

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aftergood, S. (2013, October 21). *What is overclassification?* Federation of American Scientists. <https://fas.org/publication/overclass/>
- Al Jazeera. (2010, 8 Desember). Australia blames US for cable leaks. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2010/12/8/australia-blames-us-for-cable-leaks>
- Ali, I., Anwar, M. F., & Hussain, Z. (2022). Mapping terrorism and policy: Reshaping US foreign policy towards war on terror 2001-2010. *Pakistan Languages and Humanities Review*, 6(4), 89–101. [https://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2022\(6-IV\)10](https://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2022(6-IV)10)
- Amaritasari, I. (2015). Keamanan nasional dalam konsep dan standar internasional. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, 1(2), 153–174. <https://doi.org/10.31599/jkn.v1i2.21>
- American Civil Liberties Union. (2010, April 16). *Confusion and disarray in the government's secrecy system*. <https://www.aclu.org/news/national-security/confusion-and-disarray-governments-secrecy-system>
- Anderson, P. D. (2021). Privacy for the weak, transparency for the powerful: The cypherpunk ethics of Julian Assange. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 23(3), 295–308. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10676-020-09571-x>
- Armstrong, E. R. (2015). *The politics of information: Examining the conflict between WikiLeaks and the US Government*.
- Associated Press. (2010, 4 Desember). PayPal turns off tap for WikiLeaks donations. *CBS News*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/paypal-turns-off-tap-for-wikileaks-donations/>
- Associated Press. (2024). *Julian Assange extradition timeline*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/julian-assange-wikileaks-extradition-timeline-77a759d7408eb24d026a7c2c00feb3>
- Barron, J. A. (2011). The Pentagon Papers Case and the Wikileaks controversy: National security and the First Amendment. *Wake Forest Journal of Law & Policy*, 1, 49.

- BBC News. (2010, 8 Desember). PayPal says it stopped WikiLeaks payments on US letter. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-11945875>
- Beittel, J. S. (2013, 3 Juli). *Ecuador: Political and economic conditions and U.S. relations* (CRS Report No. R43135). Congress.gov. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/R43135>
- Benkler, Y. (2011). A free irresponsible press: WikiLeaks and the battle over the soul of the networked fourth estate. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 46, 311–397.
- Benkler, Y. (2014). A public accountability defense for national security leakers and whistleblowers. *Harvard Law & Policy Review*, 8, 281.
- Bridy, A. (2016). Internet payment blockades. *Florida Law Review*, 67(5), 1523. <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/FZB53>
- Brooks Pierce. (2010, 3 Desember). WikiLeaks controversy could impact newsgathering. *Digital Media and Data Privacy Law Blog*. <https://www.brookspierce.com/digital-media-and-data-privacy-law-blog/WikiLeaks-Controversy-Could-Impact-Newsgathering>
- C-SPAN. (2010, December 16). *U.S. Congress House hearing: Espionage Act and the legal and constitutional issue raised by WikiLeaks* [Video]. C-SPAN. <https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4507379/>
- Caplan, J. (2010, November). *The politics and economics of Julian Assange*. Bryan Caplan. [https://www.econlib.org/archives/2010/11/the\\_politics\\_an.html](https://www.econlib.org/archives/2010/11/the_politics_an.html)
- Cammaerts, B. (2013). Networked resistance: The case of WikiLeaks. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 18(4), 420–436.
- Cannon, S. C. (2013). Terrorizing WikiLeaks: Why the embargo against WikiLeaks will fail. *Colorado Technology Law Journal*, 11, 305.
- CBS News. (2010, 26 Juli). *WikiLeaks vs. the Pentagon Papers*. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/wikileaks-vs-the-pentagon-papers/>
- Charrett, C. (2009, Desember). *A critical application of securitization theory: Overcoming the normative dilemma of writing security* (Working Paper No. 2009/7). International Catalan Institute for Peace. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1884149>

