

The Views of the U.S. Left and Right on Whistleblowers Concerning Government Secrets

By
Casey McKenzie

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Department of International Relations and European Studies

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Supervisor: Professor Erin Kristin Jenne

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Abstract

The debates on whistleblowers in the United States produce no simple answers and to make thing more confusing there is no simple political left and right wings. The political wings can be further divided into far-left, moderate-left, moderate-right, far-right. To understand the reactions of these political factions, the correct political spectrum must be applied. By using qualitative content analysis of far-left, moderate-left, moderate-right, far-right news sites I demonstrate the debate over whistleblowers belongs along a establishment vs. anti-establishment spectrum.

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Introduction

The leaking of government secrets is nothing new to the American government. But now that we are living within the information age the amount of government information that has leaked in recent years has been enormous. When such incidences occur there is always a reaction against the whistleblowers. It is the reaction of the left and right wing that I observe in this paper.

The reactions are important to observe because they form the frame in which the right and the left try and explain the situation. A frame can be categorized as the highlighting of the central idea of a story. The overall idea of frames can be defined as, “—by making certain features of an event salient, or by making certain aspects of policy visible—[frames] will guide individuals’ thinking about the event or issue in predictable ways to predictable conclusions.”¹ By highlighting certain aspects of the story the frame is able to sway public opinion based on the particular frame that is chosen. This is due to the fact that once certain aspects are highlighted other aspects are shadowed. This study looks at the frames used by the far-left, moderate-left, moderate-right, and far-right in American news sites on their discussions of whistleblowers. Specifically we will be looking at purposeful framing, in which the author is specifically attempting to sway the readers’ opinion by the type of information that is emphasized. Said a bit more bluntly, “Framing, an attempt at political manipulation.”²

The term whistleblower itself is constantly debated especially when there are large scale leaks. In recent history there have been many large scale leaks and whistleblowers have been thrust in the mainstream news. For this analysis we use the definition that a

¹ Gross Kimberly and Lisa D’Ambrosio, “Framing Emotional Response”, *International Society of Political Psychology*, Vol. 25, No. 1, February 2004

² Mintz Alex and Steven B. Redd, “Framing Effects in International Relations”, *Springer*, Vol. 135, No. 2, May 2003

whistleblower is a current or former employee of a company who disclosed “illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices under the control of their employers, to persons or organizations that may be able to affect action.”³ The act of whistleblowing has been described as a four step process. The first step is the realization that either questionable, illegal, or unethical activities are occurring. The second step is the employ’s assessment of how to proceed: deciding if in fact the act is wrong, gathering additional information, or discussion of the situation with others. The third step is “the employee exercises voice by blowing the whistle.” The fourth and final step is that the organization members react and possible retaliation against the whistleblower.⁴ For the sake of this study we are looking at how the media reacts to whistleblowers and the media’s retaliation to them. Looking at three specific individuals, Edward Snowden, Chelsea Manning, and Julian Assange, this study looks at whether or not the media perceives them as whistleblowers and if so what their retaliation is.

The common notion of American politics is that there are two definitive political wings ‘the left ‘(democrats) and ‘the right’ (republicans). Each wing has seemingly well-defined principles and differences that separate them from one another. While that is generally the case, the truth is a bit more nuanced than that. There are two political wings, but there are divisions within each, usually separated as moderates at the center, to the far-left and far- right on the opposite ends of the political spectrum. On certain issues the far-left and far-right do agree with their moderate counterparts. But there are times when they do disagree, usually for not going far enough on a certain issue or for compromising. This can almost be considered its own faction, but since the United States is a two party system, they are all lumped together. Then there are rare issues that seemingly throw the whole political

³ Vandekerckhove Win and Eva E. Tsahuridu, “Risky Rescue and the Duty to Blow the Whistle”, *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 97, No. 3, December 2010

⁴ Morehead Dworkin Terry and Melissa S. Baucus, “Internal vs. External Whistleblowers: A comparison of whistleblowing processes”, *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 17, No. 12, September 1998

spectrum out of order. Where we have moderate-left and right-wingers agreeing with one another and having far-left and far-right wingers agreeing with one another. Whistle blowing is one of these issues. To have opposing political wings to agree with one another and then to have the extreme ends of the wings disagree with their moderates and then agree with their polar opposites is quite perplexing.

But if we were to take a closer look at the situation we would recognize that these divisions are not perplexing at all. The reactions to whistleblowers are perfectly in line with what these groups believe in, and also serve as a litmus test along the political spectrum of power. It shows us that those who are closest to the center of power say one thing while those on the periphery say another.

Literature Review

In order to understand why these political factions are divided as they are over the issue of whistleblowing we must look for the correct political spectrum. A political spectrum is a way of classifying different political positions. Over the years there have been many political spectrums created, the most common one being the left/right spectrum. Where left and right wings run along a straight line of a government represent two opposing sides.

The left/right political spectrum while still the most commonly used to identify parties in the US. This spectrum has been criticized as being too simple and for not incorporating the complexities of certain issues that divide parties. For each party has a platform/agenda which consists of a long list of issues that the members agree upon. With the left wing containing basic liberal ideologies the issues generally revolve around the government's active role in regulating the economy, redistribution of income (opposition of tax policies that aid the

affluent), and the equality of those of different races, classes, or gender.⁵ While the right wing consists of conservative ideologies, they include issue around the reduction of government restrictions in economic activity, tax reductions, strong military, and traditional family values. These respective issues essentially form the core for each political wing. The problem that lies within this left/right model is that each “political wing” contains factions within it that disagree with the core issues in some way. These factions are usually categorized as the far-left and the far- right, for they occupy the opposite ends of the political spectrum. While there are times the far-right and far-left do agree with their own political wing, the case of whistleblowing concerning government secrets is not one of those times.

One example of a political spectrum that does deviate from this traditional spectrum and is perhaps a better description of what the spectrum looks like is the “horseshoe theory”. First coined by the French thinker Jean-Pierre Faye in his book *Le Siècle des ideologies*⁶, in addition Daniel Bell an American political scientist contributed to the development of the this theory with his centrist/ extremist theory in *The New American Right*⁷. Both theories explain that as the parties get more extreme and further down the political axes the parties start having more similarities than differences. As these similarities grow the edges of the political spectrum bend towards one another resulting in a horseshoe shape, with the more moderate parties at the top and the extremes at the bottom curving toward one another. The horseshoe represents the idea of the centralist parties are seemingly against the extremist parties. While the horseshoe theory does show how opposite extreme parties do bend toward one another and actually sometimes share more similarities than differences. It does explain why they are bending toward one another on the issue of whistleblowing concerning government secrets.

⁵ Holsti Ole R. and James N. Rosenau, “Liberals, Populists, Libertarians, and Conservatives: The link between domestic and international affairs”, *International Political Science Review Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January 1996

⁶ Jean Pierre Faye, *Le Siecle des Ideologies*, Armand Colin, 1996

⁷ Daniel Bell, *The New American Right*, New York, Criterion, 1955

A clearer political spectrum that can be used is that concerning anti-political establishment parties. In Amir Abedi's book, *Anti-Political Establishment Parties*, he explains this spectrum as a struggle between the establishment and the antiestablishment parties. Adebí begins by defining establishment parties by using Sartori the "governing-potential" criterion⁸. Which consist of all those who are in power or willing to cooperate with them are the establishment⁹. The establishment parties in the US would consist of Democrats and Republicans elected to office and can be categorize as moderates. Amir then gives three criteria on how to identify an anti-establishment party.

- A party that challenges the status quo in terms of major policy issues and political issues.
- A party that perceives itself as a challenger to the parties that make up the political establishment.
- A party that asserts that there exists a fundamental divided between the political establishment and the people. It thereby implies that all establishment parties be they in government or in opposition are essentially the same.¹⁰

The groups that would fit the anti-establishment criteria the best would be non-elected members of the far-left and far-right, sometimes categorized as socialist (far-left) or libertarians (far-right). With the factions clearly divided the anti-establishment spectrum shows a good representation of why whistleblowing issue works well with this spectrum. The whistleblowers themselves represent a direct challenge to the establishment. In that if there is to be any change in the establishment it is to be done internally and quietly. So anything exposed to the public via whistleblowers is a direct blow to the establishment. While the establishment parties are coping with the fallout of the whistleblowing the anti-establishment parties seize the opportunity to rally against the government.

After reviewing these three political spectrums, the anti-political establishment spectrum is the best for describing the reactions of the political left and right on whistleblowers concerning government secrets. With whistleblowing being the embodiment

⁸ Amir Abedi, *Anti-political Establishment parties: A comparative analysis*, New York Routledge, 2004, p. 11

⁹ Ibid, p. 11

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 12

of an anti-political establishment issue. No other spectrum perfectly argues why these seemingly ideological opposites would agree with one another and it helps us understand why these factions are divided as so.

Argument

By employing the Anti-political establishment spectrum, the US political factions should line up in a specific way. The ‘moderate’ left/ right should be seen as the establishment and as so should be in support of it. This is the case because moderates are generally already in or attached to the establishment. They are in this position due to the fact they generally follow the statue quo, which appeals to the majority of the voting US population, whom allow them into the establishment. The support from the moderate left/right should come in the form of defending the government’s actions concerning it’s spying activates, while also at the same time attacking the whistleblowers actions.

The far left/ right should be seen as the anti-political establishment and as so should be seen as a constant critic of the establishment. They follow this type of action because the far left/right are usually seen as unelectable and outsiders. They are in this unelectable position because as the name suggests they are ‘far’ down the political spectrum away form the center, and being that ‘far’ down alienates most voters. This position while unelectable is the perfect place to criticize the government, since they don’t need to worry about voters they are free to say what they want about the establishment.

Research Design

In order to test the premise that the issue of whistleblower concerning government secrets follows a political spectrum that resembles the anti-political establishment spectrum I

am going to use qualitative content analysis on the reactions of the left and right in the form of opinion pieces found on online political news sites. This will allow me to see and differentiate between the frames that the left and right wings produce on the subject of whistleblowing.

I decided to focus on the three whistleblowers: Snowden, Manning and Assange due to the fact that they are some of the most recent whistleblowers in US history concerning government secrets. But not only are they the most recent but their revelations have had the largest implications not only for the US but globally as well. Also, each one of the whistleblowers has a different distinction that separates them from one another, in that Snowden is a civilian, Manning a soldier and, Assange a non-US citizen. These distinctions are important because they play a large role in how opinion leaders frame them and how the public perceives them.

Using the method of agreement, I analyzed nineteen political news sites (See Appendix VI for complete list), in order to capture the US's left and right wings views on whistleblowers concerning government secrets. I split the group of news sites into four groups, with each group representing a point on the political spectrum of the left/right divide which is further divided into far-right, moderate right, moderate left, far-left. It is divided into only these four groups because even though one can continually find political divisions and distinctions along the political spectrum, these four groups represent the major division of American opinion.

In order to locate the nineteen political news sites that I used in my analysis I triangulated numerous sources. To identify the political orientation of the websites I first did a general search for politically slanted newspapers and magazines. I first looked for political self-identification, if they advertised their leaning with their title or if they had an information page that declared it. I also took the recommendations from many political blogs

that rank websites on their bias or advertised websites that line up or went against their ideology. I triangulated the results from the following websites: fightconservatives.com¹¹, libguides.usna.edu¹², backwardtimes.com¹³, freerepublic.com¹⁴, and rightwingnews.com¹⁵. The political blogs opinion weighed heavy in the decision of the websites because the blogs generally follow the opinion leaders and are also sometime opinion leaders themselves and therefore identify with a news site revealing its political leaning. Once the news site's political orientation had been confirmed, in order for that site to be used in the analysis it had to possess a general search function, which would allow me to locate old posts from within the website's archives.

