Bradley Manning

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Bradley Edward Manning (born December 17, 1987) is a United States Army soldier who was arrested in May 2010 in Irag on suspicion of having passed classified material to the whistleblower website WikiLeaks. He was charged with a number of offenses, including communicating national defense information to an unauthorized source and aiding the enemy, a capital offense, though prosecutors said they would not seek the death penalty.[1] He was arraigned in February 2012 at Fort Meade, Maryland, where he declined to enter a plea. The trial is expected to begin in June 2013.^[2]

Assigned to an army unit based near Baghdad, Manning had access to databases used by the United States government to transmit classified information. He was arrested after Adrian Lamo, a computer hacker, co-operated with the Department of Defense, stating Manning had confided during online chats that he had downloaded material from these databases and passed it to WikiLeaks. The material included videos of the July 12, 2007 Baghdad airstrike and the 2009 Granai airstrike in Afghanistan; 250,000 United States diplomatic

Bradley Manning



Manning in April 2012

Born December 17, 1987

Crescent, Oklahoma, U.S.

Service/branch • United States Army

Years of Since 2007

service

Rank A Private First Class

Unit 2nd Brigade Combat Team,

10th Mountain Division

Awards National Defense Service

Medal

Army Service Ribbon

Global War on Terrorism

Service Medal

Iraq Campaign Medal

Parents Brian Manning

Susan Fox

cables; and 500,000 army reports that came to be known as the Iraq War logs and

Afghan War logs. It was the largest set of restricted documents ever leaked to the public. Much of it was published by WikiLeaks or its media partners between April and November 2010.^[3]

Manning was held from July 2010 in the Marine Corps Brig, Quantico, Virginia, under Prevention of Injury status, which entailed *de facto* solitary confinement and other restrictions that caused international concern. In April 2011, 295 academics – many of them prominent American legal scholars – signed a letter arguing that the detention conditions violated the United States Constitution. Later that month the Pentagon transferred him to Fort Leavenworth, allowing him to interact with other detainees.^[4]

Reaction to his arrest was mixed. Denver Nicks, one of Manning's biographers, writes that the leaked material, particularly the diplomatic cables, was widely seen as a catalyst for the Arab Spring that began in December 2010, and that Manning was viewed as both a 21st-century Tiananmen Square Tank Man and an embittered traitor. Several commentators focused on why an apparently very unhappy Army private had access to classified material, and why no security measures were in place to prevent unauthorized downloads.^[5]

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Background

Early life

Manning was born to Susan Fox, originally from Wales, and her American husband, Brian Manning, in Crescent, Oklahoma. His father had joined the United States Navy in 1974 when he was 19, and served for five years as an intelligence analyst, meeting Susan when he was stationed in Wales at Cawdor Barracks. Manning's sister, eleven years his senior, was born in 1976. The couple returned to the United States in 1979, moving at first to California, then to a two-story house outside Crescent, with an above-ground swimming pool and five acres of land where they kept pigs and chickens. [6]

Manning's father took a job as an IT manager for a rental car agency, which meant he had to travel. His mother suffered from poor health – she developed a drinking problem, and was living several miles out of town and unable to drive – and as result Manning was largely left to fend for himself. His father would stock up on food before his trips, and leave pre-signed checks for the children to pay the bills. A neighbor told *The New York Times* that whenever the school went on field trips, she would give her son extra food or money so he could make sure Manning had something to eat.^[7]

Manning was small for his age – as an adult, he reached 5 ft 2 in (1.57 m) and weighed 105 lb (47.6 kg) – and excelled at the saxophone, science, and computers. His father told PBS that Manning created his first website when he was ten years old. He taught himself how to use PowerPoint, won the grand prize three years in a row at the local science fair, and in sixth grade took top prize at a

state-wide quiz bowl. By the age of 13 he was modifying a video-game to change the appearance of the characters.^[8]

Parents' divorce, move to Wales

Those who knew Manning told Denver Nicks, author of *Private: Bradley Manning, WikiLeaks, and the Biggest Exposure of Official Secrets in American History* (2012), that he always had a mind of his own; he was openly opposed to religion, for example, and remained silent during the part of the Pledge of Allegiance that refers to God. ^[9] When he was 13 he began to question his sexual orientation, and around this time his parents divorced and his father remarried; Manning and his mother moved out of the house to a rented apartment in Crescent. His father's second wife was also called Susan, and Manning apparently reacted badly when the second wife's son by a previous relationship changed his surname to Manning. When he found out about it, he started taking running jumps at the walls, and told his mother: "I'm nobody now." ^[10]

In November 2001 Manning and his mother left the United States and moved to Haverfordwest, Wales, where his mother had family. Manning attended the town's Tasker Milward secondary school, where they nicknamed him "Bradders." A schoolfriend there told Ed Caesar for *The Sunday Times* that Manning's personality was "unique, extremely unique. Very quirky, very opinionated, very political, very clever, very articulate." His interest in computers continued, and in 2003 he and a friend set up a website, angeldyne.com, a message board that offered games and music downloads.^[11]



High Street in Haverfordwest, Wales, where Manning went to secondary school.

He became the target of bullying at the school because he was the only American. The students would imitate his accent, and they apparently abandoned him once during a camping trip. His aunt told *The Washington Post*. "[H]e woke up, and all the tents around him were gone. They left while he was sleeping." He was also targeted because of being considered "effeminate." Nicks writes that he had told two of his friends in Oklahoma that he was gay, but he was not open about it at school in Wales.^[12]

Return to the United States

He feared that his mother was becoming too ill to cope with him, so he decided in 2005, when he was 17, to return to the United States. [13] He moved in with his father in Oklahoma City, where his father was living with his second wife and her child, and got a job as a developer with a software company, Zoto. He was apparently happy for a time, but was let go after four months. His boss told *The Washington Post* that on a few occasions Manning had "just locked up," and would simply sit and stare, and in the end communication became too difficult. The boss told the newspaper he felt that "nobody's been taking care of this kid for a really long time." [14]

Manning was by then living as a gay man, which his father accepted, but there were problems in the relationship with his stepmother. In March 2006, Manning reportedly threatened her with a knife during an argument about his failure to get another job; she called the police, and he was asked to leave the house. He drove to Tulsa in a pick-up truck his father had given him, at first sleeping in it, then moving in with a friend from school. The two of them got jobs at Incredible Pizza in April, then Manning spent some time in Chicago, before he ran out of money and again had nowhere to stay. His mother arranged for him to live with his father's sister, Debra, a lawyer in Potomac, Maryland. Nicks writes that the 15 months he spent with his aunt were among the most stable of his life. He had a boyfriend, took several low-paid jobs, and spent a semester studying history and English at Montgomery College, though he left after failing an exam. [15]

