

WMD AND THE **CHALLENGE** **TO TV NEWS**

**THE DEBATE BEHIND
THE FILM
WMD: WEAPONS
OF MASS DECEPTION**

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BOOKS BY DANNY SCHECHTER

**Embedded: Weapons of Mass Deception
How the Media Failed to Cover the War on Iraq**
Prometheus Books, 2003; ColdType.net (e-book version)

Media Wars: News at A Time of Terror
Inovatio Books, Bonn Germany 2002
Rowman & Littlefield, USA 2003

News Dissector: Passions Pieces and Polemics
Akashic Books 2000
Electronbooks.com

Falun Gong's Challenge to China
Akashic Books, 1999, 2000

Hail to the Thief
How the Media "Stole" the 2000 Presidential Election
(Ed. with Roland Schatz)
Inovatio, 2000 (Germany)
ElectronPress.com (US)

The More You Watch The Less You Know
Seven Stories Press, 1997, 1999

For other work by Danny Schechter, visit www.newsdissector.org/Dissectorville

FOR A JOURNALISM
OF TRUTH AND COURAGE

FORGING AN OPPOSITIONAL CULTURE

“It’s not surprising that documentary-makers have usually worked in a spirit of advocacy. They are people sufficiently committed to a point of view to go to the trouble of obtaining expensive equipment, carting it into the field, shooting miles of film under often unpleasant or dangerous conditions, and spending months or years splicing the results into a coherent movie. It’s easier to write an editorial. It’s easier, even, to write a book. People who make documentaries don’t make them because they believe that “reasonable people can disagree,” or that there are two sides to every question. They believe that there are, at most, one and a half sides—a right side and a side that, despite possibly having some redeeming aspects, is, on balance, wrong. They make movies because they are passionate about their subjects and they want to arouse passion in others, many others. Louis Menand, *The New Yorker*

“Political documentaries are becoming very, very important,” Cinema Libre founder Philippe Diaz says. “People will tell you that five or 10 years ago, they never would have thought to go to a documentary in the theater, but because now they are so disenfranchised by what they see on TV in terms of news, they go to theaters to see a movie.” *ABC News*

“There is a thirst for political explanations for the general situation that we live in. The fact that there is enough to go around and yet we live in a system that creates scarcity and demands war requires some analysis.” *TheyRule.net*

“...multiple factors may underlie the surge in political pop culture. ‘The ownership of mass media by giant conglomerates makes independent film one of the few places where criticism of corporate chicanery can reach a large audience,’ says Kevin Lally, editor of *Film Journal International*.” *Christian Science Monitor*

“The film’s success (*Fahrenheit 911*) also tells us something about media today and tomorrow. It emphatically shows what it takes to cut through the data-smog (as David Shenk terms it) of our overheated mass culture. We’re all info-overloaded, and put-upon. Emotion and attitude cut through. Right-wing talk show hosts long ago seized on this insight and ran with it, and now they daily blot out wild and never-substantiated claims in the name of free speech and being irate.” Pat Aufderheide, *Newsday*

“What is going on I think is firstly and most obviously a process of the development of a truly oppositional culture that demands product - that includes among other things heroes like Moore and Chomsky, and films that act as the antidote to the “news” produced by media giants and corporations.” Professor Gary McClennan, from a web posting



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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION: THE MAKING OF WMD

Journalism is more than a job. It is a calling, sometimes demanding a call to action. I have been a media maven all my life – from a summer camp newsletter (co-edited with CNN’s Jeff Greenfield) in my teen years to an award-winning producer with CNN and ABC 20/20. The son of a published poet, writing, opinionizing and reporting was in my bloodstream from an early age. My heroes were Edward R. Murrow and I.F. Stone, among others.

I started investigative reporting for Ramparts, THE muckraking magazine of the 1960’s, later becoming an on-air newscaster and “news dissector” for Boston’s pioneering WBCN for which I was acknowledged with a Nieman Fellowship in Journalism at Harvard. From there it was on to TV, first in local news and programming and then the start-up at CNN and eight years at ABC News 20/20. However, I grew dissatisfied from the infotainment values that took hold as news was dumbed down and lightened up.

I defected from the mainstream media in 1988 to become a ‘network refugee,’ co-founding Globalvision, an independent media company where I created TV series and made more than 15 documentaries. My first project played at the London Film Festival in 1968, where I was dubbed a “hero of downward mobility” for doing socially conscious shows on budgets that give a new meaning to “low overhead.”

I joined the media with a desire to showcase the problems of the world and came to see that the media was often times, THE problem. I decided to do something about it by helping form Mediachannel.org in 2000, which has become the world’s largest online media issues network. I write a 3000 word daily “dissection” on the news and views of the day at Mediachannel.org/weblog. I have written six books since 1997 including “The More You Watch The Less You Know” and “News Dissector” with two more on tap. My latest is “Embedded: Weapons of Mass Deception: How the Media Failed to Cover the War on Iraq”.

My film WMD IS a response to what I saw in writing that last book, “embedding” myself in front of my living room TV and comparing and contrasting coverage across the spectrum of print and television – here and abroad. After immersing myself in the wall-to-wall coverage, the comparison between our media and a state run media system was undeniable. It reminded me of that little dog that was the mascot for the RCA Victor for many years: “His Master Voice.”

Despite out many channels and choices, I saw few voices. There was a patriotic correctness on the airwaves and a uniformity in viewpoint that did more selling than telling about the war. I felt that we had moved into a post-journalism era where packaging and “militainment” prevailed. I heard only a few criticisms of the coverage, mostly about flaws on reporting by elite newspapers, even as 80% of the American people rely on TV for their news and impressions. Even as larger numbers of Americans and people around the world dissented, their views were rarely seen and heard.

The film WMD is my response to what I perceive as a media crisis and a crisis for democracy. At the time I began filming, I had no funding and had to get it going myself. I put myself in the

film not to “out Michael Moore Michael Moore” as Vanity Fair puts it, but to offer a personal witness from someone in the media trenches on the need for us to debate the media failure as earnestly as the intelligence failure that led us into a bloody and still unresolved war.

My hope is that WMD will spark debate about the proper role of the media in wartime. I hope it will encourage more journalists and media consumers to speak up and act out against the media system that went from being a “fourth estate” to the “fourth front” in CENTCOM Commander Tommy Franks’ “top secret” war plan (top secret for us but not to those favored journalists to whom it was leaked).

American democracy was invaded by the invasion of Iraq. A response and a counter narrative is vital in the fight for more truth in media. WMD is my contribution to this profound challenge. I bring an insider’s experience and an outsider’s analysis to that task.

WMD is a call for an engagement with our media as an issue. It is also one journalist’s cry for change.

Danny Schechter
December 2004

ABOUT THE FILM

There were two wars going on in Iraq - one was fought with armies of soldiers, bombs and a fearsome military force. The other was fought alongside it with cameras, satellites, armies of journalists and propaganda techniques. One war was rationalized as an effort to find and disarm WMDs - Weapons of Mass Destruction; the other was carried out by even more powerful WMDs, Weapons of Mass Deception.

The TV networks in America considered their non-stop coverage their finest hour, pointing to the use of embedded journalists and new technologies that permitted viewers to see a war up close for the first time. But different countries saw different wars. Why?

For those of us watching the coverage, the war was more of a spectacle, an around the clock global media marathon, pitting media outlets against each other in ways that distorted truth and raised as many questions about the methods of TV news, as the armed intervention it was covering-and in some cases-promoting.

WMD, a 98-minute non-fiction film and 58 minute TV program

**Part One:
THE ISSUES**

1. CAN INDEPENDENT FILM TAKE ON TV NEWS?

“You want to do what?” my colleague is saying scornfully while shaking his head with one of those ‘there you go again’ looks.

“You know that old saying, you could never work again in this town,” he warned. Old sayings have a way of sticking around because they have some truth to them, and in this case, my decision as a filmmaker to make a movie going after the media was considered problematic at best and suicidal at worse.

It was not as if I was biting a hand that feeds. After 16 years as an independent filmmaker often publicly critical of the news business, I have grown used to a subsistence diet when it comes to expecting support from a media system that prefers to support the status quo.

I was not EXACTLY relying on support or solace from a “media beast” that has not exactly embraced critical perspectives to its ample bosom. The truth is that despite our network backgrounds and track record of achievement, my partner and I at Globalvision had long been marginalized by the big players who, from time to time, patted our programs on the head but rarely sent any of their commissions our way.

But making a high-profile film on the media itself was something different, especially about the coverage of the Iraq war that many considered their finest hour of great courage and technological wizardry.

Such a project posed other risks and, er, “challenges.” Where would the money come from? What channel would show such a film even if I managed to make it? Would my fellow media mavens, especially high-profile journalists, go on camera to discuss their real experiences or make footage available? Is there a media market for work that takes big media to task through the lens of a news veteran who’s been there and done that?

RUNNING WITH THE RUN-UP

Like everyone in “media world,” I had been closely following what is now universally called the “run-up” to the war. You couldn’t escape the shrill escalation of rhetoric in Washington last year about the danger posed by Mr. Hussein and his fearsome Weapons of Mass Destruction.

You couldn’t miss the administration’s fanatical determination to kick Saddam’s ass. Even before the war started, The Bush Administration couldn’t wait to launch a “decapitation” air strike (i.e. assassination by cruise missile) that turned out to be, perhaps along with their war, a costly big but bloody bust.

For weeks and months, it was WMD this, and WMD that, even though in most of the world, and for most of the years in which that term was in use, it only referenced radioactive nuclear weapons such as the ones that took hundreds of thousands of lives in one blast in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. That’s real mass destruction.

Over the years, and for political reasons, the term WMD had been stretched, bent and spindled to describe chemical and biological agents of every exotic design. As local police staged biowar drills in the security-obsessed environment of post 9/11 America, government officials led by the W-in-chief stoked the threat warnings and beat the war drums, insisting there was only one choice: to side with him or the terrorists.

Fear hyped by TV news became a political weapon, and polarization became its main effect. We were told that we either had to stop “them” in Iraq or we would have to fight “them” in our cities and towns. Tony Blair’s white paper claimed London was only 45 minutes away from impending doom. Condoleeza Rice invoked the specter of a mushroom cloud. The oft-used White House “bully pulpit” now had a real bully in command. As he saddled up to lead what he called a new “crusade” based on instructions from God and a cabal of neo-cons, the big guns of the American media moved into his amen corner.

Forget the evidence. Forget debate. “We” were going “in” and it was better to get in line and bend over to the inevitability of it all than to question a narrative that had captured every TV channel and newspaper. It was a consensus. (Note the word’s prefix: con.) A Washington Post editor would later tell his colleagues who complained about their coverage that war was “inevitable” so why not just go along and get on top of the story.

Little of this made sense, or could withstand detailed scrutiny, but real experts and critics were rarely heard. BBC’s Greg Dyke (soon to be forced to quit in the phony “Hutton report” scandal charging on-air bias by one BBC reporter cited a study that found 800 talking heads across the wide expanse of US TV news in this period, with only six talking against the war.

A BLOG BECOMES A BOOK

At the time, I was blogging every day, as I still do for Mediachannel.org, and trying to dissect the details of a rush to war that had been validated, legitimated, and reinforced hourly and daily by media outlets which all seemed to be following the same script and echoing the same narrative. They asked few questions, and as we know now, told many lies.

I decided then to “embed” myself in my living room, at my computer, as a volunteer witness to the media war that was then unfolding, and to catalogue what I saw. I concluded that our media organs were functioning as weapons systems themselves; weapons of mass deception targeting viewers, listeners and readers. As I compared and contrasted coverage from around the world, I saw many flaws and realized that American TV news was driven by a clear political line. It was if the news system had transformed into organs of state media.

Journalists all over the world commented on the way our war (sic) “journalism” was infected with jingoism. It was blatantly obvious to others, but many on the inside couldn’t or wouldn’t see it. They were inculcated inside a gung-ho news bubble and accepted its assumptions. Besides, war makes for great TV: it’s an action-oriented, anything-can-happen, ratings-getting spectacle, not merely a boring replay of familiar news templates and the usual restrictive formats.

Inside the news world, editors, journalists and anchors nodded in agreement as President Bush

urged “bring it on.” Their reasons may have been different but the result was the same. “Count us in” was the mantra; “America United” the slogan. Dan Rather of CBS went on TV after 9/11 and said “I am ready to do what my commander in chief orders.” American flags sprung up in the lapels of newscasters and in TV graphics. TV news often resembled a patriotic pep rally: Fox animations had eagles flying off to battle; MSNBC promos would later proclaim, “God Bless America.”

THE MEDIA GOES TO WAR

As war neared, as a countdown added drama, a news army was put in place, not only alongside the army of soldiers but embedded within it. The Pentagon trained journalists for “safety’s sake.” Reporters bonded with soldiers. The “fourth estate” had become, in military commander Tommy Franks’ words, “the fourth front.” The media war was soon marching in lockstep with the Pentagon’s war.

As I watched protesters rail at the government and pick at its rationalizations, it became clear that few in the big media-megaphone were listening. All of my words, and then a book, *EMBEDDED*, of my columns cataloguing the collusion between the military and the media, published first online in June 2003, and then in hard cover in November, was too little, too late. It had little impact.

Most anti-war warriors would rather flail at Bush and his cohorts that take on a media system that served as the main interface between the war and the public. Few could see that had the media not rolled over, and instead exposed government propaganda, the controversy could have slowed the rush to war. One proposal by activists to picket CNN was even derided by a bigger peace coalition on the grounds that it might “alienate” them from covering their movements. No fear there—they weren’t really doing so anyway.

FIGHT FIRE WITH FIRE

It was then I decided that if I was really going to be true to my outrage, it was time to fight fire with fire: to use images to fight images, to deploy media against a media war. Only independent film offered the promise of a platform that could document and challenge the betrayal of journalism I was detailing. I called it *WMD: Weapons of Mass Deception*.

But how do you get the story behind this story? Especially months after the war began? News executives won’t talk candidly. (I tried questioning Fox’s John Moody at one event. He walked the other way when he saw me coming.) Journalists who are privy to behind-the-scenes chatter button their lips, too. So that left out a fashionable character-based storytelling approach. I would have to tell the story have to become the character that I didn’t have.

I also didn’t have and couldn’t afford a real staff. A dedicated young woman with a marketing background who came to our company as an intern worked with me. She had never made films before. After lots of hard work, she became a producer. Later, volunteers with a wide range of experience joined our team to help place the film in festivals, build a web site, handle press, coordinate my chaos, etc. Without them *WMD* would never have gotten going.

So we began going to conferences where journalists spoke about the war with each other. One was at the New School in New York; another was the Arab Media Summit in Dubai. There I was the only American asked to speak. Many of those in attendance had never heard an American rip into his country's media before. I also sprinkled in some concerns about their media, especially the tendency to assume all Americans backed Bush in the same way our media thought of all Iraq as Saddamland.

We soon began collecting footage from groups monitoring media and reached out to independents like Robert Young Pelton and Gwendolen Cates who were brave enough to share footage and commentary from the frontlines.

We reached out to international broadcasters who, after some coaxing, agreed to supply some footage. The BBC, CBC, ARD TV in Germany, France 3, Al Jazeera and South African Broadcasting shared some of their material to let me show the different ways they approached the challenge of covering the war. Independent filmmakers such as Stephen Marshall of the Guerilla News Network and Patrick Dillen, who had lived in Baghdad, supplied excerpts of their work. Some US network people slipped me footage, including Tom Brokaw's people.

I then read about and interviewed retired Air Force Colonel Sam Gardiner and other war critics. I shot demonstrations and did interviews in disparate locations. Before long we had over 350 tapes and hundreds of hours of material to log, transcribe and make sense of. It took a year of work to come up with a cut we were happy with.

THE NETWORKS "PASSED"

All my worst fears soon came to pass. Several networks "passed" at the idea. (The reasons cited never responded to the content of the film. It was never "what a stupid idea" or "you are wrong and unfair" but always, "it is just not for us," or even "we are doing something similar.")

The very word "pass" is a way of rejecting a project without comment, a cop-out. They all "passed," "A liberal foundation was interested in funding WMD until it wasn't ("not in line with our current priorities").

Other progressive philanthropists at the time were pouring money into the Dean campaign and then the Kerry crusade. "ABB" ("Anyone But Bush") was the driving slogan in the period. Media coverage of the war was to be bitched at and complained about, but not to be taken seriously as a political issue. Few at the time could see how independent films could make an impact.

THE MICHAEL MOORE METHOD

Michael Moore was still months away from releasing *Fahrenheit 911*.

To his credit and based on his money-making track record with films such as *Roger and Me* and *Bowling for Columbine*, Moore was able to snag \$6 million from Miramax, a Disney affiliate. He didn't rely on the largesse of progressive philanthropy but went the corporate route.

No dummy he.

Moore believed correctly that there was a huge market for his outspoken views and bold approach. He believed in himself. The film's success reflected dissatisfaction with our social criticism-free media system where dissenters like him are rarely seen and sanitized or "balanced" when they are. Not only was his bet on audience interest vindicated, but his film demonstrated that filmmaking affords an outlet for an extended critical argument unfiltered by the editorial vetting at so many TV stations. It showed a hunger for hard-hitting documentaries.

Moore was also able to break through the way he did because he had already been certified as a celebrity, a "name" in a celebrity-obsessed society. He had won an Oscar and had become a fixture in the limelight. He knew he could trade on that fame to promote his new film, aided and abetted by a brilliant marketing maneuver built around picking a public fight with Disney (which had earlier expressed its lack of interest in distributing the film) that made a big enough stink to push the story to page one. This free publicity combined with the premium prize at the Cannes Film Festival aided and abetted by strategic guidance from movie maestro Harvey Weinstein was behind the big breakthrough.

FUNDING

I watched in wonder and awe (if not a little envy) but was making little progress on the film. I thought maybe others would step up to the WMD plate if I did so myself. I felt that I couldn't ask others to risk their money if I wouldn't risk my own. So I borrowed some money and started to finance the movie myself. Soon, I was out \$20,000 and we were just getting started.

At this point, a benefactor emerged but could only put money in as an investor, not a donor. 'Soon I was setting up' a limited partnership. The legal work cost money I didn't have, but we needed the corporate structure to facilitate financing. Meanwhile, *WMD* lurched along from each infusion of cash to more shooting and editing.

First we had a 20-minute trailer, then a 57-minute cut and soon, an 89-minute version. We made the mistake of sending out videos that weren't finished and attracted a predictable range of responses pointing out some obvious problems. Some distributors didn't like me in the film; others wanted more. It was too personal or not personal enough. Some said it was too talky; others, not talky enough. The film felt too long at two hours; too short at 90 minutes. After a lot of back and forth, I settled on a one hundred-minute length. That led to restructuring, more editing and more expense. Happily we were able to find more investors to keep us going as well as talented editors willing to work at reasonable rates.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

By late August, we were nearly finished. We started showing our final cut at screenings and festivals to generate "buzz." The initial response was good from Nantucket to Dallas to Sacramento and Chicago. The film won top prizes in Austin and Denver.

After over a year of work, it felt good when audiences responded with enthusiasm. I soon found myself showing it world wide. One viewer in Amsterdam called it “*Fahrenheit 911 for adults.*” It was accepted and promoted at festivals and events in Holland, Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, Brazil, and South Korea. Soon, it was generating interest in the press in Copenhagen, Paris, and Tokyo, and even Vanity Fair closer to home.

Our last hurdle was a legal review. This was tricky because I was making a “fair use” claim to use copy-written network war footage off-air.

Here’s a definition of fair-use I found in a law library. I thought it was so important that I put it in the film: The non-competitive right to use of copyrighted material without giving the author the right to compensation or to sue for infringement of copyright. The common had and accepted industry practice of permitting use of brief excerpts of news footage for legitimate purposes of media criticism and analysis in furtherance of freedom of press and opinion.

If there was ever a project that fit squarely into these definitions, WMD is it. By and large, my pro-bono lawyers agreed? Insurers were more reluctant but we got a policy covering errors and omissions. A distributor Cinema Libre Studio agreed to handle the movie. In early December, we began showing it in theaters.

What about music clearances? When I went to get permission to use one popular song, I was told it would cost SLOM. SLOM? Translation: “A shit load of money.”

As you can see, filmmaking seems to lurch from one set of questions to another. The latest for us: Will we get it out? Can it find an audience? Will critics take it seriously? Will we recoup? Will it have an impact?

As the war in Iraq continues, as some news organizations have finally acknowledged problems in their coverage, as the media continues to treat the war like a sports event with more focus on dead soldiers than a failed policy, WMD has in my mind anyway – never been more timely nor needed.

2. IS THE MEDIA COVERING THE WAR OR COVERING IT UP?

As more mainstream media outlets admit to failures in covering the Iraq War, a question must be asked: Are we seeing a real coming to grips by a news media that helped “sell the war” to the American public? Or could the recent *mea culpas* be something more insidious, more like what the CIA used to call a “limited hang out”? That phrase translates as “you concede a little to hide a lot.”

I am delighted to see some acknowledgement of errors and omissions on the part of media outlets that, when it really counted, became transmission belts for unsubstantiated government claims and pro-war propaganda.

It does give media critics some faith in the capacity of media outlets to acknowledge wrongdoing, correct mistakes and admit they drank the White House Kool-Aid. Bear in mind that many of these same outlets were often arrogant and self-righteous at the time, impervious to war critics who they treated as lepers in denial about real threats and the need for a preemptive strike.

It has taken a long time for these admissions to surface, alas, well after they can do any good in terms of influencing policy.

PLAYING POLITICS WITH THE FACTS

In fact, some prominent politicians including a presidential candidate are saying in effect, that none of this matters, that, knowing what they know now, they would still have supported the war even if all of its rationalizations were invented and/or deliberately deceptive. The President has gone further by not even acknowledging or responding to critics and just repeating the rationalizations for the war as if one had been debunked,

It appears that our most prominent politicians won't let the facts get in the way of a politically popular opinion.

That may be because the emerging media debate remains narrowly focused, avoiding deeper questions about the media's performance.

When I was asked to appear on a national public television news program as part of a panel on these issues, I was told that we would only be talking about the pre-war coverage of WMDs. That call came, predictably, after *The Washington Post* carried a story second-guessing its own coverage and focusing entirely on the run-up to the war. Once again TV producers were following a newspaper's lead

Post media critic Howard Kurtz reported that a story in his paper challenging the evidence on Iraq's weapon stockpiles “ran into stiff resistance from the paper's editors.” *The Post's* Managing

Editor Bob Woodward, author of two insider books largely positive about President Bush, admitted, “We did our job but we didn’t do enough, and I blame myself mightily for not pushing harder.”

In his story, Kurtz intimated that the *Post*’s performance was understandable since its chief competitor, the *New York Times*, was just as bad. He took a subtle swipe at the *Times*, noting, “The *New York Times* ran an editor’s note last month saying the paper’s aggressive reporting on WMDs was ‘not as rigorous as it should have been’ and overplayed stories with ‘dire claims about Iraq,’ adding: ‘Editors at several levels who should have been challenging reporters and pressing for more skepticism were perhaps too intent on rushing scoops into the paper.’”

In an apparent response, the *Times* last week cast a skeptical ours-was-better-than-yours eye on the *Post* expose, noting: “For all of its contrition, Mr. Kurtz’s article does not represent an official statement on behalf of the *Post*. In an interview yesterday, Steve Coll, the paper’s managing editor, said that the idea for the article had been Mr. Kurtz’s, and that he and [Executive Editor Leonard] Downie had recused themselves from editing it. ‘We did not make a determination from our offices that we needed to commission an investigation into these issues,’ Mr. Coll said.” (Coll later left the paper to write books.)

There you have it, no “determination,” no investigation needed. None!

3. THE REAL PROBLEM AT THE POST AND THE TIMES

A mini media spat soon erupted between the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* about whose apology was more sincere. To contrast his paper's efforts, Jacques Steinberg of the *Times* explained that the *New York Times* published a 1,220-word article in which the newspaper's editors acknowledged that in the run-up to war they had not been skeptical enough about articles that depended "at least in part on information from a circle of Iraqi informants, defectors and exiles bent on 'regime change' in Iraq whose credibility has come under increasing public debate."

He implied that the *Post's* unwillingness to carry a comment by the editors was a sign that the *Post* had not been as courageous. So here we have the *Times* using its news columns to put down the *Post*. But both papers and most of the TV coverage are guilty of far more than what has so far been conceded. Complicity and collusion are two words that come to mind. As the conscience of the United States Senate Robert Byrd put it on CNN, "The media fell for the war hook, line and sinker."

A serious investigation of the media role would probe deeper questions not only about the run-up to the war but the ongoing coverage up to the present day. Is the conflict in Iraq being covered well? What's missing and why?

WHY THE WAR?

Why did we stage a pre-emptive war in the first place? What was the real agenda? And why aren't the media investigating this? On August 10, former war commander General Tommy Franks, in a talk only reported by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and not picked up by major media, said: "The reason we could not afford to give up time (in invading Iraq) is because we wanted the water infrastructure to remain in place," Franks said. "We wanted the oil infrastructure in Iraq to remain in place. We did not want to subject ourselves and Israel to the potential consequence of a long-range missile being fired into Tel Aviv or Jerusalem."

How much media time and energy was spent investigating the Israeli connection to the war before it erupted? How much time on military preparedness or the "plan" that got us into Baghdad quickly and then stirred a hornet's nest of resistance? How many of our media experts, pundits, "think tank" experts, prognosticators and Mensa Men prepared us for what was to happen next? Most were oblivious of the possibility that there could be unanticipated consequences much less a reversal.

TO WHOM GO THE SPOILS?

What about the real conduct of the US military operations, the less than "pinpoint" bombing that took out the infrastructure including electricity; the widespread civilian casualties; the use of cluster weapons, napalm like fire bombs, and anti-tank missiles hardened with radioactive

depleted uranium? What about the privatization of the war (and profiteering off the war) by well connected contractors with cost-plus contracts—who is getting what and why? Shouldn't the media tell us? Few if these stories received the attention they deserved—at least in the US media.

WHAT IS THE MEDIA IGNORING?

Third, what about systematic war crimes and human rights abuses—the atrocities in Abu Ghraib prison were known by Amnesty International and the families of the incarcerated as early as June 2003 but only exposed in April 2004. The bombing of Fallujah has been justified as necessary without looking into the devastation of the town and the many civilians who perished in the crossfire. How is it that media outlets in other countries can report on Iraqi protests against US military practices in Iraq and ours cannot? (Why did Mr. Murdoch's newspaper "The Australian" call US military operations in Najaf a "slaughter" while our media focused reporting around a raid on a dissident cleric's home. (Murdoch's outlets in the US do not pick up these reports by their Australian counterparts)

In short, most of our media, with the exception, perhaps, of excellent reporting by Knight Ridder and some exemplary dissenting journalists, still largely support the war and embrace the government's rationalizations and narrative. ("Support" can be measured in what is covered and what is not, what experts we hear from and which we do not, and how many thoughtful Iraqis themselves make it into our news.)

These larger media failures have still not been acknowledged, much less debated. That's why the term "weapons of mass deception" still applies to a media that are at war with their own uncomfortable truths.

UPDATE AUGUST 23, 2004: FROM THE DISSECTOR'S BLOG (MEDIACHANNEL.ORG)

HOWARD KURTZ: YOU GOTTA UNDERSTAND

I arrived in Washington Sunday, just in time to pore over the latest in the *Washington Post* media culpa flap. The paper has now heard from readers responding to media writer Howard Kurtz's story raising concerns about his own newspaper's miserable performance in its coverage of the run-up to the war. He notes that liberals were outraged and sent him a "torrent of e-mails and on-line postings" arguing that "the *Post* and its ilk could have slowed the drive to war if only we had tried harder to uncover the truth about Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction. This view deserves an unvarnished response." (The *Headline* gives away the fatalistic approach: "ULTIMATELY NEWSPAPERS CAN'T MOVE THE EARTH.")

Richard Nixon resigned, in part thanks to the *Post*'s persistence; now the *Post* has resigned in the face of Bush-era bullying.

Kurtz has it wrong from the beginning. What critics wanted was not just the truth about Saddam, but the truth about Bush and his neo-con war machine. Interesting isn't it how the

newspaper that revels in its legacy of Watergate reporting that helped bring down a president is now saying “they did all they could do.” Gag me with a spoon!

A MEA CULPA FOR A MEA CULPA

Kurtz begins his *mea culpa* for a *mea culpa* noting that he was not directed to do the story, which says a lot right there about the management of his paper and its slow off-the-mark lack of self-criticism. He then explains that many of his readers, myself among them, felt he was “too soft,” and he goes on to “explain the culture of American newsrooms” so we will understand. Come on Howard. You are not our homeroom teacher.

He then restates his approach and tells us all the agonizing he encountered in interviews that resembled therapy sessions, other reporters and editors recalled frustration and acknowledged missteps. Look at the language. Now we are supposed to be sympathetic to his colleagues and understanding of their missteps because they are good people who try hard.

Hello! We are talking about reporting on policies that led to thousands of deaths and a newspaper whose editorials and op-ed page sounded like an extension of Donald Rumsfeld’s office.

Kurtz then goes after his critics for being stupid, naïve and uninformed: they believe his newspaper has more power than it does; they believed the paper had “nefarious” motives.

“Ridiculous” was the word he used to dismiss those who suggested the newspaper wanted war. Knock, knock, Howard. Reread the editorials. Reread the history of American journalism going back to William Randolph Hearst’s infamous declaration during the Spanish-American war: “You give me the pictures, I will give you the war.” Kurtz admits that journalists were reluctant to challenge a president who was mobilizing support against a mass murderer. Was that what you were doing, Howard? Your assessment betrays a deeper bias than you may realize.

