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## SYNOPSIS:

*Iraq for Sale: The War Profiteers* is the story of what happens to everyday Americans when corporations go to war.

Acclaimed director Robert Greenwald (*Wal-mart: The High Cost of Low Price*, *Outfoxed*, and *Uncovered*) takes you inside the lives of soldiers, truck drivers, widows and children who have been changed forever as a result of profiteering in the reconstruction of Iraq. *Iraq for Sale* uncovers the connections between private contractors making a killing in Iraq and the decision makers who allow them to do so.

## FILMMAKERS:

Produced and Directed by	Robert Greenwald
Produced by	Jim Gilliam Devin Smith Sarah Feeley
Story Producers	Kerry Candaele Abbie Hurwitz Amanda Spain
Line Producer	Lisa Remington
Co-Executive Producer	Rick Jacobs
Executive Producer	Dal LaManga
Director of Photography	Nick Higgins
Editors	Carla Gutierrez Sally Rubin Kit Lubold
Motion Graphics	Mike Beegle
Assistant Editor	Rowen Warren
Design	Ken Sunshine
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Communications	Tracy Fleischman
Outreach	Jim Miller
Music Supervisor	G. Marq Roswell
Music by	Tree Adams

## ABOUT THE SUBJECTS

### TRAGEDY AT FALLUJA: FOUR BLACKWATER MEN KILLED

**KATHRYN "KATY" HELVENSTON**  
Mother of Scotty Helvenston  
Leesburg, Florida



*No parent should have to lose their child. But to lose it in this way. With people that, I mean, they trusted these people with their lives. And what do they get for it?*

Kathryn Helvenston is a strong and passionate woman recovering from a broken heart. Katy's son Stephen "Scott" Helvenston was killed while working for Blackwater USA in Iraq. A born athlete and the youngest-ever Navy SEAL, Scott went to work for Blackwater to earn money to support his children. When he left for Iraq, Scott expected to be protecting Paul Bremer. Instead he found himself in danger in the middle of a war zone.

On March 31, 2004 Scott was sent on a mission from which he never returned. Katy explains: "[Blackwater] sent them out, short two men. Also the vehicles should have been armored, and they also should have had saws, heavy belt fed machine guns in each vehicle, which they didn't have. They also were supposed to have maps of their routes, they should have pre-planned their route, which they weren't given enough time [to do]." While driving through Falluja, they were ambushed and gruesomely murdered.

Vivid photographs of Scott and three other Blackwater contractors hanging from a bridge in the center of town made the incident at Falluja one of the war's most infamous. After the tragedy, Blackwater's profits increased 600 fold, while Katy is left still searching for the details of the day.

**DONNA, JOZO AND TOM ZOVKO**  
Parents and Brother of Jerry Zovko  
Cleveland, Ohio



*We need to let people know, we need to help prevent someone else's son from being killed the same way. Because of the mighty dollar. Because I truly believe that my son is not walking the earth because people that he trusted and worked for did not care about him. – Donna Zovko*

Patriotic, young and strong, Jerry Zovko was a former Army ranger turned security specialist who went to work for Blackwater in Iraq. Zovko was killed with Scott Helvenston at Falluja. Two years later Tom Zovko, Jerry's brother – an IT consultant who works for the Federal Reserve in Cleveland Ohio, and his mother Donna Zovko, still find themselves grappling with what happened the day of Jerry's death. Donna and Jozo's home is filled with photographs of Jerry.

Putting her life back together after her loss, Zovko is working to stand-up to Blackwater, who

continues to deny her access to their internal investigation of the ambush. Jerry's mom finds intermittent peace with family, the friend she's found in Katy Helvenston, and in seeking truth.

## **PRIVATE CONTRACTORS AT ABU GHRAIB PRISON**

**ANTHONY LAGOURANIS**  
**Military Interrogator Abu Ghraib, 2004**  
**Chicago, Illinois**



*I did work closely with Titan all year long while I was in Iraq and I could say that a lot of the translators weren't trained at all. I don't know what kind of training they received but they were terrible at it... if the interrogator isn't effective in the interrogation booth then you can't get intelligence out of the prisoners and potentially lives are lost and the war is lost.*

Anthony Lagouranis is a bright and curious young man from Chicago. Highly educated in a diverse range of languages, he joined the army as an interrogator hoping to hone his Arabic and repay student loans. His time in Iraq changed his view of the war and of the world.

He arrived at Abu Ghraib shortly before *60 Minutes* broke the story of torture at the prison. Working closely with interrogators and translators employed by CACI and TITAN, he was witness to their lack of training. His time at Abu Ghraib had a profound effect on him. Since returning to the U.S. Lagouranis has been a loud and clear voice speaking out on the abusive and problematic nature of private contracting in a war zone.

**JANIS KARPINSKI**  
**Former Brigadier General Abu Ghraib 2003-2004**  
**Head Island, South Carolina**



*When you outsource a critical function, like interrogations, putting your hands physically on another human being, the law should be very clear. The rules should be crystal clear. And your supervisor should be on site to make sure that those laws are implemented and enforced. And it just wasn't happening.*

Former Brigadier General Karpinski is passionate about justice and her country. A critic of the lack of oversight in Iraq, Karpinski was stationed at Abu Ghraib Prison during the infamous torture of prisoners there.

When photographs of the torture were shown to her, picturing plain clothed interrogators, Karpinski began to put the pieces of the puzzle together: "I became aware of this, these CACI

interrogators on the 23rd of January 2004 when I saw the photographs for the first time. And I said to the commander of the criminal investigation division, who was showing them to me, I said, 'Why are the translators around the prisoners? Why are the translators in the cell block?' And he said, 'Ma'am, those aren't translators. Those are CACI interrogators.' I said, 'Translators?' He said, 'No, interrogators.'"

Karpinski recently published a book *One Woman's Army: The Commanding General of Abu Ghraib Tells Her Story* and speaks around the country about her experiences.

**SHEREEF AKEEL**  
**Civil Rights Attorney**  
**Detroit, Michigan**



*CACI is a multi-conglomerate corporation that has specialized in providing security services. What has not been made very clear was that they were also involved in interrogation practices.*

Shereef Akeel is a hard working Egyptian American attorney living in Detroit. Prior to 9/11 Akeel spent most of his time practicing what he refers to as "run of the mill kind of law". Contract litigation, personal injury matters, so forth. After 9/11, witnessing reactionary racial injustice springing up in the face of national tragedy, Shereef shifted the focus of his legal practice toward Civil Rights. He took on cases of police brutality and racial discrimination in the workplace.

The focus of Akeel's work shifted again when one day a Mr. Sallah arrived at his practice, describing heinous torture inflicted on him by private contactors at Abu Ghraib. Akeel was shocked to learn international human rights standards were being violated by the military and private contractors: "When Mr. Sallah was in my office, and he was describing to me the type of horrible things that were visited upon him, I would ask him, 'Who was doing this to you Mr. Sallah? Who was doing this?' And he goes, 'I don't know.' I say 'How did they look like?' And he would say, 'Well, there were two types of people.' I said, 'Can you describe them?' He goes, 'Yes.' One was dressed in civilian clothing." Shereef now represents several people who were tortured in Iraq at the hands of private contractors.

**MARWAN MAWIRI**  
**Former Titan Translator Iraq**  
**Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**



*There was no training before we got to our assignment or even after we arrived. The communications between Titan and its employees were horrible. The site managers were incompetent and unskilled to deal with the linguists- many hires were unprofessional and unqualified translators. There was no supervision on the ground or evaluations and follow-up plans to ensure the U.S. Military the most accurate translations.*

Marwan Mawiri 32, works for the Service Employees International Union in Philadelphia. As a Muslim Arab American, Mawiri went to Iraq in part to provide proper communication and build understanding and cultural bridges between the U.S. and Iraq and to help with reconstruction after the war. Mawiri worked as a translator for the Titan Corporation in Iraq. Initially, he was surprised at the lack of training and testing Titan required of him. After arriving in Iraq, Mawiri realized his experience was not unique, but part of a larger pattern. As a translator in Iraq, Mawiri was witness to “institutionalized waste, lack of employee supervision, incompetence and unethical management of employees” by the Titan Corporation.

**HASSAN AL-AZZAWI**  
**Torture Victim**  
**Baghdad, Iraq**

*There was a person wearing civilian clothes, and giving them orders, I think he belonged to the private companies. Then they cuffed my hands again, and they cuffed my hands again, and they ripped my clothes in a savage way, even my underwear, I stayed naked, totally naked.*

Hassan Al-Azzawi was an electrical engineer in Iraq prior to the American occupation. A family man with no military ties, he was taken into custody in December 2003 while reconstructing a building that had been vandalized. Shortly after that he was sent to Abu Ghraib.

**JOSHUA CASTEEL**  
**Military Interrogator Abu Ghraib**  
**Rapids, Iowa**

*There was a little phrase that we threw around, ‘Food for Freedom.’ That if you wanted to get paid more you should start eating more so you’d get booted out for being overweight. And it’s an honorable discharge and it would boost your pay, your net worth by about 5 times if you were to do such a thing. And it worked.*

Joshua Casteel is a thoughtful All-American young man. After being a football star and his high school valedictorian, Casteel went on to West Point Military Academy. As a soldier, he was sent to serve at Abu Ghraib. Working side by side with private contractors who made six figures, Casteel began to question the role of private contractors in a war zone: “... over the course of my stay in Iraq it was just day after day after day, grappling with going to mass and taking, you know, the body and blood of Christ into my mouth and then going back to the interrogation room and interrogating 5 breadwinners who had been taken from a single home and wondering what their family was doing for food while I was eating food prepared by private contractors.”

**AIDAN DELGADO**  
**SPC Army Reserve Nasiriyah & Abu Ghraib**  
**Sarasota, Florida**



*When I saw the military recruiters on my campus I thought that this would be an interesting change of pace. I thought I would take that semester off for training and kind of get out of my immediate situation and do something different.*

A young former reservist from Sarasota Florida, Aidan Delgado decided to take a break from school and serve his country. In one of those twists of fate, he went to sign his army contract on Sept. 11, 2001. Eventually Aidan was called upon to spend six months in the southern city of Nasiriyah, and another six months working at Abu Ghraib Prison outside Baghdad.

His time in the military made him question the role of contractors and the huge sums of tax-payer money they were paid: "By the time we got to Abu Ghraib we had this long animosity I guess you would say, low level animosity towards contractors. And many people were dissatisfied with the laundry service at Abu Ghraib, and were dissatisfied with the morale facilities in general." In addition to making his day-to-day life in Iraq difficult, Aidan was concerned by the extent to which unqualified people were hired by private corporations to work as translators. No longer in the military, Aidan is now back in school studying religion.

**AL HAJ ALI**  
**Abu Ghraib Detainee**  
**Baghdad, Iraq**

*When I was in the interrogation room, and someone knocked on the door to enter, if they say CACI, they immediately opened the door for them.*

Al Haj Ali ran a small business trading in dates in the suburbs of Iraq. He lived his life outside of the larger political sphere- focused on family, work and the playground he opened on the outskirts of Baghdad. After some disagreements with American troops over questionable use of his playground, he was arrested and taken to Abu Ghraib.

