

## Nation Sets Its Sights on Building Sane Economy

### True Cost Tax, Salary Caps, Trust-Busting Top List

By T. VEBLEN

The President has called for swift passage of the Safeguards for a New Economy (S.A.N.E.) bill. The omnibus economic package includes a federal maximum wage, mandatory "True Cost Accounting," a phased withdrawal from complex financial instruments, and other measures intended to improve life for ordinary Americans. (See highlights box on Page A10.) He also repeated earlier calls for passage of the "Ban on Lobbying" bill currently making its way through Congress.

Treasury Secretary Paul Krugman stressed the importance of the bill. "Markets make great servants, terrible leaders, and absurd religions," said Krugman, quoting Paul Hawken, an advocate of corporate responsibility and author of "Blessed Unrest, How the Largest Movement in the World Came into Being and Why No One Saw It Coming."

"At this point, the market is our

leader and our religion. No wonder the median standard of living has been declining so much for so long."

Krugman said that the new Treasury bill seeks to ensure the prosperity of all citizens, rather than simply supporting large corporations and the wealthy. "The market is supposed to serve us. Unfortunately, we have ended up serving the market. That's very bad."

Much as Roosevelt, after the Great Depression, put the brakes on C.E.O. wages and irresponsible banking practices, administration officials claim that today we need to rein in the industry that has caused such chaos and misery.

"The building blocks of post-World War II American middle-class prosperity have all been swept away," said House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who initially op-

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# IRAQ WAR ENDS



COURTESY ARMY.MIL

U.S. Army helicopters begin moving troops and equipment from Saddam Hussein's former Baghdad palace.

## Troops to Return Immediately

By JUDE SHINBIN

WASHINGTON — Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom were brought to an unceremonious close today with a quiet announcement by the Department of Defense that troops would be home within weeks.

"This is the best face we can put on the most unfortunate adventure in modern American history," Defense spokesman Kevin Sites said at a special joint session of Congress. "Today, we can finally enjoy peace — not the peace of the brave, perhaps, but at least peace."

As U.S. and coalition troops withdraw from Iraq and Afghanistan, the United Nations will move in to perform peacekeeping duties and aid in rebuilding. The U.N. will be responsible for keeping the two countries stable; coordinating the rebuilding of hospitals, schools, highways, and other infrastructure; and overseeing upcoming elections.

The Department of the Treasury confirmed that all U.N. dues owed by the U.S. were paid as of this morning, and that moneys previously earmarked for the war would be sent directly to the U.N.'s Iraq Oversight Body.

The president noted that the Iraq War had resulted in the burning of many bridges. "Yet our history with our allies runs deep," he said, "and we all know that friends forgive friends for anything. Or nearly." A spokesperson for the French Ministry of Defense confirmed that France would assist the U.S. withdrawal. "The U.S. helped the Soviet Union defeat Hitler. We do recognize that."

In conflict zones worldwide, leaders and rebels pledged peace. (See "In Conflict Zones Worldwide, Peace Moves," on Page A4.)

On Wall Street, reactions were mixed, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average up 84 points, to close at 4,212. While KBR stock was quickly downgraded to a "junk" rating of BBB-, defense contractors such as Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman started up.

Continued on Page A5

## Maximum Wage Law Succeeds

### Salary Caps Will Help Stabilize Economy

By J.K. MALONE

WASHINGTON — After long and often bitter debate, Congress has passed legislation, fiercely fought for by labor and progressive groups, that will limit top salaries to fifteen times the minimum wage. Tying the bill to a plan of overall reform of the U.S. economy, the bill echoes a similar effort enacted by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1942, which was followed by the longest period of growth for the middle class in U.S. history.

"When C.E.O. salaries remain stable thanks to high taxation of high salaries, there's little incentive to take big risks with shareholders' money, and the economy remains in a steady growth mode," said Senator Barney Frank, one of the bill's co-sponsors. "But when C.E.O. salaries can fly through the roof, there's a very strong incentive for C.E.O.s

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## TREASURY ANNOUNCES "TRUE COST" TAX PLAN

By MARCUS S. DRIGGS

The long-awaited "True Cost" plan, which requires product prices to reflect their cost to society, has been signed into law.

Beginning next month, throw-away items like plastic water bottles and other items which are wasteful or damaging to the environment will be heavily taxed, as in many developed countries. Steep taxes will also apply to large cars and gasoline.

