

# Saving Agent Snowden From His Handlers Greenwald & Omidyar

By Yoichi Shimatsu 10-24-13

Whistleblower Edward Snowden was taken for a ride by con artists in the service of the US and UK intelligence agencies. Under the cover of “independent journalism”, the scammers conned him out of his trove of secret NSA files, hustled him from Hong Kong ahead of legislature-sponsored public hearings on cyber-espionage, and unceremoniously dumped him, minus documents, in a transit lounge at Moscow Airport. This report shows how the American and British spymasters retrieved the top-secret files by luring the fugitive into a well-laid trap, while the mass media went along with the deception to aid the authorities in evading public calls to abolish the global surveillance state.

Pierre Omidyar, founder of the online flea market e-Bay, is betting a reported \$250 million that the accomplices of whistleblower Edward Snowden can follow up their caper with the launch of an online news site with global reach. The ethnic Iranian tycoon is funding a new media project for the team of Glenn Greenwald, Laura Poitras and Jeremy Scahill because he became “more alarmed about the pressures coming down on journalists with the various leak investigations in Washington.” (Pacific Business News)

An angel investor committed to press freedom and opposed to government surveillance is every journalist’s dream even though it sounds too good to be true. There are serious grounds for questioning the credibility of Greenwald and his newest patron, whose business venture Omidyar Network is closely connected with NSA contractor Booz Allen Hamilton, Edward Snowden’s erstwhile employer.

Known for his globalist vision and “social-impact” projects in the developing countries, backed by immense personal wealth, Omidyar follows in the footsteps of other billionaires who launched their own electronic media projects: George Soros with his slew of propaganda organs, Ariana Huffington at HuffPost and Michael Bloomberg with his financial news arm, to name a few. These well-oiled publicity machines hardly qualify as standard-bearers of objective reporting since each of these opinion-shapers has a political agenda, from running City Hall to fomenting uprisings for regime change in support of market economics. Early on, it already appears that Omidyar, for all his sentimental sound bites, could turn out to be the worst of a bad lot.

## Partnering Booz Allen

In stark contrast to his libertarian posturing, Omidyar is connected at the hip to the very same intelligence nexus that he publicly condemns, particularly Booz Allen Hamilton, the NSA security contractor that employed Snowden in Hawaii and Japan. One of the major investment partners with Omidyar Network, Salvatore “Sal” Gambianco, sits on the board of directors of Booz Allen Hamilton Holdings.

As head of Omidyar Network's human capital operations, Giambanco vets trainees and assesses employee performance for promotion or termination. For more than a decade, Omidyar Network has had a revolving door for its employees with Booz Allen, shuttling staffers and interns for intelligence-related postings. Just a few of these individuals who worked for both Omidyar Network and Booz Allen include:

- Dhaya Lakshminarayan who was sent to Cuba to research development programs;- Pranay Chulet hired to head Omidyar-backed Quikr in India;- Patricia Sosrodjojo, Indonesian venture capital expert in Jakarta; and- Michael Kent, a Booz Allen counter-terrorism specialist who served as a research associate at the Omidyar campus in Redwood City, California.

The relationship, simply put, is corporate collusion, and if businesses could be married, Booz Allen and Omidyar Network are husband and wife.

### Inside the NSA's Big Tent

Booz Allen and Omidyar Network are corporate members of an NSA-linked consortium called Innocentive, a consultancy focused on crowdsourcing (read: data-mining of public-opinion polls, consumer surveys and Internet-based personal data). Other member-companies include In-Q-Tel, a developer of communications monitoring software spawned with millions in start-up capital from the CIA.

Also represented is the In-Q-Tel spin-off Palantir, which creates fictive personas or virtual trolls to mount smear campaigns to debunk or threaten journalists and critical websites online and in letters to editors. Palantir, which refers to itself as an "electronic warfare" firm, has created a meta-data collection program similar to the NSA's PRISM. Michael Leiter, former head of the National Counter-Terrorism Center, is the executive counsel to Palantir.

Another corporate partner in Innocentive is Lilly Ventures, the investment arm of Eli Lilly pharmaceuticals, which produced LSD for the MK-ULTRA mind-control program and is now the lead partner in the Obama-sponsored national brain-mapping project. Full-spectrum surveillance is advancing from wireless electronics into the bio-network of the human synapses, the last frontier for total mind control. The objective of pre-crime pre-cognition, that is, the detection of criminal tendencies, for instance, resistance to authority, and intervention before the crime can happen. Using drugs to impair the mental capabilities of individuals is, of course, only a part of a wider and larger program of social engineering to ensure domination of the globalist elites over any increasingly dependant and expendable population.

As birds of the feather that flock together, Booz Allen Hamilton and Omidyar Network are a pair of ducks in the NSA-CIA pond. These intelligence links are so thinly guised, it beggars belief that an attorney like Greenwald who practiced law in New York City could be so oblivious to the conflict of interest in regard to the security of his client Edward Snowden.

Either Glenn Greenwald is a gullible village idiot or he is one of many actors planted in this spy charade. Nobody in the intelligence game is allowed to be that naïve, especially when it is crystal

clear from these interlocking corporate connections that Pierre Omidyar is hardly an innocent when he has every incentive to work on behalf of Booz Allen and the NSA to recover the Snowden files.

### Sell-Out or Set Up?

It took \$250 million for Omidyar to win the fealty of the “courageous” and “independent” journalists who surrounded Snowden and controlled his every movement. The team of Greenwald and Jeremy Scahill, along with filmmaker Laura Poitras, not only kept the fugitive in the dark while mounting a clever sting operation. (“You can’t let the Chinese or Russians confiscate the files”, as if Moscow or Beijing would be that stupid while the whole world was watching.) Taking his data as a “security precaution”, the thieves thus managed to retrieve the secret documents for the spymasters in London, Langley and Fort Meade.

“We’ll be working with them and others, but we have a long way to go in terms of what the (news) organization looks like, people’s roles and responsibilities,” said Omidyar to Pacific Business News. This leaves no doubt about who’s the boss, while his other statements indicate Greenwald, Poitras and Schahill can collect the bounty money and disappear until their next Mission Impossible assignment, so long as they keep their mouths shut. Otherwise, a new team of actors will hunt them down one at a time. Accidents happen.

What business executive in the current risk climate commits \$250 million of his own savings to a vaguely defined project without a management structure or financial plan? And the objective is to protect the public from government intrusion, even if his own company profits from those encroachments on privacy? In the fantasy world of comic-book heroes, a magnate like Bruce Wayne would never throw away his fortune to buy the Daily Planet so that Jimmy Olson and Lois Lane can be crusading reporters.

The patently ludicrous statements show that Pierre Omidyar is acting as a minder for a powerful entity, for example, the National Intelligence Council, and serving as babysitter for the non-profit funded “journalists” who conned Snowden out of this trove of documents and dumped him at the Moscow airport transit lounge. As winter bears down over the steppe, Snowden as his surname suggests is snowed in for the duration, thanks to the Greenwald-Poitras snow job.

### 600-pound Gorilla in the Salon

Early in his legal career in the 1990s, Greenwald was reprimanded for secretly taping witnesses during his pro bono defense of a white supremacist. This self-proclaimed civil libertarian employed the same sort of illegal surveillance that he would later criticize so loudly. Soon after being questioned in court about his electronic recording activities without the prior signing of consent forms, he closed down his private practice. If Greenwald hadn’t he could be disbarred.

In 2002, Greenwald went on to bigger things as a business partner in Master Notions, whose clients included the video production company Hairy Jocks, which produced homosexual pornography. A falling out among the partners led to Greenwald forming a new company called

Hairy Studs. On the bright side of this shady business, his background in porn could mean a gold mine for Omidyar's future news company in ads from gay bathhouses and escort services from New York to Rio.

Meanwhile, when the Internal Revenue Service put a lien on his earnings for failure to report past income, Greenwald launched his own blog to complain about overbearing government intrusion. As luck had it, his timing was perfect because CIA veteran Valerie Plame was being outed in the press by Scooter Libby, legal counsel to Vice President Dick Cheney.

Rebounding from his unsavory start as a purveyor of sleaze, the counselor reinvented himself as a "journalist" writing a civil-liberties column for Salon.com, that paragon of muddled murmurs from lapdog liberals founded by Microsoft's Bill Gates. Despite its reputation as forum for pathetic poseurs and depressed Generation-X losers, Salon provided the strategic boost that propelled Greenwald into national prominence. All along something was amiss. Greenwald was being cherry-picked by an invisible hand as the anointed spokesman for civil liberties, while veteran activists with the Electronic Frontier foundation and ACLU were being bypassed and ignored.

### Cognitive Infiltration

His golden moment arrived with a 2008 PBS radio debate over the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) hosted by Amy Goodman, pitting the crusading lawyer-cum-journalist against information tsar Cass Sunstein.

The University of Chicago law school professor rode into the White House office of Information and Regulatory Affairs on the coattails of his protege and former student Barack Obama. Married to NSA staffer Samantha Power (who was since appointed American ambassador to the UN), Sunstein is renowned for his pet cause of animal protection, advocating the right of a dog or cat to file lawsuits as a plaintiff against abusive owners. The FISA dual was therefore a match made in media heaven between world title holder Dr. Kibble Bits and the up-and-coming contender Harry Stud. (The rather dull transcript, which fails to capture the *zeitgeist*, is available at [www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org).)

Greenwald won hands down by a TKO (taking Kibblebits out), scoring against Sunstein on the issue of retroactive immunity for war crimes committed in Iraq and Afghanistan. The trouble is, however, the fix was in. The bout went according to Sunstein's "cognitive infiltration" game-plan. By taking the role of bad cop, the professor set up Greenwald to emerge as the good cop, the nation's top reformer since nobody else ever had the privilege of debating the information tsar.

After this ploy, morally outraged jurists and lawyers who wanted to press war-crimes and even genocide charges against the Bush administration were sucked into the blog-and-debate routine and nudged into the position of being the loyal opposition. The national debate rapidly shifted from condemnation of torture in Guantanamo to the minutiae of legal procedures, while candidate Obama's promise to shut down the abominable prison camp was politely forgotten.

Cognitive infiltration proved to a most effective psywar technique, manipulating critics to volunteer for their own castration.

Sunstein, who strategizes global information control for the executive branch (Office of the President, the CIA, FBI and NSA): has also promoted dirty war with the planting of agents provocateurs to infiltrate terrorist cells, protest groups and domestic militias. As seen at the Boston Marathon, government-recruited dupes and crisis actors were scripted to score astonishing feats against the “oppressive” government. On one hand, the violence and theatrics scare the daylight out of the public, which wipes out objections to the repressive state apparatus. On the other hand, the provos for the intelligence agencies succeed in impressing extremist movements worldwide, which then can be steered into proxy wars, false-flag attacks and assassinations of one’s own troublesome political allies.

These sorts of police-agent tactics were tested during the Vietnam War era by Obama’s mentors in the Chicago circle of phony leftists, which discredited and disrupted Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) by financing the Weather Underground’s rampages of arson and window-smashing. Distribution of firearms by provocateurs to young radicals brought on the Nixon COINTELPRO campaign to assassinate community leaders, notably Fred Hampton of the Black Panther Party and imprison others like H. Rap Brown.

### A Better Rat Trap for Squealers

One of Sunstein’s major projects has been to contain the epidemic of insider disclosures by whistleblowers. Knowing quite well that disgruntled government employees will invariably seek legal counsel, what better tactic than to fabricate a “civil liberties” crusader working pro bono along with his wide network of media contacts and deep-pockets funders?

The trap was set, and as predicted the quarry arrived, by the name of Edward Snowden. Like a mouse after cheese, the gullible mark took the bait and followed Greenwald’s every instruction. Dr. Sunstein succeeded brilliantly when his “mini-me” puppet did what no law-enforcement agency could ever pull off – the voluntary surrender of top-secret files.

OK, you won. That’s enough of the rough-trade scowl for the cameras, Glenn, when you’d rather just howl and roll on the floor at how easily Eddie was reeled in hook, line and sinker. Hey, stud, you deserve the reward at the rainbow’s end, those big fat checks from the Iranian dude. Maybe for your next assignment, you should take over the lead role from Tom Cruise for the upcoming episode “MI-6.”

### Hong Kong Exfiltration

From the time of Snowden's sojourn in Hong Kong, it was clear to journalists and politicians that his local lawyer Albert Ho and the minders with British and US intelligence were not going to allow unfettered disclosure of the NSA documents to an astonished global public. When the Western spies learned that parliamentarians with the Legislative Council (LEGCO) were planning to call for open public hearings with Snowden as star witness, the whistleblower was suddenly packed off to Moscow.

As Snowden himself had figured, Hong Kong was the ideal place of refuge with its Basic Law and legal community fiercely committed to free expression, a regional hub for the major media, a cyber-security center with top university computer departments and experts at global banks, local protesters and the Foreign Correspondents Club demanding his protection, a police force that was ordered to prevent anyone from harming the fugitive, and a Chief Executive, the city's top official, who gave his personal assurances that Snowden would not be extradited. What more could anyone ask for?

His local lawyer Albert Ho, a legislative council member with the Democrat Party, claims that he was visited in the middle of the night by "somebody" urging Snowden to get out of Hong Kong. The Catholic-dominant Democrat Party is famously funded by the Washington neocon patrons, the National Endowment for Democracy. It is an open secret that since the days of Senator Jesse Helms, Democrat leaders fly to Washington to pick up checks from the intelligence chiefs.

There was no threat from mainland authorities as falsely reported since Beijing had an interest along with every bank, company and individual in Hong Kong in the NSA communications intercepts. It was a big lie from his so-called protectors that triggered Snowden's flight from a Hong Kong ready to offer him immunity.

Glenn Greenwald went along with the deception, meaning he had to be in on the plot to retrieve the secret-level documents for the NSA. That he has so quickly accepted an editorship with Omidyar, one of the closest allies of Booz Allen, only confirms all the other evidence on his collaboration with the spy agencies.

Instead of an intense three weeks of public hearings revealing all of the NSA wrongdoing, with daily commentaries by cyber-security experts and, more important, the victims of state violations of privacy, Greenwald and Poitras has reduced the flow of documents to a drip feed.

The blog called Rancid Honeytrap has sharply punctured the hot-air balloon from Snowden's erstwhile handlers, notably Greenwald:

“Viva the new journalism of lying repeatedly about the size of your document trove to teach the rubes valuable lessons in proper whistleblowing.

“Viva the new journalism of leaking 300 pages in four months from a trove that exceeds 60,00 documents.

“Viva the new journalism that probably suppressed at least one story on government orders.

“Viva the new journalism of putting 50k-plus docs in the care of The New York Times since they had proven themselves so worthy in Cablegate.

“Viva the new journalism that talks about the crucial role of the heroic journalist far far more than it talks about the secrets in his care.

“Viva the new journalism that hoards leaks while it negotiates movie and television rights with Sony and HBO.”

To that last point might we add: Viva for winning \$250 million from the NSA nexus for your financial security into old age, if by some miracle you make that far

### Jewel in the Crown

At that early phase, the Greenwald show was run by the Guardian. Its editor in chief Alan Rusbridger took the spotlight role for breaking the Snowden story. The Guardian breaking-news spectacle was run by the same Royalist intelligence network that harbored Julian Assange on the country estate of military officer, sniper and journalist Vaughan Smith, founder of the Frontline Club that conducted intelligence operations in the Balkans war.

The strategic decision-making at the Guardian goes far higher than editor Rusbridger. The publishing group's chairwoman is Amelia Chilcott Fawcett, a confidante of Prince Charles who also supervises the Prince of Wales Foundation. The career of Dame Fawcett, Commander of the British Empire, shows her to be a force to be reckoned with: international attorney, CEO and executive director of Morgan Stanley Europe, director of State Street Corporation, board member of the Bank of England, and head of the Scott Trust, which owns the Guardian, Observer and other media assets.

Although born in Boston, the cradle of American independence, Chilcott Fawcett is a dual citizen of the U.S. and Britain, and Atlanticist of unquestionable and

unquestioning Tory persuasion. She is eminently qualified and adequately connected to direct Prince Charles's long-running dispute with upstart cousins at the CIA and NSA. While the Foreign Office remains shamelessly in debt and beholden to the Americans, British military intelligence is a Royalist bastion.

The Princess Diana investigative reporting by the now defunct News of the World, owned by the adoptive American Rupert Murdoch, were particularly offensive to the Saxe-Coburg family aka the Windsors. The personal animosity between President George W. Bush and Prince Charles nearly wrecked the Anglo-American relationship. The mystery of the 7/7 London Tube bombing during the Gleneagles G-8 summit was especially galling, since a former CIA executive was in charge of Metro security. Only special agents had access to blast the "tunnel below the Tube", which has been used to convey British troops across London since World War II, according to a Special Branch police intelligence officer interviewed by this writer.

British agents and sympathizers in Hong Kong were instrumental in erecting the security cordon around fugitive Snowden, and the Guardian new-hire Greenwald was enlisted as the American liaison. The media leaks were calibrated to cause discomfort, rather than excruciating pain, to the arrogant lads at NSA. The few documents released had no effect on British interests, but the bulk of files that affect the common interests of America and Europe remain secreted under royal seal. As the Obama White House flounders under the debt-ceiling dispute and pressure from bankers in the City of London, the Royals are enjoying a revival.

