



WikiLeaks

- A Sunshine Press publication -

Portfolio and Press references

-Draft for review-
March 18, 2009

1 Executive summary

This document provides a comprehensive overview of the WikiLeaks portfolio and selected press references. The list of references includes the most notable press articles catalyzed by WikiLeaks through release of documents, as well a selection of press commentary on the project.

To give the most comprehensive impression of our portfolio, we present you different collections of feedback from the media on documents, reflecting our spectrum and giving you an overview of our work's direct impact on society.

Each collection is sorted chronologically, and intended to provide a distinct angle on topics we are involved in, forms of media we process, protection we give to whistleblowers but also the media and public, geographic reach of reportage, and in what other ways our service impacts the (media) world, from urgent revelations to long-time sustained support of the media.

WikiLeaks provides fully disclosed documentation underlying every article found quoted on the following pages. And while this list is representative, it in no way can be regarded as complete. It has so far spawned more than 50.000 articles in the international press and more than 75.000 posts in weblogs. There are more than 2 million documents submitted by courageous whistleblowers worldwide, exposing abuse, corruption, torture, political violence and injustices from all over the globe.

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2 Notable documents and press coverage

2.1 Change you can download: 6500 Congressional Research Service reports

Release of \$1 billion worth of Congressional research in 6500+ in-depth, non-partisan, up-to-date reports. (*Appeared in the world-wide press and is as of today spawning political and public debate. The material has been picked up by the public and researchers throughout the globe and is used even by governmental services for reference.*)

‘Thousands of Congressional Reports Now Available Online’

– *Washington Post (US), February 11, 2009*

“Open government groups scored a small but potentially decisive victory this week in a long-running battle to win publication of thousands of secret reports that Congress uses to fashion new laws.

Each year, with the help of more than \$100 million in funding from Congress, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) produces thousands of reports on legislative policy issues ranging from farm subsidies to weapons sales. While the reports are neither copyrighted nor classified, their release has been solely at the discretion of lawmakers.

But on Monday, Wikileaks.org, an online clearinghouse for leaked documents, published thousands of previously unreleased CRS reports. At the same time, the group says it is on track to receive a steady stream of new reports, which it plans to feed to open government groups and directly to consumers via its Web site.”

‘Wikileaks posts congressional documents’

– *United Press International (UPI), February 11, 2009*

“Wikileaks.org, the online publisher of leaked documents, has begun posting reports produced by the U.S. Congressional Research Service. (...)

The reports attracted so much attention when they were first published Monday that Wikileaks became unavailable for several hours. Almost 5 million people tried to download the archive.”

‘Wikileaks Plugs Gaps of Missing CRS Reports’

– *Project on Government Oversight (US), February 11, 2009*

“Score another victory for open government fans: Wikileaks—the anti-corruption website where whistleblowers can post leaked documents from governments and corporations throughout the world—announced earlier this week that it has posted 6,780 Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports dating back to 1990, including thousands of reports that were previously unavailable to the public. (...)

Now, thanks to Wikileaks, thousands of additional CRS reports are just a click away. (...)

We applaud the site for its latest coup, and hope that it will result in even greater public access to CRS reports.”

2.2 Murder, political violence and the looting of Kenya

Presidential corruption of \$3,000,000,000 exposed, more than 1700 extra-judicial killings revealed. WikiLeaks is accompanying the human-rights investigations since 2007, successfully providing a safe relay of relevant for the Kenyan people.

(To this day catalysing international press and investigations.)

‘The looting of Kenya’

– *The Guardian (UK), August 31, 2007*

“The breathtaking extent of corruption perpetrated by the family of the former Kenyan leader Daniel Arap Moi was exposed last night in a secret report that laid bare a web of shell companies, secret trusts and frontmen that his entourage used to funnel hundreds of millions of pounds into nearly 30 countries including Britain.

The 110-page report by the international risk consultancy Kroll, seen by the Guardian, alleges that relatives and associates of Mr Moi siphoned off more than £1bn of government money. If true, it would put the Moises on a par with Africa’s other great kleptocrats, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and Nigeria’s Sani Abacha.”

the guardian

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The looting of Kenya

● Leak of secret report exposes corrupt web ● More than £1bn moved to 28 countries ● Property in London, New York, Australia

Ken Rice Nairobi

The breathtaking extent of corruption perpetrated by the family of the former Kenyan leader Daniel Arap Moi was exposed last night in a secret report that laid bare a web of shell companies, secret trusts and frontmen that his entourage used to funnel hundreds of millions of pounds into nearly 30 countries including Britain.

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The assets accumulated included multimillion pound properties in London, New York and South Africa, as well as a 10,000-hectare ranch in Australia and bank accounts containing hundreds of millions of pounds.

The report, commissioned by the Kenyan government, was submitted in 2004, but never acted upon. It details how:

- Mr Moi’s sons – Philip and Gideon – were reported to be worth £384m and £551m respectively.
- His sons were colluded with Italian drug barons and printed counterfeit money;
- His nephew owned a bank in Belgium;
- The threat of losing their wealth prompted threats of violence between Mr Moi’s family and his political allies.
- £4m was used to buy a house in Surrey.

MoD denies deal over withdrawal from Basra

**Ian Black
Ewen MacAskill Washington**

British forces have released more than two dozen Iraqi prisoners over the last three months in the run-up to their new commitment withdrawn from the UK base at Saddam’s Hussein’s former palace compound in Basra, though the government denies doing a deal with Moghaddi al-Sadr’s Mahdi army to stave off last-minute attacks.

The Ministry of Defence yesterday would say only that 26 unnamed men had been routinely released into Iraq state custody since May “because a significant criminal case was built against them”. What happened to them subsequently was “a matter for the Iraq authorities”. Some of the 26 have been released on bail, some freed due to insufficient evidence and some are still in custody pending trial.

“The way in which these cases have been handled is almost due legal process, and these 26 cases are not related to a deal with the Mahdi army,” the MoD said. “There is nothing new about releasing detainees/interviewees and we have been completely open about how many we hold and how many have been released.” In the three months from February to April, 25 prisoners were freed.

A senior Iraqi security official told a US newspaper that the transfer of Mahdi army prisoners had been agreed between the British and Iraqi authorities to buy peace as UK forces finally withdrew. According to one Basra prisoner in contact with a British lawyer, six of those freed by mid-August under a deal approved by Major

‘Report accuses former Kenyan president of stealing billions’

– *International Herald Tribune (US), August 31, 2007*

“The accusations come in a purported 2004 report by Kroll Associates, an international security and investigations firm the government hired to help find assets stolen or spirited abroad during Moi’s presidency. The 110-page document was posted this week on the Web site Wikileaks, which exposes corruption. (...)

According to the report, Moi and his associates set up shell companies, used front men and hidden trusts, and funneled money out of a country where 46 percent of the population lives under a dollar (euro) a day to buy property in London, New York and South Africa.”

‘Revealed: Secrets of election violence’

– *Daily Nation (Kenya), August 27, 2008*

“Details of how Cabinet ministers, among others, planned and promoted post-election violence can now be revealed. (...)

It contains the names of five Cabinet ministers, plus five religious leaders, eight senior provincial administrators and 13 MPs.

Now, for the first time, details of how they planned and helped to execute the violence that left 1,000 people and 300,000 others homeless, can be revealed.

However, the report will still not enjoy the privilege and protection of the commission of inquiry, its secretary, Mr George Kegoro said.

This means that the names cannot, at present, be published without the possibility of defaming those mentioned.”

‘How election violence was financed’

– *Daily Nation (Kenya), August 27, 2008*

“The following are excerpts from the report. Names of those accused and some places have been removed for legal reasons.

‘Brought young men from Bomet in groups of 300 to attack the Kikuyu. With others, financed attacks against the Kikuyu and Kisii in Kericho, providing transport, fuel and food, and also hosted meetings at a Kericho hotel and other places.’ (...)

Contributed funds and organised militia for retaliatory attacks. (...)

With another minister attended meetings to organise violence. Also funded the violence. (...)

On diverse dates in January, February and March 2008 attended meetings to plan retaliatory violence by the Kikuyu. Contributed funds and organised militia and acquisition of weapons.”

‘UN probe indicts Kenya on police killings’

– *Daily Nation (Kenya), February 25, 2009*

“A United Nations investigator has recommended the sacking of Kenya’s Attorney General and the Police Commissioner over extra judicial killings.

