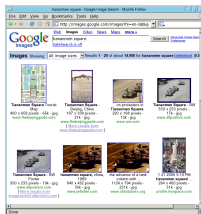
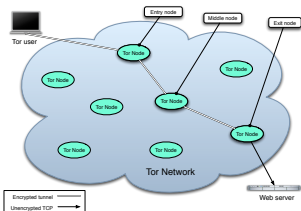


# Freedom of Speech and the Internet



Steven J. Murdoch

<http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/users/sjm217/>



UNIVERSITY OF  
CAMBRIDGE

Computer Laboratory



[www.torproject.org](http://www.torproject.org)

# Universal Declaration of Human Rights

## Article 19

“ *Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.*

## Article 20

“ *Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.*

# Online archives are easily censored

raising for the Indian-born Briton, outlasting as it does with his plans to secure a big player in the City. Reuben and his sister Robert David launched a website last month announcing their inten-

tion to acquire the company's stake in Russia. Simon and David, 44, may be worth £2.5 billion according to a recent estimate.

Simon's success in Russia makes some unflattering allegations about Simon's business acumen. In the past, Spain's Repsol oil group, was involved in a scandal about six service stations in

the company's chance of acquiring them, which he wanted to buy in the event, Sev was sold to either Anglo or Reuben. Another side would comment on the case last week, but Reuben is

case against the government of Kazakhstan, which had confiscated their assets in the country. They also went to court to fight an attempt by gangling interests to appropriate their stake in Russia's

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## No, Norman, a year regrets this time?

Lord Lamont has kept some odd company since leaving politics. Now a company he chairs faces collapse. **Jamie Doward** reports

HE, FAMOUSLY, inherited himself while trying to "regret zine" when Britain was heading for a deep recession. He was then the European Exchange Fund, Mechanism, but it is debatable whether Doward's Lord Lamont can affect such a heavy disposition. The interesting business investment company set up in 2000, which he has been following his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has proved elusive for Norman, Stewart Hughes Lamont. Several of his business ventures have

fallen by the wayside while others have landed him deep controversy, raising questions over his judgment. Lamont, 61, is battling for credibility as one of the company he chairs hovers on the brink of collapse. Shares in a heavy disposition of the interesting business investment company set up in 2000, which he has been following his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has proved elusive for Norman, Stewart Hughes Lamont. Several of his business ventures have

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**Skills for Business is launching two Sector Skills Councils. To find out more about how employers are responding to the UK's skills crisis, see next Sunday's Observer Business Section**

**The Observer** **skills** FOR BUSINESS

He left Rothschild in 1966 and several other companies he joined experienced difficulties. The Telford Investment Trust, BCI Finance, Equity Comfort and First Philippine Securities all ended up in liquidation. "A number of other companies, on whose boards Lamont sits, are not capable of delivering him the sort of salary associated with Tory grandees. Charge Energy is a toddler with a near zero turnover profile, and sitting on the board of the Indonesian Fund, an investment trust, is unlikely to be a huge money spinner.

But Gallio's board believed it had potential to produce stellar financial rewards. The company boasted that it had 100 million franchisees and 100 million franchisees. As Sir Anthony Collins, one of the non-executive directors, put it when Lamont was appointed in July last

year: "Lord Lamont shares our views of the company's prospects and performance." The company had great hopes for its first investment, Ford Conditioner Systems, which had developed replaceable oil solutions for the automotive industry. Another growth business was Scientific, a pharmaceutical analytical equipment for use in the pharmaceutical and petrochemical industries.

By the end of last year Callow was predicting that three of its investments would drop on the same day as the fourth quarter of 2002. But the trouble never happened, possibly because two years spared the companies away a reasonably price.

"Unfortunately for Lamont, he has his finger in too many pies to fall back on for a non-unionist to focus, the Maybach brand property company run by the Indian-born brothers Robert and Vincent Chohan. Keith is reputed to preside over a property portfolio valued at £1bn and is also the largest shareholder in tenanted pub giant Pullmanor. The brothers' but anchor portfolio - are ranked 90th in Britain's list.

Lamont is also a director of Scottish Annuity & Life Holdings, the Bermuda-based company that provides reinsurance products to the life insurance industry and wealth management services to high net worth individuals.

