

Inside Out: A New Kind of Marketing Campaign

Barry Eisler

I wrote this description of the [Inside Out](#) marketing campaign in 2009, while it was still underway. Recently I updated it and am posting it now because I think it articulates some principles other writers will find helpful.

Book review pages are shrinking, book tours are declining, readers are inured to advertising and distracted by new forms of entertainment. But you know what? I don't think any of that matters all that much. Let me tell you why.

Notice that all the traditional means of book marketing enumerated above are about positioning the book as a generic. That is, they're about selling a book to people who like books. Okay as far as it goes, but differentiation is what really sells a product. Yes, when you last bought a car, presumably you needed a car, but no one sold you a car—they sold you a Honda (or whatever). When you ran out of toothpaste, you didn't go the drugstore to buy new toothpaste—you went to buy Colgate, or Crest, etc. You get the idea: whether the difference is real or something implanted in your mind by someone clever on Madison Avenue, differentiation (a key aspect of [branding](#)) is what sells products.

How does this relate to books?

Like this. Stop wondering about who will want to buy your book, and start asking about who will want to buy what's *in* the book.

My first novel, *A Clean Kill in Tokyo*, had a number of sellable elements, or hooks. The three that were most specific to the story were what I came to call the Three J's: judo, jazz, and Japan. I identified media that would be interested in these hooks, and set about contacting them. More on how to do so below.

I went through a similar exercise for my novel, *Inside Out*. The book was (and sadly remains) exceptionally political and timely: the torture tapes the CIA claims it created but then destroyed; Guantanamo, ghost detainees, and the steady erosion of Constitutional liberties; DADT and the costs it imposes on gay Americans and national security; the corrupt government/media/corporate nexus one of my characters calls "the oligarchy" ... obviously, there were a lot of hooks with which to promote the book. Here's what I did with them.

Any good campaign—management, military, marketing, you name it—will begin with a concrete objective, and work backward from there. My objective for *Inside Out* was mass media exposure. I reasoned that if I could get the book featured on big Internet, radio, and television shows, sales would follow. Maybe the novel wasn't quite right for Oprah, but it would be perfect for political programs like [AntiWar.com](#), [GRITtv](#), [The Young Turks](#), and many others. The challenge would be

getting these shows to break their usual pattern of programming and agree to interview a novelist. But how?

I imagined the producers of these shows being inundated with pitches: boxes and boxes of advance reading copies; reams of press releases and publisher pleas; a dumpster within tossing distance from the producer's desk overflowing with all of it. I knew I needed something that would create an instant "Holy shit!" moment in the producer's mind, a pause of pleasant surprise that would interrupt the reflex to toss a pitch about a novel into that overflowing dumpster. I would also need (and I knew I had) a compelling overall story about the novel, but if I couldn't find a way to get that producer to pause for a moment and take a closer look at the package, my compelling story would never get read.

I'm a political blogger and major news junkie, so I started by approaching a few writers whose work I closely follow: [Glenn Greenwald](#) (then of Salon; now of [The Intercept](#)), [Scott Horton](#) of Harper's, [Dahlia Lithwick](#) of Slate, and several others. I also contacted author Bob Baer, a fellow CIA alumnus. I told them how topical *Inside Out* is, and how their writing and reporting had influenced it (Scott even has a character named after him, as do many other bloggers I admire). And I asked... would you be kind enough to give it a read with an eye toward a blurb? They graciously agreed, along with, eventually, an [amazing constellation](#) of bloggers and journalists; ex-spooks and soldiers; attorneys and professors; filmmakers and prominent businesspeople; and human rights and civil liberties organizations. It was hugely gratifying to see how these people understood what I was trying to do with *Inside Out*: entertain, yes, but to set that entertainment within a real, and politically relevant, context.

When the ARC went into production, the book had actually received more praise than would fit on the front and back covers, and Ballantine had to include an extra page inside. I started bringing copies to conferences on human rights, civil liberties, and journalistic integrity, and handing them out to key opinion makers. I created a list of about 200 further activists and bloggers involved in the various areas the book touches on, and mailed each of them a letter and signed copy. The response was terrific, in part because of the novelty of these people and organizations being approached by a novelist. All of which became part of the story I pitched to the mass media programs that were my primary goal: reality-based thriller writer and progressive media working together for the good of both—and of the country!

At the same time, I wrote a front page Huff Post piece called [Torture Tales](#) detailing the right's effective cross-promotion of torture through "conservative porn" fiction—and challenging progressives to do the same with reality-based fiction like mine. And I practiced what I preached, using my platform as a novelist and tools like [Facebook](#), [Twitter](#), and my blog [The Heart of the Matter](#) to introduce my readers to the work of progressive bloggers, human rights organizations, media watchdogs, and political campaigns. Many of them noticed, and began to respond in kind.