Enlistment in the US Army

He went through basic training at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, but six weeks after enlisting was sent to the discharge unit. He was allegedly being bullied, and in the opinion of another soldier there, he was having a breakdown. The soldier told *The Guardian*: "The kid was barely five foot ... He was a runt, so pick on him. He's crazy, pick on him. He's a faggot, pick on him. The guy took it from every side. He couldn't please anyone." Denver Nicks writes that Manning, who was used to being bullied, fought back – if the drill sergeants screamed at him, he would scream at them – to the point where they started calling him "General Manning." [16]

The decision to discharge him was revoked and he started basic training again in January 2008. After graduating in April, he moved to Fort Huachuca, Arizona, where he trained as an intelligence analyst, receiving a TS/SCI security clearance (Top Secret/Sensitive Compartmented Information). According to Nicks, this security clearance, combined with the digitization of classified information and the

government's policy of sharing it widely, gave Manning access to an unprecedented amount of material. Nicks writes that he was reprimanded while at Fort Huachuca for posting three video messages to friends on *YouTube*, in which he described the inside of the "Sensitive Compartmented Information Facility" (SCIF) where he worked.^[17]

Move to Fort Drum

In August 2008 Manning was sent to Fort Drum in Jefferson County, New York, where he joined the 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division, and trained for deployment to Iraq. It was while stationed there in the fall of 2008 that he met Tyler Watkins, who was studying neuroscience and psychology at Brandeis University, near Boston. Watkins was his first serious relationship, and he posted happily on Facebook about it, regularly traveling 300 miles to Boston on visits.^[18]

Watkins introduced him to a network of friends and the university's hacker community. He also visited Boston University's "hackerspace" workshop, known as "Builds," and met its founder, David House, the MIT researcher



Manning in September 2009

who was later allowed to visit him in jail. In November 2008, he gave an anonymous interview to a high-school reporter during a rally in Syracuse in support of gay marriage, telling her: "I was kicked out of my home and I once lost my job. The world is not moving fast enough for us at home, work, or the battlefield. I've been living a double life. ... I can't make a statement. I can't be caught in an act. I hope the public support changes. I do hope to do that before ETS [Expiration of Term of Service]." [19]

Denver Nicks writes that Manning would travel back to Washington, D.C., for visits, where an ex-boyfriend helped him find his way around the city's vibrant gay community, introducing him to lobbyists, activists, and White House aides. Back at Fort Drum, he continued to display emotional problems and by August 2009 had been referred to an Army mental-health counselor. A friend told Nicks that Manning could be emotionally fraught, describing an evening they had watched two movies together – *The Last King of Scotland* and *Dancer in the Dark* – after which Manning cried for hours. By September 2009 his relationship with Watkins was in trouble, and although they reconciled for a short time, it was effectively over. [20]

Deployment to Iraq, discussion with counselor

After four weeks at the Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC) in Fort Polk, Louisiana, he was deployed to Forward Operating Base Hammer, near Baghdad, arriving in October 2009. From his workstation there, he had access to SIPRNet (the Secret Internet Protocol Router Network) and JWICS (the Joint Worldwide Intelligence Communications System). Two of his superiors had discussed not taking him to Iraq – it was felt he was "a risk to himself and possibly others," according to a statement later issued by the army – but again the shortage of intelligence analysts held sway. [21]

A month later, in November 2009, he was promoted from Private First Class to Specialist. That same month, according to his chats with Lamo, he made his first contact with WikiLeaks, shortly after it posted 570,000 pager messages from the 9/11 attacks, which it released on November 25. [22] Also in November, Manning wrote to a gender counselor in the United States, said he felt female, and discussed having sex reassignment surgery. The counselor told Steve Fishman of *New York Magazine* that it was clear Manning was in crisis, partly because of his gender concerns, but also because he was opposed to the kind of war in which he found himself involved. [23]



He was by all accounts unhappy and isolated. Because of the army's "don't ask, don't tell" policy (known as DADT and repealed in September 2011), he was not allowed to be openly gay, though he apparently made no secret of it; his friends said he kept a fairy wand on his desk. When he told his roommate he was gay, the roommate responded by suggesting they not speak to each other. His working conditions – 14–15 hour night shifts in a dimly lit secure room – did not help his emotional well being. [24] On December 20, 2009, after being told he would lose his one day off a week for being persistently late, he overturned a table in a conference room, damaging a computer that was sitting on it, and in the view of one soldier looked as though he was about to grab a rifle from a gun rack, before his arms were pinned behind his back. Several witnesses to the incident believed his access to sensitive material ought to have been withdrawn at that point. The following month, he began posting on Facebook that he felt alone and hopeless. [25]

Army investigators told a pre-trial hearing (see below) that they believed Manning

downloaded the Iraq and Afghan war logs around this time, in January 2010. WikiLeaks tweeted on January 8 that year that they had obtained "encrypted videos of US bomb strikes on civilians," and linked to a story about the May 2009 Granai airstrike in Afghanistan. During the same month, Manning traveled to the United States via Germany for a two-week holiday, arriving on January 24, and attended a party at Boston University's hacker space. It was during this visit that Manning first lived for a few days as a woman, dressing in women's clothes, wearing a wig and going out. After his arrest, his former partner, Tyler Watkins, told Kevin Poulsen of *Wired* that Manning had said during the January visit that he had found some sensitive information and was considering leaking it.^[26]

Loss of rank and recommended discharge

Manning told Lamo he passed the Baghdad helicopter attack ("Collateral murder") video to WikiLeaks shortly after this incident, in February 2010. In April, just as WikiLeaks published the video, Manning sent an e-mail to his master sergeant, Paul Adkins, saying he was suffering from gender identity disorder and attaching a photograph of himself dressed as a woman. Captain Steven Lim, Manning's commander, said he first saw the e-mail after Manning's arrest – when information about hormone replacement therapy was found in his room in Baghdad – and learned that Manning had been calling himself Breanna. [27] Manning told Lamo that his commander had found out about the gender issue before his arrest, after looking at his medical files at the beginning of May. He said he had set up Twitter and YouTube accounts in Breanna's name to give her a digital presence, writing in the Lamo chat: "i wouldn't mind going to prison for the rest of my life, or being executed so much, if it wasn't for the possibility of having pictures of me ... plastered all over the world press ... as [a] boy ... the CPU is not made for this motherboard ..."[28]