There then is the directorate of Ball Group, the metals trader based in London, which has huge interests in the metal market. Ball's ownership in the steel group with LNM, the international group whose parent company is run by controversial multimillionaire Lakshmi Mittal. His bid

for Sider - was famously backed by a supportive letter, from Tony Blair. In addition to sitting on the board of the British Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lamont is director of the British Romanian Chamber of Commerce and organised several dinners to help advance business relations between the two countries.

One dinner - in honour of Romanian president Ion Iliescu - was attended by Romanian metals trader Virendra Bhatnagar, now the subject of a Serious Fraud Squad investigation. Another - for the Romanian Prime Minister and attended by Trade secretary Patricia Hewitt - was sponsored by Mittal.

Lamont's appeal to power, as a businessman must lie at least in part in his extensive political contacts. He is chairman of a little-known but hugely influential right-wing party called Le Cercle. "Our

participants in banking, oil, publishing, publishing and trading companies." Guest attendees have included Richard Nixon, Francis Kissinger, the Sultan of Oman, Romania's Iliescu and King Hussein of Jordan. Comparisons with the highly operative Bilderberg Group

are inevitable, especially as one attendee, the late Alan Clark, MP, suggested Le Cercle had close links to the CIA. It is perhaps his links with Le Cercle which reinforce Lamont's most controversial business relationship, that with Iraqi billionaire Nadhmi Auchi, who was arrested in 2003. Auchi is a British party activist who is thought to have been advising the UK Government on Iraq. He was arrested on a French extradition warrant. Next month the corrupt trial involving oil giant Total's deal is expected to have been abandoned that he chaired a £20m commission from the oil company to buy a refinery in Kuwait. Auchi has denied any wrongdoing.

Whatever the outcome, Lamont could well look back on last week as the point his fortunes took another turn for the worse.

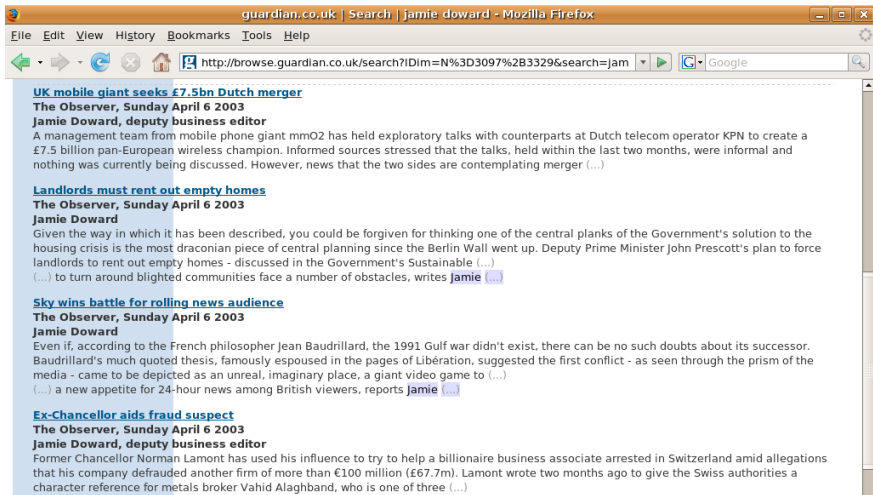
It may be some time before the peer who pocketed thousands of pounds from a Cheviot pipe-fitter and an Iraqi billionaire sings in his bath again.



Lord Lamont is battling for credibility as a company he chairs hovers on the brink of collapse. Shares in a heavy disposition of the interesting business investment company set up in 2000, which he has been following his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer, has proved elusive for Norman, Stewart Hughes Lamont. Several of his business ventures have

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File Edit View History Bookmarks Tools Help

http://browse.guardian.co.uk/search?IDim=N%3D3097%2B3329&search=jam Google

**[UK mobile giant seeks £7.5bn Dutch merger](#)**  
**The Observer, Sunday April 6 2003**  
**Jamie Doward, deputy business editor**  
A management team from mobile phone giant mm02 has held exploratory talks with counterparts at Dutch telecom operator KPN to create a £7.5 billion pan-European wireless champion. Informed sources stressed that the talks, held within the last two months, were informal and nothing was currently being discussed. However, news that the two sides are contemplating merger (...)

