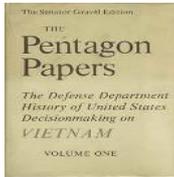




“Transparency” from Pentagon Papers to Wikileaks: A Linguistic Revolution



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**“Transparency” from Pentagon Papers to Wikileaks:
a linguistic revolution**

Relatore: Prof. Roberta Facchinetti

Laureando: Jessica Mariani vr358475

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Introduction

In 2006 an Australian hacker activist known as Julian Assange threw down a challenge to the world of politics and diplomacy and leaked 400,000 secret files on his website “Wikileaks.org”. One of the first contributors to Wikileaks was a twenty-four year old American soldier, Bradley Manning, who has leaked secret information about the Iraqi War and has been accused of leaking the “Collateral Murder” video and State Department cables.

Consequently, WikiLeaks has turned into the most challenging journalistic phenomenon to have emerged in the digital era, which has collaborated with five most important newspapers in the world: The New York Times, The Guardian, Der Spiegel, Le Monde and El Pais. It has provoked anger and enthusiasm in equal measure, from across the political and journalistic spectrum. WikiLeaks has posed a series of questions to the status quo in politics, journalism and to the ways we understand political communication. Above all, it actively launched a new campaign to support transparency as a leading principle to fight against corruption and the world of secrecy.

Thirty-five years backwards, in 1971, a similar event threatened U.S Government's stability; Daniel Ellsberg, a former strategic analyst at the RAND Corporation, who worked on the top secret McNamara study of U.S. Decision-making in Vietnam, 1945-68, which later came to be known as the Pentagon Papers, photocopied the 7,000 pages and gave it to The New York Times, The Washington Post and 17 other newspapers. His bravery was admired worldwide and shed light on the real issues to cause the Vietnam War. Today, Ellsberg is one of the strongest supporters of Wikileaks and Freedom of Information and promotes data leaking as the best weapon to fight for transparency.

After analyzing and comparing the two events, reading through the large amount of newspapers articles dealing with the matter, I soon realised that the word “transparency” was used with evidence in the most recent articles, whereas in those ones dealing with the Pentagon Papers' disclosure, it was hardly ever used.

When did “transparency” become a matter of discussion? Has the word “transparency” been involved into a linguistic evolution? Is there an interrelation between language and facts and how strong can it be? Can facts influence language?

My research work has been organised into three main steps. The first one aims at investigating the Wikileaks phenomenon, in order to deeply understand the whole context and compare it with the Pentagon Papers' one.

The second step merely deals with the language evolution of the word “transparency” where I will compare different definitions of the word available in six main dictionaries: “The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology” (1966), “Oxford English Dictionary” (1989 Second Edition), “Oxford Business English Dictionary” (2005 Edition), “Cambridge Business English Dictionary” (Online Version), “Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English” (Online Version), “Collins English Dictionary” (Online version), and two Thesaurus: “Roget's Thesaurus of English words and phrases” (2002) and “Bloomsbury Thesaurus” (1997). Once definitions are all listed, I am intended to verify their use in news articles in The New York Times. In order to prove the interrelation between facts and language I will start analyzing all articles containing the word “transparency” from 1971, year of Pentagon Papers' release, up to 2012, after Wikileaks cablegate. The whole analysis will be structured in four decades (1971-1981, 1982-1992, 1993–2003, 2004-2012) and I will analyse a sample of 200 articles per decade, using “relevance” as the main choice criteria for articles

Once the whole analysis is concluded and the final table of results is available, I will deal with the third step of my research and look at the main characteristics of the Global Transparency Movement, from its birth to its development.

Is “transparency” just a word or has it been turning into an era?

Chapter One

The Wikileaks phenomenon: Journalism through the Infowar

“Every time we witness an act that we feel to be unjust and do not act we become a party to injustice. Those who are repeatedly passive in the face of injustice soon find their character corroded into servility. Most witnessed acts of injustice are associated with bad governance, since when governance is good, unanswered injustice is rare. By the progressive diminution of a people's character, the impact of reported but answered injustice is far greater than it may initially seem. Modern communications states through their scale, homogeneity, and excesses provide their populace with an unprecedented deluge of witnessed, but seemingly unanswerable injustices.”

Julian Assange, “Conspiracy as Governance”, December 3, 2006

1.1 The Rise of Wikileaks

Wikileaks can be defined as an international, non-profit organisation whose goal is to bring out important news and information to the public. It publishes reports dealing with unethical practices in government departments, corporations, religious spheres and other high profile organisations from all over the world. It provides an innovative, secure and anonymous way for sources to leak information that will be later used by journalists in order to spread facts and provide truth with evidence. Thus, Wikileaks introduces a new media contributor defined as the “cyberspace whistleblower”, whose hacker skills can be extremely useful to preserve transparency of information.

Wikileaks was born as “wiki”, whose meaning refers to the possibility for users of

editing the website content. This is the reason why Wikileaks is often associated with Wikipedia which has actually anything in common with Wikileaks. Assange soon realises the possible misunderstanding due to the linguistic similarity and remarks that the idea of having citizen-journalists uploading material could be dangerous for Wikileaks' accountability. As reported by the journalists Leigh and Harding (2011) the general idea of the website is centred on its computer structure being able to send out documents in anonymity.

WikiLeaks was founded in 2006. That year, Assange wrote two essays to express his philosophy behind WikiLeaks. In the case of “Conspiracy as Governance”, written in 2006 he stated that

“To radically shift regime behavior we must think clearly and boldly for if we have learned anything, it is that regimes do not want to be changed. We must think beyond those who have gone before us and discover technological changes that embolden us with ways to act in which our forebears could not.”

As journalists Wheelan and Churcer affirm in their article “FBI question WikiLeaks mother at Welsh home: Agents interrogate 'distressed' woman, then search her son's bedroom” published on 1 August 2010 on the Daily Mail, Julian Assange clarifies in his blog that “the more secretive or unjust an organization is, the more leaks induce fear and paranoia in its leadership and planning coterie.... Since unjust systems, by their nature, induce opponents, and in many places barely have the upper hand, mass leaking leaves them exquisitely vulnerable to those who seek to replace them with more open forms of governance”.

One of the main difficulties in defining Wikileaks is related to the fact that it is not clear whether Wikileaks is an information provider or a reserved data channel. As Lovinik states in his analysis of the social media explained in his book “Ossessioni collettive” (2012:266), Assange and his staff seemed confused about the matter at first, although they understood, after a few time material had already been published on Wikileaks, that they needed help and mediation of newspapers.

The official launch of the website occurred in 2007 and was presented as a project promoted by the Sunshine Press. It is clear that WikiLeaks is not a front for any intelligence agency or government despite a rumour to that effect. As stated in the

official website of the organisation wikileaks.org:

«this rumour was started early in WikiLeaks' existence, possibly by the intelligence agencies themselves. WikiLeaks is an independent global group of people with a long standing dedication to the idea of a free press and the improved transparency in society that comes from this. The group includes accredited journalists, software programmers, network engineers, mathematicians and others.»

In the book *“Wikileaks: Inside Julian Assange's war on secrecy”* written by two journalists of The Guardian, David Leigh and Luke Harding, it is reported what Assange affirms about governances. Governments' policies are based on intrigue and fear and this mechanism survives thanks to secrecy(2011:64). Cbs news was the first who announced the rise of Wikileaks, whereas general media and hackers, who were already aware of the inadequate situation of communication systems, did not pay attention to it. It did not seem something innovating or different from any previous information disclosure or technology system. Actually, they were unaware of the effect Wikileaks would have and they would soon realise it. Wikileaks went through a quick process of development and soon became a buzzword; it spread out through the web and managed to receive million of leaks from all over the world in a very short period. As Lance explains in his book *“The Secret World of Wikileaks: A History of the Organization, its leaders, and how it gets its Information”* (2011) the surprising result was to observe that within one year the website filled its database with more than 1.2 million documents.

As reported in an article posted on the website *“journalism.co.uk”* Assange underlines that WikiLeaks has released more classified documents than the rest of the world press combined: "That's not something I say as a way of saying how successful we are. How is it that a team of five people has managed to release to the public more suppressed information, at that level, than the rest of the world press combined? It's disgraceful." He advocates a "transparent" and "scientific" approach to journalism, saying that "you can't publish a paper on physics without the full experimental data and results; that should be the standard in journalism". According to Geert Lovnik (2012:263-265), as he states in his critical essay on social media, as soon as Wikileaks managed to overcome its crisis and went through success and growth, the “wiki” aspect disappeared and the project of Wikileaks gained importance and strength around its

founder Julian Assange. The document disclosure run by Wikileaks is the consequence of information technologies diffusion, due to the crash of production costs, that can be divided into three elements: chip and hardware, information storage and broadband.

In order to deeply comprehend the main aspects of Wikileaks' birth and the reason why it has become a point of reference in the journalism overview, it is necessary to dedicate a paragraph to its founder Julian Assange and the several components of his working team.

1.1.1 Julian Assange and Wikileaks key players

Extracts of Life and Youth

While newspapers have described him as a "director" or "founder" of WikiLeaks, Assange has always criticized this definition saying: "I don't call myself a founder"; he rather describes himself as the editor-in-chief of WikiLeaks, who has the final decision in the process of vetting documents submitted to the site”, as he states during an interview made by Chris Anderson on his programme “Ted”.

Julian Assange is a 42 year old editor, activist, publisher and journalist, born in Townsville, Queensland. He was a hacker-activist in his youth, before being a computer programmer and then becoming internationally known for his work with WikiLeaks. In 1987, after turning 16, Assange started hacking under the name of "Mendax". The name derived from a phrase of Horace, "splendidae mendax", whose meaning is "nobly untruthful” as New Yorker journalist Raffi explains in his article: “No secrets: Julian Assange's mission for Transparency”. He and two other hackers joined to form a group they named the International Subversives. The Personal Democracy Forum aid affirmed he was "Australia's most famous ethical computer hacker" during its conference in 2010.

While a meeting was held in Oxford, Julian Assange attempted to avoid being defined as an “hacker”, since the original meaning of the word, as he points out, referred

to phishing activity of the Russian mafia as journalists Leigh and Harding affirm (2011:66).

In September 1991, Mendax was discovered in the act of hacking into the Canadian telecommunications company called Nortel. In response, the Australian Federal Police tapped Assange's phone line and raided his house in Melbourne in 1991. Assange was also accused of having accessed computers belonging to an Australian university, the USAF 7th Command Group in the Pentagon and other organizations. It took three years to bring the case to court, where he was charged with 31 counts of hacking and related crimes, having caused to Nortel a damage of \$100,000. What is interesting is that Assange's lawyers always represented his hacking as a victimless crime.

In May 1995 he pleaded guilty to 25 charges of hacking, after six charges were dropped, and was released on bond for good conduct with a fine of A\$2,100.m. As reported by journalist Richard Shears in the Daily Mail on 20 December 2010 the judge said "there is just no evidence that there was anything other than sort of intelligent inquisitiveness and the pleasure of being able to surf through these various computers" and stated that Assange would have gone to jail for up to 10 years if he had not had such a disrupted childhood.

Steve Butcher reports in an article written on 12 February 2011 on "The Age" that in 2011, court records revealed that, in 1993, Assange helped the Victoria Police Child Exploitation Unit by providing technical advice and assisted in prosecuting persons.

After studying math, physics and computer programming Assange became one of the first Internet service providers of Australia. He began to develop free software, including an open source port scanner called Strobe and a few patches to the PostgreSQL project.

Starting around 1997, he co-invented the Rubberhose deniable encryption system, a cryptographic concept made into a software package for the Linux operating system designed to provide plausible deniability against robbet-hose cryptanalysis. He originally intended the system to be used "as a tool for human rights workers who needed to protect sensitive data in the field, as reported by Leigh and Harding (2011:62). Other free software that he has authored or co-authored includes the Usenet caching software NNTPCache and Surfraw a command-line interface for web-based search engines. In

1998, Assange co-founded his first and only Australian company, Earthmen Technology.

During his intervention in a conference held at City University London Assange told that he lived in several countries and made public appearances in many parts of the world to speak about freedom of press and investigative journalism.

Assange and Wikileaks

International attention for WikiLeaks rose in 2010 when it began to publish U.S. military and diplomatic documents.

Assange thinks of Wikileaks as an important source for information and knowledge, free of charge and for anybody who wishes to find out more information about a certain topic. Furthermore, Assange never took any money for his activity. Wikileaks' survives thanks to fundings.

One of the leading figures of Wikileaks' first phase of impact in the world has been Bradley Manning arrested on suspicion of being the first contributor supplying the cables to WikiLeaks.

Bradley Edward Manning is a U.S. Army soldier who was arrested in May 2010 in Iraq. He was charged with a number of offenses, including communicating national defense information to an unauthorized source and aiding the enemy, a capital offense, though prosecutors said they would not seek the death penalty.

On May 20 2010 Manning contacted Adrian Lamo, a famous hacker convicted in 2004 of having accessed The New York Times computer network two years earlier without permission and sent him several e-mails. He said he was unable to decrypt them but replied anyway and invited the e-mailer to chat on AOL IM. Lamo said he later turned the e-mails over to the FBI without even having read them.

Here is the Manning Lamo chat logs published on Wired.com in an article by Evan Hansen.

<i>May 21, 2010:</i>
(1:41:12 PM) bradass87: hi
(1:44:04 PM) bradass87: how are you?
(1:47:01 PM) bradass87: i'm an army intelligence analyst, deployed to eastern baghdad, pending discharge for "adjustment disorder" in lieu of "gender identity

disorder"
(1:56:24 PM) bradass87: i'm sure you're pretty busy...
(1:58:31 PM) bradass87: if you had unprecedented access to classified networks 14 hours a day 7 days a week for 8+ months, what would you do?
(11:49:02 AM) bradass87: i'm in the desert, with a bunch of hyper-masculine trigger happy ignorant rednecks as neighbors... and the only safe place i seem to have is this satellite internet connection
(11:49:51 AM) bradass87: and i already got myself into minor trouble, revealing my uncertainty over my gender identity ... which is causing me to lose this job ... and putting me in an awkward limbo [...]
(11:52:23 AM) bradass87: at the very least, i managed to keep my security clearance [so far] [...]
(11:58:33 AM) bradass87: and little does anyone know, but among this "visible" mess, theres the mess i created that no-one knows about yet [...]
(12:15:11 PM) bradass87: hypothetical question: if you had free reign over classified networks for long periods of time ... say, 8–9 months ... and you saw incredible things, awful things ... things that belonged in the public domain, and not on some server stored in a dark room in Washington DC ... what would you do? [...]
(12:21:24 PM) bradass87: say ... a database of half a million events during the iraq war ... from 2004 to 2009 ... with reports, date time groups, lat-lon locations, casualty figures ...? or 260,000 state department cables from embassies and consulates all over the world, explaining how the first world exploits the third, in detail, from an internal perspective? [...]
(12:26:09 PM) bradass87: lets just say *someone* i know intimately well, has been penetrating US classified networks, mining data like the ones described ... and been transferring that data from the classified networks over the "air gap" onto a commercial network computer ... sorting the data, compressing it, encrypting it, and uploading it to a crazy white haired aussie who can't seem to stay in one country very long
(12:31:43 PM) bradass87: crazy white haired dude = Julian Assange
(12:33:05 PM) bradass87: in other words ... i've made a huge mess :)' ⁴
(1:11:54 PM) bradass87: and ... its important that it gets out ... i feel, for some bizarre reason
(1:12:02 PM) bradass87: it might actually change something

(1:13:10 PM) bradass87: i just ... dont wish to be a part of it ... at least not now ... i'm not ready ... i wouldn't mind going to prison for the rest of my life, or being executed so much, if it wasn't for the possibility of having pictures of me ... plastered all over the world press ... as [a] boy ...
(1:14:11 PM) bradass87: i've totally lost my mind ... i make no sense ... the CPU is not made for this motherboard
(1:39:03 PM) bradass87: i can't believe what i'm confessing to you
(02:12:23 PM) bradass87: so ... it was a massive data spillage ... facilitated by numerous factors ... both physically, technically, and culturally
(02:13:02 PM) bradass87: perfect example of how not to do INFOSEC
(02:14:21 PM) bradass87: listened and lip-synced to Lady Gaga's Telephone while exfiltrating [sic] possibly the largest data spillage in american history
(02:17:56 PM) bradass87: weak servers, weak logging, weak physical security, weak counter-intelligence, inattentive signal analysis ... a perfect storm
(02:22:47 PM) bradass87: i mean what if i were someone more malicious
(02:23:25 PM) bradass87: i could've sold to russia or china, and made bank?
(02:23:36 PM) info@adrianlamo.com: why didn't you?
(02:23:58 PM) bradass87: because it's public data
(02:24:46 PM) bradass87: it belongs in the public domain
(02:25:15 PM) bradass87: information should be free

Going through the chat logs, it is highly visible how Manning felt the need to confess the quantity of public data he had collected, remarking that instead of selling them to other countries, he supported the principle of information to be free.

Assange and WikiLeaks have been formally designated as enemies of the United States by the U.S. Defense Department and the United States Department of Justice is still investigating whether Assange can be accused of espionage.

Since December 2010, Assange has been subject to a European Arrest Warrant in response to a Swedish police request for questioning in relation to a sexual assault investigation. In June 2012, following final dismissal by the Supreme Court of the UK of his appeal against enforcement of the European Arrest Warrant, Assange has failed to surrender to his bail, and has been treated by the UK authorities as having absconded.

Since 19 June 2012, he has been inside the Ecuadorian Embassy in London, where he has since been granted diplomatic asylum. The British government intends to extradite Assange to Sweden under that arrest warrant once he leaves the embassy. Assange says he fears it may result in his subsequent extradition to the United States of America to face charges over the diplomatic cables case.

His primary aim was to tackle institutions and governments, show evidence on their corruption and become the source of hope for those people who intended to fight against injustice. He helped to write the book “Underground: Tales of hacking, Madness and Obsession on the Electronic Frontier” in 1997, which credits him as a researcher and reports his history with International Subversives, as reported by Symington on Wired in 2009.

Assange decided to put the main servers of Wikileaks in Sweden, for a precise reason: Swedish law firmly protects freedom of speech, information and expression. Swedish law enforcement cannot issue an injunction to close a website before a court has convicted the publishers of a crime, but it can seize a server as part of a criminal investigation, said Johan Lundmark, deputy director at the Justice Ministry. He questioned whether it could be considered a crime in Sweden to leak classified U.S. Documents as Rising reports in the Washington Post.

Assange was extremely skillful at identifying the most suitable countries to implement his servers. Thus, Wikileaks maintains its own servers at undisclosed locations and carefully minds out its sources and other confidential information. It uses military-grade encryption and keeps no logs. The Swedish Pirate Party are allowed to keep on hosting Wikileaks with no charge, since the Swedish constitution provides legal protection to whistle-blowers, as Lance writes (2011).

Assange learnt a proper method in order to use cryptography and protect sources, and had to face new challenges to keep the website online. Being the leader of one of the most powerful organizations brought legal trouble. His personal life was targeted and he was accused of committing serious crimes in Sweden, such as molestation and rape. Assange was initially denied bail, that was subsequently granted by the court, so he could be set free from custody. All Wikileaks staff was determined to keep the website online. They faced many legal challenges and overcame more than 100 lawsuits

successfully. In 2008 the Swiss bank won the court ruling and Wikileaks was taken offline temporarily.

The Wikileaks Team

Philip Adams

Philip Adams is an Australian broadcaster, film producer, writer, social commentator and satirist who has contributed for major news organizations such as The Times, The Financial Times in London and The New York Times. He has also been a presenter in Australia's famous radio show "Late Night Live" and a writer of a column in The Australian, a chairperson of the Advisory Board of the centre for the Mind at Sidney University and the Australian National University. Due to ill health, he left the advisory board of Wikileaks after its launch and as Lance reports (2011) he was never able to meet Julian Assange.

C.J. Hinke

Hinke comes from Thailand where he stayed until 1989. He is the founder of FACT (Freedom Against Censorship Thailand) that struggled against pervasive censorship in Thai Society. He has been Wikileaks' consultant on the credibility of the leaked materials.

Ben Laurie

Although Laurie denied being a member of the advisory board of Wikileaks, he is considered one of the main Assange's consultant whose task is to design a system on Wikileaks that could protect the leakers' identity. He is also a Director of the Open Rights Group and works for The Bunker Secure Hosting Company as a Director of Security.

Tashi Namgyal Khamsitsang

Besides being a member of the advisory board of Wikileaks, he is an activist and a member of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. Moreover, he is a former President of the Washington Tibet Association and was appointed to the State Commission on Asian

Pacific American Affairs by the Governor of Washington State.

Wang Youcai

Wang Youcai is the co-founder of the Chinese Democracy Party, a member of Chinese Constitutional Democratic Transition Research and of the Coordinative Service Platform of the China Democracy. Furthermore, he is an active leader of the Tiananmen Square protests and was sent to jail for conspiring to overthrow the Government of China. As the previous people mentioned, he is a member of the advisory board of Wikileaks.

Xiao Qiang

Full time human rights activist, vice-chair of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy and Director of the Berkeley China Internet Project, he is a Wikileaks' advisor and a Chinese dissident. Moreover, he was given the MacArthur Fellowship from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation in 2001 and works as a commentator for Radio Free Asia.

Wang Dan

As stated for Xiao Qiang, Dan is a Chinese dissident who has been imprisoned and then exiled in 1998 by United States for his rebellious activities. He has been advisor of Wikileaks for a short period of time.

Sarah Harrison

She is the official Julian Assange's assistant who has always been supporting him from the start.

Kristinn Hranfnsson

She is an Icelander journalist and supporter of Julian Assange.

James Ball

He is 24 years old and works for Wikileaks as an informatics expert and talented

hacker.

Jacob Appelbaum

He is the representative of Wikileaks in the United States.

Daniel Domscheit-Berg

Previously known under the pseudonym Daniel Schmitt, Daniel Domscheit-Berg is a German technology activist. Until September 2010, he was well known as one of the main spokesmen of Wikileaks. Domscheit-Berg began working with WikiLeaks after meeting Assange at the Chaos Computer Club's annual conference in 2007. On 25 September 2010, after reportedly being suspended by Assange, Domscheit-Berg told in an interview made by Der Spiegel that he was resigning and affirmed:

“WikiLeaks has a structural problem. I no longer want to take responsibility for it, and that's why I am leaving the project”

Domscheit-Berg stated he would destroy WikiLeaks data when leaving the operation as it is revealed on scribd.com.

