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#### **COURAGE IS CONTAGIOUS**

Wednesday 27th October 2021

"Julian's case is so corrupt" Stella Moris, Assange's partner Page 4 Follow Assange's extradition hearing coverage live at *defend.WikiLeaks.org* 



# Brutal crimes of falling empires

## From the war in Afghanistan to Assange's persecution: this "justice" brings no peace

#### Editorial

Julian Assange's case is a historical focal point through which we observe what seems like the decline of the British and US empires, their global influence and their moral standing in the world. We stand at a crossroads, determining the future of our fundamental rights – namely the freedom of information and the freedom to publish.

The illegal actions and procedures initiated against Assange and WikiLeaks over more than a decade are too numerous to list here. From a revoked political asylum coupled with the storming of an embassy to the surveillance of private attorney-client conversations; from arbitrary detention without charge to indictments published beyond their legal deadlines; from kidnapping and assassination plots (see page 6) to the expunging of the crimes of a sociopath in return for false testimonies (see page 9). It appears that more steps against Assange were taken outside the boundaries of the law than within them. What is left of the 'legal' procedure? A sad farce, barely attempting to cover up the unjustifiable.

These brazen and brutal violations of core Western democratic values should be seen as a warning for us all. For if nation states, when sufficiently embarrassed by revelations of their own crimes and lies, are capable of such inhumane wrath, then anyone could one day be subjected to a similarly arbitrary and unjust treatment. Particularly as we collectively pursue the necessary endeavour of holding to account the warmongers, the war criminals and profiteers, while ensuring that those denouncing them remain safe and out of jail.

In a hopeful reading of history, the inevitable defeat of the US in their war in Afghanistan – foreseen if not precipitated by WikiLeaks publications (see page 14) – will come to symbolise the end of the global military interventionism and political expansionism of a single superpower.



Likewise, in a hopeful future, the exposure of the persecution of Assange will be read as the falling out of relevance of an entire class of political and institutional actors who enabled this democratic disgrace (see centrefold map).

This history remains to be written. We all have, for better or worse, a part in writing it today.■

## Why is Biden prosecuting Assange for telling the truth about Afghanistan?

Daniel Ellsberg, Alice Walker and

before the exit from Vietnam, The New York Times, The Washington Post and 17 other newspapers published the Pentagon Papers, a classified archive showing that US intervention in Vietnam had been wrong from the start, and was prolonged for decades through deliberate deception. One of us, Daniel Ellsberg, released those files. Fifty years after his case was dismissed due to governmental criminal misconduct, the American bombing and occupation of Vietnam is viewed near-unanimously as an ill-fated policy whose pursuit was morally wrong. The parallels between that case and the work of Assange – and his source, US Army whistleblower Chelsea Manning – are striking. Thanks in large part to their revelations a decade ago, Americans are increasingly seeing our occupation and bombing of Afghanistan in

the fall of Saigon in 1975. Four years before the exit from Vietnam, The New York Times, The When Assange published hun-



#### Noam Chomsky

Co-chairs of Assange Defense First published on 10 September 2021 in NewsWeek

As we approach the 20th anniversary of 9/11, in the midst of a wrenching reassessment of our endless wars, we cannot ignore the US government's persecution of those who revealed the brutality of the Afghan war and the lies on which it was founded.

The Biden administration is stubbornly pursuing the extradition of Julian Assange, who exposed the corrupt motives and doomed policies behind the War on Terror. This unprecedented political prosecution poses a grave threat to truth telling and freedom of the press.

Commentators across the media have drawn parallels between the US withdrawal from Kabul and

dreds of thousands of classified military and diplomatic documents in 2010, the public was given an unprecedented window into the lack of justification and the futility of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The truth was hidden by a generation of governmental lies. Assange's efforts helped show the American public what their government was doing in their name.

Assange summed up his antiwar ethos at a 2011 rally in London. "The goal is justice, the method is transparency," he said. "If wars can be started by lies, peace can be started by truth".

Manning told the judge in her court-martial, "I wanted the American public to know that not everyone in Iraq and Afghanistan were targets that needed to be neutralised, but rather people who were **Continued on page 2**  Biden's Justice Department, which has proclaimed a renewed commitment to press freedom, could end these proceedings at any moment.

DANIEL ELLSBERG, ALICE WALKER AND NOAM CHOMSKY, CO-CHAIRS OF ASSANGE DEFENSE

## Why is Biden prosecuting Assange for telling the truth about Afghanistan?

#### **Continued from page 1**

struggling to live". Manning and Assange acted on their belief that the public deserved to see the reality of these wars and the horrors of how they were conducted.

his extradition hearing last year. In Ellsberg's words then, the WikiLeaks abused Espionage Act. publications that Assange is being charged for are "amongst the most important truthful revelations of hid-American public "needed urgently to know what was being done routinely in their name, and there was no other way for them to learn it than by unauthorised disclosure".

When the files were first published, with Joe Biden as vice president, the Obama administration empaneled a grand jury to investi-

due to what it called the "New York Times problem" – the dilemma of indicting Assange for the very same kind of investigative journalism that mainstream media engages frequently (though not as much as they should). But in May 2019, viewing Two of us, Ellsberg and Noam the press as "the enemy of the peo-Chomsky, testified for Assange at ple," the Trump Justice Department indicted Assange under the much-

No media outlet or journalist has ever been successfully prosecuted under the Espionage Act for den criminal state behavior that have publishing truthful information in the been made public in US history". The public interest, which is protected by the First Amendment. These charges send a message to reporters around the world – Assange is an Australian citizen, not an American – that the US government will decide what can and cannot be published about its misdeeds, even beyond its borders.

Assange warned the public that the goal in Afghanistan "is to have an gate. In 2013, it declined to prosecute endless war, not a successful war".

My son, Julian Assange

John Shipton answers your questions

Last month, as troops were beginning to pull out of Afghanistan, video of these comments went viral, with more than 3 million views in a week. Assange's warning in 2011 is conventional wisdom in 2021.

So why isn't he a free man? In January, a British judge denied the US extradition request on grounds that sending Assange to the US prison system would put him at risk of suicide. In Donald Trump's final days in office, the US government appealed that decision

Biden's Justice Department, which has proclaimed a renewed commitment to press freedom, could end these proceedings at any moment. Biden now owns the prosecution of Julian Assange by actively pursuing Trump's appeal.

Biden stuck to his word and finally ended the war in Afghanistan. But he cannot close this chapter with the man who told the truth about that war still in prison.

At meetings between senior Trump administration officials after WikiLeaks started publishing the Vault 7 materials, Pompeo began discussing kidnapping Assange.

While the notion of kidnapping Assange preceded Pompeo's arrival at Langley, the new director championed the proposals, according to former officials.

Pompeo and others at the agency proposed abducting Assange from the embassy and surreptitiously bringing him back to the United States via a third country, a process known as rendition.

The idea was to "break into the embassy, drag Assange out and bring him to where we want," said a former intelligence official. A less extreme version of the proposal involved US operatives snatching Assange from the embassy and turning him over to British authorities. *Scan to read full article:* 

**EXCERPT FROM A YAHOO** NEWS INVESTIGATION ON CIA PLANS TO KIDNAP AND ASSASSINATE JULIAN ASSANGE



Scan to watch: 

Assange, and his extradition hearings in the UK.

An exclusive video series and a lovely fireside chat with

John Shipton, about the persecution of his son Julian

Assange. Julian faces extradition to the US where he

is threatened with a 175 year sentence in a maximum

security prison for publishing the truth about war crimes.

The video series touches various topics such as the war

in Afghanistan, freedom of the press, geopolitics of the

empire, the disturbing role of the CIA plotting against

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#### COURAGE IS CONTAGIOUS

## Weekly Leaks

## A day in the death of British justice

#### **John Pilger**

First published on 12 August 2021 at consortiumnews.com

I sat in Court 4 in the Royal Courts of Justice in London yesterday with Stella Moris, Julian Assange's partner. I have known Stella for as long as I have known Julian. She, too, is a voice of freedom, coming from a family that fought the fascism of Apartheid. Today, her name was uttered in court by a barrister and a judge, forgettable people were it not for the power of their endowed privilege.

The barrister, Clair Dobbin, is in the pay of the regime in Washington, first Trump's then Biden's. She is America's hired gun, or "silk", as she would prefer. Her target is Julian Assange, who has committed no crime and has performed an historic public service by exposing the criminal actions and secrets on which governments, especially those claiming to be democracies, base their authority.

For those who may have forgotten, WikiLeaks, of which Assange is founder and publisher, exposed the secrets and lies that led to the invasion of Iraq, Syria and Yemen, the murderous role of the Pentagon in dozens of countries, the blueprint for the 20-year catastrophe in Afghanistan, the attempts by Washington to overthrow elected governments, such as Venezuela's, the collusion between nominal political opponents (Bush and Obama) to stifle a torture investigation and the CIA's Vault 7 campaign that turned your mobile phone, even your TV set, into a spy in your midst.

WikiLeaks released almost a million documents from Russia which allowed Russian citizens to stand up for their rights. It revealed the Australian government had colluded with the US against its own citizen, Assange. It named those Australian politicians who have "informed" for the US. It made the connection between the Clinton Foundation and the rise of jihadism in Americanarmed states in the Gulf.

There is more: WikiLeaks disclosed the US campaign to suppress wages in sweatshop countries like Kashmir, the British government's Kopelman's evidence were shocked secret agreement to shield "US inter- and moved. I sat with Julian's father, ests" in its official Iraq inquiry and John Shipton, whose head was in the British Foreign Office's plan to his hands. The court was also told create a fake "marine protection about the discovery of a razor blade zone" in the Indian Ocean to cheat in Julian's Belmarsh cell and that the Chagos islanders out of their right of return.

given us real news about those who than sadness. govern us and take us to war, not the preordained, repetitive spin that fills newspapers and television screens. This is real journalism; and for the crime of real journalism, Assange has spent most of the past decade another, including Belmarsh prison, a horrific place.

democracy is not a democracy unless it is transparent, and accountable.

Yesterday, the United States sought the approval of Britain's High Court to extend the terms of its appeal against a decision by a district judge, Vanessa Baraitser, in January to bar Assange's extradition. Baraitser accepted the deeply disturbing evidence of a number of experts that Assange would be at great risk if he were incarcerated in the US's infamous prison system.

expertise in another case

Lewis's sidekick is Clair Dobbin, and yesterday was her day. Completing the smearing of Professor Kopelman was down to her. An American with some authority sat behind her in court. Dobbin said Kopelman

"misled" Judge Baraister in September because he had not disclosed that Julian Assange and Stella Moris were partners, and their two young children, Gabriel and Max,



Professor Michael Kopelman, a world authority on neuro-psychiatry, had said Assange would find a way to take his own life – the direct result of what Professor Nils Melzer, the United Nations Rapporteur on Torture, described as the craven "mobbing" of Assange by governments - and their media echoes.

Those of us who were in the Haiti, India's campaign of torture in Old Bailey last September to hear he had made desperate calls to the Samaritans and written notes and In other words, WikiLeaks has much else that filled us with more

Watching the lead barrister acting for Washington, James Lewis – a man from a military background who deploys a cringingly theatrical "aha!" formula with defence witnesses – reduce these facts to in one form of incarceration or "malingering" and smearing witnesses, especially Kopelman, we were heartened by Kopelman's

were conceived during the period Assange had taken refuge in the Ecuadorean embassy in London.

The implication was that this somehow lessened Kopelman's medical diagnosis: that Julian, locked up in solitary in Belmarsh prison and facing extradition to the US on bogus "espionage" charges, had suffered severe psychotic depression and had planned, if he had not alread

attempted, to take his own life. For her part, Judge Baraitser saw no contradiction. The full nature of the relationship between Stella and Julian had been explained to her in March 2020, and Professor Kopelman had made full reference to it in his report in August 2020. So the it was "misleading" even though he judge and the court knew all about it before the main extradition hearing last September. In her judgement in Ianuary, Baraitser said this:

[Professor Kopelman] assessed Mr. Assange during the period May to December 2019 and was best placed to consider at first-hand his symptoms. He has taken great care to provide an informed account of Mr. Assange background and psychiatric Diagnosed with Asperger's syn- revealing response that Lewis's history. He has given close attention not an issue; it did not matter. So why to exist and we have a right for this drome, he is a gentle, intellectual abuse was "a bit rich" as Lewis him- to the prison medical notes and pro- had Lord Chief Justice Holroyde spun visionary driven by his belief that a self had sought to hire Kopelman's vided a detailed summary annexed the language with its weasel legalese

**What has not been discussed** today is why I feared for my safety and the safety of our children and for Julian's life.

STELLA MORIS, PARTNER OF JULIAN ASSANGE

to his December report. He is an experienced clinician and he was well aware of the possibility of exaggeration and malingering. I had no reason to doubt his clinical opinion.

She added that she had "not been misled" by the exclusion in Kopelman's first report of the Stella-Julian relationship and that she understood that Kopelman was protecting the privacy of Stella and her two young children.

In fact, as I know well, the family's safety was under constant threat to the point when an embassy security guard confessed he had been told to steal one of the baby's nappies so that a CIA-contracted company could analyse its DNA. There has been a stream of unpublicised threats against Stella and her children.

For the US and its legal hirelings in London, damaging the credibility of a renowned expert by suggesting he withheld this information was a way, they no doubt reckoned, to rescue their crumbling case against Assange. In June, the Icelandic newspaper Stundin reported that a key prosecution witness against Assange has admitted fabricating his evidence. The one "hacking" charge the Americans hoped to bring against Assange if they could get their hands on him depended on this source and witness, Sigurdur Thordarson, an FBI informant.

Thordarson had worked as a volunteer for WikiLeaks in Iceland between 2010 and 2011. In 2011, as several criminal charges were brought against him, he contacted the FBI and offered to become an informant in return for immunity from all prosecution. It emerged that he was a convicted fraudster who embezzled \$55,000 from WikiLeaks, and served two years in prison. In 2015, he was sentenced to three years for sex offenses against teenage boys. The Washington Post described Thordarson's credibility as the "core" of the case against Assange.

Yesterday, Lord Chief Justice Holroyde made no mention of this witness. His concern was that it was arguable" that ludge Baraitser had attached too much weight to the evidence of Professor Kopelman, a silencing and criminalising indepenman revered in his field. He said it was "very unusual" for an appeal court to have to reconsider evidence from an expert accepted by a lower court, but he agreed with Ms. Dobbin accepted Kopelman's "understandable human response" to protect the privacy of Stella and the children.

If you can unravel the arcane logic of this, you have a better grasp than I who have sat through this case from the beginning. It is clear Kopelman misled nobody. Judge Baraitser - whose hostility to Assange personally was a presence in her court - said that she was not misled; it was

and sent Julian back to his cell and its nightmares? There, he now waits for the High Court's final decision in October - for Julian Assange, a life or death decision.

And why did Holroyde send Stella from the court trembling with anguish? Why is this case "unusual"? Why did he throw the gang of prosecutor-thugs at the Department of Justice in Washington – who got their big chance under Trump, having been rejected by Obama – a life raft as their rotting, corrupt case against a principled journalist sunk as surely as Titantic?