It’s hard for me to even penetrate the density of this convoluted back and forth, on the one hand or the other apologia for the *Post*, “missteps” and all. Howard Kurtz may nibble at the hand that feeds but won’t take a bite.

No passion. No fire.

“ So were the media a band of pro-Bush, pro-war cheerleaders?,” he asks. It’s a good question, but he doesn’t answer it, retreating even further into sentences like: “The unexciting truth is that newspapers are collections of human beings who don’t always get it right.” Sometimes, we do this, sometimes that. We are flawed, we are good guys. Don’t judge us too harshly. Accept our limitations.

And that’s the views of the leading media critic in America? It looks to me like more of the problem, folks, not the solution.

4. THE MEDIA FAILURES OF THE IRAQ DEBACLE

By July of 2004, much of what was left of the pretexts and rationalizations for the US invasion of Iraq had unraveled.

- Richard Clarke, President's Bush's own terrorism coordinator, went public with a view of the war as evidence of a failure of policy. It was, he charged, based on insider knowledge, not only NOT part of the war on terror but undermining of it.
- Experienced military leaders like General Anthony Zinni and others condemned it as military failure.
- A Senate committee in the US and a commission headed by Lord Butler in the UK catalogued extensive intelligence failures. The Senators condemned what they called "group think."

These critics—including the 911 Commission—remain relatively narrow in their approach, focusing on problems or process and organizational defects. Few look at the larger picture or dare to hold politicians directly accountable. The Butler Commission specifically exonerated Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Take the *New York Times*: on July 16, it admitted editorially "we were wrong about the weapons." But what about the rest of its coverage which underplayed civilian casualties, missed much of the reasons for the Iraqi resistance, was behind on the torture story, etc.? Ditto for the *Washington Post* whose ombudsman faulted underreporting of demonstrations

In my film *WMD*, based on a book-length study of the coverage of the war, leading antiwar organizer Leslie Cagan says that was not the problem: "What there was not decent coverage of, was the analysis. What we were trying to say about what was wrong with the war, why we never should've gone to war, why the war needed to end, what was driving—the motor force—behind the war. That analysis never got into the mainstream media."

Orville Schell, the head of the journalism department at the University of California, Berkeley said that it's because media outlets "not only failed to seriously investigate administration rationales for war, but little took into account the myriad voices in the on-line, alternative, and world press that sought to do so"

The "group think" cited by the Senate was not confined to agencies of government. This apt phrase could as easily be applied to the one institution which the founders saw as a check on abuses of power. While the First Amendment defends freedom of the press, it also implies a responsibility, a Constitutionally sanctioned one. John MacArthur, the publisher of Harpers made this point to me when I interviewed him for *WMD*:

".....the Constitution is the actual document that we have under glass in Washington with writing on it, but it also has a broader meaning; it means the body politic. And if you take

yourself at all seriously as a journalist, you see yourself, I hope, as a member of the body politic who has a specific responsibility to inform his or her fellow citizens.

To the list of institutional failures, we can now add the powerful US news industry which gave the war its legitimacy and organized public support for it through a pattern of over-hyped and under-critical reporting in which jingoism often substituted for journalism.

As US public opinion turns against the war, and world condemnation increases, some voices in the media are now being heard as their scandalous complicity of the media and the military finally becomes an issue.

With a few prominent media institutions acknowledging their flawed coverage, others are likely to follow. In spite of the essential media frame of support for US policy overseas, and a propensity for news managers to follow the government's lead in setting the agenda, dissent is growing and it is likely that the *mea culpas* now being seen in the pages of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* will grow into a larger chorus and then forge a consensus.

Like with the Vietnam War, what was once a vocal minority's view will work its way into the mainstream and find broad acceptance.

This process of ideological shift was first defined by the German philosopher Schopenhauer who understood that: "All truth passes through three stages. First, it is ridiculed. Second, it is violently opposed. Third, it is accepted as self-evident."

The process usually starts with a few individuals whose skepticism is rewarded with recriminations and even dismissal. In the news world, it began with the firing of small town newspaper editors and cartoonists who dared to dissent. Few nationally known news people came to their defense.

Popular TV talk show host Phil Donahue was purged by MSNBC for his anti-war programming. That network's most heavily promoted correspondent, Ashleigh Banfield, was "taken to the woodshed" when she questioned the coverage at a talk at Kansas State University. The network later dropped her.

Soon after, Pulitzer prize-winning war correspondent Peter Arnett was fired for saying on Iraqi TV what he was also saying on American television—that the US military was underestimating Iraqi resistance. That view, which has now been accepted, was branded then as treason and worse. Arnett was targeted first by Fox News and later made the subject of a campaign by the Free Republic website which flooded NBC executives with demands that he be fired.

Critics of the war were not just ridiculed but ignored. A study by FAIR of 1716 on air sources cited on TV news in the period of the run-up to the war through the taking down of the Saddam statues reported 71% supported the war, only 3% opposed it.

This lack of balance on TV—the medium that most Americans turn to for their news has yet to be acknowledged, explained or apologized for, even as some TV journalists reluctantly begin to admit they were wrong. When CNN's Christianne Amanpour charged that her own network

and others were muzzled, no TV correspondents came to her defense or offered their own experiences. Recently CNN's Wolf Blitzer admitted, "we just weren't skeptical enough." To his credit, Fox's Bill O'Reilly admitted (not on Fox News Channel, but on "Good Morning America") that he was wrong on WMDs too.

These media failures have opened the door to a mass market for counter narratives and other media offering alternate and suppressed information. Speaking of Michael Moore's film *Fahrenheit 9/11*, Guardian columnist George Monbiot said: "The success of his film testifies to the rest of the media's failure." *San Francisco Chronicle* writer Tim Goodman charged that *Fahrenheit 9/11* is rattling the cages of established journalism. He calls it a "bell tolling for many mainstream journalists."

"Now, as anyone who remotely follows journalism and media understands, Moore's documentary and the perception that it gave viewers something they couldn't get on, say, "The Nightly News" or from the *New York Times*, rattles practicing journalists to the core," writes Goodman.

And so it does. And so, I can only hope, will my film *WMD*

5. COVERING POLITICS THE WAY WE COVER WAR

During the run-up to the war in Iraq and through the US invasion, it was obvious that our media system had signed up as an unofficial megaphone for war. There was a uniformity of perspective, a reliance on the same “facts,” and a dismissal of critics and dissenters.

Journalists outside America compared our TV coverage to that of a “state-run media” even though most US media outlets are in private hands and nominally competitive with each other.

A year and a half later, some journalists and newspapers took a second look at some of their coverage and acknowledged it had been flawed. There were admissions of misreporting, especially on the allegations of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq that the government insisted were there but later turned out not to be.

These media admissions never rose to the level of institutional post-mortems or real *mea culpas*. They haven’t led to more diversity of perspective, investigative journalism or dissection of government claims. The modalities of coverage continue.

the *New York Times* spent more time and space exposing the fraudulent but minor inventions of a troubled reporter, Jayson Blair, than on its own role in the selling of a war that its own public editor Daniel Okrent would later pinpoint as an “institutional failure.”

The *Washington Post*’s ombudsman Michael Getler selectively critiqued his newspaper’s coverage as did media correspondent Howard Kurtz. Editorially the newspaper said little and refused to mount an internal investigation.

The television networks which most Americans relied on for their news and information about the war also said little or nothing. They moved on to other stories without any acknowledgement that the modes of coverage that we saw during the war have not changed fundamentally.

The administration which successfully mobilized the media and public opinion behind their military war are using the same techniques in the political war they are now fighting. The embedded reporters may be gone but the routines of political coverage and their deferential approach can be relied on to achieve the same results.

A new book analyzing the White House spin machine assesses why the administration spin machine is so successful. In *All the President’s Spin* Ben Fritz, Bryan Keefer and Brendan Nyhan explain: “Bush’s White House has broken new ground in its press relations strategy, exploiting the weaknesses and failings of the political media more systematically than any of its predecessors. The administration combines tight message discipline and image management – Reagan’s trademarks – with the artful use of half- or partial truths and elaborate news management – Clinton’s specialties – in a combination that is near-lethal for the press.”

The authors cite four “key weaknesses” of the press that help a determined media spin operation get its message—and none other—through. It is an aggressive strategy consciously fashioned “against a media establishment wary of giving credence to charges of liberal bias and fearful of challenging a self-described ‘war president’ after Sept. 11:

“First and foremost, reporters are constrained by the norm of objectivity, which frequently causes them to avoid evaluating the truth of politicians’ statements. In addition, because reporters are dependent upon the White House for news, the administration can shape the coverage it receives by restricting the flow of information to the press. The media are also vulnerable to political pressure and reprisal, which the Bush White House has aggressively dished out against critical journalists. Finally, the press’ unending pursuit of scandal and entertaining news often blinds it to serious issues of public policy.”

UC Berkeley linguistics professor George Lakoff analyzed the way the issues were carefully “framed” by speakers at the GOP convention to focus their messages. “Effective framing,” he writes, “is equally about what’s excluded from the frame. Frames, once established, are hermetically sealed. You can only think within the frame, only reason with what the frame allows.”

Lakoff applied this analysis to the speeches given by John McCain and Rudy Giuliani. This same approach was used by officials during the war.

“McCain’s speech framed the Iraq War as an inseparable part of the Great War on Terror, a battle of Right versus Wrong, of Good versus Evil — a war of necessity, not choice. ‘We must fight; we must,’ he [McCain] said, calling the Iraq war a ‘rendezvous with destiny’ (quoting FDR on World War II) and arguing ‘there was no status quo to be left alone.’ The argument is that, although apparently Saddam Hussein didn’t have weapons of mass destruction, he would have had them sooner or later. Exactly when isn’t important, because as Giuliani said, Saddam ‘was a weapon of mass destruction himself.’ When the literal isn’t there, the metaphorical will do.”

This approach reflects a sophisticated understanding of how to use language to be persuasive. Concludes Lakoff, “People think in terms of frames. If this frame is accepted, all such ‘rational’ arguments will be beside the point. Negating the frame would just reinforce it. The facts alone won’t do the job.”

The White House handles the press the way TV producers package programs, with careful pre-planning, structured themes, and packaged information. And so the “mili-tainment” we saw during the war has given way to “electrotainment,” a carefully concocted blend of news business and show business. The dynamics of coverage remain largely the same: simplistic, superficial, and uncritical.

Only a few commentators in the media have even commented on the “Iraqization” of our domestic election coverage. Paul Krugman of the *New York Times* is one of them, writing: “...the triumph of the trivial is not a trivial matter. The failure of TV news to inform the public about the policy proposals of this year’s presidential candidates is, in its own way, as serious a journalistic betrayal as the failure to raise questions about the rush to invade Iraq.”

Preceding the war, there were months of demonization of Saddam Hussein. A dictator in a sanctions-crippled society that the US had put in power in the first place and armed for years was pictured as prepared to attack the United States or the world, take your pick. He was compared to Adolph Hitler; *Time* magazine even redid a cover of the Fuhrer replacing his face with the “butcher of Baghdad.” Virtually no media outlets challenged the parallel or the “intelligence” behind it that was later exposed for its lack of intelligence.

To sell its war the administration dipped into the playbook of Hollywood narrative techniques, relying on storytelling, not sloganizing. A master narrative was concocted that fit the good guy/bad guy formula that works so well on the silver screen. The narrative was simplified into themes justifying pre-emptive intervention as the only recourse. Corporate PR pros helped plan and execute the strategy. Andrew Card, the President’s top aid compared the launch of the war to a “product roll-out.”

With some modifications, they are doing it again on the theory that if “it ain’t broke, don’t fix it” This time their media plan relies on demonizing John Kerry, with repeated charges like “flip flopper” and distorted information that is rarely scrutinized, in the same way that WMD claims were accepted.

We saw them endlessly: “The war was forced on us”; “We will either fight them there or here”; “Saddam Hussein was a weapon of Mass Destruction”; “Kerry was for the war until he was against it”; etc., etc.

This approach mirrored techniques used earlier during the run-up to the war as Maureen Dowd of the New York Times explained: “These guys figure, hey, these scare tactics worked in building support for the Iraq war, maybe they can work in tearing down support for John Kerry. They linked Saddam with terrorism and cowed the Democrats (including Mr. Kerry, who has never been able to make the case against the Bush administration’s *trompe l’oeil casus belli*) and fooled the country into going along with their trumped-up war. So why not link Mr. Kerry with terrorism and cow the voters into sticking with the White House they’ve got?”

The GOP convention showcased all of these techniques, built around vicious personal attacks, and distorted arguments that ignored any and all information that had earlier debunked them. It was as if the 9/11 Commission had never happened, or the Senate Intelligence committee report was never issued. The Republicans paid no respect for fact; instead they hammered home points and slogans that delegates could mindlessly repeat like a mantra of received truth.

Perhaps you would expect that from politicians but what of the media? Were news organizations doing fact checks and debunking distortions? A few did, but most did not. When Zell Miller, their keynoter finished his rant, he did find himself challenged aggressively by a few journalists—Chris Matthews on MSNBC and Wolf Blitzer on CNN. That was it. John Stewart featured the confrontations a high point on his comedy channel show without mentioning that their challenges were the exception to uncritical coverage.

The Washington *Post*’s sometime liberal columnist Richard Cohen called Miller’s diatribe a

“Category Five lie,” and characterized the speech “as mad an eruption of hate as I have witnessed in politics. Some time back, Kerry must have dissed Miller. This was personal.” But was it? Miller actually published a book that most of the press corps had not bothered to dig out, called *A National Party No More*. In it he trashes all the Democratic White House hopefuls at the time in the nastiest terms. The Republicans knew where Miller stood even if the press corps didn’t bother to find it.

Most of the convention was then treated as a triumph for Bush because of his “likability.” His speech was not scrutinized. The largest protest at any convention in American history, with more than 1700 arrests, as opposed to 600 in Chicago in 1968, was contained by police-state tactics, treated as a nuisance by the GOP, and ignored in most of the press, except on the Sunday before the event began. The streets around the Garden came to resemble Baghdad’s high security Green Zone.

There were protests against the media coverage in New York that were also largely ignored. I know, I spoke at one outside Fox News and down the block from CNN studios. The wire story that I saw of the event was by Agence France Press on the Turkish news web site. I was interviewed by Canadian public radio, not NPR. One newspaper was there: the *Toledo Blade*.

Wrote Jim Drew: “Outside the arena, a swarm of protesters, ignored by most of the national press but united in their efforts to oust Mr. Bush from the White House and fearful of what will happen if the race is tight and Mr. Bush declares victory on election night. “For those of us with the ‘limited access’ credentials that couldn’t get us on the convention floor, the streets were an option. And the guerrilla reporters found by far the most important and interesting story. In the age of international terrorism, the patriotic right of political dissent in the United States is in crisis.”

Drew also quoted Peter Hart, of Fairness and Accuracy in Media which organized ‘the march on the media’: “Mr. Hart said activists ‘demand a more accountable media,’ and they marched to the headquarters of ‘corporate media’ to celebrate the independent and alternative press. These are the people who sold us a war. The biggest media companies get bigger and bigger based on favors from the government. They sell ideas; that assistance to the poor must be reformed, and free trade is the only way. These are the ideas that the mainstream media are selling - and we’re not buying,” he said.

I was quoted too as saying, “I’ve never seen the level of defensiveness in the major media, the level of disenchantment, and the level of dread; journalists on the front lines representing the public in some way feeling they can’t play that role.”

And why? Because their bosses and the culture of corporate news makes it impossible.

At least some media outlets have not lost the spirit of independence and crusading that the US press used to be known for. The *Toledo Blade*’s coverage of the protests mirrored its relentless coverage of war crimes.

Not the alleged “crimes” of John Kerry” being blasted inside the Garden but real crimes

committed in Vietnam 35 years ago by an American military unit that had all but been ignored by major media then and now. The *Blade* uncovered massacres by US troops and bravely made it news. And now the Pentagon is being force by their persistence to reopen the issue.

And so, once again, the coverage of war, or lack of coverage, is linked in this case by a heroic example of a newspaper in a small Ohio city in the heart of a battleground state.

The media battle, the political battle and the fight for truth about war are being joined.

September 7, 2004

6. THE NEWS SHIFT FROM FLORIDA TO FALLUJA:

What the TV “coverage” covers up

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 8: One minute, we are still debating election returns in Ohio and Florida. And then, in a flash, the story largely disappears and the subject changes. Quickly, we have moved on as the news media converges on Falluja to report on, and in the view of many, support what may be the bloodiest chapter to date of the Iraq war,

Media coverage lurches from event to event, and from spectacle to spectacle as a substance deficit disorder hyperactively drives the news agenda. No sooner are we focused on one major story, than another intrudes to change the subject and insure that there is no time for follow-up, much less thoughtful processing.

In some cases, this is the natural disorder of news, but in many others, there are hidden hands shifting the agenda in a conscious effort not simply to influence what we think, but control what we think about. The Administration wants to refocus us on the elections to come in Iraq, not likely flaws in the elections many are still debating in America.

The coverage of the fight for Fallujah is a case in point, as the US military makes clear that “information control” is its first priority. When US troops seized a hospital there the goal was said to insure that news about civilian casualties in Iraq not infiltrate the news agenda.

As I document in my book my film *WMD* and companion book “*Embedded Weapons of Mass Deception*,” US war strategy in Iraq has been run like a political campaign with key message points and “message of the day” perception management techniques underlying a strategy of “information dominance.”

This invariably relies on deception as a key component of war fighting. There are five elements of this strategy currently in play:

L. SHAPE A NARRATIVE.

In Falluja the US narrative and key talking point is making Iraq safe for democracy and elections. To achieve this, or so the storyline goes, the US must restore “local control,’ end the insurgency and kill or otherwise neutralize “foreign fighters” from whose ranks the US forces exempt themselves and their “coalition” partners. Little attention is paid to warnings by the UN’s Kofi Anan of the head of the EU that this ferocious attack on Falujah makes fair elections unlikely.

And what of the “foreign fighters?” Most journalists and Iraq specialists believe that what the townspeople of Falluja want is local control, but in in their own hands. They insist that the “insurgency” that the locals call the resistance or mujahadeen is home grown, not foreign or origin or direction.

But why let the facts get in the way of a misleading if marketable if narrative?

2. CONTROL MEDIA ACCESS

The US military plays the press as a “fourth front, “ not a traditionally autonomous fourth estate. Suddenly, the embedding program is back in place, with journalists are dependent on US forces for their information and protection. As Madeleine Bunting explains in the Guardian: “ It’s long since been too dangerous for journalists to move around unless they are embedded with the US forces. There is almost no contact left with civilians still in Falluja, the only information is from those who have left.” The result: largely one sided coverage.

3. SPIN THE THEME OF IRAQI CONTROL

To undercut any suggestion of an foreign occupation running things the official story line has it that it is the Iraqis under the Allawi government--actually (but rarely mentioned) a temporary, unelected and unstable entity--that is in charge with the US troops merely supporting them.

Julian Manion of Britain’s ITV put the lie to this assertion on the first day of fighting, reporting , “We’ve had now, this morning, the formality – some would call it, I’m afraid, the fiction – that Iyad Allawi, the prime minister of Iraq, has given the official order to commence the operation against Falluja. Of course in reality it is an American operation.” On that same day, November 8, CNN was reporting that the Allawi government was calling the shots

4. AVOID HISTORICAL PARALLELS

While media critics were invoking parallels of towns in Vietnam that were destroyed in order to be saved, there was little perspective offered on the realities of that parallel even as US soldiers invoked it directly. AP reported: “Sgt. Maj. Carlton W. Kent told an assembled group of 2,500 Marines in a “pep-talk” on November 7: “You’re all in the process of making history. This is another Hue city in the making. I have no doubt, if we do get the word, that each and every one of you is going to do what you have always done - kick some butt.” (AP, November 7 2004)

Analysts reminded audiences that after U.S. soldiers reoccupied Hue after Vietnamese forces liberated it in the Tet Offensive of 1968, Under Secretary of the Air Force, Townsend Hoopes, described the results in a March 1968 memo as leaving “a devastated and prostrate city. Eighty per cent of the buildings had been reduced to rubble, and in the smashed ruins lay 2,000 dead civilians... ‘

One reason for the lack of analysis like this is not simply media amnesia. Most TV news reporting follows templates, driven by pressures for action-oriented and picture driven “breaking news” with little time and fewer resources allocated for background and context.

5. ITS ALL ABOUT US

The US media focuses on “our boys” and US government agendas, not Iraqi civilians, religious leaders or political representatives. It is always all about us, not Iraq. The death toll is always

rationalized afterwards as necessary and unintentional

This is a point made with eloquence by the Guardians correspondent with a perspective conspicuous by its absence in most US reporting:

“Assaults on cities serve symbolic purposes: they are set showpieces to demonstrate resolve and inculcate fear, she writes.

“To that end, large numbers of casualties are required: they are not an accidental byproduct but the aim. That was the thinking behind 9/11, and Falluja risks becoming a horrible mirror-image of that atrocity. Only by the shores of that dusty lake in Dreamland would it be possible to believe that the ruination of this city will do anything to enhance the legitimacy of the US occupation and of the Iraqi government it appointed.”

And so here we are after a debate about the policy and intelligence failures in Iraq repeating them again. And alongside those flaws, a larger media failure is all too tragically on display once again.

The battle for Fallujah turned out to be as bloody as first forecast. The town was destroyed, Many “insurgents” were killed and wounded along with many US military personnel but it was not, most experts believed, the decisive war altering battle it was but designed as. What did it achieve? What did it prove?

NETWORK ARROGANCE BEGINS TO CRACK

It wasn't until the middle of November of 2004 while the battle of Fallujah was still raging, that US TV executives publicly acknowledged problems with their own coverage of the Iraq War for the first time.

The New York Times and Washington Post discussed their own flaws in the spring and summer while the TV networks remained silent. When asked, many US TV executives, had presented their coverage of the war as a finest hour, a triumph thanks to technology and ‘in your face up close and personal coverage. But as the Administrations claims for the war began to collapse there appears to have been some unexpected reflection in the suites network power.

As is often the case, admissions of wrong doing are made in academic environments, on campuses not on the air. The three network news presidents appeared together for a rare panel at a journalism fellowship program at Stanford University. The event featured the three chief musketeers of American TV News: David Westin, the corporate lawyer who runs Disney/ABC's News Division, Neal Shapiro of General Electric Co.'s NBC News and Andrew Heyward of Viacom Inc.'s CBS News/ Their views were covered by the Associated Press. Iraq came up:

“The three said that, in retrospect, they should have more aggressively questioned the Bush administration's grounds for invading Iraq in the spring of 2003.

“Simply stated, we let down the American people on weapons of mass destruction, and I sincerely regret that,” Westin said.

“Simply stated,” A year and a half of coverage boiled down to two sentences, a perfect soundbite. They let us down! They regret it. After 100,000 civilians dead in a war they helped promote, they are sorry.

But only, let us be clear, for the coverage of the WMD”threat” when they barely allowed a handful of war critics on the air. Yet they don’t regret the flawed coverage of the war itself as documented in WMD. They don’t regret their deference to the Bush Administration. They certainly didn’t regret their turning massacres into militainment or their ongoing misleading “coverage” of the war crimes in Fallujah.

In essence, ‘simply stated,’ they regretted to inform us that they didn’t inform us.

November 15, 2004

7. DOCUMENT: EMBEDDING IRAQ 2003

The Pentagon's embedding program was brilliantly executed to co-opt journalists integrate them into the military operations. While many "embeds" did not tow the Administration line, they did bond with the soldiers and make their experience of the war the focus of their stories. The Program was carefully crafted as the former PR professional turned Pentagon media chief Victoria Clarke explained on a media panel. "One of the things we did, it wasn't rocket science, but it was hard work. We took the same kind of planning and training and discipline that you put into military operations and put it into this aspect of the military operations. And Rumsfeld and Myers being enlightened guys had included people like me in the war plan from the very earliest stages.

WMD explores the impact of the embed program. What many did not know is that the Administration imposed a contract that news organizations had to sign to take part. It is one of the public documents for media-military cooperation. I am sure there were other understandings that were never written down. For example, CNN's News Chief admitted that the network had "vetted" its military experts with the Pentagon.

U.S. Department of Defense

The US Military has agreed to allow some 600 journalists to be "embedded" in military units in the Persian Gulf region to aid in the media's coverage of a possible war with Iraq. Below is the release that journalists wishing to embed must sign:

RELEASE, INDEMNIFICATION, AND HOLD HARMLESS AGREEMENT AND AGREEMENT NOT TO SUE

1. The United States of America (the "Government"), acting by and through the Department of Defense, believes it to be mutually beneficial to both the Government and news media organizations ("media organizations") to place selected news media organization employees ("media employees") with selected military units ("military units") for the purpose of providing news media coverage before, during, and after military operations. The placement of media employees with military units is referred to in this Agreement as "embedding" or the "embedding process" and will require media employees to live, travel, eat, sleep, and conduct all professional and personal activities with the military unit to which the media employees are "embedded."

2. Definitions.

- a. The term "Government" means the United States Government, including its departments, subdivisions, agencies, instrumentalities, officers, employees (including military and civilian personnel), servants, contractors, volunteers, and agents.
- b. The term "media organization" means the "media employee's" employer, a registered U.S. or foreign profit or not-for-profit organization, its successors, and assigns.
- c. The term "media employee" means an employee or agent of a "media organization", his or her guardians, executors, administrators, heirs, and assigns.

3. Media organizations and media employees understand and agree that the embedding process will expose media employees to the same risks and hazards as those to which the military members of military units are exposed, including the extreme and unpredictable risks of war, combat operations, and combat support operations, as well as common and uncommon hazards of military living. Media organizations and media employees fully understand and appreciate the following:

- a. The embedding process will expose media employees to all hazards of a military environment, including but not limited to the extreme and unpredictable hazards of war, combat operations, and combat support operations. The military environment is inherently dangerous and may result in death or personal injury of media employees or damage to personal property.
- b. The embedding process may include strenuous and inherently dangerous activities, including transportation in, and close proximity to, military tactical vehicles, aircraft, watercraft, and other Government (and Government contracted) vehicles and may involve substantial risk of serious injury or death as the result of the media employee's own actions or inaction, the actions or inactions of others including agents, contractors, officers, service members, and employees of the Government, the conditions of the Government facility and the natural environment, the known or unknown condition of any government-furnished equipment, and the inherent dangers of war, combat operations, and combat support operations.
- c. The embedding process requires media employees to be in overall good physical health and condition. Persons who are not in overall good physical health and condition should not participate in the embedding process. Media

employees should consult their physicians prior to embedding to be certain they are qualified to do so. Persons with a history of heart or lung disease or conditions, or coronary disease, or other chronic or pervasive diseases or conditions may not participate. Likewise, those women currently pregnant may not participate. Anyone suffering from any injuries, conditions, ailments or pre-existing conditions that could be affected by the embedding process may not participate.

d. As part of the embedding process, the Government will make available anthrax and smallpox vaccinations to media employees, provided it is done at no cost to the Government (full reimbursement of all Government costs) and provided that the media employees sign an additional agreement regarding the risks involved. These vaccinations are voluntary and are not a prerequisite for participating in the embedding process. Media organizations and media employees agree, for those media employees choosing to receive the anthrax and smallpox vaccinations, that this Release, Indemnification, and Hold Harmless Agreement and Agreement Not to Sue specifically includes all risks and hazards associated with the smallpox and anthrax vaccinations, including any negative reactions, adverse effects, including the media employee's illness, infirmity, or death.

4. The media employee agrees to:

a. Participate in the embedding process and to follow the direction and orders of the Government related to such participation. The media employee further agrees to follow Government regulations. The media employee acknowledges that failure to follow any direction, order, regulation, or ground rule may result in the termination of the media employee's participation in the embedding process.

b. Voluntarily, willingly, and knowingly ASSUME ANY AND ALL RISKS, known and unknown, in any way associated with the embedding process, war, combat operations, and combat support operations.

c. RELEASE, INDEMNIFY, AND HOLD HARMLESS the Government from and against any claims, demands, actions, liens, rights, subrogated or contribution interests, debts, liabilities, judgments, costs, and attorney's fees, arising out of, claimed on account of, or in any manner predicated upon the media employee's participation in the embedding process, including any loss or damage to property or the personal injury or death of any person which may occur as a result of the media employee's participation in the embedding process, even where that loss, damage, personal injury, or death is caused or contributed to, in any manner, by the Government.

5. The media organization agrees to permit its media employees to participate in the embedding process. As a condition of being permitted to participate in the embedding process, the media organization agrees to RELEASE, INDEMNIFY, AND HOLD HARMLESS the Government from and against any claims, demands, actions, liens, rights, subrogated or contribution interests, debts, liabilities, judgments, costs, and attorney's fees arising out of, claimed on account of, or in any manner predicated upon the media employee's participation in the embedding process, including any loss or damage to property or the personal injury or death of any person, even where that loss, damage, personal injury, or death is caused or contributed to, in any manner, by the Government.

6. The media organization and media employee hereby covenant and agree they will never institute, prosecute or in any way aid in the institution or prosecution of any demand, claim or suit against the Government for any destruction, loss, or damage to the media organization's property or the media employee's property, or the personal injury or death of media employees which may occur as a result of the media employee's participation in the embedding process.

7. The media organization and media employee grant express, voluntary, and knowing consent to the rendering of all emergency medical or dental treatment that may, in the professional judgment of a Government medical or dental officer, become necessary while participating in the embedding process. Transportation to a definitive Government or commercial care facility may be required as an adjunct to authorized emergency medical or dental care. Persons receiving Government medical or dental care who are not otherwise eligible to receive such care shall be obligated to reimburse the Government.

