

Most Dominated Problems of Mass Media Dialogism in National Dailies during the Trial Process of Wikileaks Grounder Julian Assange

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Abstract

This paper examines media mediation, media effects and their impact on the literacy of the public sphere. To examine the medial text and media mediation's impact on various journalistic fields in different countries, I analyse during the current moment of "the global hunting" around WikiLeaks' founder Julian Assange. As the source, I use 764 published articles in newspapers and online media from six different countries: Sweden, UK, Ecuador, Russia, Latvia and Malaysia. The objective was to test the intertextuality with using of qualitative research. The period for analysis is the last 1.5 years (2012 - 2013, 04).

Results of my research show that the majority of articles demonstrate evidence of demonstrative rhetoric, despite the fact that "the Assange case" actually was a purely legal process and therefore demanded of the mass media factual, legal analysis of the situation.

My conclusion shows that here we can see a new, obvious signs of the new way of deliberate censorship by means of linguistic expression. This shows that a very special kind of censorship is implicit in the mission of the global media.

Keywords: media effects, International Relations, Public Relations, media mediation, censorship

1. Introduction

My study involves three categories intersecting relations: media mediation, international relations, Public Relations and their mutual interaction and effects owing to the legal and diplomatic "circus surrounding the case of Julian Assange which has now reached immense proportions unprecedented in legal history" (Dagens Nyheter, 19 August 2012).

1.1 Julian Assange and Different Interpretation of Same Event in Different Countries through Various Journalistic Fields

Julian Assange, is the founder and editor-in-chief of WikiLeaks, an organisation which two years ago was known for Assange's heading of activities in which they published a series of confidential governmental documents, most of them from United States. The information released through this organisation has been touted by Assange as being for the greater good, and he claims his actions are free speech. Reactions in the world media, diplomatic circles and in the social sphere because of WikiLeaks publications have been different.

Another aspect of the WikiLeaks revelations is a bit darker and shows a degree revenge on the part of informants and witnesses, and in confusion within diplomatic and media circles. No doubt, this was the scoop of the global public sphere; therefore, the reactions so far have been strong. Most of the secret documents which WikiLeaks was published were from the USA. For example in a BBC report, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was quoted as saying WikiLeaks' actions are "an attack on the international community, the alliances and partnerships, the conventions and negotiations that safeguard global security and advance economic prosperity" (BBC News, 01 December 2010), New York Congressman Peter King declared WikiLeaks a terrorist organisation and sought to prosecute Assange for espionage (WNIS radio, TMP, 29 November 2010). Fox News analyst Bob Beckel agreed and called for Assange to be outright assassinated for his actions (The Huffington Post, 25 October 2011).

Meanwhile, in August 2010 Julian Assange arrived in Sweden and already by 30 August he was interrogated by police on suspicion of raping two Swedish women. He himself denies any wrongdoing. Julian Assange remained in Sweden to be available for questioning for five weeks, until 27 September, when he left the country after receiving permission from the Prosecutor's Office. In this, the state issued prosecutor Marianne Ny an EAW. Several times thereafter,

Assange offered to be questioned in London or via video link. The prosecutor has categorically rejected this option, even though it has accepted it in other cases. After a long series of trials in Britain, where Assange tried to appeal, he lost in the end. In order not to be extradited to Sweden, he requested and received political asylum in Ecuador. Since then he had resided in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London without any opportunity to go out on the street. He refuses extradition to Sweden because he believes that the United States may affect the trial processes in Stockholm and may require his forced deportation to America, where he can face the death penalty because of his activities at WikiLeaks. No doubt that the legal subtleties are difficult to understand in most countries.

The difference between “charged” and “indicted” is still being discussed in the legal media and shows that the essentials are lost if the translations are incorrect. My investigation did not entail legal research, but it is clear that the vagaries of the legal has dramatised the “Julian Assange case” sharply, and transforms a routine investigation into scandalous political persecution in the media world. I will note that the “Assange case” has not only portrayed a “very negative image of the Swedish legal system” (Dagens Nyheter, 17 August 2012) but also discredits feminism, women’s right to a fair trial for rape (which is still problematic legal process in many countries). Most important is that it has confused the international media corps and has confronted international relations. One can only conclude that Oliver Stone, Michael Moore, Fidel Castro, Hugo Chavez, Rafael Corrales welcomed the decision on the part of Ecuador to grant Assange political asylum, but Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt and a number of leading politicians condemn this. PR experts even believe that “Assange case” has hurt the good reputation of Sweden and that Assange “deliberately does what he can to demonise Swedish rule of law” (Dagens Nyheter, 26 August 2012). We can conclude that one and the same event has been interpreted in different ways in different countries through various journalistic fields (Bourdieu, 2005) and because of this; it has not only influenced media coverage in different countries, but also the political, diplomatic and international image in intergovernmental relations.

1.2 Different Media Responses to the Same Stimulus

Mass communication has transformed the world into a global village (McLuhan, 1962) where we communicate more intensely through the internet. I chose the “Assange case” for my study because it provides me with an opportunity to observe more and more collective responses or reactions to information that are given to us by the mass media.

The Internet has broken down the boundaries between countries and continents. When an aircraft lands in the water off Denpasar Airport 13 April 2013 we know immediately about this in Kuala Lumpur, Stockholm or Paris (Daily Express, 14 April, 2013; Nyheter 24, 13 April 2013; Reuters/Paris, 15 April 2013). We have limitless room for information delivered simultaneously, but it often lacks a variety of facts or arguments that might help to provide an understanding of the true nature of the events. The same problem can be observed if we are describing the “Assange case” where the massive flow of information through virtually all the world’s media shows major differences in the interpretation of the event. We can see here different media responses to the same stimulus. That media have their effects is not in doubt, although it is difficult to establish when and to what degree and what the consequences can be. The effects, when they occur, can affect not only the relationship between media and audience, but even the relationship on higher, even global level. My analysis of the “Assange case” is proof of this.

2. Background to the Study

Concept of media relations is usually explained as a promotional genre that involves conversing with members of the press for such purposes as scheduling interviews, ensuring story coverage, supplying quotations, providing facts and figures and following up on commitments to cover a story (Almqvist and Wilson, 2000; Avenarius, 2000; Schmitz, 2011). What is most significant here is the idea that the media are sought out by institutional advocates as channels for reaching the general public (or chosen groups) and for conveying their chosen perspective on events and conditions.

