge the secret program was because of his disappointment with the United States information agency who collected all information from users of internet communication services that were very private.

Edward Snowden also disclosed to the public through the media how the NSA collects the information it needs, by collaborating with the world's largest IT companies and talking all information from global users, which definitely violates public privacy rights. Edward Snowden, who felt worried and threatened because he was trying to divulge the NSA's secret program, finally left the United States for Hong Kong.

The United States, knowing that Edward Snowden was in Hong Kong, immediately asked for his immediate extradition from Hong Kong. But Hong Kong can't do that because it doesn't yet have the right to detain Edward Snowden. In Hong Kong, Edward Snowden has been plotting to expose the NSA's secret program to the international public. Snowden invited Gleen Greenwald (journalist for The Guardian), Laura Poitras, and young WikiLeaks activist Sarah Harrison. Snowden leaked the programs through the tree men. In this case, Snowden is trying to tell the international public that the United States is building its political supremacy in a way that is not good or cunning (Muhammad, Husin, & Sahide, 2019). After leaking the secret NSA program in Hong Kong, Snowden finally tried to seek political asylum in several countries. Snowden is trying to send requests for political asylum to several countries, that is Brazil, Finland, Germany, India, Poland, Austria, Ecuador, Iceland, Ireland, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, Bolivia, China, Cuba, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Russia (Ibrahim & Iskandar, 2017). While in Russia, Edward Snowden was given freedom. However, because there is no treaty or extradition relationship between the United States and Russia, the Russian side did not arrest and did not return Snowden to the United States, in fact Russia let him.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study, the author will describe three previous studies that are relevant to the focus that will be studied regarding Edward Snowden's strategy against the domination of information by the United States government.

1. Abraham. 2017. Russia's Interest in Granting Political Asylum to Edward Josep Snowden. JOM FISIP Vol. No.2 - October 2017.
From the research that has been carried out by Snowden, who leaked classified information, has a Surveillance Program is a collaboration between 9 major companies from the United States, that is: Yahoo!, Facebook, Google, Apple, Skype, Microsoft, PalTalk, YouTube, and AOL. After leaking classified information, the US labeled Snowden a traitor and spy. And today, Snowden lives in Russia is granted asylum and protection from Russia. The concept used in this research is the concept of roles and uses international organization theory. This research demonstrates Russia's interest in handling and granting Snowden's asylum request. Russia gave Snowden permission to live in Russia and he has been living for 4 years. The United States asked Russia to re-extended Snowden, but Russia rejected the proposal.
2. Engelbertus Wendratama. 2014. Media Coverage of Edward Snowden in 2013 and 2014. IPTEK-KOM, Vol. 16 No. 2, December 2014: 89-104.
From the research that has been done, it discusses how the image of Edward Snowden, which reveals the spying actions of the National Security Agency, is displayed by 10 sites online media from 2013 to 2014. The image of Snowden appears to be presented more positively as time goes on. The media also expressed criticism of Snowden and Greenwald, such as questioning their motives and condemning their actions, especially in their editorials and opinions. Similiar criticism emerged when Chelsea Manning to American military and diplomatic affairs in 2010. The coverage of NSA affairs is a reminder of the important role investigative journalism plays in society and demonstrates the oversight role of the case. As a result, the US government was held accountable for its policies and then forced to change some of them.
3. Devi Asprilla and Ayub Torry Satriyo Kusumo. 2016. Legality of Granting Asylum to Edward Snowden by Russia. Belli ac Pacis Vol .2 No.1 June 2016.
This study aims to analyze the suitability of Russia's actions in granting asylum to Edward Snowden and normative aspects of international law consisting of the concepts and principles of asylum regulated in various international instruments related to asylum as the object of study. This research is an analytical research with a sculpture and conceptual approach whose sources use primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. The result showed that Russia's action in granting asylum to Edward Snowden was legal and in accordance with the principles of asylum in international law even though the asylum granted to him was temporary.

C. METHOD

This research focuses on qualitative research methods which generally refer to data collection and strategies or data analysis techniques, which rely on non-numeric data. Qualitative methods are used by the authors to get a better understanding of how we understand certain events, phenomena, regions, countries, organizations, or individuals. However, it is undeniable that the author will find numerical data considering that this study examines the events and facts that occurred in the Edward Snowden case.