**THE GOOD FRIDAY MASSACRE- KBR HALLIBURTON MEN INJURED AND KILLED**

**EDWARD SANCHEZ**  
**KBR/ Halliburton Former Truck Driver**  
**Silver City New Mexico**



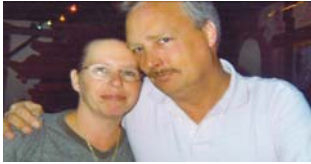
*It was totally preventable. There was absolutely no reason for us to be there. And we had no knowledge, and one of the first things that came across my mind was, a soldier came up to me and said, 'who are you guys? What are you guys doing out there? The roads are closed. We have been fighting those guys for over 48 hours. They own that road out there.' And I was like, how in the world could we [have been] sent down here into this road.*

Edward Sanchez is a rancher from Silver City, New Mexico. Having worked as a truck driver in the past, Sanchez was excited when he heard about the opportunity to drive for KBR in Iraq. He went to Iraq intending to help with rebuilding efforts and save for his future.



Sanchez was among the KBR drivers sent down a “red road” by the company into what is now known as the Good Friday Massacre. Sanchez was shot twice during the attack by insurgents, but managed to help an injured man and survive his own wounds. Memories of the attack are carved in his mind; the permanent limp the massacre left him with means the day is always with him.

**HOLLIE HULETT**  
**Widow of Steve Hullet**  
**Manistee, Michigan**



*Steve and I were soul mates. You know, people think that's a trite expression. It's not. I miss him so much. Honest to God. Life will never be the same. Ever again. He shouldn't have died. He should be here fishing with us.*

Hollie Hullet is a 50-year old mother of three from Manistee, Michigan. Hollie's husband Steve, her high school sweetheart, was killed in April 2004 at the Good Friday Massacre. Steve had gone to work as a KBR truck driver in Iraq to help rebuild the country and save-up money to send their three children to college. Prior to the Massacre, Hollie was alarmed by KBR's unwillingness to provide drivers with proper protection, like bulletproof armor on vehicles. But, she never anticipated KBR would send their workers into a situation the military had warned them of.

**BILL PETERSON**  
**KBR/ Halliburton Former Truck Driver**  
**Buffalo, Missouri**



*We were told repeatedly we were not soldiers, we were noncombatants, not to do anything that made us appear as soldiers or military personnel. And that we would not be sent into any areas of known danger.*

William Jeffery Peterson, or Bill as his friends call him, is a truck driver from Buffalo, Montana. Patriotic to his core, Peterson went to work for KBR/ Halliburton to help rebuild Iraq. On April 9, 2004, a day expected to be extremely dangerous by the military, KBR sent Peterson and several other drivers on a convoy into a volatile part of Baghdad. Virtually defenseless, the convoy was ambushed near the Abu Ghraib prison. KBR's negligence cost several drivers their lives that day and injured many more; the ambush is now known as the Good Friday Massacre.

## **APRIL AND KIM JOHNSON**

**Lost Father/ Former Husband in the Good Friday Massacre  
Riverside California**



*April 9th, if, I believe this is correct. First of all it was Good Friday which is a huge Christian holiday so probably one of the most dangerous days of the year for anybody to be out there that's a Christian. And secondly it was a year to the date that President Bush stood up and claimed victory and that Saddam Hussein statue fell, to the date... for Halliburton to choose that day and considering those two facts and considering the fact that they had the knowledge that things were going on out there, they knew, Halliburton knew that they should not, that the chances of them going out there and being harmed or killed were very likely – Kim Johnson*

April and Kim Johnson live in Riverside, California. Their hearts and lives have a massive hole in them, left by the death of Steve Johnson in the Good Friday Massacre. Seeing the opportunity to work for KBR as a patriotic adventure and a way to solidify his family's future, Steve went to Iraq. "He looked forward to so many things, my future, me buying my first house, eventually getting married and having a baby and all that stuff, he looked forward to everything" April says of her father. Close to one another, as they were to the gregarious and lively Steve, April and Kim are left wondering how KBR could have sent Steve and several other men into a situation they knew would be deadly.

## **EVERY DAY LIFE IN IRAQ WITH KBR/HALLIBURTON**

### **BEN CARTER**

**KBR/ Halliburton Former Water Purification Specialist  
Layton, Utah**



*So I went over there and that's where my eyes were opened, within the first day that I was in Iraq I started to see just incredible waste and compromised safety standards. Within the first few days I was questioning the company that I agreed to go work for.*

Ben Carter is a water safety expert and a caring family man. Passionate about his work, Carter went to Iraq to support the troops and reconstruction efforts. Yet soon after he arrived in Iraq he found KBR/Halliburton cutting essential corners. Carter eventually found the water being supplied to troops was severely contaminated. Halliburton was not fulfilling its responsibility to supply the military with clean water. Carter notified his supervisors who barred him from notifying the military and senior company officials about the untreated water he found was being supplied to US servicemen. KBR's indifference to the contaminated water led Ben Carter to resign. Since leaving Iraq he's spoken out about Halliburton, testified before the Democratic Policy Committee and worked to warn soldiers of the dangers of contaminated water.

**GEOFF MILLARD**  
**Former Sergeant US Army National Guard 1998-2006**  
**Buffalo, New York**



*I tell people, if you don't know KBR, you have never been to Iraq. Because KBR is everywhere in Iraq. Everywhere. And KBR is a subsidiary of Halliburton.*

Geoff Millard likes clean laundry, something Halliburton KBR was charged with providing him while in Iraq: "Keeping a soldier's morale up is not that difficult. There's certain things that you can do. One is by doing good laundry. One is by having good chow. Good chow and good laundry go a long way for a soldier, who is just far away from home. But yet whenever we got our laundry back, it felt worse than when we turned it in....."

An Army Sergeant from Buffalo, New York, Millard was based out of Tikrit, Iraq as part of the 42nd Infantry Division. KBR/ Halliburton had contracts for providing Millard's division with clean laundry, food and many of the day-to-day necessities. Millard was consistently disgusted by KBR's practice of putting profits ahead of the well being of American soldiers. Retired from the Military, Millard regularly speaks out against KBR/ Halliburton's profiteering.

**SHANE RATLIFF**  
**Former KBR Truck Driver**  
**Ruby South, Carolina**



*One thing I'd like my kids to know, I want them to know why I went through with going in a foreign country in a war zone. And another thing, I would want them not to want to go there, no matter how much money somebody offered them, your life, there's not a value, a dollar amount you can put on your life. And big companies will lie to you. Just like some individuals will lie to you. Anything that sounds too good to be true, usually is.*

Shane Ratliff was born and raised in Ruby, South Carolina, just a mile from where he lives today. He played high school football, met the love of his life and saved up money to fulfill his dream of buying his own truck. Like so many truck drivers working in Iraq, he went there to save money for his family and support the troops. When Shane arrived in Iraq, the rampant waste and institutionalized overspending he saw corporations committing went against his will to serve the American people.

**JAMES LOGSON**  
**KBR/Halliburton Former Truck Driver**  
**Enid, Oklahoma**

*The head guys and the managers were staying in villas, townhouses, other exclusive places. And then they started moving us out of the base and into these villas too, I mean marble floors, mahogany woodwork it was just beautiful, two living rooms, TV, the whole nine yards, catered food, BBQ's once a week. We'd rent wave runners and go out and play in the water...*

James was an ordinary patriotic American. He was born and raised in Enid, Oklahoma and went to Iraq to work as a KBR truck driver. He looked forward to saving up money -KBR promised a large salary. Yet he was shocked by the excess and waste he saw in Iraq. One example of the waste he saw was this: "A gentlemen in a brand new semi, it wasn't designed for what we needed to use, it was a brand new 18 wheeler, he parked it next to a burn pit, and then ultimately pushed it into the burn pit, next thing I know they're pouring diesel and everything on it and setting it on fire..."

**DAVID MANN**  
**SPC, US Army 2003 & 2005**  
**Denver, Colorado**



*I had to, we had to train these KBR contractors how to do our job, how to fix these radios. Most of these contractors had never even seen the signal radio as its known, never seen it in the army, their career, one of the guys even joked around saying that he remembers working on radios with vacuum tubes. And that, in the electronic lines, that's super old and ancient. But here these guys come over to do this job that I knew how to do and my fellow soldiers knew how to do, but he didn't. This wasn't just one case. This was multiple cases... We shouldn't have to train them how to do their job.*

David Mann is an all-American young man from Colorado who served as a soldier in Iraq. Mann grew up in a military family and looked forward to serving his country. When he arrived at his duty station in Iraq, he was heartbroken to find that he, a radio mechanic, and hundreds of other soldiers trained to provide logistical support were being charged with training KBR contractors to do their jobs.

**KELLY DOUGHERTY**  
**220<sup>th</sup> Military Police Company Colorado National Guard**  
**Colorado Springs, Colorado**



*....everyone was getting sick. We were in these bunk beds so the person in the top bunk often was maybe a couple feet or a foot from this moldy tent and people were getting sick so it wasn't*

*even that it was gross to smell it, it was that it was unhealthy and who's getting paid for putting that tent up? You know, probably Kellogg, Brown and Root.*

Kelly Dougherty joined the National Guard at age 17. Then a high school senior she was excited at the prospect of learning skills that would help her in life, and in doing something substantive to help pay for college. Kelly has served in Hungary, Croatia, Kuwait and Iraq and has experienced first hand, in a variety of ways, the negative effect private corporations like KBR have on the day-to-day lives of military personnel in Iraq.

**HENRY BUNTING**  
**KBR/ Halliburton Former Procurement Specialist**  
**Houston, Texas**

*KBR's business practices were very poor. In fact, I've said before, I wouldn't run a local lawn service on the business practices that Halliburton KBR had...*

Residing currently in Houston, Texas, Henry was in the procurement business for twenty years before leaving for Iraq to work for KBR. Bunting is a hardworking American and lifelong Republican. His job for KBR was to find retailers for raw materials and supplies, and buy them for the military. His work as a procurement specialist for KBR was different than in the jobs he previously held: "KBR was getting reimbursed on a cost-plus basis so they didn't care whether you saved any money or not. They were gonna get their direct reimbursement from the U.S. government." The 'cost-plus' contract KBR had with the Government dictated that the more KBR spent, the more they earned.

**BUD CONYERS**  
**Enid, Oklahoma**  
**KBR/Halliburton Former Truck Driver**

*I have no problem with making a lot of profit. I do have a problem with just flat out lying about what you're ordering, what you're destroying and things like that. That's what I have a problem with. And there's a difference... especially when the troops health is put in danger.*

Bud Conyers was a longtime truck driver when he went to work for KBR in Iraq in 2003: "...I liked driving a truck because of the freedom it gave me." Conyers was excited about the prospect of supporting American troops and getting to do what he loved. Once in Iraq, he was surprised at the level of waste, corruption and deception he saw.

Conyers is currently writing a book on his experiences titled *The Contractor*.

**EXPERTS, JOURNALISTS AND OTHERS WHO APPEAR IN THE FILM  
INCLUDE:**

Chris Lehane  
Crisis Communications Expert

Mark Benjamin  
Journalist, Salon.com

Pratap Chatterjee  
Executive Director, CorpWatch

Charles Lewis  
Former Executive Director, Center for Public Integrity

Ralph Peters  
Retired Lieutenant Colonel and Author

Jim Donahue  
Director, Halliburton Watch

Sarah Anderson  
Institute for Policy Studies

Chris Farrell  
Director of Investigation, Judicial Watch

Scott Allen  
Attorney  
Cruse, Scott, Henderson & Allen, LLP

Doug Brooks  
International Peace Operations Association

Bunnatine Greenhouse  
Former Chief Contacting Officer, US Army Corps Engineers

Massie Ritsch  
Center for Responsive Politics

Keith Ashdown  
Taxpayers for Common Sense

Charlie Cray  
Director, Center for Corporate Policy

Alan Grayson  
Anti-Fraud Attorney  
Grayson & Kubli, P.C.