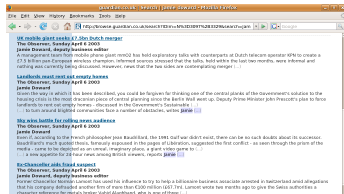
**[Landlords must rent out empty homes](#)**  
**The Observer, Sunday April 6 2003**  
**Jamie Doward**  
Given the way in which it has been described, you could be forgiven for thinking one of the central planks of the Government's solution to the housing crisis is the most draconian piece of central planning since the Berlin Wall went up. Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott's plan to force landlords to rent out empty homes - discussed in the Government's Sustainable (...) (...) to turn around blighted communities face a number of obstacles, writes [jamie](#) (...)

**[Sky wins battle for rolling news audience](#)**  
**The Observer, Sunday April 6 2003**  
**Jamie Doward**  
Even if, according to the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard, the 1991 Gulf war didn't exist, there can be no such doubts about its successor. Baudrillard's much quoted thesis, famously espoused in the pages of Libération, suggested the first conflict - as seen through the prism of the media - came to be depicted as an unreal, imaginary place, a giant video game to (...) (...) a new appetite for 24-hour news among British viewers, reports [jamie](#) (...)

**[Ex-Chancellor aids fraud suspect](#)**  
**The Observer, Sunday April 6 2003**  
**Jamie Doward, deputy business editor**  
Former Chancellor Norman Lamont has used his influence to try to help a billionaire business associate arrested in Switzerland amid allegations that his company defrauded another firm of more than £100 million (£67.7m). Lamont wrote two months ago to give the Swiss authorities a character reference for metals broker Vahid Alaghband, who is one of three (...)

# The Internet facilitates centralisation

- Centralised systems work better: cheaper, more versatile, and more efficient
- By eliminating distance, the Internet allows greater centralisation
- Centralised archiving of physical newspapers is awkward, but online archiving works well
- This makes life easier for readers, and censors too
- Many libraries are now dropping archiving of paper in favour of electronic subscriptions



## George Orwell was an optimist



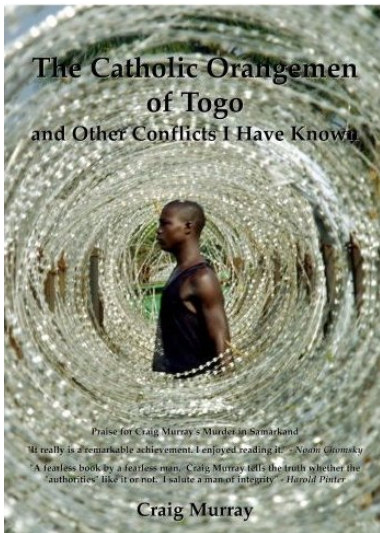
*Who controls the past, controls the future: who controls the present controls the past*

— George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty Four*, 1949

The re-writing of history is now much more efficient than when George Orwell imagined armies of Winston Smiths cutting holes in newspaper archives

## The Internet eases publication too

- “The Catholic Orangemen of Togo”, by Craig Murray, was dropped by its publisher due to libel threats
- Even the Cambridge University Press pulped a book, “Alms for Jihad” by J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins, following legal action
- The lack of support from a publisher and network of book shops would previously be devastating
- However, the Internet facilitates self-publishing and marketing



**The Catholic Orangemen  
of Togo**  
and Other Conflicts I Have Known

Praise for Craig Murray's *Murder in Samarkand*

"It really is a remarkable achievement. I enjoyed reading it!" - *Nomin Gramsky*

"A fearless book by a fearless man. Craig Murray tells the truth whether the 'authorities' like it or not. I salute a man of integrity" - *Harold Pinter*

**Craig Murray**

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# Internet architecture allows censorship