Data collection methods are techniques or methods that can be used by researchers for data collection. Pointing to an abstract word and not manifested in objects, but its use can only be seen through: interviews, observations, exams (tests), documentation and others. The data collection method that will be used by the author is *library research* to assist in the research process. *Library Research* is collecting data by reviewing a number of literatures in the form of books, scientific journals, documents, newspapers, papers, internet, and articles related to the problem (Sugiyono, 2017).

In this study, secondary data will also be used. Secondary data is a source of research data obtained through intermediary media whose information is obtained indirectly from the source but through documents such as books, online news, PDFs and another written reports (Sugiyono, 2017).

Data analysis technique is the most decisive step of a research, because data analysis serves to conclude research results. Data analysis can be done through the following stages: (Miles, Mathew, & Huberman, 1992).

a. Data Reduction

Data reduction is done by collecting the results of observation notes, interviews, plus the results of recording documentation. The data that has been reduced will provide a clear picture and make it easier for researchers to collect data and then present the data. Data presentation is a systematic collection of information that provides possibility of drawing conclusions and taking action. The presentation can be in the form of matrices, graphs, networks, and charts. In qualitative research, data presentation can be done in the form of brief descriptions, charts, relationships between categories and the like.

b. Data Display

Display data is used as material to construe the data to draw conclusions. The presentation of data that is most often used in qualitative research is in the form of narrative text from field notes. In presenting the research data, the researcher construe the findings in the form of communicative words according to the research focus. Display data in the form of: "*the most frequent form display data from qualitative research data in the past has been narrative text*" (Sugiyono, 2017). From the opinion above we can see that the most important thing that is often used to present data in qualitative research is narrative text, all designed to combine information that is arranged in a coherent and easy-to-understand form. Presentation of data by describing a set of structured information that provides direction and drawing conclusions and taking action, presenting qualitative data in the form of narrative text.

c. Withdrawal or Verification

The conclusion in qualitative research is a description of an object that was previously unclear. Drawing conclusions in the form of construe activities, that is finding the meaning of the data that has been presented. The method used varies, can use contrast comparison, clustering (grouping), and linking each other.

D. EXPLANATION

In analyzing problems related to Edward Snowden's Communication Strategy Against the Information Domination of the United States Government, the author uses appropriate theories and concepts to describe the existing problems, that is:

1. The Concept of Communication (Harold D. Lasswell)
2. The Concept of the New Social Movement

Communication Concept

According to Lasswell, communication is a process of delivering messages through the media to the recipient of the message that causes a certain effect. Lasswell's communication model describes a scientific study of the communication process that focuses on the various derivatives of each element of communication and is at the same time the answer to the questions he has put forward. Lasswell communication model is grouped into the form of a linear communication model.

In the linear communication model, communication is seen as a process that runs in one direction or *One Way Communication* where the sender of the message or the sender is the only communication element that sends a message to the recipient of the message. The recipient of the message is described as not providing feedback or response to the message sent. Message signal *is encoded* and sent through the media. Generally, the linear communication model is applied in the context of mass communication such as television, radio, and others (Lasswell, 1948).

This in accordance with one of the characteristics of mass communication, that is communication takes place in one direction. However, not infrequently this model is also applied in other communication contexts. The linear communication model is seen as inapplicable in human communication in general because in principle human communication is circular so that there is feedback or response, for example, assertive communication.

As mentioned earlier that Harold D. Lasswell tried to explained the complexity of the communication process through his writing entitled *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society*. According to Harold D. Lasswell, the best way to explain the complexity of the communication process is to answer several questions, that is Who Says What In Which Channel To Whom With What Effect? (Lasswell, 1948). The communication model introduced by Lasswell is not much different from what has been proposed long before by Aristotle.

According to Laswell, communication is a process of delivering messages that are carried out through the media to communications that cause certain effects. Lasswell's communicants that cause certain effects. Lasswell's communication model describes a scientific study of the communication process that focuses on the various derivatives of each element of communication and is at the same time the answer to the questions he has put forward.

The five elements of communication are: (Lasswell, 1948).