On April 30 he posted on Facebook that he was utterly lost, and over the next few days that "Bradley Manning is not a piece of equipment," that he was "beyond frustrated," and "livid" after being "lectured by ex-boyfriend despite months of relationship ambiguity ..." On May 7 he seemed to spiral out of control. According to army witnesses, he was found curled into a fetal position in a storage cupboard, with a knife at his feet, and had cut the words "I want" into a vinyl chair. A few hours later he had an altercation with a female intelligence analyst, Specialist Jihrleah Showman, during which he punched her in the face. The brigade psychiatrist recommended a discharge, referring to an "occupational problem and adjustment disorder." His master sergeant removed the bolt from his weapon, and he was sent to work in the supply office, though at this point his security clearance

remained in place. He was demoted from Specialist to Private First Class just two days before his arrest on May 26.^[29]

Ellen Nakashima writes that, on May 9, Manning contacted Jonathan Odell, a gay American novelist in Minneapolis, via Facebook, leaving a message that he wanted to speak to him in confidence; he said he had been involved in some "very high-profile events, albeit as a nameless individual thus far." On May 19, according to army investigators, he e-mailed Eric Schmiedl, a mathematician he had met in Boston, and told him he had been the source of the "Collateral Murder" video. Two days later, he began the series of chats with Adrian Lamo that led to his arrest. [30]

Alleged disclosure of classified material

WikiLeaks

Further information: WikiLeaks

WikiLeaks was set up in late 2006 as a disclosure portal, initially using the Wikipedia model, where volunteers would write up restricted or legally threatened material submitted by whistleblowers. It was Julian Assange – an Australian Internet activist and journalist, and the *de facto* editor-in-chief of WikiLeaks – who had the idea of creating what Ben Laurie called an "open-source, democratic intelligence agency." The open-editing aspect was soon abandoned, but the site remained open for anonymous submissions.^[31]



Julian Assange and Daniel Domscheit-Berg at the Chaos Communication Congress, Berlin, December 2009.^[31]

According to Daniel Domscheit-Berg, a former WikiLeaks spokesman, part of the WikiLeaks security concept was that they did not know who their sources were. *The New York Times* wrote in December 2010 that the U.S. government was trying to discover whether Assange had been a passive recipient of material from Manning, or had encouraged or helped him to extract the files; if the latter, Assange could be charged with conspiracy. Manning told Lamo in May 2010 that he had developed a relationship with Assange, communicating directly with him using an encrypted Internet conferencing service, but knew little about him. WikiLeaks did not identify Manning as their source. Army investigators told a pre-trial hearing that they had found 14–15 pages of

chats between Manning and someone they believed to be Assange, but Nicks writes that no decisive evidence was found of Assange offering Manning any direction.^[32]

Material released by WikiLeaks

Reykjavik13

Further information: Information published by WikiLeaks

WikiLeaks posted the first of the material allegedly from Manning on February 18, 2010, a diplomatic cable dated January 13, 2010, from the U.S. Embassy in Reykjavik, Iceland, a document now known as Reykjavik13. In the chat log, Manning called it a "test" document. On March 15, WikiLeaks posted a 32-page report written in 2008 by the U.S. Department of Defense about WikiLeaks itself. On March 29, it posted U.S. State Department profiles of politicians in Iceland. [33]

Baghdad airstrike

Further information: July 12, 2007 Baghdad airstrike

Manning told Lamo that he gave WikiLeaks the video of the July 12, 2007 Baghdad airstrike after finding it in a Judge Advocate's directory.[35] WikiLeaks named it "Collateral Murder," and Assange released it during a press conference at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., on April 5, 2010.^[36] The video showed an American helicopter firing on a group of men in Baghdad. One of the men was carrying an anti-tank grenade launcher (an RPG-7), and two were Reuters employees carrying cameras that the pilots mistook for guns. The helicopter also fired on a van that stopped to help the injured members of the first group; two children in the van were wounded and their father killed. The Washington Post wrote that it was this video, viewed by millions, that put WikiLeaks on the map. According to Nicks, Manning e-mailed a superior officer after the video aired and tried to persuade her that it was the same version as the one stored on



Manning said he gave
WikiLeaks the July 12,
2007 Baghdad airstrike
video (so-called "Collateral
Murder") in early 2010.
Unedited version
(http://www.nytimes.com
/projects/2011/video
/opensecrets/) and edited
version
(http://www.nytimes.com
(http://www.nytimes.com

SIPRnet. Nicks writes that it seemed as though Manning wanted to be caught. [36]

/projects/2011/video /opensecrets/edited.html) [34]

Afghan War logs, Iraq War logs

Further information: Afghan War documents leak and Iraq War documents leak

On July 25, WikiLeaks and three media partners – *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *Der Spiegel* – began publishing the 91,731 documents that became known as the Afghan War logs. This was followed on October 22 with 391,832 classified military reports covering the period January 2004 to December 2009 that became known as the Iraq War logs. Nicks writes that the publication of the former was a watershed moment, the "beginning of the information age exploding upon itself." [37]

Diplomatic cables, Guantanamo Bay files

Further information: United States diplomatic cables leak and Guantanamo Bay files leak

Manning told Lamo he was also responsible for the "Cablegate" leak of 251,287 State Department cables, written by 271 American embassies and consulates in 180 countries, dated December 1966 to February 2010. The cables were passed by Assange to his three media partners, plus *El País* and others, and published in stages from November 28, 2010, with the names of sources removed. WikiLeaks said it was the largest set of confidential documents ever released into the public domain. The rest of the cables were published unredacted by WikiLeaks on September 1, 2011, after David Leigh and Luke Harding of *The Guardian* inadvertently published the passphrase for a file that was still online; Nicks writes that one Ethiopian journalist had to leave his country and the U.S. government said it had to relocate several sources. Manning is also thought to have been the source of the Guantanamo Bay files leak, originally obtained by WikiLeaks in 2010 and published by *The New York Times* over a year later on April 24, 2011. [39]

Manning and Adrian Lamo

Chats

On May 20, 2010, Manning contacted Adrian Lamo, a former "grey hat" hacker convicted in 2004 of having accessed *The New York Times* computer network two years earlier without permission. Lamo had been profiled that day by Kevin Poulsen in *Wired* magazine; the story said he had been involuntarily hospitalized and diagnosed with Asperger syndrome. [41] Poulsen, by then a reporter, was himself a former hacker who had used Lamo as a source several times since 2000. [40] Indeed, it was Poulsen who, in 2002, had told *The New York Times*, on Lamo's behalf, that Lamo had gained unauthorized access to its network. Poulsen then wrote the story up for *SecurityFocus*. Lamo would



Adrian Lamo (left) and Wired's Kevin Poulsen (right) in 2001. The man in the middle, Kevin Mitnick, had no involvement in the Manning case. [40]

often hack into a system, tell the organization he had done it – using Poulsen as an intermediary – then offer to fix their security.^[42]

Lamo said Manning sent him several encrypted e-mails on May 20. He said he was unable to decrypt them but replied anyway and invited the e-mailer to chat on AOL IM. Lamo said he later turned the e-mails over to the FBI without having read them. ^[43] In a series of chats from May 21 until May 25/26, Manning – using the handle "bradass87" – told Lamo that he had leaked classified material. He began by introducing himself as an army intelligence analyst, and within 17 minutes, without waiting for a reply, began a tentative discussion about the leaks. ^[44]

May 21, 2010: (1:41:12 PM) bradass87: hi

(1:44:04 PM) bradass87: how are you?