This does not necessarily mean that in October the full bench of the High Court will order Julian to be extradited. In the upper reaches of the masonry that is the British judiciary there are, I understand, still those who believe in real law and real justice from which the term "British justice" takes its sanctified reputation in the land of the Magna Carta. It now rests on their ermined shoulders whether that history lives on or dies.

I sat with Stella in the court's colonnade while she drafted words to say to the crowd of media and well-wishers outside in the sunshine. Clip-clopping along came Clair Dobbin, spruced, ponytail swinging, bearing her carton of files: a figure of certainty: she who said Julian Assange was "not so ill" that he would consider suicide. How does she know?

Has Ms. Dobbin worked her way through the medieval maze at Belmarsh to sit with Julian in his yellow arm band, as Professors Koppelman and Melzer have done, and Stella has done, and I have done? Never mind. The Americans have now "promised" not to put him in a hellhole, just as they "promised" not to torture Chelsea Manning, just as they promised...

And has she read the WikiLeaks' leak of a Pentagon document dated 15 March, 2009? This foretold the current war on journalism. US intelligence, it said, intended to destroy WikiLeaks' and Julian Assange's "centre of gravity" with threats and "criminal prosecution". Read all 32 page and you are left in no doubt that dent journalism was the aim, smear the method.

I tried to catch Ms. Dobbin's gaze, but she was on her way: job done

Outside, Stella struggled to contain her emotion. This is one brave woman, as indeed her man is an exemplar of courage. "What has not been discussed today," said Stella, "is why I feared for my safety and the safety of our children and for Julian's life. The constant threats and intimidation we endured for years, which has been terrorising us and has been terrorising Julian for 10 years. We have a right to live, we have a right nightmare to come to an end once and for all".

## "Julian's case is so corrupt"

#### Stella Moris

Julian Assange's partner and lawyer Excerpts from a Stundin.is interview first published on 31 July 2021

Assange has been attacked on multiple fronts since he exposed many secrets from within companies including pharmaceutical companies and banks, the military and governments. *Some people would just say this is a* political persecution is so obvious *losing fight. Why don't you just give up* that even establishment players are their opposition to this vicious attack. Biden administration has a choice. now after 10 years of fighting a system that seems to be unbeatable. What is your thinking on this?

It's more like if we lose this fight, we lose our liberties, we lose democracy, we lose our right to know, it's kind of the mother of all fights. So many things converge in the attack on Julian, that he has to win it, because if he loses this fight, then we're all exposed. It's not just about an attack on journalism, it's an attack on the fundamental values of liberal democracies; it creates a new standard through which our liberties are limited, permanently. So it's not just about one man, although it is about Julian as a person. It's about these greater principles, but it's also about an innocent man who's politically persecuted and has been viciously attacked and who is wrongly imprisoned. It's about the crimes that he exposed but also the ongoing crimes that are being committed against him and the ongoing abuse of the process against him.

If this is allowed to continue then we're all lost, then we're not living in a liberal democracy, we're living in a system where we are not allowed to have insight in to the inner workings of government. In fact, if we do expose the inner workings of government, then we're thrown into jail, and we're silenced forever.

And why do you think that so few governments in the world – elected democratic governments and the *members of their parliaments – have* been standing up and saying enough is enough, this man committed no crime?

There are, I think, many politicians in various countries who are standing kind of attack on the sovereignty of is: a journalist. There should be no hits you when you're there and you're the rest of the world. These countries hesitation to name what is happen-leaving. And you think, "Why can't I The Biden administration, they con-Julian is an attack on someone who is a journalist and the political perse- ting there? Why are these people pre- they haven't ended it? regarded as one of the greatest free- cution of the person who has fought venting him from leaving? Why does people who are standing up and you attack, what's being imprisoned. have cross party groups in Iceland, in public's right to know.

support for Julian. In fact, even the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe), the Council of Europe, the UN, you couldn't want for better allies in this fight. I think that the case is actually, for anyone who looks into it, so clear. Just the opposed to it and are fighting it.

And it's changing. There's enormous are keeping Julian in prison and we with illegality and abuse. need to mount the forces that can get him out of prison

> This is a political case. And so **Biden**, what would that be? it is shaped by what people feel and express about the situation; that is what shapes what is possible. And so that's what I'd urge every person of good conscience to do: to express tral values of the US Constitution. The on Julian and on all of our freedoms.

these centres of power that Julian there – and they're actively keeping The accusations against Julian have really had a case. They had to make has upset and who wants to silence him there. It's not like some inevita- no legs to stand on. Each action that up a new application of the so-called him. But that's not all politicians. ble status quo. There are forces that has been taken against him is riddled Espionage Act in order to manufac-

Not to walk in the footsteps of President Trump. That the attack against Julian is an attack on the cen-The investigation against WikiLeaks

ture a way to put Julian in prison. It's also against Biden's interests when he If you could get a message to President tries to project into the world that the US defends global media freedom. The case against Julian is, by definition, an attack on global media freedom, because he's not a US journalist, and he wasn't in the US. They're using an extradition vehicle to bring him to the US and imprison him.

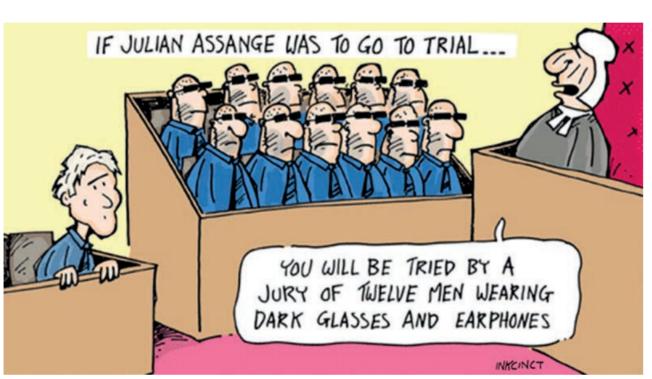
> What the US government is saying is that no journalist anywhere is allowed to do their job and publish the truth about what the US government does or they'll stick you in a cell for the rest of your life. So all these things bring up all the enormous contradictions between what the US government is trying to project under Biden, and the precise opposite effect of Julian's case; they're sticking one of the most highly regarded people in the world in a prison that houses terrible criminals. This is what the US says other countries do. This is what the worst regimes do to their journalists, to their dissidents, to their public intellectuals. And that's precisely what the US is doing to Julian.

The only thing that the Biden administration can do is to drop this case which also has other ramifications. It has ramifications for the Biden administration calling China out for imprisoning its dissidents. The Chinese government says look what you're doing to Assange. The difference? Julian faces 175 years, a lot of time for publishing truthful started when Obama was president information in the public interest.

I think people instinctively under-The Obama administration also stand it. They might feel like they need to understand more detail in order to have a discussion about it. But I really don't think they do. the Biden administration is faced You don't need the profound detail that only a handful of people know Obama's legacy or continue Trump's because we've lived it for 10 years. You don't need that. You just need to understand Julian published information that exposed crimes and the corrupt actions of powerful peowho has received documents from ple. And that they're taking revenge a source and published them. It's a gainst him. And that he's wrongfully up even though it's not happening in I think they need to express their suptheir countries. They understand the port for Julian. There should be no struck. Intellectually you understand istration to prosecute; to decide to And that it is the process that is the implications, they understand the hesitation in calling Julian what he the situation. But then it just kind of prosecute publishers and journalists. punishment. He's not serving a sentence, you just have to look at the essence of it. He's imprisoned for understand that what's being done to ing here. The political persecution of just leave with Julian? Why is he sit- *tinued the case. Why do you think* publishing information in the public interest. That's all you need to know. And over time, the details about how dom of expression fighters and jour- for the public's right to know. The he have to go through that iron door I think there are different forces he's been wronged will come out. But nalists in recent history. So there are public's right to know is what's under to a cell and be alone? Why am I hav- within the US government. Some the true nature of what's going on ing to live a life as a single mother?" are pushing for it, some are against here, I think, is pretty obvious and

Watch the full interview:





People need to demand that everyone who can have influence on the situation should act decisively because the reality is that Julian is running out of time.

Julian in this fight?

Germany, in Australia and in the UK, everyone who can have influence on done everything right. He's embod- to the Biden administration. Just in who are saying enough is enough. the situation should act decisively ied what we say our values are. And February, as soon as Biden came in, And I think it's down to a lack of because the reality is that Julian is this punishment, which is there for all the major press freedom and civil understanding of what is really being running out of time. He has been in everyone to see, is just an outrageous liberties organisations in the US, alleged, that it's actually Julian's jour- atrocious conditions for seven years abusive punishment that's outside of wrote a letter to Biden, asking him to nalism that is being criminalised and in the embassy and he's in a terrible the higher laws, is just prolonged and drop the case. And, obviously, there therefore that it's an attack on the prison at the moment as we speak, profoundly wrong. where he's been for over two years, We have to acknowledge that soon to be two and a half years. He tain this outrage to never accept make a name for themselves. And there's been a lot of attacks on Julian's shouldn't be there. Julian is a gentle this. I'm convinced that Julian will once the case is initiated to a degree, reputation but I don't think that's the intellectual. He's a public intellectual. win this. Especially because the case it just progresses through the courts biggest factor. I think the biggest fac- And he's being punished. These polit- is so corrupt. The actions that have until a decision is made to abandon it. tor is that many people with politi- ical forces are instrumentalising the been taken against Julian are so corcal influence are also connected to law and law enforcement to keep him rupt, openly for everyone to see. case is falling apart. They never

What is it that people can do to help How is it when you visit Julian and then have to leave the prison?

People need to demand that He hasn't done anything wrong. He's it. Pursuing this case comes at a cost increasingly obvious to anyone.

So I think you have to main- (Department of Justice) who want to

in 2010. And when Obama left office in 2016, he decided to commute the **Do you think that people understand** sentence of Chelsea Manning, who this? was the source of the publications that WikiLeaks published.

decided that Julian would not be prosecuted. The case against Julian only came under Donald Trump. And with a choice either to side with legacy. And Trump's legacy is a radical departure from what has been before, because it is the first time that they have gone after someone

are career prosecutors in the DOJ

What's pretty clear is that the



#### **Jonathan Cook** *First published on 4 October 2021*

at jonathon-cook.net

A Yahoo News' investigation reveals that, through much of 2017, the CIA weighed up whether to use wholly extrajudicial means to deal with the supposed threat posed by Julian Assange and his whistleblowers' platform WikiLeaks. The agency plotted either to kidnap or assassinate him.

Shocking as the revelations are – exposing the entirely lawless approach the exposure. of the main US intelligence agency the Yahoo investigation nonetheless light on the bigger picture.

of his freedom for more than a decade operation by the CIA. Rather, he has been held in various forms of captivity – disappeared – through the collaborations of various national governments and their intelligence agencies, aided by legal systems and the media. that have systematically violated his rights and legal due process.

The reality of Assange's years of persecution is far worse even than the CIA's various extrajudicial plots the picture of a thuggish, vengeful, power-mad CIA painted by Yahoo's has otherwise been well served in reporting.

More than 30 former senior officials, who either served in the something else entirely. They show US foreign intelligence agency or the that, once the CIA was as infuriated Trump administration, helped to by WikiLeaks' exposure of the agenpiece together for Yahoo the various cy's own crimes as the Pentagon, components of the CIA's plan. They show that the agency considered two main options for dealing with joined them in getting more actively Assange in addition to then secret involved in an existing extrajudicial moves laying the groundwork for process meant to finish off Assange established in law by sending police prosecuting the WikiLeaks founder and WikiLeaks. in the US courts

One plan was to kidnap Assange from the Ecuadorian embassy in London, where he had been seeking political asylum since 2012.

The aim was to smuggle him to the US – violating the sovereignty of to have launched allegations of rape Ecuador and the UK – in an operation of "extraordinary rendition". That was mented, Assange's case was treated shows Swedish prosecutors were reg- concealed from the public. the illegal procedure the US used after in exceptional ways by Sweden, the ularly interviewing suspects in the 9/11 to abduct suspects in the "war on UK, Australia and, always lurking in UK – only in Assange's case was that table was not some new interest in delivering us these disclosures. terror," usually so they could be sent to the background, the US. "black sites" where they were tortured and held without judicial oversight.

the methods considered.

borne in mind when we cast our ingly against her wishes. minds back to 2012, to the moment crimes in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Not a single corporate journal- traveling abroad. ist gave credence to his concerns. In political asylum.

#### **Desire for revenge**

Let us examine that bigger picture obscured by the reporting of the CIA's plan. The agency's much greater

interest in the Assange case – and its more openly hostile attitude towards him – were a result of WikiLeaks' release of parts of a cache of secret files on the CIA's hacking capabilities known as "Vault 7". The agency, considering it "the largest data loss in CIA history," was deeply humiliated by

The misleading impression created by the Yahoo investigation is that tends to obscure rather than shine a until 2017 a standard legal process was being pursued against Assange Assange has not been deprived that only turned rogue after the Vault 7 release, when the CIA wanted venbecause of an unimplemented rogue geance and to intimidate WikiLeaks to prevent any further leaks.

> In the words of one Trump national security official: "There was an inappropriate level of attention to Assange given the [CIA's] embarrassment, not the threat he posed in context. We should never act out of a desire for revenge".

> The implication is that, because were never implemented, justice Assange's case.

But the CIA plans indicate the State Department and the White House already were of theirs, it

#### **'Don't vou dare'**

From the moment Assange's legal troubles began in late 2010 – when two Swedish women were reported

Swedish police, the country's assassinate Assange – or, perhaps tor had already ruled did not involve show it meddling directly in a case it abduction and murder. more accurately, commit extrajudicial a criminal offence. The testimony of should have had no legal stake in. In murder to silence him once and for all. one of the women – who had been one, as Sweden proposed dropping vailed, even in the Trump adminis-Poisoning him was reportedly one of encouraged to go to the police by the the investigation against Assange in tration, understanding that a sham provided. other – was effectively hijacked and 2013, UK officials warned: "Don't "legal" process would better serve

Assange decided to seek sanctuary in a Red Notice for Assange's arrest, extradition". Ecuador's embassy, fearing the wrath usually reserved for terrorists and of the US at his exposure of its war dangerous criminals, shortly after 'Legal' theatre Swedish officials had approved his

that the agreement on which the CIA's plan.

extradition was based was amended shortly afterwards to ensure such a irregular "legal" proceedings ruling could not be made again. Once Assange fled to Ecuador's

embassy, the UK government surrounded it with huge numbers of police, at great public expense. For a while, government ministers threatened to tear up diplomatic protocols that the CIA suddenly tried to interin to arrest Assange on foreign soil.

As a result of Freedom of Information litigation by the Italian iournalist Stefania Maurizi, we know Britain's prosecution service prescome to London to interview Assange through 2010 and 2011, thereby creat-– nothing followed a standard pro- ing the embassy standoff that began made impossible.