- Christensen, C. (2014). WikiLeaks and the afterlife of collateral murder. *International Journal of Communication*, 8, 2593–2602.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. (2024, 17 Mei). *CPJ, partners urge the US DOJ to drop charges against Assange*. <https://cpj.org/2024/05/cpj-partners-urge-the-us-doj-to-drop-charges-against-assange/>
- Committee to Protect Journalists. (2024, 29 Februari). *Why extradition of WikiLeaks' Julian Assange to US would be cataclysmic for press freedom*. <https://cpj.org/2024/02/why-extradition-of-wikileaks-julian-assange-to-us-would-be-cataclysmic-for-press-freedom/>
- Coward, A., & Bjola, C. (2016). Cyber-intelligence and diplomacy: The secret link. Dalam *Secret Diplomacy* (hlm. 217–244). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315658391-21>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage Publications.
- Daalder, I. H., Lindsay, J. M., & Steinberg, J. B. (2002, 1 Oktober). The Bush National Security Strategy: An evaluation. *Brookings Institution*. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-bush-national-security-strategy-an-evaluation/>
- Driver, D. G., Andenæs, M., & Munro, I. (2024). An inconvenient dissident: Human rights activism in the case of Julian Assange. *Organization*, 31(5), 829–845.
- Electronic Privacy Information Center. (2012, 25 Januari). *Complaint for injunctive relief: EPIC v. DOJ and FBI (WikiLeaks/Twitter)* [Keluhan hukum]. <https://epic.org/wp-content/uploads/amicus/twitter/wikileaks/EPIC-DOJ-FBI-Wikileaks-Complaint.pdf>
- Ewing, T. L. (2013). *The 2002 National Security Strategy: The foundation of a doctrine of preemption, prevention, or anticipatory action*. ODU Digital Commons. <https://doi.org/10.25777/8f8q-9g35>
- Farag, W. Z. (2020). American security strategy towards terrorism after September 11 attacks. *Review of Economics and Political Science*, 5(4), 323–333. <https://doi.org/10.1108/REPS-10-2018-0010>

- Fenster, M. (2019). 'Bullets of truth': Julian Assange and the politics of transparency. Dalam *Cultures of Transparency*. Routledge. (University of Florida Public Law Research Paper No. 19-12).  
[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3323950](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3323950)
- Feuer, K. (2015). Protecting government secrets: A comparison of the Espionage Act and the Official Secrets Act. *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, 38(1), 91.
- Field, C. (2020, 21 Februari). Book review: Perception and misperception in international politics (new edition). *The Cove*.  
<https://cove.army.gov.au/article/book-review-perception-and-misperception-international-politics-new-edition>
- First Amendment Watch. (2024, 26 Juni). *Are WikiLeaks' actions protected by the First Amendment?* First Amendment Watch.  
<https://firstamendmentwatch.org/deep-dive/are-wikileaks-actions-protected-by-the-first-amendment/>
- Floyd, R. (2024). Ontological vs. societal security: Same difference or distinct concepts? *International Politics*. Publikasi online lanjutan.  
<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-024-00581-w>
- Gerstein, J. (2010, 30 November). Gates shrugs off WikiLeaks cable dump. *Politico*.  
<https://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2010/11/gates-shrugs-off-wikileaks-cable-dump-031076>
- Gill, M., & Spirling, A. (2015). Estimating the severity of the WikiLeaks U.S. diplomatic cables disclosure. *Political Analysis*, 23(2), 299–305.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpv005>
- Goldsmith, J. (2010, November 28). *Koh letter to WikiLeaks [Updated]*. Lawfare.  
<https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/koh-letter-wikileaks-updated>
- Greenberg, A. (2016, 5 April). Reporters were pulled off the Panama Papers, the biggest leak in whistleblower history. *WIRED*.  
<https://www.wired.com/2016/04/reporters-pulled-off-panama-papers-biggest-leak-whistleblower-history/>