After Assange talked about the new project of Wikileaks at the Chaos Computer Club conference, Domscheit-Berg soon understood its social importance and decided to cooperate with Assange. He got in contact with the most reliable hackers in Berlin and asked to find out the most suitable and secure countries to host Wikileaks servers, considering legal issues at the most. The countries selected were Belgium, United States and above all Sweden, which has particular concern for investigative journalism. The first Internet Service Provider that accepted to host Wikileaks servers was Mikael Viborg PRQ, situated in Stockholm. The company was able to provide services in complete anonymity and VPN (Virtual Private Network). Leigh and Harding explain in their book (2011:69) that the whole process consisted in connecting Wikileaks with PRQ servers and as soon as someone started downloading information, he could not be localized since PRQ blocked anybody who was trying to do it.

He wanted to be sure that duplicates would be confirmed deleted by a notary. In leaving, WikiLeaks stated that Domscheit-Berg representing OpenLeaks, held the organization to ransom over the unpublished documents and internal organization

communications with meditations by a member of the hacker collective Chaos Computer Club between OpenLeaks and WikiLeaks. Domscheit-Berg apparently told that he did not take documents of Wikileaks, leading to suspension of meditations.

Domscheit-Berg was eventually kicked out of Chaos Computer Club due to his conduct in the meditation and for requesting the Chaos Computer Club to test OpenLeaks' security. This decision was revoked in February 2012 by the general assembly of the Chaos Computer Club.

Assange and Domscheit-Berg relationship ended since the two members did not share the same ideas and had a different attitude towards how Wikileaks should be run. Hence Assange fired Domscheit-Berg affirming that leadership should not be questioned, as Lovinik reports in his work (2012:270).

In September 2010, Domscheit-Berg founded OpenLeaks with the intention of being more transparent than WikiLeaks. Instead of publishing the documents, OpenLeaks said it will send the leaked documents to various news entities or publishers, as Andy Greenberg reports on Forbes.com.

The relationship between Assange and Domscheit-Berg testifies the controversial aspect concerning Wikileaks, expressed in Assange's leadership. The latter (2011:26) testifies in his book that the initial attention directed to Wikileaks' diplomatic despatches' disclosure was then moved to Assange's personality and legal trouble.

Mikael Viborg

Viborg is the owner of the Swedish Internet service provider chosen by Wikileaks.

Birgitta Jónsdóttir

Member of the Icelandic Parliament, she was one of the strongest supporters of Wikileaks during Assange's stay in Iceland stating that «It is very important to offer a voice to the voiceless and I offer my help with this where possible» as she declares in “The Wikileaks full documentary.

Moreover, she carried a law to the Parliament called IMMI (Icelandic Modern Media Initiative). As reported in the official IMMI Press Release of 16th April 2012

“The IMMI project, started by a coalition of hackers, politicians, lawyers and activists in 2010, aims to create in Iceland the best possible legal environment for transparency and free speech, creating a stronghold for investigative journalists, internet publishers, transparency watchdogs and the public. By studying available and effective law from around the world and picking the best aspects, IMMI hopes to develop a model that can be spread worldwide.”

(http://immi.is/Press_Release:_IMMI_Status_Update,_April_2012)

Smàri McCarthy

Supporter of Wikileaks in Iceland, he is a programmer and activist of Media Modern Initiative (Mmi).

Rop Gonggrijp

He is a dutch hacker, Assange's friend and Mmi activist.

Mwalimu Mati

Responsible of kenia anti-corruption organization Mars Group, he was the main source of Wikileaks' first scoop about Africa.

Israel Shamir

Israel Shamir has been a close collaborator of Julian Assange.

Donald Bōstrom

He was a Swedish journalist and a precious contact in Stockholm for Julian Assange.

Herbert Snorrason

He was an Icelander activist

Vaughan Smith

Ex captain of Grenadier Guards, he is the founder of Frontline club and was Assange's guest at Ellingham Hall.

Daniel Ellsberg

Daniel Ellsberg is a former United States Military analyst who, while employed by the RAND Corporation, precipitated a national political controversy in 1971 when he released the Pentagon Papers, a top-secret Pentagon study of U.S. government decision-making in relation to the Vietnam War, to The New York Times and other newspapers. He was awarded the Right Livelihood Award in 2006. He is also known for a fundamental contribution to decision theory, the Ellsberg paradox, as Leigh and Harding (2011:7) report. He supported Wikileaks since the the whole cable disclosure was started.

1.1.2 How Wikileaks works

Due to its controversial nature, Wikileaks had to face several operational challenges. The release of top-secret embassy cables in November 28th 2010 shook the world and provoked deep discontent in the US government who considered the action as a crime. The angered governments worldwide, especially the US government, firmly wanted Wikileaks to be shut down. The last person who dealt with secret documents' disclosures had been Daniel Ellsberg, who had provided the Pentagon papers to The New York Times and others newspapers to show evidence of US responsibility and abuse in the Vietnam conflict.

Whistleblowers consider Wikileaks the safest place in order to leak out the sensitive information and news anonymously.

Not only journalists are allowed to upload documents; the general public can feel free to participate in the research, taking into account that every file is examined and fully controlled by Wikileaks staff. The founders of Wikilekas come from different countries like China, America, Europe, South Africa, Australia and Taiwan, and none of them can be officially identified. Those people, who would later become active parts in the Wikileaks development, brought the idea of creating a common platform of data by having an online dialogue about the great deal of human suffering in the world.

It is fundamental to underline how the document upload works, remarking the attention on anonymity. Indeed, the contributors of Wikileaks cannot be traced since the website itself preserves the untraceability of its contributors by government agencies

and organizations. As stated in the official Wikileaks website Wikileaks.org:

“The broader principles on which our work is based are the defence of freedom of speech and media publishing, the improvement of our common historical record and the support of the rights of the people to create new history.”

(www.wikileaks.org)

For what concerns Wikileaks' editorial policy, the only content accepted by its staff must be of political, diplomatic, ethical and historical interest. The people behind Wikileaks carefully check all submissions, and as soon as they are sure about the authenticity of the content, they publish it securely. There are several volunteers such as software programmers, network engineers and mathematicians belonging to the mainstream press, journalists and Wikileaks staff who are available to review and edit the content of files.

Their activity follows the principles contained in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, according to which

“everybody has a right to hold opinions without interference and freedom to express ideas through any media.”

(<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a19>)

Wikileaks firmly clarifies that they do not censor news or hoard information; they publish original documents with their news stories, later elaborated by media. Thus, readers can first read the original source on Wikileaks and then verify the effect of the disclosure reading the article published by news media.

All the servers properly selected by Julian Assange to host his website were asked to ban Wikileaks. At the moment the website URL Wikileaks.org is already shut down and is battered by DDoS attack after the release of secret embassy cables. The Swedish based Bahnhof Internet AB and EveryDNS.net and all the servers hosting Wikileaks were obliged to remove Wikileaks. However, Wikileaks currently continues to keep its web presence, thanks to the help of mirror sites and maintaining its own servers.

A mirror site consists of an exact replica of the original one. Thus, Wikileaks

supporters can be updated about the site's controversies and can still provide donations. The replica of the website is copied to other servers and can be available from more than one location. An advantage brought by a mirror site is that they are fast to access since they can be placed to different geographical locations. Wikileaks has more than 1010 mirror sites worldwide. Amazon and PayPal, who first gave their support to Wikileaks, were forced to change their minds under government pressure and soon gave up giving services.

Luckily, setting up a Wikileaks mirror is easy and anyone could do it. This has made shutting down Wikileaks a tough task for high profile organizations and governments. Wikileaks seems to have found the right way to spread information quickly and keep it in the web despite governments' pressure. Once the information is published on Wikileaks, it cannot be stopped anymore.

Websites operated at Wikileaks.org and any other websites under Wikileaks' ownership like Wikileaks.org.au, Wikileaks.org.uk, Wikileaks.la, Wikileaks.cn, Wikileaks.in and Wikileaks.org.nz are banned. The Chinese version was banned by the government who started the Golden Shield Project and censored every web site with keyword "Wikileaks" in the URL. Moreover, Chinese agents decided to register not only domain names but also all the possible name combinations that Wikileaks could use, such as Wikileaks.blogspot.com, Wikileaks.forums.com, Wikileaks.discussions.com.

1.1.3 How Wikileaks verifies its documents

Wikileaks staff assesses all news stories and tests their veracity by sending a submitted document through a very detailed examination procedure. They use traditional investigative journalism techniques as well as more modern technology-based methods. They elaborate an analysis of the document, determine the cost of forgery, means, motive, opportunity, the claims of the apparent authoring organization, and answer a set of other detailed questions about the document. When necessary, they look for external verification of the document. For example, for the release of the Collateral Murder video, they sent a team of journalists to Iraq to interview with the victims and observers of the helicopter attack. The team obtained copies of hospital records, death certificates, eye witness statements and evidence supporting the truth of

the story.

Publishing the original source material behind each of our stories is the way they show the public that the story is authentic. Thus, they support the work of other journalism organizations, who can decide to have a look at the files and spread the news through articles. By making the documents freely available, they manage to expand analysis and comment by all the media. Of course, Wikileaks' primary aim is to make the people think about the matter, to create interest around the topic.

WikiLeaks has never revealed any of its sources. As it is stated in the official website Wikileaks.org:

“We cannot provide details about the security of our media organization or its anonymous drop box for sources because to do so would help those who would like to compromise the security of our organization and its sources. What we can say is that we operate a number of servers across multiple international jurisdictions and we do not keep logs. Hence these logs can not be seized”.

Anonymization occurs early in the WikiLeaks network, long before information passes to the web servers. Without specialized global internet traffic analysis, multiple parts of the organization must conspire with each other to strip submitters of their anonymity.

Wikileaks provides instructions on how to submit material, via net cafes, wireless hot spots and even the post so that even if WikiLeaks is infiltrated by an external agency and sources can preserve their privacy.

1.1.4 Wikileaks' funding

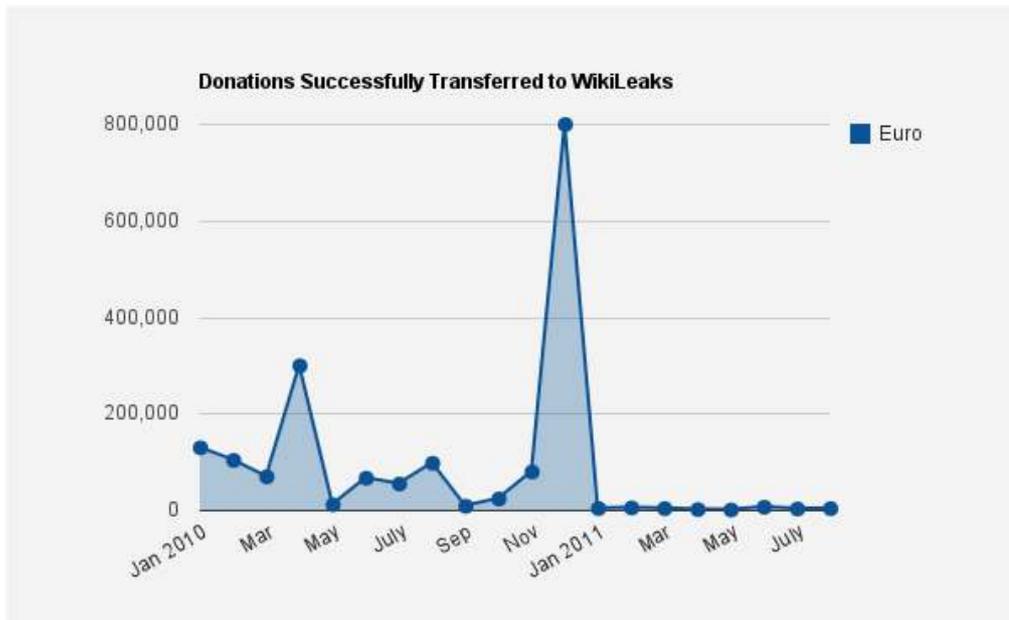
Since Wikileaks is a nonprofit organization, it relies on public donations. There are five members working full time and 800 people working part time.

The expense of the website corresponds to € 200,000 per year for bureaucracy and to keep the servers up and running. Moreover, the expenses would reach € 600,000 if the volunteers of Wikileaks got salaries for their work. Considering that Wikileaks relies on volunteers, none of the members including lawyers are paid any salary or compensation

for their work. Media organizations such as the Associated Press, the Los Angeles Times and The National Newspaper Publishers Association donate a huge amount of money in order to support Wikileaks legally. In 2009 Wikileaks went through a shortage of funds and it had to suspend all the publications on the website and all the previous ones could not be visible anymore. Wikileaks needed to cover costs and its deadline for fund raising was January 6th 2010, and it managed to achieve the minimum goal of fundraising by February 3rd 2010. Besides public donations, Wikileaks also receives money through auctions. Wikileaks uses conventional bank transfers and online payments to accept donations; most of them are received through PayPal.

Unfortunately, lots of organizations had to stop their support to Wikileaks since forced by the U.S. Government. Companies such as MasterCard, Visa, Amazon, PayPal, Bank of America cancelled the donation account of Wikileaks.

Wikileaks replied: “There is no obvious reason for all this. It has been done in the past too”, as it is explained in Lance's book (2011). On January 25th 2010 the Wikileaks account was restored back by PayPal. The website gained so much popularity that by June 2010 it appeared as finalist in the Knight challenge. It did not win the grant, whose amount was half a million dollars from James L. Knight Foundation. All the donations that come to Wikileaks are processed by Wau Holland Foundation. In July 2010 the Foundation affirmed that Wikileaks uses donations just for professional reasons such as travel, travelling and bandwidth.



Source: Wikileaks.org: <http://wikileaks.org/Banking-Blockade.html>

1.1.5 How Wikileaks guarantees anonymity for sources

WikiLeaks has never revealed any of its sources. It does not provide details about the security of the organisation or its anonymous drop box for sources. This would help those who would like to compromise the security of the organisation and its sources. Wikileaks operates a number of servers across multiple international jurisdictions and does not keep logs. In the official website it is stated that:

“Anonymization occurs early in the WikiLeaks network, long before information passes to our web servers. Without specialized global internet traffic analysis, multiple parts of our organisation must conspire with each other to strip submitters of their anonymity”.

(<http://wikileaks.org/About.html>)

Wikileaks also provides instructions on how to submit files via net cafes, wireless hot spots and even the post so that even if WikiLeaks is infiltrated by an external agency, sources can still not be traced. Furthermore, WikiLeaks has many cover domains, such as <https://destiny.mo00.com>, that doesn't have the organisation in the name.

As reported by Zetter on Wired.com, Assange and his staff use several programmes in order to preserve anonymity such as OpenSsl, FreeNet, PGP (Pretty Good Privacy) and Tor, also known as “The Onion Router”. Besides documents, protection also includes chat logs, as Leigh and Harding remark (2011:69-70).

After Wikileaks’ birth

Although Assange was an Australian citizen, after the rise of Wikileaks he decided to leave his country. In 2007 Assange moved to Nairobi, Kenya, to Tanzania, Egypt, Paris, France, Wiesbaden, Germany. He appeared at a hacker conference, the 25th and 26th Chaos Communication Congress in Germany. He was in Linz, Austria for the Ars Electronica in September 2009 and Barcelona for the Personal Democracy Forum in November 2009. He attended a media conference, New Media Days '09, in Copenhagen, Denmark and began renting a house in Iceland on 30 March 2010, from which he and other activists, including Birgitta Jónsdóttir, worked on the Collateral Murder video. He was in San Francisco, California, United States, for the Logan Symposium in Investigative Reporting at the University of California, Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism in April 2010, then in Oslo, Norway for the Oslo Freedom Forum before he returned to Australia in June 2010. On 21 June 2010, he took part in a hearing in Brussels where he was a member on a panel that discussed Internet censorship and expressed his worries over the recent filtering in countries such as Australia. Using an example involving The Guardian, he also explained how newspapers are sometimes altering their online archives by removing entire articles.

Not only Assange was criticized for his actions or accused of threatening governances' secrecy; he even received a number of awards from various organizations

Assange received the 2009 for exposing extrajudicial assassinations in Kenya by distributing and publicizing the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR)'s investigation.

In 2010, Assange was awarded the Sam Adams Award Readers' Choice in TIME magazine's Person of the year_poll, and runner-up for Person of the Year.

In April 2011 he was listed on the Time 100 list of most influential people. and

delivered".

Le Monde, one of the five publications to cooperate with WikiLeaks' publication of the recent document leaks, named him "person of the year" with fifty six percent of the votes in their online poll.

In February 2011, Assange was awarded with by the Sydney Peace Foundation of the University of Sydney or his "exceptional courage and initiative in pursuit of human rights. In June 2011, Assange was awarded the Martha Gellhorn Prize for Journalism. The prize is awarded on an annual basis to journalists "whose work has penetrated the established version of events and told an unpalatable truth that exposes establishment propaganda". The judges said, "WikiLeaks has been portrayed as a phenomenon of the hi-tech age, which it is. But it's much more. Its goal of justice through transparency is in the oldest and finest tradition of journalism", as Deans reports in an article on the Guardian.

In November 2011, he was awarded the 2011 Walkley Award in the category "Most Outstanding Contribution to Journalism." Can Wikileaks be considered the forerunner of a new Journalism?

1.2.Wikileaks Cooperation with International Media: Inside The Guardian and The New York Times

Kenya offered to Julian Assange the first journalistic scoop related to Wikileaks documents disclosure. The investigative agency Kroll had been investigating on ex Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi and then wrote a dossier about the matter that his successor Mwai Kibaki chose not to publish for political reasons. What Wikileaks did was to spread out the secret files on the website. Jon Swain of the Sunday Times decided to show evidence on the matter and wrote the first article. Afterwards, The Guardian published its article on the front-page of the newspaper. In the press release after the publication of the journalistic piece, The Guardian clarified that although Wikileaks had not officially begun its activity yet, the website was open to journalistic contributions. Considering Kenya political situation, it would be not responsible for The Guardian to postpone the document publication. In addition, The Guardian made a clear reference to Assange's and Wikileaks' responsibility; the bouncing effect was that a huge

amount of other documents reached Wikileaks' database. Julian Assange was later given an award from Amnesty International for his fight against Kenya corruption and was intended to search serious cooperation with media.

In order to be considered a reliable journalistic source, Wikileaks should organise its work in three phases: original documents research, verification and spread of facts in the society. Assange soon realises that for what concerned the last phase, he needed media channels. In order to attract media attention Wikileaks started showing availability for publishing articles on the website.

One of the first battles run by Wikileaks involved the Swiss Baer Bank, whose private documents had been published on Wikileaks with the collaboration of Rudolf Elmer, ex director of the Bank on the Cayman islands, who wanted to show evidence on Baer's tax avoidance. Although Baer's lawyers managed to block the site in California, official documents spread out quickly in Belgium thanks to the help of supporting mirror sites. The result was that several American Associations such as American Civil Liberties, Electronic Frontier Foundation, Associated Press, Gannet News Service and Los Angeles Time all showed their support to Wikileaks. It was after this episode that The Guardian realized that a collaboration with Wikileaks could change journalism.

Consequently, what happened with Baer Bank involved Barclays Bank as well and petroleum company Trafigura in the UK, as soon as the Guardian, after being warned by the respective lawyers, sent over its articles to Wikileaks.

The second crucial moment of Wikileaks collaboration with The Guardian coincided with the publication of Apache video showing American soldiers, shooting civilian people in Baghdad. Twelve people were killed and among them there were two journalists of Press Agency Reuters: Saeed Chmag and Namir Noor-Eldeen.

David Leigh, one of The Guardian journalists, tried to come to an agreement with Assange for the publication of the video but Assange seemed to have already found a better alliance with The New Yorker journalist Raffi Khatchadourian. The video was broadcast during the National Press Club in Washington.

Nick Davies, one of the Guardian's best-known investigative journalists, was involved in the attempt of the newspaper to find collaboration with Assange. His attention was caught by the Guardian's foreign pages saying "America officials are searching for

Julian Assange, the founder of Wikileaks, in an attempt to pressure him not to publish thousands of confidential and potentially hugely embarrassing diplomatic cables that offer unfiltered assessments of Middle East governments and leaders”, as Leigh and Harding report (2011).

After reading Bardley Manning chat logs with Lamo entirely published on Wired.com, he tried to get in contact with Assange by e-mail. He informed Alan Rusbridger director of The Guardian of the importance of giving evidence to the fact and having access to secret cables. The only person who could make it possible would be Julian Assange. Rusbridger got in contact with the Guardian's European correspondent Ian Traynor who was told to leave for Brussels, where Julian Assange had been invited to hold a conference. He managed to meet and talk to Assange. Traynor was pleased to hear that the Wikileaks founder presented himself as a big fan of the Guardian. Assange seemed keen to engage in a collaborative project with a newspaper which had progressive credentials.

Nick Davies was soon informed by Traynor who urged him to join, and decided to leave for Brussels with the approval of Rusbridger. According to his idea, Assange was facing four separate lines of attack. The first was physical since someone could beat him. The second was legal since Washington could attempt to crush Wikileaks in the courts. The third was technological since U.S could bring down the website. The fourth and worrisome possibility referred to the launch of a propaganda campaign, accusing Assange of collaborating with terrorists. Above all, there was another important concern. If the Guardian obtained and published the diplomatic cables, the US embassy in London might seek to injunct the paper. It is necessary to remind of the fact that the UK hosts some of the world's most hostile media laws. Davies realised that what was needed was a multi-jurisdictional alliance between traditional media outlets and Wikileaks, without involving non-governmental organisations.

As soon as the Davies and Traynor managed to meet up with Assange, they were soon warned that they first needed to do something about their security, such as getting an e-mail secure and encrypted. The conversation last six hours and the result was a strained partnership between a mainstream newspaper and Wikileaks, representing “a new model of cooperation aimed at publishing the world's biggest leak”, as Leigh and

Harding affirm (2011).

First of all Davies told Assange about his concern of physical attacks and predicted that the US would launch an information war and accuse him of helping terrorists and endangering innocent lives. Assange agreed with Davies and revealed the scale of his cache which included logs detailing every US military incident in the Afghanistan war, from March 2003, secret US state department cables from American diplomatic missions around the world, files from enemy combatant review tribunals held in Guantánamo Bay. Davies was impressed and affirmed that the Guardian should be allowed to preview all the material in order to bring context to all data. Assange had just one concern: legal implications for Bradley Manning. Davies and Assange discussed about adding the New York Times as a partner, considering that, as Davies remarked, the Obama administration would not attack the newspaper in the US since it would enjoy the protection of the free speech provisions of the first amendment to the US constitution. Moreover, there was the precedent of the historical battle of The New York Times for the publication of the Pentagon Papers about the Vietnam War. Assange already knew journalists at the New York Times. He was concerned that the articles should be published not only abroad but even in the US. Another point Assange fought for was the possibility for the New York Times to publish five minutes ahead of the Guardian in London. The reason why he made such suggestion was related to Bradley Manning, whose risk to be indicted for breaking the Espionage Act would be reduced.