(1:47:01 PM) bradass87: im an army intelligence analyst, deployed to eastern baghdad, pending discharge for "adjustment disorder" in lieu of "gender identity disorder"

(1:56:24 PM) bradass87: im sure you're pretty busy ...

(1:58:31 PM) bradass87: if you had unprecedented access to classified networks 14 hours a day 7 days a week for 8+ months, what would you do?^[44]

Lamo replied several hours later. Before Manning started discussing the leaks, Lamo told him: "I'm a journalist and a minister. You can pick either, and treat this as a confession or an interview (never to be published) & enjoy a modicum of legal protection." They talked about restricted material in general, then Manning made his first explicit reference to the leaks: "This is what I do for friends." He linked to a section of the May 21, 2010, version of Wikipedia's article on WikiLeaks, which described the WikiLeaks release in March that year of a Department of Defense report on WikiLeaks itself. He added "the one below that is mine too"; the section below in the same article referred to the leak of the Baghdad airstrike ("Collateral Murder") video. [45] Manning said he felt isolated and fragile, and was reaching out to someone he hoped might understand: [44]

May 22, 2010:

(11:49:02 AM) bradass87: im in the desert, with a bunch of hyper-masculine trigger happy ignorant rednecks as neighbors... and the only safe place i seem to have is this satellite internet connection

(11:49:51 AM) bradass87: and i already got myself into minor trouble, revealing my uncertainty over my gender identity ... which is causing me to lose this job ... and putting me in an awkward limbo [...]

(11:52:23 AM) bradass87: at the very least, i managed to keep my security clearance [so far] [...]

(11:58:33 AM) bradass87: and little does anyone know, but among this "visible" mess, theres the mess i created that no-one knows about yet [...]

(12:15:11 PM) bradass87: hypothetical question: if you had free reign [sic] over classified networks for long periods of time ... say, 8–9 months ... and you saw incredible things, awful things ... things that belonged in the public domain, and not on some server stored in a dark room in Washington DC ... what would you do? [...]

(12:21:24 PM) bradass87: say ... a database of half a million events during the iraq war ... from 2004 to 2009 ... with reports, date time groups, lat-lon locations, casualty

figures ...? or 260,000 state department cables from embassies and consulates all over the world, explaining how the first world exploits the third, in detail, from an internal perspective? [...]

(12:26:09 PM) bradass87: lets just say *someone* i know intimately well, has been penetrating US classified networks, mining data like the ones described ... and been transferring that data from the classified networks over the "air gap" onto a commercial network computer ... sorting the data, compressing it, encrypting it, and uploading it to a crazy white haired aussie who can't seem to stay in one country very long =L [...]

(12:31:43 PM) bradass87: crazy white haired dude = Julian Assange

(12:33:05 PM) bradass87: in other words ... ive made a huge mess :' $(^{[44]}$

Manning said he had started to help WikiLeaks around Thanksgiving in November 2009 – which fell on November 26 that year – after WikiLeaks had released the 9/11 pager messages; the messages were released on November 25. He told Lamo he had recognized the messages had come from an NSA database, and that it had made him feel comfortable about stepping forward. Lamo asked what kind of material he was dealing with, and Manning replied: "uhm ... crazy, almost criminal political backdealings ... the non-PR-versions of world events and crises ..." Although he said he dealt with Assange directly, he also said Assange had adopted a deliberate policy of knowing very little about him, telling Manning: "lie to me." [44]

May 22, 2010:

(1:11:54 PM) bradass87: and ... its important that it gets out ... i feel, for some bizarre reason

(1:12:02 PM) bradass87: it might actually change something

(1:13:10 PM) bradass87: i just ... dont wish to be a part of

it ... at least not now ... im not ready ... i wouldn't mind going to prison for the rest of my life, or being executed so much, if it wasn't for the possibility of having pictures of me ... plastered all over the world press ... as [a] boy ...

(1:14:11 PM) bradass87: i've totally lost my mind ... i make no sense ... the CPU is not made for this motherboard ... [...]

(1:39:03 PM) bradass87: i cant believe what im confessing to you: '([44]

At that point, Lamo again assured him that he was speaking in confidence. Manning wrote: "but im not a source for you ... im talking to you as someone who needs moral and emotional fucking support," and Lamo replied: "i told you, none of this is for print." [44]

He said the incident that had affected him the most was when 15 detainees had been arrested by the Iraqi Federal Police for printing anti-Iraqi literature. He was asked by the army to find out who the "bad guys" were, and discovered that the detainees had followed what Manning said was a corruption trail within the Iraqi cabinet. He reported this to his commanding officer, but said "he didn't want to hear any of it"; he said the officer told him to help the Iraqi police find more detainees. Manning said it made him realize, "i was actively involved in something that i was completely against ..." He explained that "i cant separate myself from others ... i feel connected to everybody ... like they were distant family," and cited Carl Sagan, Richard Feynman, and Elie Wiesel. He said he hoped the material would lead to "hopefully worldwide discussion, debates, and reforms. if not ... than [sic] we're doomed as a species." He said he had downloaded the material onto music CD-RWs, erased the music and replaced it with a compressed split file. Part of the reason no-one noticed, he said, was that staff were working 14 hours a day, seven days a week, and "people stopped caring after 3 weeks." [44]

May 25, 2010:

(02:12:23 PM) bradass87: so ... it was a massive data spillage ... facilitated by numerous factors ... both physically, technically, and culturally

(02:13:02 PM) bradass87: perfect example of how not to do INFOSEC

(02:14:21 PM) bradass87: listened and lip-synced to Lady Gaga's Telephone while exfiltratrating [sic] possibly the largest data spillage in american history [...]

(02:17:56 PM) bradass87: weak servers, weak logging, weak physical security, weak counter-intelligence, inattentive signal analysis ... a perfect storm [...]

(02:22:47 PM) bradass87: i mean what if i were someone more malicious

(02:23:25 PM) bradass87: i could've sold to russia or china, and made bank?

(02:23:36 PM) info@adrianlamo.com: why didn't you?

(02:23:58 PM) bradass87: because it's public data [...]