The new plan calls for a 200 percent tax on gasoline, comparable to the one long in effect in most European countries. Companies and consumers are already switching in droves from inefficient gas vehicles to new electric cars. "We suddenly have a waiting list 200 names long for the EV1," said Jake Cluber, the owner of Cluber Chevrolet in

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### Recruiters Train for New Life

As a ban is imposed on recruiting minors, ex-recruiters nationwide look for new work. The Times follows one on his job-hunt odyssey through Manhattan and surrounding areas.

BY BARRY GLOAD, PAGE A12



### Last to Die

Two proportional monuments — one to the Iraqi dead, 300 feet high, and one to the American dead, 15 feet high — are unveiled in Baghdad, and a five-year-old boy whose lifespan coincided with that of the Iraq War is remembered.

BY J. FINISTERRA, PAGE A5

### USA Patriot Act Repealed

Eight years later, a shamefaced Congress quietly repeals the much-maligned USA Patriot Act, unanimously... or almost.

BY SYBIL LUDINGTON, PAGE A8

### Evangelicals Open Homes to Refugees

Up to a million Iraqi exiles — nearly half of the total — will find sanctuary in Christian homes across the U.S., vows the National Association of Evangelicals. Other denominations are expected to follow.

BY W. WILBERFORCE, PAGE A7

### Public Relations Industry Starts to Shut Down

The public relations industry has been criticized for misleading the American people, corrupting politicians, and even helping to start wars. Now, it's beginning the process of shutting down for good.

BY LOUIS BECK, PAGE A10

## Ex-Secretary Apologizes for W.M.D. Scare

### 300,000 Troops Never Faced Risk of Instant Obliteration

By FRANK LARIMORE

Ex-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice reassured soldiers that the Bush Administration had known well before the invasion that Saddam Hussein lacked weapons of mass destruction.

"Now that all of you brave servicemen and women are returning, it's important to us to reassure you, and the American people, that we were certain Hussein had no W.M.D.s and that he would never launch a first strike against the U.S.," Ms. Rice told a group of wounded soldiers at a Veterans' Administration hospital yesterday.

"I want you to know that if we had had the slightest suspicion that Saddam could use W.M.D.s against you, we never would have sent hundreds of thousands of you to be sitting ducks on the Iraqi border for several months."

Mr. Rice was referring to the fact that by August 2002, eight months before the ground invasion, the US had over 100,000 troops stationed in countries throughout the Gulf, a number that grew to over 300,000 shortly before the 2003 attack on Baghdad. Most of these were within range of the Scud missiles used by Mr. Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War, that could easily have been fitted with chemical or biological weapons if they had existed.

Rice noted that in the 1991 Gulf War, Hussein had used missiles to launch attacks on Israel, which made him popular with Arab citizens throughout the Middle East.

"Do you really think we would have given Saddam a major public relations coup by allowing him to annihilate tens of thousands of you right there on holy territory?" asked Ms. Rice.

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger responded to Ms. Rice's revelation without surprise. "Of course this was the case. When Israel believed Iraq had nuclear weapons in 1981, they didn't attack on the ground — they bombed from the air. That's a pre-emptive attack. If you believe deterrence will not prevent an attack and that your enemy has W.M.D.s, then the last thing you do is station your troops right next door."

ABC's George Stephanopoulos

Continued on Page A5

## Popular Pressure Ushers Recent Progressive Tilt

### Study Cites Movements for Massive Shift in DC

By SAMUEL FIELDEN

The spate of reform initiatives undertaken by the Administration and both houses of Congress can be attributed directly to grassroots advocacy, according to a comprehensive study due out this month.

"In education and health care, most notably, but also in housing, banking, and the environment, we have documented unprecedented responsiveness on the part of political leaders," said Dr. Joyce Wellmon, director of the Plains Institute for Policy Analysis, a New York-based think tank. "Our data show a direct correlation between the level of activity of particular coalitions, on the one hand, and specific legislative action, on the other. It's popular pressure that is responsible for the swiftness and scope of legislation emerging from the White House and Congress."

The institute's report shows a three-fold increase in the incidence of letters, phone calls, faxes, and email received by congressional offices, 88 percent of which were from people who identified themselves as new members of particular activist organizations.

See nytimes-se.com for more

The report includes extensive interviews with House and Senate staff, who speak of "unimaginable change," a "dramatic policy shift," and "a new era of accountability" since the elections.

"Not since the Great Depression has the interaction between popular movements and public leaders been so robust," said Jorge Lazaro, head of the U.S. Government Accountability Office. Lazaro cited, in particular, the Wagner Act, also known as the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which recognized the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively with their employers.

"Roosevelt showed no interest in the Wagner Act until it became clear the unions were going to force it through regardless," Mr. Lazaro noted. "At that point he jumped on it and helped push it into law."