1. Communicator/source/sender.
2. Message.

3. Media or channels.
4. Communicant/communicatee/receiver.
5. Effect.

In Lasswell's communication model, there are 5 (five) communication elements that can also be used as a tool to evaluate the communication process and evaluate each communication element. The five elements are as follows: (Lasswell, 1948).

1. Who, refers to the communicator or source who sent the message.

According to Lasswell, in every form of communication there always someone or something that plays a role in communicating. Communication experts agree that what is meant by a communicator is a source/transmitter/sender. Related to media studies, the Who element in Lasswell's communication model can be studied through control analysis. Control analysis is a study that focuses on matters related to mass media ownership, media ideology, etc.

2. (*Says*) What, refers to the content of the message.

The second element in Lasswell's communication model is the (*Says*) What element which refers to the content of the message. Related to media studies, the elements of (*Says*) What can be through content analysis. Content analysis is research on the content of message and is usually applied through representative questions. For example, how many women are in the tabloid press, how minorities are depicted on television, etc. Some characteristics of broadcast media that are owned by mass media such as television or radio allow audiences to think in pictures or visually or think in sound.

3. (*In Which*) Channel, refers to the media or channel used to sending message.

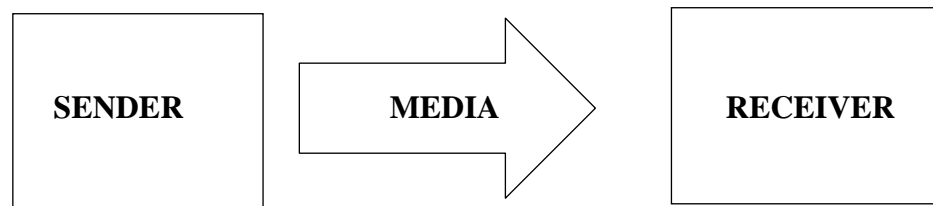
Then, the third element in Lasswell's communication model is the (*In Which*) element. Channel which refers to the selection and use of media in the process of sending messages. Related to media studies, research that focuses on mass media such as radio and others is called media analysis. Similar to content analysis, in media analysis research is carried out using various questions related to the availability of appropriate media that will be used to send messages, for example what media is suitable for the audience. Errors in the selection of the right media can affect the expected communication effect.

4. (*To*) Whom, refers to the recipient of the message.

The fourth element that is no less important in Lasswell's communication model is the (*To*) Whom element or who is the recipient of the message. At the level of media studies, studies that recipient of the message or audience are called audience analysis.

5. (*With, What*) Effects, refers to the media effects that are caused.

The last element in Lasswell's communication model is the element (*With, What*) Effects, that is the effects caused by the communication carried out. Study of elements media effects is called effect analysis. We communicate because there is a goal to be achieved. Lasswell does not emphasize interpersonal communication or interpersonal communication but on the effects of mass media.



- a. **Message Body:** Edward Snowden leaks secret NSA program to the international public.
- b. **Tools:** Video recordings, Live interviews, News in print and electronic media.
- c. **How to:** Edward Snowden turns to journalists, journalist and creators for help documentary.
- d. **Impact:** Generating a lot of public opinion against the actions of the United States which wiretapping several high-ranking countries around the world including its allied countries. To help spread NSA secrets in the United States.
- e. **Goal to be achieved:** Generate specific steps to reform the NSA then demand transparency of the United States government and finally regarding policy reform in general with other countries and the international public.

New Social Movement Concept

According to the Sociology Dictionary, a social movement is a form of joint action that aims to carry out social reorganization, both neatly organized as well as fluid and informal. With a different style, according to Giddens in his book entitled *The Giddens Reader* in 1993 defines social movements as an attempt to pursue a common interest or to achieve a common goal through *collective action*. Giddens explains that social movements are collective actions that try to promote or against change within a society or group (Giddens, 1993). Another figure, that is Sydney Tarrow, argues that social movements are a collective challenge based on common goals, a sense of social solidarity, and continuous social interaction between elites, against and authority holders. The diversity of conceptions of social movements is a natural thing considering that it is a complex and multidimensional social phenomenon that involves various aspects of people's lives. Social movements will always exist and develop in harmony with human life and civilized society with all the dynamics and problems that exist in it.

