

# "We Steal Secrets: The Story of Wikileaks"

## The annotated transcript

19:00 GMT, May 23, 2013

[Click here for the introductory note](#)

**Note:** The title ("We Steal Secrets: The Story of WikiLeaks") is false. It directly implies that WikiLeaks steals secrets. In fact, the statement is made by former CIA/NSA director Michael Hayden in relation to the activities of US government spies, not in relation to WikiLeaks. This an irresponsible libel. Not even critics in the film say that WikiLeaks steals secrets.



### TITLES

*The film begins with opening credits in faux-digital typeface against a black screen.*

### TEXT

FOCUS WORLD PRESENTS

A JIGSAW/GLOBAL PRODUCE  
PRODUCTION

AN ALEX GIBNEY FILM

*The film cuts to orbital footage of the Earth from a satellite, with occasional visual static interference, overlaid with stock news footage and news chatter about the Galileo launch.*

### STOCK Newsreader:

...Thursday's scheduled launch of the shuttle Atlantis with this payload of radioactive plutonium...

**Newsreader:**

...a legal challenge with NASA worried what's going on in court tomorrow to help the shuttle Atlantis and its Gallileo spacecraft escape by unique...

*The stock footage gradually takes over, depicting protests at the launch. Placards read "BAN PLUTONIUM IN SPACE" and "NO PLUTONIUM IN MY TOWN." Screen shows footage of Gallileo and Atlantis at the launchpad. Text overlay reads "October 1989".*

**STOCK Newsreader:**

...the mission could be stalled on the launchpad. At the center of the controversy is Gallileo, a plutonium powered spaceprobe scheduled to be launched from the shuttle's payload, the argument is being made that in the event of an accident, cancer-causing plutonium particles might be spread over a wide area of Florida.

*Footage of the control room at NASA headquarters. While the NASA network administrator speaks, there are visual depictions of what he is describing, underscored by unsettling atmospheric music, rising to a climax.*

**TEXT**

John "Fuzzface" McMahon  
NASA Network Administrator  
1989-1990

**Note:** Selective editing. The interview is edited to cut out the NASA administrator's

**John "Fuzzface" McMahon:**

It was a Monday morning a few days before launching

punch line--no files were, in fact, deleted. It is apparent that the "worm" was a practical joke. The whole episode is extensively documented in the book "Underground" by Julian Assange and Suelette Dreyfus.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Gallileo. My management grabbed me as soon as I came in and they said that there was a worm that had been detected somewhere out on the network. A worm is a self-replicating program that actually breaks into a computer and jumps from system to system. At the time they were still very uncommon. We didn't know what it would do. We knew it was malicious. If the worm got into a machine it would change the announcement message and spelled out in little lines and little characters W.A.N.K - Wank, Worms Against Nuclear Killers - and below that "You talk of times of peace for all and then prepare for war". Oh my god, what the hell is this? Most people didn't know what the word 'wank' meant.

**TEXT** Your system has been officially  
WANKED.

### John "Fuzzface" McMahon:

The worm made a panic. You would be logged into your machine...

**TEXT** WELCOME TO NASA DECNET.  
 USERNAME: HHARRISON  
 PASSWORD: \*\*\*\*\*

**Note:** An unconfirmed dating profile associated with Julian Assange went under the name "Harry Harrison." Alex Gibney recreates a stylized NASA DECNET log-in screen, and has the username "HHARRISON" typed into it. This serves to falsely imply that Assange was involved. In reality, the username HHARRISON in this context is a fabrication by Alex Gibney.

### John "Fuzzface" McMahon:

...and you'd get a message: Someone is watching you,

vote anarchist. And suddenly they'd see "deleted file 1, deleted file 2, deleted file 3" and just keep going and going and going. And it would change the passwords, so you couldn't get in to stop it. Scared the hell out of a lot of people. They were afraid that WANK would cause the launch failure, where this nuclear battery was suddenly flying away from an exploding spacecraft...

*Aerial footage of the shuttle on the launchpad. Audio voiceover of NASA launch countdown*

### **John "Fuzzface" McMahon:**

How in the hell are we going to stop it? How far's it gone already?

*Footage of thrusters firing on the shuttle. Footage of Gallileo's lift-off. As the shuttle and spacecraft vault into space, the image of the WANK work draws itself on the screen again. Sinister music begins to play.*

**Note:** No person has ever claimed responsibility for the WANK worm. Gibney's "key clue" is merely that Assange, along with most of his generation, had also listened to the internationally famous Australian rock band Midnight Oil.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The shuttle launched without incident. But the WANK worm continued to spread, affecting over 300,000 computer terminals around the world. Its purpose, as a warning, weapon or political prank was never discovered. Investigators traced the origin of the WANK worm to Australia. National police suspected a small group of hackers in the city of Melbourne, and then the trail went cold. But a key clue turned out to be in the message itself. There was a lyric from the Australian band, Midnight Oil, a favourite of the man who would become the country's most infamous hacker.

*"Blossom and Blood" by the Midnight Oils begins to play. Footage of Julian Assange quoting this line from the song over the song itself.*

**Note:** Selective editing. Assange is quoting the lyric in relation to his book, written with Suelette Dreyfus, which includes a chapter on the WANK worm.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

"You talk of times of peace for all and then prepare for war." Yep.

*Along with the song, the opening credits of the film now play against kinetic computer animations. A collage of videos about WikiLeaks and various public comments about WikiLeaks, some positive, some scaremongering, plays over the song.*

**STOCK Newsreader:**

There's never been anything quite like it. A mountain of secrets dumped into the public domain by a website...

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Julian Assange! Is he a hero to freedom, or is he a terrorist who should be...

**STOCK Newt Gingrich:**

He is in fact an enemy combatant who is engaged in information warfare against the United States..

**STOCK Ron Paul:**

Was it not once considered patriotic to stand up to our government when it's

wrong?

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Should the United States do something to stop Mr. Assange?

**STOCK Tom Flanagan:**

I think Assange should be assassinated actually...

**STOCK Unidentified male voice:**

He's a hero!

**STOCK Unidentified female voice:**

What he did was extremely devastating...

**STOCK Unidentified female voice:**

This guy's going to strike again...

**Note:** The title ("We Steal Secrets: The Story of WikiLeaks") is false. It directly implies that WikiLeaks steals secrets. The title is superimposed over an image made up of both Bradley Manning and Julian Assange's faces, implying that these specific people steal secrets. In fact, the statement is made by former CIA/NSA director Michael Hayden in relation to the activities of US government spies, not in relation to WikiLeaks. This an irresponsible libel. Not even critics in the film say that WikiLeaks steals secrets.

*As the song draws to an end, the point of view begins to zoom out and the graphics begin to assemble into the title screen of the film: a monochrome image of a face. Half of the face is Julian Assange's face. The other half is PFC Bradley Manning's face. The title is superimposed over the composite face.*



*The image fades, and is replaced by stock footage from a July 2010 interview with Julian Assange conducted by ABC Nightline's Jim Sciutto.*

**STOCK Journalist:**

What drives you?

**Julian Assange:**

Well, I like being brave. I mean, I like being inventive, I've been designing systems and processes for a long time. I also like defending victims. And I am a combative person so I like crushing bastards. And so this profession combines all those three things, so it is deeply, personally, deeply satisfying to me.

**Journalist:**

But is crushing bastards, in its own right, a just cause?

**Julian Assange:**

Depends on the bastards.

### **Mark Davis:**

I see this story entirely as one man against the world.  
One man against the world.

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

Julian as this very radical visionary.

### **Gavin MacFadyen:**

Julian was onto something really extraordinary.

### **Nick Davies:**

He is extremely clever, brave, dedicated, hard-working guy with a brilliant idea that he managed to execute.

*Footage of a WikiLeaks supporter billboard on Santa Monica Boulevard, reading "WikiLeaks: Giving us the truth when everyone else refuses to." The image then fades into stylized graphic depictions of "the internet" : a scrolling field of bright shining nodes connected by lines, as the narration returns.*

**Note:** WikiLeaks is a publisher. It does not "enter where it is not supposed to go".

WikiLeaks is a not-for-profit media organisation. Our goal is to bring important news and information to the public. We provide an innovative, secure and

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian Assange was obsessed with secrets, keeping his own and unlocking those of governments and corporations. The internet is not a good place for secrets. Cyberspace is like a galaxy of passage ways, constantly moving streams of data. With a simple computer anyone can enter and explore. That's what Julian Assange liked

anonymous way for sources to leak information to our journalists (our electronic drop box). One of our most important activities is to publish original source material alongside our news stories so readers and historians alike can see evidence of the truth. We are a young organisation that has grown very quickly, relying on a network of dedicated volunteers around the globe. Since 2007, when the organisation was officially launched, WikiLeaks has worked to report on and publish important information. We also develop and adapt technologies to support these activities.

to do: explore. He liked to use trap doors to enter where he wasn't supposed to go. To find secrets and expose them. He built a machine for leaking secrets and called it WikiLeaks. The website boasted an electronic drop box and could receive secrets sent by people who didn't want to reveal who they were. Once WikiLeaks had the secrets it would publish them across servers, domain names and networks so numerous that the information could never be taken down.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Stock footage of Julian Assange at a conference. A web browser is projected onto the screen behind him, showing the WikiLeaks website.*

## **STOCK Julian Assange:**

So this is what you'll see if you go to the front page of the website. This is WikiLeaks, we help to get the truth out. We want to enable information to go out to the public that has the greatest chance of achieving positive political reform in the world.

*Footage of the website text is shown, highlighting key passages. Eventually the screen is cropped to the highlighted selection:*

**TEXT** Anybody can post to it, anonymously and untraceably.

**STOCK** **Julian Assange:**

To get things to the public you need to protect sources who want to disclose and you also need to protect your ability to publish in the face of attack.

*Text from emails rumoured to have been from Julian Assange is displayed online.*

**TEXT** **Julian Assange:**

We're going to fuck them all... Crack the world open and let it flower into something new.

**TEXT** **Julian Assange:**

WikiLeaks may become the most powerful intelligence agency on earth, an intelligence agency of the people.

**Robert Manne:**

His thinking is: how can we destroy corruption? It's the whistleblower.

**TEXT** Prof. Robert Manne  
La Trobe University, Melbourne

**Robert Manne:**

His thinking is: how can we destroy corruption? It's the whistleblower. Julian Assange is neither a right-wing libertarian nor a standard leftist. I think he is a humanitarian anarchist. A kind of John Lennon-like revolutionary, dreaming of a better world.

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

If we are to produce a more civilized, a more just society it has to be based upon the truth.

**Heather Brooke:**

When I heard Julian speak I was struck by his vaulting idealism and forthrightness about what he believed in.

**TEXT** Heather Brooke  
Journalist

**Heather Brooke:**

Totally uncompromising about freedom of speech. I agreed almost entirely with everything he said and I had never experienced that before. So I thought he was amazing.

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

Every week we achieve major victories in bringing the unjust to account and are helping the just.

*The screen pans over an image of the WikiLeaks logo on a computer screen, eventually settling on text:*

**TEXT** "Three things can not hide for long. The Sun, the moon, and the truth." - Siddhartha

*Stock footage of Bank Julius Baer's headquarters, Kenya's president Daniel Arap-Moi and Trafigura's ships in Ivory Coast*

**Note:** Gibney collapses four years of publishing history, touching on nearly every country in the world, into "some smaller successes" -- because his documentary does not cover them. In fact, WikiLeaks has been making front pages since 2007. Legal attacks on the organization started immediately. WikiLeaks won a significant battle against the largest private Swiss bank in US federal courts in 2008. That fight was the subject of extensive discussion, including New York Times editorials.

There were many significant WikiLeaks releases and conflicts prior to 2010.

For a comprehensive list, [consult the archives](#) at Wikileaks.org. The archives can also be browsed [by country](#) or by [year of release](#).

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Before WikiLeaks was frontpage news, there were some smaller successes. The website published evidence of a tax-avoiding Swiss bank, government corruption and murder in Kenya and a secret company report on illegal toxic waste dumping. One early leak was from the National Security Agency: frantic text messages from desperate workers trying to save lives on 9/11. 9/11 turned out to be the watershed moment for the world of secrets – both for the leakers and the secret-keepers.

*Stock footage showing a view of the World Trade Center from a helicopter, under a column of black smoke, the 9/11 pager messages superimposed over it.*

**TEXT** ...fighter aircraft have been scrambled...

...this is not a joke...

...All ERT personnel, FYI monitor your pagers:...

...most likely an act of terrorism...

...We are locked down...

...another plane hijacked...

...high level DEFCON alert...

...RETURN TO YOUR STATION NOW!...

### **Michael Hayden:**

After 9/11 we were accused of not being willing to share information rapidly and fastly enough and we've pushed that very far forward.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Michael Hayden is an expert on secrets. He's been the director of the National Security Agency and the CIA.

**TEXT** Gen. Michael Hayden  
NSA Director, 1999-2005  
CIA Director, 2006-2009

### **Michael Hayden:**

In terms of our focus the default option in a practical sense has been to share it, rather than caging in information and making it more difficult to flow.

*Footage of a satellite in orbit, the Earth speeding past*

*beneath it.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In the years after 9/11, facing enemies it didn't understand, the US government started sharing more information between different agencies. At the same time, the US also started to keep more secrets from its citizens.

*The view zooms dramatically on the Earth, showing a sequence of aerial photographs of US agency buildings, their names scrolling across the screen:*

**TEXT** NSA/CSS Cryptologic Center

Office of the Director of National  
Intelligence

NSA National Business Park

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In data centers that sprang up all over the country the US launched a massive expansion of its operations to gather secrets. The amount of classified documents per year increased from 8 million to 76 million. The number of people with access to classified information soared to more than 4 million.

*The view zooms out again, back to the orbiting satellite, eventually zooming in again on an aerial photograph of Capitol Hill.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

And the government began to intercept phone calls and emails at a rate of 60,000 per second. Nobody knows how much money is involved – it's a secret. Not even Congress knows the entire budget.

### **Bill Leonard:**

The classification system can be a very effective national security tool when it is used as intended; when it is used with precision.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

During the Bush administration, Bill Leonard was the classification czar - the man charged with overseeing what information should be secret.

**TEXT** J. William Leonard  
US Govt. "Classification Czar"  
2002-2008

### **Bill Leonard:**

The whole information environment has radically changed – just like we produce more information than we ever produced in the history of mankind, we produce more secrets than we ever produced in the history of mankind and yet we never fundamentally re-assessed our ability to control secrets.

*Aerial photograph of the Pentagon*

**Note:** Gibney's choice of words, "Fishing," "Bait", implies solicitation.

Throughout the film, Gibney propagates the

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

 In this environment of expanding secrecy, Assange went fishing for secrets to publish. To bait whistleblowers, he

idea Assange had been “fishing” for the leaks or that Manning had been “persuaded” to leak. This is factually incorrect but also buys into the dangerous proposition that journalists and publishers can be conspirators by virtue of their interaction with confidential sources. The US government is attempting to argue that any news organization that deals with confidential sources can be put into prison for engaging in "conspiracy".

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Gibney makes a careless error that shows poor fact-checking. [WikiLeaks makes clear on its website](#) that, like "other media outlets conducting investigative journalism, we accept (but do not solicit) anonymous sources of information".

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Gibney falsely attributes the 2009 "Most Wanted Leaks" list to Julian Assange. It was compiled by human rights NGOs, activists, lawyers, journalists and historians nominating the censored documents they considered the most important to uncover.

*WikiLeaks requests nominations for 2009's Most Wanted Leaks—the concealed documents or recordings most sought after by a country's journalists, activists, historians, lawyers, police, or*

published a list of the most wanted leaks.

*Footage shows a computer screen with WikiLeaks' website open, showing the "The Most Wanted Leaks of 2009" page*

**TEXT**      The Most Wanted Leaks of 2009

*The following text is also on the screen, but the screen is deliberately blurred so as to make it almost unreadable:*

**TEXT**

*2009's Most Wanted Leaks— the concealed documents or recordings most sought after by a country's journalists, activists, historians, lawyers, police or human rights investigators.*

*human rights investigators.*

You may securely and anonymously add your nomination by editing this page. WikiLeaks will then prioritize the list and seek to obtain the leading candidates directly, through the legal system, or indirectly through its network of journalists, intelligence sources, volunteers and readers.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

## **Michael Hayden:**

Those of us who've been in this business a long time knew that this day would come. Knew that because we'd removed all the watertight doors on the ship, once it's started taking on water it would really be in trouble.

*A black screen, with visual and aural static for stylistic effect. Distorted text appears on the screen, eventually stabilizing.*

**TEXT**      21 MAY 2010 (01:40:51 PM)  
ENCRYPTED MESSAGE RECEIVED  
YOU ARE COMMUNICATING  
PRIVATELY

*Instant message communications now begin to appear on the screen in a stylized manner, accompanied by the sound of someone typing on a computer keyboard.*

**TEXT** hi...how are you?

im an army intelligence analyst deployed  
to eastern baghdad

lets just say "someone" i know intimately  
well... has been penetrating US classified  
networks, mining data...

its important that it gets out.

it might actually change something

information should be free...

*Cut to computer generated footage of the Earth from a  
satellite again, moving over the Earth and zooming in on a  
cloudmass over the North Atlantic Ocean*

*A clip of an Icelandic geyser discharging water and steam  
into the air*

**TEXT** ICELAND  
2009 - 2010

*Footage of Icelandic springs, emitting steam, while the  
sound of a newsreader reporting the Icelandic banking  
crash begins to play.*

**STOCK Newsreader:**

In Iceland winter is never easy but this  
year much of the pain is manmade.

*Footage of the austerity protests in Iceland, with police in*

*riot gear spraying crowds with water, streets filled with masses of people, skirmishes and struggles, protesters hitting riot shields, and fires burning in the streets.*

## **STOCK Newsreader:**

Last October all three of Iceland's banks failed. Normally stoic and proper, Icelanders have started protesting.

*Kaupthing documents leaked by WikiLeaks appear on the screen*

**TEXT** Kaupthing Bank - Corporate Credit  
*Presentation of large exposure > €45 million*

Private & Confidential

25 September 2008

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In July 2009, WikiLeaks fuelled a growing popular rage when it published a confidential internal memo from Kaupthing – the largest failed bank in the country.

*A slideshow of still photographs of Kaupthing buildings.*

## **Heather Brooke:**

WikiLeaks had got hold of the Kaupthing loan book, which showed what was going on in a lot of those Icelandic banks. They had credit ratings which were completely at odds with their actual credit-worthiness.

## Daniel Domscheit-Berg:

It was all insiders, they took out billions of dollars out of this bank and bankrupted the thing, shortly before it went bankrupt anyways.

*A photograph of Julian Assange smoking a cigar with Daniel Domscheit-Berg, who holds a WikiLeaks award: "PRIXARS 2009 Award of Distinction".*

**Note:** It is false that Daniel Domscheit-Berg was the second full-time employee of WikiLeaks. He volunteered full-time for WikiLeaks during 2009. He was uninvolved in WikiLeaks for most of the significant events of 2010, until he was suspended in September of that year.

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

▶ A German IT technician, Daniel Domscheit-Berg, became the second full-time member of WikiLeaks.

Gibney lacks access - WikiLeaks staff declined his interviews - and therefore tries to boost the CVs of those he was able to interview, no matter how peripheral their actual role.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Translation:** [Click here.](#)

**More:** [Click here.](#)

*A sepia-tinted still photograph of Domscheit-Berg and Assange.*

## TEXT

Daniel Domscheit-Berg

Former WikiLeaks spokesperson.

## Daniel Domscheit-Berg:

We met online first and then we met personally in December 2007 at the Chaos Communication Congress in Berlin. He was not the stereotypical hacker you would expect. He looked completely differently, he was interested in completely different topics.

*Footage of protests in Iceland. A woman being dragged off by the police.*

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

For Daniel and Julian, the Kaupthing leak was their biggest success to date.

**Note:** False. Here Gibney shapes the narrative to fit his access. For example, in 2007 WikiLeaks uncovered billions of dollars' worth of corruption in Kenya, a leak that made front pages around the world, and is widely viewed to have changed the results of the Kenyan 2007 Presidential Election. In 2008 WikiLeaks defeated the largest private Swiss bank in US courts after revealing its Cayman Islands trusts, costing the bank hundreds of millions as it cancelled its scheduled US IPO. However these leaks pre-date Domscheit-Berg's substantive involvement.

For a comprehensive list, [consult the archives](#) at Wikileaks.org. The archives can also be browsed [by country](#) or by [year of release](#).

**TEXT** Smari McCarthy

Icelandic Digital Freedom Society

**Smari McCarthy:**

The loan book came out and took the country by storm. RUV, the national broadcaster was going to do a big segment on it and they got slapped with an injunction.

*Footage from Icelandic television with subtitles.*

**TEXT      RUV Broadcaster:**

This evening, we had intended on releasing a full report regarding the enormous credit facilities made available by Kaupthing to the various companies of its shareholders. However, we are prevented from doing so this evening...

**TEXT**      Birgitta Jonsdottir  
Icelandic Parliamentarian.

**Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

It was the first time in our history that a gag order was placed on the state TV not to produce the news just before they were supposed to produce it. So instead of doing nothing, they decided to put the website up.

**STOCK      RUV Broadcaster:**

WikiLeaks Dot Org

*A photograph of the WikiLeaks website open on a browser appears on the screen. Then photographs of the Kaupthing document.*

**Smari McCarthy:**

Up pops WikiLeaks.org with the Kaupthing loan book front and centre and everybody goes online and checks it out. And the guys at WikiLeaks definitely got massive props for that.

*Pastoral scenes of Icelandic hills and lighthouses, with suspenseful piano music.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Later that year, a group of young cyber activists from Iceland invited representatives of the WikiLeaks organisation to come speak at a conference in Reykjavik.

*A wide shot of a barren Icelandic landscape, with a road dissecting it. A vehicle drives along the road. Now dash footage, as the vehicle drives along the road.*

### **Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

Iceland and WikiLeaks really fit. This is something we really need in our society. The media failed us so we decided to meet them.

*Dash footage as the car drives along a Reykjavik street in the rain. Now stock footage inside the conference hall, as Daniel Domscheit-Berg and Julian Assange approach the podium.*

### **Smari McCarthy:**

Up until the day before the conference we didn't know who was going to come. It could be a massive organisation or it could be a tiny organisation.

### **STOCK Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

Doesn't it work? Ok.

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

In the beginning we had no funding at all. We were not set up with manpower nor organisationally so there was a lot to improvise.

### **STOCK Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

WikiLeaks, we have to mention that what we are doing right now is still a proof of concept so in technical terms we are in the Beta stage, so it's just...

### **Julian Assange:**

[Jumps in] But, wait, we're not in a Beta stage. We're not in a Beta stage as far as... we're in a gmail Beta stage, but we're not in a Beta stage in terms of our ability to protect people. In terms of...

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

[Cuts in] If you could let me finish my sentence...

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

It was really an off-world experience in some way because we were just so famous over there.

### **STOCK Interviewer:**

You work for WikiLeaks. WikiLeaks is now very famous in Iceland because of the

big Kaupthing leak.

**Julian Assange:**

You know, we got this letter from the Kaupthing lawyers telling us that under Icelandic banking secrecy law we deserved one year in prison, so we thought we would come to Iceland

**Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

And see for ourselves.

**Julian Assange:**

And see for ourselves.

*Footage of Julian Assange at a protest in Iceland.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

The bankers should be put on public trial and given the justice they deserve. More power to you, Iceland.

*A still photograph of the crowd at the protest. It zooms in on the figure of Birgitta Jonsdottir. A series of stills follow, showing Assange and Jonsdottir.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian teamed up with Birgitta Jonsdottir, a poet turned politician, to hatch a plan to turn Iceland into a haven for freedom of information. But Julian was also preoccupied

with a new source, one with access to classified US government materials and a willingness to leak them.

*The buzz of audio static and radio chatter from Collateral Murder plays, as chat logs are displayed on a black screen.*

**TEXT** the video came from a server in our domain! and not a single person noticed

*Now footage from Collateral Murder plays.*

**STOCK Apache helicopter crewmember:**

See all those people down there... There's more that keep walking by and one of them has a weapon.

*More chat logs.*

**TEXT** airstrike on Reuters Journos... some sketchy but fairly normal street-folk...and civilians

**STOCK Apache helicopter crewmember:**

We have five to six people with AK47s.  
Request permission to engage.

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

It was an onboard video of an Apache helicopter gunship on patrol in Iraq.

**STOCK Commanding Officer:**

OK go ahead.

*The screen now shows stock helicopter footage that is not from Collateral Murder - exterior view of a military helicopter hovering in the sky - cockpit footage of a helicopter pilot - a pilot's eye view of a HUD - but the audio track from Collateral Murder plays in the background.*

**STOCK Apache helicopter crewmember:**

I can't get 'em now because they're behind that building.

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

A half-mile above the ground, it was invisible to the people below.

*The footage returns to Collateral Murder.*

**STOCK Apache helicopter crewmember:**

That's a weapon.

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

He's got an RPG!

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Alright, we got a guy with an RPG.

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

I'm gonna fire?

**Commanding Officer:**

You are free to engage, over.

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Light 'em all up... [rattle of gunfire]

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Keep shoot'n. [rattle of gunfire]

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Keep shoot'n. [rattle of gunfire]

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Oh yeah, look at those dead bastards.

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Two of the men killed worked for the Reuters news agency.

**STOCK Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Nice.

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

What had looked like a weapon from the sky, turned out

to be the long lens of a camera.

**STOCK Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Uh, Bushmaster, we have a van that's approaching and picking up the bodies.

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Yeah, we're trying to get permission to engage.

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

This is Bushmaster Seven, Roger, Engage!

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Clear!

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

C'mon! [rattle of gunfire]

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Clear! [rattle of gunfire]

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Clear! [rattle of gunfire]

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Oh, yeah! Look at that! Right through the windshield!

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Ha haa!

*More video footage from Collateral Murder.*

**Note:** Alex Gibney does not mention that the Collateral Murder video contains clear evidence of a war crime. In the aftermath of the first attack a passing van stops in order to render aid to the injured. The Apache helicopter crew is eager to fire on the van and its occupants, including two children. The ensuing attack kills a further four people. None of them were armed.

A US soldier who was present, Ethan McCord, states:

This is where I start to have a problem. This is not following the rules of engagement, they're embellishing information and it's wrong; this constitutes a war crime.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Video: *Permission to Engage*:** [Click here.](#)

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Inside the van were two children who were wounded in the hail of cannon fire.

