

CHAPTER 7

Private Military Contractors

Making a Killing in Iraq

Where is the justice of political power if it executes the murderer and jails the plunderer, and then itself marches upon neighboring lands, killing thousands and pillaging the very hills?

—Kahlil Gibran (1883-1931)

Contrary to popular belief, Britain does not provide the second largest coalition force in Iraq. Rather, that *force number two* consists of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of private for-profit companies, which are euphemistically called *private military contractors*, *private military firms*, and the like. These very profitable companies are paid to recruit and field shadow mercenary armies estimated to total substantially more than 100,000 personnel by early 2007, although no one on God's Earth knows exactly how many are deployed, or by whom exactly, or precisely what their various missions are (other than to make money.)

The force of 100,000 privately contracted employees in Iraq in 2007 is:

- about *three-quarters* the size of America's *entire* military force then in Iraq,
- more than *13 times* the size of Britain's total of 7,200 troops still in Iraq as of January 2007, and
- more than *seven times* the size of the entire Bush League coalition, excluding only the United States.

America's media coverage of this humongous mercenary force is abysmal—let's say AWOL—even when the topic is the so-called *surge* in early 2007. The Bush regime understandably talks little about its mercenaries.

In helter skelter fashion, America's shadow army in Iraq sees action from time to time and has suffered significant casualties, although no one in the Bush regime is keeping count, or at least not openly disclosing the information. Having said that, the total number of U.S. mercenaries killed in Iraq through 2007 is probably about 1,000.

The maze of private military contractors operates in Iraq—GOP style—behind a wall of governmental and corporate secrecy. Multiple layers of interconnected, politically well connected, contractors and subcontractors obfuscate the truth, cripple the mission, and guaranty windfall profits, which is the primary objective of this GOP program of governmental malfeasance and corporate welfare. Some of these

companies played roles in the prisoner abuse scandals at Abu Ghraib and elsewhere in Iraq, as well as at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and in a Bush League-style gulag of illegal secret military prisons in Eastern Europe, Asia and elsewhere.

In plain English, the troops provided by the so-called *private military contractors* are *mercenaries*, although international law experts may quibble as to the precise legal definition of a mercenary. For example, regarding the Iraq Civil War, most experts would not consider Iraqi citizens to be mercenaries, whether or not paid by the United States, because mercenaries are typically defined to exclude citizens of the country experiencing the conflict.⁵⁴ In any case, the Bush League neocons prefer to use misleading softer terms like *civilian contractor*, rather than *mercenary*.

America's private mercenary companies in Iraq perfectly match the Bush regime's worldview and unconstitutional governance. They are music to a dictator's ears. These armies function above and outside the law, doing Bush's bidding in the dark, without appropriate accountability and oversight. Beholden to him and the GOP, they protect America's corporate empire and serve as the emperor's praetorian guard, much like Saddam's Republican Guard, only less competent at their core mission and much more expensive.

The presence of the huge foreign mercenary armies, together with the cancerous worldview that caused them to be there in the first place, are a central reason why Bush and the GOP lost their war on Iraq.

Private mercenary armies make it easier for foolish American leaders to initiate and prosecute foolish wars, or, "fuelish wars," if you prefer. Such armies and wars require only the wallet of the American people, not their heart and conscience, and definitely not a military draft. Mercenaries are the antithesis of America's proud traditional military that is *of, by, and for* the American people.

When Bush and Cheney outsourced America's military, they outsourced America's soul and American values. They also made it less efficient, more corrupt, and much more expensive.

The private mercenary armies in Iraq must be immediately withdrawn and disbanded. This action is as important as withdrawing American troops. To withdraw one and not the other makes no sense.

The flow of funds to war profiteering companies must also stop, and their conduct and the conduct of their enablers in the Bush regime must be thoroughly investigated.

The vast majority of the mercenaries in Iraq are recruited and employed by dozens and dozens of American and British companies with names generally not well known to the public. However, a few public-trough companies such as Halliburton, KBR (formerly the Kellogg, Brown and Root subsidiary of Halliburton), DynCorp, Blackwater USA, and the Carlyle Group are more familiar because of their high-level rightwing political connections and numerous allegations of war profiteering, fraud and corruption.