Marie de Young  
KBR Halliburton Former Contract Administrator

Anonymous  
Detainee

Anonymous  
Contractor Abu Ghraib Detainee

## CORPORATION PARTICIPATION

**In addition to the people featured in the film, Brave New Films also attempted to interview the top executives from Blackwater, Halliburton/KBR, CACI and Titan/L3.**

No representatives from these companies agreed to appear in the film.

The following is account of interview attempts made:

By Abbie Hurewitz

I initially contacted Blackwater USA on June 8, 2006 to request an interview with its CEO and co-founder Erik Prince. Over the course of the next two months I proceeded to call and e-mail Blackwater USA a number of times, requesting interviews with Erik Prince or any Blackwater representative, without success.

June 8, 2006: Spoke with an operator by the name of Angela who said no one was available.

June 9, 2006: Transferred to voicemail of Lindsey Taylor, assistant to Chris Taylor (VP of strategic initiatives).

June 12, 2006: Transferred to VM of Lindsey Taylor

June 13, 2006: Transferred to VM of Tammy Stocks, "executive ass't to the VPs"

June 20, 2006: General voicemail.

June 21, 2006: Transferred to Voicemail of Lindsey Taylor

June 22, 2006: Spoke to Lindsey Taylor who says that starting the following morning, the fellow who handles all media inquiries, Chris Taylor, will be out of the country for an indefinite period of time. She asks that I send my interview request via e-mail.

June 22, 2006: E-mail to Lindsey Taylor to forward to Chris Taylor to request an interview with Erik Prince.

June 29, 2006: Phone call to follow up on interview request, but no "Lindsey Taylor" in the name directory of the Blackwater voicemail system.

June 30, 2006: Transferred to Lindsey Taylor VM.

July 6, 2006: Transfer to Lindsey Taylor VM.

July 10, 2006: Follow-up e-mail to Lindsey to check on status of interview request.

July 11, 2006: E-mail reply from Chris Taylor, thanks but no thanks.

July 12, 2006: Follow-up e-mail to Chris Taylor with a more urgent ask.

July 12, 2006: E-mail to Paul Behrends, Blackwater lobbyist asking for interview.

July 12, 2006: E-mail from Chris Taylor, "Thanks but no".

July 12, 2006: E-mail from Paul Behrends, "Thanks but out of the country."

July 27, 2006: Robert and I call Bill Matthews & leave VM.

July 27, 2006: Robert and I call Gary Jackson who directs us to their media rep, Mark Corallo.

July 27, 2006: Chris Taylor calls and rejects interview request for now and for the foreseeable future.

July 29, 2006: VM for Mark Corallo requesting Blackwater interview.

July 29, 2006: E-mail to Chris Taylor asking for substantiation on facts given by Blackwater to the Virginia Pilot newspaper. [no response]

Aug 1, 2006: E-mail reply from Mark Corallo, Blackwater will "take a pass on an interview."

However, if I send him more details about the scope/context of the film, as well as where and when I expect it to be aired, he will try again.

Aug 1, 2006: Follow-up e-mail to Mark Corallo with more info about project.

Aug 2, 2006: E-mail from Mark Corallo, "Thanks, but still not interested" Aug 2, 2006: E-mail to Mark Corallo inquiring as to why Blackwater is not interested.

Aug 3, 2006: E-mail response from Mark Corallo, in its entirety "Just not interested. Thanks."

Aug 4, 2006: Phone call to Lindsey Taylor requesting permission to use excerpts from the Blackwater website in film.

Aug 4, 2006: E-mail to Lindsey Taylor requesting permission to use excerpts from the Blackwater website in the film.

Aug 4, 2006: Response from Chris Taylor denying authorization to Brave New Films or any of "it's [sic] partners or subsidiaries to use any Blackwater copyrighted, trademarked, service marked, or patented material, nor does it authorize the use, in any form, of our website or promotional materials to include any and all pictures, videos, and text."

By Amanda Spain

While producing certain segments for Iraq for Sale I made a number of attempts to obtain an interview from the CEO of CACI and Halliburton and the COO of Titan. Below are the attempts that were made.

The exact break down is as follows:

### **CACI**

Nine emails were sent to Jody Brown, SVP Public Relations CACI.

The initial email was sent on July 10th, 2006.

Follow up emails were sent on July 12, 13, 14 and 18th.

Three voice messages were left by Robert Greenwald and Amanda Spain following up on our interview request.

Ms. Brown declined on July 28th and directed us to CACI's lawyer.

### **Titan**

Initial contact was made with the Titan press department on June 28th. I was directed to Abby Cohen the media relations person for Titan. An email was sent to her that day requesting an interview with the COO Anton Frederickson.

Follow up emails were sent on July 10, 12, 14, 18 and August 2nd.

Four phone calls were made in which I spoke with Abby Cohen. She said she would make the request. Each time we spoke she obtained more details. I assured her we would place the entire interview transcript on our website and let her know it was important to us that Titan had an opportunity to speak on their behalf.

Three to four messages left with Ms. Cohen following up on the request.

Ms. Cohen declined on August 4th, 2006 citing Titan's clients would not approve of their participation in the film.

### **Halliburton**

Initial contact was made with Cathy Mann, Halliburton's media relations on July 12th. An email requesting and interview with Dave Lesar was sent that day.

Follow up emails were sent to Cathy Mann July 13, 14 and 18. Neither the initial email nor the follow up emails were ever responded to.

Four phone calls were made to Cathy Mann. Her assistant told Robert and I that she had in fact received the email and that she was out of the office but she would give her the message. On our fourth attempt the assistant directed us to Melissa Norcross another media relations woman at Halliburton.

An email was sent to Melissa Norcross on July 27th.

On July 28th, 2006 Melissa Norcross declined on behalf of David Lesar stating he was not available for an interview.



## **NON PARTISAIN EXPERTS ON PROFITEERING IN IRAQ**

### **SARAH ANDERSON**

Institute for Policy Studies  
ips-dc.org

Since the “War on Terror” began in 2001, government spending on private defense contractors has skyrocketed from \$154 billion to \$269 billion. Because of a lack of Congressional oversight, taxpayers have little reason to feel confident that those funds are being spent effectively to protect our troops or to make the world safer. In fact, massive sums are going straight into the pockets of corporate executives. Our research shows that since 9/11, CEOs of the top defense contractors have enjoyed a doubling of their annual compensation. The top 34 defense executives alone made a total of nearly a billion dollars in the past four years.

These personal gains create the risk of a profit motive for continuing the conflict or getting into new ones in other parts of the world. And that is a risk no one should have to bear – no matter what one’s position on the Iraq War. In the early 1940s, Harry Truman, then a Senator, crusaded against war profiteering despite the fact that the Commander-in-Chief at the time was from his own political party. He understood that it was the right thing to do for our troops, our taxpayers, and our democracy. Today, we need that commitment to accountability more than ever.

### **CHARLIE CRAY**

The Center for Corporate Policy  
corporatpolicy.org

All wars bring new kinds of corporate crime and contract-related abuses -- some of which can directly undermine military operations (as we discovered when Halliburton/KBR whistleblowers revealed that the company was serving contaminated water used for non-potable uses to the troops based in Iraq), proving that opportunism and profits are often more important to large corporations than patriotism. The definition of "war profiteering" extends from very narrow, legalistic definitions used to go after weapons contractors who bilk the taxpayers to the epidemic of fraud, bribery, and other abuses that undermine the national interest, to the multinational exploitation of a country's resources, as witnessed in the aggressive plans to privatize Iraq's resources in favor of international investors -- especially its oil. Moreover, what goes around, comes around, as we saw when some of the same egregious contracting practices witnessed abroad were applied at home after Hurricane Katrina.

The fight against war profiteering must similarly span the spectrum from contract accountability to the broader struggle for global economic justice. At a minimum, the worst cases should be subject to criminal prosecution and the companies involved banned from any new contracts. In preparation for World War I, Congress made "profiteering" a crime, in order to prevent increases in prices and to limit profits. In World War II, Senator Truman's committee exposed all kinds of fraud, as well as treasonous behavior. By contrast, today's "do-nothing" Congress has held only token hearings and passed no major contracting accountability measures (despite the introduction of solid proposals, including The Honest Leadership and Accountability in Contract Act of 2006 (S. 2361), which suggests they have either learned nothing or are too connected to the problem to care.

## PRATAP CHATTERJEE

Corp Watch  
corpwatch.org

War Profiteering is the economic gain obtained from military conflict. This often happens with the help of the party in power: thus Halliburton provided generous support to the Democrats during the Vietnam war and got millions of dollars in contracts in return. Today, the company supports the Republicans because they are the party in power, and have reaped numerous lucrative contracts as a result. The excessive payments to companies reduced the amount of money available for basic necessities such as clean water, education and healthcare, for Iraqis and Americans alike.

*CorpWatch* investigates and exposes such corporate fraud and corruption around the world as well as violations of human rights and the environment, through our reports and our websites, [www.corpwatch.org](http://www.corpwatch.org) and [www.warprofiteers.com](http://www.warprofiteers.com).

## CHARLES LEWIS

Center for Public Integrity  
publicintegrity.org

Regardless of the war, the administration, or the various sophistries for expending human lives as a matter of government policy, profiteering from it universally offends **all** citizens, whether they are Republicans, Democrats, Independents, other parties or no shows. Most Americans, regardless of party or ideology, want to believe that any government “of the people, by the people and for the people,” as once put forth by Abraham Lincoln, necessarily must dispense the people’s business and money in a fair, honest and accessible way. As a “developed” democracy, for decades we have established extensive, government procurement processes to ostensibly ensure such full and open bidding for contracts.

But of course the street reality is much worse. And unfortunately, despite political rhetoric and platitudes about “competitive bidding,” the indisputable fact is that in Iraq and Afghanistan and the entire, massive Defense budget, those companies winning the largest, most lucrative government contracts have been consistently among the most politically influential in Washington. They have expended millions of dollars to hire former Pentagon officials, to finance federal campaigns, to lobby the legislative processes. We are supposed to believe it is merely coincidental that the recidivist recipients of U.S. contracts, some of whom have committed fraud, price fixing or other abuses in the documented past, also just happen to be those who have most greased the skids in our nation’s capital.

The Center for Public Integrity ([www.publicintegrity.org](http://www.publicintegrity.org)) in Washington is the largest nonprofit investigative reporting organization in the world, publisher of 15 books and roughly 300 investigative reports since 1990, its work receiving three dozen national journalism awards. The Center won the George Polk Award for its October, 2003 online report, *Windfalls of War* (updated several times since), which posted all Defense and State Department contracts awarded for the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, first revealing that Halliburton had received the most lucrative contracts of any company. The Center’s 2004 report, *Outsourcing the Pentagon*, won the Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) award and profiled the 737 companies receiving at least \$100 million in Defense contracts over a five-year period. No-bid contracts have accounted for more than 40 percent of Pentagon contracting since 1998, which amounts to some \$362 billion in taxpayer money to companies **without** competitive bidding.

This insider game will continue for the favored few as long as the public allows it, as long as Congress doesn’t investigate it, as long as the national news media doesn’t expose it. Only by

discourse and illumination will the nation become engaged and enraged and awaken our various official or self-appointed watchdogs.

### **MASSIE RITSCH**

Center for Responsive Politics  
opensecrets.org

The story of private companies performing critical functions during the Iraq war is a classic tale of those with access to power reaping tremendous rewards. From 2000 through early 2006, Halliburton, Titan, CACI, Blackwater and their employees have contributed millions to the Republican party. Erik Prince, the founder of Blackwater USA, alone gave nearly \$200,000, including \$90,000 to the Republican party the month before the 2000 elections. (Prince gives no money to Democrats, and the others contributed less than \$200,000 to them.) On federal lobbying, with the goal of winning government contracts, these companies have spent more than \$6.2 million. That, along with their campaign contributions, is a minuscule investment compared to the contracts they've been granted.