Prof Philip Alston has called for AG Amos Wako and police boss Major General Hussein Ali to step aside to facilitate investigations into the killings.

He blamed the police for the widespread killings of youths, believed to belong to the outlawed Mungiki sect and scores of Kenyans at the height of post election violence.

At least 1,133 people were killed during violence that was triggered by a disputed presidential election in 2007.”

‘UN urges probe into Kenya murders’

– *The BBC (UK), March 6, 2009*

“A UN investigator of extra-judicial killings in Kenya has called for an international inquiry into the murder of two human rights activists. (...)

‘It is extremely troubling when those working to defend human rights in Kenya can be assassinated in broad daylight in the middle of Nairobi,’ said Mr Alston, who last week released a report accusing Kenya’s police of involvement in extra-judicial killings. (...)

Mr Alston’s report called for Kenya’s top policeman and the attorney general to resign for failing to address police impunity. (...)

The killings have outraged the human rights community.

‘The human rights community in Kenya holds the government fully and wholly responsible for the assassinations,’ Cyprian Nyamwamu of the Kenya Human Rights Consortium told the BBC’s Network Africa programme.

'These two colleagues, members of the Oscar Foundation, are genuine, established, renowned human rights defenders,' he said.

Mr Nyamwamu said there had been no attempt to save the men."

'Two Kenyan rights activists shot dead'

– *The Guardian (UK), March 6, 2009*

"Two Kenyan human rights activists who provided evidence to a senior UN investigator over execution-style murders by police were assassinated on a busy Nairobi street yesterday evening. (...)

The Oscar Foundation made its name investigating police abuses. Since 2007 it has reported 6,452 'enforced disappearances' by police and 1,721 extrajudicial killings. (...)

'These are not 'rogue' squads, but are police who are acting on the explicit orders of their superiors,' said Alston, who praised the quality of reporting and analysis by groups such as the Oscar Foundation. (...)

His findings were boosted by the release of a video interview conducted by the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights with a police whistleblower who described witnessing 58 murders by a special police unit. Four months after the interview last year, Bernard Kiriinya was shot in the back of the head in Nairobi. No arrests have been made."

2.3 United Nations 'Strictly confidential' reports

Release of more than 600 UN reports revealed sexual abuse by United Nations peacekeepers, international large-scale weapons smuggling and fraud within the millions. Was picked up widely around the globe and is used for analysis by special interest groups.

(Provides a long-term sustained collection of UN intelligence for researchers and accurate description in history.)

'UN finds 217 sex abuse claims against blue helmets'

– *The Associated Press (AP), January 14, 2009*

“A United Nations probe collected 217 allegations of abuse of girls and women by peacekeepers in eastern Congo, from sex with teenagers in the back room of a liquor store to threats of 'hacking' victims for cooperating with investigators.

The 2006 investigation found many allegations credible and said evidence suggests 'frequent and ongoing' sexual exploitation in the region. But it could only establish proof against one of 75 peacekeepers accused of wrongdoing. (...)

It is dated Jan. 30, 2007, and was published Wednesday by whistleblower Web site Wikileaks.org. The report has previously been referred to by human rights organizations and the U.N. itself, but not made public. U.N. officials confirmed its authenticity.”

'Sex, Waffenhandel, Korruption: Ungeheure Vorwuerfe gegen die Uno'

– *Berner Zeitung (Switzerland), January 15, 2008*

“Es liest sich wie ein Sammelsurium des Schreckens. Hunderte Dokumente aus dem Inneren der Uno legen oeffentlich dar, in welchen Faellen die Weltorganisation gegen ihre moralischen Standards, gegen Gesetze, gegen die Menschlichkeit oder schlicht gegen den gesunden Menschenverstand verstossen hat.

Denn seit gestern sind rund sechshundert interne Untersuchungen der Vereinten Nationen im Internet greifbar - offenbar hat sie ein anonymer Whistleblower der Weltoeffentlichkeit zur Verfuegung gestellt. Gepostet wurden die Papiere auf Wikileaks, der anonymen Site zur Publikation versiegelter Dokumente. Und geheim sollten diese Berichte wohl auch bleiben: Rund siebzig der jetzt lesbaren Reports wurden von der Uno als 'strictly confidential' eingestuft. Vereinzelt hat man sogar die geografischen Beschreibungen, die Namen der Beteiligten und die Bezeichnungen der involvierten UN-Truppen verfremdet - offenbar zur besseren Tarnung.”

2.4 The Galvin Report: Secret audit of European Parliament members expenses

Reveals European Parliament members siphoning off millions
(Several dozen press reports, too early to assess complete impact)

‘Secret report reveals MEPs make millions’

– *The Times (UK), February 22, 2009*

“The auditor’s confidential report, suppressed by the Brussels parliament, discloses the extraordinary frauds used by MEPs to siphon off staff allowances funded by taxpayers. It shows that some claimed for paying assistants of whom no record exists, a awarded them bonuses of up to 1.5 times annual salary and diverted public money into front companies. An investigation into the abuses of staff allowances worth up to £182,000 a year – many of which are paid by MEPs to members of their family – was delivered in January last year but was not published.”

How MEPs can fiddle a million in five years

GRASPING Euro MPs can become millionaires through dodgy expense claims, it was claimed yesterday.

In a damning indictment of the Brussels gravy train, MEPs were said to be able to pocket more than £1million in a single five-year Parliamentary term by adding their lavish taxpayer-funded perks.

Because of the lax financial checks in the European Parliament, they can bath in jets, travel in first class, claim for hotel and other allowances, even if they do not actually incur any costs.

An internal audit of their expenses – kept secret when delivered last year – disclosed widespread ‘corruption’ and ‘dodgy dealing’ in Brussels.

The 92-page report, written by EU official Robert Galvin, exposes ‘Euro MPs’ alleged abuses of a £190million expenses fund. It was leaked to a newspaper after MEPs voted to keep it under wraps.

Some used their full £120,000 a year staff allowance to hire ‘ghost’ workers who did not exist, others employed family members on inflated salaries and two more paid cash for secretarial work to a cousin and a brother-in-law.

The Galvin report found that overpayments were common, and added: ‘The remuneration

By Political Reporter

levels of certain service providers may not be justified by the purpose of providing parliamentary assistance’.

The investigation – which came to light when Liberal Democrats MEP Chris Davies refused to abide by a gagging clause and blew the whistle – also discovered huge bonuses allegedly paid to one MEP who was 19 and an employee’s monthly salary.

The ‘Taxpayers’ Alliance’ called for a police investigation.

£185,000 by claiming the maximum subsistence allowance of £307 a day, then staying in cheap accommodation.

Another £217,810 could be taken in tax-free travel allowances by claiming their home was also their constituency office. They could also gain £64,000 by using budget train and plane journeys between Brussels and their home countries because no receipts are

Revealed: how MEPs can be millionaires

‘Honesty does not pay in this system’

LEARNED that the MEPs are not the only ones who can become millionaires.

From their own members’ accounts, the 57 MEPs of the European Parliament have been paid more than £190million in expenses since 2004. The report says: ‘The internal audit of MEPs’ payments out of expenses – only carried out during October 2008, at the end of last year – the results would be shocking.’

It would ‘undoubtedly’ be a ‘disgrace’ if every MEP to ‘contribute’ and ‘poor financial controls’ by ‘exploiting’ the ‘European Parliament’.

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‘Euro MPs in ‘dodgy expenses racket’

– *Associated Press (AP), February 22, 2009*

“The internal audit of MEPs’ expenses - kept secret when delivered last year - discloses the ‘corruption, dodgy dealing and poor financial controls’ in the European Parliament. (...) The 92-page report, prepared by EU internal audit official Robert Galvin, shows that MEPs have systematically abused staff allowances funded by the taxpayer. Some MEPs claimed money for assistants that were neither accredited or registered with the parliament.”

‘Euro MP expenses ‘can reach £1m’

– *The BBC (UK), February 23, 2009*

“Every member could ‘easily’ save more than £1m from their expenses and pension benefits over a five-year term at the European Parliament, according to the TPA. (...)

This includes a subsistence allowance of 117,000 euros (£104,000), staff allowance of 489,840 euros, office expenses of 243,120 euros, travel expenses of 60,000 euros and an accrued pension of 394,000 euros. (...)

This does not include the MEP salary. This varies between countries but amounts to £63,291 for a British MEP, which is set to increase to £73,584 after the European Parliament elections in June 2009.

