

## UNCOVERED: THE WAR ON IRAQ TRANSCRIPT

Titles:

“Cinema Libre Distribution Presents:  
MoveOn.org and The Center for American Progress  
Present  
A Robert Greenwald Film  
Uncovered  
Co-Producers: Kate McArdle, Devin Smith, Co-Producer: Philippe Diaz  
Editor: Kimberly Ray  
Additional Editing: Deborah Zeitman  
Music: Brad Chiet and Jim Ervin & Mars Lasar  
Researcher/Associate Producer: Jim Gilliam  
Additional Editing/Associate Producer: Chris Gordon  
Producer/Director: Robert Greenwald  
Uncovered: The War”

Title: “The Experts”

MILT BEARDEN

Thirty years with the CIA from 1964 to 1994.

RAND BEERS

I worked for the government for 35 years starting with the Marine Corps from 1962 to 1968 with some service in Vietnam.

GRAHAM FULLER

I was 25 years as a professional intelligence officer with CIA.

KAREN KWIATKOWSKI

Almost 5 years in the Pentagon and the last almost 3 of that working in the office of the secretary of defense.

JOHN BRADY KIESLING

I spent almost 20 years with the state department. Three years in Athens as a political counselor for the chief of the political section

PATRICK LANG

I'm a retired colonel in the United States army, military intelligence special forces.

LARRY JOHNSON

I was previously with the state dept's office of counter-terrorism from 1989-1993 prior to that I worked with the Central Intelligence Agency.

DAVID C. MACMICHAEL

I'm a former senior estimates officer with the Central Intelligence Agency.

PETER ZIMMERMAN

I started actually as a science fellow with the arms control and disarmament agency and became the chief scientist of the arms control agency.

RAY MCGOVERN

For 27 years I was an analyst first of Soviet affairs and then of wider responsibilities.

THE HONORABLE HENRY WAXMAN

I'm a congressman representing the 30th district in Los Angeles.

COLONEL MARY ANN WRIGHT

I've just completed almost three decades of service to the United States.

PHILIP COYLE

Most recently I was an assistant secretary of defense in the Pentagon from 1994 to 2001.

JOSEPH WILSON

I served for 23 years in the American Foreign Service as a diplomat.

BILL CHRISTISON

I worked for the CIA for 28 and a half years.

PATRICK EDDINGTON

I joined the agency in 1988, originally with what was then known as the national photographic interpretation center.

DAVID CORN

I'm Washington editor of The Nation magazine, I've been doing that for about 16 years now.

THE RT. HONORABLE CLARE SHORT

I'm the labor MP for a constituency in Birmingham called Birmingham Ladywood, I've been the MP for 20 years.

CHAS FREEMAN

For 30 years I was a diplomat serving my country abroad, my last position however was ambassador to Saudi Arabia during the Gulf War.

JOHN DEAN

In July of 1970, the president asked me to come over to be White House counsel and I served for roughly a thousand days until it all fell apart.

THOMAS E. WHITE

I spent 23 years as a commissioned officer in the United States Army. I came back to public service in 2001 to be the secretary of the army.

ROBERT BAER

I spent 21 years in the CIA. Of that time I spent 90 percent in the Middle East.

SCOTT RITTER

I'm a former weapons inspector with the United Nations in Iraq, I served in that capacity from 1991 until 1998.

MEL GOODMAN

I worked for the CIA for 20 years, from 1966 to 1986.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

I've worked on assessing secret nuclear weapons programs for almost 20 years.

ADMIRAL STANSFIELD TURNER

I never expected that I'd leave the navy and become chief spook of our country, director of Central Intelligence, but that happened.

Title: "UNCOVERED:THE WAR ON IRAQ"

OVERLAPPING VOICE OVERS

RICHARD CHENEY

Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction.

GEORGE W. BUSH

-Iraq's weapons of mass destruction

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

-A clear threat to the United States

EXPERT VO

-it has dozens of ballistic missiles

GEORGE W. BUSH

-It has sponsored and sheltered terrorists

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

-paying suicide bombers

COLIN POWELL

-chemical weapons are equally chilling

DONALD RUMSFELD

-biological weapons including anthrax and botulism toxin

GEORGE W. BUSH

-biological and chemical agent to kill millions of people

DONALD RUMSFELD

-chemical weapons including VX and sarin, mustard gas

GEORGE W. BUSH

To a massive and sudden horror

COLIN POWELL

Massive death and destruction

RICHARD RICHARD CHENEY

Death on a massive scale

GEORGE W. BUSH

The danger to our country is grave. The danger to our country is growing. The Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemical weapons. The Iraqi regime is building the facilities necessary to make more biological and chemical weapons. And according to the British Government, the Iraqi regime could launch a biological or chemical attack in as little as forty-five minutes, after the order were given. The regime has longstanding and continuing ties to terrorist organizations and there are Al Qaeda terrorists inside Iraq. The regime is seeking a nuclear bomb and with fissible..fissile material, could build one within a year.

MEL GOODMAN

The Bush administration made up its mind to go to war on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001.

BILL CHRISTISON

That very first day, on September 12, one day after September 11, uh, the, meeting that was held in the White House, in the situation room, uh, led to Rumsfeld asking the question, "Shouldn't we use this as an opportunity to do something about Iraq as well?"

RICHARD CLARKE

We all said no, no, no. Al Qaeda is in Afghanistan. We need to bomb Afghanistan and Rumsfeld said there aren't any good targets in Afghanistan. And there are lots of good targets in Iraq.

EXPERT VO

From that time on, you were dealing with rationalization, justification for the war. You weren't dealing with real causes for the war, or the real reasons for the war. There was never a clear and present danger, there was never an imminent threat.

CONDOLLEEZZA RICE

-With weapons of mass destruction

RICHARD CHENEY

-Weapons of mass destruction

GEORGE W. BUSH

Weapons of “math death.”

RAY MCGOVERN

Weapons of mass destruction was a convenient way into tricking our congress into giving our president authority to wage this war.

DICK CHENEY

We now know that Saddam has resumed his efforts to acquire nuclear weapons.

DONALD RUMSFELD

-Develop nuclear weapons

GEORGE W. BUSH

-Nuclear weapons.

MEL GOODMAN

It was clear that Iraq did not have a nuclear weapons program. But over and over again, President Bush, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, particularly Vice President Cheney, but also, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, drummed up the idea of a reconstituted nuclear capability, and particularly the notion that I think has some resonance among the American people, of the mushroom cloud.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

Leaders will use worst case assessments, uh, that point to nuclear weapons, to generate political support because they know people fear nuclear weapons so much.

RAY MCGOVERN

The evidence was simply not there. Um, Wolfowitz would be asked to explain, you know, how good is the evidence, can you tell us more about it? This is in NATO, mind you, and he'd say, “Well, um, it's like this, it's like pornography, uh, hard to describe, but I'll, you, you recognize it when you see it.” My God. And we're going to go to war on that?

DONALD RUMSFELD

If someone is waiting for a so – called smoking gun, it's certain that we will have waited too long.

CONDOLLEEZZA RICE

We don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud.

GEORGE W. BUSH

We cannot wait for the final proof. The smoking gun. It could come in the form of a mushroom cloud.

PHILIP COYLE

A lot of people who supported the war in Iraq actually believed that Iraq had the capability to fire missiles that could reach the United States carrying payloads of nuclear or chemical or biological weapons. Iraq has never had the capability to do that. They didn't have it in the first Gulf War, they didn't have it in this, uh, war in Iraq, and they don't have it, uh, any way of getting it in the future.

MEL GOODMAN

What the Bush administration did was try to round up as many people as they could who would make the case for them.

ROBERT BAER

What the white House wanted was the CIA to give it talking points to justify this war. It'd already made up its mind.

DR. DAVID C. MACMICHAEL

Massive intervention, by, uh, people, uh, particularly, uh, from Vice President Cheney's office and Vice President Cheney himself, in the process.

EXPERT VO

And I think the intelligence analysts found themselves really up against it when they tried to argue that those connections weren't as tight as , as people were sugges-, were saying.

DAVID C. MACMICHAEL

Intelligence director of the department of energy, simply ordered his experts who had raised questions about the, the evidence being used on the, on the nuclear, end of it, to, as, uh, the news accounts say, to sit down and shut up, so that the DOE would be on board with the overall estimate.

JOHN KIESLING

They were not given the opportunity to speak because no one wanted to hear what they said.

ROBERT BAER

I was in chief of collecting information on Iraq through the mid-nineties. I know what we had, and what we didn't have, and I'm here to tell you there was no information.