To amass further influence, these contractors tend to hire from government and the military. The networks and connections that their employees bring to the job are immeasurable—far more valuable, probably, than the contributions made to politicians over the years. This isn't just the business plan for defense contractors; it's common in many other industries as well.

While it's difficult for the average person to counter such influence, it's relatively easy for them to “follow the money,” to use the Center for Responsive Politics' non-partisan website OpenSecrets.org to learn which interests—industries and corporations, labor unions and individuals—are paying for U.S. elections. The broader defense sector has contributed more than \$57 million since the 2000 election. What do those interests win in return once their candidates get elected? Often the loser is the average citizen—the consumer, the taxpayer, the soldier. Regardless of your politics, be concerned that your elected representatives may be listening to those whose money speaks loudest, and get informed. Don't forget that it's votes—not money—that have the ultimate influence in Washington.

## FURTHER FACTS AND RESEARCH ABOUT PROFITEERING IN IRAQ

### BACKGROUND ARTICLES

- [Contract Sport](http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?040216fa_fact) (2/16/2004, Jane Mayer, New Yorker)  
[http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?040216fa\\_fact](http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?040216fa_fact)
- [Outsourcing War](http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/fellows/singer20050301.htm) (3/1/2005, P. W. Singer, Foreign Affairs)  
<http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/fellows/singer20050301.htm>
- [The Other U.S. Military](http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/04_22/b3885116.htm) (5/31/2004, BusinessWeek)  
[http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/04\\_22/b3885116.htm](http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/04_22/b3885116.htm)
- [The private contractor-GOP gravy train](http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2004/05/11/private/index.html) (5/11/2004, Robert Schlesinger, Salon.com)  
<http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2004/05/11/private/index.html>

### REPORTS

- [How the U.S. Senate voted on war profiteering](http://www.publicintegrity.org/wow/)
- [How the U.S. House of Representatives voted on war profiteering](http://www.publicintegrity.org/wow/)
- [Windfalls of War: U.S. Contractors in Afghanistan & Iraq](http://www.publicintegrity.org/wow/) (Center for Public Integrity)  
<http://www.publicintegrity.org/wow/>
- [A Fistful of Contractors: The Case for a Pragmatic Assessment of Private Military Companies in Iraq](http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Research/2004PMC.htm) (9/2004, David Isenberg, BASIC)  
<http://www.basicint.org/pubs/Research/2004PMC.htm>

### BOOKS

- [Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry](http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2004/03/31/warrior) (3/31/2004, P.W. Singer, Brookings Institution)
- [The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security](http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2005/07/25/market) (7/25/2005, Deborah A. Avant)

### BLACKWATER

- [Blackwater: Inside America's Private Army](http://home.hamptonroads.com/stories/story.cfm?story=108106&ran=202193) (7/23/2006, The Virginian-Pilot)  
<http://home.hamptonroads.com/stories/story.cfm?story=108106&ran=202193>
- [7 part series on Blackwater and the Fallujah massacre](http://www.newsobserver.com/512/story/262874.html) (11/28/2005, News & Observer)  
<http://www.newsobserver.com/512/story/262874.html>
- Jeremy Scahill's articles on Blackwater and Hurricane Katrina reconstruction:
  - [Blackwater Down](http://www.thenation.com/doc/20051010/scahill) (9/21/2005, The Nation)  
<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20051010/scahill>
  - [Blood is Thicker Than Blackwater](http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060508/scahill) (5/8/2006, The Nation)  
<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060508/scahill>
  - [In the Black\(water\)](http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060605/scahill) (6/5/2006, The Nation)  
<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060605/scahill>

### HALLIBURTON

- [Houston, We Have a Problem](http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=11322) (5/18/2004, CorpWatch & Global Exchange)  
<http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=11322>

- [CorpWatch's Halliburton profile](http://www.warprofiteers.com/article.php?list=type&type=15)  
http://www.warprofiteers.com/article.php?list=type&type=15
- [The Army's justification for Halliburton's no-bid contract](http://www.judicialwatch.org/5446.shtml) (2/28/2003, Claude M. Bolton Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Army) http://www.judicialwatch.org/5446.shtml
- [Halliburton gave troops foul water, workers say](http://www.boston.com/news/world/middleeast/articles/2006/01/23/halliburton_gave_troops_foul_water_workers_say/?rss_id=Boston.com+%2F+News) (1/23/2006, Reuters)  
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#### CACI & TITAN

- [Contract to torture](http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2004/08/09/abu_ghraib/index1.html?pn=1) (8/9/2004, Osha Gray, Salon.com)  
http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2004/08/09/abu\_ghraib/index1.html?pn=1
- Legal Loophole Arises in Iraq (5/4/2004, Wall Street Journal)

## Q AND A WITH ROBERT GREENWALD AND THE BRAVE NEW TRAINEES

*Robert Greenwald sits down with Brave New Films' Trainees Daniel Castillo, Anne Njoroge, Kim Huynh, Nancy Mejia and Dan Dominguez to discuss Iraq for Sale and filmmaking.*

*BNF's Trainees are part of the Brave New Foundation's Open Door Training Program— a stipend based outreach and education program for undergraduate juniors/seniors, graduate students, recent graduates and career changers from communities of color, designed to educate a new generation of diverse documentary filmmakers and media activists.*

*DAN: So what inspired you to make Iraq for Sale?*

ROBERT: We'd been discussing whether to do something that would be out roughly sometime before or just after the November 2006 elections. Brave New Films had just finished the Wal-Mart film and I was anxious not to do something right away because the efforts that went into the Wal-Mart film were fairly substantial.

But, a friend of mine Bob Borosage runs this think tank in Washington, D.C. called Campaign For America's Future. We were on a call with him, I think maybe we're talking about doing short pieces around issues, not campaigns, not politicians. We had a bunch of ideas which we thought were great. But he still said no. And he said, 'what you really need to do is war profiteering.' The minute I heard it I had a flash - just like A HA!

I didn't know what it would be exactly but I had a pretty strong visceral response that: A, nobody was doing it and B, it had the possibility of being very powerful. I was generally aware that corporations were making enormous profits off of war. I didn't know lots of facts and figures, but I had an overall sense.

What I didn't know was the amount of graft and corruption and cheating that was going on. And the big shocker, was the fact that corporations in doing what they do, cutting corners to increase profits, were resulting in people being killed. That was an eye opener to all of us.

*ANNE: What's the most surprising bit of information you've learned since you started working on the piece?*

ROBERT: I think it's probably the KBR stuff. What I found with KBR and this is probably similar to Wal-Mart in a way. Is the way the culture of a corporation permeates through all levels. You see how it filters down and people's lives are at stake, not just their jobs. And I think the wide spread fact that it's affecting people on so many levels- the truck drivers safety, the food, to the water- it's very upsetting.

It was tough watching some of these dailies and knowing that these people who are trying to do the right thing are being sacrificed to a brutal bottom line.

*KIM: What has it been like for you seeing the story come together from sort of the rough outline that you had to finally where it is now and it's kind of fully coming together as a story?*

ROBERT: Well, it's been interesting because with *Wal-Mart* and the other films I never had an outline. It took Sarah or Carla or somebody that studied film, studied documentaries which I'd never done, to say 'You know, you really should do an outline first.' That's a good idea I though.

With the other films we were really walking a tight rope which was starting to film with no outline, no story and just figuring we'd make it work out. So with *Iraq for Sale* it's been good because it

gave us a structure and in fact the Blackwater and Abu Ghraib sections pretty closely followed my original outline.

*KIM: What did you learn from working on Wal-Mart and some of the other films that you were able to apply working on this project?*

ROBERT: It's interesting, I was thinking about it last night, one of the many nights of not sleeping while I was working on the film. I think that this is a movie that's in some ways a combination of my other documentaries. Because it has the personal story telling of *Wal-Mart* and it has some of the experts that *Uncovered* and *Outfoxed* had. So stylistically and content wise, I think this one may be an amalgam of the others. But the big lesson for me with *Wal-Mart*, it's also the big lesson of everything I've been reading about research in changing people's minds, is that despite liberals and progressives' views that facts change the world, facts and statistics are completely irrelevant in terms of really changing people's minds.

What affects people is human stories told by credible messengers. And that's the exciting thing, what I love, about these films. As incredibly hard as they are to make, is that we're telling stories and people will remember stories. You know, when you watch these truck drivers in this movie, there's no doubt in anybody's mind they're telling the truth 100%. Somebody gets up there with facts, well then somebody else gets up with another set of facts or numbers or charts or graphs. I think, finally it's irrelevant to decision making. As we're learning with politicians where people are voting for politicians around the story they tell, not around the positions they take.

*ANNE: So what is your ultimate hope or goal for the picture once it's finished and out there?*

ROBERT: Well, it's kind of amazing you know, thinking about these little movies. Produced in this little converted motel in Culver City with all of us working very hard in crammed tiny offices, is that with *Wal-mart* and *Outfoxed* they've actually gotten out and forced a debate.

And we haven't made the world better instantly but it's forced people to talk about issues. They talk about Fox News differently. Still do. With *Wal-Mart*, the affect on the company was huge. I mean, we were laughing in the BNF meeting the other day... They've hired a nun. They've hired an environmentalist all these people, in an effort to try to clean up their act. Who knows how far they'll go and how much of it is just window dressing. It's too soon to tell but what I hope is that we can force the issue of war profiteering to be talked about. And, that has to do with the film and our alternative distribution and all the hard organizing and distribution work that's going on.

*DANIEL: Why tell people about this particular issue in this fashion?*

I think part of that goes back to the story thing, you know it's very hard to cover a number. And the numbers are staggering. Six billion dollars they can't find? It's insanity. But that's one line and it's gone, versus Ben Carter or Hollie or you know, Shane - real people with heartbreaking stories. I think that with a phenomenal amount of hard work and a little bit of luck, we can maybe have people talking about this in September or October because it's an election cycle. And while I don't personally say who we should vote for or not, I don't think that's our job, the film certainly says this is an issue that you can hold politicians to a standard. How did you vote in the past, how are you gonna vote in the future, if you take money from these guys are you still gonna do anything, are you going to provide oversight? And even the bigger idea of profiting from war. That very idea, even in a capitalist system, should people be able to profit off war when our troops are dying? That was the Truman thing. His idea was nobody should be profiteering. Nobody should be choosing profit over patriotism.

**IRAQ FOR SALE: THE WAR PROFITEERS**  
**October 8th-14th, 2006**

**PATRIOTISM OVER PROFIT**  
**SCREENING WEEK**

On Sunday October 8th, the Robert Greenwald and Brave New Films documentary *Iraq For Sale: The War Profiteers* began screening in homes, recreation halls, churches and community meeting rooms across the country. In order to make the biggest impact and have as many people as possible see this film, we teamed up with almost 100 influential and far-reaching organizations to fight profiteering. We have also created an Action Guide with the help of 12 of those partners. The guide contains suggestions from these different organizations as to what you can do to become involved and solve the problem. With these partners, we set up a full week of screenings with over 4000 screenings during the week. Activities for the screenings included a conference call each evening with principles from the film and the heads of some of our partner organizations. Producer/Director Robert Greenwald was present on all the calls through the entire week.

The themes for each day were as follows:

**Sunday October 8th -**  
**War Profiteering is Immoral**

The path to personal morality is difficult. Faith-based Americans must join together a love of God and a love of country. When you learn about something immoral being done, what is your responsibility?