**STOCK Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Well, it's their fault for bringing their kids into a battle.

**Apache helicopter crewmember:**

That's right.

*Return to chatlogs, with sombre piano music.*

**TEXT** I just...couldnt let these things stay inside of the system

and inside of my head...

i... care?

*Exterior shot of a small house on a street in Iceland, with the roof covered in snow.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

**Note:** Alex Gibney fails to mention that WikiLeaks also sent a group of journalists to Baghdad to investigate the background to the events of Collateral Murder, and to film interviews with the spouses and children of the victims. The investigative work they did - originally research for the release of Collateral Murder - became a documentary film, *Collateral Murder: Hellfire*, produced by Kristinn Hrafnsson and Ingi R. Ingason.

 In March 2010, Assange and a team of Icelandic activists holed up in a rented house in Reykjavik to edit and prepare the video for publication.

*Footage of Birgitta Jonsdottir visiting the house where it took place.*

**Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

We did most of our work here. This was the operation on the table.

*Still photographs of Smari McCarthy, Julian Assange and Birgitta Jonsdottir working at the table.*

*Stock footage of the a team editing the Collateral Murder*

*video on an editing workstation.*

### **Smari McCarthy:**

It was chaotic and hectic and also sort of very varyingly frayed nerves. Eventually, I went out and bought a bunch of post-its and kind of... [laughs] tried to figure out what it was we needed to do.

*A still photograph of a wall of clipboards, with post-it notes pinned to them.*

*A montage of stills from Collateral Murder at high speed.*

### **Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

My horrific task was to go through the entire movie and pull out the stills to put on the website, and at the same time I was learning who these people were that I could see their flesh being torn off their bodies.

*A montage of still photographs from the scene of the airstrike in Baghdad, dead bodies and debris, and soldiers looking at them and taking photographs.*

**TEXT**      Photographs taken by US soldier

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The army claimed it was engaged in combat operations against a hostile force. But it also began a criminal investigation.

*Photograph of the interior of a van, the driver, dead, lying face down across the seat, a dead child folded under the*

*dashboard.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

It turned out that the driver of the van had been a father taking his children to school.

### **STOCK Bradley tank crewmember:**

I think I just ran over a body!

### **Apache helicopter crewmember:**

Really?

### **Bradley tank crewmember:**

Yeah! Hah!

*More stock footage of helicopters in Baghdad, but not from the Collateral Murder video*

*Footage of Birgitta Jonsdottir looking out a window. Sinister music plays. Oblique views of the street through the window blinds.*

### **Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

The curtains were drawn. But I never had any sense that we were being watched, not physically. But we joked a lot about it. We were like all becoming super-paranoid.

### **Smari McCarthy:**

It wasn't really cloak and dagger stuff, it was just, you know, yes, another cool project.

**Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

Everybody thinks it was all huddled, you know, with the computers, and it was all very serious.

*Two still photographs of the Collateral Murder team huddled over computers, looking serious.*

**Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

But we actually had an incredible time. The second last night we all went out and we were all wearing the same silver snow suits [laughs]

*Stock footage of Julian Assange with Jonsdottir and others at a volcano.*

**STOCK Someone:**

Wiki!

**Everyone:**

Leaks!

**Julian Assange:**

Lava! Leaks!

*Still photograph of the Iceland Collateral Murder team*

**Birgitta Jonsdottir:**

It was an incredibly intimate time because we were all

working closely. We were working on something that we knew that could get us into serious trouble and we were all willing to take that consequence.

*Black screen with text. Music changes to chirpy synth.*

**TEXT**

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB  
05\_APRIL\_2010

*Stock footage of Washington DC press conference.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

So, my name is Julian Assange. I am the editor of WikiLeaks.

**Reporter:**

Could you spell your name?

**Julian Assange:**

Julian with an A. Assange...

**Robert Manne:**

What's clear about him is he became a public figure extraordinarily quickly. It was really April 2010 where he went from relative obscurity into an absolutely central world figure and he did it deliberately, I mean he knew what he was doing. He decides to take on the American state, in public.

*Opening frames from the Collateral Murder video, showing text.*

**TEXT** Wikileaks exists to help you safely reveal important material to the world.

We have an unbroken record in protecting confidential sources.

Contact Us.

wikileaks.org

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The team posted the unedited video on the WikiLeaks website. They also posted a shorter version, edited for maximum impact. Julian titled it "Collateral Murder".

*Close up of the text, panning from left to right. Chirps and crackles of radio static.*

**TEXT** COLLATERAL MURDER

*Cuts to footage of reaction to Collateral Murder release.*

### **STOCK Newsreader:**

No surprise it's getting reaction in Washington.

**TEXT** Robert Gibbs  
White House Press Secretary  
C-SPAN

**STOCK Robert Gibbs:**

Our military will take every precaution necessary to ensure the safety and security of civilians.

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

The behaviour of the pilots is like they are playing a computer game. Their desire was simply to kill.

*Montage of news reports on Collateral Murder inquiry.*

**STOCK MSNBC's Dylan Ratigan:**

The Pentagon says that it sees no reason to investigate this any further.

**STOCK BBC Correspondent:**

An internal inquiry found that the journalists' cameras were mistaken for weapons but the rules of engagement were followed.

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

If those killings were lawful under the rules of engagement, then the rules of engagement are wrong – deeply wrong.

*Brief clip of Collateral Murder*

**Michael Hayden:**

You've got this scene, somebody evidently troubled by the scene - frankly, I'm not - but I can understand someone who's troubled by that, and someone who wants the American people to know that, because the American people need to know what it is their government is doing for them. I actually share that view - when I was director of CIA there was some stuff we were doing I wanted all 300 million Americans to know. But I never figured out a way without informing a whole bunch of other people that didn't have a right to that information who may actually use that image, or that fact or that data or that message, to harm my country.

*Brief clip of Collateral Murder*

## **Bill Leonard:**

From a national security point of view, there was absolutely no justification for withholding that videotape, not one. Gunship video is like trading cards among soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan. It's freely exchanged back and forth.

**TEXT**      funny thing is...

we transferred so much data on unmarked  
CDs

everyone did...videos...music...movies

all out in the open

*Cinematic suspense music. The screen shows Youtube open in a browser window. The video playing is an aerial combat video. The screen zooms in on the video, while it displays a*

*quick succession of clips from different aerial combat videos, each showing bright explosions and fleeing people on the ground. The music and montage abruptly end.*

**TEXT** bringing CDs to and from the networks was/is a common phenomenon

i didnt even have to hide it

### **Bill Leonard:**

What's even more disturbing is that it was one in a series of efforts to withhold images of facts that were known.

*More Collateral Murder frames as Gibney speaks*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Reuters knew its employees had been killed. The news agency requested the video but the army refused, claiming the video was classified.

### **Bill Leonard:**

The fact that innocent people were killed in that helicopter attack, that was a known fact that was not classified.

*Footage of a page of David Finkel's "The Good Soldier, which scrolls down as Gibney speaks, showing a transcript of the radio chatter from Collateral Murder. Then a still of the cover of the book.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

A record of the incident and a word-for-word transcript

of the pilots' conversation had already been published in a book called "The Good Soldiers" by a writer embedded with the army. The army later confirmed that the information was not classified, yet the army would prosecute the man who leaked the video to WikiLeaks. What kind of games was the army playing? Why was a transcript less secret than a moving image?

*Footage from Collateral Murder again, this time showing Reuters' Namir Noor-Eldeen, wounded, crawling towards the kerb, with the helicopter gunsight crosshairs on him.*

### **Bill Leonard:**

Clearly the government recognizes the power of images. But the ultimate power of image is that it helps people understand what it is, this fact is that we all know.

*Photographs of flag draped coffins.*

### **Bill Leonard:**

Flag-draped coffins help us understand the consequences of sending our children off to war.

*Photographs of detainee abuse in Abu Ghraib.*

### **Bill Leonard:**

Pictures of detainee abuse in Abu Ghraib help us understand exactly what was taking place.

*Footage from Collateral Murder.*

**Bill Leonard:**

Video of that unfortunate occurrence where innocent people were killed helps us understand that this is an inevitable consequence of war.

*News footage of press conference*

**STOCK Reporter:**

How did you obtain the video?

**Julian Assange:**

We can't discuss our sourcing of the video.

**TEXT**

the reaction to the video gave me immense hope...

Twitter exploded

i want people to see the truth...regardless of who they are

because without information you cannot make informed decisions as a public.

or maybe im just young, naive, and stupid...

*The screen, black for the above chatlogs, now turns white, and black text appears on it.*

**TEXT info@adrianlamo.com:**

which one do you think it is?

*Slow zoom in on "info@adrianlamo.com", while the rest of the text fades out, leaving...*

**TEXT** Adrian Lamo

Hacker

*Montage of stills of Adrian Lamo during his federal prosecution in 2003/2004, while Gibney speaks.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Adrian Lamo is known as the homeless hacker, a couch-surfing computer infiltrator who had been convicted of hacking into the New York Times. In 2010, not long after the release of the Collateral Murder video, Lamo used twitter to urge his followers to donate to WikiLeaks. Only one day later he was contacted by someone with the screen name "bradass87".

**TEXT** (1:40:51) Unverified conversation with bradass87 started

**bradass87:**

hi...how are you?

**bradass87:**

im an army intelligence analyst, deployed to eastern baghdad...

**Adrian Lamo:**

Frankly, I didn't find what he had to say all that interesting at first, not until he started making references to spilling secrets.

**TEXT     bradass87:**

hypothetical question: if you had free reign over classified networks...

**bradass87:**

and you saw incredible things...awful things

*Text suddenly becomes bigger for dramatic effect, stretching across the screen.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

awful things

things that belonged in the public domain

what would you do?

*Text returns to normal size.*

**TEXT     info@adrianlamo.com:**

What are the particulars?

**bradass87:**

things that would have an impact on 6.7 billion people

**bradass87:**

a database of half a million events during the iraq war...260,000 state department cables...

**bradass87:**

let's just say \*someone\* i know well, has been penetrating US classified networks, mining data...

*Text becomes huge again.*

**TEXT**

and uploading it to a crazy white haired aussie who can't stay in one country very long...

crazy white haired dude =  
Julian Assange

*Ominous music plays. All of the text but "Julian Assange" fades out, and the screen slowly pans and zooms in on "Julian Assange" as Lamo speaks.*

## Adrian Lamo:

**Note:** In fact, the alleged chatlogs between Lamo and Manning show that Lamo started slyly manipulating and exploiting Manning immediately. Purporting to be a journalist, Lamo claimed that he could protect Manning under journalist-source confidentiality laws. He then also claimed he could additionally protect Manning under Californian Confessional laws (as he was a registered priest). When WIRED magazine first published the alleged logs, these references were censored, allowing Lamo to lie to the press about what they contained. Later publication of the alleged logs make the duplicity clear.

**(10:23:34 AM)**

**info@adrianlamo.com:** I'm a journalist and a minister. You can pick either, and treat this as a confession or an interview (never to be published) & enjoy a modicum of legal protection...

**(1:55:10 PM)**

**info@adrianlamo.com:** i told you, none of this is for print

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

WIRED's censorship of the logs has been

At that point I knew that this wasn't some kind of game. It was for real and that I was going to have some very hard choices. In Star Trek every prospective commanding officer is expected to pass a test called "Kobayashi Mari".

attributed by journalist Glenn Greenwald to the close personal relationship between Adrian Lamo and WIRED section editor Kevin Poulsen.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**TEXT**

KOBAYASHI MARU

"THE NO-WIN SITUATION"

*Footage from "Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan".*

**STOCK Lieutenant Saavik:**

Enterprise training mission to Gamma Hydra.

**Klingons:**

Klingon torpedoes activated! Firing!

**Lieutenant Saavik:**

Evasive Action!

*Explosions on the Enterprise bridge. Everyone dies.*

**Adrian Lamo:**

The test cannot be passed. It is there to see how they deal with a no-win situation.

**STOCK James T. Kirk:**

A no win situation is a possibility every commander may face. Has that ever occurred to you?

**Lieutenant Saavik:**

No sir. It has not.

**Adrian Lamo:**

In this case, it was a no-win situation deciding what to do with it. No matter what you do, you're gonna screw somebody over.

*A still black and white photograph of Timothy Webster in Army camouflage gear.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Unsure what to do, Adrian contacted Tim Webster, a friend and former army counter-intelligence agent.

**TEXT** Tim Webster  
Former Army Counterintelligence Agent

**Timothy Webster:**

▶ Adrian called me and he said "What would you do if somebody had approached you and said hey, I'm leaking secrets". I thought it was a pretty stupid question because of course Adrian knows exactly what I would have done in the situation.

**Note:** In fact, as the alleged chat logs make clear, Manning had already lost his security clearance, his access, and was being discharged from the US Army in relation to another issue. Despite this and Lamo's promises of confidentiality, Lamo not only became an informer, but immediately pushed the story out through WIRED magazine, issued nine press releases, gave dozens of

interviews, and campaigned for Assange's extradition.

Court records show that Lamo actively attempted to inform on other people well after the Manning arrest, including Jason Katz, a physicist at Brookhaven National Laboratory, who he alleged helped WikiLeaks decode the encryption on a US Air Force massacre video. Katz was fired and swept up into the ongoing FBI investigation against WikiLeaks as a result of his alleged contribution to uncovering a war crime. People close to him were forced to testify against him at the WikiLeaks grand jury. None of this is covered by Gibney.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

## Alex Gibney:

What would you have done?

## Timothy Webster:

Well, of course turned him in. There's nothing else you can do in that situation. But Adrian was on the fence about it ethically.

**Note:** By showing a montage of photographs of an anguished Adrian Lamo, taken before

*A sepia still of Adrian Lamo (much younger) sitting anguished, with his head buried in his hands.*

2010, along with emotional music, Alex Gibney furnishes a narrative that is not substantiated by the known facts. This narrative serves to falsely rehabilitate Adrian Lamo's image, from that of a fame-seeking FBI informant to that of a tragic hero tortured by the guilt of being forced to choose "the greater good".

*Contemplative, sad music plays.*

### **Timothy Webster:**

On one hand, here was this kid leaking all this classified information - could potentially cost lives - on the other hand, he was this kid who reached out to Adrian in confidence and trusted him. And Adrian took that pretty seriously.

*A staged photograph of Adrian Lamo posing, craned over his laptop with his brows theatrically furrowed, as if concentrating.*

### **Timothy Webster:**

He indicated he didn't know who this person was, there was just a screen name. So very quickly of course the first thing anybody would be interested in is: who is this guy?

**TEXT      info@adrianlamo.com:**

hey you...around?

**bradass87:**

yeah

**info@adrianlamo.com:**

why talk to me?

**bradass87:**

because im isolated as fuck. my life is falling apart...i don't have anyone to talk to

**info@adrianlamo.com:**

I'm a journalist and a minister...

treat this as a confession or an interview (never to be published) & enjoy a modicum of legal protection.

**bradass87:**

but i'm not a source for you...

**info@adrianlamo.com:**

i told you, none of this is for print. I want to know who i am supporting

**bradass87:**

i guess i can talk a little about myself

*The background of the chat logs gently fades into scenes from rural Oklahoma, soft-focused and bleached with sunlight. A mill, an empty street in a quiet town. Contemplative piano and synth music plays.*

**TEXT      bradass87:**

i was born in central Oklahoma... a highly evangelical town... with more church pews than people

*Black and white school photos. Zoom in on Bradley Manning's photo: a small child with blonde hair and a gummy smile. Another photo, adolescent now, wearing glasses and facing the camera in front of a science fair stall with a paper sign marked "Bradley Manning".*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

i was a science fair buff... won grand prize 3 years in a row

*A photo of a young teenaged school basketball team wearing Crescent, Oklahoma jerseys. Camera zooms in on number 11 in the front row, a seated Bradley Manning, wearing glasses.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

i didnt like getting beat up or called gay... so i joined sports teams

*Photos of Manning in late teens, using computers.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

i also started playing around more and more with computers

*The background returns to black.*

**TEXT**     **bradass87:**

questioned my gender for several  
years...sexual orientation was easy to  
figure out.

**info@adrianlamo.com:**

I'm bi myself...

**bradass87:**

im aware of your bi part

*The text becomes huge again. Doleful cello music plays.*

**TEXT**     i don't know what to call  
myself

*Blurry party photographs of Bradley Manning and Jason  
Edwards*

**Jason Edwards:**

I first met Bradley Manning at a New Year's Eve party. It  
was a 1930s theme party. I was the Prince of Wales and  
Brad showed up without any kind of costume or persona.

**TEXT**     Jason Edwards

Friend of Bradley Manning

**Jason Edwards:**

I looked at him and he was small and had this kind of ingenu expression on his face, this bright blonde hair so I said, oh, Jean Harlow.

**Note:** Selective editing. By introducing Bradley Manning in this way, Gibney establishes Manning's character in the context of an alleged gender confusion. This context is reinforced through constant repetition over the next few minutes of the film, in order to leave a lasting impression on the audience. This is Gibney's frame for Manning's alleged acts throughout the entire documentary: that his alleged acts represent a failure of character, rather than a triumph of conscience. In an interview, Gibney stated that:

*On the screen Bradley Manning's face is morphed onto Jean Harlow's. Harlow lingers before returning to the original photograph, showing a nametag with "Brad Jean Harlow" written on it pinned to his chest.*

The initial presentation of the story was that Bradley Manning was a pure political figure, like a Daniel Ellsberg. I don't think that's a sufficient explanation of why he did what he did. I think he was alienated; he was in agony personally over a number of issues. He was lonely and very needy. And I think he had an identity crisis. He had this idea that he was in the wrong body and wanted to become a woman, and these issues are not just prurient. I think it raises big issues about who whistleblowers are, because they are alienated

people who don't get along with people around them, which motivates them to do what they do.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

This "[crude gay caricature](#)" is a version of a classic attack on whistleblowers, [once used on Daniel Ellsberg](#): to distract from acts of conscience by focusing on sexuality, character, psychology and alleged "issues," rather than conscience, motive and morality. In order to carry out this attack, it is necessary for Gibney to ignore the explicit statements as to motive given or alleged to be given by Bradley Manning himself. From the alleged chatlogs between Manning and Lamo:

god knows what happens now.  
hopefully worldwide discussion,  
debates, and reforms. if not...  
than we're doomed as a species. i  
will officially give up on the  
society we have if nothing  
happens. the reaction to the video  
gave me immense hope... CNN's  
iReport was overwhelmed...  
Twitter exploded... people who  
saw, knew there was something  
wrong. [...] i want people to see  
the truth... regardless of who they  
are... because without  
information, you cannot make  
informed decisions as a public

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

From Bradley Manning's plea statement of February 28, 2013:

...the people in the bongo truck were merely attempting to assist the wounded. The people in the van were not a threat but merely "good samaritans". The most alarming aspect of the video to me, however, was the seemly delightful bloodlust they appeared to have. They dehumanized the individuals they were engaging and seemed to not value human life by referring to them as quote "dead bastards" unquote and congratulating each other on the ability to kill in large numbers. At one point in the video there is an individual on the ground attempting to crawl to safety. The individual is seriously wounded. Instead of calling for medical attention to the location, one of the aerial weapons team crew members verbally asks for the wounded person to pick up a weapon so that he can have a reason to engage. For me, this seems similar to a child torturing ants with a magnifying glass. While saddened by the aerial weapons team crew's lack of concern about human life, I was

disturbed by the response of the discovery of injured children at the scene. In the video, you can see that the bongo truck driving up to assist the wounded individual. In response the aerial weapons team crew – as soon as the individuals are a threat, they repeatedly request for authorization to fire on the bongo truck and once granted they engage the vehicle at least six times. Shortly after the second engagement, a mechanized infantry unit arrives at the scene. Within minutes, the aerial weapons team crew learns that children were in the van and despite the injuries the crew exhibits no remorse. Instead, they downplay the significance of their actions, saying quote "Well, it's their fault for bringing their kids into a battle" unquote. The aerial weapons team crew members sound like they lack sympathy for the children or the parents. Later in a particularly disturbing manner, the aerial weapons team verbalizes enjoyment at the sight of one of the ground vehicles driving over a body – or one of the bodies. [...] For me it's all a big mess, and I am left wondering what

these things mean, and how it all fits together. It burdens me emotionally. [...]

I hoped that the public would be as alarmed as me about the conduct of the aerial weapons team crew members. I wanted the American public to know that not everyone in Iraq and Afghanistan are targets that needed to be neutralized, but rather people who were struggling to live in the pressure cooker environment of what we call asymmetric warfare. After the release I was encouraged by the response in the media and general public, who observed the aerial weapons team video. As I hoped, others were just as troubled – if not more troubled than me by what they saw. [...]

For me, the SigActs represented the on the ground reality of both the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. [...] I believe that if the general public, especially the American public, had access to the information contained within the CIDNE-I and CIDNE-A tables this could spark a domestic debate on the role of the military and our foreign policy in general

as [missed word] as it related to Iraq and Afghanistan. I also believed the detailed analysis of the data over a long period of time by different sectors of society might cause society to reevaluate the need or even the desire to even engage in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations that ignore the complex dynamics of the people living in the affected environment everyday. [...] [I] stated I had information that needed to be shared with the world. I wrote that the information would help document the true cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. [...] I considered my options one more time. Ultimately, I felt that the right thing to do was to release the SigActs. [...]

The more I read the cables, the more I came to the conclusion that this was the type of information that should become public. I once read and used a quote on open diplomacy written after the First World War and how the world would be a better place if states would avoid making secret pacts and deals with and against each other. I

thought these cables were a prime example of a need for a more open diplomacy. Given all of the Department of State cables that I read, the fact that most of the cables were unclassified, and that all the cables have a SIPDIS caption. I believe that the public release of these cables would not damage the United States, however, I did believe that the cables might be embarrassing, since they represented very honest opinions and statements behind the backs of other nations and organizations.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Jason Edwards:**

Wrote that on a name tag, slapped it on his chest and we went on with the rest of the evening. When I met him at the party, he made no mention to me that he was in the army. This came as a surprise to me.

*A famous photograph of Bradley Manning smiling in uniform and beret appears.*

### **TEXT     bradass87:**

in desperation to get somewhere in life...i joined the army... height of iraq war

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

To get government money for college, Bradley Manning enlisted in the army. In 2007, he began basic training. He was 19 years old. Just weeks after he started he was sent to a discharge unit to determine if he should stay in the army.

**"Nick":**

My locker was next to his and that's when I met him.

*A family photograph of Manning with his sister appears on the screen.*

**"Nick":**

Nobody puts their sister's picture - with him posing next to his sister - there. It was kinda weird.

*Footage then returns to "Nick".*

**TEXT** "Nick"  
Served with Bradley Manning

**"Nick":**

But we knew right away that he was gay, it was like so obvious. So... Not that I have a problem with it.

*A photograph of Manning in full combat fatigues, wearing a large automatic rifle slung over his shoulder and carrying a large pack. The uniform appears too big for him.*

**"Nick":**

He was small, a little bit effeminate and that made him

like public enemy one for drill sergeants to beat that macho into him. We're talking professional army - 30, 40 year old people that would pick on him just to [the audio is clearly edited here] torment him.

### **Alex Gibney:**

And what happened? Did he get discharged?

### **"Nick":**

No. The funny thing is, he was the least army material of anybody there and they all got discharged and he didn't.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Instead of discharging Manning, the army decided to make him an intelligence analyst.

*A photograph of Manning with two US army colleagues.  
Now US Army recruitment video for intelligence roles,  
underscored by brash metal music.*

### **US Army Intelligence Poster Boy:**

There's a lot of points that go with the job. I'm in charge of security, document security, physical security, personnel security, like people's clearances. Does it make me feel like James Bond a little bit? Yeah, to some degree. What would I like the public to know about the army? *We love what we do.*

*Interview with Jihrleah Showman, a prosecution witness at  
Manning's pre-trial hearing*

### **Jihrleah Showman:**

He was definitely what society would label as a computer nerd. He was constantly up all night building specific computer programs.

### **Alex Gibney:**

So he was unusually adept at computers?

### **Jihrleah Showman:**

He was probably the first person in the military that I had met that is as talented as he was with computers.

**TEXT**        Spc. Jihrleah Showman  
                    Bradley Manning's Supervisor

### **Jihrleah Showman:**

But I had to pull him aside several times for his lack of sleep. He was desperately addicted to soda.

*A photograph of Bradley Manning working with a laptop appears. Slowly, deliberately, the view zooms in on a deeply incriminating item: a half empty bottle of Coca Cola. After lingering on it, the camera returns to Manning's face. He wears a smile.*

### **Jihrleah Showman:**

He drank approximately a litre to two litres every night, so he literally did not sleep, ever.

*Brief stock footage of a generic army drill. The incomprehensible grunts of a drill sergeant are heard. The formation stands to attention.*

**Jhrleah Showman:**

One time he was late for formation and he had a very public display physically.

*A photograph of Manning in uniform, where he has clearly been caught by surprise by the camera, causing his eyes to widen, is shown.*



*Inserted into this context, it falsely implies that he is unhinged.*

**Jhrleah Showman:**

He was jumping up and down, flailing his arms, screaming at the top of his lungs, and to me, I had never seen a soldier do that before. It had to be something else, a seizure or something like that because it was very radical body movement. But it wasn't something else. He didn't like messing up.

*The screen has been slowly, deliberately zooming in on Manning's face, until his widened eyes fill the screen.*

**Jhrleah Showman:**

He had to have everything perfect. I actually

recommended three times that he not deploy.

*A closeup photograph of Bradley Manning appears on the screen, as the audio of his voicemail greeting plays.*

### **STOCK Bradley Manning:**

Hi you've reached Brad Manning at my deployment number. Please leave a message, or call me back later. Thank you.

*More music. A montage of photographs taken around the time of Manning's deployment is played, showing automatic rifles leaning against walls and Manning sitting in aircraft seats.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In October 2009, Bradley Manning was sent to Iraq, posted to Forward Operating Base Hammer just outside of Baghdad.

*A montage of stock footage from the military deployment in Baghdad plays, showing hovering helicopters and the normal workings of military bases. Chat logs appear over it.*

### **TEXT bradass87:**

here its hot, dry...and fucking hot

[double emphasis on hot]

*The screen shows an aerial view of Baghdad, as if from the satellite earlier in the film.*

**TEXT** BAGHDAD

*The screen zooms in hugely, focusing on an aerial view of a large rectangular compound.*

**TEXT** FOB Hammer**Jihroleah Showman:**

We were the furthest FOB east that you could go out of the Baghdad area. It was definitely the best, most uneventful place you could have been deployed to. We never had any enemy fire.

