## **Referendum Medialogs**

An independent, self-hosted repository about internet blocking and distributing practices, and media noise in the context of the Catalan referendum on 1 October 2017.

Franc González

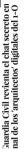


















10月1日,我们有机会 医疗体系,我们想要 人权,无论我们的性 性状态。

我们都必须投票向改 亚人的志愿者超过了 重要就是全民投票的 10月1日的全民投票! 民的意愿。

Catalan parliament declares independence as Spanish PM says 'no alternative' but to seize

ow the Catalan crisis helps

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TRENDIN

10月1日我们举行关于投票。西班牙国家多约的权利,有权决定更也消除了Parlament准了的法律。比如说:的时候,核电厂的销的极、核电厂的销售的税。

REFERENDUM 1 OCTUBRE 2011.



















The Herald

**L'**Unilateral

Oops...

L'aplicació de l'article 155 de la Constitució espanyola des del 27-28 d'octubre de 2017















### What is Referendum Medialogs?

Referendum Medialogs is an independent, self-hosted repository of different documented material about the recent conflict of the Catalan referendum on the 1st of October 2017. I talk about the Catalan referendum because it is a good contemporary example that shows how dramatically can the internet be used to censor, manipulate and deploy information, even in a European democracy. This conflict has served as a model to better understand the social implications of software in democracy and offers the possibility to create some awareness on the existing methods and tools for countering government censorship, surveillance, and disinformation practices of the often invisible processes of the news cycle. Therefore, this repository attempts to map a journey of the events before, during and after the referendum, showing a series of conflicts leading to both blocking and distributing practices, in a context strongly characterized by nonstop overloads of inaccurate information.

At the same time, Referendum Medialogs digs into the issue of media noise, using open source revision control software Diffengine to track and log article revisionism, offering a space for hidden narratives, a hint to interpretations, an archive of technical incorrectness, of erasure, a selection of deliberate misreports and an exercise in creating awareness. Article revisionism is an immaterial and often ephemeral act enabled by the everchanging nature of the net. Ludovico (2012, p.62) states that "the very nature of the news is becoming increasingly ephemeral – an endless stream of short news items all competing (often desperately) for our attention."

This work analyses the possible interpretations of these news changes through selected minor edits. The project also offers collaborations from hackers, activists, journalists, and organizations who were involved in the issue and had a significant role in the media. These different players will provide important information through documented interviews and conversations, offering perspective from different angles. Some of this sensitive material reflect back on incidents that in some cases didn't have the necessary media coverage or exposure. This book will provide selected quotes. However, full transcripts will be accessible online, and also printed.

The project curates visual documentation, offering an overview of the events, and caches this material on a Raspberry Pi web server, preserving information of which the original can potentially be replaced or removed. Users are given access to this material through a Mediawiki.

In general, this research and the project that I've been developing simultaneously will provide the reader with a framework to better comprehend the dimensions of the Catalan conflict beyond its superficial political threshold.

### What will this book's journey be?

In the first chapter, this research will map a journey of the events before, during and after the referendum on 1 October 2017. I will contextualize a series of conflicts leading to both blocking and distributing practices, giving examples about several media reactions. In the second chapter, you will be introduced to Diffengine. I will discuss my experience trying to trace specific evidence on news revisions during the referendum. I will offer a selection of curated revisions, and I will explain what works well and what could be improved. I will also discuss a series of projects tracking news changes, some of which are also using Diffengine in different ways. In the fourth chapter, I will provide some developments working with the Mediawiki. I will show some useful feedback and questions from my project's presentation at AMRO festival in Linz. In the fifth chapter, I will give an overview on the collaborations that I've been building, offering selected quotes from interviews by activists, hackers, journalists, developers and collectives. In the conclusion, I will recap the arguments presented throughout this research, offering questions, answers and ideas for possible developments.

Before we can dive into any other topic, it's important to first get a clearer idea of the history and context of the events surrounding the Catalan referendum.

# Refere Media documentation diffengine · articles · news stories · diffs archive · social media · automation · audiovisual · software projects **Mediawiki**

server-based file system

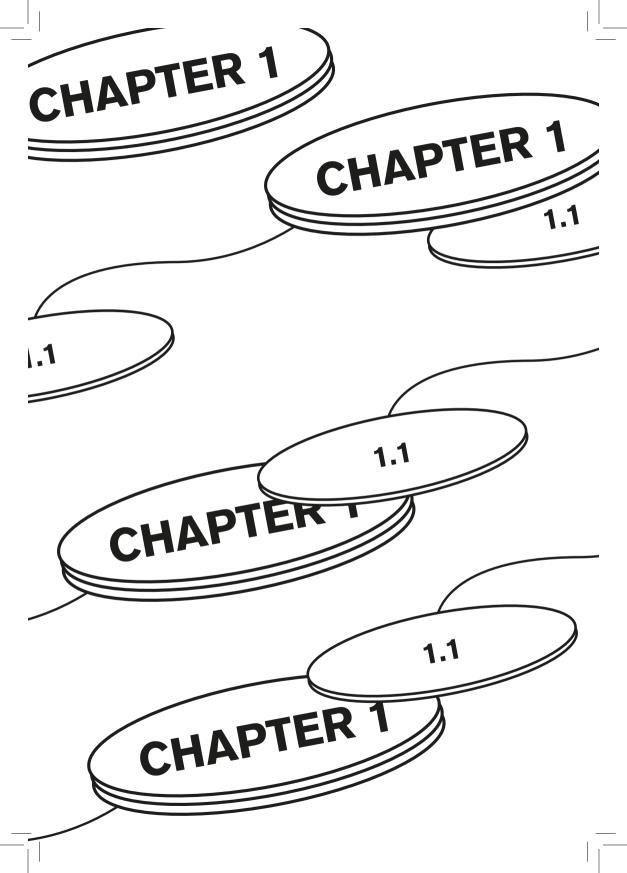
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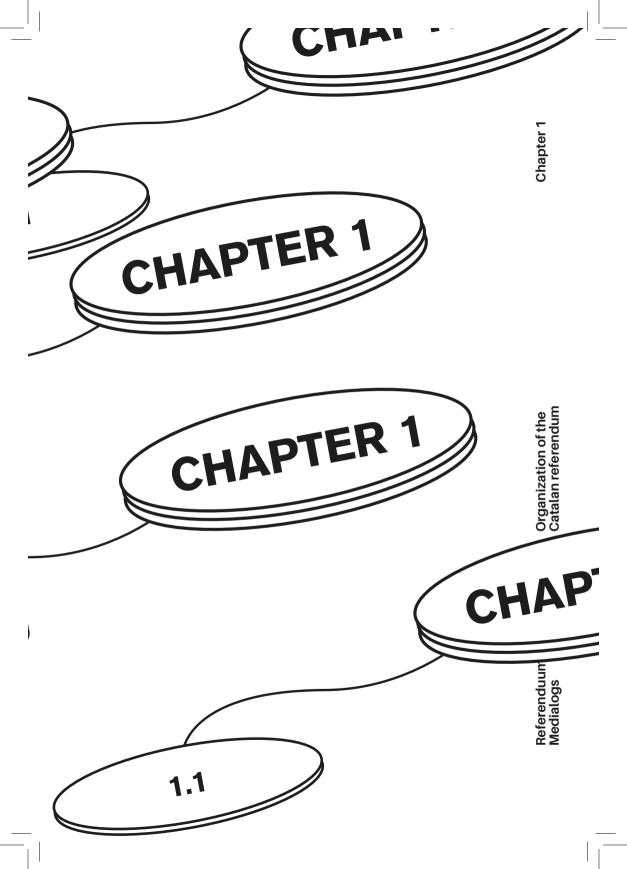
self-hosted

3rd party intellectual property
censorship issues

Raspberry Pi

# endum ialogs interviews\* research · activists · digital and · hackers printed version · archivists · journalists · transcripts, · collectives booklets, posters sensitive material **WWW** encrypted www.referendum-medialogs.tk\* surveillance temporary: referendumedialogs.referata.com





Internet censorship is prohibited to governments by Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights. These documents impose responsibilities to the protection and guarantee of everyone's right to freedom of expression. However, restrictive measures are sometimes imposed by governments in order to maintain public order. often leading to practices that threaten human rights principles. The evidence was given during the political conflict surrounding the Catalan referendum when Spain's central government attempted to impede the celebration of a referendum for independence in Catalonia. These events demonstrated that human rights are nowadays vulnerable to state authorities in Europe. They also demonstrated that software plays a fundamental role in the treatment of information, whether to inform or censor. Most importantly, these events manifested the necessity to offer more democratic frameworks beyond mainstream social media and clickbait journalism.

Catalonia is one of Spain's richest regions. It has its own culture, its own language, and has a long history struggling to get more autonomy. Although Catalonia has been quite divided on the issue of independence, polls reflected that the majority of citizens in the region are in favor of a legal referendum to settle the issue. Many others saw it as a political protest in defense of freedom of expression without legal effects. Many others saw it as an attack on Spain's unity. The growing support from citizens towards independence

led to the creation of the "Law of juridical transition and foundation of the Republic" and the "Law on the Referendum on Self-determination". Both of which were passed by the Parliament of Catalonia and later suspended by the Constitutional court of Spain, due to lack of competences. Despite warnings by the Spanish government saying that they would do whatever it's needed to stop this process, the Catalan government scheduled a referendum on 1 October 2017 and the organization of the process moved forward. The main website for the referendum (referendum.cat) was created. The website included all the regulations for the independence referendum that were suspended by Spain's Constitutional Court, as well as propaganda to promote the vote. First consequences began in early September.



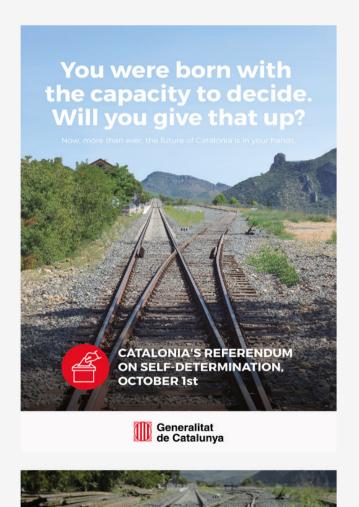
### Referèndum 2017

Home

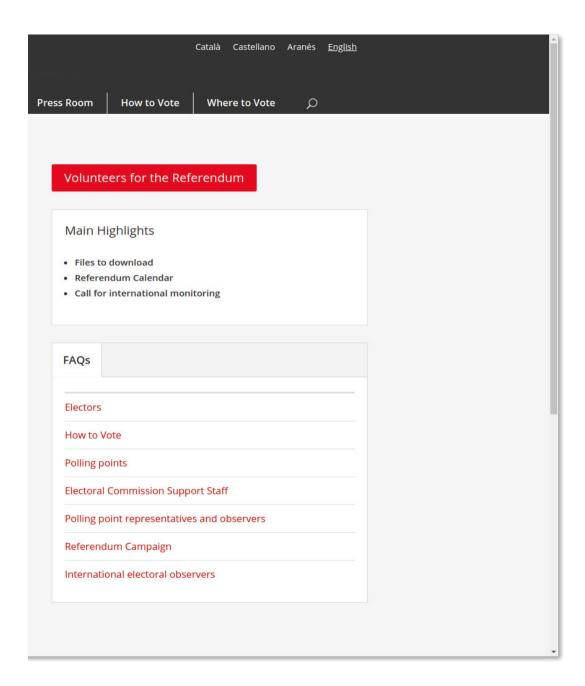
**Referendum Regulations** 

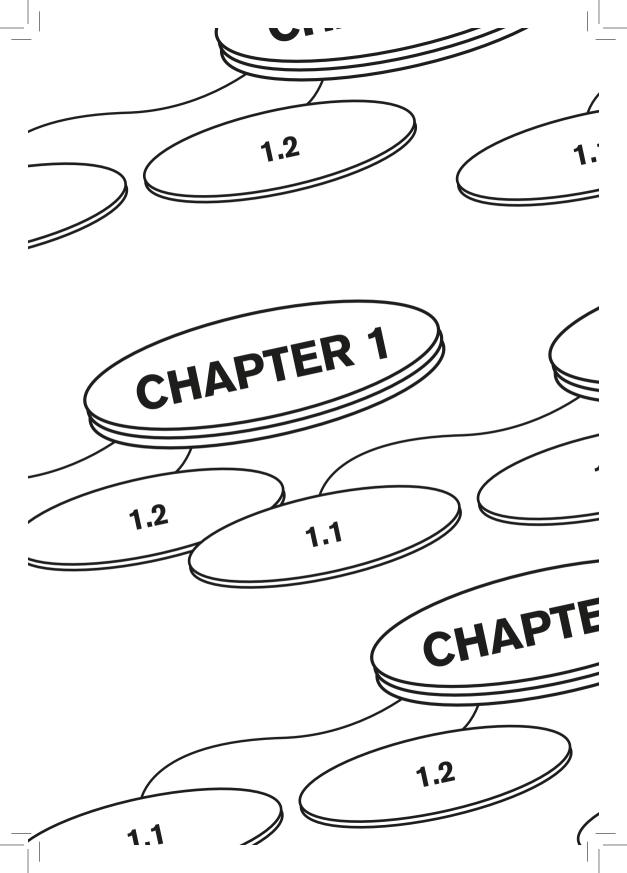
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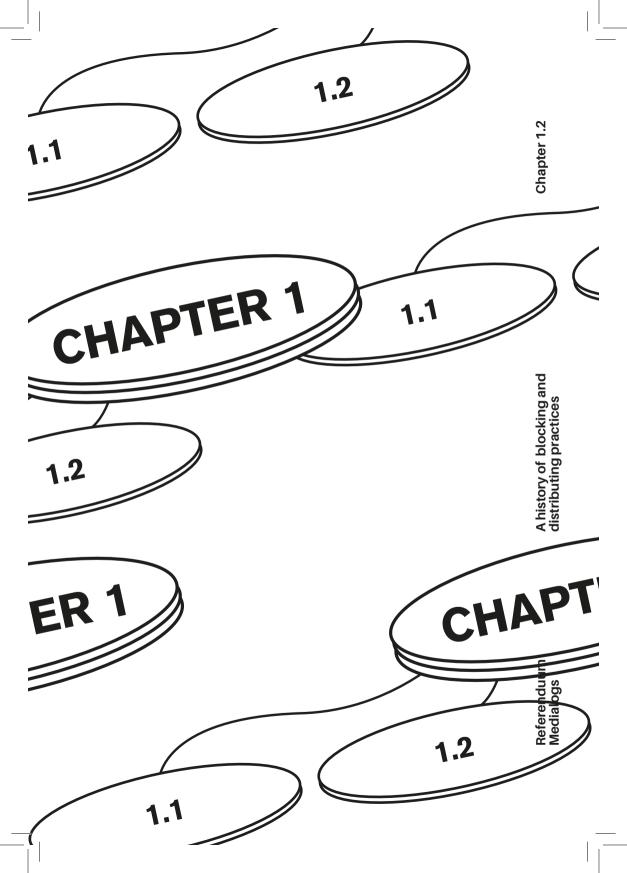
Pre











On September 13, following a court order, police forces turned up at the internet service provider CDmon that hosted the main referendum website. ordering to shut it down. You can still see the symbol of the Spanish military police or Civil Guard on the website with the following note; "This domain name has been seized pursuant to a seizure warrant under the Judicial Authority and is under its administration." The Catalan government announced (Ara, 2017) a new domain name hosted abroad with Luxembourg-based company EuroDNS. This way, only an international warrant could shut it down. Two mirrors of the website appeared, ref1oct.cat and ref1oct.eu. On September 14, two more official websites were seized. Two days later, following a court order, internet service providers were requested to block all websites with content about the referendum. One of the biggest attacks by Spanish government was on the September 20, assaulting the Center of Telecommunication and Technology. With this measures, most of the technology infrastructure for the referendum got dismantled. However, there was a lot of activity creating mirrors of the referendum's official websites. A good example is Github's user "GrenderG" or activist Daniel Morales, who published a list of mirrors, some of which are still active, such as xn--018haaa.ws or referendumcatalunya.eu, among others (Github, 2017). The repository 'referendum cat\_mirror' was last updated on September 22, when Spanish police, brigades specialized in computer

crimes, broke into his place to confiscate 3 harddrives and a mobile phone. In an interview that I conducted with Daniel, he explained: "They arrived at about 12:30 on Friday, I kept calm during the hour and a half that the performance lasted, yes, without getting out of astonishment at any time; It seemed like I was living an absurd joke, honestly it was a bit surreal. They did not explain too much about the reasons for the "visit", basically that it was sharing the source code of web pages of something that was supposedly illegal and that's why they were here (although my mobile phone was simply taken away because of an information app of the referendum installed). Once there, they were messing with my computer (at the time of arrival it was on, because I was downloading the databases of the latest update of the generalitat with information from the electoral colleges)."

About 15 Spanish hackers were investigated, accused of working on the scripts to clone the referendum websites. They caught many people and very quickly, so I asked Daniel how did it happen, if he did not take security measures: "I honestly did not think that by sharing the source code of a web page there were going to be about half a dozen police officers coming to my house (never before had happened in Spain). So it is not that you do not take security measures, it is that I did not hide it at any time and informed the people from my personal Twitter account." I did also ask him about the fact he was also accused to be supported by Russian hackers by El País, one of Spain's biggest outlets:

"Nonsense of a newspaper with a sensationalist director who likes to misinform people. They accused me of carrying a website that 'praised Putin', a website that I had not seen in my life". The journal also claimed that Russian news networks were using Catalonia to destabilize Europe through deliberate misreports from the RT and Sputnik, comparing the conflict to Krimea and Kurdistan. According to Spanish police (Alandete, 2017), Russia or any Asian country in the former Soviet Union are common hosts for domains, making it almost impossible to create an order to shut down the website because there are no collaboration agreements.

I was intrigued by the apparent disinformation practices from El País, so I documented a conversation with Mercè Molist, a journalist specialized in activism and cybersecurity who published many articles about the referendum for the journal Nació Digital; "I collaborated with El País more than 10 years... they had investigations saying that according to the University of..., and then was that someone from El País was studying in that University, that was a quick investigation (laughs), then I asked if they could send me their research and they never did, which makes you wonder what type of accurate data they work with." The Intercept had also claimed on an article (Greenwald and McGrath, 2018) data accusations in El País to Assange and even Edward Snowden, ranging from highly dubious to demonstrably false. These misleading claims or fake news have been very severe during the Catalan conflict.

Archivist Aniol Maria, a member of the Archivists Association of Catalonia (AAC-GD) and former collaborator of the Twitter-based archiving initiative #ArxivemElMoment aimed to collect digital evidence during the referendum, was investigated for creating a repository of the referendum's website on his Github account. However, as Aniol was involved in archiving initiatives, he could prove that he did it to preserve digital evidence, and not to publish the webpage source code out of Github. Aniol appeared on a press conference, together with members of the Pirate party (pirata.cat), an activist party defending human rights, technological sovereignty and open data, that was also investigated.

Reports on censorship around the Catalan referendum (Murphy, 2017 cited in Security Without Borders, 2017) state that authorities requested the Catalan organization Fundació PuntCat which registers the names of the ".cat" domains, to shut down all active domains with content related to the referendum. The PuntCat considered this measure disproportionate and denounced it to the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). This triggered police to break into the PuntCat's offices, searching for documents, retaining its technical director under custody for 2 days. Results published by the Open Observatory of Network Interference (OONI, 2017) shows that the government forced telecom operators such as Vodafone, Orange, France Telecom Espanya, Euskaltel or Telefonica/Movistar to track and block websites

with content related to the process, giving evidence on three methods used to block sites.

The first method consisted of altering DNS or Domain Name Systems. OONI (2017) explains that this is the most common and easy technique used by authorities. DNS associates the identity of a website with its unique numerical address or Internet Protocol (IP). IP addresses are required for any connected device communicating to the internet. The purpose of a single domain name system is to allow any user in the world to be able to reach a specific host IP by entering the address's domain name. Control over servers hosting DNS data means exercising power. Studies on the political economy of the internet freedom (Powers and Jablonski, 2015) writes that "Domain names determine the visibility and accessibility of a service; by removing a domain name, all services associated to it are made unreachable". Lessig explains in Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (Lessig, 1999 cited in Powers and Jablonski, 2015) that political and social values are inevitably built into the architecture of technological systems.

The second method was based on intercepting web traffic through HTTP, and the third method used encrypted web traffic or HTTPS, blocking entire domains while affecting several other unrelated websites. These measures accelerated the blocking of websites without any further court order, including citizen groups and non-profit organizations. Although just a portion of the information on the referendum

was hosted at gateway.ipfs.io, the main web server for the InterPlanetary File System (IPFS), authorities ended up over-blocking its content (Malcolm, 2017).

OONI (2017) explains how Google was requested to remove the voting app "on votar 1-Oct Oficial" from Google Play and any other apps developed by the same user. In recent interviews that I've been conducting with Aniol Maria and Matthias Brugger, who is an activist and free/libre software Linux developer based in Barcelona, they both pointed me out to an article where Google addresses to the 13th Judge of Barcelona (Vilaweb, 2018), which instructs a secret cause against independence, claiming to stop the blocking of websites related to the referendum. Google argues that it is unnecessary to keep the blockage eight months later. Google ILC considers that the indefinite maintenance of the blockage may be unnecessary for the intended purposes, and it may have affected projects and content hosted on Google Cloud that have nothing to do with this investigation.

In general, anyone involved in the process, including users setting up mirrors, reverse proxies, or alternative domains was taken to court to face criminal charges. Around 140 web pages were reported to be blocked. You can still see the symbol of the Civil Guard on many of those websites.

### Tools and methods for social resistance.

It's important to identify and challenge those authoritarian structures that threaten our freedom. Each and every oppressive practice has its counter actions that can be learned and used, but how? A good introduction to practices and tools to counter institutional censorship or find trustworthy information online, is Tech Tools for Activism (HacktionLab Collective, 2012), a collaboration zine between radical technology groups and collectives. I find quite relevant to mention these tools, not just because current studies on internet censorship show (Internet Society, 2017) evidence of increasing network blocking practices by governments around the globe. It is relevant to acquire secure practices, because people's freedom and personal data are increasingly becoming more dependant on the internet and cybersecurity.

The zine offers practical examples and alternatives for browsing the internet, hosting websites, using mobile phones and free software. One of them is TAILS, which runs straight off a CD or USB stick from a Linux live CD, leaving no trace of online activity when the system is booted. You can also communicate anonymously and encrypt your data using TOR browser (The Onion Router) and a Virtual Private Network (VPN). A good example of a website conducting a study on VPNs and E-Mail security is "That One Privacy Site". You can use Firefox on Linux, and a search engine like Duck Duck Go that doesn't log your IP, stores and sells information about your

web activity like Google, which monopolizes around 90% of internet searches in most countries. Google runs the Android operating system on 80% of the world's smartphones and owns Youtube. Studies on search engine optimization (Dice, 2017) shows that Google's secret algorithms determine which web pages will show up and in what order when someone looks something up. Over 90% of people click on something that's on the first page of those search results. This is important because it determines what news users will likely read first.

The zine also offers alternative social media networks to Facebook or Twitter. For example, Friendica works as a decentralized platform, streaming information from multiple networks. The reason why I offer this tool is that during the referendum both Twitter and Facebook were places to engage with all kinds of garbage and hate-filled arguments. According to Dice (2017), Facebook decides which stories go viral using algorithms to filter out and limit content, policing and censoring people's takes charge of Catalan government posts. On Facebook, if a post is considered too politically incorrect, then posts are deleted and users can have their accounts shut down. This supposes a danger to freedom of expression, as users engage in self-censorship. And with the recent investigation of Cambridge Analitca during the Brexit referendum, it has been demonstrated (Greenfield, 2018) that people's personal information on Facebook can be collected to target specific users, in order to create personalized political advertisements based on their psychological profile.

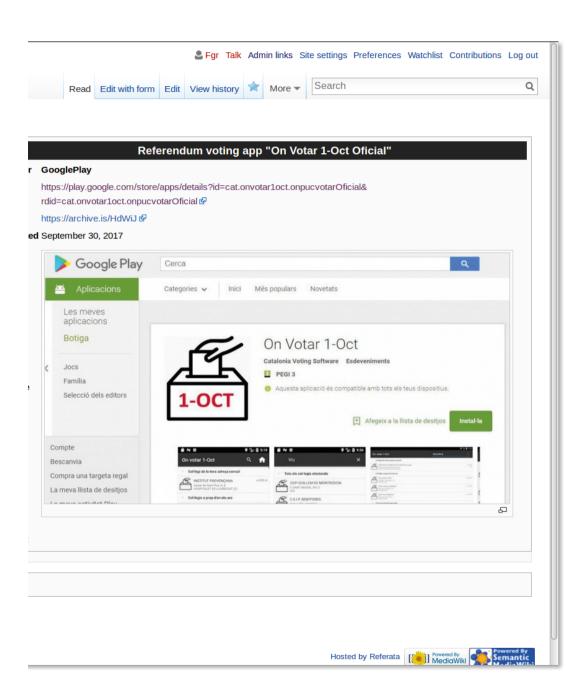
Beside mainstream social networks, I have been digging into a different type of decentralized environment using Mastodon's instance mastodont. cat. Mastodon is a federated, decentralized social network based on microblogging, that works as a federation of independently operated servers running free software. Using Mastodon, I have been able to connect with journalists, activists, archivists, developers, media organizations, and users engaged within the Catalan issue. It has been so far a really useful tool for data collection and investigative journalism, which has allowed me to quickly extend my network and resources.

An interesting community of activists that offers secure communication tools and services is RiseUp. They provide a list of "radical servers" and autonomous revolutionary collectives that provide services to grassroots activists. Another good example is The Independent Media Center (Indymedia), a collectively run network of journalists and activists that offers radical and accurate reports. You can host your website or blog anonymously on independent servers like noblogs.org and network23.org. This is useful for independent journalists, media collectives and users aiming to make sensitive material public. In this same direction, web technologies are increasingly requesting the use of secure protocols. For example, Secure the News is a project developed by the Freedom of the Press Foundation designed to promote the use of HTTPS encryption by adversarial journalism.

This app has the following functionalities: author - Allow electronic voting htt - Locate your electoral college. URL rdi - Show the electoral schools by position GPS. - Share a link with the location of an electoral college. clone htt updated Se What's New Official application to know where to vote on 1-0. Includes functionality for electronic voting that will be activated on Sunday, October 1. From the application it is possible to consult with real weather the results of the Referendum. Additional information image Updated 30 September 2017 Installs 1,000+ Current Version 1.2 Requires Android 4.2 and up Content Rating PEGI 3 Learn More Permission View details Report Flag as inappropriate Offered By Google Commerce Ltd about Developer softwarecatalonia@gmail.com Categories: Resource | Censorship | Software This page was last modified on June 18, 2018, at 20:22. Content is available under Creative Commons CC-BY-SA 3 license unless otherwise noted. Privacy policy About +r- medialogs Disclaimers Mobile view

Fig. 2. "On Votar 1-Oct Oficial", Google Play app store, 2017. Voting app developed for the referendum. Referendum Medialogs.

Discussion



Spanish police raided Catalan government offices and arrested officials on Wednesday to halt a banned referendum on independence, an action the regional president said meant Madrid had effectively taken over his administration.

Tens of thousands of protesters gathered outside the regional government offices in the center of Barcelona's tourist district as well a several Catalan cities, waving the red-and-yellow Catalan flag and chanting "Occupying forces out" and "Where is Europe?".

"The Spanish state has by all rights intervened in Catalonia's government and has established emergency rule," Catalan President Carles Puigdemont said in a televised address.

"We condemn and reject the anti-democratic and totalitarian actions of the Spanish state," he adding Catalans should turn out in force to vote in the Oct. 1 referendum on a split from Spain that Madrid has declared illegal.

State police arrested Catalonia's junior economy minister Josep Maria Jove on Wednesday in their first raid of government offices in region, Catalan government sources said. The raid targeted several regional government departments.

A dozen high-ranking local officials were arrested, La Vanguardia newspaper said. Police confirmed they were carrying out raids conr with the banned referendum, but did not give details. The Catalan government sources could not confirm the other arrests.

In several Barcelona districts, people banged on balconies railings and dumpsters while passing cars hooted noisily,

Among the protesters outside the government office in Barcelona, was Carlos, a 47-year-old taxi driver.

"We're here so they know they can't do whatever they want," he said, as protesters bore banner reading "Democracy" and "Vote to be free".

The FC Barcelona soccer club said in a statement: "FC Barcelona, in remaining faithful to its historic commitment to the defense of t nation, to democracy, to freedom of speech, and to self-determination, condemns any act that may impede the free exercise of these rights."

Police efforts to stop the referendum have intensified in recent days as the wealthy northeastern region shows no signs of halting it.

Acting under court orders, police have raided printers, newspaper offices and private delivery companies in a search for campaign lite instruction manuals for manning voting stations and ballot boxes.

The Civil Guard, a national police force, on Wednesday seized 10 million ballot papers, polling station displays as well as documents forms to run the vote, including a list of voters under the headline "2017 Catalonia self-determination referendum".

#### STOCK MARKET FALLS

It had on Tuesday seized more than 45,000 envelopes packed in cardboard boxes that the Catalan government was ready to send to people about the referendum, while the first of hundreds of Catalan mayors appeared before the state prosecutor after they said they beek the referendum.

Spain's finance ministry has taken over the region's finances to prevent the use of public money to organize the vote.

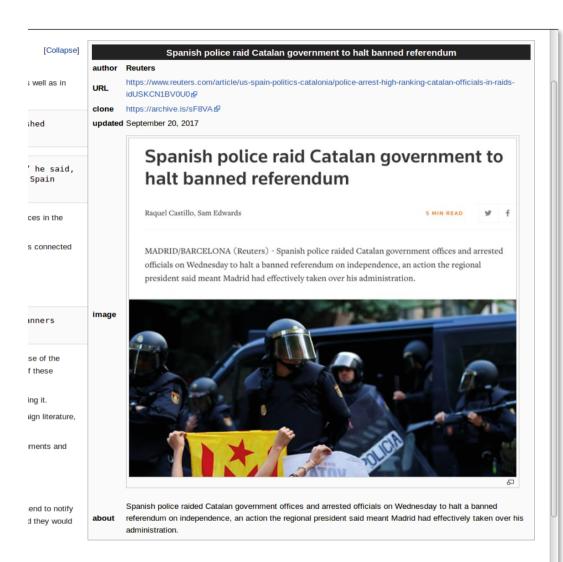
But the central government must tread a fine line in enforcing the law in the region without seeming heavy-handed. Polls show a minor Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy said on Wednesday the operations in Catalonia were the result of legal rulings and were to ensure the r

He later called on Catalan leaders to cancel the vote.

"Don't go ahead, you don't have any legitimacy to do it. Go back to the law and democracy (... would be met with a proportionate response, he added.

Fig. 3. Castillo and Edwards, Reuters, 2017. Spanish police raid Catalan government to halt banned referendum. Referendum Medialogs.

[C



a minority of Catalans, albeit more than 40 percent, support independence although a majority want a referendum on the issue.

e the rule of law.

(...) This referendum is a chimera," he said in a televised speech. Any action that broke the law

The fight between the Catalan independence movement and Spanish authorities over an independence [Expand] vote is expanding into the online world.

This week, an organization managing how users find websites with the .cat extension was raided by the Civil Guard, a Spanish police force, according to the organization's chief executive officer and the Spanish interior ministry.

