

**IPT REPORT:  
GLENN GREENWALD**



**The Investigative Project  
on Terrorism**

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## Introduction

This dossier compiles material related to **Glenn Greenwald**, currently a columnist for The Intercept. Dedicated to “adversarial journalism,” whose “prime target is the U.S. intelligence apparatus,”<sup>1</sup> The Intercept’s current editors are co-founders Glenn Greenwald (Co-Founding Editor & Columnist) and Jeremy Scahill (Co-Founding Editor & Senior Investigative Reporter), and Betsy Reed (Editor-in-Chief).<sup>2</sup> Additional writing staff includes Matthew Cole (National Security Reporter), Ali Gharib (Senior News Editor), Mehdi Hasan (Columnist), Murtaza Hussain (Reporter), Robert Mackey (Senior Writer), and James Risen (Senior National Security Correspondent).<sup>3</sup>

Pierre Omidyar, the founder of eBay, created First Look Media<sup>4</sup> and The Intercept, in collaboration with Glenn Greenwald, Jeremy Scahill, and Laura Poitras, after the release of government surveillance classified material by Edward Snowden.<sup>5</sup> Omidyar is a member of the WorldPost Editorial Board (a partnership between the Berggruen Institute and the Washington Post)<sup>6</sup> is involved with The Sunlight Foundation and the Center for Public Integrity.<sup>7</sup>

The Intercept’s coverage on Israel and the Middle East has been described as “cross[ing] the line from opinion journalism to a crude and vile form of propaganda.”<sup>8</sup> One commentator has stated, “To be sure, The Intercept makes no pretense of being a neutral news organization reporting on a war, but it cannot properly be called opinion journalism either; its one-sidedness is so flagrant and relentless that it easily traverses the line

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Rice, “The Pierre Omidyar Insurgency,” *New York Magazine*, Nov. 3, 2014, <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2014/10/pierre-omidyar-first-look-media.html>, archived at <http://archive.is/J8K6P>

<sup>2</sup> “About the Intercept,” <https://theintercept.com/about/>

<sup>3</sup> “About the Intercept,” <https://theintercept.com/about/>

<sup>4</sup> Mark Hosenball, “Here’s Who’s Backing Glenn Greenwald’s New Website,” *Reuters*, Oct. 15, 2013, [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/15/glenn-greenwald-pierre-omidyar\\_n\\_4103026.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/15/glenn-greenwald-pierre-omidyar_n_4103026.html), <http://archive.is/PQWq6>

<sup>5</sup> “About the Intercept,” <https://theintercept.com/about/>

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Omidyar, “6 ways social media has become a direct threat to democracy,” *Washington Post*, Oct. 9, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/theworldpost/wp/2017/10/09/pierre-omidyar-6-ways-social-media-has-become-a-direct-threat-to-democracy/>, archived at <http://archive.is/cbtWN>

<sup>7</sup> Paul Farhi, “Ebay founder’s next venture: funding watchdog journalism,” *Washington Post*, Oct. 18, 2013, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/ebay-founders-next-venture-funding-watchdog-journalism/2013/10/16/3e91b33a-3695-11e3-8a0e-4e2cf80831fc\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/ebay-founders-next-venture-funding-watchdog-journalism/2013/10/16/3e91b33a-3695-11e3-8a0e-4e2cf80831fc_story.html), archived at <http://archive.is/9exBl>

<sup>8</sup> Gabriel Schoenfeld, “Pierre Omidyar, Glenn Greenwald, and Their War on Israel,” *The American Interest*, Sept. 9, 2014, <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2014/09/09/pierre-omidyar-glenn-greenwald-and-their-war-on-israel/>, archived at <http://archive.is/fDuQD>





separating argumentation from propaganda.”<sup>9</sup> Likewise, Greenwald’s writing on Israel has been described as “vicious anti-Zionism, and a corresponding belief on the injurious influence of organized US Jewry on American foreign policy in the Middle East.”<sup>10</sup>

### Glenn Greenwald biographical background

Glenn Greenwald, born March 6, 1967 in New York City, grew up in Lauderdale Lakes, Florida. He is a graduate of George Washington University, BA, Philosophy 1990, and New York University School of Law, JD 1994.<sup>11</sup> He worked as a litigator with Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz<sup>12</sup> until he set up his own law practice in 1996 specializing in constitutional law and civil rights issues.<sup>13</sup> Leaving the practice of law in 2007, he moved to Brazil, wrote for Salon.com until 2012,<sup>14</sup> and then *The Guardian* (UK), from August 2012 until October 2013, when he began his work with The Intercept.

Greenwald is the author of several books: “*How Would a Patriot Act?* (May 2006), a critique of the Bush administration's use of executive power; *A Tragic Legacy* (June, 2007), about the Bush legacy; and *With Liberty and Justice For Some: How the Law Is Used to Destroy Equality and Protect the Powerful.*”<sup>15</sup> Most recently, he wrote “*No Place to Hide,*” about his experience reporting on the Snowden affair.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Gabriel Schoenfeld, “Pierre Omidyar, Glenn Greenwald, and Their War on Israel,” *The American Interest*, Sept. 9, 2014,

<https://www.the-american-interest.com/2014/09/09/pierre-omidyar-glenn-greenwald-and-their-war-on-israel/>, archived at <http://archive.is/fDuQD>

<sup>10</sup> Adam Levick, “The Guardian and Glenn Greenwald: The anti-imperialism of fools,” *Times of Israel*, July 25, 2012, <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-guardian-and-glenn-greenwald-the-anti-imperialism-of-fools/>, archived at <http://archive.is/P5yTq>

<sup>11</sup> Simon van Zuylen-Wood, “Does This Man Know More Than Robert Mueller? Glenn Greenwald’s war on the Russia investigation,” *New York Magazine*, Jan. 22, 2018,

<http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/glenn-greenwald-russia-investigation.html>, archived at <http://archive.is/eSgsQ>

<sup>12</sup> Ian Parker, “Glenn Greenwald, the Bane of Their Resistance,” *The New Yorker*, Sept. 3, 2018, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/09/03/glenn-greenwald-the-bane-of-their-resistance>, archived at <http://archive.is/ConiH>

<sup>13</sup> Ian Parker, “Glenn Greenwald, the Bane of Their Resistance,” *The New Yorker*, Sept. 3, 2018, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/09/03/glenn-greenwald-the-bane-of-their-resistance>, archived at <http://archive.is/ConiH>; Simon van Zuylen-Wood, “Does This Man Know More Than Robert Mueller? Glenn Greenwald’s war on the Russia investigation,” *New York Magazine*, Jan. 22, 2018, <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/glenn-greenwald-russia-investigation.html>, archived at <http://archive.is/eSgsQ>

<sup>14</sup> Glenn Greenwald articles, [https://www.salon.com/writer/glenn\\_greenwald/](https://www.salon.com/writer/glenn_greenwald/)

<sup>15</sup> Glenn Greenwald bio, *The Guardian* (UK), <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/glenn-greenwald>

<sup>16</sup> Glenn Greenwald bio, The Intercept, <https://theintercept.com/staff/glenn-greenwald/>





## Overview of Greenwald's positions

Greenwald has been consistent in his views on Islamic terrorism, “Islamophobia,” U.S. counterterrorism efforts, the U.S. relationship with Israel, U.S. foreign policy, and Israel’s actions in the Middle East. Greenwald blames the United States and its allies for the existence of Islamic terrorism, claiming that U.S. foreign policy has created the situation where Muslims feel the need to respond violently to U.S. action.<sup>17</sup> All terror attacks in the West are “motivated by rage over Western violence.”<sup>18</sup> He claims the media are complicit for not explaining the source of this animus, so that readers think, therefore, Muslims are just barbaric and primitive.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, Greenwald claims that the 9/11 attacks are used as a pretext to violate Americans’ civil liberties,<sup>20</sup> and that the FBI acts to create and encourage crimes by Muslims.<sup>21</sup> He has minimized the importance of numerous prosecutions against Islamists in the United States, often omitting facts about defendants in his essays.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, violent action by Muslims against the military, such as the murder of Fort Hood soldiers by Dr. Nidal Hasan, is not “terrorism” in Greenwald’s view, since the victims were not civilians, and is often legitimate self-defense.<sup>23</sup> Greenwald also claims that officials use an impermissible separate standard for declaring an act to be terrorism only when Muslims (or Palestinians) commit it, rather than when non-Muslims (or Israelis) are the perpetrators.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, Greenwald has claimed that Hamas and Hizballah are merely “devoted to protecting their citizens against the State of Israel.”<sup>25</sup>

To Greenwald, Israel, not Iran, is the “bogeyman” in the Middle East. He consistently states that Israel is a major terror actor, and that the U.S. improperly sides with and enables Israel on every issue, even if the position is, in his view, contrary to U.S. interests.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, he is highly critical of U.S. media for, in his view, uncritically “parroting” U.S. government claims. And despite his claim to advocate “free speech,” he, like Islamists, “support[s] the campaign to brand writers and thinkers ... as having ‘anti-

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<sup>17</sup> See FNs 38-41 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>18</sup> See FNs 38-41 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>19</sup> See FNs 39-41 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>20</sup> See FNs 49-54 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>21</sup> See FNs 49-50 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>22</sup> See generally IPT News, "Greenwald's Underwhelming Surveillance Scoop," July 19, 2014, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/4452/greenwald-underwhelming-surveillance-scoop> (critiquing Glenn Greenwald and Murtaza Hussain, “Meet the Muslim-American Leaders the FBI and NSA Have Been Spying On,” *The Intercept*, July 9, 2014, <https://theintercept.com/2014/07/09/under-surveillance/>, archived at <http://archive.is/oeV7>)

<sup>23</sup> See FNs 31-37 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>24</sup> See FNs 37, 96-98 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>25</sup> See FN 48 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>26</sup> See FNs 44-47, 77-83 *infra* and accompanying text.





Muslim animus’ just for criticizing Islam.”<sup>27</sup> Criticism of Palestinian “terrorism,” according to Greenwald, and assertions that the Boycott, Divestment and Sanction (“BDS”) movement is anti-Semitic, leave the Palestinians with no options to fight Israel’s “occupation.”<sup>28</sup> Claims of anti-Semitism are just ploys to shut down criticism of Israel, according to Greenwald.<sup>29</sup>

He has participated in numerous conferences and events sponsored by U.S. Islamist organizations, such as the Council on American Islamic Relations (“CAIR”).<sup>30</sup>

Below is a sampling of Greenwald’s comments and writing in these areas.