Classification of an empirical phenomenon about social movements, whether they fall into the *Old Social Movement* or enter into type the *New Social Movement* type is not easy. Pichardo and Singh put forward several considerations and characteristics that are considered to be able to distinguish between new social movements and old social movements, including:

1) Ideology and goals

New social movements began to shift and leave the orientation of issues and ideologies such as 'anti-capitalism', class revolution and class struggle, as promoted in the old social movements. New social movements develop and begin to contradict Marxian assumption that all struggle is based on the concept of class. The new social movement was born as a cross-class social movement that carried specific and non-materialistic issues.

2) Tactis and Organzing

That new social movement no longer adheres to the political party model of organization, or the industrial trade union model. New social movements prefer an organizing model outside of normal politics, applying disruptive tactics, mobilizing public opinion to gain political bargaining power. New social movements are synonymous with unusual, dramatic form of, action with previously mature planning, complete with costumes and symbolic represantions. The main goal of them, of course, is to mobilize public opinion and get the attention of the public at large.

3) Structure

The new social movement has a structure that is not rigid, flowing, to avoid the danger of oligarchization. This is manifested by effortes to rotate leadership, *vote* on all issues, and have an *ad hoc* organization that is not permanent. New social movements create structures that are more responsive to individual needs, in the form of open, decentralized and non-hierarchical structures.

4) Paticipants or actors

Unlike the old movements, where the majority of participants came from one particular 'class', the new social movements participants came from various social bases, such as in terms of gender, education, occupation, and class. New social movements are not only synonymous with certain groups such as the old social movements. New social movements participants struggle across social boundaries for the sake of the wiider public interest. Pichardo stated that the participants or actors of the new social movement were dominates by educated individuals, such as academics, artist, and humanitarian service agents.

From the case that occured between Edward Snowden and the United States, it can be seen that Edward Snowden is an actor in the New Social Movement to create a privacy security system that should be owned by every individual. Edward Snowden felt that the NSA program created by the United States had no justice and was threatening to a country or an individual. So Snowden seeks to initiate a *movement* so that the international public knows and is more aware of his own privacy. Edward Snowden as an actor in the New Social Movement finally tried to reach out to other parties in disseminating the secret NSA program by telling several mass media so that the international public could believe the message or information provided by Snowden.

New Social Movement in the Form of Collaboration Communication with Several Mass Media and Electronic Media

Edward Snowden's communication strategy against the United States government's information dominance was to join the board of the non-*profit organization Freedom of the Press Foundation* in February 2014. *The Freedom of the Press Foundation* was founded collectively in 2012 as a non-profit organization and uses *crowdfunding* to finance campaign using encryption tools and state-of-the-art technology extensively for jurnalistic work. This is what Edward Snowden said:

"Journalism cannot be present until the reporter and interviews can speak safely. When the law cannot guarantee that, technolgy can"

Snowden's involment in the *Freedom of the Press Foundation* is very meaningful for the devolepment of journalism and *whistleblowing*. The media that first published Edwards Snowdens's documents about the wiretapping carried out by *The National Security Agency* (NSA) won the Pulitzer Prize in the category of public service. The Pulitzer is the highest journalism prize in the United States. The media that won the Pulitzer were *The Washington Post* and *The Guardian's* resperantive office in the United States. Pulitzer is run by Columbia University and prizes are awarded to a number of journalist. However, the most prestigious prize was awarded to the media who exposed the leaked version of the Snowden NSA document, because the news had a big impact (Bryan, 2018).

The Pultizer Council's decision was controvesial. This is because the NSA's wiretapping is for some parties a state secret of the United States. Snowden is still seeking asylum in Russia to evade US demands. The Pultizer Prize is a justification for all those who believe that society has a role in government.

Based on Snowden's explanation, it was concluded that Snowden did leak several documents to several people, including journalist Glenn Greenwald who works for The Guardian, Barton Gellman who works for The Washington Post and Laura Poitras who works for the two media outlets. Snowden began to get public attention when his story was written in several media, such as The Guardian and The Washington Post. Through the book *Permanent Record*, Snowden tells about his role in the theft of thousands of secret NSA documents that shocked the world in 2013. Snowden's story is also told in the Oscar-winning documentary, *Citizenfour* and in Oliver Stones's film, *Snowden* in 2014. Metropolitan published *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the US Surveillance State* written by Pulitzer prize winner Glenn Greenwald.