The .cat Foundation, which manages the register of domains ending in .cat, was forced to block websites with information about the referendum that the Catalan independence movement hopes to hold October 1, but which is considered unlawful by Spanish authorities.

The authorities' actions enraged internet activists in Spain and beyond — not over the independence issue but the right to freedom of information online.

The raid came days after a Spanish court sent a seizure warrant on September 15 requiring that the foundation block websites related to the referendum. The foundation said the court order was of "unprecedented and absolute scope."

"It is a disaster," said Eduard Martin Lineros, who heads .cat Foundation. "We have been forced — for first time in the history of internet in Spain — to block four .cat domains related to the referendum."

The websites referendum.cat and ref1oct.cat display a message that appears to be written by the Spanish military police saying it has been seized. The Civil Guard did not answer POLITICO's questions about these domains and the intervention.

The warrant, seen by POLITICO, asks to block the domain refloct.cat, now offline, and stop the domain from being accessed in other ways. It also appears to instruct the foundation to stop any content related to the referendum from being accessed through .cat domains, though the wording of the warrant is unclear in this respect and, according to two Spanish legal experts, might require clarification.

Requiring a top-level domain — like .com, .org, .eu and many others — to block websites would stop visitors from finding those websites when typing their URL. The websites themselves would still exist but average internet users would be barred from finding the information by browsing to the websites or through an standard search on a search engine.

Organizations generally comply with targeted court orders asking them to block certain websites, for instance when a judge finds illegal content like child pornography is being hosted.

But, said Peter Van Roste, general manager of the Council of European National Top-level Domain Registries (CENTR), these top-level domain organizations shouldn't be forced to scan or monitor all domains that fall under its register.

"Suddenly, you're forced, as a technical operator, to play the part of law enforcement," Van Roste said.

The raid is part of a broad initiative of the Spanish national government to stop Catalan citizens from casting a ballot for or against the secession of the region from Spain. This week the national police confiscated ballot papers and conducted a series of raids on organizations promoting the referendum. A court order from

Spanish authorities try to shutter Catalan referendum websites

author Politico

d]

URL https://www.politico.eu/article/spanish-authorities-try-to-shutter-catalan-referendum-websites/₽

https://web.archive.org/web/20180511011532/https://www.politico.eu/article/spanish-authorities-try-to-shutter-clone

catalan-referendum-websites/

updated September 24, 2017



image

The fight between the Catalan independence movement and Spanish authorities over an independence vote is expanding into the online world.

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about

ANC International & @assemblea int

The Guardia Civil blocks our website for the 2nd time. No notification, no court order, the GC at its discretion. #holadictadura

ANC International%@assemblea\_int 27 Sep 2017
Thank you guys. The problem is these are local DNS-blocks (for Spain), so we guess the same happen with a .scot domain. On we go!
1 reply . 1 retweet 3 likes

media related



Spanish authorities try to shutter Catalan referendum websites &

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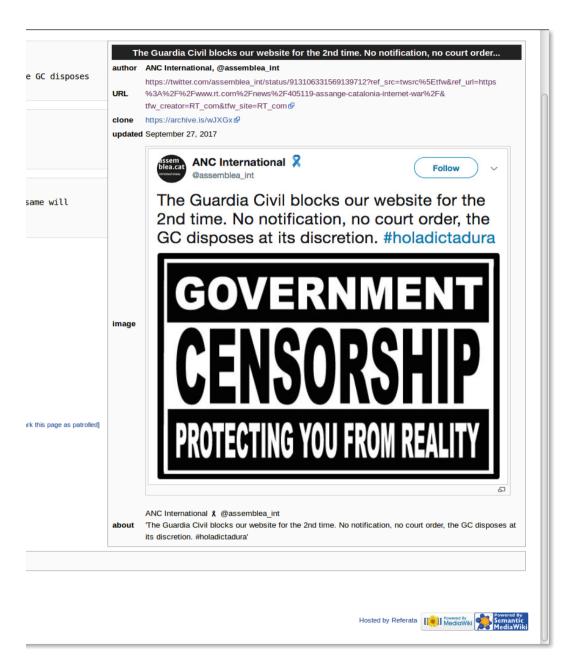
Categories: Resource | Censorship | Social

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Fig. 5. ANC International, Twitter, 2017. "The Guardia Civil blocks our website for the 2nd time. No notification, no court order...". Referendum Medialogs.



Catalonia, with Barcelona as its capital, is currently one of Spain's seventeen autonomous comunities. It has a long story of proindependence movements, and has even declared itself independent in the past. Nowadays, the political climate is very heated up. A majority of catalan people want to hold a referendum for independence, with a significant share of the population supporting independ

Long story short, Catalonia ended up unilaterally organizing a referendum on its independence, which would be held on October 1st. 7 vote has been declared illegal by Spain's courts, and the Spanish government is doing everything it can to stop it. One of Spain's ac try to stop the vote has been to block all websites supporting it. This includes national police forces raiding ISPs, seizing control of a number of websites offering information about the referendum, and even prosecuting people who cloned those.

Where to vote? People are usually told where to vote through an official postal mail notification. However, the official postal carrier cc state-controlled, and hence it would immediately seize those notifications should the catalan government send them. With any refere related websites being prompity shut down and no possibility for postal mail, how is the catalan government supposed to notify peopl assigned polling stations? Catalonia's answer

Catalonia's solution involves IPFS, some crypto and some ingenuity. Here is the resulting website (as of Sep. 27): Referendum 2017 see how it works! A website stored in IPFS

The website is published through https://ipfs.io &, which has a number of advantages for this purpose:

- Using an international TLD makes it hard for Spain to mandate a redirection of the domain it to its own servers (something it has been doing for .cat domains).
- The domain owner is not related to the "independentist cause" in any way. This makes it hard legally justify actions against the domain, more so when those actions would have to be carrie by the United Kingdom authorities (because the .io TLD operates from UK soil).
- A bit obvious, but this is an https website. This makes it hard to tamper with the contents MITM attacks through ISPs. The government may mandate ISPs to block all traffic to/from ipfs's addresses, but it cannot force ISPs to show another website without triggering bad certificate warnings in browsers.
- Even if spain was to cut all connections to/from ipfs.io, the content can still be accessed cloned) because ipfs.io is just a proxy to the IPFS peer-to-peer distributed, content-addresse file system. Anyone can download the IPFS client and get instant access to all the content sto there.

The peer-to-peer distributed part takes care of distribution: it is nearly-impossible for any actor to block access to this content because replicated around the network automatically\*, using peer-to-peer encrypted connections that would be very hard to identify and block ISP level. Maybe China could do it, but Spain definitely cannot. [Issue: can users be easily identified?].

Thanks to diggan from hacker news for pointing out that content is only replicated by users explicitly requesting or pinning the conter is, the replication is not automatic.

The content-addressed part solves any concerns regarding tampering. Catalan officials can just distribute the hash of the main page.

There is one important challenge when using that scheme though: to be offerting all information used by the website must be public.

There is one important challenge when using that scheme though: to be effective, all information used by the website must be public and the adversaries could then attack those and render all your IPFS goodness ineffective.

Therefore, the Catalan government had to somehow compile a database that can be distributed within ipfs and easily queried using e

