



Edward Snowden – Ossietyzky of our time

Norwegian PEN awards the Ossietyzky Prize 2016 to the whistleblower Edward Snowden.

This year it is 80 years since the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded Carl von Ossietyzky, an event that we commemorate by holding the award ceremony in the University Aula of Oslo, where Ossietyzky in 1936 should have come to receive his prize. Norwegian PEN invites Edward Snowden to receive the award in Oslo on Friday 18 November, and we will do our utmost to ensure that Snowden may receive the prize in person.

The Ossietyzky prize is Norwegian PEN's award for outstanding efforts for freedom of expression. The prize is awarded annually to a person or institution that over time, or in connection with a particular issue or event, made an exceptional effort for freedom of expression.

Foto: J.Y. Jensen

#SnowdentoOslo



Finn Graff



Noam Chomsky
linguist and
commentator

Edward Snowden

commands enormous respect for what he has done. With courage and integrity, he has met the responsibilities of a citizen dedicated to a basic principle of democratic life: that citizens should be informed of what their elected representatives are doing to them, in secret. The idea that his travel should be restricted -- that he should be punished in any way for these courageous and honorable acts -- is a disgrace. Everything possible should be done to ensure that he can attend the ceremonies in Oslo where he is to be granted the award that he so richly deserves!

30 May 2016

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This supplement is published in support of the signature campaign to get Edward Snowden to Oslo to receive Norwegian PEN's Ossietyzky Prize 2016. Thanks go to Right Livelihood Award Foundation, Norwegian Peace Council and Fritt Ord.

NYTID

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**1936
CARL VON
OSSJETZKY
awarded the
Nobel Peace Prize**



**2016
EDWARD
SNOWDEN awarded
the Ossietszky Prize**

On 18 November 2016 Edward Snowden will be handed the Norwegian PEN's Ossietszky Prize for outstanding achievements as a whistleblower. **We do not want his chair to stand empty in the University Hall in Oslo** this day due to lack of security to travel to Oslo for Snowden, keeping in mind that Carl von Ossietszky was denied going to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1936. **We need your help!**

Petition to the Government of Norway

We urge the government of Norway to ensure that NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden can safely enter Norway to receive the Ossietszky Prize, which will be formally bestowed upon Mr. Snowden by the freedom of expression group Norwegian PEN 18 November 2016. This will require that Norway commit to providing Mr. Snowden guaranteed protection from extradition to the United States.

Sign the petition! Go to www.norskpen.no or to www.rootsaction.org to sign and get more information about this mobilization.

First supporters of this petition, are:

Noam Chomsky, renown linguist, political writer and commentator
Arundhati Roy, 1997 Booker Prize laureate, and human rights icon
Daniel Ellsberg, US political and RAND corporation analyst
Marit Arnstad, member of the Norwegian Parliament
Jesselyn Radack, WHISPeR at Expose Facts, attorney for Edward Snowden
Mari Boine, world renown Sami jazz rock musician
Arne Ruth, Swedish publicist and longtime editor
Ola Larsmo, Swedish PEN and Bjørnson Prize laureate 2008
Moddi, Norwegian singer-song-writer
Coleen Rowley, FBI special agent, Time Magazine "Person of the Year" 2002
Thomas Drake, former NSA senior executive turned whistleblower
Marsha Coleman-Adebayo, US Environmental Protection Agency turned whistleblower
Marjorie Cohn, professor and former president of the National Lawyers Guild
William Binney, longtime NSA analyst turned whistleblower
John Kiriakou, CIA analyst turned whistleblower
William Nygaard, Norwegian publicist, chair of Norwegian PEN

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SOUTHTRON

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Foto: J.Y. Jones

Edward Snowden is the quintessential American whistleblower, and a personal hero of mine!

Leaks are the lifeblood of the republic and, for the first time, the American public has been given the chance to debate democratically the NSA's mass surveillance programs.

Accountability journalism can't be done without the courageous acts exemplified by Snowden, and we need more like him. . . .

The secrecy system in this country is broken. No one is punished for using secrecy to conceal dangerous policies, lies, or crimes, yet concerned employees who wish to inform the American public about what the government is doing under their name are treated as spies.

Our 'accountability' mechanisms are a one-sided secret court, which acts as a rubber stamp, and a Congressional 'oversight' committee, which has turned into the NSA's public relations firm. Edward Snowden had no choice but to go to the press with information.

Far from a crime, Snowden's disclosures are a true constitutional moment, where the press has held the government to account using the First Amendment, when the other branches refused.