In the end a total of seven major newspapers were chosen including: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Washington Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Atlantic*. The remaining sites are a combination of online magazines and blogs. Once the news sites were chosen, I conducted individual searches of the three whistleblowers. On each site I separately searched "Edward Snowden", "Julian Assange" and due to Manning's new sexual identification I searched both "Bradley Manning" and "Chelsea Manning". I only accepted opinion pieces about the whistleblowers. I only used articles that had the three whistleblowers names in the title or used pronouns alluding to them. I also accepted an article if it used the term WikiLeaks in the title because Julian Assange's name has become synonymous with the WikiLeaks being one of the founders. Many of the news sites search function were rudimentary and with few advanced searches, so all the articles were searched by relevancy. I further filtered the results by looking for key words in the title or expletory text of the article, on the subjects of NSA, whistleblowers, hero, and traitor. A complete list of the titles and

¹¹ <http://www.fightconservatives.com/Links-and-Resources/>

¹² <http://libguides.usna.edu/content.php?pid=498774&sid=4101620> and <http://libguides.usna.edu/content.php?pid=498774&sid=4101620>

¹³ <http://backwardtimes.com/2010/12/top-100-liberal-progressive-websites-for-2010/>

¹⁴ <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/news/2905595/posts>

¹⁵ <http://www.rightwingnews.com/special/the-100-most-popular-conservative-websites-for-2013/>

dates of the articles used and the point on the political spectrum they are categorized under can be found in Appendix V. The titles are divided into three groups under each point of the political spectrum, one group for each whistleblower. The titles are listed in alphabetical order for each group.

The time period of this analysis will focus on the years of 2010 to the present (2014). The reason for starting in 2010 even though Julian Assange and WikiLeaks has been around since 2006 and had released information pertaining to the US it pales in comparison to the magnitude and the reaction of the 2010 release of the Manning leaks.¹⁶ The analysis is extended into the present because the situations are still unravelling, with the Snowden revelations just a year fresh, the topic of whistleblowers and government secrets is not going away anytime soon.

Once all the articles were chosen from each group of new sites, they were organized in separate word documents one for each of the whistleblowers in each of the four points on the political spectrum, making three for each group and twelve word documents altogether. From there a word search was conducted on each of the documents, by searching the names of whistleblowers descriptive and framing words were noted and compiled into a list. A separate table was made for each of the whistleblowers which contained all of the single words used to describe/frame them divided up into the four points on the political spectrum, far-left, moderate-left, moderate-right, and far-right (See Appendix I-III) A separate table was constructed to note the phrases (two plus words) used to frame the whistleblowers, also divided by the separate points on the political spectrum (See Appendix IV). The tables note

¹⁶ Bell Melissa, “Julian Assange starts WikiLeaks TV show”, January 2012, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/julian-assange-starts-WikiLeaks-tv-show/2012/01/24/gIQAfP4SNQ_blog.html (last access 18.05.2014)

the description/framing terms used by the author of the article as well as quotes taken from the opposing perspective.

The reason the analysis is centered on news sites and the opinions of its staff and contributors is that they form the core image of their slot on the political spectrum. These opinion leaders follow the major events of the day and the reaction of those in power and they take what they observe and create a frame that will explain the situation in the ways they want.

Limitations

Some limitations that I have run into while conducting the analysis mostly revolve around the fluctuating nature of events around Snowden. Assange is sitting in an Ecuadorian embassy and Manning in jail, for now their stories and frames are set. Peoples' view on them will not be changing for quite some time. Snowden on the other hand is still on the run and new information is being released from time to time, his story and how people view him are constantly evolving. But it can be argued no matter what change occurs the political groups will still stand by what they say about him and simply change the frame to fit the situation.

Another drawback is the search function and archives on the websites, they all vary to different degrees, so I had to simplify my search option in order to get a fair representation from each new site. Also what hindered my research was the vast amount of news articles that were labelled opinion, but were either repost of opinion pieces from other sites or videos with a small description. One major limitation was that there is no clear way of defining the political orientations of news sites, which makes it hard to triangulate. Especially sites that have a fuzzy political orientation but have opinion writers that lean in a different direction.

Chapter division

The following chapters will be divided into a chapter for each whistleblower, in the order of Snowden, Manning, and Assange. Within each chapter there will be basic background information on the whistleblower. Then the chapter will be divided into three subchapters each representing a political faction, except the far left and right which will be combined into one subchapter due to their similar viewpoints. The three chapters on the whistleblowers will be followed by the conclusion.

Chapter 1: Chelsea Manning

Chelsea Manning (formally known as Bradley Manning) is known for being responsible for the largest leak of classified documents in US history. Manning was a soldier and military-intelligence analyst in the United States Army. In 2010 Manning made contact with WikiLeaks about the military documents he uncovered. Later that year WikiLeaks published much of the leaked information Manning gave to them, which included a video of an Apache helicopter airstrike in Baghdad, 250,000 diplomatic cables and 500,000 army logs.¹⁷ Manning soon revealed that she was the leaker to Adrian Lamo, a former computer hacker, in an online chat room, where Lamo later reported her to authorities.

Manning was arrested on May 27th 2010 and charged with twenty-two offenses. She was held in the US Marine brig in Quantico, Virginia from July 10, 2010 until April of 2011. Pleading guilty to ten of the twenty-two charges, her trial on the remaining twelve charges began in June 2013, among the twelve was the charge of aiding the enemy the most serious of all the charges against Manning. Manning was ultimately convicted of seventeen out of the twenty-two charges in the end, not including aiding the enemy, the most serious of the offense charged against her. Manning was sentenced to 35 years in prison and is currently severing out her time at Fort Leavenworth, a maximum-security U.S. Disciplinary Barracks.¹⁸

Throughout the study Manning is conveyed by the four aspects of the political spectrum in very different ways. The far-left and far-right generally view Manning in a positive light. The articles bring up his mistreatment and overly harsh sentencing. The moderate-right have a completely negative view of Manning. They hold the belief that he put American lives at

¹⁷ Estrich Susan, "Bradley Manning: Hero or Traitor?", July 2013, available at <http://www.newsmax.com/Estrich/Manning-Hero-Traitor-WikiLeaks/2013/07/31/id/518055/> (last access 18.05.2014)

¹⁸ Hedges Chris, "Bradley Manning and the Gangster State", August 2013, available at http://www.truthdig.com/report/item/bradley_manning_and_the_gangster_state_20130821 (last access 18.05.2014)

risk and should be punished accordingly. The moderate-left see Manning more as a young and naïve individual who did not know the full ramifications of their actions.

1.1 “The Abuse of Private Manning”

The far-right and far-left are in agreement about Manning, both see her as a sympathetic figure who deserves to be praised and not punished. A majority of the articles focus on Manning’s treatment, which they see as harsh. In an article for Truthdig, an author quotes Manning’s lawyer stating, “Brad’s treatment at Quantico will forever be etched into our nation’s history as a disgraceful moment in time.”¹⁹ From the far-right perspective in an article from Reason.com the author states, “In sum, Manning has been subjected for many months without pause to inhumane, personality-erasing, soul-destroying, insanity-inducing conditions of isolation... all without so much as having been convicted of anything.”²⁰

One article from the far-left perspective paints an overly visual picture when describing Manning’s treatment. “where he had to stand naked, in chains, in the ‘maximum custody’ brig at Quantico, Va., imploring his prison guards for something as simple as toilet paper, or, earlier, in a ‘cage’ in Kuwait?”²¹ The far-right also calls into consideration not only the cruelty of solitary confinement the cruelty of Obama and his administration. When talking about the isolation as punishment Manning had been receiving one author noted, “many prisoners subjected to warped treatment of this sort, the brig’s medical personnel now administer regular doses of anti-depressants to Manning to prevent his brain from snapping from the effects of this isolation....”²² The use of the words and phrases ‘warped,’ ‘regular

¹⁹ Scheer Robert, “The Shameful Exploitation of Bradley Manning”, December 2012, available at http://www.truthdig.com/report/item/the_shameful_exploitation_of_bradley_manning_20121214 (last access 18.05.2014)

²⁰ Walker Jessee, “Bradley Manning Alone”, December 2010, available at <http://reason.com/blog/2010/12/15/bradley-manning-alone> (last access 18.05.2014)

²¹ Scheer Robert, December 2012

²² Walker Jessee, December 2010

does,’ and ‘prevent his brain from snapping’ are all frames used by the author to convey empathy towards Manning and hatred toward Obama and his administration.

They also see Manning as a whistleblower and as an example of how the US treats whistleblowers. How the government will use any tactic to get charges against Manning citing, at the espionage act of 1917 how the government uses it “The Espionage Act was never intended to be used in this way, as an extra punishment for citizens who disclose classified material.”²³ They constantly attack the administration not only for their treatment of Manning but also for the government’s reasons for such harsh punishment. The government’s reasons are framed as such that his leaks had put American lives at stake and disabled American security, which the far-left/right say there has been no such evidence that this is the case. Chris Hedges from Truthdig noted the following about Manning’s trial, “And it was accepted in the courtroom, without any evidence, that Manning’s release of the documents had harmed U.S. security and endangered U.S. citizens. A realistic defense was not possible.”²⁴ Will Wilkinson with the CATO Institute brings up a compelling argument in Manning’s defense when Republican Mike Rodgers of Michigan, talking about how Manning’s leaks have put Afghani informants and U.S. troops in peril, stated, “We know for a fact that people will likely be killed because of this information being disclosed.”²⁵ Wilkinson argues that, “Rodgers did not provide evidence for his “fact,” but one fact beyond dispute in our wars in Iraq and Afghanistan is this: they have killed people by the thousands... If putting people in harm’s way is a damning criticism of Manning, then what are we to make of those who have cheered on, voted for, and managed America’s wars?”²⁶

²³ Madar Chase, “Why Bradley Manning is a Patriot, Not a Criminal,” February 2011, available at <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2011/02/bradley-manning-legal-defense-WikiLeaks> (last access 17.05.2014)

²⁴ Hedges Chris, August 2013

²⁵ Wilkinson Will, “Bradley Manning’s Guilt—and Ours”, August 2010, available at <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/bradley-mannings-guilt-ours> (last access 17.05.2014)

²⁶ Wilkinson Will, August 2010

The far-left/right agree on the fact that there is no evidence that Manning's leaks have put U.S. security or citizens at risk, therefore he should not be treated as if they had.

The far-left constantly alludes to the fact that history is on Manning's side. Both of the left/right articles often make reference to Daniel Ellsberg. Ellsberg was a Marine and military analyst that leaked the Pentagon Papers in 1971. These papers included secrets pertaining to the Vietnam War. Ellsberg stood trial where he was charged under the Espionage Act of 1917. In the end Ellsberg was not convicted with all of the charges being dismissed. Ellsberg was praised for bringing light to the government's corruption involved in the Vietnam War and was and still is considered to be "a national hero."²⁷ Manning is also compared to a long list of other whistle-blowers who were once seen as villains and are now seen as heroes. The far-left frames Manning as an American hero by bringing up transparency in government and drawing parallels to American figures such as: James Madison, John F. Kennedy, Woodrow Wilson, and Hugo Black.²⁸

The far-right also draws parallels to Daniel Ellsberg. However, instead of just comparing Manning to Ellsberg they bring Obama into the mix. The far-right seems to be more critical of the government and the Obama administration overall. One article draws a parallel between Nixon and Ellsberg and Obama and Manning, "Nixon has gone down in the history books as a villain over the Watergate scandal, and many look upon Ellsberg as a true American hero. Yet as of now, it's hard to see if such perceptions will prevail as it concerns Obama and Manning."²⁹ The far-right articles further talk about the Obama administration and their hypocritical actions pointing out that Obama made a pledge in 2008 to rigorously protect whistleblowers. While on the campaign trail in 2008 Obama stated, "acts of courage

²⁷ Madar Chase, "Why Bradley Manning is a Patriot, Not a Criminal," February 2011, available at <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2011/02/bradley-manning-legal-defense-WikiLeaks> (last access 17.05.2014)

²⁸ Madar Chase, February 2011

²⁹ Gregory Anthony, "Obama's Persecution of Bradley Manning", March 2013, available at <http://www.independent.org/newsroom/article.asp?id=3572> (last access 18.05.2014)

and patriotism, which can sometimes save lives and often save taxpayer dollars, should be encouraged rather than stifled.”³⁰ To add to the far-right’s argument President Obama even passed the Whistleblowers Protection Enhancement Act of 2009. The far-right perspective goes as far as saying that the Obama administration should be condemned for their treatment of Manning.