Categories: Resource | Article | Code

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Expand
                            How the Catalan government uses IPFS to sidestep Spain's legal block
d up. A
                    la3.org
              author
lependence.
              URI
                     http://la3.org/~kilburn/blog/catalan-government-bypass-ipfs/@
r 1st. The
              clone
                     https://web.archive.org/web/20180428171427/http://la3.org/~kilburn/blog/catalan-government-bypass-ipfs/ 중
n's actions to
              updated September 29, 2017
rol of a
                      function lookup(dni, birth, zip, callback) {
                         var key = dni + birth + zip;
rrier correos is
                         var passkey = sha256_times(key, 1714);
referendum-
                         var search = sha256(passkey);
people their
                         var dir = search.substring(0, 2);
1 2017. Let's
                         var file = search.substring(2, 4);
                         var path = db_path + dir + "/" + file + ".db";
                         var lines = readfile(path).split("\n");
                         lines.forEach(function(line) {
                            if (line.substring(0,60) == search.substring(4)) {
n itself
              image
                              found = true;
harder to
                              var plaintext = decrypt(line.substring(60), passkey);
irried out
                              callback(plaintext.split('#'));
ents using
                         1)
ofs's
cate
                         if (!found) {
                            callback("not-found");
sed (and
: stored
                     Long story short, Catalonia ended up unilaterally organizing a referendum on its independence, which would be
                     held on October 1st. The vote has been declared illegal by Spain's courts, and the Spanish government is doing
because it is
block at the
              about
                     everything it can to stop it. One of Spain's actions to try to stop the vote has been to block all websites
                     supporting it. This includes national police forces raiding ISPs, seizing control of a number of websites offering
                     information about the referendum, and even prosecuting people who cloned those.
content. That
```

page file, and everyone else can be sure that all content linked from that file has been published by the catalan authorities.

public (because all content in IPFS may be accessed by anyone!). Otherwise you would need servers to hold the non-public information,

sing either direct URLs or at most some javascript. Let's see how they did that.

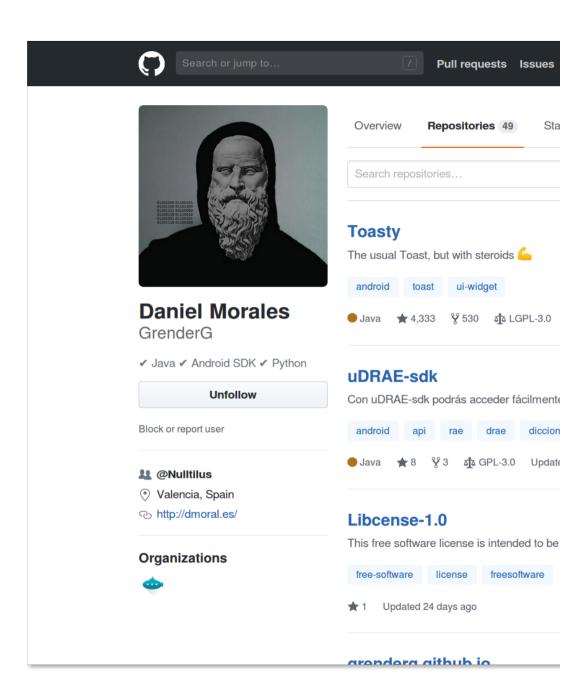
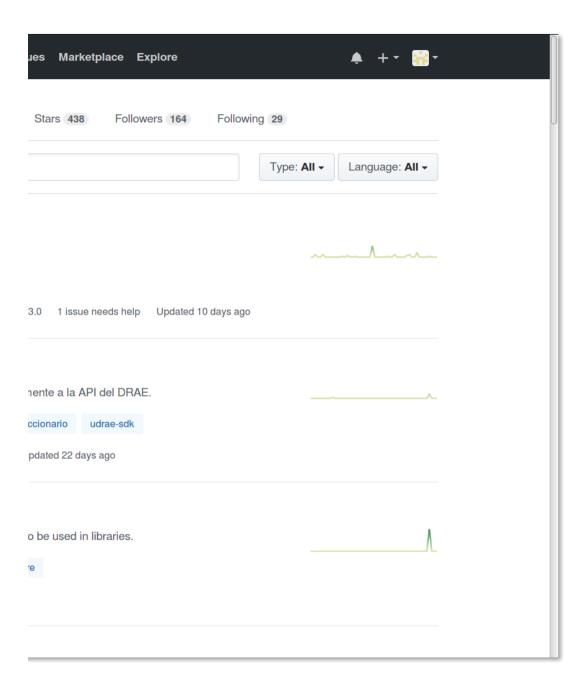


Fig. 7. Morales, GrenderG, Github, 2017. List of mirrors of the referendum website. Referendum Medialogs.



Tensions are growing in Spain over plans by the north-eastern region of Catalonia to hold an independence referendum on October

1. The Spanish government opposes the move and has vowed to prevent any vote.

In the run-up to the vote, Spanish media have reported that Russia is trying to interfere in the democratic debate through a combinati propaganda and social-media "bots", in a manner similar to that used in the United States in 2016 and France in 2017.

What are the claims and how accurate are they? The claims

The main source for the claims is leading Spanish daily El País. On September 22, the paper ran a long report (translated into Englis September 26), which claimed:

The network of fake-news producers that Russia has employed to weaken the United States and the European Union is now operating at full speed on Catalonia.

The lengthy report made four key allegations:

Kremlin broadcaster RT "is using its Spanish-language portal to spread stories on the Catal crisis with a bias against constitutional legality", including by misstating the European Unio view on independence;

Wikileaks founder Julian Assange has "become the principal international agitator in the Ca crisis, sharing opinions and half-truths as if they were news";

Automated "bots", including Russian propaganda ones, amplified tweets by Assange and former United States National Security Agency (NSA) contractor-turned-leaker Edward Snowden;

Pro-Kremlin websites including Disobedient Media, News-Front, and Russia News Now spread fabiased news about the situation in Catalonia.

### RT, Sputnik, and the EU

All references to RT and Sputnik throughout this article are to the Spanish services, unless otherwise stated. The first point raised by Pais concerns an RT article headlined, "The EU will 'respect' the independence of Catalonia, but it will have to go through an 'access process'".

El País criticized this as an "inaccurate headline." The article concerned a comment by European Commission President Jean-Claud Juncker on the Catalan issue. The comment, in English, ran:

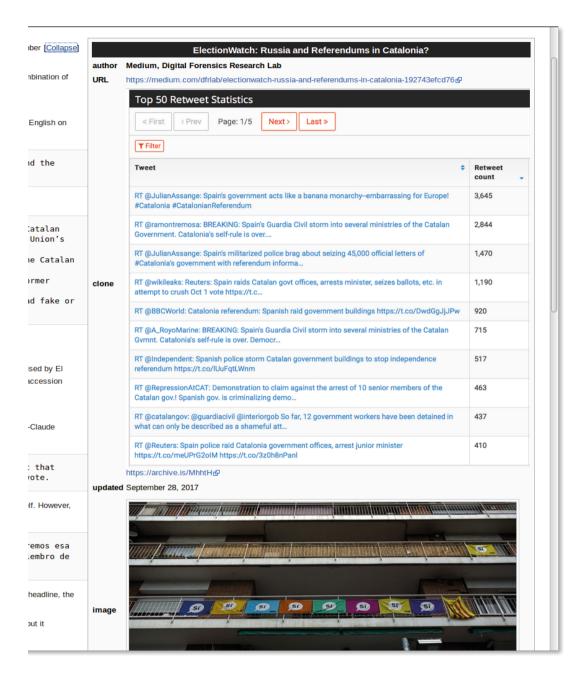
If there were to be a 'yes' vote in favor of Catalan independence, then we will respect tha opinion. But Catalonia will not be able to be an EU member state on the day after such a vote.

Technically, the RT headline was incorrect: Juncker said that the EU would respect a "yes" vote, rather than independence itself. How RT did provide an accurate translation of Juncker's comment in the second paragraph:

Está claro que si se diera un 'sí' a la independencia de Cataluña, bueno, pues respetaremos elección. Pero al día siguiente, tras ese referéndum, Cataluña no se puede convertir en miembr Europa.

An archive of the article from the day of publication shows the text has not been changed since. Thus, despite the misleading headlin RT article accurately reports the substance of Juncker's remarks.

The same cannot be said for RT's sister service, Sputnik. The Kremlin's online outlet also referenced the Juncker statement, but it misquoted it as:



Julian Assange has been barred from communicating with the outside world for more than three
weeks. On March 27, the government of Ecuador blocked Assange's internet access and barred him from
receiving visitors other than his lawyers. Assange has been in the Ecuadorian embassy in London since 2012,
when Ecuador granted him asylum due to fears that his extradition to Sweden as part of a sexual assault
investigation would result in his being sent to the U.S. for prosecution for his work with WikiLeaks. In January of
this year, Assange formally became a citizen of Ecuador.

As a result of Ecuador's recent actions, Assange — long a prolific commentator on political debates around the world — has been silenced for more than three weeks, by a country that originally granted him political asylum and of which he is now a citizen. While Ecuador was willing to defy Western dictates to hand over Assange under the presidency of Rafael Correa — who was fiercely protective of Ecuadorian sovereignty even if it meant disobeying Western powers — his successor, Lenín Moreno, has proven himself far more subservient, and that mentality — along with Moreno's increasingly bitter feud with Correa — are major factors in the Ecuadorian government's newly hostile treatment of Assange.

Yet many of the recent media claims about Assange that have caused this standoff — which have centered on the alleged role of Russia in the internal Spanish conflict over Catalan independence — range from highly dubious to demonstrably false. The campaign to depict Catalan unrest as a plot fueled by the Kremlin, Assange and even Edward Snowden have largely come from fraudulent assertions in the Spanish daily El País and highly dubious data claims from the so-called Hamilton 68 dashboard. The consequences of these false and misleading claims — this actual "fake news" — have been multifaceted and severe, not just for Assange, but for diplomatic relations among multiple countries.

The Guardian reported last week that doctors who recently visited Assange concluded his health condition has become "dangerous." The journalist Stefania Maurizi of La Repubblica yesterday confirmed that Assange "is still in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London and unable to access the internet and to receive visitors," while the official WikiLeaks account provided further details about the restrictions Assange faces:

WikiLeaks @wikileaks Replying to @ggreenwald @theminorchords

Note that journalists (and others with the exception of his lawyers) are barred from meeting him, calling him, or emailing him--including via his mobile phones in order to gag him. Radio jammers have been installed to prevent him from communicating on mobiles or via mobile data.

Ordinarily, Western commentators would be lining up to denounce a country like Ecuador for blocking the communications and internet access of one of its own citizens. But because the person silenced here is Assange, where the person silenced here is a silenced here.

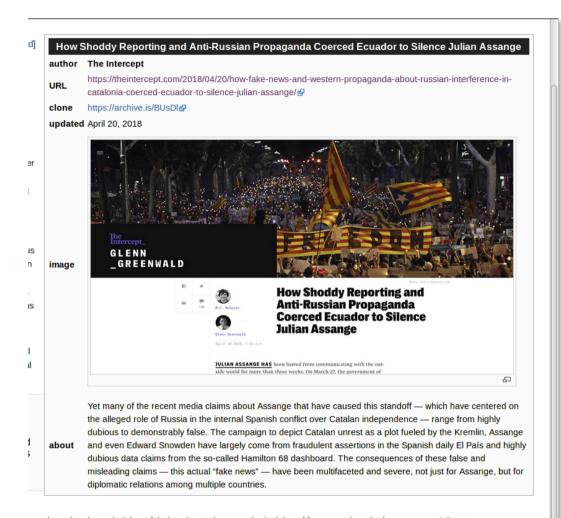
Categories: Resource | Article | Fake News

This page was last modified on June 18, 2018, at 20:51.

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Privacy policy About +r- medialogs Disclaimers Mobile view

Fig. 9. Greenwald and McGrath, The Intercept, 2018. How Shoddy Reporting and Anti-Russian Propaganda Coerced Ecuador to Silence Julian Assange.



ge, whom they hate, their heartfelt devotion to the sacred principles of free speech and a free press vanish.



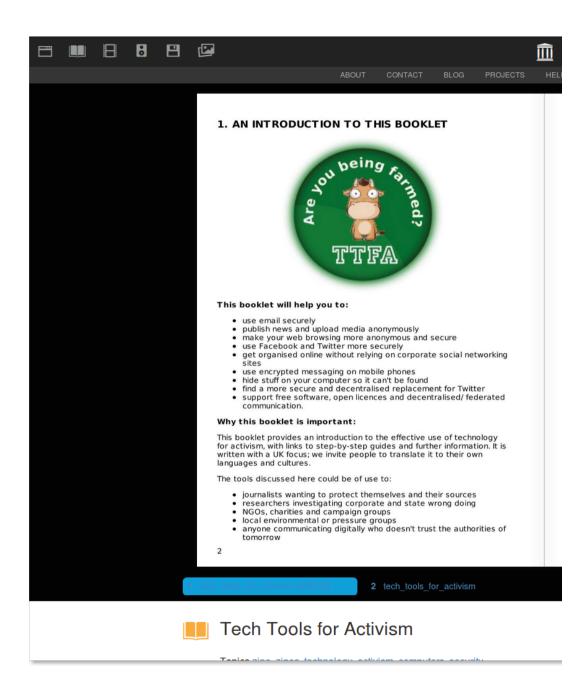
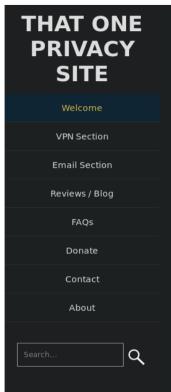


Fig. 10. The Internet Archive, Hacktionlab, 2012. Tech Tools for Activism.







When you go online, companies and governments spy on you by monitoring your activity and collecting your data.



Exclusively for use on That One Privacy Site.

A good VPN company will keep the spies away from your private activity, just like a bouncer.

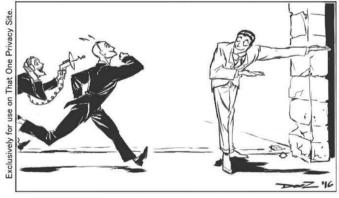
Note: VPNs and commercial VPN companies are very nuanced and complicated thin is to the uninitiated, unfortunately demands that important details are not retained sure to research and choose carefully based on your needs and threat model.

If you like the project and find my work useful, please consider donating – your gen my research and keep the data fresh.

Fig. 11. That one privacy site . That One Provacy Site website about VPN services and secure email communication.



A VPN is like a tunnel between you and the open internet, protecting you from prying eyes.



A bad VPN company, however, will lead the way for the spying to continue.

d things. Using symbolism in a four panel comic trying to explain what a VPN ined in the analogy. No VPN (or any security system) is perfect. Please be

generous contributions help pay for the hosting, tools, and time I need to do

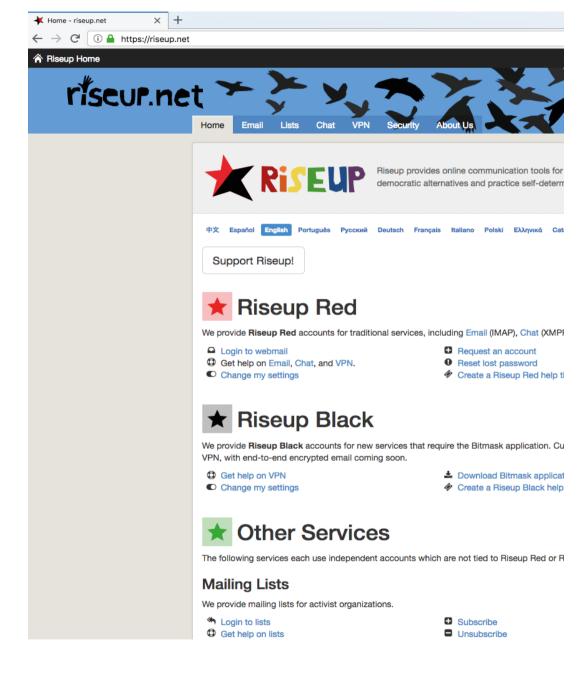


Fig. 12. RiseUp, 1999. RiseUp Home Page





Is for people and groups working on liberatory social change. We are a project to create jetermination by controlling our own secure means of communications.

Català Hindi

(XMPP), and VPN.

help ticket

on. Currently, this includes

oplication k help ticket

d or Riseup Black.

#### System Updates

#### **Happy 20th Birthday Sympa!**

2017-03-21

Sympa, the software that makes 20k lists at https://lists.riseup.net possible, is turning 20 years old! There will be a hackathon on April 1,2 to celebrate, see https://www.sympa.org for more details.

## Updates to legacy VPN

2017-03-02

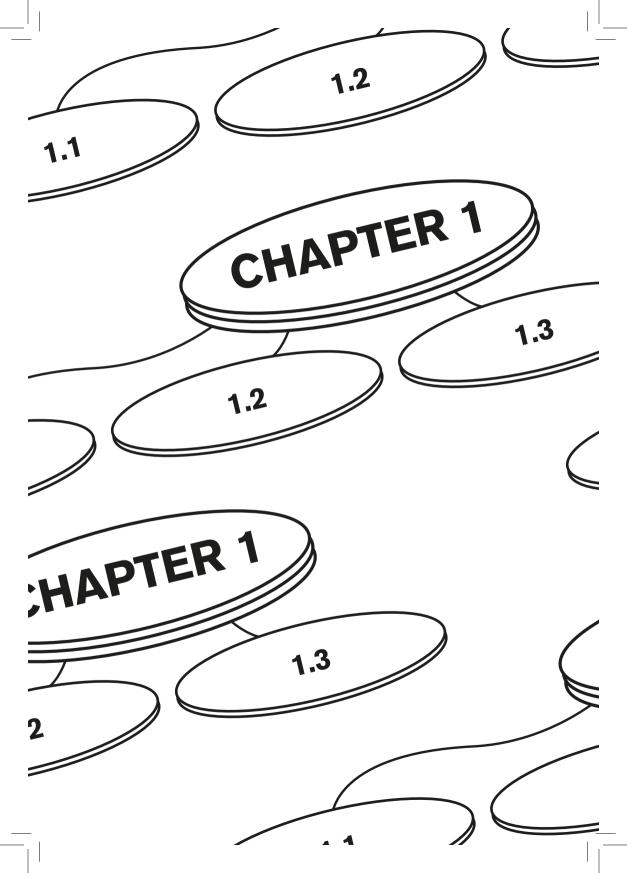
Attention VPN Red users: we just updated to modern crypto settings which will require client configuration changes. Please review the updated help pages, and adjust your settings. Bitmask (aka "VPN Black") users are unaffected.

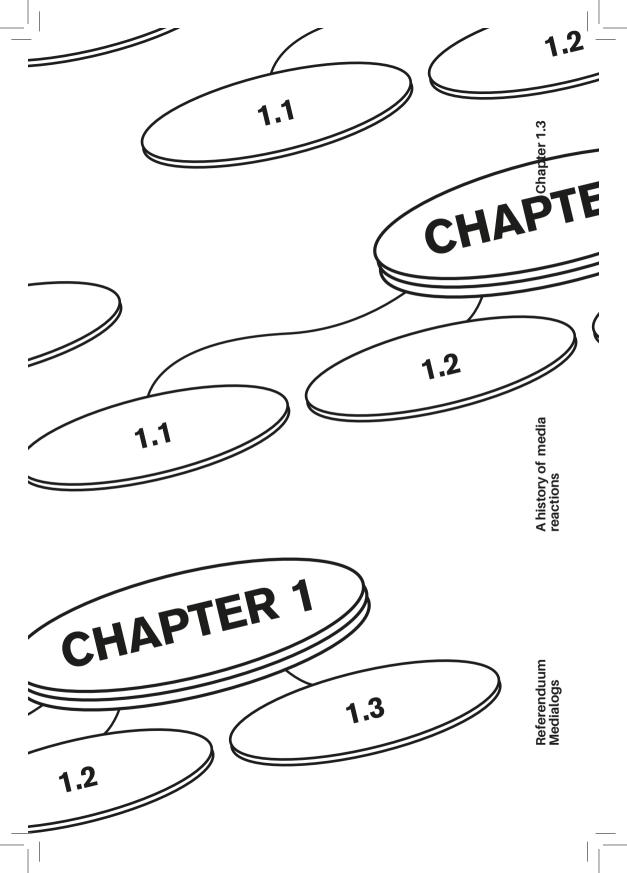
#### We have moved to encrypted email storage!

2017-02-16

Starting today, as a response to recent legal requests, all new Riseup email accounts will feature personally encrypted storage on our servers, only accessible by you. In the near future, we will begin to migrate all existing accounts to use this new system.

### help us stabilize!





During the days leading up to the referendum, social networks and human and internet rights organizations reacted to the censorship attacks. Julian Assange, the co-founder of Wikileaks spoke of the first internet war (Assange, 2017). Activist and Pirate's Bay cofounder Peter Sunde manifested his support offering domains and anonymous hosting to the censored sites (Sunde, 2017). The Catalan government took up his offer, using the services of Njalla, a Caribbean-based company that works as a privacy shield for registered domains. Catalan outlet Ara has published a manifesto (Chomsky, et al., 2017 cited in Ara, 2017) where Noam Chomsky together with other academics, condemn these events urging to stop censorship. Reporters Without Borders claimed respect to media in Catalonia (RSF, 2017) and denounced several intimidation attempts from authorities to censor propaganda. The European Center for Press and Media Freedom reported (ECPMF, 2017) protests from journalists, among other groups such as the Journalists' Union of Catalonia (SPC) and the Association of Information and Communication Media (AMIC) having experienced coercion while covering public media events. Catalan anti-capitalist party CUP, which had a relevant role leading the referendum, created propaganda promoting October 1 with a poster depicting a woman sweeping Spain's main political players saying "Escombrem-los!", Sweep away! reflecting the imagery of classical Soviet posters, in particular, one where Lenin appears to be sweeping away Tsarism, the bourgeoisie, and the church.

Social media networks were flooded with memes. Jokes over the conflict flourished and internet users had a lot of fun mocking the government's use of a cruise ship decorated with Looney Tunes, to host thousands of Spanish national and military police officers deployed in Barcelona in order to impede the celerbation of the referendum. "#FreePiolin" became a trending topic on Twitter. However, the mood changed dramatically on the day of the referendum.

During the morning, many schools used as polling stations were assaulted and shut down by police. The servers that hosted the central system to register the voters were taken down by Amazon on that same day. Twitter and Telegram bots used to inform users about the referendum, were also removed. However, alternative servers were instantaneously deployed. To ensure that voters could participate, the Catalan government announced the 'open census'. Catalan outlet VilaWeb published an interview about the hackers who made the open census possible during the referendum. One of the hackers who participated (and whose identity remained anonymous) explains (Partal, 2017); "...We were able to disrupt the efforts of all the technical and intelligence services of such a massive opponent. Thanks to Tor, to Signal, to telephones bought abroad, to Linux and open software, and even to Bitcoin..." Several national and international media covered the events, witnessing police breaking into schools, taking away paper ballots, attacking violently people assembled peacefully, who were sometimes blocking the school's main access in

an attempt to protect paper ballots, shooting rubber bullets, which are strictly forbidden in Catalonia by Court since November 2013. The shootings injured a guy who lost an eye during these dramatic incidents. These events made the headlines in journals around the world. On one hand, reports said over 900 people were injured. On the other hand, several other media reported government's claims, saying that images of police brutality were fake, manifesting an evident and critical polarization in the news media. Several footages depicting police brutality corresponding to protests in the past, circulated in the social media. Dice (2017) concludes in True Story of Fake News "Thankfully, however, many are waking up to this mass manipulation and have seen the new systems of media production and distribution as they were constructed, and remember what society was like before this information overload engulfed our world."

An interesting initiative for users to cope with the problem of fake news in the context of the referendum was Maldita. This project was developed by data journalists in 2015 with the aim to verify Spanish news, successfully uncovering several fake stories during the Catalan issue. Maldita also offers an extension for web browsing that notifies when a website is not reliable, providing the number of articles they have already refuted from a journal. It also indicates if there is satirical content that could lead to confusion (Maldita 2015). However, how would software be able to distinguish what content is truthful or not? Even with the most advanced AI, disinformation or fake news can

only be beaten with accurate information. I think that computer processes should not ensure the plurality and transparency of information, especially if political power exercises control over these mechanisms. An article in Poynter (Funke, 2017) explains that although the European Union and individual countries have made efforts to regulate online misinformation, this would likely fail due to governance issues.

Back to the events, some people found ways to scape this dramatic reality, laughing away the tension with humor. A good example that became viral was a photo-montage published on Twitter. The photo depicts protesters on the left, police on the right charging against the multitude, and the Catalonia's independence flag raised on the center (Twitter Catalan flag). More characteristic of the iconic photography from World War II 'Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima' on 1945, depicting six U.S. marines raising the U.S. flag in the battle against Japan (Rosenthal, J., 1945). Several users ironically claimed the creation of a Pulitzer award for memes. Spanish satirical magazine Mongolia depicted on issue 59 a cartoon president Rajoy taking a selfie in Barcelona as a nuclear bomb goes off over the Catalan capital. El Jueves magazine published a satirical article on October 5, saying that continuous presence of anti-riots police finished with cocaine reserves in Catalonia (eliueves, 2017). Following a complaint by the National Police in relation to several contents published in the magazine, the investigative court of Barcelona opened preliminary proceedings for

offense. Another fun example is a postcard that I found on Redditt, a cartoon of police brutality with the title "Greetins from Barcelona". This whole scenario of polarized and manipulated news, including satirical content and memes, only contributed to generate more disinformation among users, intoxicating the public debate even more.

One of the effects of the both misleading and sensational information is that they extend to social media. Social media platforms are nowadays indispensable for most news sites relying on posts linking to articles on Facebook or Twitter, which is where most people's outrage was actually reflected. Driven by a nonstop overload of information that users were exposed to, transformed the internet into a space of violence and disrespect. Flooding the public media with tension. There was a common discussion on the radio about how much this issue was actually affecting the individual's personal environment, especially on family Whatsapp groups. Media polarization had strong consequences for society in general, even I could experience living abroad, how this issue transformed a natural debate into a conversation taboo, avoiding the topic of the referendum within familiar routines.

Journalism take most important responsibilities with regards to reporting reality. All news has a political positioning that illustrates a narrative based on assumptions of reality and morality (Wijnberg, 2017). This positioning determines what the public knows and thinks about the world. Describing the world without taking a position on what should be disclosed to the

audience is practically impossible. News narratives can be used as powerful mechanisms to reach and influence wide audiences with a distorted reality.

This is why journalism has been extremely important in determining the way this conflict has been perceived and understood in the public media.

With regards to the events on October 1, several Spanish media claimed that there was no referendum held in Catalonia. However, according to results announced by the Catalan government (gov, 2017), 2.26 million citizens participated. 92,01% voted in favor of independence, 7,99% voted against, and 2,83% were blank or invalid votes. Perhaps it is to be expected that most people supporting independence would expose themselves to such hostile conditions, being aware of the physical threat that meant to approach a polling station. However, it wasn't to be expected that the organization of the referendum (including both the system that hosted the electoral registry, and a massive civil response through peaceful collective mobilization) would circumvent all attacks, bypassing all controls, and finally succeeding. Although the majority of the media echoed a referendum's victory, international observers stated that there were no guarantees of its validity.

The Catalan referendum led to the biggest cyber war an European democracy has possibly ever experienced. Human Rights Watch denounced excessive force by police using batons to hit non-threatening protesters, and causing multiple injuries. According to updated reports by the Catalan

Corporation of Audiovisual Media (CCMA, 2018), the Spanish government will have to give explanations about the incidents on 1 October to the United Nations, after the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights had requested to investigate the violence of the referendum. A report on police repression made from the images and testimonies in which more than a hundred NGOs and organizations have contributed, will be presented. And for the first time, Spain will have to be present.

Moreover, internet rights organizations such as the Electronic Frontier Foundation, Access Now, Security Without Borders and The Internet Society, manifested their concern to the increasing number of network blocking practices by governments that temporarily shut down, restrict or disseminate Internet access in determined social contexts. Shutdowns are signs of authoritarian states attempting to reduce political opposition. An investigation conducted by the Freedom House (Freedom House, 2017) shows that the threat of internet censorship, online manipulation and disinformation tactics, besides surveillance and monitoring of online activities, is increasingly becoming a common tool of repression that violates human rights.

With the declaration of independence on October 27 by the now former Catalan government, Spain's central government applied Article 155 of the Spanish constitution, with the aim to restore constitutional order in Catalonia. With this forceful tool, Spain could take full administrative control of the Catalan institutions, suspending the region's autonomy under specific conditions, as well as removing political powers

held by Catalan authorities. An article in the New York Times (Minder, 2017), explains that Article 155 was created based on the text of the federal constitution of then West Germany. A fun example that illustrates Article 155 is a strip by Miquel Farreras depicting himself escaping as a large granite block with the shape of the number 155 falls on his drawing desk, while he says: "that was close!" Ferrera's last strip after 21 years working for El Periodico was removed by the director of the journal, after he signed for the Catalan Catalan journal Ara.

According to updated reports published at Veus de Catalunya (VOC, 2018), there are currently 7 people in exile, 13 are jailed, 12 are detained, 259 people have been ceased, 24 organisms have been dissolved, 4 organisms have been intervened, 108 regulatory initiatives have been rejected, 12 charge appointments have been given by the Spanish government, 15 activities have been cancelled or suspended, 25 subsidies have been stopped, etc.

Beside Article 155, Spain's anti-protest law 'Ley Mordaza' or the so-called 'gag law' (Greenberg, 2015) entered into force in July 2015. This law was initially conceived to persecute cybercriminals. However, it has empowered authorities to block websites, dissolve protests in public places and fine or detain users for comments in social media, lyrics, pantomimes, or cartoons, that apparently worshipped terrorism. According to data collected by Amnesty International in 'Tweet... if you dare' (Amnesty International, 2018), counter-terrorism laws are not only leading to