In a nutshell the Snowden case was used by the British military intelligence in partnership with a CIA faction opposed to the heavy-handed Pentagon-NSA eavesdropping programs that threaten to knock over sensitive operations, for instance, joint operations with Qatar and Saudi intelligence to direct Al Qaeda units in Libya, Syria and Afghanistan. Since assassination targets could include American, British and other allied European officers who know too much, the Agency prefers to operate without its communications with field agents and MK-ULTRA types being monitored by lads like Snowden or any of the many generals who have a grudge against the CIA. As for disclosures on snooping, the public be damned.

As for Greenwald's sidekicks Poitras and Schahill, so-called journalists who depend on non-profits for their handouts do not deserve mention. They have to yet pay their dues by working the night shift as sub-editors and chasing ambulances at cub reporters before boasting about their stories made for sponsors Journalism is



an old-school profession not a luxury voyage of global exploration and personal discovery. No wonder Pierre is so worried about finding good editors since none of the trio qualify.

Who is Pierre Omidyar?

Since the existing grudge match between the clowns of American and British intelligence cannot continue indefinitely, a new character must be introduced onto the circus to relieve the tension. As a person with close ties with the spy masters of U.S., Britain, France and Abu Dhabi, Pierre Omidyar arrives with a shocking suddenness as ringmaster for the Greenwald acrobatics.

Born in Paris in 1967 to Iranian émigrés, Pierre Parviz/Morad Omidyar came to Maryland at age 6 with his father, a physician at Johns Hopkins, and mother, a Sorbonne-trained linguist. He attended the Potomac School in McLean, Virginia, which is better known as Langley.

Key facts on his background are not disclosed: his family's religious affiliation, ancestral home in Iran, rank and status in the traditional social system, and ethnicity (Iranian society has been a melting pot for many millennia). His official biography is sanitized of facts and adorned with public-relations flourishes.

One of few facts that cannot be suppressed by Omidyar obsession with privacy is his schooling at Punahou, a private academy in Honolulu, starting a year after fellow alum Barack Obama's departure. Insider connections were essential for admission to the prep school, and in that era the few channels of access for children from the Third World were through parents working for the CIA, like Obama's mother Ann Dunham (see Wayne Madsen's in-depth expose of the Obama family's work for the CIA in "The Manufacturing of a President").

Persia not Iran

Pierre's mother Elahe Mir-Djalali Omidyar had similar credentials as a Farsi linguist at Georgetown University in the mid-1970s when the Carter administration was grappling with the upsurge in popular protests in Iran against the Shah's regime, while USAID advisers were trying to identify the underlying socioeconomic causes of the unrest. At the time when the Shah of Iran's grip on power was starting to crumble, Ayatollah Khomeini was in exile in Paris. Elahe Omidyar's Ph.D.-level fluency in both Farsi and French had to be an outstanding asset.

Founded by Dr Omidyar, the Roshan Institute for Cultural Heritage is dedicated to the preservation of Persian culture. Since the institute's literature makes a point of using Persia rather than Iran, a bit of explanation is needed. Though the two names are somewhat interchangeable, Persia refers to the polyglot empire and the ancient language that is the basis of Farsi, while Iran is more associated with the modern nation-state. The word Iran is based on Aryan, the ancient Indo-European term for "Land of Light" (as opposed to the higher latitudes as one travels northward). Persian in cultural reference also tends to imply the imperial dynasties and the courtly culture of the native emperors and conquering dynasties that adopted the regional culture.

The Roshan symbol of 24-ray sun is based on a carving at the ruins of Persepolis, the capital of the Achaemenid Empire, whose best-known emperors were Xerxes and Darius II. Alexander the Great, avenging Xerxes' invasion of Greece (depicted with extreme bias in the movie "300"), either allowed or ordered the destruction of the-then world's greatest city. The two Shahs of modern Pahlavi dynasty, Reza and the CIA-installed Mohammad Reza, staged massive performances at Persepolis to identify themselves with the Achaemenid dynasty. Fate being ironic, their rule ended nearly as disastrously. For purposes of discussion here, the Omidya valorization of Persepolis indicates attachment to the Shah of Iran, whose court included many advisors and officials were Bahai followers or Jewish by birth.

Oddly, the Roshan Institute board includes only one cultural expert, Dr. Omidyar. The others are deans, which makes sense because Roshan's main activity is to provide scholarships to students and place them in allied universities. One of the more interesting board members is former Democrat Florida congresswoman Jan Scheider, a former staffer with Terry McAuliff and lawyer for Bill Clinton. Mrs. Omidyar is one of her campaign contributors.

### Social Impact Investing

In a similar vein with Dunham, a social worker who conducted CIA research in poor rural areas of Kenya and Indonesia, Elahe Omidyar's academic work has stressed the cultural and social milieu of Iranian society, an approach that has greatly influence her son. Pierre Omidyar advocates a "social impact" to investment in the developing countries, with financial support for non-governmental organizations along with private-sector investment.

The emphasize on poor rural communities may sound benign, even noble-hearted,

but that is exactly the same policy as the Rockefeller and Ford foundations in manipulating and suppressing grassroots movements with the goal of regime change to oust populist nationalist governments and preserving natural resources for Western corporations.

A three-point program of liberal development theory can be summarized as:

- winning hearts and minds to wage counterinsurgency and proxy wars
- takeovers of land, water and essential resources to subjugate the population
- promoting construction of highways, bridges and ports to gain World Bank loans and lucrative contracts through corrupt puppet leaders.

### Survivalism and Super-Flu Virus in Hawaii

Closer to home, Omidyar funds non-profit groups involved in organic farming in Hawaii. So what could be so sinister about such exemplary clean living? Here is what the Honolulu Advertiser daily reported: “While he's clearly enamored with the Island culture, he is also aware of the danger of living in the middle of an ocean. Omidyar worries that a pandemic could cut Hawaii's lifelines and leave it with an 11-day supply of food. To that end, he has made pivotal donations to local nonprofits dedicated to building sustainable local food supplies. At the same time, he has stockpiled several months of food for his personal use at storage facilities on O'ahu.”

That sounds an awful lot like a conspiracy theory. A pandemic, perhaps of highly lethal avian influenza depopulates Hawaii and the West Coast by disease and starvation, since no food arrives by ship or plane for more than two weeks. It means much of North American population is also exterminated. So what does Pierre Omidyar know that public is completely unaware of? Always remember, they who spread the plague have a monopoly on the antidote.

Loose ends in need of tying: Pierre and his mother Elahe Omidyar founded the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute, discussed below. Among the board members is former University of Hawaii Manoa chancellor Virginia Hinton. The microbiologist is a top expert in the avian influenza or bird flu virus, which she weaponized poses the greatest threat of a mass-destruction epidemic.

Before coming to Hawaii, Dr. Hinton served as head of the animal lab at the University of Wisconsin Madison. Her chosen successor at that position was Yoshikiko Kawaoka, the Japanese scientist from Kobe University who in fact did

soon at UW weaponize H5N1 into a highly lethal and contagious super-flu strain.

Here is an excerpt from a report in the seemingly innocuous UW Alumni Association newsletter “On Wisconsin”:

“Virginia Hinshaw, a former colleague at both St. Jude and UW-Madison and now provost of the University of California- Davis, recalls him as being ‘extremely bright and very creative. It was obvious that he was extraordinary.’

“It was Hinshaw who again set the stage for Kawaoka’s next move. In 1995, she left her flu lab in the School of Veterinary Medicine to become dean of the Graduate School. With her encouragement, Kawaoka applied for her job, eventually joining the faculty in 1997. ‘I remember him coming to my office in the Graduate School and looking around, saying, “I just want to see where I’m going next,” Hinshaw laughs.

”Where he was headed next, however, was Hong Kong. Four months after he arrived in Madison, Kawaoka was chosen by the National Institutes of Health to join a select team of international researchers analyzing the H5N1 virus, which had been identified in poultry in China and had begun to appear in humans. By the end of the year, the bird flu had infected eighteen people, killing six — a foreboding sign of the virus’s potential that raised the alarm of public health officials around the world.”

In one word: Biowarfare. A French-born Iranian moved to Hawaii as an ideal place to raise his children, but then starts to stockpile food and drugs. It gets more worrisome because he is equipped for a biological Armageddon. Read on.

### Deseret Empire of the Mormons

Security, of course, becomes an issue during food riots and mass panic. Not to worry, because Pierre has the leadership corps to create a private army. “Omidyar employs a group of former Secret Service agents and ex-State Department officials to serve as his private security team and to fly his private jet, a French-made Dassault Falcon 900EX, which he keeps parked in a private hangar at Honolulu International Airport.”

Omidyar has set up safe houses on an island in France, Southern California and Nevada along with a 640-acre ranch in Montana. "I'd say we're probably more

significantly prepared than the average family," Omidyar said. "We have property all over the world and we have property we can fly to."

His long residence in Nevada and Montana, inside the greater Deseret Empire, offer a clue to his cult-like perspective. One of few new religions not hostile to the Church of Latter-Day Saints is the Bahai Faith, which originated in Iran although its largest temple, the Universal House of Justice, is based in Haifa, Israel.

Another clue to Omidyar's covert connection to Bahai is his focus on development projects in Zambia, the chief target of the sect's missionary activities in Africa.

Then, there's Omidyar's sponsorship of virus research and food stockpiling in Hawaii that corresponds to the End Times predicted by Bahai founder Bahauallah: "Soon will the present-day order be rolled up and a new one spread out in its stead."

The Universal House of Justice confirmed the validity of the prophecy with an epistle to this worldwide membership: "The old order cannot be repaired; it is being rolled up before our eyes. The moral decay and disorder convulsing human society must run their course; we can neither arrest nor divert them. Our task is to build the Order of Bahauallah."

As this next look at numerology indicates, the old order of God the Supreme Law-Giver is "being rolled up" in these End Days. Only then, through mass destruction, will the vessel of faithful followers deliver the authentic world divinity, the adamant and prideful One.

No.9 in Numerology - Yesod

The Bahai inner sanctum has persistently obscured the meaning of the number 9 as an "Arab symbol for fulfillment." No, the mystic symbol is derived from Jewish Kabbalist numerology as the symbol of the final step before divine perfection. Number 9 symbolizes the sephirot (node of knowledge and power) "Yesod", the vessel for action. The action is toward the fulfillment of the double-digit representing "Malkuth" or kingship, in the sense of divine-right monarchy. (Kabbalism and its extension Illuminism, has therefore had an attraction to royalists and pretenders worldwide, especially in Western Europe.)

Nine is strangely identified with the qualities of adamancy and pride that are the

characteristics of Lucifer, the most intelligent angel surpassed only by God. The uneasy potency of this number, however, is limited to the institutional structure of the religious group. In fact, the actual ritual symbol of Bahai is the pentagram.

The God-Lucifer dichotomy has earlier roots in Zoroastrian dualistic philosophy of a cosmos divided between the god of light Ohrmadz (Ahura Mazda) and his doppelganger Ahriman (Angra Mainyu), prince of darkness. This duality helps to explain the hostility of the Bahai founders toward Islam and Zoroastrianism, and their willing affiliation with the Illuminati and Kabbalist-influenced Zionism. To substitute Lucifer-as-usurper in the stead of God the good requires distancing from the fallen angel's evil image as Satan, whose reputation Bahai has done its best to rehabilitate, sanitize and salvage.

This brings up the question: Is Lucifer aka Ahriman, No.10? Are these cultists devil worshippers? To put things more charitably, the Bahai along with the Illuminati put highest esteem on pure reason (in rejection of the charismatic nature and capricious will of a God who imposes tough rules on mankind.) Lucifer, without his terrifying image as Satan, is an adamant hero who teaches humans to be proud of themselves, to stand tall and not to grovel before a morally oppressive and restrictive divinity of the orthodox priesthood. A defender of reason, Lucifer can therefore be the rightful God of mankind to one who is a heretic deviating from Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition.

### Illuminati of the Oxford Movement

It is no odd coincidence then that veneration of the evening star is shared by the seemingly disconnected cults of Illuminism and Bahai. The historical links between these two cults can be found in Hermano Maximiliano's "Freemasonry, the British Empire and the Formation of the Baha'I Cult". In a cultural crusade to preserve British imperial power, a group of elite academics formed the Oxford Movement, which promoted radical new religious leaders across the Muslim world, particularly Bahai founder Bahauallah. (The Roman Empire underestimated the growing influence of religions from the Orient, including Christianity, which led to its collapse, and the Oxford Movement was determined to avoid that fatal ideological mistake.)

In a classic divide-and-rule exercise, Bahai was created as a "super-faith" that amalgamated the teachings of all world religions, and therefore deserve to replace Islam with a "one world faith." It was in the interest of British imperialism in Iran

and the Middle East to weaken the influence of Islam and to gain control over the Shia-promoted trend of emerging nationalism.

“Although it began as an experimental British foray in non-religious freemasonic cults, the Bahai movement would spawn the organizer of the future pan-Islamic movement, Jamaledine Al-Afghani,” writes to Maximiliano. An early advocate of Bahai, Al-Afghani went on to form the Salafi school of fundamentalist Islam, which provided the ideological foundation for the Brotherhood and Al Qaeda.

The British spymasters who fostered Bahai and Salafism included Orientalist scholar Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and Cambridge dean Edward G. Browne, while field operations with the Wahabi Salafists were led by St. John Philby. (Blunt’s grand-nephew Anthony, art adviser to Queen Elizabeth II, and Philby’s descendant Kim were leading members of the celebrated Oxford spy ring.) Besides the penchant for the occult and pederasty, heresy runs deep in the Oxbridge circle. (www.arabamericanencyclopedia.com) offers a good read on the Oxford Movement and Bahai.)

In contrast to Salafism, which openly calls for a theocratic state, Bahai operates covertly behind the scenes to manipulate politicians and opinion leaders. For instance, unbeknownst to the public, Pierre Omidyar provided his private jet to fly State Department officials incognito for talks with Hamas and also transported former President Jimmy Carter to Tehran for secret diplomacy.

### Fatwa Against Bahai

Behind the public pose of peacemaking, Bahai’s role has not always been benign. In August, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei issued a fatwa against contact with Bahai, following the discovery that terrorist cells included Bahai operatives. The term “Iranian Freemasons” recurrently arises whenever U.S. neoconservatives hatch plans to attack Iran. It has also been a mystery of how the criminal terrorist group Mujahedeen Al-Khalq obtained the funding to build a mini-army inside neighboring Iraq and mounted elaborate assassination campaigns in Iran.

One incident familiar to this writer was the so-called Iranian bombing in Bangkok in 2012, which were attributed to the Tehran regime. (Two suspects were convicted in August by a Thai court.) The key figure in this incident was an Iranian woman with a Jewish family name, who managed to flee immediately after inadvertent blast damaged a safe house. At the time, her escape pointed to an Israeli connection, as the planned attacks were timed to match a Mossad

international campaign to offer security services and training to Asian governments.

## Alliance with Israel

Bahai's closest international ally is the State of Israel. Nearly every Israeli president and prime minister has made an official homage to the Shrine of Bab at the Bahai World Center in Haifa. Why would the head of the Jewish state honor a new religion that claims to be the world's supreme belief?

One motivation is the "enemy of my enemy" alliance, since both Bahai and Zionist are sworn to regime change in Iran. Another, historically deeper connection is the role of Jewish Kabbalism in the creation of the Bahai sect. Although developed in Al-Andalus, the Moorish realm in late-medieval/early Renaissance Spain, the Kabbala has earlier origins in the alchemy, numerology, astronomy and philosophy of Persia and Mesopotamia as developed by Jewish, Islamic and Indian thinkers.

These early scientific explorations led to syncretism of the respective religious beliefs and occult doctrines, often expressed as sub-schools of Sufism. The syncretistic approach was especially favored by Donmeh Jews, the disciples of Sabbatai Zevi who became superficial converts to Islam under orders from Ottoman Sultan Mehmet IV.

The various streams of hidden Jewish thought, which spread through the vast Islamic domain, eventually made its way into Europe with the Frankist movement and the Asiatic Brotherhood secret society, which profoundly influenced major figures such as Emperor Joseph of the Habsburgs (husband of Maria Theresa, "Queen of the Night" in Mozart's "Magic Flute") and the German princes of Hesse (Frankfurt region) whose banker was Mayer Rothschild, founder of the powerful Jewish banking dynasty. The merger of Kabbalist practices, including sexual libertinism, with Enlightenment philosophy led to Adam Weiskopf's formation of the Order of the Illuminati.

During the era of British world mastery, following the defeats of Napoleonic France, the English Illuminati scholars enchanted with Orientalism reintroduced Kabbalist occultism to the Near East among the Young Turks led by Ataturk, the Bahai and the Salafists. The Rothschild clan's financing of Zionism promoted ties with and recruitment of hidden Jews across the Muslim realm, cementing a close relationship between Bahai and Israel as well as between Osama bin Laden's Al



Qaeda and the Mossad.