2.1 Media Mediations

Media mediations are a different form of relationship and involve several different processes. It shall come into play often, when one form of media are using another form of media as source. This is needed when things happen concerning events and conditions which we cannot directly observe for ourselves. “In such cases, we often turn to other actors and institutions in society in order to contact us for their own purposes” (McQuail, 2008, p.85). The two - step theory of mediated contact with reality (Westley, MacLean, 1957)” is complicated by the fact that mass media are not completely free agents in relation to the rest of society” (McQuail, 2008, p.84).

Media mediation can cause various effects. There are several ways to differentiating between the types of media effect. Klapper (1960) distinguished between conversation, minor change and reinforcement. Lang and Lang (1981) pointed to yet other types of effects that have been observed, including “reciprocal”, “boomerang” and “third -party” effects. In a discussion of the magnitude of effects, McLeod (1991) points to the difference between those effects which are diffuse or general and those that are content-specific. Golding pointed out (1981: pp. 52-65) short-term and long-term effects

and McQuail (2008: pp. 465-474) accented unplanned (short-term), planned (long-term), unplanned (long-term) effects. Comparatively less research literature analyses the new media effects that arise as a result of globalisation (Bauman, 1999; Chomsky 2002; McChesney, 2001) and due to the “border effect” that we were forced to observe, for example, in 2005 during the “Muhammad cartoons crisis”. The “Border effect” began after 12 editorial cartoons, most of which depicted the Islamic prophet Muhammad, were published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* on 30 September 2005. The newspaper announced that this publication was an attempt to contribute to the domestic debate regarding criticism of Islam and self-censorship. Muslim groups in Denmark complained, and the issue eventually led to protests in many countries around the world, which included violent demonstrations and riots in some Islamic countries. It means that we can no longer measure media effects in separate countries individually (through domestic policy), because the effects of publications spread farther over country’s borders. This I regard as medial “border-effects”. Results indicate that this is such „exemplary case”, because the Assange case gives us the opportunity to study media relations in the context of international relations and diplomacy.

2.2 *International Relations*

International relations (IR) are a huge field and it can be study of relationships between countries, including states, inter-governmental organisations, international non-governmental organisations, non-governmental organisations and multinational corporations. It is both an academic and public policy field, and can be either positive or normative as it both seeks to analyse, as well as formulate, the foreign policy of particular states. “It explores everything from wars to revolutions to global gender inequalities to demands for international human rights to international trade” (Weber, 2010: p.2). Apart from political science, IR draws upon today in such diverse fields as and social and cultural studies, media relations and PR. “Every day global news media carry stories of events involving foreign governments and their populations. War rather than peace makes the news headlines, and understandably so, because the violent conflict of war so visibly ravages human societies. ‘If it bleeds, it leads’, as the cynical media adage goes” (Devetak, 2012: p.1). Global news by virtual communication today penetrates all barriers (nationally, regionally, and locally) and on the road (through the obstacle course of “noise”) (Fiske, 1998: p. 19) essential changes to the appearance (content) of its message occur. In this way, the content of the message may no longer correspond to the real events that had actually occurred in the real life. This creates communicative confusion which can be expressed in IR. That is to say, a defect in media relations may result and such can be reflected in international relations.

2.3 *Globalisation and Role of Public Relations and Diplomacy*

Globalisation today has been described as „a term which can refer to anything from the Internet to a hamburger” (Strange, 1996: p. xiii; Weber, 2010; p.108)). That is because IR theorists disagree on just about everything regarding the term “globalisation”. They disagree about when “globalisation” started (Leyshon, 1997: p.133; Hirst & Thompson 1996: p.2), what it expresses (economic, geographic, social, political or cultural phenomena) and whether or not one or more of these phenomena should be emphasised over the others. They disagree about whether “globalisation” is a process, an ideology (globalism) or “a state of being” (globality) (Marchand, 2000: pp. 289 -302). Even though IR theorists cannot agree about what globalisation is, they do agree that it is vitally important to our understanding of contemporary international life.

“The discussion of the practical similarities in the role of public relations and diplomacy is explored largely through academic literature” (L’etang, 2006: p 373). At a personal and functional level, there are clear similarities in the work of diplomacy and public relations practitioners. The political role for diplomats and public relations practitioners has come to depend increasingly upon the management of public opinion. Diplomats have long recognised the power of public opinion “no policy could succeed unless it had national opinion behind it” (Nicolson, 1954: p.51). Similarity between the roles of diplomacy and public relations have, there has been relatively little discussion comparing the two functions : 1) the role that public relations , specifically in its media relations role, can play in facilitating diplomacy and international relations (Grunig, 1993, Signitzer & Coombs, 1992) there are formulations international “public relations”; 2) “revolution in communications and technology means that nation-states can also be seen as activist groups in our global village and with the spread of intermittent issues, domestic opinion on domestic matters in individual countries is becoming more and more a matter for concern to others” (Hill & Bishop, 1994: p. 223).

In the era of globalisation “from the scope of diplomacy and public relations becomes broader as technology facilitates communication across national frontiers and creates more audiences” (L’etang, 2006: p.378). No doubt that from a “practitioner’s perspective and document, there is a number of international examples of politics and governance from above and demonstrates influence on the foreign audiences through careful PR influence and media management” (Traverse - Healy, 1988; p.3). I also draw the same conclusion through my research.

3. Methodology

My research is based on an analysis of a qualitative research (qualitative study) of 764 newspaper texts by two methods: critical discourse analysis and rhetorical analysis. There are four categories in this analytical model: 1) content, 2) relationships, 3) form and 4) intertextuality. Method is qualitative and based on the text, and context (Larsson, 2011; Larsson, 2007; Fairclough, 1995; Hellspong, 1997; De Beaugrande, 1981).

The analysis of content of text consists of text's themes and what the text says: rents the description highlights themes (propositions). Relationship is all about language like relationship-building resource. The form shows how people use the language, so that we can realise the content. Intertextuality is about the interplay and interaction between text and reader. Intertextuality sees when phrases, words and whole portions of text are repeated from other texts, calls and genres, as well as ideas in the text similar to that which formulated earlier (Bakhtin, 1997). Intertextuality includes different text markers (Holqvist, 1997) and that there is a dialogical subject in all expression.