self-censorship, they are raising fear among citizens. That is to say, the reform of the criminal code, together with the massive social media reaction generated by the conflict of the referendum, has resulted in an alarming growth in repression, social paranoia, and control.

# **Creating Awareness**

The necessity to create awareness of the dangers of this conflict, has brought interesting forms of social denounce. A good example is a presentation offered by activist and Linux programmer Matthias Brugger (with whom I had the opportunity to interview), at the 34 Chaos Communication Congress in Leipzig, Germany. In this presentation, Matthias explains and analyzes both the methods used to shut down websites and how the Catalan government circumvented censorship during the struggle for communication. This presentation is a very useful resource for my research because it provides information about technical issues raised during the conflict. This presentation has also inspired me to present my project at Art Meet Radical Openness (AMRO) festival in May 2018 in Linz, Austria. Having the theme "For the eternal future - openness vs. industrial paradigm", I have discussed "openness in relation to online news media: a database of revisionism in the aftermath of the Catalan referendum." I will talk about this presentation and offer some interesting feedback given by the crowd.

Liveuamap is a web-based software that offers a historical record of all the incidents before, during and

after the referendm. Liveuamap is a geolocation tool for independent global news, created by software developers and journalists who initially wanted to inform about the Ukranian conflict. Although it quickly expanded to other 30 regions and topics, including Spain.

Another good example is the Twitter-based archiving initiative #ArxivemelMoment, launched in mid-September by the Archivists Association of Catalonia (AAC-GD). This campaign was raised towards creating a collection of media evidence through any donated written, graphic or audiovisual material related to the events surrounding the referendum. The group of archivists uses Tweet Catalog to log a set of Tweet IDs, a tool developed by the DocNow community. DocNow is a community of archivists, journalists and developers raised towards supporting an ethical collection of media content against social injustices. DocNow offers a set of tools for the streaming and gathering of data. One of these tools is Diffengine, which I will discuss in detail in the next chapter. Thanks to an interview that I conducted with DocNow's technical lead Edward Summers, I have been able to know more about Diffengine. Edward facilitated my contact with #ArxivemElMoment and the AAC-GD, including archivists Aniol Maria and Vicenc Ruiz.

An interesting collection of visual evidence is the book "Days that will last years" by photojournalist Jordi Borràs, which contains the iconic pictures from the day of the referendum.



Fig. 13. Assange, Twitter, 2017. "The world's first internet war has begun, in Catalonia, as the people and government use it to organize an independence referendum on Sunday and Spanish intelligence attacks, freezing telecommunications links, occupying telecoms buildings, censors 100s of sites, protocols etc."

# **Assange**

net war has begun, in ble and government use endence referendum sh intelligence attacks, cations links, uildings, censors 100s



3 Oct 2017 V





Fig. 14. Snowden, Twitter, 2017. "One can be against Catalan independence and still in favor of human rights. But one cannot be in favor of Rajoy's crackdown and say the same."

# 21 Sep 2017

ependence, but through persuasion alone, alt a vote is oppression.

**Follow** 

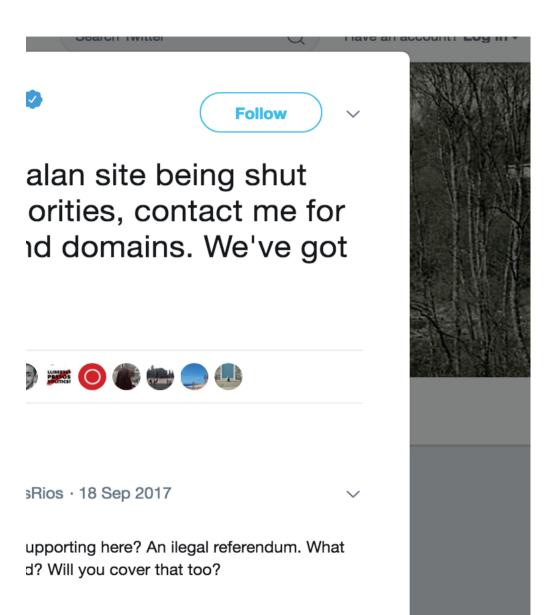
st Catalan
d still in favor of human
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n and say the same







Fig. 15. Sunde, Twitter, 2017. "If you're running a Catalan site being shut down by Spanish authorities, contact me for anonymous hosting and domains. We've got you covered."



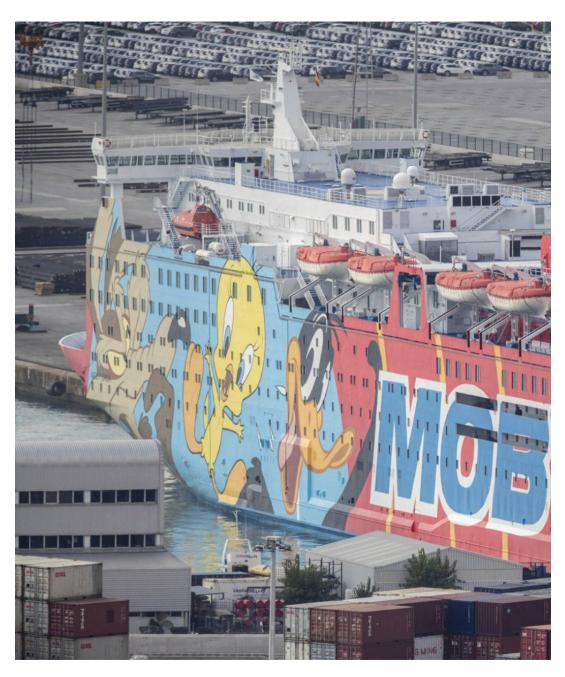
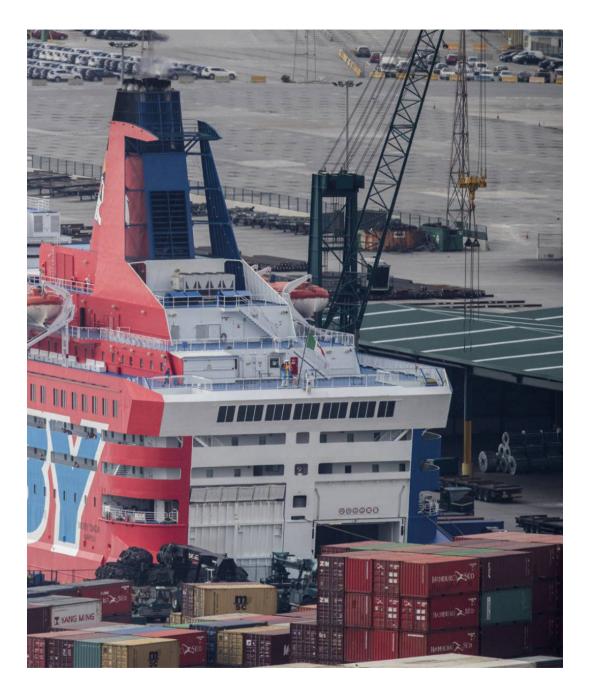


Fig. 16. Ribas, El País, 2017. National Police arrive in Barcelona on ferry decorated with Looney Tunes.



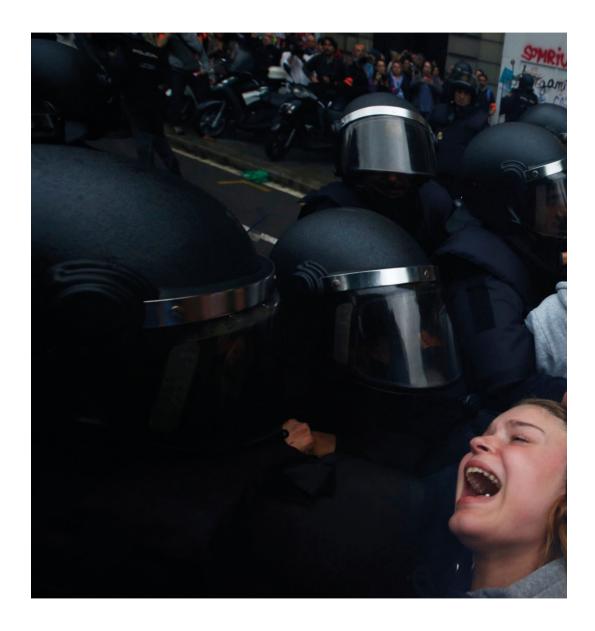


Fig. 17. Gilbert, Vice news, 2017. Over 800 injured in violent clashes during Catalan independence vote.

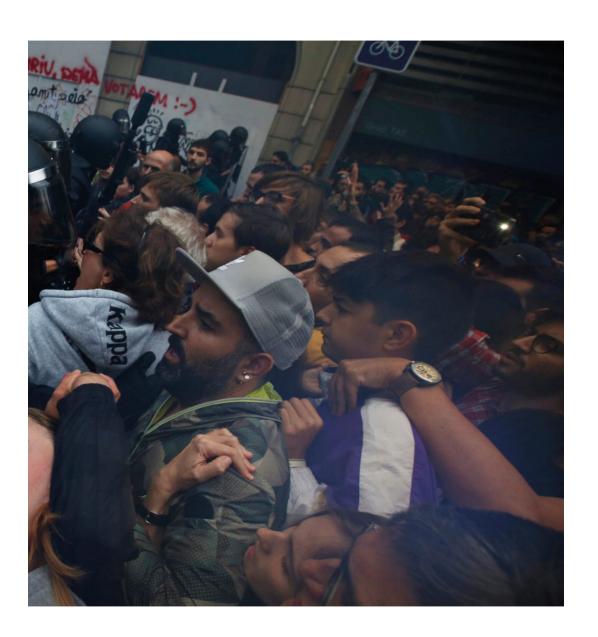




Fig. 18. Wikiepdia, 2017. Catalan independence referendum, 2017



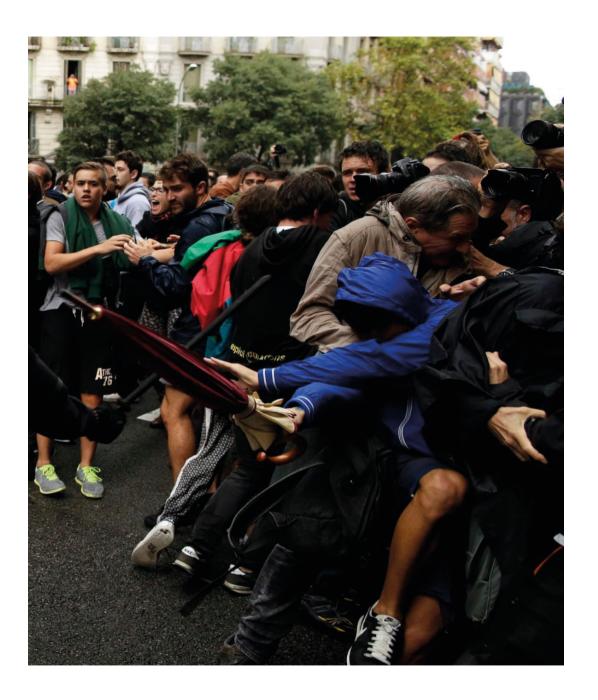


Fig. 19. Dearden, Independent, 2017. Catalan referendum: Clashes with police leave nearly 900 injured, says Catalonia government.





 $\label{eq:Fig.20.Badcock} \textbf{Fig. 20. Badcock, The Telegraph, 2017. Catalan referendum: Spanish foreign minister claims photos of police brutality are 'fake'.}$ 



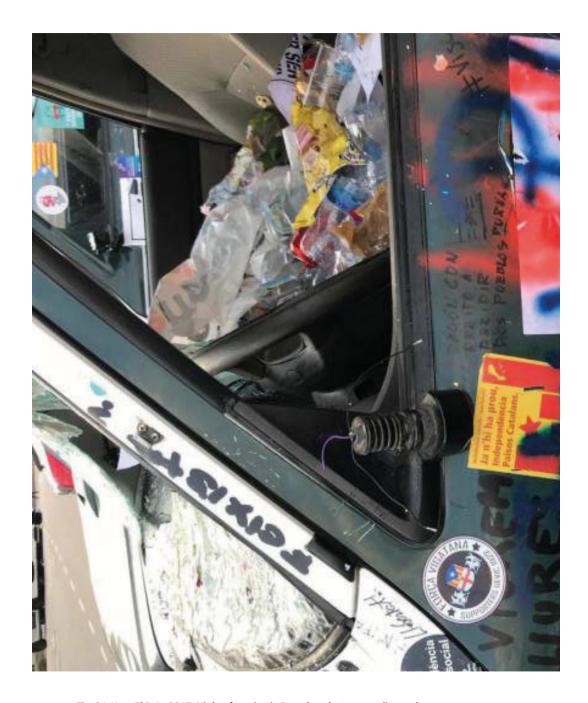


Fig. 21. Urra, El País, 2017. Night of tension in Barcelona between police and protesters over raid.

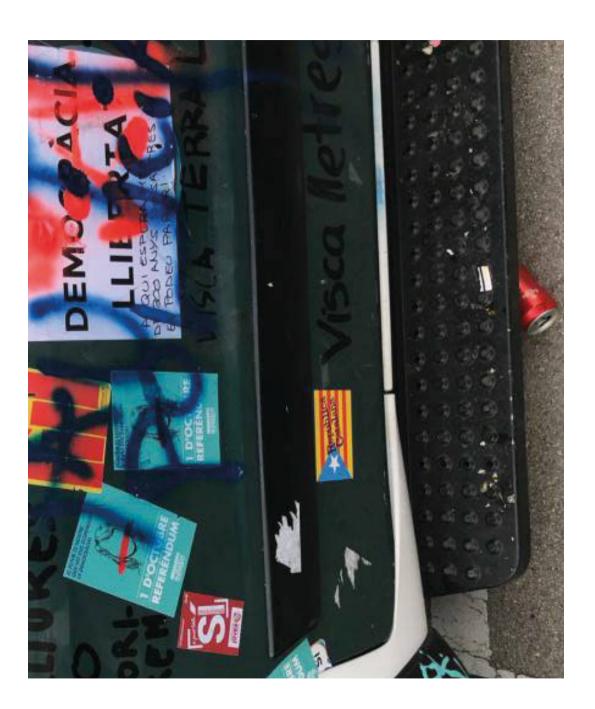




Fig. 22. Martí, El Nacional, 2018. Human Rights Watch on "excessive use of force" in Catalonia  $\,$ 



# Human Right on "excessive force" in Cata

# Marta Escobar Martí

Photo: Sergi Alcàzar

Barcelona. Thursday, 18 January 2018

2 minutes

# Where to vote?

- Spanish post service denied to send information
- Census of 5.3 million voters
- 1000+ polling stations
- It was foreseen that the official homepage will be blocked
- Website must be easily clone-able

tro
nzón
Binétar
Fraga

https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/referendum-1-octubre-1o-votacio-cens-electoral-guia

35



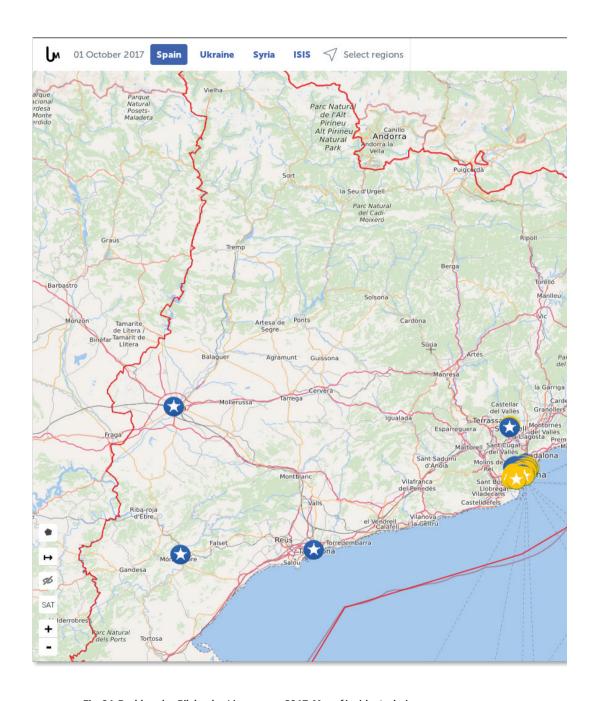
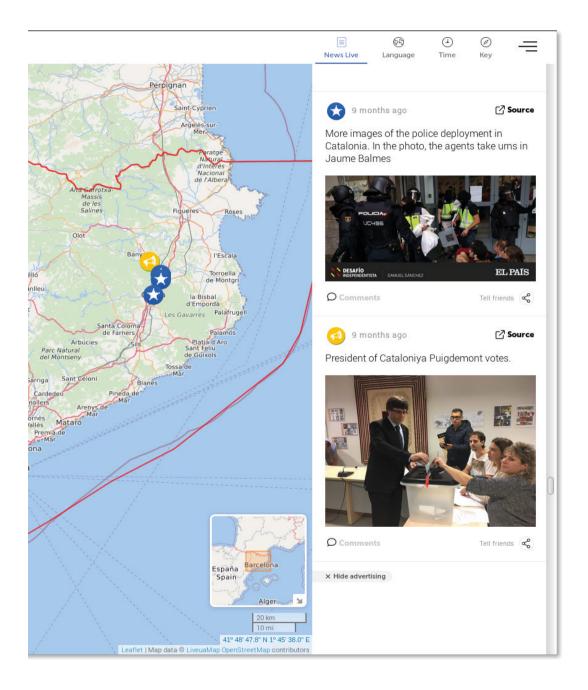


Fig. 24. Rozhkovsky, Bilchenko, Liveuamap , 2017. Map of incidents during 1 October 2017



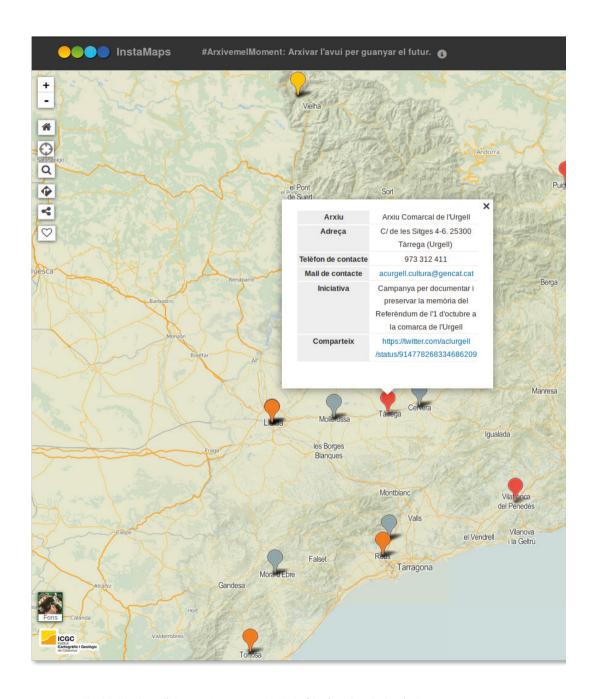
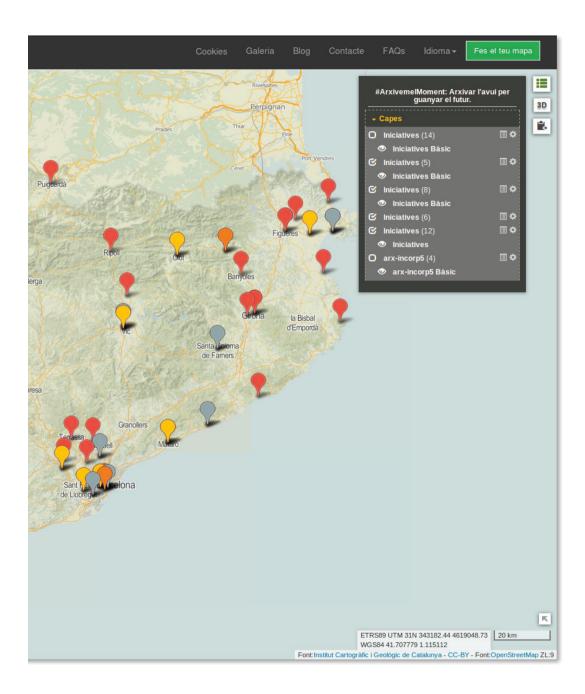


Fig. 25. #ArxivemElMoment, Instamaps. 2017. Archive locations in Catalonia to donate digital evidence about 1 October.



Page Discussion

#DiesQueDuraranAnys from the photojournalist @jordiborras contains the iconic images that left in the fall of 2017, accompanied by texts by renowned writers and journalists.

The events that took place on October 1, 2017 will be kept in the collective memory of several generations of Catalans. The popular cunning when it comes to guarding ballot papers and ballots, the first arrests of public office, the general mobilization of the society, police violence, peaceful resistance and the unleashing of the political and judicial facts that come forth will always accompany many, and will pursue other people's lives.

There are many iconic images that left in the fall of 2017. Days that will last for years offer a selection of photographs that Jordi Borràs, one of the most troubled photojournalists in the country, has left for posterity, and a sample of the images of Sergi Alcázar, Oriol Clavera, Ramón Costa, Sira Esclasans, Ramon Ferrandis, Albert Garcia, Santi Iglesias, Miriam Lázaro, Carles Palacio and Carles Ribas. The images are accompanied by texts by renowned writers and writers who, like all of us, lived those days with a strange mixture of joy, horror and, above all, dignity.

## Jordi Borràs

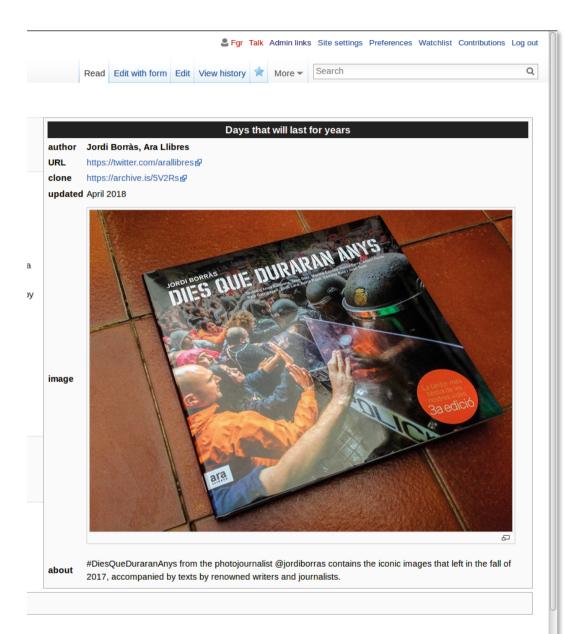
JORDI BORRÀS, Gràcia (Barcelona), 1981. Photojournalist and freelance illustrator member of the Group of Journalists Ramon Barnils. He currently collaborates, among other media, with El Món, El Temps, Crític and the Basque magazine Argia. He has devoted part of his professional work to investigating the extreme right and Spanish nationalism in Catalonia. He has published four books:

- Warcelona: A History of Violence
- Plus Ultra. A graphic chronicle of Spanishism in Catalonia
- Disassembling Catalan Civil Society
- Face B. Another look at the process.

Categories: Resource | Book | Violence

This page was last modified on May 13, 2018, at 19:01.

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After their performances last Sunday, preventing votes to clean up, the riot police have finished with all

the cocaine in Catalonia.

"Not a gram, uncle. Nor of speed. They have taken everything, "says an anonymous camel. "And to that rock you can not sell any bullshit. They are professional junkies!

The riot police, housed in the already famous boat of Piolín, have asked that they stop sending them ham as a token of gratitude.

"Please, we only want a few grams to pass the time. This does not calm down and we will have to leave soon, "says one of the agents.

The interior minister, Juan Ignacio Zoido, fears that the shortage of cocaine, combined with the agents' monkey, will impel them to consume the most abundant drug in Barcelona: the MDMA.

"How are we going to impart order with agents more interested in caressing their own body with fascination?" the minister asks.

The independentistas, aware of the crucial issue, have created a paramilitary brigade called "Escamot Farlopaire". Its objective is to track any remaining cocaine and speed in Catalonia and consume it immediately to prevent it from reaching the hands of the police.

"Sometimes the country demands very hard sacrifices", explains from the anonymity VS, one of the leaders of the "Escamot Farlopaire".

## Accused the director of El Jueves by a satirical article on the police

## article 딸 clone 딸

"The continued presence of riot finishes cocaine reserves in Catalonia," the article said.

The Court of Instruction number 20 of Barcelona has accused the director of the satirical magazine 'El Jueves', Guillermo Martínez-Vela, for an alleged offense of insult following the complaint by the National Police Force for an article published on the website of the publication . Martínez-Vela must declare next Wednesday, November 8. The denounced article was published on October 5 under the title 'The continuous presence of riot police finishes coci

which brought him to justice.

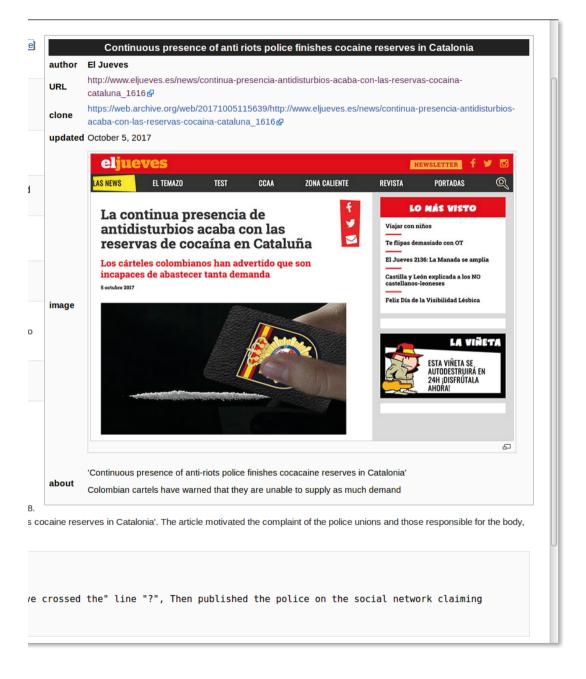
Policía Nacional @policia

National Police Retweeted El Jueves

"We support and defend freedom of expression, but do not you think that you have cr "respect.'

#RESPECT

Fig. 27. El Jueves, 2017. "Continuous presence of anti riots police finishes cocaine reserves in Catalonia". Referendum Medialogs.



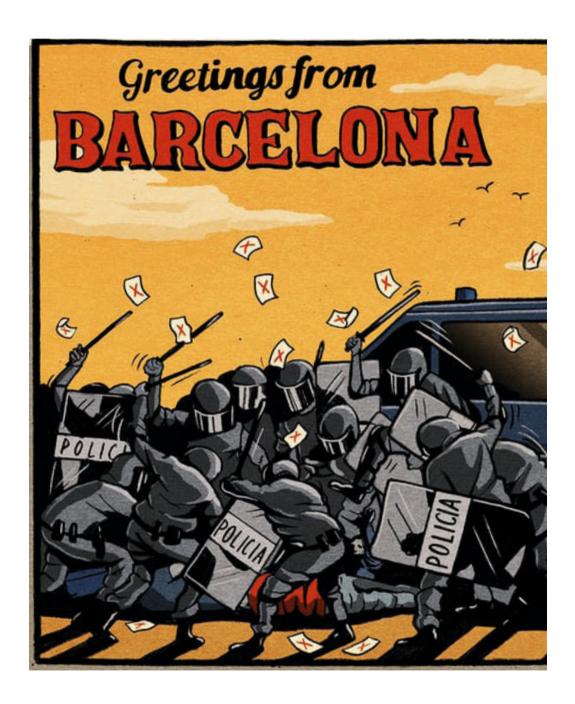


Fig. 28. Reddit, 2017. "Greetings from Barcelona" satirical postcard.



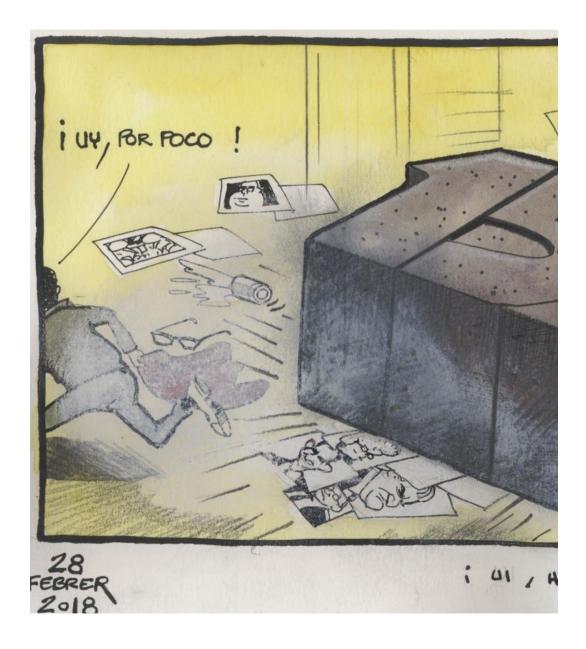
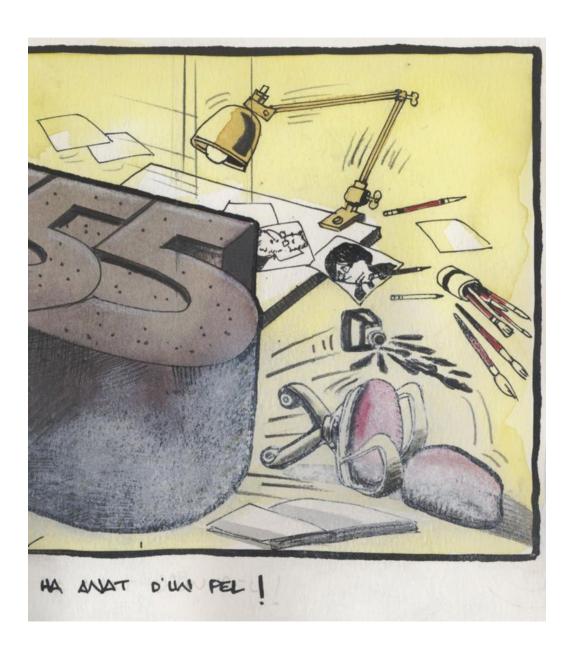


Fig. 29. Ferreras , 2017. "Uy, por poco" was Miquel Ferreras' last strip for El Periodico, which got rejected by the journal after 20 years working with them.



That's according to several media experts and stakeholders, who all told Poynter that recent efforts by the European Union and individual countries to regulate online misinformation will likely fail due to governance issues and legal restrictions in the region.

Over the past couple of years, following high-profile elections in several different countries and the refugee crisis, European regulator interest in fake news has been particularly high. In October, a German law that targets social media platforms such as Facebook and took effect. The law requires companies to remove illegal content such as hate speech within 24 hours, punishable by a fine of up to million, while more ambiguous content is granted a seven-day grace period. Legislators in the United Kingdom and Italy have both on public consultations on fake news.

More recently, the European Commission announced two new initiatives to try and address the misinformation phenomenon. By crea group of experts and a public consultation, the Commission hopes to learn more about the magnitude of the issue, the interests of th different parties involved and some of the best ways to go about fighting fake news. That move comes after more than a year of han wringing by the EU about who, how and whether or not to even regulate defamatory content online.

While well intentioned, these attempts at regulating misinformation in Europe are unlikely to succeed in the long term.

"What became very clear in Brussels is that they can't do anything about fake news," said Anya Schiffrin, director of the Technology, Media and Communications specialization at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. "It's really about enforcing their ow hate speech legislation."

Schiffrin told Poynter at the Global Investigative Journalism Conference in Johannesburg that the main roadblock for regulators hopin a stop to fake news is the EU's own governance problems. That perspective comes from reporting on recent goings-on at the EU, in she found that, while most people agree fake news is a problem, few share a vision for trying to counter it.

"What I heard in Brussels were really two messages. One is probably lots of countries are going to start putting out more legislation - people expect the U.K. and France to be next," she said. "Then the other thing is ... I really got a sense of all the obstacles, which as know is the governance problem of the EU, right? You have to have unanimity and it's really hard to get unanimity."

In an article for the Columbia Journalism Review, Schiffrin outlines this dilemma using economic terms. On one end of the misinform regulation debate is what she calls "the supply side," which believes Facebook and Twitter should limit the content that they promote "the demand side" thinks the responsibility lies more with society, and media literacy is the answer. Then there are groups that oppos

"I think it's really hard for the EU to get unanimity and to take action, but we may see some

But aside from governance challenges, another big obstacle for legislating against false online content includes the simple fact that II misinformation during elections this year — have supported free speech for decades both in law and practice, and politicians would b If Europe wants to stand up to malicious online content, it will have to largely forgo fake news.

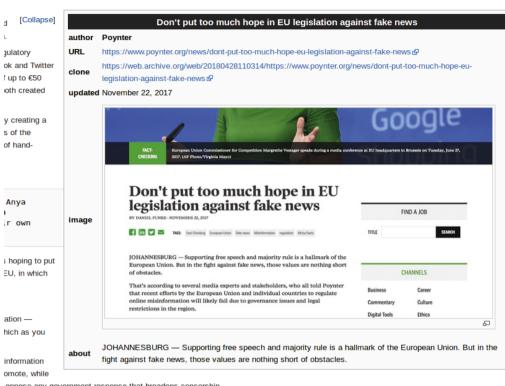
"I think governments in Europe can't do anything about fake news," she said. "It's going to ha

Other stakeholders share Schiffrin's viewpoint. David Schraven, editor of the nonprofit media group Correctiv, also told Poynter at Gl. alternative measures.

"I think the law that was introduced has some effects on hate speech, but they're barely visib

Despite the pessimism, there are at least a few things the EU could potentially do to hinder the spread of fake news.

Schraven said the Commission could set aside money to support fact-checking organizations across the continent, many of which h



oppose any government response that broadens censorship.

some countries make laws on their own," Schiffrin said.

that limiting speech in Western Europe is legally difficult. Several countries, such as the U.K. and France — both of which were marred by rould be remiss to violate that, Schiffrin reported.

to have to be about enforcing their own hate speech laws online."

r at GIJC that he doubts German efforts to regulate fake news will work due to existing free speech protections. Instead, he advocated for

risible," he said. "You need to have different approaches than legal measures."

hich have small operating budgets. By supporting the work of journalists who are already working to combat misinformation, he said the EU

Mr. Rajoy said he would use Article 155 after the Catalan leader, Carles Puigdemont, failed to withdraw [Collapse] his secessionist plan, and instead warned that Catalonia's separatist lawmakers could vote a unilateral declaration of independence.

## What is Article 155?

Spaniards, in particular Catalans, are set to discover Article 155, just as British citizens learned the importance of the once-obscure Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, the mechanism for leaving the European Union.

Like several other provisions of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, Article 155 was modeled on the text of the federal constitution of what was then West Germany.

It allows the central government to suspend some of a region's autonomy under specific conditions. But it is ill-defined and has already prompted a debate among legal experts about exactly how the government can suspend or remove powers now held by Catalan authorities.

The article allows the government to intervene in one of Spain's regions if its autonomous government "fails to fulfill the obligations imposed upon it by the Constitution or other laws, or acts in a way seriously prejudicing the general interests of Spain."

It is such a broad instrument that its use has been considered only once before, in 1989, when Felipe González, the Socialist prime minister, threatened to wield it against the Canary Islands to force it to comply with tax obligations.

The second part of Article 155 calls upon the government to "issue instructions" to restore constitutional order, which is why legal experts are also now debating how Mr. Rajoy's government could use Article 155 to seize back power in Catalonia if faced with a full-blown insurrection.

Given the lack of precedent, however, Mr. Rajoy is starting with a blank canvas. He could make Article 155 as broad or narrow as he wishes, as well as keep its measures in place for as long as he deems necessary.

Options that appear to be in play are to remove from office Catalonia's political leadership, including Mr. Puigdemont and other separatist lawmakers, and to dissolve the Catalan Parliament to force early elections.

Mr. Rajoy and his government could also suspend other Catalan officials across the region's public administration, from the leadership of the Catalan autonomous police force to the directorship of the Catalan public television and radio broadcaster.

### How quickly will Article 155 be used?

Following his cabinet meeting, Mr. Rajoy must follow a parliamentary procedure that culminates in a plenary vote in th The measures Mr. Rajoy proposes will be reviewed by a Senate committee. Mr. Puigdemont will also be offered the o Eventually, the full Senate will vote on the measures, but such a vote is unlikely to take place before Oct. 26 or 27.

Are the measures likely to pass?

е

## Article 155: The 'Nuclear Option' That Could Let Spain Seize Catalonia

author The New York Times

URL https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/world/europe/catalonia-article-155.html&

https://web.archive.org/web/20171021011756/https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/world/europe/catalonia-clone

article-155.html 🗗

updated October 20, 2017



BARCELONA, Spain — Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy is holding an emergency cabinet meeting on Saturday to decide what measures to take under Article 155 of the Spanish Constitution — a broad, forceful tool that has never before been used — that could allow him to take full administrative control of independence-minded Catalonia.

about

Mr. Rajoy said he would use Article 155 after the Catalan leader, Carles Puigdemont, failed to withdraw his secessionist plan, and instead warned that Catalonia's separatist lawmakers could vote a unilateral declaration of independence.

e in the Senate. Only then will he be able put into force emergency measures tied to Article 155.

the opportunity to defend his stance and argue against them.

27.

#### "Tweet..., if you dare": How antiterrorist laws restrict freedom of expression in Spain

#### HOW ANTITERRORIST LAWS RESTRICT FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN SPAIN

People who use social networks, journalists, legal professionals and artists musicals have been processed under the Article 578 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits "Glorification" of terrorism and "humiliation" of the victims of terrorist crimes. "Although this provision was introduced in 2000, until a few years ago - after its reform in 2015-have not drastically increased the prosecutions and convictions derived from its application. The result is a increasing self-censorship and, in general, a inhibitory effect on freedom of expression in Spain.

The increase in prosecutions under the Article 578 occurs in a context in which the space to express the discrepancy in Spain is reduced quickly. The measurements austerity applied after the economic crisis of 2008 were welcomed with great opposition that took the form of social movements new and waves of protests. The authorities Spanish companies subsequently restricted the rights to freedom of expression and to the meeting peaceful.

In 2015, the Parliament reformed the Organic Law for the Protection of Citizen Security known as "Gag Law" and introduced new

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"I do not think the goal is to act against people individually, but create a climate of self-censorship in the population. "
J.C.V., charged under anti-terrorist laws for tweets
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En 2015, el Parlamento reformó la Ley Orgánica para la Protección de la Seguridad Ciudadana conocida como 
"Ley Mordaza" e introdujo nuevas Manifestantes protestan en el centro de Madrid contra la nueva Ley de 
Seguridad Ciudadana de España, 7 de mayo de 2016. Desde entonces, las autoridades han impuesto decenas 
de miles de multas a manifestantes, defensores y defensoras de los derechos humanos, y periodistas por 
conductas protegidas por los derechos a la libertad de expresión y de reunión pacífica. Tras los atentados 
terroristas de París de enero de 2015, incluidos los dirigidos contra la revista Charlie Hebdo y un supermercado 
kosher, el gobierno español introdujo unas enmiendas al Código Penal que ampliaban el ámbito de aplicación del 
artículo 578 para penalizar el "enaltecimiento" del terrorismo mediante la difusión pública de "mensajes o 
consignas", convirtiendo en factor agravante la comisión de este delito a través de Internet y aumentando la pena 
máxima de dos a tres años de prisión.

#### media related



Spain's New Security

Law Meets Fierce

Fig. 32. Amnesty International , 2018. "Tweet..., if you dare": How antiterrorist laws restrict freedom of expression in Spain. Referendum Medialogs.

## Tweet...if you dare — Amnesty International

author Amnesty International

URL https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR4179242018SPANISH.PDF ₽

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updated March 13, 2018



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HOW ANTITERRORIST LAWS RESTRICT FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN SPAIN

A new law that went into effect in Spain on July 1 has much of the country, as well as many human rights organizations, in uproar. While proponents say the new public security law will reinforce civil liberties, opponents call it the "gag law," saying do just the opposite and take the country a step backward toward dictatorship.

The law covers everything from internet surfing to drug trafficking, but opponents point specifically to portions targeting iller downloading, habitual access of websites that allegedly promote terrorism, and violent protest, as problematic, saying they include too-loose language that could be abused for political purposes and will limit freedom of speech or even prevent repolice brutality.

Under the law, citizens can be fined the equivalent of almost \$700 for insulting an officer, over \$33,000 for recording and disseminating images of police officers, and more than \$664,000 for participating in an unauthorized protest outside gover buildings, the New York Times reports.

El Pais adds that the law puts an "expiry date" on passive protest, by "granting the police the power to fine anyone who ref dissolve meetings and protests in public places."

Judith Sunderland of Human Rights Watch told the Times the law presents "a direct threat to the rights to meet peacefully and freedom of speech in Spain."

But Ministers of the Interior and of Justice Jorge Fernández Díaz and Rafael Catalá told El Pais the new laws do not limit ci rights and in fact are meant to reinforce them. Prohibitions on protest outside parliament will make sure "there isn't excessi pressure on the legislative powers," they explained.

Spaniards reacted fittingly—by staging a protest in front of parliament. Some held signs that referenced the country's past, sensitive topic 40 years after dictator Francisco Franco's death.

"Fascism wants to gag the people," one sign read.

Other protesters simply sat in silence, their mouths covered in gags or tape.

media related



Tweet...if you dare ⊌

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Spain's New Security Law Meets Fierce Criticism From Rights Groups

author Alissa Greenberg, Time

URL http://time.com/3944245/spain-security-law-ley-mordaza-dictatorship-censorship-gag/₺

https://web.archive.org/save/http://time.com/3944245/spain-security-law-ley-mordaza-dictatorship-censorship-clone

