



a film by
Karin Hayes & Victoria Bruce

TRT: 81 min.

www.werenotbrokemovie.com



Screenings • U.S. Documentary Competition

Sun., Jan. 22	• 9:00 PM	• Temple Theatre	• Park City
Mon., Jan. 23	• 9:00 AM	• <i>Holiday 1 (Park City)</i>	• <i>(P&I Screening)</i>
Tues., Jan. 24	• 4:00 PM	• Redstone Cinema 7	• Park City
Wed., Jan 25	• 6:45 PM	• Broadway Centre Cinema	• Salt Lake City
Thurs., Jan. 26	• 11:30 AM	• MARC	• Park City
Fri., Jan. 27	• 3:00 PM	• Screening Room	• Sundance Resort
Sat., Jan 28	• 9:00 AM	• Temple Theatre	• Park City

North American Sales:

Ben Weiss, Paradigm
(310) 403-0113

bweiss@paradigmagency.com

Press Contacts:

Amy Grey/Ashley Mariner
DISH COMMUNICATIONS

Cell: (818) 216-7880 / (818) 468-8605

AmyG@dishcommunications.com

AshleyM@dishcommunications.com

WE'RE NOT BROKE Synopsis

WE'RE NOT BROKE is an exposé into the secret world of corporate tax dodging. By booking profits offshore that should really be accounted for in America, multinational corporations like Exxon, Google and Bank of America are cheating our country out of an estimated \$100 billion a year. All the while, America is in the grip of a tremendous recession, the likes of which have not been seen since the Great Depression. Lawmakers' common cry of "We're Broke!" echoes in Washington, D.C. and across the mainstream media as our elected officials slash budgets, lay off schoolteachers, police, and firefighters—crumbling our country's social fabric and leaving many people scrambling to survive.

While corporate tax avoidance has been accelerating for the past decade, and astronomical amounts of money have been lost to the U.S. Treasury, it has gone mostly unnoticed by the media and the general public. That changed in early 2011, when a small group of Americans, inspired by protests in the United Kingdom, formed a fledgling grassroots movement called US Uncut. Their goal seemed simple: Call out corporate tax dodgers and make them pay their fair share.

WE'RE NOT BROKE interweaves the stories of seven US Uncut activists from across the nation: Carl Gibson, a 24-year-old college graduate from Jackson, Mississippi who can't find gainful employment; Joanne Gifford, a California mom and unemployed high school teacher; Jim Coleman, the owner of a Chicago heating and air conditioning company who is watching his profession vanish with the sinking economy; Musician Chris Priest, 24, who laments the days when his postman grandfather could single-handedly support a family of eight; Kira Elliot, 29, a personal trainer and Mary Kay rep. who sees her middle class clients disappear as they tighten their belts; Bobbie Arrington, a 35-year-old social worker and graduate student who's dealing with cuts to the hospital where she sees clients; and Ryan Clayton, a charismatic 30-year-old media analyst from Washington, D.C. who, once he learned that he paid more taxes than multibillion-dollar corporations, began planning what he was sure was a coming revolution.

WE'RE NOT BROKE follows the US Uncut activists to the streets as they use creative activism to protest Bank of America, Apple and FedEx. All the while, U.S. corporations continue making record profits, and then pocket billions of dollars that should rightfully go back to the American public. The tactics, their CEOs argue, are legal. But the laws are passed using shady practices that move in concert with big campaign contributions and millions in lobbying expenses. President Obama, while having campaigned on the promise of closing offshore tax loopholes, has done nothing of the kind. Lawmakers on both sides of the aisle continue to coddle corporations while slashing public services that affect everyone else.

Over the summer of 2011, Microsoft and Apple led a massive lobbying effort they called The Win America Campaign to get congress to give them a "tax holiday" on over a

trillion dollars in profits they claimed to have earned overseas. At the same time, sparks from the US Uncut movement that began in the winter of 2011 helped flame growing feelings of injustice among America's middle class. And in late September 2011, many US Uncut members joined Occupy Wall Street, a new movement that echoed their calls for an economically just America, and a government un-tethered from corporate greed.