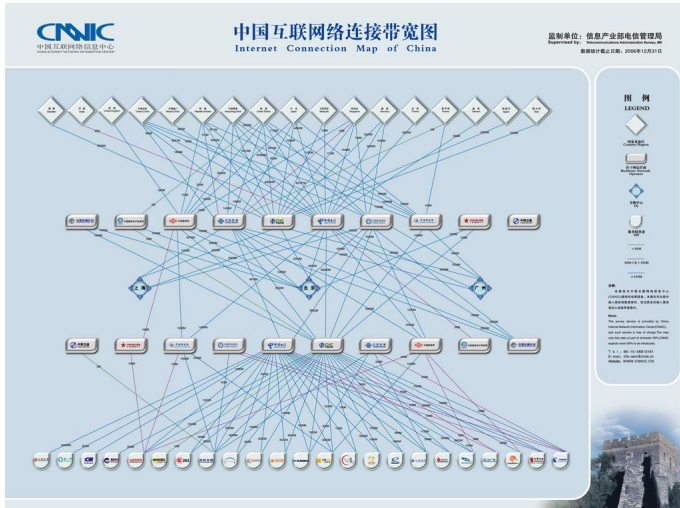
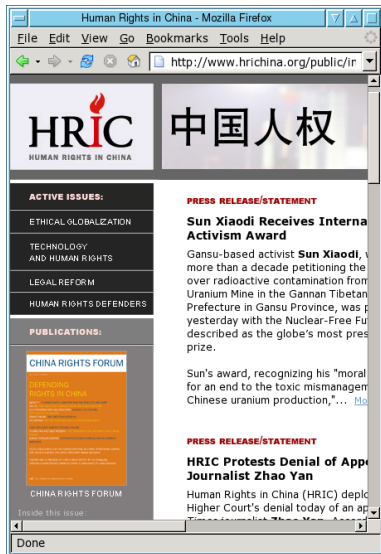


Diagram: China Internet Network Information Center

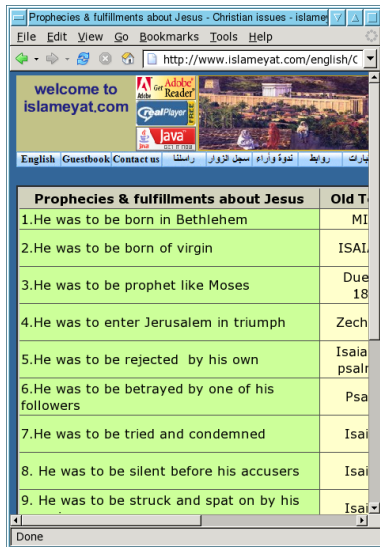
# What is being blocked, and why

- Out of the 40 countries studied by the OpenNet Initiative in 2006, 26 censored the Internet in some way
- The types of material censored varied depending on country, e.g.:
  - Human Rights (blocked in China)
  - Religion (blocked in Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iran, Bahrain)
  - Pornography (blocked in Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iran, Bahrain, Singapore, Burma, ...)
- Other issues censored include: military and militant websites; sex education, alcohol/drugs, music; gay and lesbian websites; news



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The screenshot shows a web browser window with the address bar displaying 'http://www.islameyat.com/english/c'. The page content includes a header with 'welcome to islameyat.com' and a navigation menu with links for 'English', 'Guestbook', 'Contact us', and 'رابطہ' (Link). Below the header is a table with the following content:

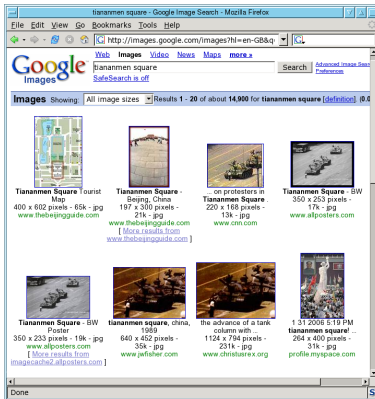
Prophecies & fulfillments about Jesus	Old T
1.He was to be born in Bethlehem	MI
2.He was to be born of virgin	ISAIAH
3.He was to be prophet like Moses	Due 18
4.He was to enter Jerusalem in triumph	Zech
5.He was to be rejected by his own	Isaiah psalm
6.He was to be betrayed by one of his followers	Psa
7.He was to be tried and condemned	Isaiah
8. He was to be silent before his accusers	Isaiah
9. He was to be struck and spat on by his	Isaiah

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# Even if a site is accessible, it may be removed from search engine results



Searching for “Tiananmen Square” on Google.com and Google.cn

## Resisting Internet censorship



*The Net interprets censorship as damage and routes around it.*

— John Gilmore, 1993

No longer true on a technical level: censorship is in the routers.