*Footage from the base. Jeeps pass and soldiers walk by. Footage from the on-base gym. Soldiers playing pool, basketball, eating pizza, getting massages and having their toenails painted. Footage of the soldiers' living quarters.*

**Jihroleah Showman:**

We could walk around without battle gear. We had a full gym, there's pool tables, basketball court. We had a little movie theatre, we had a Pizza Hut, a Burger King, a place to get your hair cut, a place to get a massage. We had air-conditioned living quarters - you could actually get cable and internet in your room. It was literally just a home away from home.

*Footage along the barrel of an automatic rifle being fired into the desert, with the sound of other gunfire nearby.*

**TEXT** bradass87:

im in the desert, with a bunch of hyper-masculine trigger happy ignorant rednecks as neighbors...

*Footage of cheerleaders performing to Aerosmith's "Dude Looks Like a Lady" at a function room in Forward Operating Base Hammer in front of a seated crowd of cheering off-duty soldiers.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

part of Morale Welfare and Recreation projects

>SHRUG<

*Footage of cheerleaders in cutoff jeans and tank tops firing automatic rifles at a firing range.*

*Music suddenly stops. Still photo of Bradley Manning standing for inspection with other soldiers in a computer lab. He looks unhappy.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

for whatever reason, im not comfortable with myself...

no-one knows who i am inside...

the CPU is not made for this motherboard...

*An exterior shot, showing a darkening sky with a crescent moon, and the silhouette of military satellite tranceivers in*

*the foreground.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

and the only safe place i seem to have is  
this satellite internet connection

my speciality is tracking a Shi'a group...  
they make al-Qaeda knock offs look like  
kids

**Jihroleah Showman:**

When you receive intel in it's extremely raw.

*Stylized computer graphical representation of  
"intelligence": a galaxy of glowing white Arabic text  
swarms across a black screen, while in the background a  
graphical web of white lines and nodes goes through  
various transformations.*

**Jihroleah Showman:**

A lot of the times it's even in Iraqi so we have to actually  
get it translated and build a product so the commander  
can actually make military decisions.

*Stock footage showing intelligence analysts working at  
computers.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

But much of the information available to Manning's  
intelligence unit had nothing to do with day-to-day  
combat operations. All of the analysts had access to  
central computer networks for the armed forces and the

State Department.

*Computer graphical representation of classified computer networks: a starfield of glowing white text shoots past the screen, emanating from a distant bright light.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

With a few keystrokes a skilled user could gain access to vast streams of classified emails, memos and reports from around the world.

### **Alex Gibney:**

Why was it that Private Manning had access to all that information?

### **TEXT**

Philip J. Crowley

Former Asst. Secretary of State for Public Affairs

### **PJ Crowley:**

Now look, firstly the mindset changed after 9/11 from a need-to-know to a need-to-share, and the database that he had access to was a representation of the need for one hand of government to share broadly information about its activities with another agency of government.

### **Alex Gibney:**

How many people *had* access?

### **Michael Hayden:**

It's a hard question to answer.

*Montage of photos of Manning.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Manning was regarded as one of the smartest intelligence analysts in the unit, but more than others he became increasingly distressed by the reports he was seeing.

*Footage from the top of a tank driving through a street at night, its gunsight scanning the dark, while text from the SIGACTS Manning is alleged to have leaked to WikiLeaks is displayed over it.*

**TEXT**

Date:2009-05-02

"DISCOVERED MULTIPLE  
DETAINEES WHO APPEARED TO  
HAVE BEEN ABUSED BY [IRAQI  
POLICE]..."

**TEXT**

[KILLED]

**TEXT**

Date: 2005-06-14

"OPEL DISREGARDED ALL HAND  
AND ARM SIGNALS... MARINES  
ENGAGED THE FRONT GRILL...  
ENGAGED THE DRIVER...  
ENGAGEMENT RESULTED IN 7X  
CIVILIANS KILLED (2X WERE  
CHILDREN)."

*A montage of footage, probably staged, filmed in green*

*night vision, showing detainees being marched in the dark, and having blindfolds tied while held at gunpoint. Morose ambient music plays.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

the thing that got me the most...

15 detainees taken by the Iraqi Federal Police...

for printing "anti-Iraqi literature"

i found out that it was a benign political critique titled "Where did the money go?"

\*ran\* to the officer to explain what was going on...

he told me to shut up and explain how we could assist...

in finding \*MORE\* detainees.

everything started slipping after that...

i was actively involved in something that i was completely against...

**Jihrleah Showman:**

He back-talked a lot. He constantly wanted to debate. He wanted to be the person that disagreed with everybody. We had a separate little conference room, it had a doorway but it didn't have a door that you could close and he'd go in there and just scream.

*A photograph of Manning, apparently making a face for the camera, with his mouth open, is displayed.*



*A dissonant ambient chord sounds. Inserted into this context, the photograph portrays Manning as demonic and unhinged.*

*More chat logs on a blank screen.*

**TEXT      bradass87:**

i can't believe what im telling you

ive had too many chinks in my armor :'(

*The text becomes huge again, as the music plays ominously.*

**TEXT      bradass87:**

im a broken soul

**info@adrianlamo.com:**

\*hug\*

**bradass87:**

thank you :( it means a lot

i dont know what im going to do now...

**info@adrianlamo.com:**

keep typing <3

*Footage from Mark Davis' documentary "Inside WikiLeaks". He turns the camera on and focuses it on Assange. They are on a train.*

**TEXT** Mark Davis  
Journalist and Filmmaker

**Mark Davis:**

I was trying to trace him after the Collateral Murder video, but he's a pretty evasive guy. He doesn't have a home, he doesn't have an office, so it was no easy task. I'd been chasing him for weeks and had one phone contact with him but I heard that he was speaking in Norway so I jumped on a plane.

*Footage from Oslo, showing the street and the poster for the  
2010 OSLO FREEDOM FORUM, APRIL 26TH-28TH,  
2010*

**Mark Davis:**

Turned up in Oslo and sort of, you know, shadowed him

for a few days until things started to click.

*Footage of Julian Assange's speech at the Oslo Freedom Forum.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

This is not the liberal democracy that we had all dreamed of, this is an encroaching privatised censorship regime. [applause]

*Footage of Assange walking through a crowd after the speech - the camera following him.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

So embarrassing

**Mark Davis:**

What's that?

**Julian Assange:**

Having that camera in my face.

**Mark Davis:**

At that time he had an underground following, of which I was aware. He's Australian, he's from Melbourne, but he had no public profile really.

*Stock footage of Assange waiting for a train, eating a sandwich.*

*Stock footage from Mark Davis' interview with Assange on the train.*

## **STOCK Mark Davis:**

WikiLeaks is not the first time you've come to the attention of the Australian public. Of course you had another controversial period when you were involved with a group that was essentially trying to penetrate military computer systems. What was the motivation there?

## **Julian Assange:**

Well, there was two motivations for it. One was just the intellectual exploration and the challenge to do this, so if you're a teenager at this time in a suburb of Melbourne... and this was *before* there was public access to the internet – this was an incredibly intellectually liberating thing, to go out and explore the world with your mind.

**TEXT** MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA  
EARLY 1990S

**Note:** Instead of providing his viewers with insight, Alex Gibney seriously distorts hacker culture by choosing to introduce it through a sensationalizing Australian television programme from two decades ago. He goes on to build upon this by using footage from a Hollywood film from the 1980s, "War Games." This is the tabloid mythology of

 *Footage from an Australian television programme about hackers. A man with an earpiece talks to someone else.*

## **STOCK Man:**

G'day mate! [listens] No, a hacker is not someone who kills their victim, dismembers them and cuts them into small

hacker culture, not the reality. Hackers are routinely mythologized in mainstream culture as mysterious, illicit and all-powerful. The reality is that the global hacker community is a large community of scientifically-minded users and creators of technology, who write software and design systems. Gibney merely reinforces mainstream prejudices.

The iconography of Gibney's Internet is devoid of intelligence and awareness, because he himself has no insight to offer us. The shifting political and socio-economic landscape of the information age remains unarticulated in the film, because it is obscured by the bare knuckled entrenched interests of his corporate politic.

--Alexa O'Brien, *Review of 'We Steal Secrets'*

**Source:** [Click here.](#)"

pieces, hackers do far more damage than that.

*A female presenter addressing the camera while walking across a giant computer chip, circuits and chips surrounding her.*

## **STOCK Presenter:**

Hackers, the mystery operators of the internet. In the eyes of the law, they're criminal, but who are they?

## **Mark Davis:**

There was a really interesting period in Melbourne in the early 90s. There was a few places on earth that really clicked into the internet, pre-internet. There was also a sense of rebelliousness, a sort of an alternative political culture in Melbourne. All those things converged and Julian was absolutely the core part of it. It was almost a cliché – the teen hacker.

*Footage from the movie War Games.*

## **STOCK David Lightman:**

72,000,000 people dead? Is this a game, or is it real?

## **Computer:**

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

## **TEXT**

Prof. Robert Manne  
La Trobe University, Melbourne

**Robert Manne:**

Their struggle was against the state and they thought the triumph of intelligent individuals over the possibility of state surveillance - that's the heart of what they were doing. And Julian Assange, who at that point was a young hacker, got into that world...

*More footage from War Games*

**STOCK David Lightman:**

We're going to show 'em, baby.

**Robert Manne:**

...and he became the central figure.

*A photograph of Julian Assange as a teenager, with very long hair, holding a phone to his ear. It then shows the words "Mendax: Noble Liar" in ASCII art in green monochrome.*

**Note:** Here Gibney fabricates the significance of one of Julian Assange's teenage screen names "Splendide Mendax" (from the classical author Horace). He does so throughout the film. The screen name is a joke. In Latin it means "Nobly untrue", but as a pseudonym it describes how handles protect an author's identity even though being inherently "untrue". It is a phrase which describes itself, not its author, just like the

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The group was called the International Subversives. Among them was Julian Assange, known by the online name of Mendax, short for a Latin phrase meaning "noble liar".

Hackers in Melbourne were also suspects in the Wank worm attack but their involvement was never proven. Two years after the Wank worm Assange was implicated in another hack.

word "word".

"Claims my teenage nickname was Mendax, "given to lying", instead of Splendide Mendax, "nobly untruthful", which is a teenage joke on handles being inherently untrue. It is self-referential, not a psychoanalysis 20 years ahead of its time!"

— Julian Assange, Complaint to Ofcom regarding the Guardian co-produced Secrets & Lies documentary, January 9, 2012.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage from Australian news coverage of Assange's 1994 court case for hacking into Nortel. Assange walking from the courtroom, wearing shades and a ponytail, with his lawyer, carrying a brief.*

## **STOCK Newsreader:**

Julian Assange allegedly accessed computer systems around the world through weak links in the internet system, meaning the whole computer opened up to him and he could walk around like God Almighty.

*Stock footage of Ken Day, looking quite young, in the early 1990s.*

## **STOCK Ken Day:**

Hackers have this belief that we are getting a police state, that information is being hidden from the broad community, that...

*Editing abruptly cuts off.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Ken Day was an Australian expert on hackers and the first person to investigate Julian Assange as part of an undercover sting called Operation Weather.

### **Ken Day:**

It was a difficult case because it was only the second time we had done an investigation in this particular style, so we were still learning. What we did was capture the sound going across the telephone line so we could see what was typed and the signal coming back.

*Montage of footage of the Pentagon, and US agency insignia, all overlaid with text, as if to convey the concept of "data."*

**Note:** Julian Assange set out his group's Golden Rules as follows:

Don't damage computer systems you break into (including crashing them); don't change the information in those systems (except for altering logs to cover your tracks); and share information.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The hackers had broken into the US Air Force, the Navy and the US Defence network that had the power to block entire countries from the internet.

At his eventual trial, the judge recognised that Assange's actions had not been malicious, had caused no damage and had been motivated by intellectual curiosity.

**Source:** *Underground: Tales of hacking, madness and obsession on the electronic frontier*, by Suelette Dreyfus: [Click here](#).

## **STOCK Julian Assange:**

We had a backdoor in the US military security co-ordination centre. This is the peak security, or development of security, of mil.net, the US military internet. We had total control over this for two years.

## **Ken Day:**

The internet was a new frontier for people to go out and express themselves, that "I'm there, I'm the first, I'm the all-powerful". This is a common theme with people that are hackers. It was all ego-driven, I'm the best.

*The screen displays the "Mendax" ASCII art again, and then displays another black screen with the text "I HAVE TAKEN CONTROL".*

*Footage of the young Assange, in ponytail and shades, walking into the courtroom.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian was charged with 29 counts of penetrating, altering and destroying government data. The defence asked the court to be lenient because Assange had lived a

difficult childhood, continually moving from city to city with no lasting relationships.

*Montage of photographs of Assange as a child, with a dog, and playing on a bicycle.*

## **Mark Davis:**

His only constant connection with the outside world was the internet.

*More footage of Assange as a teenager, talking to the reception desk in the court room.*

*The text of the charge sheet against Assange appears on the screen.*

**TEXT** COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Crimes Act 1914

FORM FOR THE PURPOSES OF  
SECTION 16BA

Director of Public Prosecutions  
200 Queen Street  
MELBOURNE VIC 3000

To: Julian Paul Assange

You are charged with the following federal offences:

1 count of obtain access to data relating to

the enforcement of a law of the Commonwealth contrary to subparagraph 76B(2)(b)(iii) of the Crimes Act 1914;  
 1 count of obtain access to data relating to commercial information on a Commonwealth computer contrary to subparagraph 76B(2)(vii) of the Crimes Act 1914;  
 1 count of insert data into a Commonwealth computer contrary to paragraph 76C(a) of the Crimes Act 1914;

**Note:** In fact, the judge said:

There is just no evidence that there was anything other than sort of intelligent inquisitiveness and the pleasure of being able to — what's the expression — surf through these various computers.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

After a five-year investigation and trial, Julian pled guilty to 24 hacking offences. He was sentenced to 3 years on probation.

*Suspenseful music. More text from the charge sheet.*

**TEXT**

The Queen

v

Julian Paul Assange

SUMMARY OF CHARGES

### **Ken Day:**

He believed that what he was doing was not wrong and probably rues the day that he pled guilty.

*Assange's signature from the conviction is shown.*

**TEXT** Julian Paul Assange

**Ken Day:**

Julian does not like being judged. His rationalization is yeah, I've been convicted but it was unjust, it's unfair, I'm a martyr. He didn't accept it.

**Mark Davis:**

Julian once had quite a rigid political view. He's always believed that there's these secrets that need to be discovered, and at 17, 18 Julian was looking at stuff that he couldn't quite understand – it's all in acronyms, it's descriptions of movements here and there, of weapons or of troops. He wasn't ready to do anything with it. Indeed, he waited 20 years to see it again and when he saw it again he knew what to do with it this time.

*Youtube in a browser window, with footage of Julian Assange speaking at 2009 convention playing as the video.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Months before he received the helicopter video, Assange was trawling through hacker conferences looking for leaks.

*Footage of Julian Assange speaking at 2009 convention.*

**STOCK** Julian Assange:

Why am I talking to you guys at all? Well you know, you haven't captured a flag in the contest here but we have our own list of flags and we want to capture them, and so if you google for WikiLeaks' Most Wanted 2009 you will see a list of documents...

*The screen shows the "WikiLeaks Most Wanted 2009" page again, and then fades to a photograph of Bradley Manning in the common room at FOB Hammer, wearing headphones.*

### **STOCK    Julian Assange:**

...that if you are in a position or you know someone who's in a position to get this material, you get it, give it to us, no questions asked, and you will help change history.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

One month into Manning's deployment, WikiLeaks published the 9/11 pager messages. Manning took notice.

### **TEXT    bradass87:**

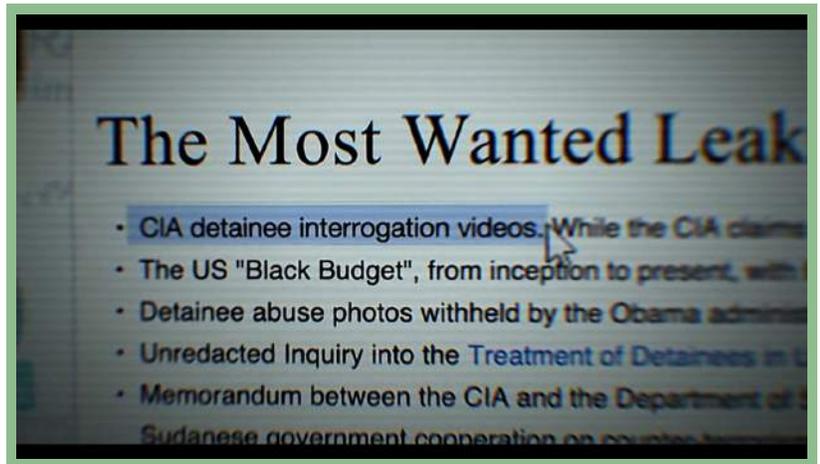
they released the 9/11 "pager messages"

recognized they were from an NSA database and i felt comfortable enough to come forward...

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Only days later he saved Julian Assange's contact information to his computer.

*The screen shows a Mac OS X screen, with a text window open, showing WikiLeaks contact info. It then scrolls to a browser window, showing the "Most Wanted Leaks" page open. The mouse cursor highlights the text "CIA detainee interrogation videos." The footage is intended to depict Manning's computer screen, but has been created by Alex Gibney. The footage depicts events that - according to trial testimony - never happened.*



**Note:** This is false. Alex Gibney claims that Bradley Manning took "a cue from the WikiLeaks Most Wanted List." He also creates footage that "reconstructs" Manning's computer screen, showing him working from the list.

This is an allegation brought against Bradley Manning by the US government in his trial. The claim has no other source. It is false. The government's witnesses as to this claim fell apart under cross examination during Manning's trial. The government is unable to produce evidence that Manning ever even saw or read the "Most Wanted List."

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Then, taking a cue from the WikiLeaks' Most Wanted list, Manning began searching for CIA detainee interrogation videos on the classified networks to which he had access. Like other whistleblowers, he felt a moral obligation to leak specific information the public should know.

**Defense:** Now, you spoke about your examination on the 22 machine and the 40 machine and you did a complete scrub of those machines, correct?

**Witness:** No, sir.

**Defense:** You spoke about some of the machines you were looking for. You were also looking for what's known as the WikiLeaks most wanted list, correct?

**Witness:** Yes, sir.

**Defense:** Something that when you were going through both the 22 and the 40 machine, that's something you were looking for?

**Witness:** Yes, sir.

**Defense:** And let's talk about the 22 machine first. As you went over that bite by bite and bit by bit you never found any evidence that PFC Manning had seen that, correct?

**Witness:** Sir, I apologize, I don't remember exactly what was on the entire list. Do you have that -

-

**Defense:** I guess let me clarify, I'm sorry. The actual list itself?

**Witness:** Right. Oh, no, sir; I did not see the list.

**Defense:** So there was no evidence that on the 22 machine a user had viewed that list?

**Witness:** Correct.

**Defense:** No evidence that a user ever had saved that list?

**Witness:** No, sir.

**Defense:** Or printed it?

**Witness:** Yes, sir.

**Defense:** Or done anything with it?

**Witness:** Correct.

**Defense:** And the same would be true for the 40 machine as well, correct?

**Witness:** Yes, sir.

There could be no more biased authority on Manning's alleged actions than the body that

is prosecuting him. Rather than regarding its claims with skepticism, Gibney reports them uncritically and carelessly, as if they were fact. His narrative of Bradley Manning's alleged actions is the prosecution's narrative. It has since been shown to be false, but will continue to misinform the public long after Manning's trial is over.

**Source:** [Click here](#) and go to p. 88.

**Note:** No evidence has been adduced in the Bradley Manning proceedings to prove the person Manning was allegedly communicating with was Julian Assange. Despite this lack of evidence, in pre-trial hearings the US government prosecutor continually refers to Julian Assange as being the person allegedly communicating with Manning. Julian Assange has been denied formal legal representation in the Manning proceedings. His legal representatives at the proceedings have been denied the ability to object to the US government's unsubstantiated allegation. Gibney repeats this allegation without supporting evidence.

By using the term "or he was persuaded" the film tries to implicate Wikileaks in a conspiracy to obtain classified material from Manning. The film makes this suggestion without basis – and it has since been proven to be factually incorrect: Manning makes clear in his pre-trial statement that no one at WikiLeaks pressured him into giving any

In that context, he first offered up a military video. But in online chats with WikiLeaks, Manning's thoughts changed – either he decided or he was persuaded – that he should capture more flags; a lot of flags.

information and that he made his own decision to send documents: From Bradley Manning's plea statement, February 28, 2013:

No one associated with the WLO pressured me into giving more information. The decisions that I made to send documents and information to the WLO and website were my own decisions, and I take full responsibility for my actions."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Throughout the film, Gibney propagates the idea Assange had been "fishing" for the leaks or that Manning had been "persuaded" to leak. This is factually incorrect but also buys into the dangerous proposition that journalists and publishers can be conspirators by virtue of their interaction with confidential sources.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**TEXT** WASHINGTON, D.C.  
JANUARY\_2010

*Shaky footage of Washington D.C. at night. The dome of the Capitol looms white against the sky. Traffic in the rain. Grey skies as industrial parks float by the window of a train.*

**TEXT** **bradass87:**

i went on leave in late january / early

february...

99.9% of people coming from iraq and afghanistan want to come home, see their families, get laid...

i...wanted to try living as a woman

i rode the train...from DC to Boston cross-dressed, full on... wig, breastforms, dress, the works

*An extreme closeup of Manning's face, contorted into a pouting expression.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

While Manning was playing with a new identity, he was also imagining a new role for himself. He visited his boyfriend in Boston and went to a party at a college hacker space, where he was caught on camera.

*Footage of Manning at the party in Boston, standing among hackers with lockers and cubicles behind him, drinking from a paper cup, looking at the camera.*

### **TEXT      bradass87:**

i'm quite possibly on the verge of being the most notorious "hactivist"...

i wouldn't mind going to prison for the rest of my life

or being executed...

if it wasn't for the possibility of having pictures of me... plastered all over the world press...

*Text becomes huge.*

**TEXT** **bradass87:**

as a boy.

**Note:** The selection of US news clips used here shows carelessness towards the facts.

*Tense music stops. The opening from NBC's Today show plays.*

The materials allegedly leaked by Bradley Manning were all at the level of Secret or below, comprising low-level classified or unclassified military reports, emails and cables to which up to 4 million federal employees or contractors had the same access. The reference to Top Secret information in the clips obscures this fact.

**STOCK** **NBC Today Host:**

Good Morning. Him? How would an army private allegedly gain access to Top Secret Information?

*Now Katie Couric reporting on CBS Reports.*

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**STOCK** **Karie Couric:**

The army has detained a US soldier in connection with the leak of this classified US Video

The video of the Apache helicopter gunship attack - now known as Collateral Murder - was found to be unclassified, yet these clips used by Gibney twice state that it was classified material.

*The sound from another report plays as the footage changes to stock footage from Mark Davis' documentary of Julian Assange in London working on the Afghan War Logs.*

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**STOCK** **Newsreader:**

The prime suspect is 22 year old army Private Bradley Manning for allegedly leaking this classified gun camera video of an Apache helicopter attack...

*Assange shaking his head and calling people on a cellphone, looking worried.*

**Note:** Human rights lawyer, Renata Avila Pinto, who knows Mr Domscheit-Berg, has stated that when she contacted him to alert him about the arrest of Mr Manning, which had been made public, Mr Domscheit-Berg, despite being made aware of the gravity of the situation, said he was busy on holiday and didn't want to deal with the matter.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

Really in the first few days after we heard of this problem with Private Manning, I mean it felt like the worst possible scenario. At that time not really understanding what it means for us and what the hell was actually going on?

*Footage of Adrian Lamo typing.*

### **STOCK Journalist:**

Private First Class Bradley Manning, he found a former computer hacker in Sacramento, California and that former computer hacker was growing increasingly alarmed, eventually turning him in.

### **Adrian Lamo:**

He needed a friend and I wish that I could have been a better friend. There was a responsibility to the needs of the many rather than simply to the needs of Bradley

**Note:** In fact, as the alleged chat logs make clear, Manning had already lost his security clearance, his access, and was being discharged from the US Army in relation to another issue. Despite this and Lamo's

promises of confidentiality, Lamo not only became an informer, but immediately pushed the story out through WIRED magazine, issued nine press releases, gave dozens of interviews, and campaigned for Assange's extradition.

Manning.

Court records show that Lamo actively attempted to inform on other people well after the Manning arrest, including Jason Katz, a physicist at Brookhaven National Laboratory, who he alleged helped WikiLeaks decode the encryption on a US Air Force massacre video. Katz was fired and swept up into the ongoing FBI investigation against WikiLeaks as a result of his alleged contribution to uncovering a war crime. People close to him were forced to testify against him at the WikiLeaks grand jury. None of this is covered by Gibney.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Photos of Lamo appearing when he gave testimony at Bradley Manning's pretrial hearing. He is smiling and giving a thumbs up to the press from the door of a van.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Lamo met with federal agents and gave them a copy of his chats with Bradley Manning. He also gave a copy to

Kevin Poulsen...

*Kevin Poulsen's Los Angeles Police mugshot from 1991*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

...a friend and former convicted hacker who was now the editor at Wired.com.

## **Kevin Poulsen:**

I had just done a story about Adrian being institutionalised.

*The WIRED story headlined "Ex-Hacker Adrian Lamo Institutionalized, Diagnosed with Asperger's" assembles out of shining computer animated pixels.*

## **Kevin Poulsen:**

While he was institutionalised they had adjusted his medications.

**TEXT** Kevin Poulsen  
News Editor, *Wired.com*

## **Kevin Poulsen:**

I almost had kind of a suspicion that maybe these medications weren't agreeing with him and this was kind of A Beautiful Mind situation, that he was imagining all this.

*A photo of Adrian Lamo and Kevin Poulsen smiling together, leaning against a car. Lamo has his arm around Poulsen.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Lamo gave Poulsen the ok to publish the story and days later Wired.com broke the news of Manning's arrest.

*The WIRED story headlined "U.S. Intelligence Analyst Arrested in WikiLeaks Video Probe" assembles out of shining computer animated pixels.*

**Timothy Webster:**

Nobody wanted Adrian to go to the media but apparently it was already done and, well, he ended up approaching a lot of media after that. It just sort of exploded.