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updated July 2, 2015

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#### WORLD

# Spain's New Security Law Meets Fierce Criticism From Rights Groups







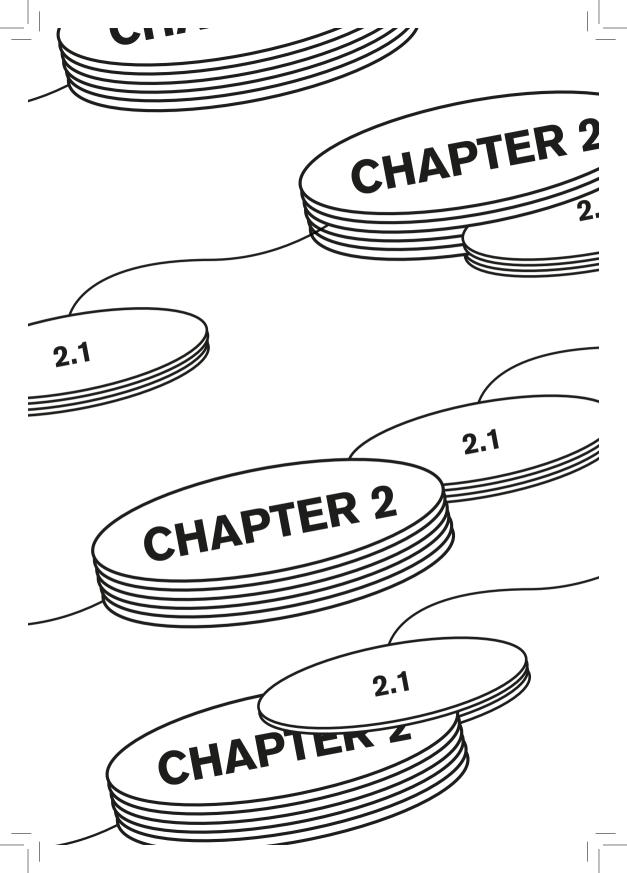
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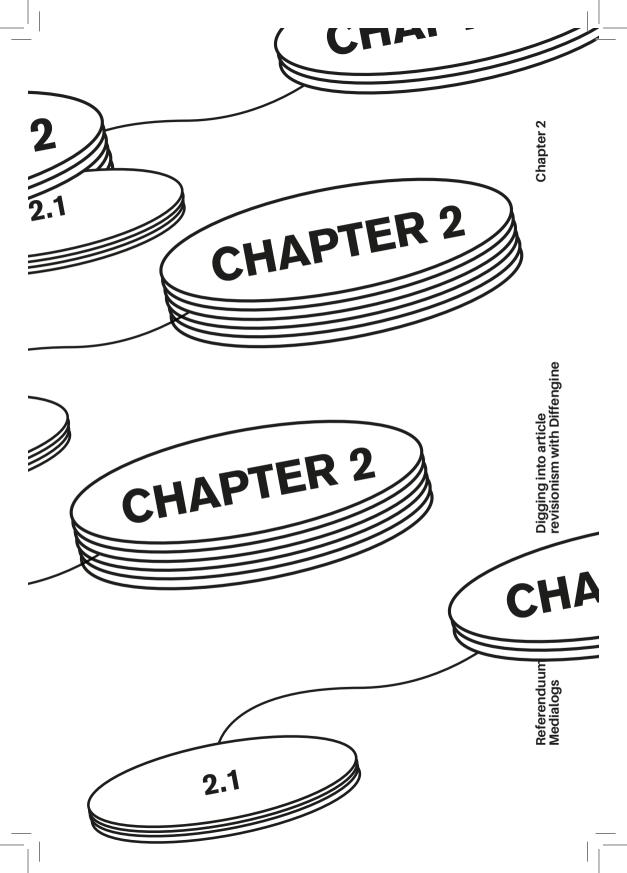


A new law that went into effect in Spain on July 1 has much of the country, as well as many human rights organizations, in an uproar. While proponents say the new public security law will reinforce civil liberties, opponents call it the "gag law," saying it will do just the opposite and take the country a step backward toward dictatorship.



about





The main reason why I chose working with Diffengine is that I wanted to get a better sense of how news is being shaped over time. There is an ideology of objective and accurate reporting without distorting reality. However, media coverage of the events before, during and after October 1 clearly demonstrates that the ideal of objectivity doesn't exist. Describing the world without overlapping opinion or taking a position on what should be informed to their audience is practically impossible. All news has a political positioning that illustrates a narrative based on determined assumptions of reality and morality. This what makes revisionism so interesting during the conflict of the referendum. considering that huge amounts of inaccurate information were generated nonstop. And this is what brought me to archive and keep a historical record of news changes during that time. I wanted to observe how information is in constant fluctuation, so I started to dig into article revisionism using Diffengine.

Diffengine is a utility for watching RSS feeds to see when story content changes. The hope is that it can help draw attention to the way news is being shaped on the web. The idea of keeping control of changes was introduced since the need for quality and production controls back in the 1950s with early development in software, leading to the creation of Version Control Systems (VCS). Version control, or revision control, is a software that allows tracking and controlling changes in computer programs, word processors, webbased documents, content management systems like Wikipedia, and other information structures. And this

was where the initial idea to name the project '+r-' came from. Version control systems, also known as the "Github for News" (Linch 2010), were implemented in journalism as a consequence of a growing digital age where stories are constantly changing. Diffengine uses the same logic, using the Diff, a data comparison tool that allows visualizing former and current versions of a file. The software is configured to highlight deleted characters in red (or with a stroke through), and inserted in green (underlined).

Flashbake is a good example of a simple set of Python scripts developed in 2009, that automates version control, using Git to look for changes in files every 15 minutes. Flashbake can be used to track both source code and text files. What is great about it is that you can track changes as you go on a word processor. This is a great advantage for archivists, journalists, or writers who usually create a series of drafts prior to publishing. What I have noticed using Diffengine is that many journalists use the web page of an article without any systematic records between the changes and the final draft. Although this can lead to interesting results when tracking with Diffengine.

However, I wanted to know more about the reasons behind developing Diffengine, so I documented a conversation with Edward Summers where we discussed our motivations; "We wanted it to be right after Trump was elected in the US, there was a lot of anxiety about how all this propaganda produced from all sorts of different angles, and the difficulty to sort of understanding how the news is being shaped

over time." he explained. One of the advantages of using Diffengine is that it can be configured to track changes at time intervals using Cron, a time-based job scheduler. Cron was tracking changes every 5 min from a selection of local, national and international news sites providing RSS technlogy. This covers many websites and blogs from independent journalists, but not all. Web feeds are increasingly becoming more fundamental for the streaming and gathering of online information, regardless of its difficulties to survive. When new content is found a snapshot is saved at the Internet Archive (so users can access them through a graphical timeline), and a diff is generated for sending to social media, although it also offers the option to not post to social media. An HTML file with the former and current version of the article is generated, providing the following metadata structure: The "body" is formed by three "div class" elements. First, "URL" provides the web address where the article is published. Second. "archive" provides two different timestamps according to both date/time of former and current versions of the article. Third, "diff" wraps the article's main text, including tags for deleted "<del>" and inserted "<ins>" characters. This is interesting to know because it can lead to content scrapping prototypes and other applications.

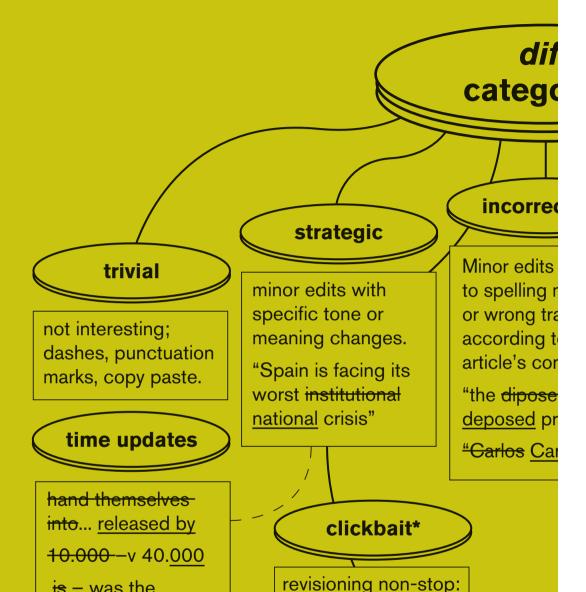
At a time when the referendum's issue was really hot in the media; sparkling fire by the beginning of September and boiling up in October, journals were reporting nonstop on the issue. This allowed me to collect a significant amount of article revisions. From

November towards the end of December, the issue began to simmer down. Filtering revisions were fundamental for organizing thousand of collected files. To do this, I used a bash script that recursively searches for specific "strings" or syntax in content from HTML files.

## Analysing revisionism post-referendum

Revisionism often offers interesting changes, some are more significant than others. They can be proofreading corrections, misleading headlines, deliberate misreports, signs of automation, etc. In general, I have observed a specific set of media behaviors; one of them is that journalism is revisioning nonstop. Changes are happening all the time. Often changes have minor effects. Sometimes they have an intention. Sometimes the story changes as a result of a spelling mistake. Or when The Wall Street Journal says that Puigdemont "is" and hours later "was" the president of Catalonia. When New Europe constantly sneaks wrong headlines such as "EasyJet buys into AirBerlin", or "Why Catalonia's Independence Scares Europe" followed by a report on the autumn forecast. Sometimes the story grows over time, as new facts are reported. Another interesting example is when the article's URL isn't available anymore, as I have often noticed in The Herald. In one of them, reports said that Spain was facing its worst institutional crisis. Hours later, "institutional" was changed by "national". So I have gone through some of these

changes, grouping them into different categories. First are Trivial, or not interesting; dashes, punctuation marks, copy paste. Second are Time Updates; hand themselves into... released by, 10.000-40.000, is was the president, Updated 7: 2h. Third, Strategic changes; minor edits with specific tone or meaning changes. "Spain is facing its worst institutional national crisis". Fourth, Incorrectness; minor edits related to spelling mistakes or wrong translations according to the article's context. "the diposed deposed president", "Carlos Carles". Fifth, Removed URLs. When the URL of an article has been modified or removed, becoming inaccessible. "404 error, Sorry the page you requested could not be found" or "Oops... Unfortunately, we are unable to locate the page you requested". Sixth, Buggy; When headlines and body aren't related. "Error 503 Backend fetch failed". Paywall warnings, embedded Twitter posts. Seventh, Clickbait; revisioning non-stop: El País, New Europe, The Independent.



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### removed

When the URL of an article has been modified or replaced, becoming inaccessible.

"404 error, Sorry the page you requested could not be found"

"Oops... Unfortunately we are unable to locate the page you requested".

## buggy

When headlines and body aren't related.

"Error 503 Backend fetch failed".

Paywall warnings.

# Catalan parliament declares independence as Spanish PM says 'no alternative' k power | Toronto Star

By Ciaran GilesThe Associated PressAritz Parra

Fri., Oct. 27, 2017

BARCELONA, SPAIN—In one of the most momentous days in recent Spanish history, lawmakers in the Catalan regional paunilaterally declare independence on Friday, prompting a swift response by the government to immediately adopt special categories step Spanish government, which fired Catalonia's political leaders, dissolved its parliament and called an early election in the second region.

Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy's conservative Hours after Catalonia's secession move, the Spanish Senate granted called an emergency Cabinet meeting and was expected to use its new special constitutional powers to immediately dismic regional government and curtail the powers of its parliament in Barcelona. The Spanish government could also seize controlled force and the wealthy region's publicly-owned media outlets. move toward independence.

"Today, Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy's conservative government then called an urgent Cabinet meeting. In the Ca approved something that in evening, Rajoy emerged to announce the opinion of a large majority of people not only goes a criminal act," Rajoy declared, emergency measures to prevent Catalan secession, including regional elections called for De

In Barcelona, Catalonia's regional capital, the announcements were greeted with jeers and whistles of disapproval from cregathered at the gates of the government palace to celebrate their parliament's moves toward independence earlier in the c

"It's not about suspending or meddling in the self-government (of Catalonia), but to return it to normality and legality as soc said in a televised address.

The government and Spain's constitutional Court had said the secession bid was illegal.

### A young woman reacts to Friday's events outside the Catalan parliament in Barcelona. (PAU BARRENA/AFP/GETTY IMAG

Rajoy said there was "no alternative" but to seize power because the Catalan leader, Carles Puigdemont, and his separatis an illegal and unilateral path that was "contrary to the normal behaviour in any democratic country like ours."

"What would France or Germany do," he asked lawmakers, if faced with a similar insurrection?

The Spanish Senate's decision to authorize the government to take control of Catalonia trumped the local parliament's indiwas a symbolic act that is doomed because Spain's constitutional Court is almost certain to disallow it.

A young woman reacts to Friday's events outside the Catalan parliament in Barcelona. (PAU BARRENA/AFP/GETTY IMAG

Rajoy has indicated he wants to call an early election in the prosperous northeastern region as soon as central authorities

The battle around Catalonia's future is far from over, however. Rajoy also said he was firing the head of the Catalan regional Brussels, where the European Union has its headquarters.

After the Catalan parliament voted to back secession, Rajoy said it was a move that "in the opinion of a large majority of pe

Read more:

Catalan President Carles Puigdemont rules out snap election to avert Spain showdown

Catalan vice-president says Spain 'giving us no other option' but to secede

Catalan leaders plan legal challenge to prevent Spain from taking over

Madrid taking away Catalonia'sThe Senate's decision giving Rajoy special powers trumped the Catalan regional powers is Sunday, while regional government workers could follow a policy of disobedience or non-co-operation, parliament's indepe secession.

On ton of that an expected early election within six months could still deliver a steadfastly pro-independence Catalan parlis

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nal parliament voted to scial constitutional powers to in in the region's attempt to

anted the government dismiss stop the Catalan control of the Catalan

he Catalonia parliament has oes against the law but is a for Dec. 21.

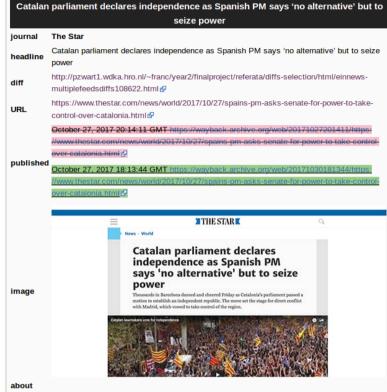
om crowds who had the day.

as soon as possible," Rajoy

### IMAGES)

paratist Cabinet had pursued

's independence vote, which



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rities can ensure an orderly return to legality.

egional police, shutting down the Catalan government's overseas offices, and dismissing its representatives in Madrid and in

of people not only goes against the law but is a criminal act."

ers is likely to be seen as a humiliation and a provocation by Catalans. A backlash is anticipated, with street protests planned for idependence vote, which was doomed because the constitutional Court has already consistently ruled against any steps toward

narliament, even if recent nolls have suggested the region of 7.5 million neonleThe hattle around Catalonia's future is roughly

### Pasos para aplicar el artículo 155 de la Constitución Española en Cataluña

Reunión del Consejo de Ministros bajo la presidencia del presidente, Mariano Rajoy. (MONCLOA)

TrasEs la segunda carta de Carles Puigdemont, en la pregunta que se hace ahora todo el mundo: una vez que el presider declaración de independencia pero que la votarán si el Gobierno de España decide aplicar el artículo 155, el Ejecutivo ha dedelante con la activación por primera vez en la historia española del citado artículo de la Constitución. El primer paso ha consejo de Ministros extraordinario, presidido por decide la aplicación del artículo 155 de la Constitución Española, se abrincógnitas que el presidente Mariano Rajoy a su vuelta de Bruselas: tiempo irá resolviendo.

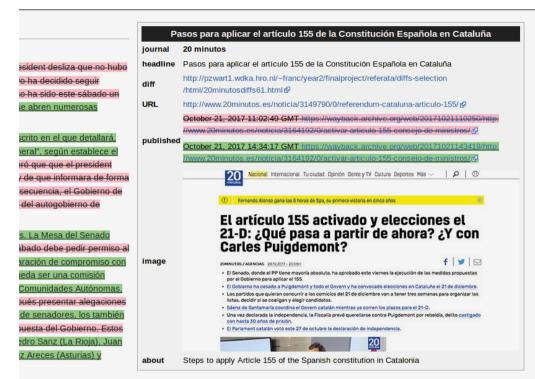
El1. Del Gobierno justifica al Senado. El Gobierno enviará al presidente del Senado. Pío García Escudero (PP), un escrito una por una, las medidas concretas que desea adoptar para hacer cumplir la aplicación ley y proteger "el interés general", artículo 189 del 155 en la "desobediencia rebelde y sistemática" del Govern. Durante la semana, el Ejecutivo consideró qui reclamento de la Generalitat había desatendido Cámara. El pleno se celebrará el requerimiento 27 de Mariano Rajoy de quara y precisa si alguna autoridad catalana había procedido este mes, viernes, a declarar la independencia. "En consecue España continuará con los trámites previstos en el artículo 155 las diez de la Constitución para restaurar la legalidad del a Cataluña", anunció: mañana.

La Moncloa después El presidente del Senado dará a Puigdemont un plazo para hacer alegaciones 2. Las alegaciones. La dará curso a la reunión demanda y remitirá su escrito y la documentación que adjunte el Gobierno (sentencias del sábado Senado Tribunal Constitucional contra las leyes de transitoriedad y referéndum aprobadas por la Generalitat, la declaració la secesión firmada por los diputados independentistas del Parlament...) a una comisión. El reglamento prevé que pueda s creada específicamente para tomar una serie este caso o bien la Comisión General de medidas extraordinarias, las Comu que no se han hecho públicas todavía. El President esta legislatura dirige el presidente de la Generalitat deberá después r ciudad autónoma de Melilla, Juan José Imbroda (PP). De este último órgano forman parte, también, en su condición de se cargos orgánicos del PP Javier Arenas y Alicia Sánchez Camacho; el Parlamento, que después ratificará o no la propuesta son líder de los plazos: populares andaluces, Juan Moreno Bonilla; los expresidentes autonómicos conservadores Pedro S José Lucas (Castilla y León), José Ramón Bauzá (Baleares) y los socialistas José Montilla (Cataluña), Vicente Álvarez Are Francesc Antich (Baleares), entre otros.

- 1. DespejadaLa comisión tendrá que reunirse como mínimo en dos ocasiones. Una para, según dice el artículo 189.3 del I el plazo que se fije remita cuantos antecedentes, datos y alegaciones considere pertinentes y para que designe, si lo estin de Mariano Rajoy, y este persona que asuma la representación a estos efectos". El plazo para que Puidemont presente al respuesta que no satisface al Gobierno. El primer paso será convocar el sábado un Consejo de Ministros extraordinario, p podría dilatarse tres semanas.
- 2. Del Gobierno al Senado. El Gobierno enviará al presidente del Senado, Pío García Escudero (PP), un escrito en el quepara hacer cumplir la ley y proteger "el interés general", según establece
  golicitadas por el artículo 189 del reclamento Gol
  donde el PP tiene mayoría absoluta, para su propuesta al Senado debate. La sesión consta de dos turnos a favor y dos er
  intervenir por el mismo jueves
  tiempo. La aprobación se hará por mayoría absoluta, y está previsto que se consiga, dado e
  Ciudadanos suman 214 de los 266 senadores.

El presidente del Senado dará a Puigdement un 5. La aplicación. Moncloa ha asegurado que el plazo para hacer alegacion en su caso, adjunte práctica el Gobierno (sentencias del Tribunal Constitucional contra las leyes de transitoriedad y referér independentistas del Parlament...) mecanismo completo sería inferior a una comisión. El reglamento prevé semana, aunqui bien la Comisión General de las Comunidades Autónomas, que esta legislatura dirige el presidente de la ciudad autónoma también cargos orgánicos del PP Javier Arenas y Alicia Sánchez Camacho; el líder de los populares andaluces, Juan Morce Ramón Bauzá (Baleares) y los socialistas José Montilla (Cataluña), Vicente Álvarez Areces (Asturias) y Francesc Antich (B

La comisión tendrá que reunirse como mínimo en dos ocasiones. Una para, según dice el artículo 189.3 del Reglamento, apruebe. Hay un resquicio a que todos los puntos anteriores se paren en seco: según José Luis Ábalos, secretario de orga



3 del Reglamento, requerir al presidente de la incógnita, comunidad afectada, en este caso Carles Puigdemont, a fin de que "en estima procedente, la decisión política. Puigdemont primero mantuvo una calculada ambigüedad en una carta al requerimiento nte alegaciones acaba el jueves ha deslizado que todavía no se ha votado por la declaración unilateral de independencia en una trio, para aprobar las medidas que elevar al Senado. Estos son los plazos y las posibilidades que maneja en un proceso que

l que debe detallar, una por una,3. La aprobación. La Comisión admitiría o rechazaría las medidas e<del>oncretas que desea adoptar</del> e Gobierno, pudiendo condicionarlas o limitarlas. Su dictamen pasará al Pleno de la Cámara. El Ejecutivo puede remitir Cámara, los en contra con una duración máxima de de veinte minutos cada uno. Los portavoces de los grupos parlamentarios podrán lado el pleno podría celebrarse el 27 reparto de este mes, escaños, en torno a un 80% de los apoyos, pues PP, PSOE y

paciones3. Las alegaciones. La Mesa del Senado daría curso a la demanda y remitiría su escrito y la documentación que, poner eferéndum aprobadas por la Generalitat, la declaración de compromiso con la secesión firmada por los diputados aunque varios expertos jurídicos aseguran a este diario que pueda ser una comisión creada específicamente para este caso o noma de Melilla, Juan José Imbroda (PP). De este último órgano forman parte, también, en su condición de senadores, los Moreno Bonilla; los expresidentes autonómicos conservadores Pedro Sanz (La Rioja), Juan José Lucas (Castilla y León), José ich (Baleares), entre otros, podría extenderse, incluso, a tres semanas.

ento, requerir al presidente de la comunidad afectada, en este caso Carles Puigdemont, a fin<u>6. Posibilidad</u> de que "en <u>no se</u> e organización del PSOE (en declaraciones a la Cadena SER), si Carles Puigdemont convoca esta semana elecciones

### How the Catalan crisis helps Spain's far-right far right | Spain News | Al Jazeera

Barcelona - As the Catalan independence crisis enters its fourth month in December, the intended outcome of an indeper remains elusive.

But the push for independence has had an unintended consequence; it has invigorated Spain's far-right movements unlike country's transition to democracy in the 1970s, according to Jordi Borras, a Catalan photojournalist and author who monito right.

In the years before the crisis, the far-right's impact has been negligible both on the Spanish streets and in parliar movements flourished in France, the Netherlands, Austria, Hungary and elsewhere, Cas Mudde, a professor and scholar a Georgia who specialises in European far-right politics, told Al Jazeera.

Scholars say it is a combination of the mainstream conservative ruling People's Party "capturing the nationalist vote" and "r between Spain's minority regions that has put the far-right far right in the spotlight, Mudde commented.

"Their importance is overplayed in the media. They are much more visible than relevant," Mudde said.

But the political turmoil that has resulted from Catalonia's declaration of independence is bringing these groups, of which the together. Borras told Al Jazeera that things have "changed quickly" in Spain, perhaps faster than many observers can track

Borras explained that the Spanish far-right in right was previously a "constellation" of ultranationalist ultranationalist proup Nazis, some are "Falangists" or the remnants of the foremost paramilitary group under the dictatorship of Francisco France a right-wing conservative, Catholic nation from 1939 until 1975. Others exist in their own groups.

Though these groups have a history of <mark>in-fighting,</mark> i<mark>nfighting.</mark> Catalan independence has given the <mark>far-right</mark> far <u>right</u> a reasc said.

#### Increased attacks

Catalonia's police force, the Mossos d'Esquadra, finished investigating four incidents of politically-motivated politically motive spanning from September 22 to October 27, according to a statement delivered to Al Jazeera.

All of these attacks are believed to have been committed by the far-right. far right.

The perpetrators of one attack, which took place on October 8, were identified by photographs wherein the suspects were

After Catalonia held its disputed independence referendum on October 1, Spanish courts declared the vote illegal and orde "respecting co-existence".

Spanish law enforcement was filmed executing a violent crackdown on voters that rights groups called "excessive". The vio

After a month of political back-and-forth where Catalan President Carles Puigdemont called for dialogue and Spanish Primindependence On October 27.

Spain responded by enacting Article 155, a never-before-used provision of the constitution that allows the central governm

Puigdemont and four of his former ministers fled to Belgium, while nearly a dozen pro-independence lawmakers legislators sedition.

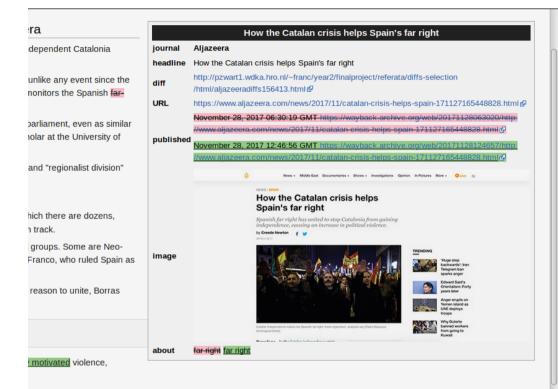
While far-right violence is on the rise, the attacks are encouraging a response from the activist community in Catalonia, Bo

It was visible at one protest on the evening of Monday, October 30. Roughly 500 anti-fascist protesters dressed in black wi

Unlike recent protests in Barcelona, the Antifa group did not take to the streets for the sake of nationalism, but for safety.

Holding flags of workers' syndicates, a trademark of the anarchist, anti-fascists forces that fought in Spain's Civil War, the p Chanting "the streets will always be ours," a slogan popular with pro-independence demonstrators, they ran past police ba

Fig. 36. Newton, Aljazeera, 2017. How the Catalan crisis helps Spain's far right. Referendum Medialogs.



were giving "Hitler salutes". The Mossos' statement says these attackers were "Spanish nationalists".

d ordered the national police and the Civil Guard, a military unit tasked with domestic policing, to stop the referendum while

he violence bolstered Catalonia's resolve for independence.

Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy of the centre-right People's Party reneged the offer, the Catalan parliament voted for

rernment to dismiss the Catalan government and directly administer the breakaway region.

lators and organisers, including former Catalan Vice President Oriol Junqueras, were imprisoned on charges of rebellion and

ia, Borras noted.

ack with covered faces stood directly across from a smaller group of far-right activists.

fety.

, the protesters made it clear to both the police and far-right protesters that these attacks would not go unanswered.

ce barricades to confront members of the "Last Bastion," an ultra-nationalist ultranationalist group active in Catalonia.

### Catalonia crisis hits home in Belgium - POLITICO

#### tut tut tu

The unity of Belgian Prime Minister Charles Michel's government rests on a deal between Liberals and nationalists | Olivier