RAY MCGOVERN

I understand that the Director himself, George Tenet, is now accompanying the briefer in the morning. This never happened in the past. In the past we were trusted, we were senior people, we knew what the score was. And when I hear that George Tenet is going down with the senior briefer, I wonder why.

DAVID C. MACMICHAEL

And the very heavy leaning on the director of Central Intelligence and his staff to produce precisely the language which would allow them to make the statements which they have been making to support the decision to go into Iraq.

RAY MCGOVERN

Well, not only by their physical presence, but by the questions they asked, by the, "well don't you think," sort of things, "well, couldn't it be possible that..."

ROBERT BAER

They call this data mining. Going back over old information coming to new conclusions.

MEL GOODMAN

And the overwhelming opinion from the scientists of this government, at the department of energy, and even at the CIA and some at the state department, were arguing against using weapons of mass destruction as a case to go to war.

RAY MCGOVERN

You're talking about the vice president of the united states, and you're talking about a GS 13 or 14, a mid-level analyst in the Central Intelligence Agency, you're talking about a person who should have career protection for telling it like it is, but who knows that his chief, the director of CIA, is a member of the team, you know? A lot of pressure on that. Shouldn't happen.

ROBERT BAER

The whole purpose of the CIA was to leave those people out of Langley, that's why they're not in Washington, they're in northern Virginia, away from the White House, away from congress, leave 'em alone, ask 'em what they think, but don't tell them to rethink their positions. Because then you come up with nonsense, like we saw.

GRAHAM FULLER

The administration decided very early on that Saddam should go and that in itself is not a bad goal but of course everything depends on how you do it, when, where with whom, etc.

MILT BEARDEN

Preemptive war by its very nature is something that is entirely new to the United States of America and to what we call the Western Alliance. You go back through history and at the Peace of Westfalia in 1648 a group of nations that had just killed most of each other off decided that isn't quite the way to do it and they came up with a set of laws that we've all lived with fairly well since then which doesn't much allow for preemptive war.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Delay, indecision and inaction could lead to a massive and sudden horror.

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

It simply makes no sense to wait any longer.

DONALD RUMSFIELD

Take action, before it's too late.

GEORGE W. BUSH

We will not wait.

GEORGE W. BUSH

I believe it is essential that when we see a threat, we deal with those threats before they become imminent. It's too late if they've become imminent.

RICHARD CHENEY

As President Bush has said, time is not on our side.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

It was a rushed N.I.E., it was done, I believe in three or four weeks, which is really fast for that. It wasn't done earlier, from what I understand, because the Bush administration didn't want such a document that had caveats.

MEL GOODMAN

That's why they never asked for a comprehensive National Intelligence Estimate within the intelligence community, on this particular problem, because they knew the intelligence community didn't agree on any of these issues.

Graphic: Seals for National Intelligence Departments

DAVID ALBRIGHT VO

The National Intelligence Estimate is really about, I don't know, five major players, but ten intelligence agencies in total, weighing in, on the basic situation with weapons of mass destruction. It only happened because the head of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Graham, called for it. And so I think the Bush Administration resisted having an N.I.E., and then once it was out, selectively picked what was useful to their argument.

Graphic: Dossier: "National Intelligence Estimate: Iraq's Continuing Programs for Weapons of Mass Destruction"

Becomes:

"Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction Programs"



Caption: “Although we have little specific information on Iraq’s CW stockpile, Saddam probably has stocked at least 100 metric tons (MT) and possibly as much as 500 MT of CW agents...”

Becomes Caption: “Saddam probably has stocked a few 100 metric tons (MT) of CW agents...”

EXPERT VO

Most of their qualifications were simply filtered out.

RAY MCGOVERN VO

The sanitization of the original estimate was not true to its real meaning. How all the modifiers were dropped off.

Caption: “We judge that Iraq has continued its weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs”

Caption Becomes: “Iraq has continued weapons of mass destruction programs”

DAVID ALBRIGHT VO

It was a prosecutor making a case, using what benefited his case, ignoring evidence that would undermine his case, and there was no defense attorney to give us the other side.

Caption: “The activities we have detected do not however, add up to a compelling case that Iraq is currently pursuing what INR would consider to be an integrated and comprehensive approach to acquire nuclear weapons. Iraq may be doing so, but INR considers the available evidence inadequate to support such a judgment.

Caption becomes lined-out.

EXPERT VO

-and the end product used by policymakers, particularly in its discussion with the American public, were much more forceful than could have possibly been when originally written by CIA, DIA, or State Department’s intelligence and research.

Caption: “The Director, Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance, U.S. Air Force, does not agree that Iraq is developing UAVs primarily intended to be delivery platforms for chemical and biological warfare (CBW) agents.”

Caption becomes lined-out.

Caption: “We assess that Baghdad has begun renewed production of mustard, cyclosarin and VX.”

Caption becomes: “Baghdad has begun renewed production of chemical warfare agents, probably including mustard cyclosarin and VX.

RAY MCGOVERN VO

It was a bizarre warping of the intelligence process and they thought they were going to get away with it because who was going to see the classified version? Well, later, several months later, they release parts of the classified version. They thought no one would notice.

Caption: "Revelations after the Gulf War starkly demonstrate the extensive efforts undertaken by Iraq to deny information. We lack specific information on many key aspects of Iraq's WMD programs."

Caption becomes: "Revelations after the Gulf War starkly demonstrate the extensive efforts undertaken by Iraq to deny information."

Caption: "INR is unwilling to speculate that such an effort began."

Caption becomes lined-out.

Caption: "We judge Iraq has some lethal and incapacitating BW agents, for delivery by bombs, missiles, aerial sprayers, and covert operatives."

Caption becomes: "Iraq has some lethal and incapacitating BW agents, for delivery by bombs, missiles, aerial sprayers, and covert operatives, including potentially against the US Homeland."

LARRY JOHNSON

So this was not a case where the National Intelligence Estimate was driving the war. This was to provide an excuse after the fact.

MILT BEARDEN

Going to war based on intelligence is yet another example I think, of intelligence simply not being able by nature, by definition to live up to that kind of requirement. You may produce intelligence that could keep you out of a war but I doubt that you'll ever get one, two, three reports of intelligence that would in any way allow you to go to war.

Title: "Terrorism"

DONALD RUMSFELD

There are Al Qaeda in Iraq.

CONDOLLEEZZA RICE

Saddam Hussein cavorts with terrorists.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Secretly and without fingerprints he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists or help them develop their own.

CHAS FREEMAN

Well the war really had absolutely nothing to do with terrorism, there was no connection whatsoever between Iraq and the secular regime there and the religious fanatics who perpetrated 9/11.

RICHARD CLARKE

They wanted to believe that there was a connection but the CIA was sitting there the FBI was sitting there, I was sitting there saying 'We've looked at this issue for years, there's just no connection.'

JOHN BRADY KIESLING

Saddam was not a maniac or a fool. He was a terrible villain, yes. But he was not going to sacrifice his own life and the future of his country to stupid adventures with terrorists who had completely antithetical views to his.

JOE WILSON

It is just inconceivable to anybody who understands Saddam Hussein and understands the nature of highly centralized dictatorships, generally that dictators would want to give up control of their most potent weaponry because once you've given up control, you have no control. So you can't say to Al Qaeda- you will use this or you won't use it. The decision on whether or not they're going to use it depends on what Osama Bin Laden does. Do you want to entrust your fate to Osama Bin Laden and his nihilistic ways? I don't think so. Saddam Hussein is a psychopath and a sociopath; he was not an irrational being in the sense that he was going to insure his own demise by doing something like that.

GRAHAM FULLER

Al Qaeda has had total contempt for Saddam Hussein himself, he's been a socialist. He's been very harsh, he's treated Islamic leaders, Islamist leaders extremely harshly.

MEL GOODMAN

Iraq, and we have very good intelligence on this, was not part of the picture of terrorism before we invaded. Saddam Hussein and Bin Laden were enemies. Bin Laden considered and said that Saddam Hussein was the socialist infidel. These were very different kinds of individuals competing for power in their own way and Saddam Hussein made very sure that Al Qaeda couldn't function in Iraq, that terrorists couldn't function, except for the small northeastern quadrant of the country where there was an extremist group but he had no control over that, it was near the Iranian border.

NARRATOR VO

There's no doubt that Ansar Al Islam is a radical Islamic terrorist group with ties to Al Qaeda but they operate in a part of Iraq that is not controlled by Hussein. The leaders say they seek to overthrow Hussein and his government.