Daniel Ellsberg

by Norman Solomon

A key context

for the U.S. government's goal of capturing and prosecuting Snowden is the double standard that has long prevailed in terms of public disclosure of classified information.

One of the grossest hypocrisies of Washington officialdom is the willingness to denounce leaks of some classified information and to countenance leaks of other classified information. This hypocrisy has been going on for many decades.

But the gap between indignant pretense and standard practice has widened into a chasm in recent years, with President Barack Obama's administration prosecuting leakers in record numbers while protecting its own. Selective prosecution of leaks in the name of national security has never been more extreme.

Few prominent lawmakers in America have ever bothered to draw attention to such glaring contradictions. An exception came nearly 20 years ago when Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan observed that the secrecy emperor had no clothes.

In a September 1998 letter to President Bill Clinton, the senior senator from New York pointed out that "leaking information to the press in order to bring pressure to bear on a policy question" had become "a routine aspect of government life." Moynihan added this zinger: "An evenhanded prosecution of leakers could imperil an entire administration."

Then, as now, with upper reaches of the U.S. government's executive branch often leaking like a sieve, evenhanded prosecution of leakers was out of the question. But Moynihan's letter had a more limited purpose: gaining a pardon for a former U.S. Navy intelligence analyst, Samuel L. Morison, who had served a two-year prison sentence for giving classified photos of a Soviet nuclear-

powered aircraft carrier to a British magazine. Moynihan wrote that "the selective action against Mr. Morison appears capricious at best."

Clinton ultimately responded by pardoning Morison on his last day as president. *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis called the pardon "an act of particular courage" and noted that Morison was "the only government official ever convicted for giving classified information to the press." A prior prosecution along that line failed in 1973 when a judge cited "improper government conduct" and dismissed all charges against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo for leaking the Pentagon Papers to the press.

When Obama's presidency began, the Espionage Act had been invoked during the previous 92 years in just three cases that involved giving classified information to news media. (In addition to the Pentagon Papers and Morison prosecutions, the law was used in 2005 against Pentagon employee Lawrence Franklin and a pair of officials from the American

Israel Public Affairs Committee.)

The Obama administration seized on the 1917 law, using it to file charges

against seven people who had leaked to news media. None of those seven had anything to do with espionage.

For more than five years, the U.S. Justice Department has been on record with the assertion that individuals who provide classified information to the press are apt to be worse than spies for a foreign power.

... made the world better with their courage!

→ **I**n January 2011 the Justice Department filed a legal brief declaring that a whistleblower's alleged disclosures "may be viewed as more pernicious than the typical espionage case where a spy sells classified information for money."

Released in late 2014, a U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee report on torture shows that the CIA press office leaked classified information to preferred journalists in efforts to make the agency look good. Naturally enough, the CIA did not follow up on its illegal leaks by filing a crimes report on itself.

What's more, the last two CIA directors to leave the job — David Petraeus and Leon Panetta — have eluded prosecution despite solid evidence that they leaked classified information. Panetta, whom Petraeus replaced, allegedly shared top secret information about the raid that killed Osama bin Laden with "Zero Dark Thirty" filmmaker Mark Boal. But Panetta was never in any danger of prosecution.

The stench of selective prosecution, though hard to miss, is routine. Few the U.S. government dare challenge or even question the vastly different treatment of authorized and unauthorized disclosures of classified information. The tacit rationales for selective prosecution end up ceding power to authorities to self-authorize the violations of regulations that others go to prison for violating.

Selective prosecution also involves another great threat to democratic principles. For the informed consent of the governed, unauthorized leaks are usually much more in the public interest than the leaks approved from on high. The classified material that policymakers choose to dole out to the press often turns out to be deceptive — especially because other classified information that would provide a fuller picture has been kept from public view. High-ranking officials are

all too eager to prosecute and imprison leakers for revealing policies that cannot withstand the light of exposure.

Maybe Senator Moynihan was correct when he wrote that "an evenhanded prosecution of leakers could imperil an entire administration." But the United States is supposed to be a nation of laws. The government's insistence on selective prosecution of leakers could imperil the basis for democracy.

Blowing the whistle on wrongdoing, as Edward Snowden has done, creates a moral frequency that vast numbers of people are eager to hear. We don't want our lives, communities, countries and world continually damaged by the deadening silences of fear and conformity, enforced by authoritarian government power.

I've met many whistleblowers over the years, and they've been extraordinarily ordinary. None were applying for halos or sainthood. All experienced anguish before deciding that continuous inaction had a price that was too high. All suffered negative consequences after they spoke up and took action. All made the world better with their courage.