Catalonia crisis hits home in Belgium Unity and respect @ JokersOusted Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont turns up in Brupolitics. Posted on 10/30/17 | 10:26 PM CET By Laurens Cerulus-soph

10/30/17, 10:07 PM CETPuigdemont doesn't hate Belgium enough to come here. Won't work!

Updated 10/30/17, 11:17 Posted on 10/30/17 | 11:25 PM CET

#### BR

Barcelona's feverish politics are giving Brussels a cold.

Typical Laurens Cerelus article. Pick a current narrative and sprinkle in the terms "Flemish nationalism," "is Belgium a faile Brussels ever be fixed?" every time. If Politico can somehow find some way to relate Belgium's "certain imminent disintegra narrative/discourse they will. You do realize the Flemings are the majority in this country, right? The reports of the ousted C to Belgium and seeking refuge on Monday threatened to upset a delicate political balance between Flemish nationalists an parties. Posted on 10/30/17 | 11:49 PM CETAs the crisis in Catalonia has played out, it has divided Belgian politics. Flemishave at times called for the breakup of Belgium sided openly with the separatists in northeastern Spain, which makes their the federal government anxious. Torguemada

Those divisions came out into Well, Puigdemont always wanted to leave the open over the weekend Kingdom of Spain, now has gone and into Monday. After Madrid filed criminal charges against separatist leader Carles Puigdemont Sunday following parliament's unilateral declaration of independence, a prominent member of the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA), a Belgian not belongs to the four-party ruling coalition, said the ousted Catalan president could seek asylum in Belgium.

The next day, Spanish media reported that the separatist leader had arrived in Brussels along with five Cabinet members t European Parliament source confirmed to POLITICO the Catalan leader was in Belgium. Posted on 10/31/17 | 12:31 AM CI

#### Seppo

The ensuing kerfuffle upset the uneasy peace between the four parties that Prime Minister Charles Michel, a French-speal due in 2019.

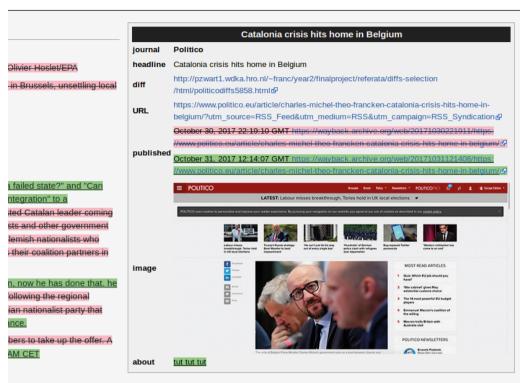
Sympathy for The interesting part is not asylum application, but extradition. If Spain wants to force Puidgemont back, I'm querial or of the charges he is facing are justified. The N-VA pushed back against suggestions the proposition to the former Composition for the N-VA, Joachim Pohlmann, told POLITICO that "in case Mr. Puigdemont is in Brussels, he's certainly rewould hold water in Belgium. Belgian Secretary of State for Asylum and Migration Theo Francken said the ousted Catalan pedicisions are made by some other judicial system than Spanish one. Jan Jambon, the interior minister and deputy prime m "Everyone knows Jan Jambon and the N-VA are sympathetic towards the Catalans. But that's something completely difference to the Catalan leader of the composition of the minister later as well in the composition of the com

That's@Seppo, I don't know Belgium law, but no country that I know well (some 5 or 6) including the US, UK and Canada v

NowAlso the judicial system shopping you suggest is irrisory. If I get incriminated here in the US I would also like shopping justice work. You get the separatist flag again, Michel faces a risk of seeing a Spanish-style crisis break out court system in

On Sunday, he pushed back against FranckenRegarding the Spanish judicial system independence, well no many court sy party getting four and a half years sentence for credit card abuse. Is not a perfect judiciary by asking him "not to add fuel to should trust it much more than we do many other western ones.

"We really shouldn't be importing Spanish problems," said a government official, asking not to be named due to the issue's



speaking liberal, has managed for the past three years. It also gave a preview of the likely tenor of the next election campaign,

I'm guessing that Belgian justice system is forced to investigate the Catalans case and give an opinion on if he would get a fair ner Catalan leader from Theo Francken, the secretary of state for asylum and migration, represented its official policy. A ainly not here at the invitation of the N-VA." I don't even know if the Spanish definition of rebellion or whatever he is charged with alan president could seek asylum in Belgium | Emmanuel Dunand/AFP via Getty Images Seems like a fair game to have such me minister from the N-VA, was not aware Puigdemont was coming to Brussels, his spokesman Olivier Van Raemdonck said. different than sitting down with the man as a member of the federal government," he added. Posted on 10/31/17 | 1:24 AM is read as a frank endorsement of Catalonia's separatist agenda.

ada would not have tolerated anything like that, let alone disobeying constantly the court orders. No even Trump dare to go

pping for other foreign court system that Flemish nationalists are waving sees "my case differently". Fortunately, that is no how tem in Belgium, the country you violated the law.

urt systems have you see a princess's husband indicted or the exDirector of the IMF and Spanish vicepresident with Rajoy's fuel to the fire." Belgian officials stressed that the junior minister was not speaking for the Belgian government. no means, but we

sue's sensitivity. Posted on 10/31/17 | 3:31 AM CET

# Deposed Ousted Catalonia leader Puigdemont 'to stand in poll' 'not seeking asylum' | Spain News | Al Jazeera

journ

Deposed Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont said ousted Catalan officials will stand in the December 21 elections imposed by Madrid, and that they will respect the results. outcome.

diff

The former sacked regional president arrived at Brussels Press Club for a news conference on Tuesday, amid speculation he and his ministers would seek political asylum in Belgium, which he denied, said was not their intent.

URL

"On Friday, after the declaration of independence, we assumed dialogue was impossible," Puigdemont said in Catalan, adding that his government tried to engage in dialogue since the dispute began.

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The Spanish government dismissed the Catalan regional leadership on Saturday after lawmakers approved the application of Article 155 of the Constitution, which allowed Madrid to assume control of Catalonia.

imaq

Puigdemont said he and his government were the "legitimate" representatives of the Catalan people.

charged by the Spanish prosecutor with sedition, rebellion and more on Monday.

The charges stem from the political process during which Puigdemont declared Catalonia an independent nation after a disputed October 1 referendum on secession.

The former Catalan government and select members of the parliament were

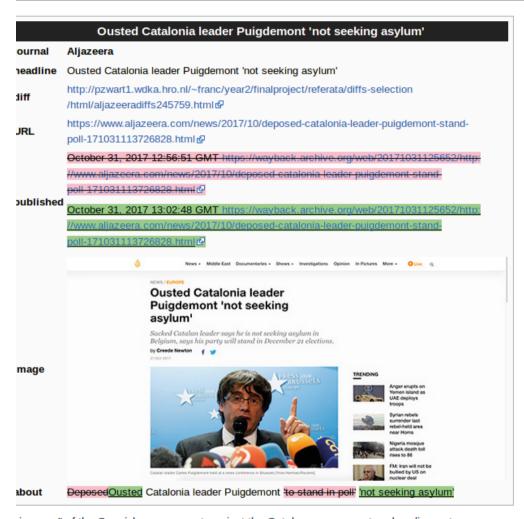
The Catalan government says 90 percent of voters opted for independence, though turnout was less than 50 percent, in part due to a crackdown by Spanish police.

abou

The charges could result in up to 30 years in prison and "confirm the extreme aggressiven Puigdemont said.

Puigdemont and five former ministers of the regional Catalan government appeared yeste The dismissed politicians were expected to apply for political asylum, though Pui

Puigdemont detailed goals his dismissed government would pursue from Belgium: "A part



siveness" of the Spanish government against the Catalan government and parliament,

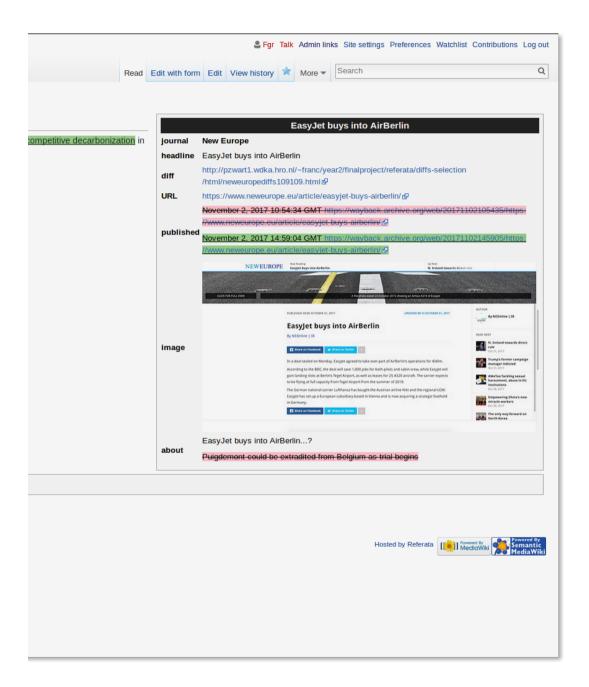
esterday in the Belgian capital, to the surprise of many.

1 Puigdemont said that was not his intent.

part of the [the Catalan government] has moved to Brussels to make evident the Catalan

Page Discussion EasyJet buys into AirBerlin Puigdement could be extradited from Belgium as trial begins Patchwork of Member State energy policies challenges compe Spain Europe By Dan Alexe Nolan Theisen Categories: Diff | New Europe This page was last modified on May 6, 2018, at 09:36. Content is available under Creative Commons CC-BY-SA 3 license unless otherwise noted. Privacy policy About +r- medialogs Disclaimers Mobile view

Fig. 39. New Europe, 2017. EasyJet buys into AirBerlin. Referendum Medialogs.



### Spanish Prosecutor Seeks Arrest of Ousted Catalan Leader - WSJ

A prosecutor asked a Spanish court on Thursday to issue an arrest warrant for Carles Puigdemont, the leader of Catalonia's secessionist movement who fled to Belgium to escape authorities in Spain.

Mr. Puigdemont and four other officials fled to Belgium in recent days. Mr. Puigdemont, who is was also the president of Catalonia, defied an order to appear before Spanish judge Carmen Lamela on Thursday, calling the inquiry politically motivated and raising the possibility of a legal battle to force him to return home.

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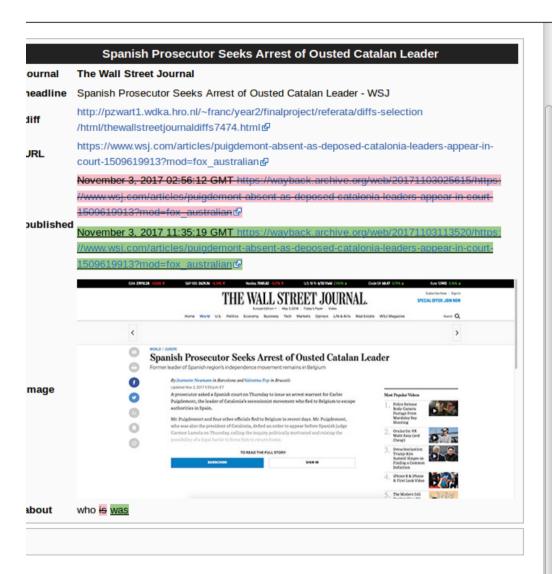
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# The Brussels Times - Catalonian crisis - Carles Puigdemont and the four other Ministers hand themselves into released by Belgian police

©Belga

The former Catalonia President Carles Puigdemont and the four other Ministers wanted in Spain handed themselves in to the Brussels Federal Judicial police on Sunday morning.

They were remanded in custody at 09.17am, the Brussels Prosecutor's office revealed on Sunday afternoon. The Prosecutor's office requested an Instruction judge, who questioned all five people over the course of the afternoon. Sarah afternoon. They were all released later in the day. However they can not leave the Belgian territory without an agreement with the judge assigned to the case and must reside at a fixed address. Sarah Johansson (Source: Belga)

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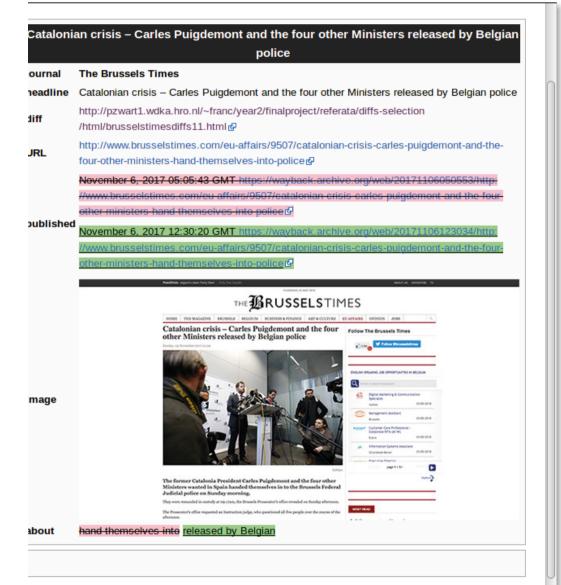
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Categories: Diff | The Brussels Times

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# The Brussels Times - "Freedom, freedom", demand 200 Catalan Mayors in Brussels

### © Belga

"Freedom, freedom" and President, President", were the words that about 200 Catalan Mayors repeated in a gathering in Brussels Palais des Beaux Arts with former Catalan President Carles Puigdemont, Tuesday evening.

They had come to support the disposed President and to request that Catalan ministers be set free in Spain.

Carles Puigdemont arrived in Bozar at 17h30, supported by over 200 Catalan Mayors who had made the trip all the way from Spain. They had come to explain their position in favour of Catalan independence and to express their support for the <a href="disposed">disposed</a> deposed president and four other ministers who had joined him to Brussels.

By coming to Brussels, seat of the European Institutions, they said they also wished to express their pro-European standpoint.

Maria Novak The Brussels Times

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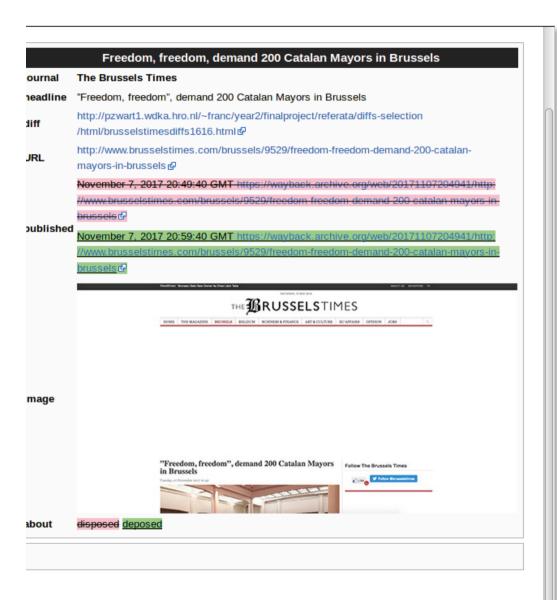
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Fig. 42. Novak, The Brussels Times, 2017. Freedom, freedom, demand 200 Catalan Mayors in Brussels. Referendum Medialogs.







### Why Catalonia's independence scares Europe

Autumn Forecast: Euro region on track for 2.2% expansion, bestEU universal healthcare system in a decade deep crisis, report shows

By <del>Irene Kostaki</del> <u>Violetta Rusheva</u>

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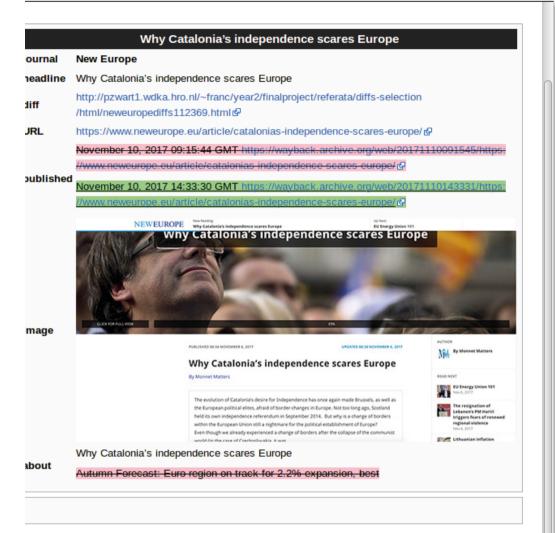
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Fig. 43. New Europe, 2017. Why Catalonia's independence scares Europe. Referendum Medialogs.









# EU official backs Spain in fight against Catalan secession - Brownsville Herald: US & World News

BARCELONA, Spain (AP) — Catalonia's secessionist push is nothing short of a "disaster" that the **Europe European** Union will work to impede in support of a unified Spain, the European Commission's president said in comments published Sunday.

Spain is facing its worst institutional national crisis in nearly four decades after Catalonia's regional parliament violated the Spanish Constitution by voting to declare independence Oct. 27. Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy responded by firing its government, dissolving the Catalan parliament and calling a regional election for Dec. 21.

"Catalonia is an enormous concern," European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker told the Spanish newspaper El Pais. "I don't like the situation it has provoked. It is a disaster in several ways. It has charged the political atmosphere, it has fractured Spanish and Catalan society, it has caused problems inside families, between friends. It's sad."

Juncker sent a message to Carles Puigdemont, the ex-Catalan president who fled to Belgium, that Catalan secessionists "must not underestimate the wide support that Mariano Rajoy has throughout Europe."

The threat to shatter the EU's fifth-largest economy comes while the 28-nation bloc is handling its divorce with Britain and the impact it will have on the continent's economy and fragile common political project.

"I am in favor of a Europe of regions, of respecting their identity, of what makes them different," he said. "But that does not mean that we are going to support these regions in all their adventures, which sometimes are a tremendous error, and even more so if one declares independence unilaterally based on a referendum that lacked in quarantees."

Puigdemont and Catalonia's separatists claim a mandate for independence from a referendum on secession held against the will of Spanish authorities on Oct. 1.

The ballot had been banned by Spain's top court, was boycotted by parties opposed to inc participated in the poll, which the separatists won in a landslide despite violent police raids aggression officers met.

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### EU official backs Spain in fight against Catalan secession - Brownsville Herald: US & **World News** ournal The Herald EU official backs Spain in fight against Catalan secession - Brownsville Herald: US & World neadline http://pzwart1.wdka.hro.nl/~franc/year2/finalproject/referata/diffs-selection/html/einnews-Hilt multiplefeedsdiffs88.html & http://www.brownsvilleherald.com/news/us world/juncker-eu-backs-spain-in-fight-against-JRL catalan-secession/article\_f8fccf0b-b2e8-5b63-8b89-0e77d3df34ff.html & November 11, 2017 14:44:31 GMT http://pzwart1.wdka.hro.nl/- franc/year2/final project /journals/einnews-multiplefeeds/None & published The Herald mage EU official backs Spain in fight against Catalan secession institutional national about 404 error Sorry, the page you requested could not be found. Try searching the site:

o independence, and failed to meet international standards. Less than half the electorate aids. Spain's government has defended the police response, saying it was proportionate to the

### Rússia ironitza amb la 'ingerència' a Catalunya: 'No bombardejarem Madrid' | Vila

28.11.2017 13:46

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Funcionalitat només per a subscriptors

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El director adjunt del Departament de Cooperació Europea del Ministeri d'Exteriors rus, Igor Kapyrin, ha rebutjat de ple qui Govern rus en el procés sobiranista a Catalunya, quelcom que ha titllat de "teoria teoria de la conspiració" i ha conspiració occidentals a presentar "proves" proves de la responsabilitat de Rússia en ciberatacs tal com al·leguen, al mateix temps que terme investigacions conjuntes dels mateixos per esclarir-los.

"Ne'No crec en aquest tipus de teories de conspiració a menys que Rússia sigui responsable de tot el que ocorre al món, i Europa', ha assegurat, en ser preguntat per la suposada ingerència des de comptes falsos i 'bots' en el procés a Cataluny durant un acte organitzat pel 'think tank' Friends of Europe sobre ciberseguretat i els suposats esforços de desinformació desestabilitzar països de la UE.

Kapyrin ha deixat clar que el Govern rus condemna els ciberatacs i ha reclamat "proves" proves dels països que acusen F darrere. Sempre estem proposant que ens donin elements concrets per investigar o investigar-ho junts', ha recalcat. Don d'aquests atacs i discutim-ho a l'ONU', ha reptat.

"Sempre estem proposant'Sempre insistim que ens donin elements <mark>concrets</mark> per investigar <mark>o investigar-ho junts", el que al russos', ha recalcat, incidit, i retreu que 'fins ara la resposta és no' al·legant que es tracta d'informació 'secreta' i deixant cl diàleg directe i cooperació 'aquest problema no es resoldrà'.</mark>

"Doneu-nos proves d'aquests atacs i discutim-hoEn declaracions posteriors a l'ONU", Europa Press, Kapyrin ha reptat, crit periodistes o polítics estan intentant culpar Rússia per tot el que està ocorrent' en voler implicar-la en els esforços per des través de Catalunya.

"Sempre insistim que ens donin elements per investigar el que anomenen atacs russos", ha incidit, i retreu que "fins ara la "aquest problema no es resoldrà".

En declaracions posteriors a Europa Press, Kapyrin ha criticat que "alguns periodistes o polítics estan intentant culpar Rús

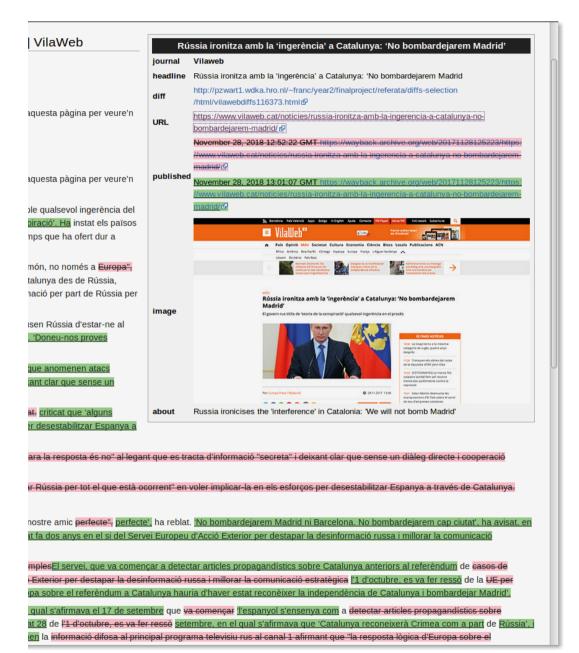
No bombardejar Madrid i Barcelona

"Tine Trine problemes per pensar que algú tindria en ment al cap aquesta idea de desestabilitzar Espanya, que és el nostre ser preguntat per alguns exemples de casos de desinformació destapats per East StratCom Task Force, el grup creat fa destratègica de la UE per contrarestar-la.

"No bombardejarem Madrid ni Barcelona. No bombardejarem cap ciutat", ha avisat, en ser preguntat per alguns exemples desinformació destapats per East StratCom Task Force, el grup creat fa dos anys en el si del Servei Europeu d'Acció Exter contrarestar-la, informació difosa al principal programa televisiu rus al canal 1 afirmant que 'la resposta lògica d'Europa so

El servei, East StratCom Taks Force també va detectar informacions esbiaixades anteriors, fins i tot en 'Vesti.ru' en el qual Catalunya anteriors al referèndum llengua estrangera a les escoles catalanes', un altre en 'Izvestia.ru', datat el passat 28 un altre, el passat 21 de setembre, a Sputnik, en el qual s'assegurava que 'les illes Balears a Espanya també demanen la

Fig. 45. Europa Press, Vilaweb, 2017. "Russia speaks with irony about their 'intervention' in Catlonia: 'We will not bomb Madrid'". in Rússia ironitza amb la 'ingerència' a Catalunya: 'No bombardejarem Madrid'. Referendum Medialogs.



# The Brussels Times - Carlos Carles Puigdemont to remain in Belgium despite withdrawal of European arrest warrant

## rrest warrant

© Belga

Deposed Catalan Prime Minister Carles Puigdemont will remain in Belgium despite the withdrawal of the European arrest warrant that had been issued against him, his lawyer, Paul Bekaert, said on Tuesday.

"Puigdemont will not leave Belgium following the withdrawal of the European arrest warrant," Bekaert said when contacted by L'Echo daily, "Only one of the three warrants was dropped," he explained. The Spanish and international warrants are still in effect, which means the Catalan leader can still be arrested outside the European Union, L'Echo noted. Spanish media reported earlier on Tuesday that Spanish Supreme Court judge Pablo Llarena had withdrawn the European arrest warrant against Puigdemont and four of his former ministers, Antonio Comín, Lluís Puig, Meritxell Serret and Clara Ponsatí, who had fled to Brussels on the 30th of October. "The investigation has shown that they intended to return to Spain," the judge said. In a nine-page justification of his decision, which has been communicated to Belgium's justice department, the judge said he felt the investigation had to do with a crime "of a pluri-subjective nature with an inseparable legal unity, which requires a single response to avoid contradictory responses". He maintained the Spanish arrest warrant against the five, who would be arrested on their return to Spain, court sources explained. "They seem to have indicated their intention to return to Spain with the aim of carrying out elective functions for elections that have been called recently," Llarena said in a reference to the regional election to be held on 21 December, Oscar SchneiderThe Brussels Times

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### Categories: Diff | The Brussels Times

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Fig. 46. Schneider, The Brussels Times, 2017. Carles Puigdemont to remain in Belgium despite withdrawal of European arrest warrant. Referendum Medialogs.

### Carles Puigdemont to remain in Belgium despite withdrawal of European arrest warrant ournal The Brussels Times neadline Carles Puigdemont to remain in Belgium despite withdrawal of European arrest warrant http://pzwart1.wdka.hro.nl/~franc/year2/finalproject/referata/diffs-selection diff /html/brusselstimesdiffs7676.html & http://www.brusselstimes.com/eu-affairs/9718/carlos-puigdemont-to-remain-in-belgium-JRL despite-withdrawal-of-european-arrest-warrant € December 6, 2017 16:16:29 GMT https://wayback.archive.org/web/20171205161630/https:// published THE **BRUSSELS** TIMES Carles Puigdemont to remain in Belgium despite Follow The Brussels Timer withdrawal of European arrest warrant Cities V Feb. mage Deposed Catalan Prime Minister Carles Puigdemont will remain in Belgium despite the withdrawal of the European arrest warrant that been issued against him, his lawyer, Paul Bekaert, said on Tuesday. about Carles Carles

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## Catalonia's pro-independence parties win parliamentary election, dealing blow to government - The Washington Post

BARCELONA — The three pro-independence parties in Catalonia won the a majority of seats in a parliamentary election in Thursday, setting the stage for another traught showdown with the central government in Madrid.

With a record-breaking turnout of more than 80 percent, Catalans dealt Spain's prime minister, Mariano Rajoy, a major set secessionist leaders stood poised to return to power in Barcelona, among them former regional president Carles Puigdem Brussels.

Voters packed polling stations to pick"Rajoy and his allies have been defeated," Puigdemont said, "They received a new lei answer again an old and bitterly divisive question: Did they want to remain a part of Spain or seek independence? big slap

Voters packed polling stations to pick a new legislature and to answer an old and bitterly divisive question: Did they back le remain a part of Spain or seek independence?

[In the boxing ring and on the streets, Catalonia is split ahead of latest vote on future with Spain]

Catalonia's secessionist parties won a slim majority Dec. 21 in an election the Spanish government called to try to end a po October, the region called for a controversial referendum and unilaterally declared independence. (Reuters)

With 99 percent of the ballots counted, the three pro-independence parties had taken 48 percent of the vote, while the unic smaller parties had garnered 52 percent.

But the pro-independence parties were set to claim 70 seats in the regional parliament with those numbers, giving them a seat chamber. The unionists and other parties took would likely take 65 seats.

The secessionists won that many seats thanks to an electoral-college-style system that gives added weight to votes cast in — the traditional strongholds of Catalan nationalist identity. The system is intended to balance out the populated urban are communities, thus affording parliamentary representation to regional groups even though they might lack a popular majoril

An exit poliThe pro-unity Citizens Party was poised to come in a key election first in terms of votes but is expected to pick & government suggests pro-independence parties could be unable to form a majority. The result may spell more instability for government.

The independistas garnered those seats thanks to an electoral college-style system"The law is unfair that gives added wei Parliament that they don't have on the streets," said Citizens party leader Inés Arrimadas, speaking against the way votes rural vs. urban — in less populated areas—the traditional strongholds of Catalan nationalist identity. The system is intend populated urban areas with rural communities, thus affording parliamentary representation to regional groups even though popular majority. Catalonia.

The pro-unity Citizens PartyStill, she was poised to come in first in terms of votes but is expected to be unable to form <a href="mailto:ebu">ebu</a> party's victory was made possible by more than a government. The pro-independent bloc's majority mean it will most likely government. million "brave people" who rejected separation from Spain.