The media containing the disclosure of crimes leaked by Edward Snowden is known as *The Intercept*, which means media that focusses on revealing crimes by the state based on documents leaked by Edward Snowden. *The Intercept* is a online media launched in February 2014 by First Look Media. This media was created and financed by Pierre Omidyar, Iranian-American enterpreneur who founded eBay, an online auction website. First Look Media is the organization Omidyar founded to secure the United States first amandement. He empashized the freedom of opinion, association, and voice are the most essential things in the life of the state (Dugas, 2016).

Edward Snowden's only hope of fighting the United States goverment's information dominance was with the intense media attention he would get that would help keep him safe and prompt several governments to offer protection to Edward Snowden. Snowden had requested by May 24 that the newspaper publish in full, witihin 72 hours, a 41 sheet power point presentation describing the NSA program used to collect traces of data left by targeted foreign residents who had used the internet abroad. United States of America. But the newspaper refused and chose to take the time to consult government officials about the potential danger to national security. In the end the newspapep published only four pases of the presentation.

Impact of Communication Cooperation with Several Mass Media and Electronic Media by the United States on Other Countries

The existence of a communication strategy by Edward Snowden against the domination of information by the United States government in the form of collaborative communication with several mass media and electronic media has added to the anger of countries friendly to the United States. Here are the reactions of friendly countries regarding the Edward Snowden case.

1. France

The impact of the communication of cooperation with some mass media and electronic media by Edward Snowden is the occurrence of disputes and the cancellation of cooperation or diplomatic relations between countries. Like the relationship between the United States and France. Snowden's strategy against the United States government's domination of information had a major impact on bilateral and multilateral relations of the State. The existence of *The Intercept* or media that reveal crimes by the state based on documents leaked by Edward had reached the French mass media. The results of intercepted conversations between the French leader and several foreign officials and diplomats are important issues. One of them discussed the Greek debt crisis and the relationship between the Hollande government and Angela Merkel in Germany (Frederic, 2010).

The case of wiretapping carried out by the United States against France, has an impact on diplomatic relations between the two countries. America and France are known to the world as allies, and good cooperation partners. America and France are heavily involved in cooperation in almost all sectors. Both countries are included in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which is an organization in the security and military fields. The United States tapped three former French presidents, Jacques Chirac and Nicolas Sarkozy, and the new president of France, Francois Hollande. Based on news from Reuters, this wiretapping report was first submitted by the French daily Liberation and the news site Mediapart. The French local media reported that the NSA (*National Security Agency*) spied on three French Presidents from 2006 to May 2012, when Hollande was elected to replace Sarkozy.

The information was reported by WikiLeaks through *The Intercept*, which is a government secret dissemination site, citing an intelligence report. WikiLeaks claims that the data was obtained from NSA intercepts of communications by Hollande, Sarkozy (2007 - 2012), and Chirac (1995 - 2007), a number of cabinet ministers, as well as the French ambassador to the United States.

The United States conducts intelligence activities globally. In this case, there is no country that escapes the surveillance of spies (intelligence) carried out by America. The goal is to find out how much influence each country has on terrorism activities that will threaten global security, including America. These actions have an impact on community activities in a country (Wallechinsky, 2011).

The mass media and electronic media have a vital role for Edward in carrying out a strategy of protection and resistance against the United States. With the mass media, the world has become aware of the rottenness of the United States, including Germany and the European Union (EU). A number of German

citizens criticized the sanctions issued by the German government. They said the sanctions were not enough because only a small part of the intelligence cooperation was canceled. Responding further to this criticism, even now Germany and France are also urging the issuance of anti-transatlantic wiretapping regulations to be issued immediately. The president of the European Center for Security and Strategic Intelligence Claude Moniquet has doubts over the rules. European Union leaders warned that mutual distrust would undermine intelligence cooperation. United States of America was trying to continue to defuse the anger of his allies.