The far-left sees Manning as a scapegoat for the governments misdeeds. “The bottom-line here is that while the U.S government is using Bradley Manning as a scapegoat for its own less-than-desirable actions, the mainstream media is letting them get away with it, by not doing their jobs, and not reporting on the real significance.”³¹ Here the far-left is framing the idea that mainstream media is not doing an adequate job reporting the facts of the case, what should be reported on is not even being brought up. For example, the far-left makes a point that only person being held accountable for their actions is Manning. “And yet no one anywhere has been held to much account: not in the political class, not in the military, not in the think tanks, not among the scholars, nor the media. Only one individual, it seems, will pay, even if he actually spilled none of the blood.”³²

1.2 “Manning’s Mission”

Since the hero debate is brought up often in the media the moderate-right want to make it clear that Manning is “no hero”. One article states, “He [Manning] is no hero, and the court got it right in determining guilt and the penalty for leaking a huge trove of secret

³⁰ Gregory Anthony, March 2013

³¹ The Daily Take Team, The Thom Hartmann Program, “Bradley Manning and Government's Cheating Heart”, August 2013, available at <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/18020-bradley-manning-governments-cheating-heart> (last access 19.05.2014)

³² Madar Chase, “Bradley Manning: Criminal or Whistleblower?”, January 2012, available at <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/01/bradley-manning-criminal-whistleblower-WikiLeaks> (last access 17.05.2014)

documents.”³³ They frame their argument by saying that his noble intentions were no such thing and he tried to hurt the US. To justify this they point to the damage which Manning has brought with the leaks, namely the loss of US soldiers lives. In an article titled “A just verdict against Bradley Manning” with the tag line “There’s nothing heroic about betraying your country,” the author states “He damaged our national security, betrayed his country and endangered the lives of intelligence assets and his fellow military personnel.”³⁴ The negative framing of Manning is all but apparent.

To further discredit Manning they try to frame her as a “troubled” individual. Articles continually bring up the topic of her gender identity disorder numerous times. For example, one article states, “Manning, who now wishes to be called Chelsea, is clearly a troubled young man — and yes, no matter how feminine he “feels,” he is a man.”³⁵ Before gender identity disorder information was released she was referred to as “gay” on many accounts. On one account Ann Coulter describes Manning as, “The mole who allegedly gave WikiLeaks the mountains of secret documents is Pfc. Bradley Manning, Army intelligence analyst and angry gay.”³⁶

In their attempts to frame him as a troubled individual, they also belittle some of the information released such as that “access to a lot of classified information- but not the really good stuff.”³⁷ One article talks about the video that was released showing the Apache

³³ Donnelly Elaine, “Manning and Hasan — and the political correctness devastating the U.S. military”, August 2013, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/aug/26/donnelly-manning-and-hasan-the-price-of-pc-in-the-/> (last access 18.05.2014)

³⁴ Spakovsky Hons von and John Malcolm, “A just verdict against Bradley Manning”, August 2013, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/aug/2/a-just-verdict-against-bradley-manning/> (last access 18.05.2014)

³⁵ Chavez Linda, “Bradley Manning's New Crusade”, August 2013, available at <http://townhall.com/columnists/lindachavez/2013/08/23/bradley-mannings-new-crusade-n1671409/page/full> (last access 18.05.2014)

³⁶ Coulter Ann, “Bradley Manning: Poster Boy for 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell'”, December 2010, available at http://townhall.com/columnists/anncoulter/2010/12/01/bradley_manning_poster_boy_for_dont_ask_dont_tell/page/ful (last access 18.05.2014)

³⁷ Peters Ralph, “Manning’s Enablers”, July 2013, available at <http://nypost.com/2013/07/31/mannings-enablers/> (last access 18.05.2013)

helicopter crew and that anyone with military experience would have made the same call.

The article goes on to state that, “Wikileaks’ big revelation was weak on sound, low on fury and signified nothing.” Using these examples and phrases frames Manning’s leaks as unimportant taking away any of their potential significance.

The moderate right also focuses on the punishment and conviction of Manning, while the far right/left want to see Manning freed. The moderate right sees the punishment as fair or even not harsh enough calling for life in prison. One article’s opening comments state, “Those expecting Pfc. Bradley Manning to be set free were disappointed. But so were those waiting for him to be marched straight to death row.”³⁸ Though some of the article’s framing convey a harsh tone other articles simply state, “Even without the conviction for aiding the enemy, he will, as my friend put it, still have plenty of time to contemplate his actions.”³⁹ The moderate-right seems to love nothing more than seeing Manning behind bars for his actions. Another article states the same sentiment reading, “Bradley Manning was rightly found guilty. We hope he gets the many years in prison that he deserves for his unscrupulous and illegal actions.”⁴⁰

1.3 “Justice for Bradley Manning”

The moderate left is mixed with their view of Manning. There is not as much high praise as from the far-left/right. Many of the articles focus on the treatment Manning, agreeing that it is too harsh or are neutral on the matter. This frame of excessive punishment can be seen on several occasions, “Manning also was the victim of both mistreatment by his

³⁸ Press Bill, “Bradley Manning no hero; no traitor, either”, August 2013, available at http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2013-08-01/opinion/sns-201308011700--tms--bpresstt--m-a20130801-20130801_1_apache-helicopter-attack-bradley-manning-traitor (last access 18.05.2014)

³⁹ Estrich Susan, July 2013

⁴⁰ Spakovsky Hons von and John Malcolm, August 2013

jailers and an overaggressive prosecution.”⁴¹ Another article goes further to describe Manning’s treatment, “in custody for almost three years, including in solitary confinement for eleven months—a treatment that a senior United Nations official... described as cruel and inhuman.”⁴² Although some of the articles agree that the Manning leaks were wrong, they frame his punishment as ‘overaggressive’ and ‘inhuman.’

It is noted in one of the articles that the overaggressive tactics used to punish Manning could have lingering effects on society and not just on Manning. The article states, “the administration seems determined to use criminal law to plug leaks even when they don't result in provable harm to national security, an aggressive posture that may deter genuine whistle-blowers.”⁴³ Here the moderate-left uses a frame that alludes to the consequences of our actions in the future; discussing the issues and ramifications of situation not just the issues of the whistleblower’s personality like the moderate-right.

In the moderate-left view, there are those who are negative refrain from much of the vitriol that the moderate-right uses. Manning never is called a ‘traitor’, nor is the loss of US lives brought up. Their complaint is that she released too much information, that there was not one particular injustice that they focused on like past whistleblowers. One article described the information leaked about the Apache helicopter attack as whistleblowing while stating that, “The same can't be said of his dumping of 250,000 diplomatic cables to WikiLeaks, which Manning justified as a way to promote what he naively called "open diplomacy.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ The Times Editorial Board, “Justice for Bradley Manning”, August 2013, available at <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/editorials/la-ed-bradley-manning-sentencing-20130822-story.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁴² Cassidy John, “In Defense of Leakers: Snowden and Manning”, August 2013, available at <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/johncassidy/2013/08/in-defense-of-leakers.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁴³ The Times Editorial Board, “A double-edged verdict on Bradley Manning”, July 2013, available at <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/editorials/la-ed-manning-verdict-20130731-story.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁴⁴ The Times Editorial Board, July 2013

A term that was used to describe Manning was ‘wholesale leakers’. In the same article the author talks about how Manning, along with Snowden, did not know what they were doing, “It isn’t just that they didn’t completely understand what they were leaking; they literally did not know what all of it was.”⁴⁵ The moderate-left goes on to frame Manning as ‘young’ implying that he was too young and did not understand the magnitude of his actions. One article quotes David Coombs, the head of Manning’s defense team as saying, “He was young. He was a little naive in believing that the information that he selected could actually make a difference. But he was good-intentioned.”⁴⁶

1.4 “First Amendment Protection for a Free Press”

A common frame seen in all four points on the political spectrum when talking about Manning and her case is the mention of the first amendment. As a US citizen Manning has the freedom of speech which is protected under the first amendment as do the newspapers and media outlets the report and disclose the leaked information. Although Manning is an important component in the issue, one of the biggest conflicts comes from whether or not news sources should print stolen material. The differing political groups see this argument differently. On the far-left and far-right they believe that citizens and journalist have the right to be informed and inform stating, “What is protected in the First Amendment is not the right of commercial enterprises to exploit the news for profit, but rather of citizens to become

⁴⁵ Bowden Mark, “What Snowden and Manning Don’t Understand About Secrecy”, August 2013, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/08/what-snowden-and-manning-dont-understand-about-secrecy/278973/> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁴⁶ Brown Matthew Hay, “Bradley Manning’s lawyer calls him young, naive, ‘good-intentioned’”, June 2013, available at <http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/wire/bs-md-bradley-manning-court-martial-20130603-story.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

informed.”⁴⁷ The author goes on to say that such an act “requires the courage of heroic sources, including Bradley Manning.”

The moderates view the first amendment as a protective tool not a free pass and anything goes ticket. On the moderate-left one view of Manning and the first amendment states, “that WikiLeaks is not journalism, and as a result should not be judged by the standards of the First Amendment.”⁴⁸ On the moderate-right we find a harsher frame towards Manning and other whistleblowers. The author states “I’ve taught the First Amendment for decades, but I don’t pretend to have any easy answers. The First Amendment is not a license to steal. It does not empower the individual to ignore the rules, damn the majority and decide that he or she knows best.”⁴⁹ The author goes on to say that the argument is not whether the news sources have a right to report on stolen documents, whether the documents should have been stolen in the first place.

⁴⁷ Scheer Robert, December 2012

⁴⁸ Khatchadourian Raffi, “Manning, Assange, and the Espionage Act”, May 2011, available at <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/culture/2011/05/manning-assange-and-the-espionage-act.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁴⁹ Estrich Susan, July 2013

Chapter 2: Julian Assange

Julian Assange is a 42-year-old Australian journalist and computer hacker. Generally seen as the founder of WikiLeaks, a web site meant to collect and distribute confidential information on a global scale. Assange started WikiLeaks in 2006 with an official launch in 2007 and ever since has been releasing all types of secret information.⁵⁰ From releasing information from a military manual of the Guantanamo detention center to information on vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin, Assange and WikiLeaks were certainly gaining attention.⁵¹ While constantly being in the news since its beginnings, Julian Assange and WikiLeaks have gained many friends as well as enemies. The most controversial of the WikiLeaks postings came with the release of the Manning leaks in 2010 making Assange and WikiLeaks highly visible to the world stage.

In December of the same year Assange was accused of sexual molestation in Sweden. In June 2012 under the fear that he would be extradited to the United States if sent to Sweden, Assange took refuge in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London England. In August of 2012 Ecuador ultimately granted Assange asylum. Assange has been living in the London Ecuadorian embassy since 2012.⁵²

Out of the three whistleblowers Assange receives the most hostility. While the far left and the right are not negative as of him, they are not altogether positive either. The moderate left dislikes Assange immensely, calling him out on all his actions. While the moderate left disapproves of Assange greatly he receives the most vitriol from the moderate right.

⁵⁰ Kusluner David, "Click and Dagger: Inside WikiLeaks' Leak Factory", June 2010, available at <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2010/07/click-and-dagger-wikileaks-julian-assange-iraq-video-updated> (last access 18.05.2014)

⁵¹ Bell Melissa, "Julian Assange arrested: Is he a 'scientific journalist' or 'megalomaniac'?", December 2010, available at http://voices.washingtonpost.com/blog-post/2010/12/julian_assange_arrested_is_he.html (last access 18.05.2014)

⁵² Pilger John, "The Pursuit of Julian Assange Is an Assault on Freedom and a Mockery of Journalism", August 2012, available at <http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/11103-the-pursuit-of-julian-assange-is-an-assault-on-freedom-and-a-mockery-of-journalism> (last access 18.05.2014)

2.1 “Why WikiLeaks Matters”

The far left and the right have a much more cooled response to Assange, in stark contrast to the praise that they give to Snowden and Manning, Assange receives little. The cooled response could be due to the fact that they are not quite sure how to place him. While there are still articles backing Assange such as “WikiLeaks Is a Rare Truth Teller; Smearing Julian Assange Is Shameful,” “The Pursuit of Julian Assange Is an Assault on Freedom and a Mockery of Journalism,” and “Assange deserves due process,” the positive frame words seen in articles about Manning and Snowden are not seen in the journalist’s frames of Assange. For example, Assange is never outright called a ‘hero’ or ‘heroic’ where both Manning and Snowden are framed as such on several different occasions.

It seems that although the far-right and the far-left still believe that Assange and WikiLeaks did a good thing by exposing the classified documents, they still are not a fan of Assange’s controversial personality. This is evident in the article, “Assange is America’s Pussy Riot.” The author states, “No question that Assange is annoyingly arrogant and a relentless publicity-seeker. But Assange’s real crime is “lèse majesté,” a French offense of annoying or embarrassing the monarch. Washington is reacting like Putin or Lukashenko.”⁵³ Here the frame shows the support for Assange’s actions but not for the man himself.