The balloting proceeded calmly across"For the region, unlike first time ever, a constitutionalist party won the chaotic refere conducted election in October despite being declared illegal by the country's constitutional court. There were no reports of irregularities. Turnout was confirmed at a record-high 81 percent. Catalonia," Arrimadas said.

Thursday's election comes less than two months after 2 million Catalans chose to secede from Spain and their leaders unit call an early election.

Rajoy's publicly stated hope was Catalonia will vote for new leaders on Dec. 21, replacing the secessionists who were toss secessionists would be swept aside. He failed. His own Popular Party also lost seven seats in vote, the election. Post visite

The pro-independent bloc's majority means it will most likely form the new government after negotiations among its membi

Fig. 47. Booth and Rolfe, The Washington Post, 2017. Catalonia's pro-independence parties win parliamentary election, dealing blow to Spanish government - The Washington Post. Referendum Medialogs.

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### Catalonia's pro-independence parties win parliamentary election, dealing blow to Spanish government - The Washington Post

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Catalonia's pro-independence parties win parliamentary election, dealing blow to Spanish headline government - The Washington Post

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parliamentary-vote-with-independence-in-the-balance/2017/12/21/f69c6a68-e4df-11e7-927a-

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December 22, 2017 08:35:27 GMT https://wayback.archive.org/web/20171222083528/https: //www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/catalonians turn out strongly for parlia

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<u>secessionists. Most of Spain and its powerful business groups</u> oppose <del>a breakaway</del> <u>an</u>

independent Catalonia. European leaders, too, have made clear they would not recognize an <u>independent</u> Catalonia <del>punched</del> <u>and want</u> the <del>ballot for</del> <u>matter settled and</u> the <del>centrist,</del>

reformist Citizens party, which garnered the most votes, and will serve in the opposition. situation returned to "constitutional normalcy," as Rajoy put it.

rs unilaterally declared independence, prompting the Spanish prime minister to dissolve the rebellious regional legislature and

e tossed out of office after a l<del>egal and orderly vote in which</del> chaotic independence referendum. Ahead of the region's visited an amateur boxing competition where political opinions run the gamut. (Raul Gallego Abellan/The Washington Post)

nembers.

# Arrest of Carles Puigdemont provokes clashes in Catalonia - The Washington Post

Protesters BERLIN — At least 89 people across Spain's semiautonomous Catalonia region were injured on Sunday in Barcelona hold clashes with police, according to local authorities. The protests, which drew tens of thousands, came hours after the Catalan pro-independence flag following clashes during a protest against region's former leader, Carles Puigdemont, was detained by German police as he was entering the detention of former Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont March 25, 2018. (Quique Garcia/EPA-EFE) country from Denmark.

BERLIN At least 89 people across Spain's semi-autonomous Catalonia regionThe former regional leader had traveled around Europe relatively freely after an earlier international warrant for rebellion and sedition was withdrawn in December. But more arrests were injured ordered last week, and Spanish authorities reissued their warrant on Sunday in clashes with the police, according to local authorities. The protests in which tens of thousands participated came hours after the region's former leader, Carles Puigdemont, was detained by German police, as he was entering the country from Denmark. Friday.

The former regional leader had traveled around Europe relatively freely after an earlier international warrant for rebellion and sedition Puigdemont was withdrawn in December. But more arrests were ordered last week and Spanish on his way from Finland to Belgium on Sunday when German authorities reissued their warrant on Friday. Stepped in. A first court hearing over whether he should be extradited to Spain is expected later Monday, but no decision is expected.

Puigdemont was on his way from Finland to Belgium on Sunday, when German authorities stepped in. A first court hearing over whether heHe and other Catalan politicians stand accused of pursuing a banned independence referendum last October. While the Catalan government argued that the region should be extradited able to decide its own status. Spain is expected for later denounced the referendum as illegal and harshly cracked down on Monday, but no decision is expected.

He and other Catalan politicians stand accused of pursuing a banned independence referendum last October. While Protesters in Barcelona hold the Catalan go be able to decide over its own status. Spain considered the referendum to be illegal and h

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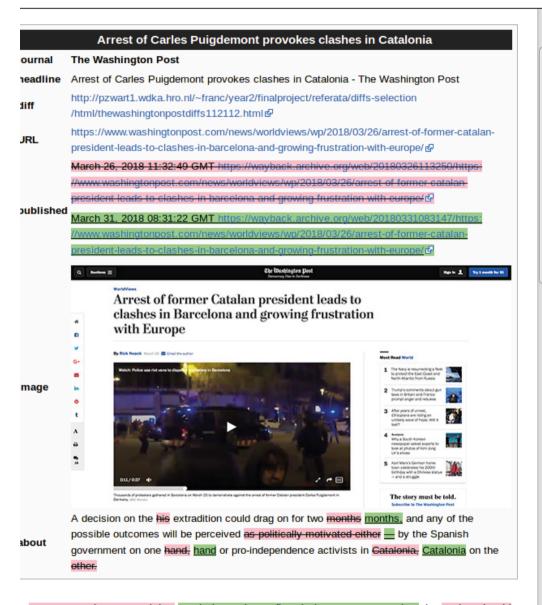
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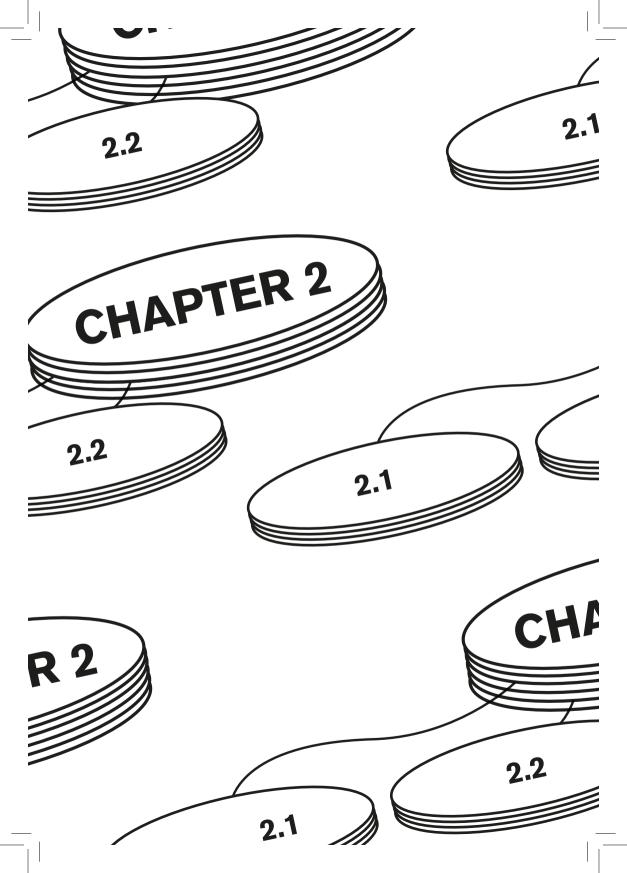
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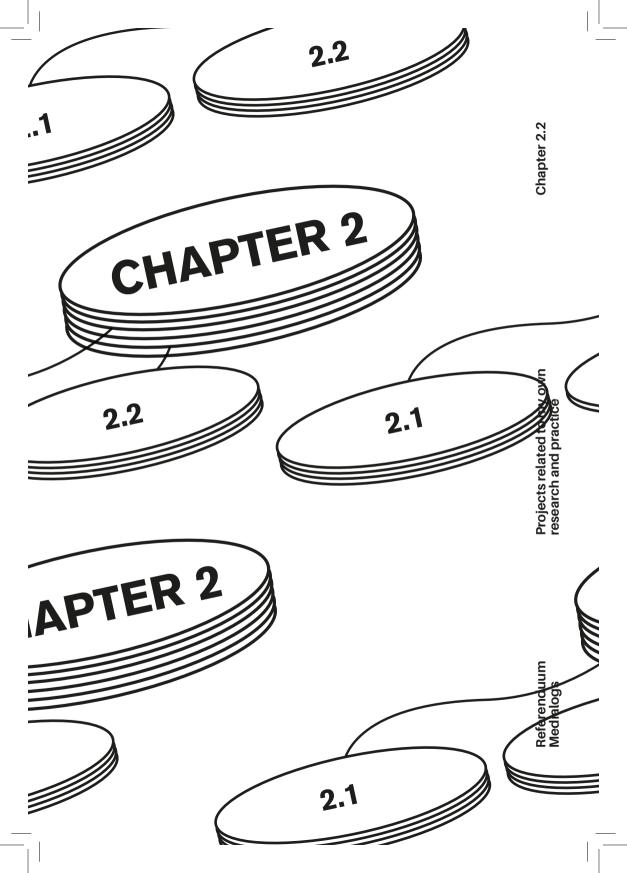
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n government has argued that pro-independence flag during a protest against the region should and harshly cracked down detention of former Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont on the October





In this chapter, I am going to introduce and analyze a few examples that have inspired me. A handpicked selection of projects that make news media processes more transparent. I will begin analyzing NewsDiffs, a series of Twitter projects inspired on it. I will talk about Versionista, and about two Wiki projects using version control to record changes. I will explain their advantages, whether they work and why, and what bridges to Referendum Medialogs.

### **NewsDiffs**

NewsDiffs was created by Jennifer Lee (a former reporter for The Times), and two developers Eric Price and Greg Price, at the hackathon hosted by MIT Media Lab in 2012. NewsDiffs it's a database of revisions that tracks content changes in the web. Bringing revision control system. What is interesting about this project is that it provides a timeline of revisions that allows users to compare between different versions of an article. NewsDiffs currently archives revisions from the nytimes.com, cnn.com, politico.com, washingtonpost. com, and bbc.co.uk. What is similar to NewsDiffs and a Wiki is that they both use data set comparisson tools in a system that maintains a historical record of changes through time. The New York Times already discussed this idea, together with the difficulties of revisions in the digital age in "Now You See It, Now You Don't" (Brisbane, 2011). The article explains how the transition from print to digital transformed the role of printers to editors, controlling the final

content of the website. A year later, the New York Times outlines The Times (Brisbane, 2012) claiming a policy to preserve a record of corrections. Lee, who is also an organizer of the Hacks/Hackers group working on grassroots journalism, shared her concern about the significance to establish a system to cope with revisionism.

# nyt\_diff, Le Soir édité, Guardian\_diff

Guardian\_diff is a currently inactive Twitter project inspired by NewsDiff and running with Diffengine. It tweets snapshots of revisions generated by The Guardian. Users can access all revisions from January to March 2017 which are stored in the Wayback Machine. "Le Soir édité" is an earlier identical project initiated in 2016 and currently active, which tracks changes of the Belgium journal lesoir.be. It is a remake of nyt\_diff, which highlights the changes from the main page of the nytimes.com. Journalists are continuously turning to social media to gather potentially exclusive updates. Guardian\_diff, Le Soir édité, and nyt\_diff are good examples that point out the necessity to inform accurately in a time of constant streams of information, social media bots, and fake news. These projects are a great exercise to provide more visibility and awareness of how news stories continuously shape.

NewsDiffs was created by Jennifer Lee (a former reporter for The Times), and two developers Eric Price and Greg Price, at the Knight Mozilla MIT Hackathon [ $^{1}$ ] hosted by MIT Media Lab in 2012.

NYTdiff is able to create presentable diff images and tweet them, but was designed to work specifically with the NYTimes API. NewsDiffs provides a comprehensive framework for watching changes on multiple sites but you need to be a programmer to add a parser module for a website that you want to monitor. It is also a full-on website which involves some commitment to install and run. NewsDiffs currently archives revisions from nytimes.com, cnn.com, politico.com, washingtonpost.com, and bbc.co.uk. It's inspired by and built on version control software, Git, used in computer programming.

Diffengine draws heavily on the inspiration of NYTDiff and NewsDiffs.

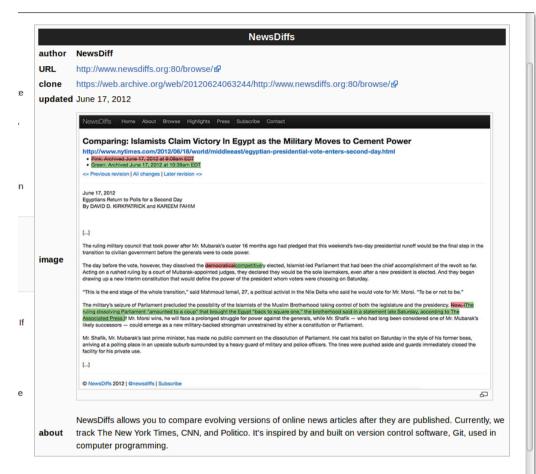
The New York Times Public Editor, who has discussed the importance of tracking major revisions and changes in the digital age, recently highlighted NewsDiffs in a column:

Sometimes the changes are minor — small edits in language or correction of spelling mistakes. Other times, the stories change and evolve rapidly, as a result of breaking news. Occasionally, the lede and substance of an article change as more reporting comes in on a fast breaking situation. Sometimes those changes provoke criticism.

What you see here was done in 38 hours (including sleep). It was inspired by a variety of reasons. You can browse our repository of articles. Or you can take a look at some of the examples of articles that have changed. If you are so inclined, you can subscribe to whatever it is that we may eventually send out some time in the future. Or you can follow NewsDiffs on Twitter, which is probably easier for everyone involved. And no, the site is not really mobile-friendly (scrolling in article view doesn't work). The frontpage originally hosted a well known image that showed how the New York Times shifted its lead in the arrests of the Occupy Wall Street protestors on the Brooklyn Bridge. After some deliberation and discussion we decided to take it down since we didn't agree with the aggressive commentary text, even though the virality of that image partially inspired this project.

# DocNow® Diffengine @ Editing TheGrayLady @nyt diff &

Fig. 49. NewsDiffs, 2012. Newsdiffs article comparisson. Referendum Medialogs.



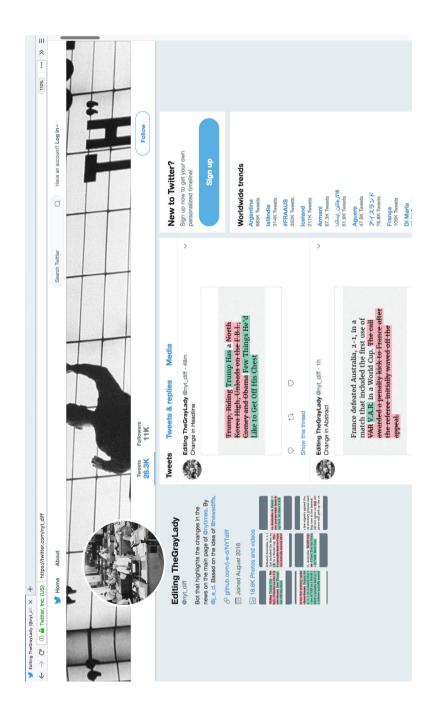


Fig. 50. @nyt\_diff, Twitter, 2016. Editing TheGrayLady @nyt diff. Referendum Medialogs.

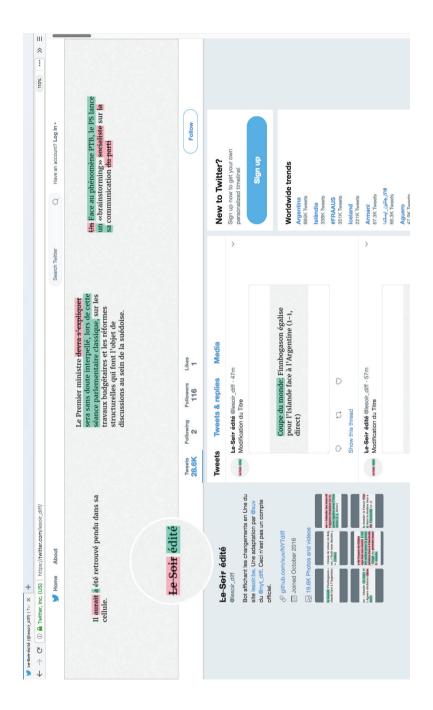


Fig. 51. Le Soir édité, @LeSoir\_diff, Twitter, 2016. Le Soir édité. Referendum Medialogs.

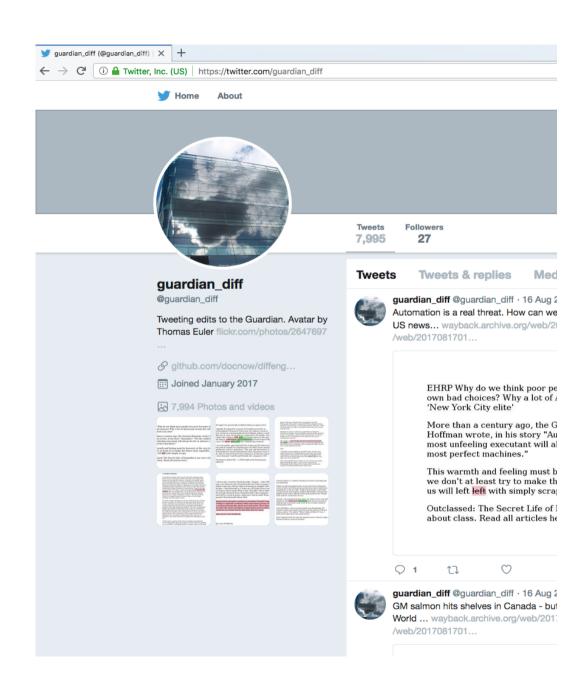
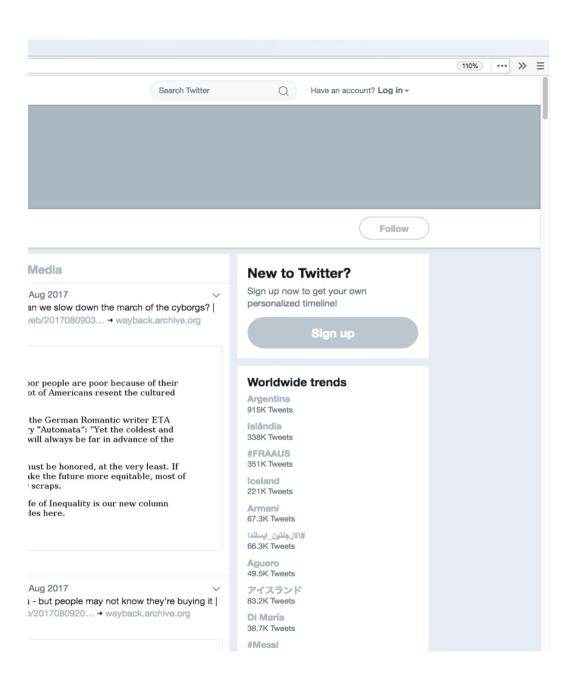


Fig. 52. The Guardian\_diff, Twitter, 2017. The Guardian\_diff project. Referendum Medialogs.



# Versionista

Versionista is a web-based subscription service created in 2008 by Peter Bray, inspired on the Wiki's "recent changes" page. Versionista comes with a user-friendly interface, allowing users to track web changes. Wired magazine highlighted Versionista in an article (Stirland, 2008) showing a side-by-side comparison of then-candidate Barack Obama's Iraq War policy web page changes. Versionista can be configured to track at a specific frequency. Users can get instant content changes and summary through email alerts. These include changes on images as well. The software offers a "version history" that can be used to compare between changes. Most importantly, it offers the option to filter or ignore content that might not be relevant.

# **Parliament Wikiedits**

Parliament WikiEdits is a Twitter-based project that tracks edits made from London's Westminster Parliamentary IPs. This is a good example that shows how revision control system can be implemented in politics, just as Referendum MediaLogs. What works well in this project is the idea of countering institutional opacity; logging Westminster's wiki edits is a simple but efficient mechanism to spot political incorrectness, and perhaps more. There is an existing symbolic connection with regards to institutionalized censorship during the Catalan referendum, and tracking wiki edits from Westminster. They both call for social action,

Referenduum Medialogs

manifesting the necessity to provide transparency of information controls from social and media institutions.

# Iraq War Wikihistoriography

The Iraq War: A History of Wikipedia Changelogs is a project developed by James Bridle. This work is a record of all article changes to the Wikipedia on the Iraq War. Alongside the conflict, this work reported a five year period 2004 to 2009, logging 12,000 changes and having around 7,000 pages. Iraq War Wikihistoriography provides a history of changes in a series of books. Considering all available data collected with Diffengine after the Catalan referendum, printed matter could also take interesting forms in combination with MediaWiki.

# Versionista

Core features of Versionista

# Core Versionista Features

Our product provides a robust platform to monitor, archive, and alert customers to key changes

We're always keen to hear from users for features they'd love to see. Just e-mail us at account(

# Dashboard view of all monitored sites & pages

After you've added some sites or pages to monitor, your dashboard will list all sites in order of

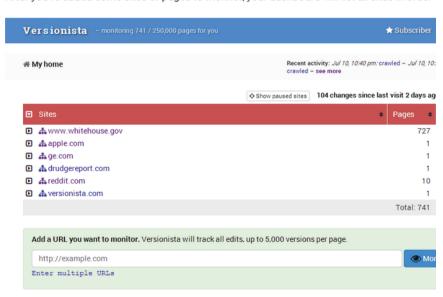
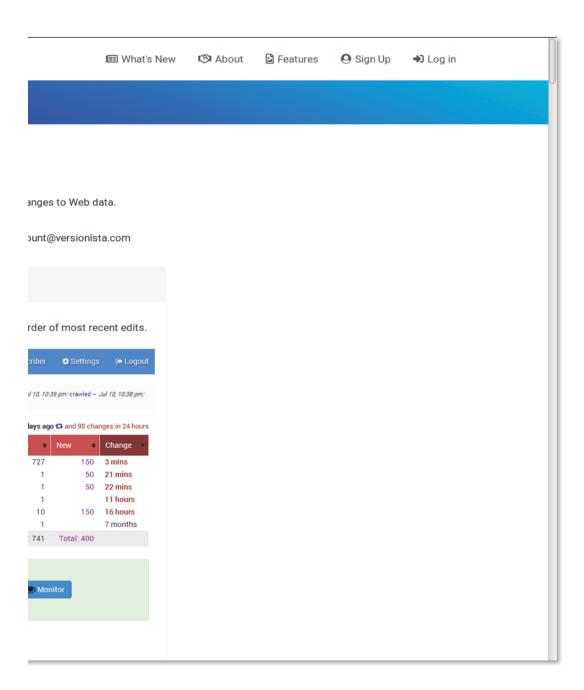


Fig. 53. Versionista, 2008. Versionista's features



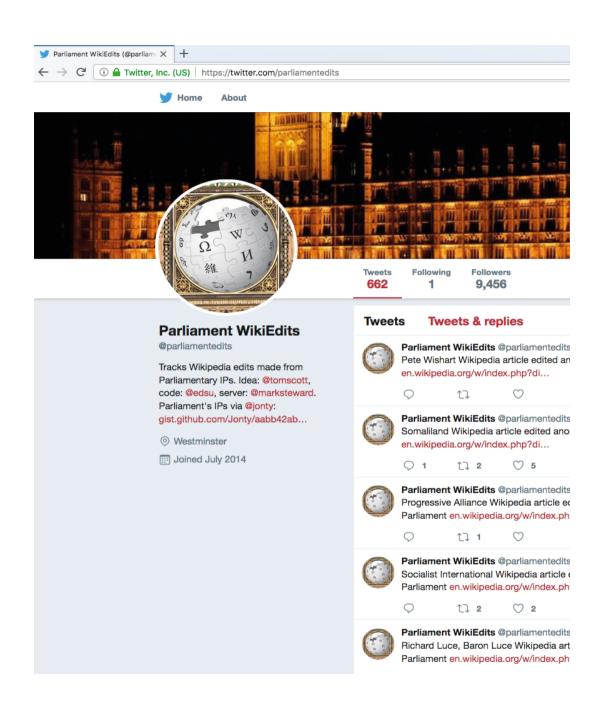
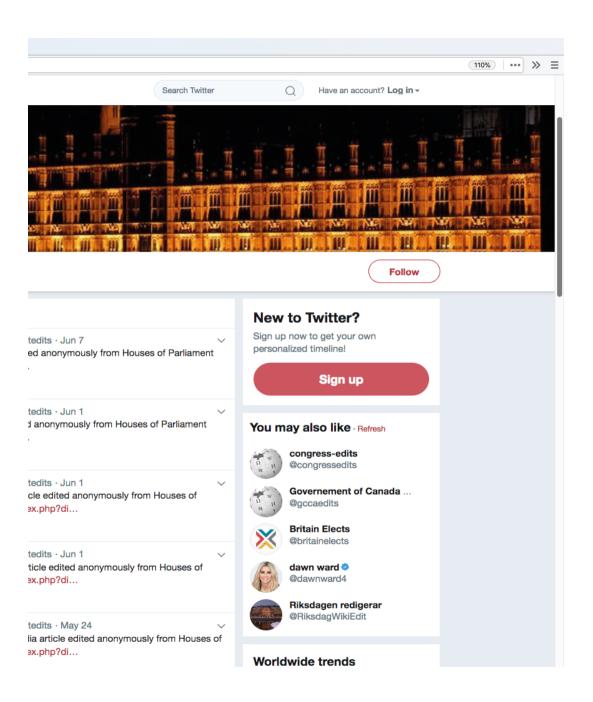


Fig. 54. Parliament WikiEdits, 2014. Parliament WikiEdits Wiki-based project.



"The Iraq War: A History of Wikipedia Changelogs" is a twelvevolume set of all changes to the Wikipedia article on the Iraq War. The twelve volumes cover a five year period from December 2004 to November 2009, a total of 12,000 changes and almost 7,000 pages.

The books have been much discussed on the web and elsewhere. appearing, including The Awl, Hilobrow, Urlesgue, GOOD, ReadWriteWeb, Hacker News, MetaFilter, The Atlantic (twice), Wired, the New York Times, and Time, I was also interviewed by American Public Radio and a number of magazines.

The books have been exhibited in galleries in the US and Europe.

# On Wikipedia, Cultural Patrimony, and Historiography September 6, 2010

On Friday, I spoke at dConstruct in Brighton. Huge thanks to everyone at Clearleft, and everyone who came, for a really great time.

I talked about a number of things. I started out talking about Geocities, and how it was a very real thing, a place that I grew up in, and how it was lost too easily. This, despite efforts like the Wayback Machine from the Internet Archive (which, incidentally, is kept in a shipping container).

William Gibson spoke recently at BEA. He said this:

"If you're fifteen or so, today, I suspect that you inhabit a sort of endless digital Now, a state

of atemporality enabled by our increasingly efficient communal prosth anthropologists tell us, one cannot know one's own culture."

Which struck me pretty hard, that bit about atemporality, and the flatness of digital memory Alexandria, and the Yo La Long Dia, and the National Libraries of Bosnia-Herzegovina and our shared patrimony.

These losses, despite their horror, will always happen: but what can we do to mitigate and





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# Iraq War Wikihistoriography

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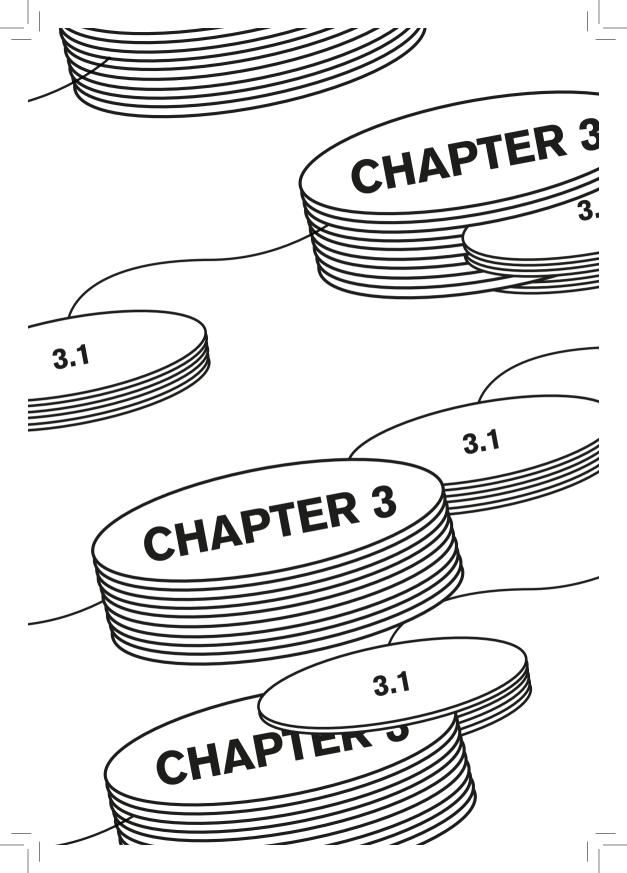


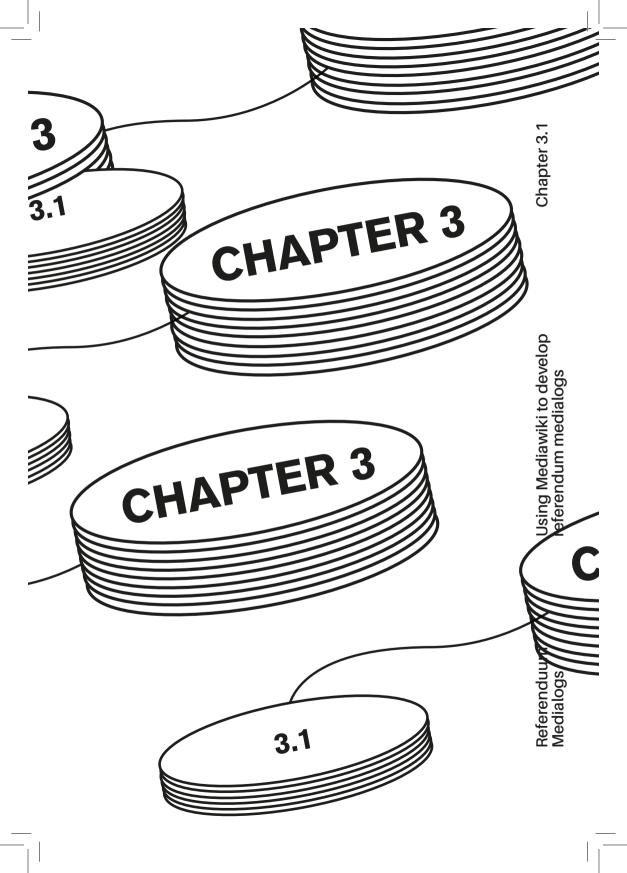
q War: A History of Wikipedia Changelogs" is a twelve-volume set of all changes to the Wikipedia article raq War. The twelve volumes cover a five year period from December 2004 to November 2009, a total of changes and almost 7,000 pages.

sthetic memory. I also suspect that you don't know it, because, as

mory, but particularly our lack of awareness of this situation. I talked about the Library of  $\iota$  and Iraq—all examples of cultural destruction caused in part by neglect and willful disregard for

and understand them? In a world obsessed with "facts", a more nuanced comprehension of





Referendum MediaLogs is a MediaWiki project, launched in mid-October after the Catalan referendum. MediaWiki is an open source server-based software that facilitates the organization and visualization of information. The MediaWiki that I've been developing (referendumedialogs.referata.com) is an exercise to provide documentation about the conflict. However, an updated version is being developed (www. referendum-medialogs.tk). The material that I provide is cached using the services of the Wayback Machine and Archive.today so that it doesn't necessarily depend upon URLs that can potentially be shut down in the future. Transforming MediaWiki into a more participatory infrastructure, where users were able to upload documentation to the system, it would possibly trigger new material to be continuously updated, while more people would engage with the platfrom. Running MediaWiki on a Raspberry Pi can be very useful for small projects where no big server is needed. It can also be used where no internet is available. The Raspberry Pi 3 that I am using has a built-in Wi-Fi access point available. One of the advantages of using the Raspberry Pi is that it allows me to create an independent selfhosted system. That is to say, it would avoid any possible intellectual property policies or censorship issues with 3rd party software. The project would be only accessible through an encrypted connection to the web. However, if I was to automate Diffengine using Cron, filtering and storing newly generated files in the web server of the Pi, considering that I am also hosting sensitive content, it would be necessary to consider

a different system. Following recommendations by activist Daniel Morales and Matthias Brugger, hosting such material in a Raspberry Pi could not be enough in case of DDoS attacks or many visits. Using a third party secure infrastructure for hosting sensitive web content, such as services from Nodo50 or Sobtec, might be an alternative that still has to be studied.

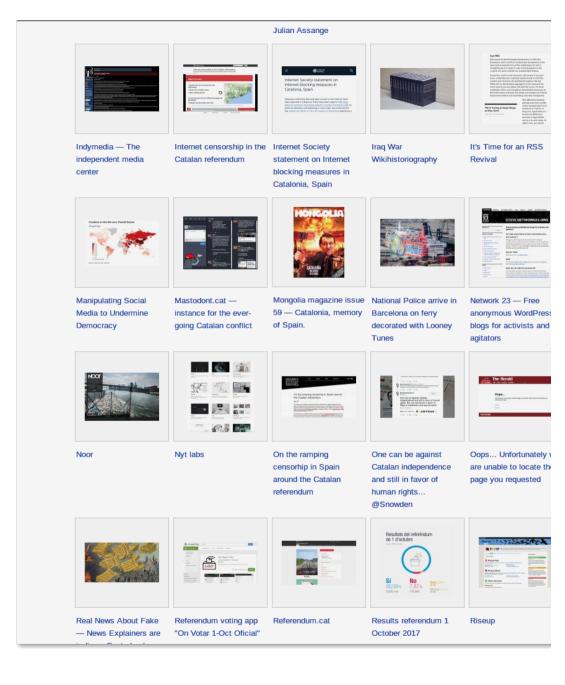


Fig. 56. González, Referendum Medialogs, 2018. Referendum Medialogs main page.















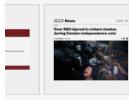


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Night of tension in Barcelona between police and protesters over raid

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No Justification for Spanish Internet Censorship During Catalonian Referendum









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Parliament WikiEdits Popula — Civil

Public service broadcasting under threat in Europe











RSF publishes report on "Respect for media in

Spain's New Security Law Meets Fierce

Spain: Police Used Excessive Force in

Spanish Artwork Denounced Political

### Subcategories

This category has the following 21 subcategories, out of 21 total.

### Δ

- ► Activism (15 P)
- ► Archive (7 P)
- Article (47 P)
- ▼ Article 155 (9 P)

Article 155: The 'Nuclear Option' That Could Let Spain Seize Catalonia El Periódico censors Ferreres last strip for the journal

Exigencias de 'Chulo' Puigdemont tras proclamar: "la república catalana ha ganado a la monarquía del 155"

Four Jailed Ex-Catalan Senior Officials Accept Spanish Rule Via Article 155

- Sputnik International

Independencia de Cataluña: El CNI frenó 70 ciberataques de los independentistas y sus aliados contra el 155. Noticias de España Lotería de Navidad: el número 155, el más buscado para el sorteo L'aplicació de l'article 155 de la Constitució espanyola des del 27-28

d'octubre de 2017

Maldita

Pasos para aplicar el artículo 155 de la Constitución Española en Cataluña

В

▼ Book (2 P)

Days that will last for years Tech tools for activism

▶ Bot (11 P)

С

- ► Censorship (17 P)
- ▼ Code (2 P)

How the Catalan government uses I-could-have-written-that

D

► Data set (2 P)

H

► Fake News (8 P)

G

► Gag law (5 P)

Р

► Platform (8 P)

# Pages in category "Resource"

The following 102 pages are in this category, out of 102 total.

4

• 404 error — Sorry the page you requested could not be found

8

· 844 injured in clashes with police, says regional government

### Α

- · A protest bot is a bot so specific you can't mistake it for bullshit
- AgendaOfEvil
- · Anonymous: We fight against Spanish fascism and attacks will not stop
- Article 155: The 'Nuclear Option' That Could Let Spain Seize Catalonia
- ArxivemElMoment

### C

 Can "Extreme Transparency" Fight Fake News and Create More Trust With Readers?

Catalan conflictio callatoral victim

- Greetings from Barcelona
- Guardian diff

### н

- Hacker News
- HacktionLab
- · Help Catalonia. Save Europe.
- · Hommage to Iwo Jima
- How Shoddy Reporting and Anti-Rus Silence Julian Assange
- How the Catalan government uses II
- . How to Archive Open Source Materia

ī

- · I-could-have-written-that
- . If you're running a Catalan site being
- In Cameroon and Spain, network shi

Fig. 57. González, Referendum Medialogs, 2018. Referendum Medialogs 'Resource' Category and Subcategories.

	► Project (20 P)
	R
	► Revision control (11 P)
	· ·
	S
	► Satirical (7 P)
uses IPFS to sidestep Spain's legal block	➤ Social (20 P)  ➤ Software (22 P)
uses in 1 3 to sidestep opain's legal block	P Soliware (221)
	U
	► Unpublished (4 P)
	V
	▼ Video (3 P)
	Geo Search Tool
	Help Catalonia. Save Europe.
	Internet censorship in the Catalan referendum
	► Violence (8 P)
	w
	► Website (10 P)
	Over 800 injured in violent clashes during Catalan independence vote
	Р
	Parliament WikiEdits
	Popula — Civil
	Public service broadcasting under threat in Europe
	R
ti-Russian Propaganda Coerced Ecuador to	• Real News About Fake — News Explainers are tedious. Fact-checks can feel
	partisan. Is there a third way?
ses IPFS to sidestep Spain's legal block	Referendum voting app "On Votar 1-Oct Oficial"
laterials	Referendum.cat
	Results referendum 1 October 2017     Discuss
	<ul> <li>Riseup</li> <li>RSF publishes report on "Respect for media in Catalonia"</li> </ul>
	Nor publishes report of Respect for friend in Catalonia
being shut down @brokep Peter Sunde	

Page \$	Journal +	Headline <b>♦</b>	Diff ÷	URL ¢	Publishe
795 encausats, 24 detencions i 10 presos polítics: diari d'una repressió que no s'atura	Vilaweb	795 encausats, 24 detencions i 10 presos polítics: diari d'una repressió que no s'atura	URL₽	URL®	January 1 1970
Arrest of Carles Puigdemont provokes clashes in Catalonia	The Washington Post	Arrest of Carles Puigdemont provokes clashes in Catalonia - The Washington Post	URL₽	URL₽	January 1 1970
Últimas noticias sobre Catalunya, en directo	La Vanguardia	Últimas noticias sobre Catalunya, en directo	URL₽	URL₽	Decembe 2017
Can "Extreme Transparency" Fight Fake News and Create More Trust With Readers? - Nieman Reports	Nieman Reports	Can "Extreme Transparency" Fight Fake News and Create More Trust With Readers? - Nieman Reports	URL®	URL₽	January 1 1970
Carles Puigdemont Should Not Be Charged with Rebellion	Spiegel	Carles Puigdemont Should Not Be Charged with Rebellion - SPIEGEL ONLINE	URL₽	URL₽	January 1 1970
Carles Puigdemont to remain in Belgium despite withdrawal of European arrest warrant	The Brussels Times	Carles Puigdemont to remain in Belgium despite withdrawal of European arrest warrant	URL₽	URL₽	January 1 1970
Catalan parliament declares independence as Spanish PM says 'no alternative' but to seize power	The Star	Catalan parliament declares independence as Spanish PM says 'no alternative' but to seize power	URL₽	URL®	January 1 1970
Catalonia crisis hits home in Belgium	Politico	Catalonia crisis hits home in Belgium	URL₽	URL₽	January 1
Catalonia crisis in 300 words - BBC News	BBC News	Catalonia crisis in 300 words - BBC News	URL₽	URL₽	December 2017
Catalonia Election Gives Separatists New Lift	The New York Times	Catalonia Election Gives Separatists New Lift	URL₽	URL₽	January 1 1970
Catalonia's pro-independence parties win parliamentary election, dealing blow to Spanish government - The Washington Post	The Washington Post	Catalonia's pro-independence parties win parliamentary election, dealing blow to Spanish government - The Washington Post	URL₽	URL₽	January 1 1970 12:0 AM
Catalonian crisis – Carles Puigdemont and the four other Ministers released by Belgian police	The Brussels Times	Catalonian crisis – Carles Puigdemont and the four other Ministers released by Belgian police	URL®	URL₽	January 1 1970