8. The media organization and the media employee understand and agree that the Government may terminate the embedding process at any time and for any reason, as the Government determines appropriate in its sole discretion.

9. This Release, Indemnification, Hold Harmless Agreement and Agreement Not to Sue shall be interpreted according to federal law. It is to be construed as broadly and inclusively as is permitted by relevant federal law. If any portion of this document is held invalid, the balance shall continue in full force and effect.

Media Employee's Signature Date

Media Organization Date

By: _____

**Part Two:
THE FILM**

GLOSSARY

Animation: Animated elements.

B-Roll: News footage used to illustrate points made in the film.

Close-up: Title shots.

Collage: A series of fast-paced images used in the film.

Credits: Lists of production personnel, special thanks, and sources of footage.

Cyron: Writings on screen

Graphic: Indicates use graphic information.

Lipstick: Hand held microphone

O/C: On Camera — refers to comments by the narrator when on camera

TEASE: A tease is usually visual material that precedes the opening titles.

Title sequences: Come at the start of the film and include the name of the production entity, the film title and the director.

Section: *WMD* is segmented into sections, each with separate titles.

SOT (Sound on Tape): Refers to interview clips or sound bites.

Still: Use of still images or photos.

V/O: Voice over narration.

WHO'S WHO IN WMD

THE INTERVIEWS

Dima Abu-Wardah, anchor for Dubai Television

Jonathan Adelstein, FCC Commissioner

Mohammad Al Dourhri was Iraq's Ambassador to the United Nations. He was interviewed at the Arab Media Summit in Dubai.

Jihad Al Khazen, Editor, *Al Hayat* and former Reuters correspondent

Khaled Al Maeena, Saudi Arabian editor

Hafez Al-Mirazi, Washington Bureau Chief, Al Jazeera

Jon Alpert, filmmaker and former contributor to NBC News

Mohammad Al Safaf was Saddam Hussein's Minister of Information

Eric Alterman is a columnist for the *Nation* and the author of several books on media and politics.

Christiane Amanpour is a veteran international correspondent for CNN

William Arkin, news analyst for NBC News and writer on national security affairs

Peter Arnett, famed war correspondent and Pulitzer Prize winner for the AP in the Vietnam war. Became a global news personality with exclusive coverage from Baghdad during the first Gulf War. Was fired by CNN for reporting the "Operation Tailwind" story alleging US use of nerve gas in Vietnam (CNN later settled with his producers who sued alleging unfair treatment.) Hired by National Geographic to return to Baghdad. NBC used him as an on-air reporter. He was fired after giving an interview to Iraq TV. WMD reveals that he had been targeted by a right wing pressure group.

Ashleigh Banfield, MSNBC's up and coming news star in compared to CNN's Christiane Amanpour. She reported from hot spots around the world and developed a following for thoughtful interviews and international reporting. After giving a speech at Kansas State University suggesting that the war coverage was sanitized she was reportedly "taken to the woodshed" by her bosses at NBC, chastised, and dropped by the network a year later.

Emily Bell, editor *Media Guardian*

Rym Brahimi, former CNN Baghdad correspondent

Paul Bremer, Chief of Coalition Provisional Authority

Tom Brokaw, anchor NBC News

John Burns was based in Baghdad for *The New York Times*.

George W Bush, President and Commander in Chief

Leslie Cagan is a veteran anti-war organizer and strategist.

Gwendolen Cates, a photo-journalist Embed on assignment for *People Magazine*.

Jeff Chester, Director. Center for Digital Media

Victoria Clarke was the media advisor for the Pentagon who oversaw the Embed program,

Janine Di Giovanni was based in Baghdad for *The Times* of London.

Patrick Dillen, independent filmmaker

John Donovan is a correspondent for ABC's Nightline and has covered both wars in Iraq.

Greg Dyke was forced to resign from his leadership of the BBC in the aftermath of the Hutton Report which faulted BBC coverage of the findings of a British weapons scientist David Kelly, The substance of many of his concerns about war reporting were later verified.

Michael Elliott is an editor of *Time Magazine*

Curtis Ellis is a radio journalist.

Canadian Journalists **Matthew Fisher**, **Patrick Graham** and **Patrick Brown** interviewed for CBC's "Deadline Iraq" program

Sam Gardiner, retired Air Force Colonel

Amy Goodman hosts the "Democracy Now" a radio and TV program,

David Halberstam and **Seymour Hersh** both won Pulitzer prizes for their coverage of the Vietnam War, Halberstam was removed from Vietnam by The New York Times for coverage deemed critical. Hersh exposed the My-Lai massacre and later the prison torture at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

Bill Hemmer host CNN America morning program'

Maurice Hinchey, Member of Congress, New York

Voice of **Rene Horne**, South African Broadcasting

Yousef Ibrahim a retired veteran Middle East correspondent for *The New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*. Interviewed at the Arab Media Summit in Dubai

Lena Jafusi, Professor of Media Studies, United Arab Emirates

Nicholas Johnson, former FCC Commissioner

Riz Kahn, former CNN International anchor

John Kampfner, *The New Statesman* and Producer, BBC News

Greg Kelly was an Embed for Fox News. (His boss John Moody refused to be interviewed for *WMD*)

Ted Koppel. ABC Nightline anchor, was embedded during the "war for Iraqi freedom," Afterwards he told former NBC correspondent Marvin Kalb that "live coverage of a war is not journalism" at a seminar of the Shorenstein Center of Harvard University. His remarks were broadcast on CSPAN. Later, Koppel would be criticized by Sinclair Broadcasting for broadcasting the names of American soldiers killed in Iraq.

Marc Levin is a documentary and motion picture director

Jake Lynch reports for BBC in England. He also is part of a team that promotes peace journalism and hold seminars for journalists

John (Rick) MacArthur is the publisher of *Harpers Magazine* and the author of "The Second Front," the definitive study of the role of the media in the first Gulf War.

David Marr, of Media Watch Australia, in a critique of war coverage by Fox News – A feisty media program shown on Australian television.

Stephen Marshall. Guerilla News Network

Clive Myrie was an embed with BBC News

Samia Nakhoul, Reuters, wounded in attack on Palestine Hotel, Anchor Abu Dhabi TV

Bill O'Reilly is the controversial anchor of "The O'Reilly Factor" on Fox News Channel. O' Reilly was also one of the first television journalists to acknowledge that he was wrong in his coverage of WMD's.

PR guru **John Rendon** was a Pentagon media strategist who refused to be interviewed. He spoke at the UN' World Electronic Media Forum in Geneva Switzerland.

Harvey Rice, reporter, *Houston Chronicle*

Tom Ricks, Military Reporter, *Washington Post*

Max Robbins is editor of *Broadcasting and Cable*

Nic Robertson, chief international correspondent CNN

Donald Rumsfeld is the US Defense Secretary

Scott Rutter is a highly decorated military commander in the Iraq War who spoke at a symposium at Seton Hall University.

Jeremy Scahill reported from Iraq for "Democracy Now"

Jeff Schneider, Vice President, ABC News

Neil Shapiro, President NBC News

Sandy Socolow, former Executive Producer, CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite

John Stauber wrote *Weapons of Mass Deception* on the selling of the Iraq War with Sheldon Rempton. (Danny Schechter's book on the war has a similar BUT DISTINCTIVE name: *Embedded: Weapons of Mass Deception*)

Armin Stauth, reporter ARD Germany

Jon Stewart is the anchor of "The Daily Show" on the Comedy Channel.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Prize winning South African leader of the fight against apartheid considered the war "evil" even as President Bush labeled Saddam Hussein an "evil doer."

Dominique de Villepin was the foreign Minister of France who led the opposition to the US preemptive war strategy at the UN Security Council. Danny Schechter confronted him on the eve of war. He is now Interior Minister.

"**War Cry**" is the peace activist shown in a protest at Ground Zero in New York. She and her camera crew were attacked physically by some of the men challenging her in this excerpt from a documentary she made about the confrontation.

Ian Williams is a UN Based international journalist and author of a book on President Bush's military service.

Michael Wolff, media columnist, *Vanity Fair*

Robert Young Pelton was originally hired by ABC News to accompany a special-forces unit from Afghanistan into Iraq. When they failed to connect, he "embedded" himself into the press corps at a hotel in Jordan and later reported from Iraq as a unilateral journalist.

Gary Younge, correspondent for *The Guardian*

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<p>1. SECTION: TEASE</p>	
<p>BLACK SCREEN ONLY MUSIC.</p> <p>REPORTER ROBERT YOUNG PELTON GOING THROUGH CHECK POINT IN IRAQ</p>	<p>SOT: REPORTER ROBERT YOUNG PELTON GOING THROUGH CHECK POINT IN IRAQ: This is a checkpoint. Here is what is interesting. We all have guns, right? I don't have a gun, but my driver has a gun, my security guy has a gun, and they're looking for guns. And so, they're going to search us. So now they start to, and then when I say, "Hey, look I am American," they kind of go "Oh," and let you go.</p>
<p>CHECK POINT INTERACTION</p>	<p>SOT: CHECK POINT INTERACTION: Soldier: You all keep going. It is a free country. Where are you all from? Journalist in car: I'm from LA, I'm with CBS News. Soldier: CBS? Journalist in car: Yah.</p>
<p>CYRON: <u>FAIR USE: (FÂR-YÛS), FUNCTION NOUN</u> <u>1. THE NON-COMPETITIVE RIGHT TO USE OF COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL WITHOUT GIVING THE AUTHOR THE RIGHT TO COMPENSATION OR TO SUE FOR INFRINGEMENT OF COPYRIGHT.</u></p> <p>CHECKPOINT BACKGROUND</p>	<p>MUSIC</p>
<p>WAR PROMO, BILL O'REILLY ON SCREEN</p>	<p>SOT: BILL O'REILLY, FOX NEWS HOST – OFF AIR AUDIO: There is a school of thought that says we should have given the citizens of Baghdad 48 hours to get out of Dodge and flatten the place. The war would already be over and we could have done that in two days.</p>
<p>CYRON: <u>FAIR USE:</u> <u>2. THE COMMON AND ACCEPTED INDUSTRY PRACTICE OF PERMITTING USE OF BRIEF EXCERPTS OF NEWS FOOTAGE FOR LEGITIMATE PURPOSES OF MEDIA CRITICISM AND ANALYSIS IN FURTHERANCE OF FREEDOM OF PRESS AND OPINION.</u></p> <p>FOX NEWS O'REILLY BACKGROUND</p> <p>SHOWDOWN WITH SADDAM PROMO</p>	<p>MUSIC POLARITY1</p>

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<p>IRAQ WAR NEWS PROMOTION</p>	<p>SOT: TOM BROKAW, NBC NEWS ANCHOR: One of the things we don't want to do is to destroy the infrastructure of Iraq because in a few days we're going to own that country.</p>
<p>IRAQ WAR NEWS PROMOTION</p>	<p>SOT: NBC NEWS ANCHOR: Target Iraq. Operation Iraqi freedom</p>
<p>2. SECTION: TITLE SEQUENCE</p>	
<p>CYRON: <u>GLOBALVISION PRESENTS</u></p> <p><u>WMD WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION</u></p> <p><u>WMD A PERSONAL FILM, A MEDIA CHALLENGE</u></p> <p><u>WMD A DANNY SCHECHTER DISSECTION</u></p> <p>MEDIA MEDLEY FOLLOWED BY SCRATCH</p>	<p>MUSIC: MEDIA WAR: "We're gonna fix that, that technical problem" "Tick tock its time for shock / Are you bored/ It's time to get awed/ ABC/ NBC/CBS/CNN/FOX News/ Breaking news/ Faking news/ Da media war/It's time to get sore."</p>
<p>3. SECTION: "READ MY APCA-LIPS"</p>	
<p>CYRON: <u>"READ MY APOCA-LIPS"</u> <u>MARCH 2003</u></p> <p>DANNY SCHECHTER'S OFFICE, NEWS COVERS HEADLINES OF WAR ON THE TABLE</p> <p>US SOLDIERS EMBARKING, US SOLDIERS IN TANK CONVOY IN IRAQ, DANNY SCHECHTER'S BOOKS</p>	<p>MUSIC THE DOORS THE END</p> <p>SOT: TED KOPPEL Wreak havoc and unleash the dogs of war. And there they start moving into Iraq</p>
<p>US SOLDIERS MOVING BY DAWN, NIGHT VISION FOOTAGE, DANNY SCHECHTER DREAMING, SOLDIER WALKING,</p>	<p>SOT: MEDLEY OF NEWS RECORDINGS: TV CORRESPONDENTS: We got rockets coming in on us. Tom, we're under attack right now. PFC Jessica Lynch who being held... The battle of Basra is still raging along this way...</p>
<p>DANNY CLOSE-UP SOLDIERS WITH GAS MASKS RUNNING IN SLOW MOTION, DANNY SCHECHTER DREAMS ON, DESERT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE INVASION OF IRAQ HAS INVADED MY BRAIN.</u> <u>IT'S LIKE I AM UNDER ATTACK—WAR IS ALL I SEE.</u> <u>I DREAM OF AN ENDLESS DESERT...</u></p>

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<p>STORM</p> <p>BOMBS EXPLODING, TANKS ROLLING, NIGHT VISION GUN FIGHT, DANNY UPSIDE DOWN, CEILING FAN</p> <p>HELICOPTERS FLYING</p>	<p><u>...DISSOLVING INTO BOMBS FALLING. INTO TANKS ROLLING. INTO SOLDIERS SHOOTING. INTO PEOPLE DYING. INTO REPORTERS REPORTING—IF THAT IS WHAT THEY ARE REALLY DOING.</u></p> <p>MUSIC THE DOORS THE END TAKES OVER</p>
<p>EMBEDDED REPORTER REPORTING FROM HELICOPTER</p>	<p>SOT: REPORTER: Just this second, we've crossed over the border into Iraq.</p>
<p>DANNY UPSIDE DOWN, FLASH OF RUNNING SOLDIER, BUSH, SADDAM STATUE FALLING, RUMSFELD AT THE STAKE OUT, TV SHOTS OF ROADSIDE,</p> <p>DANNY SCHECHTER WATCHING TV, TV SHOTS OF TANKS ROLLING, CLOSE UP DANNY SCHECHTER, BATHROOM, BLACK AND WHITE WAR FOOTAGE</p> <p>AMERICAN SOLDIER WAIVING THE FLAG, BLACK/WHITE WAR FOOTAGE, RUMSFELD</p> <p>DANNY WASHING HIS FACE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>TALK ABOUT EMBEDDING... EVEN MY BED OFFERS NO ESCAPE FROM THE 24-HOUR NEWS CYCLE. SPIN CYCLE. IRAQI FREEDOM CYCLE—THE PENTAGON HAS INVADED MY LIVING ROOM. THEIR GENERALS HAVE TAKEN OVER MY TV SET.</u></p> <p><u>IS IT NEWS OR PROPAGANDA? OR IN THIS AGE OF MEDIA MERGERS, HAS THE MEDIA MERGED WITH THE MILITARY? YOU DON'T HAVE TO GO INTO THE JUNGLE ANYMORE TO FIND "THE HORROR." IT HAS COME HOME!</u></p> <p><u>I FEEL LIKE I'M LIVING THROUGH MY OWN MEDIA APOCALYPSE—UNDER FIRE ON THE POLLUTED RIVER OF TV NEWS.</u></p> <p><u>THIS IS MEDIA WAR WITHOUT END. I'M A MEDIA CRITIC... MY JOB: TO DISSECT THE NEWS.</u></p> <p>SCRATCH</p>
<p>DANNY SCHECHTER AT HIS COMPUTER, SOLDIER BY DAWN, BOMBS GOING OFF, FF OF STAND UP'S BEING SET UP, TV STAFF/ JOURNALISTS MAKE-UP, TV STAFF EDITING, FILMING, PEOPLE WATCHING TV, JOURNALISTS TYPING, DANNY SCHECHTER TYPING</p> <p>DANNY SCHECHTER AT HIS COMPUTER, IMAGES OF INTERNET NEWS SITES, NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES</p> <p>CUT-AWAYS OF DANNY SCHECHTER IN OFFICE WATCHING WAR NEWS SHOWS OF THE BOMBING OF BAGHDAD</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER <u>THERE WERE TWO WARS GOING ON IN IRAQ—ONE FOUGHT WITH SOLDIERS, BOMBS, "SHOCK AND AWE." THE OTHER WAS FOUGHT ALONGSIDE IT, WITH CAMERAS, SATELLITES, AND ARMIES OF JOURNALISTS: THEY WERE FIGHTING A MEDIA WAR — THAT WAS THE ONE I COVERED.</u></p> <p><u>THROUGHOUT THE WAR I WAS "SELF-EMBEDDED" AT THIS COMPUTER, WRITING ABOUT MEDIA COVERAGE WORLDWIDE FOR THE MEDIACHANNEL.ORG WEBSITE.</u></p> <p><u>EVERY DAY I READ NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES, SIFTED THROUGH WEBSITES, LISTENED TO THE RADIO, AND STUDIED THE TV COVERAGE.</u></p>
<p>PETER ARNETT COVERING THE WAR</p>	<p>SOT: PETER ARNETT IN BAGHDAD, WAR</p>

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	<p>REPORTER: "Right in front of us, an amazing sight..." "It's just like out of an action movie, but this is real."</p>
<p>NEWS SHOTS OF THE BOMBING OF BAGHDAD, ANCHOR REPORTING ON WAR, SADDAM FOOTAGE,</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE WAR WENT ON FOR 720 HOURS. I WATCHED AS MUCH AS I COULD STAND. AND WAS NOT THE ONLY CRITICAL JOURNALIST.</u></p>
<p>ASHLEIGH BANFIELD GIVING A LECTURE AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY</p> <p>CYRON: <u>DROPPED BY NBC A YEAR LATER</u></p>	<p>SOT: ASHLEIGH BANFIELD, MSNBC: KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY So, was this journalism or was this coverage? There is a grand difference between journalism and coverage. And getting access does not mean you're getting the story, It just means your getting one more arm or leg of the story. And that's what we got.</p>
<p>NBC NEWS REPORTER INTERVIEWED BY MAYVIN KALB (HARVARD UNIVERSITY).</p> <p>CYRON: <u>ATTACKED FOR NAMING US WAR DEAD</u></p>	<p>SOT: TED KOPPEL, NBC NEWS REPORTER: Live coverage of a war, to describe that, as "live journalism" is, I think, an oxymoron.</p> <p>SOT: TED KOPPEL, NBC NEWS REPORTER: I think it's bad journalism.</p>
<p>YOUSEF IBRAHIM</p>	<p>O/C: YOUSEF IBRAHIM, FORMER NY TIMES REPORTER: I thought the entire American media, print as well as audio and video, was seduced by this run up to the war. There was an envelopment in the American flag, a patriotic sweep.</p>
<p>MEDIA WATCH AUSTRALIA</p> <p>REPORTER IN FIELD DISCUSSES HOW JOURNALISTS RELIEVE THEMSELVES</p> <p>REPORTER MAKES SOLDIER DEMONSTRATE THE PROCEDURE</p>	<p>SOT: DAVID MARR, MEDIA WATCH AUSTRALIA: "Say what you like about Robert Murdoch's Fox network – it's strange intimacy with God and the US administration - but it takes real flair to put this on national television..."</p> <p>SOT: FOX NEWS CHANNEL REPORTER: "Using the facilities when there aren't any facilities. How are you going to the bathroom, buddy?"</p> <p>SOT: MEDIA WATCH AUSTRALIA ANCHOR: "So the reporter called the soldier over..."</p> <p>SOT: FOX NEWS CHANNEL REPORTER: "You want to demonstrate for us how you sit on that shovel? You want me to do it? Go ahead. There you go, there you go. Isn't that something?"</p> <p>SCRATCH</p>
<p>DANNY SCHECHTER ON FOX NEWS WITH BILL O'RIELLY</p>	<p>O/C: BILL O'REILLY, FOX NEWS: In the second "Back of the Book" segment today, a book called <i>The More You Watch, The Less You Know</i>. With us</p>

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	is the author of <i>The More You Know</i> Danny Schechter, who has had many TV news jobs, including being a producer for 20/20.
<p>STILLS FROM DANNY SCHECHTER'S YOUTH AS A JOURNALIST</p> <p>FOOTAGE FROM GLOBAL VISION PRODUCTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND BOSNIA</p> <p>ARCHIVE SADDAM FOOTAGE</p> <p>SHOT OF REPORTER COVERING GULF WAR VICTORY PARADE 1991</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>YEARS AGO I BECAME A NETWORK REFUGEE, CHALLENGING THE SUPERFICIALITY OF MAINSTREAM NEWS, ESPECIALLY IN ITS TREATMENT OF WAR.</u></p> <p><u>EVEN WHEN COVERING WARS IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA, I ALSO CRITIQUED THE COVERAGE.</u></p> <p><u>I DID THE SAME WHEN I WORKED AT CNN AND ABC NEWS, AND THEN WITH COLLEAGUES ON GLOBAL VISION'S TV SERIES ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA THAT TOLD UNREPORTED STORIES.</u></p> <p><u>DITTO FOR HUMAN RIGHTS COVERAGE OF BOSNIA</u> <u>IRAQ TV AND SADDAM'S TERRIBLE CRIMES AND ABUSES.</u></p> <p><u>WARRING WITH THE REPORTING OF WAR HAS BEEN AN OBSESSION FOR YEARS.</u></p> <p><u>I LAMBASTED MEDIA FAILURES DURING ALL THE HOOPLA AROUND THE FIRST GULF WAR</u></p>
GULF WAR SOLDIER AT PARADE	<p>GULF WAR SOLDIER: The majority is saying thumbs up, y'know...and I like that!</p>
VICTORY PARADE	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>SO HERE I GO AGAIN...</u></p>
<p>4. SECTION: THE PAST IS NEVER PAST</p>	
UNIVERSAL NEWSREEL REPORT ON VIETNAM, WOUNDED SOLDIER CARRIED INTO BARN, WOUNDED ON THE FLOOR RECEIVING HELP	<p>SOT: UNIVERSAL NEWS REEL: UPI Cameraman Abe Keller came down with the GI's— took these dramatic scenes while the dead and dying covering the floors...</p>
<p>WOUNDED ON THE FLOOR, SOLDIERS SHOOTING FROM TRENCHES, THROWING GRENADES</p> <p>SOLDIER FIRING A ROCKET LAUNCHER, WINDOW BREAKS IN HOUSE, SOLDIERS RUNNING IN EMPTY STREETS, STREET SHOTS FROM TANK, HELICOPTER DIVING, SOLDIERS EMBARKING FROM HELICOPTERS, TANK ON THE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IT WAS THIS HISTORY OF COVERING WARS THAT LED ME TO LOOK AT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MEDIA AND THE MILITARY.</u></p> <p><u>TO UNDERSTAND WHY PEOPLE RALLY AROUND THE FLAG THE WAY THEY DO, YOU HAVE TO CONSIDER THE INFORMATION THAT SHAPES THEIR OPINIONS AND IMPRESSIONS. HOW WARS ARE COVERED, OR COVERED UP, IS KEY.</u></p>

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STREET	
<p>VIETNAM FOOTAGE</p> <p>GENERAL WESTMORELAND, BULLET GOING OFF SOLDIER RUNNING IN JUNGLE</p>	<p>SOT: GENERAL WILLIAM WESTMORELAND, FORMER VIETNAM GENERAL:</p> <p>I can say without reservation that these magnificent young Americans are as fine as any fighting men our nation has ever sent into battle.</p>
<p>SOLDIERS RUNNING IN JUNGLE, SOLDIER WITH HELMET, OTHER SOLDIERS WITH HELMETS, A WOUNDED CARRIED BY RUNNING SOLDIER, WOUNDED PUT ON A STRETCHER, HELICOPTER NIGHT SHOT, SOLDIER SNEAKING IN RICE FIELD, STILL OF MASS GRAVE, STILL OF ARNETT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE PENTAGON’S EFFORTS TO CONTROL PRESS COVERAGE WERE A RESPONSE TO THE LOSS OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM. MANY OF THE MILITARY TO THIS DAY BELIEVE THAT THE MEDIA COVERAGE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR AMERICA’S DEFEAT—NOT THE ARMED FORCES OR THE POLICY.</u></p> <p><u>IN THAT ERA, REPORTERS WERE FAR MORE AGGRESSIVE IN EXPOSING WAR CRIMES AND DUPLICITY. PETER ARNETT WAS ONE OF THEM.</u></p>
<p>CONTINUED STILL ARNETT, ARNETT O/C, BLACK/WHITE SHOT OF US SOLDIER IN COFFIN, B/H HELICOPTER, O/C ARNETT</p>	<p>O/C: PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER:</p> <p>In Vietnam, the reporters did not get on the team. We challenged generals, governments. We challenged, we demanded their accountability, we challenged their findings. Vietnam is seen by the right wing as a war in which the American media sold out to the communist side.</p>
<p>MEDIA PANEL 1994</p>	<p>SOT: DAVID HALBERSTAM, NY TIMES VIETNAM REPORTER:</p> <p>Well you should be a pain in the ass, I mean any reporter, in a time like Vietnam . . . you ought to be a pain in the ass, because that’s when it counts.</p>
<p>MEDIA PANEL 1994</p>	<p>SOT: SEYMOUR HERSH, INVESTIGATIVE REPORTER:</p> <p>Generally, it is my belief that Richard Nixon was much more of a national security threat to the United States than any reporter I know</p>
<p>PANORAMA SHOT OF THE PENTAGON, MEDIA ON THE BATTLEFIELD EXERCISE VIDEO</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AFTER VIETNAM, THE PENTAGON LIMITED MEDIA ACCESS TO ITS WARS, WHILE IMPROVING OUTREACH TO JOURNALISTS WITH TRAINING EXERCISES LIKE THIS:</u></p>
<p>CYRON: <u>MEDIA ON THE BATTLEFIELD EXERCISE</u></p> <p>MEDIA ON THE BATTLEFIELD EXERCISE VIDEO</p> <p>SOLDIER PRACTICING TO GET RID OF JOURNALISTS</p>	<p>SOT: BATTLEFIELD EXERCISE:</p> <p>I’m sorry ma’am, I’m really busy, I need to attend to these people. Excuse me please.</p> <p>SOT: MILITARY OFFICER:</p> <p>Remember everything you say is on the record. Even if the camera is off. It doesn’t matter; it’s on the record. You say it, it can be used.</p>

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<p>SOLDIERS GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS IN HOW TO SPEAK TO THE PRESS</p>	<p>SOT: MOCK INTERVIEW: Ma'am, basically all the soldiers here are heroes in one way or another.</p>
<p>CNN WAR IN THE GULF PROMO 1991, STUDIO ANCHORS, MAP OF KUWAIT CITY, TRUCK CONVOY, TANKS ROLLING</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WARS MAY DESTROY PEOPLE AND COUNTRIES, BUT THEY CAN BE PROFITABLE TO COVER. CNN WON THE 1991 GULF WAR IN THE SENSE THAT ITS COVERAGE PROPELLED A STRUGGLING CABLE NEWS OPERATION KNOWN IN THE INDUSTRY AS THE "CHICKEN NOODLE NETWORK" INTO A TOP GLOBAL NEWS BRAND; REVENUES FOLLOWED AS RATINGS SOARED.</u></p>
<p>TANKS ROLLING</p>	<p>SOT: CNN NEWS REEL: Iraqi forces in Kuwait. Iraq claims the attack is failing.</p>
<p>CHENEY AT PRESS BRIEFING 1991, FOG AT SEA, ANCHOR</p> <p>ROCKET LAUNCHER, CHAIN OF TANKS FIRING, SHOTS FROM MILITARY CONVOY, CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR REPORTING</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AND SO DID PATRIOTIC FERVOR... EVEN AS MEDIA OBJECTIVITY ERODED. THAT OLD TRUISM—"TRUTH IS THE FIRST CASUALTY IN WAR"—WAS NEVER MORE TRUE.</u></p> <p><u>JOURNALISTS WERE DENIED ACCESS TO MOST OF THE 1991 GULF WAR, WRITES CNN'S CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR:</u></p>
<p>CYRON: BEHIND OUR BACKS, BEHIND THE BACKS OF THE FIELD REPORTERS, FIELD PRODUCERS AND CREWS ON THE GROUND" OUR BOSSES MADE A DEAL WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT TO CREATE 'POOLS'—WHAT I CALL 'BALL AND CHAIN'. HANDCUFFED, MANAGED NEWS REPORTING" <u>CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, CNN</u></p> <p>TRUCK CONVOY BACKGROUND</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>"BEHIND OUR BACKS, BEHIND THE BACKS OF THE FIELD REPORTERS, FIELD PRODUCERS AND CREWS ON THE GROUND OUR BOSSES MADE A DEAL WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT TO CREATE 'POOLS'—WHAT I CALL 'BALL AND CHAIN'. HANDCUFFED, MANAGED NEWS REPORTING.</u></p>
<p>JET FIGHTER, SMART BOMB, BOMBS, US SOLDIER IN COFFIN COVERD BY THE FLAG</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE RESULT? WE LATER LEARNED THE "SMART" BOMBS USED THEN WERE NOT SO SMART--ONLY ONE OUT OF FIVE HIT TARGETS. MOST U.S. CASUALTIES WERE CAUSED BY" FRIENDLY" FIRE.</u></p>
<p>O/C JOHN DONVAN</p>	<p>O/C: JOHN DONOVAN, ABC NEWS NIGHTLINE: I've covered enough wars to be in a position to say this, that we have never, I, including me, have never shown the viewer what it's really like--how horrible war is. And partly you can't show it, because the camera can't capture it, but even at a certain level the camera may capture it and they won't let you show it. There are certain kinds of close-ups that we won't show, there's certain blood spatters, dead children that we don't show people partly because it violates certain long-standing practices: 'Don't put gore on television.'</p>