The far-left even tries to put Assange’s character on the back burner and focus on the real issues stating, “But Julian Assange’s personality traits have absolutely nothing to do with the infinitely more significant revelations of this leak.”⁵⁴ The argument comes from the article “Why Julian Assange Hates the ‘New York Times’” where the author brings up the fact that the ‘New York Times’ printed a profile of Assange that was called both “shaky” and

⁵³ Margolis Eric S., “Assange Is America’s Pussy Riot”, August 2012, available at <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/assange-is-americas-pussy-riot/> (last access 18.05.2014)

⁵⁴ Mitchell Greg, “Why Julian Assange Hates the ‘New York Times’”, February 2011, available at <http://www.thenation.com/blog/158194/why-julian-assange-hates-new-york-times> (last access 19.05.2014)

“fabled.” The article goes on to point out that the “The low point “of this smear campaign,” he wrote, “was led by the *New York Times*’s John Burns, who authored a sleazy hit piece on Assange—filled with every tawdry, scurrilous tabloid rumor about him....”⁵⁵ It is evident from the articles that the far-left and far-right are trying to showcase how some media sources are only attacking Assange’s character rather than reporting on the important information, the leaked documents.

A point the far-left does comment on, which is similar to Manning in a way, is his treatment. In that most are suspicious of the fact that the sex-crimes label against him came about soon after his release of the Manning documents. Some articles propose the idea that the sex-crimes were falsified in order to have Assange extradited to Sweden where he would potentially be handed over to the US. One article states, “The allegations against [Assange] are a smokescreen behind which a number of governments are trying to clamp down on WikiLeaks.”⁵⁶ On the far-right one of the articles states the same sentiments, ‘It’s a complicated... one of the women being accused by Assange’s supporters of serving as a “honey trap” for U.S. authorities to ensnare the elusive hacker-turned-human rights/information activist.’⁵⁷ Both of the arguments seem to frame the idea of the government in a conspiracy with Sweden to get Assange on American soil.

Even though they criticize the government also, most cannot get aboard Assange’s side, seemingly due to his personality. From the far-left perspective Assange is seen as many things: high-tech terrorist, enemy combatant, paranoid, enemy, annoying pest, arrogant, and callous to name a few. (See Appendix I for a full list). Assange has a certain effect on people,

⁵⁵ Mitchell Greg, February 2011

⁵⁶ Pilger John, “WikiLeaks Is a Rare Truth Teller; Smearing Julian Assange Is Shameful”, February 2013, available at <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/14622-WikiLeaks-is-a-rare-truth-teller-smearing-julian-assange-is-shameful> (last access 19.05.2013)

⁵⁷ Vlahos Kelley, “Julian Assange, Week Two at the Ecuadorian Embassy”, July 2012, available at <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/julian-assange-week-two-at-ecuadoran-embassy/> (last access 19.05.2013)

in one such case after insulting a reporters new site, that same reporter listened to a speech of his and liked what he heard.⁵⁸ From the far right perspective one article states, “There are those who hate Assange for what he stands for. Others see personality and social defects of a self-serving, narcissistic nature.”⁵⁹ This implies that you either hate what Assange does or you hate how Assange acts. There does not seem to be any reason to have a positive perspective of him.

An interesting observation about the far-left and the far-right in relation to Assange’s frames, is that the term ‘whistleblower’ is used to describe Assange one or two times per side. For example, on the far-left, the term whistleblower is only used to describe WikiLeaks, “Last Monday, the whistleblower site released...”⁶⁰ The far-right also brings up the term whistleblower but not to define Assange, rather to define his website, “Assange, who leads an international campaign for transparency with his whistleblowing website WikiLeaks,”⁶¹ Another instance where WikiLeaks the website and not Julian Assange the founder of the website was called a whistleblower can be found in the article “WikiLeaks Revisited” by Jack Hunter, “When the whistleblower outfit famously made its mark in November of 2010 by releasing thousands of classified US government cables,”⁶² It seems as if WikiLeaks is known as more of a whistleblower than Julian Assange.

⁵⁸ Gilson Dave, “The MoJo vs. WikiLeaks Smackdown Continues”, April 2010, available at <http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2010/04/mojo-WikiLeaks-assange-smackdown> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁵⁹ Vlahos Kelley, July 2012

⁶⁰ Gilson Dave, “What the WikiLeaks Media Blitz Has revealed About WikiLeaks”, April 2010, available at <http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2010/04/WikiLeaks-assange-media-blitz> (last access 19.05.2014)

⁶¹ Calderon Gabriela De Burgos, “Assange and Correa: Strange Allies?”, June 2012, available at <http://www.cato.org/blog/assange-correa-strange-allies> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁶² Hunter Jack, “WikiLeaks Revisited”, July 2011, available at <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/blog/author/jack-hunter/> (last access 18.05.2014)

2.2 “Why is Assange still alive?”

While the far-left/right has a general dislike of Assange the moderate-right has an outright hatred for Assange. Commenting on the damage done by him through his action. One article states, “Julian Assange may not be in Osama Bin Laden's league, nor is he using the same methods, but he has the same goal: To do as much damage to the United States as humanly possible.”⁶³ There is no questioning the perspective the moderate-right was going for when bringing up Osama Bin Laden's name, they are clearly establishing the frame that Assange is the enemy. This negative frame is carried out in other articles for example, “The damage has been done; people have died - and will die because of the actions of this puerile, self-absorbed narcissist.”⁶⁴

In addition, some of the most colorful descriptions and frames of the study have been used in the moderate-right media. Phrases such as “that blond beast,” “cyber equivalent of a pirate,” “immature, arrogant man-children,” and “just another pathetic figure” to name a few (Full list Appendix IV). They even use the word megalomaniac to describe him, stating, “Like every megalomaniac from Napoleon to Lex Luthor he believes only he knows the path to truth.”⁶⁵ Assange is also framed and referred to in a variety of other terms including: arrogant, enemy of America, spoiled brat, creep, solipsism, and anti-American radical (Full list Appendix II).

Then there are three articles dedicated to the option of assassinating Assange. Titles such as “Assassinate Assange?,” “5 Reasons the CIA should have already killed Julian Assange,” and “Why is Assange still alive?” leave very little up to the imagination on what

⁶³ Hawkins John, “5 Reasons The CIA Should Have Already Killed Julian Assange”, November 2010, available at February 2004, http://townhall.com/columnists/johnhawkins/2010/11/30/5_reasons_the_cia_should_have_already_killed_julian_assange/page/full (last access 17.05.2013)

⁶⁴ Kuhner, “Assassinate Assange?”, December 2010, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/dec/2/assassinate-assange/> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁶⁵ Galen Richard, “Wiki This”, December 2010, available at http://townhall.com/columnists/richgalen/2010/12/06/wiki_this/page/full (last access 17.05.2014)

type of frames you can expect to find in the articles. In the article “5 Reasons the CIA should have already killed Julian Assange,” The author states that killing Assange would send a message to other leakers, bluntly stating, “Julian Assange is not an American citizen and he has no constitutional rights. So, there's no reason that the CIA can't kill him.”⁶⁶ The author goes on to argue that Assange’s death would do more to protect America’s classified documents than updating out security systems.

The idea of Assange’s assassination is not just the ending to a talking point, it brings up a whole other perspective. The first reason in the article, “5 Reasons the CIA should have already killed Julian Assange,” states, “Some people are appalled by the idea of assassinating Julian Assange. But, why aren't those same people appalled by the fact that Julian Assange released classified documents that he knew would lead to our Afghan informants and their families being marked for death by the Taliban?”⁶⁷ Hawkins, the author of “5 Reasons” goes on to talk about the ideas that killing Assange would send a message, secrets are essential to the government process and that information in everyone’s control is more dangerous than in a single hand. The final argument of Hawkins’s article points out that America needs to show our allies that we are still a powerful country. Hawkins states, “The first step towards convincing other nations that they can trust us again would be make this a better world by removing Julian Assange from it.”⁶⁸ These five points made by Hawkins provide a powerful frame for the moderate-right’s image of Assange.

These thought are also echoed in while the article “Assassinate Assange?” forms more of a question than a blunt statement on Assange’s death, the basis is the same. In the opening remarks the author calls Julian Assange a “reckless provocateur,” and further dictates, “He is aiding and abetting terrorists in their war against America. The administration must take care

⁶⁶ Hawkins John, November 2010

⁶⁷ Hawkins John, November 2010

⁶⁸ Hawkins John, November 2010

of the problem - effectively and permanently.”⁶⁹ “Why is Assange still Alive?” paints a colorful picture stating. “In the Jason Bourne movies, say the wrong word into your cell phone, and assassins will find you at the train station in minutes.”⁷⁰ The moderate right is clearly framing their distaste for Assange

The moderate-right is not only criticizing of Assange and calling for his head they are calling out the Obama administration as well. Rich Lowry with the New York Post states, “One hopes that the Obama administration has learned a little something about the difference between governing and spouting comforting bromides. In keeping with his pledge to talk to our enemies, Barack Obama fruitlessly reached out to Tehran — and alarmed our allies.”⁷¹ Other criticism of the Obama form the moderate-right include comments on Obama and his administration’s lack of action. “Yet the Obama administration refuses to stop Mr. Assange. His previous document dumps disclosed the names and identities of foreigners working with the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq - individuals actively involved in defeating al Qaeda and the Taliban.”⁷² The moderate-right news sites are not only framing Assange for being at fault for the leaks but they are also framing the President and his administration for their poor ability to handle the situation.

2.3 “Assange the Drama King”

The general feeling towards Assange on the moderate-left is of general contempt towards him. A particularly negative article “The Hunt for Julian Assange” written by Tobin Harshaw and published in the ‘New York Times’ states, “Assange is a maker of mischief and

⁶⁹ Kuhner Jeffery T., “Assassinate Assange?- Web provocateur undermines war on terror, threatens American lives” December 2010, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/dec/2/assassinate-assange/> (last access 17.05.2013)

⁷⁰ Goldberg John, “Why is Assange still alive?” October 2010, available at http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2010-10-29/opinion/ct-oped-1029-goldberg-20101029_1_julian-assange-wikileaks-wrong-question (last access 18.05.2014)

⁷¹ Lowry Rich,

⁷² Kuhner Jeffery T., “December 2010

a seeker of publicity, exposing confidential material because he can.”⁷³ The article conveys a particular negative frame even going as far as to say “Assange and his colleagues act like spies, not journalists. WikiLeaks could have its assets seized, just like the Taliban has.” The comparison to terrorist, in particular the Taliban, gives this negative frame a particular weight to be carried by the readers.

The terrorist frame is used in other articles as well. In one example author outright states that Assange “is not a terrorist.” However, the article does go on to say that there are many commonalities between Assange and al Qaeda stating “both the jihadis and the Australian anarchist are willing to take steps that they know will make the United States more imperial in the short term.”⁷⁴ The author does point out that although al Qaeda and Assange agree on this point they differ in how achieve this goal; al Qaeda with US military intervention in the middle-east and Assange’s information dumps.⁷⁵ What gets most of the authors against Assange is how he releases the information, by simply releasing everything in bulk and no reviewing of the material, endangering lives and in doing so make him “a criminal, not a journalist”⁷⁶

In addition to the general contempt for Assange within the moderate-left media, there seems to be a bit of confusion. There are mixed views on whether or not Assange and WikiLeaks are positive or negative additions to society. One article struggles with the future relevance of WikiLeaks stating, “WikiLeaks is not the future of journalism. WikiLeaks will be one of the ways that citizens can hold governments accountable. It will be used

⁷³ Harshaw Tobin, “The Hunt for Julian Assange”, December 2010, available at <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/12/03/the-hunt-for-julian-assange/> (last access 18.05.2014)

⁷⁴ Wilkinson Will, “The Ambitions of Julian Assange”, December 2010, available at <http://douthat.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/12/01/the-ambitions-of-julian-assange/> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁷⁵ Wilkinson Will, December 2010

⁷⁶ Thiessen Marc, “Sorry, Time, Assange is a criminal, not a journalist”, August 2010, available at http://voices.washingtonpost.com/postpartisan/2010/08/sorry_time_assange_is_a_crimin.html (last access 19.05.2014)

responsibly and irresponsibly and the value will be in the eye of the reader.”⁷⁷ This mixed perspective is also seen in the terms used to frame Assange. Although none of the terms used are exceedingly positive. There are some articles that refer to him as an ‘unscrupulous megalomaniac,’ ‘nefarious,’ and ‘offputtingly grandiose.’ However, there are some articles that simply refer to Assange as a ‘whistleblower,’ ‘clever,’ and ‘cunning.’