Traynor suggested the possibility of involving the German newspaper Der Spiegel giving as a reason that they had enough resources to cooperate and that Germany was militarily responsible in Afghanistan too. Assange added that if their project were to go ahead, he would want control on the Guardian's timing. Thus, Assange would protect Manning first and would be prepared to post material immediately if Wikileaks was attacked. He also pointed out that the Guardian should increase its security and adopt severe measures and that Fox News should have been involved and given a suitable story in order to avoid their possible attack. Nick Davies had to get the Afghan material back to the Guardian in London but the problem was that saving it on a memory stick would risk confiscation by British officials at customs control. Assange suggested to transfer the material in encrypted form to a special website created for a short period

before disappearing and provided the passwords.

As soon as Davies went back to London, he explained the deal to Rusbridger and with the help of his computer assistant he downloaded all files. The Guardian had the America cables. At first Davies was so obsessed with secrecy that he refused to inform the Guardian's head of news Ian Katz about the agreement with Wikileaks.

“The discreet office, well away from the daily news operation, had become a multinational war room, with reporters flown in from Islamabad, New York and Berlin to analyse hundred of thousands of leaked military field reports” declare Leigh (Leigh, Harding, 2011,p.?). The total of reports amounted to 92,201 rows of data but it was necessary to organise the database by date or key word. Harold Frayman, the technical expert, and Alastair Dant, a data visualiser specialist, were able to solve the problem.

This proved that the Internet was not an obstacle to journalism but a surprising resource. Simon Rogers, the Guardian's data editor declared: “Sometimes people talk about the Internet killing journalism. The Wikileaks story was a combination of the two: traditional journalistic skills and the power of the technology, harnessed to tell an amazing story”, as Leigh and Harding define the whole operation. This brought to the awareness that the world was changing and data had helped the whole process.

Besides the Guardian's journalist the working team started growing in size. Both the New York Times and Der Spiegel were informed of the leak operation and were very enthusiastic to cooperate and send over their most popular journalists. Bill Keller, executive editor of the New York Times sent over his highly experienced war correspondent Eric Schmitt, whose knowledge of the military background could be extremely helpful, whereas Der Spiegel sent its reporters John Goetz and Marcel Rosenbach, although Davies disagreed with it at first. Der Spiegel journalists had lots of background expertise on Afghanistan and above all they had access to the German federal parliament's own investigation into the war in Afghanistan, including secret US military material. During the reunion it was decided that the Guardian would publish the material over fourteen pages, on the day of launch. The knottiest problem concerned redactions. While Wikileaks wanted to publish redactions about all stories, papers were in favour of giving evidence just to the most relevant ones. Despite his stubbornness, Assange accepted the compromise.

Everything seemed to proceed in the right way but the day before the Afghan war logs launch, Davies received a phone call from Stephen Grey, a freelance reporter. He explained that Assange had given him an exclusive TV interview about Afghan war logs and provided material for Channel 4's website. Moreover he told Davies that Assange had approached CNN and Al Jazeera offering them an interview.

The Guardian showed its disappointment and Davies broke off relations with Assange. Furthermore, while The Guardian and Der Spiegel posted the link to the Wikileaks cable on their websites, the New York Times refused to do it. They feared that their trove would contain the names of low-level informants and make them Taliban targets.

The launch of the first amount of war logs about Afghanistan represented a proper media scoop. It gave the papers massive exposure and it was the biggest leak in history until it was followed by the second amount of disclosures about Iraq.

After the publication of the Afghan war logs, Assange proposed to change the terms of the deal once again. He wanted more television to provide emotional impact since he had made new friends like Ahmad Ibrahim from the Qatari-funded Al Jazeera and Gavin MacFayden from City University London. The Guardian was expecting the second part of the cables about Iraq but Assange said he could only give half of it.

Something unexpected would threaten leaking operation. David Leigh received a phone call by Nick Davies who informed him that Assange was about to be arrested in Sweden. The three partner papers decided it was time for a meeting with Assange.

The founder of Wikileaks was disappointed with one of the latest profile about him, published in an article written by John F. Burns on the New York Times. Hence he wanted them out of the operation. Furthermore, the Guardian was anxious about the fact that another copy of the cables had fallen in the hands of American journalist and information activist Heather Brooke. During the following reunion Assange angrily denounced the Guardian, wondering why the New York Times already had the cables and who was responsible for it. According to Rusbridger, the only way to solve the controversy is to get in contact with Heather Brooke and persuade her to join the team.

First of all, the director of the Guardian called the director of the New York Times Bill Keller to tell him that Assange wanted a front-page rejoinder for the Burns piece

and that he wanted a guarantee that he would not publish any other controversial article. Keller replied that he would use his influence as much as possible and that Assange could write a letter to have the article changed.

Julian Assange was not satisfied with Kellers' reply and also announced that he wanted to involve newspapers of other Romanze countries such as El Pais and Le Monde, in order to broaden the geo-political impact. The other members of the team seemed perplexed since the final publication would become more complex. Despite doubts and perplexities, the five newspapers needed to put their ideas into Action. Rusbridger sent to the lawyer Mark Stephens ten bullet points to put to Assange in order to reach an agreement.

Here is the list accurately reported in Leigh and Harding's book (2011):

1. Publication date was on Nov 29th in a staggered form.
2. Run over two weeks or more up to just before Christmas.
3. Exclusive to the Guardian, the New York Times, Der Spiegel, El Pais, Le Monde.
4. Subject matter to be coordinated between partners and to stay off certain issues initially. No veto to anyone over subjects covered over whole course of series. Wikileaks to publish cited documents at same time.
5. After Christmas the exclusivity continues for one more week, starting around January ³/₄.
6. Thereafter Wikileaks will start to share stories on a regional basis among 40 serious newspapers around the world, who will be given access to bags of material relating to their own regions.
7. Guardian will hire Heather Brooke on an exclusive basis.
8. If “critical” attack on Wikileaks they will release everything immediately
9. If material is leaked to/shared with any other news organisation in breach of this understanding all bets are off.
10. If agreed the team will commerce work on a grid of stories for the first phase.

After months of hard working, five of the world's most reputable papers were now committed to selecting, redacting and publishing the secret leaked diplomatic

dispatches.

Could this be considered the inspiring light on a new Journalism Age? How will transparency be conceived after the publication date?

Alliances and cooperation were the keywords to run the entire operation. Not only the five newspapers had to collaborate actively among each other, but they had to keep lawyers updated and rely on them any time they were concerned. Actually, this was a cooperative technique that the Guardian had long been building. The previous year the Guardian staff had worked in concert with BBC TV'S Newsnight, a Dutch paper Volkskrant and with the Norwegian Tv channel NRK to beat off lawyers for the Trafigura company, who had dumped toxic waste. This new outstanding cooperation was not an invention, but the culmination of a growing media trend. The technological growth of massive, near-instantaneous global communications allowed the trend to spread out quickly. As David Leigh (2011) noted down, "if media groups did not learn to work across borders on stories, the stories would leave them behind".

Although the rules of the cooperation had been delineated, newspapers had another obstacle to overcome: governments and law. Could the Guardian be prosecuted under the British Official Secrets Act or the US Espionage Act? Rusbridger had already looked for the opinion of Alex Bailin, a QC who specialised in secrecy law, ahead of publication of the Afghan war logs. Geraldine Proudler belonging to the Guardian's law firm Olswang warned that the US could bring a prosecution against the Guardian under the Espionage Act. The Obama administration appeared unaware of the cables Wikileaks and its media partners had in their possession. The New York Times decided to forewarn the state department which cables it was intending to use, whereas the Guardian behaved differently because of the British oppressive legal regime.

A few days before cables' release, two members of the US embassy in Grosvenor Square contacted the Guardian to hold a conference call. Rusbridger was interviewed by

PJ Crowley, the US assistant secretary of state for public affairs and Hilary Clinton. Crowley stated that the US government was willing to cooperate if the Guardian was prepared to share documents. Rusbridger replied that in his opinion it was not the right time to agree on that. Hilary Clinton reacted and made her straight question. She asked whether they would provide the exact number of cables in possession and Rusbridger

sharply answered they would not. Actually, his final decision was to provide the Americans the Guardian's broad publication schedule. The first one would be addressed to Iran, the second would deal with North Korea, the third one on Pakistan.

In Germany, the editor-in-chief of Der Spiegel received a call from the US ambassador and assured that they had done everything possible in order to protect sources who might be in danger.

From his secret hideout in Ellingham Hall, Assange tried to open his own channel of negotiations with the US embassy in London, asking to privately nominate examples where publication of a cable could put an individual in danger.

No negotiation could prevent Assange from editing his operation: the day of final publication was approaching. The international release of the US embassy cables had been coordinated for 21.30 GMT on Sunday evening 28th November 2010. The five newspapers were all ready to start off the operation but unfortunately something unexpected occurred. Der Spiegel had agreed to roll its stories out at the same time on its website with the magazine only published on the following Monday morning.

At around 11.30am Heeb, the editor-in-chief of the local Radio Basel discovered a copy of Der Spiegel at a station in Switzerland. That copy contained the first publication article on Der Spiegel entitled: "Revealed: How America sees the world". Heeb's station started to broadcast the news, stating that a few early copies of Der Spiegel had become available at Basel station.

It was at this point that an anonymous Twitter user called Freelancer_9 decided to have a look at the article and tweeted: "Der Spiegel too early at Basel Station! Let's see what's there", as Leigh and Harding report. Freelancer_09 managed to obtain one of the copies of the newspaper; what had gone wrong was that one of the distribution vans sent to Germany had set off for Switzerland 24 hours earlier. The freelancer started twitting the magazine's content that was later retweeted by other German journalists and in a few hour he had more than 600 followers. What's more, he started scanning the articles of the newspapers so that he operation had to be modified. There had been a leak inside the leak. Despite the inconvenient, the Guardian's front page splash made the historic dimensions of the story clear. At 6.13 pm the article appeared on the Guardian's website: "Us embassy cables leak sparks global diplomatic crisis", as Leigh and Harding report.

At 6.15 pm the Guardian launched a Wikileaks live blog, to char reaction as it came in and pointed out that the paper has carefully redacted many cables. “This was in order to protect a number of named sources and so as not to disclose details of special operations”, as Leigh and Harding remark in their book. The Guardian team had also designed an interactive graphic allowing readers to carry out their own searches of the cable database. The New York Times published an article entitled: “leaked cables offer raw look at u.s. Diplomacy” and defended its decision to publish affirming that the cables told the story of how the government made its biggest decisions that cost the country in lives and money. Before each round of publication, the New York Times had to confront with the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House, revealing the cables they would deal with.

El País carried on with the publication and entitled the first article: “Questions and answers about US Department cables” and so did Le Monde with the headline “In the heart of American diplomacy”.

The director of the Guardian Alan Rusbridger commented the whole experience as a unique collaboration that began as a “traditional journalistic operation, albeit using skills of data analysis and visualisation which were unknown in newsroom until fairly recently”, as Leigh and Harding report in their book (2011:220). As Sarah Ellison's Vanity Fair piece on the subject concluded, the results have been extraordinary. In particular, given the range, depth, and accuracy of the leaks, the collaboration has produced one of the greatest journalistic scoops of the last thirty years. The ethical issues involved in the new status of editor-source became more complex when the Guardian was told that it owed some form of protection to Assange too, considering that he was a source, by not deeply inquiring into the sex charges against him in Sweden.

In the countries without the benefit of a free press, a considerable thirst for the information was registered. The Wikileaks saga has represented the opportunity, to quote Leigh and Harding (2011:279), to draw up “a score sheet of the upsides and drawbacks of forced transparency”.

That's why a rational consideration of new forms of transparency should accompany the questioning of how the US classification system works and if or what should remain secret and unknown to public opinion.

1.3 Hacking Journalism: The World's reaction to Wikileaks

The release of a long list of explosive leaks based on sensitive material from the government and other high profile organisations has shocked the world and put U.S. Diplomacy in danger. Some of the major stories that Wikileaks has broken include the following categories:

- ♣ War, killings, torture and detention
- ♣ Abuse, violation, violence
- ♣ Corruption, finance, taxes, trading
- ♣ Restraint on freedom of press and freedom of speech by citizens of a country
- ♣ Government, trade and corporate transparency
- ♣ Diplomacy, spying, intelligence
- ♣ Censoring the flow of information through Internet
- ♣ Misguided practises of religious organizations
- ♣ Ecology, climate, nature and sciences

Wikileaks was able to find out precious information about political manipulations related to global warming and climate change and on nuclear disarmament and discussions on terror and threats to the world, decisions on tension in the Middle East and diplomatic actions of US intelligence agencies. In the second chapter the matter of the diplomacy dispatches disclosure related to the transparency movement will be dealt in detail.

At the same time, several U.S. government officials have criticised WikiLeaks for exposing classified information and claimed that the leaks harm national security and compromise international diplomacy. Several human rights organisations requested with respect to earlier document releases that WikiLeaks adequately redact the names of civilians working with international forces, in order to prevent repercussions. Some journalists have likewise criticised a perceived lack of editorial discretion when releasing thousands of documents at once and without sufficient analysis. In response to some of the negative reaction, the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights has expressed her concern over the "cyber war" against WikiLeaks, and in a joint statement

with the Organisation of American States the UN Special Rapporteur has called on states and other actors to keep international legal principles in mind. According to journalist Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, WikiLeaks is motivated by "a theory of anarchy," not a theory of journalism or social activism. At the same time, Geert Lovink, a social media critic, founder and director of the Institute of Network Cultures remarks Wikileaks' populist strategy and attempt to capture media attention through a proper entertainment show. The Wikileaks saga, as Lovink (2011:266) named it, has its basis on the fall of U.S diplomacy and cannot be considered as a global movement, but just a Western one.

Patrice Riemens and Geert Lovink published an article entitled "Twelve Thesis on Wikileaks" where they deeply analyse the phenomenon related to technologies ethics.

On thesis number 4 they argue that:

"One of the main difficulties with explaining WikiLeaks arises from the fact that it is unclear (also to the WikiLeaks people themselves) whether it sees itself and operates as a content provider or as a simple conduit for leaked data (the impression is that it sees itself as either/or, depending on context and circumstances)."

(<http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2010-12-07-lovinkriemens-en.html>)

The US government had the worst reaction, although their strategy initially coincided with negotiation. In her previous speech before the Cable Gate, Hilary Clinton described a vision of a semi-underground digital publishing "the samizdat of our day that was beginning to champion transparency and challenge the autocratic, corrupt old order of the world. Repressive governments would target the independent thinkers who use the tools", as reported by Leigh and Harding (2011:174). This statement, explains Rusbridger, referred to regimes like Iran. After US files disclosure, she made another statement about digital whistleblowers, attacking people who used electronic media to champion transparency. She talked about "an attack on America's foreign policy

interests and on the international community”, as quoted by Leigh and Harding (2011:184). The US government also tried to block Assange Twitter account and as I have already reported in the chapter, Paypal, Amazon and Mastercard who first supported Assange, had to stop under government's pressure. It was Senator Joe Lieberman, Senate homeland security committee chairman, who sharply attacked Wikileaks and defined it as “an outrageous, reckless and despicable action that will undermine the ability of our government and our partners to keep our people safe and to work together to defend our vital interests”as Leigh and Harding report (2011).

Franco Frattini, Italy's foreign minister, was one of the earliest politicians who intended that the leak could not be undone and was game-changing.

Anonymous intervened in favour of Wikileaks and actively campaigned in order to support the free flow of information, freedom of expression for the internet, for journalism and citizen of the world. As soon as Mastercard denied its support to Wikileaks, Anonymous hackers forced the main website of MasterCard offline for several hours.

The Wikileaks saga is still ongoing and the effects of the hugest leak will be absorbed in decades. From now on, will it be possible to talk about a new Journalism age based on transparency?

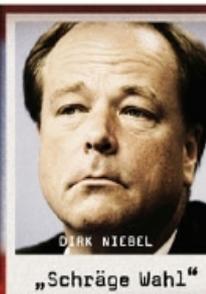
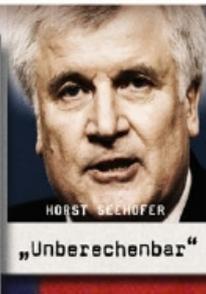
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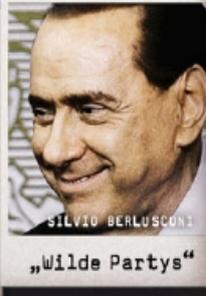
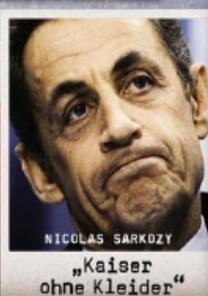
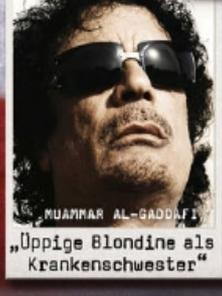
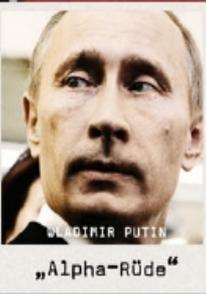
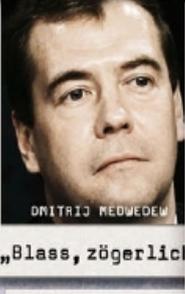
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Source: Der Spiegel

EXCLUSIVE

The secret US embassy cables

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theguardian

250,000 leaked files that lay bare US view of world

- Washington engulfed by global diplomatic crisis
- Dispatches reveal US officials told to spy on UN

David Leigh

The United States was catapulted into a worldwide diplomatic crisis today, with the leaking to the Guardian and other international media of more than 250,000 classified cables from its embassies, many sent as recently as February this year.

At the start of a series of daily extracts from the US embassy cables, many designated "secret", the Guardian can disclose that Arab leaders are privately urging an attack on Iran and that US officials have been instructed to spy on the UN leader-



ship. These two revelations alone would be likely to reverberate around the world. But the secret dispatches which were obtained by WikiLeaks, the whistleblowers' website, also reveal Washington's evaluation of many other highly sensitive international issues.

These include a shift in relations between China and North Korea, high level concern over Pakistan's growing instability and details of clandestine US efforts to overthrow Gaddafi in Libya.

Among scores of other items that are likely to cause upsets, the cables detail:
* Given Jordan's Washington and London over the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme, with officials warning that as the country faces economic collapse, government employees could smuggle out enough nuclear material for terrorists to build a bomb.

* Inspection of corruption in the Afghan government, with one cable alleging that vice-president Zia Massoud was carrying \$10m to cash when he was stopped during a visit to the United Arab Emirates. Massoud denies taking money out of Afghanistan.

* How the hacker attacks which forced

Continued on page 10

SECRET NOFORN/SIPOIS
SUBJECT: REPORTING AND COLLECTION NEEDS:
THE UNITED NATIONS

Reporting officers should include as much of the following information.

Internet and intranet "handles", internet e-mail addresses, web site identification-URLs; credit card account numbers; frequent flyer account numbers; work schedules.

D1. Biographic and biometric information on UNSC [UN Security Council] Permanent Representatives, information on their relationships with their capitals.

E 1. UN Leadership Dynamics: SYG's [Secretary General's] management and decision-making style. Personalities, biographic and biometric information of key UN officials.

H 4. Current technical specifications, physical layout, and planned upgrades to telecommunications infrastructure information systems, networks, and technologies used by top officials and their support staffs. Details on commercial and private VIP networks used for official communications, to include upgrades, security measures, passwords, personal encryption keys.

Saudi king told US: you must bomb Iran

Sam Black and Simon Tisdall

King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia has reportedly urged the United States to attack Iran to defuse its nuclear programme, according to leaked US diplomatic cables that describe how other Arab allies have secretly agitated for military action against Tehran.

The revelation, in secret messages from US embassies across the Middle East, exposes behind the scenes pressures on the Saudis to contain the Islamic Republic, which the US, Arab states and Israel support in efforts to avert a nuclear weapons programme. Bombing Iranian nuclear facilities has before been viewed as a desperate last resort that could ignite the wider war.

The Saudi king was recorded as having "temporarily returned the US to attack Iran to put an end to its nuclear weapons programme," one cable stated. "He told you [Americans] to cut off the head of the snake," said the Saudi ambassador to Washington, Adel al-Jubei, according to a report on Abdullah's meeting with the US general David Petraeus in April 2008.

The cables also highlight how US anxiety to prevent its regional nuclear competitors, its readiness to go it alone against Iran, and its unwillingness to influence American policy.

The Saudi defence minister, Ahmed Mukhlis, estimated in June 2007 that there was a window of "between six and 18 months from now to which stopping Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons might still be viable", after that, Black said, "any military solution would result in unacceptable collateral damage".

The leaked US cables also reveal that:
* Officials in Jordan and Bahrain have openly called for Iran's nuclear programme to be stopped by any means, including military.

* Leaders in Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Egypt referred to Iran as "evil", an "existential threat" and a power that "is going to take us to war".

* Robert Gates, the US defence secretary, warned in February that if diplomatic efforts failed, "we risk nuclear proliferation in the Middle East, was prompted by an Israeli strike, or both".