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<p>SADDAM HUSSEIN FOOTAGE, SADDAM GREETING HIS PEOPLE, SADDAM GREETING FROM TRIBUNE, TANKS PARADING, IRAQI KID PLAYING IN THE RUBBLE</p> <p>GIRL PLAYING IN RUBBLE, MOTHERS WITH BABIES IN THEIR ARMS, NEWS ARTICLE ON THE GULF WAR SYMPTOMS</p> <p>SICK VETERAN FOOTAGE, FIGHTER JETS READY FOR TAKE-OFF, JET AT BASE, FLYING JETS, HELICOPTERS,</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE COVERAGE OF THE GULF WARS LACKED MORE THAN GORE: CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND WERE MISSING. LIKE THE ROLE THE US PLAYED IN PUTTING SADDAM HUSSEIN IN POWER AND ARMING HIM FOR YEARS.</u></p> <p><u>AMERICA’S WAR ON IRAQ DID NOT END WITH THE END OF THAT WAR. WASHINGTON INITIATED, AND THE UN IMPOSED SANCTIONS WHICH, COUPLED WITH THE CRUELTY OF SADDAM’S REGIME REPORTEDLY LED TO A MILLION CHILDREN DYING...AND THE SPREAD OF NEW DISEASES....</u></p> <p><u>...A MYSTERIOUS GULF WAR SYNDROME STRUCK VETERANS....</u></p> <p><u>THE US AND BRITAIN IMPOSED NO FLY ZONES, USING THEM AS A COVER FOR WAR-LIKE BOMBING RAIDS YEARS BEFORE THE 2003 INVASION...</u></p> <p><u>NONE OF THESE STORIES RECEIVED THE FULL COVERAGE THEY DESERVED.</u></p>
<p>CYRON: <u>SEPTEMBER 11, 2001</u> <u>NEW YORK CITY</u></p> <p>WTC COLLAPSING</p>	<p>SOT: 9/11 FOOTAGE: “Huge explosion now raining debris on all of us; we better get out of the way.”</p>
<p>911 FOOTAGE, WTC COLLAPSING, DEBRIS SPREADING, GROUND ZERO, FIRE FIGHTERS AT GROUND ZERO, THE US FLAG AT GROUND ZERO</p> <p>ANCHORS WITH FLAGS IN THEIR LAPEL, SHOT OF DANNY SCHECHTERS' BOOK <i>MEDIA WARS</i>, MAGAZINE AND PAPER COVERS “CRUSADE” AND “WANTED DEAD OR ALIVE” FRONT PAGES</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AND THEN CAME 9/11—</u></p> <p><u>THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION USED THE ATTACK AS A PRETEXT TO PUT IN PLACE SECRET PLANS TO INVADE IRAQ, DRAWN UP BEFORE 9/11. THE MEDIA WAS MOBILIZED BEHIND THE WAR ON TERROR...</u></p> <p><u>IN POST 9/11 AMERICA, A “PATRIOTIC CORRECTNESS” SWEEPED THROUGH THE NEWS BUSINESS. TV ANCHORS PUT FLAGS IN THEIR LAPELS. I WROTE A BOOK SHOWING HOW THE COVERAGE ADVANCED THE GOVERNMENT'S PLAN TO RESPOND MILITARILY.</u></p> <p><u>SOME STORIES EXPLAINING “WHY THEY HATE US” GAVE WAY TO THIS:</u></p>
<p>SCOTT RUTTER FORMER MILITARY COMMANDER</p>	<p>O/C: SCOTT RUTTER-FORMER US MILITARY COMMANDER: It all became very personal with 9/11. I was in command of my battalion at that time; I was in the training meeting when that happened. The unspeakable acts against pillars of strength being hit by aircraft. You can imagine what it was like. It all became, you know, very, very personal.</p>

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<p>NY STREET FOOTAGE REACTION TO PEACE ACTIVISTS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>MUCH OF THE COVERAGE FUELED DEMANDS FOR RETALIATION. THERE WAS OFTEN MORE DEBATE IN THE STREETS THAN ON TV.</u></p>
<p>VIDEO AT GROUND ZERO</p>	<p>SOT: CONFRONTATION AT GROUND ZERO: WAR CRY: ACTIVIST: The same hatred that killed so many people.</p>
<p>"YOU WRITE WHAT YOU ARE TOLD" POSTER</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>MANY NETWORKS SAID THEY DIDN'T WANT TO GET AHEAD OF PUBLIC OPINION, OR BE BAITED AS SOFT ON TERRORISM.</u></p>
<p>NY STREET FOOTAGE REACTION TO PEACE ACTIVISTS</p>	<p>SOT: CONFRONTATION AT GROUND ZERO, WAR CRY: WOMAN: They don't love me and I don't love them, okay. ACTIVIST: Love they neighbor? WOMAN: They don't love me and I don't love them. ACTIVIST: Well I love them.</p>
<p>NY STREET FOOTAGE REACTION TO PEACE ACTIVISTS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THIS CONFRONTATION AT GROUND ZERO IN NEW YORK SHOWS WHAT HAPPENED WHEN A PEACE ACTIVIST CALLED FOR GLOBAL UNDERSTANDING:</u></p>
<p>NY STREET FOOTAGE REACTION TO PEACE ACTIVISTS</p>	<p>SOT: CONFRONTATION AT GROUND ZERO: WAR CRY: OLDER WOMAN: What about us? Do you care about every human being here? YOUNG MAN: It's September 11, you're at Ground Zero. YOUNG WOMAN: If they do something to us, we're not going to do nothing back? We're not going to do nothin' back? ACTIVIST: They didn't do anything. Iraq did not do shit to America. ACTIVIST: So you're saying it's okay to kill innocent people. ANOTHER MAN: Listen. If it's for a better good. Let's do it. THIRD MAN: "Yeah I Volunteered. You know why? THIRD MAN'S FRIEND: To keep your ass free. To keep your hippie ass free, he puts his life on the line.</p>
<p>O/C PETER ARNETT, WTC COLLAPSING, GROUND ZERO, US FLAG, AFGHAN WAR FOOTAGE – MUJAHIDEEN</p>	<p>SOT: PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER: Don't forget the American media is based in NYC. Every reporter in NYC saw the World Trade Towers collapse - they took it personally. There was a sense of revenge and fear, and that was reflected in the coverage of Afghanistan War and the War on Terrorism.</p>
<p>NEWS CAST</p>	<p>SOT: CBS NEWSCAST DAN RATHER: We may be wrong in some of the things we pass along...</p>

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<p>CYRON: <u>“I AM WILLING TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT AND THE MILITARY THE BENEFIT OF ANY DOUBT”</u> - DAN RATHER, SEPTEMBER 22, 2002 SOURCE: CNN</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: CYRON: <u>CBS’s DAN RATHER SEPTEMBER 22 2001:</u> <u>“I AM WILLING TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT AND THE MILITARY THE BENEFIT OF ANY DOUBT.”</u></p>
<p>O/C ARNETT FIGHTER JET TAKING OFF</p>	<p>SOT: PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER: As we moved into Iraq, a more pre-emptive strike, the media maintained this sort of romance, you might say, with government.</p>
<p>5. SECTION: THE “RUN-UP” TO WAR</p>	
<p>ERIC ALTERMAN, MEDIA CRITIC</p>	<p>O/C: ERIC ALTERMAN, MEDIA CRITIC: But the fact that they allowed the Bush administration to manipulate the truth so grossly and so nakedly in the run up to the war made the war possible.</p>
<p>BUSH STATE OF THE UNION SHOT OF WHITE HOUSE</p>	<p>SOT: PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH, STATE OF UNION ADDRESS: The United States of America will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most destructive weapons.</p>
<p>WHITE HOUSE, SADDAM IN CROWD, SADDAM POSING IN CHAIR, SADDAM GREETING, SADDAM IN CIVIL, SADDAM AND THE IRAQI FLAG</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>ALL THE WHILE WASHINGTON INSISTED IRAQ HAD TO BE DISARMED, THAT IT HAD PROOF THAT SADDAM HAD WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION THAT THREATENED THE WORLD. THE DEMONIZATION OF SADDAM WENT ON FOR FIVE MONTHS.</u></p>
<p>BUSH AT THE STAKE OUT, TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK TIMES, RUMSFELD ON CBS' FACE THE NATION, IRAQ CITY IMAGE BOMBS GO OFF IN THE BACKGROUND, CLOSE UP OF THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>DURING THE RUN-UP TO THE IRAQ WAR, AMERICAN MEDIA OUTLETS INCLUDING MOST TV NETWORKS AND THE NY TIMES RELAYED THE ADMINISTRATION’S SPIN ON THE THREAT POSED BY IRAQ WITHOUT MUCH QUESTION. WITHOUT THEIR CHEERLEADING, THERE COULD HAVE BEEN NO CONSENSUS FOR WAR.</u></p> <p><u>IN MAY 2004, THE NEW YORK TIMES ACKNOWLEDGED ITS PRE-WAR REPORTING HAD BEEN DEEPLY FLAWED.</u></p> <p><u>A TIMES EDITOR CALLED IT AN “INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM” INDICTING EDITORS AND REPORTERS WHO QUOTE. “CODDLED SOURCES” AND PRACTICED “HIT AND RUN JOURNALISM.”</u></p> <p><u>HE SAID AMERICA’S SELF-STYLED “NEWSPAPER OF RECORD” HAD NOT JUST REPORTED THE STORY BUT WAS PART OF IT: QUOTE. “COVERING THE WAR WAS NOT THE TIMES AT ITS BEST.”</u></p>

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<p>O/C ERIC ALTERMAN</p>	<p>O/C: ERIC ALTERMAN, MEDIA CRITIC, THE NATION Only now of course we're learning so much of the stuff that we simply assumed must be accurate wasn't accurate at all.</p>
<p>WASHINGTON POST BUILDING</p> <p>CYRON: <u>"IT'S CLEAR NOW THAT THE PRESS, AS A WHOLE, DID NOT DO A VERY GOOD JOB IN CHALLENGING ADMINISTRATION CLAIMS."</u> - MICHAEL GETLER, WASHINGTON POST OMBUDSMAN</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE OMBUDSMAN OF THE WASHINGTON POST LATER ADMITTED:</u></p> <p><u>"IT'S CLEAR NOW THAT THE PRESS, AS A WHOLE, DID NOT DO A VERY GOOD JOB IN CHALLENGING ADMINISTRATION CLAIMS."</u></p>
<p>O/C JAKE LYNCH</p>	<p>O/C: JAKE LYNCH, BBC REPORTER: Critical perspectives, perspectives about alternatives to war, all the kind of efforts and discussion of the peace movements virtually disappeared from the media at that very point where, notionally, a society was making up its mind as to whether to go to war or not.</p>
<p>STILLS OF FAIR STUDY</p> <p>CYRON: <u>FAIR STUDY</u> <u>US MEDIA SOURCES</u> <u>PRO-WAR: 71 %</u> <u>ANTI-WAR: 3 %</u></p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE MEDIA MONITORING GROUP FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY IN REPORTING OR 'FAIR' STUDIED 1,617 ON-CAMERA SOURCES BETWEEN MARCH 20TH AND APRIL 9TH, 2003. THEY FOUND 71 PERCENT OF ALL SOURCES WERE PRO-WAR— ONLY 3 PERCENT ANTI-WAR.</u></p>
<p>UN PANEL</p>	<p>SOT: GREG DYKE, FORMER BBC DIRECTOR: I saw a figure the other day. I forget the exact figures but something like there were 800 experts used during the war on all the American broadcasts outlets. And only 6 were opposed to the war. Now, that seems a pretty odd state of affairs.</p>
<p>SHOTS OUTSIDE UNITED NATIONS, UN FLAG, INSIDE SECURITY COUNCIL, JOURNALISTS WAITING AT THE STAKE OUT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IN THIS PERIOD, I WAS HOPING WAR COULD BE AVERTED. UN DELIBERATIONS WERE COVERED BUT DISMISSIVELY. INTERNATIONAL OPINION WAS NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY. THE MEDIA FRAME BECAME "US" VERSUS "THEM."</u></p>
<p>O/C DANNY AT THE UN</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: There was a buzz here for many weeks, one journalist told me. That buzz is gone. Instead, there is a pall, a feeling of total frustration.</p>
<p>JOURNALIST READING PAPER, STAKEOUT AT THE UN, SECURITY COUNCIL, BUSH AND BLAIR SHAKING HANDS AFTER JOINT STATEMENT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE UNITED NATIONS WANTED TO GIVE THE ARMS INSPECTORS TIME TO FINISH THE JOB. BUT THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION BYPASSED THE UN, CLAIMING TO ACT IN ITS NAME BY LAUNCHING A PREVENTIVE</u></p>

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	<u>WAR—UNILATERALLY, AS AN ACT OF SELF-DEFENSE, BRITAIN AND A FEW OTHER NATIONS JOINED WHAT WAS OFFICIALLY BRANDED A “COALITION OF THE WILLING”.</u> CRITICS CALLED IT A “COALITION FOR THE DRILLING.”
DANNY SCHECHTER AT UN PRESS CONFERENCE	SOT: DANNY SCHECHTER: How can the United Nations survive this failure?
FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER AT THE STAKE OUT	SOT: DOMINIQUE DE VILLEPIN, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER: The United Nations is more important than ever. We need collective responsibility.
FRONT PAGES DENOUNCING FRANCE NEWS PAPER HEADLINES	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WHEN COUNTRIES LIKE FRANCE CALLED FOR MORE UN INSPECTIONS, THEY WERE DENOUNCED AS “CHEESE EATING SURRENDER MONKEYS” IN SOME MEDIA OUTLETS.</u>
UN SECURITY COUNCIL, AL DOUHRI SPEAKING	O/C: IRAQ AMBASSADOR AL DOUHRI: And despite the fact that we have no weapons of mass destruction, the US armies have crossed the Atlantic and they have prepared hundreds of thousands of soldiers.
UN SECURITY COUNCIL, CLOSE UP ALDOUHRI	SOT: DANNY SCHECHTER QUESTIONS IRAQ AMBASSADOR AL DOUHRI: The United States insisted they were there. What happened to those weapons?
AL DOUHRI O/C, IRAQI GOVERNMENT CLAPPING, SADDAM STROLLING, WEAPONS INSPECTION, MAN WITH GAS MASK INSPECTING WEAPONS, WEAPONS PILES, AL DOUHRI O/C	SOT: IRAQ AMBASSADOR AL DOUHRI: Well, I think it has been destroyed. It has been destroyed by the Iraqi government. Because they felt at that time that there is no need for it. Anyway they cannot use it because if they would like to use this chemical weapons, the other side will destroy the whole Iraqi people and the whole Iraqi country. So I think they did realize that, and for this reason they destroyed it. And they destroyed earlier: '91- '92.
WIDE ANGLE IMAGE OF DANNY SCHECHTER INTERVIEWING AL DOUHRI FRONT PAGE OF MEDIA STUDY CYRON: <u>"EXAGGERATED" "INACCURATELY" "IRRESPONSIBLY"</u> MEDIA AT WAR CONFERENCE, NEW SCHOOL, NY CYRON: <u>JULY 24, 2003</u>	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THIS CLAIM, RIDICULED BY MEDIA THEN, IS LARGELY ACCEPTED NOW.</u> <u>AN EXHAUSTIVE MARCH 2004 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND STUDY ON THE COVERAGE OF WMD'S FOUND THAT THREAT WAS EXAGGERATED, REPORTED INACCURATELY AND IRRESPONSIBLY.</u> <u>AFTER THE INVASION PHASE OF THE WAR ENDED, JOURNALISTS DEBATED THEIR ROLE IN FUELING A WAR CLIMATE.</u> SOT: JOURNALISTS DEBATING

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<p><u>NEW SCHOOL UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK</u> FOOTAGE FROM CONFERENCE</p>	<p>V/O DANNY SCHECHTER <u>ON ONE PANEL HARPER'S RICK MACARTHUR CHALLENGED TIMES'S MICHAEL ELLIOT. AFTERWARDS I SPOKE WITH BOTH.</u></p>
<p>O/C JOHN MACARTHUR PUBLISHER, HARPER'S</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Is it the news culture? Is it lack of critical thinking? Is it economic interests? Is it all of the above?</p>
<p>O/C MACARTHUR</p>	<p>O/C: JOHN R. MACARTHUR, PUBLISHER, HARPER'S: Well, it's all those things, but it's mostly owners who don't care about journalism</p>
<p>SOT: ELLIOT ONSTAGE</p>	<p>SOT: MICHAEL ELLIOT, EDITOR TIME MAGAZINE: I think the American media has done a fabulous job since September 11th.</p>
<p>O/C MICHAEL ELLIOT</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Wasn't this a media system that was cheerleading for the war?</p>
<p>O/C MICHAEL ELLIOT</p>	<p>O/C: MICHAEL ELLIOT, EDITOR TIME MAGAZINE: I think, undoubtedly, what you saw in the war was a sharper distinction between the print media and the TV media than I've ever seen before, or maybe I should have said that in the session just now.</p>
<p>O/C MACARTHUR</p>	<p>O/C: MACARTHUR, PUBLISHER, HARPER'S: They have got to watch what they say. If Michael Elliot gets up there and says, "Yeah, Time didn't do a very good job covering the war, or covering the run up to the war," he's out of a job. He's getting in trouble with his bosses. I can say it because I'm a publisher.</p>
<p>6. SECTION: MUZZLING DEBATE</p>	
<p>DEMONSTRATIONS NEW YORK</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IN THE RUN UP TO WAR, DISSENT WAS MARGINALIZED, DEBATE WAS LIMITED, PROTEST AND PROTESTERS SEEN BUT RARELY HEARD.</u></p>
<p>RECORDED NEWS BROADCAST IN LONDON</p>	<p>SOT: NEWS BROADCAST More than a million demonstrators turned out in London. The march is thought to be the largest ever in Great Britain.</p>
<p>JAKE LYNCH O/C DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE UK, BANNERS ON BUS,</p>	<p>O/C: JAKE LYNCH, BBC REPORTER: Sadly, the coverage was at its worst in the period when it mattered most. The period bracketed by the worldwide demonstrations on February the 15th and actually going to war</p>

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DEMONSTRATION	was one in which British public opinion turned 'round from being approximately 60-40 against the war to approximately 60-40 in favor of the war.
DEMONSTRATIONS IN NEW YORK STILL MICHAEL GETLER CYRON: <u>"UNDERREPORTING OR POORLY DISPLAYING... COVERAGE OF BIG DEMONSTRATIONS HERE AND ABROAD"</u> <u>MICHAEL GETLER</u> <u>WASHINGTON POST, OMBUDSMAN</u>	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WASHINGTON POST OMBUDSMAN MICHAEL GETLER BLASTED HIS OWN PAPER FOR:</u> <u>"UNDERREPORTING OR POORLY DISPLAYING... COVERAGE OF BIG DEMONSTRATIONS HERE AND ABROAD."</u>
O/C LESLIE CAGAN ON STREET FOOTAGE OF PROTESTS	O/C: LESLIE CAGAN ANTI-WAR ORGANIZER: There was fairly decent coverage of the fact that there was an anti-war movement. What there was not decent coverage of was the analysis of what we were trying to say about what was wrong with the war, why we never should've gone to war, why the war needed to end, what was driving sort of the motor force behind the war. That analysis never got into the mainstream media. SCRATCH
NYC DEMONSTRATION FOOTAGE CYRON: <u>NEW YORK CITY</u> <u>FEBRUARY 15, 2003</u>	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IT WAS FREEZING IN NEW YORK DURING THE HUGE FEBRUARY DEMONSTRATION.</u>
ANTI WAR DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY O/C IAN WILLIAMS	O/C: IAN WILLIAMS: It's ironic it's taken George W. Bush to revive the progressive movements in the United States and Western Europe.
ANTI WAR DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY, DESMOND TUTU GREET'S DANNY SCHECHTER	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>SOUTH AFRICA'S BISHOP TUTU WAS A FEATURED SPEAKER.</u>
TUTU AT THE PODIUM	SOT: DESMOND TUTU: What do we say to peace? Yeah!
O/C DANNY SCHECHTER MEDIA AT THE DEMONSTRATION IN NY	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: ... The mainstream media sort of ghettoizes this kind of coverage, and doesn't allow it to really enter into the mainstream discourse... I think that they'll report it. They'll show the crowds as a mass. They might show some sound bites, but they won't really get into what the significance of this movement is.
CYRON: <u>NEW YORK CITY</u> <u>MARCH 22, 2003</u>	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AT LATER PROTESTS, I SPOKE WITH JOURNALISTS AND ACTIVISTS ABOUT THE COVERAGE WE WERE</u>

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<p>ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION STREET SHOTS, MARCH 21, 2003</p>	<p><u>THEN BEING BOMBARDED WITH.</u></p>
<p>SOT CURTIS ON STREET</p>	<p>O/C: CURTIS ELLIS RADIO JOURNALIST: The purpose of journalism is to question the prevailing wisdom ...The journalism we see in this country for the most part in the mainstream media does not question anything.</p>
<p>SOT MARC ON STREET</p>	<p>O/C: MARC LEVIN FILM DIRECTOR: But that scares me to think that here it is, it's a war, people's lives, the whole world is changing, and most of us are just watching it like another entertainment channel.</p>
<p>ANTI-WAR COMMERCIAL <i>WHY RUSH THE WAR</i></p>	<p>ANTI-WAR COMMERCIALS SOT: NOT IN OUR NAME TV AD: If we invade Iraq, there's a UN estimate that says there will be up to half a million people killed or wounded. Do we have the right to do that to a country that has done nothing to us?</p> <p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>FROZEN OUT OF THE NEWS. ACTIVISTS TRIED TO BUY AIRTIME FOR ANTI-WAR COMMERCIALS LIKE THIS:</u></p> <p>SOT: BISHOP MELVIN TALBERT, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES: No nation under G-d has that right. It violates international law. It violates G-d's law.</p> <p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>MOST NETWORKS WOULDN'T RUN THE SPOTS, EVEN FOR THE MONEY.</u></p>
<p>INTERNET NEWS SITES, ANTI-WAR SITES, FOREIGN NEWS OUTLETS NEWS CAST</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>MANY ACTIVISTS SOURED ON MAINSTREAM NEWS, TURNING TO HUNDREDS OF INTERNET SITES.</u></p> <p><u>THEY ALSO TURNED TO FOREIGN TV OUTLETS ESPECIALLY THE BBC.</u></p>
<p>FIORE ANIMATION IRAQ – SADDAM</p>	<p>FIORE ANIMATION SOT: IRAQ – SADDAM ANIMATION</p>
<p>INTERNET NEWS SITES, THE ONION, COMEDY CHANNEL</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>MANY YOUNG PEOPLE ABANDONED THE NEWS ALTOGETHER, PREFERRING SATIRICAL NEWSPAPERS LIKE THE ONION AND COMEDY NEWS SHOWS.</u></p>
<p>CLIP FROM COMEDY CHANNEL</p>	<p>SOT: THE DAILY SHOW, JOHN STEWART, DAILY SHOW, COMEDY CHANNEL: Hey everybody</p>

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JOURNALIST AMY GOODMAN INTERVIEWING IN THE STREET	V/O DANNY SCHECHTER Many turned to alternative, independent media.
AMY GOODMAN O/C, DEMONSTRATION IN NY AND SHOTS OF JOURNALISTS	SOT: AMY GOODMAN, DEMOCRACY NOW: It's up to the media to challenge those in power, not to cozy up to power. So you have this media that's embedded now in the government, in the military. And, yet at the same time there's hope, because there is a response to that, and that is the independent media movement.
7. SECTION: THE MEDIA INVASION	
IMAGES FROM BAGHDAD, CITY SHOTS, STREET TRAFFIC	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>A GLOBAL NEWS ARMY WAS PUT IN PLACE BEFORE WAR ERUPTED...ON ALL SIDES OF THE CONFLICT, MEDIA OUTLETS WERE SPUN OR CONTROLLED BY GOVERNMENTS.</u> <u>IN BAGHDAD, MAINSTREAM JOURNALISTS SAY IT WAS TOUGH TO GET THE TRUTH; SOMETIMES, INDEPENDENT REPORTERS WERE ABLE TO DO BETTER.</u>
IMAGES FROM THE STREETS OF BAGHDAD, JEREMY SCAHILL O/C, FOOTAGE OF IRAQI MINISTER FOR INFORMATION, GRAPHIC: SADDAM'S PRESS MINDERS	O/C: JEREMY SCAHILL, REPORTER, DEMOCRACY NOW: Every foreigner is followed by the secret police, but journalists are watched even closer, there was an army under Saddam Hussein of government officials whose only job it was, was to spy on journalists. So, you have no way to avoid being under the control of the Iraqi Ministry of Information.
O/C JANINE DI GIOVANNI	O/C: JANINE DI GIOVANNI, TIMES OF LONDON: They tapped my phone in my office, my hotel room. There was a small camera in my hotel, which watched my every movement. I used to have to go to the loo to get changed.
O/C JEREMY SCAHILL	O/C: JEREMY SCAHILL, REPORTER, DEMOCRACY NOW: I determined that the best thing was to not get accreditation as a journalist in my visa and to go in as a humanitarian worker.
IRAQI INFORMATION MINISTER AL-SAHAF PRESS CONFERENCE	SOT: MOHAMMED SAEED AL-SAHAF, IRAQI INFORMATION MINISTER: They are not near Baghdad don't believe them. They are nowhere. This is silly.
AL-SAHAF AT VARIOUS PRESS BRIEFINGS, NEWS PAPER ARTICLES ABOUT AL-SAHAF, DRAWINGS OF AL-SAHAF	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IRAQ'S MEDIA MINDERS WORKED FOR IRAQ'S MINISTER OF INFORMATION MOHAMMED AL SAHHAF, KNOWN IN THE WEST AS COMICAL ALI FOR HIS FALSE CLAIMS.</u>

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	<p><u>MOST OF HIS THREATS OF IRAQI RESOLVE WERE TREATED AS A JOKE. LATER, AS RESISTANCE EMERGED, SOME NOW SEEM ALMOST PROPHETIC.</u></p>
O/C JANINE DI GIOVANNI, TIMES OF LONDON	<p>O/C: JANINE DI GIOVANNI, TIMES OF LONDON: The bribery system was appalling. Some television crews were paying up to \$5000 per visa.</p>
O/C JEREMY SCAHILL	<p>O/C: JEREMY SCAHILL, REPORTER, DEMOCRACY NOW: So, in the case of Rupert Murdoch he has a tremendous number of media outlets, probably the most of any single other company of person in the world operating in Iraq under Saddam Hussein, more than any other media outlets. One colleague who works in a Murdoch news operation estimated that Rupert Murdoch was giving as much as half a million dollars to Saddam Hussein’s government during the lead up to the war, just for permission for his news outlets to operate there. And there was a running joke that Rupert Murdoch was the second greatest source of cash for Saddam Hussein—second only to oil smuggling.</p>
REPORTER LIVE FROM IRAQ	<p>SOT: NY TIMES REPORTER JOHN BURNS ON CNN: ...There are pockets like Tikrit...</p>
IRAQ CORRESPONDENT REPORTING, INTERNET NEWS SITES, FOOTAGE OF IRAQIS GRIEVING BY MASS GRAVE STILL EASEN JORDAN, CNN	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IF IRAQIS WERE CORRUPT SO WERE SOME WESTERN MEDIA OUTLETS NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT JOHN BURNS AND OTHERS ACCUSED WESTERN MEDIA COMPANIES OF COMPETING THROUGH CORRUPTION – LITERALLY BUYING ACCESS FOR THEIR CORRESPONDENTS AND CAMERAS, WHILE NOT COVERING HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE.</u></p> <p><u>CNN LATER ADMITTED THAT IT DID NOT REPORT ABUSES OF ITS OWN STAFF MEMBERS IN ORDER TO KEEP ITS OFFICE OPEN IN IRAQ.</u></p>
EMBED REPORTING, EMBED JOURNALIST CLOSE UP, REPORTER ROBERT YOUNG PELTON ON THE ROAD STILL PELTON'S TRAVEL BOOK <i>THE WORLD'S MOST DANGEROUS PLACES</i>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>FEW OF THE JOURNALISTS WHO COVERED THE WAR COVERED THE WAY IT WAS REALLY COVERED.</u></p> <p><u>INDEPENDENT REPORTER ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, AUTHOR OF THIS BEST SELLING TRAVEL BOOK <i>THE WORLD'S MOST DANGEROUS PLACES</i>, HAD HIS EYE ON THE MEDIA EYE.</u></p>
O/C PELTON, SHOWDOWN WITH SADDAM PROMO, MAP OF IRAQ, ARCHIVE FOOTBALL, WAR IN IRAQ, THE ROAD TO BAGHDAD PROMO	<p>O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: There was never any sense that we might go to war. It was always like, “We’re gonna attack Saddam Hussein and here’s why.”</p> <p>There was very much a script on how this war was handled.</p>