In order to analyse all 764 newspaper texts, I used Bakhtin's theory and methods. A text is not solitary. Rather, it is a link in a chain of past and future texts. A writer, journalist or politician writes or says something in relation to what has been said and written by someone else. I also observe in my research re-contextualisation, it means dialogical relationships between texts: how words move between contexts, how they are used and reformulated and later assume some new meanings (Tannen, 1989; Fairclough, 1995; Linnel 1998; Ajađ - Lester, 2003).

All communication aims to reach someone, influence, strengthen and improve relationships: it builds up a relationship between writer and reader. Therefore, I seek to understand how the language can serve as a relationship-building resource. Important factor in my research is also coherence (Bussman, 1983; De Beaugrande, 1996). Coherence in linguistics is what makes a text semantically meaningful. It is especially dealt with in text linguistics, but in this case I consider coherence more like marker for text-analysis designed to see if text is coherent and meaningful on both a global and a local level.

Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. "Everything can be understood as a part of a greater whole. There is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others. Which one will affect the other? How it will do so and to what degree is it actually settled at the moment of utterance? This dialogic imperative, mandated by the pre-existence of the language world is relative to any of its current inhabitants, in users that there can be no actual monologue. (Holquist, 1981: p.426). A unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia (Holquist: p.270)

As a method of analysis, I also use rhetorical methods. I focus on persuasion, an analysis of the rhetorical situation. Furthermore I use three classic rhetorical genres: 1) legal (genus judicial), 2) genus deliberative, 3) genus demonstrative, for at analysing the rhetorical purposes of publication. Also needed are the three Aristotelian modes of persuasion: logos, pathos, and ethos (Andersen, 1996; Foss, 1996; Hart, 1997; Johannesson, 1998; Kennedy, 1998; Cialdini, 2007).

"We are taking language not as a system of abstract grammatical categories, but rather language conceived as ideologically saturated, language as a world view, even as a concrete opinion, insuring a maximum of mutual understanding in all spheres of ideological life. The unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralisation, which develop in virtual connection with the processes of socio-political and cultural centralisation," (Holquist, 1081: p. 271). The text exists not solitary there is a dialogical substance in all expression.

4. Analysis, Findings and Results

The text analysis work included 764 articles from 6 different countries. All newspapers on paper or online media publications write just about "the Assange case". The analysis period is the last two years (2012 -2013 April). It should be noted that during this period, I observed a dramatisation of events.

In the summer of 2012, Assange's claims were dismissed in a London court. This means that Britain can finally extradite him legally to Sweden where he needs to undergo a judicial process.

Such a turn of events once was not acceptable for Assange. Therefore, he requested political asylum in Ecuador and sought protection in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London. Such a turn of events is sufficiently dramatic to capture the attention of the entire world's media. Therefore, the 2012 - 2013 period is really interesting for my media research. Research results show that the greatest number of articles demonstrate reportage (translation) from the so-called main scenes: Stockholm and London.

4.1 Analysis in 6 Different Countries: Sweden, United Kingdom, Malaysia, Russia, Latvia and Ecuador.

Sweden is actually first the main stage. It was here that criminal charges were brought against Assange, and from here

everything began. Therefore, the Swedish media issued information about the case most frequently and most intensely. From here, I analysed two of the country's qualitative and largest dailies: the liberal Dagens Nyheter and the conservative Svenska Dagbladet, both published in Swedish.

During the 2012 - 2013 period, Dagens Nyheter published 140 articles that inform or analyse the events surrounding "the Assange case". The second daily, Svenska Dagbladet, shows greater number of publications during the same period, 157. Both can be classified as quality media in the country where newspaper reading is still high enough: for Dagens Nyheter 285,700 copies and Svenska Dagbladet 186,600 copies (Mediekompass, 2013).

Sweden is considered the country of origin source because "it all began" right here. According to this logic, everything that happens in Sweden would be substantial and change the course of events. For example, if "two women" in Sweden would withdraw their complaint or the prosecutor in Stockholm would suddenly change its decision, the outcome might be preferred. It means that, theoretically, Stockholm would be the centrepiece that generates news. However, that did not happen in real life. When Julian Assange moved to the UK, the source for all information in this case became instead London and the British media.

Before the insurance, I thought not think the information flow of foreign media would to change direction as drastic as it actually was. After Assange's move to London, British media took over and informed no one about the primary source of the case. During the 2012 - 2013 period the situation is the following: British media play the first violin like the source number 1 (primary) on the "Assange case". The Swedish media reflects the processes going on in the UK and this has now become a secondary source. By the "source" I mean information-factual description of events.

Of the English media, I chose The Guardian. At first it was thought this source should work only to serve as a comparison with the Swedish media information, but after reviewing all 275 publications, such as The Guardian published during the time period 2012 -2013, it became clear that the British media has control over the agenda.

The Guardian, known until 1959 as The Manchester Guardian (founded 1821), is a British national daily newspaper. The Guardian in paper form had a certified average daily circulation of 204,440 (The Guardian, 2013) behind The Daily Telegraph and The Times, but ahead of The Independent. The newspaper's online offering is the second most popular British newspaper website. The paper currently identifies with social liberalism. The Guardian was one of the media outlets that were allowed to publish WikiLeaks documents, but later there was a broad collaboration with Assange and his WikiLeaks. As the Guardian had collaborated for some time with Wikileaks and thus regarded Assange as a reliable source, I chose just that particular English Journal as representative of the English media opinion. "The Assange case" aroused great interest in practically all the world's media. For foreign media, sources were English or Swedish media where "the real action" was in progress: 1) court process like a never- ending story went on for a few years in the UK, 2) the diplomatic and political initiatives around the Assange case.

Legal processes are difficult to understand directly for foreign media due to the procedure and language barriers. Therefore the largest number of foreign media tends to use other media as the source. In this case, the primary sources of foreign media are also The Guardian, Dagens Nyheter and the Svenska Dagbladet, which represent the public opinion in their countries.