*Footage of Adrian Lamo BBC interview. Presenter and Heather Brooke sit in studio, while Adrian Lamo is projected onto a wall.*

**STOCK Interviewer:**

Did it make you feel patriotic when you turned Manning in?

**Adrian Lamo:**

It made me very sad that I could not have interdicted this leak.

*Footage from a CNN interview.*

**STOCK Adrian Lamo:**

I believed that his actions were endangering lives

**Kevin Poulsen:**

Adrian lives his life as though he's writing it like a novel.  
And every novelist wants to rewrite.

*Photo of Adrian Lamo lying in bed with a laptop, wearing a white baseball cap with the word "SNITCH" printed on the peak. The camera slowly zooms in while Lamo speaks.*

**Adrian Lamo:**

It's my job to play this role that I'm cast in to the very best of my ability, the same as any other actor. You can't possibly be yourself in the public eye. All the little things that make us human don't stand up under the scrutiny of the camera.

**STOCK Adrian Lamo:**

I'd like to also point out that I think that this marks the end of WikiLeaks' ability to say that they have never had a source be outed.

*Stock footage of Julian Assange interview filmed by Mark Davis, in a car. Funereal piano music plays.*

**STOCK Mark Davis:**

So, what's been the update on Manning?  
Gimme the news, it's only two days old.

**Julian Assange:**

So, he has been charged with espionage,  
the allegation being that he has transferred  
at least 50 classified cables to another

party, and the other party is not named.

## Mark Davis:

After Bradley Manning was arrested, attention shifted very much to Julian. It was no longer a secret. The pressure during this period was intense. Julian won't say where he got that material but he had the material – there was no question about that.

## STOCK Julian Assange:

We try extremely hard to never know who our sources are. All our encryption technology is designed to prevent us knowing who our sources are.

**Note:** Gibney's rhetorical questions reveal his malicious agenda and poor research. The answers are easy to find: The full phrase is "Splendide Mendax" and it was never used by Assange in this manner. The phrase is a literary joke. In Latin it means "Nobly untrue", but as a pseudonym it is a a witicism about how pseudonyms, which are "untrue", protect the author's safety.

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

Was it really possible that Julian didn't know that Bradley Manning was his source? Or was saying so the old Mendax tactic: telling a lie for a noble cause?

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

WikiLeaks' system uses the Tor onion router across multiple servers in multiple jurisdictions, stripping out submission metadata at each Tor node, meaning anonymisation occurs early in the process and long before information reaches

WikiLeaks web servers.

WikiLeaks does not keep logs,  
hence logs cannot be seized.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

(02:56:46 PM) bradass87: he  
knows very little about me

(02:56:54 PM) bradass87: he  
takes source protection uber-  
seriously

(02:57:01 PM) bradass87: "lie to  
me" he says

(02:57:06 PM)

info@adrianlamo.com: Really.  
Interesting.

(02:57:34 PM) bradass87: he  
wont work with you if you reveal  
too much about yourself.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

"Our technology does not permit  
us to understand whether  
someone is one of our sources or  
not, because the best way to keep  
a secret is to never have it."  
Julian Assange.

**Source:** *WikiSecrets*, PBS Frontline  
documentary.

**Full transcript:** [Click here.](#)

*Stock footage of Julian Assange in the Frontline Club  
watching a Channel 4 news report on a laptop.*

**STOCK Stephen Grey:**

Private First Class Bradley Manning is now said to have confessed to passing more than 260,000 documents to WikiLeaks.

**Julian Assange:**

[speaking over the news report] That's not true.

**Stephen Grey:**

If he's the leaker that implies there's much more to be released. Stephen Grey, for Channel 4 News.

**Julian Assange:**

Thanks, Stephen, thanks. Now I have every fucking gun pointed at me.

*Assange smiles at the cameraman nervously in the stock footage and goes back to working on the laptop.*

**Note:** The question instead is fourfold:

- Would halting publication set a precedent that would lead to the "hostage taking" of other people alleged to be WikiLeaks sources?
- Would halting publication be interpreted as substantiating allegations that Manning was a source?
- Would halting publication be a betrayal of WikiLeaks' promises to publish?

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian knew how much more there was. But now that Manning was arrested the question became would WikiLeaks put Manning in greater jeopardy by continuing to release his materials?

- Would halting publication also halt political support for Manning?

**Note:** Human rights lawyer, Renata Avila Pinto, who knows Mr Domscheit-Berg, has stated that when she contacted him to alert him about the arrest of Mr Manning, which had been made public, Mr Domscheit-Berg, despite being made aware of the gravity of the situation, said he was busy on holiday and didn't want to deal with the matter. Julian Assange later suspended him.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

## **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

It's certainly a very problematic situation. This is about as serious as it can get.

*Stock footage of Julian Assange walking along a train platform in Norway, while his voice taken from another clip speaks over it.*

## **STOCK Julian Assange:**

We have a situation where there's a young man, Bradley Manning, who is alleged to be a source for the Collateral Murder video. We do not know whether Mr Manning is our source or not, but what we do know is that we promised the source that we would publish everything that they gave to us.

*Stock footage of Julian Assange on the train in Norway again, his feet on the seat opposite, and his rucksack on the seat beside him. He looks out the window.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Even though his potential source had been arrested, Assange was undeterred from WikiLeaks' mission. And the hundreds of thousands of leaked US government secrets he possessed were burning a hole in his pocket.

*Footage of Assange wearing shades and sitting on a windowsill. Radiohead's "Jigsaw Falling Into Place" plays.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian travelled around Europe plotting his next move. In Brussels, he was tracked down by investigative journalist Nick Davies.

## **Nick Davies:**

My pitch to Julian was instead of posting the secret material on the WikiLeaks website, he shared it with an alliance of the Guardian and other media groups including the New York Times...

**TEXT**      Nick Davies  
                  Investigative Journalist  
                  *The Guardian*

## **Nick Davies:**

...who (a) have the impact of reaching millions of people instantly and also have natural political connections in their own jurisdictions. So we were trying to give him a kind of political immunity so that he could do this - clearly provocative and somewhat dangerous thing - in relative safety and with an assurance of success.

*The stock footage of Assange wearing shades on a*

*windowsill again. The music continues to play.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

**Note:** It was not Davies' suggestion that WikiLeaks partner with other media: WikiLeaks had worked with journalists at the New York Times and at the Guardian many times previously. WikiLeaks first Guardian front page, on Kenyan corruption, was as early as 2007. WikiLeaks had already brought in Der Spiegel and the New York Times and the Guardian were next. That is why Assange agreed to meet with Nick Davies.

**Full interview transcript:** [Click here.](#)

Recognising that WikiLeaks could benefit from a louder megaphone, Julian agreed to Nick's proposal.

## **Nick Davies:**

So, how am I going to get the documents back to London? There was a little bit of a risk that if the authorities were monitoring his communications, as they might well have been, they would be aware of my involvement with him, they would arrest me as I came back into the United Kingdom and take the material if I had it on a laptop. We thought about a memory stick - maybe they might not spot that. He came up with a much better solution. He said that he would create a website.

*A user name/password dialogue box takes shape on the screen, forming in glowing neon blue out of a swarm of computer animated pixels, against a black background. Into the username box, letters start being typed: "Nick\_Davies".*

## **Nick Davies:**

In order to access the website, I would need a password. So he took a paper napkin that was on the table in the café where we were talking in Brussels and he hooked together several of the words in the commercial logo and wrote: No capital letters.

*More stock footage of Assange sitting on a windowsill in shades, talking, nodding, but Davies voice continues to speak over the footage.*

### **Nick Davies:**

I stuffed it in my pocket. In the event that I was arrested people would assume that it was something I was going to blow my nose on - and so it was I travelled back to the United Kingdom and, as it happened, nobody stopped me so it was all cool.

*Footage filmed at night, driving, in London. Motorcycles in rear-view mirrors.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian would also team up with the London-based Bureau for Investigative Journalism. In a pre-arranged drop point in central London, Julian met Iain Overton.

*Iain Overton being interviewed in a bar in London*

**TEXT** Iain Overton  
Former Managing Editor  
Bureau of Investigative Journalism

### **Iain Overton:**

We turned up and Julian was there wearing a bullet proof vest and we had a Middle Eastern meal, and he revealed that he had the largest-ever military leak of documents in the history of leaks.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In the midst of this spy story was thrust Iain's young colleague – a computer whiz named James Ball.

*Follow footage of James Ball's feet as he walks along a street in London at night.*

**TEXT**      James Ball  
Journalist

### **James Ball:**

It was about one o'clock in the morning. I took delivery of a USB stick of 390,000 secret US military records.

*Radiohead plays while we see steadycam footage of James Ball's face as he walks around London at night, reenacting walking around London at night in 2010. Theatrically he glances left and right and looks out of the corners of his eyes.*

### **James Ball:**

I made to leave and Julian asked me where I was going and I said, well, I was going to go home. So he paused and goes: "No, don't do that – I don't want your address linked to this address."

*The steadycam follows Ball's feet down the steps into a Tube station. We see his face again, now in slow motion, as*

*he walks through the Tube station.*

## **James Ball:**

"Can you find somewhere else to go, at least for 4 or 5 hours?" I don't really think I can go and hit a club – I'd really hate having to try and explain losing 400,000 secret documents because I got a bit drunk.

*Steadycam footage of James Ball's face as he stands on an escalator in a London Tube station, riding it all the way down. When he reaches the bottom, he walks around and rides another escalator all the way up again. A slight motion blur effect is applied to the footage.*

*Timelapse footage of Piccadilly Circus at night, as the Radiohead track is submerged in ambient noise. Fade to stock footage of Julian Assange walking along a street towards the camera, with a rucksack over his shoulder.*

**TEXT**      Gavin MacFadyen  
Director  
Centre for Investigative Journalism

## **Gavin MacFadyen:**

Nobody had ever done this before. How do you have teams of intelligent people to go through this stuff? Nobody in my experience as a journalist had ever been confronted with a tenth of the mass of material he was.

## **Iain Overton:**

We were talking, you know, half a million lines of data. If, in the old days, you had to take half a million lines of data out, you'd have had 16 wheelbarrows out of the

front door of the Pentagon.

### **Nick Davies:**

This was the biggest leak of secret material in the history of this particular planet.

*Footage of the exterior of the Guardian's offices at King's Place.*

*Stock footage of the interior of the Guardian's offices, Assange talking to seated journalists.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian decided that the first release of material would be the Afghan War Logs, but he had to understand them first. In London, the Guardian set up a secret operation with key military reporters from the New York Times and the German magazine Der Spiegel, veteran journalists who could penetrate the arcane language of the military.

*Stock footage of Julian Assange with reporters in the Guardian's offices.*

### **STOCK Julian Assange:**

...you've got much more information...

...here's the key part....

### **Nick Davies:**

During the 4 or 5 weeks when the reporters were working on the Afghan war logs, all of us became concerned that there was material in there which, if

published, could get people hurt on the ground in Afghanistan.

## STOCK Julian Assange:

...you've got this huge attack which goes on for 22 hours or something. It starts here...

**Note:** Assange has always maintained he never said this and made a formal complaint to the Leveson Inquiry about the veracity of Davies' evidence. Assange is alleged to have made this remark while discussing the redaction of the Afghan War Diaries with journalists from Der Spiegel and the Guardian during a dinner in London in July 2010. Nick Davies was not present at that dinner. A journalist at that dinner, John Goetz provided a signed witness statement affirming that the remark was not made.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

WikiLeaks 'ambassador' Joseph Farrell emailed the OfCom complaint containing the Goetz witness statement to Gibney, his producer and his executive producer on 14 June 2012.

## Nick Davies:

This particularly related to ordinary Afghan civilians who in one operation or incident or another had given information to coalition forces and that was recorded in there in such a way that those civilians were identifiable.

*Footage of SIGACTS on a computer screen. The footage then fades, highlighting the words "A LOCAL MAYOR" AND "DOROGH." Sombre music plays.*

## Nick Davies:

I raised this with Julian and he said if an Afghan civilian helps coalition forces he deserves to die. He went on to explain that they have the status of a collaborator or informant. Now...

## Alex Gibney:

Are you sure about that? That's definitely what he said?

**Nick Davies:**

I have absolutely no doubt about it at all. This was just me and him talking through the detail of how we handled this. And this problem - potential problem - had already come up. (a) It's a moral problem. We are not here to publish material that gets people killed; (b) If you publish information that really does get people hurt, or could conceivably get people hurt, you lose your political immunity – you're terribly vulnerable to the most obvious propaganda attack, which is waiting for us in the wings, that you are helping the 'bad guys'.

*Stock footage of Assange at a desk in the Guardian offices studying a screen.*

**Nick Davies:**

Julian is a computer hacker – he comes from that ideology that all information is good and everything should be published.

*Footage turns to monochrome as a radio interview plays.*

**TEXT** WYNC - "On The Media"  
March 2009

**STOCK WYNC Interviewer:**

I asked Julian if he would publish information sent to his website that could lead to the deaths of innocents, such as how to release anthrax into the Thames water supply.

**TEXT**

Yes

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

Yes.

**TEXT**

Even if there was a possibility

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

Even if there is a possibility.

**TEXT**

it would lead to loss of life

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

...it would lead to loss of life.

**Note:** Gibney edits in a single line of audio, with no context, from an unrelated discussion to give a misleading impression of Julian Assange's views on the redactions necessary for the Afghan War Logs publication. Instead of resorting to deceptive editing such as this, Gibney could have talked to Der Spiegel, one of WikiLeaks other media partners on the Afghan release, who raised the issue with Assange in this interview dated July 26, 2010:

**Assange:** The Kabul files contain no information related to current troop movements. The source went through their own harm-minimization process and instructed us to conduct our usual review to make sure there was not a significant chance of innocents being negatively affected. We understand the importance of protecting confidential sources, and we understand why it is important to protect certain US and ISAF sources.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

For a good overview of WikiLeaks' policy on

redactions, see [here](#).

## Iain Overton:

This is a man whose primary way of interacting with the world is a digital one. It is to some degree unsullied by the limitations of human nature.

## Nick Davies:

He does sometimes reduce human activity to something formulaic – then he doesn't see the human heart beating in there, he just reduces it to that very, very simple formula: they speak to an occupying force, they must be bad, the informant deserves to die.

**TEXT**                    **afghan civilian + speaks to coalition forces = DESERVES TO DIE**

*A close up photo of Julian Assange, unshaven, his eyes tired, his complexion pale. Sinister music plays. The photo slowly zooms in.*

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

The coalition of journalists weren't used to working with a transparency radical like Assange. And Assange was still learning the ethics of journalism. They could only agree on one thing: they were going to release the documents.

*Stock footage of Assange walking through London.*

**Note:** The working method agreed at the start of the five-week period during which

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

 In London, a deadline was set for all the partners to

WikiLeaks' media partners would assess the Afghan War Logs material ahead of publication was that the media partner journalists would provide oversight by flagging up to WikiLeaks any regions or keywords requiring redaction in the individual records as they went through them. This resulted in 1 in 5 documents being withheld from initial publication: some 15,000 documents in total.

**Source:** [Click here](#) and go to p. 7.

No person came to harm and NATO forces in Afghanistan admitted to CNN that there wasn't a single person in the released documents in need of protection.

**Source:** [Click here](#).

**Note:** Daniel Domscheit-Berg was not directly involved in any of WikiLeaks' 2010 releases (with the exception of a minor administrative role in booking the venue for the Collateral Murder press conference). These facts have been widely reported, yet Alex Gibney uses Domscheit-Berg as a primary source for this film. Domscheit-Berg has no way of knowing the state of preparedness of WikiLeaks prior to the Afghan War Logs release date, and cannot be considered an authoritative source on the matter.

Due to his increasingly erratic

publish at the same time. Julian finally agreed to redactions and blacking out of names. He told his partners he had a special process which would eliminate the identity of sources from the documents. But with less than a week before publication, Assange had neglected to tell Domscheit-Berg in Berlin.

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

So there we were, 4 days before releasing 90,000 documents, and no redactions made.

behaviour, in late February 2010 WikiLeaks issued a policy directive that Domscheit-Berg not be permitted contact with source material.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**More:** [Click here.](#)

After February 2010 Domscheit-Berg's input within WikiLeaks was restricted to the maintenance of some WikiLeaks back-ups within Germany, and as German spokesperson. His role as spokesperson within Germany was removed after he gave a number of interviews following the 5 April 2010 release of Collateral Murder in which he misdescribed himself to the press.

**Source:** [Click here](#) and go to p. 7.

*Footage of Julian Assange in the Frontline Club, watching on his laptop footage of himself discussing the Afghan War Logs release.*

## **STOCK Julian Assange:**

It is effectively impossible for us to notify some of these Afghans and their leaders about this material. It looks like we will have to do a redaction of some of it.

**Journalist:**

Is that new to you? I mean, you're effectively doing a bit of censorship yourself.

**Julian Assange:**

Yeah, that would be new for us but remember...

*The footage abruptly cuts off.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Time was running out. Just before the release, Assange focused on a section of 15,000 documents that contained the most names. In desperation, he turned to an unlikely source for help.

*Footage of a Pentagon Press Conference.*

**TEXT** Geoff Morrell  
Press Secretary, US Department of  
Defense

**STOCK Geoff Morrell:**

It was reported that WikiLeaks has asked the Department of Defense for help in reviewing approximately 15,000 classified documents that WikiLeaks obtained in an unauthorized and inappropriate manner.

*Stock footage of Assange in the Frontline Club watching the*

*same footage on his laptop.*

## **STOCK Geoff Morrell:**

Before WikiLeaks releases those classified documents to the public...

*Stock footage shows a close up of Assange's eyes as he works, the light of the screen illuminating his face from beneath.*

**Note:** There was no fixed schedule for release of the held-back 15,000 documents for which WikiLeaks sought Pentagon help with redaction. This was confirmed on **August 8, 2010** by Domscheit-Berg himself:

"[Daniel Schmitt] rejected allegations that the group's publication of leaked US government documents was a threat to America's national security or put lives at risk. "For this reason, we conveyed a request to the White House prior to the publication, asking that the International Security Assistance Force provide us with reviewers," Schmitt said. **"That request remains open.**

However, the Pentagon has stated that it is not interested in 'harm minimization' and has not contacted us, directly, or indirectly to discuss this offer."

## **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

Julian urged the New York Times to send a letter to the Pentagon, asking if they want to help with redactions and they refused. And that was 24 hours before the release, you know.

Source: [Click here.](#)

## Mark Davis:

This notion that he didn't care about what was in that material is not true. I mean, he was actually quite tortured by this material and with very few resources - by himself, day and night - he was consumed with working out what to release and what not to release.

## James Ball:

WikiLeaks is a tiny organization, working on this huge scale; it's going to make some mistakes.

*Stock footage of Julian Assange working on the Afghan War Diaries press release in the Frontline Club*

## STOCK Julian Assange:

Is "Spiegel" "i-e" or "e-i" ?

## Mark Davis:

"i-e"

## Julian Assange:

[laughing] Aw, fuck that end of the press release then.

## Mark Davis:

He was without any support structure, and he was about to do a press conference so, you know, I'd say to him: Julian, you need someone there. I mean, someone's got

to write a press release, or at least to answer the phone.

*Clip of Julian Assange.*

### **Mark Davis:**

So it was just in the couple of days before that launch that a couple of volunteer students came in.

*Footage of Julian Assange talking to WikiLeaks staff.*

### **STOCK Julian Assange:**

I'm gonna go now, but I'll give you something to think about, which is we've got this press conference on tomorrow - we're going to be totally inundated, completely totally inundated.

### **Alex Gibney:**

Let's talk about WikiLeaks as an organisation. Is this Apple or IBM, or is this...?

### **Gavin MacFadyen:**

[laughing] Hah! It's a corner gas station with some extremely bright attendants.

### **Mark Davis:**

It is true that he tried to create an impression that it was this very large organization. It was Julian Assange, his \$300 laptop, ten SIM cards and a very, you know, cheap jacket that he'd put on if he had to do an interview.

**Note:** False. Later on the same day Davis is referring to, July 25, 2010, at the press conference for the Afghan War Logs which was streaming live all over the world, Assange told a room full of journalists that WikiLeaks is a "small organization."

It's actually a very hard engineering task to supply 2-5% of the entire world internet connected population at a single moment with material. And so **we are a small organization** trying to understand how to do that and do that in a secure way. As a result we have built up during that period an enormous backlog of whistleblower disclosures.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Alarm clock rings.*

**TEXT** AFGHAN WAR LOGS RELEASE  
25\_JULY-2010

**Note:** Poor fact-checking. Davis is ad-libbing for the camera, but the footage and dialogue in the next clip makes it clear that, in fact, the situation is such that Assange has worked through the night and still hasn't found time to sleep.

**Mark Davis:**

▶ He woke up late, of course. Knocking on the door, "Julian, come on man." He gets up, just his normal thing, you know.

*Footage of Mark Davis filming Assange he prepares to leave for the Afghan War Logs press conference.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

What's the time? What's the time?

**Mark Davis:**

It's twenty-five to.

**Julian Assange:**

I need to prepare a little list of things.

**Mark Davis:**

Alright, I'll be two minutes. How you feeling?

**Julian Assange:**

Tired. Haven't been to sleep, but good, good. 14 pages in the Guardian this morning. "Massive leak of secret files exposes true Afghan war." We tell our sources maximum political impact and I think we got pretty close.

**Mark Davis:**

There's ten trucks out there, ten media trucks.

**Julian Assange:**

Yeah. Yep. There'll be a good outcome.

*Sombre piano music. Stock footage of Assange leaving the apartment, and walking across the street to the Frontline Club.*

**Mark Davis:**

He walked out that door as a sort of ageing student hobo and by the time, you know, he'd made this 50 yard walk, he was a rockstar – he was one of the most famous guys on the planet.

*Stock footage of Julian Assange walking into the media room at the Frontline Club for the Afghan War Logs press conference. Camera flashes and the sounds of shutters.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

Holy fuck.

*Assange speaking at press conference for Afghan War Logs.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

Most of you have read some of the morning papers. So, this is the Guardian from this morning: 14 pages about this topic. It's clear that it will shape an understanding of what the past 6 years of war has been like, and that the course of the war needs to change.

*Suspense music plays as computer animated mock-ups of Afghan War Logs fly across the screen against stock footage of Taliban fighters fighting in Afghanistan*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The war logs revealed a conflict that was very different from what citizens had been told. Civilian casualties

were much higher than reported. America's supposed ally, Pakistan, was playing a double game: taking military aid from the US even while working with the Taliban, to plan attacks in Afghanistan. The war logs also revealed the existence of a secret American assassination squad with a terrible record of wounding and killing women and children.

*Stock nightvision footage of ISAF troops raiding a building.*

### **Bill Leonard:**

There is nothing that will have greater consequences for our nation than the unleashing of the brutality of war. To have those types of decisions, those types of deliberations, done in secrecy is a tremendous disservice to the American people – because these are things being done in their name – so, whether you agree with them or not, to have a free back-and-forth airing of these is essential.

*Footage of Julian Assange at Afghan War Logs press conference.*

### **STOCK Julian Assange:**

All the material is over 7 months old, so it's got no current operational consequence.

### **Journalist:**

Now, in what circumstances wouldn't you publish information, or are there any circumstances in which you wouldn't publish material?

## Julian Assange:

We have a harm minimization process. Our goal is just reform, our method is transparency, but we do not put the method before the goal.

**Note:** Nick Davies is shown to be lying. He was already completely aware of the harm minimization procedures implemented by WikiLeaks. An article by Nick Davies in which he himself explained the procedures had been published on the front page of The Guardian, prior to Assange's announcement.

## Nick Davies:

To my amazement, Julian announced to the world WikiLeaks always conducts a harm minimization process. Julian had no harm minimization process in place at all.

The most famous photograph from the July 25 press conference at which Assange made this announcement shows him holding a copy of the Guardian newspaper from that morning. That photograph is actually contained in the stock footage of the Afghan War Logs Press Conference that Alex Gibney includes in his film.

The front page headline in the photograph is



"Massive leak of secret files exposes true Afghan war". This is an article by Nick Davies and David Leigh.

From the article:

A small amount of information has been withheld from

publication because it might endanger local informants or give away genuine military secrets. WikiLeaks, whose founder, Julian Assange, obtained the material in circumstances he will not discuss, said it would redact harmful material before posting the bulk of the data on its "uncensorable" servers.

Nick Davies' "amazement" at Assange's statement is not credible in light of the fact that had already reported the content of that statement in a front page story in an international newspaper.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

As is also clear, the claim that "Julian had no harm minimization process in place at all" is also false. The working method agreed **at the start of the five-week period** during which WikiLeaks' media partners would assess the Afghan War Logs material ahead of publication was that the media partner journalists would provide oversight by flagging up to WikiLeaks any regions or keywords requiring redaction in the individual records as they went through them. This resulted in 1 in 5 documents being withheld from initial publication: some 15,000 documents in total. No person came to harm and NATO forces in Afghanistan admitted to CNN that there wasn't a single person in the

released documents in need of protection.

**Source:** [Click here](#) and go to p. 7.

### **Alex Gibney:**

So, on the WikiLeaks side, were the redactions made?

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

No. There were 15,000 documents in the end were held back, but 75,000 documents were published and they contained about 100 names.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The newspapers published articles accompanied by only a few hundred redacted documents. But even after the hold-backs, and despite Julian's promises, WikiLeaks published 75,000 documents on its website, without redactions.

**Note:** The newspapers published just a few hundred documents. WikiLeaks gave the world 75,000 of these documents, revealing many suspected war crimes in the process. NATO in Kabul had confirmed there had not been a single case of Afghans needing protection because of the leak. The New York Times censored a number of stories that came out of it, such as details of Obama's assassination programme killing children. Gibney tries to make this appalling abuse and failure to document history sound as if it is in the New York Times' favour.

**Source:** [Click here](#).

*C-SPAN3 footage of Defense Secretary Robert Gates. While he speaks we switch to footage of American troops and helicopters firing machine guns into deserts.*

## STOCK Robert Gates:

**Note:** This is officially hyperbole. The statement from then-Defense Secretary Robert Gates is from a July 2010 press conference. Just two weeks later, in an August 16 private memo to Senator Carl Levin of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Gates said:

[T]he review to date has not revealed any sensitive intelligence sources and methods compromised by this disclosure.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

An internal State Department assessment conducted in late 2010 found that WikiLeaks' releases were "embarrassing not damaging".