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	There was a kick-off.
BUSH 48 HOURS COUNTDOWN TO WAR	SOT: PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours.
TROOPS WATCHING TELEVISION, GRAPHIC, O/C PELTON, GENERAL DRAWING DIAGRAM ON MAP OF IRAQ, ANIMATED MAP OF IRAQ, ARCHIVE FOOTBALL, TROOPS RUNNING, ARCHIVE FOOTBALL, ARTILLERY SHOOTING, ARCHIVE, FOOTBALL, US SOLDIER WAIVING THE FLAG, FOOTBALL	O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: And then there was a countdown; you got 48 hours to get out of town. Then it was like everyone tuned in for the opening kickoff. As the war progressed, it was done on linear scale. We're going from here to there. It's almost like we're running a pass. There were people actually drawing diagrams, generals drawing diagrams on a map that looked just like a football play. You know, "We're gonna go sneak around here and do this, and we're coming up there and doing that."
ARCHIVE FOOTBALL, PELTON IN BUS, VIEW FROM THE BUS, PELTON IN PRESS, STREET BY NIGHT	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THIS SPORTS METAPHOR OFFERED A SIMPLIFIED NARRATIVE MIMICKING A FAMILIAR TV FORMAT.</u> <u>WHEN PELTON WAS DELAYED GETTING INTO IRAQ, HIS FOCUS BECAME THE PRESS.</u>
HOTEL EXTERIOR, PELTON TALKING IN HOTEL LOBBY, – SHOTS OF OTHER JOURNALISTS GETTING ACCREDITATION, JOURNALIST HANGING OUT AT HOTEL, SLEEPING IN LOBBY CHAIR HOTEL LOBBY, PELTON O/C, BAR SHOTS, JOURNALISTS SMOKING WATER PIPE, HOTEL NEWS ROOM	O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: So, I ended up being the only person embedded with journalists during the war in a fancy hotel in Jordan. Right now there's apparently 4000 journalists—everywhere from Kuwait to Baghdad, to Jordan, to Syria, to Turkey—all waiting for the war to start. And some of these people had been sitting around for nine weeks. They lived in very nice hotels. They were all on expense accounts. They met at the bar every night. They worked 24-hours a day.
ARI FLEISHER WHITE HOUSE STAKE OUT	SOT: ARI FLEISHER, WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN: The President will address the nation at 10:15.
BUSH DECLARES WAR FROM OVAL OFFICE, NEWS FRONT PAGES DECLARING WAR, STILL OF HEADLINES	SOT: PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH My fellow citizens at this hour American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people, and to defend the world from grave danger.
FIELD NEWSROOM	SOT: ABC JOURNALIST ON PHONE: The level of protection would be minimal, and if I were a news president or a news executive, right now, I would be pulling my people out.
FIELD NEWSROOM	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER:

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	<u>WHEN THE WAR HAD FINALLY BEGUN, THE NETWORKS BEGAN PULLING THEIR REPORTERS OUT OF BAGHDAD.</u>
ARNETT IN IRAQ WITH NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>PETER ARNETT WAS IN THE IRAQI CAPITAL WITH A NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTARY TEAM. HE DECIDED TO STAY.</u>
O/C PETER ARNETT	O/C: PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER: Covering wars are a dangerous business. You can die. And those companies feel responsible for their people in harm's way. They sometimes order them out.
NEWSROOM	SOT: ABC JOURNALIST JUSTIFIES LEAVING: I think there is something to be said for staying, however, from a news executive standpoint, the risks are enormous.
O/C: PETER ARNETT	O/C: PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER: I sort of have a genetic tick that allows me to go into dangerous areas without too much concern.
BOMBS GOING OFF IN BAGHAD BOMB EXPLOSIONS, US TROOPS MARCH ON BAGHDAD, "PHOTO OPS" OF SOLDIERS MARCHING, BURNING US AND ISRAELI FLAG, PELTON O/C	O/C: ROBERT YOUHNG PELTON, REPORTER: The interesting thing was, is that the American military were trying to intimidate these journalists. They were saying, "You know you're going to be a target." And the journalists were working overtime to say look we're here, this is our coordinates, don't fire and everybody knew the journalists were at these hotels. That's why they were at these hotels. It was also known that if you're going to have "shock and awe," you're going to need someone to record it. I mean the one thing that they left out was that they needed the media to fight this war. The war was set up to be filmed and recorded by the media. So there was this bizarre symbiotic relationship.
FOOTAGE OF BOMB EXPLOSION, TOMAHAWK MISSILE GRAPHIC	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WHEN THE AWESOME BOMBING OF BAGHDAD BEGAN WHAT WAS SHOCKING SABC AS THE WAY NEWS ANCHORS LOVINGLY DESCRIBED LETHAL WEAPONS – THEY BECAME BOYS WITH TOYS.</u>
LIVE NEWS COVERAGE MARCH 25, 2003 – JOKING ABOUT THE USE OF DEADLY WEAPONS	SOT: FOX NEWS ANCHOR: Should they have used more? Should they use, a MOAB, the mother of all bombs, a few daisy cutters?" You know lets not just stop at a couple of cruise missiles. I want to see them use that MOAB.
8. SECTION: PENTAGON MEDIA MANAGEMENT	

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<p>EVENING NEWS WITH DAN RATHER</p>	<p>SOT: DAN RATHER, CBS's David Martin at the Pentagon is following the planning and has the latest on a possible plan...</p>
<p>REPORTER REPORTS FROM THE PENTAGON, COLIN POWELL AT THE STAKE OUT, SHOWDOWN WITH SADDAM PROMO, NETWORK ANCHOR REPORTING ON THE WAR, PANORAMA SHOT OF THE PENTAGON</p> <p>RUMSFELD AND GENERAL WALKING DOWN STAIRS, RUMSFELD IN OFFICE, RUMSFELD WALKING THE CORRIDORS, RUMSFELD ON TV, SOLDIERS WALKING THE CORRIDOR, OUTSIDE SHOT OF PENTAGON.</p> <p>STILLS FROM THE OVAL OFFICE BUSH, SADDAM AND HIS GENERALS FROM FACE THE NATION, SOLDIERS MARCHING BY DAWN, SHIP FIRING MISSILE, WEB PAGE ARAB/ENGLISH</p> <p>RUMSFELD AND MEYERS AT THE PENTAGON STAKE OUT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>TO PROMOTE ITS WAR, THE PENTAGON MADE MEDIA MANAGEMENT A PRIORITY. THEIR STRATEGY WAS SOPHISTICATED, CLEVER AND ALMOST ALWAYS COVERT FEW MEDIA OUTLETS EXPOSED IT. MOST PARTICIPATED WILLINGLY FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS.</u></p> <p><u>PENTAGON STRATEGY WENT BEYOND TRADITIONAL PR. USING MARKETING STRATEGIES AND "PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT."</u></p> <p><u>ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS LIKENED THEIR WAR PLANNING TO A PRODUCT "ROLL-OUT."</u></p> <p><u>IT WAS ALL TO GUARANTEE THERE WOULD BE ONLY ONE STORYLINE IN THE MEDIA, AND IN THE MINDS OF AMERICANS: THEIRS.</u></p> <p><u>A PENTAGON ADVISOR TOLD ME IT WAS INTENTIONAL.</u></p> <p><u>THEY KNEW THAT TV NETWORKS PREFER STORY TELLING TO SLOGANIZING.</u></p> <p><u>THEIR STORY LINE BECAME A MASTER NARRATIVE, DEFINING IRAQ AS THE PROBLEM AND US MILITARY INTERVENTION AS THE ONLY SOLUTION.</u></p> <p><u>TRADITIONALLY PROPAGANDA IS TARGETED AT THE ENEMY, IN THIS WAR, IT WAS SMOOTHLY INFILTRATED INTO THE NEWS AIMED AT AMERICAN AND GLOBAL PUBLIC OPINION.</u></p>
<p>SHOT OF RUMSFELD & PRESS CONFERENCES</p>	<p>SOT: DONALD RUMSFELD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: that there are known knowns; there are things we know that we know. There are known unknowns; that is to say, there are things we now know we don't know. But there are also unknown unknowns; there are things we do not know we don't know.</p>
<p>FRANKS AT THE STAKE OUT DOHA,</p>	<p>SOT: GENERAL TOMMY FRANKS: This platform is not a platform for propaganda; this is a platform for truth</p>
<p>STILLS FRANKS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IN HIS WAR PLAN, TOMMY FRANKS, THE US MILITARY COMMANDER DESCRIBED THE PRESS, ONCE KNOWN AS THE FOURTH ESTATE, AS "THE FOURTH FRONT." HE KNEW THAT A SUPPORTIVE MEDIA WAS ESSENTIAL FOR VICTORY, AND HE CULTIVATED ONE.</u></p>

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STILL FRANKS	SOT: GENERAL TOMMY FRANKS: This will be a campaign unlike any other in history.
STILLS OF FRANKS	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE PENTAGON FOCUSED ON WINNING THE MEDIA WAR, LEAKING THEIR PLAN TO REPORTERS THEY COULD TRUST.</u>
GREG KELLY O/C	O/C: GREG KELLY, FOX NEWS EMBED: We knew the plan. And, I think the military benefited as far as positive coverage during the war, because we knew what the plan was. So we reported that things basically things were on plan or we weren't worried when we were delayed two or three days because we knew overall it was very successful.
STILLS FRANKS, STILL TORI CLARKE	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>EARLIER, WHEN THE MEDIA PRESSED FOR ACCESS, FRANK'S TEAM CAME UP WITH THE IDEA OF EMBEDDING REPORTERS. A FORMER CORPORATE PR PROFESSIONAL TURNED PENTAGON OFFICIAL RAN THE PROGRAM.</u>
STILL TORI CLARKE VICTORIA CLARKE AT PANEL AT RADIO AND TELEVISION MUSEUM	SOT: VICTORIA CLARKE, FORMER PENTAGON MEDIA CHIEF: One of the things we did, it wasn't rocket science, but it was hard work. We took the same kind of planning and training and discipline that you put into military operations and put it into this aspect of the military operations. And Rumsfeld and Myers being enlightened guys had included people like me in the war plan from the very earliest stages.
O/C JOHN STAUBER, STILLS OF THE CONTRACT BETWEEN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PENTAGON, O/C STAUBER, SHOTS FROM EMBEDDED JOURNALISTS IN BUS	O/C: JOHN STAUBER, AUTHOR "WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION": Victoria Clarke got major networks and news organizations to sign the twelve-page contract agreeing to certain ground rules that actually kept the Department of Defense, public affairs people in the driver seat. And you got reporters in with these young, idealistic troops who really believed all the spin of what we going on, were going to liberate Iraq... that the reporters would overall identify with the troops and their reporting was very positive.
EMBEDDED REPORTERS ON BUS INSTRUCTED BY SOLDIER	O/C: BRITISH SOLDIER: When we get there, any sort of incident happens, please keep calm and remain on the bus. We will deal with the situation, no matter what it is, as swiftly as possible
BUS OF EMBEDDED REPORTERS	SOT: VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS IDENTIFYING THEIR STATIONS/NEWSPAPERS: Q: What news organization do you work with Tim? A1: Sat Eins, German Television Network

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	<p>A2: BBC A3: CNN A4: LA Times A5: Japan Broadcasting Corporation</p> <p>O/C: GWENDOLEN CATES, PEOPLE MAGAZINE: “I’m Gwendolen Cates and I’m here on assignment for People Magazine, and I’m embedded with the 205th battalion 165th.”</p>
BUS FOOTAGE, SOLDIER WAIVING AT GWENDOLEN, O/C GWENDOLEN	<p>O/C: GWENDOLEN CATES, PEOPLE MAGAZINE: I was the only journalist embedded with a Military Intelligence Unit. They were part of the fifth corps based in Germany. And I was invited in fact to be embedded by this unit because one of the commanders had gotten to know me and felt that I could be trusted and would really tell the story.</p>
ATROPINE INJECTOR KIT CLOSE UP, SOLDIER GIVING INSTRUCTIONS TO EMBEDS	<p>SOT: MILITARY OFFICER DEMONSTRATING ATROPINE SHOT: These are your atropine injector kits. Should you become contaminated and start to feel the symptoms of nerve poisoning.</p>
SOLDIER GIVING INSTRUCTIONS TO EMBEDS, GWENDOLEN PUTTING ON A GAS MASK	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE PENTAGON PUT THE EMBEDS THROUGH A TRAINING COURSE OSTENSIBLY TO TEACH THEM HOW TO SURVIVE—BUT IT WENT FURTHER...</u></p>
INSTRUCTOR HELPING GWENDOLEN WITH GAS MASK	<p>SOT: INSTRUCTOR: It on there so when you pull it tight.</p>
GWENDOLEN STRUGGLING WITH THE GAS MASK. SOLDIER INSTRUCTING HER HOW TO BREATHE	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>JOURNALISTS WERE GIVEN EXAGGERATED FEARS OF CHEMICAL ATTACK DESIGNED TO REINFORCE THE THREAT OF IRAQI WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THE PROPAGANDA WAS ALSO AIMED AT THE MILITARY. IT WAS A THREAT THAT WASN’T THERE.</u></p>
GWENDOLEN WITH A GAS MASK ON.	<p>SOT: CATES AND INSTRUCTOR: CATES: Ready to go? INSTRUCTOR: You look lovely.</p>
CAMP FOOTAGE, GWENDOLEN O/C	<p>SOT: GWENDOLEN CATES, PEOPLE MAGAZINE: I lived, ate, slept with the soldiers. And the bond that was established between us was very, very strong and very personal. And we shared the sandstorms together and the lack of food and people talked to me about their fears and their children they left behind and their fear of death and all those things. So I became very personally involved with them as individuals at the same time I was observing this with journalistic detachment, but I did place their safety above any sort of journalistic responsibility I had, professional responsibility I had and I would not have done anything to endanger any of them.</p>

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<p>MILITARY BRIEFING OF EMBEDS</p>	<p>O/C: MILITARY BRIEFING OF EMBEDS: What we're saying is, help us tell the truth of what happens...</p>
<p>CLIPS OF REPORTERS BEING BRIEFED BY THE MILITARY</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>UNMENTIONED BY MOST MEDIA: THE PLAN ACTUALLY BETRAYED AN EARLIER AGREEMENT MADE AFTER THE FIRST GULF WAR THAT SAID QUOTE "OPEN AND INDEPENDENT REPORTING WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL MEANS OF COVERAGE." THE PENTAGON SIGNED OFF ON THAT POLICY ON MARCH 1, 1992.</u></p>
<p>FOOTAGE OF JOURNALISTS AT PRESS CONFERENCES IN THE FIELD O/C SHELDON RAMPTON</p> <p>ARMED MILITARY</p>	<p>O/C: SHELDON RAMPTON, AUTHOR WMD: There is an interesting issue, of conflict of interest there, because one of the standard rules of journalistic ethics is that journalists should not accept anything of value from the sources they're covering. Well, all of their transportation and indeed their very lives were being protected by those soldiers they were covering</p>
<p>GWENDOLEN INTERVIEWING A 21 YEAR OLD SOLDIER</p>	<p>SOT: GWENDOLEN CATES, PEOPLE MAGAZINE: Q: And how old are you? A: I'm 21 Q: What is your birthday? A: 3rd of 10th 81 Q: 'Cause we want to send you a birthday card...</p>
<p>YOUNG SOLDIER, OLDER LAUGHING SOLDIER, O/C GWENDOLEN</p>	<p>O/C: GWENDOLEN CATES, PEOPLE MAGAZINE: When I was there it's funny because I was not so much scared for myself, ...I thought what, how would I be able to handle it if one of my soldiers dies or is injured? I kept thinking about that. How will I be able to handle it?</p>
<p>ROBERT YOUNG PELTON O/C, CLIPS OF EMBEDS IN ARMY GEAR REPORTING; JOURNALIST REPORTING FROM HELICOPTER, REPORTER AT ROADSIDE, GWENDOLEN ROADSIDE</p>	<p>O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: The idea of embedding is essentially the Stockholm syndrome. If you take an unarmed individual and place him amongst armed people, he becomes sympathetic to their cause. So the idea was, look, slap a helmet on these guys, stick them in a jeep or a Humvee, head them in that direction and let them do whatever the heck he wants, and he will become sympathetic to our cause.</p>
<p>GWENDOLEN ROADSIDE, CONVOY, NBC EMBED HELICOPTER SHOT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>MANY EMBEDS DID A CONSCIENTIOUS JOB BUT THEY ONLY COULD ONLY PROVIDE A LIMITED AND ULTIMATELY MISLEADING PICTURE</u></p>
<p>PANEL AT MUSEUM OF RADIO AND TELEVISION</p>	<p>SOT: BILL ARKIN, NBC NEWS: The debate from the left and right about embedding—from the left that these were going to be lapdogs of the Pentagon, from the right that this was going to be loose lips sinking ships—I think neither proved to be true. But we haven't had the debate about what the embedding process did to our understanding of the war.</p>

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<p>EMBEDDED JOURNALIST CRAWLING WITH HELMET AND LIPSTICK</p>	<p>SOT: SOLDIER TO REPORTER: NBC Stay down! Stay down!</p>
<p>EMBED CRAWLING WITH HELMET AND LIPSTICK, REPORTER IN MILITARY OUTFIT REPORTING IN FOG</p> <p>CYRON: <u>DEADLINE IRAQ:</u></p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: NBC <u>FAR TOO MANY JOURNALISTS WERE GUNG-HO ABOUT COVERING THE WAR...SOME ROMANTICIZED IT, SEDUCED BY THE SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE; OTHERS SOUGHT GLORY AS CANADA'S CBC EXPLAINED IN A STUNNING SPECIAL "DEADLINE IRAQ." DURING THE WAR NO US NETWORK RAN ANYTHING LIKE IT</u></p>
<p>DEADLINE IRAQ: FOOTAGE (INTERVIEW)</p> <p>CYRON: <u>CBC DEADLINE IRAQ</u></p>	<p>SOT: MATTHEW FISHER, NATIONAL POST, CANADA: I think so many journalists have this fascination – “I must do this and then I can call myself a war correspondent the rest of my life.” It's as if they had a checklist of things to do in their life, and this is one of them. But they are absolutely not prepared for the reality.</p>
<p>DEADLINE IRAQ: FOOTAGE (INTERVIEW)</p> <p>CYRON: <u>CBC DEADLINE IRAQ</u></p>	<p>SOT: PATRICK GRAHAM, NATIONAL POST, CANADA: People didn't want to miss this war, and it had a lot to do with people's careers, there is no question.</p>
<p>DEADLINE IRAQ: FOOTAGE (INTERVIEW)</p> <p>CYRON: <u>CBC DEADLINE IRAQ</u></p>	<p>SOT: PATRICK BROWN, CBC: This is a thrill ride if you want to turn it into a thrill ride. I mean you can go to places in order to get shot at, in order to have the excitement of felling what its like to get shot at. I mean, you can go play in the traffic, too, if you want.</p>
<p>SHOTS OF CENTCOM, AL SOLDIERS RISE, MILITARY PLANNING, CONTROL ROOMS, AIR WAR FOOTAGE – B/W EXPLOSIONS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THERE WERE FEW EMBEDS WITH THE MILITARY PLANNERS, WITH THE COVERT ACTION TEAMS, THE CIA, SPECIAL OPS, OR WITH THE AIR WAR. THE US MILITARY UNITS THAT DID THE MOST DAMAGE WERE COVERED THE LEAST.</u></p>
<p>CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR AT CNBC TOPIC A WITH TINA BROWN</p>	<p>SOT: CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, CNN REPORTER: I mean it looks like this was disinformation at the highest level.</p>
<p>CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR ANCHORING</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>LATER, CNN'S CRISTIANNE AMANPOUR ADMITTED HER OWN NETWORK MUZZLED THE NEWS:</u></p>
<p>CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR AT CNBC TOPIC A WITH TINA BROWN</p> <p>CYRON: <u>CNBC "TOPIC A WITH TINA BROWN"</u></p>	<p>SOT: CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, CNN REPORTER: Yes, I think the press was muzzled, and I think the press self- muzzled. I'm sorry to say, but certainly television and, perhaps, to an extent, my station was intimidated by the administration and its foot soldiers at Fox News. And it did, in fact, put a</p>

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	climate of fear and self-censorship, in my view, in terms of the kind of broadcast work we did.
SOT TORI CLARKE AT RADIO AND TELEVISION MUSEUM PANEL	SOT: VICTORIA CLARKE, FORMER PENTAGON MEDIA CHIEF: Talk about letting people know that ratings have gotten under your skin. Umm, nothing could be further from the truth obviously and I will let the news media defend themselves, but I promise you, five, ten, 15 years from now people who study these things will say, “you never saw such real, you never saw such accurate, you never saw such hard-hitting coverage of military conflicts...”
TORI CLARKE AT RADIO AND TELEVISION MUSEUM PANEL	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>A WEEK LATER CNN HIRED THE PENTAGON’S MEDIA FLACK VICTORIA CLARKE AS AN ON AIR CONTRIBUTOR</u>
SOT CLIVE MYRIE REPORTING IN BATTLE	SOT: BBC EMBED CLIVE MYRIE TALKING DURING BATTLE: It seems that gunfire has been coming from the police station down there.
O/C CLIVE MYRIE	O/C: CLIVE MYRIE, BBC: I think a lot of journalists did lose courage. A lot of embedded journalists did lose their ability to be critical, to emphasize the fact that there might be problems going on here because they didn’t want to be kicked off the team. They wanted to stay embedded, and I think that was part of the problem.
STILL OF GREG KELLY AS EMBEDDED. O/C GREG KELLY	O/C: GREG KELLY, FOX NEWS: Look you do what you can do with what you are given I did the best that I could with my assignment covering the 2 nd brigade. I think overall if you have, what were there, 600 journalists embedded throughout, that is definitely a plus.
O/C: MAX ROBBINS, EMBEDDED REPORTER REPORTING, EMBEDDED JOURNALIST IN BASE, ROBBINS O/C, STILL WASHINGTON DC, TIMES SQUARE, SATELLITE ANIMATION,	O/C: MAX ROBBINS, EDITOR BROADCASTING AND CABLE MAGAZINE: By and large people who are covering this story who were at the frontlines actually doing the actual reporting did an admirable job, they were doing what they were send out to do. However, they don’t have ultimate control – the control is someplace else, the control might be back in Washington or in New York, or in edit bays in New York or Qatar.
GREG KELLY AT PANEL	SOT: GREG KELLY, FOX NEWS: Once this war started – we wanted the US to win... we got to know the soldiers and wanted them to be successful
9. SECTION:	

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NEWS BUSINESS AS SHOW BUSINESS	
AIR SHOT PENTAGON, NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ COVERAGE.	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IF THE PENTAGON HAD AN AGENDA, THE NETWORKS HAD ONE TOO. AND, IT WENT BEYOND ATTRACTING AUDIENCES.</u>
DANNY SCHECHTER STAND UP OUTSIDE NEWS BLDG, FOOTAGE OF SOLDIERS AT WAR	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: When I was in network news here at ABC, I watched the closing of foreign bureaus, the downgrading of documentaries, the dumbing down of news. There is nothing like the scary threat of WMD'S and a good war to provide the basis for action-oriented TV coverage
TIMES' SADDAM AND HITLER COVERS, STILL CLOSE UP BUSH, BOMBS GOING OFF IN IRAQ, GIVES IMPRESSION OF THE "BEST OF THE BOMBS" CHANNEL, SOLDIERS FIRING ARTILLERY	V/O DANNY SCHECHTER <u>TIME MAGAZINE'S SADDAM COVER WAS MODELED ON AN EARLIER HITLER COVER. PRESIDENT BUSH WAS PRESENTED AS AN AVENGING ANGEL.</u> <u>WAR IS ONE OF THOSE ACTION-ORIENTED SPECTACLES THAT TV NEWS LIVES FOR, AND THRIVES ON IN A POST JOURNALISM ERA.</u>
JON ALPERT O/C SHOWDOWN WITH SADDAM PROMO	O/C: JON ALPERT, FORMER NBC NEWS CONTRIBUTOR: All the networks wanted to have was a countdown to war, if you looked at every network it was virtually indistinguishable. Forty-eight hours to war, dun, dun, dun, showdown to Saddam.
URBAN WARFARE ANIMATION	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WITH ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE PENTAGON, THE NEWS NETWORKS FASHIONED THEIR COVERAGE TO MAXIMIZE PRODUCTION VALUES. TO MAKE IT EXCITING. TIME MAGAZINE CALLED THE APPROACH: "MILI-TAINMENT."</u> <u>JOURNALIST ROBERT PELTON DESCRIBES HOW IT WAS DONE:</u>
PELTON O/C BEST OF THE BOMBS FOOTAGE, PELTON O/C FOOTAGE DEMONSTRATING WHAT VERITE COVERAGE AND FOOTAGE LOOKS LIKE	SOT: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: I was in some of the initial phone meetings between New York and the people in the field, and this was being set up like a movie shoot. There was a channel called, 'Best of the Bombs.' That's exactly what it was called 'Best of the Bombs,' and every piece of good footage from any network would be tossed onto this feed, this is satellite feed, so if you're doing about, "Hi, I'm standing in the middle of nowhere and let's roll to the footage," you would have this feed that had only good explosions. Secondly, they told people to take the camera off the sticks. We want to have that cinema-verite look, you know- move it around, move it, we want to see where you are. We want you to walk and talk and make people feel you're in the middle of something ...