In the UK the courts approved the CIA plans exposed by Yahoo istration as it was earlier under records of drawing on their extensive fact, they ridiculed them. These latest an extradition warrant for Assange were being hatched in 2017. Two Trump. revelations confirm what was obvi- that had been issued without any years later, Assange was dragged by ous to many of the rest of us: Assange Swedish judicial authority. The rul- London police from the Ecuadorian the highest in the land, have been used to peddle misinformation and had very good reasons indeed to seek ing set such a terrible legal precedent embassy in a scenario that echoed the actively colluding in this charade of psy-ops.

Since then, new, even more either for a supposed minor bail violation or for "espionage" in exposing US war crimes – have kept Assange indefinitely locked up in a London maximum-security prison.

The point here is that the idea fere in a sound, legal process against Assange is laughable

Everything about the Assange case from the outset has been extrajudicial – in the sense that there has been no legal basis for the proceedsured Swedish prosecutors not to ings. It has been "legal" theatre, concealing the brute force of an unaccountable superpower angry and fearful that, in the digital age, its Pompeo, these officials see Assange that would have had all the hallmarks cedure. As I have previously docu- a short time later. Other evidence secrets and crimes can no longer be as a "transparency terrorist".

extrajudicial vengeance – that was

ency to state actions and accountability for state crimes.

Assange for life is being pursued as

iustice.

#### **CIA score-settling**

Doubtless, we are now learning of the CIA's plots against Assange in part because there has been a change of administrations. Presumably, some of this is driven by score-settling from disaffected agents against Mike Pompeo, Trump's CIA director.

The revelations, after all, are not coming from whistleblowers concerned about justice for Assange. They are being mediated through the CIA community, officials with an intelligence agency mindset that views Assange in the same self-serving terms as Pompeo – as "a non-state hostile intelligence service". Like

But what is worthy of note is the What the CIA brought to the fact that Yahoo is the news service

Three newspapers with hug British prosecutors destroyed at the core of Assange's treatment readerships and vast resources, The media and a second prosecutor all most of the emails relating to Assange. from the outset – but the specific New York Times, The Guardian and The other CIA proposal was to meddled in a case the main prosecu- The few that survive – by mistake – extrajudicial tools it excels in, such as The Washington Post, all worked closely with Assange on WikiLeaks' Ultimately, calmer heads pre- early releases, raking in big profits from the earth-shattering leaks he

All three papers should have These scenarios need to be turned into a rape allegation, seem- vou dare". Another revealing email and conceal the war the US was wag- a vested interest in ensuring that stated: "Please do not think this case ing against the efforts by Assange and Assange is not extradited to the US Inexplicably, Interpol issued is being dealt with as just another WikiLeaks to bring greater transpar- and locked away for life on the pretext that his journalism amounts to espionage, as both the Trump and The campaign to lock away Biden administrations are claiming.

And perhaps most relevant of This and much more took place before enthusiastically by the Biden admin- all, the three newspapers have long contacts inside the intelligence ser-And the UK courts, including vices, often allowing themselves to be

Remember, for example, that it



## Weekly Leaks

Iudith Miller and Michael R. Gordon unidentified "Russians" repeatedly case.) who became the US intelligence ser- visited Assange at the Ecuadorian vices' favored conduit for the weap- embassy, one of the most heavily surons-of-mass-destruction deceptions veilled spots in the world, without to "tie [WikiLeaks] back to hostile US to attack, occupy and dismember Iraq.

been growing ever closer to the intel- the paper has chosen silence rather that he wanted to undermine the US ligence services since it broke with than correcting or withdrawing the on behalf of a hostile foreign power. Assange and Glenn Greenwald, the story reporter who brought it the Edward Snowden revelations that the US national security state was conducting illegal mass surveillance of the public.

#### Media silence

So how is it that these newspapers, with their wide-ranging sources inside nalist being hounded into permanent from winning. the intelligence community and their historic investment in the Assange case, heard not a peep about this Net widens story over the past four years? Is it important story?

point, how is it that these three news- Greenwald. papers have all but ignored Yahoo's doing nothing to follow it up?

The Guardian could barely stifle a yawn as it covered the story as an Now it was increasingly turning that Donald Trump, Clinton's rival for extended brief online (and offered a slightly fuller report for its Australian readers). But at least it mentioned the story. I have been unable to find any coverage in either The New York Times or The Washington Post.

Is the fact that large numbers of senior US officials are admitting that their agency seriously thought about abducting or murdering a journalist these publications worked with on some of the biggest stories of the modern age not hugely newsworthy for them?

But all of this indifference or aversion to reporting on Assange's horrifying plight is par for the course for these respected, supposedly lib eral media outlets.

Like the rest of the corporate media, they have largely ignored the extradition proceedings going on in the UK courts over the past year and which are due to reach their climax next month when a final hearing is expected.

The media's continuing silence can only be understood as complicity in the persecution of a fellow journalist.

#### **Colluding with power**

The Guardian's failings have been particularly egregious, as I have documented before. The paper has barely concealed its vendetta against falling out with him after one of its classified documents that has been intelligence services' plans. exploited by Washington in building Assange.

interest – one it has not disclosed – to expose its networks. in keeping the spotlight on Assange own role.

was The New York Times' reporters a Trump aide, Paul Manafort, and Five Eyes group played in Assange's that Assange was acting on behalf of ence should never have made it into print. The simplest checks would

> closer to the countries' secret, duplicity-dealing, murderous intelligence incarceration.

possible that not one of the 30 or so The Yahoo report makes clear too that officials who spoke to Yahoo has also the surveillance operation against spoken to these newspapers? Why is Assange and WikiLeaks intensified Yahoo News the one breaking such an dramatically after Snowden released his confidential documents in 2013 And maybe even more to the in collaboration with reporter Glenn

The Snowden files showed that investigation, and so far appear to be the US had begun expanding its ambition to use new digital technology to covertly surveil the rest of the world.

The goal, Yahoo was told by Evanina, its main named source, was that provided the rationale for the leaving a single trace of their pres- state intelligence services". In other words, the aim was to suggest not that Assange was interested in trans-In the UK, The Guardian has have raised dozens of red flags. But parency or acting out of principle but

Assange's fate was sealed within The only conclusion one can the Obama administration in the draw from their behavior is that the summer of 2016 when WikiLeaks liberal media, far from being watch- released a cache of Democratic Party dogs on power, regard themselves as emails that cast Obama's chosen sucadjuncts of power. They feel much cessor, Hillary Clinton, in a damning light and showed that the party had rigged its election procedures to stop services than they do to a fellow jour- her main challenger, Bernie Sanders,

As an aside, the Yahoo report notes that the idea of kidnapping found. Assange – in violation of Ecuador and the UK's sovereignty – actually preceded Pompeo's arrival at the CIA

Despite Yahoo's focus on Pompeo, it was actually Obama and FBI asset. He now admits his testithe Democratic Party's thirst for vengeance that paved the way for Trump's appointee to have viable options of either prosecuting Assange for espionage or abducting him.

Obama's officials immediately tarred Assange as conspiring with technological prowess inwards to the presidential election. He was of evidence, US Justice Department

the Russians: "Based on the information that I had seen, I thought he was Did the UK conspire with the US in out over his skis on that".

Special Counsel Robert Mueller found no evidence to back up such a claim. The extradition hearings in London made no plausible case for it either

The only tangible piece of evidence is The Guardian's Manafort story mentioned earlier, which proved so embarrassingly ridiculous everyone involved has tried to quietly forget about it.

#### House of cards

If Assange and WikiLeaks really were working hand in glove with the Kremlin, it is hard to imagine that did raise the issue with their British no trace of that collusion was ever

Instead, Washington built much of its espionage case against Assange on the testimony of Sigurdur Thordarson, a convicted pedophile and financial fraudster, as well as an mony was a fabrication, and that he lied after he was promised immunity from prosecution.

The entire case against Assange has been shown to be a house of cards

Interestingly, Yahoo News' report shows that, despite the void

officials were keen to concoct a "legal" case to forestall two dangers that might undermine their efforts to keep Assange incarcerated and preclude them from launching a credible prosecution.

The first was the CIA's unhinged scenarios that included rendition or a possible Hollywood-style gun battle on the streets of London to prevent Ecuador from helping Assange escape the embassy. Were the CIA to be successful, Justice Department officials fretted, Assange might charges levelled against embassy. him

The other was that the UK was rapidly running out of pretexts to keep Assange locked (Ecuador's new president had changed offi- exposing US war crimes.

The UK judge issued the max-One unusually honest official, mulate the espionage case that has But there is much more to unearth.

#### **British collusion**

all this? The massive police presence around the embassy; the British government's illegal threats to invade Ecuador's embassy; the original, highly irregular ruling on extradition; the threatening emails from state prosecutors to Sweden; the complicity in holding Assange in a maximum-security prison in London on a debatable bail infraction; and the known role of the Five Eyes group of which the UK is a key member, all strongly suggest it was. Yahoo reports:

"Former officials differ on how much the UK government knew about the CIA's rendition plans for Assange, but at some point, American officials counterparts"

In other words, yes, the UK did know about the most unlawful parts of the CIA's plans. The question is only how closely was it involved.

One former counter-intelligence official observed:

"There was a discussion with the Brits about turning the other cheek or looking the other way when a team of guys went inside and did a rendition. But the British said, 'No way, you're not doing that on our territory, that ain't happening.' "

The UK could not afford to look publicly complict in illegal US actions that would have treated the streets of London no differently from those of Mogadishu. Instead, all the evidence suggests that Britain conspired repeatedly over a decade to help the US turn its illegal campaign against Assange and WikiLeaks into a seemingly "lawful" extradition process through the courts.

Again, according to Yahoo:

"White House officials developed a backup plan: The British would hold Assange on a bail jumping charge, giving Justice Department prosecutors a 48-hour delay to rush through an indictment"

In other words, the UK explicitly followed US instructions in holding Assange over a minor bail infraction.

Evanina confirmed the UK's collusion with the US efforts to keep Assange permanently incarcerated, telling Yahoo that the pair developed arrive in the US without a "joint plan" to prevent Assange any formal or plausible from being able to walk free from the

#### **Terrifying truth**

The truth is that, appalling as the Yahoo News revelations are, they fail out of view, after police to convey the reality that the US could had been allowed to count on multiple states, not least the drag him from the UK, to conspire in providing a "legal" embassy in early 2019. veneer to a decade-long, covert war against Assange and WikiLeaks for

Even more frightening, all the able to manipulate the legal processes Sweden had already dropped in both Sweden and the UK to engi-Given the many years, spent its investigation of Assange in May neer Assange's effective incarceration

And even more terrifying, the conditions only because he was seek- blind eye to a fellow journalist's perse-Evidence of WikiLeaks' col- ing political asylum, as recognised in cution and, at worst, to actively conspire in that persecution.

> Yahoo News provided a great the truth.

The UK could not afford to look publicly complict in illegal US actions that would have treated the streets of London no differently from those of Mogadishu.

Instead, all the evidence suggests that Britain conspired repeatedly over a decade to help the US turn its illegal campaign against Assange and WikiLeaks into a seemingly "lawful" extradition process through the courts.

Assange – much of it following a covertly surveil its own population. thereby dragged into an establish- cial policy on sheltering Assange, senior reporters recklessly exposed like WikiLeaks, it quickly became that claimed Trump was serving as a mous \$4.2 billion loan.) a WikiLeaks password to a cache of obvious, was a major threat to the US puppet of the Kremlin.

The CIA was already cen- nothing. rather than allowing it to shift to its trally involved, creating a special "WikiLeaks team" that worked lusion with Russia appears never international law. That is the context for interpret- closely with other friendly spy agen- to have surfaced, even though it ing its pitifully false and malicious cies – including one can presume the became an implicit, driving assump- imum sentence possible for such an service in bringing some of the reality story – again provided by intelligence Five Eyes intelligence-sharing states tion behind the Russiagate claims. infraction, giving the US time to for- about Assange's persecution to light. services – tying Assange to a sup- that also comprise Canada, the UK, posed conspiracy between Trump Australia and New Zealand. (One offi- Robert Litt, a former general coun- provided the pretext for keeping him Sadly, our supposed watchdogs on and the Kremlin that has been obses- cial, William Evanina, who recently sel of the Office of the Director for locked up ever since, in conditions power appear far too busy feeding at sively advanced by the liberal media. retired as a top US counterintelli- National Intelligence, observed to during a pandemic that have put his the trough to start sniffing out more of The Guardian's report that gence official, notes the key role the Yahoo of the claims made by Pompeo life at risk.

A transparency organisation ment conspiracy theory, Russiagate, shortly after the IMF agreed an enor- evidence suggests that the US was also

According to Yahoo's sources, under both Obama and Trump, try- 2017. So, Assange was moved to all that time, and to this day. its so-called espionage case against it was the Obama administration that ing to shore up this claim by the Belmarsh maximum-security prison began surveilling WikiLeaks more most digitally advanced states in the on charges relating to a minor bail same evidence suggests that the estab-The Guardian has a vested intensively and threw the net wider world, it comes as something of a sur- infraction. Those charges ignored lishment media in several countries prise to learn that they came up with the fact that he had violated his bail could be relied on, at best, to turn a

Hazardous confusions in the US War on Terror



#### **Voltairine MacFadyen**

In her chapter on Afghanistan in *The WikiLeaks Files* book<sup>1</sup>, Phyllis Bennis recounts an incident: "Shortly after embarked on a major propaganda driven exercise, air-dropping individual food packets wrapped in bright yellow in isolated parts of the country". However, "the problem was that the same bright yellow plastic was used to wrap bomblets contained in the cluster bombs that US war planes were dropping on Afghanistan".

Yes. There was a risk that Afghan across unexploded bombs instead.

CNN".

#### **Civilian or 'Enemy** combatant'?

Two types of packages are dropped by US planes, both of which are yellow. One type aims to kill 'the bad guys', the other intends to help "oppressed good policies? people of Afghanistan"<sup>2</sup> yet it puts bad guys'.

This *acte-manqué* tragically pre- good".<sup>4</sup> figured what was to be not a bug but during which an estimated 335,000 persecuted.

civilians died violently. By April 2021, more than 71,000 Afghan and Pakistani civilians were estimated to have died<sup>3</sup> – in air strikes, crossfires, on landmines, at gunpoint, killed by US military, allies, or insurthe bombing of Afghanistan began gents. There were cases of mistaken on October 7, 2001, the United States identities involving kidnapping, torture, incarceration. Men suspected of being 'enemy combatants' were stripped of their names, their human rights, and left to rot in Guantanamo

close down.

#### **Road to peace or road** to war?

collaborated and reported on the war as a just cause in their eyes. releases. If the road to war was paved with lies, good intentions and 'yellow packages', could the road to peace be *ideal messengers in humanizing the to run their country*".<sup>8</sup> paved with leaked documents, inves- ISAF role in combating the Taliban tigative journalism, public debate and *because of women's ability to speak* and Justice. In Bush's words<sup>9</sup>:

them at risk. The fact that one type War Logs would influence policy pos- aspirations for the future, and their of yellow package risks being mis- itively with their content and timely fears of a Taliban victory." taken for the other does not seem to publication: "These files are the most be much of a concern to its 'sender'. *comprehensive description of a war* Neither does the fact that innocent to be published during the course of a order to serve a war agenda. people risk being killed instead of 'the war – in other words, at a time when

In September 2021, upon the whom were children.