The Galvin Report selected a random 167 MEPs for checks during 2004 and exposed a culture of MEPs paying huge ‘bonuses’ to staff.

In one case, the bonus was worth 19.5 times the official’s monthly salary. (...)

‘No-one knows who is cheating and who is not and it is a disgrace that the parliament has voted to keep auditors’ reports secret.’’

‘Senior MEP calls for more transparency on EU parliament expenses’

– *The Parliament (UK), February 26, 2009*

“British MEP Chris Davies has called for disclosure rules on MEP expenses to be tightened before this June’s European elections. (...)

He told the BBC on Thursday that, ‘Parliament’s rules are not designed to encourage an approach to the use of taxpayers’ money that MEPs would themselves expect of any other public body.

‘If you really don’t give a damn the system is open to abuse’.”

2.5 Bank Julius Baer: Grand Larceny via Grand Cayman

Exposing documented methods of how the largest Swiss private bank avoids paying taxes to the Swiss government, tries to silence whistleblowers, and offers vehicles for the wealthy to hide assets in the Caribbean Sea.

(Caused an internationally known lawsuit, prevented an IPO worth \$1bil, has been covered in the media continously since early 2008)

‘Steuerskandal: Wieder geheime Steuerdaten auf Wikileaks’

– *Handelsblatt (Germany), March 1, 2008*

“Die Internetseite Wikileaks, die erst kuerzlich die Schweizer Privatbank Julius Baer mit Hilfe eines Gerichts in Kalifornien sperren liess, ist wieder frei zugaenglich und praesentiert geheime Daten von Kunden der Bank. Wie die WirtschaftsWoche berichtet, ist die Site inzwischen auf die Weihnachtsinseln umgezogen. (...)

Wie die WirtschaftsWoche berichtet, ist Wikileaks inzwischen auf die Weihnachtsinseln im Indischen Ozean umgezogen und veroeffentlicht Angaben von mehreren Dutzend Kunden, die Vermoegen in Millionenhoehe in Trusts auf den Cayman Inseln angelegt haben, darunter etliche Deutsche. Die Trusts der Karibik-Inseln sind aehnlich aufgebaut wie die umstrittenen Privatsiftungen Liechtensteins. Wer Wikileak betreibt, ist unbekannt. (...)

Die anonymen Anschuldigungen sind gespickt mit Hunderten Dokumenten, die detaillierte Angaben zu Zahlungsstroemen, Trust-Strukturen und sogar Gebuehren enthalten alles frei einsehbar.”

‘Die Rueckkehr der Whistleblower’

– *Focus (Germany), March 1, 2008*

“US-Bezirksrichter Jeffrey White hob am Freitag die Anordnung auf, die den Onlineauftritt Wikileaks seines Domainnamens beraubt hatte. Wenig spaeter war die Seite wieder am altbekannten Platz zu finden - und mit ihr Tausende geheimer Dokumente ueber Firmen und Regierungen. Seit 2006 veroeffentlicht die Webseite vertrauliche Unterlagen, um Missstaende publik zu machen. Darunter waren Geheimdokumente aus dem US-Gefangenenlager Guantanamo und Belege fuer milliardenschwere Geldwaesche in Afrika.”

‘Virtueller Pranger’

– *Wirtschaftswoche (Germany), March 3, 2008*

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The collage consists of several newspaper clippings. The top left clipping is from 'Unternehmen+Märkte' with the headline 'Steuerverflucht II Jetzt trifft der Skandal auch Kunden der Bank Julius Baer'. The top right clipping is from 'Wirtschaftswoche' with the headline 'Virtueller Pranger'. The bottom left clipping is from 'Handelsblatt' with the headline 'Steuerskandal: Wieder geheime Steuerdaten auf Wikileaks'. The bottom right clipping is from 'Focus' with the headline 'Die Rueckkehr der Whistleblower'. The central image shows a building with the 'Julius Baer' logo.

‘Tax Gap: Isles of plenty’
 – *The Guardian (UK), February 13, 2009*

“The whistleblower’s documents have been seen by the Guardian. They record the names and transactions of hundreds of companies, trusts, funds and wealthy individuals - information protected by local and Swiss secrecy laws. Some of the paperwork concerns legal tax avoidance structures. Other files are alleged to point to potential illegal tax evasion by individuals around the globe.”

Reporting team

The Guardian's investigation was led by **Rudolf Elmer**, a former Swiss banker who has been a whistleblower for years. He was joined by **David Hare**, a former Swiss banker who has been a whistleblower for years. They were also joined by **David Hare**, a former Swiss banker who has been a whistleblower for years.

In plain English

The documents show that the Swiss banker, Rudolf Elmer, has been a whistleblower for years. He was joined by David Hare, a former Swiss banker who has been a whistleblower for years. They were also joined by David Hare, a former Swiss banker who has been a whistleblower for years.

Comment & reply

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Tomorrow

The great debate how you have responded

Isles of plenty

The Caymans: a Caribbean paradise ... operated in secret. A top Swiss banker turned whistleblower says he has the evidence

Tax rates: 0%

The Cayman Islands, a British overseas territory in the Caribbean, has long been known as a tax haven. But now, a top Swiss banker turned whistleblower, Rudolf Elmer, has revealed the secret. He says he has the evidence to prove that the Caymans are a tax haven, and that the Swiss government is aware of it. Elmer, who was a senior banker at a Swiss bank, has been a whistleblower for years. He was joined by David Hare, a former Swiss banker who has been a whistleblower for years. They were also joined by David Hare, a former Swiss banker who has been a whistleblower for years.

Rare glimpse into offshore world of big money and low taxes

One of the most fascinating sets of records disclosed by Rudolf Elmer, he says, the confidential investor list of an offshore fund run by the Carlyle Group. This prominent private equity operation in Washington DC counts presidents and prime ministers among its advisers, and Elmer's list opens the door to a rarely seen offshore world of big money and low taxes. Carlyle sources did not challenge the authenticity of the list when we showed it them. They emphasised instead that all their activities in the Caymans were perfectly legal and normal."

'All the activities of our companies which you have referred to are in compliance with applicable laws'

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'People don't know how the system works. But it is a system that undermines our democracy'

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2.6 WikiLeaks in South Africa

Publication of various reports from South African official and commercial commissions.

(Lately enabled an open debate on South African banking, covered by South African and international media.)

‘Competition body wants hackers prosecuted’

– *Business Day (South Africa), January 6, 2009*

“The banks agreed to the public release of the report only on condition that strategic and sensitive information relating to their customer profiling, profit growth, pricing strategies, cost structures and revenue from penalty fees was blacked out.

The commission gave this undertaking of confidentiality, which is legally binding in terms of the Competition Act.

Other data blacked out related to the breakdown of the credit card market and the fees earned from credit cards relative to their costs.

However, the secret information was decrypted (except for certain blacked-out sections which were resistant to ‘decensoring’) and posted on Wikileaks, which describes itself as a website for anonymous whistle-blowers. It is dedicated to leaking sensitive government, corporate and religious documents.”

‘Simple Investor: Banking on Wikileaks’

– *The Times: On The Money (UK), January 8, 2009*

“The most interesting thing the brouhaha over the uncensored Competition Commission report on banking has brought to light is fledgling ‘open source’ investigative journalism project wikileaks.org. (...)

The uncensored version shows the commission allowed the banks to remove public domain information such as price comparisons - ironic considering a key charge made by the commission is that banks obfuscate their charges.

One eye-opener is that FNB upped its ATM revenue by 11 percent after following the other banks in charging in per-R100 bands instead of a fixed percentage.

Some of the censored text is simply embarrassingly lame excuses from the banks on why their profit margins are higher than would be possible among properly competing players.”

‘Commission blushes as banks are stripped bare’

– *The Times (UK), January 14, 2009*

“The Competition Commission inquiry into the banking sector has ended in a farce after an uncensored version of the report ended up last month on www.wikileaks.com - a whistle-blower’s online paradise - where all and sundry can download it.

The commission has good reason to paint itself as a victim of evil intent, rather than as incompetent.

The banks agreed to share confidential information with the commission for it to do its work. The condition was that the information be kept confidential. Before the report was released, each of the banks’ lawyers went through it and marked bits they felt qualified as confidential. The lawyers had to agree not to disclose information on the other banks to their clients.

But now the whole promise of confidentiality has been torpedoed.”