Here's what it led to: interviews with [AntiWar.com](#), [GRITtv](#), [VoiceAmerica](#), and [The Young Turks](#), and more progressive radio; my blog got syndicated with [CHUD](#), [The Huffington Post](#), [MichaelMoore.com](#), [The Smirking Chimp](#), and [Truthout](#); [The Nation](#) invited me to do a piece on torture; [Firedoglake](#) invited me to do a [book salon](#). As part of the book tour, I did a [big event](#) with [Truthout](#) in Los Angeles, with [AlterNet](#) at the kickoff signing at Kepler's, with [Firedoglake](#) in DC, and with [Truthout](#), [GRITtv](#), and [The Nation](#) in New York. I donated five dollars for each copy of *Inside Out* sold at the events to these organizations; in exchange, the organizations put up banner ads on their home pages, Facebook pages, and promoted the events through Twitter and direct mail campaigns. This is much more than can ordinarily be achieved in a traditional banner ad advertising campaign: the organizations were motivated because the more books we sold, the more money we raised, and the costs of the campaign were all tied directly to the number of books we sold. So the campaign wasn't about exchanging existing value in the form of dollars for advertising space; rather, it was about *creating* value, by cross-promoting one another to our respective audiences. At a minimum, we raised money for organizations I support. Beyond this, I hoped the model would be successful enough to inspire other novelists and progressive organizations to imitate it, and hoped also that the Colberts, Maddows, Mahrs, and Stewarts of the world would get involved, too, and that Beck, Hannity, and Limbaugh would face increasingly formidable competition in their efforts to promote ideology through fiction. Can't say those additional goals panned out, but you can only try, and since I never stop experimenting, who knows what'll happen next?

Now, obviously not every book will have the same "hooks," political or otherwise, as *Inside Out*. But that's not the point: the point is, it pays to identify the hooks in your book, whatever they are, to find media and other amplifiers likely to be interested in those hooks, and to find a way to partner with those amplifiers. How to find your amplifiers? Googling keywords is a good start; so is a visit to the magazine section of a big bookstore (if you've written a reality-based thriller, of course, by all means, take advantage of my [blogroll](#)). And once you've identified who might be inclined to help you, how do you recruit them to your cause? This one is as easy as it is rare: don't worry about what they can do for you. Figure out what you can do for them, and start doing it. Most of the time, they'll wind up supporting you right back—and thus are born great partnerships, and innovative, differentiated marketing campaigns.

**INSIDE OUT:
MARKETING DIVISION OF LABOR**

March 9, 2009

[contact information redacted April 2014]

As we've discussed, *Inside Out* has more topical marketing hooks than most novels—more, in fact, than I think Ballantine could reasonably be expected to exploit on its own. Accordingly, I'd like to propose the following division of labor.

1. TELEVISION

All our other efforts—the blurbs, coverage in the blogosphere, support from human rights organizations—while obviously valuable in themselves, are ultimately aimed at increasing the likelihood that I'll be invited onto some combination of the following television shows, and perhaps others:

Al Jazeera English
Glenn Beck (and Fox News)
[Joy Behar](#)
Current TV
David Brancaccio, [PBS NOW](#)
Stephen Colbert
Democracy Now
[Laura Flanders](#) of GritTV and Grit Radio
Rachel Maddow
Bill Maher
Bill Moyers
Keith Olberman
Charlie Rose
Jon Stewart
The View
Young Turks
Fareed Zakaria

Although Beck's and Fox News's audience might not be interested in the themes of *Inside Out*, a good (that is, oppositional) interview could easily go viral via YouTube and the progressive blogs.

I have a few friends who have offered to contact some of the shows above on our behalf—friends who have appeared on and therefore have a certain kind of credibility with these shows, and who can be counted on to follow through on the offer to help. See **Attachment A** for details.

Division of Labor: Ballantine. Booking big media is your bread-and-butter, of course, so I defer to you. That said, I'd like to suggest that my contacts make some of

the initial approaches, where appropriate, with follow-up and coordination from Ballantine. Let's discuss.

2. RADIO

<http://wearecitizenradio.com/home.htm>

<http://www.am760.net/main.html>

<http://www.smirkingchimp.com/thread/25445>

<http://www.thomhartmann.com/>

[Cover to Cover](#), Berkeley

Andrew Meyer, WBGO, Newark

[Mike Chambers](#)

[Mike Malloy](#), [The Mike Malloy Show](#) (radio)

[Brad Friedman](#) (radio)

[Peter B. Collins](#) (radio)

[Randi Rhodes](#) (radio)

[Mark Green](#), President, Air America Radio

[Shannyn Moore](#), progressive radio and Huff Post

Warren Olney, [To The Point](#)

[Laura Flanders](#) of GritTV and Grit Radio

(lots more progressive radio [here](#). Top 100 & 250 radio talk shows [here](#).)

See also **Attachment B**, which lists all the shows Vince Flynn does. Again, although Flynn's audience and mine don't necessarily have the same politics, a good (that is, oppositional) interview will likely garner attention for me elsewhere, too.

Division of Labor: Ballantine.

3. BLOG TOUR

I think it would be useful if I spend the month of June doing a blog tour on political sites, mystery/thriller sites, and romance sites. It'll generate buzz for the book and though the book won't be out yet, I don't think I'd have time to do a blog tour and physical tour simultaneously once the book is published.