A number of senators and several high-ranking officials of the United States (US) government defended their actions to tap the European Union (EU). They said the action is usually done by other countries. The US National Security Agency, the NSA, released it through the *Associated Press*. The leaked information exposes claims that systematic espionage was carried out by the NSA and CIA on a global scale. With main targets such as China and Russia, including a number of allies such as the European Union and Brazil. The scandal also led to the NSA being forced to admit that it had collected the electronic mail and telephone data of millions of Americans. The United States carried out acts of espionage not only against France. German Chancellor Angela Merkel has also been a victim of wiretapping by the NSA. In 2014 the German government was angry and protested against the United States government for carrying out wiretapping actions. However, the United States through the National Security Agency (NSA) is still carrying out this action again. This made the German government again send a strong protest against the United States. Germany has called for talks on a free market agreement between the European Union and the US to be suspended over the issue. The issue of wiretapping is also expected to have an impact on the European Union's policy to tighten the protection of personal data. *Der Spiegel* magazine also dismantled the behavior of the United States government through the United States Intelligence which was said to have tapped the EU Embassies in Washington City and New York. They also tapped into the EU headquarters located in the City of Brussels, Belgium (Shuster, 2013).

The United States carried out spying in the process of negotiating US-EU trade cooperation. European Union officials said this scandal could threaten the sustainability of economic cooperation between the two sides. EU Commissioner for Law. German Chancellor Angela Merkel has become a symbol of European anger at the US over the wiretapping allegations. Merkel is one of the heads of state tapped by Uncle Sam's country. Merkel also joined Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff in submitting a proposal for a United Nations (UN) resolution on the protection of civil liberties. Both are heads of state who are being tapped by the United States intelligence service, the NSA. The German government cut off intelligence cooperation it had with the United States and Britain. The move was taken as a sanction for wiretapping actions carried out by the two countries in Germany. Germany is sensitive to wiretapping. Repressive actions during the Nazi government and the communist regime in East Germany made the country highly value the freedom of its citizens. Snowden exposed the US wiretapping to

Germany through Der Spiegel magazine. Apart from Germany, the US has also tapped into the member states of the European Union (EU) (Shuster, 2013).

Strong criticism emerged from Berlin and Paris after reports of German Chancellor Angela Merkel's phone tapping. The report comes from information gathered by former NSA contractor Edward Snowden about the activities of the United States secret service, which conducts extensive data interception in various parts of the world. The NSA's previous activities have sparked strong criticism in Brazil and Mexico. Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff this month canceled a planned visit to the United States after reports emerged that the NSA had intercepted Brazilian government communications. French President Francois Hollande also expressed a strong protest over the wiretapping of French citizens (Robert, 2013).

2. Germany

Germany's response to the United States is:

a. Chancellor Merkel's statement via spokeswoman Steffen Seibert July 1, 2013.

Two days after Spiegel published a report that the NSA was carrying out operations to collect data on German communications of up to 500 million units of data per month, Chancellor Merkel made a comment. Through his spokesman Steffen Seibert, said: "(activities) Spying on friends and allies, this is unacceptable. Intolerable. We're not in a cold war anymore." (Nuechterlein, 2019).

In addition to the statement from Chancellor Merkel, Spiegel also quoted a statement issued by German Interior Minister Hans-Peter Friedrich. Minister Friedrich demanded an apology from the US as reported by Focus magazine: "...If the reports that are published are true, then it will be a challenge to trust between the EU and the US." In his article, Spiegel criticized Chancellor Merkel and her ministers that the German government should carry out its political mandate to protect the public and ensure German sovereignty. If both of these efforts fail, then Chancellor Merkel should not be re-elected in the upcoming general election (Manne, 2016).

b. Merkel's statement July 10, 2013: "US is our Truest Ally Throughout the Decade"

Germany's Interior Minister, Hand-Peter Friedrich, expressed his displeasure at the news circulating at the time. Friedrich explained that without information from the US and collaboration from the intelligence services of the two countries, the German government would not be able to prevent terrorist attacks in Germany.