2.7 Iraqi-british billionaire and former arms dealer Nadhmi Auchi and the rewriting of history

Conservation of inconvenient newspaper articles eradicated from the archives by one of the most influential people in the UK. Successful protection of investigative journalists and their work from censoring attempts. Supporting a Parliamentary debate with crucial context material.
(*Ongoing debate in Great Britain and internationally on UK libel laws.*)

‘MPs demand reform of libel laws’

– *The Guardian (UK), December 18, 2008*

“What is happening when Cambridge University Press, one of the flowers of British publishing for centuries, has to pulp a book because British courts will not uphold freedom of expression?” MacShane said the British courts had become a ‘Soviet-style organ of censorship’. Norman Lamb said he was concerned about how the libel laws act as a constraint on investigative reporting and referred to the case of the British Iraqi billionaire Nadhmi Auchi. He said: ‘He is a British citizen - an Iraqi exile - and he is reported to be a multibillionaire. He was convicted in France in 2003 of fraud in a trial involving the oil company Elf. Importantly, he continues to assert his innocence of the charges - there was a conviction, but he is pursuing routes of appeal against it. He was barred from entering the United States in 2005.’”

‘MPs accuse courts of allowing libel tourism’

– *The Times (UK), Decemer 18, 2008*

“The British-Iraqi businessman Nadhmi Auchi, who has a conviction for corruption in France and is linked to a fundraiser for Barack Obama, was accused of using the law to stifle debate. The Labour MP Denis MacShane, said in Westminster Hall: ‘The practice of libel tourism, as it is known - the willingness of British courts to allow wealthy foreigners who do not live here to attack publications that have no connection with Britain - is now an international scandal. It shames Britain and makes a mockery of the idea that Britain is a protector of core democratic freedoms.’”

‘Kafka comes to the British courts’

– *The Spectator (UK), December 19, 2008*

“The fullest examination is vital of those raising money, sometimes ostensibly for charitable work, but which ends up promoting fundamentalist ideology that scrambles young men’s and boys’ minds and leads them to become terrorists. There is no freedom of expression in Saudi Arabia, so it is the duty of others to expose what is happening. With the help of British libel lawyers, Mr. Mahfouz has launched 33 suits against those who are investigating this important area of public concern. Cambridge University Press was obliged to pulp its book ‘Alms for Jihad’, written by Robert Collins and J. Millard Burr, rather than face a libel action in British courts, which seem at the moment to side with those who finance extremism rather than those who seek to curb it. The case of Mr. Nadhmi Auchi also comes to mind. What is happening when Cambridge University Press, not some odd, little, obsessive publishing house, but one of the flowers of British publishing for centuries, has to pulp a book because British courts will not uphold freedom of expression?”

2.8 Guantanamo Bay Service Operations Manuals (2003 and 2004)

Revelation of prisoner abuse and human rights violations by revealing the operational standards for the Guantanamo Bay facility. Exposed false statements by the US government and a follow-up military propaganda team at work on the internet.

(Empowered an informed public debate about practices in Guantanamo. The releases form an essential part of the historical record of the US facility, and are used by lawyers in there defense for detainees, academic researchers and documentary films.)

‘Guantanamo operating manual posted on Internet’

– *Washington Post (US), November 14, 2007*

“The U.S. military’s operating manual for the Guantanamo prison camp has been posted on the Internet, providing a glimpse of the broad rules and tiniest minutia for detaining suspected terrorists. (...)

The manual was posted last week on the Wikileaks.org Web site, which invites whistle-blowers around the world to anonymously publish state documents containing evidence of government corruption and injustice. (...)

The manual also indicates some prisoners were designated as off limits to visitors from the International Committee of the Red Cross, something the military has repeatedly denied.”

‘Some at Guantanamo Were Denied Access to Red Cross’

– *New York Times (US), November 16, 2007*

“A confidential 2003 manual for operating the Guantanamo detention center shows that military officials had a policy of denying detainees access to independent monitors from the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The manual said one goal was to ‘exploit the disorientation and disorganization felt by a newly arrived detainee,’ by denying access to the Koran and by preventing visits with Red Cross representatives, who have a long history of monitoring the conditions under which prisoners in international conflicts are held. The document said that even after their initial weeks at Guantanamo, some detainees would not be permitted to see representatives of the International Red Cross, known as the I.C.R.C.”

Some at Guantánamo Were Denied Access to Red Cross

By WILLIAM GLEIBERSON

A confidential 2003 manual for operating the Guantanamo detention center shows that military officials had a policy of denying detainees access to independent monitors from the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The manual said one goal was to “exploit the disorientation and disorganization felt by a newly arrived detainee,” by denying access to the Koran and by preventing visits with Red Cross representatives, who have a long history of monitoring the conditions under which prisoners in international conflicts are held. The document said that even after their initial weeks at Guantanamo, some detainees would not be permitted to see representatives of the International Red Cross, known as the I.C.R.C.

It was permissible, the document said, for some long-term detainees to have “No access. No contact of any kind with the I.C.R.C.”

Some legal experts and advocates for detainees said yesterday that the policy might have violated international law, which provides for such monitoring to assure humanitarian treatment and to limit the ability of govern-

ments to hold detainees secretly.

The document, a two-inch-thick operations manual, was first posted on Wikileaks, a Web site that encourages posting of leaked materials. Military officials said that the manual approved practice but described outdated policies and that all Guantanamo detainees could now see Red Cross members. In response to critics’ assertions that the detention camp in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, may have violated international law, a spokesman, Lt. Col. Edward M. Bush III, said, “I am in no position to speculate about what happened in 2003.”

Steven Schenck, a spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross, said the organization was aware that it was not seeing all Guantanamo detainees from 2002, when the detention camp was opened, to 2004. He said the policies outlined in the manual “run counter to the manner in which the I.C.R.C. conducts its detention visits at Guantanamo Bay and around the world.”

He added that Red Cross officials worked with American officials “to resolve this issue confidentially, since giving access to all detainees in full accordance with its standard practice was paramount.”

The Red Cross has been critical of Guantanamo, saying publicly

in 2003 that keeping detainees indefinitely without allowing them to know their fate was unacceptable and, in confidential reports, that the physical and psychological treatment of detainees amounted to torture.

The manual is a detailed description of standard operating procedures at Guantanamo intended for use by the hundreds of people involved in running the detention camp. It provides one

A 2003 manual lays out procedures for handling detainees.

of the most complete portraits of the rules of the camp in its early days, when it was a largely closed “place where detainees were not publicly identified.”

In some instances, the manual echoed the arguments then being advanced by Washington officials as they fended off criticism of Guantanamo. The manual described point-to-point instructions for many camp procedures, including feeding and restraining detainees, and forced collection of urine from their cubs by military troops. It said a major goal was to foster detainees’ dependence on their interrogators, in

part by isolating them. In a section labeled “psychological deterrence,” the manual said military working dogs should be walked in the camp “to demonstrate physical presence to detainees.”

The spokesman, Colonel Bush, said yesterday that dogs were no longer used at the detention camp.

Some international law experts said yesterday that they were startled that military officials had put in writing a policy of denying the Red Cross access to prisoners.

“The world recognizes that the I.C.R.C. should get access” to prison camps, said Richard J. Wilson, a law professor at American University who was until recently a lawyer for a Guantanamo detainee.

Deborah N. Pearlstein, a visiting scholar at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, said international principles were aimed at preventing governments from “disappearing” opponents. “I.C.R.C. access and the obligation to record and account for detainees is very clear under international law,” Ms. Pearlstein said.

The military spokesman, Colonel Bush, said: “All I can tell you is what we do today. And the absolute policy now, today, is that the I.C.R.C. is granted access to everything.”

Don't forget the Needles!

‘Guantanamo document confirms psychological torture’

– *Counterpunch, Wikileaks (US, Kenya), November 17, 2007*

“After a press release from the group, Wired magazine and the Miami Herald published stories on the following Wednesday – a day which also saw the Pentagon demanding, without success, for the document to be censored. Reuters picked up on the leak Thursday, the New York Times and the Guardian on Friday. The following week saw reportage snowballing into over 160 press articles listed on the Google news index alone. (...)

As Reuters reports:

‘It says incoming prisoners are to be held in near-isolation for the first two weeks to foster dependence on interrogators and ‘enhance and exploit the disorientation and disorganization felt by a newly arrived detainee in the interrogation process.’ Styrofoam cups must be confiscated if prisoners have written on them, apparently because prisoners have used cups to pass notes to other captives. ‘If the cup is damaged or destroyed, the detainee will be disciplined for destruction of government property,’ the rules say.’