Blackwater, with hundreds of employees in Iraq, became well known primarily because of one of the war's most horrendous incidents. Four of Blackwater's security contractors were killed on March 31, 2004, in an ambush in Fallujah after they had

⁵⁴ Accordingly, the mercenary totals set forth herein do not include Iraqi citizens.

gotten lost, and their bodies were savagely mutilated and burned by a crowd, with the remains of two of the charred bodies then hung on public display on a bridge over the Euphrates River. The misguided, incompetently-executed operation by Blackwater—Blackwater’s Fiasco in Fallujah—caused an enormous escalation in violence in Iraq, leading to the death of countless Americans and Iraqis.

The intense media coverage of Blackwater’s Fiasco in Fallujah caused many stunned Americans to realize for the first time that America had hired mercenaries to fight its wars, and many wondered why. If the mission was important, why weren’t America’s finest, America’s citizen military, carrying it out? Why were corporate profiteers mucking it up?

SIDEBAR: A Rapidly Growing Worldwide Market for Mercenaries

An investigation by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) identified about 90 private for-profit companies that offer mercenaries for hire around the world, on six continents, in 110 countries. A veil of secrecy undoubtedly causes the number of such firms to be understated. In any case, the business of killing allows them to make a killing.

These firms are sometimes hired by the U.S. government to perform missions that cannot legally be performed by America’s military. Sometimes they are hired to perform missions that are simply illegal by any standard.

The worldwide annual revenues for such mercenary companies are estimated at more than \$100 billion. American and British companies, which dominate this rapidly growing market, have especially profited since the Iraq war began, largely because the United States and Britain are the two nations that have done almost all of the heavy lifting, including funding, in prosecuting the war. According to a security firm in London, the annual revenues of British-based private military contractors have increased by more than five fold, to more than \$1.7 billion, since the commencement of the war in 2003.

Many of America’s finest left the regular military for the higher pay offered to private soldiers for hire, and it is difficult to blame them. Former soldiers of all ranks are included among the mercenaries. MPRI, a privately-held company headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia, brags that it has more generals per square foot than the Pentagon.

The shift to mercenaries is part of a hugely negative, global, rightwing economic tsunami that includes privatization, the outsourcing and off-shoring of jobs, and the maximization of corporate power and profits—all at the expense of human beings, human benefits, and human rights. However, unlike the cost savings resulting from the private Wal-Martization of America, i.e., the outsourcing and off-shoring of jobs by America’s private industry, the hiring of mercenaries by America has exactly the opposite effect—it greatly increases costs. The grease—the *raison d’être*—for this odd phenomenon is that government money, not private money, is being spent, mis-spent and stolen—as the Bushies religiously feed their public-trough cronies.

If mercenaries were included in the total U.S. military presence in Iraq, then the total force would be at least two-thirds greater (e.g., the total of 150,000 troops in 2007 would swell to more than 250,000 if the mercenaries were counted.)

Looked at from a different perspective, if this total force of 250,000 consisted only of America's finest, with no mercenaries, then the total cost would be reduced by upwards to 70%, while at the same time both performance and accountability would be greatly improved.

Ironically, American textile workers have lost their jobs to Asian workers who may be paid only one-tenth as much as the axed Americans were previously paid, but American soldiers, on the other hand, are replaced by mercenaries who are paid 5 to 15 times more. (In addition, lots of corporate overhead is added to the mercenary compensation.) What is wrong with this picture? Well, when you're talking about the GOP-abused cash cow known as the U.S. Treasury, the Halliburtons of the world suck as much milk as possible from as many teats as possible, while not worrying about the health or ownership of the cow.

Of course, maximizing the profits of large corporations is the common goal in both the outsourcing of textile jobs and the outsourcing of military jobs.

The huge compensation disparity between the cost of an American soldier and the cost of a mercenary extends all the way up to those at the top of the GOP's mercenary milking operation. The CEO of a large private military contractor can make 10 to 100 times, or more, the compensation of a four-star general in the U.S. Army. Ultimately, U.S. taxpayers pay the price.

War profiteers commonly milk their cost-plus contracts by adding multiple layers of contractors and overhead to the actual pay received by the individual soldier.

Private military contractors grease the skids for their government contracts by paying lobbyists to milk Congress and by making millions of dollars in both illegal and perfectly legal payments, including bribes—political contributions, if you like—to America's elected officials, who happily participate in the milking of America.

