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Presents

# ***NO END IN SIGHT***

Written, Directed and Produced by

Charles Ferguson

**Winner**

**Special Documentary Jury Prize  
2007 Sundance Film Festival**

(102 mins, USA, 2007)

Distribution

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MEDIA

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## SYNOPSIS

The first film of its kind to chronicle the reasons behind Iraq's descent into guerilla war, warlord rule, criminality and anarchy, **NO END IN SIGHT** is a jaw-dropping, insider's tale of wholesale incompetence, recklessness and venality. Based on over 200 hours of footage, the film provides a candid retelling of the events following the fall of Baghdad in 2003 by high ranking officials such as former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, Ambassador Barbara Bodine (in charge of Baghdad during the Spring of 2003), Colonel Lawrence Wilkerson, former Chief of Staff to Colin Powell, and General Jay Garner (in charge of the occupation of Iraq through May 2003), as well as Iraqi civilians, American soldiers and prominent analysts. **NO END IN SIGHT** examines the manner in which the principal errors of U.S. policy – the use of insufficient troop levels, allowing the looting of Baghdad, the purging of professionals from the Iraqi government and the disbanding of the Iraqi military – largely created the insurgency and chaos that engulf Iraq today.

How did a group of men with little or no military experience, knowledge of the Arab world or personal experience in Iraq come to make such flagrantly debilitating decisions? **NO END IN SIGHT** dissects the people, issues and facts behind the Bush administration's decisions and their consequences on the ground to provide a powerful look into how arrogance and ignorance turned a military victory into a seemingly endless and deepening nightmare of a war.

The film systematically dissects the Bush administration's Iraq policy decisions and their consequences, which now include 3,000 American deaths and 20,000 American wounded, Iraq on the brink of civil war, hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilian deaths, the strengthening of Iran, the weakening of the U.S. military and economic costs of over \$2 *trillion*. It marks the first time Americans will be allowed inside the White House, Pentagon and Baghdad's Green Zone to understand for themselves the disintegration of Iraq.

## A HISTORY OF IRAQ

Located in the Middle East on the Persian Gulf, Iraq is a country roughly twice the size of the state of Idaho. It shares its eastern border with Iran, its northern border with Turkey, its western border with Syria and Jordan and its southern border with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Iraq's history as one nation dates back to shortly after the First World War. Up until that point, the geographical territory of present-day Iraq had been parts of various empires, most recently spending several centuries as part of the Ottoman Empire. But early in 1920 with World War I over and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, its holdings in the Middle East were split between France and Britain. The borders of Iraq were drawn by, and control over the state was given to, Great Britain. But by the end of World War II and the start of the Cold War, Britain's influence in the Middle East was waning and the United States rose to becoming the dominant western power in the region.

In 1958, a military coup in Iraq overthrew the line of monarchs that had ruled since the early 1920s and declared the country a republic. A ten-year long power struggle between various factions commenced until the Ba'ath party, under Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and Saddam Hussein, took firm control of the country in 1968. For the next decade, Hussein took steps to ensure that his path to succeed al-Bakr as President of Iraq was without any obstacles, purging rivals from the party. In 1979, al-Bakr stepped down and Hussein took his place. That same year Iraq's neighbor to the east, Iran, had its government overthrown by a revolutionary Islamic movement. Hussein, seeing both a threat and an opportunity to grab territory and resources, invaded Iran in 1980. The United States, which had supported the Shah of Iran and now faced an Iranian government hostile to Americans, gave support to Iraq in the form of money, weapons and military intelligence. The war lasted until 1988 and ended with a stalemate and cease-fire. Casualties approached a total of 900,000 on both sides and included Iraq's use of chemical weapons against the Iranian army, as well as in efforts to control its own Kurdish population.

In 1990, Iraq, still recovering economically from the war with Iran, invaded Kuwait. The United States led a U.N. military coalition to drive Iraqi forces from Kuwait in early 1991 but did not attempt to overthrow Saddam Hussein's government, hoping that task would be carried out by Iraq's people. But after violently putting down uprisings in Shi'ite and Kurdish areas, Saddam remained in power. The U.N. put economic sanctions into place against Iraq, but these hit the ordinary citizens of Iraq the hardest while having little to no effect on the country's leaders. The U.N. also sent in weapons inspectors to search for evidence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs, but the inspectors were hassled, delayed and eventually left the country in 1998 and were not allowed to return until December 2002.