Remains true on a social level: when material is censored, people distribute copies and draw attention to them

But what if people are too afraid to do this?

## Self-censorship through fear, intimidation, and punishment

People can be intimidated into not testing rules through fear of detection and retribution



*"I call on Egyptian government officials to take the necessary procedures to protect the Egyptian youth from the spread of subversive religious ideologies among them by permanently shutting down religious institutions in this country."*

— Kareem Amer (sentenced to four years' prison in Egypt)

## Freedom of speech and privacy

### United States Constitution: 1st Amendment

“*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.*”

### McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Commission

“*Protections for anonymous speech are vital to democratic discourse. Allowing dissenters to shield their identities frees them to express critical, minority views ... Anonymity is a shield from the tyranny of the majority ... It thus exemplifies the purpose behind the Bill of Rights, and of the First Amendment in particular*”



## Internet surveillance is pervasive

- Conventional surveillance methods had to be targeted
- Internet censorship is capable of monitoring everyone, all of the time
- Governments are increasing monitoring: SORM (Russia), Golden Shield (China), and Interception Modernisation Programme (UK)
- 1 in 7 East German citizens worked for the Stasi. Today we can achieve the same results with a fraction of the cost



## Traffic data surveillance

- Traffic data (who talks to whom, how often and for how long) is the core of intelligence capabilities
- This information is cheaper to record and store, compared to full content
- Because it can be easily processed by computer, data mining techniques can be used to understand social structures

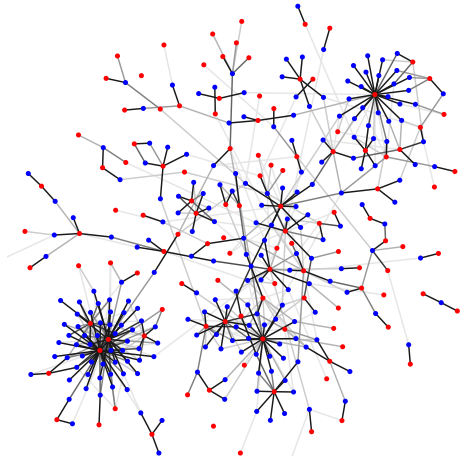


*No government of any colour is to be trusted with such a roadmap to our souls*

— Sir Ken Macdonald, former director of public prosecutions, on the UK Interception Modernisation Program

# Importantly, information on social networks can be derived

- Communities
- People



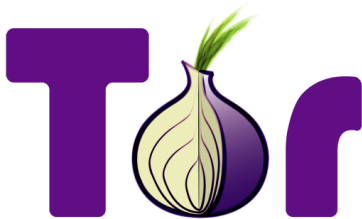
## The Transparent Society

- David Brin proposed that a world of pervasive surveillance, balance could be maintained by allowing everyone to monitor everyone else
- Bruce Schneier retorted that surveillance amplifies existing powers
- Many countries restrict anonymous speech (e.g. Germany and China)
- It is easy for those in power to call on the weak to link their names to opinions