Mr. Lazaro also pointed to the Depression-era organizing of the Farmers' Holiday Association, when farmers refused to sell or bid on crops, blockaded roads, and even once used a torpedo to halt a train carrying livestock into Iowa. Such direct actions helped push courts and legislatures to adopt



KC IVEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protests organized by Witness Against Torture helped pave the way for the close of the Guantánamo facility.

measures that granted relief from debt caused by low crop prices.

"The similarities between the two periods are remarkable, and the lesson that emerges is simple: if you want change, keep our feet to the fire."

Dr. Wellmon agrees. "The only reason the current President and Congress have been able to implement all these changes, was because of pressure from popular

movements that made them have to."

The Plains report, due out next month, cites the work of groups associated with United for Peace and Justice, an umbrella for anti-war groups, for galvanizing public support for ending the war, and for pushing the Administration to resist the oil lobby and other interest groups. It also cites the work

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### INTERNATIONAL A4-5

#### Gitmo, Other Centers Closed

The notorious Guantánamo Bay, Cuba detention camp will be closed, along with a network of secret C.I.A.-run facilities in Eastern Europe, Afghanistan and elsewhere. PAGE A24

#### Iraqi Refugees Worldwide Celebrate Withdrawal

Two million Iraqi exiles, and three million internal refugees, celebrated the end of hostilities and began making plans to return to their homes. PAGE A4

### NATIONAL A6-9

#### Conflict of Interest Law Will Stop Revolving Door

The "Revolving Door" bill will prohibit high-ranking corporate officers from holding public office for ten years upon

leaving their companies, and public officials from accepting management positions at large corporations for the same period. Coupled with the Ban on Lobbying bill, the bill will reduce the influence of large corporations on public policy. PAGE B1



#### Health Insurance Act Clears House

While almost all are celebrating the passage of the National Health Insur-

ance Act, which finally brings the U.S. up to par with other developed nations, representatives of Kaiser, Cigna and other health insurance companies are vowing to "fight tooth and nail" to protect their interests. PAGE A7

#### Bush to Face Charges

Most observers weren't surprised by the high treason indictment itself, but rather by the party that brought it. The case could also provide an unexpected boost to the International Criminal Court, paving the way for more indictments. PAGE A5

### BUSINESS A10-11

#### Corporate Personhood Gets Real

An initiative to abolish limited liability will make shareholders pay for the crimes their corporations commit — even if they only own one or two shares in a mutual fund. PAGE A11

### NEW YORK A12



#### Bicycle Lanes Inaugurated

With the completion of the 9th Avenue bike lane and groundbreaking on other avenues, New York is on the (bike) path to becoming as livable as other world cities. PAGE A12

### EDITORIAL A13

#### A Lobbyist Defends Lobbying

The Ban on Lobbying bill is not without victims. PAGE A13

#### Thomas L. Friedman

The columnist resigns, and will put down his pen to take up a screwdriver. PAGE A13

#### A Baboon Troop's Experience

A particularly peaceful baboon troop may have lessons to teach us. PAGE A13

More Inside The Times.

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HELP MAKE THE NEWS. TODAY



"Too many conservatives lose hope. They doubt that the liberal welfare state can be brought to collapse.... In short, they doubt that the Heritage Foundation's vision for America can be achieved."  
- Heritage President Edwin J. Feulner, Ph.D.

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We've all been hit hard by the big changes of the past year, but few as hard as Heritage. As the political waters muddy, and the legislative landscape goes Leninist, as our traditional outlets of lobbying and public relations are closed to big buyers — in these direst of times, the Heritage Foundation needs you.

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THERE IS STILL HOPE. BUT TIME IS RUNNING OUT.

INSIDE THE TIMES: July 4th, 2009

INTERNATIONAL

Peace Spreads to War Zones

Around the world, leaders and warlords in conflict zones are taking the U.S. example to heart. "We finally see what civilization can mean," said one rebel in a country that wished to remain anonymous. "Now we know it's what we want." PAGE A4

NATIONAL



Rebuilding Infrastructure Brings Opportunities

The state of America's infrastructure, crumbling after years of neglect, is in for a \$1.6 trillion overhaul. But it won't simply pay for new highways. Instead, the reign of the automobile will begin to be brought to a close. PAGE A6

End of the Secret Programs

Under pressure from Congress, the Pentagon admits there is no

place in a democracy for secret programs costing billions of dollars annually, and announces that all "black budget" items will either be eliminated or made public. Assuring transparency remains a challenge. PAGE A7

"America's Army" Game Goes Diplomatic

The popular recruiting game is being beaten into a digital plowshare. "We're training the next generation of diplomats now," said a developer of the renamed "America's Diplomat." PAGE A8