## THE 2003 INVASION OF IRAQ AND ITS AFTERMATH

In 1998, the Project for the New American Century, a leading conservative think tank, sent an open letter to President Clinton urging him to recognize Iraq as a threat to the United States and begin taking steps to remove Saddam Hussein from power. Those signing the letter included Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz. In 2000, George W. Bush was elected President and Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and several other signatories of the letter were placed in top positions in the new administration. Less than a year later, the United States had gone through the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the possibility that Iraq could act as a source of weapons of mass destruction for terrorist groups seeking to use them against the United States created further cause for alarm. The Bush administration sought intelligence to confirm their suspicions about Saddam Hussein and found it in the form of Iraqi defectors supplied by the Iraqi National Congress, an opposition group in exile. Although some in the intelligence community were suspicious of the INC, the leadership in the White House and the Defense Department were convinced. Unable to gain the support of the United Nations, the U.S. assembled a coalition smaller than the one deployed against Saddam in the Gulf War of 1991. On March 20, 2003, the invasion began.

By early April, U.S. forces had reached Baghdad, facing little resistance from the Iraqi military along the way. On May 1, President Bush declared an end to major combat operations. The Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) was given the responsibility of overseeing postwar reconstruction of Iraq until an Iraqi-led civilian government was ready to take its place. Retired General Jay Garner, named head of ORHA in January 2003, took his post in Iraq in late April. But less than a month later, on May 11, he was replaced by Ambassador L. Paul Bremer and ORHA was replaced by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), which would oversee a much longer occupation and reconstruction period than was originally planned. Early CPA policies, including de-Ba'athification and the decision to completely disband the Iraqi Army, led to massive unemployment and unhappiness with the U.S. occupying forces. And this disappointment and poverty helped to fuel the growing insurgency and increasing sectarian violence that would follow.

## ABOUT THE FILMMAKER

### **Charles Ferguson, Producer/Director**

Berkeley, California, resident Charles Ferguson received his Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and has since been a visiting scholar there and at University of California, Berkeley. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a director of the French-American Foundation and CEO of Representational Pictures. A senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, Ferguson is the author of three books on information technology. He is also cofounder of Vermeer Technologies, the developers of FrontPage. **NO END IN SIGHT** is his first film.

## DIRECTOR Q&A W/ CHARLES FERGUSON

### ***What was your inspiration for becoming a filmmaker?***

I have always loved film and have long wanted to make films. But I also felt that it was imperative to make a rigorously accurate, comprehensive film about Iraq. As a political scientist with many friends in the foreign policy community, I have been quite disturbed at the quality of media coverage of the Iraq war and occupation. I felt that it should be possible to make a film that explained how and why Iraq has disintegrated in a way that was accurate yet accessible to a broad audience. I hope that I have succeeded.

### ***What is the greatest influence on your filmmaking?***

For this film, I very much felt the hand of my Ph.D. advisor, Carl Kaysen, who was Deputy National Security Advisor in the Kennedy administration, a remarkable man who taught me to think clearly and to take on large, important issues.

### ***What are interesting elements or stories about your film?***

While there is already wide recognition that American policy in Iraq involved many errors and has largely failed, this film is, I believe unique in two respects. First, it is a comprehensive portrait of occupation policies, their errors, and their consequences. Second, the film is the first detailed dissection of the extraordinary way in which some of these decisions were made – in secret, by a small number of men who had virtually no relevant experience and who either failed to consult with, or overruled, the people on the ground and the military.