### On Islamic terrorism

Greenwald often criticizes the **use of the term “terrorism”** when applied to violent acts by Muslims, especially in attacks on Western soldiers:

- “For those (such as myself) who have long contended that the term ‘terrorism’ now has little meaning beyond ‘violence by Muslims against the West and its allies,’ and no purpose other than to delegitimize violence by one side while legitimizing the other side’s, can there be any better proof than this?”
- “There have been Palestinian attacks on Israeli civilians of course (while far more Palestinian civilians have died at the hands of the Israeli army), but in these specific cases, Palestinians are attacking purely military targets, not civilians. Those military targets are soldiers deployed to their soil as part of an illegal occupying army. **In what conceivable sense can that be ‘terrorism’? If fighting an occupying army is now ‘terrorism’ simply because the army**

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<sup>27</sup> Asra Q. Nomani, “Meet the honor brigade, an organized campaign to silence debate on Islam,” *Washington Post*, Jan. 17, 2015, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/meet-the-honor-brigade-an-organized-campaign-to-silence-critics-of-islam/2015/01/16/ob002e5a-9aaf-11e4-a7ee-526210d665b4\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/meet-the-honor-brigade-an-organized-campaign-to-silence-critics-of-islam/2015/01/16/ob002e5a-9aaf-11e4-a7ee-526210d665b4_story.html), archived at <http://archive.is/kqvkt>

<sup>28</sup> See FNs 96-108 *infra* and accompanying text.

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g., FNs 60-66 and accompanying text.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., Video, Glenn Greenwald delivers keynote address, CAIR-LA’s 17<sup>th</sup> Annual Banquet in Anaheim, CA, Nov. 25, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Szu68RVTdQU&feature=c4-overview&list=UUC697vMbAwcUut6DQmfNGdQ>; Evan Gahr, “Glenn Greenwald will return to US to address CAIR conference,” *The Daily Caller*, Nov. 4, 2013, <https://dailycaller.com/2013/11/04/glenn-greenwald-will-return-to-us-to-address-cair-conference/>, archived at <http://archive.is/DNuDn>; Video, Glenn Greenwald delivers keynote address, CAIR-SFBA’s 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Banquet in San Jose, CA, Nov. 17, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8VC4HAYTQ7s>



**belongs to Israel and the attackers are Palestinian, is it not incredibly obvious how this term is exploited?**<sup>31</sup> [emphasis added]

- On the 2013 murder of British soldier Fusilier Lee Rigby hacked to death on a public street by Islamists in Woolwich, England: “... In the wake of claims that the assailants shouted "Allahu Akbar" during the killing, and a video showing one of the assailants citing Islam as well as a desire to avenge and stop continuous UK violence against Muslims, media outlets (including the Guardian) and British politicians instantly characterized the attack as ‘terrorism’.
- “That this was a barbaric and horrendous act goes without saying, but given the legal, military, cultural and political significance of the term "terrorism", it is vital to ask: **is that term really applicable to this act of violence?** To begin with, in order for an act of violence to be "terrorism", many argue that it must deliberately target civilians. That's the most common means used by those who try to distinguish the violence engaged in by western nations from that used by the ‘terrorists’: *sure, we kill civilians sometimes, but we don't deliberately target them the way the ‘terrorists’ do.*
- “But here, just as was true for **Nidal Hasan's attack on a Fort Hood military base**, the victim of the violence was a soldier of a nation at war, not a civilian. He was stationed at an army barracks quite close to the attack. The killer made clear that he knew he had attacked a soldier when he said afterward: ‘this British soldier is an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.’
- “The US, the UK and its allies have repeatedly killed Muslim civilians over the past decade (and before that), but defenders of those governments insist that this cannot be ‘terrorism’ because it is combatants, not civilians, who are the targets. **Can it really be the case that when western nations continuously kill Muslim civilians, that's not ‘terrorism’, but when Muslims kill western soldiers, that is terrorism?**
- “Amazingly, the US has even imprisoned people at Guantanamo and elsewhere on accusations of ‘terrorism’ who **are accused of nothing more than engaging in violence against US soldiers who invaded their country.**”<sup>32</sup> [bold type emphasis added; italics in original]

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<sup>31</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "What's allowed when dealing with Israel?," *Arab American News*, June 11, 2016, <https://www.arabamericannews.com/2016/06/10/Whats-allowed-when-dealing-with-Israel/>, archived at <http://archive.is/ejgnt>

<sup>32</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Was the London killing of a British soldier 'terrorism'? What definition of the term includes this horrific act of violence but excludes the acts of the US, the UK and its allies?”,





- In defense of his article questioning whether two Islamists who hacked to death a UK soldier on the streets of London had committed “terrorism,”<sup>33</sup> he attacked other writers’ criticism: “That I ‘legitimated’ the London attack or argued it was a ‘legitimate protest’ is as obvious a fabrication as it gets... I actually don't think that [Andrew] Sullivan's flagrant misrepresentations of what I wrote were deliberate. I definitely do think that about Jeffrey Goldberg and other various neocon smear artists who spent the last couple of days endlessly and **loudly accusing me of being a pro-Terror, US-blaming Terrorist-lover, Jew-hating Terror-apologist and all the other tired neocon clichés** that have been hurled at anyone and everyone over the last decade who questions the Mandated Narratives about ‘Islamic Terror’, the US and Israel. **Willfully smearing people as pro-Terrorists in order to deter free and rational discussions of US and Israeli aggression is what they do.**”<sup>34</sup> [emphasis added]
- “It's an intensely emotional reaction, not a rational one... [M]any... are deeply invested on a psychological and personal level in **protecting the narrative that Islam is a uniquely violent force in the world, that Muslim extremists pose a threat that nobody else poses, and that the US, the West and its allies (including Israel) are morally superior and more civilized than their adversaries, and their violence is more noble and elevated.**”<sup>35</sup> [emphasis added]
- “It is hard to resist the conclusion that **this war has no purpose other than its own eternal perpetuation.** This war is not a means to any end but rather is the end in itself. Not only is it the end itself, but it is also its own fuel: it is precisely this endless war - justified in the name of stopping the threat of terrorism - that is the single greatest cause of that threat...
- “In response, I wrote that the ‘war on terror’ cannot and will not end on its own for two reasons: (1) it is *designed by its very terms* to be permanent, incapable of ending, since the war itself ironically ensures that there will never come a time when people stop wanting to bring violence back to the US (the operational

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*theguardian.com*, May 23, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/23/woolwich-attack-terrorism-blowback>, archived at <http://archive.is/YoMi6>

<sup>33</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Was the London killing of a British soldier 'terrorism'? What definition of the term includes this horrific act of violence but excludes the acts of the US, the UK and its allies?”,

*theguardian.com*, May 23, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/23/woolwich-attack-terrorism-blowback>, archived at <http://archive.is/YoMi6>

<sup>34</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Andrew Sullivan, terrorism, and the art of distortion,” *The Guardian* (UK), May 25, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/25/andrew-sullivan-distortion-terrorism-woolwich>, archived at <http://archive.is/NYaca>

<sup>35</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Andrew Sullivan, terrorism, and the art of distortion,” *The Guardian* (UK), May 25, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/25/andrew-sullivan-distortion-terrorism-woolwich>, archived at <http://archive.is/NYaca>







definition of "terrorism"), and (2) the nation's most powerful political and economic factions reap a bonanza of benefits from its continuation. Whatever else is true, it is now beyond doubt that ending this war is the last thing on the mind of the 2009 Nobel Peace Prize winner [former U.S. president Barack Obama] and those who work at the highest levels of his administration. Is there any way they can make that clearer beyond declaring that it will continue for 'at least' another 10-20 years?"<sup>36</sup> [bold type emphasis added; italics in original]

- "...The assumption seems to be that [the Boston Marathon attack] is terrorism. Everybody is running around calling these two brothers terrorists. Aside from the fact that it assumes their guilt, which we shouldn't be doing, we know almost nothing about what it is that motivated them to go and do what they did. You know, when non-Muslims commit horrific crimes, whether it's shooting far more people and killing them in Aurora in a movie theater or elementary school children in Sandy Hook or eight people in Tucson, Arizona, where Gabrielle Giffords was shot, quickly, **soon as we find out they're not Muslim, the idea is: Well, this isn't terrorism; this is just people snapping, becoming mentally ill.** The only thing that we really know about these two brothers, in terms of what might have motivated them, is that they identify as Muslim. And at least the older brother seems to have been associated with Islam, although the younger brother doesn't really seem to have. **And yet there's this assumption—and that's the whole debate—is that this is nonetheless an act of terrorism.** There's no indication that they have any association of any kind with designated terrorist organizations, any contact with those organizations, no indication that radical political or religious beliefs in any way motivated them to do what they did. It's possible that that's the case, but it's possible it didn't. And yet, the **rush to declare this terrorism, I think, reflects the reality that all terrorism really means—politically, culturally and even legally—is it's a special category of crime committed by Muslims that result in a whole deprivation of all kinds of rights and protections** that is reflected in the current debate. And that is what I think is the most dangerous and enduring aspect of this entire last week, is the continued **bolstering of the idea that terrorism is essentially nothing more than crimes committed by Muslims.**"<sup>37</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>36</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "Washington gets explicit: its 'war on terror' is permanent," *theguardian.com*, May 17, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/17/endless-war-on-terror-obama>, archived at <http://archive.is/LR2ji>

<sup>37</sup> "Glenn Greenwald on Boston Marathon Arrest: Will We Deny Constitutional Rights in the Name of Fear?," *Democracy Now!*, NPR, Apr. 22, 2013, [http://www.democracynow.org/2013/4/22/glenn\\_greenwald\\_on\\_boston\\_marathon\\_arrest](http://www.democracynow.org/2013/4/22/glenn_greenwald_on_boston_marathon_arrest) archived at <http://archive.fo/HX2nT>





## On U.S. and our allies' foreign policy

Greenwald is highly critical of U.S. and our allies' international action and policy and argues there is a **causal link between Islamic terrorism in the West and the foreign policy** of the United States and Western allies. He usually inserts Israel in the argument, as a precipitating negative factor:

- “Who has brought more death, and suffering, and tyranny to the world over the last six decades than the U.S. national security state?”<sup>38</sup>
- “As the attackers themselves make as clear as they can, **it's not religious fanaticism but rather political grievance that motivates these attacks**. Religious conviction may make them more willing to fight (as it does for many in the west), but **the motive is anger over what is being done by the US and its allies to Muslims**. Those who claim otherwise are essentially saying: *gosh, these Muslims sure do have this strange, primitive, inscrutable religion whereby they seem to get angry when they're invaded, occupied, bombed, killed, and have dictators externally imposed on them*. **It's vital to understand this causal relationship** simply in order to prevent patent, tribalistic, self-glorifying falsehoods from taking hold. *Second*, it's crucial to understand this causation because it's often asked ‘what can we do to stop Terrorism?’ The answer is right in front of our faces: we could stop embracing the policies in that part of the world which fuel anti-American hatred and trigger the desire for vengeance and return violence.”<sup>39</sup> [bold type emphasis added; italics in original]
- On the October 2014 attack on two Canadian soldiers, killing one, by a Muslim convert, Greenwald wrote:

“The **right-wing Canadian government** wasted no time in seizing on the incident to **promote its fear-mongering agenda over terrorism**, which includes pending legislation to vest its intelligence agency, CSIS, with more spying and secrecy powers in the name of fighting ISIS. A government spokesperson asserted ‘clear indications’ that the driver ‘had become radicalized.’