Continued on page 10



Source: *Le Monde*

Source: *The New York Times*



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LUNES 29 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2010 | Año XXXV | Número 12.215 | EDICIÓN INTERNACIONAL

WIKILEAKS PONE AL DESCUBIERTO LOS PAPELES DEL DEPARTAMENTO DE ESTADO

La mayor filtración de la historia revela los secretos de la diplomacia de EE UU

- ▶ EL PAÍS accede a 250.000 documentos con planes sobre los principales conflictos
- ▶ Se destapan casos de espionaje, maniobras ocultas y corrupción en los dos últimos años
- ▶ Lenguaje descarnado sobre las principales figuras mundiales y críticas a los aliados

VICENTE JIMÉNEZ / ANTONIO CAÑO

La mayor fuga de información de la historia ha puesto al descubierto los secretos, las maniobras, el espionaje, las obsesiones, los miedos y, en definitiva, el estilo y los métodos de la diplomacia de Estados Unidos. EL PAÍS, junto con otros cuatro medios impresos (*The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Le Monde* y *Der Spiegel*), ha accedido a más de 250.000 documentos elaborados por el Departamento de Estado y sus embajadas durante lustros. Los papeles, obtenidos por la organización Wikileaks (autora de anteriores filtraciones masivas de información sobre las guerras de Irak y Afganistán), ponen fin a una era de la política exterior de Estados Unidos y enturbian, cuando no dinamitan, las relaciones del gigante americano con muchos países, algunos de ellos aliados. Las relaciones con Rusia, el problema de Irán, el juego con China, los intentos por aislar a Hugo Chávez y decenas de asuntos más quedan al descubierto por su lado más oscuro. **PÁGINAS 2 A 14**

NACIONES UNIDAS

Clinton ordenó espiar a Ban Ki-moon

JUAN JESÚS AZNÁREZ

El Gobierno de EE UU ordenó a funcionarios de 38 Embajadas espiar al secretario general de Naciones Unidas, Ban Ki-moon, y a los representantes en la ONU de Somalia, Afganistán, Irán y Corea del Norte. **PÁGINA 6**

El mundo, según Washington



Hu Jintao
Altos responsables del Politburó actuaron contra la presencia de Google en China



Berlusconi
El primer ministro italiano está cansado y desgastado por tantas "fiestas salvajes"



Sarkozy
El presidente francés está obsesionado por tener relevancia internacional



Ahmadinejad
Estados Unidos actúa para contener a Irán en todos los frentes diplomáticos



Putin
El estilo autoritario de Putin sigue dominando la política en Rusia



Kirchner
Washington solicitó información sobre la salud mental de la presidenta argentina

LOS INFORMES DESDE MADRID

Presiones a jueces, políticos y empresarios

JAN MARTÍNEZ AHRENS

Los 3.620 documentos de la Embajada de Estados Unidos en Madrid analizados por este periódico (103 secretos, 898 confidenciales y 2.619 sin clasificar) ofrecen una visión única de las estrategias, intereses y presiones ocultas de Washington en España desde 2004, un periodo que corresponde casi en su totalidad al Gobierno del socialista José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. Los cables, que EL PAÍS irá publicando en los próximos días, iluminan los momentos más agitados y desconocidos de la relación con la superpotencia y detallan reuniones e informes confidenciales sobre el Rey, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Mariano Rajoy, Felipe González, José María Aznar, ministros, jueces, fiscales, empresarios y representantes de las más altas instituciones del Estado. A veces son contactos aparentemente distendidos; otras, presiones directas y duras; otras, retratos demolidores de dichas personalidades.

En muchas ocasiones, los informes enviados a Washington reproducen conversaciones que los interlocutores españoles no esperaban ver difundidas y cuyo contenido les deja en zonas éticamente fronterizas o comprometidas ante la opinión pública. Así ocurre especialmente en cables sobre algunos importantes casos judiciales. **PÁGINA 5**

IRÁN

Los árabes piden poner fin a la amenaza nuclear

ÁNGELES ESPINOSA

El programa nuclear iraní ha colmado los recelos árabes hacia su vecino. En privado, varios dirigentes confían a sus interlocutores estadounidenses que respaldarían un ataque militar. **PÁGINA 8**

TURQUÍA

Washington teme una agenda islámica oculta

JUAN CARLOS SANZ

Los diplomáticos de EE UU investigan si el primer ministro Recep Tayyip Erdogan tiene una "agenda oculta islámica". Solo hallan "pruebas circunstanciales" tras consultar con los militares. **PÁGINA 10**

DESCALABRO DE LOS TRES PARTIDOS DEL GOBIERNO

CiU vuelve al poder en Cataluña

Mas logra mayoría suficiente y Montilla firma el peor resultado

Siete años después, CiU recupera el poder en Cataluña con 62 de los 135 escaños en juego, al 99,6% del escrutinio. El descalabro de los tres partidos del Gobierno catalán (PSC, ERC e ICV), que juntos no superan a CiU, permite a Artur Mas garantizarse un mandato tranquilo pues, aunque sin mayoría absoluta, nada parece

RESULTADOS			Escrutado: 99,63%			
Participación: 99,95%			Participación: 56,04%			
Asistencia: 28.202			Abstención: 31.228			
	Esc.	Votos	%	Esc.	Votos	%
CiU	62	1.113.640	36,47	48	933.756	31,52
PSC	28	568.374	18,32	37	796.173	26,82
PP	18	382.623	12,33	14	316.222	10,65
ICV-EUIA	10	229.268	7,39	12	262.693	9,52
ERC	10	217.247	7,00	21	416.355	14,63
SI	4	101.867	3,28	-	-	-
Ciudadans	3	105.447	3,42	3	69.840	2,63

amenazar su investidura. El PP, la tercera fuerza más votada, aumenta significativamente al pasar de 14 a 18 escaños, su mejor resultado de la historia. El PSC firmó su peor registro. El presidente José Montilla anunció que dejará el liderazgo del partido en el próximo congreso. **PÁGINAS 20 A 25**
EDITORIAL EN LA **PÁGINA 28**

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Chapter 2

What is “Transparency”?

A case study of the word “transparency” from the Pentagon Papers to the Wikileaks' disclosure in The New York Times

2.1 Wikileaks vs Pentagon Papers: a taste of history

Wikileaks has been considered the absolute biggest leak in the networked era, although the nature of the website has not been defined yet. As Beckett and Ball explain in their book “*Wikileaks: news in the networked era*”, Wikileaks can be collocated in the borderline between being a collection of sources and journalism. What the authors firmly intend to remark is that we do not need to provide an exhaustive definition of Wikileaks, but we should rather wonder if its functions are clear to us.

“Those who argue that Wikileaks easily fits into their definition of journalism are in danger of ignoring how it challenges the validity of those categories. The debate about “Wikileaks as journalism” is really a debate about what journalism is or is becoming. Instead of asking whether Wikileaks is journalism or not, we should ask “What kind of journalism is Wikileaks creating?” The challenge to the rest of journalism is to come up with something as good, if not better.

Forty-one years before, a similar episode upset the U.S Diplomacy scenario and involved one of the biggest international media leaders: The New York Times. A voluminous cache of secret documents known as Pentagon Papers shed new light on official statements and drew into question some of the rationale for America's involvement in a long-running war. The Department's secret history of The Vietnam War revealed a “credibility gap” between the Johnson administration's public statement and its private actions. The “Julian Assange” of the past, who provided the Pentagon Papers

to The New York Times and The Washington Post, is known as Daniel Ellsberg, a strategic analyst at the RAND Corporation, and consultant to the Defence Department and the White House, specialising in problems of the command and control of nuclear weapons, nuclear war plans, and crisis decision-making. In 1961 he drafted the guidance from Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the operational plans for general nuclear war. Ellsberg joined the Defence Department in 1964 as Special Assistant to Assistant Secretary of Defence and worked on the top secret McNamara study of U.S. Decision-making in Vietnam, 1945-68, which later came to be known as the Pentagon Papers. In 1969, he photocopied the 7,000 page study and gave it to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and in 1971 to the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and seventeen other newspapers. His trial, on twelve felony counts posing a possible sentence of 115 years, was dismissed in 1973 on grounds of governmental misconduct against him, which led to the convictions of several White House aides and figured in the impeachment proceedings against President Nixon.

After the government said the publication of this material would cause irreparable injury to the defence interest of the United States, a federal judge ordered the Times to temporarily halt the publication of the papers and consequently the newspaper declared: “What was revealed, had to be revealed. That people had the right to know”.

We are in front of two enormous leaks in two different era, in a diverse technological background, which reflected the common intent of two whistleblowers of bringing the truth and fight for transparency.

Taking into consideration the two cases, can we consider “Wikileaks the Pentagon Papers Part 2”, as the Washington Post entitled one of its articles in 2010?

First of all, I will provide Daniel Ellsberg's opinion about the similarities between the two leaks, as Farhi and Nakashima report in their article (2010): “The parallels are very strong. This is the largest unauthorised disclosure since the Pentagon Papers. In actual scale, it is much larger, and thanks to the Internet, it has moved much faster”.

The only difference between the two, according to Ellsberg, seems to be related to the presence of the Internet and the quick spread of the leaks, whereas the substance of the contents and the effects brought worldwide confirm the parallelism he points out.

The analysis provided by two journalists of The Washington Post differs in some aspects concerning the evaluation of the leaks' content and the consequent world reaction.

According to Farhi and Nakashima, authors of the article "*Is Wikileaks Pentagon Papers part two?*" published by the Washington Post in 2010, the disparity consists in the nature of the documents and in the substance of what they reveal. On the one hand, the Pentagon Papers were a complete, three-volume history of the war, a 7,000-page narrative spanning a 22-year period, which relied on some of the highest level documentation possible: White House memos, military reports, CIA and State Department cables. They disclosed official secrets, such as the covert bombing of Laos and Cambodia, and outright lies, such as Lyndon Johnson's plans to widen the war in 1964 despite an explicit campaign pledge to the contrary.

On the other hand, the Afghan documents published by Wikileaks, were a loosely related collection of material covering nearly six years, from early 2004 until late 2009, that left out important context. Many of the documents were unedited, firsthand reports by military officials, some of which were routine after-action summaries. What's revealing about the material, as claimed by the journalists, may be what's missing: classified documents that could shed further light on some of the incidents described in the raw material.

A further distinction they make refers to the fact that no single message has emerged from the Afghan documents the way it did from the Pentagon Papers.

The Afghan documents do not specifically contradict official statements and administration policies, as the Pentagon Papers did. Some of what is disclosed is revelatory or embarrassing, but there are no fully formed conclusions at odds with the Bush or Obama administration's views of the war.

Ellsberg argues, that the conclusion you draw from the Pentagon Papers is the same one you can draw from the Wikileaks documents. Indeed, as reported in Fahri and Nakashima's article (2010) Ellsberg wonders:

"Is there any reason to believe the future will be any different than the past? I'll make the prediction that, when people go through all 92,000 pages, they will not find a good reason for our escalation in Afghanistan or any more reason why the commitment of the

next 30,000 troops and billions of dollars will be any better of an investment than the last \$300 billion we spent there”.

Going on with the analysis, the two journalists of The Washington Post also argue that the Wikileaks' leak differs from The Pentagon Papers' one since its release was instantaneous and global. Rather than publish by itself, WikiLeaks maximised the impact of the disclosure by recruiting three mainstream news organisations in three countries and then placed a hard deadline on the release, notifying its partners that it intended to post the documents July 25, about one month after the publications were first permitted to review them and prepare stories about them.

The New York Times went with its story after it consulted with the White House, which did not seek to stop publication but requested the newspaper to urge WikiLeaks to pay attention on its publication choice. In 1971 the Nixon administration enjoined the New York Times from further publication after its first Pentagon Papers stories. Four days later, The Washington Post obtained its own copy of the papers and published stories before it was enjoined too. Ben Bradlee, The Post's editor at the time, says Nixon's attempts to stop publication gave the Pentagon Papers a much higher profile and that most of the stuff might have been embarrassing but it was not surely endangering national security or placing anyone's life in jeopardy, referring to what Obama had commented some time before.

As we can observe, there are two different ideas about similarities the two leaks might have in common, but what can be confirmed is that Assange and Ellsberg had the same intent, although analysis and ideas may differ in some aspects. Their intent was to actively participate in favour of the spread and visibility of information about the world, including information people did not want to be shared. They wanted governments to be more transparent and declared their war on secrecy.

Talking about transparency in the networked era is common and sensible, considering the radical change the Internet has brought in the news-gathering process as a better contribution to spread news as fast as possible. What if we jumped forty years earlier in 1970? Would the concept of transparency be different without the Infowar on the Internet? Was Ellsberg fighting for the same transparency Assange is fighting for?

In order to exhaustively answer to this question, it is necessary to make a step

backward in time and analyse how the concept of transparency penetrated into society from its starting point.

2.2 Transparency: Back to the origins

The word “Transparency” sees its origin in late 16th century as a general term denoting a transparent object. It derives from medieval Latin *transparentia*, from *transparent-* “shining through”, as reported in the Oxford English Dictionary (1989).

transparent:

1 (of a material or article) allowing light to pass through so that objects behind can be distinctly seen

2 easy to perceive or detect: *the residents will see through any transparent attempt to buy their votes / the meaning of the poem is by no means transparent.* having thoughts or feeling that are easily perceived; open: *you'd be no good at poker you're too transparent.*

After an accurate research of the main definitions concerning the term “transparency”, let's observe how “transparency” has been defined in some of the most popular and general English dictionaries, starting from 1966 until the newest versions available.

In order to widen the research and follow what the media scenario suggests, two versions of Business English Dictionaries (Oxford 2005 Edition and Cambridge version online) have been chosen for the current analysis. The reason of this choice relies in the supposition the first appearance of the term, conceived as “disclosure”, “availability” or “accountability” was related to the business and companies' responsibility of their activities.

Here is the list of the dictionaries selected:

The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (1966)

Oxford English Dictionary (1989 Second Edition)

Oxford Business English Dictionary (2005 Edition)

Cambridge Business English Dictionary (Online Version)

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (Online Version)

Collins English Dictionary (Online version)

Roget's Thesaurus of English words and phrases (2002)

Bloomsbury Thesaurus (1997)

Starting with The Oxford English Dictionary of Etymology we find the following definition:

Etymology of “transparency”  “transparent”

Transparent: **that can be seen through XV;**

from Latin trans TRANS + parere APPEAR. So transparency. XVI (1966:237)

Analysing all the definitions provided by the dictionaries listed above we obtain three different meanings and their related semantic categories.

First Meaning and related semantic categories

♣ **“The quality or condition of being transparent; perviousness to light; diaphaneity, pellucidity”.**

Oxford English Dictionary(1989: 419)

♣ **“The quality of something, such as glass, that allows you to see through it”.**

Cambridge English Dictionary (Online Version)

♣ **“The quality of glass, plastic etc that makes it possible for you to see through it”.**

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (online version)

Semantic categories and examples referred to this meaning

(Oxford English Dictionary 1989)

1. Arts and Literature

1651,-3 Bp. J. Taylor Serm. for Year I. Xviii. 238.

“His wife may, by seeing the beauties and transparency of that Crystall, dresse her minde and her body by the light of so pure reflexions”.

1750, tr. C. Leonardus Mirror of Stones 36

“A stone with a transparency, or a kind of brightness”.

1866, ‘G. Eliot’ Felix Holt I. v. 120

“The transparency of his talk..gave a charm even to his weaknesses”.

1900, Jrnl. Soc. Dyers **16** 7

“The particles retain their form and transparency”.

2) Linguistics

reference to a phonological rule, opp. Opacity 3c.

1981, Canad. Jrnl. Linguistics **26** 73

“Transparency of the base word is an important factor in determining speakers' choice of neologism”.

3) Heraldry

1982, E. Greenfield et al. New Penguin Stereo Record & Cassette Guide p. ix/2,

“Disc reproduction continues to offer a marginally greater range of sound and a more subtle inner transparency of detail than the equivalent tape”.

4) Technology and Telecommunications

1. The state or quality of transmitting or allowing the passage of sound waves

without distortion. (Oxford English Dictionary 1989)

Example:

1984, Gramophone Mar. 1086/1

“The effect (emphasised by the transparency of the CD medium) is of sitting in a small room, very close to the cello and with the lid of the piano wide open”.

Second meaning and related semantic categories

✧ **“That which is transparent; a transparent object or medium”.**
(Oxford 1989)

1) Arts and Literature

Example

1785 W. Cowper Task v. 151

“A watery light Gleamed through the clear transparency”.

2) Visual Arts: Painting and Drawing

✧ **“A picture, print, inscription, or device on some translucent substance, made visible by means of a light behind.”**

(Oxford 1989)

Example:

1859, T. J. Gullick & J. Timbs Painting 9

“A mode of painting ‘transparencies’ as they would now be called, on linen”.

1855 W. Williams (title) “Transparency painting on linen for decorative purposes”.

3) Technology and Photography

⤴ **“A photograph or picture on glass or other transparent substance, intended to be seen by transmitted light. “**

(Oxford 1989)

⤴ **“writing or a picture printed on a piece of film that you can see through, that can be shown on a screen by shining light through the film”**

(Oxford Business 2005:576)

Example: She wrote the key points of her talk on overhead transparencies

⤴ **“slide, a positive photograph on a transparent base, usually mounted in a frame or between glass plates. It can be viewed by means of a slide projector”.**

(Collins online version)

Example: *She wrote the key points of her talk on overhead transparencies*

⤴ **“a sheet of plastic or a piece of photographic film through which light can be shone to show a picture on a large screen”.**

(Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online Version)

⤴ **“a thin piece of clear plastic with writing or drawing on it that you can show on a wall or screen using an overhead projector: *colour transparencies*”.**

(Cambridge Business English Dictionary Online Version)

4) Heraldry

⤴ **“An outline figure, or the shadow of a charge, without the charge itself,**

painted the same colour as the field, but of a darker tint”.

(Oxford 1989)

Example:

1610, J. Guillim Display of Heraldrie ii. Iii. 42

“Adumbration or Transparency, is a cleere exemption of the substance of the Charge..in such sort, as that there remaineth nothing thereof to be discerned, but the..bare proportion of the outward lineaments thereof”.

▲ **“A burlesque translation of the German title of address *Durchlaucht*”.**

(Oxford 1989)

Example:

1848, Thackeray Vanity Fair lxii. 561

“His Transparency the Duke and his Transparent family..come and occupy the great”.

Third Meaning and related semantic categories

▲ **“the fact of something being easy to understand and not being secret”**

(Oxford Business English Dictionary 2005:576)

Example: Shareholders have called for more transparency in company dealings

1. **“the quality of being easy to understand or know about”**

(Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online version)

2. **“a situation in which business and financial activities are done in an open way without secrets, so that people can trust that they are fair and honest”.**

(Cambridge Business English Dictionary Online Version)

Examples:

We need to strike balance between the need for transparency and respect for

individual privacy.

Using personal accounts to conduct city business reduces the **transparency of the public process**.

The Treasury suggested a greater role for independent auditors to increase transparency and accountability.

Our goal is to make sure that union leaders operate with the utmost degree of transparency.

Collins dictionary (Online Version) provides the following list of synonyms of "transparency" and examples of how the word is commonly used.

Synonyms

= photograph, slide, exposure, photo, picture, image, print, plate, still

= clarity, translucency, translucence, clearness, limpidity, transparence, diaphaneity, filminess, diaphanousness, gauziness, limpidness, pellucidity, pellucidness, sheerness,

= frankness, openness, candour, directness, forthrightness, straightforwardness,

= obviousness, explicitness, plainness, distinctness, unambiguousness, apparentness, patentness, perspicuousness,

Example of sentences including 'transparency' reported in media

1) "A transparency of the same ballroom blossomed on the windshield."

Wood, Bari DOLL'S EYES

2) "However, a degree of transparency would be introduced where none now exists."

IRISH TIMES (2002)

3) "In doing so, he promises greater transparency in the government's spending."

GLOBE AND MAIL (2003)

4) "Last January the Ombudsman introduced a new transparency policy for

complaints against officers.”

BELFAST TELEGRAPH (2004)

6) “The Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party has been pushing hard for transparency in any disarmament process.”

LIVERPOOL DAILY POST AND ECHO (2004)

7) “The architects aimed for an almost Japanese simplicity and transparency.”

COUNTRY LIFE (2004)

ROGET'S THESAURUS OF ENGLISH WORDS AND PHRASES (2002)

Roget's Thesaurus is 150 years old and it is considered a rich language resource. It helps to find the word or words with which to express a precise concept. Its main purpose is to facilitate the expression of ideas and be a creative reference work that allows its users to clarify, embody their thoughts and choose the right or find an alternative one in a vast vocabulary coverage.

In my research work, I have consulted two Thesaurus in order to verify in which category the term “transparency” was inserted and with which words it was eventually matched.

In Roget's Thesaurus (2002 Edition) the term “transparency” is classified in the “Organic matter” category as follows:

Transparency (442)

NOUN. *Transparency*, transmission of light, transillumination; transparence, translucence, lucency, diaphaneity, unobstructed vision; thinness, gauziness; lucidity, pellucidity, limpidity; clearness, clarity; glassiness; vitreousness; transparent medium, hyaline, water, ice, crystal, Perspex, cellophane, shrink-wrapping, bubble pack, blister p., glass, crown g., flint g., sheet g., float g., plate g., optical g., magnifying g., lens, eyepiece, *eyeglass*(442); pane, window p.; sheer silk, gossamer, gauze, lace, chiffon 4 *insubstantial thing*.

ADJECTIVE. *Transparent*, diaphanous, **revealing**, sheer, **see-through**; thin, fine, filmy, gauzy, pellucid, translucent; translucent; lucent, **semitransparent** (424); liquid,

limpid; crystal, crystalline, hyaline, vitreous, glassy; clear, serene, lucid;

VERB *be transparent*, transmit light, show through; shine through, transilluminate, pass light through, **make bright (417)**; render transparent, **clarify**.

As we can observe from the definitions and synonyms provided, Roget's Thesaurus 2002 Edition confirms what the other dictionaries previously analysed provided as results. The term “transparency” commonly refers to light and clarity of objects, which suggests its connection with physical dimension in art and photography. When “transparency” is related to the the verb “see through” it does not only refer to physical dimension but it can also be related to an abstract concept or situation like an idea, a policy or information. In the verb version, “be transparent”, the term is associated with “clarify” and “make bright” whose meaning confirm its connection with abstract dimension.

Taking in to account that transparency has been conceived as “information disclosure” after Pentagon Papers' disclosure and Wikileaks phenomenon of leaking documents, I have checked how the word “disclosure” was defined in the Thesaurus and if it had any connection with the word “transparency”.

The result obtained shows that “disclosure” in its verbal version “to disclose” presents as synonyms “be transparent” (422), followed by other inherent examples such as “reveal”, “make known”, “betray”, “blow one's mask” that are all related to the concept of “secrecy”.

Therefore, we can conclude that the concept of “transparency” conceived as “disclosure” can be linguistically confirmed by this terms' relation, found in the 2002 Edition of Roget's Thesaurus.