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<p>"ACTION " FIELD FOOTAGE, SOLDIERS LYING, SHOOTING AND RUNNING, EMBED CRAWLING WITH LIPSTICK</p> <p>CYRON: <u>"USE OF LIPSTICK AND HELMET MOUNTED CAMERAS ON COMBAT SORTIES IS APPROVED AND ENCOURAGED TO THE GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE."</u></p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THIS IS TRUE. A DEFENSE DEPARTMENT MEMO URGED MILITARY COMMANDERS TO ENCOURAGE ACTION COVERAGE QUOTE:</u></p> <p><u>"USE OF LIPSTICK AND HELMET MOUNTED CAMERAS ON COMBAT SORTIES IS APPROVED AND ENCOURAGED TO THE GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE."</u></p>
<p>REPORTER CRAWLING WITH LIPSTICK</p>	<p>O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: If you were to pick a generality, they were there for the big story. And keep in mind that Iraq is unusual, because in the early days of CNN, one of the most memorable images were people like Peter Arnett sitting on the roof top, calling the war like a football game</p>
<p>PETER ARNETT REPORTING</p>	<p>SOT: PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER: This is the sixth cruise missile to have come over our head in the last half-hour.</p>
<p>IRAQIS EXTINGUISHING FIRE, PELTON O/C, JOURNALIST STAND UP, CREW SETTING UP STAND UP, JOURNALIST STAND UP, PELTON O/C, JOURNALIST STAND UP, JOURNALIST IN HELICOPTER STAND UP, BOMBS GOING OFF, BEST OF BOMBS, JOURNALIST AT THE STAND UP</p>	<p>O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: The entire population of the planet focused on one journalist. So this was a wet dream for any journalist that went to Iraq. To be in that spot for a well known predicted war to happen.</p> <p>If you're the guy holding that microphone, and that thing happened behind you, that's what you're known for.</p> <p>You're not known for careful research for, for—it's the face. It's all about the face. And where that face is a measure of who you are.</p> <p>So they were looking to get bullets flying, bombs going off, and that microphone, and that face on TV</p> <p>SCRATCH</p>
<p>REPORTER LICKING LIPS, CORRESPONDENT IN FIELD WITH LIPSTICK, GUY GIVING THUMBS UP, GUY BY PARKED CAR, GIRL WATCHING MONITOR, BACK STAGE AT STANDUP PODIUM, BAD SIGNAL, RAINBOW, COUNTDOWN, NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ COVERAGE, ARABS SMOKING IN BAR WATCHING TV, SADDAM WALKING, BUSH SPEAKING RECORDED OFF THE TV. BUSH, SADDAM, BOXING IMAGES, SADDAM BUSH, BOX,</p>	<p>MUSIC: DANNY SCHECHTER/ POLAR LEVINE: "NEWS GOO"</p> <p>GOT REMOTE CONTROL TO CHOSE THE SHOW BUT THE MORE WE WATCH THE LESS WE KNOW IGNORANCE GROWS ON THE SPIRIT LIKE A TUMOR</p> <p>SCRATCH</p> <p>...TILL FREEDOM IS A RUMOR</p> <p>NEWS GOO- WHAT WE WANT TO KNOW NEWS GOO – WHAT WE THINK WE KNOW</p>

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<p>SADDAM, BUSH, THE REMOTE CONTROL, SCRATCH, BUSH BLAIR SHAKING HANDS, NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ COVERAGE, GIRLS DANCING IN STREET</p> <p>SCRATCH</p>	<p>GOT REMOTE CONTROL TO CHOSE THE SHOW BUT THE MORE WE WATCH THE LESS WE KNOW IGNORANCE GROWS ON THE SPIRIT LIKE A TUMOR</p> <p>SCRATCH</p>
<p>PELTON O/C</p>	<p>O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: ...and that’s what generates money. I mean you look at who moved up the food chain in the journalism world over the last four or five years, you have basically two fast tracks: you have entertainment or war. And entertainment - who cares. If you’re a journalist really you focus on war.</p>
<p>GRAPHIC ANIMATION OF MOAB BOMBS, GRAPHICS AND EYEWITNESS PROMO</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE NETWORKS WORKED OVERTIME TO PRODUCE SO-CALLED “VIDEO ENHANCEMENT” ELEMENTS LIKE GRAPHICS, PROMOS AND SPECIAL MUSIC.</u></p>
<p>EYEWITNESS PROMO</p>	<p>SOT: ABC NEWS PROMO: We want you to know that Eyewitness news is there.</p>
<p>EYEWITNESS PROMO W. JIM DOLAN, HELICOPTER ANIMATION, WAR IN IRAQ PROMO, GRAPHIC OF MISSILE IMPACT, NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ COVERAGE, EMBEDDED REPORTER STAND UP, MAP OF IRAQ, AIR FIGHTER GRAPHIC, BLACK/WHITE IMPACT SHOTS</p> <p>CYRON: <u>INTERNET PROMO</u> <u>KUMA.COM</u></p> <p>KUMA PROMOTIONAL VIDEO GAMES SHOTS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THEY WERE PREPARING FOR WHAT THEY CALLED “NEWS IMMERSION.”</u></p> <p><u>THEIR WAR WAS FOR, RATINGS AND REVENUES.</u></p> <p><u>A CNN GRAPHICS DESIGNER IN ATLANTA CONFIDED TO A FRIEND THAT HE WAS TOLD TO ‘SEX IT UP.’</u></p> <p><u>WAR COVERAGE SOON DEVELOPED ITS OWN ROUTINES---WITH ANCHORS TOSSING TO CONSTANT UPDATES FROM EMBED REPORTERS AND IN- STUDIO ANALYSIS BY NETWORK “GENERALS.”</u></p> <p><u>ONE RESULT: GLITZY ROUND THE CLOCK FAST-PACED COVERAGE THAT WAS OFTEN MISLEADING, INACCURATE AND RARELY CORRECTED—JUST MORE MILI-TAINMENT.</u></p> <p><u>THESE ENTERTAINMENT VALUES STIMULATED A DEMAND FOR EVEN MORE EXCITEMENT—FROM VIDEO GAME MAKERS – LIKE KUMAWAR.COM, WHO TURNED THE WAR INTO AN INTERACTIVE COMMERCIAL EXPERIENCE.</u></p> <p><u>THROUGH BRITISH EYES, THE US CHANNELS LACKED JOURNALISTIC DISTANCE</u></p>
<p>GARY YOUNGE ON NEW SCHOOL PANEL</p>	<p>SOT: GARY YOUNGE, THE GUARDIAN: By and large in the American networks, you would hear people</p>

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	<p>talking about "We." "We" as though the American, as if the network was actually in the war.</p>
<p>O/C JOHN KAMPFNER</p>	<p>O/C: JOHN KAMPFNER, PRODUCER, WAR SPIN, BBC: In the States, as far as I can ascertain, there is a presumption that politicians are right and honest and truthful. That is the default from which everything else operates.</p>
<p>NEWSPAPER FRONT PAGES</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>SOME UK JOURNALISTS LIKE JOHN PILGER AND ROBERT FISK OPPOSED THE WAR, OTHERS FELT CONSTRAINED</u></p>
<p>O/C JAKE LYNCH</p>	<p>O/C: JAKE LYNCH, FREELANCE REPORTER, BBC: If say, for example, you cease to base your news agenda on the words and deeds of official sources, of the Prime Minister, of the government and start to base it instead on gathering alternative perspectives, on gathering news from unconventional sources. Then you will be somehow exposing yourself to the risk that you will be accused of being biased.</p>
<p>NEWS PROMOS PROMOTING IRAQ WAR COVERAGE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>EVEN AS THE MILITARY ENCOURAGED ACTION COVERAGE, PENTAGON ADVISOR JOHN RENDON RECOGNIZED THE DANGERS</u></p>
<p>WAR IN IRAQ PROGRAM RENDON AT PANEL DISCUSSION</p>	<p>SOT: JOHN RENDON, PENTAGON ADVISOR: There is a convergence of content. News, information, and entertainment need to be separated. Right now there is a blurring of the lines on all three and if you could just think about it just in terms of how music comes up underneath news pieces, as a form of dramatization it changes the dynamic and if the vehicle that delivers this information is all the same, then the viewer, the listener, or the reader will find a hard time distinguishing between the three.</p>
<p>OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM PROMO, SOLDIERS UNLOADING FROM AIRCRAFT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>UNDAUNTED THE CHANNELS PRODUCED BRANDING LINERS. SOME TAKING THE GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN THEME—THE WAR FOR IRAQI FREEDOM--AS THEIR OWN.</u></p> <p><u>ONE PROPOSAL TO CALL THE WAR OPERATION IRAQI LIBERATION WAS DISCARDED BECAUSE THAT SPELLS OIL.</u></p>
<p>SOLDIERS RUNNING, SOLDIER SMOKING CIGAR, HELICOPTER FLYING BY DAWN, SOLDIERS AT POINTING AT MONITORS, COLIN POWELL AT PODIUM, RUMSFELD AND MYERS AT PENTAGON PODIUM, JETS TAKING OFF,</p>	<p>MUSIC: DAVID ROVIC SONG "O-I-L COLLAGE": It's Operation Iraqi Liberation Tell me what does that spell? Operation Iraqi Liberation: O.I.L</p>

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ANIMATION OF APACHE ATTACK, OIL PIPES, MAP ANIMATION OF IRAQ.	
10. SECTION: INFORMATION DOMINANCE	
DANNY’S AT GARDIER'S HOUSE	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: We’re about ten miles from the Pentagon, in Virginia, at the home of a retired Air Force colonel who’s been investigating the stories of the Iraq War, how they were manufactured, distorted and misrepresented by the media.
DANNY WALKING UP TO THE HOUSE STILLS OF GARDINER	O/C: SAM GARDINER, FORMER AIR FORCE COLONEL: When I heard things, I heard military guys say things about the Iraqis...there’s something wrong here. I’m Sam Gardiner. I’m a retired Air force colonel, and I had taught strategy and military operations at the National War College, the Air War College, and the Naval War College.
IN SAM GARDINER'S HOUSE GARDINER AND DANNY SCHECHTER LOOKING AT DOCUMENTS BUSH AT THE STATE OF THE UNION, COMBAT EXPLOSIONS, US MILITARY PATROLLING FROM TANK, SADDAM IN ARMCHAIR, TV SCREEN BLUR, EYES WATCHING TV	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>GARDINER DID A STUDY THAT READS LIKE THE PENTAGON PAPERS OF THE IRAQ WAR. HE AND OTHERS-- REVEALED HOW INFORMATION DOMINANCE PROMOTES STRATEGIC INFLUENCE. HOW IT DROVE THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION’S PRE-EMPTIVE WAR USING DECEPTIVE INFORMATION AS AN INTEGRAL COMPONENT OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL COMBAT. THIS GOES BEYOND JUST INFLUENCING WHAT WE THINK, IT AIMS AT CONTROLLING WHAT WE THINK ABOUT. CORPORATIONS SEEK MARKET SHARE; THIS ADMINISTRATION SOUGHT MIND SHARE.</u>
O/C SAM GARDINER	O/C: SAM GARDINER, FORMER AIR FORCE COLONEL: Every morning at 9:30 they would have the message phone call, and it would involve the White House Office of Global Communications, The Pentagon Press Office, a media advisor, the people at Central Command, and sometimes the people in the State Department. And their notion for that day was to coordinate the message, and after that they would talk to the Brits, so that the message in London matched the message in Washington.
O/C GARDINER	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: One message, one idea, push it out into the media.
O/C GARDINER	O/C: SAM GARDINER, FORMER AIR FORCE

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	<p>COLONEL: Right. Dominate today's message with . . . and you can almost identify by day what the message was.</p>
<p>JOURNALISTS ARRIVING AT THE DOHA MEDIA CENTER, PRESS BRIEFING IN DOHA, GENERALS AT THE STAKE OUT</p> <p>JOURNALISTS ASKING QUESTION</p> <p>WE LOVE OUR TROOPS SIGN, BROOKS AT THE STAKE OUT, WILKINSON AT PRESS BRIEFING, CLOSE UP OF WILKINSON IN ARMY CLOTHES, WHITE HOUSE HOME PAGE, GOP HOME PAGE, FLORIDA ORCHESTRATED ANTI VOTE RE-COUNT DEMONSTRATION, WILKINSON AT THE STAGED DEMO</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>EVERY DAY, THERE WAS LIVE COVERAGE FROM THE PENTAGON'S HI-TECH MEDIA CENTER IN DOHA BUILT BY A HOLLYWOOD SET DESIGNER.</u></p> <p><u>UNKNOWN TO MOST TV VIEWERS, THE WHITE HOUSE DIRECTLY STAGE MANAGED THE DOHA MEDIA CENTER THROUGH, JIM WILKINSON, A REPUBLICAN OPERATIVE WHO HAD WORKED FOR A RIGHT-WING CONGRESSMAN AND THEN HELPED RUN THE BUSH MEDIA OPERATION IN FLORIDA IN 2000.</u></p> <p><u>THAT STRATEGY INCLUDED STAGING EVENTS SUCH AS THIS ANTI-VOTE RECOUNT PROTEST IN MIAMI.</u></p> <p><u>IT LOOKED LIKE A PUBLIC PROTEST BUT IT WAS ACTUALLY LED BY RIGHTWING POLITICAL STAFFERS</u></p>
<p>WILKINSON AT THE STAGED DEMO, WILKINSON IN ARMY CLOTHES AT BRIEFING</p>	<p>SOT: HARVEY RICE, REPORTER, HOUSTON CHRONICLE: This is the guy they put in charge of the media operation; he's the guy that engineered it . . .he is the guy who thought about these things.</p>
<p>HARVEY RICE ON STAGE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>HOUSTON CHRONICLE REPORTER HARVEY RICE WATCHED HIM IN ACTION.</u></p>
<p>STILLS OF WILKINSON</p>	<p>SOT: HARVEY RICE, REPORTER, HOUSTON CHRONICLE: He was nothing more than a political commissar. I mean this is straight out of Stalin. And that's what he was there for. He was there to make sure the military and as he put it . . . He said: "I'm here to keep them on message" . . . So, he was running the information on the war like a political campaign.</p>
<p>CLOSE UP WILKINSON, NEW YORK OBSERVER ARTICLE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AFTER THE WAR WILKINSON WAS BROUGHT BACK INTO THE WHITE HOUSE AND THEN PICKED TO RUN MEDIA AT THE 2004 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.</u></p>
<p>PRESS BRIEFING DOHA JOURNALIST ASKING QUESTION, FOOTAGE FROM PRESS BRIEFING</p>	<p>SOT: NEWS BRIEFING, DOHA: Q: A missile attack on a residential section of Baghdad that killed 14 civilians, can you confirm that? A: Military spokesperson: We think it is absolutely possible that this may have been in fact an Iraqi missile that either came up and went down or . . .</p>

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<p>DOHA JOURNALISTS, MICHAEL WOLFF IN THE CROWD, JOURNALIST WRITING ON NOTE PAD, JOURNALISTS RAISING THEIR HANDS TO ASK QUESTIONS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WAR WATCHERS MAY REMEMBER MEDIA WRITER MICHAEL WOLFF CHALLENGING MEDIA BRIEFERS AT THE CENTRAL COMMAND.</u></p>
<p>SOT MICHAEL WOLFF AT DOHA</p>	<p>SOT: MICHAEL WOLFF, MEDIA COLUMNIST: Why should we stay, what’s the value to us for what we learn at this million-dollar press center?</p>
<p>MILITARY GUY MAKING SIGNS TO SILENCE SPEAKER</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WOLF WAS LATER TOLD TO SHUT THE FUCK UP BY A MILITARY BRIEFER.</u></p>
<p>MICHAEL WOLFF O/C</p>	<p>O/C: MICHAEL WOLFF, MEDIA COLUMNIST: Sometimes your jaw drops and it’s hard to figure out why are American journalists so, uh, maybe not even uncritical, self satisfied, I think is the word.</p>
<p>HARVEY RICE ON STAGE, BANK OF CAMERAS, PEOPLE WATCHING. LIGHTS TURNED ON. PEOPLE EATING AND WATCHING TELEVISION. TANK DRIVING. SOLDIERS MARCHING.</p> <p>HARVEY ON STAGE</p>	<p>SOT: HARVEY RICE, REPORTER, HOUSTON CHRONICLE: So the first day of the war, it's on CNN where they've got this bank of cameras there, and everybody goes in and they're watching these explosions and tanks rolling across and guys with M-16s, M-14s. And we go, is the war started? And these PR guys there says "I'm sorry, I can't talk to you about that, I don't want to endanger the lives of our boys." I said, "But it's on television."</p>
<p>O/C PELTON, GROUP OF JOURNALISTS EAGER TO INTERVIEW OFFICIAL IN DOHA. JOURNALISTS ATTENDING DOHA PRESS BRIEFING. DOHA PRESS BRIEFING. BROOKS SPEAKING AT STAKE OUT.</p> <p>PELTON O/C</p>	<p>O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: If you can give the media more content than they can handle and, as far away from the battlefield as possible, they will focus their energies where the source of that fire hose is. So, Doha is the center of the fire-hose. And the idea is, you simply have press conferences every day, and every once in awhile you throw a little tidbit—you hand out videotapes, free coffee, whatever. So that if you leave, you’re gonna miss the story that everybody else is covering.... Fire-hose coverage and fire hose delivery blocks out all the secondary sources.</p>
<p>O/C SAM GARDINER</p>	<p>O/C: SAM GARDINER, FORMER AIR FORCE COLONEL: My research of the threads of stories from the war, which takes it from the beginning through the end, the way they were created, the way they were used, the way they were repeated, that research leads me to say that there were 50 or 60 stories that were either created or manipulated for the purposes of distorting the truth.</p>
<p>TV SHOT OF SADDAM, STILLS OF BIN LADEN, JESSICA LYNCH</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>GARDINER CITED FALSE STORIES, LIKE THE LINK BETWEEN SADDAM AND AL QAEDA, AS WELL AS THE JESSICA LYNCH STORY, WHICH THE BBC ALSO</u></p>

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	<u>DEBUNKED.</u>
JESSICA LYNCH PICTURE	O/C: DANNY SHECHTER: What were the two narratives?
O/C JOHN KAMPFNER NEWS PAPER ARTICLES ABOUT JESSICA LYNCH, US DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PROMO RESCUE VIDEO, FOOTAGE FROM HOSPITAL, KAMPFNER O/C	O/C: JOHN KAMPFNER, PRODUCER, WAR SPIN, BBC: In the American narrative is well known as the great hero, the great heroine who was captured under fire, who was then taken to hospital, potentially mistreated. American special forces went in, all guns blazing, rescued her against hostile fire. There was no resistance; the Iraqi doctors had been caring for her, given the circumstances as well as could have been. And, a lot of the more dramatic elements of the story may have been embellished.
O/C SAM GARDINER, RUMSFELD AT PRESS BRIEFING	O/C: SAM GARDINER, FORMER AIR FORCE COLONEL: That story ended up hanging around for about a week, and that's why she's called a hero. Well it turns out all of that was wrong. When Rumsfeld was asked about this the next day he refused to comment on it, although I know he knew that she had not been shot, stabbed, and emptied her weapon on the bad guy. So it hung around.
DRAWINGS OF CLUSTER BOMBS, MISSILE STOCK PILE, STILL OF US SOLDIERS LAUNCHING MISSILE, MIMED CHILD IN HOSPITAL BED	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>INFORMATION DOMINANCE REQUIRES CENSORSHIP—LITTLE ATTENTION WAS PAID TO US WEAPONS THAT CAUSED MASS DESTRUCTION, LIKE LEGALLY PROHIBITED CLUSTER BOMBS THAT TARGET CIVILIANS</u>
CYRON: <u>VOICE OF RENE HORNE, SABC</u> GRAPHICS OF CLUSTER BOMBS	SOT: RENE HORNE, SABC It was a cluster bomb. The bomb would multiple many bombs dropped from an aircraft on targeted areas....
GRAPHICS OF CLUSTER BOMBS CYRON: <u>"RAINING PLANES" FILMED IN BAGHDAD, 2003</u> FOOTAGE FROM BAGHDAD HOSPITAL	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>SOUTH AFRICAN VIEWERS LEARNED ABOUT HOW CLUSTER BOMBS WORKED—AND WHAT DAMAGE THEY CAUSED.</u> <u>AN UNDERREPORTED FACT: HALF OF IRAQ'S POPULATION IS UNDER THE AGE OF 15—THESE YOUNG PEOPLE BECAME A PRIMARY TARGET THIS IS WHAT BAGDAD'S PEDIATRIC HOSPITAL LOOKED LIKE FLOOR AFTER FLOOR OF CLUSTER BOMB SURVIVORS. THIS WAS FILMED NOT BY A NETWORK BUT BY INDEPENDENT FILMMAKER PATRICK DILLON.</u> <u>HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORTED CLUSTER WEAPONS CAUSED HUNDREDS OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES LIKE THESE.</u>

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<p>AIRCRAFT TAKING OFF, EXPLOSION,</p> <p>ARD TV FOOTAGE OF RADIOACTIVE US TANKS</p>	<p><u>THERE WAS EXTENSIVE USE OF NAPALM-LIKE MARK-77 FIREBOMBS. IT WAS DENIED AT FIRST BUT THEN ADMITTED.</u></p> <p><u>MORE ONEROUS WAS THE ALMOST TOTAL BLACKOUT ON THE USE OF RADIOACTIVE DEPLETED URANIUM, WHICH HARDENS ANTI-TANK WEAPONS—THIS IS ESPECIALLY IRONIC IN LIGHT OF WASHINGTON’S CONSTANT CLAIMS OF AN IRAQI NUCLEAR THREAT.</u></p> <p><u>THE ISSUE WAS COVERED OVERSEAS: ARNIM STAUTH, A GERMAN JOURNALIST DOCUMENTED THIS PROLIFERATION IN AN EMMY-WINNING REPORT FOR A.R.D.. IN GERMANY:</u></p>
<p>FOOTAGE OF RADIOACTIVE US TANKS</p>	<p>SOT: ARD GERMAN TELEVISION: Q: Reporter: Are you aware that this tank is contaminated with radiation? A Soldier: No, it isn’t radioactive, replied the soldier Q: Reporter: but we have measured it A Soldier: No it is not radioactive, not this tank Q: Reporter: It was destroyed by depleted uranium ammunition A Soldier: sorry, but I have to get back to work</p>
<p>INSIDE THE COALITION MEDIA CENTER</p> <p>GARDINER O/C, VARIOUS BIN LADEN SPEAKING, KNIGHT RIDDER POLL</p> <p>CYRON: <u>KNIGHT RIDDER POLL:</u> <u>AMERICAN REACTION: +/- 3 PERCENT</u> <u>WHERE SOME OF THE 9-11 HIJACKERS IRAQIS?</u> <u>YES: 42 %</u> <u>NO: 42%</u> <u>DON’T KNOW: 16 %</u></p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE BBC TOOK VIEWERS TO A BACK ROOM AT THE COALITION MEDIA CENTER. ON THE WALL A LIST OF SUBJECTS BRIEFERS WERE ORDERED TO AVOID. AMONG THEM WAS DU, OR DEPLETED URANIUM.</u></p> <p><u>THERE HAS BEEN A NUMBER OF STUDIES OF MISPERCEPTIONS BY VIEWERS THAT MANY AMERICANS BELIEVE THERE WAS AN AL-QAEDA – IRAQ CONNECTION. THAT MANY AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT THERE WERE IRAQI HIJACKERS ATTACKING THE WORLD TRADE CENTER</u></p>
<p>GARDINER O/C, TV RECORDING OF BUSH SPEAKING, SADDAM SITTING, BUSH SPEAKING, WTC COLLAPSING, BUSH SPEAKING, GARDINER O/C</p>	<p>O/C: SAM GARDINER, FORMER AIR FORCE COLONEL: I think that is part of the campaign it was a very conscious effort to use terms that would have people connect in their minds Iraq and the incident of 9/11. You imply that these are the same kind of people and if they’re the same kind of people they must have had something to do with it. Had they done an hours worth of research they could have sad a paragraph in their story that said that the Pentagon says this – <i>however</i> – there were no however paragraphs.</p>
<p>PANORAMA OF PENTAGON, HOLLYWOOD SIGN, RENDON AT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE NEW INFORMATION DOMINANCE STRATEGY</u></p>

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PANEL	<u>WORKED THANKS TO ADVICE FROM MARKETING EXPERTS, HOLLYWOOD PRODUCERS AND COMMUNICATIONS SPECIALISTS LIKE JOHN RENDON WHO WERE MONITORING THE MEDIA WORLDWIDE. THEIR JOB WAS TO KEEP THE PUBLIC WELL PROPAGANDIZED.</u>
RENDON AT MEDIA PANEL, JOURNALISTS WRITING ON NOTE PAD	SOT: JOHN RENDON, PENTAGON ADVISER There were five wars in Iraq. There really was the reality of combat operations from the air, on the ground and from the sea. The second war was the war the United States saw, the third war was the war that Europe saw. The fourth war was the war that Arab audiences saw. And the fifth war was the war the rest of the world saw. And as we monitored that in real time, we found that none of them were ever in alignment.
ELECTRONIC MAP OF IRAQ, NEWS PROMO, CIA BUILDING, RENDON AT PANEL, RUMSFELD AT THE STAKE OUT, STAUBER O/C	O/C: JOHN STAUBER, AUTHOR "WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION": When you look at the war in Iraq it's at times impossible to separate media, CIA, public relations firms, government propaganda. It all came together.
11. SECTION: THE FOX NEWS EFFECT	
SHOTS OF BILL O'REILLY ON MOINITORS	SOT: BILL O'REILLY, FOX: So what is the problem here, Danny?
FOX NEWS WITH BILL O'REILLY, DANNY SCHECHTER INSIDE FOX NEWS, TV SCREEN "CONSPIRACY THEORIES", MAKE-UP B-ROLL	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: I'm at the Fox News Channel, inside Fox and Friends, a program I monitor every morning -- that's been the most extreme in its coverage of the war. I'm waiting for the make-up lady to come, I going the air to talk about a conspiracy that happened forty years ago-- the Kennedy Assassination. I made a film about that. Fox is not interested really in the conspiracy that happening now in terms of the media, the military and the administration, but that's not the subject that not the subject that that they have me here to talk about. The past somehow can be handled safely, the present is another matter.
WALKING DOWN THE FOX NEWS "BUNKER," CHANGE TO FOX NEWS PRODUCTION CENTER SHOT OF DANNY GETTING MAKE-DONE MAKEUP SESSION DANNY DRYING HIS HAIR FOX AND FRIENDS GRAPHICS HAIRSTYLING	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: You know what they say? That FOX is not really Fair and Balanced, that it's not even news. Do you watch it O/C: MAKEUP WOMAN: No... O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: No? O/C: MAKEUP WOMAN: . Don't scrunch your face! O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: I'm sorry.... You are the third person I'm talking to who doesn't

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	<p>watch it and you work here...</p> <p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: You just deal with what's on top of people's heads; you don't deal with what 's in their heads, right?</p>
<p>TEASER, DANNY FOX AND FRIENDS</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER Truth does have a way of coming out. And sometimes it's suppressed for a long time, new documents emerge, historians reveal things that weren't revealed before. I believe so; I believe the American people deserve the truth.</p>
<p>DANNY SCHECHTER INSIDE FOX AND FRIENDS, THE O'RIELLY FACTOR PRODUCTION CENTER, 4 SCREENS WITH BILL O'REILLY, BILL O'REILLY ANCHORING, O'REILLY ANCHORING</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>I HAD HOPED TO CONFRONT BILL O'REILLY BUT HE WASN'T THERE HE IS ONE OF THE LOUD MOUTH TALKSHOW HOSTS THAT DEFINES FOX'S ANGRY WHITE MAN ATTITUDE – WELL CALCULATED AS A TOOL OF POLARIZATION POLITICS—WELL PRACTICED ON RIGHT WING RADIO. AFTER A YEAR OF UNCRITICAL REPORTING, TO HIS CREDIT, HE ADMITTED THAT THE WAS WRONG ABOUT WMD'S.</u></p>
<p>DANNY SCHECHTER SPEAKING FROM INSIDE FOX NEWS</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY: Ladies and Gentlemen of the jury I have come, not to bury Rupert Murdoch, but to praise him!</p>
<p>NEWS TEASE, INSIDE STUDIO</p>	<p>SOT: FOX JINGLE: FAIR AND BALANCED COVERAGE, THE FOX NEWS CHANNEL!</p>
<p>SHOTS OF NEWSROOMS,</p> <p>CYRON: <u>THE ROOTS OF FOX NEWS CHANNEL'S DAY-TO-DAY ON-AIR BIAS ARE ACTUAL AND DIRECT...</u></p> <p>CYRON: <u>THEY COME IN THE FORM OF AN EXECUTIVE MEMO DISTRIBUTED ELECTRONICALLY EACH MORNING, ADDRESSING...</u></p> <p>CYRON: <u>WHAT STORIES WILL BE COVERED, AND OFTEN, SUGGESTING HOW THEY SHOULD BE COVERED. THE MEMO IS THE BIBLE."</u> <u>- CHARLIE REINA</u></p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>FOX NEWS MAY SEEM A FUN PLACE TO ITS FANS AND A CARTOON TO ITS CRITICS—BUT ITS IDEOLOGICAL ZEAL IS SERIOUS AND CAREFULLY CALCULATED. AS LONG TIME FORMER PRODUCER CHARLIE REINA REVEALED ON A MEDIA WEBSITE:</u></p> <p><u>QUOTE: "THE ROOTS OF FOX NEWS CHANNEL'S DAY-TO-DAY ON-AIR BIAS ARE ACTUAL AND DIRECT...</u></p> <p><u>THEY COME IN THE FORM OF AN EXECUTIVE MEMO DISTRIBUTED ELECTRONICALLY EACH MORNING, ADDRESSING ...</u></p> <p><u>WHAT STORIES WILL BE COVERED, AND OFTEN, SUGGESTING HOW THEY SHOULD BE COVERED. THE MEMO IS THE BIBLE."</u></p>

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<p>NEWS TEASE AND JINGLE</p> <p>ANCHORS REPORTING, EMBEDDED OLIVER NORTH REPORTING, ARCHIVE FOOTAGE OF COURT ROOM WITH OLIVER NORTH</p>	<p><u>FOX'S RESPONSE: "THIS CHARGE IS UNFOUNDED. PEOPLE WANT TO WORK HERE."</u></p> <p><u>FOX COVERAGE INCLUDED OVERLY DRAMATIC REPORTS BY GERALDO RIVERA AND IRAN-CONTRA CONSPIRATOR, COLONEL OLIVER NORTH.</u></p>
<p>ARCHIVE FOOTAGE OF COURT ROOM WITH OLIVER NORTH</p>	<p>SOT: OLIVER NORTH, FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF: I will tell you right now council and all the members here gathered that I misled the congress.</p>
<p>EMBEDDED OLIVER NORTH INTERVIEWING SOLDIER, US TANKS PATROLLING IRAQI DIRT ROADS,</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>COLONEL NORTH'S WAR STORIES WERE BLATANT EXERCISES IN CHEERLEADING AND DENOUNCED THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT.</u></p>
<p>US TANKS PATROLLING IRAQI DIRT ROADS</p>	<p>SOT: FOX NEWS OLIVER NORTH UNIDENTIFIED: This is the city garbage dump UNIDENTIFIED: I wonder why all the peace protesters never protest this kind of stuff ... FOX: They could be planning to attack westerners.</p>
<p>NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ COVERAGE.</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WHAT WAS CALLED THE "FOX EFFECT" DROVE ALL THE TV COVERAGE TO THE RIGHT—NO NETWORK WANTED TO BE ACCUSED OF BEING UNPATRIOTIC.</u></p>
<p>TOM BROKAW ANCHORING</p>	<p>SOT: TOM BROKAW, MSNBC: Arnett gave an interview to Iraqi television in which he criticized American war planning and said his reports about civilian casualties and Iraqi resistance was encouraging to Anti-war protestors in America.</p>
<p>PETER ARNETT ON IRAQI TELEVISION</p>	<p>O/C PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER: The American War Planners misjudged the determination of the Iraqis...</p>
<p>ARNETT ON IRAQI TV</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>VETERAN CORRESPONDENT PETER ARNETT WAS TARGETED BY FOX NEWS FOR HIS DECISION TO SAY ON IRAQI TV WHAT HE WAS ALREADY SAYING ON MSNBC</u></p>
<p>ARNETT ON IRAQI TV, ARNETT O/C</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: If I'm wrong, you didn't go on Iraqi TV to say, "I support Saddam Hussein" did you? You didn't endorse one side or the other?</p>