Cómo funciona Signal, la app de los mensajes de Puigdemont	20 minutos	Cómo funciona Signal, la app de los mensajes de Puigdemont	URL₽	URL₽	January 1
Clashes at protest against arrest of	The Herald	Clashes at protest against arrest of	URL®	URL₽	January

Fig. 58. González, Referendum Medialogs, 2018. Referendum Medialogs Diff Table.

lished +	Edited +	Image +	About		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL₽	795 taken to court, 24 arrests and 10 political prisoners: a diari of a repression that does not stop		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL®	[Hide] A decision on the <del>his</del> extradition could drag on for two <del>months</del> <ins>months,</ins> and any of the possible outcomes will be perceived <del>as politically motivated either</del> <ins>—</ins> by the Spanish government on one <del>hand,</del> <ins>hand</ins> or pro-independence activists in <del>Catalonia,</del> <ins>Catalonia</ins> on the <del>other.</del>		
mber 1,	December 1, 2017	URL₽	Live breaking news about Catalonia		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL@	<ins>The year that "Putin's Revenge" was broadcast was incorrect in an earlier version of the caption. The correct year is 2017, not 2012.</ins>		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL₽	It's <del>likely</del> <ins>possible</ins> that the separatist leaders did, in fact, use taxpayer money to organize the banned independence referendum.		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL₽	<del>Carlos</del> <ins>Carles</ins>		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL₽			
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL₽	<ins>tut tut </ins>		
mber 21,	December 22, 2017	URL₽	Catalonia's drive for independence has plunged Spain into its biggest political crisis for 40 years. <del>It's a complicated dispute, so let's break it down.</del>		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL₽	<del>In Blow to Spanish Unity, Catalan</del> <ins>Catalonia Election Gives</ins> Separatists <del>Keep Majority in Regional Vote</del> <ins>New Lift</ins>		
ary 1, 12:00:00	January 1, 1970 12:00:00 AM	URL₽	[Show]		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL₽	<del>hand themselves into</del> <ins>released by Belgian</ins>		
ary 1,	January 1, 1970	URL®	How does Puigdemont's app Signal works.		
arv 1.	January 1.	URL®	[Show]		

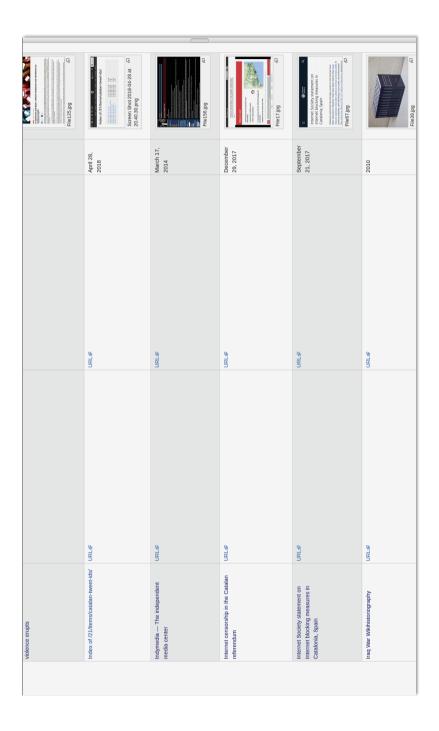


Fig. 59. González, Referendum Medialogs, 2018. Referendum Medialogs Cargo Table Resource

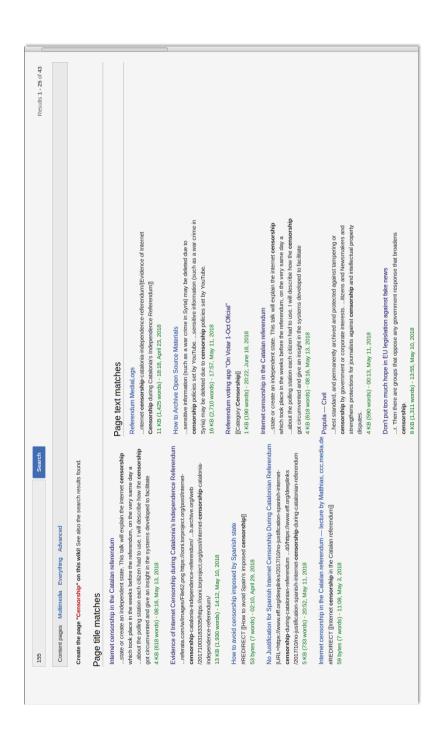
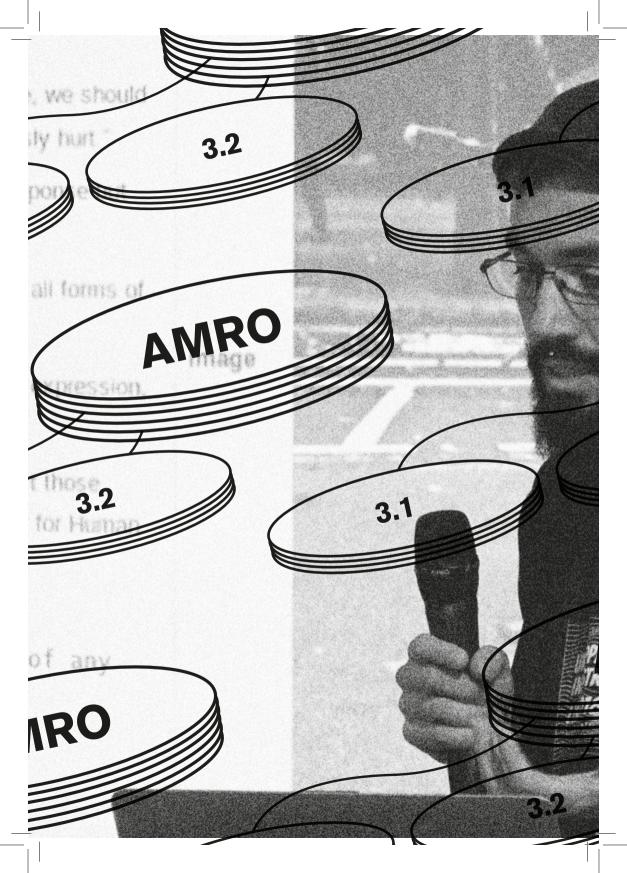
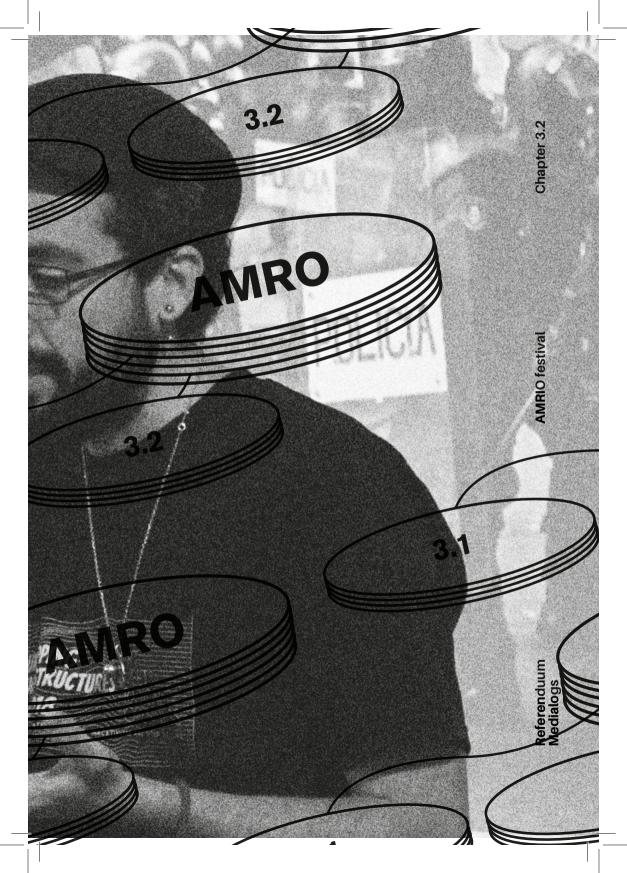


Fig. 60. González, Referendum Medialogs, 2018. Referendum Medialogs Search 'Censorship'.





Referendum Medialogs was presented at Art Meets Radical Openness (#AMRO18), together with the work of Marloes de Valk, Emily Buzzo, and Giulia de Giovanelli.

AMRO is a biennial community festival in Linz that explores and discusses new challenges between digital culture, art, everyday life, education, politics and active action.

The current issue "Unmapping Infrastructures" deals with the idea of "mapping" as a process of becoming aware and then acquiring a critical position about the current landscape of technological infrastructures.

This conglomerate of machines, human and non-human actors, nation-states and borderless companies is increasingly complex to observe and describe. Nevertheless, we believe that there is more to be seen than a hyper-commercialized structure of interlaced technological layers. Cartographic mapping consists of a series of practices of observing, analyzing and representing a territory to be able to move through it.

How can art and activism appropriate the methods of cartographic mapping to produce new, critical and alternative views of the current landscape shaped by different players?

The festival aims at deepening the thematic areas of digital geopolitics, alternative design methods, activist practices and autonomous infrastructures, themes that offer directions for localizing areas of intervention. Throughout the festival, these topics will be further explored through discussion panels, workshops, and performances.



During this short 15 min presentation, I have given a quick overview of the events and incidents surrounding 1 October, then I have shown a selection of article revisions using Diffengine, whether having more or less significant news changes. The idea was to get a better sense of these news processes which are often invisible to the user. Finishing with a curated collection of both resources and revisions presented on a MediaWiki page.

The Questions and Answers section at the end of our presentations provided Referendum Medialogs with very critical, diverse and useful feedback, which I have transcribed on the following pages.



# What did I learn from this experience?



Feedback & Questions.

# Feedback 1.

"You should clean your thing, Diffengine, much of it is just wordpress trash, like a proof reader coming after the writter after the thing is published because of the velocity of the news cycle and fixing the dashes. So actually, you should introduce another engine on top of this Diffengine just to get rid of pointless examples, because if you would look at your result of the Diffengine triage, you would think that you are in the middle of a nightmare because all the media keep changing the news from the past, when in reality is just that processes are a little bit weird and that's all. And then I would have to ask you, since you are uploading the links manually are you also parsing the results

manually sometimes, for fun? are you looking at what comes out? because in the slides you have shown useless results, don't get me wrong is a great idea but then did you look for the good one, ah fuck you I found you! Stallin has deleted this guy from the picture and now I have proof...you know, did you get any like that?"

# Feedback 2.

If I can jump in... I think it's also a question of archiving, versus selecting, versus representing the materials, I am not an archivist but there are some ways of deciding which is the material that I want to keep track of, so I think keep track of everything and then there will be a second part, second process, chunk it off, re-analyse it, and as I understood this is an ongoing process. Also in the end you didn't push it into some conclusions, like I found this one and I kind of assume that my reserach led to this result, that's why I am thinking that's gonna come, still.

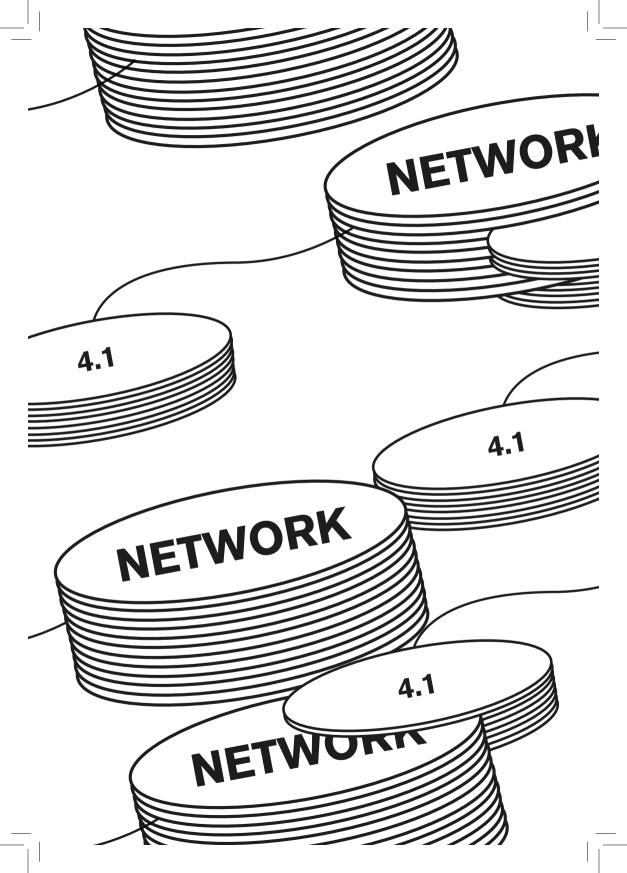
# Feedback 3.

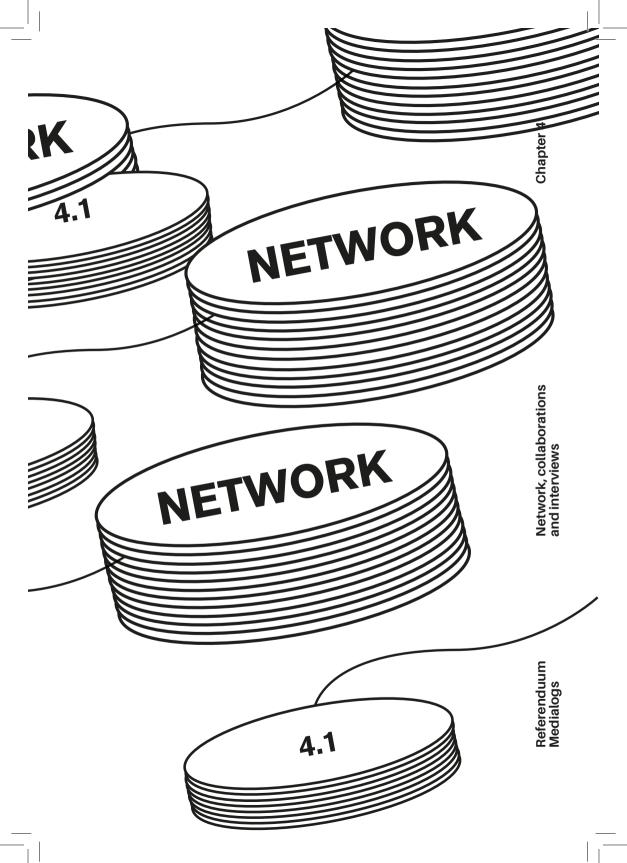
I think it would be also interesting to look at the percentage of things that changed, because I would reckon if you would kick out all the punctuation changes, the probably most interesting part are probably little changes, keywords changes that kind of change the context, or a mistake that change the

whole structure of the article, maybe that's something weird going on, a mkistake... It might be a good idea to look at that and see what conclusion you can see from that, and maybe automate that to kind of cut down the 40 thousand files to kind of 20 thousand?

# Feedback 4.

I just wanted to say I think it's fine. I personally think it's fine that there are em dashes which still in there because actually in some way reflects how news is made now. We need to get the news out, the news cycle push it out there without even proof-reading. which for me seems to be like the felly to fall part of what responsible kind of media should have... someone should always be proof-reading, I try to make my students proof-read, so I think is actually showing that the news is kind of in fluctuation as it goes out actually comments how information is released, and you know, apparently, even though it has an environmental cost there is a lot of broundary and data out there, so having 40 thousand edits, editing it down to a certain amount of garbage or not, that's being equally kind of precious about the editing process I think. Where it's right now is great, 40 thousand whatever the content is, it's an archive, it's a Diffengine, it's not this diff is better than that, Diffengine.







# e-mail

# **Edward Summers**

- · Diffengine developer
- DocNow software community aimed to preserve digital evidences

# **Matthias Brugger**

- · activist, developer, lecturer
- · conference about Internet censorship in the Catalan referendum at media.ccc.de

# **Daniel Morales**

- · activist, developer, hacker
- published a list of mirrors of the Catalan referendum's website
  - ·investigated

# #ArxivemElMoment

- Twitter project archiving digital evidences donated by users about October 1
- · created by Archivists Association of Catalonia (AAC-GD)
- they use DocNow's software Tweet Catalog. Connected to Edward Summers \*

# X-Net

- Simona Levy
- -the activist group reported a few articles about cybersecurity and censorship during the referendum

# publication

Edward wants to publish referendum medialogs, AMRO's lecture and any footage from the graduation show at:

news.docnow.io

# **Aniol Maria**

- · archivist and member of the AAC-GD
- · investigated for creating a repository of the referendum's website
  - · proved he did for archiving purposes

# Vicenç Ruiz

- · archivist and member of the AAC-GD
  - has access to the archive #ArxivemElMoment (not public yet)



# mastodont.cat

# Mercè Molist

- · former journalist Nació Digital
- · current journalist El Confidencial
  - specialized in activism & cybersecurity

## VOC

- · anarchist, republican, pro-independence magazine
- connected to archivists, activists and projects about 1-O

# Pirata.cat

- activist party supporting human rights, transparent and open data and access to information
  - · support to hackers cloning referendum website
    - · invstigated

?

# donation

archive of posters created to promote the referendum on 1-O, (some of them were censored) collected from different cultural organizations and parties.



Mercè is a user on <u>hispagatos.space</u>. You can follow anywhere in the fediverse. If you don't, you can <u>sign u</u>



franc @fg@mastodont.cat Bones a tots!

Sóc un usuari nou a Mastodont. He obert ul amb els incidents del referendum de l'1 Oct màster 'Referendum Medialogs' en el qual il desinformació que es van produir al voltant Mediawiki per organitzar documentació dig generats amb Diffengine.



franc @fg@mastodont.cat

El web s'està actualitzant, així i tot podeu ac referendumedialogs.referata.com a on trob podeu entrar al servidor pzwart1.wdka.hro.i classificades per diari (començant a mitjan



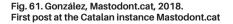
Mercè @merce

@fg a la llista no hi es el naciodigital.cat? S d'anonymous, de com es va salvar informat una tesi tu? Qui ets?



franc @fg@mastodont.cat

@merce Hola Mercè, moltes gràcies per la l Digital capturats dins einnews-multiplefeed selecció i aquest no el vaig incloure. Algun tesi la imprimeixo en dues setmanes.





llow them or interact with them if you have an account ign up here.

5 days ago

rt un compte per recollir informació relacionada Octubre. Estic treballant en el meu projecte final de ual investigo les pràctiques de bloqueig, distribució i tant d'aquest conflicte. Estic desenvolupant una digital, i que inclou revisions d'articles de premsa

5 days ago

u accedir-hi a través de trobareu una selecció d'aquest material. També hro.nl/~franc/yea... on trobareu totes les revisions tjans d'Octubre fins al Març).

5 days ago

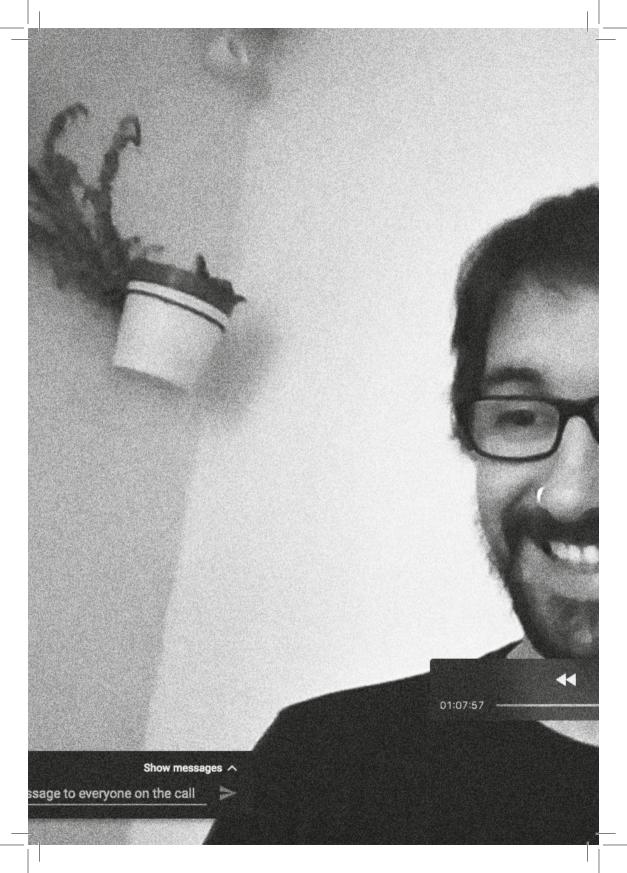
t? S'hi van explicar un munt de coses dels atacs maticament l'1-0 o de les webs mirall. Segur que fas

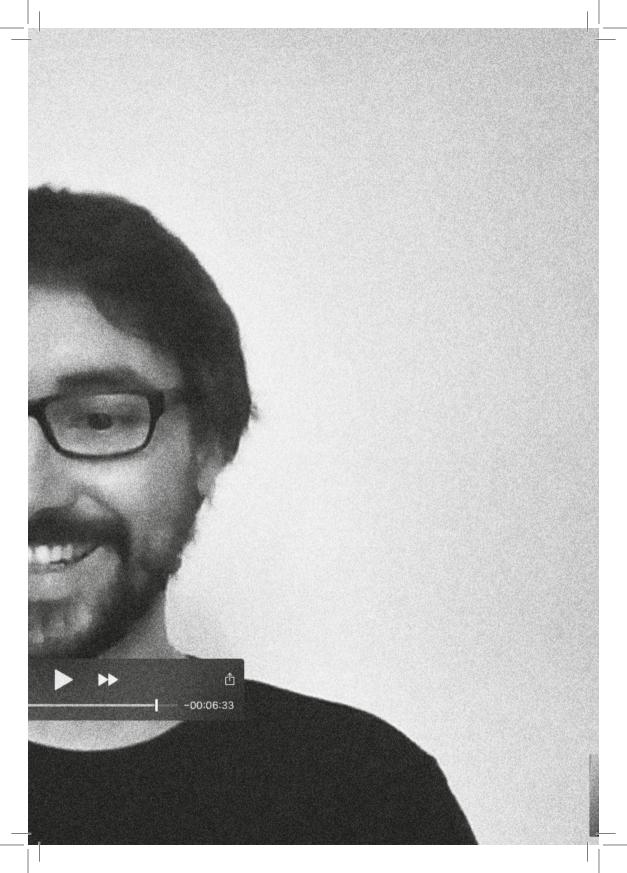
5 days ago

r la recomanació, crec que tinc alguns del Nació ieeds, però en aquell moment vaig fer una petita jun article en concret que hem puguis enllaçar? La











### **Matthias Brugger**

Activist, open source Linux software developer, member of Promoter Group for Technological Sovereignty (Sobtec, sobtec. cat). He made a presentation about Internet censorship in the Catalan referendum at the Chaos Communication Congress (media.ccc.de).

There is not much noise in the news now, it seems that everything is quieter... but there are still websites or ISPs that are still under control I guess?

"With regards to the issue of censorship, I found that Court orders imposed to Internet providers are up to a whole year, and in fact, on many pages, you can still see the logo of the civil guard."

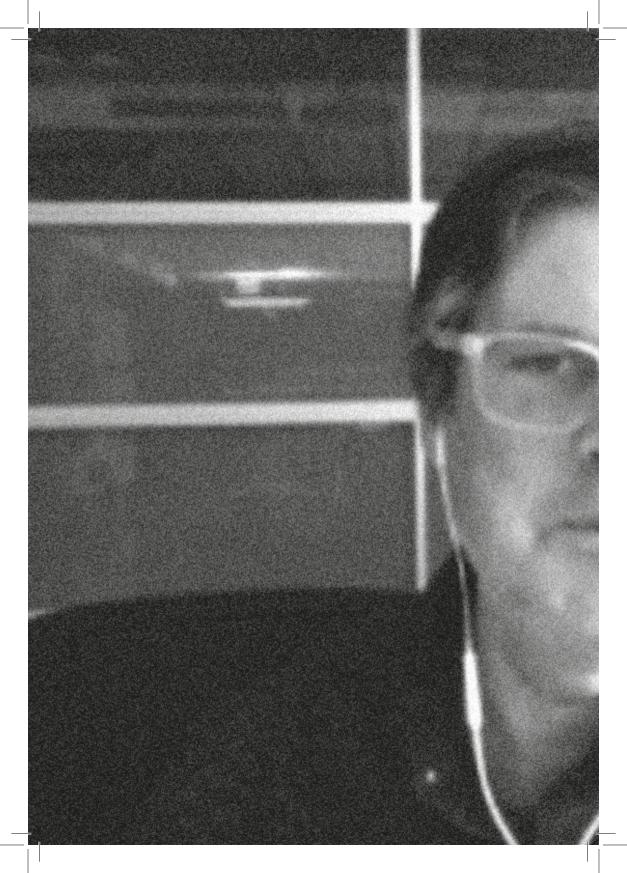
When a website is hosted abroad, is it more difficult to take it down due to a lack of international agreements on this, right?

"The Spanish state did two things: one is that the Court order said that all .cat domains with content

related to the referendum had to be redirected to the police server, and with this measure, you are already censuring everyone because you have attacked the DNS directly. With regards to the pages that were hosted with .org or .sexy outside of Spain, what they did was attack them through the internet providers. Because you are in the Netherlands, you would have had no problem accessing all these pages because you do not go through the Spanish ISP."

# Should they not take responsibility for the censorship attack to all these websites?

Well, this issue is complicated. The Constitutional Court has declared the referendum illegal, then the fact of censoring an illegal thing becomes legal. In Spain, you can do little. They sent several Court orders to the ISPs, saying that they should censure all the URLs that appear on the social networks of the Generalitat... in a state of law who decides what's right is the judge, but with the matter of the PuntCat Foundation when the police says; 'well you have 100 thousand .cat domains and now you have to look at those who talk about the referendum and censure them all', they cannot decide what is illegal and what is not, this is decided by a judge, but if you do not do it, you will have problems. ... and I think that this is where you could make a claim and go to the European court perhaps..."







### **Edward Summers**

DocNow's community tech lead. Diffengine developer. Connected to archiving initiative #ArxivemElMoment, and to archivists Aniol Maria and Vicenç Ruiz.

# What was your motivation to develop Diffengine?

"We wanted it to be right after Trump was elected in the US, there was a lot of anxiety about how all this propaganda produced from all sorts of different angles, and the difficulty to sort of understanding how the news is being shaped over time, it was something some people I interacted here in the University were interested in... Traditionally when newspapers were printed there was a lot of work getting it printed but once it's printed and it goes out, you have a copy of it, the distribution of the newspaper can't stop it, on the web is so different, were the news source are constantly being shaped, were you have an initial story and then it's shaped over time.... So we just wanted to get a better sense of like how the news are being shaped."

So it was after the US elections that you were triggered to develop this tool...

"Yeah I think that's what brought us to our head a lot of that anxiety what is happened in social media, and how little we understood what happened. I guess you see it all over in academia, you know thinking about it, it's as an empirical problem... and that's what excites me about what you've been doing, you are basically collecting evidence and then try to find the ways to use this evidence to motivate your own theories."

# What could be improved?

"One problem with Diffengine is that the more content it collects, the more work it has to do, and I don't feel that I resolved that problem very well... So I don't know how many URLs it collected but basically, the more URLs it collects... because anything can change at anytime, right? It's kind of optimyzed at the moment for when things are first published, and as they get older the less lickely they are to change."



Ed Summers is a user on social.coop. You can follow anywhere in the fediverse.



Ed Summers @edsu

I just had an amazing chat with @fg about I the web was used to shape media stories a

referendumedialogs.referata.co...

github.com/docnow/diffengine



franc @fg@mastodont.cat @edsu thank you so much for sharing some referendum, diffengine and other useful res work



Ed Summers @edsu

@fg I loved the comments about the signific want to share this presentation now. Please



franc @fg@mastodont.cat

@edsu they should be up online soon, howe they finish with editing?



Ed Summers

@edsu

@fg no worries, I can wait for the editing

June 7, 2018, 7:04 PM · t3 0 · ★ 0



franc @fg@mastodont.cat

@edsu thanks for the feedback Ed, glad to s end 😀



Fig. 62. González, Mastodont.cat, 2018. Edward's post after our chat





ollow them or interact with them if you have an account

21 hours ago

out his use of DocNow's diffengine to archive how ies about the Catalan Referendum.

21 hours ago

some really interesting thoughts about the Catalan I resources!  $\ensuremath{\boldsymbol{arphi}}$  it brings more sense to the whole

21 hours ago

gnificance of typography, and word changes. I so ease let me know when it gets released!

20 hours ago

nowever I can ask them if it'd be ok to share it before

ng

20 hours ago

I to see that lil presentation did some good in the

3.1

193

3.1

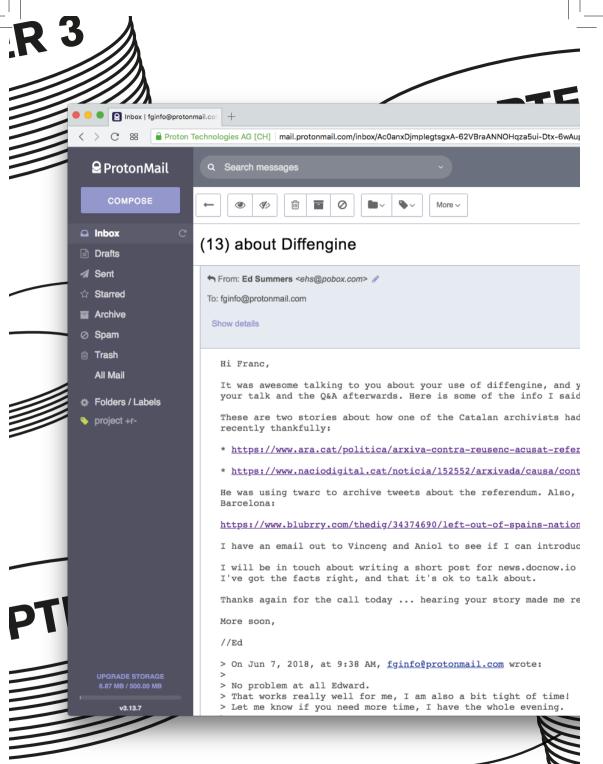
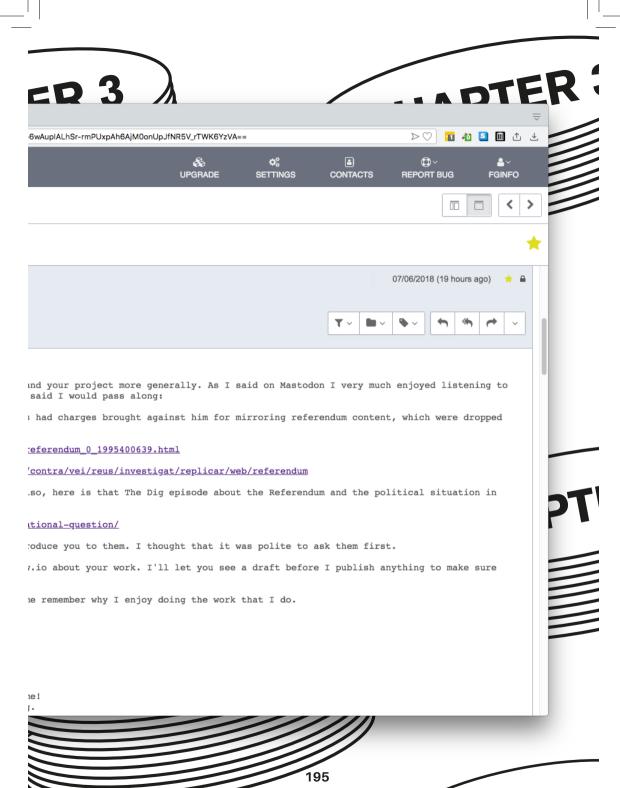
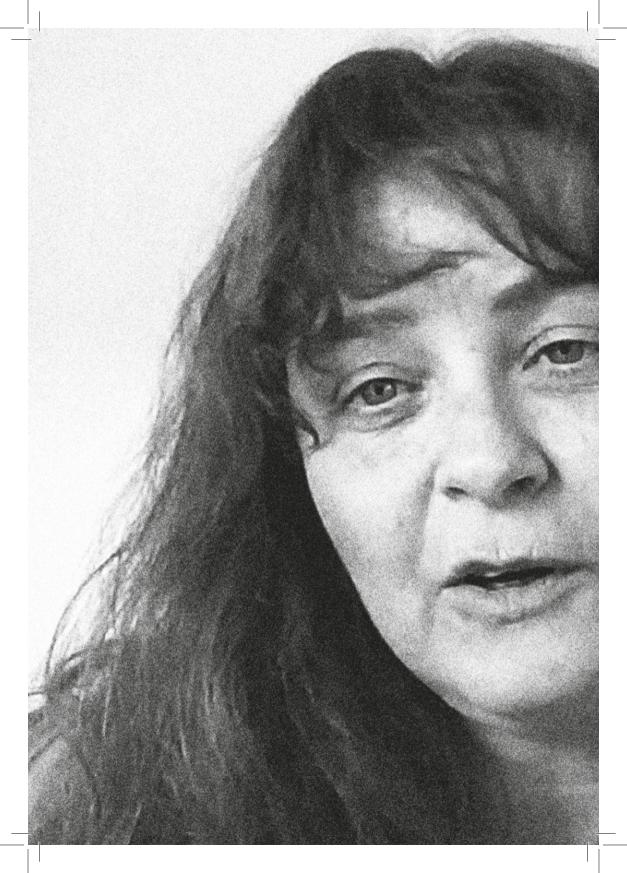


Fig. 63. González, e-mail, 2018. Edward's e-mail after our chat









### Mercè Molist

Former journalist of Nació Digital, where she published many articles about internet censorship and the activities of activist group Anonymous surrounding the Catalan referendum. Mercè is a journalist specialized in writing about activism & cybersecurity. She is the current journalist for El Confidencial.

Do you think that there was a before and after with the referendum, with regards to perceiving the internet as a safe place, or understanding better its scope?

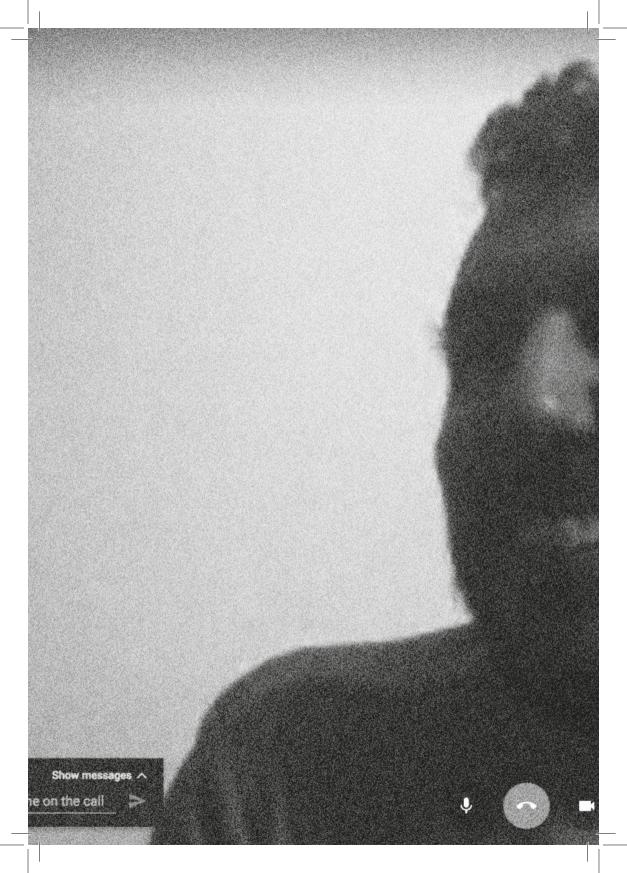
"More than a before and after, what was is that there was a peak, a very important peak of paranoia among the population. Suddenly, they began to have the Spanish state spying on WhatsApp, there were many people who installed Telegram, everyone was worried about these issues, their privacy, because suddenly we entered into war, I would say a cyberwar, and therefore people were very worried. I remember that the day before the referendum, the night of September 30, I was told to recommend people on Twitter to use a mobile app...

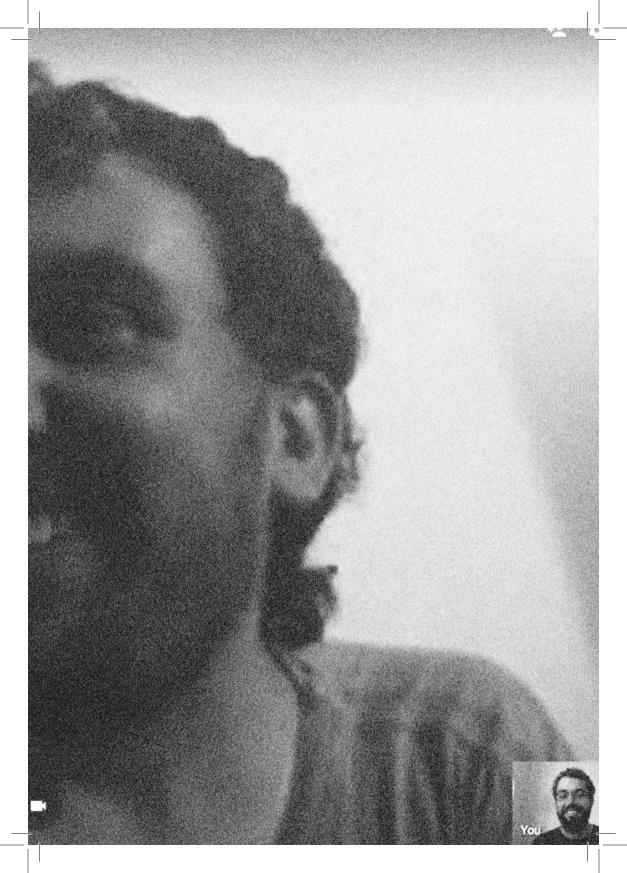
"firechat" in case they were left without internet, and that tweet was re-tweeted thousands of times, to such an extent that on that day I did not know if it was retweeted by users or bots, because it was brutal, it was continuous ... I think that there were bots, but I also believe that there was a lot of people's paranoia.

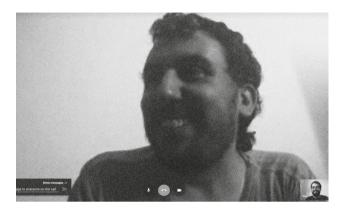
Then it was a peak, I do not think that since then citizens are more secure, but after what happened, the referendum, the declaration of independence, all that came along with, and then we have got back to the normal situation where everyone does their things. I think that more than a before and after, in matters of awareness on cybersecurity, there was a very big and interesting peak."

Then do not you think that citizens need more awareness about tools for social resistance, taking into account that our data, our freedoms are everyday more dependent on this technology, on the internet?

"No, I believe they discovered Telegram, some other applications, they learned about some stuff, people asked themselves, "can we be spied on Whatsapp?" Let's say we acquired some knowledge, but maybe they applied it at that time, but now... I have Telegram and I could see that everyone in my contact list was signing up... people I'd have never thought of. I think they have the knowledge, but they do not apply it."







### **Aniol Maria**

Archivist and member of the AAD-GC. He was investigated for cloning the referendum's website. However, Aniol proved he did it for archiving purposes. A former collaborator of initiative #ArxivemElMoment, and currently active with other archiving projects.

# Could you explain the reasons why you were investigated?

"There was #ArxivemElMoment where we had photos, posters, we had stuff, but I also tried to capture other things on my own, and within these things there was the referendum website, preserve webs, make a repository of websites."

# What tools did you use to make the repository of websites?

"The first copy that was made, was on Github."

# And did you publish the mirror on your Github account?

"No no, I made a copy of the repositories. I did not post the URL anywhere outside of Github.

I just made the repositories which were already public, you have to pay to have a private repository."

# Why were you investigated then?

(Laughs) ... "Because they did not know it, they basically thought there was a plot behind it. There were four crimes that accused us all: crime of sedition, crime of disobedience which is often used, crime of embezzlement of public funds, because they thought that we were being paid by the Generalitat (Catalan gov), and crime for criminal organization because they thought that we were all organized into a group led by someone... in the end they saw that each of us was doing it on our own, that is why I was cleared because my part did not make any sense. The others did not have much luck because they published a list of mirrors of the website. I made the copy and I left it on my account. I did not do the other part."

# Do you have any material that you want to share, something that has not yet been published?

"I have a collection of propaganda with hundreds of digital posters that were made for the referendum."

On the following pages I will show some posters created by different parties and cultural organizations on the days leading up to the referendum. These posters were archived by Aniol Maria, who has very kindly donated them for this project.



投票給CATALONIA 2017年10月1日



# 10月1日我们都 一起决定我们的未来

#prenpartit

prenpartit.cat







#SíÉsFutur

assemblea.cat



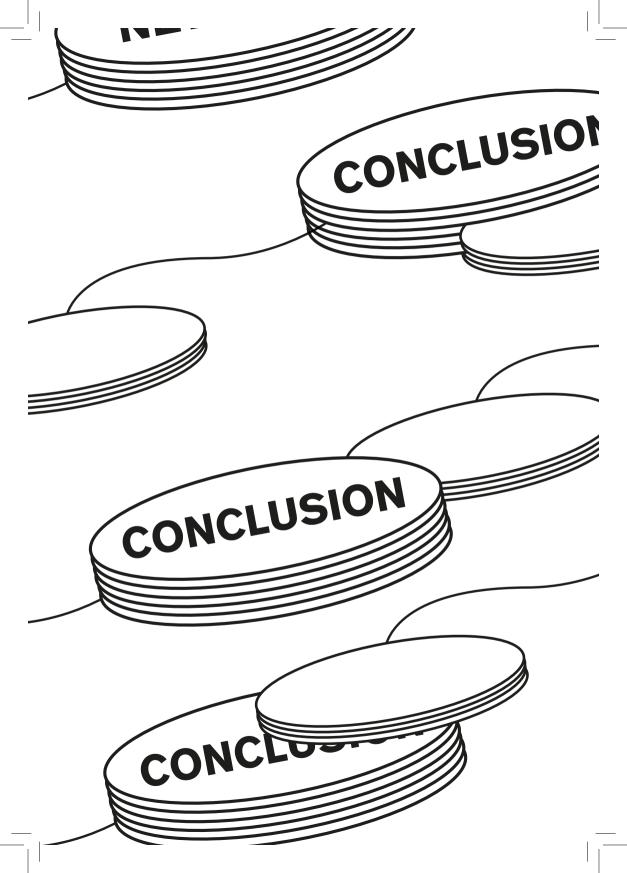


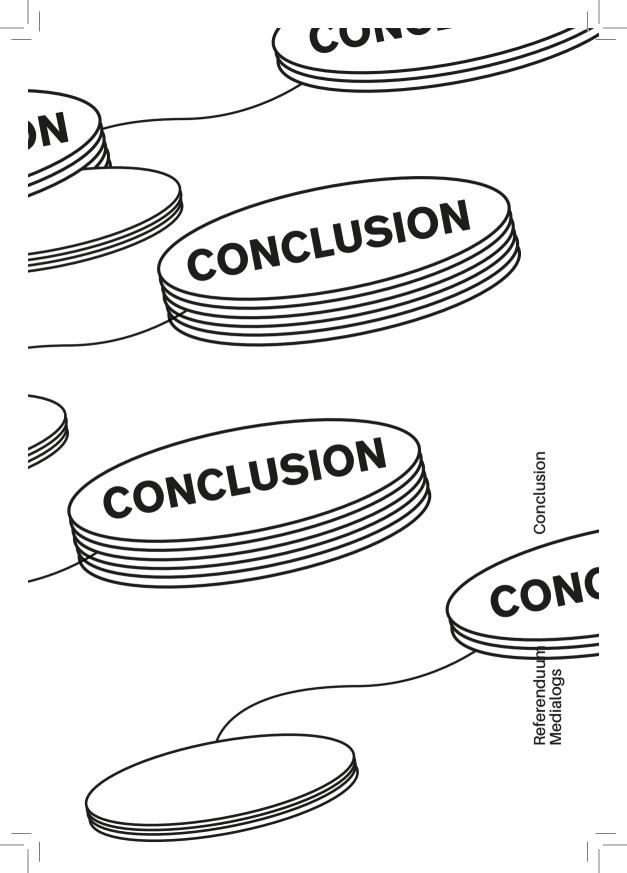




# No ens ho impediran

# VOTA!





On the first chapter, a history of the events and incidents surrounding the Catalan referendum on 1 October 2017 has been explained. Online censorship and intimidatory laws aren't just leading to the normalization of fear among citizens, they are also feeding paranoia and showing that perhaps we are drifting further from international human rights agreements. Despite several reports by human and internet rights organizations have been denouncing the incidents of the Catalan referendum at an international level, yet there have been no responsibilities taken so far with regards to indiscriminated violence and censorship attacks by the central government.

In the second chapter, I have discussed the advantages of using Diffengine in the hectic context post-referendum. I have shown a handpicked selection of revisions in order to provide a better sense of what news media story changes look like. I have analyzed some results and discussed the relevance of specific minor edits. Although finding digital evidence or traces that prove the existence of deliberate misreports has been so far an interesting attempt to encounter different results. Most importantly, something I have learned is that having a Diffengine archive have shown that the news is in constant fluctuation as it goes out, sometimes overloading with mostly drafts of final versions, reflecting how information is released. A series of projects related to my own research and practice have been analyzed and compared, giving special attention to NewsDiffs, and to Versionista's contribution to journalism for providing political evidence during the US presidential elections.

Referendum Medialogs may work well both as data and adversarial journalism. The project digs into the issue of censorship, revisionism, and disinformation, providing perspective from different angles. There are elements that can be improved; automating Diffengine so that users could access a public archive where news changes would continuously be updated in a public repository, or developing a more participatory system where users could upload and share documentation. The hope is that this research and project can encourage users to engage in a necessary public discussion. However, Referendum Medialogs will be on an ongoing process of development while this political conflict remains.





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