- Hallsby, A. (2020). Psychoanalysis against WikiLeaks: resisting the demand for transparency. *Review of Communication*, 20(1), 69–86.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2019.1706761>
- Hindman, E. B., & Thomas, R. J. (2014). When old and new media collide: The case of WikiLeaks. *New Media & Society*, 16(4), 541–558.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813489504>
- Information Security Oversight Office. (2011). *2010 Report to the President*. National Archives and Records Administration.  
<https://www.archives.gov/files/isoo/reports/2010-annual-report.pdf>
- Jervis, R. (2017). *Perception and misperception in international politics* (New ed.). Princeton University Press.
- Karhula, P. (2011, 19 Januari). *What is the effect of WikiLeaks for freedom of information?* International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA).  
<https://www.ifla.org/publications/what-is-the-effect-of-wikileaks-for-freedom-of-information/>
- Lacey, H. M. (2011). Government secrets, national security and freedom of the press: The ability of the United States to prosecute Julian Assange. *University of Miami National Security & Armed Conflict Law Review*, 1(1).
- Lamont, C. (2015). *Research methods in international relations*. Sage.
- Levine, M. V. (2010). *The WikiLeaks war logs*. Columbia University Case Consortium.  
[https://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/caseconsortium/casestudies/70/casestudy/www/layout/case\\_id\\_70\\_id\\_629.html](https://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/caseconsortium/casestudies/70/casestudy/www/layout/case_id_70_id_629.html)
- Lieber, K. A., & Lieber, R. J. (2002). The Bush national security strategy. *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda*, 7(4), 32–35.
- Lievrouw, L. A. (2014). WikiLeaks and the shifting terrain of knowledge authority. *International Journal of Communication*, 8, 1806–1833.
- McClatchy Tribune. (2010, 30 November). U.S. tries to contain WikiLeaks. *The Daily Wildcat*.  
<https://wildcat.arizona.edu/142395/news/u-s-tries-to-contain-wikileaks/>

- McKenzie, C. (2014). *The views of the U.S. left and right on whistleblowers concerning government secrets.*
- Memcott, M. (2010, November 29). *WikiLeaks update: Justice investigating.* NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2010/11/29/131669228/wikileaks-update-justice-investigating>
- Michael, G. J. (2015). Who's afraid of WikiLeaks? Missed opportunities in political science research. *Review of Policy Research*, 32(2), 175–199.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12120>
- Mintz, A., & Wayne, C. (2016). The polythink syndrome and elite group decision-making. *Political Psychology*, 37, 3–21.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12319>
- Moberly, R. (2012). Whistleblowers and the Obama presidency: The national security dilemma. *Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal*, 16, 51–141.
- Myre, G. (2019, 12 April). How much did WikiLeaks damage U.S. national security? NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2019/04/12/712659290/how-much-did-wikileaks-damage-u-s-national-security>
- NBC News. (2020, 25 Juni). WikiLeaks founder Assange faces new accusations of trying to recruit hackers at conferences. *NBC News*.  
<https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/wikileaks-founder-assange-faces-new-accusations-trying-recruit-hackers-conferences-n1232077>
- Neuman, S. (2010, 29 November). White House aims to limit WikiLeaks damage. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2010/11/29/131668950/white-house-aims-to-limit-wikileaks-damage>
- NPR. (2010, 15 Oktober). Gates: Limited damage from leak of Afghan war logs. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2010/10/15/130600687/gates-limited-damage-from-wikileaks-documents>

- Ochi, J. A. (2022). REVIEW: Julian Assange: Persecuted and abused for exposing dirty secrets of the powerful. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 28(1 & 2), 247–251. <https://doi.org/10.24135/pjr.v28i1and2.1260>
- Papandrea, M. R. (2011). The publication of national security information in the digital age. *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*, 5, 119.
- Payani, N. L. B. P. E. (2016). Pengaruh serangan 9/11 terhadap perkembangan dinamika keamanan internasional. *Asian Journal of International Studies*, 5(1), 28–41. <https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.5.1.28-41.2016>
- Perez, L. R. (2016). *Threat perception, non-state actors, and US military intervention after 9/11*. <http://hdl.handle.net/10919/73306>
- Prewitt, K. (2004). The politics of fear after 9/11. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 71(4), 1129–1146. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2004.0026>
- Princeton Alumni Weekly. (2012, 4 April). *Ellsberg defends release of secret files to WikiLeaks*. <https://paw.princeton.edu/article/ellsberg-defends-release-secret-files-wikileaks>
- Rayburn, J. D., Sobchak, F. K., Godfroy, J. F., Morton, M. D., Powell, J. S., & Zais, M. M. (2019). *The U.S. Army in the Iraq War*. <https://dataspace.princeton.edu/handle/88435/dsp018s45qc56j>
- Reporters Without Borders. (2010, 13 Agustus). WikiLeaks accused of being ‘irresponsible’. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2010/aug/13/wikileaks-reporters-without-borders>
- Rhodes, B. (2010, October 7). *The President signs H.R. 553, The Reducing Over-Classification Act*. The White House. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/10/07/president-signs-hr-553-reducing-over-classification-act>
- Rosati, J., & Miller, C. (2018, 11 Januari). Political psychology, cognition, and foreign policy analysis. Dalam *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Oxford University Press.