Here is the actual language from the SOP [Section 4-20, p. 4.3] demonstrating the precision with which abuse was administered. In fact, it makes clear that Reuters got it partially wrong in that the ‘near-isolation’ was to last at least four weeks, not two, and that it could be continued indefinitely, beyond the four-week (30 day).”

‘Leaked 2004 Guantanamo Manual Shows Continued ICRC restrictions, Severe Psychological illness, and Risk of Suicide’

– *Center for Constitutional Rights (US), December 4, 2007*

“The manual detailing Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for Guantanamo’s Camp Delta in 2004 was leaked to today by Wikileaks and is available here. The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) and affiliated Guantanamo habeas attorneys helped provide a detailed analysis of the approximately 250-page document and compared it to the 2003 SOP manual leaked two weeks ago. (...)

‘After the release of the 2003 manual, the Pentagon claimed that the manual was replaced and the concerns raised were no longer valid,’ said CCR Attorney Emi MacLean. ‘What we see in the 2004 manual is more of the same. We see a prison that was deteriorating rapidly and trying to protect itself by wide-reaching public relations without any meaningful policy changes.’ (...)

For instance, during the first two weeks of detention, detainees are prohibited from meeting with the ICRC or the chaplain. The results of Red Cross visits are not made public, but access is mandated by the Geneva Conventions in order to ensure the humane treatment of all prisoners. Both manuals only call for adherence to ‘the spirit of’ the Geneva Conventions, not the letter, and not when it conflicts with military interests. (...)

The mental health provisions discuss the operations of the mental unit in detail and make clear that mental illness was already a serious problem at the camps in 2004. An expanded section on suicide indicates it was becoming an increasing concern at the camp. Coupled with the growing concern about suicides and severe psychological illness was a desire to mask the severity of the issue. The section on ‘suicide’ is now entitled ‘Attempted / Actual Self-Harm’. An attempted hanging that requires someone to be cut down is a ‘self-harm incident’.”

‘Testimony of Guantanamo SOP manual (2004)’

– *Center for the Study of Human Rights in the Americas, UC Davis, Wikileaks (US), December 5, 2007*

“Like its predecessor, this manual makes violations of the Geneva Conventions (and of world-wide medical declarations) a matter of standard operating procedure. (...)

In fact, as far as prisoner abuse is concerned, the differences between this document and its predecessor (see bullets below) point, for the most part, to a worsening situation.”

2.9 NATO, RAND and the Afghan catastrophe

Large collection of secret ISAF, NATO, RAND and US military documents establish evidence of the disastrous state of affairs in Afghanistan.

(Has been widely discussed in the media and public worldwide. Provides a wealth of information for an informed assessment of the situation in Afghanistan and is of critical importance for the current political debate around expanding US involvement.)

‘Afghanistan: Slipping out of control’

– *The Independent (UK), February 19, 2009*

“A grim picture of spiralling violence and a disintegrating society has emerged in Afghanistan in a confidential Nato report, just as Barack Obama vowed to send 17,000 extra American troops to the country in an attempt to stem a tide of insurgency. (...)

The document, prepared by the Pentagon on behalf of the US-led International Security Assistance Force (Isaf) in Afghanistan and seen by The Independent, also reveal how swathes of the country have slipped out of the control of President Hamid Karzai’s government. According to a poll taken towards the end of last year, a third of the population stated that the Taliban had more influence in their locality. (...)

Meanwhile, eight years after ‘liberation’ and the fall of the Taliban, many Afghan people still lack basic amenities. Across the country 38 per cent of the population did not have access to medical facilities with the figure rising to 44 per cent in rural areas.

The Taliban has also carried out a violent campaign against education for children in many parts of the country, claiming it was being used for Western indoctrination, and targeting girls’ schools in particular as being against Islam. The Nato report states that ‘access to schools for both girls and boys varies across the country and is tightly linked to security. Degree of access to girls’ schools is also an ethno-geographic factor’.”

‘Disaster in the ‘Afpak Theatre’

– *Pacific Free Press (US), February 22, 2009*

“A confidential report titled ‘Metrics Brief, 2007 - 2008’, was published by Wikileaks. Prepared by U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) for Afghanistan, the 12 page dossier ‘reveals that civilian deaths from the war in Afghanistan have increased by 46% over the past year.’ According to the global whistleblowers, ‘The report shows a dramatic escalation of the war and civil disorder. Coalition deaths increased by 35%, assassinations and kidnappings by 50% and attacks on the Kabul based Government of Hamid Karzai also more than doubled, rising a massive 119%.

The report highlights huge increases on attacks aimed at Coalition forces, including a 27% increase in IED attacks, a 40% rise in rifle and rocket fire and an increase in surface to air fire of 67%.

According to the report, outside of the capital Kabul only one in two families had access to even the most basic health care, and only one in two children had access to a school.”’

‘Wikileaks exposes censorship and poor document security by NATO’

– *The Tech Herald (US), March 2 2009*

“‘Among the revelations, which we encourage the press to review in detail, is Jordan’s presence as secret member of the US lead occupation force, the ISAF,’ Wikileaks said, adding four other bullet notes, including one that requires that ‘Under no circumstances should the mission end-date be a topic for speculation in public by any NATO/ISAF spokespeople.’ (...)

The second lesson is that apparently NATO wants to censor and keep information from the press, but would that really shock anyone?’”

– *NRC Handelbladet (Netherlands)*, March 6, 2009

“Het rapport Intelligence Operations and Metrics in Iraq and Afghanistan is in november vorig jaar afgerond en was niet bedoeld voor publicatie, maar is gelekt via de site wikileaks.org. Het is gebaseerd op gesprekken met militairen van landen die troepen leveren, waaronder Nederland. Volgens een Nederlandse luitenant waren er tijdens zijn uitzending op de Nederlandse basis Kamp Holland in Uruzgan dertien inlichtingendiensten actief en werkten zij langs elkaar heen. Het gaat onder andere om diensten uit Nederland, de VS, Australië en de Verenigde Arabische Emiraten. ‘Het zou nuttig geweest zijn om die te combineren’, aldus de luitenant, ‘dan zouden we alles geweten hebben. Een dienst kende de locatie van een berrmbommenfabriek, terwijl wij daar drie maanden langs zijn gereden.’”