#### Women's rights or the weaponisation of feminism?

With the US leaving and the Taliban retaking the country, there was great Afghan women – a sentiment the CIA maximum security prison in the UK. previously sought to exploit.

Indeed, in 2010, the CIA feared "public apathy" would not suffice to secure ongoing support from US people who ran to yellow packages Ex-private Chelsea Manning hoped allies in Afghanistan. In a classified hoping to find food would come for a change of course when, in analysis published by WikiLeaks<sup>5</sup>, nation-build: 2010, she uploaded military docu- the CIA details PR strategies designed According to experts in human- ments to WikiLeaks' website to blow to shore up public support in ISAF went to do in Afghanistan: to get the ter- our future. itarian crisis assistance, air drops of the whistle on US war crimes in partner countries for a continued rorists who attacked us on 9/11 and to food are a suboptimal strategy, but, Afghanistan and Iraq. Julian Assange war in Afghanistan. In France, they deliver justice to Usama Bin Laden, and as Bennis notes, "they look good on and WikiLeaks saw the public inter- suggested advocating for Afghan to degrade the terrorist threat to keep est of these documents, as did many women's rights – a matter dear to the Afghanistan from becoming a base (...) journalists around the world who French – thus helping to paint the *We did not go to Afghanistan to nation*-

The CIA analysis reads:

personally and credibly about their

This is weaponisation of fem- and bring them to justice". inism; playing the feminism card in

they still have a chance of doing some rights was suggested in bad faith, in life. Since 2001, 'justice' at the hands 2021 it is an *"an insult to suggest that"* of the US is increasingly equated with They didn't. War went on, both *abandoning Afghan women and civil* the plain and simple suppression of a feature of the US War on Terror, whistleblower and journalist were society to an army of theocrats is a confirmed or alleged dissidents, as *defense of their self-determination*".<sup>6</sup> if it were the new norm in the "free 11 See page 6

– contrary to Biden's pretense that US exiting Afghanistan, the last drone Afghan people now have the latitude strike killed ten civilians, seven of to "decide their future and how they want to run their country".

Talking about giving a voice to Afghan women, here is Malalai Joya about the WikiLeaks founder: "He is a hero. In my view, he exposed the *wrong' policies, the disgusting policies* of the US government and Nato. Now he's living in the hearts of all the iustice-loving people".<sup>7</sup>

#### Justice or revenge?

Biden recently clarified that the US did not go to war in Afghanistan to

build. And it's the right and the responsibility of the Afghan people alone to "Afghan women could serve as decide their future and how they want

The goals were National Security

"Our military action is also Assange hoped that the Afghan experiences under the Taliban, their designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them [the terrorists] out

But what justice?

Osama Bin Laden was delivered Just as advocating for women's justice by being delivered from his 8

world"; people literally erased from the surface of the Earth - assassinated, dehumanised, locked away in impenetrable prisons or closed courtrooms.

As Bennis notes, "the war in Afghanistan was grounded in revenge, not justice" and "the option of recognizing the [9/11] attacks as an enormous crime against humanity that demanded not war but a globally collaborative response, relying on international law and a strengthened system of international justice, was never on the table".

#### Patriot and journalist or traitor and information terrorist?

After September 11, 2001, "America immediately divided the world into Us and Them, everyone was either with Us or against Us" observes exiled NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden, who associates 9/11 with a great regret: "[My country] could have treated terror not as the theological phenomenon it purported to be, but as the crime it was. It could have used this rare moment of solidarity to reinforce democratic values (...) Instead, it went to war".<sup>10</sup>

Although the charge of 'aiding-the-enemy' was dropped during Manning's court-martial trial in 2013, the inhumane treatments inflicted on her from the moment of her arrest establishes that, in the eyes of the military, she was with Them. It was revenge for betraying and humiliating the US. Similarly, after years of persecution, no sensible person can say the US indictment against Assange has anything to do with justice. For the US, he is not a journalist but an enemy who must be crushed. There were high level talks to assassinate him, as shown by recent revelations of CIA plans<sup>11</sup>. Shockingly, maybe they won't have to: years of justice denied, arbitrary detention, propaganda and public apathy may just end up killing him.

#### The "information and perception war"

There is always a war within the war: He is also barely surviving in a it is the "perception and information war". That is why a free press is so vital. To weigh in this "perception and information war" from a people's standpoint is at the core of Assange's vision and WikiLeaks' publishing - to empower people with true comprehensive knowledge of the facts that "The United States did what we shape their destiny. So we can choose

It is not too late to do good.■

1 See page 14

- "At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies. As we strike military targets, we will also drop food", Bush's Address to the Nation, 7 October 2001
- Costs of War, Watson Institute/Brown University 4 Der Spiegel, 26 July 2010
- 'CIA report into shoring up Afghan war support in Western Europe', WikiLeaks, 26 March 2010
- 'Joe Biden and 'nation building' in Afghanistan', Matt Johnson, Exponents, Iulv 2021
- The Independent, 6 August 2021 Remarks by President Biden on
- the drawdown of US Forces in Afghanistan, 8 July 2021
- 9 see 3 10 Permanent Record, Edward Snowden, Macmillan 2019

## - an abomination the US has yet to concern across Europe for the fate of

## Weekly Leaks

## Key witness in Assange case admits to lies in indictment

A major witness in the United States' Department of Justice case against Julian Assange has admitted to fabricating key accusations in the indictment against the WikiLeaks founder.

#### **Bjartmar Oddur Þeyr Alexandersson and Gunnar Hrafn Jónsson** First published on 26 June 2021 on Stundin.is

A major witness in the United States' Department of Justice case against founder. The witness, who has a documented history with sociopathy and has received several convictions for sexual abuse of minors and wide-ranging financial fraud, made the admission in a newly published interview in Stundin where he also confessed to having continued his crime spree whilst working with the Department of Justice and FBI and receiving a promise of immunity from prosecution.

The man in question, Sigurdur Ingi Thordarson, was recruited by US authorities to build a case against Assange after misleading them to believe he was previously a close associate of his. In fact he had volunteered on a limited basis to raise money for WikiLeaks in 2010 but was found to have used that opportunity to embezzle more than \$50,000 from the organisation. Julian Assange was visiting Thordarson's home country of Iceland around this time due to his work with Icelandic media and members of parliament in preparing the Icelandic Modern Media Initiative, a press freedom project that produced a parliamentary resolution supporting whistleblowers and investigative journalism.

The United States is currently seeking Assange's extradition from the United Kingdom in order to try him for espionage relating to the release of leaked classified documents. If convicted, he could face up to 175 years in prison. The indictment has sparked fears for press freedoms in the United States and beyond and prompted strong statements in support of Assange from Amnesty International, Reporters Without Borders, the editorial staff of the Washington Post and many others.

US officials presented an is now directly contradicted by the and record their conversations. main witness, whose testimony it is based on.

#### No instruction from Assange

intrusions or hacking in Iceland.

The aim of this addition to recordings, is false. the indictment was apparently to shore up and support the conspir-

to show that Assange instructed further admits the claim, that Assange

Nonetheless, the employed by US officials appear almost all other financial institutions acy charge against Assange in rela- to have been successful as can be in Iceland, and plunged the country tion to his interactions with Chelsea gleaned from the ruling of Magistrate into a severe economic crisis. The file Manning. Those occurred around the Court Judge Vanessa Baraitser on was at this time, in summer of 2010, Julian Assange has admitted to same time he resided in Iceland and January 4th of this year. Although shared by many online who attempted fabricating key accusations in the the authors of the indictment felt they she ruled against extradition, she did to decrypt it for the public interest indictment against the WikiLeaks could strengthen their case by alleg- so purely on humanitarian grounds purpose of revealing what precipi-

country 1" bank".

Thordarson admits to Stundin that this actually refers to a well pub- team. He also says Assange never licised event in which an encrypted file was leaked from an Icelandic bank Thordarson to commit computer had instructed or asked him to access and assumed to contain information computers in order to find any such about defaulted loans provided by the Icelandic Landsbanki. The bank went tactics under in the fall of 2008, along with

Teenager failed a joint attempt to he now admits he had been given this decrypt a file stolen from a "NATO access as a matter of routine due to his work as a first responder while volunteering for a search and rescue asked for any such access.

#### **Revealing chat logs**

Thordarson spoke with a journalist from Stundin for several hours as he prepared a thorough investigative report into his activities that include never before published chat logs and new documents.

The chat logs were gathered by Thordarson himself and give a comprehensive picture of his communi cations whilst he was volunteering for WikiLeaks in 2010 and 2011. It entails his talks with WikiLeaks staff as well as unauthorised communications with members of international hacking groups that he got into contact with via his role as a moderator on an open IRC WikiLeaks forum, which is a form of live online chat. There is no indication WikiLeaks staff had any knowledge of Thordarson's contacts with aforementioned hacking groups, indeed the logs show his clear deception.

The communications there show a pattern where Thordarson is constantly inflating his position within WikiLeaks, describing himself as chief of staff, head of communications, No 2 in the organisation or responsible for recruits. In these communications Thordarson frequently asks the hackers to either access material from Icelandic entities or attack Icelandic websites with so-called DDoS attacks. These are designed to disable sites and make them inaccessible but not cause permanent damage to content.

Stundin cannot find any evidence that Thordarson was ever instructed to make those requests by anyone inside WikiLeaks. Thordarson himself is not even claiming that, although he explains this as something Assange was aware of or that he had interpreted it so that this was expected of him. How this supposed non-verbal communication took place he cannot explain.

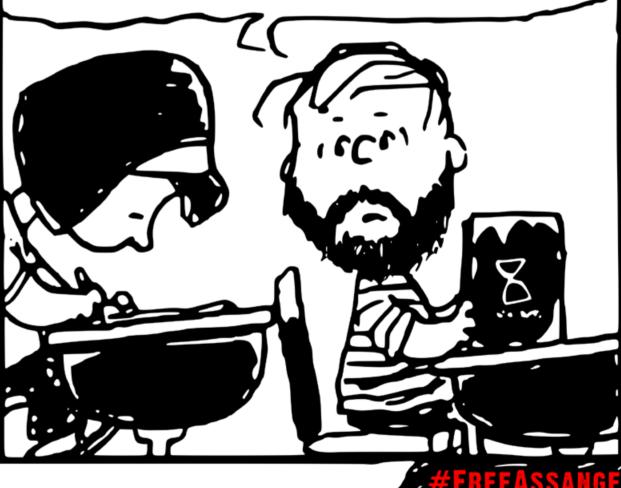
Furthermore, he never explained why WikiLeaks would be interested in attacking any interests in Iceland, especially at such a sensitive time while they were in the midst of publishing a huge trove of US diplomatic cables as part of an international media partnership. Assange against him to a Magistrate court in there as well. This activity was said cerns, suicide risk and the conditions ports the claim that this file was even is not known to have had any griev-London last summer. The veracity to include attempts to hack into the he would face in confinement in US "stolen" per se, as it was assumed to ances with Icelandic authorities and of the information contained therein computers of members of parliament prisons. With regards to the actual have been distributed by whistleblow- was in fact working with members of parliament in updating Iceland's freedom of press laws for the 21st century.

#### **On the FBI radar**

ited to communications of that nature as he also admits to Stundin that he This depiction leaves out set up avenues of communication

#### Continued on page 12

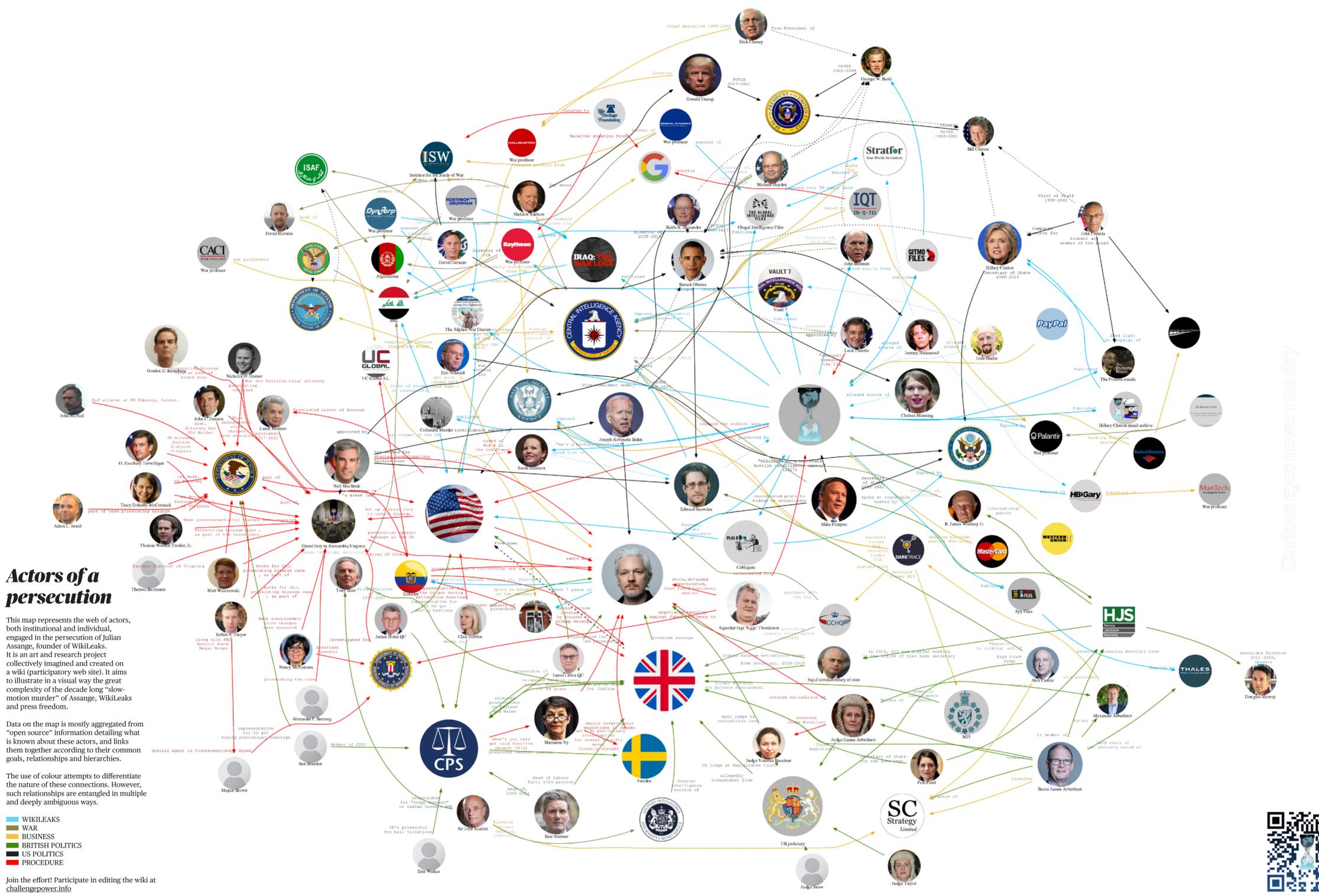
## JULIAN DIDN'T EXPOSE SECRETS - HE EXPOSED CRIMES



to Stundin that Assange never asked of the American legal team, include emerges in the aforementioned judghim to hack or access phone record- ing citing the specific samples from ment where it states: "...he [Assange] ings of MPs. His new claim is that he Iceland which are now seriously used the unauthorised access given to had in fact received some files from called into question. a third party who claimed to have The court documents refer to Mr recorded MPs and had offered to can be found in the indictment, and to track police vehicles". Thordarson simply as "Teenager" (a share them with Assange without hav- later reflected in the Magistrate's reference to his youthful appearance ing any idea what they actually con- judgement, based on Thordarson's an important element, one that with journalists and had media pay rather than true age, he is 28 years tained. He claims he never checked now admitted lies. One is a reference Thordarson clarifies in his interview for lavish trips abroad where he misold) and Iceland as "NATO Country the contents of the files or even if to Icelandic bank documents. The with Stundin. The login information presented himself as an official repre-1" but make no real effort to hide they contained audio recordings as Magistrate court judgement reads: was in fact his own and not obtained sentative of WikiLeaks. the identity of either. They purport his third party source suggested. He "It is alleged that Mr. Assange and through any nefarious means. In fact,

updated version of an indictment ing he was involved in illegal activity relating to Assange's health con- tated the financial crisis. Nothing supaccusations made in the indictment, ers from inside the failed bank. In fact, Thordarson now admits Baraitser sided with the arguments

More deceptive language him by a source, to access a govern- Thordarson's rogue acts were not lim-Other misleading elements ment website of NATO country-1 used



#### COURAGE IS CONTAGIOU

## Weekly Leaks

## **Key witness in Assange case admits** to lies in indictment

#### **Continued from page 9**

He also admits that he stole documents from WikiLeaks staff by copying their hard drives. Among those be sent to his private bank account by were documents from Renata Avila, a forging an email in the name of Julian lawyer who worked for the organisa- Assange. tion and Mr. Assange.