INTERVIEW SUBJECTS
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**Faisal Al-Istrabadi** - Iraqi Ambassador to the United Nations  
**Chris Allbritton** - Journalist, *Time Magazine*  
**Richard Armitage** - Deputy Secretary of State, 2001-2005  
**James Bamford** - Author, *The Puzzle Palace* and *A Pretext for War*  
**Amazia Baram** - Professor of Middle East History, Former Advisor to Bush admin  
**Jamal Benomar** - Special Advisor, U.N. Development Program  
**Linda Bilmes** - Budgeting Specialist, Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University  
**Amb. Barbara Bodine** - In Charge of Baghdad for the U.S. Occupation  
**Gerald Burke** - Advisor to Iraq Ministry of Interior for the U.S. Occupation (CPA)  
**Ashton Carter** - Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, Clinton admin  
**Maj. Gen. Paul Eaton** - In charge of training new Iraqi Army, 2003-2004  
**Ali Fadhil** - Iraqi Journalist, Emigrated to U.S. 2006  
**James Fallows** - National Editor, *The Atlantic Monthly*, Author, *Blind into Baghdad*  
**Omar Fekeiki** - Office manager for the Baghdad bureau of *The Washington Post*  
**Marc Garlasco** - Senior Iraq Analyst, 1997-2003, Defense Intelligence Agency  
**Gen. Jay Garner** - Administrator, ORHA, Feb-May 2003  
**Ann Gildroy** - 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant, U.S. Marines  
**Hugo Gonzalez** - Field Artillery Gunner, U.S. Army  
**Joost Hiltermann** - Mideast Director, International Crisis Group  
**Col. Paul Hughes** - Director of Strategic Policy for the U.S. Occupation, 2003  
**Robert Hutchings** - Chairman (2003-2005), National Intelligence Council  
**Ray Jennings** - NGO Manager and Lecturer, Georgetown University  
**Seth Moulton** - Lieutenant, U.S. Marines  
**Mahmoud Othman** - Member of Iraqi Parliament  
**George Packer** - Journalist and Author, *The Assassins' Gate*  
**Robert Perito** - Director, Office of International Criminal Justice, 1995-2002, Department of Justice  
**Paul Pillar** - National Intelligence Officer for the Mideast (2000-2005), National Intelligence Council  
**Barry Posen** - Professor and Director, National Security Program, MIT  
**Samantha Power** - Author, "A Problem From Hell," Professor, Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government  
**Nir Rosen** - Journalist, Author: *In the Belly of the Green Bird*  
**Matt Sherman** - CPA Deputy Security Advisor to Iraqi Ministry of Interior  
**Walter Slocombe** - Senior Advisor for National Security and Defense, CPA  
**Yaroslav Trofimov** - Journalist, *The Wall Street Journal*, Author, *Faith at War*  
**Aida Ussayan** - Deputy Minister, Iraq Human Rights Ministry  
**Col. Lawrence Wilkerson** - Chief of Staff for Secretary of State Colin Powell, 2002-05  
**David Yancey** - Specialist, Military, U.S. Army

**Faisal Al-Istrabadi**

Faisal Al-Istrabadi is Iraq's Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations. He was born in the United States to Iraqi parents in exile and then returned to Iraq during his childhood. When Ba'athists took power in 1970 his family fled again. He would spend the next 33 years in exile.

During the 1990s, he became involved with the Iraqi opposition movement, writing articles for various publications in opposition to the Iraqi regime. He served as legal advisor to Adnan Pachachi during the meetings that followed the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March of 2003. He began serving Iraq at the U.N. in August of 2004.

**Chris Allbritton**

Beginning in the Fall of 2002, freelance journalist Chris Allbritton began publishing and editing his own online publication, Back to Iraq, on the war with Iraq. He entered the country on the heels of the U.S. invasion in April of 2003 and continued reporting from inside the country. In May 2004, *Time Magazine* brought him on as its regional correspondent. He continued covering events on the ground in Iraq until he left to cover the conflict between Lebanon and Israel from Beirut in the Summer of 2006.

Allbritton has written for *The Associated Press*, *The New York Daily News*, *The Boston Globe*, *New York* magazine and *Esquire*. He has a B.A. in journalism from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock and an M.S. from Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism.

## **Richard Armitage**

From 2001 to 2005, Richard Armitage served as Deputy Secretary of State. Taking office in March 2001, Armitage was part of the Bush administration's decision making team during the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and the 2003 invasion of Iraq. During the 2000 presidential election, Armitage was a member of a group of foreign policy advisors to Bush known as "The Vulcans." The group was composed of others who would eventually go on to hold government positions after Bush won the election, including its leader, current Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, current National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley and former Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.

Armitage graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1967. After graduation he served in Vietnam as an advisor to river forces. In 1973, he left active service and served with the U.S. Defense Attache Office in Saigon until the city's fall, when he oversaw the removal of naval assets and personnel from the country. After Vietnam, Armitage served as a Pentagon consultant in Tehran, Iran until 1976.