TOPANDEL'S

Vrijdag 6 maart 2008 10:00 222 Algemeen, landbouw, 1233-14, 141-15, 147-15, 149-15, 150-15, 151-15, 152-15, 153-15, 154-15, 155-15, 156-15, 157-15, 158-15, 159-15, 160-15, 161-15, 162-15, 163-15, 164-15, 165-15, 166-15, 167-15, 168-15, 169-15, 170-15, 171-15, 172-15, 173-15, 174-15, 175-15, 176-15, 177-15, 178-15, 179-15, 180-15, 181-15, 182-15, 183-15, 184-15, 185-15, 186-15, 187-15, 188-15, 189-15, 190-15, 191-15, 192-15, 193-15, 194-15, 195-15, 196-15, 197-15, 198-15, 199-15, 200-15, 201-15, 202-15, 203-15, 204-15, 205-15, 206-15, 207-15, 208-15, 209-15, 210-15, 211-15, 212-15, 213-15, 214-15, 215-15, 216-15, 217-15, 218-15, 219-15, 220-15, 221-15, 222-15, 223-15, 224-15, 225-15, 226-15, 227-15, 228-15, 229-15, 230-15, 231-15, 232-15, 233-15, 234-15, 235-15, 236-15, 237-15, 238-15, 239-15, 240-15, 241-15, 242-15, 243-15, 244-15, 245-15, 246-15, 247-15, 248-15, 249-15, 250-15, 251-15, 252-15, 253-15, 254-15, 255-15, 256-15, 257-15, 258-15, 259-15, 260-15, 261-15, 262-15, 263-15, 264-15, 265-15, 266-15, 267-15, 268-15, 269-15, 270-15, 271-15, 272-15, 273-15, 274-15, 275-15, 276-15, 277-15, 278-15, 279-15, 280-15, 281-15, 282-15, 283-15, 284-15, 285-15, 286-15, 287-15, 288-15, 289-15, 290-15, 291-15, 292-15, 293-15, 294-15, 295-15, 296-15, 297-15, 298-15, 299-15, 300-15, 301-15, 302-15, 303-15, 304-15, 305-15, 306-15, 307-15, 308-15, 309-15, 310-15, 311-15, 312-15, 313-15, 314-15, 315-15, 316-15, 317-15, 318-15, 319-15, 320-15, 321-15, 322-15, 323-15, 324-15, 325-15, 326-15, 327-15, 328-15, 329-15, 330-15, 331-15, 332-15, 333-15, 334-15, 335-15, 336-15, 337-15, 338-15, 339-15, 340-15, 341-15, 342-15, 343-15, 344-15, 345-15, 346-15, 347-15, 348-15, 349-15, 350-15, 351-15, 352-15, 353-15, 354-15, 355-15, 356-15, 357-15, 358-15, 359-15, 360-15, 361-15, 362-15, 363-15, 364-15, 365-15, 366-15, 367-15, 368-15, 369-15, 370-15, 371-15, 372-15, 373-15, 374-15, 375-15, 376-15, 377-15, 378-15, 379-15, 380-15, 381-15, 382-15, 383-15, 384-15, 385-15, 386-15, 387-15, 388-15, 389-15, 390-15, 391-15, 392-15, 393-15, 394-15, 395-15, 396-15, 397-15, 398-15, 399-15, 400-15, 401-15, 402-15, 403-15, 404-15, 405-15, 406-15, 407-15, 408-15, 409-15, 410-15, 411-15, 412-15, 413-15, 414-15, 415-15, 416-15, 417-15, 418-15, 419-15, 420-15, 421-15, 422-15, 423-15, 424-15, 425-15, 426-15, 427-15, 428-15, 429-15, 430-15, 431-15, 432-15, 433-15, 434-15, 435-15, 436-15, 437-15, 438-15, 439-15, 440-15, 441-15, 442-15, 443-15, 444-15, 445-15, 446-15, 447-15, 448-15, 449-15, 450-15, 451-15, 452-15, 453-15, 454-15, 455-15, 456-15, 457-15, 458-15, 459-15, 460-15, 461-15, 462-15, 463-15, 464-15, 465-15, 466-15, 467-15, 468-15, 469-15, 470-15, 471-15, 472-15, 473-15, 474-15, 475-15, 476-15, 477-15, 478-15, 479-15, 480-15, 481-15, 482-15, 483-15, 484-15, 485-15, 486-15, 487-15, 488-15, 489-15, 490-15, 491-15, 492-15, 493-15, 494-15, 495-15, 496-15, 497-15, 498-15, 499-15, 500-15, 501-15, 502-15, 503-15, 504-15, 505-15, 506-15, 507-15, 508-15, 509-15, 510-15, 511-15, 512-15, 513-15, 514-15, 515-15, 516-15, 517-15, 518-15, 519-15, 520-15, 521-15, 522-15, 523-15, 524-15, 525-15, 526-15, 527-15, 528-15, 529-15, 530-15, 531-15, 532-15, 533-15, 534-15, 535-15, 536-15, 537-15, 538-15, 539-15, 540-15, 541-15, 542-15, 543-15, 544-15, 545-15, 546-15, 547-15, 548-15, 549-15, 550-15, 551-15, 552-15, 553-15, 554-15, 555-15, 556-15, 557-15, 558-15, 559-15, 560-15, 561-15, 562-15, 563-15, 564-15, 565-15, 566-15, 567-15, 568-15, 569-15, 570-15, 571-15, 572-15, 573-15, 574-15, 575-15, 576-15, 577-15, 578-15, 579-15, 580-15, 581-15, 582-15, 583-15, 584-15, 585-15, 586-15, 587-15, 588-15, 589-15, 590-15, 591-15, 592-15, 593-15, 594-15, 595-15, 596-15, 597-15, 598-15, 599-15, 600-15, 601-15, 602-15, 603-15, 604-15, 605-15, 606-15, 607-15, 608-15, 609-15, 610-15, 611-15, 612-15, 613-15, 614-15, 615-15, 616-15, 617-15, 618-15, 619-15, 620-15, 621-15, 622-15, 623-15, 624-15, 625-15, 626-15, 627-15, 628-15, 629-15, 630-15, 631-15, 632-15, 633-15, 634-15, 635-15, 636-15, 637-15, 638-15, 639-15, 640-15, 641-15, 642-15, 643-15, 644-15, 645-15, 64

– *The Guardian (UK)*, March 6, 2009

“A highly critical analysis of the US-led coalition’s counterinsurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan has raised serious questions about combat operations in both countries - and the intelligence underpinning them. (...) Based on scores of interviews with British, US, Canadian and Dutch military, intelligence and diplomatic officials - and marked for ‘official use only’ - the book-length report is damning of a US military often unwilling to share intelligence among its military allies. It depicts commanders in the field being overwhelmed by information on hundreds of contradictory databases, and sometimes resistant to intelligence generated by its own agents in the CIA. (...) Its sources complain of commanders who have slipped into relying on ‘the fallacy of body counts’, discredited after the war in Vietnam as a measure of success.”

2.10 Peruvian politicians' and officials' involvement in the Petrogate scandal

Release of intercepted phonecalls reveals the true extent of the Petrogate affair.

(The tapes were reported on widely all over Peru and South America, ongoing investigation into the revelations.)

‘Nuevos audios ilegales quedan en poder de juez Anticorrupcion’

– *El Comercio (Peru), January 28, 2009*

“Los 82 archivos presentados por el periodista Pablo O’Brien al magistrado Jorge Barreto revelan dialogos entre Romulo Leon, Alberto Quimper y Ernesto Arias Schreiber

Sorpresivamente y sin mediar ningun pedido del juez Anticorrupcion Jorge Barreto que ve el caso de los ‘petroaudios’, el periodista Pablo O’Brien Cuadros entrego ayer al despacho de dicho magistrado la grabacion de 86 audios de dialogos obtenidos a traves de las interceptaciones telefonicas que tenia en su poder. Tales grabaciones tambien han sido colgadas en Internet.

Segun las declaraciones hechas por el periodista al blog utero.pe, este decidio entregar el material al juez antes de divulgarlo por Internet. ‘Estamos cumpliendo con este requisito indispensable de hacer llegar al juez correspondiente antes de hacerlo publico’, dijo. (...)

Todas esas grabaciones estan colgadas en el sitio Wikileaks con el titulo de ‘86 Interceptaciones telefonicas a politicos y autoridades peruanos, mas del caso Petrogate 2008.’”



2.11 East Timor: Of rebel leaders, presidents, assassinations failed and successful, rice deals and UN reports

Enlightening the Feb 2008 political assassination of rebel leader Alfredo Reinado, political violence and corruption.

(Sparked an independent and ongoing investigation by Australien authorities.)

‘Diminishing Conflict in Timor-Leste’

– *CIGJ, RegNet (Australia), October 14, 2008*

“The Joint Truth and Friendship Commission report was delayed too long to be considered fully in my thesis but turned out to slightly exceed expectations by admitting that the Indonesian military was indeed at fault in the 1999 violence. (...)

The report was tabled in July 2008 and is still only available from Wikileaks.”

‘East Timor: Leaked autopsy report shows alleged ‘coup’ leader Reinado shot at point-blank range’

– *WSWS, September 2, 2008*

“Two leaked autopsy reports-which have been published in full on the Wikileaks web site-definitively refute the official version of the events of February 11 in East Timor, according to which former major Alfredo Reinado had engaged in a shoot-out with President Jose Ramos Horta’s security forces while attempting to storm the president’s residence. This was supposedly part of either a coup attempt or planned assassination of both Ramos Horta and Prime Minister Xanana Gusmao. The available evidence now strongly points to the likelihood-raised by the World Socialist Web Site from the very outset-that Reinado was set up and lured to Dili in order to be murdered. (...)

The official version of events is now so implausible and discredited that even the Australian media feel obligated to change tack. (...)

The series of leaked evidence and news reports that has emerged in the past fortnight raise the obvious question: if, as appears increasingly certain, Reinado was lured to Ramos Horta’s residence to be killed, who set him up and why? But this question has not been raised by any section of the Australian media. Even more astonishingly, not a single question about the events of February 11 and their aftermath was put to either Gusmao or Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd during a joint press conference they held in Canberra last Monday.”

‘Dili investigator called to Canberra as evidence of execution mounts’

– *Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), September 4, 2008*

“East Timor’s top prosecutor, Longuinhos Monteiro, is flying to Canberra to be briefed on the investigation into the February 11 dawn attacks in Dili. (...)