The moderate-left along with their evaluation of Assange are evaluating the Obama administration’s handling of the WikiLeaks leaks and its founder Julian Assange. There are many criticism of the Obama administration including a particularly descriptive one which states, “A solitary man armed only with computer equipment once again humiliating the mighty U.S. government, and endangering American lives — while the Obama administration, typically, dithers.”⁷⁸ More criticism comes in the form of, “The Obama administration has been much more aggressive than its predecessors in pursuing and punishing leakers,”⁷⁹ and nothing but “official intimidation and threats that have been directed at Assange and Manning by high-ranking members of the Obama Administration.”⁸⁰ The article frames not only Assange and his role in the leaks but also the Obama administration and their role in handling the revelations, or lack of handling of the revelations.

The moderate-left even polks fun at Assange and his failures. Julian Assange failed attempt to run for senate was thrown in his face by Julia Baird in the article, “Assange as Tyrant?” Assange ran his campaign through the WikiLeaks Party and described to be, “was

⁷⁷ Ambinder Marc, “Julian Assange is a Middle Man”, July 2010, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/07/julian-assange-is-a-middle-man/60490/> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁷⁸ Harshaw Tobin, “The Hunt for Julian Assange”, December 2010, available at <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/12/03/the-hunt-for-julian-assange/> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁷⁹ Keller Bill, “WikiLeaks, a Postscript”, February 2012, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/20/opinion/keller-WikiLeaks-a-postscript.html> (last access 18.05.2014)

⁸⁰ Samuels David, “The Shameful Attacks on Julian Assange”, December 2010, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2010/12/the-shameful-attacks-on-julian-assange/67440/> (last access 19.05.2014)

drowned by the greatest and most conventional of clichés: power corrupts. His campaign was saddled with the usual backbiting, arguing, dysfunction and even leaks.”⁸¹ The article goes on to describe Assange’s WikiLeaks Party as, “party imploded with infighting, allegations of selling out and a host of resignations, Mr. Assange was exposed as a politician himself, with some of the same moral failings he has been skewering others for.”⁸² The article happily pointed out that Assange eventually lost to a Mr. Muir, who only had 0.5 percent of the vote. They go on to note that Mr. Muir, “is most famous for having posted a video on YouTube of himself having a kangaroo feces fight with friends.”⁸³ The only explanation for a frame such as that is to make Assange look and feel foolish.

⁸¹ Baird Julia, “Assange as Tyrant?”, September 14, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/15/opinion/sunday/assange-as-tyrant.html> (last access 18-05-2014)

⁸² Baird Julia, September 14

⁸³ Baird Julia, September 14

Chapter 3: Edward Snowden

Edward Snowden is known for exposing information about the US government's spying programs. Snowden worked as an NSA analyst under the consulting firm Booz Allen Hamilton where he was able to obtain the leaked material. After finding what he term "disturbing information" Snowden contacted journalist Glenn Greenwald in 2013 in order to release the information he found. In June of 2013 the British newspaper, *The Guardian*, released information concerning the United States' spying operations. As documents continued to be released about US spy infrastructure, Snowden revealed himself to be the whistleblower on June 10th in an interview with Glenn Greenwald.⁸⁴ Snowden, who was on the run in Hong Kong at the time of the leaks, was able to make his escape to Moscow in order to fly to Latin America in the hopes of being granted asylum. However with the US revoking Snowden's passport and putting pressure on neighboring countries not to allow his flight through their airspace he remained in the Moscow airport. He was seemingly stuck in the airport until Russia granted him temporary asylum. Snowden is now in an undisclosed location in Russia, but continues to make online appearances. Currently his future is unknown.⁸⁵

Snowden's revelations, out of all the whistleblowers, has perhaps been the most damaging to the United States Government. Due to the sensitivity of the information, views on Snowden differ widely in public opinion. The far-left and far-right view him very positively while the moderate-left is more mixed in their opinion of Snowden while the moderate-right see Snowden in an absolutely negative light.

⁸⁴ Frankie-Ruta Garance, "Meet Edward Snowden, the NSA Whistleblower", June 2013, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/06/meet-edward-snowden-the-nsa-whistleblower/276688/> (last access 18.05.2014)

⁸⁵ Davidson Amy, "The Relevance of Edward Snowden", July 2013, available at <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/closeread/2013/07/the-relevance-of-edward-snowden.html> (last access 18.05.2013)

3.1“Person of the Year”

The far-right and the far-left nearly mirror one another in their approval of Edward Snowden. Nearly all the opinions are positive concerning Snowden and/or his action. In some cases these opposite sides even use the same language in describing Snowden, “Restore Honor and Pardon Edward Snowden”(far-left) and “Time to Return Edward Snowden with Honor and a Pardon” (far-right). They are also attacking the same targets such as the “mainstream” pointing out numerous news media outlets sucking up to power.⁸⁶ Not only do both far-left/right praise Edward Snowden they defend him as well pointing out how the mainstream and Obama administration are portraying him.

They far left/right also seem to be much more aware of the mainstream media defense of the establishment. With one writer at Reason.com commenting on MSNBC’s view that Snowden’s motives were to “screw over the government”, he says “That’s how one who speaks power to truth spins it.”⁸⁷ The same argument can be seen on the far-left, “Though the NSA-Snowden affair is scarcely three weeks old, all manner of official folklore and panic-infused idées reçues have already glommed on, limpet-like, to media accounts, often deforming the story beyond recognition.”⁸⁸ The far-left/right agree that the mainstream media is focusing on the wrong issues and should spend more time distorting the issues than reporting on them.

When talking about how the president and his administration are handling Snowden’s revelations one article from the far-left states, “The Obama administration did everything in its power to silence Snowden,” and that “The Obama administration has been on the defensive from the moment the first revelations were made.” The author further exclaims

⁸⁶ Richman Sheldon, “Big Government Is the Problem, Not Edward Snowden”, June 2013, available at <http://reason.com/archives/2013/06/30/big-government-not-snowden-and-greenwald> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁸⁷ Richmond Sheldon, June 2013

⁸⁸ Madar Chase, “Seven Myths about Edward Snowden, NSA Whistleblower”, June 2013, available at <http://www.thenation.com/blog/174963/seven-myths-about-edward-snowden-nsa-whistleblower> (last access 19.5.2014)

that, “Snowden has beaten the Bush/Obama administration at its own game. But outside of America Snowden is treated with all the respect he deserves.”⁸⁹ The far-right shares the same belief in that the Obama administration is to blame. “The Obama administration has doubled down on this program and doesn’t believe that it has done anything wrong.”⁹⁰ Some of the far-right reporters create a frame of government embarrassment. For example one author states, “Snowden and Greenwald have not “aided the enemy” — unless the American people are the government’s enemy. What they have done is embarrass the Obama administration by exposing criminal activity.”⁹¹ By portraying President Obama and his administration as ‘embarrassed’ the media leads the reader to wonder what our government would be willing to do in order to get their hands on Snowden, considering that embarrassment is on an international scale.

While they do praise Snowden greatly they also seem to focus on the revelations of the leaks. A far-right frame of the issue adds, “Gorman added that the Snowden revelations had “shaken the trees” and prompted other reporting that has forced other government disclosures about various domestic spying efforts.”⁹² From the far-left perspective, “He [Snowden] launched an important, overdue debate and reassessment of collection practices. Perhaps that would not have happened otherwise.”⁹³ Both far sides of the political agree that Snowden’s revelations brought on a much needed debate however there has since been little debate over the actual revelations.

⁸⁹ Kimberly Margaret, “Edward Snowden: Person of the Year”, January 2014, available at <http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/20953-edward-snowden-person-of-the-year> (last access 17.05.2014)

⁹⁰ Bailey Ronald, “Thank You, Edward Snowden”, October 2013, available at <http://reason.com/archives/2013/10/18/thank-you-edward-snowden> (last access 19.05.2014)

⁹¹ Richmond Sheldon, June 2013

⁹² Bailey Ronald, October 2013

⁹³ Drum Kevin, “If You Think the NSA Debate Has Been Valuable, You Have Edward Snowden to Thank”, January 2014, available at <http://www.motherjones.com/kevin-drum/2014/01/if-you-think-nsa-debate-has-been-valuable-you-have-edward-snowden-thank> (last access 19.05.2014)

While they are united in their stance against the mainstream and administration they employ different frames in order to inform their readers of the issues they believe are of most concern. The far-right employs many historic metaphors that their readers would easily recognize, such as ‘Founding Father’ or ‘Founders’, ‘Paul Revere,’ ‘Ayn Rand’, and ‘Constitution.’ When speaking of Snowden one journalist stated “Ultimately the view of history is that Edward Snowden is Paul Revere, not Benedict Arnold.”⁹⁴ One article quotes Ron Paul stating, “...if you are a whistle blower or you’re trying to tell the American people our country is destroying our rule of law or destroying our constitution, they turn it on and they say oh, you’re committing treason.”⁹⁵ Even when being negative they invoke a Founding Father in that he is “no Patrick Henry”⁹⁶.

While the far-right uses many metaphors, the far-left seems to be lacking in them. There are many positive descriptive words used for Snowden such as “brave,” “courage,” “moral,” “hero”, painting a very positive picture, but no colorful metaphors. One of the few the far-left employs is that they compare him to the leaker Daniel Ellsberg, “Like Daniel Ellsberg, who disclosed the Pentagon Papers, Snowden is a man of principle.”⁹⁷ It is interesting to note though that in the few metaphors they do employ, are similar to the far-right in that they also harken back to the Founding Fathers. One such example when the author mentions how Coleen Rowley when at a dinner with Snowden tells the story of how Benjamin Franklin was one of the country’s first whistleblowers and faced the same sort of trails when he exposed information on Great Britain. Rowley stated, “His [Snowden’s] willingness to expose

⁹⁴ Vlahos Kelley, “The Right Rallies to Edward Snowden”, August 2013, available at <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/the-right-rallies-to-edward-snowden/> (last access 19.05.2014)

⁹⁵ Feeney Matthew, “Ron Paul Praises Edward Snowden”, June 2013, available at <http://reason.com/blog/2013/06/11/ron-paul-praises-edward-snowde> (last access 19.05.2014)

⁹⁶ Perkins Joseph, “Snowden, no Patrick Henry, should face the music”, July 2013, available at <http://www.oregister.com/articles/snowden-518436-former-country.html> (last access 19.05.2013)

⁹⁷ Pyle Christopher H, “Edward Snowden: Profile in Courage”, June 2013 available at <http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/16974-edward-snowden-profile-in-courage> (last access 18.05.2014)

injustice fit in with a patriotic tradition modelled by Founders like Benjamin Franklin even before the American Revolution.”⁹⁸ Franklin had exposed letters stating, “American colonists should enjoy the same rights as British citizens in England.”⁹⁹ It is interesting to see this angle of the founding father explored, considering it is most common used on the right.

3.2“Treasonous Underachiever?”

The overall theme that emerged from the moderate-right articles when discussing Snowden was to discredit him. To do this the authors took many different approaches when trying to describe Snowden such as spy or traitor to attention seeking underachiever. When discussing Snowden the articles tended to focus a great deal on the negative aspects of his character or the possible ramifications of the leaks rather than the leaks themselves.

The word that was most commonly used to describe Snowden is “traitor”. One of the more colourful metaphors used to describe Snowden as such, is when one article proclaimed that there was a special place in Dante’s Inferno for him stating, “For instance, flatterers are mired in human excrement. Traitors are frozen in a lake of ice.”¹⁰⁰ To reinforce the traitor image another author compares Snowden to other well-known traitors such as Aldrich Ames and Robert Hanssen among others. Ames and Hanssen who are infamous for selling government secrets to the Soviets. The author adds, “Every era, every country has traitors and turncoats, individuals who claim to be helping the greater good while they break laws and hurt their country. Nice company, Mr. Snowden.”¹⁰¹ In an article by Jim Gilmore entitled

⁹⁸ McGovern Ray, “Edward Snowden’s Brave Integrity”, October 2013, available at <http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/19443-edward-snowdens-brave-integrity> (last access 19.05.2014)

⁹⁹ McGovern, October 2013

¹⁰⁰ Tyrrell Emmett, “Edward Snowden’s Just Rewards”, July 2013 available at <http://townhall.com/columnists/emmettyrrell/2013/07/11/edward-snowdens-just-rewards-n1638009/page/full> last access (20.05.2014)

¹⁰¹ Ruth Lisa M., “Edward Snowden and some other famous 20th century traitors”, June 2013, available at <http://communities.washingtontimes.com/neighborhood/intelligence-and-world-affairs/2013/jun/12/edward-snowden-and-some-other-famous-20th-century-/> (last access 17.05.2014)

“Revisiting Snowden’s Betrayal,” not only does Gilmore refer to Snowden as a traitor but a coward as well, “I believed then as I do now that Mr. Snowden is not only a traitor for giving comfort to our nation’s enemies, but a coward.”¹⁰² The article goes on to say that, “We can be outraged that the NSA has been gathering data on innocent Americans while we’re simultaneously outraged by Mr. Snowden’s treacherous acts.”¹⁰³ Here the author frames the idea that Snowden and the NSA leaks at two different entities.