Broadcast Reforms Launched

New regulations are on the way at the E.C.C., with the centerpiece being an independent media trust, funded by a tax on advertising sales, which could enable a truly independent public broadcasting system, the first of its kind in the country. PAGE C25

RU-486 Sales Approved

The F.D.A. announced approval of RU-486, also known as the Morning After Pill, as an over-the-counter medication. In a terse statement, the agency said, "The F.D.A. is in the business of safety, not politics." PAGE B14

CORRECTIONS: FOR THE RECORD

"Special Interests"

The Times has in the past used the term "special interests" to describe unions, environmentalists and even whole ethnic groups, and has used the word "pandering" when politicians take these groups' concerns into account. We have typically not, however, used "pandering" to refer to politicians catering to the interests of corporations. The Times regrets that our use of such language may have given the impression that the interests of corporations are more important than those of citizens.

Environment

We apologize for so often framing our environmental coverage from a business perspective; for overestimating the costs of solutions, which has made problems seem insurmountable; and for belittling the efforts of activists and local government. Future coverage will acknowledge the importance of creating laws to better regulate industry, and readers can look forward to a new Environment section every Thursday, beginning this week.

Advertising

The Times acknowledges that accepting money from the very corporations whose activities we are responsible for reporting on — running ads from Exxon-Mobil while reporting on climate change, for example, or from weapons manufacturers while reporting on the Iraq War — represents an obvious conflict of interest. The Times is considering two alternative revenue models. In one, similar to that of National Public Radio, subsidies and contributions will make up the balance of the budget not covered by subscriptions. The other involves establishing exacting standards for advertisers, similar to those of the Christian Science Monitor, or the Guardian in the U.K. Please also see the Business section for a report on the end of publicly traded NYT stock.

Automobiles

In past issues the New York Times featured an entire section on automobiles. Our senior vice president of advertising, Alex Burky, once described this section as providing "well-integrated print and online advertising op-



Voting Machine Standards Implemented

The Election Assistance Commission, the federal agency that oversees voting, is mandating a uniform national format, a verifiable and anonymous paper trail, and stronger software security measures. The new standards must be fully implemented at least six months before the congressional elections of 2010. PAGE B1

Equality of Marriage Bill Passes Senate

With broad popular support, the "Equality of Marriage" bill is expected to pass the Senate and move to the House later this week. The new legislation will allow anyone to marry the person he or she loves — or needs the insurance of. PAGE B18

BUSINESS

Harvard Business School Closes Doors

America's oldest business school shuts its doors, citing the desire of America's youth to better the world, not extract maximum returns from it. PAGE A10

NEW YORK

Military To Be Banned from New York High Schools

The New York City Council is scheduled to vote on a measure to close the doors on the City's Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps, following complaints by parents and teachers, and a recent spate of student walkouts. PAGE A12

New Police Crowd-Control Guidelines To Be Tested

As hundreds of thousands take the streets to celebrate the end of hostilities, police will implement their new "People-Priority" policy. "Our streets belong first and foremost to pedestrians, especially those putting their bodies on the line to make change happen," said Police Commissioner Kelly. PAGE A12

portunities" that "meet advertisers' demands." As the effect of automobiles on the global climate crisis becomes evident, the Times acknowledges it made a serious error in expanding this section by three and a half pages in the past two years. Developments in the automobile industry will from now on be covered in our business and technology sections, and only when newsworthy. There will be no more reviews of cars.

Portraits of Grief

From September 14 to December 31, 2001, the New York Times published "Portraits of Grief," daily obituaries of the victims of the September 11 attacks. We are proud of this coverage, which won several awards. Tomorrow, the Times begins part two of the series with obituaries of the civilians and soldiers killed between 2001 and today in Afghanistan and Iraq. Two soldiers, and one hundred civilians, will be very briefly memorialized each day, adding a full fold-out page to each edition. The series will continue for thirty years. (Estimates of the number of Iraqis who have died

violent deaths since the 2003 invasion vary from 100,000 to well over one million. The Times apologizes for consistently using only the low end of this spectrum of estimates.)