ISLAMIST LEADER

They are our enemy, really they are also our enemy. We believe that Saddam Hussein, him and his group and his ministers also they are outside of Islam's zone.

RAY MCGOVERN

The ties with Al Qaeda was just a scare tactic to exploit the trauma, the very real trauma, that the American people have felt ever since 9/11 and to associate that trauma with Iraq. As you know from the polls, most Americans believed that Iraq had something to do with 9/11 and that was a very successful and very deliberate and very unethical and immoral operation on the part of the P.R. people of this administration.

Title: "Informers"

RICHARD CHENEY

What we now know that Saddam has resumed his efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. Among other sources, we've gotten this from first hand testimony from defectors, including Saddam's own son-in-law.

GEORGE TENET

We had access to émigrés, and defectors, with more direct access to these programs...

GEORGE W. BUSH

From three Iraqi defectors we know that Iraq in the late 1990's had several mobile biological weapons labs.

ARI FLEISCHER

It was only after defectors told us about it. The inspectors were in the country...

DONALD RUMSFELD

The most important information that inspectors have ever gotten on what's going on in Iraq have come from defectors.

PAUL WOLFOWITZ

We know about that capability from defectors and other sources.

DAVID KAY

A recent defector has stated that as recently as August of '98, that's while inspections were still going on, a formal order was issued to proceed with a nuclear program at full blast.

AHMED CHALABI

Our strategy is to bring to the world the danger that Saddam poses in his current state.

SHARIF ALI BIN EL-HUSSEIN

Without doubt he is developing weapons of mass destruction. Without doubt he has chemical and biological weapons. And without doubt, for thirty years he been trying to acquire a nuclear weapon.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

The usual scrutiny of these kind of guys was just not done adequately. There was this attitude of , “let’s find the smoking gun. Let’s find the evidence.” Rather than lets look at what’s out there and weigh the evidence.

LARRY JOHNSON

They wanted to believe him. It goes back to contacts originated as early as the 1990s with individuals like dick Cheney, like Paul Wolfowitz, like Richard pearl, dealing with Ahmed Chalabi. They became enamored of this fellow who dressed like a Westerner, talked with a British accent, and appeared to be upper crust, and therefore was quite believable.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

Everyone in Washington was believing them. And I thought people had really, somehow checked out of reality in order to go to war. That it was a war fever that had taken over.

MEL GOODMAN

These people wanted to get back into Baghdad. They couldn’t defeat Saddam Hussein but they knew that US military power could. So the worst of these who would be Ahmad Chalabi who has been in exile from his country for twenty to thirty years and who’s clearly not a hero by the definition of heroism by his own people, sold the Pentagon on the idea that Saddam did have weapons of mass destruction and must be stopped.

EXPERT VO

They were bringing forward individuals who they claimed were either high level military or scientists with access. They were looking for money, first of all, because Chalabi was paying money.

LARRY JOHNSON:

Supplying money shouldn’t be a surprise. That’s how informants are dealt with in the spy business.

ROBERT BAER

But there was no effort to check their bona fides. None.

JOHN KIESLING

Every checkable piece of that intelligence that has come to public notice has proven to be false or at least self serving in the extreme

Graphic: “US paid \$1 Million for ‘useless intelligence’ from Chalabi – Washington Post”

LARRY JOHNSON

We had the U.S. congress approve and appropriate money for the Iraqi National Congress. No telling how much they were taking off the top for themselves.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

You get all kinds of people who want a reward and have nothing to offer, and many ended up with Chalabi, because they would believe anything they had about Iraq.

MEL GOODMAN

It was phony evidence, it was based on intelligence we had from Iraqi exiles who wanted this country to attack Iraq so these people could then take over in Baghdad and establish their own regime.

SCOTT RITTER

We have to go back and examine just the role the defectors played throughout the entire inspection process.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

If inspections work, then you don't overthrow Saddam Hussein.

ROBERT BAER

How does somebody like that, I don't even know how to describe him, get into a position where he is determining U.S. policy

LARRY JOHNSON

Senior members of the department of defense gave him their thumbs up. His information was coming into the White House to people like Dick Cheney, through the office of special plans, so it was coming through a avenue that's not traditional to the intelligence community and wasn't open to being vetted or reviewed. We've had Chalabi himself admit that they didn't mind providing false information because it helped them achieve their goal of removing Saddam.

SHARIF ALI BIN EL-HUSSEIN

No body in Iraq will defend that regime, including the military, both the regular army and the republican guard.

AHMED CHALABI

Our liberation would have not been achieved without the determination of President George W. Bush and the commitment of the coalition. And the forefront of which stand the people of the United States of America and Great Britain. The Iraqis will never forget your courage and sacrifice on our behalf. We are here today to declare that the new Iraq is born and a Iraq where dignity, justice, and human rights are issued for all citizens.

SHARIF ALI BIN EL-HUSSEIN

There is no risk of a break up of Iraq. There is no risk of a civil war.

AHMED CHALABI

I stand before this assembly as a representative of free Iraq. To all those hear who helped us in our struggle for liberation we extend our gratitude.

SHARIF ALI BIN EL-HUSSEIN

The Iraqi opposition will insure the continuation of its institutions and to reestablish democracy and the rule of law.

ROBERT BAER

He said, 'I got what I wanted, I got my war. I'm back in Iraq. If you people relied on my information, you're stupid.'

Title: "President Bush State of the Union January 28, 2003"

Title: "War Talk Shifts From "If" To "When".- New York Times"

Title: "U.S. Stand on Iraq is Entering Final Phase- Wall Street Journal"

Title: "The case for war. -The Economist"

Title: "Support for War with Iraq Grow after Bush's speech.- Washington Post."

GEORGE W. BUSH

Every year by law and by custom we meet here and consider the state of the union. This year we gather in this chamber deeply aware of decisive days that lie ahead.

JOHN DEAN

Distorted beliefs, estimates and guesstimates that it appears he was misleading the public and the Congress.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard and VX nerve agent.

PETER ZIMMERMAN

Any sarin that they were making in 1990, 1991 had a known shelf life of about 2 months. I have confirmed this with inspectors and analysts who were deeply involved in the 1990's analyses. Well if you made it 12 years ago and it had a shelf life of two months, it may not be safe to drink, but it isn't sarin nerve gas any longer. And there's no way the agency could not have known that.

GEORGE W. BUSH

U.S. intelligence indicates that Saddam Hussein had upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents. Inspectors recently turned up 16 of them, despite Iraq's recent declaration denying their existence.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

And then they tried to use the fact that inspectors found sixteen of these as evidence that thousands more existed and again, I mean, as a methodology it's a very weak way to

predict anything. And I think it borders on propaganda to argue that the small number that have been found by inspectors imply that in this case, over 29,000 exist.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Saddam Hussein has not accounted for the remaining 29,984 of these prohibited munitions.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

The Bush Administration officials either routinely said or tried to give the impression that if Iraq had not fully accounted for all of a certain item related to chemical or biological weapons, then it must be there. And that's not at all what the inspectors said or found.

GEORGE W. BUSH

He hasn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

And the inspectors can go in and say- Okay we can prove, yeah, you destroyed that set in this way or that set in that way but these others we can't prove it. That doesn't mean that they didn't destroy these warheads or whatever the item was, it just means Iraq hadn't been able to prove it.

PATRICK LANG

If Saddam Hussein had admitted to the Iranians, to the Syrians and his own people that he had been so intimidated by the UN inspections and sanctions process, given up on all that, they would've torn him from limb to limb.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Saddam Hussein had material sufficient to produce more than 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin, enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure. He hadn't accounted for that material.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

The inspectors had evidence to say that Iraq had not fully revealed its biological weapons program, particularly its ability to make botulinum toxin and therefore it was an open issue. But again, it doesn't mean that what the inspectors found was evidence that Iraq possessed that.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high strength aluminum tubes, suitable for nuclear weapons production.

PETER ZIMMERMAN

I think there was very little doubt that the centrifuge tubes, so called, were nothing but rocket motor tubes to go into M-81 style artillery rockets. They certainly have all the specs for that.



SCOTT RITTER

Nuclear experts for instance from Lawrence Livermore's laboratory's Z division, the experts on centrifuge enrichment came out and said - No you couldn't enrich uranium using these tubes, they're not compatible.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

I saw it as a deliberate attempt to take information, selectively take information, and try to basically say that Iraq poses an imminent nuclear threat and therefore action is absolutely necessary and I felt that was absolutely wrong.