BLOOMSBURY THESAURUS (1997)

The same research has been done in Bloomsbury Thesaurus, where the word “transparency” is inserted in the category “appearance” and associated with the following words:

Adjectives

- ⤴ transparent: purity, cleanness, water, air, invisibility, light, colourlessness
- ⤴ translucent: nonexistence, thinness
- ⤴ semitransparent: opaqueness
- ⤴ **easily seen through**  visibility, intelligibility, **clarity**, **disclosure**

Nouns

- ⤴ transparency: purity, cleanness, water, air, invisibility, light, colourlessness
- ⤴ translucency: nonexistence, thinness
- ⤴ semitransparency ————— **opaqueness**
- ⤴ transparent thing: opening, vision, **opaqueness**
- ⤴ glass: opening, light
- ⤴ **openness**  visibility, intelligibility, clarity, **disclosure**

Verbs

- 1) be transparent: **reveal**, show through, transmit light
- 2) make transparent: crystallize, purify, **clarify**, **open**

Adverbs

transparently: clearly, limpidly, **openly**, directly, plainly

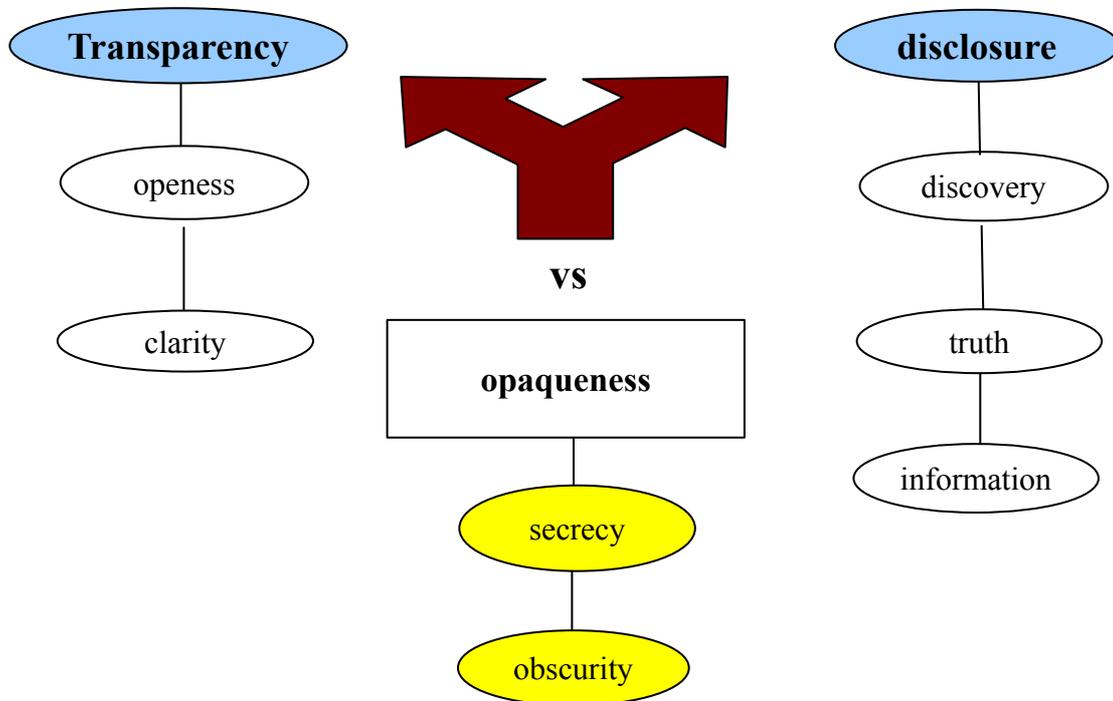
The most noticeable result is the association between “transparency” and “disclosure”, “openness”, “reveal” and “clarity” and his contrary “opaqueness”, that confirms evidence brought by Roget's Thesaurus. Not only is “transparency” related to light and physical dimension of object, but it also has a close relation with the concept of “revealing” and “disclosing” documents, information, thoughts.

Moreover, its contrary “opaqueness” is related with other terms such as “secrecy”, “covering”, “disclosure” and “obscurity” which are very common nowadays in the

language of news.

“Disclosure” is also related to “discovery”, “truth” and “information”.

The following scheme summarises all the results obtained through the analysis of dictionaries.



Analysis results and considerations

As reported by the dictionaries nominated above, the term “transparency” has been used and inserted in different semantic areas with different acceptations. The number of definitions obtained corresponds to three different meanings, related to a range of semantic categories provided in detail in the Oxford English Dictionary 1989 Edition.

The oldest and most common meaning refer to “transparency” of objects in arts and

photography or to “the state of being transparent” related to linguistics or heraldry, as we can observe in the definitions provided by the The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (1966) and The Oxford English Dictionary (1989 Second Edition).

The concept of transparency as a challenging way to contrast secrecy and promote an open way for business and governments to rule their activities is only mentioned in the newest versions of dictionaries like the the Oxford Business English Dictionary (2005 Edition), the Cambridge Business English Dictionary (Online Version) and the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (Online Version) and it is indicated in the third category of meanings. The definitions provided by the dictionaries previously mentioned suggest that only in the last two decades, 1990-2000 and 2000-2012 the term “transparency” has started to be related to business, politics and ethics through a slow changing process. Furthermore, as stated above, the result obtained with Roget's Thesaurus and Bloomsbury Thesaurus confirms the linguistic evolution of the word “transparency” related to the concept of “disclosure”, “secrecy” and “covering” updated to 2002.

How have these definitions penetrated the language of media and governments?

In order to answer to this query we might suppose that a range of events and facts have made it possible for transparency to settle down as a new concept and rise as a new challenge for democracy and freedom of speech. Verification of the impact brought by the Pentagon papers' disclosure and Wikileaks on the concept of transparency will be later compared and analysed in the study.

Transparency was in origin a specific characteristic of physical objects; in 1971 with the Pentagon Papers' disclosure “transparency” turned into an idea, an intangible phenomenon related to social responsibility in business language, to government correctness in political language and to truth and evidence in the language of media.

Micah L. Sifry, co-founder of the Personal Democracy Forum has written in 2011 a book entitled “*Wikileaks and the Age of Transparency*”, testifying the birth of a new global transparency movement that will be dealt in detail in the last chapter.

Transparency, as suggested by Sifry's book title, has turned into an “age” and in order to make it possible it has certainly gone through a concrete semantic evolution.

2.3 Transparency in journalism: problems of definitions

Considering that “Transparency” is a modern concept for our society and is currently under examination there is not a substantial presence of research studies concerning the matter. “The Handbook of Mass Media Ethics” dedicates an extended chapter to the concept of transparency, pointing out a concrete controversy concerning the real definition of “transparency” in the media.

As Craft and Heim (2008:217) state at the very beginning of their case study, “transparency has been embraced as a method by which journalists can reestablish trust with the public”. The need of the media to perform transparency derives from the negative attitude of the public opinion towards the news media. In order to provide a suitable solution, some media have turned to ombudsman's columns to explain the news-gathering process, whereas others have given the chance to readers to witness the process by opening their news meetings publicly and dedicate a note to readers detailing how or why an error occurred.

Furthermore, as suggested by Ellsberg's comment on Wikileaks, the growth and increasing accessibility of the Internet have made it possible for anyone with an opinion to become a media critic, and to quicken the whole leaking process for information.

Although transparency has a potential importance to address journalistic and public concerns, discussion of transparency has suffered from a lack of clarity in its definition.

This lack of transparency provokes both academic inquiry into the role transparency could or should play in journalistic practices and journalism's ability to create new or better ways to respond to its critics, reconnect with its audience and fulfil its ethical obligations. The arguments for transparency's importance, as Craft and Heim affirm, seem to rest on basic norms of journalism since they have a distinct public or democratic purpose. Such arguments note the public's need for a certain quality of information to aid in self-governance and community sustenance and journalism's unique qualifications for providing that information. The fact that readers rely on the information provided by media creates an obligation for journalism to perform in ways that can increase public's trust.

Thus, transparency can be a useful tool for bolstering that trust, although there are a

few aspects concerning the ways “transparency” is evoked in discussion and then takes form in practice.

What does “being transparent” mean for the media? What needs to be transparent in journalism? Motives, processes, information? What is also unclear is whether transparency of any of those things is actually a means to producing the desired effect.

In some cases, it has been demonstrated that transparency can be also counter-productive.

According to Craft and Heim (2008), one of the most decisive moments in charting the course of journalistic transparency came on September 26, 2000, when The New York Times published an editor's note reflecting on its coverage of Wen Ho Lee, a scientist at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico who had been arrested on suspicion of giving secrets about U.S nuclear weapons to China.

The Times's coverage of this case, especially the articles published in the first few months, attracted criticism from competing journalists and media critics and from defenders of Dr. Lee, who contended that The New York Times (2000) reporting “had stimulated a political frenzy amounting to a witch hunt”. After Dr. Lee's release, the White House, too, blamed the pressure of coverage in the media, and specifically The Times, for having propelled an overzealous prosecution by the administration's own Justice Department.

As claimed in Craft and Heim work (2000:218) The New York Times Coverage of the news fact had caused a proper controversy so that the Times editor had felt the need to write directly to his readers:

“ As a rule, we prefer to let our reporting speak for itself. In this extraordinary case, the outcome of the prosecution and the accusations level at this newspaper may have left many readers with questions about our coverage. That confusion, and the stakes involved, a man's liberty and reputation, convince us that a public accounting is warranted”.

As Rosen (2006) pointed out, the note made by the editor was neither a correction nor an outright apology, but instead the evidence of the birth of the modern era in transparency at The New York Times, where “transparency did not exist”.

The Pentagon Papers and the Wikileaks case have also shown the importance of this

new concept which has only recently become part of news language and has deeper roots in other disciplines, as definitions in dictionaries clearly show.

The efforts towards greater transparency in the news media can be considered as part of a global trend in several areas such as international politics, corporate financial reporting, monetary policy and food and tobacco labeling, better known as the Global Transparency Movement.

Taking into account what Craft and Heim remark for what concerns transparency's rise in rhetoric and practice, the term itself has not gained much consensus on how best to define or measure it.

Why are definitions so rare and difficult to provide? Actually, Craft and Heim argue that until we better understand what transparency really is and what it involves, it will certainly be difficult to know whether it is effectively worth promoting it or produce greater accountability or trust.

In order to clarify the concept of transparency we should start with two questions:

When people call for greater transparency, as Ellsberg and Assange did, what do they want to be transparent?

What is it for a relevant thing to be more transparent?

For what concerns the first example we could consider the case of journalism

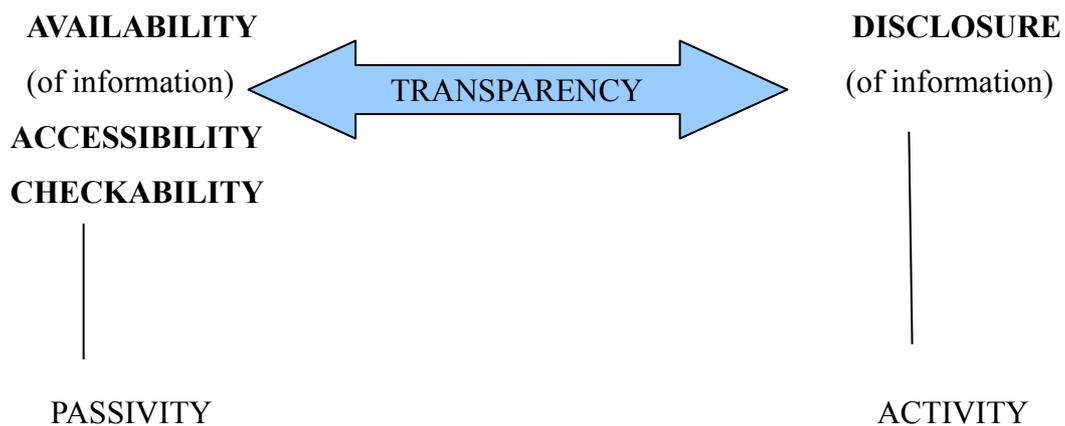
- ✦ methods used to gather and verify information
- ✦ how newsroom resources affect editorial choices
- ✦ why certain stories are pursued and others aren't

For what concerns the second question we could point out

11. when does explaining how a decision to pursue a particular story was made count as being transparent and how is the explanation of the decision made transparent?

2.3.1 Transparency: contextualization of meanings

If we start answering the second question and verify how transparency is conceived in scholar literatures of political sciences, international affairs and business we do realise that it is attributed two different meanings.



If we attribute the meaning “availability”, “transparency” is considered as passive. It refers to a state in which documents, statistics, procedures, intentions and motives are open to public view.

As “disclosure”, “transparency” is active, connoting a process for bringing information into view.

On a practical level, the distinction between availability and disclosure suggests different ways of making something transparent.

Let's verify how a large variety of experts have attempted to provide a proper definition of “transparency”.

Business Literature

Bushman, Piotroski and Smith (Craft, Heim, 2008:219) exemplify this perspective, defining corporate transparency as

the availability of firm-specific information to those outside publicly traded firms.

Tapscott and Ticoll (Craft, Heim, 2008:219) define “transparency” as **the accessibility of information to stakeholders of institutions, regarding matters that affect their interest.**

Political Science Literature

Definitions in the political science also focus on availability, though the structures by which information is made available, and not the information alone, and are accorded importance.

For instance, Finel and Lord (2002:216) refer to “transparency as

legal, political and institutional structures that make information about the internal characteristics of a government and society available to actors both inside and outside of the domestic political system.

Information Ethics

Luciano Florini has shared the same idea of “transparency” as “availability” and has advanced a theory of information ethics in which the infosphere has a central role.

Florini's information ethics is based on the idea that ethical norms are based on the size of the infosphere and on whether the norms do improve or impoverish the infosphere.

In order to obtain such a result, according to Florini, the infosphere must be “transparent” , that means if any and all the information contained in the infosphere is readily available to be discerned and made use of by anybody who enters it.

Diplomacy

Florini also identifies the concept of “transparency” with the diplomacy arena and traces the evolution of transparency as a political norm to the Cold War, where the United States, challenging the traditional presumption of secrecy about military affairs, affirmed that the Soviet Union was obliged to provide certain types of information about itself to other states.

For what concerns “transparency” as “disclosure”, the term is conceived as active and connotes a process for bringing information into view. As reported in Wilkins work (2008:219) for instance, the Aspen Institute conference offers a definition of the disclosure perspective

In journalism, transparent organisations open the processes by which facts, situations, events and opinions are sorted, sifted, made sense of, and presented.

Internet

Transparency has spread throughout the Internet, where bloggers often disclose their methods and motives when they post information about current events.

Mitchell and Steele (2005) considered three areas in the equation of transparency with disclosure:

- ♣ the principles you hold
- ♣ the processes you follow
- ♣ the person you are

Journalism

For what concerns journalism field, transparency has been defined in terms of disclosure and providing explanation.

Singers (2006) provides his definition of transparency in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in 2006 entitled: “Truth and transparency: bloggers' challenge to professional autonomy in defining and enacting two journalistic norms”.

Transparency is:

“a truthful disclosure before and during an act as well as after it has been taken”

Rupar (2006:127-143) analysed 674 New Zealand newspaper articles in order to verify if a lack of transparency in the news-gathering process had an impact on the meaning of news.

She gave an alternative definition of “transparency” as

“presence or absence of explanation”

where it was possible to observe that articles included in the “explained” category clearly described the input of sources behind the stories, while “unexplained” articles did not include the same sourcing process. The result of her study saw almost two-thirds of the articles falling into the unexplained category.

Sometimes, as Craft and Heim clarify, the availability and disclosure perspectives often overlap in the literature. Further examples could be Mitchell (1998:109-130) who promote “transparency” equating it to

“fostering the acquisition, analysis and dissemination of regular, prompt and accurate regime-relevant information”

O'Neill (2002) promotes “transparency” as “checkability”, encompassing information as well as the capacity for others to verify that information.

Kovach and Rosentiel (2001:83) define transparency in their book “The Elements of Journalism” as

“a proper rule which applies scientific standards of verification to journalistic practice and calls for “embedding in the news reports a sense of how the story came to be and why it was presented as it was”.

This concept suggests that the journalist must provide information so that readers can assess the reliability of the news account.

Hongladarom also adds that infosphere, nominated and studied by Florini too, should include structures in order to make sense of available information. He states:

“for a piece of information to be transparent is just for it to enter the representation system that gives it value”.

According to Craft and Heim analysis, we should not consider availability and disclosure to be rival concepts or exclusive perspectives, although their interchangeable

use in the scholarly literature and trade press confuses efforts to perceive what transparency really is and requires. Making the distinction between the two also requires theoretical implications for considering when availability is actually appropriate in order to achieve the aims of transparency or when active disclosure is more needed.

On the one hand, in the case of the availability perspective, it could be sufficient for the decision makers or in the case of newspapers journalists to respond to question about their motives. On the other hand, in the case of disclosure perspective, a more active offering of explanation might be required. Think of the case of an editor's note accompanying the story. To conclude the whole process, the choice of activeness or passiveness depends on knowing one's motives and being able to communicate them, although we cannot assume that the reasons a person gives are his actual motives. Furthermore, it is also possible that the reader will not comprehend them, in the way the journalist understands.

For what concerns this last aspect that makes the whole process more complex, we should quote Habermas's work on discourse ethics.

Philosophy and Sociology

According to Habermas's work on discourse ethics (Garvey,2000:370-390), transparency is

“an important component of the ideal speech situation, enabling each participant in a discourse to perfectly know and understand the motives and intentions of the other participant”.

Garvey contrasts Bakhtin's views on transparency with those of Habermas and notes that while both men recognise the theoretical connection between communicative transparency and the ethical value of sincerity, Bakhtin associates transparency with the power that social interests can bring to bear on a discourse and sees transparency as a potential threat to autonomy in that it cannot be politically neutral.

Language, Communication and Media

Sinekopova points out that this ideal of transparency is possible only if language is

considered a transparent medium, able of transmitting pure meaning.

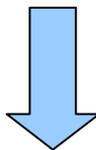
It is interesting to observe that proponents of greater transparency seem to want relates more intentions than facts, to providing an account more than to making information available. While all of this shows a preference for the disclosure type of transparency, the type than leans toward accountability, it is important to point out that transparency is not the same thing as accountability. Craft and Heim argue that transparency refers to revealing what might otherwise be hidden, whereas accountability refers to making a case for why those revealed decisions or motives were reasonable.

The most noticeable aspect of this analysis among experts' definitions is the variety “transparency” has been defined with, although it could still seem vague and unclear.

The term definition process is still ongoing and this list of possible meanings shows the strong will and attempt to provide a suitable definition, considering the evolution of transparency throughout society.

The following scheme summarises the results we have obtained through the analysis of meanings.

TRANSPARENCY



CATEGORIES

Business Literature

Political Sciences

International Affairs

Information Ethics

Internet

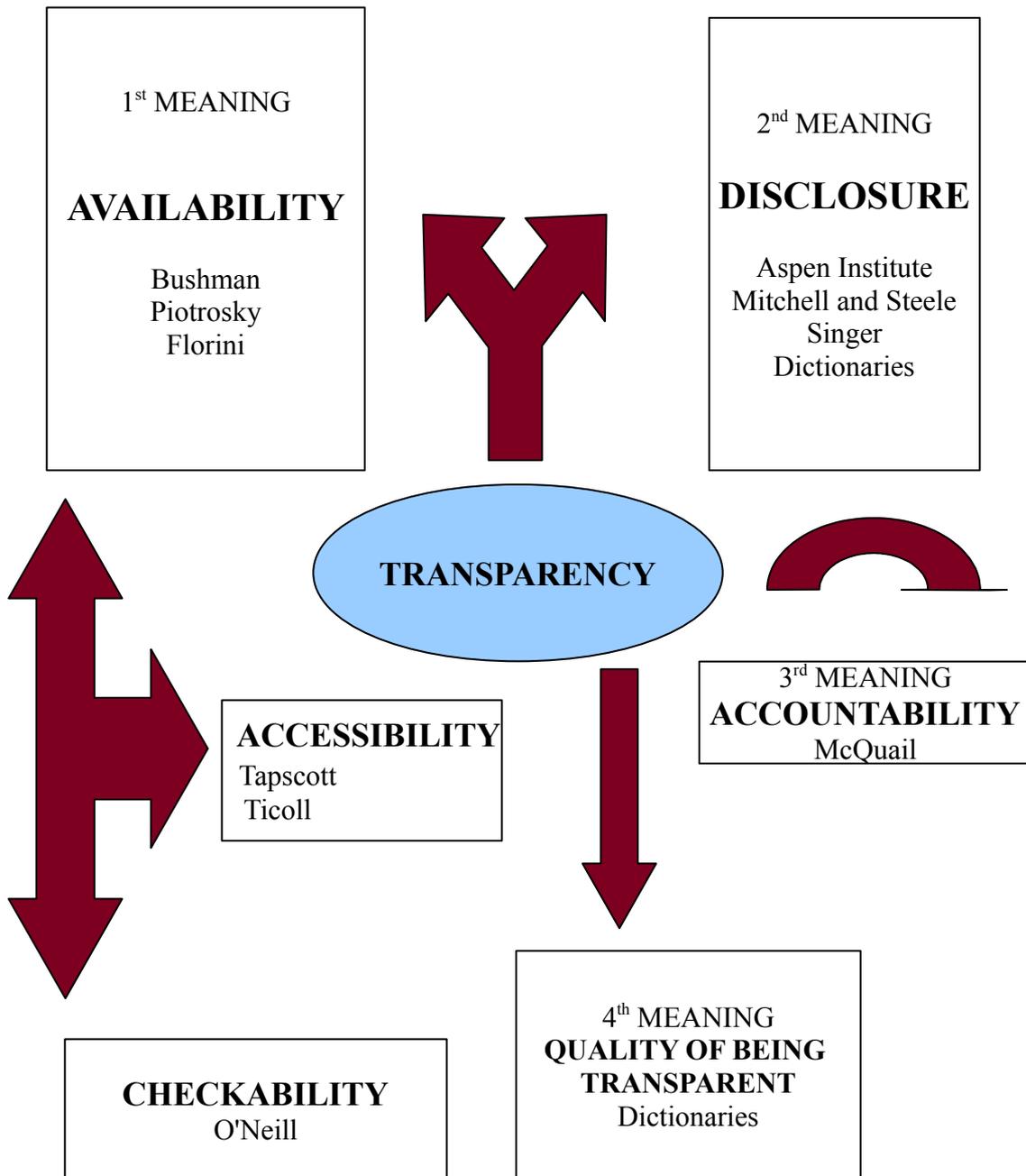
Journalism

Language, Communication and Media

Sociology and Political Philosophy

The following scheme outlines all the results obtained through the linguistic analysis

and represents the starting point of the second phase that will follow.



2.4 In the New York Times: the meanings' evolution of the word “transparency”

In the previous paragraph I have illustrated all the attempts experts made in order to provide an exhaustive definition of the word “transparency”. The results obtained show how the term has currently been explored from a linguistic and sociological point of view through dictionaries and academic research and how the range of meanings has increased in the 20th century.

As reported in the analysis, there are currently four meanings related to the word “transparency”: the most ancient one is “quality of being transparent”, the second one is “availability, checkability and accessibility”, the third one is “disclosure” and the final one is “accountability”.

In order to prove the slow evolution process of the word “transparency”, I have analysed how the term has been used in the last four decades in the New York Times, starting from 1971, when the Pentagon Papers were disclosed by Daniel Ellsberg and given to the newspaper chosen for the current analysis, until the end of 2012, when the Wikileaks phenomenon has still been changing the world of foreign policy and journalism.