In addition to helping their cronies grab government contracts, the GOP-controlled Congress blocked congressional investigation and oversight, in violation of their oaths of office.

Cronyism, waste and corruption are hallmarks of the Bush regime. Politically connected companies such as Halliburton have an inside track to win war contracts and have, in effect, an exemption—similar to a Bush Family Pass—from effective oversight by either Congress or the American people. Will the last person in America who trusts Halliburton please turn out the lights on the way out?

In fairness, let's remember that Halliburton is not all bad. One benefit of its war profits, properly earned or not, is that they help ensure the continued annual payment of tax-avoiding deferred compensation to Cheney.

Meanwhile, as the lucrative corporate milking operation continues around the clock, peace is an orphan. Using American taxpayer dollars that have found their way into their pockets, private military contractors promote and market war, all in America's name. No peace drums are beaten, only the drums of war. Peace has no voice and no marketing budget.

Dictatorships and large international corporations have increasingly turned to private military firms to protect their interests and project their will around the world, almost always to the disadvantage of downtrodden populations. The innocent masses—plus democracy and human rights—are the most common victims of the mercenary business.

And some Americans still wonder why America has such a difficult time winning hearts and minds around the globe.

The large shadow army of private corporate mercenaries operates below the public radar, thus offering many political advantages to the Bush regime and its GOP supporters:

- In sharp contrast with the reporting requirements governing American troop casualties, the Bush administration is not required to report casualties incurred by the mercenary force, which causes an understatement of the total American dead and wounded in Iraq.
- The private employers of the mercenaries likewise are not required to report their respective casualties, and they typically do not, preferring to avoid negative publicity.
- The use of the shadow army, rather than the U.S. military, helps the Bush regime circumvent the Geneva Conventions. Before he was nominated to be Attorney General of the United States, Alberto Gonzales, who was affectionately called “mi abogado” (“my lawyer”) by Bush, famously wrote “torture memos,” in which he referred to provisions of the Geneva Conventions as “obsolete” and “quaint.”
- The mercenaries were granted immunity from Iraqi law by an edict issued by the U.S.-controlled Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and by the willingness of the Iraqi government to look the other way. Paul Bremer’s Coalition Provisional Authority Order No. 17 of June 2004 gave contractors blanket immunity from Iraqi law, thus setting a precedent for no accountability even as laws subsequently changed.
- Because the mercenaries are *not* employees of the United States, they are not clearly and directly in the U.S. military chain of command, and they are not subject to the rules of engagement and the Uniform Code of Military Justice that apply to America’s armed forces.
- A heavy blanket of secrecy, including a *Get Smart* “cone of silence,” provides cover to military and civilian leaders all the way to the top of the Pentagon and the White House, whether or not they personally authorized mercenary misdeeds. *Plausible deniability* is a treasured defense of the Bush regime.
- The use of mercenaries helped the Bush regime keep members of Congress uninformed and misinformed as to its activities. Only after the GOP lost its death grip on both houses of Congress in 2006 did meaningful investigations begin, and these investigations are being obstructed.

- In addition, many mercenaries are able to circumvent U.S. law because they are not American citizens, or because they were employed by the Coalition Provisional Authority, or because they not directly under U.S. military command and control.
- Using a narrow definition of “mercenary,” many arguably are not even subject to the body of international law that applies to mercenaries.
- The Bush regime’s practice of placing themselves above and outside domestic and international law gives coalition mercenaries additional comfort.
- The use of mercenaries reduces the need to increase the size of the U.S. military or reinstate the draft. For an administration lacking the will to reinstate the draft, mercenaries provide an easy alternative.
- Without these mercenaries the Bush regime could not engage in the level of war it practices in Iraq and elsewhere.
- Without these mercenaries, the opportunities to funnel humongous piles of taxpayer dollars to GOP-connected contractors and subcontractors would be greatly restricted. “It’s the money, stupid. Follow the money.”

An estimated 40% of the money spent by the Bush regime in Iraq goes to private contractors, although no one knows the exact percentage. There is no system in place to evaluate effectively the performance of each contractor, and no matter how bad the performance, with rare exception the contractor gets paid.

Americans, as well as Iraqis, have good reason to trust the professionalism and performance of the U.S. military, but they have little or no reason to trust the maze of private mercenary companies.

Through 2006 only one contractor in Iraq had been indicted for crimes. It is the golden age for mercenaries—America’s GOP Mafia protects its own.