The discussion will focus on the power that religious groups have over decisions made by corporations. Can the pulpit be used to influence a congregation? Should core moral values taught in churches extend to followers everyday attitudes? Do corporations have any religious beliefs?

**Monday October 9th -**  
**Businesses can be Patriotic**

We live in a democratic society where we are encouraged to make a profit in our business ventures. There is nothing wrong with capitalism. If your company has the ability to make money then it should, but should there be a different standard when the country is at war and families across America are making the ultimate sacrifice for freedom.

Should there be special legislation in place to prevent businesses from making a profit during wartime? Can we have a modern day Truman Commission? Is there ever such a thing as too much profit? Should corporations be more accountable to the public? Is there a way to make a profit and be socially responsible? How can an ordinary citizen make a big corporation listen to their concerns?

**Tuesday October 10th -**  
**Profiting from Torture is Criminal**

Torture as a method of obtaining information has been debated for hundreds of years. We will not argue the legitimacy of either side of this debate. What has been put in place and accepted across the world are certain standards of behavior covered in documents such as the Geneva Convention. In Iraq, private security firms have hired interrogators and translators who are not in the military and whose actions are seemingly unaccountable to America, Iraqi and International law.



During this evening we will be talking about who we should be holding accountable and how we can prevent this from happening in the future. Should only military personnel be used to interrogate suspects? Why isn't the Uniform Code of Military Justice applicable to private security firms? Are all human rights abuses reported? Is there anything ordinary citizens can do to prevent these abuses from happening?

**Wednesday October 11th -  
Future Costs of War Profiteering**

The involvement of young people in the democratic process has been a focus issue for several years. The military recruits youth by going to local high schools and malls. How important is it for young people to be involved? Do young people have the focus and determination to have their voices heard? Will a big corporation listen to a young person just out of college who has no financial stake in the company? What options do young people have for making a difference? What is the cost that the youth of America will have to pay over the coming years?

**Thursday October 12th  
Working Families before Profit**

Ordinary everyday working families are getting the shaft. The same Americans whose sons, daughters, husbands and wives are going to Iraq for this war, are being penalized by the big corporations who are profiteering. Although the CEO's and chief executives of these corporations have seen their income go up as much as 10 times, the ordinary worker has seen only a cost of living pay raise (if that).

In Iraq hundreds of civilian contractors have been killed while performing non-combat tasks. What is the responsibility of the corporations to these workers? Are the workers made aware of the dangers they face? Are the workers armed and adequately protected? Do unions provide any basic 'worker rights' to the contractors in Iraq? How can we make sure that corporations are not taking advantage of people desperate for a paycheck?

**Friday October 13th  
Soldiers before Profiteers**

The supposed cost saving measures corporations who have military contracts have put into place put the corporations' profits squarely in front of the soldiers' safety, comfort and well being. Corporate executives in Iraq have all the comforts of home, while soldiers' make due with cots, contaminated water, sub-standard food, and a lack of protective gear.

Veterans know the price of war better than any other group. In this war more than any war previously, soldiers are working side-by-side with civilian contractors. Does working with so many contractors matter to the troops? What is the general feeling for contractors? The pay for contractors is much better than for the troops; what is the feeling about soldiers who become civilian contractors?

**Saturday October 14th  
Demand Congress Stop War Profiteering**

The one thing every citizen of the United States can do to make their opinion known is to vote. Voting means more than just choosing a President. Voting is done on every level and affects every facet of your life from taxes to road repairs to cable television bills. You must register to vote and you must show up to vote. Why is voting important? How can we making voting as easy as possible? What do I say to make the people around me understand the importance of voting?

## TRUMAN FOR TODAY

By Richard Jacobs

History will explain Iraq, but one thing is clear: the rapacious profiteering that has occurred as a result of Bush Administration policies offering up no-bid, unsupervised contracts to a small group of well connected American corporations has alienated Iraqis, killed American soldiers and contractors and damaged American credibility more than the war itself. American companies have made literally billions of dollars in profits taking on jobs that in the past the military would have conducted on its own. That the Pentagon sought out help from the private sector is not new. What is new is that depth and breadth of that “help” and the total lack of oversight.

Even during World War II, hardly a war of choice as was Iraq, Democratic Senator Harry Truman convened a special Senate committee that met over 1,000 times all over the country to investigate allegations of price gouging and profiteering. Yes, a Democrat questioned the contracts that had been let by a Democratic president (Franklin Roosevelt). The Truman Commission, as it came to be known, uncovered some \$160 billion (in today’s dollars) of profiteering that resulted in contracts being revoked and criminal charges. Senator Truman believed that the fighting men and women of America were owed the same patriotism from corporate America that they offered themselves.

Yet on numerous occasions, Senators have asked for Truman Commission style hearings to find out why Halliburton “lost” \$9 billion in cash, could not provide sanitary water for our soldiers, housed its executives in five star hotels while soldiers languished in tents, burned perfectly good cars and trucks simply to buy more new ones. Why did Blackwater, a private army that masquerades as a security company, cut corners and send four of its own men to death in Falluja two years ago, the result of which was a turning point in the occupation of Iraq that has today contributed mightily to the civil war in that country? Why have CACI and Titan, companies of which virtually no one in America has heard, sent in untrained and nearly useless translators and guards, who brought about the tragedies of torture, humiliation and national disgrace that are now known as Abu Ghraib?

Where was the oversight?

Once we are in a military action, the executive branch must lead, but the Congress must oversee. That’s what the separation of powers in the Constitution demands. Yet, for the past four years, the Congress has refused even to look, to ask questions, to demand answers. This happens to have occurred largely on party lines, meaning that Democrats have tried over and over to bring up the subject. Republicans have simply said no.

Why?

Who has what to hide?

Who wins and who loses with these contracts?

I come from a corporate and financial background. I believe firmly in capitalism. But I am appalled and nauseated by the lives that Halliburton, Blackwater, CACI and Titan have traded for money.

Since we began work on this film in February (2006), I have worked with politicians and groups all over the country trying to get the message of this film out, namely that we have to ask questions, to demand that Congress does its job. It appears that to do that, we need to make

some serious changes in Washington. I hope and expect that the American public will look at this film and demand change. Patriots seek justice. Without justice, America folds.

This has been and is a mission and labor of passion. The harder Robert Greenwald has worked, which is pretty damned hard by any standards, the more I have wanted to do. Rarely do we have heroes today. Robert is mine. Let's work to make our politicians into heroes again, into the people who give voice to democracy in the most troubled of times.

## FILMAKING BRAVE NEW FILMS STYLE

By Devin Smith

After finishing our last film, *Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price*, the Brave New Films team proudly proclaimed "we will not start another film without having financing for the film in place." Of course, we've said this before. However, this time we said it with great conviction. And, for good measure we added "we will not begin another film if we feel there is not sufficient time to adequately research the stories and produce the film in a manner more akin to traditional documentary filmmaking." Our collective thought had become "let's take our time to make our next project and let's make sure financiers are on board early."

On paper these proclamations read really well and sounded very nice but in reality that paper soon became nothing more than wallpaper. Why? Because we're not traditional filmmakers and we do not make conventional films. Once an idea takes hold, our mantra becomes "hold on to your hat because the roller coaster ride is about to begin." Not to anyone's real amazement, our proclamations were soon dismissed once we began tossing around ideas for our next project in one of our weekly brain storming sessions.

The idea which stuck the hearts and minds of the Brave New Films team was a film about war profiteering. Our preliminary research showed such gross negligence and such corporate malfeasance that we were convinced we had to make this film. The only drawback (at the time) was that we had to get it out as soon as possible which meant we only had a few months to make it. With the idea for the next project on the table, some preliminary research, a preliminary budget done, and with knowledge of how little time we would have to make this film, we took a BNF team vote to decide if we should move forward. If I remember correctly, Robert actually voted against making the film because of the short amount of time we had to make it. We all knew it would be a sacrifice, but we all came to the conclusion that this was such an important topic that we had to make the film – even if it meant working around the clock. The games had begun!

### **4 EMAILS. 9 DAYS. 3,006 PEOPLE. \$367,890.**

by Jim Gilliam

Toward the end of April 2006, we needed to decide whether we were going to make *Iraq for Sale*. Rick Jacobs had secured the only financial commitment: a pledge of \$100,000 contingent on whether we could raise an additional \$200,000. If we waited any longer to start filming, we'd never make a fall release. It was the end of the line.

Frustrated yet again that the money people weren't grasping our brilliant vision for the social impact *Iraq for Sale* would have, we discussed various schemes at our weekly meeting to find the \$200,000. We eventually decided to turn to the thousands of people who had purchased DVDs of our previous films and ask them to contribute \$50 each.

This was something I had always wanted to try, but we could never do it without going public about the topic of the movie, thereby tipping off the people we were investigating. But we just couldn't turn our backs on this story, so we decided to go public and see what happened.

Nine days and four emails later we had all the money we needed.

## STORY PRODUCERS ON THE MAKING OF IRAQ FOR SALE

### ON CLASS AND CORRUPTION

By Kerry Candea

Ruby, South Carolina, Silver City, New Mexico, and Manistee, Michigan form a geographical triangle on the map of the United States. Deep South, southwest, and upper mid west respectively, each town possesses its own micro-environment, Manistee on the shores of lake Michigan, Silver City within site of the tail end of the Rocky Mountains as they trail off into Mexico, and Ruby, a paradise of green for those who live in the single-family homes, the trailers and shacks that are still as ever present part of the rural South. Each of these towns is part of working-class America, a slice of the country that most of my friends and colleagues--most Americans, in fact--don't know or see, as we fly coast to coast, major city to major city. Each of these towns is home to a person, a character in *Iraq For Sale*. Shane Ratliff in Ruby, Edward Sanchez in Silver City, and Hollie Hulett in Manistee. All of them working-class Americans with a story to tell about war profiteering in Iraq, and the role that class plays in American life.

Ruby is lush, up country and piney woods South Carolina, distant from any major city, with narrow roads that take people from place to place, where the pace of life is as drawn out as the speech patterns of most residents. Stock cars are the only things that seem to run fast around Ruby, and the races are the most powerful draw for self-identified and proud "country folk." To talk stock cars with local residents is to enter into a passionate world of intense connoisseurship, with heroes and villains, intricate details about pit crews and driving strategies, and racing-family blood lines that would have made William Faulkner marvel at the dramatic possibilities.

Shane Ratliff lives in Ruby with his four children and wife, and has lived there all his life. Ruby is not really a town, but rather one of those mirages where the standard joke about blinking and missing the place applies. Shane was a driver too, but took to the 18 wheeler along America's languorous roads rather than the quick-banked oval. Shane is stocky and ruddy-faced, with a dramatic, crisp flat top that makes you think military, perhaps Marines if the extra pounds were reapportioned a bit. When he spoke to me he always said "yes sir" after a question, a polite and sure way to acknowledge my superior age. When he told his story about driving for Halliburton/KBR in Iraq, the words and sentences were sure and sincere, seductive even, as when he described, in his cautious but open manner, that since driving in Iraq he always kept his left fist clenched, the one where he held his knife at all times while driving. He can't help it. The trauma and fear from those roads had literally taken control of part of his body, a corporeal insult carried home courtesy of KBR and a reckless war.

As with almost all of our principle characters in *Iraq For Sale*, Shane signed on to go to Iraq mostly "for the money." He's a working class guy, like Edward Sanchez, like Hollie Hulett's husband Steve who was killed in Iraq in a criminally botched convoy run by KBR. And going to Iraq "for the money" means something different for America's working class, whether soldier or contract worker, than it does for corporate executives who make their bulky share from the comfort of enormous homes in the suburbs of Houston or Washington D.C. Shane wanted to "look out for his kids," Steve Hulett to work toward a decent, anxiety-free retirement, Edward Sanchez to just get a "cushion" for, perhaps, a future economic free fall. To be a member of America's working class today is to be constantly aware of "incoming" from all directions at once, a constant and nagging fear of falling as a way of life. The promises made by Halliburton and friends, easy money, tax-free, learn deep things from the bang-bang, probably looked good from the lower half of our nation's social pyramid.