[...]

<sup>38</sup> Glenn Greenwald, What's Worse: Trump's Campaign Agenda or Empowering Generals and CIA Operatives to Subvert It?, The Intercept, Aug. 5, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/05/whats-worse-trumps-campaign-agenda-or-empowering-generals-and-cia-operatives-to-subvert-it/>, archived at <http://archive.is/i9KES>

<sup>39</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The same motive for anti-US ‘terrorism’ is cited over and over,” *theguardian.com*, Apr. 24, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/apr/24/boston-terrorism-motives-us-violence>, archived at <http://archive.is/7ZOwy>





“In sum, the national mood and discourse in Canada is virtually identical to what prevails in every Western country whenever an incident like this happens: shock and bewilderment that someone would want to bring violence to such a good and innocent country ... followed by **claims that the incident shows how primitive and savage is the ‘terrorist ideology’ of extremist Muslims, followed by rage and demand for still more actions of militarism and freedom-deprivation.**

[...]

**“A country doesn’t get to run around for years wallowing in war glory, invading, rendering and bombing others, without the risk of having violence brought back to it.**

[...]

“The issue here is not justification (very few people would view attacks on soldiers in a shopping mall parking lot to be justified). The issue is *causation*. **Every time one of these attacks occurs — from 9/11 on down — Western governments pretend that it was just some sort of unprovoked, utterly “senseless” act of violence caused by primitive, irrational, savage religious extremism inexplicably aimed at a country innocently minding its own business. They even invent fairy tales to feed to the population to explain why it happens: they hate us for our freedom.**

“Those fairy tales are pure deceit. Except in the rarest of cases, the violence has clearly identifiable and easy-to-understand causes: namely, anger over the violence that the country’s government has spent years directing at others. The statements of those accused by the west of terrorism, and even the Pentagon’s own commissioned research, have made conclusively clear what motivates these acts: namely, anger over the violence, abuse and interference by Western countries in that part of the world, with the world’s Muslims overwhelmingly the targets and victims. **The very policies of militarism and civil liberties erosions justified in the name of stopping terrorism are actually what fuels terrorism and ensures its endless continuation.**”<sup>40</sup> [bold type emphasis added; italics in original]

- **“U.S. media outlets love to dramatize and endlessly highlight Western victims of violence, while rendering almost completely invisible the**

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<sup>40</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "Canada, At War For 13 Years, Shocked That ‘A Terrorist’ Attacked Its Soldiers," The Intercept, Oct. 22, 2014, <https://theintercept.com/2014/10/22/canada-proclaiming-war-12-years-shocked-someone-attacked-soldiers/>, archived at <http://archive.is/FDX4s>





**victims of their own side's violence...** By endlessly focusing on and dramatizing Western victims of violence while ignoring the victims of the West's own violence, the impression is continually bolstered that only They, but not We, engage in violence that kills innocent people. **We are always the victims and never the perpetrators** (and thus Good and Blameless); They are only the perpetrators and never the victims (and thus Villainous and Culpable)... In other words, the death, carnage, and destruction the U.S. invasion was causing was generating huge amounts of anti-American hatred and a desire to bring violence to Americans, even if it meant sacrificing lives to accomplish that. **But the U.S. media never showed any of that, so Americans had no idea it existed, and were thus incapable of understanding why people were eager to do violence to Americans.** They therefore assumed that it must be because they are primitive or inherently hateful or driven by some inscrutable religious fervor.

“As a result, when the trains of London and Madrid were attacked in 2004 and 2005 as retaliation for those countries’ participation in the invasion of Iraq, that causal connection (which even British intelligence acknowledged) was virtually never discussed because Western media outlets ensured it was unknown. The same was true of attempted attacks on the U.S.: in Times Square, the New York City subway system, an airliner over Detroit, **all motivated by rage over Western violence.** In the absence of any media discussion of those victims and motives, these attacks were simply denounced as senseless, indiscriminate slaughter without any cause, and people were thus deprived of the ability to understand why they happened.”<sup>41</sup> [bold type emphasis added, italics in original]

## On Iran

Greenwald has **defended Iran and criticized Israel** in his discussions of U.S. foreign policy.

- For example, in a debate with Bill Maher on foreign policy:

GLENN GREENWALD: How can you be a citizen of the United States, the country that has generated more violence and militarism in the world over the last five or six decades and say, 'Look at those people over there. They are incredibly violent.' **We play a significant role in what is happening in the Middle East because we've been interfering and dominating that region in order to have access to their oil and protect Israel.**

<sup>41</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "Highlighting Western Victims While Ignoring Victims of Western Violence," The Intercept, Mar. 25, 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/03/25/highlighting-western-victims-while-ignoring-victims-of-western-violence/>, archived at <http://archive.is/dCAzm>





BILL MAHER: Well, I wasn't talking about violence, I was just talking about theocracy. That doesn't happen here.

GREENWALD: Okay, *that* doesn't happen here, but at the same time, **Iran isn't invading lots of other countries and occupying them for a decade. Nor are fundamentalist Muslim countries like the United States is. These things are interlinked because we're continuously interfering in that part of the world.** So to say --

MAHER: So it's all our fault?

GREENWALD: It's not all our fault, but when you send your military for 6 straight decades into other countries to bomb them, kill their children and women and innocent men, prop up dictators.

[...]

GREENWALD: Have you heard about the **occupation of the West Bank and Gaza for the last 50 years -- motivated in part by extremists' views by Judaism?** Or the wars in Europe? Or generals in the United States saying we have to go invade and destroy Iraq, a country of 26 million people, because our God is bigger? Lots of religions, not just Islam, produce violence...<sup>42</sup> [emphasis added]

- In response to a May 2013 airstrike that Israel carried out in Syria “directed at a shipment of advanced surface-to-surface missiles from Iran that Israel believed was intended for Hizballah”<sup>43</sup>, Greenwald wrote: “No universally applied principle justifies the Israeli attack on Damascus. Only self-flattering tribalism does that ... Because people who cheer for military action by their side like to pretend that they're something more than primitive ‘might-makes-right’ tribalists, **the claim is being hauled out that Israel's actions are justified by the ‘principle’ that it has the right to defend itself from foreign weapons in the hands of hostile forces.** But is that really a ‘principle’ that anyone would apply consistently, as opposed to a typically concocted ad hoc claim **to justify whatever the US and Israel do?**”<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Debating Bill Maher on Muslims, Islam and US foreign policy,” *The Guardian (UK)*, May 11, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/11/bill-maher-muslims-islam-benghazi>, archived at <http://archive.is/8dWhk>; HBO’s *Real Time*, May 10, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYG7GR13DnU>; partial transcript posted at Real Clear Politics, May 11, 2013,

[https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2013/05/11/fireworks\\_bill\\_maher\\_vs\\_glenn\\_greenwald\\_on\\_islams\\_history\\_of\\_violence.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2013/05/11/fireworks_bill_maher_vs_glenn_greenwald_on_islams_history_of_violence.html), archived at <http://archive.fo/oY24c>

<sup>43</sup> Anne Barnard, Michael R. Gordon and Jodi Rudoren, “Israel Targeted Iranian Missiles in Syria Attack,” *New York Times*, May 5, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/05/world/middleeast/israel-syria.html>, archived at <http://archive.is/FFeKZ>

<sup>44</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Israeli bombing of Syria and moral relativism,” *The Guardian (UK)*, May 6, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/06/syria-israel-bombing-moral-relativism>, archived at <http://archive.is/xfOxY>





- “[T]he more light shined on the fact that **US belligerence toward Iran helps only Israel and hurts the US**, the better.”<sup>45</sup> [emphasis added]
- “So, to recap the U.S. media narrative: when the U.S. Navy enters Iran’s territorial waters without permission or notice, and Iran detains them and then releases them within 24 hours, Iran is the aggressor; and the same is true when Iran aggressively allows one of its civilian jets to be shot down by the U.S. Navy. **And no matter how many times the U.S. government issues patently false statements about its military actions, those statements are entitled to unquestioning, uncritical treatment as Truth** the next time a similar incident occurs.”<sup>46</sup> [emphasis added]
- “[N]umerous US **political and media figures are vested in the narrative that Iran is an evil threat** whose desire for a peaceful resolution must not be trusted (and some hard-line factions in Iran are similarly vested in ongoing conflict)... Iran has been trying to make Americans hear for years that they have no interest in nuclear weapons. Indeed, they have repeatedly made clear that they have not only banned such weapons but favor region-wide nuclear disarmament, including of Israel’s vast nuclear arsenal, which actually exists. **It is Israel, not Iran, which has steadfastly refused to allow inspections** of its nuclear arsenal (despite UN demands they do so) or to join the NPT or other conventions designed to monitor and regulate nuclear weapons. But these facts have been excluded almost entirely from the dominant US media narrative for years. The fact that **Iran, at its highest leadership levels, has repeatedly and unequivocally disavowed any interest in nuclear weapons** is something that most Americans simply don’t know, because the country’s media stars have barely ever mentioned it.”<sup>47</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>45</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “US torture ‘indisputable,’ CNN’s humiliation, and Iran sanctions,” *theguardian.com*, Apr. 18, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/apr/18/torture-report-cnn-terrorism-iran>, archived at <http://archive.is/awlpV>

<sup>46</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “U.S. Radically Changes Its Story of the Boats in Iranian Waters: to an Even More Suspicious Version,” *The Intercept*, Jan 15, 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/01/15/the-u-s-radically-changes-its-story-of-the-boats-in-iranian-waters-to-an-even-more-suspicious-version/>, archived at <http://archive.is/ETHq3>

<sup>47</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Brian Williams’ Iran propaganda,” *The Guardian* (UK), Sept. 28, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/sep/28/brian-williams-iran-propaganda>, archived at <http://archive.is/swQhb>





### On Hamas and Hizballah

- “And we have organizations on the [terrorism] list that are **not even remotely a threat to the United States**, such as Hizbollah and Hamas, which whatever you think of them **are not in any way devoted to harming Americans**. They are **devoted to protecting their citizens against the State of Israel**. And yet it is criminal in the United States to do anything that is deemed to be material support for Hizbollah and Hamas.”<sup>48</sup> [emphasis added]

### On counterterrorism tactics & Islamophobia

- “We accept that some deaths are inevitable... Yet Americans have eschewed that reasoning in the face of terrorism and mass shootings. Each assault has been cited as intrinsic proof of policy failures, of the need for greater powers and more aggressive policing. **We insist on endlessly trading liberties for false security, eagerly doing so with every new attack**. That mind-set does far more harm than good. In the wake of 9/11, it ushered in the Patriot Act, mass surveillance, torture and two decade-long wars. It led to the official dilution of Miranda rights for terrorism suspects after Umar Abdulmutallab attempted to blow up a plane over Detroit in 2009 with a bomb in his underwear. And it has led Clinton and Trump to advocate new and aggressive responses to Orlando [June 2016 terror attack]: from an escalation of the bombing campaign against the Islamic State to increased surveillance activities... Hypothetically, there may one day be a threat severe enough to justify rebalancing security and liberty. But terrorism, by every metric, comes nowhere close. It is obviously unfortunate that nobody was able to stop [Omar] Mateen, but that does not mean the FBI could or should have.”<sup>49</sup> [emphasis added]
- “Over the past decade, **US Muslims have been routinely targeted with precisely this same tactic of preemptive or anticipatory prosecution**. It's all designed to take people engaged in political and religious advocacy which the US government dislikes - usually very young and impressionable Muslims with zero criminal history, though increasingly non-Muslims engaged in other forms of dissent - and use paid informants to trick them into saying just enough to turn them into criminals who are then prosecuted and imprisoned for decades.