Potentially explosive developments in the investigation have been kept secret in East Timor, where Reinado was a cult hero. (...)

Mr Monteiro has denied seeing an autopsy report that was first published on the website Wikileaks purportedly showing that Reinado was shot at almost point-blank range.”

2.12 Internet Censorship in Thailand

Exposure of the Thai military junta's censorship lists and publication of suppressed books and documents.
(*Long-term relationship with Thai freedom-of-speech groups successfully providing suppressed information for Thais.*)

'Hundreds of Sites Blocked in Thai Crackdown'

– *Internet News, September 3, 2008*

"Amid a spate of antigovernment protests, the Thai government is aiming to shut down 400 Web sites that it claims are threats to national security and social order and has advised ISPs to restrict access to another 800. (...)

Internet censorship in Thailand is not new. A report from the group Fight Against Censorship Thailand (FACT) posted on Wikileaks details a complex web of government agencies that are censoring a growing number of Web sites or putting pressure on commercial ISPs to filter out Internet properties deemed offensive. (...)

Earlier this year, Reporters Without Borders named Thailand to its list of countries censoring the Internet, but did not put it on its list of 'Internet enemies', which included 13 famously restrictive nations such as China, North Korea and Burma."

'Thailand's rights reputation in the sewer'

– *United Press International (UPI, Asia), February 19, 2009*

"Not so long ago, Thailand's representatives at United Nations meetings sat quietly while counterparts from nearby countries like Burma and Cambodia were grilled on their human rights records. (...)

How times have changed. This week, the Asian Legal Resource Center submitted a statement to the Human Rights Council that has painted the bleakest picture yet of denied rights and declining rule of law in Thailand during the past few years. (...)

In its third point, the legal center takes up the increasingly hot topic of people charged for commenting about the royal family, and the closely-related issue of online censorship. It cites a number of widely-reported cases and expresses special concern over the new 'Protect the King' website operating on the parliament's server, which is encouraging citizens to make complaints about others whom they think have committed an offence against the monarchy."

'Webmaster detained as Thai censorship grows'

– *The Associated Press (AP), March 6, 2009*

"Police detained a webmaster at one of Thailand's top online newspapers on Friday after they said they found a reader's comments offensive to the Thai monarchy posted on the site. (...)

Since the act became law, Thai authorities have blocked thousands of Web pages deemed insulting to the monarchy. The crackdown comes amid a growing debate over the eventual succession to King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the world's longest serving head of state and the only monarch most Thais have ever known. (...)

But in recent months, lese majeste complaints have been filed against a fledgling Australian novelist, a BBC reporter, a prominent Buddhist intellectual and an activist who refused to stand during the playing of the Royal Anthem at a movie theater."

3 The world about Wikileaks

3.1 Voices of the media

Feedback in the media about the WikiLeaks project.

‘Wikileaks ready to expose wrongs’

– *Edmonton Journal (Canada), January 13, 2007*

“If Canadian politicians have any skeletons in their political closets, a new website for whistleblowers could make it easier to expose them.”

‘A Wiki for Whistle-Blowers’

– *Time Magazine (US), January 22, 2007*

“...could become as important a journalistic tool as the Freedom of Information Act.”

‘A New Way to Expose Grand Corruption In Kenya’

– *Nation Media Group (Africa), February 26, 2007*

“The good news is that a new frontier has opened in the war for truth and against corruption and the secrecy that cloaks it. A new frontier with enhanced state-citizen accountability; a more open society and certainly a more transparent government. I leave you with the words of Siddhartha Gautama (the Buddha) as reproduced by WikiLeaks.Org: Three things cannot hide for long: the Moon, the Sun and the Truth.”

‘Steal from us, we’ll pray over you’

– *The East African (Africa), September 9, 2007*

“Wikileaks, the website on which the report was first unofficially released, has done its job. If there is now a Kenyan with connectivity anywhere in the world without a copy of the Kroll report, it is because said Kenyan doesn’t want to see it.”

‘Wikileaks - whistleblowing made easy’

– *The Guardian (UK), September 17, 2007*

“Got a secret you’re burning to tell the world? Don’t want anyone to know it comes from you? Go to Wikileaks.org, an online mouthpiece for anonymous whistleblowers, designed to bring down corrupt governments and greedy corporations through mass collaboration.”

‘Wikileaks and Internet Censorship - a comparative study’

– *Global Integrity Commons, February 19, 2008*

“As it turns out, shutting down Wikileaks-the-website has focused our attention on Wikileaks-the-idea, which is spreading at the speed of light.”

‘Free Speech Has A Number: 88.80.13.160’

– *CBS News (US), February 20, 2008*

“The whistleblower site Wikileaks.org has found itself in the center of a storm of protest by Internet activists and libertarians over a court-ordered shutdown. (...) Wikileaks vowed to continue publishing the bank’s documents on mirror sites in other countries, such as England (Wikileaks.org.uk), Belgium (Wikileaks.be) and Germany (Wikileaks.de). (...) Although the domain name is disabled, an online movement has begun to publicize and link to the IP address

directly, with more and more blogs and Web sites linking to 88.80.13.160, where Wikileaks' files can be found, hosted by a Stockholm, Sweden firm called PRQ Inet."

'Injunction highlights Tung family finances'

– *South China Morning Post (China), February 20, 2008*

"In forcing the US host of Wikileaks.org to close the site down on Monday, the bank has only succeeded in igniting a publicity firestorm which has focused intense scrutiny on the documents - duplicated on a series of international mirror sites - when in all probability they would otherwise have continued to moulder away unnoticed in an obscure corner of cyberspace. As one risk management specialist put it yesterday: 'Julius Baer had a small fire, which it tried to put out with a bucket of petrol.'"

'Stifling Online Speech'

– *New York Times, Editorial (US), February 21, 2008*

"The rise of Internet journalism has opened a new front in the battle to protect free speech. A federal judge last week ordered the disabling of Wikileaks.org, a muckraking Web site. That stifles important speech and violates the First Amendment. It should be reversed, and Wikileaks should be allowed to resume operations."

'Whistle While You Work'

– *The Guardian (UK), February 23, 2008*

"From government to big business, if you have a dirty secret, Wikileaks is your nightmare."

'Judge is asked to rescind shutdown of Web site'

– *The Los Angeles Times (US), February 27, 2008*

"If Wikileaks is shut down,' Lurie said, 'the ability of Public Citizen and its members to access' information from whistle-blowers 'will be significantly impaired.'"

'Immune to Critics, Secret-Spilling Wikileaks Plans to Save Journalism ... and the World'

– *Wired, March 7, 2008*

"Launched in January 2007, Wikileaks was conceived as a safe place for whistle-blowers to reveal their secrets to the world. Today, nobody doubts that the site has had an enormous impact."

'Diese Dokumente bergen Sprengstoff'

– *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Germany), March 8, 2008*

"Zu Beginn des vergangenen Jahres startete eine Website, vor der die dunklen Mächte der Welt erzittern sollten. Sie koennte, glauben ihre Macher, der mächtigste Nachrichtendienst der Welt werden; im Dienst 'der Voelker dieser Erde'. Ziel sei es nicht nur, die Zensur despotischer Regierungen in China, Afrika, Russland und dem Nahen Osten zu unterlaufen. Es gehe auch darum, in westlichen Staaten Ansprechpartner all jener zu sein, die 'unethisches Benehmen' in Regierungen und Unternehmen enthüllen wollten. Was Institutionen verbergen, mache Wikileaks, so der Name der Website, der Welt zugaenglich."

‘A cyber home for leaks’

– *Telegraph Herald (US)*, March 16, 2008

“Are you the victim of a repressive government or corporation? Feel like blowing a whistle? Well, here’s your chance online. Wikileaks.org is a Web site devoted to information leaks.”

‘Wikileaks Tries to Spread Tibet Videos’

– *New York Times (US)*, March 20, 2008

“As China plays defense by plugging up the usual sources for anyone trying to follow the spreading unrest in Tibet on the Web, an innovative site has a counter-strategy: play better offense.”

‘Squealing is as American as apple pie’

– *The Times (UK)*, March 29, 2008

“Wikileaks, the website that encourages dissidents, bankers, and employees to post untraceable documents, is a growing phenomenon. Recently, Julius Baer, the Swiss bank, served a court order on the site after it published internal documents. Wikileaks has since won an appeal and is back in business, leaving the bank with the reputation that it has something to hide.”