This year, the government of Norway could also make the world better with courage. The kind of bravery that would be required of Norwegian officials in the case of Edward Snowden may seem unlikely.

But it is possible.



Norman Solomon is a co-founder of RootsAction.org and the executive director of the Institute for Public Accuracy, based in Washington. He coordinates the Institute's ExposeFacts.org program.

By Arundhati Roy

Writer and human rights icon Arundhati Roy visited Edward Snowden in 2014, together with actor John Cusack and Daniel Ellsberg. This is from her **Outlook** article of 16 November 2015 as she looks back.

Edward spoke at some length about “sleepwalking into a total surveillance state”. And here I quote him, because he’s said this often before:

“If we do nothing, we sort of sleepwalk into a total surveillance state where we have both a super-state that has unlimited capacity to apply force with an unlimited ability to know (about the people it is targeting)—and that’s a very dangerous combination.



That’s the dark future. The fact that they know everything about us and we know nothing about them—because they are secret, they are privileged, and they are a separate class...the elite class, the political class, the resource class—we don’t know where they live, we don’t know what they do, we don’t know who their friends are. They have the ability to know all that about us. This is the direction of the future, but I think there are changing possibilities in this....”

Dan spoke about how even in the United States, a police state was only another 9/11 away: “We are not in a police state now, not yet. I’m talking about what may come. I realize I shouldn’t put it that way.... White, middle-class, educated people like myself are not living in a police state.... Black, poor people are living in a police state.

The repression starts with the semi-white, the Middle Easterners, including anybody who is allied with them, and goes on from there.... We don’t have a police state. One more 9/11, and then I believe we will have hundreds of thousands of detentions. Middle Easterners and Muslims will be put in detention camps or deported. After 9/11, we had thousands of people arrested without charges.... But I’m talking about the future. I’m talking the level of the Japanese in World War II... I’m talking of hundreds of thousands in camps or deported. I think the surveillance is very relevant to that. They will know who to put away—the data is already collected.”

by Jesselyn Radack

The National Security Agency (NSA) should be focused on reforming its out of control mass surveillance operations, including the bulk phone records collection program that a federal judge and the independent Privacy and Civil Liberties Board have said violates the law. Instead, NSA is spending countless man hours investigating how the public found out about the law breaking, smearing the whistleblower who told the public the truth (Edward Snowden), and - in classic NSA fashion - spreading around blame for whistleblowing among low-level officials.

The latest Snowden smear back in NSA's rotation surfaces in an account NBC itself describes as "sketchy." NBC nonetheless reports that Snowden may have used "an element of trickery" to gain access to information. However, rather than punishing the officials who authorized wasteful and illegal spying, NSA is bragging to

Congress about punishing Snowden's co-worker:

As a result, the employee's security clearance was revoked in November and the NSA has notified the Justice Department that he recently resigned. The main stream media is salivating to publish and repeat any inkling of anti-Snowden material. (It is certainly easier than asking how the Intelligence Community leaders, secret court, and Presidents of both parties signed off on surveillance that violates the privacy rights of hundreds of millions of innocent Americans.)

While the original piece didn't

documented history of scapegoating innocent employees for its own failures, ... manufacturing evidence against them and misleading Congress."

There is no reason to take at face value anything NSA tells Congress considering its history of misleading Congress and the public. But, this sort of scapegoating is right in NSA's wheelhouse. When the *New York Times* published the Pulitzer Prize-winning story on warrantless wiretapping, NSA blamed whistleblowers who had nothing to do with the *Times* story - pulling their security clearances and

blacklisting them from contract jobs. The fact that NSA finds time to write a memo to Congress about accountability for the public finding out about NSA waste and illegality, but

cannot give a clear answer to simple oversight questions like "does the NSA collect data on millions of Americans?" should call into question all of NSA's defensive smears of the messenger that are really transparent attempts to distract from the message.

NSA is out of control !

include a statement from Snowden's legal representative, to his credit, Michael Isikoff of NBC updated the article to include a statement from me:

In response to a request for comment, Jesselyn Radack, a legal adviser to Snowden in the U.S., said, "Edward Snowden stands by his denial on Jan. 23. NSA has a



There was a roar of anticipation among Edward Snowden's supporters and a grin of indignation among his political opponents, when the whistleblower was awarded Norwegian PEN's prestigious freedom of expression prize, the Ossietzky prize for 2016. The split reaction became all the more clear when the award winner was subsequently invited to Oslo, the University Hall (The Aula), to receive the award in person. Was he a hero, a whistleblower or a traitor?

by William Nygaard, chair, Norwegian PEN

Edward Snowden - the little man's struggle

And a rather optimistic question followed: Will the governments in Norway and the United States take this opportunity to soften past criticism of whistleblowers against international illegal surveillance by actually letting him come? Were they willing to give him safe conduct and interpret an extradition application in his favour? Or would they mobilize all their opposition - legal and political - to prevent him from passing the Norwegian border? Few were surprised when such hopeful optimism, which would have been a smart move, was greeted with drum rolls of discrete, legal resistance. And official silence - at home and abroad.