<sup>48</sup> Video, “Glenn Greenwald defends Hamas and Hezbollah at Jun. 28, 2012–July 1, 2012 Socialism Conference,” Chicago, IL, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B5tRUN-uH6E>

<sup>49</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The FBI was right not to arrest Omar Mateen before the shooting,” *Washington Post*, June 17, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/06/17/the-fbi-was-right-not-to-arrest-omar-mateen-before-the-shooting/>, archived at <http://archive.is/Bz2md>





“The same pattern repeats itself over and over. The **FBI ensnares some random Muslim in a garden-variety criminal investigation involving financial fraud or drugs**. Rather than prosecute him, the FBI puts the Muslim criminal suspect on its payroll, sending him into Muslim communities and mosques in order not only to spy on American Muslims, but to befriend them and then actively manipulate them into saying just enough to make their prosecution possible. At times, the FBI's informants have been so unstable and aggressive in trying to recruit members to join Terrorist plots that the targeted mosque members themselves have reported the informant to the FBI. Time and again, at the direction of these paid provocateurs who know that their ongoing payments depend upon enabling prosecutions, young Muslims in their late teens or early twenties end up saying something hostile about the US and/or statements that are otherwise politically offensive.

“The **DOJ takes those inflammatory political statements and combines them with evidence of commitment to Islam to depict the target as a dangerous jihadist**. They use the same small set of government-loyal ‘terrorism experts’ who earn an ample living testifying for the government and telling juries that unremarkable indicia of Islam are ‘typical’ of Terrorists. Federal judges, notorious for subservience to the government in cases involving Muslims and Terrorism, go out of their way to allow even the most dubious government evidence while excluding the huge bulk of the defendant's.

“Federal prosecutors use this combination to convince a jury of Americans - inculcated with **more than a decade of intense Islamophobic propaganda** - to convict the defendants under "material support for terrorism" statutes even though *they have harmed nobody and have taken no real steps toward doing so*. The case is based overwhelmingly on the political and religious beliefs of the defendants, which are enough to convince Americans jurors that they are Bad People. These convictions not only result in decades of prison, but incarceration in special facilities reserved mostly for Muslims that, in most respects, areas restrictive and oppressive as those found at Guantanamo...”<sup>50</sup> [bold type emphasis added; italics in original]

- “And what is most amazing to me about all of that is that **the precipitating event that triggered these assaults, in this manner, the pretext for it all, which was the 9/11 attacks, as we move further and further away from that attack these rights’ erosion actually worsen.**”<sup>51</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>50</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The FBI’s anticipatory prosecution of Muslims to criminalize speech,” *The Guardian (UK)*, Mar. 19, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/19/preemptive-prosecution-muslims-cointelpro>, archived at <http://archive.is/ewfT9>

<sup>51</sup> Video, Glenn Greenwald delivers keynote address, CAIR-SFBA's 18th Annual Banquet, Nov. 17, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8VC4HAYTQ7s>







- “[W]e’ve allowed this word terrorism to take on such profound meaning that right before our eyes governments dismantle the protections and defining attributes of western justice in order to keep us safer.”<sup>52</sup>
- “**And who has brought more death, and suffering, and tyranny to the world over the last six decades than the U.S. national security state?**”<sup>53</sup> [emphasis added]
- “So much of the spying that we revealed has blatantly nothing to do with terrorism... **Terrorism is the pretext used to justify the system** but is not, in fact, its actual purpose as evidenced by the huge amount of spying they do that have nothing to do with that... When you collect billions of emails and telephone calls around the world every day indiscriminately, it actually makes it more difficult to stop terrorist plots because you have such a vast amount of information that it's impossible even to know what it is that you had. **What the NSA is doing actually makes detecting terrorist plots harder not easier, on top of destroying people's privacy.**”<sup>54</sup> [emphasis added]

### Comparing U.S. drone attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan to the Boston Marathon bombing

In a 2013 interview with Bill Moyers, Greenwald stated:

**GLENN GREENWALD:** Sure, it's the responsibility of the U.S. government to prevent its citizens from being killed and attacked in the way that they were attacked in Boston... So that's the problem, as I see it. Is that the more we react by saying, "Well, we now need to go bomb further with drones, we need to infiltrate and surveil more, we need to put Muslims under more of a microscope and be more aggressive in how we attack them when we think they're a threat," I think the worse this problem becomes. **I think that's the problem, is that the policies justified in the name of stopping terrorism have actually done more to exacerbate that threat and to render us unsafe than any other single cause.**

<sup>52</sup> Ian MacLeod, “Government exploits attacks on military to push security agenda, Greenwald says,” *Ottawa Citizen*, Oct. 26, 2014, <https://ottawacitizen.com/news/national/government-exploits-attacks-on-military-to-push-security-agenda-greenwald-says>, archived at <http://archive.is/WdCRK>

<sup>53</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “What’s Worse: Trump’s Campaign Agenda or Empowering Generals and CIA Operatives to Subvert It?”, *The Intercept*, Aug. 5, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/05/whats-worse-trumps-campaign-agenda-or-empowering-generals-and-cia-operatives-to-subvert-it/>, archived at <http://archive.is/i9KES>

<sup>54</sup> Glenn Greenwald interview, “United States of Secrets (NSA),” *Frontline*, PBS.org, Feb. 16, 2014, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/government-elections-politics/united-states-of-secrets/the-frontline-interview-glenn-greenwald/>, archived at <http://archive.is/wkpxA>





[...]

**BILL MOYERS:** ...What's the **distinction between death by drones in a tribal area in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and what the bombers did in Boston**, in your mind?

**GLENN GREENWALD:** I don't think there is much difference. You could certainly say that one difference, and this is what people would typically say to defend what the United States does and to distinguish it, is that we are not deliberately killing civilians while the people in Boston did. And I'm not sure how true that is. There certainly are cases where the United States has very recklessly killed civilians.... And so at some point, **when a government engages in behavior year, after year, after year, after year, that continues to kill innocent people in a very foreseeable way, and continues to do that, in my mind that reaches a level of recklessness that is very similar to intentional killing**.<sup>55</sup> [emphasis added]

[...]

**BILL MOYERS:** Do you see long-range implications from what happened in Boston?

**GLENN GREENWALD:** Absolutely. I mean, one of the most amazing things to me over the last few years was in the aftermath of our killing of Osama bin Laden, there was all kinds of chanting and marching and celebratory dancing taking place in the street, which was striking to me because, **even if you believe that the killing of Osama bin Laden was justifiable, any time you're killing somebody and dumping their corpse into the ocean, that should be a cause of somber reflection**, even if you believe it was necessary.

And I think you saw much the same thing in Boston. Again, the chanting and the sense of collective self-esteem and the reverence for military and political and police institutions, I think is very disturbing and will really endure.<sup>56</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>55</sup> Transcript, "Trading Democracy for 'National Security,' Bill Moyers interviews Glenn Greenwald on the High Cost of Government Secrecy," Apr. 26, 2013, <https://billmoyers.com/segment/glenn-greenwald-on-the-high-cost-of-government-secrecy/>, archived at <http://archive.is/POfb7>

<sup>56</sup> Transcript, "Trading Democracy for 'National Security,' Bill Moyers interviews Glenn Greenwald on the High Cost of Government Secrecy," Apr. 26, 2013, <https://billmoyers.com/segment/glenn-greenwald-on-the-high-cost-of-government-secrecy/>, archived at <http://archive.is/POfb7>





### On the *Charlie Hebdo* attack

While purporting to support the right of writers and cartoonists to publish offensive material, as the **Charlie Hebdo** staff did, Greenwald asserted that there is far less anti-Semitic material published than anti-Muslim material. Distinguishing between anti-Muslim items and anti-Jewish or anti-Israel pieces, he claimed that:

**“[N]o mainstream western cartoonist would dare put their name on an anti-Jewish cartoon, even if done for satire purposes, because doing so would instantly and permanently destroy their career, at least. Anti-Islam and anti-Muslim commentary (and cartoons) are a dime a dozen in western media outlets; the taboo that is at least as strong, if not more so, are anti-Jewish images and words.”**<sup>57</sup> [emphasis added]

Further, as he often does in his arguments, he slipped in his anti-Israel animus and asserted that **writers who criticize Israel are punished** for their words:

*“The New York Times’* David Brooks ... forgot to mention that the very same university just terminated its tenure contract with Professor **Steven Salaita** over tweets he posted during the Israeli attack on Gaza that the university judged to be excessively vituperative of Jewish leaders, and that the journalist **Chris Hedges** was just disinvited to speak at the University of Pennsylvania for the **Thought Crime of drawing similarities between Israel and ISIS.**

*“That is a real taboo – a repressed idea – as powerful and absolute as any in the United States, so much so that Brooks won’t even acknowledge its existence. It’s **certainly more of a taboo in the U.S. than criticizing Muslims and Islam,** criticism which is so frequently heard in mainstream circles – including the U.S. Congress – that one barely notices it any more.*

This underscores the key point: there are all sorts of ways ideas and viewpoints are suppressed in the west. When those demanding publication of these anti-Islam cartoons start demanding the affirmative publication of *those* ideas as well, I’ll believe the sincerity of their very selective application of free speech principles. One can defend free speech without having to publish, let alone embrace, the offensive ideas being targeted. But if that’s not the case, let’s have equal application of this new principle.”<sup>58</sup> [bold emphasis added; italics in original]

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<sup>57</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "In Solidarity With a Free Press: Some More Blasphemous Cartoons," *The Intercept*, Jan. 9, 2015, <https://theintercept.com/2015/01/09/solidarity-charlie-hebdo-cartoons/>, archived at <http://archive.is/hkKlv>

<sup>58</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "In Solidarity With a Free Press: Some More Blasphemous Cartoons," *The Intercept*, Jan. 9, 2015, <https://theintercept.com/2015/01/09/solidarity-charlie-hebdo-cartoons/>, archived at <http://archive.is/hkKlv>





Critical of Greenwald’s position on this issue, one *Washington Post* commentator wrote:

“Put another way, what Greenwald is saying, in practice, is that **until hostility to Israel becomes popular in the U.S.**, such that there is not even a prospect of social sanction for expressing it, and such that anti-Israel sentiment is expressed as often as Greenwald thinks it should be, **pro-Israel advocates are at least as bad as Islamist terrorists.** This, let's remember, is from a guy who many, including some of my libertarian friends, hold up as a poster boy for civil liberties. I can only imagine what other profound lesson Greenwald thinks we should draw from the murder by Islamist terrorists of four French Jews in a kosher supermarket in Paris today, but I'm guessing that it also has something to do with Israel.”<sup>59</sup> [emphasis added]

## On criticism of Israel

Greenwald disputes claims that much criticism of Israel is a form of anti-Semitism, and asserts that the definition of anti-Semitism has been twisted to prevent public criticism of Israel:

- “Formal definition of anti-semitism [sic] have been purposely designed, and then abused, to criminalize criticisms of Israel along with advocacy of the boycott movement. Kudos to UK's Labour Party for banning actual anti-semitism [sic] while protecting free speech;” “The UK Blairites yet again exploiting (and thus trivializing) anti-semitism [sic] accusations in their endless, obsessive quest to destroy Jerney (sic) Corbyn should be ashamed of themselves. At the very least, stop lying as though you speak for all Jews. You don't;” “I stand with @jvplive & dozens of Jewish groups in recognizing that this rejected definition of anti-semitism [sic] **‘intentionally equates legitimate criticisms of Israel and advocacy for Palestinian rights with antisemitism, as a means to suppress the former.’**”<sup>60</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>59</sup> David Bernstein, “Glenn Greenwald: Pro-Israel sentiment in the U.S. is at least as bad for freedom of speech as Islamist terrorists murdering cartoonists,” *The Volokh Conspiracy*, *Washington Post*, Jan. 9, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2015/01/09/glenn-greenwald-pro-israel-sentiment-in-the-u-s-is-at-least-as-bad-for-freedom-of-speech-as-islamist-terrorists-murdering-cartoonists/>, archived at <http://archive.is/fZwcN> and Glenn Greenwald, “In Solidarity With a Free Press: Some More Blasphemous Cartoons,” *The Intercept*, Jan. 9, 2015, <https://theintercept.com/2015/01/09/solidarity-charlie-hebdo-cartoons/>, archived at <http://archive.is/hkKlv>

<sup>60</sup> Thread of Glenn Greenwald tweets, July 18, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1019538280705032193>, archived at <http://archive.is/t6vOj>; <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1019538690056642560>, archived at <http://archive.is/U5eiI>; <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1019539438077186049>, archived at <http://archive.is/xPWY6>





- **“Anyone who becomes too influential & effective in advocating for Palestinian rights & criticizing Israeli aggression is demonized as an anti-Semite.** That's all that's driving this latest smear of [head of UK Labor party] Corbyn- that and the attempt to \*outlaw\* criticism of Israel.”<sup>61</sup> [emphasis added]
- “That someone with [Jeremy] Corbyn's views has been leading Labour - because he keeps winning despite multiple attempts to defeat him - has been driving both Tories and Blairites crazy for years. They're united now to destroy him with this anti-semitism smear: it's as ugly as it is obvious.”<sup>62</sup> “And just by the way: **it's only a matter of time before this UK anti-semitism smear migrates to @DemSocialists, AOC & the left-wing insurgency in the Democratic Party, which has been far more vocally critical of Israeli aggression & supportive of Palestinian rights than is allowed.**”<sup>63</sup> [emphasis added]

In a recent controversy in late November 2018, Greenwald **sided with CNN analyst and Temple University Professor Mark Lamont Hill**, who was criticized for his call, in a speech before the U.N., for a **“free Palestine from the river to the sea.”** Greenwald chastised CNN for firing Lamont Hill:<sup>64</sup>

- “CNN's firing of Marc Lamont Hill over his Israel/Palestine speech is a major victory for ‘online call-out culture’ but a major defeat for the right to advocate for Palestinian rights, to freely critique Israel, and for journalism and public discourse to accommodate dissent.”<sup>65</sup>
- “Conservatives claimed to be offended, traumatized and hurt by Hill’s political views on Israel and Palestine, which **they somehow construed as being anti-Semitic**, and demanded that CNN fire him as punishment for the expression of those opinions. CNN honored the demands of those claiming to be victimized by exposure to Hill’s viewpoints by firing him as a political analyst.

<sup>61</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Aug. 12, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1028635519264141312>, archived at <http://archive.is/vJpoG>

<sup>62</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Aug. 12, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1028636170031439872>, archived at <http://archive.is/ziBiK>

<sup>63</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Aug. 12, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1028639562225131520>, archived at <http://archive.is/YDLzJ>

<sup>64</sup> Video, International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, Special Meeting at UN Headquarters, Nov. 28, 2018, Mark Lamont Hill, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvzSv28z97o&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>65</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Nov. 30, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1068476574272495617>, archived at <http://archive.is/MSrml>; Glenn Greenwald, “CNN Submits to Right-Wing Outrage Mob, Fires Marc Lamont Hill Due to His ‘Offensive’ Defense of Palestinians at the U.N.,” The Intercept, Nov. 29, 2018, <https://theintercept.com/2018/11/29/cnn-submits-to-right-wing-outrage-mob-fires-marc-lamont-due-to-his-offensive-defense-of-palestinians-at-the-un/>, archived at <http://archive.is/uGNYj>





[...]

**“The accusations launched against Hill – that his comments are anti-Semitic [sic] and constitute advocacy of genocide – are so disingenuous and blatantly false that one is reluctant even to dignify them with a substantive critique.** But the damage done to Hill’s reputation by this pro-Israel, pro-censorship internet mob requires that it be done.

“Hill defended himself quite adeptly in a series of tweets explaining his speech. In sum, this shameful and cowardly action by CNN demonstrates two vital truths about free speech that have been proven over and over yet are so often ignored:

**“(1) Israeli citizens have greater liberty to criticize the Israel government than U.S. citizens have to criticize the Israeli government;** in other words, criticisms of Israel that are common and mainstream in Israel are banned and punished in the U.S.; and

**“(2) the greatest threat to free speech in the west, and the most frequent and common form of censorship on college campuses, is aimed at those who criticize Israel and defend Palestinians,** to the point where advocating for the boycott is *a criminal offense*; the firing of Professor Hill is just the latest data point proving his.

“It is a requirement in U.S. discourse about Israel and Palestine that an absolute lie be affirmed: namely, that it’s still possible for a viable **“two-state solution”** to be created, where Palestine and Israel live side-by-side as sovereign states. The undeniable reality – that is now widely recognized in both Israel and Palestine, even as it’s forbidden to be acknowledge in mainstream U.S. precincts (CNN) – is that **illegal Israeli settlements have grown so rapidly and have eaten up so much Palestinian land in the West Bank that such a solution is now essentially impossible,** a fact even the U.N. acknowledges...”<sup>66</sup> [bold type emphasis added; italics in original]

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<sup>66</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “CNN Submits to Right-Wing Outrage Mob, Fires Marc Lamont Hill Due to His ‘Offensive’ Defense of Palestinians at the U.N.,” The Intercept, Nov. 29, 2018, <https://theintercept.com/2018/11/29/cnn-submits-to-right-wing-outrage-mob-fires-marc-lamont-due-to-his-offensive-defense-of-palestinians-at-the-un/>, archived at <http://archive.is/uGNYj>





## On Iraq

- In response to arguments that the Kurds support the invasion of Iraq, Greenwald wrote: “Those who perpetrate wars of aggression invariably invent moral justifications to allow themselves and the citizens of the aggressor state to feel good and noble about themselves. Hence, even an **unprovoked attack which literally destroys a country and ruins the lives of millions of innocent people -- as the U.S. invasion of Iraq did** -- is scripted as a morality play with the invaders cast in the role of magnanimous heroes. It's difficult to find an invasion in history that wasn't supported by at least some faction of the invaded population and where that same self-justifying script wasn't used. That's true even of the most heinous aggressors. Many Czech and Austrian citizens of Germanic descent, viewing themselves as a repressed minority, welcomed Hitler's invasion of their countries, while leaders of the independence-seeking Sudeten parties in those countries actively conspired to bring it about. Did that make those German invasions justifiable?”<sup>67</sup> [emphasis added]

Writer Joe Klein responded: “...Greenwald--who, so far as I can tell, only regards the United States as a force for evil in the world--has laid out the incredible notion that the **liberation of the Kurds**, which Jeff [Goldberg] celebrates (and so do I, and so do civilized people everywhere) as a happy byproduct of George W. Bush's dreadful war in Iraq, can be **compared to the Nazi seizure of the Sudetenland**.”<sup>68</sup> [emphasis added]

## On the situation in Syria

- “I think the more important question at the moment is: What is the actual solution? Obviously, what’s happening in Syria is and long has been a horrific humanitarian crisis, filled with war crimes committed by pretty much every actor there. The Assad government has killed more people than any other. But the question is: What solutions do you think are viable? **Do you think that having Israel fly fighter jets over Syria and bomb whoever they decide is their enemy is something that’s really going to help the humanitarian crisis? As Israel slaughters innocent Gazan protesters and uses snipers to end the lives of journalists who are wearing press jackets, do you really think that Netanyahu is going to help the situation in Syria?** Do you think that Donald

<sup>67</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "The universality of war propaganda," Salon.com, June 29, 2010, [https://www.salon.com/2010/06/29/war\\_14/](https://www.salon.com/2010/06/29/war_14/), archived at <http://archive.fo/nBTv3>

<sup>68</sup> Joe Klein, "Vacation Interruptus," *Time.com*, June 30, 2010, *quoted in* Jeffrey Goldberg, "Glenn Greenwald Compares the Iraq War to the Nazi Conquest of Europe," *The Atlantic*, June 30, 2010, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2010/06/glenn-greenwald-compares-the-iraq-war-to-the-nazi-conquest-of-europe/58966/>, archived at <http://archive.is/JAPUj>





Trump is going to be able to command a military action that is going to do any good for the people of Syria? Does anyone think that that would be the goal of Trump's military action or the role of the United States government revving up its war machine, that would end up helping the Syrians?"<sup>69</sup> [emphasis added]

- “That means that Syria becomes the 7th predominantly Muslim country bombed by 2009 Nobel Peace Laureate Barack Obama—after Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, Libya and Iraq...