Upon returning to the U.S., he spent time in the private sector before serving on the staff of U.S. Senator Robert Dole and the Interim Foreign Policy Advisory Board of President-elect Ronald Reagan. During Reagan's presidency, Armitage returned to the Pentagon, first as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia and Pacific Affairs and then as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. During his time in the second post, he came under investigation for his knowledge of the Iran-Contra affair. The investigation concluded that Armitage, along with then-Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and future Secretary of State Colin Powell, had more detailed information about the affair than he had testified to.

During the presidency of George H.W. Bush, Armitage continued to hold positions in government, including Presidential Special Negotiator for the Phillipines Military Base Agreement, Special Mediator for Water in the Middle East and Coordinator for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to the new independent states of the former Soviet Union. During the 1991 Gulf War with Iraq, Armitage was named Special Emissary to King Hussein of Jordan. From 1993 until he joined the George W. Bush campaign as an advisor in 1999, he was president of Armitage Associates L.C., a consulting firm.

In November 2004, shortly after George W. Bush was reelected President, Armitage announced his resignation as Deputy Secretary State following the resignation of Secretary of State Colin Powell. He left upon the appointment of his successor in February 2005. Richard Armitage currently is President of the consulting firm Armitage International, L.C. and serves on the Board of Directors of international petroleum company ConocoPhillips and government IT supplier ManTech International Corporation.



## **James Bamford**

James Bamford is an award-winning journalist and author of several books. His most recent is *A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies*, in which he argues that U.S. intelligence agencies became too slow and institutionalized prior to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and then too politicized leading up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Bamford is also the author of two investigations of the National Security Agency: *The Puzzle Palace* and *Body of Secrets*. He has written articles for several publications, including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Rolling Stone* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. He was a Washington investigative producer for ABC's "World News Tonight" from 1989 until 1998. Bamford graduated from Suffolk University, served in the Navy during Vietnam and then returned to attend Suffolk University Law School on the G.I. Bill.

## **Amazia Baram**

Amazia Baram is a Professor of Middle East history at the University of Haifa, Israel, specializing in the study of Iraq. He is the author of three books on Iraq's history: *Culture, History and Ideology in the Formation of Ba'athist Iraq: 1968-1989*, *Iraq's Road to War* and *Building Toward Crisis: Saddam Husayn's Strategy for Survival*.

Professor Baram is the director of the Center for Persian Gulf Studies at the University of Haifa and has been a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian.

## **Jamal Benomar**

Jamal Benomar went to Iraq as principal political advisor to U.N. Special Representative to Iraq Sergio Vieira de Mello. Benomar was in New York on August 19, 2003, when de Mello and at least 21 others were killed in a bombing attack on the U.N. headquarters in Baghdad. He remained involved in U.N. activities in Iraq until late 2004.

Benomar is currently a diplomat with the U.N. involved in peace-building and post-conflict issues. He has served as Director of the Carter Center of Emory University and has a Ph.D. from the University of London and graduate degrees from the University of Rabat and the University of Paris.

## **Linda Bilmes**

Linda Bilmes is a lecturer at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, specializing in budgeting and public finance. With Joseph E. Stiglitz of Columbia University, she co-wrote a paper on the economic costs of the war in Iraq, measuring both immediate expenditures on the war and long term costs caused by increased oil prices, lost lives, medical treatment, losses to the workforce and other factors.

Bilmes served in the U.S. Department of Commerce from 1997-2001, holding the posts of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Chief Financial Officer and Assistant Secretary for Management and Budget. She has written for *The New York Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. Bilmes has a B.A. in government from Harvard and an M.B.A. from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

## **Barbara Bodine**

Ambassador Barbara Bodine was placed in charge of the city of Baghdad by the Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance. She left the position shortly after the invasion on May 11, 2003, not long after Amb. L. Paul Bremer was brought in to replace retired General Jay Garner.

Bodine is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service. She served as U.S. Ambassador to Yemen at the time of the U.S.S. Cole bombing in 2000. While Deputy Chief of Mission to Kuwait, she was held hostage in the U.S. Embassy when Iraq invaded the country in 1990. In the course of her career, she has also served in Hong Kong, Bangkok and several posts in Southwest Asia and the Arabian Peninsula. Bodine worked on the staffs of Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance and Senator Robert Dole. She has a B.A. in political science and Asian studies from the University of California at Santa Barbara and a Master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Massachusetts.