Thordarson continued to step up his illicit activities in the summer of 2011 when he established communication with "Sabu", the online gation. He was replied to with a call ple had found out, or were about to moniker of Hector Xavier Monsegur, and confirmed that he was offering firmly establish, that he had embeza hacker and a member of the rather to be an informant in the case against infamous LulzSec hacker group. In that effort all indications are that Thordarson was acting alone without any authorisation, let alone urging, from anyone inside WikiLeaks.

What Thordarson did not know at the time was that the FBI had arrested Sabu in the beginning of June 2011 and threatened him into becoming an informant and a collaborator for the FBI. Thus, when Thordarson continued his previous pattern of requesting attacks on Icelandic interests, the FBI knew and saw an opportunity to implicate Julian Assange.

Later that month a DDoS attack was performed against the websites of several government institutions.

That deed was done under the watchful eyes of the FBI who must have authorised the attack or even initiated it, as Sabu was at that point their man. What followed was an episode where it seems obvious that Icelandic authorities were fooled into cooperation under false pretenses.

Ögmundur Jónasson was Interior Minister at the time and as such the political head of police and prosecution, and says of the US activities: "They were trying to use things here [in Iceland] and use people in our country to spin a web, a cobweb that would catch Julian Assange".

Jónasson recalls that when the FBI first contacted Icelandic authorities on June 20th 2011 it was to warn Iceland of an imminent and grave threat of intrusion against government computers. A few days later FBI agents flew to Iceland and offered formally to assist in thwarting this grave danger. The offer was accepted and on July 4th a formal letter of request was sent to Iceland to seal the mutual Assange:

could use as a pretext for later visits," says Jónasson.

Icelandic policemen were sent to the US to gather further evidence new informant and "star witness", **Problem** of this so-called imminent danger Sigurdur Ingi Thordarson, who flew and Jónasson says he does not recall with them to Denmark. anything of substance coming out of that visit and no further attacks were **Not a hacker but a** made against Icelandic interests.

But the FBI would return.

#### **Icelandic officials** deceived by the US

Thordarson was being pursued basic. This is supported by several of the prior history of the case.

by WikiLeaks staff who wished to locate the proceeds of online sales of WikiLeaks merchandise. It emerged Thordarson had instructed the funds

on August 23 sent an email to the US Embassy in Iceland offering information in relation to a criminal investi-Iulian Assange

The prosecutors and FBI were hours a private jet landed in Reykjavik with around eight agents who quickly and with people from the Icelandic

chat logs and documents where he is requesting assistance from others doing rather uncomplicated computer jobs. Once, he even sought FBI Julian Assange during the Obama expert help in uploading a video from presidency, they had decided against his own phone.

the first of a few where the FBI enthusiastically embraced the idea of co-op- was such a difficulty in distinguisheration with Thordarson. He says they wanted to know everything about WikiLeaks, including the physical security of staff. They took material he had gathered, including data he had stolen from WikiLeaks employees and even planned to send him to England with a wire. Thordarson Barr did not share these concerns, Thordarson saw a way out and claimed in interviews he had refused that particular request. It was probably because he was not welcomed anymore as he knew WikiLeaks peozled funds from the organisation.

After months of collaboration, the FBI seem to have lost interest. At quick in responding and within 48 about the same time charges were piling up against Thordarson with be key. the Icelandic authorities for massive set up meetings with Thordarson fraud, forgeries and theft on the one hand and for sexual violations against

**Their argument was that** if they could prove he was a criminal rather than a journalist the charges would stick, and that was where Thordarson's testimony would be key.

Police Commissioner.

At mid-day, Mr. Jónasson, then Interior Minister, got wind of this new visit and requested confirmation that this related to the same case as earlier in the summer. "I asked on what letter of request this visit was based and if this was exactly the same case", counts Jónasson says in an interview with Stundin. "I then found out that this was of a totally different nature than previously discussed". He says he put two and two together and said it was obvious that the intention was to lay a trap in Iceland for Assange and other staff members of WikiLeaks.

Such actions were, according to care. assistance. Jónasson speculates that to Jónasson, way outside the scope of not to assist Iceland but entrap Julian be stopped and that they would be life of crime. It actually took off and establishing cooperation that they contacted the US embassy with the him immunity in return from any demand they halt police work in prosecution. Iceland and leave the country.

### sociopath

Thordarson has been nicknamed request was to take a formal stateis actually an antonym, as several in the presence of his lawyer. The

forced into sexual acts on the other.

long investigations After Thordarson was sentenced in 2013 and 2014 and received relatively lenient sentences as the judge took into account that he changed his plea at court and pleaded guilty to all

According to a psychiatric assessment presented to the court Thordarson was diagnosed as a sociopath, incapable of remorse but still criminally culpable for his actions. He was assessed to be able to understand the basic difference between right and wrong; he just did not seem

Incarceration did not seem to already then the US was laying the the agreement and thus he ordered have an intended effect of stopping groundwork for its ultimate purpose, that all cooperation with the agents Thordarson from continuing his informed they were acting in Iceland expanded in extent and scope in 2019 "What I have been pondering without any authority. Only days later when the Trump-era DoJ decided ever since is if the spinning of the he learned that the agents and pros- to revisit him, giving him a formal web had already started then with ecutors had not yet left the country, status as witness in the prosecution the acceptance of the letter of request so the Ministry of Foreign Affairs against Julian Assange and granting

## They did, but left with the **The New York Times**

In the month following Assange's arrest in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London on April 11th 2019 a new letter of request arrived at the Ministry of Justice in Iceland. This time the Siggi the hacker' in Iceland. That ment from Thordarson in Iceland sources Stundin has talked to claim Ministry had a new political head at Towards the end of August, that Thordarson's computer skills are the time, who had limited knowledge

Although the Department of Icelandic Foreign Ministry whether Justice had spent extreme resources attempting to build a case against indicting Assange. The main concern The meeting in Denmark was was what was called "The New York Times Problem", namely that there and NYT publications of the same Ministry. material that going after one party would pose grave First Amendment concerns

> President Donald Trump's appointed Attorney general William and neither did his Trump-appointed deputy Kellen S. Dwyer. Barr, who faced severe criticism for politicising the DoJ on behalf of the president, got the ball rolling on the Assange case once again. Their argument was that if they could prove he was a criminal rather than a journalist the charges would stick, and that was where Thordarson's testimony would

offered an immunity deal, signed by Dwyer, that granted him immu-State Prosecutors office and the State underage boys he had tricked or nity from prosecution based on any information of wrongdoing they had on him. The deal, seen in writing by Stundin, also guarantees that the DoJ would not share any such information with other prosecutorial or law enforcement agencies. That would include Icelandic ones, meaning that the Americans will not share information on crimes he might have committed threatening Icelandic security interests - and the Americans apparently had plenty of those but had over the years failed to share them with their Icelandic counterparts.

> In any event, Assange has never been suspected of any wrongdoing in Iceland. Stundin has seen confirmation of this from the District Prosecutor in Iceland, the Reykjavik Metropolitan Police. Assange has no entry in the LÖKE database of any police activity linked to an individual collected by the Icelandic State Police Commissioner from 2009-2021.

Assange's lawyer also asked the Stundin said.■

the points in his updated indictment where Iceland is referred to as 'NATO country 1' meant that his case had any relevance to Icelandic membership to NATO, the bilateral defense agreement between USA and Iceland or any national security interests. All such connections were dismissed in a ing between WikiLeaks publications reply from the defense attaché at the

#### **Immunity and a new** crime spree

According to information obtained by Stundin the immunity deal between the DoJ and Thordarson was presented at the Headquarters of the Reykjavik police where the only role of the Icelandic policeman was to confirm the identity of Thordarson before leaving him alone with his lawyer in the back room where he met the US delegation.

It is as if the offer of immunity, later secured and sealed in a meeting in DC, had encouraged Thordarson In May 2019 Thordarson was to take bolder steps in crime. He started to fleece individuals and companies on a grander scale than ever; usually by either acquiring or forming legal entities he then used to borrow merchandise, rent luxury cars, even order large quantities of goods from wholesalers without any intention to pay for these goods and services.

#### **Update**

Sigurdur "Siggi" Thordarson was arrested in Reykjavík on September 24 and put in Iceland's highest security prison under a "rarely invoked" law that allows police in Iceland to detain someone considered to be in the middle of crime spree, Stundin reported.

Thordarson "was brought before a judge after police requested indefinite detention intended to halt an ongoing crime spree. The judge apparently agreed that Thordarson's repeated, blatant and ongoing offences against the law put him at high risk for continued re-offending,"

This is not about the law. It is about intimidating journalism; it's about suppressing press freedom; it's about protecting immunity for state officials – Assange's case has become impossible to ignore.

I would encourage journalists from all media outlets to look deeply into this case, assemble all the evidence and expose misconduct, because the public deserves to

NILS MELZER, **UNITED NATIONS** SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR **ON TORTURE** 

know the truth.



## US press freedom bill would protect journalists facing persecution... but not Julian Assange

US senators say they want to protect foreign journalists from government aggression. But what happens when the US is the aggressor?



**Rose Adams** First published on 8 September 2021 *in* The Intercept

Earlier this year, just days before World Press Freedom Day, Senators Tim Kaine, D-Va., and Lindsey the globe," he said in a press release. Graham, R-S.C., joined forces to introduce the International Press Freedom Act of 2021, a bipartisan bill to protect at-risk journalists working in highly censored countries. The legislation is predicated on the idea that the United journalists – but that notion doesn't always hold up under scrutiny.

International Press Freedom Act is Julian Assange for publishing Army Assange's arrest in 2019. "It's someone of at least three press freedom war logs provided by Chelsea thing that we expected, we knew the bills that Congress has considered Manning in 2010, and increased the day would come, and justice has to be since Saudi authorities killed journalist Jamal Khashoggi in October 2018. tion leaked Democratic Party emails "The thing that I'm most interested in But while other bills have proposed that the Justice Department said were is, when you get to the bottom of this piecemeal protections – such as sanc- hacked by Russia. And though the story, how do we learn enough to protions on restrictive governments or government's extradition efforts are tect sensitive information from vana government office for threatened inching closer to fruition amid several dals like Julian Assange?" (Graham, journalists – Kaine and Graham's US appeals, Kaine and Graham have meanwhile, tweeted his approval of bill takes a more comprehensive remained silent. approach. In addition to directsafely or relocate.

have praised Kaine and Graham's bill, maximum of 175 years. claiming that the legislation would "bolster US foreign diplomacy on Kaine and Graham have been some global press freedom". In a statement, of the loudest. In the years since said Chip Gibbons, policy director for

Kaine emphasised the US's responsibility to spread its free speech ethos.

"Enshrined in both our Constitution and the Universal freedom is a core American value that we must constantly promote around "With this bill, our country will let their right to report and offer safe harbor when they are threatened".

But that safe harbor doesn't seem to apply to foreign journal-States is a uniquely safe place for ists the US government itself has threatened. For years, the Justice Department has worked to extradite Introduced on April 29, the and prosecute WikiLeaks founder by the 2016 email leak, celebrated pressure following his 2016 publica- done," he told CNN anchors in 2019

Assange sought refuge in the ing State Department funds toward Ecuadorian Embassy in the UK but detainment, England's High Court investigating and prosecuting crimes was arrested in 2019 on an extradi- held a series of hearings about his against journalists abroad, the law tion warrant under charges related to case, which culminated in a January would create a new visa category for his 2010 publication of military doc- 2021 ruling that blocked Assange's threatened reporters and open a State uments. Assange's charges – which extradition. But in August, the court Department office with a \$30 million include one count of conspiracy to expanded the grounds on which the annual fund to help journalists report commit computer intrusion and 17 US could appeal the decision, flooding counts under the Espionage Act for the court with a wave of appeals. (The Press advocacy groups such as exposing national defense informa- UK's extradition procedure requires the Committee to Protect Journalists tion – could land him in prison for a British prosecutors to represent the

the publication of the military war logs and the Democratic National Committee's emails, the senators have taken to cable news to air their Declaration of Human Rights, press contempt. "[WikiLeaks] released classified information between our government and foreign leaders that embarrassed foreign leaders and our government," Graham said on CNN in journalists know that we will protect 2017, after former President Donald Trump tweeted support for Assange. "So Mr. Assange is a fugitive from the law hiding in an embassy who has a history of undermining American interests'

Kaine, whose vice presidential hopes may have been hampered the arrest.)

Over a year after Assange's US in court, meaning that UK taxpay-Of Assange's many critics, ers are footing the prosecution's bill.)

"It's clear they're out to get him,"

Press freedom advocates, while supportive of the press freedom bill, said that the legislation would yield the biggest impact if the United States followed its own policies.

Defending Rights & Dissent, who has covered Assange's case for Jacobin. "It's fine to offer visas to persecuted journalists, but ... it's immensely hypocritical for the US to do this at the same time it is seeking to extradite Julian Assange".