The official Bahai account paints themselves as victims of Shia Muslim persecution and pogroms, whereas the historical causes of nationalist opposition to the Bahai are more complicated. The Bahai were generally supportive of the Shahs of Iran before and after the CIA coup against the democratic Mosaddeq regime, which nationalized the Iranian oil reserves. Bahai advisers to the court of successive Shahs promoted the secularization of Iranian society in order to banish Islamic values and undermine the nationalist Shia clergy. For Iranian nationalists, however, both secular and religious-inspired, the Shah's regime was a tool for Western control over Iran's immense oil reserves. The Bahai are thus perceived as agents of the CIA and MI-6, which in fact many of their leaders actually were.

Occult Triangle

The triangular relationship of the Disraeli/Rothschild - Oxford Movement – Bahai/Salafism of the 19th is now being reflected in the Snowden affair with the collusion of the Zionism/Greenwald – Guardian/Royalist – Bahai/Omidyar. History repeats itself, first as tragedy and then as a farce.

As Israel edges toward a first-strike attack against Iran, while ramping up its covert wars against Iranian influence in Sudan and Palestine, is it any wonder that Pierre Omidyar and Glenn Greenwald are preparing to launch a major online propaganda mouthpiece? Is this new media venture, too, part of the Bahai plan to prepare for the imminent End of the World to be delivered by an unstoppable contagion of super-flu?

Instead of playing dangerous games, Pierre Omidyar is far better off in the luxury of fiction where he belongs rather than sentencing himself to hard labor at journalism. To lead the budding writer to the fabled shores of epic poetry and apocalyptic scenarios, let me guide him without personal ill will to his literary destiny with this short-short story of epic dimension, salted with plagiarism and peppered with cultural chauvinism, inspired by a world-renowned figure of ancient Persia whose ambitions were nearly as grand as his.

Whenever history reaches an impasse, onto the desolate field of the forum rumbles a juggernaut bearing a demigod who showers silver coins on his new subjects like droplets of water for the thirsty. At this hour of desperate survival, citizens, spurn the siren song of obedience, for even power-obsessed Xerxes and his cruel cohort

of Immortals proved weak in spirit when bloodied between the stony heights and unfathomable depths. Cunning in the sophistry of One World at Peace, the satraps of empire are masters of the dark arts of treachery and betrayal as taught by their uncanny master Angra Mainyu.

Today, the beast again approaches to snuff out the world's one hope for reason and justice, the voice of truth arising from faith in the heart. The overwhelming odds of their 250 million pieces of silver against our 300 in bronze mean an even contest, for the difference will be tallied in righteous ferocity and deeds of glory.

Freedom is won only by those who have faced the blood rage of the wolves and have known the Spartan conditions of this real world of hungry villages and Saving Agent Snowden from his Handlers Greenwald and Omidyar

By Yoichi Shimatsu

Whistleblower Edward Snowden was taken for a ride by con artists in the service of the US and UK intelligence agencies. Under the cover of "independent journalism", the scammers conned him out of his trove of secret NSA files, hustled him from Hong Kong ahead of legislature-sponsored public hearings on cyber-espionage, and unceremoniously dumped him, minus documents, in a transit lounge at Moscow Airport. This report shows how the American and British spymasters retrieved the top-secret files by luring the fugitive into a well-laid trap, while the mass media went along with the deception to aid the authorities in evading public calls to abolish the global surveillance state.

Pierre Omidyar, founder of the online flea market e-Bay, is betting a reported \$250 million that the accomplices of whistleblower Edward Snowden can follow up their caper with the launch of an online news site with global reach. The ethnic Iranian tycoon is funding a new media project for the team of Glenn Greenwald, Laura Poitras and Jeremy Scahill because he became "more alarmed about the pressures coming down on journalists with the various leak investigations in Washington." (Pacific Business News)

An angel investor committed to press freedom and opposed to government surveillance is every journalist's dream even though it sounds too good to be true. There are serious grounds for questioning the credibility of Greenwald and his newest patron, whose business venture Omidyar Network is closely connected with NSA contractor Booz Allen Hamilton, Edward Snowden's erstwhile employer.

Known for his globalist vision and “social-impact” projects in the developing countries, backed by immense personal wealth, Omidyar follows in the footsteps of other billionaires who launched their own electronic media projects: George Soros with his slew of propaganda organs, Ariana Huffington at HuffPost and Michael Bloomberg with his financial news arm, to name a few. These well-oiled publicity machines hardly qualify as standard-bearers of objective reporting since each of these opinion-shapers has a political agenda, from running City Hall to fomenting uprisings for regime change in support of market economics. Early on, it already appears that Omidyar, for all his sentimental sound bites, could turn out to be the worst of a bad lot.

### Partnering Booz Allen

In stark contrast to his libertarian posturing, Omidyar is connected at the hip to the very same intelligence nexus that he publicly condemns, particularly Booz Allen Hamilton, the NSA security contractor that employed Snowden in Hawaii and Japan. One of the major investment partners with Omidyar Network, Salvatore “Sal” Gambianco, sits on the board of directors of Booz Allen Hamilton Holdings.

As head of Omidyar Network’s human capital operations, Giambanco vets trainees and assesses employee performance for promotion or termination. For more than a decade, Omidyar Network has had a revolving door for its employees with Booz Allen, shuttling staffers and interns for intelligence-related postings. Just a few of these individuals who worked for both Omidyar Network and Booz Allen include:

- Dhaya Lakshminarayan who was sent to Cuba to research development programs;
- Pranay Chulet hired to head Omidyar-backed Quikr in India;
- Patricia Sosrodjojo, Indonesian venture capital expert in Jakarta; and
- Michael Kent, a Booz Allen counter-terrorism specialist who served as a research associate at the Omidyar campus in Redwood City, California.

The relationship, simply put, is corporate collusion, and if businesses could be married, Booz Allen and Omidyar Network are husband and wife.

### Inside the NSA’s Big Tent

Booz Allen and Omidyar Network are corporate members of an NSA-linked consortium called Innocentive, a consultancy focused on crowdsourcing (read:

data-mining of public-opinion polls, consumer surveys and Internet-based personal data). Other member-companies include In-Q-Tel, a developer of communications monitoring software spawned with millions in start-up capital from the CIA.

Also represented is the In-Q-Tel spin-off Palantir, which creates fictive personas or virtual trolls to mount smear campaigns to debunk or threaten journalists and critical websites online and in letters to editors. Palantir, which refers to itself as an “electronic warfare” firm, has created a meta-data collection program similar to the NSA’s PRISM. Michael Leiter, former head of the National Counter-Terrorism Center, is the executive counsel to Palantir.

Another corporate partner in Innocentive is Lilly Ventures, the investment arm of Eli Lilly pharmaceuticals, which produced LSD for the MK-ULTRA mind-control program and is now the lead partner in the Obama-sponsored national brain-mapping project. Full-spectrum surveillance is advancing from wireless electronics into the bio-network of the human synapses, the last frontier for total mind control. The objective of pre-crime pre-cognition, that is, the detection of criminal tendencies, for instance, resistance to authority, and intervention before the crime can happen. Using drugs to impair the mental capabilities of individuals is, of course, only a part of a wider and larger program of social engineering to ensure domination of the globalist elites over any increasingly dependant and expendable population.

As birds of the feather that flock together, Booz Allen Hamilton and Omidyar Network are a pair of ducks in the NSA-CIA pond. These intelligence links are so thinly guised, it beggars belief that an attorney like Greenwald who practiced law in New York City could be so oblivious to the conflict of interest in regard to the security of his client Edward Snowden.

Either Glenn Greenwald is a gullible village idiot or he is one of many actors planted in this spy charade. Nobody in the intelligence game is allowed to be that naïve, especially when it is crystal clear from these interlocking corporate connections that Pierre Omidyar is hardly an innocent when he has every incentive to work on behalf of Booz Allen and the NSA to recover the Snowden files.

Sell-Out or Set Up?

It took \$250 million for Omidyar to win the fealty of the “courageous” and

“independent” journalists who surrounded Snowden and controlled his every movement. The team of Greenwald and Jeremy Scahill, along with filmmaker Laura Poitras, not only kept the fugitive in the dark while mounting a clever sting operation. (“You can’t let the Chinese or Russians confiscate the files”, as if Moscow or Beijing would be that stupid while the whole world was watching.) Taking his data as a “security precaution”, the thieves thus managed to retrieve the secret documents for the spymasters in London, Langley and Fort Meade.

“We’ll be working with them and others, but we have a long way to go in terms of what the (news) organization looks like, people’s roles and responsibilities,” said Omidyar to Pacific Business News. This leaves no doubt about who’s the boss, while his other statements indicate Greenwald, Poitras and Schahill can collect the bounty money and disappear until their next Mission Impossible assignment, so long as they keep their mouths shut. Otherwise, a new team of actors will hunt them down one at a time. Accidents happen.

What business executive in the current risk climate commits \$250 million of his own savings to a vaguely defined project without a management structure or financial plan? And the objective is to protect the public from government intrusion, even if his own company profits from those encroachments on privacy? In the fantasy world of comic-book heroes, a magnate like Bruce Wayne would never throw away his fortune to buy the Daily Planet so that Jimmy Olson and Lois Lane can be crusading reporters.

The patently ludicrous statements show that Pierre Omidyar is acting as a minder for a powerful entity, for example, the National Intelligence Council, and serving as babysitter for the non-profit funded “journalists” who conned Snowden out of this trove of documents and dumped him at the Moscow airport transit lounge. As winter bears down over the steppe, Snowden as his surname suggests is snowed in for the duration, thanks to the Greenwald-Poitras snow job.

### 600-pound Gorilla in the Salon

Early in his legal career in the 1990s, Greenwald was reprimanded for secretly taping witnesses during his pro bono defense of a white supremacist. This self-proclaimed civil libertarian employed the same sort of illegal surveillance that he would later criticize so loudly. Soon after being questioned in court about his electronic recording activities without the prior signing of consent forms, he closed down his private practice. If Greenwald hadn’t he could be disbarred.

In 2002, Greenwald went on to bigger things as a business partner in Master Notions, whose clients included the video production company Hairy Jocks, which produced homosexual pornography. A falling out among the partners led to Greenwald forming a new company called Hairy Studs. On the bright side of this shady business, his background in porn could mean a gold mine for Omidyar's future news company in ads from gay bathhouses and escort services from New York to Rio.

Meanwhile, when the Internal Revenue Service put a lien on his earnings for failure to report past income, Greenwald launched his own blog to complain about overbearing government intrusion. As luck had it, his timing was perfect because CIA veteran Valerie Plame was being outed in the press by Scooter Libby, legal counsel to Vice President Dick Cheney.

Rebounding from his unsavory start as a purveyor of sleaze, the counselor reinvented himself as a "journalist" writing a civil-liberties column for Salon.com, that paragon of muddled murmurs from lapdog liberals founded by Microsoft's Bill Gates. Despite its reputation as forum for pathetic poseurs and depressed Generation-X losers, Salon provided the strategic boost that propelled Greenwald into national prominence. All along something was amiss. Greenwald was being cherry-picked by an invisible hand as the anointed spokesman for civil liberties, while veteran activists with the Electronic Frontier foundation and ACLU were being bypassed and ignored.

### Cognitive Infiltration

His golden moment arrived with a 2008 PBS radio debate over the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) hosted by Amy Goodman, pitting the crusading lawyer-cum-journalist against information tsar Cass Sunstein.

The University of Chicago law school professor rode into the White House office of Information and Regulatory Affairs on the coattails of his protege and former student Barack Obama. Married to NSA staffer Samantha Power (who was since appointed American ambassador to the UN), Sunstein is renowned for his pet cause of animal protection, advocating the right of a dog or cat to file lawsuits as a plaintiff against abusive owners. The FISA dual was therefore a match made in media heaven between world title holder Dr. Kibble Bits and the up-and-coming contender Harry Stud. (The rather dull transcript, which fails to capture the geist

of the zeit, is available at [www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org).)

Greenwald won hands down by a TKO (taking Kibblebits out), scoring against Sunstein on the issue of retroactive immunity for war crimes committed in Iraq and Afghanistan. The trouble is, however, the fix was in. The bout went according to Sunstein's "cognitive infiltration" game-plan. By taking the role of bad cop, the professor set up Greenwald to emerge as the good cop, the nation's top reformer since nobody else ever had the privilege of debating the information tsar.

After this ploy, morally outraged jurists and lawyers who wanted to press war-crimes and even genocide charges against the Bush administration were sucked into the blog-and-debate routine and nudged into the position of being the loyal opposition. The national debate rapidly shifted from condemnation of torture in Guantanamo to the minutiae of legal procedures, while candidate Obama's promise to shut down the abominable prison camp was politely forgotten. Cognitive infiltration proved to a most effective psywar technique, manipulating critics to volunteer for their own castration.

Sunstein, who strategizes global information control for the executive branch (Office of the President, the CIA, FBI and NSA): has also promoted dirty war with the planting of agents provocateurs to infiltrate terrorist cells, protest groups and domestic militias. As seen at the Boston Marathon, government-recruited dupes and crisis actors were scripted to score astonishing feats against the "oppressive" government. On one hand, the violence and theatrics scare the daylight out of the public, which wipes out objections to the repressive state apparatus. On the other hand, the provos for the intelligence agencies succeed in impressing extremist movements worldwide, which then can be steered into proxy wars, false-flag attacks and assassinations of one's own troublesome political allies.

These sorts of police-agent tactics were tested during the Vietnam War era by Obama's mentors in the Chicago circle of phony leftists, which discredited and disrupted Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) by financing the Weather Underground's rampages of arson and window-smashing. Distribution of firearms by provocateurs to young radicals brought on the Nixon COINTELPRO campaign to assassinate community leaders, notably Fred Hampton of the Black Panther Party and imprison others like H. Rap Brown.

A Better Rat Trap for Squealers

One of Sunstein's major projects has been to contain the epidemic of insider disclosures by whistleblowers. Knowing quite well that disgruntled government employees will invariably seek legal counsel, what better tactic than to fabricate a "civil liberties" crusader working pro bono along with his wide network of media contacts and deep-pockets funders?

The trap was set, and as predicted the quarry arrived, by the name of Edward Snowden. Like a mouse after cheese, the gullible mark took the bait and followed Greenwald's every instruction. Dr. Sunstein succeeded brilliantly when his "mini-me" puppet did what no law-enforcement agency could ever pull off – the voluntary surrender of top-secret files.

OK, you won. That's enough of the rough-trade scowl for the cameras, Glenn, when you'd rather just howl and roll on the floor at how easily Eddie was reeled in hook, line and sinker. Hey, stud, you deserve the reward at the rainbow's end, those big fat checks from the Iranian dude. Maybe for your next assignment, you should take over the lead role from Tom Cruise for the upcoming episode "MI-6."

### Hong Kong Exfiltration

From the time of Snowden's sojourn in Hong Kong, it was clear to journalists and politicians that his local lawyer Albert Ho and the minders with British and US intelligence were not going to allow unfettered disclosure of the NSA documents to an astonished global public. When the Western spies learned that parliamentarians with the Legislative Council (LEGCO) were planning to call for open public hearings with Snowden as star witness, the whistleblower was suddenly packed off to Moscow.

As Snowden himself had figured, Hong Kong was the ideal place of refuge with its Basic Law and legal community fiercely committed to free expression, a regional hub for the major media, a cyber-security center with top university computer departments and experts at global banks, local protesters and the Foreign Correspondents Club demanding his protection, a police force that was ordered to prevent anyone from harming the fugitive, and a Chief Executive, the city's top official, who gave his personal assurances that Snowden would not be extradited. What more could anyone ask for?

His local lawyer Albert Ho, a legislative council member with the Democrat Party, claims that he was visited in the middle of the night by "somebody" urging



Snowden to get out of Hong Kong. The Catholic-dominant Democrat Party is famously funded by the Washington neocon patrons, the National Endowment for Democracy, It is an open secret that since the days of Senator Jesse Helms, Democrat leaders fly to Washington to pick up checks from the intelligence chiefs.

There was no threat from mainland authorities as falsely reported since Beijing had an interest along with every bank, company and individual in Hong Kong in the NSA communications intercepts. It was a big lie from his so-called protectors that triggered Snowden's flight from a Hong Kong ready to offer him immunity.

Glenn Greenwald went along with the deception, meaning he had to be in on the plot to retrieve the secret-level documents for the NSA. That he has so quickly accepted an editorship with Omidyar, one of the closest allies of Booz Allen, only confirms all the other evidence on his collaboration with the spy agencies.

Instead of an intense three weeks of public hearings revealing all of the NSA wrongdoing, with daily commentaries by cyber-security experts and, more important, the victims of state violations of privacy, Greenwald and Poitras has reduced the flow of documents to a drip feed.

The blog called Rancid Honeytrap has sharply punctured the hot-air balloon from Snowden's erstwhile handlers, notably Greenwald:

“Viva the new journalism of lying repeatedly about the size of your document trove to teach the rubes valuable lessons in proper whistleblowing.

“Viva the new journalism of leaking 300 pages in four months from a trove that exceeds 60,00 documents.

“Viva the new journalism that probably suppressed at least one story on government orders.