“It was just over a year ago that Obama officials were insisting that bombing and attacking Assad was a moral and strategic imperative. Instead, Obama is now bombing Assad's enemies while politely informing his regime of its targets in advance. **It seems irrelevant on whom the U.S. wages war; what matters it (sic) that it will be at war, always and forever.**

“Six weeks of bombing hasn't budged ISIS in Iraq, but it has caused ISIS recruitment to soar. That's all predictable: the U.S. has known for years that what fuels and strengthens anti-American sentiment (and thus anti-American extremism) is exactly what they keep doing: aggression in that region. If you know that, then they know that. At this point, it's more rational to say they do all of this not despite triggering those outcomes, but because of it. **Continuously creating and strengthening enemies is a feature, not a bug. It is what justifies the ongoing greasing of the profitable and power-vesting machine of Endless War.**”<sup>70</sup> [emphasis added]

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### On ISIS, after release of a video of the group burning alive a Jordanian pilot, held in a cage

- “Unlike ISIS, the U.S. usually (though not always) tries to suppress (rather than gleefully publish) evidence showing the victims of its violence. Indeed, **concealing stories about the victims of American militarism is a critical part of the U.S. government's strategy** for maintaining support for its sustained aggression. That is why, in general, the U.S. media has a policy of

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<sup>69</sup> Transcript, “Glenn Greenwald interview on Syria: U.S. & Israel Revving Up War Machine Won't Help Suffering Syrian Civilians,” *Democracy Now!*, Apr. 9, 2018, [https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/glenn\\_greenwald\\_on\\_syria\\_us\\_israel](https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/glenn_greenwald_on_syria_us_israel), archived at <http://archive.is/wfjYd>

<sup>70</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Syria Becomes the 7th Predominantly Muslim Country Bombed by 2009 Nobel Peace Laureate,” *The Intercept*, Sept. 23 2014, <https://theintercept.com/2014/09/23/nobel-peace-prize-fact-day-syria-7th-country-bombed-obama/>, archived at <http://archive.is/PuShn>







systematically excluding and ignoring such victims (although disappearing them this way does not actually render them nonexistent).

[...]

The constant orgy of condemnation aimed at this group seems to have little purpose other than tribal self-affirmation: *no matter how many awful acts our government engages in, at least we don't do something like that, at least we're not as bad as them*. In some instances, that may be true, but even when it is, the differences are usually much more a matter of degree than category (much the way that angry denunciations over the Taliban for suicide-bombing a funeral of one of its victims hides the fact that the U.S. engages in its own “double tap” practice of bombing rescuers and funeral mourners for its drone victims). **To the extent that these denunciation rituals make us forget or further obscure our own governments' brutality – and that seems to be the overriding effect if not the purpose of these rituals – they are worse than worthless; they are actively harmful.**<sup>71</sup> [bold type emphasis added; italics in original]

- “At the same time, the ability of governments to wave the flag of ISIS and to invoke the spectre of al-Qaeda has once again put people into this kind of **irrational fear of terrorism, where the risk that is posed to them is wildly inflated beyond what the evidence suggests it actually is.**”<sup>72</sup> [emphasis added]

### On the killing of Anwar al-Awlaki

“President Obama called the death of the [American] jihadist cleric [in 2011] a ‘major blow’ to al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, and praised the United States' successful alliance with Yemen's security forces:”<sup>73</sup>

- In response, Greenwald wrote that racism facilitates the War on Terror: “Many Americans can (a) say that they oppose the targeted killings of Americans on foreign soil while simultaneously (b) supporting the killing of Anwar al-Awlaki in Yemen because, for them, the term ‘Americans’ doesn't include people like Anwar

<sup>71</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Burning Victims to Death: Still a Common Practice,” The Intercept, Feb. 4, 2015, <https://theintercept.com/2015/02/04/burning-victims-death-still-common-practice/>, archived at <http://archive.is/A5ix2>

<sup>72</sup> Transcript, “Glenn Greenwald on How Donald Trump Has Changed America,” Interview by Leigh Sales, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Aug. 21, 2017, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-21/glenn-greenwald-on-how-donald-trump-has-changed/8828964>, archived at <http://archive.is/enWqW>

<sup>73</sup> “Al Qaeda's Anwar al-Awlaki killed in Yemen,” CBS/AP, Sept. 30, 2011, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/al-qaedas-anwar-al-awlaki-killed-in-yemen/>





al-Awlaki. ‘Americans’ means their aunts and uncles, their nice neighbors down the street, and anyone else who looks like them, who looks and seems ‘American’. They don't think *those people* - Americans - should be killed without charges by the US government if they travel on vacation to Paris or go to study for a semester in London. But the concept of ‘Americans’ most definitely does not include people with foreign and Muslim-ish names like ‘Anwar al-Awlaki’ who wear the white robes of a Muslim imam and spend time in a place like Yemen.... **But the effort to depict Muslims as something other than ‘real Americans’ has long been a centerpiece of the US political climate in the era of the War on Terror.**”<sup>74</sup> [emphasis added]

[...]

“Identically, **when the Israelis attacked the Mavi Marmara** flotilla in 2010 and killed 9 people including the US-born teenager Furkan Dogan, some conservatives insisted that he was not a Real American because his parents were Turkish and he grew up in Turkey (“it is silly to call him an ‘American of Turkish descent’. He, like the other members of his family, was a Turk”). The stark contrast in reactions between the sustained fury of the Turkish government over the killing of their citizens by the Israelis versus the support for those killings given by the US government was accounted for in part by the **blind US support for whatever Israel does (including killing Americans)**, but also by the belief that Dogan wasn't *really an American*, not the Real Kind you get upset about.

“This decade-long **Othering of Muslims - a process necessary to sustain public support for their continuous killing, imprisonment, and various forms of rights abridgments** - has taken its toll. I'm most certainly not suggesting that anyone who supports Awlaki's killing is driven by racism or anti-Muslim bigotry. I am suggesting that the belief that Muslims are somehow less American, or even less human, is widespread, and is a substantial factor in explaining the discrepancy I began by identifying.”<sup>75</sup> [emphasis added]

- “Well, let’s begin with the fact that Anwar al-Awlaki is a U.S. citizen. He was ordered assassinated by the President of the United States without presenting any evidence of any kind as to his guilt, without attempting to indict him in any way or comply with any of the requirements of the Constitution that say that you can’t deprive somebody of life without due process of law. The President ordered him

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<sup>74</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The racism that fuels the War on Terror,” *guardian.co.uk*, Mar. 25, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/25/racism-war-on-terror-awlaki>, archived at <http://archive.is/urhpM>

<sup>75</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The racism that fuels the War on Terror,” *guardian.co.uk*, Mar. 25, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/25/racism-war-on-terror-awlaki>, archived at <http://archive.is/urhpM>





killed wherever he was found, including far away from a battlefield, no matter what it was that he was doing at the time....

“Right. **Well, one of the, you know, bizarre aspects of this is that media and government reports have tried to sell Awlaki as some sort of grand terrorist mastermind.** There’s even lots of articles you can find online in major publications describing him as “the new bin Laden.” You know, the United States government needs a terrorist mastermind to replace bin Laden to justify this type of endless war that President Obama, the 2009 Nobel Peace Prize winner, is insisting on not just continuing, but escalating. And for awhile, Awlaki was, you know, the person who was going to serve that function.

“But the problem is, if you read experts in Yemen, like Gregory Johnsen and others, they mock the idea that Awlaki was some sort of a leader of al-Qaeda and even question whether he had any operational role at all in any of these plots. He was clearly a cleric who developed some audience and was popular particularly among English-speaking Muslim youth because of his ability to communicate with them. **But the idea that he was some sort of high-up in al-Qaeda or that this is a blow to the operational capability of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula is absolutely ludicrous.** And if you read Yemen experts, you’ll see that that’s true.

“**The problem is that American political culture is such that evidence doesn’t make a difference. Trials and due process are very pre-9/11.**”<sup>76</sup>  
[emphasis added]

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### On the U.S. relationship with Israel

- “It is inconceivable that a substantial portion of Americans would want to support any other foreign country even where doing so was **contrary to U.S. interests.** Only Israel commands anything near that level of devoted, self-sacrificing fervor on the part of Americans. **So it’s certainly worth asking what accounts for this bizarre aspect of American public opinion.** The answer should make everyone quite uncomfortable: **it’s religious fanaticism.** The U.S. media loves to mock adversary nations, especially Muslim ones, for being driven by religious extremism, but that is undeniably a major factor, arguably the most significant one, in explaining fervent support for Israel among the American populace.

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<sup>76</sup> Transcript, *Democracy Now!*, Sept. 30, 2011, Interview of Glenn Greenwald by Juan Gonzalez, [https://www.democracynow.org/2011/9/30/with\\_death\\_of\\_anwar\\_al\\_awlaki](https://www.democracynow.org/2011/9/30/with_death_of_anwar_al_awlaki), archived at <http://archive.is/bqydr>





[...]

“But there’s no question that religious extremism is prevalent among Americans, and the **pervasive and bizarrely absolute support for Israel is driven in significant part by extremist religious dogma about God’s will.**”<sup>77</sup>  
[emphasis added]

- “... The fact that the Israelis killed Turkish citizens on the **Mavi Marmara** was a major source of acrimony and tension with Turkey, as it would be with most countries: normal, healthy governments object when a foreign army kills their citizens. **But the US never uttered a peep of objection over the fact that Israelis killed Americans.** In fact, Hillary Clinton did the opposite: basically signaled that the Israelis were welcome to do it again with the next flotilla. **That shows how US government officials are often more loyal to the Israeli government than to the welfare of their own citizens.**”<sup>78</sup> [emphasis added]
- “The new Snowden documents illustrate a crucial fact: Israeli aggression would be impossible without the constant, lavish support and protection of the U.S. government, which is anything but a neutral, peace-brokering party in these attacks. And the relationship between the NSA and its partners on the one hand, and the Israeli spying agency on the other, is at the center of that enabling.”

[...]

- “But even as the NSA and its partners are directed by political branches to feed the Israelis surveillance data and technology, they constantly characterize Israel as a threat – both to their own national security and more generally to regional peace. In stark contrast to the public statements about Israel made by American and British officials, the Snowden archive is replete with discussions of the Israelis as a menace rather than an ally.

[...]