Assange isn't the only publisher or whistleblower the bill sponsors Dick Durbin, D-Ill., a co-sponsor of the have targeted. Graham, one of the loudest critics of government leakers in Congress, championed the imprisonment of Edward Snowden and slammed Obama for commuting Manning's prison sentence in 2017. Kaine has occasionally taken a softer stance, although he also opposed Manning's commutation and said that Reality Winner "has got to suffer the consequences" for leaking a classified document pertaining to the 2016 election. Still, the senators bemoaned the number of journalists imprisoned worldwide in the press release for their bill.

A spokesperson for Kaine said

Press Freedom Act because of his "long-standing support for human rights inspired by Kaine's long-standing support for human rights ... and in particular his outrage over the death of Jamal Khashoggi" but did not answer questions about Assange's extradition. Representatives for Graham and Sen. bill who has also voiced support for Assange's extradition, did not respond to requests for comment.

And press freedom advocates. while supportive of the press freedom bill, said that the legislation would yield the biggest impact if the US followed its own policies.

"Anytime we, or the US govern ment, or members of Congress are talking about press freedom internationally, it's, in my mind, a good thing," said Trevor Timm, co-founder and executive director of the Freedom of the Press Foundation. "But for any of that advocacy to be remotely effective, it's important for the US to walk that he introduced the International the walk and not just talk the talk".

We now know that this unprecedented criminal case was launched in part because of the genuinely dangerous plans that the CIA was considering. This provides all the more reason for the Biden Justice Department to find a quiet way to end this case.

**BEN WIZNER, DIRECTOR** OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION'S SPEECH, PRIVACY AND TECHNOLOGY PROJECT



#### **COURAGE IS CONTAGIOUS**

## Weekly Leaks

## The WikiLeaks Files: Afghanistan

#### **Phyllis Bennis** *Excerpt from* The Wikileaks Files Published in 2015

#### **Civilians in the war**

There were a lot of expert killers in Afghanistan. The Afghan War Diary did not reveal a war different to that which we knew, but they provided a level of corroborating detail, often in clinically detached language. The huge number of civilian casualties Geneva Conventions regarding the insisted on its denial: was a known feature of the US war in treatment of prisoners: Afghanistan from the beginning. The attacks on civilians have remained a huge crisis in the Afghanistan war US treatment of enemy combatants – but much of the detail remained hidden. Just three weeks after Barack Iraq, Afghanistan, and other loca-Obama was sworn in as president, in February 2009, WikiLeaks released complies with US statutes and treaa confidential NATO report revealing *ties such as the UN Convention* that civilian deaths in Afghanistan had increased by 46 percent during Cruel and Inhuman or Degrading 2008.

According to the WikiLeaks introduction, the report "shows a dramatic escalation of the war and civil disorder". Attacks on US and NATO troops increased significantly, including a 27 percent rise in IED (Improvised Explosive Device) attacks, a 40 percent rise in rifle and rocket fire, and a 67 percent increase in surface-to-air fire against Coalition aircraft. All of that resulted in an increase in US/NATO military deaths of 35 percent, while kidnappings and assassinations rose by 50 percent, and attacks on the US-backed Afghan government more than doubled, rising by a massive 119 percent. In the meantime, the report documents that only half of the families outside Kabul had access to even basic healthcare, and only half of the children had any *Congress approved additional 2008, which was passed by the House* access to a school.

But the report – drafted by the Pentagon's Central Command, offi-United Nations.

enants, official disdain for human *degrading treatment or punishment* cultural norms, and more. US troops tody, or control of the United States tainly went further in justifying such [CRS-RL33655]

treatment, in many cases virtually War Diary, the analysis of congresinterrogation and torture, including the so-called "McCain Amendment,"

and terrorist suspects detained in tions, and whether such treatment Against Torture and Other Forms of

In another section, the report bragging about it. In the summary of provides a reminder of Bush's plan a 2008 report revealed in the Afghan to veto any congressional effort to hold the CIA accountable to the same sional engagement with the issues of public standards that the Pentagon was supposed to follow in the Army Field Manual. Those standards, howtakes as a matter of course the cat- ever consistently they were violated, egory of "enemy combatants" and were at least officially designed to "terrorist suspects" detained by US meet the requirements of the Geneva troops, without any indication that Conventions. They were far more the very terms were designed as restrictive than the official standards part of a conscious strategy to disre- of the CIA's interrogation techniques, gard the obligations imposed by the which blatantly included torture but

Finally, this report briefly describes Controversy has arisen regarding legislation introduced in the 110th Congress that references interrogation standards or requirements initially established by the McCain Amendment. Discussed legislation includes HR 2082, the Intelligence Authorisation Act for Fiscal Year 2008, which was vetoed by President Bush on March 8, 2008, and HR 4156, Treatment or Punishment (CAT) the Orderly and Responsible Iraq and the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Redeployment Appropriations Act,

**From its beginning, the US** war in Afghanistan included official reliance on torture, official violations of human rights and international covenants, official disdain for human dignity...

guidelines concerning the treat- on November 14, 2007, but has not Treatment Act (DTA), which was to the failure to invoke cloture on the human rights and international cov- prohibit the "cruel, inhuman and rised under the Army Field Manual. dignity, official contempt for Afghan of persons under the detention, cusand their local allies did not necessar- *Government*". *These provisions of* Opposition to the war in Afghanistan ing company with a striking name: and others, was that the war would ily treat detainees or civilians worse the DTA, which were first introduced grew – gradually at first, then faster than in earlier wars (the infamous by Senator John McCain, have poputiger cages where the US-backed larly been referred to as the "McCain invasion and occupation. While casu-South Vietnamese government held Amendment". This report discusses alties (US casualties, at least – unfor- by Taliban personnel to talk about Conference in November 2001 would prisoners offer one comparison), the McCain Amendment, as modified tunately Afghan casualties too rarely payment for the safe passage of con- be helicoptered into Kabul to take but the global war on terror cer- and subsequently enacted into law. led to widespread opposition) played voys through their area. The current over, the population would be grate-

ment of detainees via the Detainee been considered by the Senate due cially as the "International Security enacted pursuant to both the bill. Both bills proposed to bar the CIA mountains, half a world away from Assistance Force for Afghanistan" Department of Defense, Emergency and other intelligence agencies from the United States, building up and wipe out the Taliban, played a signif-(ISAF) – was kept secret, designated *Supplemental Appropriations to employing any interrogation tactic* supplying an occupying army of up to icant role in reducing public support For Official Use Only". One of the Address Hurricanes in the Gulf of that is not authorised by the Army 150,000 US and NATO troops at any for the war. Counter-insurgency wars reasons it was kept secret may have Mexico, and Pandemic Influenza Field Manual, effectively prohibiting given moment was a logistical night- waged far from the home country been that the Pentagon's count of the Act, 2006 (PL 109-148, Title X), and these agencies from employing cer- mare. With goods either trucked in of the occupying soldiers are never rise in civilian deaths - 46 percent the National Defense Authorisation tain harsh interrogation techniques, over the Pakistani border to face long easy. When the United States prehigher than the year before - was Act for FY2006 (PL 109-163, Title including waterboarding, regardless and dangerous drives to Kabul and pared to attack Afghanistan in 2001, significantly higher even than the 40 XIV). Among other things, the DTA of whether those techniques had oth- beyond, or flown in at huge expense the country's language and culture percent escalation calculated by the contains provisions that (1) require erwise been deemed legally permis- to Bagram Airbase outside of Kabul, remained unknown to the vast major-Department of Defense (DOD) per- sible. The White House has indicated provisioning and arming the hun- ity of troops and commanders being From its beginning, the US war sonnel to employ United States that the President shall veto any leg- dreds of "Forward Operating Bases" sent. When the war in Afghanistan in Afghanistan included official reli- Army Field Manual guidelines while islation requiring the CIA to use only scattered throughout the country began, it was clear that the Bush ance on torture, official violations of interrogating detainees, and (2) those interrogation techniques autho-

#### The cost of war

- from the first months of the US Four Horsemen International ernment would be overthrown, the

about the war, but another important reason was its cost. Since October 2001, US taxpayers have paid about \$715 billion for the war in Afghanistan alone. That translates into more than \$10 million every hour – every day, every year since 2001.

And beyond the broad problem of paying for a war widely understood to be failing at its expressed goals, there were occasional bursts of indignation when it became clear that US taxpayer money – straight from the Pentagon's coffers – was helping to fund the Taliban insurgency. While that stark reality had been known in small circles before, WikiLeaks again provided detailed examples of how it worked. In physical terms, Afghanistan is an extraordinarily isolated country.

a role in the rising public outrage *price for passage is \$500US per truck* ful, and the work would be over. It

••••• 337,501 **DOCUMENTS** 

Detail about significant acts in the war down to the metre where they occurred

Let's send How do we get more troops! out of this mess? BEFORE AFTER publication of publication of Afghan War Diaries

Afghan War Diaries

from Kandahar to Herat, \$50US per truck from Kabul to Ghazni, \$100US per truck from Ghazni to Orgun-E, and \$200-300US per truck from Orgun-E to Wazi Kwah. All negotiations are conducted outside of Afghanistan with the Taliban POC located in Quetta, Pakistan. This information has been verified by other HNT companies and the other companies state they are paying money for safe passage. [CRS-RL33655]

The financial totals of up to \$500 per truck paid to the Taliban (as well as other militias, some of them nominally supporters of the government) add up to hundreds of millions of dollars. Knowledge that these enormous sums were being paid to the Taliban, even as the ostensible Landlocked and surrounded by justification for the US troops being in Afghanistan was the claimed need to required lots of local help. That meant administration had no concern for or hiring local transport companies, and interest in the people, religion, tradiit also meant paying for security. One tions, culture, or anything else there. 2007 cable describes just such a mili- The original claim from Bush's sectary contractor, a local Afghan truck- retary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, be quick and tidy: the Taliban gov*reported that they were approached* new government created at the Bonn

## Weekly Leaks

quick war rather swiftly morphed into a long-term counter-insurgency ics – anthropologists, sociologists, army's military operations: and others - into military units in

a secure perimeter as they walked ... staffs in the field...

did not turn out quite like that. The manslaughter and was sentenced to and staff can no longer limit their probation and a fine.

war, with US and other NATO troops to light the "Human Terrain Team Troops and support available, and facing conditions in which ignorance Handbook" – unclassified but kept of the local people and culture put from the public – with its description the troops themselves, as well as the of who makes up those teams and evanescent goals of the war, at seri- what they are tasked with in carrying ous risk. Realising that, several years out counter-insurgency war. Official

ity of the troops by providing cultural *five- to nine-person teams deployed* and authority, and interests". The and social insight into Afghan society. *by the Human Terrain System (HTS)* In August 2009, the Washington to support field commanders by fill-Post magazine documented the work *ing their cultural knowledge gap in* of psychologists and anthropologists the current operating environment who joined the Pentagon's Human and providing cultural interpreta-Terrain project. In the photos, the *tions of events occurring within their* academics were dressed in cam- area of operations. The team is comouflage and armed with standard posed of individuals with social sciweapons, indistinguishable from the *ence and operational backgrounds* regular soldiers. Their role in one that are deployed with tactical and "model" village, Pir Zadeh in south- operational military units to assist ern Afghanistan, was described thus: in bringing knowledge about the "They would drive in MRAPs, heavy, local population into a coherent armored vehicles designed to minimise analytic framework and build relathe effects of makeshift bombs, then tionships with the local power-browould get out and move west through kers in order to provide advice and tive counterinsurgency operations. the village. The soldiers would create opportunities to Commanders and

focus to the traditional Mission, It was left to WikiLeaks to bring *Enemy*, *Terrain and weather*, *friendly* Time

In an irregular warfare environment *"Commanders and planners require" insight into cultures, perceptions,* unclear whether it refers to efforts by into the war, the military began a members of the military or not, their values, beliefs, interests, and deciproject designed to embed academ- task is clear: to strengthen the US sion-making processes of individuals and groups" and should be evaluated according to their "society, social Afghanistan, to strengthen the capac- Human Terrain Teams (HTTs) are structure, culture, language, power human dimension is the very essence of irregular warfare environments. Understanding local cultural, political, social, economic, and religious factors is crucial to successful counterinsurgency and stability operations, and ultimately, to success in the war on terror. In stability operations and irregular warfare, the human aspect of the environment becomes central to mission success. Information on social groups and their interests, beliefs, leaders, and *the drivers of individual and group* fortable exile. Dostum returned to behavior is needed to conduct effec-The expertise for conducting research and analysis to provide valid and objective information on these topics US, as well as simultaneously reconare highly specialised in the social sciences. Social science research of militia. a host nation's population produces *a knowledge base that is referred to* for his brutality, alleged mass rapes as the Human Terrain, or "The ele- of young girls by his militia, the bru*ment of the operational environment* encompassing the cultural, sociological, political and economic factors of Dostum's Junbish militia allegedly the local population".

> The people of Afghanistan, then, had become an "element of the operational environment" of Washington's war.

#### The massacre of Dasht-E-Leili

The philosophy articulated in the Handbook saw massacres as an inevitable component of the US war. Of hero" [08KABUL491 a]. course, one of the most significant consequences of the release of the reports make clear WikiLeaks papers was the detailed the knowledge of US accounting of mass killing and other officials – military, barbarities - actions that provide intelligence, CIA, a shocking, though not surprising, prism for understanding the war. One such action, documented in excruciating detail, was the massacre, in just the first weeks after the US invasion of Afghanistan, of between 2,000 and 3.000 Taliban prisoners by USbacked Afghan soldiers. In many ways, the Dasht-e-Leili massacre would portend the continuing war crimes involving prisoners, torture, and attacks on civilians that would come to characterise the US "globa" war on terror" for at least the next twelve years.

While the cables are heavpatrol would have to enter the perim- for a specific region, then deployed ily redacted, they describe how eter and be frisked for weapons". The and embedded with their supported "hundreds or perhaps thousands" of Post acknowledged that few social unit. The HTTs are comprised of a Taliban fighters had surrendered scientists were willing to participate, mix of Soldiers and Department of after brief fighting in Mazar-e Sharif but never asked the critical question the Army Contractors that provide a and Konduz in November 2001, of why that might be. It never ques- mix of senior military specialists and and were incarcerated in shipping tioned just whose village the perim- academicians with strong social sci- containers to be transferred to US eter-establishing soldiers thought ences credentials. An HTT integrates custody at Sheberghan Prison - a it was. Though tragic, it certainly into the unit staff, conducts unclassi- two-day journey from Dasht-e-Leili, should not have surprised any- fied open-source and field research, where they had surrendered. But one that an earlier Human Terrain and provides operationally-rele- the metal shipping containers were recruit, described as a "soldier and vant human terrain information in sealed, and most of the prisoners while she was on patrol in a neigh- tion, execution and assessment of were also shot through the walls of the sealed containers.

The killing of these prison-

surrendered. The kind of wanton disregard for human life shown in the killings should have led to immediate efforts to achieve accountability including on the part of US forces.