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<p>O/C ARNETT</p> <p>CARTOONS: ARNETT IN BED WITH SADDAM</p> <p>ARNETT O/C</p>	<p>O/C: PETER ARNETT, WAR REPORTER: Of course I didn't endorse one side. It was a part of the hysteria that developed surrounding this war. Now there is a degree of hysteria about every war that America participates in, gets involved in. This was part of a hysterical reaction and I was basically, you know, swept up in that incredible explosion of anger. There were about 157 cartoons of me in the newspaper the next morning, most of them in bed with Saddam Hussein.</p> <p>Management called up and says the pressure is too great, we've had thousands of e-mails and calls and its time; we have to drop you...</p>
<p>INTERNET STILLS OF FREE REPUBLIC'S HOME PAGE</p> <p>FREEPER'S EMAIL REVEALING THEY "FREEPED" ARNETT'S BOSSES AND GOT HIM FIRED</p> <p>CLIP OF AN ANCHOR IN FRONT OF A "TROOP WALL"</p> <p>PROMOTIONAL STILL OF PHILL DONAHUE, AMERICA AT WAR TEASER, NEWS TEASE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WHAT I'VE LEARNED AND HAS GONE UNREPORTED UNTIL NOW IS THAT THOSE EMAILS WERE NOT FROM THE PUBLIC AT LARGE BUT PART OF AN ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN BY FREE REPUBLIC. A RIGHT WING ONLINE NETWORK. "WE WERE FREEPED."</u> <u>AN OFFICIAL AT NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC TOLD ME EXPLAINING THAT 20,000 EMAILS CALLING ARNETT "A TRAITOR" BOMBARDED THEIR EXECUTIVES WHO THEN PANICKED AND DISCHARGED HIM. THE FREEPERS BOASTED OF THEIR SUCCESS.</u></p> <p><u>BEFORE THE WAR MSNBC FIRED POPULAR ANTI-WAR TALK SHOW HOST PHIL DONAHUE, REPLACING HIM WITH STRIDENT RIGHT-WINGERS IN A MOVE TO OUTFOX FOX. AN MSNBC EXECUTIVE CALLED FOX: "THE PATRIOTISM POLICE."</u></p>
<p>ARNETT O/C</p>	<p>O/C PETER ARNETT, WAR CORRESPONDENT: The rest of the world looked at my firing you, know, as a, as another example of American media caving into government.</p> <p>SCRATCH</p>
<p>NEWS PROMOS PROMOTING IRAQ WAR COVERAGE</p>	<p>SOT: FOX NEWS BITES: What about Al Jazeera publishing those gruesome pictures of the dead soldiers? I think there was something that is culturally Arab about that. News: fair, balanced, and unafraid.</p>
<p>PROMO, CBS PROMO FOR EVENING NEWS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>BUT ALL OF THE NETWORKS MORE OR LESS SIGNED ON TO THE OFFICIAL RATIONALE</u></p>
<p>ANCHOR</p>	<p>SOT: FOX NEWS CAST: Terrorist could be planning...</p>
<p>SHOTS OF PIPA KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL STUDY</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>A STUDY FOUND WIDESPREAD MISPERCEPTIONS AMONG VIEWERS. THE PEOPLE WITH THE MOST</u></p>

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<p>CYRON: FREQUENCY OF MISPERCEPTIONS <u>FOX 80 %</u> <u>CBS 71%</u> <u>ABC 61 %</u> <u>NBC 55%</u> <u>CNN 55 %</u> <u>PBS 23 %</u></p> <p>SHOT OF PAUL RUTHERFORD'S WEAPONS OF MASS PERSUASION</p> <p>CYRON: “<u>MOST AMERICANS WERE NOT AWARE OF HOW ONE-SIDED AND BIASED THE COVERAGE HAD BEEN. THEY BELIEVED THE NEWS MEDIA HAD SERVED THE COUNTRY WELL.</u>”</p>	<p><u>MISINFORMATION WATCHED THE FOX NEWS CHANNEL. ALTHOUGH VIEWERS OF OTHER CHANNELS WERE ALSO RECEPTIVE TO INACCURACIES. PUBLIC BROADCASTING VIEWERS AND LISTENERS WERE MISLED THE LEAST.</u></p> <p><u>THIS CANADIAN STUDY HIGHLIGHTS ANOTHER MISPERCEPTION ABOUT MEDIA ITSELF</u></p> <p><u>QUOTE. “MOST AMERICANS WERE NOT AWARE OF HOW ONE-SIDED AND BIASED THE COVERAGE HAD BEEN. THEY BELIEVED THE NEWS MEDIA HAD SERVED THE COUNTRY WELL.”</u></p>
<p>TV SHOT OF BUSH SPEAKING</p>	<p>SOT: PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: Nothing like this has happened...</p>
<p>WAR IN IRAQ PROMO WITH VARIOUS CORRESPONDENTS</p>	<p>CNN SOT: The war in Iraq continues, and no one takes you closer than CNN live.</p>
<p>WAR IN IRAQ PROMO WITH VARIOUS CORRESPONDENTS, WAR TEASE, LIVE NEWS WITH ARON BROWN</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IN THIS WAR WHAT HAD ONCE BEEN KNOWN AS THE CNN EFFECT HAD FADED BUT CNN WAS STILL A NEWS LEADER. I LEARNED THAT CNN MOUNTED TWO NEWS TEAMS. ONE FOR THE U.S. CHANNEL AND ONE FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD. ON CNN INTERNATIONAL. WAS IT JUST DIFFERENT STROKES FOR DIFFERENT FOLKS?</u></p>
<p>CNN'S BILL HEMMER</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Explain to me why CNN had one type of coverage for America and one type of coverage for the rest of the world.</p>
<p>O/C BILL HEMMER, WAR IN IRAQ PROMO FOOTAGE OF TANKS, ANCHORS WITH TANKS IN THE BACKGROUND, CITY SHOT.</p>	<p>O/C: BILL HEMMER, CNN REPORTER: Um, I'm not so sure it was different. The content was the same, the presentation sometimes is different. Um, American audiences have certain expectations of how the news is given to them.</p>
<p>CLIP OF RYM BRAHIMI REPORTING FROM JORDAN</p> <p>O/C RYM BRAHIMI</p>	<p>SOT: RYM BRAHIMI REPORTING, CNN.</p> <p>O/C: RYM BRAHIMI, CNN CORRESPONDENT: People aren't gonna hang out on the screen forever and watch your long explanations. They want to know quickly what happened because they have a job to do too. Our job is to give them that.</p>
<p>O/C RIZ KHAN</p>	<p>O/C: RIZ KHAN, FORMER CNN INTERNATIONAL</p>

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	<p>ANCHOR: For me it's a huge difference being able to get international news. One of the benefits I had living in Atlanta was I was there in the heart of an international newsroom. As soon as I stepped outside, domestic media never gave me that. It's a real shame, actually. Especially for the world's most powerful nation.</p>
12. SECTION: THE POST-WAR WAR	
SHOTS OF HIGHWAYS, THE APPROACH TO BAGHDAD, IRAQI KIDS AND US SOLDIERS IN CITY, BURNED OUT BUILDING, SUN RISE OVER BAGHDAD,	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IN JUST THREE WEEKS, THE US MILITARY SEIZED BAGHDAD WITH A SMALL ARMY OF JOURNALISTS TAGGING ALONG.</u></p> <p><u>ROBERT PELTON, OPERATING UNILATERALLY NOW, OBSERVED THE NETWORK NEWS OPERATIONS:</u></p>
FOOTAGE OF HOTEL LOBBY, PELTON O/C	<p>SOT: POBERT YOUNG PELTON, UNILATERAL JOURNALIST: When you're a journalist in Baghdad, you live in a fancy hotel, you're hooked to the internet all the time. You've got people in New York making decisions for you, sending you story ideas that you are gonna go out and do.</p> <p>You get up in the morning, you got a driver, you got an air-conditioned GMC you've got a driver, translator, a cameraman, you got a security guy, a little kind of British guy with tattoos on his arms, and off you go to shoot the story. You know you put your vest on, you get your sound bytes, you come back in time to cut it together, then the talking head does the stand-up, then boom off it goes.</p>
FOOTAGE OF SADDAM STATUE COMING DOWN	<p>SOT: SOME REPORTER: Goodbye Saddam!</p>
<p>CYRON: <u>APRIL 9, 2003</u></p> <p>FOOTAGE OF SADDAM STATUE COMING DOWN</p> <p>PHOTO MONTAGE OF BUSH'S MISSION ACCOMPLISHED STUNT</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THANKS TO A RECENTLY RELEASED US ARMY REPORT WE NOW KNOW, THIS MOST DRAMATIC IMAGE OF THE IRAQ WAR WAS ENGINEERED BY A PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS UNIT THAT MADE IT SEEM LIKE IT WAS SPONTANEOUS. MANY TV OUTLETS REPORTED THE STUNT AS EVIDENCE OF THE FREEDOM WHICH WAS NOW SAID TO BE IRAQS.'</u></p> <p><u>"MISSION ACCOMPLISHED" PROCLAIMED PRESIDENT BUSH IN A SCENE OUT OF THE MOVIE "TOP GUN."</u></p>
PHOTO MONTAGE OF BUSH'S MISSION ACCOMPLISHED STUNT, TOM RICKS	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WASHINGTON POST MILITARY REPORTER TOM RICKS DISAGREED WITH THIS ASSESSMENT:</u></p>
TOM RICKS	<p>SOT: TOM RICKS, WASHINGTON POST: I think the single biggest media failure was a failure that the Bush administration committed and the media committed</p>

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	<p>together which is that we tore down the goalposts at halftime. On April 9th we said game over. It turns out the game was half over.</p>
<p>US SOLDIERS HIDING IN GRASS, SOLDIERS SHOOTING, CARS BURNING, HEAVILY ARMED SOLDIERS WALKING, STEET FOOTAGE BAGHDAD, IRAQIS ON LOADED TRUCK LEAVING BAGHDAD, LOOTING FOOTAGE, SOLDIERS FIRING FROM THE MARSH, CARS BURNING, LOOTING, ANGRY IRAQI CROWD, TV JOURNALISTS SHOOTING THE ANGRY STREET CROWD, US TANKS IN BAGHDAD STREETS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE POST INVASION STORYLINE QUICKLY CHANGED FROM LIBERATION, TO OCCUPATION, TO RESISTANCE.</u></p> <p><u>THERE WAS MASSIVE LOOTING.</u></p> <p><u>THERE WERE PRO SADAM PROTESTS AND DAILY ATTACKS ON US SOLDIERS. ALMOST NONE OF THE INVASION COVERAGE ANTICIPATED THIS POST-WAR CHAOS.</u></p> <p><u>WHILE SOME TV CREWS REMAINED, MOST OF THE EMBEDS WERE WITHDRAWN, UPSETTING MILITARY COMMANDERS LIKE SCOTT RUDDER.</u></p>
<p>SCOTT RUDDER O/C</p>	<p>O/C: SCOTT RUDDER, MILITARY COMMANDER: You know, 15 April when everyone left, a new breed came over. These individuals were not part of the war, very excited about getting the information, getting it there. In the Sheraton Hotel as well as the Palestine Hotel, you can imagine huddles of reporters around high paid taxi cab drivers to launch out, to get the story, to show up in your unit without any type of, any type of coordination or efforts. You can imagine them huddling around a bearcat scanner for the bad news</p>
<p>MISSILE HEADS</p>	<p>VO: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE SEARCH FOR WMD'S WAS GETTING NOWHERE FAST.</u></p>
<p>SOLDIER WITH A COKE TIN</p>	<p>SOT: SOLDIER: No one asked me to come here and fight for someone's oil... You know what, cause half my company doesn't even own a car. You know why we came here and fought? We came here and fought for all the beautiful ladies back home and an ice-cold coke. That's why we're kicking off on somebody's butt. Thanks a lot</p>
<p>WMD SPELLED, NEWS HEADLINES, CNN FOOTAGE OF BUSH, PRINT HEADLINES, IRAQI STREET FOOTAGE</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>BY YEAR'S END, WHEN NO WMD'S WERE FOUND, OFFICIALS CALLED IT A MOOT POINT AND SOUGHT TO CHANGE THE SUBJECT. BY THEN THE POST WAR CLAIMED MORE AMERICAN LIVES THAN THE INVASION.</u></p> <p><u>STEPHEN MARSHALL OF GUERILLA NEWS NETWORK WENT TO BAGHDAD IN OCTOBER 2003.</u></p>
<p>O/C MARSHALL, US SOLDIERS GUARDING HOUSES, IRAQI CHILDREN DRINKING WATER, TANK WITH MOSQUE BACKDROP</p>	<p>O/C: STEPHEN MARSHALL, GUERILLA NEWS NETWORK: Each of the major networks sort of has one crew who travel around from bombsite to bombsite. ... It's all sort of guarded by</p>

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	<p>the military with huge checkpoints and you know, concrete barriers; which doesn't give them the opportunity to cover what I would call the Arab street or you know, the true sort of experience of the Iraqi people.</p>
FOOTAGE OF IRAQI STREETS	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE REPORTING FROM IRAQ QUICKLY DEGENERATED INTO A CATALOGUE OF INCIDENTS.</u></p>
IRAQI STREET FOOTAGE, MARSHAL O/C, PHOTO JOURNALISTS AT WORK	<p>SOT: STEPHEN MARSHALL, GUERILLA NEWS NETWORK: What's really happening now is that you have a situation where there's a bombing, a suicide bombing, say at the Baghdad Hotel, where we were at and all of a sudden everyone gets in their truck and whips over there with their security guards and everyone is on scene.</p> <p>Most of the people there are sort of adventure journalists. They're the guys who, you know, really they're stringers who get paid quite a lot of money to go work in these countries, and they are simply there to get the best pictures they can. And in many ways I found it to be very cynical. We met a lot of photographers and shooters who, were really there, and only wanted to find the next disaster... get there on time, get the right footage, get back to the Palestine hotel and start drinking beer.</p> <p>You know, really in Iraq, it's the, the truism has never been more absolute that "if it bleeds it leads." The only thing they want to get out of Iraq are bloody civilians, or, in the best-case scenario, military officials or military, or soldiers who have been hit by bombs. That's the images they want to get, which is ironic, because for the administration, those are the worse types of images.</p>
FOOTAGE OF HOUSE, TIME MAGAZINE JESUS AND SADDAM COVER, NEWS REPORTING ON SADDAM'S CAPTURE	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: AND THEN SADDAM HUSSEIN WAS CAPTURED—TIME MAGAZINE TOOK JESUS OFF OF ITS COVER AND PUT SADDAM ON—EVERY NETWORK PLAYED IT BIG —AS IF IT WAS THE SECOND COMING.</p>
BREMMER PRESS CONFERENCE	<p>SOT: AMBASSADOR L. PAUL BREMER III: Ladies and gentlemen. We got him.</p>
BREMMER PRESS CONFERENCE, THE CAPTURE OF SADDAM FOOTAGE, MAP OF IRAQ, FOOTAGE OF SADDAM'S HOLE	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE FOOTAGE WAS SUPPLIED BY THE PENTAGON IT WAS A MAJOR PROPAGANDA COUP FOR WASHINGTON EVEN THOUGH IT WAS LATER REPORTED IN THE REGION THAT IT WAS THE KURDS. NOT THE US MILITARY WHO FIRST FOUND THE IRAQI LEADER IN THAT HOLE.</u></p>
FOOTAGE OF HOLE	<p>SOT: CNN: Inside a small wall compound...</p>

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<p>PROMOTION OF PROGRAM FOCUSING ON TORTURE</p>	<p>ON SCREEN GRAPHICS: 60 minutes: This is a picture of an Iraqi prisoner of war.</p>
<p>TORTURE IMAGES</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE PORNOGRAPHY OF VIOLENCE TOOK AN UNEXPECTED TURN WHEN THESE PHOTOS SURFACED SHOWING ABUSES BY US SOLDIERS OF DETAINEES IN A NOTORIOUS IRAQI GULAG. CBS BROKE THE STORY IN LATE APRIL 2004. BUT ALSO HOLDING IT UP AT THE PENTAGON’S REQUEST FOR TWO WEEKS. THEIR REPORT PERMITTED A US GENERAL TO SHIFT BLAME ON TO A FEW INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT EXPLORING THE SYSTEMATIC ABUSE DOCUMENTED IN A MILITARY INVESTIGATION.</u></p>
<p>GENERAL MARK KEMMEL</p>	<p>SOT: GENERAL MARK KEMMEL: We are appalled as well, these are our fellow soldiers, these are people we work with every day – they represent us. They wear the same uniform as us. And they let their fellow soldiers down.</p>
<p>ANCHOR REPORTING ON WAR, TORTURE STILLS</p> <p>CYRON: <u>AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AT ABU GHRAIB PRISON, JULY 2003</u></p> <p>SHOTS OUTSIDE THE PRISON</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>CBS’S REPORT AIRED IN THE END OF APRIL.... BY EARLY JULY, THE PENTAGON HAD STILL NOT RELEASED ITS FULL INVESTIGATION AND TORTURE VIDEOS.... THE PRESS WAS NO LONGER PRESSING THEM TO DO SO.</u></p> <p><u>WHY DID IT TAKE SO LONG FOR THIS STORY TO SURFACE I LATER FOUND THIS VIDEO OF THE SAME PRISON SHOT BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN JULY, 2003. THEY WERE ALLEGING TORTURE THEN.</u></p>
<p>OUTSIDE THE PRISON</p>	<p>SOT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATOR: We have documented or heard allegations of mistreatment or torture of prisoners</p>
<p>TORTURE STILLS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>WHILE MOST OF THE WORLD WAS SHOCKED BY THE PICTURES, ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTERS WERE MINIMIZING THE WELL-DOCUMENTED TORTURE.</u></p>
<p>TORTURE STILL</p> <p>CYRON: <u>PHOTO CREDIT</u> <u>WASHINGTON POST</u></p> <p><u>VOICE OF RADIO HOST RUSH</u> <u>LIMBAUGH</u></p>	<p>SOT: RADIO HOST RUSH LIMBAUGH: Caller: It was like a hazing fraternity prank, to stack up naked... Rush: Exactly – exactly my point.</p>
<p>CYRON: <u>“WE DON’T DO BODY COUNTS.” –</u> <u>GENERAL TOMMY FRANKS</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p> <p><u>“We don’t do body counts.”</u></p>

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<p><u>US CENTRAL COMMAND</u></p>	<p>- <u>General Tommy Franks</u> <u>US Central Command</u></p>
<p>MEMORIAL FOOTAGE BUSH WALKS WITH HAND ON HEART CYRON: <u>COALITION CASUALTIES: 1168+</u> <u>SOURCE CNN, SEPTEMBER 2004</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>
<p>MEMORIAL FOOTAGE CYRON: <u>COALITION WOUNDED: 7000+</u> <u>- SOURCE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, SEPTEMBER 2004</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>
<p>MEMORIAL FOOTAGE CYRON: <u>OVERALL IRAQI SOLDIERS DEAD: 7,600 - 10,800</u> <u>- SOURCE PROJECT ON DEFENSE ALTERNATIVES, SEPTEMBER 2004</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>
<p>MEMORIAL FOOTAGE CYRON: <u>IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES: 100,000</u> <u>- SOURCE THE LANCET, BRITISH MEDICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 2004</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>
<p>CYRON: MEMORIAL FOOTAGE <u>COST OF CONQUEST: \$ 136,069,989,152</u> <u>- SOURCE WWW.COSTOFWAR.COM, SEPTEMBER 20, 2004</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>
<p>CYRON: MEMORIAL FOOTAGE <u>- COST OF TV COVERAGE: \$ 35,000,000+</u> <u>SOURCE BROADCASTING AND CABLE JULY 200</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>
<p>CYRON: MEMORIAL FOOTAGE <u>- PROFITS MADE ON WAR COVERAGE: UNKNOWN</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>
<p>CYRON: MEMORIAL FOOTAGE <u>- NUMBERS OF WMD FOUND: 0</u></p>	<p>MUSIC: NATIONAL ANTHEM</p>

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<p>MEMORIAL FOOTAGE THOMAS RICKS AT MUSEUM PANEL</p>	<p>O/C: THOMAS RICKS, MILITARY REPORTER, WASHINGTON POST: The war is still going on. Its outcome is still undetermined. The United States has not won this war.</p>
<p>13. SECTION: VIEWS IN THE ARAB WORLD</p>	
<p>VARIOUS ARAB NEWS CAST REPORTING ON THE WAR, US COVERAGE OF WAR IN IRAQ</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: THE WAR YOU SAW DEPENDED ON WHERE YOU LIVED. THE ARAB WORLD SAW A DIFFERENT WAR THAN THE ONE WE DID.</p> <p>IRONICALLY, MANY U.S. NETWORKS RELIED ON ARAB OUTLETS: AL JAZEERA, ABU DHABI TV AND OTHER NETWORKS FOR FOOTAGE OF THE BOMBINGS. THEY SHOWED THEIR COVERAGE STRIPPED OF THEIR NARRATIVE. AL JAZEEERA FINANCED ITS COVERAGE WITH FEES PAID BY US NETWORKS.</p>
<p>FOOTAGE OF MOTHER WITH MAMED CHILD IN HOSPITAL, EMILY BELL O/C</p>	<p>O/C: EMILY BELL, EDITOR, THE GUARDIAN: The addition of Al-Jazeera this time around was as important as the addition of CNN to the rest of the world in 1991.</p>
<p>FOOTAGE OF LIT CITY, COLLAGE OF AL JAZEERA REPORTERS, NEWSROOM AND ON AIR PROMO, VARIOUS OF ARAB WAR PROMO COVERAGE AND REPORTERS</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AL JAZEERA WAS FORMED BY FORMER BBC JOURNALISTS AS A COMMERCIAL SATELLITE CHANNEL. IT PROMOTES ITSELF DRAMATICALLY AND WAS FIERCELY COMMITTED TO OFFERING DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES. ALTHOUGH IN THE US AND BRITAN, IT WAS FALSELY DENOUNCED AS A ONE-SIDED PROPAGANDA ORGAN.</u></p> <p><u>ITS CORRESPONDENTS WERE OFTEN BRAVE AND TOOK RISKS. THEY SAW THEMSELVES AS INDEPENDENT AND BALANCED. ALTHOUGH THEIR STYLE WAS MUCH HOTTER AND MORE AUDACIOUS THAN THEIR WESTERN COUNTERPARTS.</u></p>
<p>NEWS PROMOS FADING HAFEZ AT NEW SCHOOL PANEL ON MEDIA AT WAR</p>	<p>SOT: HAFEZ AL-MIRAZI, AL-JAZEERA WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF: Before 9/11, many government-controlled networks or newspapers used to call Al-Jazeera the Israeli-CIA.-backed network, because we put Israeli officials on the air, we invite Americans, we put Bush more than any other leader in the Arab world. So we were suspected to being the Israeli people trying to divide the Arab world, the opposition against the government. And the media was so positive about us before 9/11 here. But immediately after we put the “bad guys” for America, as for the balance, they behaved the same way that other government-controlled media in the Arab world did to us.</p>
<p>AIRCRAFT FLYING, DANNY</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER:</p>

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<p>ARRIVING IN DUBAI FOR THE ARAB MEDIA SUMMIT, FOOTAGE FROM INSIDE THE SUMMIT</p>	<p><u>THE ARAB MEDIA ALSO WAS DEBATING THE COVERAGE. FOR A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING THEIR PERSPECTIVES, I WENT TO DUBAI IN THE GULF REGION.</u></p> <p><u>WELCOME TO THE ARAB MEDIA SUMMIT. HUNDREDS OF JOURNALISTS FROM AROUND THE REGION DEBATED COVERAGE ISSUES. OFTEN DISAGREEING WITH EACH OTHER AND THEIR WESTERN COLLEAGUES.</u></p> <p><u>IT WAS THERE I MET TV ANCHOR, NEMA ABU WARDA. SHE ROSE TO CHALLENGE CNN CORRESPONDENT NICK ROBERTSON:</u></p>
<p>NIMA ABU WARDA GRILLING CNN REPORTER NICK ROBINSON</p>	<p>SOT: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV: Now my second comment is to you, CNN, regarding Amanpour's comments, Amanpour said that CNN was muzzled. She talks of an atmosphere of fear of reporting with what's going on uh, of collusion perhaps, is what she's insinuating between the Bush government and CNN.</p>
<p>NICK ROBERTSON, NIMA ABU WARDA</p>	<p>SOT: NICK ROBERTSON, CNN REPORTER That is absolutely not what she said. These were private comments she made outside of CNN</p> <p>SOT: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV: These were comments made on a TV program, I understand...</p> <p>SOT: NICK ROBERTSON, CNN REPORTER: Outside, outside of CNN...</p> <p>SOT: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV But it's not private when it's on television, live television.</p> <p>SOT: NICK ROBINSON, CNN REPORTER Thank you very much. Let me answer your fist question.</p>
<p>MEDIA SUMMIT, DANNY TALKING TO NIMA</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Do you think he was uncomfortable talking about it?</p>
<p>O/C NIMA, FOOTAGE OF ANDERSON AT MEDIA SUMMIT</p>	<p>O/C: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV Oh extremely uncomfortable. He turned away. I was going to say, are you gagging me? Because that's exactly what he did. He dismissed me. I was dismissed. Swat. Swatted like a fly on the wall.</p>
<p>NIMA TALKING TO DANNY IN THE GARDEN</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>NIMA TOLD ME ABOUT THE TV COVERAGE OF THE WAR SHE WATCHED:</u></p>
<p>NIMA TALKING SPLICED IN WITH TV COVERAGE EXAMPLES: US WAR IN IRAQ PROMO, IRAQI TV, SCRATCH,</p>	<p>SOT: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV I would flick English-Arabic and Arabic-English and you would be comparing/contrasting stories and just seeing the angles and</p>

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NIMA O/C	what was being said because ultimately you get different stories from the different perspectives. SCRATCH
VARIOUS ARAB NETWORK WAR COVERAGE	SOT: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV On the Arabic TV stations I would see what war is really like, the blood and gore, the mess that really happens when a bomb hits a building.
CNN WAR COVERAGE	SOT: CNN: Ten percent are the so-called dumb bomb.
NIMA O/C, US BREAKING NEWS SHOW ON THE WAR	SOT: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV On CNN you would see more of the strategic stuff.
O/C KHALED AL MAEENA	O/C: KHALED AL MAEENA, SAUDI EDITOR: So the viewer in this part of the world thought only one side, or a lopsided version of the war was being given-
FOOTAGE OF DISPLACED MOTHER WITH YOUNG CHILDREN	SOT: ABU DHABI TV OF REFUGEE FAMILY: We are refugees going from one place to the other, and we can't reach our homes. We came from Umar Q'ulsar, and G-d knows what has happened in Umar Q'ulsar. Look what is happening to us, look at my children.
ARAB JOURNALIST INTERVIEWS MEN SMOKING, HOUSE BURNED DOWN, OLD WOMAN CRYING, O/C LENA JAFUSI	O/C: LENA JAFUSI: Well, one of the things that's missing is indigenous Voices to freely and openly be shown, be allowed to appear. You-don't get people from the area really given proper hearing.
O/C NIMA	O/C: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV People have to take responsibility. There is a <i>moral</i> responsibility. I think journalists have to take on more of that burden, more of that responsibility. It is your profession, your chosen profession, after all.
14. SECTION: JOURNALISTS TARGETED?	
BOMB GOING OFF IN BAGHDAD HEADLINES ABOUT JOURNALISTS, TANK FIRING, HEADLINES JOURNALISTS KILLED, TANK FIRING, MORE HEADLINES, SHOTS AT BUILDING, TANK, MORE HEADLINES, HELICOPTER SHOOTING, EXPLOSION, NIGHT SHOTS, MORE HEADLINES, SOLDIERS AT ROADSIDE, CAR BLOWS UP, HEADLINES, COLLAGE OF STILLS OF KILLED JOURNALISTS	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>JOURNALISTS AND MEDIA WORKERS WERE TARGETED IN IRAQ. WAS IT DELIBERATE. TO KEEP THE STORY ON MESSAGE BY INTIMIDATING NON-EMBEDDED JOURNALISTS? HOW DID THE MEDIA INDUSTRY CHALLENGE THESE KILLINGS? SOME WERE KILLED BY SO-CALLED "FRIENDLY FIRE" – OTHERS, VICTIMS OF CALCULATED ATTACKS, MISSILES, TANK SHELLS AND BOMBS DROPPED ON OR NEAR JOURNALISTS.</u> <u>SOME MEDIA CRITICS CONCLUDED IT WAS</u>

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<p>INJURED PEOPLE CARRIED AWAY STILLS OF KATE ADIE, FOOTAGE OF CRYING MAN AND VIEW OF CITY</p> <p>FOOTAGE OF AL JAZEERA'S TARIQ SITTING ON THE ROOFTOP, PLANE CLOSING IN, TARIQ CARRIED OUT IN CARPET, FOOTAGE OF THE PALESTINE HOTEL</p>	<p><u>INTENTIONAL. ALTHOUGH THE PENTAGON DENIED IT BEFORE THE WAR, THE BBC'S KATE ADIE REPORTED SHE WAS TOLD BY THE PENTAGON THAT INDEPENDENT JOURNALISTS COULD BE TARGETED.</u></p> <p><u>THE ARAB MEDIA CENTER IN BAGHDAD WHOSE COORDINATE HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE PENTAGON WAS BOMBED. AL JAZEERAS TARIQ AYOUB SEEN HERE SITTING ON A ROOF WATCH THE PLANE THAT WOULD SOON KILL HIM COME CLOSER AND CLOSER.</u></p>
<p>ABU DHABI TV ANCHOR</p>	<p>SOT: ABU DHABI TV ANCHOR: Welcome , A US tank shelled the Palestine Hotel, which is crowded with the journalists, killing two cameramen: one of them works for a Spanish network, and the other one works for Reuters.</p>
<p>SHOT OF AN AMERICAN TANK ON THE BRIDGE ACROSS FROM THE PALESTINE HOTEL IN BAGHDAD</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>NOW, ANOTHER INCIDENT—LOOK AT THIS: AN AMERICAN TANK ON THE BRIDGE ACROSS FROM THE PALESTINE HOTEL IN BAGHDAD. A SOLDIER WOULD LATER CLAIM HIS TANK WAS FIRED ON. LISTEN CAREFULLY, THERE ARE NO SOUNDS:</u></p>
<p>TANK ON THE BRIDGE O/C SAMIA NAKHOUL SHOT OF BAGHDAD</p>	<p>O/C: SAMIA NAKHOUL, REUTERS: We moved to Palestine Hotel because the Pentagon asked our organizations to let us leave Al-Rashid hotel because it was a target, and when we moved to the Palestine Hotel our organization told the Pentagon that we where at the Palestine Hotel so that every news organization.</p>
<p>SHOT OF FIRING AMERICAN TANK ON THE BRIDGE ACROSS FROM THE PALESTINE HOTEL IN BAGHDAD – FRAME SHAKES</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AGAIN, MINUTES LATER, NO SOUNDS WERE HEARD, NO ONE FIRING AT US SOLDIERS. SUDDENLY, WITHOUT PROVOCATION...</u></p>
<p>THE SHOT COMES DIRECTLY IN THE CAMERA ANGLE – THE SHOT THAT KILLED SAMIA O/C</p>	<p>O/C: SAMIA NAKHOUL, REUTERS: Suddenly we saw an orange glow and this is basically the tank shell that hit our office...</p>
<p>CAMERA SHOTS FROM INSIDE THE HOTEL AFTER THE TANK ROUND HIT. PANIC, REPORTERS YELLING, BLOOD, CONFUSION.</p>	<p>SOT: HOTEL RECORDINGS: Come on, come on, come on guys...</p>
<p>CAMERA SHOTS FROM INSIDE THE HOTEL O/C SAMIA</p>	<p>O/C: SAMIA NAKHOUL, REUTERS: You know you can imagine the panic – we were wounded. It was me and another photographer.</p>
<p>INSIDE THE HOTEL FOOTAGE, JOURNALISTS WOUNDED AND ONE KILLED. CHAOS, COLLEAGUES ASKING OTHERS TO LEAVE.</p>	<p>SOT: HOTEL RECORDINGS: Ahhh... My G-d. Are you okay? Get the fuck out of here....</p>

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FOOTAGE OF THE DEAD AND WOUNDED CARRIED OUT	
CRYING JOURNALISTS SHOT OF BAGHDAD PANORAMA	O/C: SAMIA NAKHOUL, REUTERS: I can't imagine that they would target journalists, you know. I couldn't believe why they would target us. What have we done to them?
INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS PUBLICATION COVER.	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>AFTER THE WAR PRESS FREEDOM GROUPS WERE STILL DEMANDING A REAL INVESTIGATION. THE PENTAGON'S VICTORIA CLARKE TOLD ME THERE WAS A REPORT THAT SHOWED THAT THE SOLDIERS WERE ACTING IN SELF DEFENSE.</u>
SHOT OF TANK ON THE BRIDGE ACROSS FROM THE PALESTINE HOTEL, SAMIA O/C	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Was there any attempt to find out the facts independently or a thorough investigation?
SAMIA O/C	O/C: SAMIA NAKHOUL, REUTERS: No, the Pentagon never interviewed me personally, or anyone. I don't think any foreign colleague was interviewed by the Pentagon.
SAMIA O/C PANORAMA VIEW IRAQ	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>SAMIA'S COMPANY REUTERS DEMANDED AN INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION, BUT MOST MEDIA COMPANIES DID NOT EVEN PRESS ON THIS ISSUE. NO ONE WAS HELD ACCOUNTABLE. IT WAS ALL PASSED OFF AS AN ACCIDENT; THE FOG OF WAR, AND ALL THAT.</u>
PANORAMA VIEW IRAQ	SOT: DANNY SCHECHTER So what about damage to you personally?
SAMIA O/C, SCEENS FROM INSIDE THE HOTEL WHERE THE BLAST TOOK PLACE	O/C: SAMIA NAKHOUL, REUTERS: I Was hit in the brain. I had a brain operation. it took me a long time to recover, but you know I was blessed I survived. But it gave emotional damage and physical damage. but you know, mostly emotionally. I lost a colleague we covered a war together. He was next to me and he died.
FOOTAGE FROM ARAB JOURNALISM PRIZE CEREMONY IN UAE	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: THE DEBATE ABOUT KILLING OF JOURNALISTS CONTINUES THE RESPECTED MEDIA HISTORIAN PHILLIP KNIGHTLY CONCLUDED " I BELIEVE THAT THE OCCASIONAL SHOTS FIRED AT MEDIA SITES ARE NOT ACCIDENTAL AND THAT WAR CORRESPONDENTS MAY NOW BE TARGETS. THE MEDIA WAR HAD DRAWN BLOOD.