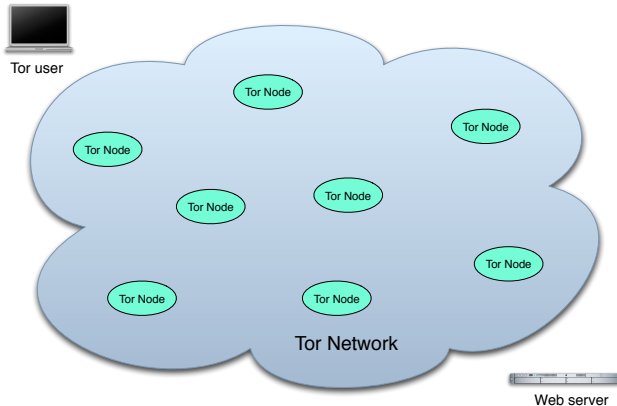


# Censorship resistance systems

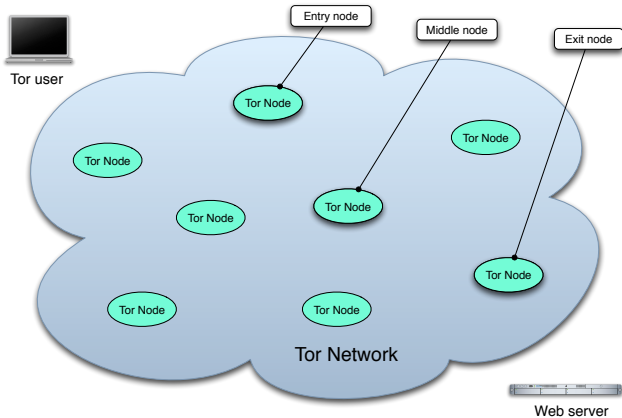
- Software to resist censorship should
  - Hide where user is visiting (to prevent blocking)
  - Hide who the user is (to protect them from intimidation)
- These properties should be maintained even if the censorship resistance system is partially compromised



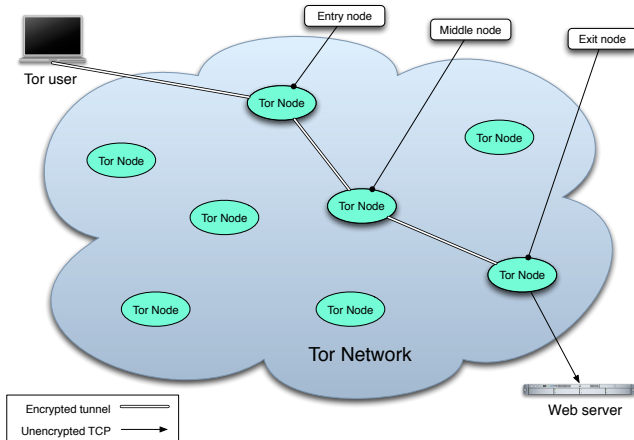
# Tor hides communication patterns by relaying data through volunteer servers



# Tor hides communication patterns by relaying data through volunteer servers



# Tor hides communication patterns by relaying data through volunteer servers





# Tor hidden services allow censorship resistant hosting of services

Eight stories on Obama linked billionaire Nadhmi Auchi censored from the Guardian, Observer, Telegraph and New Statesman

File Edit View History Bookmarks Tools Help

http://gaddbiwdftapgkq.onion/Wiki/Eight\_stories\_on\_Obama\_linked\_billionaire\_Nadhmi\_Auchi\_censored\_from\_the\_Guardian,\_Observer,\_Telegraph\_and\_New\_Statesman

Log in / create account

article discuss view source history

## Eight stories on Obama linked billionaire Nadhmi Auchi censored from the Guardian, Observer, Telegraph and New Statesman

September 26, 2008

**File**

[auch-dossier-2008.zip](#)

Download from: Sweden, US, Sweden2, Latvia, Slovakia, UK, Finland, Netherlands, Poland, Tonga, Europe, SSL, Tor

**Summary**

The archive contains eight stories censored or removed from the on-line archives of the *Guardian*, *Observer*, *Telegraph* and *New Statesman*. Seven stories were removed in their entirety and one partly redacted following legal pressure by Iraq-British billionaire fraudster Nadhmi Auchi who has been linked to US senator Barack Obama via the so-called "Rezko Affair". The action was taken during April-June 2008.

The material complements the Wikileaks release a few days ago of a significant 2004 Pentagon Inspector General's report into Mr. Auchi's, apparently grossly fraudulent, activities in Iraq — see [US Defense Inspector General: Mobile Telecommunications Licenses in Iraq, 2004](#). Also referenced is the Auchi related bank, BNP Paribas, which was the sole financial institution receiving billions in "oil-for-food" program money during the reign of Saddam Hussien.

In 2003, Mr. Auchi was extradited from the UK to France and convicted over multi-million dollar kickbacks on Kuwaiti government asset sales.

The censorship of *The New Statesman's* political editor, Martin Bright, who was co-author for some of the *Guardian* and *Observer* articles is particularly galling. In April Mr. Bright warned *New Statesman* readers about the censorship of the *Guardian* and *Observer* in an article on the *Index on Censorship's* annual

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Tor Enabled

# Conclusions

- The Internet and centralisation can both improve and harm freedom of speech
- Slogans regarding the borderless nature and inherent freedoms of the Internet are frequently wrong
- Technical details matter: how a system is implemented can make a radical difference
- Technologies can be used to resist censorship and improve privacy
- However, policies must be changed too and pressure is needed on legislators