The first intent is to show how the word has evolved in the news throughout the four decades and how it has been used by journalists considering the semantic categories it has been related with. The second intent is to verify if valuable events like the Pentagon Papers' disclosure and Wikileaks might have had an impact and consequently an influence on the evolution of the word itself.

The present analysis has been divided into four decades, 1971-1981, 1982-1992, 1993-2003, 2004-2012, that precisely corresponds to nine years in total, and has been organised according to the following analysis criteria:

Specific dates

01/01/1971 - 31/12/1981

01/01/1982 - 31/12/1992

01/01/1993 - 31/12/2003

01/01/2004 - 31/12/2012

Media Type

All published Articles have been selected for the analysis, with the exception of those ones published on blogs and the multimedia ones, as the multiple choice available in The New York Times' archive indicates.

Author: not specific. The choice of articles does not depend on the author who wrote the journalistic piece.

Section of articles

Considering that in 1971 the number of articles' section provided in the New York Times' archive was not as complete and exhaustive as it currently is and that Internet was not usable yet, all sections of articles, available in a digitalised version, have been considered to show coherence in all decades.

Here is the list of categories in order of relevance and common to all decades:

Opinion

Business

World

Arts

Technology

Sports

Science

Music

Relevance

The New York Times' archive has an inner index of files automatically filtered that orders articles from the most relevant ones to the shortest and less relevant ones.

Thus, the most significant journalistic pieces of every decade containing the word “transparency” are automatically not excluded from the linguistic analysis.

Articles Sample

Considering that the articles retrieved decade by decade are different in terms of quantity, it was necessary to make a selection and choose an exact number of articles to analyse. In the first decade, as explained in the dedicated paragraph that will follow, The New York Times archive has retrieved 199 articles containing the word “transparency”; this result has been adopted for all decades, with the exception of the second one (1983-1993) that shows a decrease in the use of the word that amounts to 85 articles in total. In the third and the fourth decade the quantity of articles increases and reaches a retrieval of about 8200 articles per decade.

Semantic categories

The results obtained through the analysis not only show the number of articles corresponding to a precise meaning selected but are also divided taking into account the different semantic categories where every article is inserted.

Example: three articles in the “Business” Section where the word “transparency” is conceived as “disclosure”.

2.4.1 Analysis of the first decade: 1971-1981

On 13th June 1971 the Pentagon Papers were disclosed by Daniel Ellsberg, who accurately delivered the documents in the hard-working hands of The New York Times' newsroom. His brave act was in favour of greater “transparency” of U.S. military actions in the Vietnam War, as Julian Assange would define it nowadays, although the word itself was not that spread out in those years.

At that time what we linguistically intend as “transparency” today, it was simply defined and intended as “document disclosure”.

The analysis of decade 1971-1981 represents the starting point of the evolution of the word “transparency”, whose prevalent meaning in those years, as the results will show, corresponds to “quality of being transparent” and suggests that the term was above all conceived as a physical characteristic of objects or artistic activities.

“Transparency” as “availability, checkability, accessibility”, as “disclosure” and

“accountability” started to be linguistically considered, although results are substantially minimal.

The number of articles retrieved in The New York Times' archive has amounted to 199. Considering that it has been the first decade to be analysed, all articles have been taken into consideration. The same sample will be considered for the decades chosen for the analysis.

The semantic categories analysed and containing the word in a varied range of meanings are: Art/Architecture, Photography, Music/Dance, Sport, Business/Law, Politics, Science, Literature.

Results are divided into two types: the general total number of articles retrieved and divided according to the meaning of “transparency” they contain and the specific number of articles whose “transparency” meaning is inserted in a precise section.

For what concerns the first type the most meaningful results will be bold type; for the second type results will be red highlighted.

You can observe the results obtained in detail in the following table reported.

SEMANTIC CATEGORY		MEANINGS OF TRANSPARENCY		
Sample of articles retrieved:	Availability Checkability Accessibility	Disclosure	Accountability	Quality of being Transparent
199				
Total number of articles	6	3	3	187
Art/ Architecture				75
Photography				22
Music/Dance			1	59
Sport				2
Business/Law		1		
Politics	2	2	2	1
Science				22
Literature	4			6

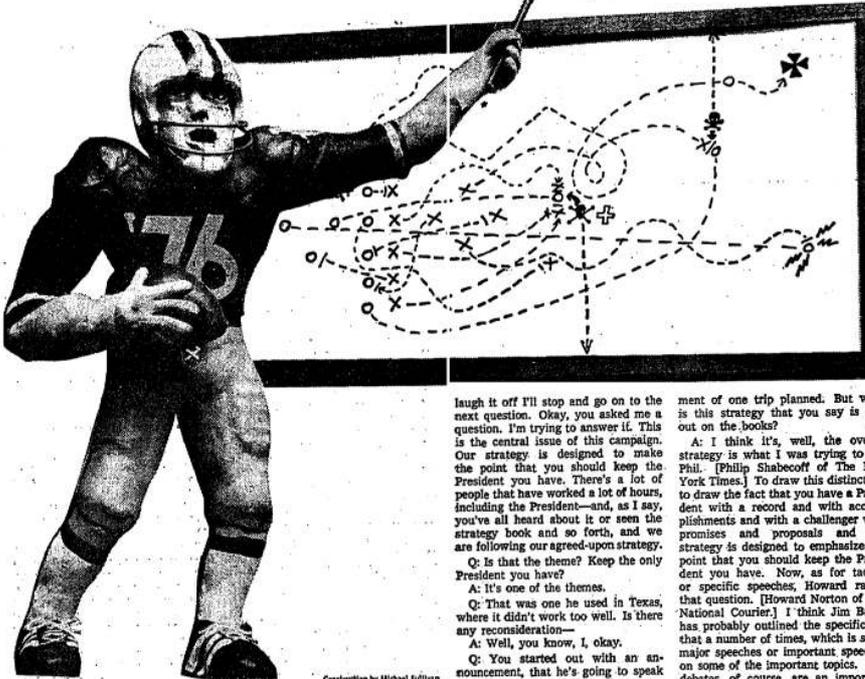
As the table clearly shows, the first evidence is that the prevalent meaning of “transparency” in this decade is “quality of being transparent”, with a result corresponding to 187 articles on 199. All semantic categories, “Art and Architecture” with 75 results, “Photography” and “Science” with 22 results and “Music and Dance” with 59 results particularly denote a high frequency in use of that meaning, with the exception of the “Business” category where just one result has been obtained where “transparency” is conceived as “disclosure”.

“Transparency” as “availability, checkability and accessibility” shows a result of 6 articles on 199, two in the category of “Politics” and four in the category of “Literature”. The result is low but not the lowest and is followed by “transparency” as “disclosure” with 3 articles on 199, where two of them are inserted in the category of “Politics” and just one in the category of “Business/Law”. The same result has been obtained for “transparency” as “accountability” with two articles inserted in the category of “Politics” and one in the category of “Music/Dance”.

The “new generation” of “transparency” meanings is still at its embryonic stage and shows its presence just in a few semantic categories like “Politics”, “Business”, “Music” and “Literature”. What is peculiar of this part of the analysis is that the first article retrieved in The New York Times' archive and so the most relevant one in the archive deals with politics, where the word “transparency” is conceived as “disclosure” and is contained in the headline as well.

Here is the article published in The New York Times on September 9 1976 and written by Michael Sullivan.

Toward Greater Clarity, Lucidity, Transparency



Construction by Michael Sullivan

WASHINGTON — Following are excerpts of a White House transcript of an exchange between Ron Nessen, President Ford's press secretary, and White House reporters on Friday, Sept. 3, as Mr. Nessen announced the plans for the President's first overtly political appearance of the campaign.

Mr. Nessen: The next campaign trip will be to Ann Arbor, the week of Sept. 13, probably to the University of Michigan, and when more details are ready to be announced we will have them for you.

Q: Why is this still so vague?
A: It's not vague. Look, we've had this plan arranged and organized for quite some time. It's our conscious decision, it's the plan that we believe is best, designed to win this election, to get across the central theme of this election which is that the President ought to be elected. It's the way we've chosen to do it. Perhaps you have a disagreement with it. Perhaps other candidates in other years have done their campaigns differently. I just want to tell you now, that this is the strategy that we are following, that we have devised after lots of thought, after the President has spent a long time on it. It is our strategy. As I say, others may think it's right or wrong. It's not the strategy that other candidates have followed in other years. But it's our strategy. It's the strategy that we have drafted up because we believe it will win.

Q: What's the strategy? What is the strategy? All I'm saying is you're vague about the day, you're vague about the place—"probably" deliver-

of what he was doing in the campaign next week you mentioned the Catholic bishops—

A: No, I didn't mean to say that the speech to B'nai B'rith or the meeting with Catholic bishops was campaigning. We don't have—as I say, the next out-of-town campaign trip will be to the University of Michigan the week of the 13th.

Q: They're not campaign things?
A: I wouldn't call them campaign things.

Q: Did you say what President Ford's going to do on Labor Day?

A: It'll be a regular work day here.

Q: Is Sept. 14 the day, because this has been published?

A: Well, at this point, if I were you, I would stick to "the week of Sept. 13."

Q: You said yesterday that the reason you couldn't announce this yesterday was because you knew that we would have a lot of questions about it once it was revealed.

A: Yeah. And you do. Lo' and behold, you do!

Q: Gosh, I can't think of a single thing. (Laughter.) The President's going to make a speech at the University of Michigan, you can't tell us exactly where or exactly what date it's going to be on. What fascinating detail is there? The President's going to make a speech. You're not even classifying it as the kickoff of his campaign. Maybe you can tell us some of these things that we ought to be asking about.

A: What's the subject matter?

Q: I'm serious, is there some unusual format that's going to be undertaken?

A: No, it'll be a speech—it'll be a

laugh it off I'll stop and go on to the next question. Okay, you asked me a question. I'm trying to answer it. This is the central issue of this campaign. Our strategy is designed to make the point that you should keep the President you have. There's a lot of people that have worked a lot of hours, including the President—and, as I say, you've all heard about it or seen the strategy book and so forth, and we are following our agreed-upon strategy.

Q: Is that the theme? Keep the only President you have?
A: It's one of the themes.

Q: That was one he used in Texas, where it didn't work too well. Is there any reconsideration—
A: Well, you know, I okay.

Q: You started out with an announcement, that he's going to speak in Michigan, and if I've taken notes correctly you said this was the plan and later you said this was the strategy.

A: That's right.
Q: Maybe we've got a semantic problem here. To me a plan or a strategy is more than—
A: Well, maybe I misunderstood Helen's initial question. [Helen Thomas of United Press International.] I thought Helen was saying why are you doing this, why are you waiting so late, why are you—

Q: No, I said why are you so vague?
A: I think I did misunderstand Helen's question. Which led me to begin to talk about the strategy when nobody really asked about it.

Q: Well, that's what I'm going to ask about. You've made an announce-

ment of one trip planned. But what is this strategy that you say is laid out on the books?

A: I think it's, well, the overall strategy is what I was trying to tell Phil. [Philip Shabecoff of The New York Times.] To draw this distinction, to draw the fact that you have a President with a record and with accomplishments and with a challenger with promises and proposals and our strategy is designed to emphasize the point that you should keep the President you have. Now, as for tactics or specific speeches, Howard raised that question. [Howard Norton of The National Courier.] I think Jim Baker has probably outlined the specifics of that a number of times, which is some major speeches or important speeches on some of the important topics. The debates, of course, are an important part of this campaign, as has been said. And that's as much of the strategy as I care to outline at this point.

Q: How about news conferences? Will they be included?
A: There will be some, yes.

Q: Ron, why did the President decide to go to the University of Michigan? Can you tell us his thinking on that?

A: It's his alma mater, and the—he wanted to go there. It's his home state, it's his home school, and he believes that it's a particularly appropriate place for the speech that he intends to make.

Q: He knows what the theme is, then?
A: He knows what he will be saying.

Q: Earlier you said one speech a week was the proposal. Can we say, then, that he might make eight or nine major speeches in the campaign, since there are eight or nine weeks left?

A: Well, all I was doing was quoting back to you what Jim Baker and others have outlined. . . . I thought everybody knew the strategy and apparently they didn't and I was relaying to you what has been said before.

Q: I've tried three or four times—
A: All right, go.

Q: I want to go back to what Phil said, and also to something Baker said, to try to pinpoint this question of strategy a little more specifically. One of the things Baker said was that the rough average of out-of-town trips in September would be about one a week but that he expected that to pick up, to increase, in October. So is part of your strategy that the President is going to spend more time in Washington in September and is this in line with the idea of presenting an image as President and so forth in September—

A: It's not an image as President. He is the President.

Q: All right, a political image. And then speed it up and increase it in October. Is that part of the strategy?

A: The strategy is that early in October to see where we stand, what progress has been made. The first debate will be over, and to then make a further set of decisions early in October.

Q: Ron, Baker yesterday indicated . . . the geography of the campaign is apparently flexible. Is it your understanding? The Republicans in '68 and '72 had a so-called Southern strategy.

A: No, we have a national strategy, which is to win all the states and as many votes as possible.

Q: In terms of travel, have you picked any states, do you have any general regions, any specific areas that are being considered? He indicated that there were not. Is that the case, or do you know particular areas where the President is likely to go?

A: As I say, we have a national strategy.

Q: He's not going to every state?
A: Well, I think you asked that yesterday, and I didn't say he was.

Q: Do you expect he'd be going to northern Michigan, that Michigan trip?

A: As I've said, this is as much of the strategy as I care to disclose today. As we go along we'll talk about more of the strategy.

Q: Will that trip include a stop in Grand Rapids, Mich., and a stay there for the duration of the campaign on the front porch?

A: (Laughter.) That is one option. That is not one option.

Source: New York Times archive

This is one of the few articles contained in the archive that deals with politics and refers to "transparency" as "disclosure", as a way to show more "clarity and lucidity". Despite the poor result on the total number of articles retrieved, it is the first article

appearing in the New York Times archive, after digitising the word “transparency”.

At this point of the analysis it is reasonable to be skeptical and doubtful of the relevance of such a result. Have the Pentagon Papers really influenced the need of openness and transparency of information and data?

2.4.2 Analysis of the second decade: 1982-1992

The first evidence of the second decade analysed is that the total of articles retrieved shows a drastic decrease in the usage of the word “transparency” , ranging from 199 results in the first decade to just 85 results in the second decade. This means that less than ten articles containing the word “transparency” have been written on average every year. Results are highlighted in different colours and denotes their peculiarities. Bold type results indicate the total of articles where the word “transparency” is associated with a precise meaning; red results refer to the largest quantity of articles of a precise category, whereas green results demonstrate a significant change in some categories, in comparison with the previous decade. The following table illustrates the results obtained.

CATEGORY	MEANINGS OF TRANSPARENCY			
	Availability Checkability Accessibility	Disclosure	Accountability	Quality of being Transparent
	9	5	1	70
Art/Architecture/ Fashion/Travel	1	1		32
Photography/ Cinema	1			10
Music/Dance				13
Sport				
Business	1			
Politics	5	3		
Science/ Technology				12
Literature	1	1	1	3

First of all it is necessary to remark that some categories such as “Fashion, Travel, Cinema and Technology” have been added in the analysis since the content of some articles clearly showed an evident presence of the word “transparency” in such contexts that, however, can be generally classified as being part of the “Art” category and for what concerns “Technology” part of the “Science” category.

Moreover, only one article belonging to the “Opinion” section has been retrieved in the archive, differently from the first decade; this data provides evidence of the fact that there was still no relevant debate about transparency. The only Opinion article entitled “The Japan Paradox – A booming and Unfit System” and written by Kenneth S. Courtis was published in The New York Times on August 9 1991; the word “transparency” is expressed as “availability, checkability and accessibility” and belongs to the “Business/Law” category.

According to the results obtained in the analysis the prevalence of the word “transparency” conceived as “quality of being transparent” is clear and does not vary from the previous decade. The quantity of articles where this meaning is prevalent amounts to 70 articles on 85. The categories where the results are more visible and relevant are “Art/Architecture”, with 35 results, followed by “Music” with 13 results, “Science/Technology” with 12 articles and “Photography” with 10 articles on 70.

For what concerns “transparency” as “availability, checkability and accessibility” there are only nine articles retrieved; 5 of them are in the category of “Politics”, one in the “Business” category, one in the “Literature” category, one in the “Art” category and one in “Photography and Cinema”. In the last case in particular there is a new tendency of transferring “transparency” from a physical dimension to a more figurative one.

In an article entitled “Making the difference; Catching on In Cartoons” written by Bill Carter and published in The New York Times on June 7 1992 that dealt with the spread of the cartoon market and therefore belonging to “Movies” category, the author talks about “cultural transparency” as a new way to launch a new genre throughout society.

Another example denoting a new way of referring to transparency in terms of “availability, checkability and accessibility” is the article of Tony Judt entitled “One Bloody Family Feud” published in The New York Times on July 26 1992 and dealing

with politics. In this case the word “transparency” conceived as “availability, checkability and accessibility” is associated for the first time in the current analysis with a specific political orientation such as “Republicanism”.

The concept of “transparency” conceived as “disclosure” has provided a result of 5 articles; three of them refer to the category of “Politics”, one to “Literature” and one to “Art/Architecture”. The last article mentioned in the list of results, highlighted in green in the table, shows a new tendency of “transparency” conceived as “disclosure” spreading out in the artistic field too. The article that testifies this peculiar usage of the term in art is entitled “Some Big Japanese Art Purchases Are Under Scrutiny for Scandal” and was written by James Sterngold in The New York Times on April 23 1991. The world of art penetrates the business scenario giving birth to scandals in art purchases. The intersection of the two categories shows the rise of a new concept of “transparency” conceived as a basic need to actively contrast injustices in Art-Business. Thus, financial operations must be disclosed to guarantee more justice.

For what concerns the last meaning of “transparency” as “accountability” the result obtained is very minimal and amounts to just one article belonging to the category of “Literature”.

A decrease in the usage of the word is evident, although considering the results obtained in proportion to the quantity of articles retrieved, the frequency of usage of the different “transparency”’s meanings almost remains stationary.

As it will be illustrated in the next phase of the analysis the active movements in favour of socio-political and financial transparency started to rise in 1993 when a new non governmental Organisation called “Transparency International” was founded.

The only reasonable consideration to make at this point of the analysis is that the meaning evolution process of “transparency” is still ongoing.

2.4.3 Analysis of the third decade: 1993-2003

If the previous decade has not properly shown a decisive and gradual changing in the usage of the several meanings provided, the decade “1993-2003” has represented a real explosive turning point for the word “transparency”.

The total number of articles retrieved in The New York Times archive has amounted to 8300 results, which corresponds to nearly more than 45% of articles compared with the quantity retrieved in the previous decade. In order to show coherence in the analysis as a whole, a sample of 199 articles has been considered. On 199 articles, 42 belong to the “Opinion” section and are ordered under the most relevant articles.

Moreover, a new semantic category has been necessarily added in the list since the global debate on transparency has involved the “Linguistic” field as well. Considering the importance of this aspect of analysis this passage will be dealt in detail in the next pages. The following table shows the results obtained for this decade.

CATEGORY	MEANINGS OF TRANSPARENCY			
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Sample of articles: 199 Total number of articles	Availability Checkability Accessibility 52	Disclosure 48	Accountability 35	Quality of being Transparent 64
Art/Architecture/ Fashion/Travel				38
Photography/ Cinema				3
Music/Dance				11
Sport	1		1	
Business/Law	30	12	19	
Politics	12	33	12	
Science/ Technology	4	1	2	8
Literature/ Language	1 (same article) 5	1 1	1	4

The first evidence in the results obtained consists in the constant prevalence of the meaning “quality of being transparent”, whose result amounts to 64 articles on 199. The main category in which this meaning of “transparency” is most prevailing is “Art/Architecture” with 38 articles on 64, followed by “Music/Dance” with eleven articles on 64, “Science” with 8 articles, “Literature/Language” with 4 articles and finally “Photography/Cinema” with 3 articles on 64.

Although this meaning remains the most spread out on a total of four, other meanings have gained an evident importance as the increase in the frequency of usage shows.

The most noticeable result obtained is the high increase of the term “transparency”

used under the meaning of “availability, checkability and accessibility” with 52 articles on 199, whose success is mainly expressed in the “Business/Law” category with 30 articles on 52. Twelve articles on 52 belong to the “Politics” category, 6 to “Language/Literature” category, 4 to “Science/Technology” and one to the category of “Sport”.

Firms and companies start feeling the ethical need of making their processes and transactions available to the public, in order to show openness and a reliable intent. In those years, when economical globalisation had reached its turning point through inflows and outflows foreign investments, a new concept interacts with profits: social responsibility. The vast majority of articles retrieved in The New York Times' archive in the “Business/Law” section refer to scandals concerning companies and factories. The same tendency involves governments' policies, where scandals had actually already started to spread out after the Second World War. It is clear how the “agenda-setting” of journalists changes priorities and intents and tends to speak out more against scandals, injustices and democracy. At this point “transparency” becomes an active tool of “disclosure”; the articles that contain “transparency” conceived as “disclosure” are 48 on 199, where 33 belong to “Politics” category, 12 to “Business/Law” category, two articles in “Language and Literature” category and the last one article to “Science” category.

“Transparency” as “accountability” shows the lowest result in the present decade, although it denotes an increase of usage in comparison with the previous decades. There are 35 articles retrieved on a total of 199, where 19 of them belong to the “Business/Law” category, remarking a new liable attitude of business companies that requires visibility through media.

This result is particularly relevant and is therefore highlighted in green, since “transparency” conceived as “accountability” was not that used in articles appeared in the previous decades. Going on with the analysis, 12 articles belong to the “Politics” category, two articles belong to “Science”, one is inserted in “Sport” and the final one in the “Literature/Language” category.

Here is a short scheme to summarise the new results obtained that deserve particular evidence.

“Transparency” as “**disclosure**”  POLITICS – 33/199 results
 “Transparency” as “**availability**”  BUSINESS – 30/199 results
 “Transparency” as “**accountability**”  BUSINESS – 19/199 results

As reported in the third paragraph of this part of the analysis, one of the most satisfying results specifically refers to an article's content retrieved in The New York Times. The present article was published in the newspaper on January 4 1998, it was written by William Safire, who entitled his piece of news: “On Language; Transparency, Totally”.

The surprising aspect of this article lies in the author's will to reflect on the concepts of “openness”, “disclosure” and “verifiability” from a linguistic point of view, wondering if there could be a single word being able to define the three concepts mentioned. Safire argues that the word “transparency” could be a plausible solution.