The articles that use the word “traitor” generally employ national security metaphors as well. Framing Snowden’s actions in that by releasing this information he is aiding the “enemy”, identified as China, Russia, or terrorists depending on the article. “Meantime, it’s still not clear how much material China and Russian intelligence authorities obtained from the remaining top-secret documents Snowden is believed to have in his possession.”¹⁰⁴ It is important to note of the articles that discuss the “enemy” the authors commonly insert an ambiguous phrase such “it’s still not clear”

When he is not seen as a spy he is described as a narcissist or fool. Donald Lambro’s article perhaps encapsulates most of these articles the best when he describes Snowden as “a young, naïve, undereducated computer hacker and political zealot who is under the simple-minded delusion that America’s government shouldn’t have any secrets.”¹⁰⁵ Many of these frames revolve around Snowden perceived naiveté and lack of understanding of the real world. One such article tries to discredit by calling him a amateur in the intelligence world

¹⁰² Gilmore Jim, “Revisiting Snowden’s Betrayal”, March 2014, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/mar/14/gilmore-revisiting-snowdens-betrayal/?page=all> (last access 18.05.2014)

¹⁰³ Gilmore Jim, March 2014

¹⁰⁴ Lambro Donald, “Chasing Snowden”, June 2013, available at <http://townhall.com/columnists/donaldlambro/2013/06/26/chasing-snowden-n1627488/page/full> last access (17.05.2014)

¹⁰⁵ Lambro Donald, “The foolish wager of Edward Snowden”, July 2013, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/jul/3/the-foolish-wager-of-edward-snowden/?page=all> (last access 17.05.2014)

“with his lack of understanding of the intelligence apparatus, given that he's a tech guy and not an intelligence specialist”¹⁰⁶

The articles “Edward Snowden: Treasonous Underachiever” and “Edward Snowden: A narcissist without a country?” are entirely dedicated to talking about his character, describing him as a high school dropout and an underachiever. Both authors attempt a pseudo-psychoanalysis of Snowden coming to the conclusion that “Edward Snowden is a classic underachiever who turned his lifetime of failures into a media storm to attract attention to himself despite his attempts to deny self-aggrandizing.”¹⁰⁷ In the article “Edward Snowden: A narcissist without a country?” the author goes through a partial list from the Mayo Clinic on the states of being a narcissist. Going through the list the author comments on how Snowden seemingly matches each of the descriptions.¹⁰⁸

It is also important to note what is not mentioned in these articles. The term “whistleblower” is mentioned half the amount of times in the moderate right articles than the far left/right. Most of the times “whistleblower” was mentioned the author was arguing that Snowden does not fit the description of one, or they call him a traitor anyway. What also seems to be talked about less are Snowden’s actual revelations. Most authors do not talk about the government spying or its negative effects. The articles that do talk about the most Snowden’s revelations are the few nonnegative articles in moderate right.

¹⁰⁶ Marsden Rachel, “Edward Snowden and the Dangers of Amateurism”, June 2013, available at <http://townhall.com/columnists/rachelmarsden/2013/06/18/edward-snowden-and-the-dangers-of-amateurism-n1622254/page/full> (last access 19.05.2014)

¹⁰⁷ Mountjoy Paul, “Edward Snowden: Treasonous underachiever?”, June 2013, available at <http://communities.washingtontimes.com/neighborhood/steps-authentic-happiness-positive-psychology/2013/jun/27/edward-snowden-treasonous-underachiever/> (last access 17.05.2014)

¹⁰⁸ Mountjoy Paul, “A narcissist without a country?”, July 2013, available at <http://communities.washingtontimes.com/neighborhood/steps-authentic-happiness-positive-psychology/2013/jul/2/edward-snowden-narcissist-without-country/> (last access 17.05.2014)

3.3 “Neither a Hero nor a Traitor”

The moderate-left views are much more mixed on Snowden than either the far-left/right or the moderate-right, with fifty-six percent of the articles being positive towards Snowden and the remaining forty-four percent being negative or neutral. With the positive coverage resembling that of the far-left/right with descriptions of “hero” and “person of the year”. The negative coverage, while there is a few articles that follow the moderate right frame of a “narcissist” or a “spy”, differ in that the articles focus less on personal attacks and more on discussion and criticism of what was leaked.

When negative or positive terms are used, there is usually an argumentative statement that follows. For example, in Stewart Baker’s article “Is Snowden a Spy?” he states, “It’s entirely possible that Snowden is a spy. But it’s also possible that he stole the military data to make sure he could find a safe foreign haven after his disclosures.”¹⁰⁹ There are a number of opposing arguments found throughout all of the articles from the moderate-left sites. Examples include “Snowden: good or bad,” “patriot or traitor,” “hero or traitor,” and “hero nor traitor.” The mixed feelings about Snowden could come from the act of leaking the information, or Snowden’s personality, but rather from the enormous amount of information contained in the leaks and the lack of ability to contemplate what it all means.

It is with what he released which causes the most contention. They commend him on exposing breach on American privacy, “Edward J. Snowden -- hero, traitor, something in between -- his revelations about electronic surveillance programs have inspired a debate about broad questions of policy that was impossible because of the secrecy that enshrouded the programs themselves and their legal rationale.”¹¹⁰ But they continue that he crossed the

¹⁰⁹ Baker Stewart, “Is Snowden a spy?” May 2014, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2014/05/11/is-snowden-a-spy/> (last access 18.05.2014)

¹¹⁰ McGough Michael, “Give Snowden his due: He made a surveillance debate possible”, July 2013, available at <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/opinion-la/la-ol-nsa-leaks-snowden-20130731-story.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

line when released information about who we are spying on “One Snowden-leaked document revealed that the United States has "ramped up its surveillance of Pakistan's nuclear arms," as well as biological and chemical weapons sites there. Anybody have a problem with that?”¹¹¹

3.4 “What happened to the Fourth Amendment?”

A common theme throughout the discussion was the use of the fourth amendment frame. The fourth amendment which protects US citizens’ rights against unlawful searches and seizures without probable cause. When reading through the articles for Snowden the fourth amendment was found to be brought up in all four perspectives. The far-left and far-right use the fourth amendment as a frame far more than either the moderate-left or moderate-right. From the far-right perspective one journalist writes, “But in reality, he has revealed only one actual secret that matters, which is the United States government’s serial violation of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution.”¹¹² On the far-left side one article states, “Ed Snowden is simply the current embodiment of people so castigated when they feel compelled to speak out, as Ed did, against gross violations of the Fourth Amendment.”¹¹³ The far-left uses the term ‘fourth amendment’ as a frame eleven times while the far-right uses it sixteen times in the articles collected (Full list Appendix III). The use of this frame helps to highlight the issues both perspectives have with the current government’s control or lack thereof.

The frame ‘fourth amendment’ is also used in the articles of both the moderate-left/right but only one-third as much as the far-left/right, using the frame four and five times respectively. The frame can be seen in the moderate-left perspective when speaking of the

¹¹¹ McManus Doyle, “Edward Snowden, in shades of gray”, January 2014, available at <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-mcmanus-column-snowden-20140108-column.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

¹¹² Giraldi Philip, “Edward Snowden is no traitor”, July 2013, available at <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/edward-snowden-is-no-traitor/> (last access 19.05.2014)

¹¹³ McGovern Ray, October 2013

legal actions that took place due to Snowden's revelations, "A federal district judge ruled earlier this month that the phone-records-collection program probably violates the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution."¹¹⁴ The moderate-right argues that the government should not encroach on our fourth amendment rights even though advancements in technology have led to programs that can monitor citizens every move. One article expands the frame and goes as far as to say that, "excessive government monitoring of people is what we used to abhor (detest) about communist Russia

¹¹⁴ Editorial Board New York Times, "Edward Snowden, Whistle-Blower", January 2014, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/02/opinion/edward-snowden-whistle-blower.html> (last access 17.05.2014)

Conclusion

There are two groups in Washington, the establishment also known as those on the inside and the anti-establishment those who are on outside. In American politics, this can also be defined as the democrats and the republicans as the establishment, while the anti-establishment is considered to be the Green Party or the Tea Party for example. These two groups are composed of wide variety of people, even within the groups themselves, and it makes it very hard to tell who is on what side. But the issue of whistleblowing on government secrets serves as the perfect litmus test. This issue is so revealing because it cuts straight to the core of power and those who take a side expose their true selves. Ultimately, the truth is not so simple, for not all whistleblowers are the same and neither is the information they release. Throughout the analysis we can clearly see this.

If things were to align perfectly we would have seen the far-left and the far-right representing the anti-establishment. The anti-establishment would be supporting the whistleblowers against the moderate-left and the moderate-right, the establishment. While the far-left and the far-right did indeed support the whistleblowers and attack the establishment and the moderate-right did the opposite and undermined the whistleblowers, as they were expected. The moderate left had overall confusing results with mixed support for Manning, Snowden, and Assange.

Manning who was generally being portrayed as the young troubled soldier, most likely the result of her transgender issues, which have been highly publicized. Yet Manning seems to gather the most overall sympathy and support. This show of sympathy could also be due to the fact that Manning was in the Army. Compared to the other whistleblowers, Snowden a civilian and Assange a native Australian, Manning was an American soldier which automatically gives him some credit among most of the American people. The show of sympathy and support is also most likely due to the fact that out of the three whistleblowers,

Manning is the only one who has received punishment thus far. A If Snowden or Assange had been captured there would have been talk of their treatment.

Concerning Snowden, whose result were practically split, with the positive reactions matching that of most supportive far-left and the far-right article and the negative reactions mirroring that of the moderate-right. The information that Snowden released was the most damaging, that is perhaps why the debate is so split but also as clear as to why those side defend or attack him. The fact the Snowden fled the country before releasing the documents also did not sit well with people. There may have been more overall support for Snowden as an individual and a whistleblower if he would have stayed to face the consequences. The overall split view of Snowden is considered confusing and as a result does not fit into the theoretic framework.

An observation that arose from reactions of Snowden as opposed to Manning and Assange is that when discussing constitutional matter people invoke different amendments of the constitution when discussing them. When discussing Snowden the fourth amendment was brought up, but when discussing Manning or Assange the first amendment was quoted more often. This was due to the fact that Snowden's leaks were about the NSA surveillance spying on Americans and the need for privacy. The first amendment is brought up to explain the right of not only whistleblowers to speak up but for the media to be able to report on their revelations.

Another aspect of the analysis that was unexpected, even though it fit into the theoretic framework, was the overall views of Assange. While the far-left and the far-right do commend Assange, there is no general high praise for him as we see with the other whistleblowers. The term whistleblower itself is generally not associated with Assange. WikiLeaks is referred to as a whistleblower site but not Assange its founder, they describe him as the middle man. Perhaps that is what he wants to be. The fact that the news sites do

not refer to Assange as a whistleblower himself fits with the definition of a whistleblower used earlier. A whistleblower is someone who works for the company and notices wrongdoing. Assange for overall purposes is a middleman in that true whistleblowers use his site to publish their documents.

With the view of Assange with the moderate-left and the moderate-right there is a slight difference in their view of him but there is a general consensus of dislike. Snowden has perhaps done more damage to the US then Assange could ever have and yet there was no talk constant talk of assassinating Snowden as there is of Assange. These views could possibly be contributed to the fact that he is a non-US citizen and his dislike of the US is all the evidence an author need to mark him as an enemy.

The establishment vs. anti- political establishment spectrum is still the best lens to view the subject of US whistleblowing through. No other spectrum would have been able to explain why the many political opinions fell where they did. The problem with the results lies with the proper identification of the news sites, specifically the moderate-left, which were they major discrepancy in the analysis. A database sated the bias or leaning of all of the nation's major newspapers, political magazines or political blogs does not exist. The triangulation of the sources used originally gave a different set of sources to use, however due to poor performing search functions on the websites some of the original triangulated sites could not be used.