Media Monopoly

The Times apologizes for under-reporting the effects and dangers of media consolidation, perhaps due to our own efforts at media consolidation: The Times owns almost two dozen regional newspapers, a number of television and radio stations, and partial shares in the Red Sox and the Discovery Channel. We now recognize this conflict of interest. No newspaper should concern itself with maximizing profits, and the paper of record should be held to an even higher standard than the rest of the publishing industry. Over the next two months, the Times will voluntarily trust-bust itself, thus contributing to the independence of American journalism.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

This special edition of the New York Times comes from a future in which we are accomplishing what we know today to be possible. The dozens of volunteer citizens who produced this paper spent the last eight years dreaming of a better world for themselves, their friends, and any descendants they might end up having. Today, that better world, though still very far away, is finally possible — but only if millions of us demand it, and finally force our government to do its job. It certainly won't be easy. Even now, corporate representatives are swearing over Washington to get their agendas passed. The energy giants are demanding "clean coal," nuclear power and offshore drilling. Military contractors are pushing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. If M.O.'s and insurance companies are promoting bogus "reforms" so they can forestall universal health care. And they're not about to take no for an answer. But things are different this time. This time, we can hold accountable the politicians we put into office. And because everyone can now see that the "free market" has nothing to do with freedom, there is a huge opening to pass policies that can benefit all Americans, and that can make us truly free — free to pursue an education without debt, go on vacation every once in a while, keep healthy, and live without

the crushing guilt of knowing what our tax dollars are doing abroad. Following are just a few of the many, many groups working for change. Join them, support them, or start your own, and we can begin to make the news in this paper the news in every paper. If you want to end the war in Iraq and prevent new wars, United Peace and Justice (unitedpeace.org), a coalition of that includes CODEPINK (codepink.org), Iraq Veterans Against the War (ivaw.org), Peace Action (peaceaction.org), War Resisters League (warresisters.org), and hundreds of others. If you want to fight for health care, HealthCare Now (healthcarenow.org), Physicians for a National Health Care Program (pnhp.org), California Nurses-Association (cna.org), Private Health Insurance Must Go Coalition (phimgo.org), Single Payer New York (singlepayer.org), and Friends of the Earth (foe.org). If you want to see the environment, Climate Crisis Coalition (climatecrisiscoalition.org), SEI (sei.org), Greenpeace (greenpeace.org), Earth Policy Institute (earth-policy.org), Rainforest Action Network (ran.org), Earth First! (earthfirst.org), Earthjustice (earthjustice.org), Friends of the Earth (foe.org), Natural Resources Defense Council (nrdc.org). If you want economic justice, United for a Fair Economy (fairconomy.org), Too Much (toomuchonlin.org), Jobs with Justice (jwj.org)

If you want to protect our civil liberties, civil rights and human rights: Center for Constitutional Rights (ccr.org), ACLU (aclu.org), National Lawyers Guild (nlg.org), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (naacp.org), Global Exchange (globalexchange.org), P.O. American Center (poac.org), Human Rights Watch (hrw.org), Defending Dissent Foundation (defendingdissent.org). If you want to end torture, Witness Against Torture (witnessagainsttorture.org), Amnesty International (amnesty.org), Act Against Torture (actagainsttorture.org), The Quaker Initiative to End Torture (quitorture.org). If you want to defend the rights of immigrants: New York Immigration Coalition (nyic.org), National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (nnir.org), Destr Rising Up and Moving (destrrisingup.org), New York United for Immigrant Rights (nyunir.org), New York United for Immigrant Rights (nyunir.org), United Students Against Sweatshops (usa.org), Sweatshop Watch (sweatshopwatch.org), Wake Up Wake Up! (wakeupwake.com). If you want to end homelessness and promote affordable housing: National Coalition for the Homeless (nationalhomeless.org), Sylvia Rivera Law Project (srslp.org), AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (actup.org), Audre Lorde Project (alp.org)

on Homelessness & Poverty (nlhp.org), National Alliance to End Homelessness (endhomelessness.org), Coalition for the Homeless (coalitionforhomeless.org), Picture the Homeless (picturethehomeless.org), Housing Works (housingworks.org), Metropolitan Council on Housing (metcouncil.org). If you want to fight for a more democratic media: Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (fair.org), FreePress (freepress.org), Democracy Now! (democracynow.org), Reporters Without Borders (rsf.org). If you want to create a more democratic media: MediaChannel (mediachannel.org), The Independent (independent.org), Common Dreams (commondreams.org), AlterNet (alternet.org), Culture of Resistance (cultureofresistance.org), Indymedia (indymedia.org), Video Activist Network (videoactivist.org). If you want to fight for women's rights: National Organization for Women (now.org), A.C.L.U. Women's Rights Project (aclu.org/womenrights), I.R.E.W. Women's Rights (irw.org/women), Feminist Majority (feminist.org). If you want to defend LGBTQ rights: FERCIE (fercie.org), Radical Homosexual Agenda (radical-homosexualagenda.org), Sylvia Rivera Law Project (srslp.org), AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (actup.org), Audre Lorde Project (alp.org)

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