## **Gerald Burke**

Gerald Burke worked for the Coalition Provisional Authority as an advisor to Iraq's Ministry of the Interior. He was part of a team that conducted an initial assessment of what it would take to organize and train a new Iraqi police force and went on to serve as an advisor to that police force as it was trained, leaving Iraq in the Spring of 2005.

Burke served almost 25 years in the Massachusetts State Police before retiring with the rank of Major. In 1994, he worked for the U.S. Department of Justice on an assignment in Haiti. For eight years, he was director of the New England Institute of Law Enforcement Management at Babson College.

## **Ashton Carter**

Ashton Carter is a Ford Foundation Professor of science and international affairs at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. During the Clinton administration, he worked for the State Department as senior advisor to the North Korea policy review and for the Department of Defense as Assistant Secretary for International Security Policy.

Carter is one of the co-authors of *Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America* and *Making the Nation Safer: The Role of Science and Technology in Countering Terrorism*. He has written op-eds on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and counter-terrorism for *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Financial Times* and *The Boston Globe*. He has Bachelor's degrees in medieval history and in physics from Yale and a doctorate in theoretical physics from Oxford, which he attended as a Rhodes Scholar.

## **Paul Eaton**

Major General Paul Eaton was placed in charge of rebuilding the Iraqi Armed Forces from 2003-2004. Eaton left his previous assignment as Commanding General of the U.S. Army Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia to train and organize the Iraqi Army and Iraqi security forces following the disbanding of Iraq's army by the Coalition Provisional Authority.

Since leaving Iraq, Eaton retired from the armed forces and has been critical of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's handling of the war. In March of 2006, he wrote an op-ed published in *The New York Times* that called on President Bush to replace Rumsfeld. Eaton is a 1972 graduate of West Point.

## **Ali Fadhil**

Ali Fadhil was born in Baghdad and attended medical school in Iraq. He continued practicing medicine in the country after the war, until he began to work as a translator for reporters with *The Financial Times*. Fadhil was soon doing stories on his own for *The Guardian* and National Public Radio. He was chosen as the U.K. Foreign Press Association's Young Journalist of the Year in 2005 for work he did covering events in Fallujah.

In January 2006 Ali Fadhil left Iraq to study journalism at New York University.

## **James Fallows**

Currently a national correspondent for *The Atlantic Monthly*, James Fallows has worked for the magazine for over 25 years. Fallows has written several books, his most recent being *Blind Into Baghdad: America's War in Iraq*, a compilation of his National Magazine Award winning articles on the Iraq war.

Fallows has also been the editor of *U.S. News and World Report*, a software designer for Microsoft and chairman of the New America Foundation. He won an American Book Award for his book *National Defense*. In addition to an undergraduate degree in history and literature from Harvard, he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship and holds a graduate degree in economics from Oxford.

## **Omar Fekeiki**

Omar Fekeiki was born in Baghdad in 1978. He was raised in Iraq, leaving the country only for a brief visit to Jordan in 1992. He attended a private university, earning a Bachelor's degree in English. In the days following the U.S. invasion in 2003, he began helping as a translator to reporters and was quickly hired as office manager of the Baghdad bureau of *The Washington Post*.

## **Marc Garlasco**

In 2003, Marc Garlasco served as a senior intelligence analyst at the Pentagon prior to the war in Iraq and as Chief of High-Value Targeting during the war. Later in 2003, he left to become a senior military analyst for Human Rights Watch, where he is the resident expert on battle damage assessment, military operations and interrogations. Garlasco led a Human Rights Watch mission in 2003 to assess the conduct of the war in Iraq.

During his seven years at the Pentagon, Garlasco was on the Battle Damage Assessment team for Operation Desert Fox in Iraq in 1998 and led the Pentagon Battle Damage Assessment team in Kosovo in 1999. He has a B.A. in government from St. John's University and an M.A. in international relations from the Elliot School of International Affairs at George Washington University.

## **Jay Garner**

From January until May 2003, Jay Garner served as Director of the Organization of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance for Iraq. During the Gulf War, Garner had been placed in charge of humanitarian efforts for the Kurdish zones of northern Iraq. But he was replaced by Ambassador L. Paul Bremer less than a month after arriving in Iraq.