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

In a November 2010 press conference, Robert Gates made the following statement:

Let me just offer some perspective as somebody who's been at this a long time. **Every other government in the world knows the United States government leaks like a sieve, and it has for a long time...**

The battlefield consequences of the release of these documents are potentially severe and dangerous for our troops, for our allies and Afghan partners.

Now, I've heard the impact of these releases on our foreign policy described as a meltdown, as a game-changer, and so on. I think **those descriptions are fairly significantly overwrought...**

**Is this embarrassing? Yes. Is it awkward? Yes. Consequences for US foreign policy? I think fairly modest.**

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Note:** At a briefing to Congress in late 2010 State Department officials admitted they lied about the actual impact of WikiLeaks to bolster the US efforts to bring a legal case against them. As one of the journalists who worked on the release, Nick Davies' claim to not know that the US government has officially confirmed that no individuals in Afghanistan came to any harm as a result of the Afghan War Logs is not credible.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Nick Davies:**

I do not know whether anyone in Afghanistan did get hurt - the fact that the material was there and identifiable as potentially dangerous did the political damage.

### **TEXT      **Headline:****

Afghanistan war logs: Civilians have paid the price for failed military policy

### **Headline:**

Task Force 373 top Taliban

### **Headline:**

US Military Scrutinizes Leaks for Risks to Afghans

### **Nick Davies:**

When the material was first published, the world was indeed talking about civilian casualties in Afghanistan and about the existence of a squad that was going out and killing Taliban, but the White House managed the news and the story became: WikiLeaks has got blood on their hands.

*The screen shows an article on the Guardian website, written by David Leigh, entitled "WikiLeaks 'has blood on its hands' over Afghan war logs, claim US officials".*

## TEXT                      blood on its hands

**TEXT**                      Adm. Michael Mullen  
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,  
2007-2011

**Note:** Gibney misses the opportunity to give a more nuanced account of the Pentagon-directed media blitz following the publication of the Afghan War Logs. Though clearly orchestrated across the entire US mainstream media, it was not uniformly successful:

The Pentagon initially claimed that it had not been contacted by WikiLeaks for help in identifying vulnerable individuals named in the documents.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

However, journalist Glenn Greenwald uncovered evidence that it had been, and had refused.

## STOCK                      **Mike Mullen:**

Mr Assange can say whatever he likes about the greater good he thinks he and his source are doing, but the truth is they might already have on their hands the blood of some young soldier or that of an Afghan family.

**TEXT**                      Sen Lindsey Graham  
Armed Services Committee

## STOCK                      **Lindsey Graham:**

The people at WikiLeaks could have blood

on their hands.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

US Defense Secretary Robert Gates' private August 16 letter to the Senate Armed Forces Committee admitting that the Pentagon's review "has not revealed any sensitive intelligence sources and methods compromised" was widely reported.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

CNN reported that a senior NATO official in Kabul had confirmed there had not been a single case of Afghans needing protection or to be moved because of the leak.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**STOCK James Woolsey:**

He definitely has blood on his hands.

**STOCK Mike Huckabee:**

The blood is on their hands.

**Heather Brooke:**

This is where we get into the information war - that speculative blood became more important than the actual blood.

**TEXT** OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM  
Coalition troop deaths: 3,936  
Afghan Civilian deaths: 15,500-17,400  
Taliban deaths: 15,000-25,000

*Footage from Afghan conflict. Bombs exploding in the street and people running.*

**Heather Brooke:**

We already can see all that terrible stuff – we know about that. Let's focus on your nightmares, how all these people might die because the government's secrets have been unleashed.

*Montage of news articles on websites, with headlines like "WikiKills." "Wikileaks' Julian Assange: 'Anarchist,' 'agitator,' 'arrogant,' and a journalist."*

**Note:** Julian Assange:

We saw the New York Times as, yes, influential within its market, but on the other hand so corrupting of the material that we were trying to get out, and so hostile to us as an organisation in order to save itself, in order to distance itself, that we were not only betraying the impact of the material, but we were shooting ourselves as an organisation every time we work with the New York Times, because the way they try to save themselves from the lash-back by military apologists in the United States was by attacking us, and therefore increasing the perceived separation.

**Source:** [Click here](#) and go to p. 49.

**Nick Davies:**

As soon as they pick up this line about who's got blood on their hands, it's WikiLeaks being isolated and that, from a political point of view, was a clever move by the White House. They stepped all around any kind of argument with these big media organisations and isolated Julian.

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

By creating a distinction between Assange and the newspapers, the government avoided a war with the mainstream media and invented a perfect enemy: the guy Bradley Manning called "a crazy, white-haired Aussie".

*Stock footage from Mark Davis' documentary "Inside WikiLeaks," as Assange is having makeup applied in a dressing room before going on Swedish daytime television*

**STOCK Swedish makeup artist:**

What was your name?

**Julian Assange:**

I don't know what it *was*, I know what it *is*.

**Swedish makeup artist:**

[smiling] What *is* your name?

**Julian Assange:**

Julian.

**Mark Davis:**

Is this taking some getting used to? You've been pretty much in the shadows as far as the media's concerned, until recently.

**Julian Assange:**

We've grown a bit, so it's now time for me to do it.

**Mark Davis:**

WikiLeaks needs a face?

**Julian Assange:**

Yeah, well, the public demands that it has a face. And actually we'd much prefer - I'd prefer - that it didn't have a face. We tried to do that for a while and people just, the demands were so great people just started inventing faces.

*Montage of clips of media coverage of Julian Assange.*

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Some call him a hero, some see him as a threat to national security. Julian, thank you for joining us.

**STOCK Newsreader:**

This afternoon I talked to the man behind the leaks".

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Julian Assange.

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Julian Assange.

**STOCK Interviewer:**

What have the leaks achieved?

**Julian Assange:**

We have published more classified documents than the rest of the world press combined.

**Interviewer:**

So, it's journalistic?

**Julian Assange:**

Well, I'm fond of the phrase 'Lights on, rats out'.

**Interviewer:**

Do you feel that you have accomplished what you wanted to with the release of these documents?

**Julian Assange:**

Not yet.

*Footage from Mark Davis' documentary of Julian and WikiLeaks staff discussing his media coverage.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

(laughing) Jesus Christ!

**WikiLeaks Staffer:**

Two of you on the front and then you have a double page spread.

**WikiLeaks Staffer:**

I think that's the best photo.

**Julian Assange:**

That's not a bad photo.

**WikiLeaks Staffer:**

I mean, you've got your own banner at the top there, and you've got three pages in the Times.

**Julian Assange:**

Well, I'm untouchable now in this country.

**Mark Davis:**

Untouchable?

**Julian Assange:**

Untouchable.

**Mark Davis:**

That's a bit of hubris? Huh? That's a bit of hubris?

**Julian Assange:**

Well, for a couple of days. It can wear off,  
but the next few days, untouchable.

*Another news montage, interspersed with stock footage of  
Julian Assange at press conferences.*

**STOCK Newsreader:**

The founder of WikiLeaks found himself  
making news again today – Sweden issued  
a warrant for the arrest of Julian Assange

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Swedish authorities are looking to question  
WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange.

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Swedish authorities have issued a warrant  
for his arrest on suspicion of molestation  
and rape in two separate cases.

**STOCK Newsreader:**

Just last month WikiLeaks published more  
than 75,000...

**TEXT** STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN  
AUGUST\_2010

*While Nick Davies speaks, his interview is cut with photos  
of front pages of newspapers announcing the Swedish case.*

**Note:** Nick Davies has no first-hand  
knowledge of the events in Sweden but Alex  
Gibney uses him to relate (inaccurately)

**Nick Davies:**

 Saturday, August the 21st I woke up, another journalist

much of the story. Donald Bostrom is a Swedish journalist. He has never been an employee of WikiLeaks or co-ordinator for WikiLeaks.

Nick Davies is a partisan adversary of WikiLeaks. WikiLeaks had informed The Guardian, through Nick Davies, from the start that in order to maximise the impact of the release WikiLeaks would bring TV into the release. Davies did not accept that the Guardian would not have total exclusivity in the UK, not just print exclusivity, and became antagonistic to Assange. None of this context is given by Gibney.

After his fight over exclusivity, Davies published an error filled sex article about Assange. He was criticised by other journalists for unprofessional conduct. In response, he physically attacked one of them.

Nick Davies has also internalised and repeated the falsehood, first spread by his colleague at The Guardian David Leigh, that Julian Assange said "Afghan informers deserve to die". Leigh falsely claimed Julian Assange had made this statement at a dinner at which Davies was not present. An American journalist working for Der Spiegel, who was present at that dinner, John Goetz, has said this is untrue and has written a witness statement to this effect.

**Note:** [Click here.](#)

had sent an email with a link to the website of the Swedish newspaper, Expressen. I went to this website and I thought like "well, this is a joke, this is a spoof newspaper". These huge headlines, including one which claims that Julian Assange had sexually assaulted two women. What is this about? So I phoned a guy in Stockholm who is the main co-ordinator for WikiLeaks in that city and so I came on to this guy and said: "What on earth is going on?"

Gibney and his producer Alexis Bloom were provided with the witness statement. Gibney nevertheless chooses to keep Davies quote - without qualification - and altogether ignore Goetz's witness statement. This can only encourage the audience to accept the prosecution of WikiLeaks and other media organisations.

**Note:** Gibney's interview with Donald Bostrom is selectively edited. This can be ascertained by consulting what Bostrom has said elsewhere, both in his witness statement to police and in press interviews.

**Source: Donald Bostrom witness statement:** [Click here.](#)  
**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The man in Sweden was Donald Bostrom, an investigative journalist who had agreed to help Julian Assange while he was in the country.

**TEXT** Donald Bostrom  
 Investigative Journalist

### **Donald Bostrom:**

It was kind of the new Mick Jagger. And, yeah, really, really - groupies, stalkers, media - everyone had a big interest in Julian at the time. And he liked it.

### **Alex Gibney:**

He liked it?

### **Donald Bostrom:**

Of course.

*Swedish hip-hop music plays as we see footage of Julian Assange get out of taxis and walk past throngs of photographers. A montage of glossy photographs of Julian Assange from photo shoots.*

**Note:** In fact, WikiLeaks kept its servers in many countries, among them:

- [Belgium](#)
- [France](#)
- [Iceland](#)
- [United States](#)
- [Sweden](#)

WikiLeaks continues to distribute its web presence across multiple jurisdictions. This is an explicit undertaking designed to make WikiLeaks uncensorable.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Assange had thought of moving his base to Sweden where WikiLeaks kept its servers. Laws were more favourable to press freedoms and where Assange had a growing fan base. Fame offered Assange a platform, but it also made him a visible target.

## **Donald Bostrom:**

I said: "Julian, I think you are on the list of undesirable people for some governments. Recently in Russia some journalists were compromised by girls in short skirts, it's a very easy trick, so take it easy." That was exactly one week before everything happened.

*Another news montage of reports on the allegations against Assange, including a Korean cartoon video depicting the allegations.*

*A graphic depiction of the leaked police report is shown on screen, along with a black and white photograph of a condom.*

**Note:** It is surprising, given Gibney's reference to a report on the burst condom that he fails to mention its other, rather more sensational, finding: the absence of any chromosomal DNA. This has been widely reported:

**Source:** [Missing DNA evidence in Julian Assange sexual assault case](#)

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

An unknown source leaked the police report to the press. It included the testimony of Assange, the two women and, surprisingly, a picture of a torn condom. There were other peculiar things going on. The case of one woman was dropped and then re-opened.

### **Gavin MacFadyen:**

The general sense was that it's awful curious that these charges would emerge just after a very embarrassing, damaging leak.

### **Nick Davies:**

There were various possibilities here. One was that some women who wanted to sell a story to the newspapers had set him up. Another was that a really nasty right-wing group in Sweden had conspired to set him up. Maybe, maybe some dark agency from the United States had done this. And, way out on the extreme ranges of possibility, well maybe he did it, I don't know.

*Footage of Julian Assange being interviewed.*

### **STOCK Interviewer:**

Did anything happen between you and

these two women that could be construed as sexual coercion or rape?

**Julian Assange:**

No words, no actions, no violence – there is nothing that could be construed as rape. Nothing at all.

**Interviewer:**

Or sexual coercion?

**Julian Assange:**

Well, I don't know what the hell that means.

*Music.*

**TEXT** Plot  
To  
Destroy  
WikiLeaks

*Footage: Julian Assange in various interviews.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

Well, there's no doubt that this organisation is under siege.

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

It was clearly a smear campaign.

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

This was clearly a smear campaign, the only question is who is involved.

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

We were warned by Australian intelligence that we would receive such an attack.

*More footage of news reports about the Swedish allegations.*

**STOCK Newsreader:**

WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange is calling it a smear campaign.

**STOCK Newsreader:**

His supporters claim that the warrant is a way of silencing him.

*Footage of Michael Moore talking about the case.*

**STOCK Cenk Uygur on The Young Turks:**

Are you telling me this isn't a witch hunt?  
This isn't a smear job?

**STOCK Fox News Anchor:**

Come on, the accuser apparently worked with the Cuban exiles and there's a story around that she's a CIA operative.

**STOCK Michael Moore:**

This whole thing stinks to the high heavens, I gotta tell ya. I've seen this enough times where governments or corporations they go after people with this kind of lie and smear. This is a whole bunch of hooey as far as I'm concerned.

*Footage of Mark Stephens interview.*

**STOCK Mark Stevens:**

Well, it's certainly a surreal Swedish fairy tale. The only thing which hasn't walked onto stage yet are the trolls, and I'm waiting for them to arrive.

*A black and white photograph of Julian Assange suddenly turns into thousands of particles of animated dust, and falls apart, blowing to the right of the screen, where it reforms into a profile photo.*

*Footage of Julian Assange interview with CNN to discuss Afghan War Logs.*

**Note:** The use of this clip shows biased editing. In the original footage Julian Assange explains the reason he feels questions about the Swedish case "contaminate" the interview is because it had been arranged to discuss the disclosure by WikiLeaks of 100,000 previously unreported deaths, but this context is omitted in Gibney's documentary. The full

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

It is my role to be the lightning rod to attract the attacks against the organization for our work.

**Atika Shubert:**

And one aspect of that has been the legal

clip restores the context.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

situation for yourself in Sweden?

**Julian Assange:**

No, I'm not going to talk about that in relation to this.

**Atika Shubert:**

But it does affect WikiLeaks?

**Julian Assange:**

I will have to walk if you're...

**Atika Shubert:**

Do you still, you once...

**Julian Assange:**

...if you are going to contaminate this extremely serious interview with questions about my personal life.

**Atika Shubert:**

I'm not. What I'm asking is if you feel that it's an attack on WikiLeaks?

**Julian Assange:**

OK. Sorry.

*In the stock footage, Assange takes off his sound mic.*

**STOCK Atika Shubert:**

Julian, I'm happy to go on to that as the next question, all I'm asking is...

**Julian Assange:**

Sorry. You blew it.

*In the stock footage, Assange walks out of interview.*

*Stock footage of Assange getting out of a taxi with Kristinn Hrafnsson outside the Frontline Club, with journalists milling around. They push open the door of the club, and go in.*

**Note:** On September 15, 2010, the Swedish prosecutor confirmed that "he is not a wanted man" and that Julian Assange was free to leave Sweden. Despite requests to be interviewed during the 5 weeks he remained in Sweden, the reasons given why this was impossible were "it's a weekend", "the investigator is off sick" and "it's too late". He finally left Sweden on September 27 for a pre-arranged business meeting in Berlin. Once in the UK he instructed his lawyers to contact the Metropolitan Police to inform them how he could be reached.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**More:** [Click here.](#)

**Note:** To date, the Swedish prosecutor has

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The case in Sweden was still unresolved, while the investigation continued, prosecutors permitted Assange to leave Sweden on the understanding that he reappear for questioning. But Assange never went back, convinced Sweden was a trap, he went underground in London.

refused to give a reason why Julian Assange cannot be interviewed abroad under standard Mutual Legal Assistance procedures, which is both legal and routine in Sweden, or why the need for him to be in custody for questioning is considered essential. The Ecuadorean government has made formal offers to the Swedish Foreign Office to facilitate this questioning in either their London embassy, where Julian Assange has now been granted political asylum, or their Stockholm embassy, but all offers have been refused.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

## **Mark Davis:**

Julian has a certain paranoia. But, in the time that I was with him, I think that high security awareness was actually relevant; it was appropriate. Mind you, he had been living like that for the past, you know, 5 or 10 years, when it probably wasn't appropriate.

*Footage of Julian Assange.*

## **STOCK Julian Assange:**

I never have a good reason to be paranoid; I have a good reason to be careful. The stakes are high so you need to be meticulously careful every day.

*Various clips of stock footage of Julian Assange swapping*

*sim cards on mobile phones and carrying pieces of computer equipment across hotel rooms.*

### **Mark Davis:**

**Note:** The surveillance of WikiLeaks and Julian Assange is well documented and is a serious matter. For instance, as far back as 2008 US military intelligence prepared a classified report on how methods to destroy WikiLeaks' "center of gravity". Two of Assange's Kenyan associates, Oscar Kamau Kingara and John Paul Oulo were assassinated on March 6, 2009 in a matter connected to WikiLeaks' publications about extrajudicial assassinations. As a teenager Assange had his phone tapped and had been physically surveilled by Australian Federal Police in Operation Weather.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

▶ He'd been training for this moment in evasive tactics and changing phones and taking out batteries and changing computers. It may have been a fantasy before, but it served him well because it became real. He was the focus of intense enemies.

*News footage*

### **STOCK Newsreader:**

Right now, the Pentagon are reportedly searching for Julian Assange, potentially on the verge of releasing a huge new stash of confidential documents.

### **Nick Davies:**

He was putting his head above the parapet. He was

putting himself in a dangerous position, and I think on the whole he handled the dangers pretty well. You know, there is a side to this guy which is great. And then there's this hidden side which has been so destructive.

**Note:** Robert Manne, who has never met Julian Assange, has retracted this statement. The original statement was made in an essay about Assange after reading Daniel Domscheit-Berg's error-filled book. Robert Manne subsequently released an updated essay with the statement explicitly removed.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Robert Manne:**

▶ He's a natural fabulist and storyteller and lives intensely in his imagination, and to some extent that imaginary world that he inhabits becomes more real than the, as it were, often more mundane reality that we all live in.

*Footage of Julian Assange answering press questions.*

### **STOCK Journalist:**

You talked about massive surveillance as the US investigation into WikiLeaks.

### **Julian Assange:**

We certainly were under surveillance in Iceland. I personally had chased people who were surveilling me there with video cameras.

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

▶ He travelled to a conference in Oslo and then made these allegations that two State Department officials had been on the airplane to follow him – but there's no proof. And

**Note:** In 2011 eight FBI agents secretly flew to Iceland to interrogate a young WikiLeaks ex-volunteer without the permission of the Icelandic authorities. On hearing about the FBI's unauthorised operation in Iceland, the

Interior Minister, Ögmundur Jónasson, ordered the FBI to leave the country and told the Icelandic police to cease all co-operation, but in fact the FBI agents stayed a further 5 days, interviewing the vulnerable young man in hotel rooms and then flew him back to Washington DC for 4 more days of questioning.

this is what got tiring to a lot of us over time. Julian was constantly propagating how much we were in danger and all of these things, but this was just lies and propaganda.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**More:** [Click here.](#)

**Note:** Alex Gibney's film does not display the original tweet, but instead displays a mock-up designed to look like a stylized version of the Twitter website. Compare it to the original:

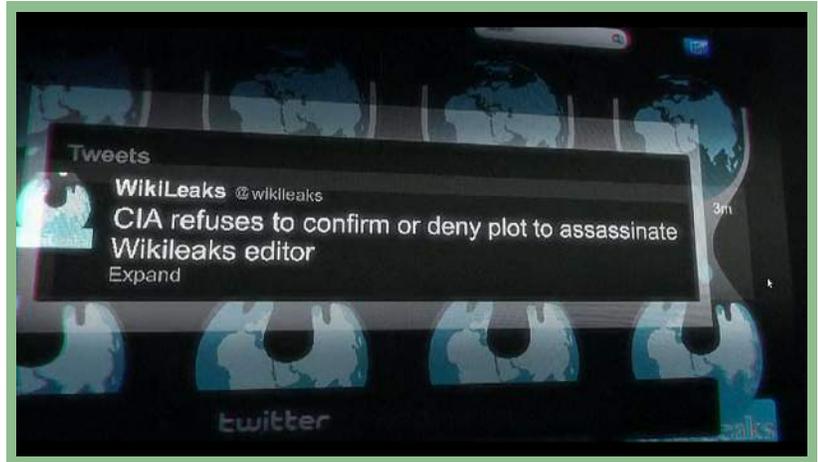
*Screen shows a tweet from the WikiLeaks twitter account*



The tweet has been deliberately abridged to make it look silly. The tweet originally contained a shortened URL, which linked to a document obtained from the CIA under a Freedom of Information Request, in which the CIA refused to confirm or deny whether there was a plan to assassinate Julian Assange.

**Tweet:** [Click here.](#)

**FOI:** [Click here.](#)



## Smari McCarthy:

Maybe it's the fame, maybe it's the attention, maybe it's the pressures of working in this kind of environment but, you know, somehow this idealist that I met became something else somewhere through the story.

*A photo of an article from Newsweek, headlined "Efforts to Oust Assange as WikiLeaks Leader"*

**Note:** On August 25, 2010 Daniel Domscheit-Berg was caught in the act of sabotaging WikiLeaks mail server. He was suspended the following day. The Newsweek article is dated August 26, 2010.

**Source:** *Inside WikiLeaks*, by Daniel Domscheit-Berg [Click here.](#)

## Daniel Domscheit-Berg:

This whole topic just headed into a really bad direction. There was this article in Newsweek – that’s what Julian took as a proof that I had been speaking to the press. From that day on, I was a traitor, I was trying to stab him in the back. It boiled down to me being suspended for, as Julian put it, “disloyalty, insubordination and destabilization in times of crisis”.

## Alex Gibney:

Where did that language come from?

## Daniel Domscheit-Berg:

I think as much as I can tell, that's from the Espionage Act of 1917.

**Note:** This is a proven libel. Domscheit-Berg uses the qualification "as much as I can tell" to excuse the fact that he is lying. This language is not from the Espionage Act of 1917 or any other year. The phrase simply isn't present. Domscheit-Berg's attribution is easily demonstrated as false by consulting the original text of the Act. Unconcerned that this is an outright falsehood, Gibney goes on to brandish it as a "cruel irony".

**Source:** *United States Espionage Act of 1917*  
[Click here.](#)

*Montage of footage of monuments in Washington DC.*

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

That was a cruel irony. Across the Atlantic, the United States Department of Justice was investigating whether it could use the Espionage Act to put Julian Assange in jail.

## Bill Leonard:

The Espionage Act is primarily intended to address situations where individuals pass national defense information over to the enemy in order to allow the enemy to harm us.

*Aerial view of the Pentagon lit up at night.*

**Bill Leonard:**

It would be unprecedented if the Espionage Act was being used to attack individuals who did not do anything more than the New York Times or the Washington Post does every day.

**TEXT**        LONDON, ENGLAND  
                  22\_OCTOBER\_2010

*Stock footage of Assange and WikiLeaks staff entering the room where the press conference for the Iraq War Logs was held.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The next big releases were the Iraq War Logs. This time WikiLeaks had worked with volunteers to devise a computer program to solve the redaction problems.

*Montage of stylized portrayals of the Iraq War Logs on screen.*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

There were almost 400,000 documents detailing that the US military had purposefully hidden information about civilian casualties and systematic torture.

**Iain Overton:**

President Obama sanctioned the mass handover of Iraqi prisoners of war from the American troops over to the Iraqi authorities and one of the things that is against the Geneva Conventions is that you cannot hand over a

prisoner of war to another authority who you know commits torture.

*News footage of Department of Defense spokesman Geoff Morrell.*

**STOCK Geoff Morrell:**

Well, let me just say with regard to the allegations of not intervening when coming across detainee abuse, well, it's not true.

**James Ball:**

They had 1,300 allegations, with medical evidence, of quite horrific torture by Iraqi army and police against detainees.

*Montage of footage of Iraqi detainees with bruises covering their entire bodies. Corpses lying in body bags.*

**Iain Overton:**

We are talking about sodomy, we are talking about using rubber hoses and beating people, we are talking about murder. I mean, the sort of torture that we were supposedly liberating Iraq from.

**James Ball:**

The US administration under Bush and under Obama continued turning over prisoners despite knowing this. That is against the Geneva Convention. The Obama administration appears to have committed war crimes. Who knew that before?

*Footage of a desert storm. Austere ambient music plays.  
Text appears.*

**TEXT** Items of historical significance for two wars  
Iraq and Afghanistan...

This is possibly one of the most significant documents of our time, removing the fog of war and revealing the true nature of 21st century asymmetric warfare.

Have a good day.

*Bradley Manning's letter to WikiLeaks*

**Note:** Throughout the film Gibney attempts to ascribe psychological rather than political motives to Bradley Manning's alleged whistleblowing, trivialising the political significance of Manning's alleged actions. The same tactic has been employed by US military prosecutors at Manning's pre-trial hearings. The film focuses on his alleged sexuality, his alleged gender dysphoria and at one point even super-imposes a picture of his face on that of Jean Harlow. Manning's political and principled motivations for disclosing the information are detailed clearly in the statement he himself made in the court-martial proceedings:

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Gibney's portrayal of Manning is as a

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

▶ What had Manning done? Was his leak as the army had said a reckless data dump? Or was this the act of a man who had peaked behind the curtain of a superpower and decided that what it was doing was wrong? After the leaks, and just before he was arrested, Manning was trying to reckon with what he had done and where he was going.

disempowered individual, rather than as someone courageous and principled. Gibney makes little effort to explore the politicizing effects that deployment to a war zone had on the young soldier. As we now know from Manning's plea statement, his discovery of the US military's complicity in Iraqi torture disturbed him greatly. After informing his superiors that some detainees were guilty of nothing more than printing leaflets containing a benign political critique:

"They told me to quote "drop it" unquote and to just assist them and the Federal Police in finding out, where more of these print shops creating quote "anti-Iraqi literature" unquote. I couldn't believe what I heard... I knew that if I continued to assist the Baghdad Federal Police in identifying the political opponents of Prime Minister al-Maliki, those people would be arrested and in the custody of the Special Unit of the Baghdad Federal Police and very likely tortured."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

In his plea statement, Manning says that he experienced conscientious alarm after he viewed the Apache helicopter gunship video ("Collateral Murder"). He says:

I hoped that the public would be as alarmed as me about the conduct of the aerial weapons team crew members. I wanted the American public to know that not everyone in Iraq and Afghanistan are targets that needed to be neutralized, but rather people who were struggling to live in the pressure cooker environment of what we call asymmetric warfare.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*The photograph of Bradley Manning in the FOB commonroom wearing earphones again.*

**Note:** This text begins a sequence of deliberate, selective quotation from the alleged chat logs and from interviewees, designed to conclusively portray Manning as reckless and psychologically unstable. The quotations precede a distorted account of the alleged disclosure of the State Department cables to WikiLeaks, borrowed directly from prosecution allegations against Bradley Manning. Shoehorned into this sequence, they strongly imply Manning's alleged leaks were the result of psychological instability. Readers are advised, instead, to read [the alleged chat logs](#), and to compare the account contained therein to [a more rigorous timeline of alleged events](#).