Depending on the type of book tour, though, it might make sense to start the blog tour later. See Section 11: The Book Tour.

[Dearauthor](#)

J.A. Konrath

<http://downwithtyranny.blogspot.com/>

<http://www.commondreams.org/>

<http://onlinejournal.com/>

<http://www.counterpunch.org/>
<http://www.tomdispatch.com/>
Steve Clemons, [The Washington Note](#)
[Partnership for a Secure America](#)
<http://bravenewconversations.com/>
<http://www.thenervousbreakdown.com/category/fiction/>
<http://whatever.scalzi.com/category/big-idea/>
Romance Designs
Romantic Times Book Club
Fallen Angel Reviews
eCataromance
Two Lips Reviews
Romance Divas
<http://www.jungleredwriters.com/>
Butterscotch Martini Girls
<http://www.redroom.com/>
<http://www.ninc.com/>
<http://www.romancejunkies.com/mainpage.html>

I'll also contact the blogs set forth in Advertise Liberally (**Attachment H**) to see if any would be interested in guest posts, interviews, and/or book giveaways.

Division of Labor: Eisler.

4. GAY RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

We should be looking not just for book reviews in gay media, but for features, as well. I blog frequently about gay equality on my blog, [Heart of the Matter](#). A straight man standing up for gay rights plus a sympathetic gay antagonist in *Inside Out* is an unusual combination. Gay rights organizations to contact are set forth in **Attachment C**.

Division of Labor: TBD.

5. OPINION MAKERS

There are a number of people who for one reason or another are reasonably likely to help create buzz for the book. Some of these have already given a blurb; some we've approached but haven't heard back from; others we'd be contacting for the first time. In all events, the people on **Attachment D** should each get a finished copy of the book and a handwritten note from me.

Division of Labor: Eisler.

6. BOOK SALONS

[FireDogLake](#)

(already set up for July 3)

[TPMCafe Book Club](#)

[Slate](#)

(Go through [] for this and a Slate book review?)

Division of Labor: TBD.

7. FEATURES/BOOK REVIEWS

In addition to all your usual suspects at major print and online outlets across the country, we should be sure to try for the following:

[AlterNet](#)

[Down with Tyranny](#) (also has a [recommended books](#) page on Amazon)

[Mother Jones](#)

[The Nation](#) (editor Katrina vanden Heuvel has requested that we send a copy to the literary editor—and that I write a piece for The Nation on conservative torture porn, to run on pub date).

[Salon](#)

Division of Labor: Ballantine.

8. HUMAN RIGHTS/CIVIL LIBERTIES ORGANIZATIONS

Between now and the pub date, I'll send AREs, sales collateral, and a personal letter to individuals at the organizations listed in **Attachment E**.

I'll also launch a page on my website (redesign nearly complete) whereby people can donate to several of these organizations in exchange for having characters named after them. I'm going to solicit other novelists to join, cross link to the site, and hopefully garner more attention thereby. This initiative should become an important part of the story we're selling to television booking agents and others: it's not just one novelist trying to change the world through reality-based thrillers, it's a movement.

The initial draft of the text of the website page—called “Do What You Can”—is set forth in **Attachment F**.

Division of Labor: Eisler.

9. MEDIA WATCHDOG ORGANIZATIONS

Between now and the pub date, I'll send AREs, sales collateral, and a personal letter to individuals at the organizations listed in **Attachment G**.

Division of Labor: Eisler.

10. BOOK DISPLAYS

I'd like to propose to bookstores, ideally through an article in ShelfAwareness, that they create Freedom Fiction tables for the Fourth of July, displaying novels that have championed freedom and democratic values. For example, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, *1984*, *Animal Farm*, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, *Inside Out* (no order of importance). This will tie in with the work I'm doing with human rights and civil liberties organizations.

Division of Labor: TBD.

11. THE BOOK TOUR

Every year, I'm torn between flying from market to market during the critical first two on-sale weeks, on the one hand, and doing a car- and driveby-intensive approach during that time, on the other. It's always a tradeoff—more stores and more signed books vs fewer stores and motivated crowds—but I think I might have come up with a way for us to have our cake and eat it, too.

If we can get inventory to west coast stores a week or two ahead of the pub date (and assuming there's a laydown date), I could spend the two weeks before June 29 driving myself to pretty much every bookstore between Seattle and Phoenix—about 200 total. I know from experience I could do this in two weeks. Two weeks right before the pub date spent meeting the booksellers (actually, remeeting in many cases); signing stock, handing over an autographed ARE; creating a personal connection. Then, on June 29, every store on the west coast would place its autographed copies of *Inside Out* face forward in the coop section with the autograph sticker on the cover. Many would give us even more: a register display, an end-cap. The benefits of the hardcore, driving-centric tour would be locked in *before* the pub date, and I could then get to all the stores that bring in the biggest signing audiences and sell the most books all in the first NYT reporting week: for example, Kepler's in Menlo Park; an event with TruthOut in LA; Poisoned Pen in Phoenix; Murder by the Book in Houston; Partners and Crime in NYC.

I'd love to talk about the feasibility / advisability of this, and the question of how we convince those booksellers to wait to offer those signed books until the actual pub date.