To follow how intertextuality works in practice, I chose to compare Swedish and British newspapers with the media from Ecuador, Russia, Latvia and Malaysia. This means that I have analysed 95 media articles about the „Assange case" from Latvia (newspapers: Diena, Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze, Latvijas Avīze, in Latvian), 50 from Russia, (Лента, РИА НОВОСТИ, Сиббора, in Russian), from Malaysia - 23 (The Star, Mýsarawak, Borneo Post, Asian Corespondent, in English) and finally 15 from Ecuador (El Comercio, Spanish). In all the countries I chose qualitative media (newspapers) that can be compared and this provides an opportunity to realise a qualitative analysis of texts.

At the beginning of 2012 (when starting my research) status of content has already passed over border to Intertextuality. This has occurred because of previous re-contextualisations in the media texts about the case Assange.

4.2 Summary of News Coverage

Julian Assange, born 3 July 1971 in Townsville, Queensland, Australia, is an Australian journalist, programmer and Internet activist, best known for his involvement in the online whistleblower platform WikiLeaks, whose goal is to publish classified documents. Assange runs the WikiLeaks member board and is a prominent spokesman in the media for the organisation. He has also been described as the site's editor and founder. Although he does not use the latter term for himself, he has admitted that he has the final decision-making authority, whether documents should be published on the site. Like everyone else involved in the WikiLeaks, Assange is not paid by the organisation, but works as a volunteer. In April 2010, it was said that Assange would be willing to invest some of WikiLeaks in Sweden.

WikiLeaks servers are in Sweden, because the country has a constitutionally protected freedom of speech. To be protected by this Act, it may be required that the organisation have a publisher in Sweden, which is why Julian Assange

has sought work in Sweden, but without success. 90,000 classified NATO documents relating to the American war in Afghanistan have been published on WikiLeaks, along with a security classified video filmed by the camera on a U.S. helicopter gunship in Iraq, showing how they shot dead civilian reporters from Reuters (Aftonbladet, 02 February 2012). Spokesmen for the U.S. government calls on other countries to investigate whether the leaks are counter to their safety legislation (World News, 10 August 2010).

In August 2010, Julian Assange visited Sweden to present the latest WikiLeaks release. During the visit, Assange was arrested by the prosecutor in his absence, suspected of rape and sexual molestation of two females. The arrest was lifted just one day later, on 25 August by the regular prosecutor Eva Finné and the charge was changed to molestation. On 1 September, the investigation resumed, now headed by the chief prosecutor Marianne Ny and the molestation charge was once again upgraded to rape. On 18 November, Assange was arrested in absentia by the Stockholm District Court and on 7 December it was reported that he was arrested by British police; when he arrived at the police station on 16 December, Julian Assange was released on bail. On 24 February 2011, the court ruled that Julian Assange should be extradited to Sweden. It was appealed and a new trial for extradition was conducted from July 12 to 13 2011. On 2 November 2011, the High Court in England decided to reject his appeal and that he should still be extradited to Sweden. On 19 June 2012 it was revealed that Assange sought political asylum in Ecuador, and thus was at the country's embassy in London. On 16 August 2012 came the announcement that Ecuador had granted him asylum. Nine people posted bail for Assange as a British court ordered 93,000 pounds be paid to the British Treasury. In the present situation (spring 2013) Julian Assange is „under house arrest” at the Ecuadorian Embassy in London. Situation is fraught with legal technicalities, because the English police hope to arrest Assange and extradite him to Sweden for further court proceedings. Therefore, his asylum at the Ecuadorian embassy is in essence a voluntary house arrest. There is no legal possibility for him today to move about freely. His only option is to proceed with the political process (when all the opportunities to win a legal case has run out).

Therefore, Assange decided to become a senator in his homeland of Australia and will stand for election to the Senate in the upcoming Australian elections. He has been hiding in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London (since June 2012) to avoid be extradited to Sweden where he is accused of sex crimes. Why does he persist and not want to go to Sweden? Because he does not believe that the trial in Sweden can be fair. Moreover, he suspects that the Swedes shall deliver him to the U.S., where he could receive the death penalty for his activities at WikiLeaks. “The Assange case” is an unusually convoluted story. He is the Robin Hood of the computer world, a whistle blower who “accidentally” raped two women in Sweden and therefore has become the world's most hunted man. Therefore, his fate had interested almost all the world's media and captivates readers. His “case” over the past three years has become an interesting never-ending story.

In December 2010, Assange sold the rights to his autobiography for over £ 1 million. He then said, according to the British Sunday Times that he felt compelled to write the book in order to pay his legal costs and be able to continue with WikiLeaks and its work. Several other books have already been made on WikiLeaks and Julian Assange. For example, WikiLeaks: Inside Julian Assange's War on Secrecy by David Leigh and Luke Harding, (Guardian Books, 2010), Inside WikiLeaks - My Time with Julian Assange at the World's Most Dangerous Website by Daniel Domscheit-Berg (Random House). A large political espionage and sex scandal on a world scale have erupted and are not finished. As I mentioned earlier, Sweden (the Swedish media) was the only source of information for foreign media for a few months in the autumn of 2010. Then Assange fled from Stockholm to London. Along with him, the arguments “moved” to the UK with regard to “why” and “how” crimes in Sweden have been committed.

4.2 Overview of News Coverage in Sweden

We begin with the Swedish media and their coverage of the “Assange case” in 2012. Most Swedish publications on the Assange case (due to the content) can be divided into 3 large groups: 1) what he is like, 2) what is he doing, 3) what people think of him. In the future, all three self-contained episodes should be marked containing positions: S1, S2, S3.

It is obvious that during my study period, publications in the two Swedish newspapers have gone across from juridical rhetorical communication style to the deliberative. It can be characterised as defensive position which can be explained by the change of the position of Sweden as the source.