Serious investigation of the dark underbelly of America’s mercenary business did not begin until the American people in 2006 wrested control of Congress from the GOP, which throughout the Iraq war partnered with the war profiteers in a deadly game of grime, crime and cover-up. The 110th Congress, whose two-year term started in 2007, has the Herculean task of investigating crimes and malfeasance in Iraq, and it will take many years and a measure of good luck for the truth to emerge, if ever.

As for Blackwater, the most “successful” of the corporate mercenaries, a good starting point is Jeremy Scahill’s book, *Blackwater: The Rise of the World’s Most Powerful Mercenary Army*. Blackwater owns and operates the world’s largest private military base, which covers 11 square miles in North Carolina.

Erik Prince founded and personally financed Blackwater USA at age 27. He is a secretive multimillionaire rightwing Christianist whose family funded and helped many Religious Right and GOP causes, including James Dobson’s Focus on the Family and Christian Freedom International. He is the poster child for what contractors should not be in America’s war to win the hearts and minds of Muslims worldwide, especially those inclined to believe the United States is engaged in a war on Islam.

The revolving door between Blackwater and the GOP administration is well greased. Blackwater’s senior executives include controversial Joseph Schmitz, who resigned as Defense Department Inspector General in 2005 to join Prince’s company.

The killing and mutilation of the four Blackwater contractors in Fallujah in March 2004 made them heroes and immediately increased Blackwater's visibility. Moving quickly to exploit the golden opportunity, Blackwater—just one day after the tragedy—hired Alexander Strategy Group, a lobbyist firm involved in the GOP's K Street Project. By the end of the year, Blackwater was bragging about its 600% growth. Applications for employment jumped. Its president declared they were in a billion-dollar industry, and "Blackwater has only scratched the surface of it."

The K Street lobbyist firm hired by Blackwater deserves a paragraph in this book. Founded by a former chief of staff for Tom DeLay, Alexander melted down and was shuttered in early 2006 in the face of the Jack Abramoff scandals. Former staffers and associates of Tom DeLay ran the firm, which gave it solid roots in GOP sleaze. Another Alexander client was PerfectWave, the defense contracting firm owned by Brent Wilkes, who was convicted in November 2007 in connection with the Randy "Duke" Cunningham government contracting scandal. (As we discuss in Chapter 18, Cunningham is in prison serving a sentence of eight years and four months, the longest sentence ever given a U.S. congressman.)

The families of the four men killed in Blackwater's Fiasco in Fallujah filed a wrongful death lawsuit against Blackwater, alleging numerous mistakes, malfeasance and negligence by Blackwater, including sending the four into harm's way without sufficient force and equipment and in violation of contractual commitments. As reported in *The Nation*, the families of the four dead decided to sue only after they had been stonewalled, misled and lied to by Blackwater as to what really happened. "Blackwater seems to understand money. That's the only thing they understand," said Katy Helvenston, the mother of one of the victims. "They have no values, they have no morals. They're whores. They're the whores of war."

Congress has started investigating Blackwater, but don't expect Blackwater and its political allies to cooperate. In the case of the Fallujah incident, it took a long time for Congress or anyone else to even identify the subcontract under which the four dead were employed, thanks to Blackwater's obfuscation and stonewalling. War profiteering in Iraq is conducted with a profits-enhancing maze of contracts and subcontracts, and no one even knows how many exist.

The shift to private corporate mercenaries has cost America and its military dearly. America's military has been crippled by the GOP's relentless campaign to privatize everything, all for the benefit of corporate interests. The rightwing pirates simply hate government and its employees, including its military personnel.

Rumsfeld in particular despised the Pentagon organization for years and wanted to transform and privatize it. Incredibly, Rumsfeld declared war on the Pentagon on September 10, 2001, exactly one day before 9/11, that day of infamy when Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon killing 189. He issued his declaration of war in an address at the Pentagon, warning his audience of an "adversary that poses a threat, a serious threat, to the security of the United States of America," one that "attempts to impose its demands across time zones, continents, oceans, and beyond. With brutal consistency, it stifles free thought and crushes new ideas. It disrupts the defense of the United States and places the lives of men and women in uniform at risk." Rumsfeld wasn't referring to al Qaeda or bin Laden. He was talking about the U.S. Department

of Defense itself and his desire to radically transform it. He said, “the adversary’s closer to home. It’s the Pentagon bureaucracy.”