GEORGE W. BUSH

The international Atomic Energy agency confirmed in the 1990's that Saddam Hussein had an advanced nuclear weapons development program.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

The administration showed photos of nuclear or former nuclear weapons sites in Iraq, pre-1991 nuclear weapons sites, claimed the new construction showed that they were ongoing nuclear weapons sites, complete nonsense.

JOHN DEAN

The most troubling thing about the fact, the distortions and the misleading statements that Bush gave Congress is that it is a federal felony, it's a crime to mislead and distort information to present to the Congress.

GEORGE W. BUSH

The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa.

NARRATOR

Eight days later when Secretary Powell addressed the UN about weapons of mass destruction, he deliberately left out any reference to attempts to buy uranium from Africa.

COLIN POWELL

I didn't use the uranium at that point because I didn't think that was sufficiently uh, str, strong as evidence to present before the world.

NARRATOR VO

CIA officials warned members of the president's staff the intelligence was not good enough to make the statement Iraq tried to buy uranium from Africa.

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

In October for the Cincinnati speech, not for the state of the union, but the Cincinnati speech, George Tenet asked that this be taken out of the Cincinnati speech, the reference to yellow cake. It was taken out of the Cincinnati speech because whenever the director of Central Intelligence wants something out, it's gone.

TIM RUSSERT

How'd it get back in?

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

It's not a matter of getting back in, it's a matter, Tim, that three plus months later people didn't remember that George Tenet had asked that it be taken out of the Cincinnati speech and that it was cleared by the agency.

Title: "Sixteen Words"

GEORGE W. BUSH

The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa.

NARRATOR VO

Just sixteen words in the State of the Union address, words that we now know were misleading. A retired career diplomat Joe Wilson tried to warn the administration of just that, nearly a year before the speech.

JOE WILSON

I uh, I received a call from the CIA in February of 2002 and I was invited out to talk to those people within the broader intelligence community who deal with uh, three different subjects- Iraq, uranium and Niger. I briefed them on what I knew about the uranium business. It was during the course of that briefing that they said that they had received a report that had piqued the interest of the office of the Vice President and that report was of a purported memorandum of agreement authorizing sale of uranium yellowcake, somewhat enriched uranium, from Niger to Iraq and it was a document that was executed by the government of Niger. They asked me if I would be willing to go out and take another look at it and talk to people I knew there. I left, uh, I left there telling them that if they wanted I would be able to free up my schedule. They subsequently called me and said- Please do. I spent the 8 days there drinking mint tea and talking to everybody there was to talk to who knew anything about the subject matter in the EMA. And I come back persuaded that it could not have happened. One, from a business perspective, because of the way the consortium was structured, you just couldn't do it without a lot of people knowing. And two, the way the government bureaucracy was structured, you could not make the decision without a lot of people knowing. And if you made the decision, the decision would be reflected in a series of documents, uh, signatures on the documents and if the documents did not contain those signatures, they could not be authentic, government of Niger documents.

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

The president quoted a British paper, we did not know at the time, no one knew at the time in our circles. Maybe someone knew down in the bowels of the Agency, but no one in our circles knew that there were doubts and suspicions that this might be a forgery. Of course it was information that was mistaken. But it was a relatively small part of the case

about nuclear weapons and nuclear reconstitution. It is also the case that the broad picture about Iraq's programs was a picture that went very far back in time.

JOE WILSON

Now, given what I knew about where the question had originated and given what I knew about the way the government works, I knew that people in her circle did know.

DR. MOHAMED ELBARADEI

Based on further analysis, the IAEA has concluded with the concurrence of outside experts, that these documents which formed the basis for the report of recent uranium transaction between Iraq and Niger are in fact not authentic.

NARRATOR VO

Numerous French words were misspelled in the documents. One of the letters was signed by a Niger official who had left office ten years ago. Several dates in the documents did not match the day of the week. Several of the names and titles of officials mentioned in the documents were incorrect.

MILT BEARDEN

We all know that the documentation on yellowcake from Niger was faked, but why doesn't anybody say who did it? Who faked the document and why don't we take another look then at the same stream of consciousness that was prevailing at that moment on the aluminum tubes and even the trailers, the bioweapons trailers that were so ballyhooed. At that point someone's gotta say who is putting this intelligence out there and why? And I don't think that question's been answered and maybe because the answer is known, and it's not a pleasant one.

SENATOR BOB GRAHAM

Who was it that asked for this review of the Niger nuclear material question? It was the Vice President. Mr. Wilson, former ambassador, was sent to Niger in response to the Vice President's questions about this issue. So assumedly, the Vice President got a report back in response to his question and that report contained the Wilson memo, his assessment of the situation.

MILT BEARDEN

The question remains, who did the document? Who forged the document? And why? The list is possibly short, somebody oughta be able to work on that.

NARRATOR VO

Wilson says his family is the subject of a smear campaign by senior administration officials that deliberately leaked his wife's identity as a covert CIA operative, damaging her future career and compromising past missions. After he criticized the administration on Meet The Press and in the New York Times.

JOE WILSON

The White House hatchet men came out and started writing articles that basically said that Wilson, well the first one came out and said that Wilson told the truth cause he's a Democrat, well set that up as an argument. Democrats tell the truth, ergo Republicans, fill in the blank. Then, then, uh, a couple of senior administration officials leaked to Bob Novak that my wife was a CIA operative involved in the weapons of mass destruction business at the CIA.

JOHN DEAN

Senior administration officials is a key to being typically, president, vice president, cabinet officers and the top of the White House had gone out of their way to get that information out. Not only told Novak, told Time Magazine, they wanted that information out. Now that's against a statutory law that prohibits the identification of CIA operatives.

JOE WILSON

What you're doing when you expose a CIA officer, of any name, you're basically taking their entire career and flushing it down the toilet.

JOHN DEAN

Also has the potential of placing that person in jeopardy because of their operations and their own operations and people they have operated with in jeopardy. So it was a very vengeful act against the ambassador to try to hurt him by hurting his wife's career if not wishing her physical damage. I've never seen a dirty trick that could be a hit.

JOE WILSON

A president of the United States and an administration that has come to office on a platform of restoring dignity and honor to the White House, what they did was neither dignified nor was it terribly honorable, nor was it germane to the issue at hand.

Title: "Secretary of State Powell's Address to the United Nations- February 5, 2003"

Title: "Masterful- Hartford Current"

Title: "With the Coolness of Marshall Dillon- Denver Post"

Title: "Piling Fact upon Fact- LA times"

Title: "Iraq is Busted- Jacksonville Times"

Title: "Overwhelming- Tampa Tribune"

Title: "Powerful New Case- Washington Post"

Title: "Secretary of State Powell Delivered and Then Some- USA Today"

SCOTT RITTER VO

First of all it should be noted that Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations was theater, a masterful theater, effective theater at the time. Here's a man who has tremendous credibility, who presents himself to the Security Council, to the American people, to the international public and stares the camera in the eye and says he knows Iraq has weapons of mass destruction.

COLIN POWELL

Leaving Saddam Hussein in possession of weapons of mass destruction for a few more months or years is not an option.

RAY MCGOVERN

My first visual impression here, watching George Tenet, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency back there as a prop almost like a potted plant, as if to say that the Central Intelligence Agency stands behind, or in this case sits behind everything that Colin Powell says, that was a terrific blow to the morale of the Central Intelligence Agency analysts.

COLIN POWELL

Saddam Hussein has chemical weapons.

PATRICK LANG

Chemical weapons, although they can be very deadly in a subway station or something like this, are not really strategic weapons. They are weapons that can kill 50, 100, 200 people, but in fact they won't devastate you the way a nuclear weapon in New York City or Chicago or some place would be a deadly blow.

COLIN POWELL

Saddam Hussein has used these horrific weapons- on another country and on his own people.

DAVID CORN

He used weapons, Saddam Hussein did, back in the 1980's when the U.S. administration, the Reagan administration, was actually supporting him and allowing him to import the chemical precursors to that. Donald Rumsfeld actually as the special envoy for Ronald Reagan back in those years helped open the door for better relations between Washington and Baghdad.

SCOTT RITTER

Colin Powell spoke of thousands of liters of anthrax that were unaccounted for. He said they're probably hiding it. Then he held up a little vial of white powder and he said- A couple teaspoonfuls of white powder like this, if launched against American cities, could kill thousands of Americans. If he was truly to reflect the Iraqi capability, he would have held up a bottle of Diet Coke and said the Iraqis produced anthrax that looked like this. It has a shelf life of three years. The last known production batch came out in 1991 so even if Iraq was hiding this brown, sludge liquid, it would be useless today.