Firstly, Sweden is no longer the primary source (in Assange's case) for foreign media, since all the events surrounding the case is in progress in the UK (after September 2010). Secondly, the legal proceeding in Sweden has become questioned/ moot/ controversial in most foreign media. The Swedish arrest procedure and prosecutor's actions have been regarded as unqualifiedly contentious, and because of the many „ambiguities” which this case exhibits. These ambiguities such as “it being unfortunate that the prosecutor did not further explore the possibility of interrogating Assange on location in London” (Dagens Nyheter, 17 August, 2012) confirmed the reluctance of the Swedish media. It can be concluded that the Swedish media occupy a defensive position in their rhetoric. It is possible to notice even a

hint of bitterness in reaction to “the very negative image of the Swedish judicial system that has been spread and some impressions take a foothold without foundation” (Dagens Nyheter, 17 August 2012). There is also a predominant dissatisfaction with the Swedish and foreign media as “lopsided and seductive for readers” (Dagens Nyheter, 19 August 2013) and shows the distorted image of Sweden. “The legal system in Sweden is independent”, notes Foreign Minister Carl Bildt. Assange’s fear of being deported from Sweden to the United States is considered by the minister to be a figment of “Assange’s fantasy world” (Dagens Nyheter, 8 April 2012). “WikiLeaks founder is doing what he can to demonise Swedish law. Unfortunately, Swedish representatives are giving him ample ammunition” - reasons journalist and Editor-in-chief Peter Wolodarski (Dagens Nyheter, 26 August 2012). Moreover, he believes that, “Since Julian Assange got into trouble with the law, WikiLeaks has conducted a systematic vilification of the Swedish rule of law. Organisations have accounts on Twitter, which has 1.6 million followers worldwide, and have been used repeatedly to put Sweden into a lousy light.” (Dagens Nyheter, 26 August 2012).

In the first position “what is he like” (S1), we may note that in Dagens Nyheter (DN) we almost only find negative facts. “His stay in the UK costs British police 2.9 million” (15 February 2013); “he is really sick” (29 November 2012); “He was set free on bail of 93,500”(28 September 2012); “his idea to move into an embassy is absurd” (22 September 2012); “there is no reason to treat Assange differently from other people in that situation. There should be equality before the law” (22 September 2012), “he describes himself often as a fighter of press freedom and freedom of information / .. / therefore it may seem strange that he has now sought and received asylum in Ecuador - a country that hardly counts as a role model in terms of press freedom” (17 August 2012); “he is a selfish coward who ignores women”, said the women’s lawyer, Claes Bergstrom, (17 August 2012), “he’s a douche bag”- said Swedish Minister for Social Affairs Göran Hägglund” (17 August 2012). The same train of thought applies to the other Swedish quality paper, Svenska Dagbladet. It writes that: “WikiLeaks founder has been hiding in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London since June 2012” (24 January 2013); “Assange replied evasively to questions about rape charges against him and the decision to refuse to allow himself to be extradited to Sweden for questioning” (24 January 2013). In 2012, the hacker group Anonymous had promised revenge against Sweden because of police actions against web-hotel PRO (which was previously WikiLeaks), in the face of a trial against Pirate Bay, and there were attacks directed against Swedish banks, government agencies, hospitals, armed forces, even the media: news agency TT, TV channel SVT and the newspapers scared people. There was the assumption that behind attacks is WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange. ”Hacker attacks open our eyes” - wrote Svenska Dagbladet (Svenska Dagbladet, 24 November 2012). “Of this hen, only a feather is left” - so comments Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt on the publication about the WikiLeaks secret documents (and Julian Assange) who shows that he has been an “informant” for the U.S. (Dagens Nyheter, 5 March 2013).

On the other position S2, (what is he doing) publications show both surprise and annoyance about the way how Assange is fighting against being extradited from Great Britain to Sweden. On several earlier occasions, Assange has also said that he fears being passed on to the US if he were to be extradited from Great Britain to Sweden. According to the Swedish Justice Department, the total number of extradition demands from the US since the year 2000 is six. It means that Assange also risks extradition, which is why Assange gets an amber light which the Swedish media avoid discussing. DN tells us that Assange “promises new revelations” in 2012 (10 December 2012), “he would move from the Embassy in London toward the Ecuadorian embassy for interrogation” (22 September 2012). Assange inspires computer attacks “this is just the beginning” (02 October 2012). “He has a fear that if he comes to Sweden in a police interrogation, he may end up with a life sentence in the U.S.” (17 August 2012); it is he who “participates in the legal circus” (19 August 2012); he is the author of “imagined conspiratorial theories about the two women working for the U.S. and the CIA” (08 June 2012); “he plans to be a senator in Australia” but “so far he is the only member of his party” (30 January 2013). The content of Assange’s speeches from his embassy balcony, or when participating in video conferences and working for the Russian TV channel, is not particularly attractive to Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet.

The third position, “what people think of him” (S3) has the richest content. Here we can follow the intertextuality of the most intense battle. As mentioned earlier, context is negative so use heteroglossia magazines, accentuating system, assimilation and authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981: p.424) because there is a dialogist basis for opinions. During the summer of 2012, the “Assange case” for the two established Swedish media was already finished. The linguistic analysis proving the same facts – “completed” (Bakhtin, 1981: p.424). “Displayed” (Bakhtin, 1981: p.426) version of events here was awaiting the next step in justice - Julian Assange forced deportation to Sweden. However, the situation changed drastically when Julian Assange instead received asylum in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London and settled there instead of standing in front of the Swedish prosecutor in Stockholm. Here are examples from the Dagens Nyheter: “Unfortunately, we have learned that you cannot predict what will happen in this case”, says Claes Borgstöm, legal representative for the two Swedish women who in August 2010 reported to police that the WikiLeaks founder sexually abused them (16 August 2012). According to him “the last word is not said” because to give Julian Assange

asylum would be “to abuse the function of asylum.” Here we can observe “stratification”: when the “authoritative discourse”, transforms into “inter-illumination” (Bakhtin, 1981: p.433). The public bitterness, discontent is visible and clearly draws the line between “characters zones”

Over there in the UK at the Ecuadorian embassy are „foreigners” and here in Sweden – “we”. Also “we” means “almost all, here with us.” “The foreigners” are the following persons: “a handful of his followers”(Dagens Nyheter, 17 August 2012), “Ecuador, which stands by its asylum decisions”, “Ecuadorian Foreign Minister Ricardo Patino, who will try to persuade the UK to give the 41-year-old Assange safe passage out of the country” (Dagens Nyheter, 17.August 2012), “Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa - he was the first person who invited Assange to seek asylum, like a moment in the international spotlight” (Dagens Nyheter, 17 August, 2012), Assange’s mother who recently visited Ecuador and said she believes that “Julian would enjoy it fade life country” (Dagens Nyheter,17 August 2012); Amnesty International, which called on Sweden to give guarantees of not being able to extradite Assange to the U.S. but “Swedish Amnesty does not support this statement” (Dagens Nyheter, 28 September, 2012), Russian President Vladimir Putin, who think that the case of Julian Assange and his extradition to Sweden, “seems to be political act” (Dagens Nyheter, 06 September, 2012), “falsehoods that abound in the international debate” (Dagens Nyheter, 26 August, 2012).