Why this prize?

Edward Snowden's unearthing of an international as well as a national surveillance society, conducted from Washington, was the most devastating assault on hidden and illegal power politics we have seen in the Western world in recent times. Even though the consequences are different, his endeavour is as complex as the Panama securities' unmasking of worldwide financial crimes.

The uniqueness of Snowden's actions is his understanding of the gravity of

the crimes, the solitude characterizing the whistleblower role, and, still: his unselfish

willingness to act in accordance with his conscience.

Snowden understands his day. The support for his actions in wide circles is a barometer of our time. Mobilizing against individualism and egotism, indeed material sidetracks, often called body and greed, necessarily come with consequences. People's appreciation is heartfelt and in particular attuned to his courage and unselfishness. Their hatred for corruption and abuse of power is intense. The language of power scares people, and the prospect of 30 years in prison for a whistleblower is

something they simply do not accept.

For

Norwegian PEN it is vital to contribute in our small way to support

an open and credible democratic voice and give this whistleblower freedom and space to be heard. And also to be protected from abuse. But the award wants more.

An award can make a difference because it can be made spectacular. It can point a spotlight on the hidden parts of surveillance. Today the scope and ambition of the electronic surveillance mammoth and its potential for subversive mole activities are hidden to the public. Snowden's uncovering of this massive global surveillance system is thought provoking and frightening. It threatens everybody's privacy and integrity in so many ways. Yes, in any democratic country unaccountable surveillance can turn into abuse. Its framework and objectives must be discussed in public fora, the United Nations first and foremost. The international community ought to come to terms with what benefits and what is violations of human rights and fundamental, individual values.

The award thus has the purpose of protecting whistleblower's rights as well as to create a debate on international jurisdiction and national frameworks for surveillance. But the award also salutes Snowden's personal courage, his integrity and insight into the crumbling protection of the individual's human rights, even democracy itself. →

Snowden – Ossietzky of our time

We can draw some parallels between Carl von Ossietzky's Nobel Prize and Edward Snowden's Ossietzky prize. Both were whistleblowers and both risked their personal safety, life and health when they revealed what governments wanted to keep hidden. Despite the fact that Ossietzky only referred to open sources, informing the international audience about German rearmament in the interwar period was something Nazi Germany could not tolerate.

Ossietzky did not attend the presentation in 1936, 80 years ago (he was belatedly awarded the prize for 1935). He never came to Norway, but died in prison in 1938. However, the Nobel ceremony in Oslo took its course. With empty chairs - not only the one intended for Ossietzky, but also empty chairs to mark that King Haakon of Norway, and leading newspaper editors and politicians had distanced themselves from the award and were absent from the prize ceremony. The King's absence - for the first and only time in the history of the Nobel Peace Prize! This is a truly embarrassing chapter not only in the Prize's history but also in modern Norway's royal history.

It is a fact that Edward Snowden revealed comprehensive, illegitimate state and global surveillance activities and acts of espionage, both towards individual countries, heads of states and individual people. The unveiling of NSA's surveillance of millions of phone calls, resulted in US Court of Appeals' recent ruling that the surveillance was illegal since it was not approved by the United States' Congress.

In other words, a government agency, had, by US courts, been found to be operating illegally. For Snowden, and many more, this activity was a violation of the United States' Constitution. The use of legislation from WWI, the Espionage Act of 1917, so far gives him no protection and understanding with the US authorities - a USA supposedly governed by the rule of law. He may face lifelong imprisonment under inhumane conditions.



Why so worried, Norway?

Why is the Norwegian government so worried about Snowden's possible coming here? He may be a far greater cause for worry for other countries, e.g. the United States or their so-called *Nine Eyes* partner countries.

Human rights organizations worldwide have, however, supported Snowden's whistleblowing uncovering illegal surveillance practices. In a non-binding resolution by the European Parliament in 2015, Snowden's status as a whistleblower and a defender of human rights is established. Member states were encouraged to grant him asylum. There are formal obstacles for his entry: Snowden is deprived of his US passport, his present legal status is uncertain, there are extradition laws and agreements, or possible formal or political obstacles the governments' legal expertise may concoct. This is indeed the insignificant human being deprived of its legal protection in a judicial and political struggle against an overpowering State!