**TEXT**



**bradass87:**

i had about three breakdowns...

each one revealing more and more of my uncertainty and emotional insecurity

8 months ago, if you'd asked me whether i would identify as a female, i'd say you were crazy...

**Jhrleah Showman:**

There was never even a possibility that anyone could assume that he had a female personality.

**Alex Gibney:**

You mean that he wanted to become a woman?

**Jhrleah Showman:**

Well, we knew that he was at least considering hormone therapy, but no one cared. It wasn't like ok, he's going to have to start showering with the females. Literally, nobody cared.

**TEXT     bradass87:**

im pretty reckless at this point

**Jason Edwards:**

He would call me and cry – very loud, sobbing like a child – just in a state of utter loss, and he kept saying: "I won't make it, I can't make it, I can't do this."

**TEXT     bradass87:**

im trying not to end up with 5.56mm rounds in my forehead...

*The sound effect of a gun firing is played, and echoes in the silence. The text becomes huge, filling the screen.*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

that i fired...

### **Jason Edwards:**

I constantly asked him – do you have someone, do you have anyone to talk to that's there, that you can see on a daily basis? And he assured me that he did not.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Manning did reach out for help at least once in an email to his master sergeant. Manning attached to the email a picture of himself dressed as a woman.

**TEXT** I've been trying very, very hard to get rid of it (GENDER IDENTITY DISORDER).  
It is not going away...

It's the cause of my pain and confusion...

It makes my entire life feel like a bad dream that won't end...

...at this point I feel like I am not here anymore.

*Footage of a military flagpole ceremony in Baghdad, and the sound of military fanfare.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Several weeks later around dinner time, Manning was discovered lying on the ground. With a knife, he had scrawled on a chair the words "I want". Later that same evening, Manning tried to go back to work.

## Jihroleah Showman:

**Note:** The incident referred to here, according to court documents, happened on the 7th or the 8th of May 2010. This is important, because Alex Gibney presents the event out of sequence.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

I was off shift and I had to come in to find something that he should have been able to find, and he was pacing back and forth saying smart comments to me, and I blatantly said: "Manning, how about you fix your shit before you try to fix mine?" And he screamed and punched me in the face, while I was sitting down. My adrenalin immediately hit overload. I stood up, pushed my chair back. He continued to try to fight me but I put him in, you know, what UFC would call 'guillotine' and, you know, pulled him on the floor and laid on top of him and pinned his arms, you know, beside his head. At that time, I can't believe that he'd mess with me. I literally had 15-inch biceps.

*A montage of photos of Jihroleah showman playing American football.*

## Jihroleah Showman:

I was the last person he probably should have punched. My superiors decided that it was just escalating too much and that he had to be removed and have his weapon taken away from him.

## TEXT      bradass87:

i punched a dyke in the phace...

not proud of it at all

## Jihroleah Showman:

At that point he never came back in the office. He had to go work with the first sargeant in the mailroom.

**TEXT      bradass87:**

at the very least i was able to keep my security clearance [so far]

*Footage of the mailroom on a military base.*

**Note:** The chronology is manipulated to frame Manning. The altercation with Jihroleah Showman, and Manning's removal to the mailroom, and removal of his weapon, happened on the 7th and 8th of May, 2010. The events Gibney goes on to relate, including the alleged disclosure of the State Department cables, had already happened by the 10th of April, 2010. Gibney reverses the order of these events. In doing so, he implies that Manning allegedly leaked as an act of personal revenge.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In the mailroom, Manning still had an internet connection to military networks. His gun had been taken away but he still had access to millions of classified documents.

*A photo of Manning's face.*

**Michael Hayden:**

We have personnel security programmes and we try to take a look at the folks to whom we give security clearances. Should this young man have been given that clearance? In retrospect, certainly not. In prospect, who knows? And these are the kind of decisions that are difficult to make, but let me put it to you this way - the

American army has had incredibly stupid PFCs for more than two centuries, and PFCs occasionally do incredibly stupid things.

**TEXT     bradass87:**

im sorry, im a total mess right now... :(

and little does anyone know, but among this "visible" mess theres the mess i created that no-one knows about

yet

*Photo of Manning in uniform, smiling. Music stops.*

**Jihrleah Showman:**

I didn't see him get arrested but I saw him walk down the hall with about 4 MPs. He had a grin on his face. Like, I'm on top of the world.

**Jason Edwards:**

The last communication I received from him was that I was going to hear something that would shock the world.

**Note:** In the sequence Alex Gibney has inserted this quote, it seems to imply that Bradley Manning was telling Jason Edwards that he was premeditating revenge for having his gun taken away from him. This is extremely misleading. Manning's gun was taken away from him on May 8th. The last leak Manning is alleged to have conducted had already allegedly happened a month earlier.

**Note:** This point marks the beginning of Alex Gibney's account of the alleged disclosure of

**TEXT     bradass87:**

"Cablegate" - the US State Department cables. According to court documents, the documents are alleged to have been downloaded between the March 22 and April 9, 2010. They were allegedly uploaded to WikiLeaks on April 10, 2010. These dates are important, because Alex Gibney has otherwise made it look as if these events allegedly occurred after the altercation with Jihraleah Showman, which actually happened on May 8, 2010. Alex Gibney's version of events is therefore backwards.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

they were stored on a centralized server...

i would come in with music on a CD-RW...

labelled with something like "Lady Gaga"...

*Telephone by Lady Gaga starts playing.*

## **TEXT**     **bradass87:**

erase the music... then write a compressed split file

no-one suspected a thing

listened and lip-synced to Lady Gaga's *Telephone* while exfiltrating possibly the largest data spillage in american history

*As the song takes off, the last line of the text scrolls off to the left, becoming a line. Suddenly, the line explodes into a music visualization of the Lady Gaga song: an oscilloscopic landscape in glowing stylized 3D. As the song takes off, the landscape transforms into a wave of data washing across the screen: presumably a stylized representation of "data" being exfiltrated.*

## **Michael Hayden:**

I mean, it's a pretty simple process – dropping CDs into your tower and downloading large volumes of information. I mean, it wasn't incredibly sophisticated.

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

**Note:** The source for Gibney's claim that

Bradley Manning made over 794,000 connections to State Department servers is Major Ashden Fein, the government attorney in Manning's trial. The claim was made at the outset of Manning's pre-trial hearings in December 2011. Once again, Alex Gibney is quoting directly from Manning's prosecution, without anything to substantiate the claim.

Even so, Gibney gets the details of the allegation wrong. The allegation, according to Major Fein, is that the 794,000 connections were made over the course of 10 days, not over the course of "several months," as Gibney claims.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

But that's not quite true. Manning turned his computers into efficient exfiltration machines. Over several months, Manning made over 794,000 connections with the State Department server. He downloaded hundreds of thousands of documents without anyone noticing.

*The "data" washing across the screen becomes a starfield of green "data" rushing past the screen, emanating from a distant incandescent white light.*



### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

When he hit a snag, he reached out to another hacker for advice on how to crack passwords.

**TEXT      bradley:**

Any good at LM-Hash cracking?

**pressassociation@jabber.ccc.de:**

Yes, we have rainbow tables for LM.

**pressassociation@jabber.ccc.de:**

Passed it on to our guys.

**Note:** There is no evidence that Manning was communicating with Assange. Bradley Manning says he was not even sure who he was allegedly talking to at Wikileaks.

Due to the strict adherence of anonymity by the WLO [WikiLeaks], we never exchanged identifying information. However, I believe the individual was likely Mr. Julian Assange [he pronounced it with three syllables], Mr. Daniel Schmidt, or a proxy representative of Mr. Assange and Schmidt.

As the communications transferred from IRC to the Jabber client, I gave 'office' and later 'pressassociation' the name of Nathaniel Frank in my address book, after the author of a book I read in 2009.

Furthermore, this had been widely reported

### Narration by Alex Gibney:

Later, Manning talked to him about the progress of the uploads. In Manning's buddy list, the address was listed under a familiar name: Julian Assange.

**TEXT      bradley:**

I'm throwing everything I got...at you now

**pressassociation@jabber.ccc.de:**

OK, great...ETA?

**bradley:**

11-12 hours...it's been going 6 already

*On screen, "pressassociation@jabber.ccc.de" is made to transform into "julian assange".*

*Now we see stock footage of Julian Assange dancing in a club in 2009 in Iceland. The original music is gone, and the chorus of the Lady Gaga song plays over it instead.*

following Manning's first pre-trial hearing in December 2011.

*The music fades, and the screen fades to black. More text.*

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

## **TEXT    bradass87:**

Hilary Clinton...diplomats around the world are going to have a heart attack...

when they wake up one morning and find...

an entire repository of classified foreign policy is available...

to the public.

it affects everybody on earth...

its open diplomacy...world-wide anarchy...

its beautiful, and horrifying....

*Montage of stylized depictions of online articles about Cablegate.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

On November 28th, 2010, WikiLeaks and its media partners began to publish a small fraction - carefully redacted - of the State Department cables supplied by Bradley Manning. The day-to-day memos of American diplomats revealed a surprising honesty about how the world really worked.

## **Heather Brooke:**

It was that whole Wizard of Oz moment. We all look at these politicians – oh wow, they're so powerful - and then it was the little dog pulling the curtain away.

*Footage of clashes in the streets of Cairo and Tunis between protestors and police.*

### **Gibney:**

The cables exposed criminal behaviour and corruption by tyrants in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. That in turn helped to fuel exploding popular anger against repression, the so-called Arab Spring. The cables also told the truth about the faults of America's so-called allies, in ways that were bound to reveal their power and legitimacy were a kind of fraud.

### **PJ Crowley:**

This leak is industrial scale. It touches every relationship the United States has with other countries around the world. Even as the United States and others tried to manage the impact of this it will be a wound that just keeps, you know, opening up on a recurring basis.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The behaviour of the United States was also exposed, as the cables exposed criminal cover-ups and a systematic policy of using diplomats to spy on foreign governments.

### **Michael Hayden:**

Look, everyone has secrets. Some of the activities that nation states conduct in order to keep their people safe and free need to be secret in order to be successful. If they are broadly known, you cannot accomplish your

work. Now, I'm going to be very candid, right? We steal secrets; we steal other nations' secrets. One cannot do that above board and be very successful for a very long period of time.

*Footage of former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton*

## **STOCK Hillary Clinton:**

Disclosures like these tear at the fabric of the proper function of responsible government. People of good faith understand the need for sensitive diplomatic communications, both to protect the national interest and the global common interest.

## **Heather Brooke:**

So, with the previous leaks, the American government they were obviously angry but they suddenly decided that, right, now it's time to get draconian on their ass.

*Montage of various US Government officials speaking about Julian Assange and WikiLeaks.*

*Rep Candice Miller addressing Congress*

## **STOCK Candace Miller:**

It's time that the Obama administration treats WikiLeaks for what it is, a terrorist organisation.

*Former Speaker Newt Gingrich*

**STOCK Newt Gingrich:**

What we should do is treat Assange as an enemy combatant who's engaged in information warfare against the United States.

*Then a rapid succession of derogatory remarks about Julian Assange.*

**STOCK Joel Mowbray**

He's a blackmail, extortionist, terrorist

**STOCK crackpot, alleged sex offender**

*Former White House Deputy Chief of Staff Karl Rove*

**STOCK Karl Rove:**

He's a criminal and he ought to be hunted down and grabbed and put on trial.

*Footage of US Attorney-General Eric Holder.*

**STOCK Eric Holder:**

We have a very serious criminal investigation that's under way and we're looking at all the things that we can do to stem the flow of this information.

*Senator Mitch McConnell*

**STOCK Mitch McConnell**

He needs to be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law and, if that becomes a problem, we need to change the law.

*Fox News analyst Bob Beckel*

**STOCK Bob Beckel:**

We've got special ops forces, I mean, a dead man cant leak stuff, illegally shoot the son of a [beeped out].

*Chairman of NY Security Guard Advisory Council Bo Dietl*

**STOCK Bo Dietl:**

This little punk, now I stand up for Obama. Obama, if you're listening today, you should take this guy out now.

*Tom Flanagan, Adviser to the Canadian Prime Minister*

**STOCK Tom Flanagan:**

I think Obama should put out a contract and maybe use a drone or something.

*Fox News anchor Bill O'Reilly*

**STOCK Bill O'Reilly:**

That's what I'd like to see, a little drone hit Assange, man.

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

All the threats were aimed at Assange. No one called for attacks on the Guardian or the New York Times.

**Mark Davis:**

I found that astounding. If Julian Assange should be charged with some offence under American law, then absolutely the New York Times editor should be in the slammer with him.

*An image of Julian Assange's Interpol Red Notice*

**Note:** This is false. There are no charges. Julian Assange is not charged and has never been charged in Sweden. The matter, formally, is at the stage of "preliminary investigation". The fact that an Interpol Red Notice was issued for Assange's arrest and extradition, leading to his detention for more than 900 days, all without charging him, is one of the principle abuses in the case. The audience can't possibly understand the abusive nature of the situation after having been misled by Gibney in this manner.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Suddenly, only two days after the release of the first batch of State Department cables, Interpol issued a demand for Assange's arrest for his failure to return to Sweden to answer questions about sex charges.

*Footage of Julian Assange's lawyer Mark Stephens being*

*interviewed.*

**TEXT** Mark Stevens  
Assange's Lawyer

**STOCK Mark Stevens:**

I'm really rather worried by the political motivations that appear to be behind this. Sweden was one of those lickspittle states which used its resources and its facilities for rendition flights.

**Interviewer:**

You think if he goes to Sweden he may be sent to the States?

**Mark Stevens:**

Certainly, my mind's very open about that.

**Interviewer:**

And you may fight it on that basis?

**Mark Stevens:**

Certainly.

*A montage showing street graffiti supporting Julian Assange  
and WikiLeaks*

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

There were rumours of a sealed indictment against

Assange. Secret subpoenas were served targeting WikiLeaks supporters. Under political pressure, VISA and MasterCard stopped processing donations to the website.

### **James Ball:**

Visa and MasterCard will happily process payments for the Ku Klux Klan, for all kinds of organisations around the world and yet this one – with no charges, no warrants, no nothing – they've not only blocked it themselves, they won't let any intermediaries do it.

*Footage of news reports about Cablegate and Julian Assange from early December 2010.*

### **STOCK Karie Couric:**

Meanwhile, WikiLeaks founder is still hiding from the police but today he did speak out online

### **TEXT WikiLeaks @wikileaks:**

Wikileaks strikes back. Cut us down and the stronger we become.

### **STOCK Newsreader:**

What happens to WikiLeaks if Julian Assange is arrested?

### **James Ball:**

It carries on. This is huge material that's really important and everyone working on it is getting it out there.

## James Ball:

WikiLeaks' principal spokesperson has always been Julian but with Julian in hiding, I essentially filled in the gap.

**Note:** The full interviews from which Gibney selects clips of James Ball talking to the media tell a different story. As James Ball makes a number of false statements in Gibney's documentary these are worth watching in full. In one with Fox TV, for example, Ball appears alongside Kristinn Hrafnsson (as he usually did), who is introduced as "WikiLeaks spokesman" while Ball is described as "a journalist working with WikiLeaks". James Ball never "essentially filled in" as "WikiLeaks' principal spokesperson".

At 2.45 mins in, Mark Stephens explains that Julian Assange is not in hiding: "the police know how to get in touch with him, the Swedish prosecutor knows how to get hold of him, so everybody knows where he is - except the media." It is therefore false and misleading for James Ball to suggest that Julian Assange was "in hiding".

Starting at 8.30mins, Ball refutes the suggestion that WikiLeaks has put anyone in harm's way: "We have correspondents from all over – you know, the New York Times Chinese correspondent, the Guardian Chinese correspondent – checking those cables that are published to see what they're like. Of course WikiLeaks takes redactions seriously.

It was said on the Iraq War Logs that there were 300 names going to be in them by the Department of Defense. When they were actually published, of course, the whole things were published redacted and safe."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Note:** In [this December 3, 2010 interview with ABC Lateline](#), James Ball makes the following remarks about Julian Assange being 'in hiding' and his own relationship to WikiLeaks:

"He said it to me on the way to talk to you today"

"Well, I'm a freelancer working for them, for me it's kind of perhaps a little bit of an outside view but from what I've seen working with them this week..."

[Ball had been interning at WikiLeaks for 10 days at this date];

Asked what would happen if Julian Assange is arrested, Ball replies:

"Asking me is a little bit like asking a Saturday sub-editor at the Guardian what happens if Alan Rusbridger resigns. It's very obvious, you know, you don't have to work with them for very long to see that Julian Assange is, you know, absolutely core to

what they do."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of James Ball giving media interview.*

**STOCK Journalist:**

Well, where is Julian Assange, this mythic character?

**James Ball:**

I honestly can't remember where I last saw him.

**James Ball:**

I ended up doing a lot of television, looking pretty much about 16. You really did feel a David and Goliath moment.

*Footage of James Ball giving media interview.*

**STOCK Journalist:**

Do you consider your organisation and your website to be under attack?

**James Ball:**

Yes, all week it's been under attack.

*Footage from above the earth again, gently cruising over the nightside of the earth.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

The WikiLeaks website came under cyber attack and kept falling offline.

*Suddenly blue dotted lines are drawn across the globe in an interlacing pattern, joining bright points of light.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In response, WikiLeaks supporters began to mirror the site on over 1,000 servers around the globe. It was impossible to remove WikiLeaks from the internet.

## **James Ball:**

The internet in the digital era lets governments get more information and more power and more communication than they ever have before. But it lets citizens do the same. Governments are more powerful and more vulnerable at exactly the same time. The fight on our hands is who gets to control the internet, who gets to control information?

*Footage of an Anonymous video message, with interspersed footage of Anonymous protests and vigils*

**TEXT**      Anonymous hacker collective video

## **STOCK    Anonymous:**

Hello, this is a classified message from Anonymous. After numerous attacks on the truth-telling platform of WikiLeaks, including the shutdown of its financing, we

have already made it very clear that we will fight for freedom of speech and a free press. We are Anonymous. We are legion. We do not forgive. We do not forget.

*Stylized versions of online news articles reporting "Operation Payback."*

*Headlines "Operation Payback targets VISA", "Attackers find a vause in WikiLeaks",*

**Note:** In fact, thousands of people, of all ages, took part in a popular online protest against the blockade. In response the FBI and Scotland Yard conducted nearly 100 police raids. There are more than a dozen ongoing trials as a result. A number of young people have already been unjustly imprisoned. The European Parliament has proposed legislation to stop the blockade. WikiLeaks has brought a number of victorious court actions against the blockade. All verdicts have found in WikiLeaks' favour. Visa's designated contractor has been ordered to reopen payments as a result. However, a new blockade will start on July 1, 2013 as Visa believes it has found a way to subvert the court order. For two years the European Commission has been investigating a possible prosecution against Visa and MasterCard over the issue.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In response to the financial blockade on WikiLeaks, the hacker collective Anonymous launched cyberattacks, taking down the websites of Visa, MasterCard and PayPal.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of protesters outside of court hearing. Banners calling for truth, and to free Julian Assange and Bradley Manning.*

**STOCK Protestor:**

Free Julian Assange. Free Bradley Manning.

**Policeman:**

Off the road please. Off the road.

**TEXT** LONDON, ENGLAND  
07\_DECEMBER\_2010

**STOCK Protestor:**

Political prisoner!

*Footage of a street full of protestors, press and police. The SERCO van containing Assange arrives. Everyone runs towards it.*

**STOCK Protestor:**

We love you!

*The police van is surrounded by a media scrum. Cameras are held up over the heads of the photographers to the windows of the van. The police try to clear a way.*

**STOCK Protestors:**

Free speech! Free speech!

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

**Note:** Julian Assange voluntarily attended a London police station for arrest by appointment and was immediately imprisoned. He was held without charge, in the highest security unit of Wandsworth prison. After appeals he was eventually released into house arrest and an electronic monitoring device was strapped to his leg. After 552 days he applied for political asylum.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#) and go to para 30-38.

▶ One week after the arrest warrant was issued, Assange surrendered to police in London. Deemed a flight risk, he was ordered held in jail pending a bail hearing.

*Footage of Mark Stephens speaking to the media outside Westminster magistrates court.*

### **Mark Stevens:**

Many people believe Mr Assange to be innocent and many people believe that this prosecution is politically motivated.

*More footage of the SERCO van trying to traverse a sea of milling journalists.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Assange's arrest had become a mythic moment – but

what was really going on?

*A montage of photographs of Assange inside the prison van, through the red screen of the van window. He smiles and offers thumbs up. Sinister music is played.*

**Note:** The two issues were inextricably linked from the beginning – by the Pentagon. As soon as news there was an arrest warrant for Julian Assange became global on August 21, 2010 the Pentagon immediately launched an aggressive social media smear campaign using official US Army twitter accounts.

**Sources:** [Click here](#), [here](#), [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#).

**Note:** US Defense Secretary Robert Gates told CBS News that Julian Assange's arrest in London "sounds like good news to me".

**Source:** [Click here](#).

**Note:** Manipulative framing. Anna has a high public profile and ran for office in the last national election. She is the Political and Press Secretary of a major section of the Social Democrats--the largest political party in Sweden. The Social Democrats have ruled Sweden for the majority of the last 80 years.

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Was Sweden acting as an agent of the United States? Would extradition to Sweden mean a one-way ticket to Guantanamo? Or had the mission of WikiLeaks become confused with the private matter between one man and two women?

*Interview with Anna disguised in a wig and make-up, using dark lighting.*

## **Alex Gibney:**

Talk about why we're altering your appearance and filming you in this way?

## **Anna:**

The reason I felt that it was important to be obscured is mainly because of all the threats I've received.

*The screen now shows a stylized image of a newspaper article which has Anna's actual face in the photograph, with only her eyes blanked out. Her full name is legible in the text to the left hand of the photo.*

**Note:** By showing Anna's face and name onscreen, Alex Gibney completely undermines the decision to alter her appearance and film her in a circumspect way, suggesting that it is more for theatrical effect than for the stated reasons.



**Note:** A commonplace falsehood is that the two Swedish women were WikiLeaks volunteers, repeated here carelessly by Alex Gibney. Neither individual had anything to do with WikiLeaks.

Anna helped organise the seminar on behalf of the Social Democrats.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Translation:** [Click here.](#)

**TEXT**

Anna

Former WikiLeaks Volunteer

**Anna:**

And I know that different media have published my face without my consent and other online communities started to have wild speculations about who I was and who the other girl was.

## **TEXT      **Headline:****

Revealed: Assange 'rape' accuser linked to notorious CIA operative

## **Webpost:**

...the woman who's denounc...  
or rape: a CIA agent?

## **Anna:**

I feel that the less my face is shown and the less people can recognize me, the safer I will be.

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Anna has been advised not to talk about any of the details of her sexual encounter with Assange until the legal case has been resolved but there are a few facts on which everyone agrees.

*Another photo of Anna, sitting at a desk, the top half of her face cut off by the frame.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

 An organiser for a WikiLeaks seminar in Stockholm, Anna invited Julian to stay in her apartment while she was out of town, then she decided to come back early. The following day at the seminar Julian was approached by another WikiLeaks volunteer, her name was Sofia.

**Note:** A commonplace falsehood is that the two Swedish women were WikiLeaks volunteers, repeated here carelessly by Alex Gibney. Neither individual had anything to do with WikiLeaks.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Translation:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage from the conference in Stockholm. Sofia is visible in the front row. Her face is visible, except for some blurring at the mouth.*

### **Donald Bostrom:**

Sofia wanted to see Julian, wanted to touch Julian, wanted to be close to Julian and, honestly, I think he was a rock star and he was picking the fruit.

*Cut to footage of Julian Assange.*

### **STOCK Julian Assange:**

Truth is the first casualty of war.

**Note:** There is no allegation that Julian Assange has HIV. Yet over the rest of the film, Gibney slyly tries to give the viewer the impression that he might.

### **Donald Bostrom:**

One week after the seminar Anna called me and said: "Donald, I was very proud to have the hottest man on the planet in my apartment, in my bed even, but then it happened something I didn't like – he tore the condom and I feel very uncomfortable about it." And then she told me that Sofia called her about the same thing. She was very concerned if she is pregnant or catch HIV or something because Julian had sex with her without a condom. They said if Julian take a HIV test, we won't go to the police.

**Note:** Alex Gibney falsely implies that it is Julian Assange's fault that the identities of the two women became known.

### **Anna:**

I tried actually to tell his friends that we can get this over

Anna's name became public after the Swedish police leaked her name by mistake when redacted copies of the police report were obtained by the press under Sweden's Freedom of Information laws. Anna's name was not removed from the document header (an error by the Swedish authorities). Swedish police unlawfully released Assange's name to the Swedish right-wing tabloid Expressen, which is what made the story public in the first place.

The New York Times was the first to publish Anna's name when it republished her previously anonymous interview from August 21, 2010.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Note:** It is not true that Julian Assange refused to have a HIV test, as is borne out by three witness statements to police:

Johannes Wahlstrom reports phoning Julian Assange on the morning of Friday August 20, who said: "So, no but I, I can test myself but I don't want to be blackmailed to test myself. Um... Because they say that either they go to the police, or, Sofia, that she either goes to the police or so I test myself. So I can give, I can give her that but I'd rather do it out of, out of, uh goodwill like rather than it's a blackmailing situation."

with fast and with no fuss because I really didn't want this to be in the papers. But he chose to make a big deal out of it.

### **Nick Davies:**

Julian had repeatedly refused to have the test. When he had finally changed his mind and agreed to it, it was too late. By that time the women had already got too frustrated and too angry with Julian's refusals and they'd gone to the police.