- Ross, G. (2020). Espionage, the First Amendment, and the case against Julian Assange. *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 33(4), 666–684. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08850607.2020.1716431>
- Schmitt, M. N., & Watts, S. (2016). Beyond state-centrism: International law and non-state actors in cyberspace. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 21, 1–17.
- Smith, A. (2010, 8 Desember). MasterCard, Visa targeted in apparent cyberattack. *CNNMoney*.  
[https://money.cnn.com/2010/12/08/news/companies/mastercard\\_wiki/index.htm](https://money.cnn.com/2010/12/08/news/companies/mastercard_wiki/index.htm)
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. SAGE Publications.
- Stone, G. R. (2012). WikiLeaks and the First Amendment. *Federal Communications Law Journal*, 64(3), 2.
- The Guardian. (2010, 19 Desember). Assange a “high-tech terrorist”? Biden’s statement sparks backlash. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2010/dec/19/assange-high-tech-terrorist-biden>
- The Guardian. (2011, 13 Maret). PJ Crowley resigns over Bradley Manning remarks. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/13/pj-crowley-resigns-bradley-manning-remarks>
- The White House. (2002). *The national security strategy of the United States of America*. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nssall.html>
- The White House, Office of the Press Secretary. (2010, 29 November). *Press briefing by press secretary Robert Gibbs*. Obama White House Archives. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2010/11/29/press-briefing-press-secretary-robert-gibbs-11292010>
- Thiessen, M. A. (2010, 8 Desember). Stop downplaying WikiLeaks damage. *AEIdeas, American Enterprise Institute*.  
<https://www.aei.org/foreign-and-defense-policy/stop-downplaying-wikileaks-damage/>
- Touchton, M. R., Klostad, C. A., West, J. P., & Uscinski, J. E. (2020). Whistleblowing or leaking? Public opinion toward Assange, Manning, and



- Snowden. *Research & Politics*, 7(1).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168020904582>
- True, M. (2014). *The passion of Bradley Manning: The story behind the Wikileaks whistleblower* (Updated ed.).
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2010, 30 November). *DOD news briefing with Secretary Gates and Adm. Mullen from the Pentagon*. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs).  
<https://sgp.fas.org/news/2010/11/dod113010.html>
- U.S. Department of State. (2010, 29 November). *Remarks to the press on the release of documents by WikiLeaks*. U.S. Department of State, Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton Archive (2009–2013).  
<https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/11/152078.htm>
- United States House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary. (2011). *Espionage Act and the legal constitutional issues raised by WikiLeaks: Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eleventh Congress, second session, December 16, 2010*. U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Voice of America. (2010, 2 August). *Source exposure in WikiLeaks documents raises security questions*.  
<https://www.voanews.com/a/source-exposure-in-wikileaks-documents-raises-security-questions-99872534/123227.html>
- Voice of America. (2010, 28 November). *US investigates WikiLeaks release of classified documents*.  
<https://www.voanews.com/a/us-investigates-wikileaks-release-of-classified-documents-110998789/131445.html>
- Warren, A., & Dirksen, A. (2014). Augmenting state secrets: Obama's information war. *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, 9, 68.
- Wells, C. E. (2017). Restoring the balance between secrecy and transparency: The prosecution of national security leaks under the Espionage Act. *Advance*, 11, 143.
- Williams, C. (2010, August 2). Wikileaks posts 1.4GB 'insurance' file. *The Register*. [https://www.theregister.com/2010/08/02/wikileaks\\_insurance/](https://www.theregister.com/2010/08/02/wikileaks_insurance/)