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<sup>77</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Religious Fanaticism Is a Huge Factor in Americans’ Support for Israel,” *The Intercept*, April 15, 2015, <https://theintercept.com/2015/04/15/religious-fanaticism-huge-factor-americans-support-israel/>, archived at <http://archive.is/QLRqZ>

<sup>78</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Glenn Greenwald’s second reader Q&A: the highlights,” *The Guardian* (UK), Mar. 22, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/22/glenn-greenwald-second-q-and-a>, archived at <http://archive.is/4WqN3>





“Legal or not, the NSA’s extensive, multi-level cooperation with Israeli military and intelligence agencies is part of a **broader American policy that actively supports and enables Israeli aggression and militarism**. Every Israeli action in Gaza has U.S. fingerprints all over it. Many Americans may wish that the Israeli attack on Gaza were a matter of no special relevance or concern to them, but it is their own government that centrally enables this violence.”<sup>79</sup> [emphasis added]

- On the **American Israel Public Affairs Committee, “AIPAC”**: “The policies they help maintain - particularly lock-step US support for all Israeli actions - are dangerous indeed, because - among other things - they maintain high levels of anti-US animosity around the world and, as David Petraeus once said (before sheepishly walking it back), undermine US foreign policy goals and even help fuel terrorism. People who oppose these policies need to develop the organizational and financial clout that AIPAC has to influence policy-makers.”<sup>80</sup>
- Greenwald’s view on AIPAC has not changed. In response to AIPAC’s retweet of Sen. Ted Cruz’s support for Israel, Greenwald tweeted, “With support for Israel shrinking and disgust with it rising - as the internet now allows everyone to see its true face - @AIPAC these days has to get its support where it can find it.”<sup>81</sup>
- A policy on terrorism: “I think we should stop (a) going around the world killing whomever we want; (b) propping up dictators to do our bidding; and (c) **blindly supporting everything the Israeli government does**, as that would go a long way toward gutting the fuel of anti-American terrorism.”<sup>82</sup> [emphasis added]
- “Obama is about to give Israel biggest aid package ever, guaranteed for 10 years. **Israel is angry, wants even more.**”<sup>83</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>79</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Cash, Weapons and Surveillance: The U.S. is a Key Party to Every Israeli Attack,” *The Intercept*, Aug. 4, 2014, <https://theintercept.com/2014/08/04/cash-weapons-surveillance/>, archived at <http://archive.is/UEHmS>

<sup>80</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Glenn Greenwald’s second reader Q&A: the highlights,” *The Guardian* (UK), Mar. 22, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/22/glenn-greenwald-second-q-and-a>, archived at <http://archive.is/4WqN3>

<sup>81</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, May 29, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1001583323225952256>, archived at <http://archive.is/ASY9K>

<sup>82</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Glenn Greenwald’s second reader Q&A: the highlights,” *The Guardian* (UK), Mar. 22, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/22/glenn-greenwald-second-q-and-a>, archived at <http://archive.is/4WqN3>

<sup>83</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, July 30, 2016, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/759372462719139840>, archived at <http://archive.fo/EW7ec>





### On writers who support Israel

Greenwald's one-sided view of the Israel-Palestinian situation is expressed in black and white: Those who support Israel are "Islamophobes" or "anti-Arab." But he claims pro-Israel opinions are not balanced: Criticism of pro-Palestinian action is a "smear." For example, in an August 2017 article disparaging newly-hired *New York Times* opinion writer Bari Weiss, Greenwald wrote:

"Exactly as she was doing a decade ago as a 'pro-Israel' activist at Columbia and thereafter at various neocon media perches, her formula is as simple as it is predictable: She **channels whatever prevailing right-wing grievance exists about colleges, Arabs or Israel critics** (ideally, all of those) into a column that's supposed to be "provocative" because it maligns minority activists or fringe positions that are rarely given platforms on the New York Times op-ed page. She was first cheered for using this highly valuable journalistic real estate to **attack organizers of the Chicago Dyke March for excluding flags that contained the Star of David** on the grounds of similarity to the Israeli flag, followed by a crude guilt-by-association attack on the minority women who organized the Woman's March based on **their praise of various Muslims we're all expected to hate...**

[...]

"Bari Weiss is a caricature of all of the op-ed page's longest-standing, worst attributes. Her relatively short career as a writer and activist has been overwhelmingly devoted to one issue: **a defense of the Israeli government and a corresponding smear campaign against its critics.** Her targets have tended overwhelmingly to be Muslim and/or Arab, often in the context of campus politics. She has already used her NYT space to endorse the disgusting and false Haim Saban-created **smear campaign** against the first Muslim elected to the U.S. Congress, writing: 'Recall that only a few months ago, **Keith Ellison**, a man with a long history of defending and working with anti-Semites, was almost made leader of the Democratic National Committee.'"<sup>84</sup>  
[emphasis added]

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<sup>84</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "The NY Times's Newest Op-Ed Hire, Bari Weiss, Embodies its Worst Failings -- and its Lack of Viewpoint Diversity," *The Intercept*, Aug. 31, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/31/nyts-newest-op-ed-hire-bari-weiss-embodies-its-worst-failings-and-its-lack-of-viewpoint-diversity/>, archived at <http://archive.is/MOOLE>





As with his opinion of Weiss, Greenwald **appears to despise all opinion writers who describe Israel in a positive manner**.<sup>85</sup> For example, Greenwald has disdainfully characterized the work of all the *New York Times*' op-ed writers including Bret Stephens, Thomas Friedman, Nicholas Kristof, and David Brooks, and other pro-Israel writers:

- “There’s not a single view [Bari Weiss] holds about Israel or campus controversies that couldn’t be, and hasn’t been, repeatedly expressed by Friedman, Stephens, and Brooks, if not also Cohen and Douthat. Hiring her didn’t add an iota of viewpoint diversity; it just replicated **tendentious views about Israel** and its largely marginalized critics that have been repeated for years on those same NYT pages to the purposeful exclusion of actually dissenting voices.”<sup>86</sup>
- “...Weiss’s favorite people are all part of that insular, highly homogenized clique of **war-loving, ‘pro-Israel’ neoconservative American writers**: John Podhoretz, Jamie Kirchick, Bill Kristol, Eli Lake, and Stephens. And they all adore her. But, to use her words in maligning the Women’s March organizers, she sure does ‘have some chilling ideas and associations.’”<sup>87</sup>
- “One more time: **the greatest & most frequent threat to free speech in the west is the attempt to criminalize & outlaw activism against Israel**.”<sup>88</sup> [emphasis added]
- “[T]he most pervasive form of **campus censorship** — directed at Israel critics and pro-Palestinian activists — is so often ignored.”<sup>89</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>85</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The NY Times's Newest Op-Ed Hire, Bari Weiss, Embodies its Worst Failings -- and its Lack of Viewpoint Diversity,” *The Intercept*, Aug. 31, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/31/nyts-newest-op-ed-hire-bari-weiss-embodies-its-worst-failings-and-its-lack-of-viewpoint-diversity/>, archived at <http://archive.is/MOOLE>

<sup>86</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The NY Times's Newest Op-Ed Hire, Bari Weiss, Embodies its Worst Failings -- and its Lack of Viewpoint Diversity,” *The Intercept*, Aug. 31, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/31/nyts-newest-op-ed-hire-bari-weiss-embodies-its-worst-failings-and-its-lack-of-viewpoint-diversity/>, archived at <http://archive.is/MOOLE>

<sup>87</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “The NY Times's Newest Op-Ed Hire, Bari Weiss, Embodies its Worst Failings -- and its Lack of Viewpoint Diversity,” *The Intercept*, Aug. 31, 2017, <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/31/nyts-newest-op-ed-hire-bari-weiss-embodies-its-worst-failings-and-its-lack-of-viewpoint-diversity/>, archived at <http://archive.is/MOOLE>

<sup>88</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Oct. 20, 2017, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/921332315363729408>, archived at <http://archive.is/CK4Sh>

<sup>89</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “NYT’s Bari Weiss Falsely Denies Her Years of Attacks on the Academic Freedom of Arab Scholars Who Criticize Israel,” *The Intercept*, Mar. 8, 2018, <https://theintercept.com/2018/03/08/the-nyts-bari-weiss-falsely-denies-her-years-of-attacks-on-the-academic-freedom-of-arab-scholars-who-criticize-israel/>, archived at <http://archive.is/kmAC8>





## On the Israel-Palestinian situation

- When Hamas and other Palestinian terror groups shot more than 400 rockets at Israel's civilian population in November 2018, **Greenwald made no comment about the human rights violations directed toward Israel** or her population but focused only on Israel's response. Israel responded with strikes targeting terrorist sites.<sup>90</sup> including Hamas' Al Aqsa TV station, which has historically broadcast incendiary reports.<sup>91</sup> The IDF allowed workers to leave the building before the attack. "The IDF said that Al-Aqsa TV was 'used by [Hamas] for military activities, including sending messages to terrorist operatives in the West Bank, calls for terror attacks and instructions on how to commit them.'"<sup>92</sup> But **Greenwald stated merely**, "Israel threatened last week to begin 'levelling' high-rises in Gaza and now is making good on that threat, destroying a TV station, a radio station & an apartment building. They're not even pretending this was accidental; they admit they were targeted."<sup>93</sup>
- Greenwald has **accused UN Ambassador Nikki Haley of lying** about the situation in Gaza and has **asserted that Gaza is still occupied by Israel**: "Listen to Nikki Haley's claims about who runs Gaza and compare it to the facts and truth in this short video to see how seamlessly and deliberately Nikki Haley misleads.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3kUSihH-M9M> ... - **but the world knows she's lying**, which is why the US just lost in the UN on Israel."<sup>94</sup> [emphasis added] Greenwald pushed the same video [by Intercept colleague, Mehdi Hasan, for Al Jazeera] when he tweeted: "The 1.8 million people who live in Gaza are prisoners. They live in utter deprivation because Israel - despite claims of having "withdrawn" - blockades it & controls all aspects of their lives. Please listen to the facts in this 2-minute @mehdirhasan video."<sup>95</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Behind the headlines: Hamas rocket and terror attacks against Israel," Nov. 13, 2018, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Issues/Pages/Hamas-rocket-and-terror-attacks-against-Israel-13-November-2018.aspx>, archived at <http://archive.is/eX0oe>; TOI Staff, "At least 108 people wounded in Israel in two days of rocket fire; Hospitals say dozens treated for shock after over 460 rockets and mortar shells fired at Israeli towns by Gazan terror groups," *Times of Israel*, Nov. 13, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/at-least-108-people-wounded-in-israel-in-two-days-of-rocket-fire/>, archived at <http://archive.is/76Abm>

<sup>91</sup> Adam Rasgon & Judah Ari Gross, "Israeli strike levels headquarters of Hamas-affiliated TV station in Gaza; IDF says Al-Aqsa TV used for military activities, including sending messages to terror operatives; Islamic Jihad condemns attack," *Times of Israel*, Nov. 12, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-strike-levels-headquarters-of-hamas-affiliated-tv-station-in-gaza/>, archived at <http://archive.is/5pN1g>

<sup>92</sup> Adam Rasgon & Judah Ari Gross, "Israeli strike levels headquarters of Hamas-affiliated TV station in Gaza; IDF says Al-Aqsa TV used for military activities, including sending messages to terror operatives; Islamic Jihad condemns attack," *Times of Israel*, Nov. 12, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-strike-levels-headquarters-of-hamas-affiliated-tv-station-in-gaza/>, archived at <http://archive.is/5pN1g>

<sup>93</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Nov. 13, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1062312727119585282>, archived at <http://archive.is/uKpmg>

<sup>94</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Jun. 13, 2018 <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1007027100631609344>, archived at <http://archive.is/5sE1j>

<sup>95</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, May 15, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/996404792216997888>, archived at <http://archive.is/GZ7Sq>







- “When Americans resist military occupation by fighting against occupying troops on their soil, they are noble heroes. But when Palestinians do this, they are ‘terrorists.’ This **discourse, by design, equates Palestinians resisting occupation by fighting against an occupying army with al Qaeda and ISIS**, and thus posits that any use of force by Palestinians to resist Israeli occupation — even when done on Palestinian soil, aimed exclusively at Israeli military targets there — is illegitimate.

[...]