‘Index on Censorship New Media Award’

– *The Economist (UK)*, April 22, 2008

“Having faced down an attempt by an investment bank to have it shut down, wikileaks continues to be an invaluable resource for anonymous whistleblowers and investigative journalists.”

‘Safe websites let you embarrass people in high places’

– *New Scientist (US)*, May 8, 2008

“Thanks to Wikileaks, potential whistle-blowers are now far more willing to come forward, says John Young, who runs the long-standing site Cryptome.org, which specialises in posting documents on espionage, intelligence and cryptography issues. ‘We started getting a lot less information after 9/11 as people became more cautious when law enforcement agencies got more draconian powers. So we are very happy to see Wikileaks doing what they are doing so aggressively.’”

‘A fail-safe way to embarrass people in high places: Whistle-blowers can tell all without being traced, thanks to websites that anonymise their details’

– *New Scientist (US)*, May 10, 2008

“Anonymous leaking is an ancient art and many websites publish documents from sources they cannot identify. What Wikileaks has done is to professionalise the operation. They have created a standard procedure for receiving, processing and publishing leaks.”

‘The truth is out there, and Wikileaks wants you to know it’

– *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, May 30, 2008

“Banned in China, sued in America, Wikileaks aims to be a global anti-corruption outfit, an untouchable leaking platform for whistleblowers.”

‘Will Wikileaks Revolutionize Journalism?’

– *Alternet, July 7, 2008*

“Welcome to the brave new world of investigative journalism.”

‘Secrets and Lies: New BookFinder.com Out-of-Print ‘Bestseller List’ Reveals Heavy Demand for Rare and Suppressed Titles’

– *PR Newswire, August 25, 2008*

“Shortly after the already limited publication, all unsold copies of the controversial ‘Smith County Justice’ (1986) were returned to the publisher and burned, never reappearing in print. The book is a nonfiction account of alleged widespread police perjury, entrapment, and murder during the 1970s and 1980s in Smith County, Texas. Concerned residents have helped keep the book’s allegations in circulation by issuing an unauthorized ebook distributed online via sites like Wikileaks – leading to huge demand for the original book.”

‘Wikileaks vs. the Status Quo’

– *Scholarly Kitchen, Society for Scholarly Publishing (US), September 23, 2008*

“The history of Wikileaks, and the fact that the site is apparently actively censored by many governments, certainly speaks to its potential power.”

‘Wikileaks’

– *The Independent (UK), November 24, 2008*

“We are happy to make clear that Wikileaks has not removed the list, and in fact has ‘a wholly unbroken record in withstanding numerous censorship attempts.’”

‘Wikileaks Threatened with Criminal Prosecution by the BND’

– *Dissident Voice (US), December 23, 2008*

“Wikileaks should be commended, not attacked, for their brave documentary project and supported by everyone who upholds the rule of law, a free press and an open, democratic society.”

‘Simple Investor: Banking on Wikileaks’

– *The Times (UK), January 8, 2009*

“Sadly, by trying to prosecute Wikileaks, a government organisation here is again showing the ‘new’ South Africa to be a country on the wrong side of the digital divide. Wikileaks is ultimately a force of enlightenment and modernity, against which the incumbent government is simply going to look authoritarian and unenlightened.

(...) lauding what looks to be the most exciting citizen journalism project the Internet has produced so far (...).”

‘The secret documents’

– *The Guardian, Editorial (UK), March 17, 2009*

“Were it not for a whistleblower, these schemes would not have come to light. In the game of cat-and-mouse between big business and civil servants, they would have remained hidden from the public eye. As an informant points out, the Structured Capital Markets department of Barclays ‘has huge ... resources at its disposal, the best minds rewarded with millions of pounds in bonuses. Compare this with ... HMRC advertising for a tax and accounting expert with the pay... at £45,000.’ This mismatch of resources is a long-standing one, of course. It is why

tax-collectors in several countries have to rely on moles tipping off websites such as Wikileaks or information dumped on to CD-Rom.”

3.2 Wikileaks legal feedback

‘Don’t worry, Wikileaks’

– *Columbia Journalism Review (US), February 20, 2008*

“Yesterday a federal judge ordered WikiLeaks off the internet. Nice try. (...)
The New York Times has cited WikiLeaks twice, most recently in a February 5 semi-exclusive. Today the paper looks like it’s returning the favor in an article that covers all the right bases. Not only do the authors mention that the site (and, of course, the bank documents) remain available on at least three mirror sites, they printed the sites’ URLs-again, all three of them. And for good measure they printed the site’s slightly-more injunction-proof IP address. Best I can tell, the Times hasn’t printed an IP address in the national section since October 1998. So there you have it-four addresses to reach a ‘blocked’ site, all printed in one of the world’s most prestigious newspapers. Probably not what the bank lawyers had in mind.”

‘Amicus brief in CV08-0824 JSW’

– *California First Amendment Coalition (US), February 26, 2008*

“Journalists - particularly those [covering] national security, technology, foreign affairs and international human rights issues - have found Wikileaks useful both for the records posted there and for published discussions about those records from members of the informal Wikileaks community. ... These interests are particularly compelling for CFAC’s journalist and corporate news-organization members, whose ability to report on important matters in the public interest often depends upon the willingness and ability of those with access to documents concerning governmental and corporate misconduct to come forward despite fear of retribution.”

‘Electronic censorship’

– *Chicago Tribune, Editorial (US), February 26, 2008*

“If Wikileaks were a print publication, the injunction would be unthinkable. ... What distinguishes this case is that the allegedly intolerable materials were published on the Internet instead of on paper. But that’s a poor reason to abandon the principles that protect those who want to publish – as well as those who want to read. Censorship is censorship, no matter the medium.”

‘Federal Court Should Not Have Shut Down Wikileaks.org, a Web Site for Whistleblowers’

– *Paul Alan Levy, Public Citizen attorney (US), February 26, 2008*

“In shutting down this Web site through an unlawful prior restraint, the court has muzzled a very important voice in the fight against corporate and government misdeeds.”

‘Rights groups Forcing Wikileaks.org offline raises serious First Amendment concerns (Wikileaks)’

– *American Civil Liberties Union (US), February 28, 2008*

“Blocking access to the entire site in response to a few documents posted there completely disregards the public’s right to know.”

‘Die Rueckkehr der Whistleblower’

– *Focus (Germany), March 1, 2008*

“US-Bezirksrichter Jeffrey White hob am Freitag die Anordnung auf, die den Onlineauftritt Wikileaks seines Domainnamens beraubt hatte. Wenig spaeter war die Seite wieder am altbekannten Platz zu finden - und mit ihr Tausende geheimer Dokumente ueber Firmen und Regierungen. Seit 2006 veroeffentlicht die Webseite vertrauliche Unterlagen, um Missstaende publik zu machen.

Darunter waren Geheimdokumente aus dem US-Gefangenenlager Guantanamo und Belege fuer milliardenschwere Geldwaesche in Afrika.”

‘Judge reverses Wikileaks injunction (The Inquirer)’

– *Lucy Dalglish, Executive Director, Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press (US), March 2, 2008*

“It’s not very often a federal judge does a 180 degree turn in a case and dissolves an order. But we’re very pleased the judge recognized the constitutional implications in this prior restraint.”

‘Wikileaks champions whistle blowing after US court triumph (Agence France-Presse)’

– *Matt Zimmermann, Senior Staff Attorney, Electronic Frontier Foundation (US), March 3, 2008*

“We’re very pleased that Judge White recognized the serious constitutional concerns raised by his earlier orders. Attempting to interfere with the operation of an entire website because you have a dispute over some of its content is never the right approach. Disabling access to an Internet domain in an effort to prevent the world from accessing a handful of widely-discussed documents is not only unconstitutional it simply won’t work.”

‘Preserving Free Speech on the Internet: In a cyberlaw clinic, students help litigate matters of first impression (Harvard Law Bulletin)’

– *David Ardia, Director of Harvard Law School’s Berkman Center for Internet & Society’s Citizen Media Law Project (US), Fall 2008*

“Under established First Amendment law, prior restraints, if constitutional at all, are permissible only in the most extraordinary circumstances. In this case, you have court orders that effectively shut down a Web site that has been at the forefront of exposing corruption in governments and corporations around the world and enjoin anyone who reads the order from publishing or even linking to the documents.”