Division of Labor: TBD.

12. ADVERTISING

I'd recommend an online campaign designed to amplify our other efforts. With book salons scheduled for FireDogLake and likely at Slate and Talking Points Memo; interviews likely on sites like Scott Horton's No Comment and Truthout; and with coverage likely on blogs like Glenn Greenwald's Unclaimed Territory, I think our we can advertise cost-effectively in the progressive blogosphere through programs like [Advertise Liberally](#).

For the record, one of the people I've consulted with extensively about this is [] who has been an invaluable resource. I'd very much like to suggest we consider hiring [] to help us execute our online advertising plan. See **Attachment H**.

Possible ad content: "First Blogosphere Thriller," Scott Horton, Harpers

Division of Labor: Ballantine.

13. MISCELLANEOUS

Contact heads of relevant FaceBook pages: anti-torture, gay rights, etc.

If we do a book trailer, we ought to post it on [this site](#).

A few days before the pub date, I'll follow up by email with pretty much everyone mentioned in this plan to say thanks again and remind them to mention *Inside Out* on their blogs, Facebook pages, and Twitter. We'll see if on June 29 we can make #INSIDEOUT a trending topic on Twitter.

A month before the pub date, I'll send a mass blast to my 6000 email mailing list recipients; 6000 Facebook friends; 20,000 MySpace friends; 800 discussion board members, and 1800 Twitter followers. Will repeat the day before the pub date.

Division of Labor: Eisler.

ATTACHMENT A
EISLER'S CONTACTS TO USE FOR TV SHOWS

Countdown

MSNBC

Fox News

Russia Today

Al Jazeera English

Grit TV

Current TV

Young Turks, etc.

(Does he know Democracy Now?)

Producer of the Charlie Rose Show.

MSNBC Rachel Maddow Show

Producer

Daily Show with Jon Stewart

The View

ATTACHMENT B
VINCE FLYNN'S RADIO APPEARANCES

11/20 Glenn Beck, Fox News
5 pm EST

11/18 Imus In The Morning
9:30 am

11/17 Hannity, Fox News
9 pm EST

11/2 WCCO-AM, John Hines Show

11/2 WCCO-TV (Minneapolis), This Morning Show

10/27 [WDUN-AM \(Georgia\), Martha Zoller](#)

10/27 WJR-AM (Detroit) Frank Beckman Show

10/26 WTOP-AM (Washington, DC) Views and Clues

10/26 [Laura Ingraham Show](#)

10/26 [WWCD-FM \(Washington, DC\), Elliot in the morning](#)

10/24 KARE TV (Minneapolis), KARE-11 News Saturday

10/21 WTKK-FM (Boston)

10/21 WTKK-FM (Boston)

10/20 [Fox News Radio, John Gibson Radio Show](#)

10/20 [KPAM-AM \(Portland, OR\), Victoria Taft Show](#)

10/19 [KVI-AM \(Seattle\), Kirby Wilbur Show](#)

10/19 [Michael Medved Show](#)

10/15 [Steve Gill Report](#)

10/15 KARE-TV (Minneapolis), Showcase Minnesota

10/15 [WCCO-AM \(Minneapolis\), Michelle Tafoya Show](#)

- 10/14 [KTSA-AM \(San Antonio\), Jack Riccardi Show](#)
- 10/14 [KFAN-AM \(Minneapolis\), Bumper to Bumper with Dan Barreiro](#)
- 10/14 [Hugh Hewitt Show](#)
- 10/14 [KQRS-FM \(Minneapolis\), Tom Barnard](#)
- 10/13 [Fox News Channel, Fox & Friends](#)
- 10/13 [National Review Online](#)
- 10/13 [Neal Boortz Radio Show](#)
- 10/13 [Glenn Beck Radio](#)
- 10/13 [WOR-AM \(New York\), John Gambling](#)
- 10/12 [Fox News Channel, Glenn Beck](#)
- 10/8 [KSTP-AM \(Minneapolis\), Garage Logic](#)
- 10/6 [Dr. Blogstein's Radio Happy Hour](#)

**ATTACHMENT C
GAY RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS**

Marriage Equality USA

Out Magazine
10960 Wilshire Blvd.
Suite 1050
Los Angeles, CA 90024

Advocate.com
P.O. Box 4371
Los Angeles, CA 90078

METRO WEEKLY / Jansi, LLC
1012 14th Street, NW
Suite 209
Washington, DC 20005

Out Impact.com

Lavender Magazine
Letter to the Editor
3715 Chicago Avenue S.
Minneapolis, MN 55407

EDGE Publications, Inc.
434 Massachusetts Avenue #501
Boston, MA 02118

Afterelton.com
editor@afterelton.com

Pink is the New Blog
pinkisthenewblog@gmail.com

President, GLAAD

Matthew Sheppard Foundation
Judy Shepard
Chair, MSF Governing Board

Matthew Shepard Foundation
1580 Lincoln Street, Suite 1150
Denver, CO 80203

Matt Algren
<http://blog.mattalgren.com/> (see blog roll for more places to contact)
Can only be contacted by a message sent online