An interesting aspect is that during this period, one can observe some critical articles which are unlike the massive, public opinion or “authoritative discourse” trying to blow up the dominant “canonisation for public opinion”. Dagens Nyheter had 5% of such publications with “avoidance” content. Precisely these are “reaccentuation” and even attaches to the list of “enemies” prosecutor Marianne Ny. Two journalists “had been reported to Parliamentary Ombudsmen about of her handling of Assange case”, criticises the police inspector who helped report the crime and was also familiar with two raped women and “state feminism and its propaganda machinery” (Dagens Nyheter, 19 August, 2012).

“We” personalises the following persons or facts: “legal procedure”, “painful wait for the victim” (Dagens Nyheter, 19 August 2012), “the justice system in Sweden is independent,” the UK Foreign Minister William Hague as “warning that diplomatic relations with Ecuador can have be strained during the past year” (Dagens Nyheter, 17 August 2012).

The second newspaper, Svenska Dagbladet (SvD), has a more powerful blow up the existing “authoritative discourse” and begins to dive deeper with analytical discourse. Here, the division between “us” and “them” is not as contrasting, and instead of diligently investigating “what people think of him” SvD starts trying to understand why an ordinary lawsuit against a guy who is only suspected for rape has been transformed to campaign against Sweden as a country under the rule of law, and “how Assange has been able to get the world to question the rule of law in Sweden” (Sundberg - Weitman, 2012). Position S1 or S2 are no longer relevant to SvD during 2012-2013, rather newspaper attempts to understand why Julian Assange “and his supporters have unfortunately managed to spread a caricature of the Swedish legal system” (Svenska Dagbladet, 30 May 2012 and among the “enemies” (Michael Moore, Naomi Wolff, John Pilger) will also find “their own bad man/baddie” which are “representative owners of the Swedish legal system and other Swedish lawyers which have failed to reach out with a more accurate picture of Swedish justice” (Svenska Dagbladet, 30 May, 2012). The magazine uses the “refraction” of the “authority discourse” about: “is Sweden or is it not a country under the rule of law” (Svenska Dagbladet, 08 June 2012) or just “we live in a legal banana republic” (Svenska Dagbladet, 30 May 2012). Discussion takes the same “defence strategy” mentioned above and does not dare to go against the “canonic quality” of the discourse; legal features are discussed (“social language”) and nobody touches upon on the basic problems through broad and mutual discussion (“polyglossia”).

If we look through all the Swedish articles through the eyes of a rhetorician and use as measuring instruments all three rhetorical genres: legal (judicial), deliberative, demonstrative, one can note the following: most of the texts have an overall political message. The sender tries to influence the reader to accept the sender’s view of the Assange case. The aim is deliberative (82%), but the language: mostly “monoglossia” (67%) with a strong belief in the authority and the justice of the courts (89%) without “reservation” (5%) for opposite view. The “canonisation” and “centripetal” affect our “belief systems”. Forces are usually used in every language and culture. In this case have used the language forms (“homogenised” and “hierarchicising”), which help achieve the demonstrative influence. The lack of such text elements which Bakhtin describes as centrifugal and „polyphonic text” (Bakhtin, 1981: p.430) explains why the 279 analysed newspaper articles have a low level of coherence. That a text is coherent means that it is meaningful at the global and the local level.

4.3 Survey of Coverage in United Kingdom

From an analysis of the 275 publications from the British The Guardian, I usually only get comparative purposes. As I previously suggested, the British media had taken over as the primary sources (after September 2010, when Julian Assange fled to the UK). Britain is not directly involved in the conflict, but is forced to act as a watchdog. Julian Assange is monitored in London in two ways - with the help of the police and the media coverage. The emotional distance toward Assange in the Guardian’s publications tends to be more to legal and constructive character. The role as

the “first source” (for foreign media) requires quite a large responsibility. My survey shows that the Guardian (for the last three years) is one of the main sources of foreign media coverage of the Assange case. Maybe just this responsibility requires that the Guardian assume the “authoritative discourse” as we recite.

Again, I analyse the Guardian's media coverage of the “Assange case” while in 2012 - 2013, in terms of three positions: 1) what he is like (G1), 2) what is he doing (G2) and finally, 3) what people think about him (G3). In the future, all there contained episodes should be marked containing positions: G1, G2, G3.

In the first position, “What is he like” (G1) The Guardian has ironically distanced descriptions such as: Assange “is a high - profile opponent of the British monarchy” (02 April 2013), „the former computer hacker, an Australian citizen”, “the silver - haired Assange” (03 April 2012), “like Murdoch, born in Australia” (01 Mars 2012); “the Assange /plays/ melodrama”, is the protagonist in “political thriller” /.. / Greek tragedy /.. / “soap opera” (20 June 2012); “this is a man, after all, who has yet to be charged, let alone convicted, of anything”, “as far as the bulk of the press is concerned, Assange is nothing but a “monstrous narcissist”, a “bail-jumping sex pest” and an exhibitionist maniac” (21 August 2012); “this /Assange/is not a policy issue for the Labour party” (30 Mars 2013); “the former computer hacker” (03 December 2010); “is a creation of the global right, designed to make the left look ridiculous” (08 February 2013); “the man at the centre of controversy - who refused to be gracious” (24 January 2013); “self- proclaimed defender of truth and freedom” (25 January 2012); “has sparked intense personal animosity, especially in media circles” (20 June 2012).

In the second position, “what is he doing” (G2) The Guardian informs readers that Julian Assange is actually busy man; he “wants to be an Australian Senator”, “struck a defiant tone in a recent interview” (02 April 2013); “is under house arrest outside London”, “will interview noteworthy figures on a show called The World Tomorrow in Russia” (17 April 2012); Lady Gaga “dropped by the Ecuadorian embassy, to see Julian Assange/.. /stayed for him five hours” (09 October, 2012); he points out that “the truth is that I love a good fight. Many people are counting on me to be strong.” (02 April 2013); “has been invited to speak at the 189-year-old Oxford Union debating society” (10 January 2013); “he claimed the magazine's review of a book about him” (24 January 2012); “has torn down the facade behind which rapacious western power and journalism collude” (09 March 2012); “has long feared that the US would be able to coerce Sweden into handing him over” (20 June 2012).