- “So look at what has happened here. **When Palestinians fight against occupying troops on their soil, they are denounced — and often killed — as “terrorists.”** Meanwhile, nonviolent campaigns to end the occupation through a South Africa-style boycott are demonized as “anti-Semitism” and officially barred — censored — in all sorts of ways, in numerous countries around the world.

**“If fighting Israeli occupying forces is barred as “terrorism,” and nonviolent boycotts against Israel are barred as “anti-Semitism,” then what is considered a legitimate means for Palestinians and their allies to resist and end the decadeslong, illegal Israeli occupation?** The answer is: nothing. Palestinians are obliged to submit to Israeli occupation in a way that none of the people demanding that would ever themselves submit to occupation of their land. All forms of resistance to Israeli occupation are deemed illegitimate. *That*, manifestly, is the whole point of all of this.”<sup>96</sup> [emphasis added]

- “... But when Palestinians kill military soldiers occupying their land, they’re called terrorists. When Palestinians advocate a nonviolent boycott of Israel in order to pressure them to end the occupation, the way people did in the ‘80s successfully against the South African apartheid regime, that’s called anti-Semitism. When Palestinians nonviolently protest at the border, they’re accused of being agents of Hamas who deserve to be slaughtered. The discourse of the West is that Palestinians have no right to resist or protest this decades-long occupation. They don’t have a right to do so violently, and they have no right to do so nonviolently. **The only thing Western discourse tells Palestinians they’re permitted to do is to meekly acquiesce and submit to and obey the dictates of the Israeli government. And I think the world is finally starting to wake up to the fact that this discourse is incredibly immoral** and

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<sup>96</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Fighting Israeli Occupying Forces Is ‘Terrorism.’ Boycotting Is ‘Anti-Semitism.’ What’s Allowed?” The Intercept, Apr. 3, 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/04/03/fighting-israeli-occupying-forces-is-terrorism-boycotting-is-anti-semitism-whats-allowed/>, archived at <http://archive.is/Nknni>





that—... Palestinians have just the same rights as everybody else to protest and resist.”<sup>97</sup> [emphasis added]

- **“There are definitely terrorists on the Israel/Gaza border. They're the ones with the guns: killing journalists, praying teenagers, peaceful protesters, using snipers to shoot 1,000 people. Same ones who keep 1.8 million people locked in utter deprivation in an open-air prison.”**<sup>98</sup> [emphasis added]
- “In sum, **Israel intends to continue to rule over and occupy Palestinians** and deny them self-governance, political liberties, and voting rights indefinitely.”<sup>99</sup> [emphasis added]
- “Even as Western consensus continues to revere the most stalwart supporters of South Africa’s apartheid regime — Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Shimon Peres — it at least now regards apartheid itself in that country as a historic disgrace. **History should regard those enabling Israel’s own march to permanent apartheid in exactly the same light.** The most aggressive and consistent enablers of this apartheid are found at the top of the U.S. political class.”<sup>100</sup> [emphasis added]
- “...[A]s public opinion turns against the actions of the Israeli government as they become more extremist, more ultra-nationalistic, more committed to the oppression of the Palestinians, you do see more desperation on the part of those who **want to exclude and stigmatize all criticisms of Israel**, more extreme behavior, like you saw, for example, in the confirmation hearing of Chuck Hagel, where they essentially tried to pillory him and turn him into a terrorist supporter, ... simply because he had questioned some actions of the Israeli government and U.S. policy. But I also think that the harm that comes **from suppressing debate over Israel** and that comes to the United States from its steadfast, blind support for the Israeli government has become so obvious, so patent, that more and more people are now openly questioning these issues.”<sup>101</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>97</sup> Glenn Greenwald interview with Amy Goodman, “Apartheid, Rogue, Terrorist State”: Glenn Greenwald on Israel’s Murder of Gaza Protestors, Reporter,” *Democracy Now!*, Apr. 9, 2018, [https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/apartheid\\_rogue\\_terrorist\\_state\\_glenn\\_greenwald](https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/apartheid_rogue_terrorist_state_glenn_greenwald), archived at <http://archive.is/wdpNo>

<sup>98</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, Apr. 7, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/982657649278902272>, archived at <http://archive.is/YMcwP>

<sup>99</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “U.S. Admits Israel Is Building Permanent Apartheid Regime — Weeks After Giving It \$38 Billion,” *The Intercept*, Oct. 6, 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/10/06/u-s-admits-israel-is-building-permanent-apartheid-regime-weeks-after-giving-it-38-billion/>, archived at <http://archive.is/1OdNH>

<sup>100</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “U.S. Admits Israel Is Building Permanent Apartheid Regime — Weeks After Giving It \$38 Billion,” *The Intercept*, Oct. 6, 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/10/06/u-s-admits-israel-is-building-permanent-apartheid-regime-weeks-after-giving-it-38-billion/>, archived at <http://archive.is/1OdNH>

<sup>101</sup> Transcript, “Lawmakers Threaten Funding of Brooklyn College for Hosting Event on BDS Campaign Against Israel,” Glenn Greenwald with Amy Goodman, *Democracy Now!*, Feb. 6, 2013, [https://www.democracynow.org/2013/2/6/lawmakers\\_threaten\\_funding\\_of\\_brooklyn\\_college#transcript](https://www.democracynow.org/2013/2/6/lawmakers_threaten_funding_of_brooklyn_college#transcript)





- “Whatever you thought of Israel in the past, believing that it was some kind of bastion of liberal democracy in the Middle East, that it was surrounded by primitive brutal enemies, all the propaganda, what’s clear now is that Israel is something quite different than all of that. And even people who once believed that are now starting to come and see that **Israel is an apartheid, rogue, terrorist state.**”<sup>102</sup> [emphasis added]
- “...Benjamin **Netanyahu is this far-right, bloodthirsty, militaristic figure.** And what’s amazing about it is that in the context of Israeli politics, Benjamin Netanyahu resides in the center of Israeli politics, if not almost now on the left. There’s very little political force to his left. All the political force is to his right. The **younger generation of Israeli leaders think that Netanyahu is too moderate, that he’s too centrist, that he’s too soft on the Palestinians. They don’t believe in a Palestinian state. They don’t pretend to support the two-state solution.** They want to dominate that land forever. They believe they’re religiously entitled to it. They want to—basically, they believe in apartheid, a policy of apartheid, forever suppressing what is soon to be the majority, the Palestinians, ruled by a minority of Israelis, **using whatever war crimes and slaughter and murder they need to** in order to suppress and intimidate that population.”<sup>103</sup> [emphasis added]
- “Israel is about to legislatively force Facebook to censor content deemed by Israeli officials to be improper, and Facebook appears eager to appease those threats by working directly with the Israeli government to determine what content should be censored. **The joint Facebook-Israel censorship efforts, needless to say, will be directed at Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians who oppose Israeli occupation...** I suppose some people are comforted by the idea that benevolent Facebook executives like Mark Zuckerberg are going to protect us all from “hate speech” and “incitement,” but — like “terrorism” — neither of those terms have any fixed meanings, are entirely malleable, and are highly subject to manipulation for propagandistic ends. Do you trust Facebook — or the Israeli government — to assess when a Palestinian’s post against Israeli occupation and aggression passes over into censorship-worthy “hate speech” or “incitement”? **While the focus here is on Palestinians’ “incitement,” it’s actually very common for Israelis to use Facebook to urge violence against Palestinians,** including settlers urging “vengeance” when there is an attack on an Israeli.<sup>104</sup> [emphasis added]

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<sup>102</sup> Glenn Greenwald interview with Amy Goodman, “Apartheid, Rogue, Terrorist State”: Glenn Greenwald on Israel’s Murder of Gaza Protestors, Reporter,” *Democracy Now!*, Apr. 9, 2018, [https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/apartheid\\_rogue\\_terrorist\\_state\\_glenn\\_greenwald](https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/apartheid_rogue_terrorist_state_glenn_greenwald), archived at <http://archive.is/wdpNo>

<sup>103</sup> Glenn Greenwald interview with Amy Goodman, “Apartheid, Rogue, Terrorist State”: Glenn Greenwald on Israel’s Murder of Gaza Protestors, Reporter,” *Democracy Now*, Apr. 9, 2018, [https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/apartheid\\_rogue\\_terrorist\\_state\\_glenn\\_greenwald](https://www.democracynow.org/2018/4/9/apartheid_rogue_terrorist_state_glenn_greenwald), archived at <http://archive.is/wdpNo>

<sup>104</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “Facebook Is Collaborating With the Israeli Government to Determine What Should Be Censored,” *The Intercept*, Sept. 12 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/09/12/facebook-is-collaborating-with-the-israeli-government-to-determine-what-should-be-censored/>, archived at <http://archive.is/xbfPO>





- “[L]iberal demands that Facebook remove content that supposedly incites violence resulted, predictably, in the removal of thousands of Palestinian pages at the demands of the Israel government, while very few Israeli pages suffered similar repression. Censorship advocates reap what they sow, and it usually ends up consuming them and their own allies. It may be karmic justice, but it does massive damage to the ability to have free discourse, the right of dissent, and the flow of unpopular views.”<sup>105</sup> [emphasis added]
- On the release of teen “activist” Ahed Tamimi<sup>106</sup> from an Israeli jail after serving nine months, Greenwald tweeted in July 2018, “**Israel is now both a terrorist and an apartheid state and there is simply no remaining viable moral justification for supporting it.**”<sup>107</sup> [emphasis added] “Tamimi had been arrested after appearing in a viral video — shot by her mother, who also was arrested — in which she and two other girls slap and harass Israeli soldiers. Afterward, she call[ed] on Palestinians to stab and throw rocks at Israelis, and offer themselves as suicide bombers in order to ‘liberate Palestine.’”<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Glenn Greenwald, “CNN Submits to Right-Wing Outrage Mob, Fires Marc Lamont Hill Due to His ‘Offensive’ Defense of Palestinians at the U.N.,” *The Intercept*, Nov. 29, 2018, <https://theintercept.com/2018/11/29/cnn-submits-to-right-wing-outrage-mob-fires-marc-lamont-due-to-his-offensive-defense-of-palestinians-at-the-un/>, archived at <http://archive.is/uGNYj>

<sup>106</sup> Tamimi comes from a family known for its “activism.” Her cousin, Ahlam Tamimi, helped carry out the Sbarro massacre attack in 2001 where a Palestinian suicide bomber blew himself up at a pizza parlor in Jerusalem, killing 15 and injuring 130. Josefin Dolstein/JTA, “How Did Ahed Tamimi Become a Palestinian National Icon,” *Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 2, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/How-did-Ahed-Tamimi-become-a-Palestinian-national-icon-563924>, archived at <http://archive.is/KXKUK>

<sup>107</sup> Glenn Greenwald tweet, July 29, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ggreenwald/status/1023571141129134080>, archived at <http://archive.is/QH3us>

<sup>108</sup> Josefin Dolstein/JTA, “How Did Ahed Tamimi Become a Palestinian National Icon,” *Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 2, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/How-did-Ahed-Tamimi-become-a-Palestinian-national-icon-563924>, archived at <http://archive.is/KXKUK>