The disclosure of Chancellor Merkel's cell phone tapping has more or less caused German public disapproval of the United States. The public questioned the status of the alliance between the two countries and looked skeptical of the friendship that existed between the two. Some view that this is closely related to the changing view of transatlantic relations between the younger generation of Germany which is no longer the same as the previous generation. German Foreign Minister Frank- Walter Steinmeier stated, "...for future generations, the value of transatlantic cooperative relations is not as important as previous generations".

Cancellation of *spy pact* extension with US and UK by Germany 2 August 2013 German government has canceled cold war era spy pact with US and UK in

response to the revelations of the NSA's electronic surveillance operations. Says German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle: "The cancellation of the administrative agreement, which you have proposed in the last few weeks, is a necessary and appropriate consequence of the recent debate on the protection of personal privacy".

This disclosure resulted in widespread public anger in Germany ahead of the October 2013 general election. The cancellation of this agreement entitles the US, UK and France to request protection from surveillance operations against their military forces located in West Germany. However, it was stated by an official of the German Government that the decision would not affect the intelligence cooperation that was already underway.

d. Verizon Contract Cancellation

On June 26, 2014, the German Government announced the cancellation of the employment contract with Verizon Communication. In light of the ongoing wave of disclosures of the NSA program by Snowden. As reported by The New York Times, the cancellation of Verizon's contract marks the beginning of the decline in the level of German customers trust in the US-owned communications service provider. Verizon has provided infrastructure services for the Berlin-Bonn communications network for the German Government. The network has been used for communications between German ministers since 2010. The contract was supposed to expire in 2015 (Robinson, 2015).

In an official statement by the German Ministry of the Interior stated that the disclosure of the NSA's mass surveillance program more or less shows that the German Government needs to raise the security level of its network to the highest level. This is intended to reorganize the communication infrastructure to support the security of the German communication network after the expiration of the Verizon contract (Cepla, 2017). Reuters said that German domestic communications company Deutsche Telekom AG DTEGn.De would replace the network services previously provided by Verizon.

3. Mexico

Mexico has strongly condemned the United States government for the superpower's accusations of spying on its leader, after reports emerged that former President Felipe Calderon's emails were hacked by the United States NSA. Data leaked by Edward Snowden shows that the hacking of President Calderon's e-mails was carried out in 2010, as reported by the German magazine Der Spiegel, citing Snowden's statement. *"While the NSA oversaw the communication of Mexican President Enrique Pena Nieto, even before he was elected last July, according to the Guardian journalist who first raised the leakage scandal"* Mexico's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said: *"Such spying is "unacceptable, illegal" and is against the principle of good relations. They urged President Obama to investigate this allegation"* (Bockley, 2016).

4. Brazil

According to columnist for the Guardian newspaper, Glen Greenwald, who obtained about 20,000 classified NSA documents from Edward Snowden and

published them, the classified documents shows how the United States spied on communications between aides to Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff. In the document, the NSA also used a program that could access Internet content that Rousseff visited. Rousseff's office said the president had held a meeting with ministers to discuss the issue.

E. CONCLUSION

Snowden leaks because of political motives and purposes or because of human rights demands such as privacy in general. The leak was based on differences in his political views with the ruling government. The United States, which is a democratic country and has freedom, is actually trying to spy on the activities of its own residents. The United States is charging Snowden with the spying Act and if Snowden is found guilty by a court, Snowden could face up to 30 years in prison. Responding to the US lawsuit, Snowden from exile said he would return to the United States if Snowden was guaranteed a fair trial.

Edward Snowden's communication strategy against the United States government's information dominance was to join the board of the non-*profit organization Freedom of the Press Foundation* in February 2014. *The Freedom of the Press Foundation* was founded collectively in 2012 as a non-profit organization and uses *crowdfunding* to finance campaigns using the tool. encryption and state-of-the-art technology extensively for journalistic work.

The media containing the disclosure of crimes leaked by Edward Snowden is known as *The Intercept*, which means media that focuses on revealing crimes by the state based on documents leaked by Edward Snowden. Edward Snowden's hope of fighting the information dominance of the United States government was the intense media attention he would get that would help him stay safe and prompt several governments to offer protection to Edward Snowden. The Guardian has the right to publish news about Snowden's leak of documents because there is a public interest in it. The role of the media is very important for Snowden as a form of self-protection and Edward Snowden's communication strategy against the domination of information by the United States government.

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