This is part of the dirty little secret of American life, namely, that we live in a country where

class counts, where the politicians who demanded this war, or executives of Halliburton, Caci, Blackwater who are the war's enablers, will never, ever, worry about paying a bill, losing a home, taking care of a family health catastrophe, or have to believe that a much better life is just around the corner, perhaps in the bad bet of a lottery ticket or in another glorious world beyond this one. The wealthy, those with class position and purse, have different concerns than most of us, properly diversifying a stock portfolio perhaps, or what skid to grease to allow for a son or daughter's matriculation at Yale, Harvard, or Princeton. Those who have little patience for such talk about class in America might shrug contemptuously and mutter "free to choose," and point out that these men and women who signed on "for the money" and found that they also went "for the troops," possess free will, an opportunity to say yeah or nay, and that nothing more needs to be said.

But that is a tale half told, and told badly. The military itself is largely a job agency for the poor and working poor in the United States, a place to go when there is no place else to go. Some major corporations like Halliburton, those openly and grotesquely robbing the till in Iraq, have served the same purpose for those working people on the bad side of luck and circumstance; their siren call was sweet, provided one did not open one's eyes or ears and agreed to remain lashed to the mast.

Shane Ratliff opened both. What he saw was shocking at first, but approached the banal by the time his stay ended in Iraq. He saw \$80,000 dollar trucks left to rot for lack of an oil filter or spare tire. He saw new commercial heaters and air conditioners, thousands of dollars at a shot, thrown into the "burn pit": "They [Halliburton/KBR] just took a lot of nice reusable stuff and just threw it away is what they done. Wasting government money and property" He saw padding time cards, people paid to play, a usable car buried in the ground. Halliburton in Wonderland. Mad. "That don't make sense either, just to take stuff that costs that much and bury it and do away with it... It don't make sense to me just wasting government money, but that's Halliburton." "But that's Halliburton", a new commercial jingle, that is if there was truth in advertising.

And again, "there's not a value, a dollar amount you can put on your life. And big companies will lie to you. Just like some individuals will lie to you. Anything that sounds too good to be true, usually is."

Shane says he was more compassionate, more loving, before he left for Iraq. I suppose a year in the land of grab, in the culture of greed and grin, with the likes of Halliburton as a model for virtue and good service, would make anyone slightly jaundiced, slightly whacked in one's angle on the world, especially when one is told that crooked lines are really straight, and that the "fog of war" can explain all mistakes and failures.

The rhetoric coming out of the White House that the war, contrary to the common street wisdom, is actually going well is an absolute truism. The war is going well for Halliburton/KBR, for Caci, for Blackwater, for a host of other companies and their CEO's whose salaries are based on quarterly earnings and bullish stocks. The war is going well. But, as his saying goes, "anything that sounds too good to be true, usually is."

Shane Ratliff is now, in Ruby, fighting to win back his good cheer, trying to settle back in with the normal ebb and flow of baseball games, lake swimming, work and just passing time with the time that is left to him. There are some things that are constant in life, some things that are profoundly disruptive. Three strikes and you're out is one of the former. War is of the latter. Then there are some things that are guaranteed to break your heart. To see your own people robbed under the cover of patriotic service- that counts as a heart breaker. To have people see the robbery, report it, and have nothing done about it, that counts as a heart breaker. To have traveled to fifteen states, and heard similar stories as those above, told over and over by people who worked for Caci, Halliburton, Titan, from soldiers who saw, up close, how petty pilfering and

grand theft go down, that counts as heart-rending, also.

Bad heartbreaks never heal completely, I don't think, but can only be patched and puttied, and carried on with. But time--history is probably the correct term--can sometimes do good work, that is if people, in unison, push for a redress of wrongs, a recalibrating of justice, fairness. Iraq, to this point, has been for sale. There is no need to let this go on much longer.

## **MY FIRST CEASE AND DESIST LETTER**

By Amanda Spain

On July 25<sup>th</sup>, 2006 I arrived.

It was a morning like any other. I had woken up early, walked my dog, had a cup of coffee and checked my e-mails. First thing in the morning I am always prepared for my inbox to be full because Robert wakes up at ...well....hmmm...actually I don't think he sleeps. Anyway that means there are usually a number of emails waiting for me by 8 am.

On this morning the load was light. I answered what I needed to and prepared to journey ALL the way to Culver City from my little house on the East Side of Los Angeles. As I drove on the 10 West I sang along to Big & Rich and other country favorites. I was happy as if I knew something good was around the corner. I turned that corner and parked. "Good Morning Fellow Workers", I said as I walked in the office. I think I heard birds chirping as we all greeted the day with a positive liberal attitude. Again I sat in front of my computer and went to my inbox. There were more little treasures of unread joy awaiting me. One name did not look familiar. "I wonder who it could be" I thought. Then I remembered if I want to find out all I have to do is click, which I did. There was no text only an attachment. I downloaded the attachment and with one download my life changed forever...

The first line read Dear Mr. Greenwald and Ms. Spain...Oh *my gosh is this what I think it is?* I keep reading... Blah..blah...blah CACI...blah.....blah ....blah **Cease and Desist**. The letter head is from an attorney's office and I quickly realize I have received a cease and desist letter. It has been addressed to me. This is so fucking cool. I have actually managed to somewhat scare a multi-billion dollar private military contracting company. They now know that I know who they are and what they are.

Okay listen, I know they are not shaking in their gold plated loafers but at least I helped make them take the one minute it took them to call their attorney and the 2 minutes it took their lawyer to draft the letter to think about profiteering. Trust me, it only took him two minutes because as far as attorney letters go this one was pretty mediocre. That's okay I am still going to frame the letter anyway.

## LEVI IN TEN

by Abbie Hurwitz

Levi was sweet and soft spoken. At 22, he didn't yet have a college degree and expressed remorse that he didn't get one online like many of the other soldiers at his base in Iraq. He laughed quietly telling stories of his platoon and cried when talking about the 8 year-old girl who became his pen-pal through booksforsoldiers.com. She called him her soldier hero, and he surprised her with a visit when he returned to the states last March. He took her to Disneyworld and visited her second grade class. That weekend was one of the greatest of his life.

Levi said that once you join the military, you never leave it behind, it's always a part of your life. He was optimistic for his return to Iraq.

He said that pretty much everyone knew that contractors made higher salaries than they did. It's part of the rumor mill on the base: one day you'd hear that a contractor from one company makes one amount, and the next day you'd find out that a different contractor working for a different company makes even more. He professed strong opposition to the fact that contractors got paid more than soldiers for doing similar work, especially when soldiers were over there fighting, risking their lives.

Towards the end of April we began contacting soldiers to learn more about their experiences with contractors in Iraq. Through online research we found soldiers who had publicly opposed the war, and we wanted to go a step beyond and reach those who were not vocal critics. To help with outreach, we brought on Camilo Mieja who had served in Iraq and therefore could cast the net further through his personal connections.

With Camilo's help, the stories we found were pretty incredible.

Soldiers had been getting violently ill from the water at their bases. Many said their living conditions were intolerable, sometimes with nothing substantial to eat for weeks, while three miles down the road contractors dined on lobster and stayed at five star luxury resorts. We were even told that one soldier's platoon got so sick of eating the exact same meal for months on end, for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, they resorted to killing live game for a change of taste.

There were entire platoons that spent the duration of their tours on "shooter missions," riding in KBR trucks protecting the drivers who were not allowed to bear arms (I thought civilians were in Iraq to free up troops for combat?). A former lieutenant said she was tasked with training a contractor who, once he was adequately trained, proceeded to take over her job.

One night Camilo called to tell me about someone in Texas I might want to speak with. He would be leaving for Iraq that Sunday and our only chance to interview him would be the following day. So I called to find out his story. His name was Levi.

Levi joined the military at 17, straight out of high school. Within his first month of basic training, 9/11 happened. He completed his 6 months of specialty training at Fort Bragg, and in March 2004 was deployed to Iraq. He had never heard of private contractors before Iraq, but said everyone in the army worked with them. When there's a problem, often a contractor is called in to fix it because contractors receive special security clearances soldiers don't.

The way Levi portrayed the contractor/solder relationship took a different turn from the other soldiers I'd spoken with. He characterized it as one of jealousy, "You're driving down the road and you look out your window and see contractors. They've got facial hair, they're wearing regular clothes, they're smoking cigarettes, and you're thinking, man, I wish I was doing that. You think, I'm gonna get home and go work for KBR. Make a buttload of money, retire at 30."



Despite initial hesitation, he agreed to speak on-camera. We scrapped together a crew in Texas and did the interview the following afternoon over a cell phone speakerphone.

Three days later, Levi returned to Iraq. On his first tour as a US soldier, he earned \$22,000. This time is different. He'll be a private contractor.

(and he'll make \$155,000)

## IRAQ FOR SALE EDUCATION AND OUTREACH PROGRAM

By Jim Miller

The education and outreach done by Brave New Foundation is an important part viewing the film. We do not rely on traditional distribution because we have found it more effective to reach people through schools, neighborhood organizations and their own homes. Traditional distribution does not allow for the conversation and discussion that is necessary after viewing one of our documentaries. We know that issues do not go away with the screening of a film, so we have built an infrastructure to keep the work around the issues alive and growing. Our strategy relies heavily on our e-mail list of 180,000, our 1400 Field Producers from across the country, our alternative publicity approaches, and our education and outreach with partner organizations.

As part of our plan we organized a week of House Meetings with the theme 'Stand For Patriotism Over Profit'. The week run from October 8th until October 14th. During that time there were over 4,000 House Screenings held across the country. Some screenings had as few as 10 people and other more than 300. On each evening there was a conference call with Director/Producer Robert Greenwald, people from the film and leaders from our partner organizations including Amnesty International, Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility, and Voters for Peace. In addition we are having education and outreach seminars with our partner organizations and in turn, these organizations will disseminate our film, education, and message to their memberships. We have over 100 partner organizations with varied core concerns including veterans groups, youth organizations, business leaders, faith-based groups, schools, and human rights activists.

Another big part of our Education and Outreach Program is an Action Guide which we formulated to be a 'go to' for civic engagement on the topics of human rights and war profiteering. With the help of Amnesty International, Human Rights First, Center for Corporate Policy, CorpWatch, World Policy Institute, and several other prominent organizations we have put together a guide that will help activate citizens. Each organization has contributed a piece that contains their specific action plan on the issues of human rights abuses and war profiteering in Iraq. This Action Guide will give viewers an opportunity to learn exactly what they can do to shift attitudes and make a change. The is available as a download on the Internet at [iraqforsale.org/dosomething.php](http://iraqforsale.org/dosomething.php). It has been set-up so that seasoned activists, and people who are newly inspired to participate, are given concrete ways to make a difference. We would like the people who view our film to continue their advocacy, so the contact information and mission statement of each organization is included in the Action Guide.

In order to ensure that as many people as possible see the film, we have started the Patriots Against War Profiteering program. Through the support of several donors, we have been able to sent out over 5000 free Iraq For Sale DVDs to schools, libraries, community groups and active military. We will be sending out more DVDs with the goal of 10,000 free DVDs distributed throughout the country and around the world.