(02:24:46 PM) bradass87: it belongs in the public domain

(02:25:15 PM) bradass87: information should be free [...]^[44]

Lamo's approach to FBI, publication of chat logs

Lamo first discussed the chat with Chet Uber of the volunteer group, Project Vigilant, which researches cyber crime, and a friend who had worked in military intelligence. Both men advised Lamo to go to the FBI, and they reported what he had told them to the United States Army Criminal Investigation Command. [46] Lamo contacted the FBI shortly after the first chat on May 21; he said he believed Manning was endangering lives. [46] He was largely ostracized by the hacker community afterwards. Lamo later explained why, despite having assured Manning twice of confidence, he still chose to approach the FBI. Unlike other sources which attribute Manning's action to emotional instability, Lamo understood Manning's action differently: "He was ideologically motivated from a position he saw as well-intentioned, and he represented his motive as social responsibility in the pursuit of a wider benefit regarding disclosure of certain information." [47] Nicks argues, on the other hand, that it was thanks to Lamo that

the government had months to ameliorate any harm caused by the release of the diplomatic cables. [48] On May 25, Lamo met with FBI and Army investigators in California, where he showed them the chat logs. On or around that date, he also passed the story to Kevin Poulsen of *Wired*, and on May 27 gave him the chat logs and Manning's name under embargo. He saw the FBI again that day, at which point they told him Manning had been arrested in Iraq the day before. Poulsen and Kim Zetter broke the news of the arrest in *Wired* on June 6. [49] *Wired* published around 25 percent of the chat logs on June 6 and 10, and the full logs in July 2011, after the personal material about Manning had appeared elsewhere. [50]

Legal proceedings

Arrest and charges

Manning-Wikileaks timeline



Oct 2009: Manning sent to Iraq.

Nov: Manning finds Baghdad airstrike video.

Nov 25: Wikileaks (WL) publishes 9/11

pager messages.

Nov: Manning allegedly contacts WL.

Feb 18, 2010: WL releases Reykjavik 13 cable, purportedly from Manning.

Mar 15: WL releases Defense Dept report about WL, purportedly from Manning.

Mar 29: WL releases State Dept profiles, purportedly from Manning.

Apr 05: WL releases Baghdad airstrike video, purportedly from Manning.

May 21–25: Manning and Adrian Lamo chat.

May 26: Manning arrested in Iraq.

Jun 06: *Wired* publishes partial Manning-Lamo chat logs.

Jul 05: Manning charged.

Jul 25: WL releases Afghan War logs,

purportedly from Manning.

Jul 29: Manning transferred to the US.

Oct 22: WL releases Iraq War logs, purportedly from Manning.

Nov 28: Newspapers publish US diplomatic cables from WL, purportedly from Manning.

Jan 2011: UN Special Rapporteur submits inquiry to US about Manning.

Mar 01: Manning charged with more offenses.

Dec 16: Article 32 hearing begins.

Feb 03, 2012: Manning ordered to stand trial.

Jan 09, 2013: Trial due to begin June 2013.

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Further information: List of charges against Bradley Manning

Manning was arrested on May 26, 2010, and held at Camp Arifjan in Kuwait.^[51] He was charged with several offences in July 2010, replaced by 22 charges in March 2011, including violations of Articles 92 and 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), and of the Espionage Act. The most serious charge is "aiding the enemy," a capital offense. Prosecutors said they would not seek the death penalty, but if convicted he would face life imprisonment.^[52]

Detention

He was moved from Kuwait to the Marine Corps Base Quantico, Virginia, on July 29, 2010, and classified as a maximum custody detainee, with Prevention of Injury (POI) status. POI status is one stop short of suicide watch, entailing checks by guards every five minutes. His lawyer, David Coombs, a former military attorney, said he was not allowed to sleep between 5 am (7 am at weekends) and 8 pm, and was made to stand or sit up if he tried to. He was required to remain visible at all times, including at night, which entailed no access to sheets, no pillow except

one built into his mattress, and a blanket designed not to be shredded.^[53] Manning complained that he regarded it as pre-trial punishment.^[54]

His cell was 6×12 ft with no window, containing a bed, toilet, and sink. The jail had 30 cells built in a U shape, and although detainees could talk to one another, they were unable to see each other. His lawyer said the guards behaved professionally, and had not tried to harass or embarrass Manning. He was allowed to walk for up to one hour a day, meals were taken in the cell, and he was shackled during visits. There was access to television when it was placed in the corridor, and he was allowed to keep one magazine and one book. Because he was in pre-trial detention, he received full pay and benefits. [53]

On January 18, 2011, the jail classified him as a suicide risk after an altercation with the guards. Manning said the guards began issuing conflicting commands, such as "turn left, don't turn left," and upbraiding him for responding to commands with "yes" instead of "aye." Shortly afterwards, he was placed on suicide risk, had his clothing and eyeglasses removed, and was required to remain in his cell 24 hours a day. The suicide watch was lifted on January 21 after a complaint from his lawyer, and the brig commander who ordered it was replaced. [55] On March 2, 2011, he was told that his request that his POI status be removed had been denied. His lawyer said Manning joked to the guards that, if he wanted to harm himself, he could do so with his underwear or his flip-flops. The comment resulted in him having his clothes removed at night, and he had to present himself naked one morning for inspection. [56]

The detention conditions prompted national and international concern. Juan E. Mendez, a United Nations Special Rapporteur on torture published a report saying the detention conditions had been "cruel, inhuman and degrading." In January 2011, Amnesty asked the British government to intervene because of Manning's status as a British citizen by descent, though Manning's lawyer said he did not regard himself as a British citizen. [57] The controversy claimed a casualty in March that year when State Department spokesman Philip J. Crowley criticized Manning's treatment and resigned two days later. [58] In early April, 295 academics (most of them American legal scholars) signed a letter arguing that the treatment was a violation of the United States Constitution. [59] On April 20, the Pentagon transferred Manning to the Midwest Joint Regional Correctional Facility, a new medium-security facility in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he was placed in an 80-square-foot cell with a window and a normal mattress, able to mix with other pre-trial detainees and keep personal objects in his cell. [60]

Evidence presented at Article 32 hearing

Further information: United States v. Bradley Manning

In April 2011, a panel of experts ruled that Manning was fit to stand trial.^[61] An Article 32 hearing, presided over by Lieutenant Colonel Paul Almanza, was convened on December 16, 2011, at Fort Meade, Maryland; the hearing resulted in Almanza recommending that Manning be referred to a general court-martial. He was arraigned on February 23, 2012, and declined to enter a plea.^[62]