COLIN POWELL

Just a few weeks ago we intercepted communications between two commanders in Iraq's second Republican guard corps.

SCOTT RITTER

If you know anything about Iraq, they have very strict communications security procedures so you would never have military personnel speaking in the clear over a radio about sensitive subjects.

COLIN POWELL

On the left is a close-up of one of the four chemical bunkers.

SCOTT RITTER

There were never any chemical weapons in that facility, I'm intimately familiar with that facility. I've inspected it a number of times. Other inspectors have inspected it many more times than I have.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

To believe they were proof is to believe the statement that Iraq would put its crown jewels in the one building or one of the few buildings that either the United States will bomb first or the inspectors will go to first.

COLIN POWELL

The truck you also see is a signature item, it's a decontamination vehicle.

SCOTT RITTER

The UN weapons inspectors knew that the truck shown by Colin Powell in those photographs were fire trucks, not decontamination trucks.

RAY MCGOVERN

I would have to comment here on Secretary of State Colin Powell's debut as an imagery analyst. It was highly embarrassing for those of us who know something about the business. We couldn't tell whether this was an honest mistake by those who now do the imagery analysis, who now report to the Secretary of Defense, unlike our day when they reported to the Central Intelligence Agency, whether that was the case, or whether perhaps Colin Powell was being set up.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

From our point of view, I mean we do all kinds of analysis of satellite imagery. You can't form any conclusions on what's going on inside the building. They could have been building tractors, they could have been doing nothing inside that facility.

COLIN POWELL

Now look at the picture on the right. You are now looking at two of those sanitized bunkers. The signature vehicles are gone, it's been cleaned up, and it was done on the 22nd of December as the UN inspection team is arriving.

RAY MCGOVERN

Vehicles, they rotate from site to site, and so the absence of the vehicle on the second photo, which we know is the 22nd of December could just as easily be explained by the normal rotation because you didn't tell us the date of the first and it was several weeks before.

HANS BLIX

We have noted that the two satellite images of the site were taken several weeks apart. The reported movement of munitions at the site could just as easily have been a routine activity as a movement of proscribed munitions in anticipation of imminent inspection.

COLIN POWELL

We have first hand descriptions of biological weapons factories on wheels and on rails.

SCOTT RITTER

These mobile labs have now been shown to be nothing more than hydrogen generation facilities.

COLIN POWELL

Here you see both truck and rail car mounted mobile factories.

SCOTT RITTER

When you take a look at the mobile labs that Colin Powell discussed, he didn't put up photographs of these facilities, he put up artist's renditions of these facilities. Why? Because we have no proof they exist.

COLIN POWELL

This video of an Iraqi test flight obtained by UNSCOM some years ago, shows an Iraqi F-1 Mirage jet aircraft. Note the spray coming from beneath the Mirage. That is 2000 liters of simulated anthrax.

Title: "The plan was destroyed in 1991. – UN Weapons Inspectors"

COLIN POWELL

Iraqis continue to visit Bin Laden in his new home in Afghanistan.

RAY MCGOVERN

George Tenet's analysts had spent a year and a half of torturous investigation, torturous analysis, to see if there were ties between Al Qaeda and Iraq. They found none.

COLIN POWELL

Our conservative estimate is that Iraq today has a stockpile of between 100 and 500 tons of chemical weapons agent.

RAY MCGOVERN

So the Secretary of State is telling us that our conservative estimate is that Iraq possesses between 100 and 500 tons of chemical weapons agent, enough to fill 16,000 warheads in the battlefield. Where are they? What happened to them? My suspicion is that this is not our conservative estimate, this sounds very much to me like our neo-conservative estimate.

COLIN POWELL

Iraqi denials of supporting terrorists take their place alongside the other Iraqi denials of weapons of mass destruction. It is all a web of lies.

RAY MCGOVERN

It was a masterful performance, but none of it was true. Where are all these weapons? Where is all this VX? Where is all the anthrax?

GREG THIELMANN

It was probably one of the low points in his long distinguished service to the nation.

Title: "Inspections"

GEORGE W. BUSH

The old weapons inspections process was a little more than a game.

DAVID KAY

They concealed, deny, deceived.

RICHARD CHENEY

The return of Inspectors would provide no assurance whatsoever

DAVID KAY

To eliminate by inspection is quite frankly is a fool's errand.

RICHARD CHENEY

On the contrary, there is a great danger that it would provide false comfort that Saddam was somehow back in his box.

PATRICK EDDINGTON

The reality is that between the original UNSCOM inspections and the UNMOVIC inspections, you destroyed with those inspections 90 to probably 95 percent of Iraqi arsenal. The first Gulf War destroyed almost nothing. Uh, and post war US battle damage assessment confirmed that.



ROBERT BAER

The UN weapons inspections were effective, they forced Saddam to get rid of the stuff, they had that country under control.

BILL CHRISTISON

By 1998 at the latest, those Inspectors have discovered most of the weapons of mass destruction, and the Iraqi programs at that point were essentially at an end.

PHILIP COYLE

Before the war in Iraq, the United Nations Inspectors told them that Saddam Hussein did not have nuclear weapons capability.

CHAS FREEMAN

Ironically the major effect of the invasion of Iraq, in terms of weapons of mass destruction, has been to show that the inspectors were right all along.

PATRICK EDDINGTON

The inspection regime worked. It was the most intrusive inspection regime in history and it worked. And at the end of the day that's another reason we went to war for nothing.

Title: "War in Iraq"

Title: "On the Brink of War"

Title: "News Teams Ready Their Troops"

Title: "Showdown with Iraq"

MICHAEL SAVAGE

These maniacs who are encouraging our enemies, weakening our troops resolve and confusing the American people.

WILLIAM BENNETT

Well, you shouldn't listen to these protests because they're obviously helping Saddam Hussein. Who would have guessed you could build a massive international peace movement on the protection of Saddam Hussein.

SCOTT RITTER

The media is culpable for the misleading of the American public. They bought into the Bush Administrations rhetoric.

DENNIS PRAGER

They don't understand that there is moral violence and immoral violence. We use moral violence. God bless this president. He is truly a great man.

MICHAEL SAVAGE VO

Reducing troop morale, confusing the American people and emboldening our enemies. They are absolutely committing treason or sedition as far as I'm concerned. There's a huge difference between a personal opinion and an opinion that degrades and debases our military in a time of war. It's a disgrace.

SCOTT RITTER

I don't believe the mainstream media acted responsibly in regards to Iraq. You know, I was belittled, I was called a traitor, I was called crazy. Paula Zahn of CNN accused me of drinking Saddam Hussein's Kool-Aid for making accurate statements in response to aluminum tubes.

PAULA ZAHN

People out there are accusing you of drinking Saddam Hussein's Kool-Aid.

SCOTT RITTER

If I'm an ideologue, then I'm a Republican ideologue. I'm actually a fairly conservative person who voted for George W. Bush. But I don't allow my ideology to get in the way of facts and reality of my responsibilities and duties as an American citizen.

JOE WILSON

There is a tendency if you want to kill the message to go after the messenger, if you can discredit the messenger, then you can discredit the message or if you can make the story about the messenger then people forget about the message.

HENRY WAXMAN

I think it's so unfair to try and silence debate and criticism by attacking those who saying something with which you disagree.

LARRY JOHNSON

Former State Dept., Counter Terrorism

The media is supposed to be the Fourth Estate but they decided to completely climb into bed with the administration on this.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

In a way the administration constructed a box and that box has the all the information that the administration wanted the media and Congress and the public to have, and it was a lot of exaggerations, partial information, sometimes the whole information but on balance a one-sided view of Iraq's WMD program.

ROBERT BAER

What they would do is they would have the Iraqi National Congress taking bogus defectors, taking information from them, giving them to the Pentagon, then the Iraqi National Congress giving them to journalists, and they said if you don't believe us, the Iraqi National Congress, call the Pentagon. So you had this circular reporting and you had the New York Times admitting that it was using one source for all of its information

about weapons of mass destruction. It was self-affirming by going to the Pentagon which put this stuff on paper.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

It was a lot of exaggerations, partial information, sometimes the whole information but on balance a one-sided view of Iraq's WMD program.

ROBERT BAER

And on a lot of these stories the journalists didn't want to look into because the editors told them to run with, we're going to be supportive of the administration, it's the patriotic thing to do.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

I think there was on the part of the media too much of getting into the upcoming of the war and not enough look at: "Do we need to go to war?"