Instead. the atrocity is described coolly, with significant attention to the efforts (it remains Afghans or US or other NATO forces) to keep the focus on Taliban atrocities, as if these somehow excused the horror of the atrocities committed by US-backed Afghan forces.

The documents regarding the massacre refer, without detail, to "Dostum," or occasionally "General Dostum". The reference is to General Ahmad Rashid Dostum, an ethnic Uzbek warlord who had fought in Afghanistan first with the pro-Soviet Afghan government in the 1980s against the anti-Soviet mujahideen, and then joined the mujahideen fighters of the US-backed Northern Alliance, until they were beaten by the Taliban in the mid 1990s, at which point Dostum fled to com-Afghanistan with the US invasion forces in 2001, and with US backing reclaimed leadership as chief of staff of the Afghan military installed by the stituting his Uzbek-based private

Dostum had long been known tal killing of individual soldiers and others who crossed him, and more. dropped cluster bombs on residential areas of Kabul in January 1997 as the civil war wound down. According to another February 2008 WikiLeaks cable sent from the US ambassador in Kabul to the CIA, DIA, State Department, and beyond, "Dostum remains the quintessential warlord, an enduring symbol of Afghanistan's war-ravaged past whose bravado and violence earned for him the status of a respected, but deeply flawed national

The WikiLeaks

political, diplomatic, and beyond about the Dasht-e-Leili massacre, and other examples of Dostum's culpability

The documents cite a reminder to recipients that they should "take every opportunity to remind observers that the Taliban were the primary abusers in the country and that any investigations into alleged Afghan military atrocities must be balanced with investigations into Taliban atrocities".

The Dasht-e-Leili massacre might have remained a horrific moment in the past, even with the details made available through WikiLeaks, were it not for the contemporary role of certain key players. In Afghanistan's presidential campaign in spring 2014, one of the leading candidates was Ashraf Ghani, a Western-oriented former World Bank official, who had in the past identified Dostum as a killer. But with ethnically based campaigning being central to Afghanistan's wartime election, Ghani suddenly welcomed General Dostum as his running mate, hoping to consolidate the Uzbek vote in Mazar-e Sharif and elsewhere in northern Afghanistan. After Ghani's hotly contested victory, the perpetrator of the Dasht-e-Leili massacre was sworn in as the new vice president of Afghanistan – with proud US and NATO backing for Afghanistan's new democracy. Afghanistan's war continues.

Read this book and others at:





of Dasht-E-Leili

2–3000 Taliban prisoners killed by US-backed Afghan soldiers

Sealed in shipping containers, then suffocated and shot

**GENERAL RESPONSIBLE SWORN IN AS NEW** VICE PRESIDENT OF AFGHANISTAN with US and NATO backing

## **THE PENTAGON** WAS HELPING FUND **THE TALIBAN INSURGENCY**



#### Hundreds of millions of dollars paid to the **Taliban to allow** passage of trucks

While that stark reality had been known in small circles before, WikiLeaks again provided detailed examples of how it worked

#### Publication played a significant role in reducing public support for the war

Any villager who wanted to pass the Each team is recruited and trained aid worker," had been fatally attacked support of the planning, prepara- suffocated before they arrived. Many boring village. The attacker was operations. captured, and the Human Terrain social scientist's Army Ranger part- A fundamental condition of irregu- ers represented a clear violation ner "pulled out his pistol and shot the lar warfare and counter-insurgency of the Geneva Conventions regardman in the head". He pleaded guilty to operations is that the Commander ing protection of fighters who have

There is a legitimate role for secrecy, and there is a legitimate role for openness. Unfortunately, those who commit abuses against humanity or against the law find abusing legitimate secrecy to conceal their abuse all too easy.

**People of good** conscience have always revealed abuses by ignoring abusive strictures. It is not WikiLeaks that decides to reveal something. It is a whistleblower or a dissident who decides to reveal it. Our job is to make sure that these individuals are protected, the public is informed and the historical record is not denied.





### **US press freedom coalition calls for end** to Assange prosecution, after shocking reporting on CIA misconduct

**US Department of Justice** 950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20530-0001 October 15, 2021

Attorney General Merrick Garland:

We, the undersigned press freedom, civil liberties, and international human rights advocacy organizations, write again to share our profound concern about the ongoing criminal and extradition proceedings relating to Julian Assange, the founder of Wikileaks, under the Espionage Act and the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act.

In February, members of this coalition wrote to the Acting Attorney General, urging that the criminal charges against Mr. Assange be dropped.<sup>2</sup> We now renew that request with even greater urgency, in light of a recent story in Yahoo News describing alarming discussions within the CIA and Trump administration before the indictment against Assange was filed.<sup>3</sup> The Yahoo News story only heightens our concerns about the motivations behind this prosecution, and about the dangerous precedent that is being set.

As we noted in our earlier correspondence, the signatories to this letter have different perspectives on Mr. Assange and his organization. We are united, however, in our view that the criminal case against him poses a grave threat to press freedom both in the United States and abroad. We were disappointed that the Department of Justice appealed the decision by Judge Vanessa Baraitser of the Westminster Magistrates' Court to reject the Trump administration's extradition request.<sup>4</sup> Especially in light of the recent news report, we urge you to drop that appeal and dismiss the underlying indictment.

#### Respectfully,

*(in alphabetical order)* **Access Now American Civil Liberties Union** Amnesty International USA **Center for Constitutional Rights Committee to Protect Journalists Defending Rights & Dissent Demand Progress Education Fund** 

"WikiLeaks Founder Julian Assange Charged in 18-Count Superseding Indictment."Department of Justice. May 3, 2019. and "WikiLeaks Founder Chargedin Superseding Indictment." Department of Justice. Iune 24, 2020

- Savage, Charlie. "Civil-Liberties Groups Ask Biden Justice Dept. to Drop Julian Assange Case." The New York Times. February 8, 2021.
- 3 Dorfman, Zach; Naylor, Sean D.; Isikoff, Michael. "Kidnapping,

As we explained in our earlier letter, journalists routinely engage in much of the conduct described in the indictment: speaking with sources, asking for clarification or more documentation, and receiving and publishing official secrets. News organizations frequently and necessarily publish classified information in order to inform the public of matters of profound public significance. We appreciate that the government has a legitimate interest in protecting bona fide national security interests, but the proceedings against Mr. Assange jeopardize journalism that is crucial to democracy. In our view, a precedent created by prosecuting Assange could be used against publishers and journalists alike, chilling their work and undermining freedom of the press.

Major news organizations share this concern. The charges against Assange have been condemned by virtually every major American news outlet,<sup>5</sup> even though many of those news outlets have criticized Mr. Assange in the past.

In light of these concerns, and in light of the shocking new reporting on the government's conduct in this case, we respectfully urge you to drop the ongoing appeal of Judge Baraitser's ruling and to dismiss the indictment of Mr. Assange.

**Electronic Frontier Foundation Open The Government Partnership for Civil Justice Fund PEN America Project on Government Oversight Reporters Without Borders** Freedom of the Press Foundation **RootsAction.org** The Press Freedom Defense Fund of **Knight First Amendment Institute at** First Look Institute Whistleblower and Source Protection National Coalition Against Censorship **Program (WHISPeR) at ExposeFacts** 

> assassination and a London shoot-out: Inside the CIA's secret war plans against WikiLeaks." Yahoo News. September 26, 2021.

- Order of District Judge (Magistrates' Court) Vanessa Baraitser In the WestminsterMagistrates' Court, January 4, 2021.
- Fassett, Camille. "Press freedom advocates and news outlets strongly condemn new charges against Julian Assange." Freedom of the Press Foundation. May 24, 2019.

#### Write to Julian **Address** Do

Mr Julian Assange Prisoner #A9379AY **HMP Belmarsh** Western Way London SE28 OEB UK

- Address your letter exactly as shown. You must include Julian's prisoner number: 'Prisoner #A9379AY' or date of birth 03/07/1971
- Include your full name and address on the back of the envelope or else the letter will not be delivered
- O Do not hesitate to include an action you've taken to #ProtectJulian
- ✓ Include a blank piece of paper with a self-addressed envelope (your name and address written in pen not pencil) for Julian to write back. It must be pre-stamped (UK stamps only)\*
- Send paper items only such as letters, photos & drawings
- ✓ You can share your reply from Julian with #WriteJulian (unless he has asked you not to or has marked the letter 'PRIVATE')

### Do not

**Fight for the Future** 

Human Rights Watch

**Index on Censorship** 

**Columbia University** 

Free Press

**First Amendment Coalition** 

- Send greeting cards, postcards, packages, loose stamps or cash
- Send books or magazines

Send any sensitive material

- Send excessive amounts of letters as they will be rejected
- 🛞 Publish your reply from Julian if he has marked the letter 'PRIVATE' or otherwise asked you not to share it

#### Return postage

\*IN THE UNITED STATES: You need TWO UK 1st class stamps affixed on the self-addressed stamped envelope for Julian to mail back to you.

NOT IN THE UNITED STATES: Find information about postage to places outside the US at royalmail.com/personal/uk-delivery/online-postage

For more information visit writejulian.com

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## Weekly Leaks

## Craig Murray's jailing is the latest move in a battle to snuff out independent journalism

**Jonathan Cook** First published on 30 July 2021 at jonathon-cook.net Abridged version published here

Craig Murray, a former ambassador to Uzbekistan, the father of a newborn child, a man in very poor health and one who has no prior convictions, will have to hand himself over to the Scottish police on Sunday morning. He becomes the first person ever to be imprisoned on the obscure and vaguely defined charge of "jigsaw identification".

Murray is also the first person to be jailed in Britain for contempt of court for their journalism in half a century - a period when such different legal and moral values prevailed that the British establishment had only just ended the prosecution of "homosexuals" and the jailing of women for having abortions.

Murray's imprisonment for eight months by Lady Dorrian, Scotland's second most senior judge, is of course based entirely on a keen reading of Scottish law rather than evidence of the Scottish and London political establishments seeking revenge on the former diplomat. And the UK supreme court's refusal on do with the fact that the contempt It is Murray's reporting of Salmond's Thursday to hear Murray's appeal despite many glaring legal anomalies jail, is equally rooted in a strict appli-

along with the US, in Uzbekistan's torture regime.

continuing legal abuses in a London actually been applying the law. courtroom as Washington seeks to eign policy.

G3/34

Edinburgh

EH11 3LN

157095 C Murray

H M Prison Edinburgh

33 Stenhouse Road



proceedings against him allowed the Scottish court to deprive him of his in the case, thereby paving his path to passport so that he could not travel to Spain and testify in a related Assange cation of the law, and not influenced case that is severely embarrassing with his argument - one that might in any way by political considerations. Britain and the US. The Spanish hear-Murray's jailing has nothing to ing has been presented with reams of do with the fact that he embarrassed evidence that the US illegally spied the British state in the early 2000s on Assange inside the Ecuadorean high-level plot by senior politicians by becoming that rarest of things: a embassy in London, where he sought at Holyrood to discredit him and whistleblowing diplomat. He exposed political asylum to avoid extradithe British government's collusion, tion. Murray was due to testify that his own confidential conversations with Assange were filmed, as were chance to take on London and make His jailing also has nothing Assange's privileged meetings with a serious case for independence, and to do with the fact that Murray has his own lawyers. Such spying should embarrassed the British state more have seen the case against Assange recently by reporting the woeful and thrown out, had the judge in London

extradite Wikileaks' founder, Julian nothing to do with his embarrass- in his extradition hearings. Noticeably distinction "between espionage and Assange, and lock him away for life in ing the Scottish political and legal in both the Assange and Murray cases, the most serious unauthorised disa maximum security prison. The US establishments by reporting, almost the presiding judge has limited the closures". The government's arguwants to make an example of Assange single-handedly, the defence case in free speech protections traditionally ment is that "onward disclosures" for exposing its war crimes in Iraq the trial of Scotland's former First afforded to journalism and has done can create "far more serious damand Afghanistan and for publishing Minister, Alex Salmond. Unreported so by restricting who qualifies as a age" than espionage and so should leaked diplomatic cables that pulled by the corporate media, the evidence journalist. Both cases have been fron- be treated similarly. If accepted, any the mask off Washington's ugly for- submitted by Salmond's lawyers led tal assaults on the ability of certain public interest defence - the tradia jury dominated by women to acquit kinds of journalists - those who are tional safeguard for journalists - will Murrav's jailing has nothing to him of a raft of sexual assault charges. free from corporate or state pressure be muted.

defence that has been the source of his current troubles.

And most assuredly, Murray's jailing has precisely nothing to do explain why the jury was so unconvinced by the prosecution case - that Salmond was actually the victim of a ing for a more draconian crackdown prevent his return to the forefront of nalism - has won the backing of Scottish politics. The intention, says Home Secretary Priti Patel. The doc-Murray, was to deny Salmond the thereby expose the SNP's increasing lip service to that cause.

Murray has been one of the few journalists to report in detail the argu-Similarly, Murray's jailing has ments made by Assange's legal team

to cover important political stories, effectively criminalising independent journalism. And all this has been achieved by sleight of hand.

In Assange's case, Judge Vanessa Baraitser largely assented long-term, former member of staff to US claims that what the Wikileaks at the Guardian - managed to write founder had done was espionage an entire article in that paper this rather than journalism. The Obama administration had held off prosecuting Assange because it could not find a distinction in law between his legal right to publish evidence of US corporate journalists have refused war crimes and the New York Times to notice them. Similarly, it is no and the Guardian's right to publish the same evidence, provided to them by Wikileaks. If the US administration prosecuted Assange, it would also need to prosecute the editors of those canaries in the coal mine for the papers.

First, all independent, unlicensed journalism was lumped in as "fake news". With that as the background, social media corporations were able to collude with so-called legacy media corporations to algorithm independent journalists into oblivion. And now independent journalists are being educated about what fate is likely to befall them should they try to emulate Assange or Murray.

#### Asleep at the wheel

In fact, while corporate journalists have been asleep at the wheel, the British establishment has been preparing to widen the net to criminalise all journalism that seeks to seriously hold power to account. A recent government consultation document callon what is being deceptively termed "onward disclosure" - code for jourument implicitly categorises journalism as little different from espionage and whistleblowing.

In the wake of the consultation paper, the Home Office has called on parliament to consider "increased maximum sentences" for offenders - that is, journalists - and ending the *Read the full article*:

Anyone who followed the Assange hearings last summer which excludes most journalists in the corporate media - will notice strong echoes of the arguments made by the US for extraditing Assange, arguments conflating journalism with espionage that were largely accepted by Judge Baraitser.

None of this has come out of the blue. As the online technology publication The Register noted back in 2017, the Law Commission was at the time considering "proposals in the UK for a swingeing new Espionage Act that could jail journalists as spies". It said such an act was being "developed in haste by legal advisers"

It is quite extraordinary that two investigative journalists - one a month on the government consultation paper and not mention Assange once. The warning signs have been there for the best part of a decade but coincidence that Murray's plight has also not registered on the corporate media's radar.

Assange and Murray are the growing crackdown on investigative journalism and on efforts to hold executive power to account. There is, of course, ever less of that being done by the corporate media, which may explain why corporate outlets appear not only relaxed about the mounting political and legal climate against free speech and transparency but have been all but cheering it on.