Before reporting a meaningful extract of his article, it is reasonable to wonder why fourteen years ago a journalist would write an entire piece about “transparency” and if this could eventually correspond to the exact time the word “transparency” went through the second phase of its evolution process.

Here is an extract from Safire's article:

“What other word means "**letting in the sunshine**," or "**pervious to light**"? Diaphaneity, the noun form of diaphanous, is unfamiliar, and pellucidity could be confused with Pell grants. Coinages to define a concept are not easy to come by.

Visibility might have had a chance, but the airline industry had a lock on it. Verifiability made a hard run for the money. Ronald Reagan's adoption of what may have been a Russian adage -- "**Trust but verify**" -- gave verifiability a specific place in arms-reduction talks, but it never made the crossover to general vogue usage. The science of linguistics -- especially its category of phonology, the study of sound changes -- offered a clue. Loosey-goosey linguists, unlike hard-line physicists, accept the notion that there are mysterious contexts in which a rule just does not work; they call this "the opacity of a rule." Now here comes our

answer to the other side of darkness and concealment: In a **1971 linguistic survey, Paul Kiparsky -- then of M.I.T., now of Stanford, where he laps the field on Sanskrit grammar -- wrote, "Let us refer to the converse of opacity as transparency."** And the worlds of diplomacy (especially arms control) and trade (back when global was still international) said: Yeah, let us.

Transparency (rooted in the Latin *parere*, "to appear, to become visible") apparently swept through several fields: "The term was a convergence of, or developed concomitantly from, the two worlds of economics and arms control," says Vince Garnett at *The Foreign Service Journal*. The former Ambassador James E. Goodby, representing us at the 1983 Stockholm Conference for Disarmament in Europe, recalls the word getting hot then: "The Russians didn't like the word at all, so I stuck to openness."

The evidence brought by Safire's lies in the exact moment the word "transparency" went through a linguistic process of studies, when "loosey-goosey" linguists, as the author defines them, "accept the notion that there are mysterious contexts in which a rule just does not work; they call this "the opacity of a rule" (Safire, 1998). "Transparency apparently swept through several fields" he argues, when in 1983 diplomats started using the new word, consequently replacing "openness" . Unfortunately "the Russians did not like it" the author stated, so diplomats had to renounce. Despite the unsatisfactory result, their will could anyway be considered as a concrete attempt.

What is clearly undeniable is that the process of evolution of "transparency" meanings had already been initiated by linguists in 1971, whose date coincides with the Pentagon Papers' disclosure. Is this a pure coincidence of facts and changes? Would it be reasonable to relate these facts and look at the Pentagon Papers' disclosure as a point of inspiration for linguists and journalists as an intent to enlighten the "transparency" evolution?

2.4.4 Analysis of the fourth period: 2004-2012

In 2006 Wikileaks burst into the media scenario, violently reversing the world of International Relations and giving birth to a proper cyber-info war.

One of Wikileaks' aims, as widely explained in the first chapter of this work, was to fight for a better global transparency. Consequently, the usage of the word itself sees its hike and becomes an aim, a trend, a principle to protect. The total number of articles retrieved in The New York Times' archive in the present decade amounts to 8130 results, consisting of the most relevant articles. A sample of 199 articles has been analysed in order of relevance. Moreover, the category of “News” has been added in the analysis, together with “Language and Literature”, since some articles examined dealt with “transparency” in the news process under the meaning of “disclosure”.

Results obtained in the final part of this analysis substantially differ from the previous ones, since the usage of “transparency” meanings has overturned in the decade. Before commenting the several aspects emerged I will provide a detailed table showing final results.

CATEGORY	MEANINGS OF TRANSPARENCY
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Sample 199 articles	Availability Checkability Accessibility	Disclosure	Accountability	Quality of being Transparent
Total number of articles	85	74	25	15
Art/Architect ure/ Fashion/Trav el	3	2		8
Photography/ Cinema	1	1		
Music/Dance				
Sport				
Business/La w	46	27	6	
Politics	26 1	37	17 1	
Science/ Technology	6	3		1
Literature/ Language/ News	2	4	1	6

As the table shows, the word “transparency” meaning “availability, checkability, accessibility” has replaced the predominant one “quality of being transparent” on the podium of the most used meaning, with 85 articles on 199. 46 of them belong to the “Business/Law” category, 27 belong to “Politics” category, 6 to “Science” category, 3 to “Art/Architecture/Fashion/Travel”, 2 to “Literature/Language/News” and only one to “Photography/Cinema”.

“Transparency” as “disclosure” denotes a high increase in frequency of usage with 74 total results on 199, where 37 articles belong to the category of “Politics”, followed by 27 articles belonging to the “Business/Law” category, 4 to the categories of “Literature/Language/News”, three articles belonging to “Science and Technology”, two to “Art/Architecture/Travel/Fashion” and one to “Photography and Cinema”.

Observing the results obtained, it is evident how the categories of “Business/Law”

and “Politics” and their relation with the concept of “transparency” as “availability, checkability and accessibility” and as “disclosure” has become predominant; as the table shows, these specific cases are blue highlighted.

Moreover, categories that usually referred to “transparency” as “quality of being transparent” tend to consider other meanings too. This aspect characterises all categories, with the exclusion of “Music/Dance” and “Sport” ones.

In one specific article “transparency” is repeated more than once with different meanings, as reported and highlighted in red in the table above.

The meaning of “transparency” as “accountability” shows a high increase of usage compared with other decades, with 25 articles on 199. The most visible aspect of the result is that the highest increase of usage is in the “Politics” category, with 18 results on 25. In this decade there is the strong will to denounce corruption and promote fairness; campaigns in favour of these principles have become part of politicians' agenda and are given importance and visibility by journalists too.

Going on with the analysis there are 6 articles retrieved in the “Business/Law” category and finally, 1 in the “Language/Literature and News” one.

Transparency conceived as “quality of being transparent” surprisingly results the least used meaning, with just 15 results on 199, where 8 articles belong to “Art/Architecture/Fashion/Travel” category, 6 belong to the “Language/Literature and News” and the last one belong to “Science/Technology” section.

This final result clearly outlines how the term “transparency” has gone through a slow evolution process throughout the decades and how events and social influence have been able to turn the tide. The fact that “transparency” conceived as “quality of being transparent” is the least used meaning in the last ten years actually does not imply that physical transparency is about to disappear; it rather points out the importance of “transparency” as a new concept that can actively change the socio-political scenario and is considered more and more relevant as a tool to fight corruption.

What is peculiar in the analysis of this decade is that “transparency” is not just an adjective or a quality; it rather turns into a real “character” in the global debate.

Indeed, the vast majority of articles retrieved in this decade contains the word “transparency” directly in its headline and repeats it several times. In order to show

evidence and conclude this final part of the analysis, I will provide the first ten articles' headlines retrieved in The New York Times' archive in order of relevance from 2004 until 2012.

First Ten New York Times Articles' Headlines from 2004 – 2012

- ♣ “Taxes and Transparency” (NYT Editorial, January 16, 2012)
- ♣ “In Disclosing Secret Documents, Wikileaks Seeks Transparency”
(NYT, Schmitt, July 25, 2010)
- ♣ “Slipping Backward On Transparency for Swaps”
(NYT, Morgenson, November 26, 2011)
- ♣ “A Tumultuous Trip To Mobile App Transparency”
(NYT, Singer, December 8, 2012)
- ♣ “Report is critical of Obama's Efforts at Transparency”
(NYT, Lichtblau, March 14, 2010)
- ♣ “Lack of Transparency Leads To Anxiety Among Banks”
(NYT, Ewing, November 14, 2011)
- ♣ “Big Banks Need More Transparency”
(NYT, Morgenson, April 28, 2012)
- ♣ “Vatican is graded on Financial Transparency”
(NYT, Associated Press, July 4, 2012)
- ♣ “Branding Transparency” (NYT, Walker, January 14, 2011)
- ♣ “In Germany, Minimalism and Transparency” (NYT, Bardley, July 20, 2011)

2.5 Considerations and Conclusions

Looking at the results obtained until now we could suppose that “transparency” is not simply a changing word evolving from a physical meaning to a figurative one in a period of forty years. Transparency has turned into an ethical concept in news, diplomacy, business and art, a principle presidents, diplomats and organisations have currently been struggling for.

In order to guarantee an exhaustive overview of the results obtained and better

observe how the word “transparency” has evolved, I will provide a final table, where all decades' results are visible as a whole.

DECADES					EVOLUTION OF MEANINGS OF “TRANSPARENCY”				
Sample: 199 articles per decade	Availability Checkability Accessibility	Disclosure	Accountability	Quality of being Transparent					
1971 - 1981	6	3	3	187					
1982 - 1992	9	5	1	70					
1993 – 2003	52	48	35	64					
2004 - 2012	85	74	25	15					

As the table clearly shows, “transparency” intended as “quality of being transparent” is predominant in the first three decades. In the first two decades the frequency of usage of the other meanings is very low. Only in the third decade the percentage of articles where the word “transparency” is intended as “availability, checkability and accessibility”, as “disclosure” and “accountability” increases and this aspect represents the first significant evolution phase of the word. In the fourth decade results are overturned and “transparency” intended as “availability, checkability and accessibility” becomes predominant with a result of 85 articles on 199.

At this point of the analysis we can assume that “transparency” evolution is the result of a series of interrelations between different disciplines that have completely overturned a word's frequency of usage and its meaning.

Language and Society have worked hand in hand and have given birth to a new linguistic trend, a new Era of Openness involving different fields, from Business to Science, from Art to Politics.

Going back to the very first stage of the current analysis and comparing these results with those ones resulting from dictionaries' analysis it is noticeable how this meaning evolution process is recent and still ongoing. No dictionary actually reports all these meanings related to the word “transparency” and consequently, in order to source the

various meanings of the word, it has been necessary to consult different kinds of dictionaries, not only General English Dictionaries but also Business English Dictionaries.

The linguistic evolution process “transparency” has still been going through has provided interesting and impressive results.

How can language be related to society? When was the Global Transparency Movement born and is there any relation with changes in language?

The next and final chapter will deal with the matter and show how the concept of transparency has penetrated social stratum.

Chapter 3

From Language to Society: The Global Transparency Movement

3.1 Newsblogs and Citizen Journalism: a new beginning for Transparency

As reported in the previous chapter, the evolution of the word “transparency” intended as “availability”, “disclosure” and “accountability” shows its turning point in the decades 1993-2003 and 2004-2012.

In the following chapter I will show the main phases “transparency” has gone through as a new rising concept against corruption and secrecy, showing how it has penetrated society and different categories such as politics and business.

First of all, it is necessary to start by saying that the Global Transparency Movement was born on the Internet. Although there were previous attempts of activists fighting for disclosure and against corruption, such as Daniel Ellsberg, Web 2.0 has enabled the constant development of the Transparency Movement. As it will be evident throughout the chapter, Julian Assange was not the fore-runner of the fight for transparency on the Web, but he has just contributed to reinforce the Movement with greater tools and impact.

If the transparency movement in the United States has a father, his name is Carl Malamud. In the early 1990s, Malamud was running a nonprofit called the Internet Multicasting Service. In those years, a controversy arose between public-interest advocates and the Securities and Exchange Commission over access to the commission's EDGAR (Electronic Data Gathering Analysis and Retrieval) database of filings from public corporations and other financial institutions. At that time, the only way to access those files was either by going to a special reading room in Washington, or subscribing to an expensive private information service such as Mead Data's Nexis, which charged fifteen dollars per document, plus a connection charge of thirty-nine dollars per hour. Malamud obtained a two-year grant amounting to 660,000 dollars from

the National Science Foundation to develop and demonstrate ways to post large government data archives on the Internet for access by researchers and the general public. Included in the proposal was the promise to develop public domain software enabling a way for users to search the data over the Internet. Thus, Malamud's service was launched on January 17, 1994. The average quantity of visitors accessing the website amounted to 50,000 every day. As Malamud stated at a keynote address at the 2009 Government 2.0 Summit in Washington “what we found when we placed these so-called products on the internet for free was that these reports were not just fodder for a few well-heeled financial professionals, a commodity used to make the Wall Street money machine function, but instead that these public reports of public corporations were of tremendous interest to journalists, students, senior citizen investment clubs, employees of the companies reporting and employees of their competitors, in short a raft of new uses that had been impossible before”.

By late 1994, other partners were joining in Malamud's project: MIT, NYU, Sun Microsystems, MCI Communications, R:R Donnelly & Sons and Time Inc. They all announced that they were working to expand their databases provided to include patents , trademarks, and all current SEC filings. As reported in an article entitled “Group to Widen Access ToFederal Databases” written by Markoff and published in The New York Times on December 23, 1994, Vint Cerf, one of the creators of the Internet who is employed at Google, said “I think the rest of the world is listening to how valuable it is for a government to provide information to citizens”.

Malamud was a pioneer in liberating taxpayer-financed public information and putting it online where everyone could get to it. He has continued to fight for expanding free access to public domain material online; his work has been at the forefront of a wave of new efforts, from the Library of Congress's Thomas database of congressional bills and votes, and the Center for Responsive Politics OpenSecrets.org database of campaign finance information, to the Environmental Working's Group searchable database of individual agricultural subsidy recipients, that all sought to make public records more accessible. Each of these efforts has succeeded in demonstrating the public hunger for more information about government's activities, as well as bringing evidence on who was influencing and benefiting from its decisions. For about the first

ten years of the World Wide Web, from 1995 to 2005 public records were usually locked in formats that limited how people could make use of them. Sometimes all that was available was summary data, rather than individual records. Other times, records were placed online as scanned PDF files, which made them impossible to search and difficult to link to.

These approaches started to change only in the last few years, since technologists and public-interest advocates alike began to understand the power of open standards for sharing data. A breakthrough moment came in 2005 when a 3-D graphic artist, Paul Rademacher, built a free online application called HousingMaps by combining real estate listings from Craigslist with city street maps from Google Maps. His activity, whose goal was to make his housing hunt easier, had not been authorised by Craigslist and Google. Consequently, Google decided to open up a public application programming interface that was designed to allow people to build sites and services on top of their mapping tool. Longtime technology guru Tim O'Reilly called Radmacher's site "the first true Web 2.0 application"; once people saw the possibilities, a wave of innovation exploded around the possibilities of dynamically combining data and visualisations in new ways. Moreover, the uses of data online were also getting more interactive.

O'Reilly condensed the core ideas of Web 2.0 in an essay that had a lot of influence on the transparency movement. In his text "What is Web 2.0: Design Patterns and Business Models for the Next Generations of Software" he explains three main concepts:

thinking of the web as a platform:

Instead of buildings websites as destinations for information-seekers, successful Web 2.0 innovators provide information in forms that can be taken anywhere on the Web.

looking for ways to harness collective intelligence:

Google's search engine ranks pages based on how many other pages link to them , and it learns from what links people click which pages offer the best results to a particular search phrase.

Wikipedia for example harnesses the power of many people by allowing anyone to add or edit any page; Flickr let anyone make up their own tags for content, rather than

forcing people to only use categories chosen from above.

Thus, network effects make these services more valuable as they gain more users.

making data services the centrepiece:

Successful Web 2.0 companies win in their fields not only by cornering some class of data, but by also making their data the underpinning of a whole range of additional services.

Amazon, for example, did not just build its books database on top of a proprietary tracking tool known as the ISBN number but also added new data and invited its users to add their own through reviews and ratings.

In 2005 Ellen Miller and Michael Klein set up the Sunlight Foundation, the first Washington-based non profit dedicated to using the Internet to open up government.

Its aim was to provide tools, information and resources to encourage citizens, bloggers and investigative media to explore whether and how their representatives are influenced by money and lobbyists, to provide ways to engage their natural curiosity about who their representatives really represent and what they do in Washington, and to provide forums and interactions to build the community of people who care about democracy.

Moreover, Sunlight Foundations supported the development of sites like “Congresspedia”, a website focused on members of Congress and their work; “MapLight”, a research tool for exploring the possible correlations between campaign contributions and legislative votes; “Opencongress”, a unified hub that enables users to track members, bills, votes and issues, to see what items were being most viewed, or most talked about in news and blogs.

Sunlight also funded the digitisation of records such as congressional, financial disclosure statements, foreign lobbyists registrations, and earmarks. It helped money-in-politics repositories “OpenSecrets.org” and “Followthemoney.org” open source all their individual records and built new resources, like a real-time database of congressional fundraisers and a ticker alerting users to new lobbyists registrations.

The “Sunlight Foundation” was not the only group moving in this direction. In 2004, a linguistic graduate student named Joshua Tauberer took on the task of making it easy to access and work with the latest information from the U.S. Congress. His site,

“GovTrack.us” was just a hobby when he started, but over time it grew into a critical resource. Since Congress actually was not making its information available to the public, Tauberer built data scrapers that pull information automatically and convert it into forms other computer programmers can use.

Led by a former civil servant named Tom Steinberg, “mySociety.org” was founded in 2003 and focused on building simple websites aimed at helping people improve their civic lives, while also teaching the public sector how it could use the Internet more efficiently to make a difference in people's lives. Founders of “Mysociety.org” had previously built a little site called “FaxMyMP”, which enabled anyone to type in their postcode, get the name of their member of Parliament, and then type in a message, which got delivered to them as a fax. The site also asked users to report back how long it took their elected representatives to respond, and published comprehensive tables charting their relative performance. This bit of user-generated transparency has had the beneficial effect of getting many members to be more responsive to their constituents.

Another overlapping group of “MySociety” volunteers built an even more impressive site called “TheyWorkFourForYou” which launched in 2004. The site combines records from all of Great Britain's parliamentary bodies and enables anyone to track a member's interest, voting records, election results, as accurately reported in an an articles in The Sunday Times (Hurst, 2006) entitled “The MPs who can't stop talking”. Its tracking methods were so accurate, and the visibility of the rankings so high, that members started changing their speaking behaviour in an effort to game the system and improve their rating. All mySociety's web projects follow the same principle; while providing a basic service that helps people in their lives, the users and the website create meta-data that also can leverage changes in how the institutions of government and society behave.

The website “FixmyStreet” for example collects and sends reports of local problems to local officials, but also shows users which city councils are or are not being responsive to fixing them. “Whatdotheyknow” helps users file Freedom of Information requests to the government, but then collects and makes searchable all the answers that flow back.

The principle used by all these websites demonstrate in technical terms that if you

have enough early testers of your software and you make the source code visible, the community as a whole can easily help spot problems and help solve them. The same notion has come to apply to the transparency movement. If you make a problem visible, or put it out on the web in a form that lots of people can swarm around, often a solution will be found. “Crowdsourcing” is the term often used to describe this process.

From its early days, the transparency movement has had lots of crowd-scouring successes. For example, a mostly libertarian and conservative-led group of bloggers calling themselves “The Porkbusters” got going in the wake of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 by asking their readers to help identify wasteful government projects that could be cut to find extra money to help with the disaster recovery effort. Their biggest victory came the next year, when they got together with liberal blogger Joshua Marshall to back a proposed bipartisan bill to create the first official federal database of all government contract and grants.

An important date for the transparency movement was 2006 when Barack Obama and Republican Senator Tom Coburn established the Federal Accountability and Transparency Act, whose date coincided with the birth of Wikileaks.

Unfortunately, the Act was prevented by an unknown Senator, who proclaimed that it represented a threat towards secrecy. With some help from the Sunlight Foundation, this cross-partisan coalition of bloggers asked their readers to call their individual senators to ask if they were the guilty party. However, the bill passed unanimously and was signed into law.

Marshall also created another website called “Talking Point Memo” that won a major journalism award for an even larger and harder crowd-scouring project, his investigation into politically driven firings of United States Attorneys during the Bush Administration. He and his writers noticed that two lawyers from different parts of the country were being dismissed for unjustified reasons and therefore asked their readers for help looking for similar stories in local media.

Taking into account what has been just reported, we could assume that the birth of citizen journalism has given a substantial contribution to transparency's development.

The government-transparency movement has developed in many directions in recent years. In 2007, in a first courtroom transparency, a team of six bloggers from

FireDoglake.com live-blogged the Scooter Libby trial, providing real-time coverage that the rest of the media did not consider as a priority. Libby, Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff was convicted for obstructing justice and perjury in the Valerie Plame affair; President Bush commuted his prison sentence.

Citizen reporters interested in helping broaden and deepen coverage of the 2008 presidential campaign also volunteered their time on the Huffington Post's "Off the Bus" Project. Some 2,000 of them produced reports that were posted on the website.

In a different kind of crowd-scouring effort that started in the summer of 2009, volunteers were involved in a project led by libertarian Jim Harper's "WashingtonWatch.com" site. In just five days, volunteers inserted more than 5,000 earmarks into the website's database.

Moreover, "EarmarkData.org" catalogued more than 4,000 requests in 2010, when working with the help from Taxpayers for Common Sense and Taxpayers Against Earmarks, about 39,000 requests totaling 130 billion dollars were counted and posted online in a searchable database.

A similar case concerns an initiative launched by The Guardian, when a complete raw database of more than 450,000 expense records for members of the British Parliament was leaked to the media. The Guardian had asked its readers for help in going through the files. This crowd of citizen-journalists produced an incredibly detailed spreadsheet showing the actual spending totals, breaking down the average amounts by party membership and type of expenditure. The freelance journalist Heather Brooke gave a large contribution to this kind of activity; she diligently kept making requests under Britain's nascent Freedom of Information law to obtain records. Her uproar ultimately led to the resignation of the speaker of the House of Commons and several members of both houses, criminal proceedings against some members and government officials, and dramatic promises of increased transparency from the leaders of Britain's major parties.

Another important episode concerning activism towards transparency was the fight over The Wall Street Bailout. Popular interest in the details of this transfer of wealth was evident from the moment the U.S House of Representatives posted the text of its proposed 700 billion dollars bill the week of September 29, 2008. The attempt of people

trying to access the website “www.house.gov” and send emails to their members of Congress crashed the site. One day after the House voted the first version of the bailout bill, House web administrators had to impose a limit on the number of incoming emails that could be processed by the “Write Your Representative” function of the site.

The demand for the text of the legislation was so intense that third-party sites that track Congress were also invaded. Nearly a thousand comments were posted on “PublicMarkup.org”, a site set up by the Sunlight Foundation to enable the public to examine and debate the text of the proposed legislation. Thousands of bloggers debated on the earmarks in the bill while others focused on members who voted for the bill, analyzing their campaign contributors and arguing that Wall Street donations influenced their vote.