During the Article 32 hearing, the prosecution, led by Captain Ashden Fine, presented 300,000 pages of documents in evidence, including chat logs and classified material. [63] The court heard from two army investigators, Special Agent David Shaver, head of the digital forensics and research branch of the army's Computer Crime Investigative Unit (CCIU), and Mark Johnson, a digital forensics contractor from ManTech International, who works for the CCIU. They testified that they had found 100,000 State Department cables on a workplace computer Manning had used between November 2009 and May 2010; 400,000 military reports from Iraq and 91,000 from Afghanistan on an SD card found in his basement room in his aunt's home in Potomac, Maryland; and 10,000 cables on his personal MacBook Pro and storage devices that they said had not been passed to WikiLeaks because a file was corrupted. They also recovered 14–15 pages of encrypted chats, in unallocated space on Manning's MacBook hard drive, between Manning and someone believed to be Julian Assange. Two of the chat handles, which used the Berlin Chaos Computer Club's domain (ccc.de), were associated with the names Julian Assange and Nathaniel Frank. [64]

Johnson said he found SSH logs on the MacBook that showed an SFTP connection, from an IP address that resolved to Manning's aunt's home, to a Swedish IP address with links to WikiLeaks. [64] There was also a text file named "Readme" attached to the logs, a note apparently written by Manning to Assange, which called the Iraq and Afghan War logs "possibly one of the most significant documents of our time, removing the fog of war and revealing the true nature of 21st century asymmetric warfare." [65] The investigators testified they had also recovered an exchange from May 2010 between Manning and Eric Schmiedl, a Boston mathematician, in which Manning said he was the source of the Baghdad helicopter attack ("Collateral Murder") video. Johnson said there had been two attempts to delete material from the MacBook. The operating system was re-installed in January 2010, and on or around January 31, 2010, an attempt was made to erase the hard drive by doing a "zero-fill," which involves overwriting

material with zeroes. The material was overwritten only once, which meant it could be retrieved.^[64]

Manning's lawyers argued that the government had overstated the harm the release of the documents had caused, and had overcharged Manning to force him to give evidence against Assange. The defense also raised the issue of his gender identity disorder, whether it had affected his judgment, and whether the "don't ask, don't tell" policy had made it difficult for Manning to serve in the army. [66]

Motion to dismiss, offer of a guilty plea

Further information: United States v. Bradley Manning

In September 2012 Manning's lawyer filed a motion to dismiss all charges with prejudice, arguing that Manning had been unable to obtain a speedy trial.; the motion argued that his pretrial confinement of around 900 days exceeded anything that the Court of Appeals has found to be facially reasonable. [67] In December the judge accepted terms that would allow him to plead guilty to lesser charges, in exchange for a maximum sentence of 16 years and the government dropping the most serious charges. In January 2013 she ruled that any sentence should be reduced by 112 days because of Manning's treatment while at Quantico, but that the dismissal of charges was not appropriate. [68]

Impact and reception

The publication of the leaked material, particularly the diplomatic cables, attracted in-depth coverage across the globe, with several governments blocking websites that contained embarrassing details. Alan Rusbridger, editor of *The Guardian*, said: "I can't think of a time when there was ever a story generated by a news organisation where the White House, the Kremlin, Chávez, India, China, everyone in the world was talking about these things. ... I've never known a story that created such mayhem that wasn't an event like a war or a terrorist attack." [69]

Denver Nicks writes that Manning's name "appended like a slogan to wholesale denunciations and exultations alike." United States Navy Admiral Michael Mullen, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said the leaks had placed the lives of American soldiers and Afghan informants in danger. Glenn Greenwald argued that he was the most important whistleblower since Daniel Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers in 1971.^[70]

A Washington Post editorial asked why an apparently unstable Army private had been able to access and transfer sensitive material in the first place. According to Nicks, Manning's sexuality came into play too. "Don't ask, don't tell" was repealed not long after his arrest, with Manning illustrating for a right-wing fringe that gays were not fit for military service, while the mainstream media presented him as a gay soldier driven mad by bullying.^[71]

Manning and WikiLeaks were credited as catalysts for the Arab Spring that began in December 2010, when waves of protesters rose up against rulers across the Middle East and North Africa after the leaked cables exposed government corruption. [72] Heather Brooke writes that, in Tunisia, where the uprisings began on December 17 with the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi in protest at being unable to make a living, one of the cables – published around 10 days earlier – showed that the President's daughter and her husband had their ice-cream flown in from Saint-Tropez. As *Time* magazine designated "the protester" as its 2011



Billboard erected in Washington, D.C., by the Bradley Manning Support Network



Frankfurt, Germany, January 2012

person of the year, Brooke writes that WikiLeaks came under tremendous pressure, experiencing distributed denial-of-service attacks that shut down their servers, and finding themselves unable to receive donations when PayPal, banks, and credit card companies refused to process them.^[73]

Mike Gogulski, an American expatriate in Slovakia, formed the Bradley Manning Support Network in June 2010. Rallies were held, as well as protests outside the jail, and by August 2012 over 12,000 people had donated \$650,000, including \$15,100 from WikiLeaks. [74] Manning was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 and 2012, the latter by the Oklahoma Center for Conscience and Peace Research and three members of the Icelandic parliament, and readers of *The Guardian* voted him 2012 person of the year. Graham Nash and James Raymond wrote a song in his support in 2011, naming it after a phrase Manning's lawyer used to describe his mental health – "Almost Gone." [75]

See also

- Classified information in the United States
- Espionage Act of 1917
- Freedom of Information
- Incarceration in the United States
- Information security

- Information sensitivity
- Journalism sourcing
- McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950
- Reception of WikiLeaks
- Uniform Code of Military Justice

Material associated with Manning

- Afghan War documents leak
- Granai airstrike#Video of the airstrike
- Guantanamo Bay files leak
- Iraq War documents leak
- July 12, 2007 Baghdad airstrike#Leaked video footage
- United States diplomatic cables leak
- Contents of the United States diplomatic cables leak
- Reactions to the United States diplomatic cables leak

Notes

- Note: Articles used as references repeatedly, or which are central to the story, are presented in shortened form in this section, as are books; for full citations for those sources, see the References section below. Other references are cited in full in this section.
- 1. ^ Nicks, September 23, 2010 (http://web.archive.org/web/20110429142813/http://thislandpress.com/09/23/2010/private-manning-and-the-making-of-wikileaks-2/).
 - For the initial charges, see "Soldier faces criminal charges" (http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs /pdf/ManningPreferralofCharges.pdf?tag=contentMain;contentBody), United States Division—Center, Media Release, July 6, 2010.
 - Also see "Charge sheet" (http://cryptome.org/manning-charge.pdf) , Cryptome. Retrieved December 26, 2010; and "Charge sheet" (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/lifestyle/magazine/2011/manning/manning_charges.pdf) , The Washington Post.
 - For the additional charges, see Miklaszewski, Jim and Kube, Courtney.