The third position “what people think about him” (G3) - here we can see quite a synchronised position from the Guardian page: deliberative and demonstrative newspaper requires finding the exit from the locked position: to stay in the embassy is no way out for Assange, as well, “Ecuador, a country with a tenuous respect for international human rights law, is a counter - intuitive refuge for the free speech and transparency crusader” (19 June 2012), “the cases remind us that all too often whistleblowers suffer, while war criminals walk” (31 May 2012), there is a suspicion that the U.S. conspire to arrest Assange. “This week, Hillary Clinton will be the first US official to visit Sweden in years. Why? What role is the US government playing in Assange's case?” (31 May 2012). The danger that the process in Stockholm can be political has been pointed out: “none of that should detract from the seriousness of the rape allegations made against Assange, for which he should clearly answer and, if charges are brought forth, stand trial. The question is how to achieve justice for the women involved while protecting Assange (and other whistleblowers) from punitive extradition to a legal system that could potentially land him in a US prison cell for decades. The politicisation of the Swedish case was clear from the initial leak of the allegations to the prosecutor's decision to seek Assange's extradition for questioning – described by a former Stockholm prosecutor as “unreasonable, unfair and disproportionate” – when the authorities have been happy to interview suspects abroad in more serious cases (21 August 2012); furthermore, we observe supporters activities: „/Oliver Stone/ a longtime supporter of Assange” (11 April 2013); “young and old, they /supporters/ were there to demonstrate their solidarity with someone whose courage they admired” (14 February 2013).

Here it can be seen that the content interacts with other texts: the reproduction of Swedish lawyers texts, relative broad illumination of the position of Ecuador & Assange's supporters (John Pilger, Oliver Stone) critical reaction to certain events in “the Swedish system” (case: Pirate Bay), in Russia (Russia Today). Texts are intertextual with coherence. “Polyglossia” is used in order to give strength to different “social voices”. In this way, the “orchestration” of the language can be “polyphonic”. One can observe the lack of “reification” that would highlight more the real cause of “Assange case”: suspicions about his attempt to rape two women. This has actually happened, but the newspaper instead has used “reaccentuation” as method that gives possibility to change the “most essential” to “essential” and the texts give the impression that all of his problems were caused by WikiLeaks.

4.4 Survey of Russian, Latvian, Malay and Ecuadorian Sources used for Comparative Analysis

Russian media: this case demonstrates quite strong and synchronized consensus at all three positions. In the first position (here R1) is Julian Assange, usually called “Mr. Assange” (in English), which we rarely can establish for example in Swedish or The Guardian's texts. In Russian, publications use a similar description, but connects his name

almost always with the “good works” performed by WikiLeaks: “Australian programmer”, “founder of WikiLeaks”, “political refugee”, “during childhood he went to 37 different schools”, “liked self-training”, “he adored the exact sciences”, “president of Australian Institute for Collaborative Research”, “physicist”, “in 2010, the Guardian newspaper wrote him into the list of the 100 most influential people in the world”, “good guy”, one of the “two wanted men”, “the guy who has been locked away”, “the first enemy of the U.S. security forces” (Lenta.Ru, 24 December 2010, РИАHOBOCTИ, 13 December 2012, Газета.Ru, 17 August 2012; Lenta.Ru, 7 November 2013). In the second position (R2), one can observe that Assange is a busy man: has “unveiled a new talk show with his own version of a sensational get”, “discussed Israel, Lebanon and Syria on a video link”, “supports the opposition forces in Syria”, “did everything he could to minimize his prisonlike isolation and behaved surprisingly like a standard network interviewer”, “plans to develop scientific journalism”, “trying to avoid a mocking extradition to Sweden” (GAZETA.Ru, 16 June 2011; Lenta.Ru, 7 November 2013).

The Russian sources’ praise for him shows the other “character zone”: the two women who lodged criminal charges against him in Sweden. They are called “ladies who incriminate our hero”, “pretend that they have been raped”, “they agreed to having sex with him; they were willing to have sex with him”. Some newspapers even publish their names and surnames, as neither The Guardian or Swedish newspapers did. Interesting to note that relatively speaking, Russian media more and more intensely applies “re-accentuation” from the real crime which the suspected Assange had committed in Sweden to the „political scandal” surrounding WikiLeaks (Lenta.Ru, 06 November 2013), and “the insane scenario for all diplomats in the world” (РИАHOBOCTИ, 22 August 2013). It has been evident that the understanding of sex crimes in different countries are different, but in this case one can really be surprised how easy and hurried foreign media distorts roles: the suspected rapist has become victim and the two Swedish women raped has been nailed at pillory. Here you use the most demonstrative rhetoric (monoglossia) and praises his hero (assimilation) at the uncritical view of other “characters zones”. Missing “dialogism” and “polyphony text” which are “the maximally complete directory of all social voices of the area” (Holqvist, 1981: p.430).

Media coverage in Latvia is similar to that of the neighbouring country, Russia’s, example, despite the fact that Sweden (where Assange’s deed took place) is also a neighbouring country. 95 articles in the three major morning newspapers inform readers about the Assange case and consider him (L1): “founder of WikiLeaks”, “popular person”, “Australian citizen”, “celebrity”, “desirable”, “one that the media like to discredit”, “rich and popular”, “desirable”, “attractive”, “charming”, “slender, erudite activist” (Diena, 24 January, 2012; Diena, 01 January 2011; Diena, 29 February 2012). As early as in 2010, the newspaper Diena explained that “alien” is “some Swedish women”, “the warring feminists” who were then identified by their first names and surnames, including what type of work they do, their family and their “obsession to humiliate a noble man”. The word “rape” here is written in quotation marks and one of the women is described as “sociopathic feminist” who “wanted to have sexual relations with one of the world’s most revered and sought-after men” (Diena, 15 December 2010). Similarly, the second position (L2): “working hard”, “he is making television programmes”, (Diena, 13 April 2012; Diena, 17 April 2012) “planning a new revelation” (Diena, 17 April, 2012), “organise the collection of money for WikiLeaks” (Diena, 16 July 2012), “arranges the auction for a dinner with Assange” (Diena, 09 October 2012, Diena, 30 October 2012), “categorically rejects all accusations about rape” (Diena, 30 October 2012; Diena, 29 June 2012), and the third (L3): “The Russian President believes that WikiLeaks revelations had a “pretty good” impact on global politics” (Diena, 13 April 2012), “Julian Assange received an award in 2011 from the Serbian Press Association” (Diena, 02 May 2011) which tends to resemble the Russian style of media coverage of the Assange case. This can be explained by the strong activation of the Russian media in Latvia, mostly from television. These texts lack dialogicality, „polyglossia” and „orchestration”, rhetorically tending towards demonstrative rhetoric.