Moreover, activists ranging from followers of libertarian Ron Paul on the right to supporters of Grayson and Senator Bernie Sanders on the left also succeeded in 2010 in forcing Congress to adopt a new law requiring the Federal Reserve to detail all the recipients of bailout funding during the banking crisis. The victory was clear and substantial. The Wall Street Journal reported in an article entitled “The Fed's Bailout Files” (Editorial, 2010) the results of the Federal Reserve's new transparency and wrote:

“Lender of last resort indeed. The Federal Reserve pulled back the curtain yesterday on its emergency lending during the financial panic of 2008 and 2009, and the game to play at home with the kids is: who did not get a bailout? If you can find a big financial player who declined the Fed's cash, you're doing better than we did yesterday afternoon.

The documents aren't another Wikileaks dump but are due to Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders, who insisted that the Dodd-Frank financial bill require more transparency about the Fed allocated capital during the panic. The release of this data on some 21,000 Fed transactions over the last three years is one of the rare useful provisions in Dodd-Frank, but kudos to our favourite Socialist for demanding it.

We learn, for example, that the cream of Wall Street received even more multibillion-dollar assistance than previously advertised by either the banks or the Fed. Goldman Sachs used the Primary Dealer Credit Facility eighty-five times to the tune of nearly 600 dollars billion. Even in Washington, that's still a lot of money. Morgan Stanley used the name overnight lending program 212 times from March 2008 to March 2009. This news makes it impossible

to argue that either bank would have survived the storm without Fed's cash.”

It has been stated that the Internet interprets censorship as failure; it is the people using the Internet who interpret secrecy as a democratic failure, as a reason not to trust government, as an obstacle to reach the truth.

Marko Rakar is the founder of the Croatian blog “Pollitika.com” and was arrested and detained by the police on suspicion of posting a secret list of 501,666 veterans from the 1991-95 Balcan war. The disclosure of the list provoked an immediate uproar in the country, as millions of people went looking for records of people they knew , as well as prominent national figures. Outrage followed as readers discovered that some public figures who had never served in the military were receiving lucrative veteran's benefits like premium healthcare and duty-free car imports, and about 20,000 people had been registered as veterans despite serving fifteen days or less in the military. Many Croatians believed that thousands of people had illegally obtained veteran's benefits through corruption and bribery. Consequently, another website called “RegistrarBraniteljja.com”, based in the United States received more than twelve million visits in just a few weeks. Rakar denied that he posted the leaked veterans registry database, and the police never found any evidence that he actually did. He is considered a data-transparency revolutionary.

In April 2009, two months before local elections, he posted a searchable database of Craotian voters, “Pobisiraka.pollitika.com”, which also exposed widespread fraud. His purpose was to shine light on the fact that there are more people registered to vote in Croatia than are residents. Rakar stated that Croatia is the only country in the world where the number of voters exceeds the number of inhabitants. In order to solve the mystery he invited Croatian people to investigate their own neighbourhoods and town and report the result back on his site “Pollitika.com”. The resulting uproar was front-page news in Croatia for days, and has provoked a serious debate about mending the country's Constitution to make it illegal for citizens to be registered to vote in more than one country. The main goal Pollitik.com wants to achieve is to create a place where ordinary citizens can discuss politics, without considering if they belong to the right or left wing.

Rakar is just one of many democratic activists who used technology-powered transparency to drive change in their countries. In Kenya, lawyer Ory Okolloh created “Mzalendo.com” in 2006 to disclose the hidden facts concerning the Parliament. Like England's “TheyWorkforYou.com” and “America's OpenCongress.org”, Mzalendo got started because the official sources of information were inadequate. Information on basic questions as how an MP voted on a bill, what they said in a debate or how money was being spent was almost impossible to obtain. Okolloh and another blogger went to Parliament in order to gather all the information they could. Her network of friends hit upon an idea of documenting postelection problems in Kenya that has since stormed the world. Okolloh, who had started a blog called “KenyanPundit.com”, while she was student at Harvard Law, found herself drawn into a maelstrom in the aftermath of her country's December 2007 national elections. The election was rife with fraud, and while the incumbent President Mwai Kibaki claimed victory, violence broke out and tribal divisions threatened to tear the country apart. As things broke down, the government stopped all live broadcasting on radio and Tv. Okolloh's blog became a hub of otherwise suppressed information, with Kenyan journalists and sources from inside the divided political parties all sending her updates. On January 3, 2008, Okolloh posted another update on her blog and stated: “Perhaps we can begin to collect information from organisations and individuals on the ground e.g. red cross, hospitals, etc. and start to build a tally online, preferably with names. Most of the people losing their lives will remain nameless, and it might be worthwhile to at least change that. Any volunteers ideas?”.

Consequently, programmer Erik Hersman, who was already following Okolloh's blog, decided to spread the idea in his own blog “WhiteAfrican.com”. Together with David Kobia and Juliana Rotich he created “Ushahidi.com” in order to report what was happening in Kenya and list all the people's names who died in protests. Dozens of bloggers inside and outside Kenya covered Ushahidi's launch. In five days they had 13,000 page view and in its first three months of existence, Ushahidi logged thousands of reports, which they diligently worked to verify with local nongovernmental groups, and ultimately counted about 45,000 unique users in Kenya.

As Herman was quick to admit, what he and his fellows did was not all that original.

After the 2004 tsunami that ravaged much of South Asia, online activists like American Andy Carvin created sites like “Tsunami-Info.org”, using RSS feeds to aggregate information meant to help relief efforts. In 2005, an ad hoc collaboration of a number of data mavens, including Carvin and Ethan Zuckerman, Daviod Geilhufe, Zack Rosen, and Jon Lebkovsky, rallied coders and other volunteers to build a “PeopleFinder” database to aggregate reports of missing and displaced people, as well as the “Katrina Aftermath” blog, to capture and highlight people's stories of the disaster.

As time went on, people started to explore other ways of sharing real-time information for some social good. In October 2008, a group of volunteers bloggers and developers affiliated with the “Personal Democracy Forum” blog “tech President.com”, that also includes Carvin and Dave Try, the inventor of TwitterVision, Andrew Turner of Geocommons and social media maven Deanna Zandt, realized that the real-time web could help with efforts to guard against voting problems on election day. In three weeks , a simple blog post led to a full-blown monitoring project called “TwitterVoteReport”. Voters were encouraged to use Twitter, as well as other tools like iPhones, to share quick reports on the quality of their voting experience.

Nearly 13,000 individual reports flowed in from more than 7,500 people. The result was a real-time picture of election-day complications and wait times that a number of journalistic organisations and newspapers relied on for their reporting. Some of Twitter Vote Report's underlying source code, which was written to enable volunteers to filter and add meta-data to raw user reports, went into a version of Ushahidi.

Unlike all these other efforts, Ushahidi itself has gone on to power dozens of transparency projects, because the software itself is open source and designed to be relatively easy to customise for other projects. This includes efforts to monitor elections in Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Colombia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kyrgyzstan, India, Mexico, the Philippines, and Tanzania; to collect and display eyewitness reports during 2008-09 Gaza War and the 2011 uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt; and to track pharmacy shortages in parts of East Africa.

Moreover, Ushahidi was used during blizzards in Washington in 2009 and New York City in 2010 to help residents assist each other cleaning up the snow. In 2011, the Australian Broadcasting Channel used it to crowd-map the impact of the Queensland

flood. After the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, thousands of urgent reports were mapped on an Ushahidi-Haiti site that was set up in just two hours. The Marine Corps used the website to get aid and assistance to the people that need it most. Ushahidi's usefulness and versatility has attracted attention and support, including a prize from the Knight Foundation and a 1.4 million dollar grant from the Omidyar Network.

Thousands of miles from each other, connected civic activists using inexpensive and readily available technology are building these kinds of collaborative democracy-opening projects, such as:

IpadABribe.com: it is a project launched in August 2010 by a Bangalore, India-based nonprofit called Janaagraha that is trying to reduce rampant corruption by inviting citizens to share their stories of either paying or resisting paying or resisting paying bribes to public officials. The idea is to provide a transparent view into the pattern of bribery occurring across a city, which Janaagraha will then use to push for improved governance and better law enforcement. While the site loads, it is possible to see the announcement and then a series of interactive charts invite you to discover where conditions are worst. The Bangalore transportation commissioner has already asked Janaagraha for a list of the complaints against his agency, leading to warnings to twenty senior officers.

WikiCrimes.com: it is a collaborative crime-mapping platform conceived by Professor Vasco Furtado of the University of Fortaleza, Brazil, to allow victims or witnesses of crimes to safely report that information on a searchable map. By breaking the authorities' monopoly on crime information and making relevant data more transparent, WikiCrimes hopes to force real reforms in Brazil's criminal justice system.

SeeClickFix.com: it is an American start-up launched by Ben Berkowitz, a native of New Haven, who wanted a way to ensure that when he reported to the city that some graffiti needed cleaning, his complaint did not disappear under bureaucracy. The site enables anyone with a phone or a web connection to report nonemergency issues in their communities, which get placed on a local map with a time stamp and room for comments. The reports are transparent and searchable online, which gives everyone the ability to see what issues are festering, thus creating an incentive to resolve them more

effectively. SeeClickFix is a for-profit company with some four hundred paying clients. More than 60,000 user-generated reports have been registered on the site since its founding in 2008.

Considering the large quantity of websites, blogs and tools that have been created in order to guarantee transparency, the Technology for Transparency Network (TTN) has been created.

It is a research and mapping project that aims to improve understanding of the current state of online technology projects that increase transparency and accountability in Central & Eastern Europe, East Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the former Soviet Union. The project is supported by the Transparency and Accountability Initiative, a donor collaborative that includes the Ford Foundation, Hivos, the International Budget Partnership, the Omidyar Network, the Open Society Institute, the Revenue Watch Institute, the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

The Technology for Transparency Network (TTN) has documented close to sixty examples of efforts using online and mobile tools to promote transparency and accountability, from Argentina to Zimbabwe. They range from Cambodia's "Sithi.org", which is a human rights portal that is working to collect reports of human rights violations, to sophisticated and reasonably well-staffed operations like "Chile's Vota Inteligente", which offers a range of transparency and participation tools modeled on sites like MySociety's "TheyWorkForYou" and "FixMyStreet", and OpenCongress in the United States.

Not every transparency project is centred on high-tech; often activists find ingenious ways to blend high and low-tech to expand public access to vital information.

In India, for instance, there has been a long struggle to get the government to abolish the colonial-era Official Secrets Act, which culminated with the 2005 passage of critical "Right of Information" law that allows any citizen to request and receive government documents. This has been turned into a powerful tool for people to expose local corruption. Now that the government has begun to posting detailed reporting of anti-

poverty spending online, activists within the “Right of Information” movement have developed ingenious ways to insure that poor villagers that lack web access can find out where the money is going. Their solution merges high-technology with the most basic of simple tools. All over India's rural villages, “Transparency Walls” are being painted at popular gathering places, displaying the government's spending spreadsheets in analog form. Villagers conduct “social audits”, literally going door-to-door with the employment data, talking to workers and checking its accuracy.

In addition to all these country-specific projects, there a handful of multinational efforts. For example, building on the pioneering work of the Environmental Working Group in the United States in opening up information on agriculture subsidies, activists with a group called EUTransparency.org starting pushing for access to farm-subsidy data from their own governments. Their site “FarmSubsidy.org” aggregates information from twenty-seven European Union countries that have released their data.

UNDemocracy.com is a project launched by a British programmer named Julian Todd that makes all the proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly, Security Council and various agencies available in Web 2.0 compliant form.

As these projects proliferate, a community of practice is evolving with some common understandings about how best to work together. There is an emerging consensus on the need for open data and common standards.

In December 2007, a group of experts composed by Carl Malamud, Tim O'Reilly, Josh Tauber of “GovTrack.us”, Tom Steinberg of my Society.org, David Moore and Donny Shaw of “OpenCongress.org”, Ethan Zuckerman and Lawrence Lessig made a simple declaration of eight principle concerning Open Government Data.

Government data shall be considered open if it is made public in a way that complies with the principles below:

⤴ Complete: all public data is made available. Public data is data that is not subject to valid privacy, security or privilege limitations.

⤴ Primary: Data is as collected at the source, with the highest possible level of granularity, not in aggregate or modified forms.

⤴ Timely: Data is made available as quickly as necessary to preserve the value of the data.

♣ Accessible: Data is available to the widest range of users for the widest range of purposes.

♣ Machine processable: Data is reasonably structured to allow automated processing.

♣ Non-discriminatory: Data is available to anyone, with no requirement or registration.

♣ Non-proprietary: Data is available in a format over which no entity has exclusive control.

♣ License-free: Data is not subject to any copyright, patent, trademark or trade secret regulation. Reasonable privacy, security and privilege restrictions may be allowed.

Today, transparency advocates are pushing government bodies to adopt interoperable formats for structuring different kinds of public data. An important principle concerning transparency refers to the fact that the public needs to be involved in a simple way and through understandable tools. The last aspect all these projects mentioned in the chapter need to take into account is their own transparency, by publishing detailed lists of their funding and sharing lots of information about how they are developing projects and not just their results. This is actually what Julian Assange has been accused of, especially for what concerns sources of information that Assange denied, justifying his decision as a way to protect his sources. Wikileaks has not been considered as transparent as the ideas and struggle it promoted.

By blogging with open comments and developing policy on open email lists, groups have discovered the power of open networks.

As the transparency movement has grown, establishments have started to respond with everything from lip service to real action. In the last few years in both the United States and United Kingdom, the major political parties have started to compete against each other to be seen as the most committed to openness in government.

3.2 Transparency International

The leading organisation of the Transparency Movement that is actually thereal

forerunner of all the projects mentioned in the first part of the chapter, that is supposed to have spread out “transparency” through language is Transparency International.

Transparency International was established in 1993 by a group of people who shared the vision of TI's founding chairman Peter Eigen. With backgrounds in inter-governmental and business environments, they shared in common the experience of having witnessed first hand the devastating effects of cross-border corruption. It was this desire to fight global corruption that prompted the launch of the fledgling non-governmental organisation, Transparency International, in May 1993.

The convening conference brought together an array of international figures, including the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and former President of Costa Rica Oscar Arias Sanchez, the former Foreign Minister of Mauritania Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, the former Foreign Minister of Bolivia Robert MacLean Abaroa, and Olusegun Obasanjo, then of the African Leadership Forum and now former President of Nigeria. Together with Peter Eigen, the founding members were Hansjörg Elshorst, Joe Githongo, Fritz Heimann, Michael Hershman, Kamal Hossain, Dolores L. Español, George Moody Stuart, Jerry Parfitt, Jeremy Pope and Frank Vogl. When Transparency International was established, it was still legal in most countries to make bribe payments abroad.

While Transparency International and many human rights organisations often work closely together and have much in common, Transparency International does not actively investigate individual cases of corruption. There are several reasons for this policy, both strategic and pragmatic:

12. Transparency International is a politically non-partisan organisation whose primary function is the raising of awareness about corruption on a global level. Direct intervention by TI to uncover individual cases of corruption would not only deflect from that stated mission, but would also mean concentrating on specific instances of corruption to the detriment of TI's ongoing work in highlighting corruption.

13. Transparency International firmly believes that it is the right and proper place of institutions such as the media, police, prosecutors and auditors to expose and investigate individual cases of corruption. It is not a corruption watchdog, but rather a facilitator in the struggle towards increased global good governance. In this respect, Transparency

International is better able to help investigators fight corruption.

14. The private sector needs to be convinced that high standards of integrity in corporate practice are imperative. Transparency International's non-partisan viewpoint allows for constructive dialogue with both governments and big corporations. However, this does not prevent from publicly criticising the private sector or government agencies for failing to take meaningful steps towards reform.

15. Transparency International National Chapter members often operate in politically volatile countries. Investigating individual cases of corruption would risk exposing Transparency International members and supporters to incalculable risks.

Although Transparency International does not get involved into corruption cases, it gives out awards every year to people who have actively been involved in the fight against corruption. While Transparency International itself refrains from an investigative role, many journalists, civil servants or civil society groups demonstrate considerable courage in exposing and denouncing corruption. This is why Transparency International has created the TI Integrity Awards, and this is also the reason why on many occasions Transparency International and its National Chapters have drawn public attention to the case of whistleblowers that have become the target of persecution.

Funding

Transparency International guarantees the transparency of its funding and the diversity of its sources. The bulk of Transparency International's income comes from government development agency budgets and foundations. Other sources of income include project funds from international organisations, donations from private sector companies and income from honoraria and publications. By not relying on just one source, Transparency International is able to maintain its independence.

In order to guarantee financial independence, Transparency International is planning to set up an endowment fund. Moreover, Transparency International's National Chapters are financed independently from the international Transparency International movement. This means that, with few and strictly limited exceptions, Transparency International neither contributes to the budgets of its National Chapters, nor is it funded

by them. Sources of income of National Chapters include membership fees, donations from individuals and corporations, court-imposed fines and project funds from donor agencies and governments. Transparency International alone determines its programmes and activities: no donor has any input into Transparency International's policies. If donors don't like what Transparency International is doing, donors can withdraw their funding. All the donors' names are published in an annual report available on the website.

Transparency International has a very diverse income structure, and donations from all private sector companies currently account for about two percent of our total budget. There are several companies among those contributing to its budget that have in the past been involved in high-profile corruption cases.

Transparency International works within the private sector in an attempt to reduce supply side bribery and it is not Transparency International's aim is to condemn companies with a questionable past.

Transparency International works on the understanding that these companies have broken with the practices of the past and that they are working towards a business environment in which bribery is no longer accepted. For a company that has built up a network of "overseas agents", that has come to rely on "good connections", it is difficult to break from these practices overnight. If any corporate donor is accused of having been involved in corruption, they can expect no protection from Transparency International.

For what concerns income, the acceptance of financial contributions is governed by a few key principles that are meant to ensure that Transparency International is free in its decision-making. These include:

- ⤴ Transparency International does not accept donations that are tied to certain conditions imposed by the donor. Just like any other organisation, Transparency International obliges itself to fulfil certain criteria and to achieve defined objectives when it accepts funds for specific projects.

- ⤴ Transparency International does allow companies to publicise the fact that they have donated money or that they are corporate members of one of its National Chapter. However, this does not imply that Transparency International testifies that the company

in question is abstaining from corruption or that it meets certain integrity standards. Transparency International clarifies that it would refuse any donation given in the expectation of such a statement.

✧ Transparency International is totally transparent about its funding. Its financial statement and an exhaustive list of its donors are regularly published on its web site. It does not accept contributions that the donor would not like to be publicly disclosed.

✧ Transparency International would not accept a donation from a company that was found to have engaged in bribery and that could not demonstrate that this was a violation of the company's policies.

Transparency International is present in a hundred countries; the main centre is situated in Berlin. National Chapters are at the heart of the global Transparency International movement. In order to achieve lasting change, these chapters need to be firmly rooted in their respective societies and they need to be owned by those most directly affected by corruption. For the same reason, Transparency International chapters need to operate free from government intervention and do not exist in countries where civil society is not allowed to operate freely. Likewise, the Transparency International Secretariat in Berlin does not actively promote the establishment of Transparency International chapters in countries where there is no civil society interest in it.

Given Transparency International's philosophy of working independently of governments, if a government asked Transparency International to develop an anti-corruption programme, the movement could agree to work as a consultant.

According to its experience, the past record of government-sponsored anti-corruption campaigns is dismal. Most of them failed and very few achieved anything. In extreme cases the result has been the imposition of harsh prison terms or even executions, but little if any mechanisms to ensure that real change is put into effect. It is Transparency International's experience that anti-corruption programmes work best when those affected by corruption become involved.

They work well if civil society is allowed to make a meaningful contribution and is free to criticise the government. Transparency International would thus insist that civil

society organisations - including, for example, the local TI chapter but also others - be part of the process. However, these groups would not work like ordinary consultants in that they simply deliver a service without being able to voice dissent. Rather, their involvement would add an element of control and participation to the programme.

How does the movement solve corruption? Transparency International's main achievement is to have placed corruption squarely on the political agenda in many countries around the world. It has managed to generate political pressure for substantive reforms around the globe. Internationally, the approach to corruption has changed dramatically. While corruption was very much a taboo issue in the early 1990s, thanks in part to the efforts of Transparency International, there are now several important international conventions in effect, most notably the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention. Transparency International has played a crucial role in arguing for co-ordinated, multilateral action against corruption, establishing an independent network of resource persons and developing a solid knowledge base for those that are serious about fighting corruption.

Conclusion

The present research work has been conducted under the provable hypothesis that the the word “transparency” has been going through a linguistic evolution. With all results at a glance, it is not sufficient to talk about “evolution”; the proper word in this case of linguistic analysis would be: “revolution”, as I have reported in the dissertation's title itself.

The main evidence has been brought by an article entitled: “On Language: Transparency, Totally” published in 1998 in The New York Times and written by journalist Safire, where the word “transparency” undoubtedly turns into the main character of the article and is the matter of long discussions between linguists, journalists and politicians.

Beyond that, in the first and second decades of the present analysis, from 1971 to 1992, the word “transparency” is mainly conceived as “quality of being transparent”, whereas all other meanings such as “accountability”, “disclosure” and “accessibility”, found in the dictionaries, are less used. In dictionaries the word “transparency” is mainly conceived as “quality of being transparent” with the exception of specific business dictionaries where definition of “transparency” is much more related to accessibility, openness and disclosure.

Since the birth of the organisation “Transparency International”, whose title contains the word itself and Wikileaks, the term has deeply increased its frequency of use. If forty years ago we could just refer to a “transparent” dress or a “transparent” camera, now our media headlines talk about financial “transparency”, age of transparency, and transparency movement.

Thanks to Wikileaks, not only has transparency turned into a common matter of debate and has gone through a linguistic revolution, but we are certainly in front of a proper digitised revolution, that has deeply affected journalism, politics and society.

Transparency has turned into a leitmotiv of election campaigns, as an enemy of corruption, a principle basis for several international organisations.

If Pentagon Papers promoted transparency through documents, Wikileaks followed the same path building a wider web platform with data accessible to anyone. Assange's

project has marked the rise of transparency of data and of what is defined as “data journalism”, which is even dedicated an award to. Digital technologies have been revolutionising the world and for those used to controlling citizens communication, the digital age is frightening. Suddenly a seemingly powerless individual can effectively challenge powerful individuals and wake up the silent state through interactive global networks, as Wikileaks and Anonymous have demonstrated. Transparency has become so fundamental that nations have dedicated special laws to it. One of the greatest example of promoting transparency has been the Icelandic Modern Media Initiative that guarantees a total freedom of information and speech and fights against the danger of concentration of power.

Journalism, language and society have worked hand in hand throughout the decades and have given birth to a proper age of transparency, where web 2.0 and justice are both part of the same reality and will contribute to the future of transparency.

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