GLSEN
90 Broad Street, 2nd Floor
New York, NY 10004

Lambda Legal.org
National Office
120 Wall Street
Suite 1500
New York, NY 10005

Human Rights Campaign
1640 Rhode Island Ave. N.W.
Washington, DC 20036-3278

NCLR
870 Market Street Suite 370
San Francisco CA 94102

The New Gay
1736 Columbia Rd, NW
Suite 309
Washington, DC 20009

Page One News Media, Inc.
P.O. Box 21190

Washington, D.C. 20009

**ATTACHMENT D
OPINION MAKERS**

Matthew Alexander

Bob Baer

Andrew J. Bacevich
Department of International Relations

Paul Belle Isle

Tony Blauer

Noam Chomsky
MIT Linguistics and Philosophy

David Cole
Georgetown Law School

John Cole
Balloon Juice

Juan Cole

Tyler Cowan

Mark Danner

Digby's Hullabaloo

Laura Donahue

Daphne Eviatar

Charles Ferguson

Tina Foster

Nathaniel Frank, Ph.D.
Senior Research Fellow

Alex Gibney
Jigsaw Productions

Glenn Greenwald

Jane Hamsher
FireDogLake

Scott Hanselman

Seymour Hersh

Scott Horton

John D. Hutson

Jonathan Hutson
Enough

Simon Johnson
MIT Sloan School of Management

Doug Jones

Charles Kaiser

Jeffrey Kaye

Steve Kleinman

Walter LaFeber

Jason Leopold

Dahlia Lithwick

Joe Margulies
Northwestern University School of Law

Jane Mayer

Tracy Mercer, Four Seasons

Roger McNamee
Elevation Partners

Ravi Metrani
The Firecracker Report
Acnovate Corporation

Errol Morris

Asha Rangappa
Associate Dean
Yale Law School

Michael Ratner
Center for Constitutional Rights

Philippe Sands

Jeremy Scahill

Adam Serwer

Chris Shipley

Skippy
c/o Gil Christner

Clive Stafford Smith
Reprieve

Andrew Solomon

David Swanson

Jeff Tiedrich
The Smirking Chimp

Katrina vanden Heuvel
The Nation

Marcy Wheeler

Jim White

Andy Worthington
Author & Journalist

Philip Zimbardo
Department of Psychology, Building 420

Plus:

Darius Rejali

Professor of Political Science at Reed College, author of *Torture and Democracy*
Darius Rejali

[Lance Morrow](#), author of *Evil: An Investigation*, columnist for Time and CNN

[David Waldman](#), Daily Kos

[Nick Baumann](#), Mother Jones (wrote [article](#) on CIA destruction of torture records)

Professor Mark Denbeaux

[Jack Balkin](#), Yale Law professor, [Balkinization blog](#) ([interviewed](#) by Scott Horton).
Pioneer of the concept of the “National Surveillance State”)

[Jonathan Turley](#)

[Andrew Goldsmith](#), Professor of Law at Flinders Law School, reviewed *The Torture Debate* in the Law and Politics Review

[BuzzFlash.com](#)

Contact only available via online form

[Darren Hutchinson](#), [Dissenting Justice](#)

[Robert Scheer](#), Editor in Chief, [Truthdig.com](#)

[David Corn](#), Mother Jones DC Bureau Chief, former DC editor of The Nation
[www.davidcorn.com](#) – message via web

[Jeff Jarvis](#), BuzzMachine

[Stephen Lee](#), former CIA, now blogger for Washington Examiner

[Arsalan Iftikhar](#), True/Slant, [TheMuslimGuy.com](#)
through message via <http://www.themuslimguy.com/contact-ai.html>

ATTACHMENT E
HUMAN RIGHTS/CIVIL LIBERTIES ORGANIZATIONS

ACLU litigator [Amrit Singh](#), co-author of *Administration of Torture*
[Amna Akbar](#), Clinical Fellow at the International Human Rights Clinic, New York University School of Law, and part of the legal team representing al-Asad and Bashmilah
John Sifton, [Human Rights Watch](#)
Douglas A. Johnson, Executive Director, [Center for Victims of Torture](#)
[Tom Malinowski](#), Human Rights Watch
[Physicians for Human Rights](#)
[Veterans for Common Sense](#)
[Veterans for Peace](#)
[Irene Khan](#), Secretary General, Amnesty International
David Scheffer, [Center for International Human Rights](#)
[Human Rights Center Berkeley](#)
[The World Can't Wait](#)
<http://www.ethicalapa.com/>
<http://www.thetorturereport.org/>
[Enough Project](#)
Anthony Romero, head of the [ACLU](#)
Ben Wizner of the [ACLU](#)
[Jamil Dakwar](#), Director of the ACLU's Human Rights Program
[Electronic Frontier Foundation](#)
[Michael Ratner](#), President, [Center for Constitutional Rights](#), author of *The Trial of Donald Rumsfeld*
[Vincent Warren](#), Executive Director, Center for Constitutional Rights
Kenneth Roth, Executive Director, [Human Rights Watch](#)
[Ken Gude](#), Associate Director, Center for American Progress
Karen J. Greenberg, Executive Director of [The Center on Law and Security](#), author of *The Torture Debate in America*
[Julian Sanchez](#), [Cato Institute](#)
[Mary Robinson](#), President, Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative
[Shami Chakrabarty](#), [Liberty](#)
[Stacy Sullivan](#), Counterterrorism Advisor, [Human Rights Watch](#)
[MoveOn.org](#)
<http://www.innocenceproject.org/>
<http://www.credomobile.com/Mission/Progressive-Social-Change.aspx>
<http://act.credoaction.com/>
<http://www.cceia.org/index.html>
[Center for Human Rights and Global Justice at NYU](#)
<http://newsecurityaction.org/>
<http://www.ijnetwork.org/>
[Elisa Massimino](#), Human Rights First (the organization that put out the "In Pursuit of Justice" report on prosecuting terrorists [Glenn wrote about](#))