We will help create, increase and strengthen mutually beneficial alliances with, and between, partner organizations to reinforce their messages and increase their efficacy. The most important thing that we accomplish is activating citizens to do something more than just watch a politically charged film and say 'Oh my'; we make certain that our viewers know they can contribute to *make the difference*. Voting is the first step, but it is also extremely important to keep people activated once they are aware by detailing how they can form groups and community organizations that will hold the US government accountable to being the leader by example in the International community.

## FILMMAKER BIOS

### **ROBERT GREENWALD**

#### ***Director and Producer***

Robert Greenwald is a producer, director and political activist. His newest documentary IRAQ FOR SALE: THE WAR PROFITEERS exposes what happens when corporations go to war. Greenwald is the director/producer of WAL-MART: THE HIGH COST OF LOW PRICE (2005), a documentary that uncovers the retail giant's assault on families and American values and OUTFOXED: RUPERT MURDOCH'S WAR ON JOURNALISM (2004). He also executive produced a trilogy of political documentaries: UNPRECEDENTED: THE 2000 ELECTION; UNCOVERED: THE WAR ON IRAQ (2003), which Greenwald also directed; and UNCONSTITUTIONAL (2004).

BRAVE NEW FILMS, Greenwald's new media company, uses film to tell stories that build movements and influence debate about the most important issues of the day. Brave New Films released the THE BIG BUY: TOM DELAY'S STOLEN CONGRESS in May of 2006 and recently produced two TV series: ACLU FREEDOM FILES and THE SIERRA CLUB CHRONICLES – which can be seen on Link TV, Court TV (ACLU) and via the internet.

In addition to his documentary work, Greenwald has produced and/or directed more than 50 television movies, miniseries and feature films, including: THE BOOK OF RUTH (2004), based on the best selling book by Jane Hamilton; THE CROOKED E: THE UNSHREDDED TRUTH ABOUT ENRON (2003); THE BURNING BED, starring Farrah Fawcett as an abused housewife; SHATTERED SPIRITS, starring Martin Sheen, about alcoholism; and FORGOTTEN PRISONERS, about the work of Amnesty International.

Greenwald also produced and directed the feature film, STEAL THIS MOVIE, starring Vincent D'Onofrio as 60's radical Abbie Hoffman, as well as BREAKING UP, starring Russell Crowe and Salma Hayek.

Greenwald's films have garnered 25 Emmy nominations, four cable ACE Award nominations, two Golden Globe nominations, the Peabody Award, the Robert Wood Johnson Award, and eight Awards of Excellence from the Film Advisory Board. He was awarded the 2002 Producer of the Year Award by the American Film Institute. Greenwald has been honored for his activism by the ACLU Foundation of Southern California; the L.A. chapter of the National Lawyers Guild; Physicians for Social Responsibility; Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy and the Office of the Americas. He is a co-founder (with Mike Farrell) of "Artists United," a group of actors and others opposed to the war in Iraq, which continues to work toward publicizing progressive causes. Greenwald has lectured at Harvard University for the Nieman Fellows Foundation for Journalism and speaks frequently across the country about his work.

**RICK JACOBS**  
***Co-Executive Producer***

Richard Jacobs is Co-founder and Chair of Brave New Films as well as Chair of the Courage Campaign, an independent political committee on progressive issues in California ([www.couragecampaign.org](http://www.couragecampaign.org)). Mr. Jacobs chaired the presidential campaign of Howard Dean in California and is currently Senior Advisor to Howard Dean's political action committee, Democracy for America.

Mr. Jacobs is actively involved in a number of community organizations and serves on several private and public policy Boards including: a Director of the Liberty Hill Foundation; a Director of The Eisenhower Institute; a member of the Board of ANGLE; a member of the Board of Visitors of the University of Tennessee College of Liberal Arts; and a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy. He has served on: the Advisory Faculty of the Institute of Private Investors; the Defense Science Board Task Force on Defense Diversification, U.S. Department of Defense, which advised former Secretary of Defense William Perry on defense conversion in the former Soviet Union; as a Director of the American-Russian Cultural Cooperation Foundation; as a Director of Food & Friends and as a member of the Shepard Stone East-West Study Group of the Aspen Institute of Berlin.

From 1999-2003, Mr. Jacobs worked with a *Forbes 400* family in the Los Angeles area managing investments. Prior to that, he served as acting COO of Marvel Enterprises, Inc., a NYSE company, which had just emerged from bankruptcy. At Marvel, Mr. Jacobs led the administrative reorganization of the company, including a successful \$250 million debt financing.

Mr. Jacobs was President and Chief Executive Officer of Newstar, Inc., a Washington, D.C.- and Moscow-based merchant banking and investment advisory firm focusing on the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and Central Europe. He held this position since founding the firm in May 1991 with Ambassador Howard H. Baker, Jr., the former U.S. Senator and White House Chief of Staff.

Newstar's business activities have included: the design and execution of the Lockheed-Khrunichev-Energia joint venture (with which the company worked closely with former Defense Secretary William Perry) which became the most successful defense conversion joint venture between the countries with satellite launch bookings in excess of \$1.2 billion; a successful Russian government bond and equity portfolio; and its current management of an 18-acre warehouse facility near Moscow.

Prior to establishing Newstar, Mr. Jacobs served as Assistant to the Chairman of Occidental Petroleum Corporation, Dr. Armand Hammer, from 1983 through 1990. In 1985, Mr. Jacobs was elected Vice President of Occidental (the youngest officer in the company's history) with responsibility for all activities of the Office of the Chairman, including US and international government and business contacts at the highest levels.

Before joining Occidental, Mr. Jacobs served as International Director of the 1982 World's Fair in Knoxville, in which he was responsible for international marketing and managing exhibitor relations with participating countries including heads of state, heads of government and other U.S. and international leaders. Mr. Jacobs was instrumental in securing the participation of the People's Republic of China for the first time in the history of World's Fairs in the United States.

Mr. Jacobs serves frequently as a commentator and speaker on national politics and the FSU. He has appeared on *The News Hour with Jim Lehrer*, *To The Point with Warren Olney* on NPR and at the Milken Institute Global Conference.

## **DAL LAMANGA**

### ***Executive Producer***

Dal LaMagna is the founder of the Progressive Government Institute. The Progressive Government Institute is a non-partisan, educational organization dedicated to ensuring transparency and accountability in the executive branch of the federal government. At its website over 2,500 of the President's 6,000 appointees are profiled. He merged the Progressive Government with The Backbone Campaign which promotes a progressive "shadow government".

Dal LaMagna is also known as Tweezerman. He founded the company 1980 and has built it into a multi-national premier personal care tool brand that practices responsible capitalism. Part of the company's mission is to benefit all stakeholders: including financial partners, employees, customers, vendors, the community and the natural environment. Dal sold the company in December of 2004 to the Zwilling, J.A. Henckels Company, a privately held company that continues its practice of responsible capitalism.

Dal served on the Advisory Board of Directors of the Social Venture Network which is a group of responsible capitalists promoting social and economic justice through business. He is a member of Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities which is working to move funding out of defense to social programs and Responsible Wealth, an organization fighting the repeal of the estate tax. He serves on the Dean's Council for the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. He is on the Board of Directors of the Bainbridge Graduate Institute, an MBA program that is "Changing Business For Good".

Currently Dal is a progressive activist. Some of the organizations he works with include: Codepink, The Rainforest Action Network, Yes Magazine, and the League of Pissed Off Voters. Some of the sustainable and socially responsible businesses he is a partner or investor in include: Air America Radio, the Huffington Post, The Domini Social Equity Fund Management Company, Ice-Stone where he serves on its Board of Directors. He is an Executive Producer of "The Ground Truth" and Co-Executive Producer of "The War Tapes".

Dal ran for U.S. Congress twice in the 3rd Congressional District, New York as the Democratic and Green candidate in 1996 and 2000. Currently he is working closely with Congressman Jim McDermott raising funds for his legal expenses resulting from Majority Leader John Boehner's lawsuit against him.

Dal received his MBA from Harvard in 1971 and an MPA in 2002 at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government where he was named a Littauer Fellow. He graduated Providence College. He spent his Junior Year at the University of Fribourg Switzerland.

## **JIM GILLIAM**

### ***Producer***

Jim Gilliam is a former dot com executive turned activist filmmaker. He is Vice President of Brave New Films and has helped produce Robert Greenwald's documentaries: "Uncovered", "Outfoxed", "Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price", and "Iraq for Sale". He is spending much of his time lately creating Brave New Theaters, the people-powered movie distribution platform.

In the wake of 9/11, Gilliam left his position as chief technology officer of high-profile search engine Business.com and devoted his time to more pressing matters. Through MoveOn.org, in 2003, he hooked up with veteran filmmaker Robert Greenwald to research and help produce the groundbreaking documentary, "Uncovered: The War on Iraq" about the faulty intelligence that led the U.S. to war. Bringing together the worlds of film, politics, and the internet, "Uncovered" defined a new generation of films -- the grassroots political documentary. Gilliam then co-produced Greenwald's next film, "Outfoxed: Rupert Murdoch's War on Journalism," an unprecedented look at the propaganda techniques of FOX News.

Prior to Business.com, Gilliam was the chief architect at eCompanies, a venture capital firm and incubator in Santa Monica, and a principal software engineer at Lycos, one of the first internet search engines. He has been blogging at jimgilliam.com since 1999, has survived cancer twice, and is currently in desperate need of a double lung transplant.

## **DEVIN SMITH**

### ***Producer***

Devin Smith is the Vice President of Operations and Development at Brave New Films. Previously, he was a producer at Robert Greenwald Productions where he co-produced the critically acclaimed documentaries *Outfoxed* and *Uncovered*. Smith also produced several segments of a series entitled From the Left Coast, which aired on the Link Television satellite network. At Brave New Films, Devin produced the widely heralded documentary *Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price*. He was also the supervising producer for two documentary television series: *The ACLU Freedom Files* and *The Sierra Club Chronicles* which aired on Court TV and Link TV, respectively. Originally from North Carolina, Devin received a B.S. degree in business from Wake Forest University's Wayne Calloway School of Business and Accountancy. Prior to producing film and television projects, Devin founded and operated a graphics company (Ideas to Images) and worked for several years for DownHome Entertainment in North Carolina. Devin Smith is also a graduate of the American Film Institute where he earned the degree of Master of Fine Arts in Motion Picture Producing.

## **SARAH FEELEY**

### ***Producer***

Sarah Feeley is the Vice President of Production at Brave New Films. She recently co-produced *Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price*. Prior to joining Robert Greenwald and his mighty group of activist filmmakers, Sarah spent four years in animation development and production where she worked on the stop motion animated feature film: TIM BURTON'S CORPSE BRIDE. During the 2004 Presidential Election, Sarah was a field staff organizer for the Arizona Democratic Party where she led Get Out The Vote efforts that helped add two new Democrats to the Arizona State Legislature. Previously, Sarah worked in marketing for Sony Pictures Consumer Products on merchandising programs for Sony's feature film and television properties. Sarah received her B.A. in history from Boston College and is a graduate of The Peter Stark Producing Program at USC where she earned her Master in Fine Arts in Motion Picture Producing.

**Kerry Candaele**  
***Story Producer***

Born in Vancouver, Canada, Kerry Candaele grew up in Lompoc, a small working-class town on the central coast of California.

After studying literature at Chico State University, and history at U.C. Santa Barbara, and Columbia University--where he was a Richard Hofstadter Fellow in U.S. history--Kerry taught history and politics at various colleges including Occidental College and Cal State Dominguez Hills in California.

Before coming to Brave New Films, Mr. Candaele worked for the Democracy Council, a Los Angeles-based NGO, concentrating on peace and democracy-building projects throughout the Middle East, Central America, and South East Asia, including East Timor. He was a co-producer for Brave New Film's *Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price*.