**Source: Johann Wahlstrom police****statement:** [Click here.](#)

Donald Bostrom told police: "And then I ring Julian again and then he says, no but now I've had a long conversation with Sofia. He says on Friday. And she, (inaudible) no worries, that's to say she's not going to the police and that was, they were fully in agreement and... I say, is it really true I say because Anna, when I spoke with Anna right now I got a completely different impression, they're on their way to the police (inaudible). No he says, she, we were in complete agreement, it was very friendly, very nice."

**Source: Donald Bostrom police statement:**[Click here.](#)

On August 30, 2010 Julian Assange told police: "We can always continue if it's needed? But the main thing is that I and others got to hear a lot of unbelievable lies. And got to hear I was to meet Sonia [Sofia] on Saturday afternoon to discuss the matter. Anna had no accusations and no one had any intention of going to the police and so forth. That's how I expected things to remain until I heard the news in *Expressen*."

**Source: Julian Assange police statement:**[Click here.](#)

Julian Assange's "Unauthorized

Autobiography", which has not been approved by Assange, recounts the following: "[SW] said she wanted me to come down immediately and have an STD test. I said I couldn't that day, I was dealing with heavy stuff, but I'd come the next day, and she said that was fine. She then asked me if I'd called her off my own bat, or because I'd been speaking to [AA]? It just became too ludicrous at this point. Donald was ringing me again and again, saying that [AA] was trying to look out for me with this [SW] situation, and I was saying, 'No, it's fine, I've spoken to [SW] and we're meeting tomorrow'."

**Source:** *Julian Assange, The Unauthorized Autobiography*, p 234-5 [Click here](#).

**Note:** It is not true that it was too late when Julian Assange agreed to do a HIV test. His conversation with Sofia took place late Friday morning, August 20th, while Sofia was at a Stockholm hospital clinic. By 2pm the two women were at the police station.

**Source:** **Police Memo, Diary No. 0201-K246336-10, dated 22-08-2010** [Click here](#) and go to p. 14.

*A clip from John Humphrys' December 2010 interview with Julian Assange.*

**Note:** Selective editing. Assange actually

**STOCK Julian Assange:**



begins the statement, which is from a BBC interview, with "What they say is that..". Restoring the context we have:

[T]he suggestion is that they went to the police for advice and they did not want to make a complaint. What they say is that they found out that they were mutual lovers of mine and they had unprotected sex and they got into a tizzy about whether there was a possibility of sexually transmitted diseases. A ridiculous thing to go to the police about.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

They found out that they were mutual lovers of mine, they had unprotected sex, and they got into a tizzy about whether there was a possibility of sexually transmitted diseases. A ridiculous thing to go to the police about.

*Footage of a taxi driving along a street.*

**Note:** No one alleges that Assange has HIV or has ever had HIV. Gibney, however, through innuendo alone, tries to manipulate the viewer into believing the contrary. Similarly, Gibney's so-called "fact" about Assange's children is simply false. It is malicious and repeated here without citation, in a documentary supposedly about WikiLeaks. What Gibney does not say, and is a public fact, is that Mr. Assange's mother and eldest son both received death threats from the Republican right, and had to move and change their names.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

When the women went to the police to try to force Assange to take a HIV test, their testimony raised questions about possible criminal charges. The police, on their own, decided to investigate further. The refusal to use a condom took centre stage: if Assange had HIV and knew it, it could be a case for assault.

**Note:** [Click here.](#)

*The screen now shows stylized reproductions of the police report again. It then selectively picks out sentences and translates them, which float out from the report.*

**Note:** Alex Gibney selectively quotes from the police reports, and then treats the allegations as if they were proven facts. He omits mitigating components of the same police reports. For instance, he omits "Anna says she freely consented to have sex with Assange". A thorough review of the allegations can be found [here](#).

## TEXT



"...Assange...[was] firmly holding [Anna's] arms and prying her legs open..."

"Anna is convinced that Assange broke the condom..."

"...and...continued having sex with a subsequent ejaculation."

*A police report photograph of a condom is again shown.*

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

The testimony of the women raised another issue: did he refuse to use a condom because he wanted to make the women pregnant? Some pointed to the fact he had already fathered four children with different women around the world.

## Iain Overton:

**Note:** Selective editing. Iain Overton first met Julian Assange in 2010 and knows nothing of Assange's personal life. Here, Gibney has pushed Overton into rather silly speculation on matters he knows nothing about, and then edited out the question to hide this fact.

Overton resigned as editor of the Bureau of Investigative Journalism on November 12, 2012 after his involvement in false sexual accusations led to a victorious libel action.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Note:** Alex Gibney selectively quotes from the police reports, and then treats the allegations as if they were proven facts. He omits mitigating components of the same police reports. A thorough review of the allegations can be found [here](#).

This is a man who is elusive, he's always flying around the place, he doesn't have any roots and he's got a number of kids. There may be some sort of primary impulse in him to want to reproduce, to want to have some sort of bedrock in his life. You know, this is the ultimate digital man and actually you can't just live in a digital world.

*The screen now shows stylized reproductions of the police report again. It then selectively picks out sentences, which again float out from the report.*

### TEXT

"...[Sofia] was woken by the feeling of [Assange] penetrating her."

"He was already inside of her and she let him continue."

"She immediately asked 'Are you wearing anything' and he replied, 'You.'"

*Another clip from old footage of Julian Assange.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

I have never said that this is a honeytrap. I have never said that it is not a honeytrap.

**Note:** Selective editing. Gibney spins a careful statement by Assange to make it look as if it is something to be debunked. When context is restored, the meaning is clearly the opposite to that insinuated by Gibney



Q: Did you have sex with those women?

JA: It's a matter of public record as far as the courts are concerned but I am not going to be exposing other people's private lives or my own more than is absolutely necessary. That is not what a gentleman does, that why I have also never criticised these women. We don't know precisely what pressures they have been under, exactly. There are powerful interests that have incentives to promote these smears. That doesn't mean that they got in there in the very beginning and fabricated them.

Q: So you're not suggesting that this was a honey-trap? That you were somehow set up by the Americans, by the CIA? You don't buy into that idea because

your lawyer's suggested that that's the case.

JA: He says that he was misquoted. I have never said that this is a honey-trap.

Q: You don't believe it?

JA: I have never said that this is not a honey-trap. I'm not accusing anyone until I have proof.

Q: Do you believe it is possible?

JA: That's not how I operate as a journalist because almost everything is possible.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*A montage of stylized versions of news articles and pictures of Assange.*

**TEXT      **Headline:****

'I have no idea what this is about'

**Note:** Julian Assange found out through the internet he was 'wanted for rape' - he could not know (since he is innocent) who would be accusing him of that. Even the prosecution claims that they did not go to the police to file complaints but to ask for advice about HIV

**Anna:**



He was claiming that he didn't know who we were and that's not true. He knew very well who we were and he knew we were going to the police before we went.

tests. When the press came out with stories of 'rape' he couldn't have known who was behind it. He couldn't have imagined that a HIV test would turn into an arrest warrant for 'rape'. **Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Another clip from an old Julian Assange interview.*

**Note:** Selective editing. Gibney changes a careful statement by Assange to make it look as if it is something to be debunked. When context is restored, the meaning is clearly the opposite to that insinuated by Gibney:

**STOCK** **Julian Assange:**

There are powerful interests that have incentives to promote these smears.

Q: No? You deny them completely? But did you have sex with the women?

JA: We know there is all sorts of nonsense in the tabloid press and all sorts of spin conducted for all sorts of reasons.

Q: But you haven't denied having sex with those women?

JA: No, I haven't denied that.

Q: So you did have sex with those women?

JA: I have always tried in this case and in my other dealings to be a private person and to not

speaking about matters that are private.

Q: This is now public. So I'm asking you the question. Did you have sex with those women?

JA: It's a matter of public record as far as the courts are concerned but I am not going to be exposing other people's private lives or my own more than is absolutely necessary. That is not what a gentleman does, that's why I have also never criticised these women. We don't know precisely what pressures they have been under, exactly. There are powerful interests that have incentives to promote these smears. That doesn't mean that they got in there in the very beginning and fabricated them.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

## **TEXT      WikiLeaks @wikileaks:**

We were warned to expect "dirty tricks".  
How we have the first one:  
<http://bit.ly/bv5ku9>

**Note:** Nick Davies' comment is false as is shown in the note immediately above.

## **Nick Davies:**

▶ What Julian did was to start the little snowball rolling down the hill, that this was some kind of conspiracy –

and that was all he had to do at that stage – it rolled and it picked up speed.

**TEXT      **Headline:****

"It Was An Outrage"

**Headline:**

"I've been warned about sex traps!"

**Headline:**

Was he lured into a Sex Trap?

**Anna:**

A lot of rumours were made up and pure fantasies. The wildest story of all was that I was a CIA agent and I was like, I couldn't even believe that anyone would believe such a weird story.

*A photo of Assange with one half of his face photoshopped blue.*

**Donald Bostrom:**

From outside, I can understand, it must be a conspiracy. But I was in the middle of this all. Sorry to say, it was not two girls in short skirts sent in from CIA, whatever. There was just ordinary nice girls admiring Julian and WikiLeaks.

**Alex Gibney:**

You've been very careful not to say anything, why?

**Anna:**

▶ Because this is a legal case and not a public debate.

**Note:** Anna made a very important public announcement after this interview. On 22 April 2013 she tweeted that she had "not been raped". The other women, Sofia, has stated that she also had not been raped and that the police had "railroaded" her and "made up the charges (sic)".

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Anna has not spoken directly to the press directly since 21 August 2010 (the day after the police complaint). Her counsel, the politician/lawyer Claes Borgstrom, however, appeared continuously in Swedish and international media to push his position on the preliminary investigation against Julian Assange. His media appearances were especially intense in the month leading up to the national elections for which he ran (19 September 2010).

Borgstrom has billed 80 hours for Assange-related media appearances, although he estimated that the amount was greater. This led to a civil rights group filing a complaint against Borgstrom to the Bar Association's discipline commission in June 2012.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of Assange supporters protesting outside court.  
Chants: "Freedom. Shame on you."*

**Note:** Ball was seconded to WikiLeaks as an intern for a short time during the Cablegate release. James Ball's first day at WikiLeaks was November 23, 2010 and his second last was December 15, 2010, with one further day visit on January 12, 2011. Ball is implying he was party to an alleged discussion at which he could not have been present.

### **James Ball:**

▶ The way Julian's private affairs have been conflated with WikiLeaks I find quite troubling. There was at one point an effort to try and separate the two issues, That was reversed and the decision was made to push the two causes together, and so it just...

### **Alex Gibney:**

How was that reversed? I mean, was there a meeting? Was there, or it just slid in that direction?

### **James Ball:**

▶ Julian reversed it. Explicitly. He very much wanted what happened in Sweden to be seen as part of the transparency agenda - and it worked.

**Note:** It is admitted by the Swedish Prosecution Authority that Julian Assange's case is not being handled in the normal way - but they can't say why.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

There has been political interference in the case at the highest level, with the Swedish Prime Minister, Justice Minister, Foreign Minister and Prosecutor-General all weighing in with prejudicial public comments:

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Top Swedish jurists are highly critical of the way the case has been handled, believe questioning should take place in London and recognise the validity of Julian Assange's fears of being transited from Sweden to the US.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Translation:** [Click here.](#)

**More:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of Bradley Manning and Julian Assange protests denouncing Sweden and the politically motivated charges.*

## **STOCK    Protester speaking through a gag:**

I'm here because the US government and the Swedish authorities are trying to gag the truth. These charges are completely politically motivated and have nothing whatsoever to do with the prosecution. It's a persecution and not a prosecution.

## **Nick Davies:**

What is so extraordinary is the way in which the two women have been either completely forgotten as though they had no rights here at all, or caricatured, villified.

*An image is displayed on the screen, showing both Sofia's and Anna's faces, with only the eyes blacked out, with the words "Attention SATAN: Here are two more LYING BITCHES for you to have fun torturing in HELL!"*

**TEXT** Web post by Assange supporter

**Anna:**

I've been through 2 years of different kinds of abuses: people coming to my house, people threatening or questioning or following my friends and family. Some death threats but mostly sexual threats that I deserve to get raped.

*Another image of both Anna and Sofia is displayed, this time with the word "LIAR!" emblazoned in red across each of their faces.*

*Another photo of Anna, with a speech bubble quoting her as saying "I'll accuse any man of rape for just \$99.95!".*

*Another image, this time of Assange, with the banner "Crusader for TRUTH", while photos of Anna and Sofia have the words "whore!" and "slut!" emblazoned on them.*

*A photoshopped cover of TIME magazine, with Anna's face on the front, with the subheadline "Slut of the Year".*

*A photo of Anna with a target drawn on her head, with the words "Well financed right wing CIA Shill in Sweden Verdict: Guilty".*

**Anna:**

A lot of twitter accounts and blogs that are very close to WikiLeaks have been publishing things that I know Julian knows is not true. They admire him very much and he could have easily stopped that.

*More placards for Assange, and protesters holding signs.*

## **Nick Davies:**

**Note:** This is a simple rhetorical trick by Davies. Davies tries to claim Assange lies but avoids giving any details. If details were given, the claim could be refuted.

What Alex Gibney does not tell his viewers is that a 68-page version of the police investigation file was leaked to Nick Davies, on the basis of which Davies wrote a highly skewed and prejudicial article "10 Days in Sweden", published in the Guardian on December 17, 2010. When the full police protocol leaked to the internet in February 2011 people could see for themselves how biased and one-sided Nick Davies' article had been and how much information he had omitted. Hence, for Nick Davies there is an economic and reputational cost to the truth coming out and he is highly motivated to maintain his own skewed version of events.

**Note:** Julian Assange, in conversation with Eric Schmitt, June 23, 2011:

"Greg Mitchell wrote a book about the mainstream media, So Wrong For So Long. And that's basically it. That, yes, we have these heroic moments with Watergate and Bernstein and so on, but, come on, actually it's

There was an enormous amount of hype and misinformation and bullshit that came out of Julian Assange's supporters, and the more that people realise that they were lied to by Julian, the less moral and political authority he has. He's supposed to be about the truth.

never been very good, it's always been very bad and these fine journalists are an exception to the rule. And especially when you are involved in something yourself and you know every facet of it and you look to see what is reported by it in the mainstream press, and you can see naked lies after naked lies. You know that the journalist knows it's a lie, it is not a simple mistake, and then simple mistakes, and then people repeating lies, and so on, that actually the condition of the mainstream press nowadays is so appalling I don't think it can be reformed. I don't think that is possible. I think it has to be eliminated, and replaced with something that is better."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of WikiLeaks protests, with protesters chanting "We want free speech, hands off WikiLeaks. Free Julian Assange."*

*Footage from a fundraising 'dinner with Julian Assange' video from February 2011.*

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

Good evening and welcome to this

fundraising dinner for freedom of speech.  
While I cannot be with you in person this evening because I am under house arrest, I can at least be with you in spirit.

**TEXT** NORFOLK, ENGLAND  
ELLINGHAM HALL

*Exterior photographs of Ellingham Hall and grounds.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

After nine days Assange was released from prison, his supporters putting up over \$300,000 in bail. While Julian appealed his extradition to Sweden, a local journalist named Vaughan Smith offered Julian a place to stay.

**TEXT** **Vaughan Smith:**

Vaughan Smith  
Video Journalist

### **Vaughan Smith:**

Ellingham Hall is 125 miles north-east of London. It's a house that's been in my family for 250 years or so. We've got livestock, we've got cattle, we've got sheep, we've got game obviously – pheasant, partridge - we shoot them and eat them.

*Footage of animals, dead pheasant.*

*Montage of photographs of Julian Assange around Ellingham Hall, feeding chickens.*

**James Ball:**

Ellingham Hall is a lovely place but it's right in the middle of nowhere and we've packed it with about 15 to 20 people.

*Footage of the security company checking Julian Assange's bail ankle monitor.*

*Footage of Julian Assange jumping on a trampoline in a suit, while talking on a mobile phone.*

**James Ball:**

It was some sort of cross between Big Brother and a spy thriller. Part of Vaughan's plan to keep things civilized was setting strict rules around meals...

*WikiLeaks staff seated around a table at Ellingham Hall, pulling Christmas crackers.*

**James Ball:**

...and so Vaughan's very lovely housekeeper would cook for us 3 times a day. And even port served at dinner – which was passed to the left, of course.

*More footage of Julian Assange in the fundraising dinner video.*

**TEXT**      WikiLeaks fundraising dinner

**STOCK**    **Julian Assange:**

But now we are in a position where we are

being most aggressively censored by the Washington establishment of the United States.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

To raise money for his legal defence, Assange began selling a compelling package: dinner with Julian. In exchange for a donation, WikiLeaks would provide a link to a video of Julian to be played at home on a laptop placed on a table mat set for the absent hacker.

*Another clip of Julian Assange in the fundraising video.*

### **STOCK Julian Assange:**

And together we make the world into a place where all our dreams can play.

**Note:** This is a deliberately false statement by James Ball. Alex Gibney does not challenge Ball on it. The facts are easy to find. The Julian Assange and Wikileaks Staff Legal Defense Fund (JADF) and the various means by which Wikileaks receives donations for its running costs are kept separate.

Donors to "Dinner for Freedom of Speech" were given a choice to donate to WikiLeaks or JADF, and this was made explicitly clear. The different donation bank details were clearly set out. There is no confusion for donors about where their money is going.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **James Ball:**

This dinner for free speech was, in fact, a dinner for Julian's sex offence defence fund. No one knows now whether money going to WikiLeaks is going to Julian or elsewhere.

The original 'Dinner For Free Speech' web page is still available, having been mirrored by the internet archive on February 10, 2011. It clearly indicates where donors can choose to donate to either the Defense Fund or to WikiLeaks, and also states unequivocally:

By pledging a donation on this day, no matter how large or small, you can help support Julian's defence fund, **and/or** contribute to WikiLeaks.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

This fundraising idea was organised in February 2011. James Ball's internship had expired by mid-January 2011 and he had no involvement in this initiative at all.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

The JADF is administered and audited by Derek Rothera & Co. The terms of the trust and trustees can be found [here](#).

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

WikiLeaks has been under an arbitrary and unlawful financial embargo by Bank of America, VISA, MasterCard, PayPal and Western Union since December 7, 2010, cutting off ninety-five per cent of its funding.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

The blockade was declared unlawful by Icelandic Supreme Court.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of Assange outside Ellingham Hall in the snow, speaking to a crowd of journalists and photographers.*

**Note:** The Guardian newspaper broke all three terms of its contract with WikiLeaks and conspired with the New York Times to cut WikiLeaks out and publish Cablegate without them, despite the obvious danger of doing so to WikiLeaks associates who were still in the United States at the time. Journalists from the third media partner Der Spiegel sided with WikiLeaks and refused to join the plot.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian's legal troubles made him more famous than ever, but they also intensified his differences with his former media partners. They defended his right to publish but began to turn on Assange himself.

*Cover of New York Times Magazine, headline: The Boy Who Kicked The Hornet's Nest, Dealing with Julian Assange and his Secrets, By Bill Keller*

### **Vaughan Smith:**

I've been close enough to see the sort of, you know, the wasps around the jam here. He stirred the nest and they

come to sting him perhaps rather more than he expected.

*Footage of New York Times editor Bill Keller being asked a question at a conference. The adjectives used to describe Julian Assange in the following dialogue play in close up over the screen.*

**TEXT** Bill Keller  
Executive Editor, *The New York Times*  
2009-2011

**STOCK Journalist:**

In a January piece you described Assange as 'eccentric', 'elusive', 'manipulative', 'volatile', 'openly hostile', 'coy' and 'obviously a derelict, arrogant, thin-skinned, conspiratorial and oddly credulous' um, is that any way for a journalist to talk about his sources?

*Footage of a webcast of an interview with New York Times' Eric Schmitt.*

**STOCK Eric Schmitt:**

He looked like a bag lady coming in. Sort of like a dingy, khaki sports coat, old tennis shoes, with socks that were kind of collapsing around his ankles and he clearly hadn't bathed in several days.

**Mark Davis:**

The New York Times – I mean, the hypocrisy of this act – they wanted the material, they were fully complicit in

the publication of the material, but as soon as the heat came on they wanted to wash their hands.

*Dash camera footage as a car drives into Ellingham Hall*

**Note:** Julian Assange did not say the market rate for an interview with him was \$1 million dollars and Alex Gibney did not decline. This section deliberately distorts the final, lengthy negotiation between Julian Assange and Alex Gibney regarding his and WikiLeaks' possible participation in the documentary, which at the time was unnamed.

WikiLeaks had already been approached by different productions and individuals. Gibney failed to conduct an interview with WikiLeaks--for a documentary about Wikileaks. He now tries to shift blame by misreporting the negotiations. However WikiLeaks kept detailed notes of the conversation.

Assange first explained to Alex Gibney about his previous bad experiences with malicious projects, the most recent had been 'Secrets and Lies', which was the subject of an official complaint, and which had been secretly co-produced by The Guardian's David Leigh.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Gibney said that documentary was "practically scripted by Leigh" in an email to

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

I tried over many months to get an on-camera interview with Assange. After meetings and emails, I was finally summoned to the Norfolk mansion for a 6-hour negotiation. But Julian wanted money. He said the market rate for an interview with him was \$1 million.

*A photograph of Julian Assange's face framed by flowers and candelabra, reflected in an ornate mirror.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

When I declined, he offered an alternative: perhaps I would spy in my other interviews and report back to him, but I couldn't do that either.

During his time under house arrest he'd become more secretive and paranoid. He railed against his enemies and I knew that he had tried to get all his followers to sign a non-disclosure agreement. The penalty for leaking: \$19 million.

WikiLeaks. Julian Assange explained that WikiLeaks was in a position where it may be more in its interest not to participate than to participate, as he did not want to lend credence to a project that potentially missed the big picture, did not accurately grasp the political dimension of the US investigation, misrepresented Manning, overplayed the Swedish investigation, and so on.

He explained to Gibney that four factors played a role in the decision whether or not to participate:

1. **Security:** Raw footage of WikiLeaks work could find its way into the hands of the US Department of Justice. This could endanger WikiLeaks staff.
2. **Financing:** WikiLeaks had previously received an offer of £800,000 for its cooperation in a British documentary project. WikiLeaks rejected the offer for security reasons. In the film and in interviews, Alex Gibney distorts this conversation by attempting to portray Julian Assange as greedy. Yet in reality Assange rejected these offers because these were not in the greater interest of the organisation, despite the fact that WikiLeaks had already been under an arbitrary financial blockade for a year when this negotiation took place.
3. **Information:** Gibney told Julian Assange that he would be interviewing members of the US government for the WikiLeaks film. Assange detailed the

different forms that the continuing US persecution of WikiLeaks and its allies had taken. Assange said WikiLeaks was interested in understanding the progress of the US investigation into itself and its sources. Any information that Gibney picked up about the matter in the course of his interviews might be of interest to WikiLeaks.

4. **Impact:** In an email pitching the documentary to WikiLeaks from 10th of March 2011, Alex Gibney said "while you know that many docs will be made on this subject, I have a sufficient global reputation (oscar, oscar noms, worldwide fans) and such a substantial budget for production, worldwide distribution and promotion that my documentary will reach an audience that will dwarf the reach of all the other documentaries combined". Julian Assange explained that the impact of the documentary was potentially problematic.

While Alex Gibney is happy to allow the false imputation Julian Assange demanded \$1 million for an interview to remain in his film he is careful not to allow the same 'mistake' to appear in the film's pre-publicity material:

New York Times correction:  
December 21, 2012: "An article on Thursday about the coming documentary "We Steal Secrets" and other films about WikiLeaks

and Julian Assange referred imprecisely to a comment that Alex Gibney, the maker of "We Steal Secrets," says in the film about Mr. Assange's demands for money in exchange for collaborating on it. While he says that he rejected the demands, and that the market rate for an interview was \$1 million, he does not specifically say that he rejected a demand from Mr. Assange for a \$1 million fee for an interview."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

WikiLeaks has co-operated in other productions, including a film by the well respected Academy Award nominated film maker, Laura Poitras, which will be released later this year. Another film, co-produced with Ken Loach's 16 Films, will be released shortly.

**Note:** James Ball is lying. James Ball signed a non-disclosure agreement with WikiLeaks on November 23, 2010.

WikiLeaks uses non-disclosure agreements to help protect the safety of its sources, its staff and its upcoming publications from informants. The FBI and rival media organizations have previously bribed or pressured persons they believe to be close to

### **James Ball:**



I found this a little bit awkward - being asked by a transparency organisation to sign exactly the kind of document used to silence whistleblowers around the world. It seemed pretty troubling and so I refused.

WikiLeaks. James Ball understood this, and saw no irony in being asked by WikiLeaks to sign his NDA in November 2010.

WikiLeaks staff suspected Ball was passing information from WikiLeaks onto others: rival media organisations or government agencies. WikiLeaks discovered that Ball had told a colleague he had a job interview with the UK intelligence service MI5 and had interned at the UK Home Office. WikiLeaks also discovered Ball was attending secret meetings with the Guardian journalist David Leigh - his former college professor at City University, and a vocal opponent of WikiLeaks.

While Assange was in prison it was discovered that someone had accessed the Sunshine Press press contacts account using an email client, and had mirrored its archive. Ball had briefly been given access to the account. Documents from the account subsequently appeared in the Guardian. Physical documents went missing, and Ball's behaviour became erratic.

Therefore a second, special non-disclosure agreement was devised for Ball, to test his reaction. After being asked to sign it at WikiLeaks' Norfolk office, Ball became anxious and asked to postpone signing it while he considered it. He then left for London.

It later became obvious to WikiLeaks staff that, showing malicious forethought, Ball had stolen what he thought was WikiLeaks' copy of his original NDA (which would have given him both copies). However the document that James Ball stole was not WikiLeaks' copy of the agreement. Ball had left his NDA out on a desk and it had been filed for security reasons. He had stolen his own copy of the NDA. The other copy had already been removed to a secure location, and is still in WikiLeaks' possession.

Ball became unavailable for work, and stopped returning calls. He lied about his whereabouts, and invented reasons why he could not return, which were confirmed to be untrue by a mutual third party. After several weeks, it became clear that he had cashed in his favours to David Leigh, in return for which he was given a post at the Guardian and the first credit in David Leigh's book.