LARRY JOHNSON

There were some journalists out there raising the alarm bells, the Seymour Hershes, the Walter Pinkuses of the world, but unfortunately those great investigative reporters, uh, they're usually exiled when the heat is on and it's only after the fact that they're given the praise and the pats on the back.

DAVID ALBRIGHT

The excitement was to make the case to go to war and that was the controversy the media loved. You know, it was the titillation of a WMD hitting us, not the titillation or conflict of attacking the administration.

ROBERT BAER

Both the Washington Post and the New York Times have conservative editors that supported the White House on this.

LARRY JOHNSON

I didn't foresee all of this. I'd like to say I was all prescient, that I knew what the others in the intelligence community were saying, I didn't. I'm one of the ones who drank the Kool-Aid. But early on I felt there was some dangers going into the war and I tried to get an Op-Ed into the various major newspapers and the word that kept coming back was: "nobody wants to hear this because we're going to war."

Title: "War, March 19, 2003"

GEORGE W. BUSH

The people of the United States and their friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder.

DONALD RUMSFELD

His regime has an active program to acquire and develop nuclear weapons and let there be no doubt about it.

ARI FLEISHER

We know for a fact there are weapons there.

THOMAS E. WHITE

There were a group of people who for many years had advocated going after Saddam Hussein and they pushed us hard. And of course raw intelligence data can be interpreted in a lot of different ways. As I'm sure experts have talked to you about. And do I think there were a lot of people that were adamant that this was the right course to pursue.

GEORGE W. BUSH

We found the weapons of mass destruction. Uh, you know, we found biological laboratories.

COLIN POWELL

Everybody knows that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction.

DONALD RUMSFELD

I have reason, every reason to believe that the intelligence that we were operating off was correct.

ARI FLEISCHER

No question we have said that Saddam Hussein possesses biological and chemical weapons.

DONALD RUMSFELD

We know where they are, they're in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south and north somewhat.

ARI FLEISCHER

This will be made clearer in the course of the operation for whatever duration it takes.

TIM RUSSERT

Are you confident that you'll also find weapons of mass destruction?

PAUL BREMER

I believe we will find evidence of the programs of chemical and biological weapons, yes.

TIM RUSSERT

How about the actual weapons?

PAUL BREMER

Well, I just don't know, let's wait and see what the team that's over there.

COLIN POWELL

Inspections continue with our new exploitation teams that have been brought in.

DONALD RUMSFELD

Uh, and, uh, and that we will in fact find weapons or evidence of the weapons programs that are conclusive.

HANS BLIX

It is somewhat puzzling, I think, that you can have a hundred percent certainty about the weapons of mass destruction's existence and zero certainty about where they are.

REPORTER

Do you agree and does it matter whether or not you find these weapons?

GEORGE W. BUSH

Well you might ask the Prime Minister that. We won't be proven wrong.

DONALD RUMSFELD

This is a process that takes some time and uh, it will ebb and flow.

GEORGE W. BUSH

One thing we know is that he had a weapons program.

DONALD RUMSFELD

I don't know anybody that I can think of that has contended that the Iraqis had nuclear weapons.

RICHARD CHENEY

And we believe he has in fact reconstituted nuclear weapons.

PAUL WOLFOWITZ

Well on the specific issue of weapons of mass destruction, it's gonna take time and we're gonna have to be patient.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Over time the truth will come out.

DONALD RUMSFELD

Now, it's gonna take time to find anything because they've had-

COLIN POWELL

People will find that we presented a solid case, a case that is there, and was there and will remain there.

DONALD RUMSFELD

So it's gonna take a period of time to find the people, I don't think we'll discover anything myself.

HANS BLIX

I still felt that three and a half months for new inspections was a rather short time before pulling the, especially now that the U.S. government is now saying you have to have a bit of patience, you know these things take time.

GEORGE W. BUSH

I, I, I, I, I believe that, uh, uh, we, we will find the truth and the truth is, he, he, he was developing a, a program for weapons of mass destruction.

DONALD RUMSFELD

I think what will happen is we'll discover people who will tell us where to go find it.

PAUL WOLFOWITZ

You're not going to find it simply in a house to house search. You're going to find it when people start to talk to you.

DONALD RUMSFELD

It, it, it is not like a treasure hunt where you just run around looking everywhere hoping you find something. I just don't think that's going to happen, the inspectors didn't find anything and I doubt that we will.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Are people going to find out the truth and the truth will say that this intelligence was good intelligence, there's no doubt in my mind.

DONALD RUMSFELD

What we will do is find the people who will tell us. There are a lot of people who lie and get away with it and that's just a fact.

COLIN POWELL

He has not developed any significant capability with respect to weapons of mass destruction, he is unable to project conventional power against his neighbors.

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

We are able to keep arms from him, his military forces have not been rebuilt.

JOURNALIST

Is U.S. credibility on the line over weapons of mass destruction in Iraq?

GEORGE W. BUSH

Uh, I'm not exactly sure what that means.

Title: "Cost of War"

PAUL WOLFOWITZ

It depends on the assumptions, it depends on how long the war lasts, it depends on whether weapons of mass destruction are used.

DONALD RUMSFELD

What we have done is we have taken estimates looking at different variables and said- If this were the case on this variable and then on this variable, but there's so many variables that the numbers of possible point answers create a range that simply isn't useful.

ARI FLEISCHER

I'm just not going to get into any speculation about numbers.

PAUL BREMER

We're dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction and relatively soon.

DONALD RUMSFELD

So the money's going to come from Iraqi oil revenue as everyone has said. They think it's going to be something like 2 billion dollars this year, they think it might be something like 15?

VOICE

12.

DONALD RUMSFELD

-12 next year. They think it might be something like 18 to 20 plus the next, 19?

VOICE

19.

GEORGE W. BUSH

I will soon submit to Congress a request for 87 billion dollars.

TIM RUSSERT

Why did the administration so dramatically underestimate the cost of this war?

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

We did not have perfect foresight into what we were going to find in Iraq.

Title: "David Kay"

NARRATOR VO

With the cost of the war rising and the search for weapons of mass destruction going nowhere, the administration turns to David Kay.

RICHARD CHENEY

This work is being carried out under the dir of Dr. David Kay, a respected scientist and UN inspector who is leading the weapons search in Iraq

DAVID KAY

We are determined to take this apart. We have a tremendous group of dedicated American men and women involved in this, the best assets of the intelligence community can provide.

Title: “‘Solid progress’ being made in hunt for banned Iraqi weapons.– 7/31/03 Agence France Presse”

Title: “CIA adviser says Iraq weapons search is making progress. – 7/31/2003 AP”

RICHARD CHENEY

Dr. Kay and his team are making progress.

DAVID KAY

We have found a large body of continuing activities and equipment

Title: “U.S. Weapons Expert Cites Progress But Urges Patience; Advisor Speaks of Possible ‘Surprise’ in Iraq. – 8/2/2003, International Herald Tribune”

DAVID KAY

We are surprised by new advances we are making.

GEORGE TENET

The network of laboratories and safe houses controlled by Iraqi intelligence and security services

DAVID KAY

And unlike pre-war intelligence we don’t require someone just to say something, we actually need the physical evidence.

RICHARD CHENEY

Equipment for continuing suitable chemical and biological weapons research.

Title: “Iraq weapons probe progresses at a crawl – 10/7/2003 The Record, Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario”

CONDOLEEZZA RICE

David Kay is not going to be done with this for quite some time.

CNN NEWS ANCHOR

David Kay wants more time.



CBS NEWS ANCHOR

He says it could take another six to nine months to make a definitive finding.

NEWS ANCHOR 1

The administration is asking congress for hundreds of millions more.

NEWS ANCHOR 2

Six hundred million dollars to fund the continuing search.

DAVID KAY

We still have not found shiny pointy things that I would call weapons.

SCOTT MCCLELLAN

Before we can draw firm conclusions, we need to let the Iraq survey group complete its work.

DAVID KAY

To me its clear Iraq had no large stockpiles of biological and chemical weapons at the time of the war. We were all wrong probably in my judgment and that is most disturbing.

SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN

It's inevitable that there will be an outside commission appointed on an issue of this gravity

SENATOR PAT ROBERTS

We will have public hearings and we will get to the bottom of this and let the chips fall where they may.

DAVID KAY

In a democracy you have an obligation, your obligation is to speak truthfully to the public. That's the basics of civility and our belief in our system of government.