Ironically, history would soon show that Rumsfeld’s words could better be applied to himself and his band of neocon suits: an “adversary that poses a threat, a serious threat, to the security of the United States of America ... It disrupts the defense of the United States and places the lives of men and women in uniform at risk.” These words should be chiseled on his tombstone.

Rumsfeld and his supporting cast of well-connected executives from public trough companies like Enron wanted the U.S. military to have a “small footprint” and its leaders to function like venture capitalists in an MBA-filled boardroom. In reality, a “small footprint” for America’s military meant a “huge footprint” for war profiteers, allowing them to pork up at the public trough with minimal public scrutiny and oversight. To function like “venture capitalists” really meant to devour like “vulture capitalists.”

The war on terrorism, 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq were all dreams come true for America’s corporate mercenaries and the neocons. Rumsfeld must have thought he had died and gone to Heaven. But, in reality, America had lost its marbles.

SIDEBAR: Halliburton—None Dare Call It Treason

In March 2007 Halliburton, the energy services giant then headquartered in Houston, announced it was moving its corporate headquarters to Dubai, the United Arab Emirates, along with its CEO, David Lesar, apparently in recognition of the fact that Texas is fading in energy and rapidly becoming an empty oilcan, whereas Dubai is a boomtown in the middle of the world’s largest oil reserves. The announcement was met with disbelief in Washington, although no one should be surprised by anything Halliburton does.

The move by Halliburton from Houston to Dubai illustrates where its loyalties lie, and, in the words of Senator Patrick Leahy, is “an insult to the U.S. soldiers and taxpayers who paid the tab for their no-bid contracts and endured their overcharges for all these years.”

Henry Waxman, the new chairman of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee, said in February 2007 that a government audit indicated Halliburton was responsible for \$2.7 billion in “suspect billings.” Halliburton enjoyed a multi-year \$16 billion contract with the U.S. Army, as well as many other Iraq war contracts. It also enjoyed the protection of the Halliburton White House and the GOP Congress.

Although Halliburton declared the move will not result in tax benefits, we should expect further restructuring by Halliburton, including probably a reincorporation outside the United States, which could cost America’s taxpayers tens of billions of dollars, in addition to helping further protect Halliburton from public oversight and U.S. law.

In 2007 Halliburton spun off its notorious military contracting subsidiary, KBR (formerly Kellogg Brown & Root), and the company is at the center of a host of alleged crimes, some going back to Dick Cheney's 1995-2000 reign as Halliburton's CEO.

Halliburton is America's leader in war profiteering. America can trust its *public servants* who wear its uniform, but it has little reason to trust its *private serpents* who owe their loyalties to their profits, not to America or its soldiers.

As is the case with America's military personnel in Iraq, some mercenaries perform non-combat work, and some engage in combat. It is anyone's guess as to what the mix actually is. In comparison, the coalition members other than the United States and Britain provide *zero* troops for combat. In addition, many mercenaries died in Iraq because of the incompetence and greed of their private corporate employers.

The Bush regime is quite secretive as to exactly what functions the private military contractors perform and how many individuals perform each function. The range of activity is certainly broad, from logistics support—such as training, transportation, and food services—to actual combat and providing security for senior American officials and numerous key installations, such as the Green Zone in Baghdad.

Iraqis desperately in need of employment are appalled at the high cost of hiring foreign mercenaries and other foreign workers to perform services in their country. They see foreigners being paid a large *multiple* of the salary for which they are willing and able to work. In more extreme cases, the cost of a U.S. mercenary might be more than *100 times* the cost of hiring an Iraqi soldier to do the same work. Imagine the peace dividend of giving a mercenary the boot, and then using the cost savings to hire several Iraqi citizens, with each one then having the wherewithal to support a family of several people.

An exercise in empathy is useful here. Imagine the "insurgent" violence and patriotic outrage of Americans if an unwelcome, uninvited foreign imperial power invaded and occupied America and then, rubbing salt in the wounds, hired foreign contractors at a cost many times what American workers would accept—say at two million dollars each—rather than hiring unemployed American policemen and firemen.

The Bush regime simply does not trust Iraqis or anything about them—especially their religion—and therein lies a major reason for Bush's and the GOP's catastrophic failure in Iraq. Whatever tidbit of respect the Bushies had for Iraqis was greatly outweighed by their love for their private public-trough buddies.