Ball pursued career advancement at the Guardian by placing himself at the service of The Guardian's institutional vendetta against WikiLeaks, publishing numerous deceitful attacks on WikiLeaks over the last two and a half years, all of which rely on heavily embellishing his role as a freelancer working as a junior intern at WikiLeaks.

During the short time he worked for WikiLeaks he insisted on being called "a journalist *working with WikiLeaks*" or "a

freelancer working for them". Some time after leaving, Ball reimagined his role at WikiLeaks for career advantage, changing his title in order to misrepresent himself to others as a "former spokesperson." James Ball was never a spokesperson for WikiLeaks. Alex Gibney did not secure an interview with WikiLeaks' actual spokesperson, Kristinn Hrafnsson.

Ball has consistently maintained that he never signed the WikiLeaks NDA, and has felt secure enough to lie in print and on camera because he believed he had destroyed the evidence, having stolen the NDA.

Although he lies straight to camera in "We Steal Secrets" about the NDA, in January 2013 Ball admitted that he did sign the WikiLeaks NDA, after having been challenged about it by WikiLeaks lawyer Jennifer Robinson. In admitting this, he lied again, claiming that he had never denied signing a WikiLeaks NDA. The evidence to the contrary is in the film itself.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#) and go to p. 331.

*Exterior view of a window in Ellingham Hall, with Julian*

*Assange staring out.*

## **STOCK Julian Assange:**

All organisations face two possible paths: they can be open, honest, just, or they can be closed, unjust, and therefore not successful.

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

**Note:** Throughout "We Steal Secrets," Gibney systematically omits mention or downplays the significance of the US attempt to prosecute WikiLeaks and Julian Assange. The film neglects to mention that the US investigation against WikiLeaks is, as official accounts describe, "unprecedented in its scale and nature".

The film downplays the serious investigation and prosecution of Julian Assange in the US and what would happen to him were he extradited to the US. It does so to make the argument that Assange is in the Ecuadorean embassy to simply avoid going to Sweden. This is false: he sought asylum based on his concern about being extradited to the US, and Ecuador granted asylum on the basis of the evidence Assange presented.

The cases of Manning and Assange are clearly linked, as was made explicit in the course of the Manning proceedings with reference being made to the parallel DOJ investigation into Assange and WikiLeaks.

There is no "mystery" about the role of the



Had the secret-leaker become the secret-keeper, more and more fond of mysteries? The biggest mystery of all was the role of the United States. Over two years after the first leak, no charges had been filed by the US.

*Protests outside the Royal Courts of Justice for Assange's High Court Appeal*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Assange claimed that the US was biding its time, waiting for him to go to Sweden, but there was no proof. In fact, members of Assange's legal team admitted that it would be easier for the US to extradite Assange from Britain.

US: there is an ongoing Grand Jury, which has been empanelled since September 2010. This was first confirmed by the US Department of Justice November 2010 and re-confirmed on 26 March 2013.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

The grand jury is, by its nature, secret. It cannot be said that “no charges” have been filed. The film-maker certainly does not know that: it is illegal to disclose whether or not an indictment exists. It is a common practice to issue sealed indictments. Charges would not be made public until Assange is in custody. A former high-level State Department official said in a once-confidential email (Stratfor) that there was such a sealed indictment.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

It cannot be said that there is “no proof that the US was biding its time”. The US ambassador to the UK said this on the BBC in February 2011: the US would wait to see what happened in Sweden. Discussions between the US and Sweden reported that the US would only extradite Assange after the Swedish case was disposed of.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*A clip from an interview with Baroness Helena Kennedy  
QC.*

**TEXT** Baroness Helena A. Kennedy  
Former legal adviser to Julian Assange

**Note:** Helena Kennedy has complained that her interview has been misleadingly edited by Gibney to remove the proper context of her remarks. She states that she "did not expect that he [Gibney] would fillet my interview" and also says "I regret thinking I could present a sensible perspective".

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

It is false that it would be easier to extradite Assange from the United Kingdom than from Sweden.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Helena Kennedy:**

Britain is the one that's done the special deal with the United States on extradition. But Sweden is particularly strong in seeing as sacrosanct that business about handing people over, they would hold to that perhaps stronger than Britain would. We think we've got a special relationship with the United States.

*More footage of Assange at the Royal Courts of Justice,  
surrounded by journalists and supporters.*

**Note:** This is pure hyperbole. Since December 2011 WikiLeaks has released millions of documents, including the SpyFiles

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Despite that special relationship, Assange desperately

series, the Detainee Policies, the Stratfor emails (the GIFiles), the Syria Files and, in April 2013, both Cablegate and 1.7 million Kissinger Cables in an easily searchable PlusD Public Library of US Diplomacy.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Note:** In December 2012 the Freedom of the Press Foundation was set up in response to the banking blockade against WikiLeaks to raise funds for transparency journalism organisations under threat. The FPF commitment to raise funds for WikiLeaks is ongoing while the blockade remains in place.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

fought extradition to Sweden and lost every appeal. His legal battle drained his finances and trapped him at the family farm for over a year. Hoped-for funding didn't come and WikiLeaks suspended operations. His international organization had blown apart.

In Berlin, Domscheit-Berg had quit the organisation. So did the mysterious figure who had built the secret submission system. Assange no longer had a drop box for new leaks. In London, journalist Heather Brooke was leaked unredacted copies of all the State Department cables by a WikiLeaks insider.

*Footage of Heather Brooke sitting in the darkness of the back seat of a car as it drives at night through the streets of London*

## Heather Brooke:

There was the initial people that Julian gave the information to, and then how many people did they give it to? And then how many people did they give it to?

*Footage of Heather Brooke sitting in the darkness of the back seat of a car as it drives at night through the streets of London*

## Narration by Alex Gibney:

Some of the cables were also leaked to a European

**Note:** Gibney makes an unfounded statement for which he provides no evidence. WikiLeaks asked those making this claim to

provide their information so that an investigation could be commenced into the issue. They did not.

The most comprehensive discussion of the matter can be found [here](#).

**Source:** [Click here](#).

**Note:** In August 2011 Daniel Domscheit-Berg was responsible for the whereabouts of the hidden unredacted cables files and the location of the passphrase to it (a chapter title in Guardian journalist David Leigh's cash-in WikiLeaks book) being reported in the press.

**Source:** [Click here](#).

dictator, who used them to target dissidents and suppress free speech.

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

▶ This is at the core of where things went wrong, and where ultimately WikiLeaks has lost control over the spread of these documents.

*Stock footage of Assange working at a desk.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

In the end, all of the cables leaked across the internet on mirrored versions of WikiLeaks.org. All Julian had left was his celebrity.

*Footage of the billboard from WikiLeaks supporters, saying "WikiLeaks: Giving us the truth when everyone else refuses to."*

*Footage of Simpsons episode in which Julian Assange made a guest appearance.*

**STOCK Bart Simpson:**

How you doing Mr. Assange?

**Julian Assange:**

That's my personal information, and you have no right to know about it!

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Julian extended his brand by hosting a chat show for Russian state television.

**Note:** In fact, Julian Assange did not "host a chat show for Russian state television." He produced a 12-part interview series with activists and thinkers from around the world, "The World Tomorrow". The series was produced by Assange's own production company, QuickRoll Productions, in conjunction with the London-based production company Dartmouth Films. The license for the series was sold to a number of regional broadcasters, one of which was Russia Today.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of Julian Assange interviewing Ecuador's President Rafael Correa on talk show The World Tomorrow, which was independently produced by WikiLeaks and licensed to RT (Russia Today) and other broadcasters.*

**STOCK Rafael Correa:**

Where are you? In England?

**Julian Assange:**

I am in England under house arrest now  
for 500 days.

**Rafael Correa:**

500 days?

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

One of his guests was Rafael Correa, the President of  
Ecuador.

**STOCK Rafael Correa:**

Welcome to the club of the persecuted!

**Julian Assange:**

Thank you, President Correa.

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

A month after the program aired, Assange sought asylum  
from his former TV guest.

*Footage of Julian Assange speaking from the Ecuadorian  
embassy balcony after being formally granted asylum. The  
crowd erupts in cheers.*

**TEXT** Embassy of Ecuador  
London, England

**STOCK Julian Assange:**

In the morning, the sun came up on a  
different world, and a courageous Latin

American nation took a stand for justice.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

It was an ironic choice. Ecuador had a record of putting journalists in prison and had been charged with corruption in a WikiLeaks cable.

**Note:** The claim is false. According to the US-based Committee to Protect Journalists there are no journalists in prison in Ecuador.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

The attack on Assange over Ecuador's press freedom record is comprehensively addressed [here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*More footage Julian Assange speaking from the embassy balcony.*

### **STOCK Julian Assange:**

The United States must renounce its witch-hunt against WikiLeaks.

*Crowd cheers.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Despite no evidence of a US-Sweden plot, Ecuador granted him asylum. The British government pledged to arrest him if he left the tiny confines of the embassy, so Assange prepared for a long stay.

**Note:** This is false and misleading. Assange did not allege a 'secret plot'; he presented an asylum application, backed by voluminous evidence, of a political persecution against him and the WikiLeaks organisation, including public statements acknowledging the existence and unprecedented nature and scope of a US investigation against

WikiLeaks.

The government of Ecuador rigorously examined the evidence presented for two months before granting Assange asylum. The government of Ecuador explained the reasons for concluding that "there are serious indications of retaliation by the country or countries that produced the information disclosed by Mr. Assange, retaliation that can put at risk his safety, integrity and even his life".

Furthermore, the government of Ecuador noted that "that the Swedish prosecutor's office has had a contradictory attitude that prevented Mr. Assange from the total exercise of the legitimate right to defense" and they were "convinced that the procedural rights of Mr. Assange have been infringed during that investigation".

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Throughout "We Steal Secrets," Gibney systematically omits mention or downplays the significance of the US attempt to prosecute WikiLeaks and Julian Assange. The film neglects to mention that the US investigation against WikiLeaks is, as official accounts describe, "unprecedented in its scale and nature". The US grand jury has been empanelled in secret since September 2010

(first confirmed by the US Department of Justice November 2010).

US prosecutors in Virginia have been working since 2010 to establish a 'conspiracy to commit espionage' link between Manning and Assange. The ongoing nature of the Grand Jury criminal investigation into WikiLeaks was most recently confirmed on March 26, 2013 by a spokesman for the US Attorney's office for the Eastern District of Virginia.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

The FBI investigation into WikiLeaks consisted of "42,135 pages or 3,475 documents", not including Grand Jury testimony, according to the lead prosecutor at Manning's pre-trial hearing. He added that "Private First Class Manning ... represents only 8,741 pages of the file."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

Correspondence from the ex-Deputy Chief of Counterterrorism for the DSS (State Department's Diplomatic Security Service) leaked to WikiLeaks revealed that the WikiLeaks Grand Jury had issued a sealed indictment for Assange before February 2011: "Not for Pub — We have a sealed indictment on Assange. Pls protect."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

It is a criminal offence for any US government official to reveal the existence of a sealed indictment before it is unsealed, which only happens when the indicted person is taken into custody.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

The law provides for the possibility for the Swedish prosecutor to question Julian Assange in London. In April 2013, Swedish Supreme Court judge Stefan Lindskog stated: "I would like to comment upon the possibility of the prosecutor to go to London. It is possible that the prosecutor could travel to London and interrogate him there. I have no answer to the question why that hasn't happened."

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*Footage of protests outside the Ecuadorian embassy.*

**Note:** The Bradley Manning, Julian Assange and WikiLeaks cases have everything to do with each other. The parallel investigation by the Department of Justice into Assange and WikiLeaks is mentioned explicitly in the Manning proceedings at numerous points. Assange and WikiLeaks are current litigants in the Manning case. In relation to the Swedish matter the intense politicization of the process is clear. Although Assange has

**Anna:**

I saw these signs Free Bradley Manning and Free Julian Assange and I think it's ridiculous! These two cases have nothing to do with each other. Julian – he's not even imprisoned – he has locked himself up to avoid coming to Sweden to answer a few pretty simple questions.

still not been charged, the UK admits to spending more than \$4.3 million on surveilling Assange at the embassy in the first 7 months alone.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*A wall painting of Assange, with the words "During Times of Universal Deceit, Telling the Truth Becomes a Revolutionary Act - George Orwell"*

**Note:** Ball fabricates the significance of one of Julian Assange's teenage screen names "Splendide Mendax", this time in the mouth of an interviewee. The screen name is a joke. In Latin it means "Nobly untrue", but as a pseudonym it describes how handles protect an author's identity even though being inherently "untrue". It is a phrase which describes itself, not its author, just like the word "word".

### **James Ball:**

There is a phenomenon called "noble cause corruption": essentially, you do things which if anyone else did you would recognise aren't ok, aren't right, but because you know you're a good guy, it's different for you. I suppose you can't accuse Julian of not setting out from the beginning what he may do: Mendax by name, Mendax by nature.

"Claims my teenage nickname was Mendax, "given to lying", instead of Splendide Mendax, "nobly untruthful", which is a teenage joke on handles being inherently untrue. It is self-referential, not a psychoanalysis 20 years ahead of its time!"

— Julian Assange, Complaint to Ofcom

regarding the Guardian co-produced Secrets & Lies documentary, January 9, 2012.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

*The photo of Assange as a teenager with long hair on the phone again*

### **Nick Davies:**

The same extraordinary personality which conceived of and created WikiLeaks is also the same personality that has, effectively, destroyed WikiLeaks.

**Note:** Daniel Domscheit-Berg is not a reliable narrator. He is in an ongoing legal conflict with Wikileaks over theft of equipment and data left in Germany. He tried to start a now-defunct rival publishing organisation, "OpenLeaks," in August 2010. OpenLeaks did not publish a single document. He also has a pecuniary interest in the anti-Wikileaks film *The Fifth Estate*.

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

WikiLeaks has become what it detests and what it actually tried to rid the world of.

*Montage of photographs of graffiti in support of Julian Assange and WikiLeaks*

### **Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

We must get away from this understanding that we see Julian as the saviour, as some noble guru, as some new hero or some new pop star or whatever that's going to change all of it. The credit is undue - everybody celebrating Julian as a whistleblower - he is not - Bradley Manning might have been a whistleblower. And if he was, he is the courageous guy. He is the one that took all the risk and, in the end, now is suffering.

**TEXT**

QUANTICO, VA  
MARINE CORPS BRIG

*Footage of protesters outside the marine base chanting "Free Bradley Manning." Footage of armed military guards with dogs. A line of riot cops advance on the protesters, pushing with their riot shields.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

After his arrest, Manning had been held for two months in an 8x8-foot cage in Kuwait, then he was transferred to the Marine Corps Brig in Quantico, Virginia. For a man who had not been charged with any crime, he was kept in solitary confinement for nearly a year.

*2010 Hacker conference panel interview of Adrian Lamo about Bradley Manning.*

### **STOCK Interviewer:**

Bradley Manning, the alleged leaker, is currently sitting in prison and he could be locked up for the rest of his life. How do you feel about that?

### **Audience member:**

He could be tortured!

### **Adrian Lamo:**

I think that it's a little bit ludicrous to say that Bradley Manning's going to be tortured. We don't do that to our citizens.  
[audience erupts in a chorus of boos]

*More protest footage outside Quantico Marine Base. Protesters wear orange jumpsuits*

*A montage of black and white images of the interior of prison cells, to depict Manning's incarceration conditions.*

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

A high-ranking general authorised Manning's placement in solitary confinement on suicide watch against the protest of prison doctors. His clothes and blankets were taken from him, lights in his cell were always on. When he questioned his treatment, guards took away his glasses and forced him to stand naked during his morning roll call. At night, guards kept him cold and woke him frequently in a practice that recalled the sleep deprivation programme at Guantanamo. Manning's supporters speculated that the US government was trying to push Manning to turn on Assange and implicate him in a crime.

### **Alex Gibney:**

What was your reaction about Bradley Manning's treatment at Quantico? I mean, it seemed to me, with its sleep deprivation and these were, you know, what I would call, enhanced interrogation techniques, these were being practised on him, and...

### **Michael Hayden:**

[Laughs] No. Look, I don't know the specifics. I don't know the rules of confinement for the Marine Brig at Quantico, but Bob Gates is an incredibly honourable man...

*Footage of Robert Gates and Adm. Mike Mullen at a press conference*

## **Michael Hayden:**

General Joint Chiefs Mike Mullen is an incredibly honourable man - I defer very much to their judgement that whatever was done was appropriate.

*Photos of Bradley Manning getting out of a car at one of his pre-trial hearings.*

## **PJ Crowley:**

The treatment that he was receiving at Quantico, the level of solitary confinement, the fact that his clothes were taken away at night, it was inconsistent with our values - and our interests. It was making Bradley Manning a far more sympathetic figure than I see him. When I was asked about it at a forum at MIT, I gave a candid answer.

*News footage of Obama being asked about PJ Crowley's comments.*

## **STOCK ABC News' Jake Tapper:**

The State Department spokesman PJ Crowley said the treatment of Bradley Manning by the Pentagon is 'ridiculous and counterproductive and stupid'. I wonder if you agree with that?

## **Barack Obama:**

You know, I have actually asked the Pentagon whether or not the procedures that have been taken in terms of his confinement are appropriate and are

meeting our basic standards. They assured me that they are.

### **Bill Leonard:**

I was appalled at that. I was appalled at that with respect to the President's responsibility as Commander-in-Chief. Any Commander - any Commander - knows that first and foremost he or she is responsible for the wellbeing of each and every one of their soldiers, to include the ones sitting in the brig.

*More footage of Obama on Manning's treatment.*

### **STOCK Barack Obama:**

I can't go into details about some of their concerns, but some of this has to do with Private Manning's safety as well.

### **Jake Tapper:**

Do you disagree with P.J. Crowley?

### **Barack Obama:**

I think I gave you an answer to the substance at issue.

### **PJ Crowley:**

Once my comments were brought to the President of the United States, I felt that the only thing that I should do is resign. I stand by what I said.

### **Narration by Alex Gibney:**

What was unsaid was any consideration of holding Manning's supervisors accountable for permitting the greatest security breach in American history.

**TEXT     bradass87:**

weak servers, weak logging, weak physical security...

a perfect storm

**Narration by Alex Gibney:**

Manning's commanding officer only received a minor demotion. The army brought 22 charges against Manning. They included aiding the enemy, without naming just who the enemy was. For these charges, Manning faces life in prison and a possible death sentence.

**Nick Davies:**

People who don't like the leak try to say that it was damaging national security. Have you ever seen any evidence that American national security has been damaged in any way by this?

**TEXT     Guardian Headline:**

WikiLeaks has caused little lasting damage, says US state department

**Nick Davies:**

And if you look at what the whistleblower is saying in that online chat, and look at what he doesn't say.

**TEXT      bradass87:**

what if i were someone more malicious...

**Nick Davies:**

He doesn't say I want money. He doesn't say I am going to go to Russia or China, I'm going to go to Al-Qaeda to give them this stuff - doesn't happen.

**TEXT      bradass87:**

i could've sold to russia or china, and made bank?

**Nick Davies:**

He says this is material that the people of the world need to have.

**TEXT      bradass87:**

it's public data...it belongs in the public domain

**Note:** Nick Davies makes a false assumption that Bradley Manning naively "dump[ed] the whole lot without thinking ahead about how that was going to be handled", which is contradicted by the statement presented by Bradley Manning before the military court:

At this point I decided that it made sense to try to expose the SigAct tables to an American newspaper. I first called my local newspaper, The Washington

**Nick Davies:**

And it was naïve to dump the whole lot without thinking ahead about how that was going to be handled. But you don't have to lock this guy up for decades, and effectively put him through forms of torture – that's a politically motivated act of vengeance on somebody who hasn't damaged national security; he's caused embarrassment.

Post, and spoke with a woman saying that she was a reporter. I asked her if The Washington Post would be interested in receiving information that would have enormous value to the American public. Although we spoke for about five minutes concerning the general nature of what I possessed, I do not believe she took me seriously.

He claims he then contacted the New York Times, but "I never received a reply."

As part of his work as an intelligence analyst, Manning claims he had assessed WikiLeaks to be a credible media organisation, "following it and collecting open source information from it. During this time period, I followed several organizations and groups including wire press agencies such as the Associated Press and Reuters and private intelligence agencies including Strategic Forecasting or Stratfor. This practice was something I was trained to do during AIT, and was something that good analysts were expected to do."

Manning noted that "WLO [WikiLeaks] received numerous award and recognition for its reporting activities" and, based on his observations, that "WLO seemed to be dedicated to exposing illegal activities and corruption" and "I would describe the WL organization as almost academic in nature".



*Footage of Collateral Murder again, scrolling data, footage of protests in the Middle East*

## **James Ball:**

The question becomes: does it matter and what changes? I think really we have to say that something has started, and it's not going to be about WikiLeaks, it's going to be about transparency and accountability and keeping power in check...

## **TEXT      **Headline:****

Vatican Leaks sets off...

## **Headline:**

Indicted for leaking to journalists...

## **Headline:**

Leaks...

## **Headline:**

The Iran Leak

## **Headline:**

....DOCUMENT LEAKED...

...ATE POWERS AND...

## **Headline:**

White House Facing Another Leak As Key Document Hits Media

**Headline:**

White House Facing Another Leak As Key Document Hits Media

**Headline:**

Investigate... security leaks... "Kill List"

**James Ball:**

... keeping governments responsible – and who cares who does it, as long as someone does?

**Bill Leonard:**

Information by its very nature needs to flow. In some regards withholding information is trying to repeal the laws of gravity. You may succeed for a short period of time but sooner or later it's going to break through.

**Alex Gibney:**

You're talking just like a hacker.

*Footage from a hacker conference discussion about Bradley Manning.*

**TEXT Audience Member:**

I think Manning did the right thing, and what you did, you have to live with!  
[applause] I think you belong in

## Guantanamo!

### *A Wanted Dead Or Alive Poster for Adrian Lamo*

**Note:** Gibney attempts to remake the man who betrayed and exploited Bradley Manning, Adrian Lamo, into a tragic figure, unwillingly swept up into the WikiLeaks story, when in reality his aggressive exploitation of the situation for personal benefit is well documented.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

### **Adrian Lamo:**

I care more about Bradley than many of his supporters do. We had a chance to be friends, however briefly, and he opened up in a lot of ways about his life, his personal life, and he did it in a way that... someone that they felt they could trust. And I had to betray that trust for the sake of all of the people that he put in danger. And I wish to hell that it had never happened. [Lamo cries on camera]



*Gentle, sad piano music starts to play, as tears roll down Lamo's face, and he wipes his eyes.*

*The view slowly pans down across an image of WikiLeaks' hourglass logo*

### **Timothy Webster:**

It's going to be a question for the ages why Bradley Manning reached out to someone he really didn't know

and then trusted him with such a life-altering secret.

*Montage of photos of Bradley Manning being frogmarched out of the courtroom at his pre-trial hearings.*

### **Timothy Webster:**

The only thing I can come up with is that once he saw the results of the leak, the need just to share that just probably grew and grew. He just needed to tell anybody, and he thought Adrian was the right person to tell.

### **James Ball:**

Whistleblowing is an isolating act. It's a courageous and phenomenal thing to do, but you are essentially doing something that your colleagues and friends would not want you to do, would not understand. It alienates you further from them. A source who needs to talk to someone and explain what they've done and think through what they've done needs someone safe to do that to.

### **TEXT      bradass87:**

I've developed a relationship with  
assange...

he knows very little about me...

"lie to me" he says

*Text becomes huge*

### **TEXT**

**"lie to me"**

## James Ball:

In the logs Manning says he couldn't talk to WikiLeaks - that's not how they work. Does that protect whistleblowers? Or does it protect WikiLeaks?

**Note:** This is a now-classic anti-WikiLeaks argument created by James Ball, an attempt to allege that the blame for Manning's arrest lies with WikiLeaks and not with Adrian Lamo, the FBI informant who turned Manning in after telling him that he would protect him.

Ball's allegation that WikiLeaks does not adequately support its sources conflicts with the account that Manning presented before the military court regarding his alleged contacts with WikiLeaks. In a plea statement, February 28, 2013, Manning said this:

After a period of time, I developed what I felt was a friendly relationship with Nathaniel [Manning's designation for his contact at WikiLeaks]. Our mutual interest in information technology and politics made our conversations enjoyable. We engaged in conversation often. Sometimes as long as an hour or more. I often looked forward to my conversations with Nathaniel after work.

**Source:** [Click here.](#)

**TEXT     bradass87:**

i'm pretty desperate for some non isolation

**Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

In the end, everybody's just lonely. I mean, if you are leaking material to someone, if you are telling a reporter a good story, something that really makes a difference, then I think, just from a human perspective, it's really difficult not to get any credit for it. Because no one can tap you on the shoulder and say "Good job," I mean, "courageous thing you did".

**TEXT     bradass87:**

i can't believe what im confessing to you

**Daniel Domscheit-Berg:**

And this is the really complicated part about it. How do you make sure that your source does not compromise themselves?

**TEXT     bradass87:**

;'(

*Gentle sad piano music slowly ends, as the emoticon lingers on the screen, and then fades out.*

*Dark screen with a pale blue dot in the middle*

**TEXT     bradass87:**

[www.kxol.com.au/images/pale\\_blue\\_dot.jpg](http://www.kxol.com.au/images/pale_blue_dot.jpg)  
<-sums it up for me

## **Narration by Alex Gibney**

In the chats, Manning sent a link to Pale Blue Dot – a famous photo of Earth he saw while reading an essay by the astronomer Carl Sagan.

*Slowly, the pale blue dot becomes more and more distant, and stars start to appear around it, and a retreating starfield establishes itself, the pale blue dot lost in it.*

## **Narration by Alex Gibney**

"That's home," said Sagan, "that's us – every saint and sinner in the history of our species lived there; on a mote of dust, suspended on a sunbeam. In our obscurity, in all this vastness, there is no hint that help will come from elsewhere to save us from ourselves. It is up to us."

*The last chatlog is typed over the starfield, as the end credit music starts to play.*

**TEXT**     **bradass87:**

i...care?

*Text appears, filling in details of the rest of the story.*

**TEXT**     After international outcry, the US Army moved Bradley Manning out of solitary confinement.

In February 2013, Manning pled guilty to leaking documents to WikiLeaks. The Army continued to prosecute him for "aiding the enemy."

Bradley Manning was held without trial for more than 3 years.

As of March 2013, Julian Assange remains confined to a small room in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London

He promised to publish more documents and announced his campaign to run for Senate in Australia.

*Credit Roll.*