“Viva the new journalism of putting 50k-plus docs in the care of The New York Times since they had proven themselves so worthy in Cablegate.

“Viva the new journalism that talks about the crucial role of the heroic journalist far far more than it talks about the secrets in his care.

“Viva the new journalism that hoards leaks while it negotiates movie and television rights with Sony and HBO.”

To that last point might we add: Viva for winning \$250 million from the NSA nexus for your financial security into old age, if by some miracle you make that far.

## Jewel in the Crown

At that early phase, the Greenwald show was run by the Guardian. Its editor in chief Alan Rusbridger took the spotlight role for breaking the Snowden story. The Guardian breaking-news spectacle was run by the same Royalist intelligence network that harbored Julian Assange on the country estate of military officer, sniper and journalist Vaughan Smith, founder of the Frontline Club that conducted intelligence operations in the Balkans war.

The strategic decision-making at the Guardian goes far higher than editor Rusbridger. The publishing group's chairwoman is Amelia Chilcott Fawcett, a confidante of Prince Charles who also supervises the Prince of Wales Foundation. The career of Dame Fawcett, Commander of the British Empire, shows her to be a force to be reckoned with: international attorney, CEO and executive director of Morgan Stanley Europe, director of State Street Corporation, board member of the Bank of England, and head of the Scott Trust, which owns the Guardian, Observer and other media assets.

Although born in Boston, the cradle of American independence, Chilcott Fawcett is a dual citizen of the U.S. and Britain, and Atlanticist of unquestionable and unquestioning Tory persuasion. She is eminently qualified and adequately connected to direct Prince Charles's long-running dispute with upstart cousins at the CIA and NSA. While the Foreign Office remains shamelessly in debt and beholden to the Americans, British military intelligence is a Royalist bastion.

The Princess Diana investigative reporting by the now defunct News of the World, owned by the adoptive American Rupert Murdoch, were particularly offensive to the Saxe-Coburg family aka the Windsors. The personal animosity between President George W. Bush and Prince Charles nearly wrecked the Anglo-American relationship. The mystery of the 7/7 London Tube bombing during the Gleneagles G-8 summit was especially galling, since a former CIA executive was in charge of Metro security. Only special agents had access to blast the "tunnel below the Tube", which has been used to convey British troops across London since World War II, according to a Special Branch police intelligence officer interviewed by this writer.

British agents and sympathizers in Hong Kong were instrumental in erecting the security cordon around fugitive Snowden, and the Guardian new-hire Greenwald was enlisted as the American liaison. The media leaks were calibrated to cause

discomfort, rather than excruciating pain, to the arrogant lads at NSA. The few documents released had no effect on British interests, but the bulk of files that affect the common interests of America and Europe remain secreted under royal seal. As the Obama White House flounders under the debt-ceiling dispute and pressure from bankers in the City of London, the Royals are enjoying a revival.

In a nutshell the Snowden case was used by the British military intelligence in partnership with a CIA faction opposed to the heavy-handed Pentagon-NSA eavesdropping programs that threaten to knock over sensitive operations, for instance, joint operations with Qatar and Saudi intelligence to direct Al Qaeda units in Libya, Syria and Afghanistan. Since assassination targets could include American, British and other allied European officers who know too much, the Agency prefers to operate without its communications with field agents and MK-ULTRA types being monitored by lads like Snowden or any of the many generals who have a grudge against the CIA. As for disclosures on snooping, the public be damned.

As for Greenwald's sidekicks Poitras and Schahill, so-called journalists who depend on non-profits for their handouts do not deserve mention. They have to yet pay their dues by working the night shift as sub-editors and chasing ambulances at cub reporters before boasting about their stories made for sponsors Journalism is an old-school profession not a luxury voyage of global exploration and personal discovery. No wonder Pierre is so worried about finding good editors since none of the trio qualify.

Who is Pierre Omidyar?

Since the existing grudge match between the clowns of American and British intelligence cannot continue indefinitely, a new character must be introduced onto the circus to relieve the tension. As a person with close ties with the spy masters of U.S., Britain, France and Abu Dhabi, Pierre Omidyar arrives with a shocking suddenness as ringmaster for the Greenwald acrobatics.

Born in Paris in 1967 to Iranian émigrés, Pierre Parviz/Morad Omidyar came to Maryland at age 6 with his father, a physician at Johns Hopkins, and mother, a Sorbonne-trained linguist. He attended the Potomac School in McLean, Virginia, which is better known as Langley.

Key facts on his background are not disclosed: his family's religious affiliation, ancestral home in Iran, rank and status in the traditional social system, and

ethnicity (Iranian society has been a melting pot for many millennia). His official biography is sanitized of facts and adorned with public-relations flourishes.

One of few facts that cannot be suppressed by Omidyar obsession with privacy is his schooling at Punahou, a private academy in Honolulu, starting a year after fellow alum Barack Obama's departure. Insider connections were essential for admission to the prep school, and in that era the few channels of access for children from the Third World were through parents working for the CIA, like Obama's mother Ann Dunham (see Wayne Madsen's in-depth expose of the Obama family's work for the CIA in "The Manufacturing of a President").

Persia not Iran

Pierre's mother Elahe Mir-Djalali Omidyar had similar credentials as a Farsi linguist at Georgetown University in the mid-1970s when the Carter administration was grappling with the upsurge in popular protests in Iran against the Shah's regime, while USAID advisers were trying to identify the underlying socioeconomic causes of the unrest. At the time when the Shah of Iran's grip on power was starting to crumble, Ayatollah Khomeini was in exile in Paris. Elahe Omidyar's Ph.D.-level fluency in both Farsi and French had to be an outstanding asset.

Founded by Dr Omidyar, the Roshan Institute for Cultural Heritage is dedicated to the preservation of Persian culture. Since the institute's literature makes a point of using Persia rather than Iran, a bit of explanation is needed. Though the two names are somewhat interchangeable, Persia refers to the polyglot empire and the ancient language that is the basis of Farsi, while Iran is more associated with the modern nation-state. The word Iran is based on Aryan, the ancient Indo-European term for "Land of Light" (as opposed to the higher latitudes as one travels northward). Persian in cultural reference also tends to imply the imperial dynasties and the courtly culture of the native emperors and conquering dynasties that adopted the regional culture.

The Roshan symbol of 24-ray sun is based on a carving at the ruins of Persepolis, the capital of the Achaemenid Empire, whose best-known emperors were Xerxes and Darius II. Alexander the Great, avenging Xerxes' invasion of Greece (depicted with extreme bias in the movie "300"), either allowed or ordered the destruction of the-then world's greatest city. The two Shahs of modern Pahlavi dynasty, Reza and the CIA-installed Mohammad Reza, staged massive performances at Persepolis to identify themselves with the Achaemenid dynasty. Fate being ironic,

their rule ended nearly as disastrously. For purposes of discussion here, the Omidya valorization of Persepolis indicates attachment to the Shah of Iran, whose court included many advisors and officials were Bahai followers or Jewish by birth.

Oddly, the Roshan Institute board includes only one cultural expert, Dr. Omidyar. The others are deans, which makes sense because Roshan's main activity is to provide scholarships to students and place them in allied universities. One of the more interesting board members is former Democrat Florida congresswoman Jan Scheider, a former staffer with Terry McAuliff and lawyer for Bill Clinton. Mrs. Omidyar is one of her campaign contributors.

### Social Impact Investing

In a similar vein with Dunham, a social worker who conducted CIA research in poor rural areas of Kenya and Indonesia, Elahe Omidyar's academic work has stressed the cultural and social milieu of Iranian society, an approach that has greatly influence her son. Pierre Omidyar advocates a "social impact" to investment in the developing countries, with financial support for non-governmental organizations along with private-sector investment.

The emphasize on poor rural communities may sound benign, even noble-hearted, but that is exactly the same policy as the Rockefeller and Ford foundations in manipulating and suppressing grassroots movements with the goal of regime change to oust populist nationalist governments and preserving natural resources for Western corporations.

A three-point program of liberal development theory can be summarized as:

- winning hearts and minds to wage counterinsurgency and proxy wars
- takeovers of land, water and essential resources to subjugate the population
- promoting construction of highways, bridges and ports to gain World Bank loans and lucrative contracts through corrupt puppet leaders.

### Survivalism and Super-Flu Virus in Hawaii

Closer to home, Omidyar funds non-profit groups involved in organic farming in Hawaii. So what could be so sinister about such exemplary clean living? Here is what the Honolulu Advertiser daily reported: "While he's clearly enamored with the Island culture, he is also aware of the danger of living in the middle of an ocean. Omidyar worries that a pandemic could cut Hawaii's lifelines and leave it with an 11-day supply of food. To that end, he has made pivotal donations to local

nonprofits dedicated to building sustainable local food supplies. At the same time, he has stockpiled several months of food for his personal use at storage facilities on O'ahu.”

That sounds an awful lot like a conspiracy theory. A pandemic, perhaps of highly lethal avian influenza depopulates Hawaii and the West Coast by disease and starvation, since no food arrives by ship or plane for more than two weeks. It means much of North American population is also exterminated. So what does Pierre Omidyar know that public is completely unaware of? Always remember, they who spread the plague have a monopoly on the antidote.

Loose ends in need of tying: Pierre and his mother Elahe Omidyar founded the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute, discussed below. Among the board members is former University of Hawaii Manoa chancellor Virginia Hinton. The microbiologist is a top expert in the avian influenza or bird flu virus, which she weaponized poses the greatest threat of a mass-destruction epidemic.

Before coming to Hawaii, Dr. Hinton served as head of the animal lab at the University of Wisconsin Madison. Her chosen successor at that position was Yoshikiko Kawaoka, the Japanese scientist from Kobe University who in fact did soon at UW weaponize H5N1 into a highly lethal and contagious super-flu strain.

Here is an excerpt from a report in the seemingly innocuous UW Alumni Association newsletter “On Wisconsin”:

“Virginia Hinshaw, a former colleague at both St. Jude and UW-Madison and now provost of the University of California- Davis, recalls him as being ‘extremely bright and very creative. It was obvious that he was extraordinary.’

“It was Hinshaw who again set the stage for Kawaoka’s next move. In 1995, she left her flu lab in the School of Veterinary Medicine to become dean of the Graduate School. With her encouragement, Kawaoka applied for her job, eventually joining the faculty in 1997. ‘I remember him coming to my office in the Graduate School and looking around, saying, “I just want to see where I’m going next,” Hinshaw laughs.

”Where he was headed next, however, was Hong Kong. Four months after he arrived in Madison, Kawaoka was chosen by the National Institutes of Health to join a select team of international researchers analyzing the H5N1 virus, which had been identified in poultry in China and had begun to appear in humans. By the

end of the year, the bird flu had infected eighteen people, killing six — a foreboding sign of the virus’s potential that raised the alarm of public health officials around the world.”

In one word: Biowarfare. A French-born Iranian moved to Hawaii as an ideal place to raise his children, but then starts to stockpile food and drugs. It gets more worrisome because he is equipped for a biological Armageddon. Read on.

### Deseret Empire of the Mormons

Security, of course, becomes an issue during food riots and mass panic. Not to worry, because Pierre has the leadership corps to create a private army. “Omidyar employs a group of former Secret Service agents and ex-State Department officials to serve as his private security team and to fly his private jet, a French-made Dassault Falcon 900EX, which he keeps parked in a private hangar at Honolulu International Airport.”

Omidyar has set up safe houses on an island in France, Southern California and Nevada along with a 640-acre ranch in Montana. "I'd say we're probably more significantly prepared than the average family," Omidyar said. "We have property all over the world and we have property we can fly to."

His long residence in Nevada and Montana, inside the greater Deseret Empire, offer a clue to his cult-like perspective. One of few new religions not hostile to the Church of Latter-Day Saints is the Bahai Faith, which originated in Iran although its largest temple, the Universal House of Justice, is based in Haifa, Israel.

Another clue to Omidyar’s covert connection to Bahai is his focus on development projects in Zambia, the chief target of the sect’s missionary activities in Africa.

Then, there’s Omidyar’s sponsorship of virus research and food stockpiling in Hawaii that corresponds to the End Times predicted by Bahai founder Bahauallah: “Soon will the present-day order be rolled up and a new one spread out in its stead.”

The Universal House of Justice confirmed the validity of the prophecy with an epistle to this worldwide membership: “The old order cannot be repaired; it is being rolled up before our eyes. The moral decay and disorder convulsing human society must run their course; we can neither arrest nor divert them. Our task is the

build the Order of Bahauallah.”

As this next look at numerology indicates, the old order of God the Supreme Law-Giver is “being rolled up” in these End Day. Only then, through mass destruction, will the vessel of faithful followers deliver the authentic world divinity, the adamant and prideful One.

No.9 in Numerology - Yesod

The Bahai inner sanctum has persistently obscured the meaning of the number 9 as an “Arab symbol for fulfillment.” No, the mystic symbol is derived from Jewish Kabbalist numerology as the symbol the final step before divine perfection. Number 9 symbolizes the sephiroth (node of knowledge and power) “Yesod”, the vessel for action. The action is toward the fulfillment of the double-digit representing “Malkuth” or kingship, in the sense of divine-right monarchy. (Kabbalism and its extension Illuminism, has therefore has had an attraction to royalists and pretenders worldwide, especially in Western Europe.)

Nine is strangely identified with the qualities of adamancy and pride that are the characteristics of Lucifer, the most intelligent angel surpassed only by God. The uneasy potency of this number, however, is limited to the institutional structure of the religious group. In fact, the actual ritual symbol of Bahai is the pentagram.

The God-Lucifer dichotomy has earlier roots in Zoroastrian dualistic philosophy of a cosmos divided between the god of light Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazda) and his doppelganger Ahriman (Angra Mainyu), prince of darkness. This duality helps to explain the hostility of the Bahai founders toward Islam and Zoroastrianism, and their willing affiliation with the Illuminati and Kabbalist-influenced Zionism. To substitute Lucifer-as-usurper in the stead of God the good requires distancing from the fallen angel’s evil image as Satan, whose reputation Bahai has done its best to rehabilitate, sanitize and salvage.

This brings up the question: Is Lucifer aka Ahriman, No.10? Are these cultists devil worshippers? To put things more charitably, the Bahai along with the Illuminati put highest esteem on pure reason (in rejection of the charismatic nature and capricious will of a God who imposes tough rules on mankind.) Lucifer, without his terrifying image as Satan, is an adamant hero who teaches humans to be proud of themselves, to stand tall and not to grovel before a morally oppressive and restrictive divinity of the orthodox priesthood. A defender of reason, Lucifer



can therefore be the rightful God of mankind to one who is a heretic deviating from Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition.

### Illuminati of the Oxford Movement

It is no odd coincidence then that veneration of the evening star is shared by the seemingly disconnected cults of Illuminism and Bahai. The historical links between these two cults can be found in Hermano Maximiliano's "Freemasonry, the British Empire and the Formation of the Baha'I Cult". In a cultural crusade to preserve British imperial power, a group of elite academics formed the Oxford Movement, which promoted radical new religious leaders across the Muslim world, particularly Bahai founder Bahauallah. (The Roman Empire underestimated the growing influence of religions from the Orient, including Christianity, which led to its collapse, and the Oxford Movement was determined to avoid that fatal ideological mistake.)

In a classic divide-and-rule exercise, Bahai was created as a "super-faith" that amalgamated the teachings of all world religions, and therefore deserve to replace Islam with a "one world faith." It was in the interest of British imperialism in Iran and the Middle East to weaken the influence of Islam and to gain control over the Shia-promoted trend of emerging nationalism.

"Although it began as an experimental British foray in non-religious freemasonic cults, the Bahai movement would spawn the organizer of the future pan-Islamic movement, Jamaledine Al-Afghani," writes to Maximiliano. An early advocate of Bahai, Al-Afghani went on to form the Salafi school of fundamentalist Islam, which provided the ideological foundation for the Brotherhood and Al Qaeda.

The British spymasters who fostered Bahai and Salafism included Orientalist scholar Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and Cambridge dean Edward G. Browne, while field operations with the Wahabi Salafists were led by St. John Philby. (Blunt's grand-nephew Anthony, art adviser to Queen Elizabeth II, and Philby's descendant Kim were leading members of the celebrated Oxford spy ring.) Besides the penchant for the occult and pederasty, heresy runs deep in the Oxbridge circle. ([www.arabamericanencyclopedia.com](http://www.arabamericanencyclopedia.com)) offers a good read on the Oxford Movement and Bahai.)

In contrast to Salafism, which openly calls for a theocratic state, Bahai operates covertly behind the scenes to manipulate politicians and opinion leaders. For instance, unbeknownst to the public, Pierre Omidyar provided his private jet to fly

State Department officials incognito for talks with Hamas and also transported former President Jimmy Carter to Tehran for secret diplomacy.

## Fatwa Against Bahai

Behind the public pose of peacemaking, Bahai's role has not always been benign. In August, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei issued a fatwa against contact with Bahai, following the discovery that terrorist cells included Bahai operatives. The term "Iranian Freemasons" recurrently arises whenever U.S. neoconservatives hatch plans to attack Iran. It has also been a mystery of how the criminal terrorist group Mujahedeen Al-Khalq obtained the funding to build a mini-army inside neighboring Iraq and mounted elaborate assassination campaigns in Iran.