Malaysian publications have a very considerable influence from the British way of information on the Assange case. The first position (M1) coincides with the British (G1) language expression: “WikiLeaks founder” (The Star Online, 16 February 2013; The Star Online, 08 December 2010), “the self-styled whistleblower” (The Star Online, 19 August 2010), “the former computer hacker” (The Star Online, 16 February 2013), “the man behind WikiLeaks” (The Star Online, 08 December, 2010), “Internet activist”, “Australian journalist” (The Star Online, 24 January 2013). One can even encounter clean “copy” of the expression of G1, for example: “the silver-haired Assange” (The Star Online, 27 July 2010), “the former computer hacker an Australian” (Mysarawak, 20 June 2012), “high - profile opponent of Britain’s monarchy” (The Malaysian Insider, 02 April 2013). It can be explained easily: by the Malaysian English newspapers often reproducing English newspaper articles completely and tending to use British and Australian sources and writers who feed on the English-language media sphere. The majority of the external features this includes are “dialogicality” and “heteroglossia” because of the “double voiced” dialogue with the reader. This can be explained by the textual tradition, the proximity of Australia (Assange’s domicile) and literacy to keep the two “characters zones” away from each other. Small excesses seen when trying to get comments from such Assange’s mother Christine Assange “the Swedish prosecutor has shown absolutely no bona fides in this case” (Asian Correspondent, 09 July 2012).

Again here, most of the attention is directed to processes around data security, such as Borneo Post displayed its concern about the fact that “Several Swedish government websites could not be accessed Friday after they had received a warning the evening before from a group claiming to be the Anonymous collective, which supports fugitive WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange” (Borneo Post, 6 October 2012).

Ecuador's *El Comercio* sees the Assange case as a purely political process. It was mostly about ministerial meetings, when Ecuador had granted Assange asylum in the embassy. It is about political discussions between members of the OAS. In addition the country's President Rafael Correa acknowledges that “the criminal offenses which are under investigation in Sweden would not be crimes here in Ecuador” (Svenska Dagbladet, 21 June 2012; Dagens Nyheter 17 August 2012). On the first and third position (E1, E3) publications in *El Comercio* celebrate Assange and exhibit “tendentious” text: “Hugo Chavez supports Assange”, (El Comercio, 21 August de 2012), “Fidel Castro is in good health and thinks the same”, “UNASUR, made up of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Suriname and Uruguay, supports Assange” (El Comercio, 10 August 2012; El Comercio, 16 August 2012) . Everything's always about the “stressful encounter” at the diplomatic level caused by Julian Assange's asylum in the embassy. In February 2013, Rafael Correa was re-elected as president with 56.7% of votes and he also received praise from Argentina La Plata University for his efforts in the fight for the “free media”. The Assange case helped him politically. It has already destroyed diplomatic relations with Sweden “because of Assange,” according Rafael Correa. The completely politicised image of the Assange case in *El Comercio* shows that the text has been “single voiced discourse” with “refraction” to only demonstrative rhetoric.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

5.1 The study of the “so-called Assange case” footprint in the media indicate that the informative overflow of media wave in our globalised world crashing against a new kind of censorship, with the message crossing the border into another country and culture. Media mediation gives birth to a new kind of censorship. The new variant of censorship, I regard as a “hum of translations” that makes us lost in translation of important information and prevent us to realise the correct transfer of “content of substance” from the one journalistic “field” to the other. It prevents information from becoming available to the broadest public. By studying the „Assange case,” we see how the original substance of the information is distorted and changed in various national media and is eventually transformed into its opposite (S1: L1, G2: R2, S3: C3).

5.2 The modern era (when information flows freely everywhere) exhibits congestion in information flow when one habitus message does not give access to the other habitus messages. For example, there is still racism in the classical Western literature in this way we have inherited that (Hérge, Beecher Stowe), continuing with excesses in “Mohammed - caricatures” (Jyllands Posten), distortions are practiced in the news about the Assange case (as I showed in my article) and this censorship is a subtle variation that is not exactly so easy to identify but it serves the same function like the traditional horizontal or vertical censorship.

5.3 “Hum/noise of translations” is not about prohibition, as we are accustomed to associate with the word “censored” (Soviet review of the contents or Nazis book burning). It involves methods that control the distribution of information flow and causes certain information to be available for to people: G2 are not translated into R2 or L2, S3 or G3 not reaching E3 or R3.

5.4 My investigation shows that media in different countries, guided by various interested which could not determine what issues are considered important and what knowledge is considered valuable. Unilateralism cannot be crushed unless there is sufficient basis to counter arguments in the public sphere.

5.5 The new, invisible censorship forces the increased alienation between “us” and “them” and ascribes collective guilt to those that we do not understand. Tolerance and freedom of expression, even from the media to the media, is the safest way to avoid the spread of new sophisticated forms of censorship.

5.6 I would like to transpose translation to larger concepts - to a current, unusually important branch of the science global mass communication.

5.7 “Hum/noise - censorship” affects not only affects the media effects, but also PR and diplomacy (R2, R3, E2, E3, S2, S3).

5.8 Bakhtin's theory and analysis helps find the so-called content backbone in every text that allowing mouldy comparison of different texts. It is important that “the study of verbal art can and must overcome the divorce between an abstract “formal” approach and an equally abstract “ideological” approach. Form and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon - social throughout its entire range and in each and every of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning. (Holmqvist, 1981: p.421)

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