Garner began his military career with the Florida Army National Guard. He enlisted in the Marines in 1962 and went on to serve two tours in Vietnam. With a military career that lasted almost four decades, Garner served as Commanding General of the U.S. Army Space and Strategic Defense Command, Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Force Development, Deputy Commanding General of V Corps in Frankfurt, Germany and Deputy Commanding General, U.S. Army Air Defense School. In 1997, Garner retired with the rank of Lieutenant General and became President of SYColeman, Inc., a provider of space and missile defense technologies to the military.

## **Ann Gildroy**

First Lieutenant Ann Gildroy joined the Marines in August 2001 and first arrived in Iraq in August 2004. She worked on a variety of missions, including training, equipping and helping build up an infrastructure for the Iraqi Army. Before entering the military, Gildroy studied international security and diplomacy at Georgetown University's Foreign Service School.

## **Hugo Gonzales**

Hugo Gonzales is a Field Artillery Gunner with the U.S. Army. Gonzales first joined the Puerto Rican National Guard in 1995 and then switched to active duty in February 2003. He first arrived in Iraq in May 2004. While in Iraq, he participated in infantry raids, patrols and convoy escorts. In June 2004, he was seriously injured, while on a combat patrol, when the vehicle he was riding in was hit by an improvised explosive device (IED).

Gonzales has a Bachelor's degree in advertising from Sacred Heart University in Puerto Rico.

## **Joost Hiltermann**

Joost Hiltermann is the Middle East Project Director for the International Crisis Group, an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organization that produces reports and recommendations designed to prevent or reduce the escalation of violent conflict. Hiltermann leads a team based in Amman and Beirut that focuses on Iraq, Jordan and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as dealing with larger Middle East issues.

Prior to joining the International Crisis Group, he was Executive Director of the Arms Division of Human Rights Watch from 1994 to 2002 and the Director of Human Rights Watch's Iraq Documents Project from 1992 to 1994. He has had articles published in *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe* and *The Christian Science Monitor*. He has a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of California at Santa Cruz and is fluent in English, Arabic and Dutch.

## **Paul Hughes**

During the Iraq War, Colonel Paul Hughes was assigned to the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance and later the Coalition Provisional Authority as director of the Strategic Policy Office. Col. Hughes was responsible for U.S. efforts to reorganize the Iraqi Army prior to the CPA's decision to disband the Iraqi Army entirely.

Before going to Iraq, Col. Hughes had been a senior military fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. His work there focused on weapons of mass destruction and peacekeeping operations. He is a graduate of the Army Command & General Staff College, the School of Advanced Military Studies and the Army War College with two Master of Military Arts & Sciences degrees, concentrating in development and training in theater operations. He received his undergraduate degree in sociology from the University of Colorado.

## **Robert Hutchings**

From 2003 to 2005, Robert Hutchings was Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, the U.S. intelligence community's center for midterm and long-term strategic thinking. During Hutchings' time, the NIC was responsible for several intelligence estimates on the postwar situation in Iraq.

Prior to becoming chairman of the NIC, Hutchings had been Director of its Analytic Group and its Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Europe. During the presidency of George H.W. Bush, he was Director for European Affairs with the National Security Council and then Special Advisor to the Secretary of State. He has also held positions at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Hutchings graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy and received an M.A. from the College of William and Mary and a Ph.D. from the University of Virginia.

## **Ray Jennings**

Ray Jennings is the Chief of Party in Iraq for the United States Institute of Peace, an independent institution funded by the U.S. Congress with the mission of helping to prevent and resolve violent international conflicts, encourage democratic transformations and stability in postwar nations and increase the tools and information available to others working towards peace.

Jennings has worked for the World Bank and the Cooperative Housing Foundation in Afghanistan. He has held positions with the U.S. Agency for International Development's Office of Transition Initiatives in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Peru and Sierra Leone. He has taught at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and at the Naval Post-Graduate School in Monterey, California, specializing in peace-building. He holds degrees from St. Michael's College and Idaho State University.

## **Seth Moulton**

Lieutenant Seth Moulton of the U.S. Marine Corps led an infantry platoon in Iraq. He has seen service across the country, including in the Sadr City area of Baghdad and in the city of Najaf, where, in 2004, he led his platoon in combat with the Mahdi militia of Muqtada al-Sadr.