Courage to debate

One part of the Snowden case is particularly worrisome, namely the absence of political debate in Norway - both about the framework for surveillance and about Norway's sovereignty. Why this reluctance to debate publicly? What hinders the Official Norway from having an open discussion on this topic? We know that politicians in the Norwegian parliament (Stortinget) support Snowden, perhaps even a majority of them do so, also when it comes to a deeper understanding of this case.

The reason for this reluctance is the fear of superpowers. We know it takes a lot for Norwegian authorities to challenge the United States of America - the Superpower *par excellence*. Such servility and self-censorship is something we ought to challenge. Any lack of political debate, no matter how problematic or "dangerous" the theme may be, is a sign of incipient deterioration of democracy, and for Americans, probably a consequence of the September 11 attacks.



It takes integrity and courage for Norwegian politicians to initiate a debate and to take a stand on this. Today's unanimous silence is quite simply censorship by self-censorship. In sterling whistleblower-spirit Norwegian media has been supportive of the award. Norway's challenging the state to give the laureate access to the country - press organizations and Norwegian PEN are actively supporting in the courtrooms, as a symbolic gesture in support of and respect for individual rights and our country's independence.

Norwegian politicians should follow suit. They ought to issue a guarantee so that Edward Snowden, the most significant whistleblower of our time, can come to Oslo to receive an award – a freedom of expression prize – from a sovereign and responsible country like Norway, and show the world that human rights can be promoted in the face of power politics. That will make us all great, and show respect for the little man and woman's struggle for their rights.

William Nygaard is chair of Norwegian PEN

Sign the petition! Go to www.norskpen.no or to www.rootsaction.org to sign and get more information about this mobilization.

Jesselyn Radack

... and one law for the elites

It is not in dispute that Hillary Clinton had work e-mails on a private server at home while she served as Secretary of State. It is not in dispute that her cache of 30.000 e-mails contained classified documents from as many as five U.S. intelligence agencies. I am baffled how this could have occurred in the midst the most draconian

crackdown in U.S history on low-level government employees accused of mishandling classified information.

The Obama administration has used the antiquated Espionage Act more than all previous presidents combined to go after employees, including NSA whistleblowers Edward Snowden and Thomas Drake; CIA whistleblowers John Kiriakou and Jeffrey Sterling; State Department whistleblowers Stephen Kim and Peter Van Buren; and Army whistleblower Chelsea

Manning. (I represent Snowden, Drake, Kiriakou, and Van Buren.) While these whistleblower cases concern far less sensitive information, sometimes even unclassified information, the defendants have faced much stiffer punishment than those in the rarefied atmosphere of government elites.

Thomas Drake, Jesselyn Radack and Daniel Ellsberg in Stockholm 2015



Erling Borgen, filmdirector and professor of investigative documentary film making:



«Edward Snowden is a true hero. His courage in defense of freedom of expression and human rights, makes him an international role model. Norway and other countries have refused to give him asylum. What a shame! What an act of cowardice!»

#SnowdentoOslo



Some whistleblowers throughout history

- 1773 – **Benjamin Franklin** exposed letters that proved the governor of Massachusetts misled Parliament to promote a military buildup in the New World. The governor was dishonorably discharged and exiled.
- 1777 – **Samuel Shaw** and **Richard Marven** revealed the torture of British prisoners of war, leading to the Continental Congress unanimously passing the first whistleblower protection law.
- 1872 – **Julius Chambers**, one of America's first investigative journalists, admitted himself to New York's Bloomingdale Insane Asylum and published an exposé proving patient abuse.
- 1906 – **Upton Sinclair** exposes conditions inside Chicago pig slaughterhouses through his novel, *The Jungle*.

- 1933 – **Smedley Butler**, retired Marine Corps Major General exposed in a secret congressional testimony and his book *War is a Racket*, "The Business Plot" to overthrow FDR's presidency.
- 1969 – **Ron Ridenhour**, Army helicopter gunner, writes a letter to Congress and the Pentagon on My Lai, Vietnam, about torture, sexual abuse, mutilation and mass murder of hundreds of civilians.
- 1971 – **Daniel Ellsberg**, US military analyst leaks a classified government study (Pentagon Papers). He showed several administrations had lied to Congress on Vietnam, contributing to the shortening of the war.
- 1972 – **Peter Buxtun** exposed that the US Public Health Service was studying the effects of syphilis on 399 African-American men who were neither told they had the disease nor was treated for it.
- 1972 – **W. Mark Felt**, associate director of the FBI, known as "**Deep Throat**," gives reporters information about the Nixon's criminal behavior, which directly led to Nixon's resignation.