He is the author of two books on U.S. history, and many articles in both popular and academic periodicals. He resides in Venice, California, with his wife and three daughters. Kerry is now working on a documentary film and book about Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

**Abbie Hurewitz**  
***Story Producer***

Prior to her work on *Iraq For Sale*, Abbie Hurewitz was head copywriter and broadcast producer at a New York ad agency. She studied anthropology and ethnographic filmmaking in college, and has worked in a variety of capacities on a broad range of reality-based projects: director of production at an educational video website, production associate on a feature length doc, post production on an A&E reality series, researcher on a four part PBS doc, and video arts teacher at an after-school program.

**Amanda Spain**  
***Story Producer***

Amanda Spain was born in Dickinson, Texas. She moved to Los Angeles to attend the University of Southern California where she received a degree in Gender Studies and a minor in Theater. She joined the Brave New Films family to work on the *Sierra Club Chronicles*.

Amanda has one goal in life to turn Texas blue. Some may call her a dreamer but where would the world be without dreams?

**Lisa Remington**  
***Line Producer/Post Supervisor***

Lisa Remington graduated from NYU's Tisch School of the Arts in 2001 where she received her BFA in *Theater and Gender Studies*. Ms. Remington soon relocated to Los Angeles where she began working for the late Robert Guenette and the Los Angeles Media & Education Center (LAMEC) and was first exposed to the world of documentary. It was under Mr. Guenette's influence that Lisa's love for documentary; particularly about social conscience, was born (and coincidentally attended her first protest).

Lisa has a varied background of credits from large-scale live-action commercial projects to minimalist documentary/news-style shoots. Ms. Remington feels blessed to be apart of the Brave New Films team and working (and surviving) in the world of documentary.

Other credits include "Rough Cut LA," Daily Entertainment Programming (LTN) "We're Here to Remember with Leslie Jordan", half-hour Special for World AIDS Day (Here! TV); "Artist Film Festival Celebrity Tributes to Mira Sorvino & James Cromwell" (Artist Collective); "Urban Frontier" (C4 Cinema Collective), "Are We There Yet Hong Kong" (Travel Channel/Discovery Communications), "Next Stop: New You" Seasons 1 & 2, Integrated Marketing Reality Series (MediaVest/Autonomy Inc.); and Emmy-nominated "Young & the Restless Main Title".

### **Carla Gutiérrez**

*Editor*

Carla Gutiérrez is a Los Angeles based filmmaker and editor. She received a Masters in Documentary Film and Video from Stanford University.

Her editing credits include THE FALL OF FUJIMORI (2005 Sundance Film Festival); RECALLING ORANGE COUNTY (funded by ITVS and LPB and slated for national PBS broadcast fall 2006), BRAGGING RIGHTS (funded by LPB and to be broadcast on WNET this fall), and THE MIGHTY WARRIORS OF COMEDY (Summer 2006 Truly California broadcast on KQED). Carla's television work includes THE SIERRA CLUB CHRONICLES, a TV series funded by the Ford Foundation, produced by Brave New Films and broadcast on Link TV.

Carla's own work has been awarded Best Documentary Short at the Sonoma Film Festival, First Look Student film festival, New York International Latino Film Festival, and San Antonio CineFestival. Her films have also screened at Silverdocs AFI/Discovery Channel Documentary Film Festival, Mill Valley Film Festival, and the Amnesty International Film Festival. She was a recipient of the Princess Grace Award, a finalist for the Student Academy Award and was nominated for the prestigious IDA David L. Wolper Student Documentary Award.

### **JIM MILLER**

*Outreach*

Jim Miller is the Development Director for Brave New Foundation and the Education and Outreach organizer for the Brave New Films project 'Iraq For Sale: The War Profiteers'. Before joining the Brave New Family, Jim (or Jimmy as Robert calls him) produced the star-studded 'Les Girls' charity benefits for the National Breast Cancer Coalition. His film experience includes being the Director of Development for The Shooting Gallery, an independent film company which produced 'Sling Blade' and 'You Can Count on Me', and Head of Acquisitions for Cinema Park Distribution.

### **Tracy Fleischman**

*Communication*

Tracy Fleischman is Director of Communications for Brave New Films. A native of Los Angeles, Tracy holds a Bachelors degree in History from the University of California, Berkeley and a Masters degree in American Studies from the University of Texas, Austin where she studied social movements and the media. She started work on her PhD, but producing a documentary on Choice in Texas lured her away from studying the past and convinced her making films that build movements that change the world is where it's at.

Tracy joined Brave New Films in 2005. Prior to that she was a freelance researcher and writer for progressive organizations and documentaries. She has curated exhibits for Texas Parks and



Wildlife and the Harry Ransom Center, worked in development at KQED Public TV and Radio and completed an internship in film marketing at TBWA Chiat/Day.

**NICK HIGGINS**

***Director of Photography***

For the best part of the 1990's, Nick shot films clandestinely while being employed to sell GE's 747 aircraft engines in Hong Kong and Rio De Janeiro. The day his camera case outweighed his briefcase it was clear that a paradigm shift in careers was inevitable. A couple of years at graduate school gave him the unusual claim of being the first Scotsman to receive a Masters in Cinematography from the American Film Institute. Since graduating he's successfully integrated himself and his camera into groups as far reaching as Outlaw Bikers (*Hessians MC*), a Guru's retreat in the Indian Himalaya (*Himalaya Heaven*) and more recently the Boston Fire Department for the Discovery Channel. (*Firehouse USA*).

## BEHIND THE SCENES

### The Wiki

Collecting and organizing the monumental amount of research, production information, and footage for *Iraq For Sale* was essential to the smooth and speedy production of the film. With *Wal-Mart* Jim Gilliam implemented a Web-based “wiki” system which worked wonderfully. As soon as we started to collect research for *Iraq for Sale*, we set up a Wiki.

A “wiki” is a type of Internet software that allows users to create and edit Web page content – a sort of collectively managed master repository of knowledge. (A good example of the use of a wiki can be found at <http://www.wikipedia.org>.) Any user can create, edit, or improve upon anyone else’s page on the wiki – a reflection of the cooperative, free-spirited, grassroots “open-source” philosophy on which the wiki software was originally created.

For our production, this kind of collaborative, cross-referential structure was especially helpful. Because there were many people working on different aspects of the film, it allowed any of us to update and keep track of the material that we, as a team, had on any particular section of the film at any time.

In the early stages of production, research information about war profiteers was organized into a few broad categories; these categories were later re-organized as the body of the film began to take shape, and the actual content of the film began to be broken down into specific areas that we would cover. The wiki also helped with workflow; for example, a researcher would post information on certain pieces of archival footage, which the video researcher would then pick up on and work on obtaining the video from the original source. Later, as an enormous stream of print materials, original and archival footage began to pour into our production office, an index of these assets was also created on the wiki so we could keep track of the massive amounts of material in a relatively sane fashion.

### The Field Producers

One of the most incredible aspects of our production is the overwhelming support and contribution from people all over the country and the world. We have over 1400 field producers who have signed up to lend their skills to *Iraq for Sale*. Field producers do a variety of things – shoot video, search, contribute photos, email friends, hand-out flyers, distribute DVDs, etc., and they have made a real contribution to the film.

A core group of 10 research FPs have been instrumental to the making of *Iraq for Sale*-volunteering hours and wisdom to the production. Spread out across the U.S. these volunteers became an integral part of the work on the film.

## END CREDITS

### Filmmakers:

Produced and Directed by  
Produced by

Robert Greenwald  
Jim Gilliam  
Devin Smith  
Sarah Feeley  
Dal LaMagna  
Rick Jacobs  
Kerry Candaele  
Abbie Hurewitz  
Amanda Spain  
Lisa Remington  
Nick Higgins  
Carla Gutierrez  
Sally Rubin  
Tree Adams  
Kit Lubold  
Mike Beegle  
Tracy Fleischman  
Jim Miller  
Phil Kleinbart  
Lily Takanashi  
Larry Lessig

Executive Producer  
Co- Executive Producer  
Story Producers

Line Producer  
Director of Photography  
Editors

Music by  
Motion Graphics Editor  
Assistant Editor  
Communications  
Outreach  
Production Consultants

Legal Advisor

Assistant to Mr. Lessig

Elaine Adolfo

Brave New Foundation  
Open Door Training Program  
Trainees

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Daniel Dominguez  
Kim Huynh  
Nancy Mejia  
Anne Njoroge

Production Coordinator  
Research Coordinator  
Archival Coordinator  
Post-Production Supervisor  
Associate Editor  
DVD Extras Editor  
Additional Asst. Editor  
Music Supervisor  
Sound Designer  
Colorist  
Audio Mixer  
Audio Mixer  
Media Consultants

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Jaffar Mahmood  
Jay Redmond  
Lisa Remington  
Lissette Roldan  
Laura Almo  
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Walter New  
Keith Roush  
Ray Soldiuk  
Reid Caulfield  
Ken Sunshine  
Jesse Derris  
Rowen Warren, Inc.  
Jesse Haff  
Ayman Mohyeldin  
Abdel Karim Muhy

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Story Consultant  
Field Producer (Iraq)

Field Producer (Jordan)  
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Amy Flannery  
Jef Greilich  
Mel Henry  
Gretchen Hildebran  
Vanessa Holtgrewe  
Kevin Krupitzer  
Jojo Pennebaker  
Jonathan Schell  
Forrest Stangel  
Kaye Armstrong  
Dustin Bath  
Tom Burr  
Jonathan Cohen  
Kabe Cornell  
Wayde Duncan  
Amy Flannery  
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Katherine Leggett  
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Michael Primmer  
Dave Schaaf C.A.S.  
Thom Shafer  
Holly Sweet  
Ilana Urbach

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Rights & Clearances  
Transcribers

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Lisa Davis  
Jennifer Klein  
Alex Logan  
Adam Richman  
Hilari Scarl  
Rachel Yee-Horvath  
Nahrain Al-Mousawi  
Mike Hellerstein  
Olivia Killingsworth  
RicardoAcuna  
Blake Fiazi  
Christal Henry

Arabic Translator  
Executive Assistants

Runners

Production Accountant

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Media Services  
Aon/Albert G. Ruben Insurance Co.  
Aaron Edelson  
Shaun Kadlec  
Ellen Brodsky  
Larry Cashion  
Stephanie Clements  
Janie Cohen  
Michelle Fawcett  
Thalia Harithas  
Patrick Larson  
Brian O'Connell  
Liz Whittington

Production Insurance  
Interns

Field Producers

Archival Footage Provided By CNN

Department of Defense  
Pratap Chatterjee & David Martinez, CorpWatch  
Preston Wheeler

Abu Ghraib Photos Courtesy of Salon.com

"Samra'u min Qawm Isa"  
(Brown skinned girl from the people of Jesus)  
Written by: Traditional  
Arranged by: Saadoun Al-Bayati  
Performed by: Saadoun Al-Bayati  
Courtesy of: Samar Enterprises

"Gypsy II"  
(Music of the Ghajar/Iraqi gypsies)  
Written by: Traditional  
Arranged by: Saadoun Al-Bayati  
Performed by: Saadoun Al-Bayati  
Courtesy of : Samar Enterprises

For More Information, Please Visit:

- Alternet  
[www.alternet.org](http://www.alternet.org)
- Amnesty International  
[www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org)
- Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities  
[www.sensiblepriorities.org](http://www.sensiblepriorities.org)
- The Center for Corporate Policy  
[www.corporatepolicy.org](http://www.corporatepolicy.org)
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[www.worldpolicy.org](http://www.worldpolicy.org)

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