While in Iraq, Moulton and his translator, Mohmammed Fawzi, produced a half-hour television program on the U.S. and Iraqi reconstruction efforts. Lt. Moulton holds a degree in physics from Harvard.

## **Mahmoud Othman**

Active in the politics of Iraq's northern Kurdish region for decades, Mahmoud Othman currently is a member of the Iraqi National Assembly. Following the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Othman was on the Iraqi Governing Council appointed by the Coalition Provisional Authority to advise and lead until the CPA handed sovereignty over to the Iraqi Interim Government in June 2004.

## **George Packer**

George Packer is the author of *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq* and a staff writer for *The New Yorker*. In his book, Packer analyzed how decisions made by the Bush administration during the buildup to war in Iraq led to problems in the postwar.

Packer, who has been published in *The New York Times Magazine*, *Mother Jones* and *Harper's*, is the author of several other books including two novels and has taught writing at Harvard, Columbia, Sarah Lawrence and Bennington. He served in the Peace Corps in Togo. Packer is a graduate of Yale.

## **Robert Perito**

Robert Perito is a former head of the U.S. Department of Justice's international police training program. Currently he is a Senior Program Officer in the Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations at the U.S. Institute of Peace, a congressionally funded institution with the mission of helping to prevent and resolve violent international conflicts, encourage democratic transformations and stability in postwar nations and increase the tools and information available to others working towards peace. Before the Iraq war, Perito briefed U.S. Defense Department officials on what kind of peacekeeping operations they should expect in the postwar.

Perito was a career Foreign Service officer with the State Department before joining the Department of Justice. He held assignments in Europe, Africa and China and served as Deputy Executive Secretary to the National Security Council. Perito worked in the Peace Corps in Nigeria and has taught at Princeton University, American University and George Mason University. He has a Master's degree in peace operations policy from George Mason University.



## **Paul Pillar**

From 2000-2005, Paul Pillar was National Intelligence Officer for the Near East and South Asia. After retiring from the Central Intelligence Agency, Pillar wrote an article in *Foreign Affairs* in which he criticized policy makers for having too much influence over the intelligence analysis that led to the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Pillar first joined the CIA in 1977 and has been chief of various units in the Persian Gulf, the Near East and South Asia. Pillar has served as Executive Assistant to the CIA's Deputy Director for Intelligence, Executive Assistant to the Director of Central Intelligence and Deputy Chief of the Director of Central Intelligence Counterterrorist Center. He is the author of two books, *Negotiating Peace* and *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. He is also a retired U.S. Army Reserve officer who served a tour of duty in Vietnam.

Dr. Pillar has an A.B. from Dartmouth, a B.Phil. from Oxford and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton. He is currently a Visiting Professor at the Center for Peace and Security Studies at Georgetown.

## **Barry Posen**

Barry Posen is the Ford International Professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is the author of two books, *Inadvertent Escalation: Conventional War and Nuclear Risks* and *The Sources of Military Doctrine*. His areas of focus include strategic studies and international politics.

From 1998 to 2001, Posen was a member of the National Security Study Group at the Department of Defense. He has been a military consultant to Christian Science Monitor Television and a consultant to the RAND Corporation. He has written op-eds on Iraq for *The New York Times* and *The Financial Times*. He received a B.A. from Occidental College and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

## **Samantha Power**

Samantha Power is The Anna Lindh Professor of Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. She is the author of "*A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*", which examines America's responses to the genocides of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The book won the 2003 Pulitzer Prize for general non-fiction, the 2003 National Book Critics Circle Award for general non-fiction and the Council on Foreign Relations' Arthur Ross Prize for the best book on U.S. foreign policy.

Power founded and served as the Executive Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government from 1998 to 2002. She covered the wars in the former Yugoslavia as a journalist for *U.S. News and World Report*, *The Boston Globe* and *The Economist*. Recently, she worked as a foreign policy fellow in the office of U.S. Senator Barack Obama of Illinois, and she is currently working on a biography of the late U.N. envoy to Iraq, Sergio Vieira de Mello, entitled *The Man for Dark Times: Sergio Vieira de Mello and the Fight to Save the World*. Power has an undergraduate degree from Yale and a graduate degree from Harvard Law School.