[Human Rights First](#), which collaborated with Scott Horton on [Private Security Contractors at War](#)
[Jonathan Horowitz](#), Open Society Institute (interviewed by Glenn [here](#))
[Liza Goitein](#), NYU [Brennan Center](#) Liberty and National Security Project, guest blogger for Balkanization
[Julie Tetard](#), UN Working Group on the Use of Mercenaries
<http://www.openthegovernment.org/article/subarchive/5>
<http://www.opensecrets.org/>
[Christopher E. Anders](#), [ACLU](#)
[Carolyn B. Lamm](#), President, [American Bar Association](#)
[Melanie Sloan](#), [Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington](#)
[The American Constitution Society](#)
[Peninsula Peace and Justice Center](#)
[Matt Cockerill](#), Young Americans for Liberty (interviewed Glenn)
[Robert Greenwald](#), Brave New Foundation
[Thomas Blanton](#), National Security Archive (watched him in Secrecy documentary)
[Steven Afergood](#), Project on American Secrecy, [Federation of American Scientists](#) (watched in Secrecy documentary)
[Charles Swift](#), Navy attorney who represented Hamdan, saw him in Secrecy movie

ATTACHMENT F DO WHAT YOU CAN

I love being a novelist. Imagining worlds and the characters who people them, trying to distill and express the feeling of a place or an experience, pulling readers out of their everyday lives and into the parallel universes I create... it's a joy for me, and I consider myself exceptionally fortunate to make my living doing it.

But I've found it's not enough.

I'm troubled today by where America is going. Societies are like organisms, subject to infection but with immune systems designed to fight disease and maintain the body's health. Right now, America is suffering from a fever of tribalism, the symptoms of which include an embrace of torture, a willing disregard for the Constitution, and the mistaken belief that we're just because we're Americans—when in fact, we're Americans because, and only for so long as, we're just.

This fever has always simmered in the American body politic (and probably in the body politic of all societies) at a level kept acceptably low by the salutary influence of a critical mass of responsible politicians and honest journalists. The problem today is that our traditional safeguards are failing. As a result, the fever is growing dangerously hot.

Congress has become a noxious joke. The House of Representatives is so gerrymandered its turnover rate is now lower than that of the British House of Lords—[lower, indeed, than the North Korean Politburo's](#). The Senate believes the nation's most pressing business is renaming French fries, investigating steroid use in baseball, and a bill to abrogate the Constitution by giving the president the power to arrest and hold indefinitely without charge, trial, or conviction anyone he calls a terrorist—[even Americans arrested on American soil](#) (ten years ago, if you'd proposed such a notion in a thriller, you couldn't have published it—publishers would have told you it was unrealistic and could never happen in America). Even Senators admit that [“banks frankly own the place.”](#)

The mainstream media is [owned by corporations](#) that have no desire to disturb their mutually profitable relationship with their partners in government. War is profitable, and the corporations that own the media and profit from war are happy to present paid Pentagon and arms manufacturer spokesmen as [disinterested analysts](#). When politicians tell the public torture is just [“enhanced interrogation techniques,”](#) even the [New York Times](#) parrots the [Orwellian government line](#). I could go on—and often do, on my blog, [Heart of the Matter](#).

In the face of growing executive power, corporate excess, and Congress's and the mainstream media's unwillingness to do anything about any of it, how can the average citizen make a difference?

The answer will be different for everyone. I blog, I write my congresswoman and senators, I try in my novels to depict torture as it really is so readers get at least some perspective on the cartoon fantasy peddled by [some novelists and their authoritarian allies](#). A few years ago, I started donating my speaking fees to organizations whose work on behalf of freedom and democracy I'm grateful for and admire, and then I thought, Why not enlist other novelists to do the same? Why not create a site where anyone who values our Constitutional freedoms can support the work of organizations dedicated to defending those freedoms?