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1975 – **Anders Hellebust** unearthed irregular cooperation between USA and Norwegian intelligence, kept secret from the Prime Minister, showing civil servants to be more loyal to foreign powers than to their own government. The Labour Party in power and other newspapers wanted the paper *Ny Tid* charged for publishing this. Says Dahl & Bastiansen in *”Hvor fritt et land?”* the press regarded «revealing illegalities worse than committing illegalities.”

1977 – **Frank Camps**, design engineer with Ford Motor Company, warned Ford that the design of the Pinto car was unsafe, documenting that the company knew this and had made a calculated risk in order to save money.

1983 – **Jorgen Johansen**, Norwegian journalist, systematically compiled and analysed open public records and identified irregular US bases in Norway. He was charged of espionage, but finally acquitted by the Supreme Court.

1995 – **Jeffrey Wigand**, vice-president for research and development for tobacco company Brown & Williamson, discloses the company and misled consumers about how addictive and hazardous cigarettes are.

1999 – **Frank Casey** reported on money manager Bernard Madoff, and his too-good-to-be true “12% return for investors”. In 2008 losses to investors were estimated at \$18 billion. Madoff was sentenced to 150 years.

2000 – **Marsha Coleman-Adebayo**, analyst in the Office of the Administrator at the EPA, blew the whistle on the EPA for racial and gender discrimination. The case eventually led to the No-FEAR Act in 2002 making federal agencies more accountable to employees.

2001 – **William Binney** and **Kirk Wiebe** (Technical Director and Senior Analyst at NSA) were sacked when they blew the

whistle on NSA’s mismanagement and waste with the failed data collection program “Trailblazer”.

2001 – **Kathryn Bolkovac**, human rights investigator in Bosnia, exposed crimes against young girls, forced into prostitution and used as sex slaves by U.S. military and UN-related police and international organizations.

2001 – **Sherron Watkins** helped uncover the Enron scandal in 2001, by disclosing accounting irregularities in the company, warning that Enron ‘might implode in a wave of accounting scandals.’

2002 – **Jesselyn Radack**, Department of Justice Ethics Advisor, warned FBI agents who interrogated “American Taliban” John Walker Lindh without his legal counsel present.

2002 – **Kari Breirem**, director of the Norwegian prestigious law firm BA-HR refused to sign an wrongly labelled payment of 1,5 million NOK. BA-HR was fined for carrying out the payment. Breirem lost her job.

2002 – **Cynthia Cooper**, Internal Audit at WorldCom, disclosed \$3.8 billion in fraud at WorldCom, the largest incident of accounting fraud in U.S. history at the time.

2002 – **Coleen Rowley**, FBI Special Agent, outlined the agency’s tragically slow response to reports of suspicious activity before the 9/11 attacks. She jointly held the TIME Person of the Year award in 2002 with Sherron Watkins and Cynthia Cooper.

2003 – **Katharine Gun** leaks an e-mail on illegal activities by the US and UK in Iraq. An NSA official requested British help to spy on UN diplomats. Gun is arrested for this “crime,” but the case is dropped in 2004.

2004 – **David Graham**, Food and Drug Administration safety officer broke ranks with his employer and testified to the U.S. Senate that Merck’s drug Vioxx killed as many Americans as the Vietnam War.





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2004 – **Joseph Darby**, sergeant, provided photos of torture and abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib, triggering an investigation that led to prison and dishonorable discharge for 11 soldiers. In Norway a petition initiated by **Gunnar Garbo** demands that Norway press to charge the people on top rather than the rank and file.

2005 – **Rick Piltz** at the U.S. Climate Change Science Program, resigns over the White House's attempt to manipulate them to overstate the degree of scientific uncertainty about human causes of climate change.

2005 – **Thomas Drake**, NSA Senior Executive, identified NSA programs that sacrificed security and privacy. Using all proper internal channels in vain, Drake turned secret whistleblower soon after 9/11 and openly to the press in 2006. Prosecuted under the Espionage Act, he saw his case collapse by June 2011. Nonetheless, he was forced to mount a crushing legal battle for four years and see his career destroyed.