Civilian mercenaries who drive around Iraq in unmarked vehicles, without military uniforms or identification, represent to Iraqis an extremely offensive face of the occupation of their country. Some of these mercenaries committed horrendous crimes against innocent Iraqis, with impunity.

As for the ballyhooed *surge* in Baghdad in early 2007, no one explained the role of America's private mercenary army, and America's Big Media ignored this highly relevant issue.

The goal of the mercenary companies is to maximize profits and do what is best for their companies, not to implement U.S. policy or do what is best for America or Iraq. However, there is virtually no public discussion of this inherent conflict of interest, a conflict that exposes America's troops to greater danger.

You can count on an American soldier, but you cannot count on a fat-cat CEO of a war profiteer.

One problem is that employers of mercenaries typically retain the right to withdraw their personnel if security becomes an issue. U.S. troops under fire in a combat situation who need rescue or reinforcement can take comfort if American troops, under the American military chain of command, are coming to their aid, rather than unknown mercenaries hired by a company that may choose to keep its employees out of harm's way.

America's private corporate mercenaries cause friction and compromise America's mission in numerous ways. An American soldier who may be paid about \$20,000 per year to drive a truck has to question the sense and fairness of a private corporate mercenary getting \$100,000 and better benefits to do the same job. At a time when the U.S. military has repeatedly missed its recruiting goals and lowered its recruiting standards, it is not helpful that private companies "poach" many of America's best soldiers in Iraq, including its special operations forces.

For a variety of reasons, including cost and availability, mercenaries from numerous countries around the world are also hired to work in Iraq, and in some cases the hiring standards are low or nonexistent. Dozens of soldiers who served with the pro-apartheid military, paramilitary and secret police in South Africa and Namibia have worked in Iraq. Others have trained and served under other brutal rightwing dictatorships, such as the Pinochet regime in Chile.

Mercenaries vary greatly in experience and training. Some are among the most competent and experienced warriors in the world. The pay rates vary greatly, from perhaps \$300 *per month* for Fijian or Kurdish soldiers to over \$1,000 per day for certain former Green Berets and experienced special operations forces. Blackwater reportedly charged in the range of \$1,500 per day per employee for some of its operations. By comparison, in late 2003 many of the new recruits for Iraq's new army quit because of difficulty in supporting their families on \$60 per month, which is \$2 per day.

The GOP's *privatization* and profiteering schemes have also found a home in America. For example, Blackwater expanded its domestic operations and reportedly charged up to \$950 per day per person for its contracted employees during Katrina. Bush and the GOP would rather pay millions to GOP cronies than give a needy black person a lunch worth \$5.

Although the United States used mercenaries in many conflicts prior to 9/11, including Gulf War I, the scale of their usage in Iraq is unprecedented. On a percentage basis, more than ten times as many are employed in the current unsuccessful Iraq war as were employed in the successful Gulf War I.

Bush's war on Iraq is just another opportunity for the Republican Party, the Cons, to engage in so-called *privatization*, which truthfully should be called *pirate-ization* or *piratization*. The Cons don't believe in government—other than bloating and

milking it—and thus are incompetent and untrustworthy to run it. That especially applies to America’s military and America’s national defense.

Just as an atheist who doesn’t believe in Christianity is unfit to be the pastor of your church, the Cons who don’t believe in America’s government are unfit to run it. Whether it’s the Cons’ vendetta to privatize and gut Social Security, or the deregulation of the savings and loan industry, or the Enron-style deregulation of the energy industry, or America’s student loan program, or the Medicare corporate welfare legislation, or operation Katrina, or Bush’s war on Iraq, or the Afghanistan war, the result is always the same: corruption, inefficiency, and an explosion in administrative costs, with America’s middle- and lower-income taxpayers getting screwed to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars.

Putting the GOP in charge of America’s military is like marrying a pimp—a bloated, white, over-the-hill, cocaine-addicted, womanizing, wife-abusing pimp—whom you know is marrying you for your money. Yes, you will get screwed, but don’t expect any of that romance you were promised.

In the next chapter we turn our attention to the *Religious Wrong*, that decidedly unchristian warmongering gang of “Mission Accomplices” who bless and empower the GOP’s War on Iraq and its War on America.