While the result did not fully fit the theoretical framework, I still believe it holds merit. The frames presented by the four different aspects on the political spectrum reveled an interesting point about media in today's society. Considering I looked specifically at opinion articles and blog post on the web it is understandable that there is such a difference in the overall themes of the individual whistleblowers. Indeed overall all of the divides disliked Assange but that was due to a unique personality rather than his purpose. In fact many people

back the idea of WikiLeaks. However, the wide array of frames used to describe all three whistleblowers makes you think twice about what articles you read.

The way people view issues in the US must change. As we can see the traditional left/right spectrum holds no explanation on whistleblowing and there will always be issues that go beyond the scope left/ right spectrum. The continual use of this spectrum by citizens and the media may continue but by doing so the people will not understand why they do or don't support certain issues. Using the anti-establishment/ establishment spectrum it will allow the citizens to understand the action of the politicians more clearly. While further research is needed the topic of whistleblowing is truly an establishment issue.

Appendix I: Words used to frame Julian Assange

	Descriptive Words	Far-Left	Moderate-Left	Moderate-Right	Far-Right
Author/ Article Point of View	Whistleblower	2			2
	Cyber activist	1			
	Unclubbable	1			
	Journalist	1			
	International Phenomena	1			
	Paranoid/Paranoia	1	1		1
	Hactivist	1			
	Uncompromising	1			
	Mainstream	4	1		3
	Criminal		1	2	
	Cunning		1		
	Hunted		1		
	Grandiose		1		1
	Delusional		1		
	Irresponsible		1		
	Nefarious		1		
	Malcontent		1		
	Not a Terrorist		1		
	Hero/Heroic		1		
	Hero or Villain?		1		
	Good or Evil?		1		
	Nihilist		1		
	Arrogant			2	1
	Smarmy			1	
	Hypocritical			1	
	Juvenile			1	
	High-tech Terrorist			1	
	No Journalist			3	
	Enemy of America			3	
	Immature			1	
	Spoiled Brat			1	
	Creep			1	
	Hacker			1	1
	Thug			1	
	Fugitive			1	
	Coward			1	
	Entertaining			1	
	Self-Important			1	
	Public Nuisance			1	
	Dangerous			2	
	Enemy combatant			1	

	Reckless			1	
	Anti-American			2	
	Solipsism			1	
	Megalomania			1	
	First Amendment			4	2
	Noble Peace Prize				3
	Self-Congratulatory				1
	Brag				1
	Internet Activist				1
	Misunderstood				1
	Despised				1
	Enemy combatant				1
	Terrorist				1
	Annoying Pest				1
	Bad Boy				1
	Provocateur				1
	Narcissistic				1
	Self-Serving				1
	Founders				2
Opposing Views	Paranoid/Paranoia	2			
	High-tech Terrorist	4			
	Enemy combatant	1			
	Damaged	1			
	Callous	1			
	No Journalist	1			
	Martyr	1			
	Hero/Heroic			1	
	Enemy of the State				1
	Obsessed				1
	Sloppy				1
	Treasonous				1
	Terrorists				3

Appendix II: Words used to frame Chelsea Manning

	Descriptive Words	Far-Left	Moderate-Left	Moderate-Right	Far-Right
Author/ Article Point of View	Young	3	3	1	
	Whistleblower	5	6	1	2
	Hero/Heroic	6	5		1
	Patriot	2	1		
	Model Solider	1			
	Not a Felon	1			
	Brave	1	1		
	Scapegoat	1			
	Moral	1			
	Courageous/Courage	2			
	Just a Man	1			
	Mainstream	10		1	
	Traitor		6		
	Leaker		1		
	Gay		1		
	Geeky		1		
	Victim		1		
	Idealist		1		2
	Naïfs		1		
	Victim		2		
	Heroic Whistleblower		2		
	Anarchist		1	1	
	No Hero		2	1	
	Foreigner		1		
	First Amendment			4	2
	Narcissist			1	
	Malicious			1	
	Clown			1	
	Dangerous			1	
	Angry Gay			1	
	No Whistleblower			1	
	Criminal			1	
	Traitor			2	
	Dishonest			1	
	Naïve			1	
	Well-intentioned			3	
	Martyr			1	1
	Spy			1	
	Good Guy				3
	Leaker				1
Opposing Views	Traitor	1			
	Criminal	1			
	Whistleblower			1	

Appendix III: Words used to frame Edward Snowden

	Descriptive Words	Far-Left	Moderate-Left	Moderate-Right	Far-Right
Author/ Article Point of View	Whistleblower	17	11	18	23
	National Hero	1	1		
	Boyish	1			
	Young	2	2	1	
	Hero	2	9	1	11
	Integrity	2			
	Eloquent	1			
	Courage/Courageous	3			
	Brave	3	2		
	Moral	1			
	Renegade	1			
	Leaker	1	3	5	
	High School Dropout	1	3	4	
	Not a traitor	1		1	
	Fourth Amendment	11	4	5	16
	Framers	1	1		1
	First Amendment	2			2
	Mainstream	3		1	3
	Founders	1	3	2	3
	Traitor		9	9	9
	Scoundrel		1		
	Weasel		1		
	Refugee		1		
	Spy		2		1
	Egoist		2		
	Narcissist		2	1	
	Nationalist		1		
	Patriotic		1		
	Martyr		1		1
	Nationalist Hero		1		
	Gutless		1		
	Troublemaker		1		
	Person of the Year		4		
	Treason		1		
	Defector		2		
	Founding Fathers			3	2
	Bold			1	
	Brazen			1	
	Dim-whitted			1	
	Fool			1	
	Naïve			1	
	Undereducated			1	
	Underachiever			4	
	Hacker			1	

	Fugitive			3	
	Amateurist			1	
	Self-destructive			1	
	Treacherous			1	
	Underhanded			1	
	Coward/cowardly			2	2
	No body			1	
	Treasonous			2	
	Criminal			2	
	Rock Star			1	
	Not fanatic			1	
	Candid			1	
	Lunkhead			1	
	Patrick Henry				1
	Paul Revere				2
	Benedict Arnold				1
	Techy				1
	Individualist				1
	Smart				2
	Scared				1
	Dishonorable				1
	Enemy				1
	Noble				1
	Good				2
Opposing Views	Loser	1			
	Fugitive	1			
	Insufferable	1			
	Whistleblower	1			
	Traitor	5			2
	High School Dropout	1			3
	Narcissist	1			1
	Hero			1	
	Leaker				1
	Loose-lipped				1
	Villainy				1
	Alienated Oddball				1
	Spy				1
	Egocentric				1

Appendix IV: Descriptive phrases used to frame Assange, Manning, and Snowden

Descriptive Phrases				
	Far-Left	Moderate-Left	Moderate-Right	Far-Right
Assange	fearless fighter for transparency	world leader-needler	Noam Chomsky with a knack for computers	Jackie Rodgers Jr. Look alike
		house-bound prisoner	cyber equivalent of a pirate	crusading journalist
		nearly delusional grandeur	that blond beast	Hero or Educated Numbskull
		Rock-star leaker	heartless ideologue	Neither hero nor villain
		self-aggrandizing control-freak	international man of mystery	
		unscrupulous megalomaniac	is just another pathetic figure	
			the least interesting man in the world	
			immature, arrogant man-children	
			super-whistle-blower of the international left	
			so-called libertarian	
			Scarlet Pimpernel of cyberspace	
			an important whistle-blower	
Manning	deserves the Presidential Medal of Freedom	Renegade Solider	troubled young man~	Ruby-cheeked
	Nobel Peace Prize-nominated gay veteran and whistleblower	Wholesale leakers	narcissistic hothouse flowers	
	principled whistleblower and truth-teller	Cross dressing	media's invisible man	
	not an enemy combatant	Sympathetic Figure	neither a hero nor a whistleblower	
	moral culpability*	not an enemy combatant	acted as judge, jury and executioner to attack America	

	criminal recklessness*	Not a martyr	self-anointed special forces in the battle of ideas	
	fall guy and scapegoat*	Opinionated atheist	Troubled soul	
	Evil Human being*	troubled young man		
		well-intentioned~		
		idiot or hero		
		intelligence geek		
Snowden	portrayed as a traitor	self-aggrandizing geek	political zealot	half-hearted Patriot
	looks a lot like the boy next door		self-styled whistleblower	cross-dressing Little Red Riding Hood*
	man of principle		thorny problem	total slacker*
	more idealistic than most		metadata mega-leaker	no Daniel Ellsberg*
	world-class truth-teller		guilty of treason	all the qualifications to become a grocery bagger*
	a courageous whistleblower ~		sympathetic figure	a grandiose narcissist who deserves to be in prison*
	moral clarity		digital-era Diogenes	narcissistic traitor who belongs on death row*
	is he a narcissist or a hero		treason and high crimes	
	he unpatriotic or a patriot		self-serving	
	Anti-social misfit*		common criminal	
	cross-dressing Little Red Riding Hood*		man without a country	
			intelligence-leaking	
			delusions of grandeur	
			a poster boy for a generation of what has been determined a “me first”, selfish and self-centered group	
			reluctant champion*	
			he is not, they say, a traitor but a patriot *	
	* opposing view		dreamy-eyed idealist*	

	~ phrase was used twice		the Most Interesting Man in the World*	
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Appendix V: Titles and dates of the articles used in framing analysis

Far Left Titles

Assange

A Tale of Two Diplomatic Asylums: Julian Assange and Chen Guangcheng (2-1-2013)
 A Tale of Two Asylums: Assange, Palacio, and Media Hypocrisy (9-9-2012)
 Click and Dagger: Inside WikiLeaks' Leak Factory (2-6-2010)
 From Greenwald to Assange: Prosecuting Our Watchdogs of Democracy (19-6-2013)
 Hammond, Manning, Assange and Obama's Sledgehammer Against Dissent (29-5-2013)
 The MoJo vs. WikiLeaks Smackdown Continues (19-4-2010)
 The Pursuit of Julian Assange Is an Assault on Freedom and a Mockery of Journalism (24-8-2012)
 What the WikiLeaks Media Blitz Has Revealed About WikiLeaks (13-4-2010)
 Why Julian Assange Hates the 'New York Times' (1-2-2011)
 WikiLeaks Is a Rare Truth Teller; Smearing Julian Assange Is Shameful (18-2-2013)
 WikiLeaks, War Crimes and the Pinochet Principle (30-5-2012)
 WikiLeaks, Wimbledon and War (5-7-2011)

Manning

A Medal for Bradley Manning? (7-7-2011)
 Bradley Manning, American Hero (7-7-2011)
 Bradley Manning: Criminal or Whistleblower? (19-1-2012)
 Bradley Manning and the Gangster State (21-8-2013)
 Bradley Manning and Government's Cheating Heart (6-8-2013)
 Bradley Manning Was Our Voice When We Were Ordered To Stay Silent (3-6-2013)
 Free Bradley Manning (26-4-2011)
 Nobel Laureates Salute Bradley Manning (14-11-2012)
 Take Back Pride, Honor Bradley Manning (13-5-2013)
 The Abuse of Private Manning (15-3-2011)
 The Courage of Bradley Manning Will Inspire Others to Seize Their Moment of Truth (8-8-2013)
 The Shameful Exploitation of Bradley Manning (14-12-2012)
 Seven Myths About Bradley Manning (3-6-2013)
 Top 10 Ways Bradley Manning Changed the World (31-7-2013)
 Why Bradley Manning Is a Patriot, Not a Criminal (10-2-2011)

Snowden

Bringing Edward Snowden to Trial Could Be the Embarrassment of the Century (27-1-2014)
 Edward Snowden and Laura Poitras Receive the Ridenhour Prize for Truth-Telling (1-5-2014)
 Edward Snowden as Litmus Test (17-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden Is Not a 'Traitor' and Glenn Greenwald Is Not an 'Accomplice' (18-2-2014)
 Edward Snowden Is the Whistle-Blower of the Year (20-12-2013)
 Edward Snowden: One American Who Isn't For Sale (11-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden: Person of the Year (1-1-2014)
 Edward Snowden: Profile in Courage (14-6-2013)
 Ellsberg: Snowden Made Right Decision by Leaving America (8-7-2013)
 Edward Snowden's Brave Integrity (15-10-2013)

Edward Snowden's Moral Courage (23-2-2014)
For Edward Snowden: Amnesty Now (22-1-2014)