In the Assange and Murray cases, the British state is carving out for itself a space to define what counts as legitimate, authorised journalism - and journalists are colluding in this dangerous development, if only through their silence. That collusion tells us a great deal about the mutual interests of the corporate political and legal establishments, on the one hand, and the corporate media establishment on the other.

Assange and Murray are not only telling us troubling truths we are not supposed to hear. The fact that they are being denied solidarity by those who are their colleagues, those who may be next in the firing line, tells us everything we need to know about the so-called mainstream media: that the role of corporate journalists is to serve establishment interests, not challenge them.■



## **EmergeHeart PeerTube**

A video platform part of a federated/decentralised network (Peertube) aggregating movies about WikiLeaks, Assange and the campaign to defend them. Free from the influence and the data collection of the big platforms, it is also immune to their censorship.

A great curated collection of video material for everyone to share, use and re-use!

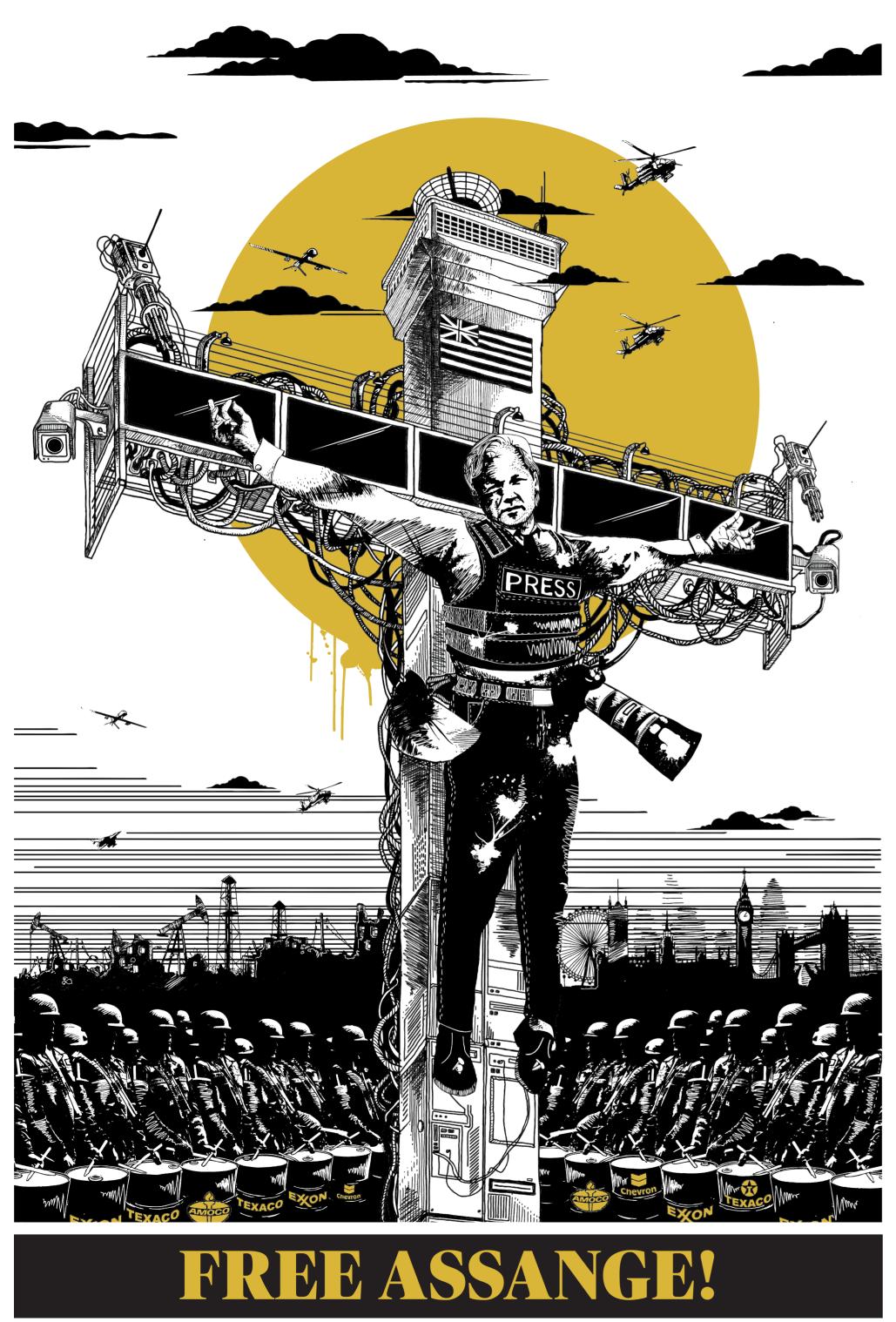


video.emergeheart.inf

Please follow the guidelines on page 16

Write to

Craig



Collateral Crucifixion by Captain Borderline and Shanti Signal, 20-metre-high mural in Berlin

## **Amnesty International expert on national security:** "Assange should be released"

#### Julia Hall

Amnesty International expert on national security

Il Fatto Quotidiano sat down for an in-depth interview with the internationally respected lawyer Julia Hall to discuss the Assange case and the Pegasus scandal

#### First published on 24 July 2021

A prominent expert on national secuill-treatment or torture.

Administration offered diplomatic kind of death by a thousand cuts. assurances to the British authorities Julian Assange to the United States, the International thinks that diploin the most extreme American prison, therefore opposes the extradition of to say that he will absolutely be torhim to the harsh regime known as assurances? "Special Administrative Measures" (SAMs). Il Fatto Quotidiano asked Julia The US made it very easy for us to that risk into these assurances. Hall for an analysis of these assurances oppose the extradition, because they dal, which Amnesty International has with the other. They say: we guarangreatly contributed to exposing.

Administration will drop them?

quite disappointing, because we did sion to pursue. At this point, I think and Guantanamo and researching long things will take, how this really the impact of diplomatic assurances continues to harm Assange because

tee that he won't be held in a maxiand WikiLeaks was opened by the Measures and he will get health-We had some hope early on, when the those assurances and say: these are and prosecuted. Biden Administration first took office inherently unreliable, it promises to

in January, and we really thought that do something and then reserves the potentially there could be a review of right to break the promise. The judge the case. Biden was the vice president [Vanessa Baraitser, who denied extrain the Obama Administration, and the dition last January] said: under section Obama Administration clearly chose 91 of the Extradition Treaty, it would not to pursue Assange, and so there be oppressive to send Julian Assange was some hope at the beginning. to a situation in the United States Then we saw the appeal. It was really where he may be subjected to conditions of detention that could lead think that possibly there was an open- him to self-harm or suicide. So when ing there, and for reasons that the you look at the assurances and you Administration has not articulated see that the US government reserves well so far, they have made the deci- the right to put him in a maximum security facility or to subject him to rity and human rights at Amnesty the appeal will go through in the Special Administrative Measures, International, Julia Hall has spent the United Kingdom, and the disturbing based on his conduct, you are not in a last two decades working on extraor- thing about it, in addition to the fact state where the prohibition of torture dinary renditions, CIA black sites that they are appealing at all, is how is absolute. The prolonged solitary confinement that exists in maximum security facilities, or if he is subjected on detainees at risk of extradition to of his conditions in detention in the to SAMs, are a violation of the ban on countries where they might suffer UK, especially now with Covid. This torture. The ban on torture cannot is part of the strategy to keep him be conditioned on anything he does: This month, the Biden detained as long as possible, it's a it's an absolute ban. No matter what you do, under international laws, vou cannot be tortured. It's really importthat if they allow the extradition of *Can you explain to us why Amnesty* and to remember that the standard in Europe is: is a person at risk of tor-Administration will not imprison him *matic assurances will not work, and* ture or ill treatment? You don't have ADX Florence, and will not subject Julian Assange to the US despite those tured or ill-treated, you have to say: is it a situation where this person would be at risk of torture? The US has built

I have been studying this in and for comment on the Pegasus scan- gave with one hand and took away the context of the US rendition programme for almost two decades. The US has made it easy for other governmum security facility and he will not ments to use assurances, but what The investigation on Julian Assange be subjected to Special Administrative this really does is undermine the international prohibition on torture. *Obama Administration, but it was* care. But if he does something that The UK government should not be *Trump who charged him and we* we don't like, we reserve the right involved in any further undermining *now have president Biden. Amnesty* to not guarantee him, we reserve of the global ban on torture, it should *International is asking for the charges* the right to put him in a maximum be promoting the global ban on tor*against Assange to be dropped. Do* security facility, we reserve the right ture. It's a much bigger issue that goes you believe it is likely that the Biden to offer him Special Administrative way beyond Assange. The Assange Measures. Those are not assurances case would affect so many people, at all. It's not that difficult to look at should he be sent to the United States

#### Continued on page 20

## From the WikiLeaks archives **The Intolerance** Network

5 August 2021: WikiLeaks publishes "The Intolerance Network" over 17,000 documents from internationally active right wing campaigning organisations HazteOir and CitizenGO. The documents date from 2001 to 2017 and cover the founding of CitizenGO and early activities of both organisations. The documents are from their internal systems and cover things like: spreadsheets of donors and members, strategy and planning documents, letters, financial charts and legal and training documents.

HazteOir was first founded in 2001 in Spain to campaign for right wing values, in 2013 it founded CitizenGO to spread its work beyond Spanish speaking countries. This dataset includes the founding of CitizenGo, and documents from HazteOir organising along with US based The Howard Center for Family, Religion and Society, the 2012 World Congress for Families (WCF) in Madrid. The WCF brings together right wing organisations that promote opposition to LGBTQI+ and reproductive rights, it has been labeled as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. A 2014 Human Rights Campaign report stated "The World Congress of Families (WCF) is one of the most influential American organisations involved in the export of hate".

WikiLeaks Editor Kristinn Hrafnsson said: "As ultra right wing political groups have gained strength in latter years with increasing attacks on woman's and LGBTQI+ rights, it is valuable to have access to documents from those who have lobbied for these changes on a global basis. The people have a right to know where political policies are hatched".



wikileaks.org intolerancenetwo

Il Potere Segreto. **Perch vogliono** distruggere Julian Assange e WikiLeaks

Secret Power. Why They Want to Destroy Julian Assange and WikiLeaks

by Stefania Maurizi



This is a book that should make you very angry. It is the story of a journalist imprisoned and treated with unbearable cruelty for exposing war crimes, of the determination by British and American politicians to destroy him, and of the quiet connivance of the media in this monstrous injustice.

KEN LOACH, preface to the book

## **Amnesty International expert on national security:** "Assange should be released"

#### **Continued from page 19**

Journalists and experts who have followed the case for the last decade believe that what the US and the UK authorities want is for him to either commit suicide or leave the UK prison brain dead. Do you agree with this?

I am not a forensic or medical expert on torture, what I can tell you is that international standards will be violated if he is transferred to the US, and we do have very serious concerns about the proceedings. They have been carried out for over two years with Assange in Belmarsh, during Covid, in conditions that have exacerbated his mental health conditions. It's clear to us that he should be released on bail, pending the conclusion of the proceedings in the UK. In the absence of the administration dropping the extradition, the court process has to continue, but in the middle of that, he should be released. You cannot have a court judgement saying: this person is at risk, because his mental health condition is so fragile, and then keep him in Belmarsh, which just continues to help degrade his mental health condition. There is action on the US part to drop the charges, but there are immediate actions that the UK can take right now, to alleviate and to mitigate the conditions that actually continue to contribute to his mental health status, which is quite fragile.

Before his arrest, Julian Assange and his visitors were spied on inside the Ecuadorian Embassy. This week, Amnesty International greatly contributed to revealing how thousands of journalists, human rights activists and political leaders were potentially

targeted by a cyberweapon called Pegasus, marketed by an Israeli company, NSO Group. Do you think it's time for a global moratorium?

Yes, we've called for a moratorium until a strong, effective, meaningful human rights regulatory framework is in place. Stop now, and let's come together and create a framework where people like human rights defenders, journalists, opposition politicians, lawyers, they will not be targeted by that software and - or, if they are, they have recourse. Our call is strong and direct, it's not ambiguous.

It's time to make people who defend the use of such tools for anti-terrorism purposes understand that these are weapons: the so-called cyberweapons.

I actually think they already know. Governments are buying from this company, they can buy under the guise of only pursuing criminals and alleged terrorists, but it is key to the notion of the state monopoly on power that the state is going to use any new tool that it gets to maintain that power for purposes beyond those for which it was intended. It's very clear what happens with this spyware. This is a wakeup call, really, to the rest of the world, that simply trusting that the government is going to purchase spyware only to catch the so-called bad guys is not true. It has been exposed through the work we have done as technical partners on this report, and our partners in Paris, Forbidden Stories, have done. This is such an important story and hopefully the public will be educated to roll back surveillance of this type.

Twenty years after 9/11, we see that in our Western democracies the war

In the aftermath of the Vault 7 leak, viewed at the time as the largest data loss in the CIA's history, Pompeo was enraged and demanded a multi-pronged campaign to dismantle WikiLeaks.

criminals and the torturers are free, whereas a journalist, Julian Assange, is in prison precisely for revealing those crimes. Isn't it time for public opinion to wake up before it is too late for our democracies?

That is precisely what we are trying to do with this report [on Pegasus], with the work on Assange. Who is really the perpetrator of the human rights violations, who is violating the humanitarian laws, who is committing war crimes? It is not Julian Assange, it is not dedicated journalists and publishers who put information in the public interest into the public domain. The perpetrators of these crimes are state actors or agents of the state, and that is why Assange is a threat and other publishers who do the same are a threat, because they push way beyond their weight in terms of holding the states accountable, and states don't like it. Assange is such an important test case, because he is representative of all that, of state power, and if the US extradites him, if the US gets that long arm to reach out and grab a foreign publisher and bring him into the United States, and says he doesn't have First Amendment rights to do what he does, that precedent can be damaging so far beyond this case, and that is why we are trying to forestall.

Assange is a hero. In my view, he exposed the 'wrong' policies, the disgusting policies of the US government and NATO. Now he's living in the hearts of all the justiceloving people.

He should not be put in jail. Bush, Dick Cheney, Condoleezza Rice, all these warmongers, should be in jail, not Julian Assange, not Chelsea Manning. They are brave and raise their voices for justice and peace.

MALALAI JOYA, PEACE ACTIVIST IN **AFGHANISTAN** 



Hacking Justice (2021) Documentary - 1h 29min

by Clara López and Juan Pancorbo



Publicly, he described the group as a "non-state hostile intelligence service". But privately, he pushed for aggressive action at meetings with top Trump administration officials, including a snatch operation to abduct Assange from the Ecuadorian Embassy in London.

**YAHOO NEWS** 

Containing the latest developments from the US extradition ruling, the film depicts Baltasar Garzón, a former Spanish judge who jailed Pinochet.

With unique access to the characters, the film witnesses the struggle for the control of information, the growing influence of intelligence services and the difficult balance of individual rights and state security.

Scan to watch



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