2005 – **Bradley Birkenfeld** exposed Swiss UBS bank encouraging Americans to evade taxes in offshore accounts and recovered of billions of taxpayer dollars and helped to end the illegal UBS tax fraud. Birkenfeld was sentenced to 40-months in prison.

2006 – **James Hansen**, climate scientist blew the whistle on NASA officials' and the Bush administration's attempts to silence him from speaking out about the dangers of global warming.

2006 – **Gary Aguirre**, SEC lawyer reported that SEC failed to properly investigate leading hedge funds. Aguirre was dismissed following his attempt to subpoena John Mack, who later became CEO of Morgan Stanley.

2006 – **Aubrey Blumsohn**, a senior faculty member at Sheffield University, blew the whistle on data concealment and manipulation performed on behalf of Procter & Gamble's osteoporosis drug, Actonel.

2006 – **Julian Assange**, **Sara Harrison** and **Kristinn Hrafnsson** are among the names behind the non-profit journalistic organisation, and probably the best known, that enables publication by anonymous whistle-blowers. Wikileaks was instrumental in Chelsea Manning's and Edward Snowden's whistleblowing projects.

2007 – **John Kiriakou** headed CIA counterterrorism operations in Pakistan. Refused to be trained in waterboarding, and exposed the CIA's torture program as policy, rather than mere actions of rogue agents.

2008 – **Hervé Falciani**, at the Swiss branch of the giant HSBC bank, copied 60.000 files and identified tens of thousands of tax evaders and crimes from almost all countries of the world. Accused of computer theft in Switzerland, Falciani was charged *in absentia* to 5 years in prison. He was, however, granted asylum in France. US Senate hearings concluded HSBC worked with rogue regimes, terrorist financiers and narcotic-traffickers and fined the bank 1,9 billion \$. No executives faced penalties. Swiss government dropped the charges against HSBC which made a profit of 13 billion \$ in 2015.

2009 – **John Kopchinski** is a former Pfizer sales representative whose whistleblower lawsuit launched a massive government investigation into Pfizer's illegal marketing practices.



Sign the petition! Go to www.norskpen.no or to www.rootsaction.org to sign and get more information about this mobilization.



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2010 – **Samy Kamkar**, computer hacker who exposed the illicit global mobile phone tracking of all users, regardless of GPS or Location Services settings, on the Apple iPhone, Google Android and Microsoft Windows

2010 – **Wilma Subra** found evidence of serious health risks for clean-up workers and Gulf Coast after the BP *Deepwater Horizon* disaster in April 2010.

2010 – **Chelsea Manning**, U.S. Army intelligence analyst, arrested for leaking 91.731 secret U.S. military reports on the war in Afghanistan, and 251.287 State Department cables, including a airstrike video of US gunfire killing 9 civilians and two Reuters journalists in Baghdad. Sentenced to 35 years in maximum security prison.

2012 – **John Parsons**, Inspector General for “the Global Fund,” to which Norway i.a. contributes 1,7 billion NOK 2014-16. Revealed that up to two-thirds of certain Global Fund grants may have been lost to corruption. The Board terminated Parsons engagement in November 2012.

2012 – **Eric Ben-Artzi** exposes multi-billion dollar securities violations at Deutsche Bank. He reported serious failure to report the value of its credit derivatives portfolio accurately.

2013 – **John Crane** at the Pentagon Inspector General’s office, responsible for protecting whistleblowers against offenses and abuse, reported that Thomas Drake’s testimony was illegally used against him. Crane was immediately sacked from his job after 25 years service.

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For further information go to

GAP (The Government Accountability Project) www.whistleblower.org for more and in depth examples on the history of whistleblowers.

WHISPeR, ExposeFact’s Whistleblower and Source Protection programme,

<https://whisper.exposefacts.org/>

Democracy Now democracynow.org/
2016/5/23exclusive
source_reveals_how_pentagon_ruined
The New Yorker, 30 Mai 2016. ”*The Bank Robber*” pp. 37-47

The 9/11 Commission Report:
Omissions And Distortions (David Ray Griffin), 2005

Books

Mark Hertsgaard, *Bravehearts*, Whistleblowing in the age of Snowden, 2016. On John Crane and Thomas Drake
Glen Greenwald, *No Place to Hide*, Edward Snowden, the NSA and the Surveillance State, 2014

Julia Angwin, *The Dragnet Nation*, the Quest for Privacy, Security and Freedom in a World of Relentless Surveillance, 2014

Brian Martin. *Whistleblowing: A Practical Guide*, Irene Publishing, 2013

Jesselyn Radack, *Traitor: The Whistleblower and the "American Taliban"* Foreword by Glenn Greenwald, 2012