 "Manning faces new charges, possible death penalty"

 (http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41876046/ns/us_news-security/), MSNBC,
 March 2, 2011.
- 2. ^ For the arraignment, see Rizzo, Jennifer "Bradley Manning charged" (http://security.blogs.cnn.com/2012/02/23/bradley-manning-charged) , CNN,

February 23, 2012.

- For the trial date, see Lennard, Natasha. "Bradley Manning's trial pushed back again" (http://www.salon.com/2013/01 /09/bradley_mannings_trial_pushed_back_again/), *Salon*, January 9, 2013.
- 3. ^ Leigh and Harding 2011, pp. 194ff, 211.
 - For reference to the documents, see Poulsen and Zetter, June 6, 2010 (http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2010/06/leak/).
- 4. * For the letter from the legal scholars, see Ackerman, Bruce and Benkler, Yochai. "Private Manning's Humiliation" (http://web.archive.org/web/20110405001633/http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2011/apr/28/private-mannings-humiliation/), The New York Review of Books. Retrieved April 5, 2011 (see a later correction here (http://web.archive.org/web/20110409205745/http://balkin.blogspot.com/2011/03/statement-on-private-mannings-detention.html)).
 - For the significance of the letter, see Pilkington, Ed. "Bradley Manning: top US legal scholars voice outrage at 'torture'" (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world /2011/apr/10/bradley-manning-legal-scholars-letter), *The Guardian*, April 10, 2011.
 - For the jail transfer, see "WikiLeaks Suspect Transferred to Fort Leavenworth" (http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2011/04/19/us/politics/AP-US-US-WikiLeaks-Army-Private.html?scp=2&sq=%22Bradley+Manning%22&st=nyt), Associated Press, April 20, 2011.
- 5. ^ For the comparisons, see Nicks 2012, p. 3, and for the Arab Spring, see pp. 212–216.
 - For the "access to sensitive material" questions, see "The right response to WikiLeaks" (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11 /29/AR2010112905985.html), *The Washington Post*, editorial, November 30, 2010; Greenwald, June 18, 2010 (http://www.salon.com/2010/06/18/wikileaks_3 /singleton/); and Nicks 2012, pp. 116–117: "Though he was a lowly private in the chain of command, the digitization of classified communications and the government's twenty-first century information-sharing initiatives conspired to him give unprecedented access to state secrets."
- 6. **^** Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features/bradley-manning-2011-7 /index1.html), pp. 2–3.
 - For the swimming pool and the house, see Nicks, September 23, 2010 (http://web.archive.org/web/20110429142813/http://thislandpress.com/09/23 /2010/private-manning-and-the-making-of-wikileaks-2/).
- 7. * For his mother not adjusting, Manning fending for himself, and the neighbor, see Thompson, August 8, 2010 (http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/09/us /09manning.html?_r=1&scp=23&sq=%22Bradley+Manning%22&st=nyt), p. 1.
 - For the mother's health issues, and the pre-signed checks, see Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html).
 - For the father stocking up on food, see "Interview Brian Manning" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/bradley-manning/interviews /brian-manning.html).

- Also see "Interview Jordan Davis" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline /wikileaks/bradley-manning/interviews/jordan-davis.html), both PBS *Frontline*, March 2011.
- 8. ^ For his weight and height, see Kirkland, Michael. "Under the U.S. Supreme Court: Bradley Manning, WikiLeaks martyr?" (http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2011 /03/13/Under-the-US-Supreme-Court-Bradley-Manning-WikiLeaks-martyr /UPI-44541300001400/), United Press International, March 13, 2011.
 - For the quiz bowl and rewriting video code, see Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html) .
 - For the interview with the father, see Smith, March 2011 (http://www.pbs.org /wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/bradley-manning/) , from 02:25 mins (transcript (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/bradley-manning/interviews /brian-manning.html)).
 - Also see Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features/bradley-manning-2011-7/index3.html), p. 4.
- 9. ^ For the view of a teacher, see Nicks, September 23, 2010 (http://web.archive.org /web/20110429142813/http://thislandpress.com/09/23/2010/private-manning-and-the-making-of-wikileaks-2/).
 - For religion, see Thompson, August 8, 2010 (http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08 /09/us/09manning.html?_r=1&scp=23&sq=%22Bradley+Manning%22&st=nyt), p. 1.
 - For behavioral issues, see Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html).
- 10. ^ Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine /who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html) .
 - For his sexual orientation, see Smith, March 2011 (http://www.pbs.org /wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/bradley-manning/); "Interview Brian Manning" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/bradley-manning/interviews /brian-manning.html) (transcript); and "Interview Jordan Davis" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/bradley-manning/interviews /jordan-davis.html) (transcript), PBS Frontline, March 7, 2011.
 - Also see Nicks 2012, pp. 19–20; and Hansen, July 13, 2011 (http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2011/07/manning-lamo-logs/), at "(11:36:34 AM) bradass87".
- 11. ^ For "Bradders," see Nicks 2012, p. 21.
 - For the schoolfriend's (James Kirkpatrick) views, see Caesar, December 19, 2010 (http://www.edcaesar.co.uk/article.php?article_id=53).
 - For the website, see angeldyne.com (http://web.archive.org /web/20031207022141/http://www.angeldyne.com/), December 7, 2003.
 - For Manning referring to the website as his, see Hansen, July 13, 2011 (http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2011/07/manning-lamo-logs/), at "(11:40:25 AM) bradass87".
- 12. ^ For being the only American in the school and being impersonated, see Leigh and

Harding 2011, p. 24.