One incident familiar to this writer was the so-called Iranian bombing in Bangkok in 2012, which were attributed to the Tehran regime. (Two suspects were convicted in August by a Thai court.) The key figure in this incident was an Iranian woman with a Jewish family name, who managed to flee immediately after inadvertent blast damaged a safe house. At the time, her escape pointed to an Israeli connection, as the planned attacks were timed to match a Mossad international campaign to offer security services and training to Asian governments.

## Alliance with Israel

Bahai's closest international ally is the State of Israel. Nearly every Israeli president and prime minister has made an official homage to the Shrine of Bab at the Bahai World Center in Haifa. Why would the head of the Jewish state honor a new religion that claims to be the world's supreme belief?

One motivation is the "enemy of my enemy" alliance, since both Bahai and Zionist are sworn to regime change in Iran. Another, historically deeper connection is the role of Jewish Kabbalism in the creation of the Bahai sect. Although developed in Al-Andalus, the Moorish realm in late-medieval/early Renaissance Spain, the Kabbala has earlier origins in the alchemy, numerology, astronomy and philosophy of Persia and Mesopotamia as developed by Jewish, Islamic and Indian thinkers.

These early scientific explorations led to syncretism of the respective religious beliefs and occult doctrines, often expressed as sub-schools of Sufism. The syncretistic approach was especially favored by Donmeh Jews, the disciples of

Sabbatai Zevi who became superficial converts to Islam under orders from Ottoman Sultan Mehmet IV.

The various streams of hidden Jewish thought, which spread through the vast Islamic domain, eventually made its way into Europe with the Frankist movement and the Asiatic Brotherhood secret society, which profoundly influenced major figures such as Emperor Joseph of the Habsburgs (husband of Maria Theresa, “Queen of the Night” in Mozart’s “Magic Flute”) and the German princes of Hesse (Frankfurt region) whose banker was Mayer Rothschild, founder of the powerful Jewish banking dynasty. The merger of Kabbalist practices, including sexual libertinism, with Enlightenment philosophy led to Adam Weiskopf’s formation of the Order of the Illuminati.

During the era of British world mastery, following the defeats of Napoleonic France, the English Illuminati scholars enchanted with Orientalism reintroduced Kabbalist occultism to the Near East among the Young Turks led by Ataturk, the Bahai and the Salafists. The Rothschild clan’s financing of Zionism promoted ties with and recruitment of hidden Jews across the Muslim realm, cementing a close relationship between Bahai and Israel as well as between Osama bin Laden’s Al Qaeda and the Mossad.

The official Bahai account paints themselves as victims of Shia Muslim persecution and pogroms, whereas the historical causes of nationalist opposition to the Bahai are more complicated. The Bahai were generally supportive of the Shahs of Iran before and after the CIA coup against the democratic Mosaddeq regime, which nationalized the Iranian oil reserves. Bahai advisers to the court of successive Shahs promoted the secularization of Iranian society in order to banish Islamic values and undermine the nationalist Shia clergy. For Iranian nationalists, however, both secular and religious-inspired, the Shah’s regime was a tool for Western control over Iran’s immense oil reserves. The Bahai are thus perceived as agents of the CIA and MI-6, which in fact many of their leaders actually were.

### Occult Triangle

The triangular relationship of the Disraeli/Rothschild - Oxford Movement – Bahai/Salafism of the 19th is now being reflected in the Snowden affair with the collusion of the Zionism/Greenwald – Guardian/Royalist – Bahai/Omidyar. History repeats itself, first as tragedy and then as a farce.

As Israel edges toward a first-strike attack against Iran, while ramping up its

covert wars against Iranian influence in Sudan and Palestine, is it any wonder that Pierre Omidyar and Glenn Greenwald are preparing to launch a major online propaganda mouthpiece? Is this new media venture, too, part of the Bahai plan to prepare for the imminent End of the World to be delivered by an unstoppable contagion of super-flu?

Instead of playing dangerous games, Pierre Omidyar is far better off in the luxury of fiction where he belongs rather than sentencing himself to hard labor at journalism. To lead the budding writer to the fabled shores of epic poetry and apocalyptic scenarios, let me guide him without personal ill will to his literary destiny with this short-short story of epic dimension, salted with plagiarism and peppered with cultural chauvinism, inspired by a world-renowned figure of ancient Persia whose ambitions were nearly as grand as his.

Whenever history reaches an impasse, onto the desolate field of the forum rumbles a juggernaut bearing a demigod who showers silver coins on his new subjects like droplets of water for the thirsty. At this hour of desperate survival, citizens, spurn the siren song of obedience, for even power-obsessed Xerxes and his cruel cohort of Immortals proved weak in spirit when bloodied between the stony heights and unfathomable depths. Cunning in the sophistry of One World at Peace, the satraps of empire are masters of the dark arts of treachery and betrayal as taught by their uncanny master Angra Mainyu.

Today, the beast again approaches to snuff out the world's one hope for reason and justice, the voice of truth arising from faith in the heart. The overwhelming odds of their 250 million pieces of silver against our 300 in bronze mean an even contest, for the difference will be tallied in righteous ferocity and deeds of glory.

Freedom is won only by those who have faced the blood rage of the wolves and have known the Spartan conditions of this real world of hungry villages and dying towns. The privileged perspective from gilded chariots and vast palaces under the protection of princes delivers only delusion, enslavement and slaughter.

Freedom is for those who earn it by sacrifice, we few, the brave and happy few. Remember us. Here, at the crux of history where bards sing of hard choices, is the unforgiving soil of liberty, not a perfumed Persian garden of delights. On this rosy dawn, they come to see and to conquer. But at twilight begins the eternal night in the hell that they so fear. For us, descended from the bringer of light Apollo who in the East is called Ahura Mazda, bravery in battle and virtue in death are the

greatest joys this life can bestow. Give thanks. To Victory!

Yoichi Shimatsu, a Hong Kong-based journalist who wrote commentaries on the Edward Snowden affair published in the South China Morning Post, is former editor of The Japan Times Weekly in Tokyo and Pacific News Service in San Francisco.

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## Snowden and Greenwald: The Men Who Leaked the Secrets

### 1. How two alienated, angry geeks broke the story of the year

Read more: <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/snowden-and-greenwald-the-men-who-leaked-the-secrets-20131204#ixzz2miP5OHBd>

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Early one morning last December, Glenn Greenwald opened his laptop, scanned through his e-mail, and made a decision that almost cost him the story of his life. A columnist and blogger with a large and devoted following, Greenwald receives hundreds of e-mails every day, many from readers who claim to have "great stuff." Occasionally these claims turn out to be credible; most of the time they're cranks. There are some that seem promising but also require serious vetting. This takes time, and Greenwald, who starts each morning deluged with messages, has almost none. "My inbox is the enemy," he told me recently.

### 2. [The New Political Prisoners: Leakers, Hackers and Activists](#)

And so it was that on December 1st, 2012, Greenwald received a note from a person asking for his public encryption, or PGP, key so he could send him an e-mail securely. Greenwald didn't have one, which he now acknowledges was fairly inexcusable given that he wrote almost daily about national-security issues, and had likely been on the government's radar for some time over his vocal support of Bradley Manning and WikiLeaks. "I didn't really know what PGP was," he admits. "I had no idea how to install it or how to use it." It seemed time-consuming and complicated, and Greenwald, who was working on a book about how the media control political discourse, while also writing his column for *The Guardian*, had more pressing things to do.

"It felt Anonymous-ish to me," Greenwald says. "It was this cryptic 'I and others have things you

would be interested in.???' He never sent me neon lights – it was much more ambiguous than that."

So he ignored the note. Soon after, the source sent Greenwald a step-by-step tutorial on encryption. Then he sent him a video Greenwald describes as "Encryption for Journalists," which "walked me through the process like I was a complete idiot."

And yet, Greenwald still didn't bother learning security protocols. "The more he sent me, the more difficult it seemed," he says. "I mean, now I had to watch a fucking video?????"

Greenwald still had no idea who the source was, nor what he wanted to say. "It was this Catch-22: Unless he tells me something motivating, I'm not going to drop what I'm doing, and from his side, unless I drop what I'm doing and get PGP, he can't tell me anything."

The dance went on for a month. Finally, after trying and failing to get Greenwald's attention, the source gave up.

Greenwald went back to his book and his column, publishing, among other things, scathing attacks on the Obama administration's Guantánamo and drone policies. It would take until May, six months after the anonymous stranger reached out, before Greenwald would hear from him again, through a friend, the documentarian Laura Poitras, whom the source had contacted, suggesting she and Greenwald form a partnership. In June, the three would meet face to face, in a Hong Kong hotel room, where Edward Snowden, the mysterious source, would hand over many thousands of top-secret documents: a mother lode laying bare the architecture of the national-security state. It was the "most serious compromise of classified information in the history of the U.S. intelligence community," as former CIA deputy director Michael Morell said, exposing the seemingly limitless reach of the National Security Agency, and sparking a global debate on the use of surveillance – ostensibly to fight terrorism – versus the individual right to privacy. And its disclosure was also a triumph for Greenwald's unique brand of journalism.

Greenwald is a former litigator whose messianic defense of civil liberties has made him a hero of left-libertarian circles, though he has alienated elites across the political spectrum. Famously combative, he "lives to piss people off," as one colleague says. And in the past eight years he has done an excellent job: taking on Presidents Bush and Obama, Congress, the Democratic Party, the Tea Party, the Republicans, the "liberal establishment" and, notably, the mainstream media, which he accuses – often while being interviewed by those same mainstream, liberal-establishment journalists – of cozying up to power. "I crave the hatred of those people," Greenwald says about the small, somewhat incestuous community of Beltway pundits, government officials, think-tank experts and other opinion-makers he targets routinely. "If you're not provoking that reaction in people, you're not provoking or challenging anyone, which means you're pointless."

This perspective has earned Greenwald tremendous support, especially among young, idealistic readers hungry for an uncompromised voice. "There are few writers out there who are as passionate about communicating uncomfortable truths," Snowden, who was one of Greenwald's longtime readers, tells me in an e-mail. "Glenn tells the truth no matter the cost, and that matters."

The same, of course, could be said of Snowden, who, from the moment he revealed himself as the source of the leaks, has baffled the mainstream critics who've tried to make sense of him. "The founders did not create the United States so that some solitary 29-year-old could make

unilateral decisions about what should be exposed," wrote *New York Times* columnist David Brooks, who held up Snowden as one of "an apparently growing share of young men in their 20s who are living technological existences in the fuzzy land between their childhood institutions and adult family commitments."

To the likes of Brooks, Snowden was a disconcerting mystery; Glenn Greenwald, though, got him right away. "He had no power, no prestige, he grew up in a lower-middle-class family, totally obscure, totally ordinary," Greenwald says. "He didn't even have a high school diploma. But he was going to change the world – and I knew that." And, Greenwald also believed, so would he. "In all kinds of ways, my whole life has been in preparation for this moment," he says.

Read more: <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/snowden-and-greenwald-the-men-who-leaked-the-secrets-20131204#ixzz2miMV8hyx>

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Greenwald's childhood role model was his paternal grandfather, Louis "L.L." Greenwald, a local city councilman, and "sort of this standard 1930s Jewish socialist type," who crusaded on behalf of the poor against the voracious "condo bosses" who controlled the city. In high school, Greenwald ran a quixotic campaign for a city-council seat, which he lost, but not before scoring a "moral victory" by simply challenging his entrenched opponents. "The most important thing my grandfather taught me was that the most noble way to use your skills, intellect and energy is to defend the marginalized against those with the greatest power – and that the resulting animosity from those in power is a badge of honor."

1. This was useful advice for a gay teen growing up in the early 1980s, during the advent of AIDS, when "being gay was thought of, genuinely, as a disease, and so you just felt this condemnation and alienation and denunciation."

Of course, all gay teens deal with their sexuality in different ways. "One is to internalize the judgment and say, 'Oh, my God, I'm this horrible, sick, defective person' – which is why a lot of gay teens commit suicide," says Greenwald. Another, he says, is to escape the judgment entirely by creating an alternate world – "which is where a lot of gay creativity comes from because this world doesn't want you." Greenwald chose a third path. "I decided to wage war against this system and institutional authority that had tried to reject and condemn me," he says. "It was like, 'Go fuck yourselves. Instead of having you judge me, I'm going to judge you, because I don't accept the fact that you're even in a position to cast judgments upon me.'"

This began a lifelong struggle against authoritative structures, beginning with his teachers, with whom he engaged in epic battles over "unjust rules," as Greenwald puts it. "Glenn was this supersmart, extremely obnoxious, eccentric kid, and depending on your sense of humor, you either loved him or hated him," recalls his friend Norman Fleisher. "He was probably the smartest kid in the school, but it's kind of a miracle that he graduated."

Greenwald's contrarian nature made him a star on the debate team, where he ran circles around

his opponents and became a state champion. He enrolled at George Washington University in 1985, and spent so much time debating that it took him five years to graduate. After achieving a near-perfect score on his LSATs, he enrolled at the NYU School of Law, where, as a budding gay activist, he decided to "test the authenticity" of NYU's liberal reputation by leading what became a successful campaign to ban Colorado firms from recruiting on campus after the state's voters passed an amendment to overturn existing anti-discrimination laws.

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After graduation, he accepted a job in the litigation department of Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz, called "America's most grueling law firm," which represented blue-chip clients like Bank of America, JPMorgan and AT&T. In his first year, Greenwald made over \$200,000 – more money than he'd ever seen in his life. But he found the world of corporate law "dull and soul-draining," he says. "I could not thrive or even function in a controlling institution like that. There's a huge dichotomy between people who grow up with alienation, which, for me, was invaluable, and people who grow up so completely privileged that it breeds this complacency and lack of desire to question or challenge or do anything significant. Those are the types of people who become partners at the corporate law firms."

1. In early 1996, the 28-year-old Greenwald, deciding he'd rather subvert the powerful than defend their interests in court, left Wachtell Lipton and opened his own practice. Consistently underestimated by big firms, he reached successful outcomes in case after case – often after deluging the opposition with motions and hundreds of pages of depositions – and insisted that his small staff wear suits, even while sitting around the office, to impose a sort of corporate discipline on a practice focused primarily on constitutional law and civil-liberties cases. He spent five years defending the First Amendment rights of neo-Nazis. It was one of Greenwald's prouder accomplishments as an attorney. "To me, it's a heroic attribute to be so committed to a principle that you apply it not when it's easy," he says, "not when it supports your position, not when it protects people you like, but when it defends and protects people that you hate."

But law, even in its purest, most civil-liberties-oriented variety, was an ultimately frustrating endeavor, full of "unjust rules" and even fewer judicious outcomes. More interesting, particularly after 9/11, were the egalitarian conversations that were occurring online. Greenwald discovered this world in the mid-1990s when, bored at work, he'd begun cruising the CompuServe message boards, including Town Hall, a conservative forum created by the Heritage Foundation and the *National Review*. Instantly seduced by the chance to debate pro-lifers and other social conservatives, Greenwald soon began spending hours in heated arguments with disembodied strangers. He even, to his surprise, became friends with one or two. The Internet, he realized, was perhaps the only place where rules simply didn't apply. "I believe in the clash of ideas," he says, "and mine were being meaningfully challenged."

These free-form debates were occurring in the virtual world at precisely the same time they were



disappearing from the general discourse, submerged, as Greenwald says, in the wave of "nationalism and jingoism" that followed 9/11. Greenwald first began to realize how much things had changed in the political culture after the arrest of Al Qaeda "dirty bomber" José Padilla. "The idea that an American citizen could be arrested on U.S. soil, and then imprisoned for years, not charged, and delayed access to a lawyer, that always seemed like one line that couldn't be crossed," Greenwald says. "It was more than the fact that it was being done – it was the fact that nobody was questioning it. That was a 'What the fuck is going on in the United States?' moment for me."

In the winter of 2005, Greenwald, seeking to transition away from practicing law, went to Brazil. On his second day of what was a planned seven-week vacation in Rio, he met Miranda, a handsome 19-year-old Brazilian who was playing beach volleyball not far from Greenwald's towel. The two have been inseparable ever since. "When you come to Rio as a gay man, the last thing you're looking for is a monogamous relationship," Greenwald says. "But, you know, you can't control love."

Within a year, Greenwald had decided to relocate to Brazil, where, unable to practice law, he tried his hand at political blogging. Greenwald's first week as a blogger, in October 2005, coincided with the indictment of Scooter Libby in the Valerie Plame leak case. Greenwald wrote a long post meticulously deconstructing the conservative argument against Libby's indictment from a legal standpoint, which *The New Republic* linked to, driving thousands of readers to his site, Unclaimed Territory. Greenwald soon turned his attention to the explosive revelation that the NSA was spying on Americans under a secret, "warrantless wiretapping" program authorized by the Bush administration.

The program was exposed in a December 16th, 2005, article in *The New York Times* written by investigative reporters James Risen and Eric Lichtblau. But the *Times*, under pressure from the Bush administration and from Bush himself, had sat on the piece for more than a year. The paper finally published the story 13 months after reporting it, and a year after Bush was re-elected. "It was as disgraceful as anything the *Times* has ever done in terms of betraying what they're supposed to be as a journalistic institution," Greenwald says. "After that, I decided that I needed to sort out what was actually true, and what wasn't."