John Kiriakou and **Michael Ruby**, *The Reluctant Spy: My Secret Life in the CIA's War on Terror*, 2010

Norman Solomon, *War Made Easy: How Presidents and Pundits Keep Spinning Us to Death*, 2006

Daniel Ellsberg, *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers*, 2003

Coleen Rowley, *Time Magazine* 3 June 2002, *The Bombshell Memo*

Daniel Ellsberg, *Papers on the War*, 1972

Forthcoming books

John Kiriakou and **Joseph Hickman**, *The Convenient Terrorist: Abu Zubaydah and the Weird Wonderland of America's Secret Wars*, 2017

Daniel Ellsberg, *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner*, March 7, 2017

At this year's Whistleblower Day, June 16, two other whistle-blowers visited.

Lisa Ling and Cian Westmoreland are both whistleblowers, inspired by Edward Snowden. They were among the many who endorsed the international invitation to mobilize signatures for #SnowdentoOslo at www.norskpen.no. At the launch at Litteraturhuset in Oslo, they told us why. Both have a background from the military. They are themselves whistleblowers, uncovering abuses and illegalities committed by the military-industrial complex.

Lisa Ling is one of three whistleblowers

South Korea, Germany and Afghanistan in the period 2006 - 2010. Cian's task was to coordinate the information that would be used in air strikes in Afghanistan. He received two awards for providing information that allegedly killed 200 enemy combatants in Afghanistan. He was denied access to the information about the effects by these attacks on the civilian population, but became aware that the civilian casualties included, according to the UNAMA report of 2009, some documented 259 civilian victims by the multinational force attacks in Afghanistan.

Cian ended his military career and went on a hitchhiker tour from Germany to Thailand and traveled in areas where he could see the result of this so-called war on terror.

After his tour Cian began studying international politics at Vesalius College in Belgium. When he saw the video Collateral Murder, which was leaked via Wikileaks, he says that he suddenly realized that the war he had been a part of, involved

systematic violation of the Geneva Convention.

Directly inspired by Edward Snowden, he took the floor during a lecture, deliberately broke his confidentiality vow and started talking about his own experiences. He organized a viewing of the award-winning Norwegian documentary film *Drones*, directed by Tone Scheie. And decided to become a public whistleblower.

Along with three other whistleblowers, Cian has given interviews i.a. to The Guardian, Democracy Now and the American television channel NBC.

Both Lisa Ling and Cian Westmoreland are inspired by Edward Snowden and will extend their trip to Norway to include Germany, UK and further on to Australia. They will share their experiences in order to highlight how the massive data acquisition and intelligence is used in

Inspired by Snowden

by Rune Ottosen

who come forward in Sonia Kennebeck's *National Bird*, the award-winning documentary on military drones. Here she explains the global impact of drone warfare. She has 20 years of experience from the military as a professional soldier and reservist. Her field was information management and military intelligence. Lisa Ling served i.a. in the 48th Intelligence Squadron at Beale Air Force Base from 2007-2009.

She describes a system beyond political and democratic control. Lisa was scared by the lack of legal protection and extrajudicial killings which are consequences of the America's drone warfare. After a visit to Afghanistan, where she saw the results of the this war on the civilian population, she decided to come forward as a whistleblower. She concluded that the so-called war on terror itself is terror against innocent civilians.

Cian Westmoreland was hugely inspired by Snowden when he decided to come forward as a whistleblower. He was a decorated soldier with long time experience in military information retrieval on US bases in



Foto: J.Y.Jones

Cian and Lisa at Voksenåsen's «Time for Peace» belfry in Oslo

**1936
CARL VON
OSSJETZKY
awarded the
Nobel Peace Prize**



**2016
EDWARD
SNOWDEN awarded
the Ossietszky Prize**

On 18 November 2016 Edward Snowden will be handed the Norwegian PEN's Ossietszky Prize for outstanding achievements as a whistleblower.

We do not want his chair to stand empty in the University Hall in Oslo

this day due to lack of security to travel to Oslo for Snowden, keeping in mind that Carl von Ossietzky was denied going to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1936.

We need your help!

Petition to the Government of Norway

We urge the government of Norway to ensure that NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden can safely enter Norway to receive the Ossietszky Prize, which will be formally bestowed upon Mr. Snowden by the freedom of expression group Norwegian PEN 18 November 2016. This will require that Norway commit to providing Mr. Snowden guaranteed protection from extradition to the United States.

Sign the petition! Go to www.norskpen.no or to www.rootsaction.org to sign and get more information about this mobilization.