SENATOR CHUCK HAGEL

It is going to require outside effort probably through an outside commission to deal with some of these very serious problems.

DAVID KAY

Because I think that explanation is important in a democracy.

CBS NEWS ANCHOR

This whole episode has caught the White House completely by surprise.

DAVID KAY

They have become so fearful of admitting error, that they stand and defend things that on their face are untruthful.

#### NEWS ANCHOR

President Bush is being pounded with calls to for an independent investigation into how US intelligence so badly misjudged Iraq's capabilities before the war.

#### SENATOR JOHN ROCKEFELLER

Having the President holding all the cards and appointing to all the people, having everyone accountable to him, is a very bad idea.

#### DAVID KAY

If you say you are going to war because he has weapons of mass destruction, and you don't find those weapons, it is not persuasive to jump to a second argument when that didn't work but here I have a second explanation.

I was asked, if I would care to try operationalize some of the comments I made of what was going wrong in Iraq... And so I said if you among other things, if you are going to do this you have to treat it as an intelligence problem and that is not go looking for hidden weapons but go looking for people who would be associated with hidden weapons... Uh, what I did was form teams for each of the areas and formed like half hypothesis's, half the team took hypothesis's that where there and the other half that said it wasn't there, and both followed exactly the same method. If you believe it's there, what is the proof that will in fact conform that, prove that hypothesis or what evidence clashes with it. Same thing is true with the teams that took the hypothesis, it wasn't there is you know collecting evidence. So yeah, you start with a viewpoint, a hypothesis an academic would say, and you collect the evidence that will support or challenge.... You tell them, you know go form and discuss with your team a hypothesis and get a strategy for doing it, and I just, I was uh, unsure whether they would come back pro or con, and I really didn't care, and that was intentional because I did what to be seen as stacking the deck.... And we met every Saturday afternoon and each team went through a very almost, it was rigorous but almost predictable. You started with here's our hypothesis, here's what we done this week, here's how the evidence stacks and here's what we propose to do the next week. And there will be a discussion between the groups and myself over, on each of them, on what they were doing, a lot cross-fertilization.... There is a gradual build up of evidence that forces you to challenge your preexisting belief and then keeps generating either more questions or generates questions about the hypothesis. For example in a real case, one of the first things that worried me was we had a big army running through Iraq in March and April. WMD was not used against them. Uh, nor was it found, that sort of remarkable if they had large stockpiles. I really believe in the jungle telegraph, put the word out on the street; let people know what you're about and what you have to offer. And usually you'll have people coming to you, and I have a lot of money, reward money and I have green cards and passports to virtually to any attractive place in the world. You come to us with weapons of mass destruction, evidence about the weapons, and we'll take care of you. All I had coming to me were fabricators, people who said it but didn't have anything, have absolutely no evidence. Iraq was a horrible place in June, July, August, September, October, and November; insecurity, the economy hasn't working, there was violence, there is still violence there. It was remarkable to me and disturbing that in a place this bad, who wouldn't want a golden lifeboat to get out?

All they had to do was come with information; I would protect their identity it was clear to everyone. I would take their whole family. It wasn't a case you had to leave your family behind. You'll be taken care of but you'll have to find a new family in California. Some of them might have like to. But no one bought it so that worried me. Around the weapons programs, if a weapons program exist, you are going to find people, people engaged in the production, the technology, engineering and design. People involved in protecting the weapons, people prepared in moving them, and people involved in preparing to use the weapons. We found none of that. We were running into fewer and fewer leads that looked profitable; and a lot of evidence had stacked up to explain something other than large stockpiles of weapons. I had the habit of writing a personal report back every weekend that was quite separate than the official report saying this is what it looks and smells like to me, here are the issues of the week. I always found that it was a good way to keep people informed of what you're doing. Oh, it would go to the director of central intelligence and where it went beyond that of course you'd never know in the field. I don't think there was a surprise about the conclusions I was drawing because those were folly and completely inadequately reported. I think the surprise would be that he would speak out and say that.

I had the privilege, although I didn't see it as a privilege, of watching a lot of senior government officials come agonizing terms about Vietnam and decide not to speak out because they new they'd never be asked to lunch again. They wouldn't be part of the process. And I think like a lot of people of my age and my generation who were in the governments, by no means unique to me just decided that if ever occasion came I simply wasn't going to live like that. There wasn't a lunch or part of a process that wasn't important enough.

SENATOR CARL LEVIN

This committee has a special responsibility to the men and women of the armed forces to look at the pre-war intelligence because planning for military operations is based on that.

GEORGE TENET

This is a tuff road. Policy makers take data. They interpret threat. They access risk. They put urgency behind it and sometimes it doesn't uniquely comport with every work of an intelligence estimate.

SENATOR TED KENNEDY

When you talk about a mushroom cloud how much more imminent threat could there be.

SENATOR CARL LEVIN

Why was the skepticism left out of the public white paper of the CIA?

SENATOR TED KENNEDY

Many of us feel that the evidence leads only to one conclusion that what has happened was more than a failure of intelligence, but a manipulation of the intelligence. To justify the decision to go to war.

DAVID KAY

Secret societies have their own rules. Secret societies generally don't feel an obligation to openly and democratically communicate.

TIM RUSSERT

Prime minister Blair has set up a similar commission in Great Britain. His is going to report back in July ours is not going to be until March of 2005. Five months after the presidential election. Shouldn't the American people have the benefit of the commission before the election?

GEORGE W. BUSH

Well the reason why we gave it time was because we didn't want it to be hurried. This is a, this is a strategic look, a big picture look about the intelligence gathering capacities of the United States of America.

DAVID KAY

I think every president should keep on their desk the carved statement that Harry Truman had – 'the buck stops here!'

Title: "Neocons"

RAY MCGOVERN

If there's no weapons of mass destruction, which there aren't. If there's no ties to Al-Qaeda, which there's not., maybe now there are. Then why did we go to war. Well all you need to do is go on the web and download Project for a New American Century. There you will find the ideological and strategic underpinnings of this policy which was rejected by George Bush the first and ridiculed out of town in those days, but became the devout policy of this government and was implemented starting with the war.

KAREN KWIATKOWSKI

I felt that in my last year in the Pentagon, I felt that there was a great deal of contempt for the constraint on government that our constitution lays out. And I also felt that there was an contempt for the constitution and I only absorbed these feelings of contempt by association with these senior appointed civilians.

EXPERT VO

Who are all neo-conservatives, who all believe in dominance, who believe in pre-emption, who believe in the military option as the first resort rather than the last resort.

EXPERT VO

They have had a fixed almost obsessive idea that Iraq is a major actor in the world and a probable threat, possibly a deadly threat to the United States.

CHAS FREEMAN

This is a group of people who have essentially believed that might makes right. The at this stage of history the United States has unchallengeable power and therefore responsibility to use it and make the world over in a way we or they rather think it should be made over.

GRAHAM FULLER

I think behind the neo conservative philosophy is a considerable arrogance that the American interests are the primary goal of all American foreign policy.

PATRICK LANG

And they seem to have a very serious habit about not listening and being interested about what other people have to say about this subject.

GRAHAM FULLER

Now of course American interest should matter, but there are enlightened and unenlightened elements of self-interest and in this case we have determined and defined our interest globally in total disregard of what other states want, what their concerns are, how they might or might not be able to contribute, we're on a roll. You're either with us or get out of the way. I find remarkable little interest in the character of other countries, the nature of their problems and difficulties. This is boring to neo conservatives who really see this as quite irrelevant what other people, what the political culture of other societies are, what they want, what their people might want, what their concerns might be. It's really quite irrelevant because we know what we're going to do so get out of the way if you don't agree.

ROBERT BAER

They said look, the neo cons, we brought down the evil empire, the Soviet Union, now we're going to bring down Arab nationalism as personified by Saddam Hussein and Bashar al-Assad and once that happens your going to have democracy. The problem is that those people have not set foot, if they've been to the Middle East it's been to Tel Aviv only.

CHAS FREEMAN

I don't think it is an accident at all that so much of the justification turned out to be fallacious, misleading, deliberately so.

ROBERT BAER

They thought they had a place in history. They were going to bring down a dysfunctional Arab peninsula as well as Iran and they were going to change history. They believed they won the Cold War. And they said alright we won the Cold War because we were tough with the Soviet Union and if we get tough with these people and they will become like us.

RAND BEERS

It is fair to say that the Iraq war was a diversion from the war on terrorism. It certainly meant that people weren't paying as much attention to Afghanistan as they should have and the resources that might have gone to Afghanistan ended up being focused more on Iraq.