Another person who was bothered by the *Times*' treatment of the warrantless-wiretapping story – and a number of others based on classified leaks – was Edward Snowden, a patriotic young man who dreamed of a life in foreign espionage. "Those people should be shot in the balls," Snowden, then a 25-year-old computer technician, posted to an online forum in 2009, criticizing both the anonymous sources who leaked and the publications that printed the information. "They're reporting classified shit," he said. "You don't put that shit in the newspaper.?.?.?.?That shit is classified for a reason."

Snowden grew up in the shadow of the biggest intelligence-gathering organization in the world – the National Security Agency – in the Anne Arundel County community of Crofton, Maryland. A solidly middle-class, planned community of 27,000 that Money has ranked as one of the "100 Best Places to Live," Crofton, like the towns around it, fed the workforce of the defense and intelligence contractors in the area. The NSA, which employs tens of thousands of people in the public and private sectors, was just 15 miles away, at Fort Meade, whose high school boasts a

"homeland-security program" to funnel kids into the industry.

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Virtually everyone worked for the government or in "computer technology," recalls Joshua Stewart, 30, who moved to Crofton in 1999. "You never really knew exactly what many adults did for money," he says. There were houses with special secure phone lines – "bat phones," as Stewart, now a reporter at the *Orange County Register*, called them. Some even had their own Sensitive Compartmented Information Facilities in their homes.

1. The son of civil servants – his father, Lon, served in the Coast Guard, and his mother, Wendy, is a clerk in the U.S. District Court in Baltimore – Snowden was a skinny, quiet boy who appears not to have made much of a mark on his former classmates or teachers. The Internet, he would later tell Greenwald, was his universe. He posted regularly at Ars Technica, the technology news and culture site, where, under the username TheTrueHOOHA, he chatted about video games and queried the more experienced geeks for help improving his computer skills. "I really want to know 'how' a real web server works," he posted, at 18. He also pondered some of the philosophical underpinnings of life. "Freedom isn't a word that can be (pardon) freely defined," he wrote. "The saying goes, 'Live free or die,' I believe. That seems to intimate a conditional dependence on freedom as a requirement for happiness."

Though brilliant by every account, Snowden had been an indifferent student who'd dropped out of high school in the 10th grade. After that, he drifted in and out of community college, but never earned a formal degree. In his late teens, he spent his days surfing the Internet, practicing kung fu and playing Tekken, while casting around trying to figure out what to do. "I've always dreamed of being able to 'make it' in Japan," he said in one 2002 chat. "There have also been a couple studies that show out of qualified applicants, blondes are hired more often.?.?.?.?I'd love a cushy .gov job over there."

But the path to success seemed unclear. At 20, as he wrote in one post, he was "without a degree or a clearance" in an area dominated by the NSA and its private offshoots. "Read that as 'unemployed.'"

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Like Bradley Manning, whose case he would later study, Snowden had an idealized view of the United States and its role in the world. He also had a gamer's sense of his own ability to beat the

odds – he'd later tell Greenwald that his moral outlook had been shaped by the video games he played as a kid, in which an everyman-type battles tremendous and seemingly invulnerable forces of injustice, and prevails. Following that ethos, and deeply affected by 9/11, Snowden enlisted in the Army in 2004, hoping to join the Special Forces and fight in Iraq. "I believed in the goodness of what we were doing," he said. "I believed in the nobility of our intentions to free oppressed people overseas." But he was quickly disabused of this idea – "Most of the people training us seemed pumped up about killing Arabs, not helping anyone," he said – and months into his Special Forces training course at Fort Benning, Snowden later said, he broke both his legs and was discharged.

1. Back in Maryland, Snowden got a job as a security guard at the University of Maryland's Center for Advanced Study of Language, a Defense Department-funded facility he would later describe as "covert," though as *The Washington Post* pointed out, "its website includes driving directions." He also re-enrolled at Anne Arundel Community College and burnished his computer skills. Then, in 2006, he landed a job as a computer technician with the CIA.

The CIA, with its air of entitlement and mystery, is the most elitist of U.S. government agencies. But the beauty of the IT sector, no matter where you were, as Snowden said, was its egalitarianism. "Nobody gives a shit what school you go to??.?.?I don't even have a high school diploma," he wrote in 2006. "That said, I have \$0 in debt from student loans, I make \$70k, I just had to turn down offers for \$83k and \$180k.?.?.?Employers fight over me. And I'm 22."

In 2007, he was posted to the CIA station in Geneva. Mavane Anderson, a young legal intern also stationed in Geneva, befriended Snowden and recalled him as thoughtful but insecure. "He talked a great deal about the fact that he didn't complete high school," Anderson later wrote in an op-ed for the *Chattanooga Times Free Press*. "But he is an IT whiz – I've always taken it for granted that he's an IT genius, actually."

Snowden came to be bothered by much of what he saw in the CIA. He would later cite an operation to recruit a Swiss banker as an asset that involved getting the man arrested on drunk-driving charges. He also recalled, in an interview with *The New York Times'* Risen, the retaliation from a senior manager whose authority he'd once questioned. The incident arose over a flaw Snowden found in some CIA software, which he pointed out to his superiors. Rather than praising his initiative, however, one manager, who didn't appreciate such enterprising behavior, placed a critical note in his personnel file, effectively killing Snowden's chance for promotion. He eventually left the agency, "experiencing a crisis of conscience of sorts," as Anderson remembered. But Snowden also learned a valuable lesson: "Trying to work through the system," he told Risen, would "only lead to punishment."

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As Snowden was navigating the intricacies of the U.S.-intelligence world, Greenwald continued

to rail against the Bush administration and its policies, while also taking aim at the Democratic Congress for refusing to end the war in Iraq. In speaking engagements, and increasingly on television, he prosecuted his strategy to subvert the status quo by donning a suit and, in perfect and impossible-to-argue-against rhetoric, spouted the sort of radical ideology – pointing out the causal chain between U.S. foreign policy and terrorism – that would have landed anyone else in talk-show purgatory. Greenwald, though, became a regular guest on MSNBC.

1. "You have to learn the game," he says. "I put on a suit. I speak in sound bites. I know what I'm talking about – and I don't drone on and on. One of the main criticisms I have of Noam Chomsky is that he allowed himself to get marginalized by not ever strategizing how to prevent it. If you're an advocate and believe in political values, your obligation is to figure out how to maximize your impact. Basically, my strategy has been, 'I'm going to barge into every fucking place I can get and make my own access.'"

After Obama was elected, Greenwald alienated many of his former liberal allies by vowing to be as hard on the new president as he'd been on his predecessor. He was particularly critical of Obama's "Look forward, not backward" mandate, which effectively immunized officials who'd committed felonies during the Bush years, even as the Justice Department began to zealously prosecute its own "war" on national-security whistle-blowers.

This "two-tiered justice system," as Greenwald put it, was striking in the case of a former NSA official named Thomas Drake, whom Greenwald wrote about in 2010. Drake is famous in whistle-blowing circles for providing information to Congress about post-9/11 surveillance programs and disclosing information about mismanagement within the NSA including a costly, and failed, project, known as Trailblazer, to *The Baltimore Sun*. In 2010, he was indicted under the 1917 Espionage Act for mishandling classified material, though the government's case against him ultimately fell apart. Nonetheless, the investigation cost him his job, drained his savings and ruined his reputation. Today he works at the Apple Store in Bethesda, Maryland. To Greenwald, and to Snowden, Drake would be a cautionary tale of what happens to dissenters who try to work within the system.

Drake, whom I meet in his lawyer's office in Washington, is a tall, intense man with the earnest-yet-cynical bearing of a disillusioned Boy Scout. A former Navy intelligence officer, Drake spent 12 years in the private sector as a contractor, working as a systems software test engineer, among other positions. In 2001, he was hired by the NSA and assigned to its Signals Intelligence Directorate as part of an effort initiated by new NSA director Gen. Michael Hayden, to "stir up the gene pool," as Drake puts it, and overhaul the agency, a Cold War institution, for the 21st century.

Though the NSA had once led the world in areas like cryptology and electronic eavesdropping, after the fall of the Soviet Union it was underfunded and without a clear mission. Its calcified management failed to anticipate the advances in fiber optics and cellular technology that would revolutionize the rest of the world, leaving the agency "on the verge of going deaf, dumb and blind," according to NSA historian Matthew Aid. And it thoroughly failed to understand the importance of the Internet, says Drake. "The attitude was, nothing worth knowing is on the Internet, because it was open, right? They only wanted to know things that were closed."

September 11th, which also happened to be Drake's first day at Fort Meade, changed the equation. Drake explains the shift in two ways: The first was a massive expansion of U.S. spying capabilities as the agency "unshackled itself from the Constitution," and began to spy on Americans and foreign citizens, at home and abroad. The other change, felt across the entire intelligence community, was a rapid expansion of the NSA itself.

"Massive amounts of money were pumped into the NSA after 9/11, and Congress was saying, 'How big do you want the check?'" says Drake. With virtually every agency involved in tracking terrorists clamoring for its SIGINT, or signals intelligence, the NSA expanded its outposts in Texas, Georgia, Hawaii, Colorado and Utah, as well as listening posts abroad, and also went on a building spree at Fort Meade, where the NSA's sprawling 5,000-acre campus is now almost 10 times the size of the Pentagon. By 2013, according to *The Washington Post*, the NSA had expanded its workforce by one-third, to about 33,000. The number of private companies it depended upon more than tripled during that time.

Soon, thanks to this influx of money and the increasing reliance on the private sector to handle even sensitive jobs, the very heart of America's intelligence infrastructure was being outsourced to contractors. "Essentially, 9/11 was a massive jobs program, in which the ticket you needed for the party was your clearance," says Drake. "And tons of people were getting those clearances. So you had this huge apparatus being built, and the government was just managing it. And in some cases, they weren't even doing that."

Snowden, who left the CIA in 2009, was a natural fit for the NSA, which embraced the kind of problem-solving initiative his CIA bosses seemed to resent. "The NSA was very blue-collar, much more utilitarian than the CIA," says Drake. "If you could prove your chops with computers, it didn't matter what your background was, or what your grades were. We had a lot of people like Snowden at the NSA, who I hired. And there was no limit on the contracting side."

Snowden was initially hired as a contractor for Dell, which had large contracts to maintain the NSA's internal IT networks. He would also work for the megacontractor Booz Allen Hamilton, who last year earned \$5.76 billion almost solely from government contracts, and is considered to be involved in virtually every aspect of intelligence and surveillance.

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Within the world of the NSA, there is little difference between those employed by the agency and the private sector. Where there was a clear difference, was between the conventional management types and the scruffy hackers and IT geniuses who now filled the rank and file. "It was a weird world – there were these kids walking down the halls, and I never knew what color their hair would be when I'd see them," says Richard "Dickie" George, a 40-year veteran of the NSA who, before retiring in 2011, oversaw the agency's Information Assurance Directorate in the 2000s, hiring scores of young hackers. "They had ideas us older folk didn't have, and we counted

on that."

1. To some intelligence insiders, it also made them a risk. "There was some discussions in the beginning of 'We're going after hackers, so how do we know that they'll be good guys?'" says James Lewis, director of the Technology and Public Policy Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "The real problem is that there's a generational difference. You have an entrenched culture at the NSA, and suddenly you bring these kids in from outside, and they have very different attitudes toward information."

By the time Snowden joined the agency's workforce, the surveillance he would later expose was becoming not just institutionalized but very big business. "It was around 2009, 2010 that you saw the full flower of that massive, massive bubble of money," says Drake. "And people were taking it for a ride as far as it could go."

This system, however, was not without its internal problems. "When you hire all these contractors to do what were inherently government functions, you need the documents that authorize these kinds of access and operations," Drake says. Paperwork was generated at record speed. Once-secret documents like FISA orders, which used to be stowed in special safes that only a few would be able to access, were now digitized and collected into a vast trove of electronic records that held the entire architecture of the national-security state.

Snowden began his NSA career in Japan, where he was given a fairly mundane job supervising upgrades to NSA computer systems. He'd later move back to the U.S. – making a campaign donation to former congressman Ron Paul in March 2012 – and settle in Hawaii. He worked as a systems administrator and eventually as an infrastructure analyst, including within the agency's special Threat Operations Center (NTOC) on Oahu. Though he wasn't one of the elite hackers, he held the keys to highly classified computer networks, and was likely also responsible for building target lists in preparation for future cyber–conflict and looking for electronic backdoors into foreign networks. According to Aid, who has spoken to numerous sources familiar with Snowden's work, "he had access to things that no one at NSA Hawaii had access to." But to them it wasn't alarming, "it was just Ed doing his job."

Prior to 2009, Snowden had considered leaking government secrets when he was at the CIA, but held off, he later said, not wanting to harm agents in the field, and hoping that Obama would reform the system. His optimism didn't last long. "[I] watched as Obama advanced the very policies that I thought would be reined in," he later said. As a result, he added, "I got hardened." The more Snowden saw of the NSA's actual business – and, particularly, the more he read "true information," including a 2009 Inspector General's report detailing the Bush era's warrantless-surveillance program – the more he realized that there were actually two governments: the one that was elected, and the other, secret regime, governing in the dark. "If the highest officials in government can break the law without fearing punishment or even any repercussions at all, secret powers become tremendously dangerous."

Another concern was what he viewed as the willingness of big business to further government secrecy. In 2010, Snowden responded to an Ars Technica post about a vulnerability in Cisco's wiretapping system, which had been designed to meet the needs of U.S. law enforcement. "It really concerns me how little this sort of corporate behavior bothers those outside of technology

circles," he wrote. "Society really seems to have developed an unquestioning obedience towards spooky types." He wondered: "Did we get to where we are today via a slippery slope that was entirely within our control to stop, or was it a relatively instantaneous sea change that sneaked in undetected because of pervasive government secrecy?"

Snowden was by then branching out to more advanced levels of –cybersecurity. In 2010, he took an "ethical hacking" course that teaches computer-security workers how hackers infiltrate large computer systems and operate invisibly. This kind of skill is highly prized in the modern NSA, where Hayden's successor, Gen. Keith Alexander, a slick promoter of cybersecurity programs that virtually no one in Congress understood, relentlessly pushed the government to grant the NSA more spying authority and more resources. "He had unfailing credibility, and they just deferred to him," says one former White House official, who grew alarmed by Alexander's ability to spin members of both Houses, and the president. "Until recently, cybersecurity was magic, and Keith Alexander was the Wizard of Oz."

As a result, Alexander was able to fully realize a concept, promoted by Hayden, of the NSA's "owning the Net" – gaining access to virtually everything. By February 2012, the agency had laid out its strategic vision in a five-page mission statement declaring its intention to acquire data from "anyone." One program in support of this goal, known as "Treasure Map," was so overarching it claimed to map out information from "any device, anywhere, all the time." The agency referred to the present as the "golden age of SIGINT."

"They built a secret surveillance system that penetrated the fabric of our society and Snowden saw all this," says Drake, who has spoken with Snowden and describes him as "like a Tron: cruising the networks and going into different systems – all for legitimate reasons. But in the course of his travels, he realized, 'Wow, could he be part of enabling this system? Could he continue to do that and live with himself?'"

Snowden has been vague about when he decided to leak, but he has been very clear on what compelled him to act. "It was seeing a continuing litany of lies from senior officials to Congress – and therefore the American people – and the realization that Congress?..?..?wholly supported the lies," he said. "Seeing someone in the position of James Clapper – director of National Intelligence – baldly lying to the public without repercussion is the evidence of a subverted democracy."

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In April 2012, while working for Dell, Snowden reportedly began to download documents, many pertaining to the eavesdropping programs run by the NSA and its British equivalent, the Government Communications Headquarters, or GCHQ. Eleven months later, he quit his job and accepted another, with Booz Allen, which he said he'd sought specifically for the broader access he'd have to the wealth of information pertaining to U.S. cyberspying. "My position with Booz

Allen Hamilton granted me access to lists of machines all over the world the NSA hacked," Snowden told *The South China Morning Post*. He spent the following three months downloading part of what officials later estimated were well more than 50,000 documents, divided into four categories: NSA capabilities, partnerships with private tech companies and foreign-intelligence agencies, requests for information by other U.S. agencies, and intelligence reports based on its collection of electronic intercepts. Now, he had to figure out how to expose the material.

1. He would not, he knew, follow the path of Thomas Drake, whose case he had carefully studied, along with many other NSA whistle-blowers from the 1990s and early 2000s who had taken their grievances, often undocumented, to Congress or the press. "Look, for 12 years, much of what Snowden would disclose had already been discussed by others like myself," says Drake. "He knew, based on what had happened with us, that he'd have to provide some kind of documentation if he were to have any chance of being heard. But even that might not have been sufficient. The difference was that the whole system had become fully institutionalized."

But Snowden also understood that giving the documents to WikiLeaks, or simply posting them himself, had drawbacks. "I don't desire to enable the Bradley Manning argument that these were released recklessly and unreviewed," Snowden later said. "I carefully evaluated every single document I disclosed to ensure that each was legitimately in the public interest. There are all sorts of documents that would have made a big impact that I didn't turn over, because harming people isn't my goal. Transparency is."