## **Nir Rosen**

A freelance journalist, photographer and film-maker fluent in Arabic, Nir Rosen's time in Iraq led to his book *In the Belly of the Green Bird: The Triumph of the Martyrs in Iraq*. In it, Rosen studied the rising sectarian tensions in Iraq following the U.S. invasion of 2003.

Rosen has had articles published in several newspapers and magazines including *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *The New Yorker*, *Harper's* and *The New Republic*. He is a fellow at The New America Foundation, a non-profit public policy institute.

## **Matt Sherman**

Matt Sherman worked for the Coalition Provisional Authority and later the State Department in Iraq. He advised Iraqi and American personnel on issues relating to the creation of domestic security and the 2005 Iraqi elections. Before his work in Iraq, Sherman held positions with the State Department in Bosnia, Kosovo, Croatia, Montenegro, Ukraine and Moldova.

Sherman has worked for Colin Powell's non-profit organization, America's Promise. He also worked for the Foreign Policy Advisory Board to George W. Bush's 2000 presidential campaign, which was led by Condoleezza Rice and known by the nickname "The Vulcans." He is currently a senior advisor at the Scowcroft Group, an international business advisory firm managed by former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft. Sherman has a B.A. and J.D. from the University of North Carolina and an M.Phil. in international relations from Cambridge University.

## **Walter Slocombe**

Walter Slocombe served as Senior Advisor for National Security and Defense to the Coalition Provisional Authority. During this time, he was responsible for overseeing the creation of the new Iraqi Army. After leaving the CPA, he served on the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, which reviewed the capability of the U.S. to deal with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Slocombe is a 1963 graduate of Princeton, a Rhodes Scholar and a 1968 graduate of Harvard Law School. After graduation, he served as a clerk to Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, as a staffer in the Program Analysis Office of the National Security Council and as a research associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, before joining the law firm of Caplin & Drysdale in Washington, D.C. in 1971. He served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs and Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Planning during the Carter administration. During the Clinton administration, he was Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

Walter Slocombe is currently a member of the Washington D.C. law firm of Caplin & Drysdale.

## **Yaroslav Trofimov**

Yaroslav Trofimov is the author of *Faith at War*. The book tells of Trofimov's experiences as he traveled through over a dozen Islamic countries, including Iraq, in the hopes of better understanding the Muslim world in the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001.

Trofimov has worked as a reporter in the U.S., France, the former Soviet Union, the Middle East and Italy. He currently writes for *The Wall Street Journal*. Trofimov has an M. A. from New York University.

## **Aida Ussayran**

Aida Ussayran is Iraq's Deputy Minister of Human Rights and a member of Iraq's parliament. As an activist for democracy and women's rights, she was arrested three times during the regime of Saddam Hussein. Sentenced to death, she fled the country, went into exile in England and began working with the Iraqi opposition groups, including the Iraqi National Congress. She returned to Iraq following the U.S. invasion of 2003.

Ussayran holds a Master's degree from the University of Hamburg.

## **Lawrence Wilkerson**

Colonel Lawrence Wilkerson worked on the staff of Secretary of State Colin Powell, holding the position of Chief of Staff from August 2002 until Powell left office in 2005. Wilkerson was a longtime associate of Powell's, having first worked as his Deputy Executive Officer at the U.S. Army's Forces Command in Atlanta, Georgia in 1989. When Powell became Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Wilkerson followed as his special assistant. When Powell retired in 1993, Wilkerson went on to become Deputy Director and Director of the U.S. Marine Corps' War College at Quantico, Virginia. In 1997, Wilkerson retired from the military with the rank of Colonel and began working for Powell as a consultant and advisor.

Since resigning as Powell's Chief of Staff, Wilkerson has frequently spoken critically of the Bush administration, notably of the influence of Vice President Cheney and former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on foreign policy decisions. Wilkerson is a Vietnam veteran who has been stationed and participated in combat exercises in Korea, Japan and Hawaii. He has served on the faculty of the U.S. Naval War College and holds two advanced degrees in international relations and national security studies.

## **David Yancey**

David Yancey is a Military Police Specialist with the 155<sup>th</sup> Combat Team. He arrived in Iraq in January 2005 and primarily acted as a convoy escort. While on one such mission in March 2005, Yancey's Humvee was struck by an improvised explosive device (IED), nearly killing him.

CREDITS
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