Well, welcome to Do What You Can, a site that solicits and distributes donations to the following organizations, all dedicated to unearthing government corruption, guaranteeing individual liberty, and ensuring that our democracy works as the Constitution is designed for it to work:

[Accountability Now](#)
[American Civil Liberties Union](#)
[American Constitution Society](#)
[Amnesty International](#)
[Center for Constitutional Rights](#)
[Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington](#)
[Electronic Frontier Foundation](#)
[Human Rights First](#)
[Human Rights Watch](#)
[Open Secrets](#)
[Physicians for Human Rights](#)
[Reprieve](#)
[WikiLeaks](#)

I'm going to kick things off with a donation of my own: \$1000. Add to it: five dollars, five hundred, whatever you can. I hope other novelists—and screenwriters, bloggers, and others— will join me by linking to this page. As they do, I'll add their names here along with links to their websites. And, at the end of every calendar year, the person who's donated the most through this site will get a character named after him or her in the next novel of every novelist who appears on this page. How cool is that?

Too many people tell themselves they can't make a difference, and use that as an excuse for doing nothing. Maybe you can't change the world, but that's not your job. Your job is to do what you can. Why not start by supporting the organizations listed above with a donation right now? You'll be glad you did.

Do what you can. Thanks.

ATTACHMENT G
MEDIA WATCHDOG ORGANIZATIONS

[Jeremy Stone](#), son of Esther and Izzy Stone. Spoke at Izzy award ceremony awarding Izzy independent journalism prize to Glenn Greenwald and Amy Goodman

[Park Center for Independent Media](#) Director Jeff Cohen, one of the Izzy Prize judges
University of Illinois [Communications](#) Professor [Robert McChesney](#), one of the Izzy Prize judges

[Linda Jue](#), Director and Executive Editor of the G.W. Williams Center for Independent Journalism and one of the Izzy judges

[Nicholas Lehman](#), Dean of Columbia School of Journalism

[Mark Crispin Miller](#), NYU Professor of Media Ecology, [News from Underground](#) blogger

[Tom Rosenstiel](#), Director, Pew Center for Excellence in Journalism

[Jeff Cohen](#), founder, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting

[Center for Media and Democracy](#)

[Bob Somerby](#), The Daily Howler

<http://mediamatters.org/>

<http://centerforinvestigativereporting.org/>

<http://www.freepress.net/>

<http://www.mediaite.com/>

[The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University](#) (Froomkin)

Lippmann House

One Francis Avenue

Cambridge, MA 02138

**ATTACHMENT H
POSSIBLE ONLINE ADVERTISING**

1. This is from Advertise Liberally—a selection of some of the best. At the end of the attachment is the more expensive full list.

Adstrip
DailyKos: Standard
Raw Story: Standard Strip
Talkingpointsmemo: Lead Sidebar
Democratic Underground: Top Adstrip
Crooks and Liars: Middle ads, right column
AlterNet: Lower ads, left column, story and blog pages, NO RSS ads
Wonkette: Standard
Feministing: Standard ads, left column
Drudge Retort : Standard
Eschaton: Second Best: Ads run in top right column
The Washington Monthly: POLITICAL ANIMAL: Regular ads, right column under premium ads
Balloon Juice: Premium- Top Left
MotherJones.com: Lowest ads right column
AMERICAblog News: "We trust you are all reading AMERICAblog" - Rolling Stone / Top 20 Politic
Magazine: THIRD BEST: Lower ads, middle column - below top ad and premium ads
The Agonist: Advertise Liberally Ads: Advertise Liberally Adstrip
Truthdig: Top Ad, right column
BartCop.com: BartCop.com Ads - Middle of left column
Hullabaloo: Middle ads, left column
News Hounds: Most right column ads
OpenLeft.com: Lower ad
The Young Turks: Interior Page
Sum

2. NEW YORK TIMES These are examples of net prices; we would need actual dates to get exact prices.

Placement on Site	Flight	Impressi Total
Politics Section Front Roadblock	29-Jun	107,600
Politics Section Front Roadblock	30-Jun	103,500
Politics Section Front Roadblock	4-Jul	54,500
Politics Section Front Roadblock	11-Jul	54,500

Politics Section Front Roadblock	12-Jul	95,000
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3. HUFFINGTON POST – It's the same price no matter what day/what page we buy.

4. This is the full Advertise Liberally list. Blog Adstrips \$27,642

Adstrip
DailyKos: Standard
Raw Story: Standard Strip
Talkingpointsmemo: TPM Sidebar (Front Page Only)
Democratic Underground: Top Adstrip
AlterNet: Top spot, homepage & all subpages--NO RSS ads
Crooks and Liars: Top ads, right column
Crooks and Liars: Middle ads, right column
Wonkette: Standard
Feministing: Standard ads, left column
Drudge Retort : Standard
Eschaton: Second Best: Ads run in top right column
The Washington Monthly: POLITICAL ANIMAL: Regular ads, right column under premium ads
Balloon Juice: Premium- Top Left
MotherJones.com: Lowest ads right column
AMERICAblog News: "We trust you are all reading AMERICAblog" - Rolling Stone / Top 20 Politic Magazine: THIRD BEST: Lower ads, middle column - below top ad and premium ads
The Agonist: Advertise Liberally Ads: Advertise Liberally Adstrip
The Agonist ~ Premium Ads: Agonist Premium
BartCop.com: Premium ads, top-left
Truthdig: Top Ad, right column
Hullabaloo: Middle ads, left column
News Hounds: Most right column ads
The Young Turks: Front Page
OpenLeft.com: Lower ad
TalkLeft: The Politics of Crime: TalkLeft Sidebar, Below Premium Ad
OpenLeft.com: Premium ad- top spot
Pam's House Blend: Pam's House Blend Standard
Pandagon.net: Right side bar
Politics1: Standard
OpEdNews: OpEdNews blogs Prem Right
Democrats.com: Regular - Below Premium ad, left column
The Smirking Chimp: Standard
MyDD: Standard
Sadly, No!: Right column ads.
Electoral-vote.com: Premium
Swing State Project: Standard (left-hand sidebar)
Rod 2.0: Rod 2.0 Standard, Below Premium