The mainstream press, another option, seemed even riskier. Recalling how *The New York Times* delayed Risen's 2005 warrantless-wiretapping story under pressure from the government, Snowden feared the same happening to him. "When the subject of [one's] reporting is an institution as wildly beyond the control of law as the US Intelligence Community, even the best intentions of the *New York Times* begin to quaver," he writes me in an e-mail. "You can't stare down a spy agency without being prepared to burn your life to the ground over the smallest grain of truth, because truth is the only thing they are afraid of. Truth means accountability, and accountability terrifies those who have gone beyond what is necessary."

In mid-May, Snowden took a short leave of absence from his job at Booz Allen to return to the mainland, where, he told his supervisors, he was going to get treatment for epilepsy, a condition he'd been diagnosed with the year before. But instead, he took a direct flight to Hong Kong and, checking into the Mira, a \$300-per-night boutique hotel overlooking Kowloon Park, made contact with Glenn Greenwald. This was their first direct correspondence since December, when Snowden, who'd given up his attempts to persuade Greenwald to learn encryption, turned to filmmaker Laura Poitras, whom he knew, as Snowden told me, "understood the risks of weak security."

The director of two films that were highly critical of U.S. counterterror policy and the war in Iraq, Poitras had found herself in the crosshairs of the U.S. government after the 2006 release of the Oscar-nominated *My Country, My Country*, which looked at the experiences of Iraqis under the U.S. occupation. The Department of Homeland Security reportedly put her on a watch list, and over the next six years, she estimates she was stopped and detained nearly 40 times at U.S. border crossings. All of this had made Poitras intensely paranoid. (She declined to comment for this story.) To prevent her work from being spied upon, she learned encryption. That allowed



Snowden, who wrote her anonymously, to outline, over the course of several e-mails, a number of government-surveillance programs.

Poitras showed some of the e-mails to Greenwald, who sensed their legitimacy right away. He installed encryption software, and under Poitras' tutelage, began his own conversation with the source, who was eager for the journalists to meet him in person. Greenwald was wary: "I told him, 'I need to have some sample of the documents to prove you are who you say you are and you have something worthwhile.'" So Snowden sent Greenwald about two dozen documents, including a PowerPoint presentation revealing the NSA PRISM program, by which the government, gaining access through U.S. Internet companies like Google, Facebook and Apple, could retrieve volumes of user data, including e-mails, chat records and search histories.

Sitting on his porch with the dogs at his feet, Greenwald opened the documents and gasped. "I mean, holy shit, right? Just out of nowhere, I'm holding in my hand 25 top-secret documents from the NSA, an agency that had rarely leaked anything, let alone massive numbers of top-secret documents." Breathless, he ran to tell Miranda. "I cannot believe what I fucking have in my hands," he said.

Greenwald flew to New York, where he met Poitras, and with a third journalist, longtime *Guardian* correspondent Ewen MacAskill, who'd been assigned as the paper's representative, left for Hong Kong. In the cab on their way to JFK, Poitras, who'd been sent a much larger set of documents by Snowden, gave Greenwald a short tutorial on how to open and read the files on her memory sticks. As soon as the plane took off, he opened his laptop and began to go through the material. "I immediately realized that the 25 documents he had sent me, which I thought were the best he had – those were just random," he says. "I had thousands of documents just like them, on every conceivable topic, the vast bulk top-secret, some of them much better than the ones he had sent me. It was the mother of all leaks."

"How long had the source been planning this?" Greenwald thought. Just the organization of the material alone would have taken months, if not longer. Each memory stick had an elaborate filing system. "On the front page were, let's say, 12 files. You click on one of the files and there are 30 more files. You click on one of those files and there are six more, and finally you got the documents. And every last motherfucking document that he gave us was incredibly elegant and beautifully organized." Greenwald had no doubt that the leaker had read every page; not a single one was misfiled. "It's 1,000 percent clear that he read and very carefully processed every document that he gave us by virtue of his incredibly anal, ridiculously elaborate electronic filing system that these USB sticks contained."

All the way to Hong Kong, over a 16-hour flight, Greenwald pored through the materials. "There was stuff on what's going on in Iraq, in Afghanistan, with the drone program, spying on our allies, the technology of how this works, the intelligence budget – every possible thing, all completely fucking secret, and I'm just reading through it at my leisure on the plane." Memos and PowerPoint presentations detailed the breathtaking scope of the NSA's global operations: metadata collection on American and foreign citizens; spying on the communications and Internet traffic of world leaders; intelligence operations aimed at oil companies and other businesses. Poitras, sitting a number of rows back, wandered up to check on Greenwald now and then, at which point, he says, "I'd hop out of my fucking seat, like, 'Have you seen this? Does this

actually say what I think it says?"

He describes it as his "holy shit" moment. "We just sat there in elation," he says. "For both of us, it was the moment of a lifetime."

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Greenwald had an image in his head of the person he was going to meet in Hong Kong: "This grizzly, 60-year-old, gray-haired, balding veteran of the intelligence community who had just become sufficiently disillusioned and jaded that he decided he just couldn't take it anymore." Instead, the person he met outside a restaurant in a shopping center looked barely old enough to shave. Pale and thin and dressed in jeans and a white T-shirt it appeared he hadn't changed for days. "He looked like a kid from the mall," Greenwald says.

1. Immediately, Greenwald thought this had been a mistake. "No way could this kid have anything like the access he led me to believe he had. It just didn't compute: Was he the son of the source, the assistant to the source? It was so wildly disparate from what I had expected that I just thought I had wasted my time flying there."

Still, the journalists, exhausted from their travels, followed Snowden to his hotel room, which he'd left only two or three times since he'd arrived, out of fear he might soon be tracked down. Stacks of room-service trays were piled everywhere. Clothes littered the floor. Worried that he might be spied upon, he'd been reluctant to even let housekeeping in to change the sheets. Before he would talk, Snowden propped pillows up against the door to prevent eavesdropping. Greenwald was tempted to view the precautions as paranoia, but decided to withhold judgment. He launched into litigator mode. "The best way to describe it would be as cross-examination," Snowden tells me. "It was more rigorous than the vetting CIA assets in the field get! The benefit was that it resulted in absolute trust: There was no room for lies to survive."

Clearly, Greenwald realized right away, Snowden was extremely bright, and his story, as improbable as it initially seemed, had coherence to it. After five or six hours of questioning, "I had a really solid faith that he was who he was saying he was." Yet much of Snowden still didn't make sense. He had a girlfriend of eight years in Hawaii, a beautiful dancer named Lindsay, whom he clearly loved. He earned a six-figure salary, and was on a career trajectory whose possibilities, even without a college degree, seemed limitless. Everything about him suggested he was happy and stable. "I spent a long time trying to figure out why he actually did what he did, knowing that he was likely going to end up in prison for the rest of his life."

Snowden – who didn't want the search for the source of the leaks to distract from the national conversation he hoped they would spark – had informed the journalists of his plan to go public even before they got to Hong Kong. The idea of outing a source of classified materials went against every instinct, both journalistic and human. MacAskill, who has three sons in their

midtwenties and early thirties, says he spent days trying to understand why Snowden was so intent on doing it. But Snowden seemed to have thought it all out. He had purposely not taken all the precautions he could have to cover his tracks, he explained – arguably to protect his co-workers, who could easily be drawn into a prolonged investigation. "I could not be part of someone throwing their life away unless I was absolutely convinced that it was done with complete and total agency," Greenwald says. "So I spent hours on that question: What was this grounded in? Where does he get the idea that it was his obligation to sacrifice his life for the good of other people?"

Ultimately, Greenwald realized, Snowden was acting on the same moral code that had led him, at age 20, to enlist in the Army to fight a war he believed was designed to "free" the oppressed. What the NSA was doing, Snowden said, posed an "existential threat to democracy," and he felt it was his duty to act. He explained to Greenwald that he'd set up a website and written a manifesto explaining the breadth of the surveillance system the NSA had constructed. He'd intended to post the roughly 1,000-word essay on the website, in the hopes of getting hundreds of thousands, even millions to read it and sign a petition to end the surveillance state.

But the manifesto, as Greenwald says, "was a little Ted Kaczynski-ish." He and Poitras advised Snowden it might be misinterpreted by the public. "It was pretty melodramatic and overwrought, which makes sense, because you've got to think in pretty extreme terms if you're going to throw your life away to fight against these injustices. But to the average person you want to reach, it might sound creepy." Snowden ultimately let it go.

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Greenwald spent every day with Snowden for the next two weeks, interviewing him in the morning, breaking off to write, going back later in the day, and frequently continuing their conversations online. Snowden would go to bed every night around 10:30 or 11, casually telling the journalists he was going to "hit the hay." While Greenwald barely slept, Snowden greeted them at seven each morning, rested and refreshed. "He was about to become the most wanted man in the world," Greenwald says, "but slept as if he didn't have a care in the world." Both he and Poitras were "infected" by the younger man's idealism and enthusiasm, Greenwald admits, and so were his editors at *The Guardian*, which published the first story on the leaks on Wednesday, June 5th. That piece, detailing a secret court order issued in April 2013 that compelled Verizon to hand over consumer data to the NSA, was followed, on June 6th, by a second story, exposing the PRISM program, and then a third, on June 7th, explaining how the British GCHQ gained access to PRISM in order to collect user data from U.S. companies. On the 8th, Greenwald and MacAskill published in *The Guardian* a report about an internal NSA tool, known as "Boundless Informant," which recorded, analyzed and tracked the data collected by the agency – suggesting that National Intelligence Director James Clapper had lied to Congress when he insisted that the NSA did not wittingly keep track of the communications of millions of

American citizens.

1. From that time on, Greenwald was never without a set of documents, stored on various drives, which he carried with him everywhere in a black backpack. As for Snowden, whose greatest fear, according to Greenwald, was that he'd release the material and no one would care, just the opposite occurred. On June 7th, Obama, forced to admit that the administration was collecting huge amounts of intelligence on ordinary citizens, insisted that they were only "modest encroachments" on privacy. "You can't have 100 percent security, and also then have 100 percent privacy and zero inconvenience," the president said.

On June 8th, the NSA officially filed a "crimes report" on the exposure of their sensitive intelligence, and also opened a criminal probe into who might have leaked it. The next day, Snowden went public in a video produced by Poitras, posted on *The Guardian's* website. On June 10th, having acquired two Hong Kong lawyers vetted by *The Guardian's* legal counsel, and with the world press closing in, Snowden left the Mira hotel through a back door with his attorneys, and disappeared. Poitras wondered if they'd ever see him again. Greenwald doubted it. "I truly believed that the chances were very, very good that the next time we saw him would be on television," Greenwald says, "wearing an orange jumpsuit, in shackles, in a courtroom."

On June 21st, the Obama administration brought criminal charges against Edward Snowden for three felonies, two of which fall under the Espionage Act, which has been used in federal indictments nine times in almost a century, six of those cases being brought in the past six years. Snowden became the seventh person to be charged under the act by the Obama White House, which has launched more leak investigations than any other administration in U.S. history. A score of U.S. officials, including Secretary of State John Kerry, declared Snowden a traitor. At a cybersecurity summit in the fall, former NSA director Hayden joked about putting Snowden on the kill list. "I can help you with that," Rep. Mike Rogers, head of the House Intelligence Committee, offered in reply.

With these sorts of condemnations, offset by the blockbuster stories produced by Greenwald, Poitras and *The Washington Post's* Barton Gellman, who had also been introduced to Snowden through Poitras and received his own set of documents, Snowden began his journey through what one of his legal advisers, Jesselyn Radack, calls the "underground railroad" of whistle-blower advocates and sympathizers, a worldwide drama stage-managed by Julian Assange.

Shortly after Snowden left the Mira hotel for a safe house in Hong Kong, his lawyers received a call from Kristinn Hrafnsson, an Icelandic journalist and spokesman for WikiLeaks. Hrafnsson had heard that Snowden might want to seek asylum in Iceland. "It was natural for us to be received as an ally," Hrafnsson tells me. "He didn't have many at the moment." Soon afterward, a 31-year-old Brit named Sarah Harrison, a longtime associate of Julian Assange's, arrived in Hong Kong as WikiLeaks' eyes and ears, and Snowden's escort out of Hong Kong. She didn't leave Snowden's side for the next four months.

On June 24th, Assange, who has been living in exile at the Ecuadorean Embassy in London for more than a year, held a press conference and claimed responsibility for successfully shepherding Snowden out of Hong Kong to Russia, where, after 39 days in Moscow's Sheremetyevo International Airport – and filing 21 asylum applications to as many countries – he was granted

temporary asylum by Vladimir Putin, for a year.

It was a huge moment for Assange, who, as one observer notes, "must have been going insane, watching all these leaks go to Glenn and Laura," neither of whom shared them with WikiLeaks, but instead published them in mainstream outlets like *The Guardian*. In a telephone interview, Assange accused *The Guardian*, with whom he has had a very public feud since 2010, of "abandoning" Snowden in Hong Kong. This is a statement Assange, through WikiLeaks, has made numerous times on Twitter, though Greenwald, as well as Guardian staffers, insist it is a complete misrepresentation of fact. "Snowden was really clear that he didn't want to involve the reporters in his future plans – my understanding was that he didn't want them implicated in it," says one senior *Guardian* editor.

But WikiLeaks clung to its narrative. "We understood the situation," says Assange. "We worked through the diplomatic network, and we made sure Mr. Snowden's rights were protected. And as a consequence, we've demonstrated that WikiLeaks, as a media institution, has the resources, capacity and will that a lot of media organizations do not."

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Snowden has been an undeniable boon for WikiLeaks, which has been struggling financially since 2011 (last year, it reportedly received just \$93,000 in donations, barely making a dent in its 2012 annual budget of \$530,000). After Snowden went public, donations to the group began to pour in at around \$1,300 per day. WikiLeaks now sells T-shirts, mugs and tote bags with Snowden's face on them (Bradley Manning's visage, which once adorned similar paraphernalia, has all but disappeared).

1. Greenwald has a complicated relationship with WikiLeaks and Assange, whom he considers an ally, though given Assange's controversial reputation in the United States, he admits that "Julian stepping forward and being the face of the story wasn't great for Snowden." But he credits Assange with having helped save Snowden from almost certain extradition to the U.S. Snowden, however, never wanted to go to Russia, which Assange acknowledges. "Snowden believed that in order to most effectively push for reform in the U.S., Latin America would be the better option," Assange tells me. "He did not want to invite a political attack that he'd 'defected.'"

Assange, however, disagrees. "While Venezuela and Ecuador could protect him in the short term, over the long term there could be a change in government. In Russia, he's safe, he's well-regarded, and that is not likely to change. That was my advice to Snowden, that he would be physically safest in Russia." Assange also claims that Snowden has proved "you can blow the whistle about national security and not only survive, but thrive."

But how much Snowden is thriving in Russia is unknown. According to his Russian lawyer, Anatoly Kucherena, he has been learning the language and reading Russian literature. (He

recently finished Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*.) Snowden also reportedly took a job not long ago at a Russian Internet company. Greenwald, who says he talks with Snowden regularly via encrypted chat, maintains that he knows very few details of Snowden's daily life. "For both his and my own protection, there are questions I stay away from," he says. Radack and Drake recently visited Snowden as part of a whistle-blower delegation; they were whisked to a secret meeting and dinner with him at a stately mansion in or near Moscow. That they were taken in a van with darkened windows, at night, meant they had no idea where they were going. Radack nevertheless insists that Snowden is not being controlled by the Russian intelligence service, the FSB, nor has he become a Russian spy. "Russia treats its spies much better than leaving them trapped in the Sheremetyevo transit zone for over a month," Radack recalled Snowden darkly joking to her.

Perhaps though, just because he's not a spy, says Andrei Soldatov, one of Russia's leading investigative journalists, doesn't mean he's free. "It is quite clear that Snowden is being protected by the FSB," says Soldatov, co-author of *The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB* (2010). What this means is that every facet of Snowden's communications, and his life, is likely being monitored, if invisibly, by the Russian security services. "The mansion where he met those whistle-blowers? Rented on behalf of the government. All of the safe houses, apartments and dachas where we've traditionally kept defectors are owned by the Russian security services. No one has been able to figure out where he works, if he actually has this job. The FSB would never let him do anything where they couldn't monitor his communications." Even if Snowden were to decide he wanted to go to the U.S. Embassy and turn himself in, "it would be difficult for him to find a completely uncontrolled way of communicating with the Americans," Soldatov says.

Soldatov believes that Snowden might underestimate how closely he's being watched, suggesting somewhat of a *Truman Show*-like existence. "To what degree has he been turned into a different person?" he says. "Snowden is not a trained intelligence agent. But those who are can tell you, if you live in a controlled environment, you cease to be truly independent-minded because everyone and everything around you is also controlled. It doesn't matter if you have your laptop."