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<p>15. SECTION: GOVERNMENT POWER AND CORPORATE CONTROL</p>	
<p>O/C DANNY SCHECHTER STAND UP TIMES SQUARE</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: If you want to know why the war was packaged and reported the way it was, you have to know something about our American media system. It's a system dominated by just a handful of companies, and they're all around me here in the chaos of Times Square. All the big brands: MTV, Viacom, Bertelsmann, ABC, NBC, Reuters. They surround me physically. What they represent is the power of media power to promote economic and political agendas. What they represent today is a merger of news biz and show biz. What they represent is a consumer culture. To them, the war was a product. They sold it, and we bought it.</p>
<p>SHOT OF GENERAL ELECTRIC BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY- NBC PARTY FOOTAGE OCTOBER 16, 2003</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>MOST NETWORKS REMAIN UNCRITICAL OF THEIR COVERAGE. NBC WON THE US MEDIA WAR AS THE HIGHEST RATED NETWORK.</u></p>
<p>NEIL SHAPIRO'S SPEECH TO THE NBC EMPLOYEES A THEIR CELEBRATORY PARTY. CROWD CLAPPING</p>	<p>SOT: NEIL SHAPIRO, PRESIDENT NBC NEWS: NBC's Coverage on broadcast, on cable was simply first rate.</p>
<p>NBC PARTY FOOTAGE CHRYON: <u>"GENERAL ELECTRIC WON CONTRACTS FOR IRAQI RECONSTRUCTION WORTH \$600.000 SOURCE: HARPER'S MAGAZINE</u></p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>THE NETWORK CELEBRATED ITS VICTORY IN IRAQ WITH A PARTY IN THE POSH RAINBOW ROOM IN A BUILDING NAMED AFTER A GENERAL: GENERAL ELECTRIC. THEIR PARENT COMPANY. THEY RELEASED A BOOK AND DVD ON THE WAR FOR IRAQI FREEDOM. ANCHOR TOM BROKOW PAID TRIBUTE TO A POPULAR CORRESPONDENT, DAVID BLOOM, WHO DIED IN IRAQ.</u></p>
<p>NBC PARTY FOOTAGE, TOM BROKAW SPEAKING</p>	<p>SOT: TOM BROKAW, NBC: I'm so proud of the men and women of NBC news, who had the common bond of courage and determination to go into the heart of darkness . . .</p>
<p>MUSEUM OF RADIO AND TELEVISION</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>I CAUGHT UP WITH TOM BROKAW AT THE MUSEUM OF RADIO AND TELEVISION. I ASKED A QUESTION FROM THE FLOOR.</u></p>
<p>MUSEUM OF RADIO AND TELEVISION</p>	<p>SOT: TOM BROKAW, NBC: I want to go to the audience now if we can . . .</p> <p>SOT: OTHER VOICE Please raise your hands...</p> <p>SOT: TOM BROKAW, NBC: ...Danny Schechter I know has a question right down here, we</p>

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	might as well get it out of the way....
MUSEUM OF RADIO AND TELEVISION	SOT: DANNY SCHECHTER: How could the media, your institution particularly, have done a better job of being a little bit more skeptical and a little more critical? APPLAUSE
MUSEUM OF RADIO AND TELEVISION, SOT: TOM BROKAW	SOT: TOM BROKAW, NBC: I think your suggestion is that we took the pipe. And if you go back and review the coverage on network television, newspaper, the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times certainly, and any other publication in this country.... during that very vigorous time of the UN debate for example, there were lots of other voices that were heard, great skeptical Voices. But many times people hear what they're inclined to hear...
O/C JEFF SCHNEIDER	O/C: JEFF SCHNEIDER, ABC NEWS EXECUTIVE: And the idea that somehow it's packaged and spun back at corporate headquarters to fit some sort of greater agenda I personally find outrageous and ridiculous.
O/C JEFF SCHNEIDER	SOT: DANNY SCHECHTER: But listen I'm not being conspiratorial cause I worked at ABC news for 8 years. So I've been in the control rooms I've been involved, I worked at CNN before that...I'm not making this up I'm not inventing it. There was clearly an approach. There was an identification by much of the American media with the American military. I think that's sort of undeniable. How can you even deny that? If you look at the critics and how many critics there were...
O/C JEFF SCHNEIDER	O/C: JEFF SCHNEIDER, ABC NEWS EXECUTIVE: I can't speak to the critics...All I can say is, I can't speak for the entire American media.
O/C JEFF SCHNEIDER	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Ok, talk for ABC...
O/C JEFF SCHNEIDER	O/C: JEFF SCHNEIDER, ABC NEWS EXECUTIVE: Talking for ABC, I think that we told it straight ahead.
NEWS PROMO FOOTAGE	SOT: ABC PROMO: ABC More Americans get their news from ABC News.
O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: There was a suit here who I spoke to here, a vice president of

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	ABC News.
O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW	O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW, EXEC. PRODUCER, CBS NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE: Oh really?
O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: And, you know, he was, you, they criticize us on the left, they criticize us on the right, so therefore we must be doing it the right way. In other words, you know, it's a kind of a conventional knee-jerk response.
O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW	O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW, EXEC. PRODUCER, CBS NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE: I've used that line myself, I can't tell you how many times.
O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW	O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: But what's missing from it, is it true?
O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW	O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW, EXEC. PRODUCER, CBS NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE: Well, dead bodies are missing from it.
IRAQ WAR PROMO FOOTAGE	SOT: ABC NEWS: ABC ABC News: unique, brave, provocative, unmatched.
IRAQ WAR PROMO FOOTAGE W. VARIOUS ANCHORS, O/C MICHAEL WOLFF	SOT: MICHAEL WOLFF, VANITY FAIR MAGAZINE Remember, Disney does not want ABC to be in the news business. There's so much pressure on these news-organizations to be something, not rock the boat, not be a problem...
BLURED SCREEN, EYES WATCHING	SOT: ABC NEWS: "...Pentagon is following the planning and has the latest on a possible timeline." ..." Jessica Lynch is no longer a prisoner of War..." "The efforts to keep the supply lines running north of Baghdad."
EYES, VARIOUS NETWORK WAR PROMOTIONS, O/C SHELDON RAMPTON, SCREEN.	O/C: SHELDON RAMPTON, CO-AUTHOR "WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION": One of the reasons I think why the media fell so easily into this pattern of selling the war is that really is what the American media is designed to do is to sell things. It's a commercial media; it's a propaganda system and everyone knows it.
FCC HEAD QUARTERS BUILDING NEWS PAPER DRAWING STATING	V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>OUR SYSTEM OF BROADCAST MEDIA IS REGULATED BY THE FCC: A GOVERNMENT AGENCY ORIGINALLY</u>

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<p>THAT THE FCC JEOPARDIZES MEDIA DIVERSITY</p>	<p><u>SET UP TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST. TODAY THAT REGULATORY BODY PROMOTES DEREGULATION—MORE POWER TO MEDIA MOGULS.</u></p> <p><u>THE HEAD OF THE FCC JUSTIFIES MEDIA CONCENTRATION ON THE GROUNDS THAT ONLY BIG COMPANIES CAN COVER A WAR LIKE THE ONE IN IRAQ.</u></p>
<p>DANNY STAND UP OUTSIDE FCC HEADQUARTERS</p>	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Just before the war in Iraq began, American media companies began lobbying the FCC for rule changes that would benefit their bottom lines. There was a question raised: Did the FCC agree to waive the rules if the media companies agreed to wave the flag?</p>
<p>O/C: JEFF CHESTER</p>	<p>O/C: JEFF CHESTER, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR DIGITAL DEMOCRACY: You don't go in and report critically on an administration that you hope will give you billions and billions of dollars in new policies.</p>
<p>O/C KHAZEN, MURDOCH NEXT TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL KOFI ANNAN, CHINESE FLAG ON SCREEN</p>	<p>O/C: JIHAD AL KHAZEN, FORMER REUTERS: We have been in this business long enough to be very careful. But I am sure working in, and hoping that support of the war would get them that deal. Remember what Rupert Murdoch did when he was in China. He was the only one defending China despite all their abuses of human rights, because he was working for a TV deal, which eventually got in China.</p>
<p>O/C JEFF CHESTER</p>	<p>O/C: JEFF CHESTER, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR DIGITAL DEMOCRACY: The reason the coverage, in part was so tepid, was so timid was because these same media companies like news corp. Fox, GE, NBC, Viacom, CBS, were trying to curry favor to win the support of the Bush administration for this huge give away on media ownership.</p>
<p>MEDIA COLLAGE, NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ COVERAGE, WASHINGTON POST BUILDING, NBC BUILDING, NEW YORK TIMES HEADLINE, AND NEWS PROMOS. O/C HINSCHY, RONALD REAGAN SWORN IN, GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH, GEORGE W BUSH ADDRESSING THE NATION</p>	<p>O/C: CONGRESSMAN MAURICE D. HINCHEY: This is not something that happened yesterday. It didn't happen over night. It has been going on here in the United States for about two decades at least. And it's been processed; it's been an organized, concerted, thought-out, well -planned, and well executed process. Going back to the Reagan administration, flowing through the first Bush administration, and now being picked up successfully so far by the second Bush administration.</p>
<p>O/C NICHOLAS JOHNSON</p>	<p>O/C: NICHOLAS JOHNSON, FORMER FCC COMMISSION: Power generally, not just media power; power tends to go with power. Primarily they want to support whoever is in the White House, they want to support government, they want to support large, other large corporate interests. They don't want to rock the boat, generally.</p>

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<p>O/C HINSCHY</p>	<p>O/C: CONGRESSMAN MAURICE D. HINCHEY: This is a plan, it's a plan, its not serendipitous, it doesn't happen accidentally. It's what they want. They want to be able to control the political discussion.</p>
<p>O/C STAUBER STILL OF MICHAEL POWELL</p>	<p>SOT: JOHN STAUBER, AUTHOR "WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION": Who was the FCC commissioner with whom they were trying to curry favor? Who was acting on their behalf during this period? It was Michael Powell, the son of Colin Powell.</p>
<p>MARK FIORE ANIMATION</p>	<p>ON SCREEN ANIMATION: Satirical sound with animation, making fun of Michael Powell: "The evils of media consolidation will never get past our fortifications."</p>
<p>STILL OF MICHAEL POWELL WOLFF O/C MICHAEL WOLFF</p>	<p>O/C: MICHAEL WOLFF, VANITY FAIR MAGAZINE: I think it's very clear that the major media companies in this country had business before the government. Boom, it's a conflict of interest</p>
<p>SOCOLOW O/C</p>	<p>O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW, EXEC. PRODUCER CBS NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE: In my day, there was no, there was really a wall between news and the rest of the organization.</p>
<p>O/C JOHN STAUBER</p>	<p>O/C: JOHN STAUBER, AUTHOR "WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION": It becomes sort of a, you scratch my back, I scratch your back.</p>
<p>SOCOLOW O/C</p>	<p>O/C: SANDY SOCOLOW, EXEC. PRODUCER CBS NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE: Did you see any coverage on television about the whole controversy? About the FCC and the new rules? I mean there was hardly any to speak of. There must have been some somewhere that I missed. But it was so minor, and so ineffectual in terms of informing the public of what's going on.</p>
<p>O/C ADELSTEIN</p>	<p>O/C: JOHNATAN ADELSTEIN, FCC COMMISSION: The people need to try to take back the airwaves; they need to try to restore the democracy to the airwaves.</p>
<p>16. SECTION: LESSONS LEARNED AND WHAT TO DO?</p>	
<p>DANNY SCHECHTER'S DESK WITH NEWSPAPER SPREADS, FAN, BLACK AND WHITE FOOTAGE FROM VIETNAM OF YOUNG CAPTURED</p>	<p>V/O: DANNY SCHECHTER: <u>IRAQ QUICKLY BECAME THE APOCALYPSE I FEARED. AS GHOSTS OF THE CRIMES OF VIETNAM SEEMED TO BE COMING BACK TO HAUNT US.</u></p>

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<p>VIETNAMESE BOYS BEING BLINDFOLDED BY US TROOPS, STILLS OF US TROOPER SITTING ON A PRISONER IN IRAQ, OTHER TORTURE IMAGES FROM IRAQ, STENCILS FROM BARCELONA, REMOTE CONTROL, DANNY SCHECHTER IN HIS LIVING ROOM WATCHING NEWS, NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ COVERAGE, BEST OF THE BOMBS FOOTAGE, BOY IN HOSPITAL IN IRAQ, MORE BEST OF THE BOMBS, HEADLINE FROM PAPER SLAMMING CIA INTELLIGENCE ON IRAQ, ARTICLE MENTIONING PRESS "GROUP THINK"</p>	<p><u>ALL OVER THE WORLD. PEOPLE CAME TO SEE THE UNITED STATES NOT AS HEROIC LIBERATORS BUT BRUTAL OCCUPIERS</u></p> <p><u>I FOUND THESE GRAPHICS STENCILED ON THE WALLS OF BARCELONA:</u></p> <p><u>I SAW HOW MEDIA OUTLETS SUPPRESS SCRUTINY OF POLICIES, PREFERRING TO SHOW IMAGES RATHER THAN EXPOSE INTERESTS. MAJOR MEDIA COVERS THE WORLD THROUGH THE EYES OF THOSE IN POWER— DOWNPLAYING THE BRUTAL IMPACT OF WAR AND ITS OWN ROLE IN PROMOTING IT.</u></p> <p><u>IN JULY 2004, A SENATE COMMITTEE BLASTED THE CIA FOR MISREPORTING ON WMDS IN IRAQ. IT CRITICIZED WHAT IT CALLED "GROUP THINK." COULDN'T THE SAME PHRASE BE APPLIED TO OTHER WMDS? MEDIA WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION.</u></p>
<p>O/C STAUBER</p>	<p>O/C: JOHN STAUBER, AUTHOR "WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION": The lesson is don't trust the mainstream media, if you want to really find out what's really happening, you can't be a news consumer, you have to be a critical thinker.</p>
<p>O/C PELTON</p>	<p>O/C: ROBERT YOUNG PELTON, REPORTER: TV is not the same medium it was ten years ago, or twenty years ago. You don't really have the luxury of providing detailed analytical coverage of the war. You basically get an eyeball shot, and that's it.</p>
<p>O/C GARDINER</p>	<p>O/C: SAM GARDINER, FORMER AIR FORCE COLONEL: It's one thing to talk about this war but as you look to the future if you didn't like this you're really not gonna like what gonna come down the road the next time.</p>
<p>O/C CHESTER</p>	<p>O/C: JEFF CHESTER, CENTER FOR DIGITAL MEDIA: Just as there is an investigation out now as to the failure of the intelligence community, we need an investigation into our journalistic community.</p>
<p>O/C NIMA</p>	<p>SOT: NIMA ABU WARDA, DUBAI TV: Media hasn't really been taken to task at all. There is no global watchdog that's saying you didn't do you job well. Media people seem to be more comfortable repeating the words of politicians, repeating statements that come out in press, etc., than actually probing and trying to find out what it really means— "Is it true? Is it true?"</p>
	<p>O/C: DANNY SCHECHTER: Can we fight back against deceptive news and massive media</p>

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	concentration? Can we fight back against jingoism posing as journalism? Can we afford not to fight back?
MILITAINMENT NEWS COVERAGE	MEDIA COLLAGE: Fox: Should they – you know – use the MOAB – the Mother Of All Bombs? SCRATCH
MILITAINMENT AND WAR PROMOTIONS NEWS SHOWS, ANIMATION, NEWS PROMOS VARIOUS NEWS ANCHORS PROMOTING IRAQ NEWS SHOWS, DANNY SCHECHTER O/C	O/C DANNY SCHECHTER <u>I JOINED THE MEDIA TO SPOTLIGHT THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD AND CAME TO SEE THAT THE MEDIA IS ONE OF THOSE PROBLEMS. I BELIEVE IN FREEDOM OF THE PRESS BUT NOT JUST FREEDOM FOR THOSE WHO OWN THE PRESS. WHAT CAN WE DO TO HOLD THE MEDIA MORE ACCOUNTABLE? THINK ABOUT IT. NOW I'VE HAD MY SAY.... IT'S YOUR TURN</u>
FOOTAGE OF BUSH PLANE WITH CREDITS	Music out/reprise "MEDIA WAR" BY POLARITY1

CREDITS

PRODUCED AND DIRECTED by

Danny Schechter

PRODUCER

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CAMERA

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Bob Coen

Dan Devivo

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Mimi Roberson

ACCOUNTING

Pat Horstman

Bernstein and Drucker

LEGAL

Coudert Brothers

Sam Israel

Steven Schechter

MUSIC

Nenad Bach

"The End"

Written and performed by The Doors

Published by Doors Music Company

Courtesy of Elktra Entertainment Group

By arrangement with Warner Strategic Music

Jun Shiina & Eric Miller

Freeplay Music

Speechwerks

Polarity1 ©2004

Sine Language Music / BMI

"O.I.L."

Written and performed by David Rovics

Licensed courtesy of Daemon Records

"I Need To Know"

Performed and written by Stephan Smith

Published by Stephan Smith Publishing
Licensed courtesy of Rounder Records

Vortex

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Center for Defense Information
Democracy Now!
Dubai Press Club
FAIR
France 3 Television
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The Guardian
Guerilla News Network
Gwendolen Cates
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Kino and Cape Talk Radio, Capetown South Africa
Mosaic Program, Worldlink TV
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New York Magazine
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MediaChannel.org is a nonprofit, public interest Web site dedicated to global media issues. The website offers news, reports and commentary from our international network of media-issues organizations and publications, as well as original features from contributors and staff. Resources include thematic special reports, action toolkits, forums for discussion, an indexed directory of hundreds of affiliated groups and a search engine constituting the single largest online media-issues database.

MediaChannel is concerned with the political, cultural and social impacts of the media, large and small. MediaChannel exists to provide information and diverse perspectives and inspire debate, collaboration, action and citizen engagement.

Cinema Libre Studio is an international entertainment company dedicated to creating quality films with global appeal. We have created a haven for filmmakers with views, offering one-stop shopping for production, co-production, distribution, marketing and post-production services with headquarters in Los Angeles and representation offices in Paris, London, Munich, Rome, Madrid and Tokyo. The group's production resume includes feature films, documentaries and animation projects with budgets from \$200,000 to \$15 million.

All distribution activity is now consolidated under Cinema Libre Distribution. Expanded activity includes theatrical and home video distribution on three labels: LIBERATION PICTURES (American Independent), THE FILM CAFÉ (Foreign Film) and DOC WORKERS (Documentaries). The group's core competency is in identifying and acquiring quality international and independent films for the US market. Through the use of its own foreign sales representation in Paris, London, Munich, Rome, Madrid and Tokyo, Cinema Libre guarantees significant coverage at international markets and festivals and an infrastructure already in place to capitalize on this growing market.

Cinema Libre Distribution is currently handling distribution activities for: **OUTFOXED**, **UNCOVERED**, **UNCONSTITUTIONAL**, **UNPRECEDENTED** and recently acquired David O. Russell's political doc "SOLDIERS PAY". The 35-minute film will run in select theaters in conjunction with "UNCOVERED".
<http://www.cinematlibrestudio.com/>

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WMD AND THE CHALLENGE OF TV NEWS

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AUTHOR'S BIO

Danny Schechter: "News Dissector"/Investigative Journalist/Producer/Director



Danny Schechter is a television producer and independent filmmaker who also writes and speaks about media issues. He is the author of *Embedded: Weapons of Mass Deception* (Prometheus), *Media Wars: News after 9-11* (Roman & Littlefield), *Falun Gong's Challenge to China* (Akashic Books), *The More You Watch, The Less You Know* (Seven Stories Press) and *News Dissector: Passions, Pieces and Polemics* (Electron Press/Akashic Books). He is the executive editor and blogger in chief of [Mediachannel.org](http://mediachannel.org), the world's largest online media-issues network.

He has produced and directed many TV specials and films, including *WMD (Weapons of Mass Deception)* (2004), *We are Family* (2002), *Counting On Democracy* (2002), *Falun Gong's Challenge to China* (2000), *A Hero for All: Nelson Mandela's Farewell* (1999), *Sowing Seeds/Reaping Peace: The World of Seeds of Peace* (1996), *Prisoners of Hope: Robben Island Reunion* (1995, co-directed by Barbara Koppel), *Countdown to Freedom: Ten Days that Changed South Africa* (1994) (narrated by James Earl Jones and Alfre Woodard), *Sarajevo Ground Zero* (1993), *The Living Canvas* (1992) (narrated by Billy Dee Williams), *Beyond JFK: The Question of Conspiracy* (1992) (co-directed with Barbara Koppel), *Give Peace a Chance* (1991), *Mandela in America* (1990), *The Making of Sun City* (1987); and *Student Power* (1968).

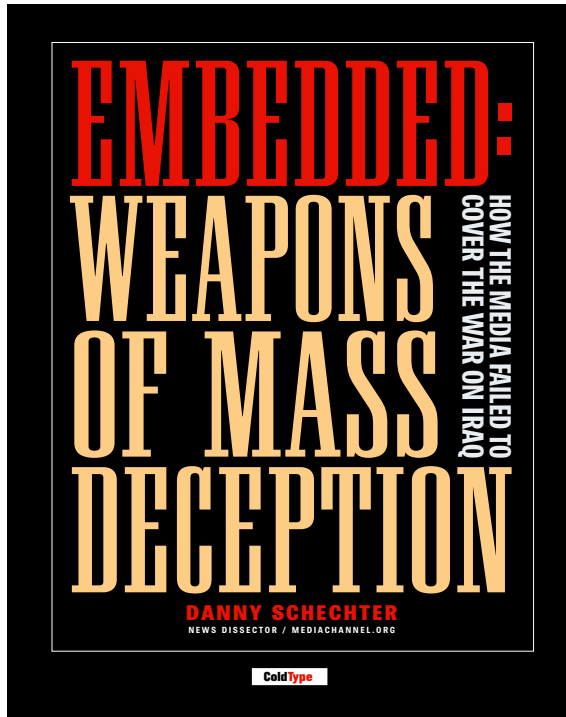
Schechter is co-founder and executive producer of Globalvision, a New York-based television and film production company now in its 13th year, where he produced 156 editions of the award-winning series "South Africa Now," co-produced "Rights & Wrongs: Human Rights Television" with Charlayne Hunter-Gault. His most recent human rights special, "Globalization and Human Rights" was co-produced with Rory O'Connor and shown nationally on PBS.

A Cornell University graduate, he received his Master's degree from the London School of Economics, and an honorary doctorate from Fitchburg College. He was a Nieman Fellow in Journalism at Harvard, where he also taught in 1969. After college, he was a full time civil rights worker and then communications director of the Northern Student Movement, worked as a community organizer in a Saul Alinsky-style War on Poverty program, and, moving from the streets to the suites, served as an assistant to the Mayor of Detroit in 1966 on a Ford Foundation grant.

Schechter's professional journalism career began in 1970, when he was named news director, principal newscaster, and "News Dissector" at WBCN-FM in Boston, where he was hailed as a radio innovator and won many industry honors, including two Major Armstrong Awards. His television producing career was launched with the syndicated "Joe Oteri Show," which won the New England Emmy and a NAPTE IRIS award in 1979. In 1980, he created and produced the nation's first live late-night entertainment-oriented TV show, "Five All Night, Live All Night" at WCVB in Boston.

Schechter left Boston to join the staff at CNN as a producer based in Atlanta for the nightly "Freeman Report." He then moved to ABC as a producer for "20/20," where during his eight years he won two National News Emmys and produced 50 segments. Schechter has reported from 49 countries and lectured at many schools and universities. He was an adjunct professor at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University. Schechter's writing has appeared in leading newspapers and magazines including the *The Nation*, *Newsday*, *Boston Globe*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, *Media Studies Journal*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Village Voice*, *Tikkun*, *Z*, and many other newspapers, magazines and web sites.

"The coverage is the war...The newsmen and the media men around the world are actually the fighters..." – *Marshall McLuhan*



THE FIRST FULL-LENGTH BOOK ON THE WAR ON IRAQ

By Danny Schechter, News Dissector

There were two wars going on in Iraq - one fought by armies with soldiers, bombs and fearsome military force. The other was fought alongside it with cameras, satellites, armies of journalists and propaganda techniques. One war was rationalized as an

effort to find and disarm WMDs - Weapons of Mass Destruction; the other was carried out by even more powerful WMD's, Weapons of Mass Deception.

The TV networks in America called their non-stop coverage their finest hour but critics like veteran journalist Danny Schechter, a former ABC and CNN producer, charge media complicity in promoting and cheerleading for a war in which some reporting was sanitized, staged and suppressed. Schechter, author of *Media Wars: News at a Time of Terror*, *The More You Watch The Less You Know* and *News Dissector*, fuses an insider's knowledge with an outsider's perspective. Throughout the war, he was "self-embedded" at *Mediachannel.org*, the world's largest on-line media issues network, writing a 3000 word daily news "dissection."

"It is important for readers to assess these arguments before our memories fade and the Bush Administration changes the subject," says Schechter. "We rushed this book into print online so it can contribute to the continuing debate about the war and its impact. Until now, only the government is being scrutinized. It's urgent that we also confront media coverage."

Read a preview at <http://www.coldtype.net/danbook.html>

The book is being sold for \$15.95 to benefit *Mediachannel.org*, a global online affiliate network for a democratic media with 1080 affiliates. Readers can pay for the book and make additional contributions via PayPal on *Mediachannel.org*. E-mails requesting the book to dissector@mediachannel.org.

Checks to *Mediachannel.org*/The Global Center 575 8th Avenue, New York NY 10018. Help us get the word out.