The American Prospect: Middle Right Columns
Informed Comment: Standard
PageOneQ: P1Q Upper Right
blogACTIVE: BA - Upper Right
Lawyers, Guns and Money: Right Sidebar
Booman Tribune: Booman Tribune
Oliver Willis: Standard
The Bilerico Project: Premium placement
The Political Carnival : Top Of Right Column- Eye Catching!
The Bilerico Project: Standard placement
Banter Media Group: Top ad, Premium Spot
Feministe: Top, right column
Blue Mass. Group: Right column
Project Censored: Upper Right of Every Page
This Modern World: This Modern World sponsor
Washington Note: Standard
This Modern World: This Modern World right column
Docudharma: Middle Right Column
Jack Bog's Blog: Top of right column
Zelda Lily: Feminism in a Bra: Standard
BlueOregon: BlueOregon Sponsors
Jack and Jill Politics: Top Of Blogroll - Right Column
The Rude Pundit: Standard
onegoodmove: Top ads, right column
Burnt Orange Report: Standard- Left Column
The Hollywood Liberal: Middle ads, left column
BRAD BLOG: Just below top-left, second best place
HorsesAss.org: Top Left Column
Calitics: SoapBlox California: Top-right
Empire Burlesque: Top Right Column
My Left Nutmeg: Standard
Jesus' General: Standard
BAGnewsNotes: Upper Right
Rhode Island's Future: Top Ads, Right Column
KnoxViews: Premium
Blue Hampshire: Middle Left Column - Featured Sponsor
My Left Wing: MLW Premium 1
Blue Jersey: Premium
The California Progress Report: Standard
Susie Bright's Journal: Standard Susie Bright Journal
Cursor.org: Left Sidebar.
Fired Up! Missouri: Premium Ads - Right Column
Michigan Liberal: Standard

Greta Christina's Blog: Top ads, left column, just under host photo
Left In Alabama: Standard
The Left Coaster: Left column
DemConWatch: Standard - Left Side
OpEdNews: OpEdNews blog left premium
Minnesota Progressive Project: Right Sidebar
SistersTalk : Premium ads - top spots!
OpEdNews: opednews blog standard right column
Suburban Guerrilla: Standard
The Mahablog: Upper Right Sidebar
First Draft: Blogads
the albany project: Premium
Green Mountain Daily: PREMIUM: Top left under logo
BlueNC: Standard
Majikthise: Upper right column
La Vida Locavore: Premium: Top ads, middle column
Big Head DC: Premium, left column, excellent placement
Scholars and Rogues: Upper section of right sidebar
DovBear: top right column
La Vida Locavore: Standard: Below top ads, middle column
The Newshoggers: top right column
Senate Guru: Premium
Young Philly Politics: Right side, near top
The Satirical Political Report: right sidebar
EdCone.com: top ads, left column
The Reaction -- by Michael J.W. Stickings: Standard
CultureKitchen: culturekitchen BlogAds
Taylor Marsh: Left Side
Kick! Making Politics Fun: Middle Right
Hoffmania: Hoffmania1
skippy the bush kangaroo: top ads, right column
Barefoot and Progressive: Top Right Column
Feminist Review: Middle Ads, right column
Seeing the Forest : Top ads, right column
West Virginia Blue: Standard: top ads, right column
Congress Matters: Standard
Bleeding Heartland: Left bar below search
LiberalOasis: Standard
Las Vegas Gleaner: side column
SquareState.net: Standard
News Corpse: Grande
Search and Destroy: Standard
War and Piece: right vertical column

Blue Indiana: Premium - Top of Left Column
The Daily Gotham: Daily Gotham Regular BlogAds
CLAY CANE: Ads at top right column
The Locust Fork News and Journal: Local/Discount Sponsors
American Street: Left column
ISOU: Main Strip
The Republic of T.: Right Sidebar
All Spin Zone: ASZ Premium (top right)
PrairieStateBlue: All Pages
Is That Legal?: near top of right column
mediagirl.org: Right sidebar, every page
Town Called Dobson: Standard
TexasKaos.com: Standard
Loaded Orygun: Right column, under Premium
The Democratic Daily: Advertise Liberally: Left Column
Comments From Left Field: All Ads, left column in decending order
Make Them Accountable: Top of the middle column
Jon Swift: Top of left column
Needlenose: Standard
Sum

(*) All prices are net, that is, no agency commissions included.