As for Greenwald, he's become an international celebrity in the past six months, and I meet him while he is cresting a wave of fame unlike any he's ever known. Since Snowden, he's been interviewed by virtually every form of media known to humankind, broken huge stories in both the English-speaking and foreign media, and has won the Brazilian equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize (for a story he did with Brazil's *Globo* newspaper that exposed the scale of the NSA spying in the country).

In order to protect their material – and avoid serious legal entanglements – Greenwald and Poitras agreed that no one other than they would ever have access to the full set of documents (*The Washington Post*'s Gellman has his own set). Instead, they've doled out information on a story-by-story basis, with their bylines always attached, to "keep media organizations on a leash," as Greenwald puts it. Though some critics maintain that Snowden, who carried four laptops with him to Hong Kong, must have shared the information with either the Russians or the Chinese, Snowden insists this isn't true. Not only did he not carry any documents with him to Russia – "it wouldn't serve the public interest," he's said – he can't even access the material any longer. "He

has built these encryption cells, and made sure that he doesn't have the passwords to them – other people have the passwords," says Greenwald, who has also said the "insurance" archive will only be accessed if something happens to Snowden. Greenwald doesn't say who those "other people" are. U.S. officials have ominously referred to this archive, likely stored on a data cloud, as a "doomsday" cache.

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In August, Greenwald's partner, David Miranda, was detained at London's Heathrow Airport over the Snowden matter. Miranda was on his way home to Rio after a week's vacation in Berlin, where he had visited Poitras, who'd given him some of the Snowden documents to bring back to Greenwald. As he was entering the transit lounge, he was stopped by British police. The authorities seized the materials, as well as Miranda's laptop, cellphone and other electronic devices, and demanded passwords for the encrypted electronics. They detained and interrogated him for nine hours, before finally allowing him to continue on to Brazil.

1. Greenwald, who'd asked Miranda to bring him the materials, was outraged. "It was a fucking attack on press freedom," he says. "Journalism is not a crime, and it's not terrorism. For every journalist not to be infuriated by this aggressive attack was insane."

Many were stunned by the harassment, but Greenwald's methods, and his unabashed denunciation of those who criticize them, have raised questions about his own agenda. "This is a carefully constructed narrative," says James Lewis of CSIS. "They've got documents pertaining to foreign spying against the U.S., but not a single one of those has been released. Instead, this is scripted to lead you to a certain outcome, that it's just the U.S. doing this. The fact that they haven't released these documents makes me very suspicious. They're spinning as much as the U.S. government is."

The question is whether Greenwald is considered a threat by the U.S. government. While he is certainly doing better than Snowden, Greenwald too, as Radack says, is "free but not free," living comfortably in Rio, but unsure when he will be able to come home. Though Attorney General Eric Holder recently said that "I'm not sure there is a basis for prosecution," Greenwald isn't reassured. He believes it unlikely that he'd be hauled off a plane and arrested at immigration – if only for the negative press that would cause – but there's no way to know. "They could indict you in secret and just seal it, but there's no way to ever make them tell you one way or the other if they intend to arrest you. So you could theoretically be in legal limbo forever."

This is the situation, at least for the moment, that Edward Snowden faces. His coordinating attorney, Ben Wizner of the ACLU, has put together a team that he says is hoping to facilitate some form of agreement so Snowden can find asylum in a more open country, like Germany, and possibly "someday, when the climate is right," return to the U.S. without fear of prosecution. But that day has not yet come, Wizner admits. "It's not going to happen overnight," he says.

For now, Snowden is in Russia, living in an apartment or a house that so far, no one has been able to find; maybe employed, shielded from the public by the state-security apparatus and communicating through encrypted e-mail or chat with just a handful of people, none of whom know the full extent of his daily life. "He is much more than just a mere source to me," Greenwald says. "I consider him heroic and brave. I care about him and do not want to see him imprisoned – that would be a horrific travesty as well as a profound waste."

Snowden, Greenwald says, has become "a huge celebrity" in Russia, where people muse about his whereabouts, wondering about his next move. Russian paparazzi, frustrated in their attempts to find him, have taken to selling fake pictures of Snowden shopping at the supermarket. "He's like Elvis," Greenwald says. But he's still in Russia. "I think the U.S. actually wants him in Russia because that's what lets them demonize him." And demonizing him is important, he adds. "If a whistle-blower becomes a hero, people start thinking, 'Wow, the stuff he saw must have really been awful for him to go and risk his life and blow the whistle.' But if you get to say, 'He's crazy, he's unstable, he's a Russian spy,' it de-legitimizes the premise of the whole act, which is that he saw something so fundamentally wrong that his conscience demanded that he do it."

Right now, Greenwald, who says he remains "infected" by Snowden's heroism, is determined to work in his stead. His first step has been to take the remaining documents, which exceed 10,000 in number, and start a new media enterprise with Poitras and investigative journalist Jeremy Scahill, funded by a \$250 million investment from tech billionaire Pierre Omidyar, the founder of eBay – who came to Greenwald specifically because of the Snowden leaks. The venture – currently dubbed "NewCo" – will be dedicated to investigative journalism and will purposely seek conflict with the government. "So we'll do the journalism, and then be like, 'OK, government, come get us,'" Greenwald says, clearly delighted at the prospect.

How the venture will take shape is still unknown. Greenwald, who left *The Guardian* in October, says he plans to have bureaus in New York and Washington, as well as what may be his own bureau of one in Brazil. "I'm not going to allow myself to be exiled from my own country because I did journalism, but as long as there's a meaningful chance that I'd be arrested and prosecuted for my journalism, I can't gamble with it," he says. "And that, itself, is such a powerful indictment."

*This story is from the December 19th, 2013 - January 2nd, 2014 issue of Rolling Stone.*

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# Profile in Courage - WikiLeaks's Sarah Harrison

1. <http://international.sueddeutsche.de/post/66551706047/contagious-courage>

Portside Date:

December 5, 2013

Author:

John Goetz and Bastian Obermayer

Date of Source:

Sunday, November 10, 2013

There she sits: the woman who has spent the past four months at Edward Snowden's side. First in Hong Kong, then in Moscow. The two made history and charted new global politics within this short span of time.

2. Sarah Harrison, 31, a journalist and Wikileaks staffer, wears black leggings, a dark grey blouse and a wool cardigan as she sits on an old office chair in a basement meeting place, between file folders, tangled cables, blank CDs and computers. The exact location of the meeting may not be reported. "Sorry," she says, running her fingers through her hair: "Nothing is very easy at the moment."

Who is this woman, who has spent so much time by Snowden's side, resisting the pressures of the world power, the United States? Making flight plans and cancelling them again, always on the alert for intelligence agents?

1. Sarah Harrison closes her eyes. She'll talk, but on the topic of Snowden and his situation in Moscow, she won't say anything more than what was released in a statement made by Wikileaks on Wednesday.

A statement? It's more of a manifesto. A bit celebratory, as most manifestos are, and a little flat, but quite clear and angry. It begins laconically, "As a journalist, I have spent the last four months with NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden and arrived in Germany over the weekend." It ends: "When whistleblowers come forward we need to fight for them, so others will be encouraged. When they are gagged, we must be their voice. When they are hunted, we must be their shield. When they are locked away, we must free them. Giving us the truth is not a crime. This is our data, our information, our history. We must fight to own it." What a mission.

And then just three words: "Courage is contagious." What a sentence.

The reason for Harrison's departure from Moscow is simple: Snowden doesn't need anyone at

hand in Moscow anymore. She stayed in Moscow, as she says, as a journalist until it was clear, "he had settled and was free from the influence of any government." What's certain is: without Wikileaks's Harrison, Snowden would now be sitting in a U.S. prison. There was simply no one in the world who was willing or able to help him. Not his allies Glenn Greenwald or Laura Poitras. Not The Guardian. No one. Wikileaks's Harrison is the only one, even though Wikileaks apparently hasn't received a single document from Snowden's trove.

## 1. Back onto the world stage

For Wikileaks, Snowden's request for assistance was a matter of principle: Whistleblowers should be protected. But the action also helped changed public perception of the organization. You have to remember that Wikileaks was already considered a failure by many. The boycott of the credit card company Visa and the resulting money problems, an extradition battle in Sweden, the internal disputes - all painted a not-so-reassuring image. The fight for Snowden catapulted Wikileaks back onto the world stage. And Wikileaks got a new face, that of Sarah Harrison, Edward Snowden's mysterious companion, his "guardian angel" as she was called in the newspapers. For four months she was his protector and the liaison for both the most influential digital dissidents of our time: Edward Snowden and Julian Assange.

So, who is Sarah Harrison - Snowden's saviour, the young woman now living in Berlin?

Firstly, she's a smart, educated 31-year-old Englishwoman from Kent county. A woman who works as an editor for Wikileaks around the clock, regardless of her location, sending emails and chatting online. Does she ever sleep? "If there's time," she says and shrugs.

There was no thought of sleep in June as she sat in Hong Kong with Snowden as they considered whether he should try to abandon Hong Kong - even as he was bracing himself for prison; even as the lawyers were telling him to accept it; even as all others involved had said their goodbyes, as it was considered too dangerous to be involved with the slight, pale Edward Snowden.

But Wikileaks knew then that both Hong Kong and China wanted to get out of the game. They also knew his arrest was nearing.

It was the evening of Snowden's thirtieth birthday, June 21. In his hiding place - a private apartment in Hong Kong - Snowden, Harrison and a few lawyers consulted over pizza and chicken wings. In the end, the decision was to get out of Honk Kong before it was too late, and Wikileaks and Harrison got started. First gaining an entry clearance from Ecuador and plane tickets, then an informal offer of asylum, they played out all the possibilities. They decided Harrison would fly with Snowden, putting her own safety and future at stake by shepherding public enemy number one.

A heroine? Is that the right word for her? In any case, it was a momentous decision for Harrison and the reason she is in Berlin now and not in London. She has no idea if and when she can ever go home.

When British police took Glenn Greenwald's partner into custody for several hours of questioning at the London airport the reason given was, "involvement in terrorism" - as was cited in the publicly available court documents.

Terrorism? If that's the accusation used by police for a journalist's partner, then what accusations await someone who protected a whistleblower?

1. Harrison thinks for a long moment. She crosses her arms, and then her legs. Julian Assange once said in a TV interview that he doesn't worry about Edward Snowden much anymore, as Snowden has received temporary asylum. He worries much more about the safety of Sarah Harrison. The lawyers recommend that she not enter the UK any time soon. "There are many legal issues that are still unresolved," Harrison says cautiously. It's a difficult topic.

Harrison is even less likely to go to the U.S., where there are active proceedings against Wikileaks. Harrison's name maybe among them. The prospect of a prison sentence many times over your life expectancy would make anyone afraid. But what drives this young woman to push beyond that fear? She says, "That's exactly why I don't want to stop what I'm doing. Because they want to intimidate me." She sits up straight and concentrates. "If that's how they react when we shine light on the truth, a truth that concerns them, that makes their transgressions public, then it has the opposite effect on me. Then I will certainly continue. Not without reflection. But out of principle."

What a speech, in this small basement.

The urge to change things was one she had early on. As a 10-year-old she wrote a desperate letter to then Prime Minister John Major urging him to fix the problem of homelessness in the country. Her idea was: if you pay for homeless people to build houses in which they could live, they would have both a job and a roof over their heads. The Prime Minister politely answered, thanking her for the suggestion.

Idealism meets self-irony

Sarah Harrison comes from a middle-class home. Her mother, Jennifer, committed herself to helping children with learning disorders and her father, Ian, was a successful entrepreneur. They sent their daughter to a private school and later a good university where she studied English literature. Sarah was an excellent student and a talented athlete.

The fact that she has since been on a rather unusual path doesn't bother her parents at all. On the contrary, they seem quite proud, even if they worry about her a lot. "She has done nothing wrong," Sarah's parents wrote *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in an email, "and we are ready to fight for her rights, if that's what she wants, and if she needs us."

Harrison's parents would be much less afraid if Sarah had stuck with her original plan to become a doctor. "I liked the scientific work, the precise research, the inclusion of data analysis," she says. But when she realized she could only help relatively few patients as a doctor, she became disillusioned. "That's not very efficient if you really want to save the whole world," Harrison says, grinning. Idealism meets self-irony. Even in the dimly lit basement you can see a little mocking pleasure in her eyes.

A global approach to saving the world fits well with Wikileaks's founder Assange and his ideas. And you can't deny he has already changed the world we live in quite significantly. Sarah

Harrison first came to Wikileaks while she worked at the Bureau of Investigative Journalism in London. "Wikileaks is, for me, the perfect combination," she says. "Researching, writing, travel, adventure." She laughs. The greatest adventure of her life may already be behind her; what could beat 39 days in the Moscow airport?

When Harrison arrived in Moscow with Snowden in June, she was no longer a beginner or merely an aide that Assange could easily do without. At that point she was an important member of the editorial team. Assange listens to her advice and the two are friends.

1. In the last few years Harrison has been involved not only in all major Wikileaks revelations, she led complicated investigations, configured databases for document analysis and dealt with encrypted data.

Harrison already has experience with hasty escapes, asylum negotiations and methods we only know from spy movies. To stave off agents following Assange, she disguised him with make-up and a fake beard, transforming him into his lawyer, and turned his lawyer into Assange, complete with white wig and leather jacket. They switched cars all along the way through London, intermittently walking a stretch to throw off potential followers.

A few years later, Harrison is now the connection between Assange and Snowden - two men who find themselves in strikingly similar circumstances: Edward Snowden somewhere in Russia and Julian Assange in a room in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London. Only one character is missing from their virtual rebel house (they have contact through encrypted chats), and that is whistleblower Chelsea Manning, formerly known as Bradley Manning. But she will not be able to log on from her U.S. prison cell anytime in the foreseeable future. Manning acts as a living memorial to Assange, Snowden and Harrison; a permanent reminder of how serious the U.S. is.

What an absurd situation we have here: Russia on the right side of an international moral issue.

And Germany? If Snowden made his way to Germany, he would probably be extradited within days if the government had its way. In Moscow, Harrison was the only one who knew Snowden from before. She was also the only one he could trust from the beginning. She was his "shepherd, friend, protector and constant companion, all at the same time," says Jesselyn Radack, a U.S. lawyer who has also written a whistleblower story and who visited Snowden and Harrison in Moscow. The German delegation led by German lawmaker Hans-Christian Ströbele met an alert Sarah Harrison who had eyes and ears on everything. Harrison made sure not one wrong word left the room. Because one wrong word can destroy everything and put Snowden in even more danger. She explained concepts Snowden mentioned to the less technically savvy, patiently rephrasing: "As Edward just said..."

But Harrison is just one of the protagonists in the Snowden saga. Better known characters are Glenn Greenwald, the former Guardian columnist, Laura Poitras, the upstanding filmmaker, and of course Edward Snowden, the courageous whistleblower. They are the three dissidents. The material Snowden procured and Poitras and Greenwald distributed has shaken the world. Leaders from France to Brazil are now calling for apologies from the U.S. Even Germans, after a lot of

struggle and discussion, find the whole thing outrageous.

1. Poitras and Greenwald have determined the course of events. Snowden handed them his entire trove of material and they decided what documents to publish, where and when. Poitras and Greenwald, at least in the public eye, have disconnected themselves from Snowden. Though they are in contact with him, and publicly support him, they have gone their own ways.

It was just announced that they are both involved in Internet multimillionaire Pierre Omidyar's new media venture. The eBay founder plans to create a \$250-million portal for independent journalism, with Greenwald and Poitras as its stars.

Snowden was, however, their ticket.

No accusations. The world just continues to turn, unless you're stuck somewhere in Moscow. His former allies' agendas could very well support those of the whistleblower. But his agenda has changed. His agenda, above all, is not to be locked up for life. To find a country that will take him for the long-term. A country where he can stay alive.

Sarah Harrison was the only person left after those hectic days in Hong Kong. The last woman standing. And in the past few days that period has come to an end.

Of course, Snowden knows many are on his side; among them Assange and the millions of fans worldwide. But none of that helps much when you're alone, and need someone you can really talk to about things - about all the crap that passes by the window looking out onto the world.

Sarah, what'll happen now? Sarah?

Sarah Harrison will continue the fight, as she writes in her statement. If she has doubts about her actions, or her means or the meaning of it all, she hides it well. Or maybe she hasn't yet found herself. "I firmly believe this is the right thing to do," she says in the dim basement just before the conversation ends. It's still unclear where she will live or work in the long run. Berlin would make sense. Berlin is where Poitras met with Greenwald's partner for a document hand-off. Berlin is where a large faction of the hacker community is established, where the computer nerds of the Chaos Computer Club, the Wau Holland Foundation, the Telecomix activists and the hacker and political activist Jacob Appelbaum all are.

But will they remain there for long?

Only one thing is certain: Harrison will not fall back into line as an anonymous Wikileaks staffer. Anyone who saw her in action in Moscow - polite, cautious, yet determined - would have no doubt about that.

For many reasons, Assange's people remain mostly unseen. Not only because the press shines such a strong light on Assange - the tall charismatic one who has made many enemies - but also because it's usually more comfortable to live in his shadow. It's less dangerous there, but also quieter.

"In fact, the media attention is new for me," says Harrison, but, "I'm trying to get used to it." She smiles. She'll need that in order to keep sane; get used to it, and smile.