- For being abandoned during a camping trip, Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html).
- For not discussing being gay, see Nicks, September 23, 2010 (http://web.archive.org/web/20110429142813/http://thislandpress.com/09/23 /2010/private-manning-and-the-making-of-wikileaks-2/).
- 13. ^ On his way through London to renew his passport, he arrived at the King's Cross underground station on the day of the July 7, 2005 London bombings, and said he heard the sirens and the screaming. See Hansen, July 13, 2011 (http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2011/07/manning-lamo-logs/), and Nicks 2012, pp. 23–24.
- 14. * Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features/bradley-manning-2011-7 /index2.html), p. 3.
 - For Zoto and Campbell, see Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html).
- 15. ^ Nicks 2012, pp. 24–25, 51–56.
 - Also see:
 - *Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features/bradley-manning-2011-7/index2.html), p. 3.
 - *Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine /who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html)
 - *For the jobs, see "Bradley Manning's Facebook Page" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/manning-facebook-page/), PBS *Frontline*, March 2011.
- 16. * For concerns about his stability, see Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html) .
 - For basic training, and the video interview with the soldier, see Smith *et al*, May 27, 2011 (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/video/2011/may/27/bradley-manning-wikileaks-iraq-video); soldier's interview begins 07:10 mins.
 - For a transcript of the interview, see "Bradley Manning: fellow soldier recalls 'scared, bullied kid'" (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may /28/bradley-manning-video-transcript-wikileaks), *The Guardian*, May 28, 2011.
 - For the drill sergeants and "General Manning," see Nicks 2012, p. 62.
- 17. ^ For his restarting basic training in January 2008, see Nicks 2012, p. 73.
 - For the army needing intelligence analysts, and for the top-security clearance, see Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle /magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04 /16/AFMwBmrF_print.html), and for the "TS/SCI security clearance," see Nicks 2012, p. 116.
 - For "unprecedented access to state secrets," see Nicks 2012, p. 117.

- Also see Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features/bradley-manning-2011-7/index1.html), p. 2.
- For the reprimand regarding *YouTube*, see Nicks, September 23, 2010 (http://web.archive.org/web/20110429142813/http://thislandpress.com/09/23 /2010/private-manning-and-the-making-of-wikileaks-2/); also see Nicks 2012, p. 75.
- For the 10th Mountain Division, 2nd Brigade, see Nicks 2012, p. 82.
- 18. ^ Leigh and Harding 2011, pp. 27-28; Nicks 2012, p. 83.
- 19. ^ For his introduction to the hacker community, see Leigh and Harding 2011, pp. 27–28.
 - For the anonymous interview, see Her, Phim. "Teen hears peoples' stories at LGBTQ rally" (http://blog.syracuse.com/voices/2008/11 /teen_hears_stories_at_lgbtq_ra.html), syracuse.com, November 17, 2008.
 - That the interviewee was Manning, see Nicks, September 23, 2010 (http://web.archive.org/web/20110429142813/http://thislandpress.com/09/23 /2010/private-manning-and-the-making-of-wikileaks-2/), and Nick 2012, p. 82.
 - For Manning's reference to the interview on Facebook, see "Bradley Manning's Facebook Page" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/manning-facebook-page/), PBS *Frontline*, March 2011.
- 20. ^ For the introduction to lobbyists and others, see Nicks 2012, p. 85.
 - For the emotional problems and referral to a counselor, see Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features/bradley-manning-2011-7/), p. 1, and Nicks 2012, p. 114.
 - For the films, see Nicks 2012, p. 88.
 - For the relationship with Watkins, see Nicks, September 23, 2010 (http://web.archive.org/web/20110429142813/http://thislandpress.com/09/23 /2010/private-manning-and-the-making-of-wikileaks-2/), and Nicks 2012, p. 122.
- 21. ^ For his time in Fort Polk, and for "risk to himself and possibly others," see Nicks 2012, pp. 114–115; for Forward Operating Base Hammer, see pp. 123–124.
 - For "risk to himself," also see Nakashima, May 4, 2011 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/who-is-wikileaks-suspect-bradley-manning/2011/04/16/AFMwBmrF_print.html), and "Accused WikiLeaker Bradley Manning's Dream of Becoming President" (http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2012/04/29/accused-wikileaker-bradley-manning-s-dream-of-becoming-president.html), Newsweek, April 12, 2012 (excerpt from Nicks 2012).
 - For the promotion, see "Bradley Manning's Facebook Page" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/manning-facebook-page/), PBS *Frontline*, March 2011.
- 22. ^ Leigh and Harding, 2011, p. 31, and Hansen, July 13, 2011 (http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2011/07/manning-lamo-logs/).
- 23. **^** Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features/bradley-manning-2011-7 /index4.html), p. 5.
- 24. ^ For the fairy wand, see Thompson, August 8, 2010 (http://www.nytimes.com

- /2010/08/09/us/09manning.html), p. 2. I* For the roommate, see Rushe, Dominic and Williams, Matt. "Bradley Manning pre-trial hearing Monday 19 December" (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2011/dec/19/bradley-manning-pre-trial-hearing-live-updates), *The Guardian*, December 19, 2011.
 - For the nightshifts, see Fishman, July 3, 2011 (http://nymag.com/news/features /bradley-manning-2011-7/index3.html), p. 4.
- 25. A For a description of the incident, and the view that his access to sensitive material ought to have been withdrawn, see Nicks 2012, pp. 133–134.
 - For the same incident, also see Radia, Kirit and Martinez, Luis. "Bradley Manning Defense Reveals Alter Ego Named 'Breanna Manning'" (http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/12/bradley-manning-defense-reveals-alter-ego-named-brianna-manning/), ABC News, December 17, 2011.
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 - For the Facebook comments, "Bradley Manning's Facebook Page" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/wikileaks/manning-facebook-page/), PBS Frontline, March 201, and Blake, Heidi; Bingham, John; and Rayner, Gordon. "Bradley Manning, suspected source of WikiLeaks documents, raged on his Facebook page" (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/politics/defence/7918632/Bradley-Manning-suspected-source-of-Wikileaks-documents-raged-on-his-Facebook-page.html), The Daily Telegraph, July 30, 2010.
- 26. ^ Nicks 2012, pp. 131-135, 137-138.
 - For his living as a woman, see Nicks 2012, p. 146.
 - For the WikiLeaks tweet, see "Have encrypted videos ..." (https://twitter.com /#!/wikileaks/status/7530875613), Twitter, January 8, 2010 (archived (http://www.webcitation.org/67Vlxs6n8) from the original, May 8, 2012). The tweet said:
 - "Have encrypted videos of US bomb strikes on civilians http://bit.ly /wlafghan2 we need super computer time http://ljsf.org/"
 - Note: bit.ly is on Wikipedia's spam blacklist, which is why the first link is not live. It leads to Shachtman, Noah. "Afghan Airstrike Video Goes Down the Memory Hole" (http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2009/06/afghan-airstrike-video-goes-down-the-memory-hole/), Wired, June 23, 2009.
 - For Tyler Watkins statement to *Wired*, see Poulsen and Zetter, June 6, 2010 (http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2010/06/leak/).
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 "Lamo, however, told me that Manning found him not from the Wired article which Manning never mentioned reading but from searching the word

 "WikiLeaks" on Twitter, which led him to a tweet Lamo had written that included the word "WikiLeaks." Even if Manning had really found Lamo through a Twitter search for "WikiLeaks," Lamo could not explain why Manning focused on him, rather than the thousands of other people who have also mentioned the word "WikiLeaks" on Twitter, including countless people who have done so by expressing support for WikiLeaks."

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