ROBERT BAER

If you attack another country with no justification, people are going to say- “Wait a minute, this isn’t a war on terrorism, this is imperialism, this is colonialism,” you know. And this is why it’s a distraction, because you need the help of these people. If you get this view that the CIA and the FBI are lurking around the bazaars and the suits in the Middle East and handcuffing people or assassinating, that’s not the way the world works. You’ve got to have the help of the locals to identify these people and either put them in jail or remove them from positions where they can do harm.

COLONEL MARY ANN WRIGHT

In January of 2002, as I was sitting in the bunker of the U.S. embassy of Kabul, Afghanistan and I and several colleagues were sitting around the one little working TV and lo and behold here came the infamous statement of the axis of evil, Iraq, Iran and North Korea and we all looked at ourselves and went- Oh my God. Here we are in kind of ground zero of Afghanistan and, and Washington’s talking about, and talking in very belligerent terms about these other three countries and we don’t have Afghanistan anywhere close to being settled.

ROBERT BAER

The only person Saddam was a threat to at this point as we saw when the army collapsed, was to Iraq. He didn’t have weapons of mass destruction, he wasn’t scaring anybody. He certainly wasn’t scaring the Iranians, or the Turks or the Saudis or anybody else. It was a state that was on the verge of failure, now it is a failed state. Failed states cause terrorism, you can name them. Afghanistan, Lebanon, Somalia, any time you create a vacuum, it’s where people flock to who are discontented to fight wars.

RICHARD CLARKE

Osama bin Ladin had been saying for years, America wants to invade an Arab country and occupy it, an oil-rich Arab country. He’d been saying this, this is part of his propaganda. So what do we do after 9/11? We invade an oil-rich Arab country which was doing nothing to threaten us.

CHAS FREEMAN

The only real connection is that having invaded Iraq we are very likely to make it a focus of terrorism. We are likely to produce what the president has said Iraq represents, mainly the central battlefield in the war on terrorism. Why? Because we’ve sent a lot of Americans into a place where they’re sitting ducks for people who think the only good American is a dead one.

EXPERT VO

Iraq cannot be governed by Americans. I don’t care what the intention is. I don’t care if we truly want to build a democracy, it cannot be ruled by a foreign power.

EXPERT VO

We as, as the, the one indispensable nation of the world as we characterized ourselves for so long in the last administration, cannot contemplate that possibly someone else might not like everything we call the American way of life and that they would in fact welcome us into their countries, this may not be the case.

EXPERT VO

The only tool in the toolbox of the Bush administration is military force. Military force is a very blunt instrument, it just doesn't work. We've created more terrorists in Iraq and we haven't even solved the problem of Afghanistan.

EXPERT VO

One of the more ironic effects of the attack on Iraq was to buttress other countries in the conviction of the infamous remark of an Indian general after the first Gulf War when he said- The lesson of this war is that if you have to fight the United States, you better have nuclear weapons.

EXPERT VO

In some respects, it's as if Vietnam didn't even happen. It's as if a lot of our leaders have suffered some kind of historical and political lobotomy and that's frightening and every American should be concerned about that because the United States ultimately is supposed to be an exemplar for the rest of the world. We are supposed to be, in Ronald Reagan's words, that shining city on a hill. Well that shining city is looking kind of slummy right now in terms of our image abroad and I think with good reason. We've violated, I think, fundamental principles that have guided this country's foreign policy so successfully since 1947.

EXPERT VO

You don't want your president to be seen as a hot dog and when your president gets into a jumpsuit, gets in the back of a jet and lands on an aircraft carrier and then waddles out with his little straps between his legs, that's not, I mean you want a sign of kind of maturity and not testosterone blasting through when you're talking about things so fundamentally important as sending a nation to war, and sending young men and women to their deaths.

MILT BEARDEN

There is a sense in Washington now that you can't raise objections to this because you're not supporting troops in the field. I would, I would rapidly point out that unlike almost anybody I know that holds office in this country, I've had two sons in uniform, both of whom have been in combat and so I don't have to take any nonsense from anybody, nor will I.

DAVID MACMICHAEL

Mark Twain's definition of patriotism is- Patriotism is supporting your country all the time and your government when it deserves it.

CHAS FREEMAN

Well I don't think it's patriotic to stand by and remain silent while your country stumbles into disaster.

MEL GOODMAN

Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels and I think these are scoundrels. They have no argument now, they have no defense for what they did. The country is in a terrible international security situation that I think is perilous. So they're attacking the patriotism of others.

JOHN DEAN

Having been an insider, I know that the insiders don't have it all right. They make mistakes and indeed it's more likely to be mistakes and there's more likely to be misjudgment if there is no criticism

PATRICK LANG

It was Jefferson who said that our kind of government is not based on trust, it's based on, in fact, suspicion.

KAREN KWIATKOSKI

Supporting the Constitution, understanding what's in the Constitution, caring about that Constitution, that's why we don't have a king, because we have a piece of paper. I think that is patriotism.

STANSFIELD TURNER

It's not just those of us who have been privileged to serve actually in the government who are the patriots, it's every citizen who respects and honors the fact that we have such a wonderful country.

GRAHAM FULLER

To suggest that if you have a different viewpoint than any given administration or if you're not supporting the president in policies that may be highly erroneous, I don't see that as patriotism at all, in fact I would argue that any patriot with integrity is going to speak out if he or she feels that we're on the wrong course.

SCOTT RITTER

It's not unpatriotic to demand that Congress upholds its constitutional responsibilities regarding the declaration of war. It's not unpatriotic to be very upset, vocally upset, when Congress abrogates this constitutional responsibility by transferring war powers authority to the President of the United States as they did in October of 2002.

ROBERT BAER

Now listen, when you guys were working Nasdaqs and the dot-coms, I was out in Iraq trying to get rid of Saddam, and almost got killed for it, and besides almost going to jail. So it doesn't take a whole lot of courage for me to come out against the war and I did at the beginning. But I was studiously ignored.



JOE WILSON

When we did the first Gulf War, when I came out of Baghdad in 1991, I met with the president of the United States, I met with the senior leadership of both parties and the one thing that sticks with me to this day is the extent to which each one of them explained to me in very emotional terms, the extent to which they had had to plumb their consciences to come to a decision on how to vote on the use of force authorization. It had been a moral decision on their part. It had been one that had kept them up at night as they thought their way through this. We owe our soldiers, our sailors, our airmen and our marines, nothing less before we send them to battle.

RT. HONORABLE CLARE SHORT

Sometimes, the true patriot takes the unpopular course but helps their country avoid mistakes and even if they can't persuade, at least they tried.

JOHN BRADY KIESLING

For me, America is this amazing land of opportunity, of beauty, of idealism, of hope. It is a beacon to the world. It's a place of fantastic people and what infuriates me more than anything else is that this administration has systematically slandered, libeled, blackened the image of America to our friends and allies around the world.

PATRICK EDDINGTON

Having the authority and ability to go and wage war is a very, very solemn thing and it needs to be done with care and with deliberation and with genuine forethought. And I think that none of that was present in the lead up to this entire debacle that we now call Enduring Freedom.

RAY MCGOVERN

When the emperor has no clothes, you have to have the presence of mind and the courage to stand up and say- The emperor has no clothes.

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Titles:

“PRODUCER/DIRECTOR

Robert Greenwald

CO-PRODUCERS

Kate McArdle

Devin Smith

CO-PRODUCER

Philippe Diaz

RESEARCHER/ASSOCIATE PRODUCER

Jim Gilliam

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EDITOR/ASSOCIATE PRODUCER

Chris Gordon

ADDITIONAL EDITING

Deborah Zeitman

ASSISTANT EDITOR:

Bayard Stryker

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CLEARANCES

Stanley Ottenstein

Lia Bassin

COMPOSER

Brad Chiet

Jim Ervin

Mars Lasar

POST PRODUCTION SUPERVISOR

Jason Ajax Mercer

POST PRODUCTION BY

Cinema Libre Studio

ON-LINE EDITOR

Charles Lyons

SUPERVISING SOUND EDITOR AND RE-RECORDING MIXER

Tony Jenkins

TITLE DESIGN

Wade Van Petten

ADDITIONAL TITLES

Leo Wong

GRAPHIC DESIGN

Debbie Ross Film Desgin

PRODUCTION CONSULTANT

Bambi Moe

PRODUCTION ASSISTANTS

Lynne Erskine

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