Historic Challenge to Support the Moral Actions of Edward Snowden (11-6-2013)
If You Think the NSA Debate Has Been Valuable, You Have Edward Snowden to Thank (2-1-2014)
Mainstream Pundits Attack Edward Snowden (12-6-2013)
Obama, Congress Owe Snowden Thanks, and a Pardon (28-10-2013)
On Edward Snowden: Whistleblowing as the Highest Form of Civic and Political Engagement (4-5-2014)
Permanent Washington's Backlash to Edward Snowden (13-6-2013)
Restore Honor and Pardon Edward Snowden (13-8-2013)
Seven Myths About Edward Snowden, NSA Whistleblower (24-6-2013)
The Passion of Edward Snowden (10-6-2013)
The Pursuit of Edward Snowden: Washington in a Rage, Striving to Run the World (25-6-2013)
We Should Thank Edward Snowden (29-6-2013)
What Edward Snowden Leaked Was Nothing Compared to What He Didn't (20-2-2014)

Moderate Left Titles

Assange

Assange as Tyrant? (14-9-2013)
Assange, the Drama King (21-6-2012)
Does Julian Assange Have Reason to Fear the U.S. Government? (17-6-2010)
Is Julian Assange Helping the Neocons? (7-12-2010)
Julian Assange arrested: Is he a 'scientific journalist' or 'megalomaniac'? (7-12-2010)
Julian Assange: Gigolo? (2-12-2010)
Julian Assange Is a Middle Man (27-7-2010)
Julian Assange starts WikiLeaks TV show (24-1-2012)
Sorry, Time, Assange is a criminal, not a journalist (4-8-2010)
The Ambitions of Julian Assange (1-12-2010)
The Hunt for Julian Assange (3-12-2010)
Why the WikiLeaksers are not quite Rosa Parks (9-12-2010)
WikiLeaks, a Postscript (19-2-2012)
WikiLeaks' Assange: Facebook Is 'Appalling Spying Machine' (2-5-2011)
Will WikiLeaks movie 'The Fifth Estate' turn Assange into a hero? (17-7-2013)

Manning

A kinship with Bradley Manning (12-8-2013)
Bradley Manning's lawyer calls him young, naive, 'good-intentioned' (3-6-2013)
Bradley Manning's sentence and the zealous national-security state (22-8-2013)
Chelsea Manning's Prison (30-8-2013)
Death to Whistle-Blowers? (13-5-2013)
History will pardon manning, even if Obama doesn't (21-8-2013)
In defense of leakers: Snowden and Manning (1-8-2013)
Justice for Bradley Manning (31-7-2013)
Manning and Snowden (30-7-2013)
Manning, Assange, and the Espionage Act (20-5-2011)
Manning guilty—But not of aiding the enemy (30-7-2013)
Private Manning's Confidant (10-5-2013)
Saving Private Manning (3-12-2012)

The Abuse of Private Manning (14-5-2011)
 The Bradley Manning enemy list (5-6-2013)
 What Snowden and Manning Don't Understand About Secrecy? (23-8-2013)
 Will Bradley Manning Be Remembered as a Traitor or a Patriot? (30-7-2013)

Snowden

Clemency for Edward Snowden Would Not Set a Dangerous Precedent (2-1-2014)
 Clemency for Torturers, but Not for Edward Snowden (5-11-2013)
 David Brooks and the mind of Edward Snowden (11-6-2013)
 Debating Snowden (24-3-2014)
 Demonizing Edward Snowden: Which side are you on? (24-6-2013)
 Does Snowden Deserve Asylum? (1-8-2013)
 Edward Snowden, American nationalist (24-12-2013)
 Edward Snowden, in shades of gray (8-1-2014)
 Edward Snowden is no hero (10-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden: Neither a hero nor a traitor (7-1-2014)
 Edward Snowden, Whistle-Blower (1-1-2014)
 Edward Snowden's weasel ways (31-1-2014)
 Give Snowden his due: He made a surveillance debate possible (31-7-2013)
 High-Level Confirmation He's a Whistle-Blower (20-12-2013)
 Is Edward Snowden a hero? A follow-up (14-6-2013)
 Is Edward Snowden Actually a Refugee? (25-6-2013)
 Is Snowden a spy? (11-5-2014)
 Letters: Edward Snowden, national hero (18-12-2013)
 Meet Edward Snowden, the NSA Whistleblower (9-6-2013)
 No contest: Edward Snowden is the Person of the Year (9-12-2013)
 The Lies Edward Snowden Tells (18-4-2014)
 The relevance of Edward Snowden (9-7-2013)
 The Service of Snowden (27-6-2013)
 What Should Happen to Edward Snowden? (2-1-2014)
 Why Edward Snowden is a hero (10-6-2013)
 10 Factors That Make Edward Snowden's Leak Defensible (11-6-2013)

Mod Right Titles

Assange

A WikiLeaks wake-up call (1-12-10)
 Assassinate Assange? (2-12-2010)
 Did WikiLeaks Founder Violate the Espionage Act? (3-8-2010)
 Does Julian Assange Qualify As a Whistle-Blower? (13-6-2011)
 Is Julian Assange a Journalist? For First Amendment Purposes, It Doesn't Matter (22-12-2013)
 I's WikiHateAmerica (30-11-2010)
 Julian Assange addresses the world (19-4-2012)
 Wiki This (6-12-2010)
 WikiCreep springs a leak (21-12-2010)
 WikiLeaks' Bottom-Line Revelation (8-12-2010)
 WikiLeaks dives into politics Down Under (24-4-2013)
 WikiLeaks Ushers in Era of 'Hacktivists' (10-12-2010)
 Why is Assange still alive? (29-10-2010)
 5 Reasons The CIA Should Have Already Killed Julian Assange (30-11-2010)

Manning

A just verdict against Bradley Manning (26-8-2013)
 Another look at the blabbers: Snowden and Manning exposed the vulnerability of state secrets
 Bradley Manning: Hero or Traitor? (31-7-2013)
 Bradley Manning's New Crusade (23-8-2013)
 Bradley Manning no hero; no traitor, either (1-8-2013)
 Bradley Manning: Poster Boy for 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' (1-12-2010)
 Conservative Rutherford Institute Defends Bradley Manning (15-3-2013)
 Manning and Hasan — and the political correctness devastating the U.S. military (6-8-2013)
 Manning's enablers (31-7-2013)
 Manning's mission (24-8-2013)
 Media Oddly Silent on WikiLeaks Proceedings (14-12-2012)
 The Manning Conviction (31-7-2013)
 The 'wikileaker' and the White House (8-6-2010)

Snowden

Chasing Snowden (26-6-2013)
 Bush Speechwriter Thiessen: Snowden a Felon Who Endangers Our Lives (10-6-2013)
 Dershowitz: US Should Prosecute Snowden as 'Common Thief' (15-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden: A narcissist without a country? (2-7-2013)
 Edward Snowden: American hero or supervillain? (11-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden and some other famous 20th century traitors (12-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden And The Dangers of Amateurism (18-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden enables Chinese hack attacks (24-2-2014)
 Edward Snowden: Traitor or Hero? (24-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden: Treasonous underachiever? (27-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden's Just Rewards (11-7-2013)
 Ex-Homeland Chief Napolitano: No Mercy for Edward Snowden (5-1-2014)
 Free Edward Snowden -- Really? (5-1-2014)
 Is NSA Whistle-Blower Snowden a Hero? (10-6-2013)
 John Lewis: I Do Not Agree With Snowden (8-8-2013)
 NSA Panel Member: Edward Snowden Guilty of 'Treason, High Crimes' (21-12-2013)
 Pelosi on Edward Snowden: Not a traitor but needs to 'face the music' (24-1-2014)
 PRISM NSA leaker Edward Snowden's gross miscalculation (29-6-2013)
 Rep. Mike Rogers: Snowden Put Military 'At Risk' (9-1-2014)
 Revisiting Snowden's betrayal (14-3-2014)
 Snowden Chills Putin 'Reset' (6-8-2013)
 Snowden a Fool, Not a Spy (19-6-2013)
 Snowden NSA leak case shows problems with whiz kids hacktivists (14-6-2013)
 The Case of Edward Snowden: Reason v Rhetoric (21-1-2014)
 The foolish wager of Edward Snowden (3-7-2013)
 The Snowden Effect (14-6-2014)
 Tinker tailor Snowden spy (19-6-2013)
 What Is Edward Snowden's End Game? (25-6-2013)
 Whistle-Blow a Happy Tune (25-6-2013)

Far Right Titles

Assange

A Nobel Peace Prize for Julian Assange? (2-2-2011)
 Amnesty Attacks Assange (10-8-2010)
 Assange and Correa: Strange Allies? (21-6-2012)
 Assange deserves due process (19-12-2010)
 Assange gets some criticism and support (15-12-2010)
 Assange headed for Gitmo? (7-12-2010)
 Assange Is America's Pussy Riot (20-8-2012)
 DoD: Assange, WikiLeaks Are Not "Enemies of the State" (2-10-2012)
 Is WikiLeaks Libertarian? (6-12-2010)
 Julian Assange, Week Two at the Ecuadorian Embassy (5-7-2012)
 Keeping WikiLeaks in Perspective (6-12-2010)
 Steven Greenhut: WikiLeaks no threat to free society (3-12-2010)
 The Hacker Politics of Julian Assange (30-11-2010)
 The Politics of WikiLeaks (26-7-2010)
 WikiLeaks founder Assange arrested, needless secrecy defended (21-8-2010)
 WikiLeaks Revisited (25-7-2011)
 Why WikiLeaks matters (12-12-2010)

Manning

Bradley Manning Alone (15-12-2010)
 Bradley Manning's Guilt — and Ours (12-8-2010)
 How Bradley Manning Changed the War on Terror - and Politics - For the Better (3-6-2013)
 Manning Trial Underscores Obama's Broken Promise (12-3-2013)
 Obama's Persecution of Bradley Manning (8-3-2013)
 The Lessons of Private Manning and WikiLeaks (11-1-2011)

Snowden

Big Government Is the Problem, Not Edward Snowden (30-6-2013)
 Editorial: Bring Snowden in from the cold (3-1-2014)
 Edward Snowden Applying for Asylum Anywhere That'll Take Him (2-7-2013)
 Edward Snowden: Hero or Traitor? (27-6-2013)
 Edward Snowden Is No Traitor (16-7-2013)
 Joseph Perkins: Snowden, no Patrick Henry, should face the music (25-7-2013)
 Justin Amash: Snowden Is a Whistleblower (5-8-2013)
 Konrad Moore: Snowden tells truth, NSA chief doesn't. Who's in trouble? (23-8-2013)
 Letters: Should amnesty be an option for Snowden? (10-1-2014)
 Letters: Snowden's sacrifices for liberty (11-6-2013)
 NSA Leaker Edward Snowden Has a Higher Approval Rating Than Congress (13-6-2013)
 NSA Whistleblower Edward Snowden May Be a Ron Paul Supporter (and Libertarian?) (9-6-2013)
 Obama Shouldn't Prosecute Snowden, He Should Hire Him (10-6-2013)
 Poll Finds Public Split on Whether Edward Snowden Is a Hero or Traitor (19-9-2013)
 Poll: Many on left applaud leaker Snowden (8-7-2013)
 Ron Hart: Snowden a hero or traitor? (26-6-2013)
 Ron Paul Praises Edward Snowden (11-6-2013)
 Should Snowden Have Run Away? (31-1-2014)
 Snowden Shrugged (2-7-2016)

Spying's the Story, Not Edward Snowden (24-6-2014)
Thank You, Edward Snowden (18-10-2013)
The Right Rallies to Edward Snowden (8-8-2013)
The Snowden Conundrum (4-2014)
Time to Return Edward Snowden with Honor and a Pardon (8-1-2014)
We Need More Edward Snowdens (11-6-2013)

Appendix VI: List of political newspapers and websites used in search

Far-Left Sites

<http://www.motherjones.com/>

<http://www.thenation.com/>

<http://www.truthdig.com/>

<http://www.truth-out.org/>

Moderate-Left Sites

<http://www.nytimes.com/>

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/>

<http://www.latimes.com/>

<http://www.newyorker.com/>

<http://www.theatlantic.com/>

Moderate-Right Sites

<http://nypost.com/>

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/>

<http://www.newsmax.com/>

<http://www.chicagotribune.com/>

<http://townhall.com/>

Far-Right Sites

<http://reason.com/>

<http://www.oregister.com/>

<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/>

<http://www.independent.org/>

<http://www.cato.org/>

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