WE'RE NOT BROKE Filmmaker Bios

Karin Hayes (Director):

Karin Hayes's first independent documentary was the duPont-Columbia University Award-winning film, *The Kidnapping of Ingrid Betancourt* (HBO/Cinemax 2004). Hayes also co-produced and directed *Held Hostage in Colombia*, a documentary about three American contractors captured by FARC guerrillas in Colombia, and the 2008 Target[®] Filmmaker Award-winning film *Pip & Zastrow: An American Friendship*.

Hayes has contributed to other directors' films including Paul Rachman's 2006 Sundance documentary *American Hardcore: the history of American punk rock from 1980-1986* (Sony Pictures Classics), and Brian Liu's and Mary Wareham's film *Disarm*, about the devastating effects of landmines. Hayes has also worked on productions for PBS, National Geographic Channel, the Travel Channel, the Discovery Channel, and with The Cronkite Ward Company for TLC/Discovery Networks. In addition to feature documentary projects, Hayes has produced videos for the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian, and worked for the Smithsonian Folklife Festival.

In 2010 Hayes's first book, *Hostage Nation: Colombia's guerilla army and the failed war on drugs* (co-authored with Victoria Bruce) was published by Knopf. Hayes graduated from UCLA with a degree in World Arts & Cultures, and lives in New York City.

Victoria Bruce (Director):

Victoria Bruce is the recipient of the duPont-Columbia University Award for excellence in broadcast journalism for *The Kidnapping of Ingrid Betancourt* (HBO/Cinemax 2004). She is also the author of two non-fiction books, *No Apparent Danger* (HarperCollins 2001) and *Hostage Nation: Colombia's guerilla army and the failed war on drugs* (Knopf 2010).

Bruce also co-produced and directed *Held Hostage in Colombia*, a documentary about three American contractors captured and held captive in Colombia, and the 2008 Target[®] Filmmaker Award: *Pip & Zastrow: An American Friendship*. Bruce has a background in geology and has been the host of television documentaries for Discovery Channel and PBS.

Bruce has a Master's degree in Geology from the University of California, Riverside. She lives in Annapolis, Maryland with her 7-year-old daughter, Evelyn, her partner Alex, and his 12-year-old daughter, Catalina.

WE'RE NOT BROKE Directors' Statements

In August 2010, my co-director who'd all but sworn off making films, called and exclaimed, "We're making another documentary!" The topic: *offshore tax havens*. The only thing I knew about tax havens was what many people commonly think of when the subject is mentioned — shady business dealings done on myriad Caribbean Islands or behind thick, impenetrable walls of Swiss banks. The thought of delving into this murky world sounded fascinating and challenging.

What seemed like an intriguing idea at the start, began to affect me on a much deeper level throughout the production of WE'RE NOT BROKE. The more I learned about how corporations could legally game the system, and how many of our politicians allowed them to do so, the more incensed I became. Something was definitely *not* right.

But what could *we* do about it? Most people I talked to would either yawn or form beads of sweat if the subject of taxes came up. The connection between what the multinationals were up to in the world of tax planning seemed a far cry from most Americans' daily lives. But as I discovered, it wasn't that far away at all. The ripple effect is all too real. As corporations contribute less, we contribute more. I realized that our film was much more than just the subject of offshore tax havens, it encompassed a larger view of what the middle class has been suffering, how we got to this place, and where we're headed if we don't take the reins back.

Halfway through shooting the film, with a much better understanding of the effects of corporate tax avoidance, we still lacked a clear way to connect it to the everyday person. I read an article in *The Nation* magazine, which did just that. It described a protest movement called UK Uncut that sought out corporate tax dodgers and related their tax avoidance to public service cuts. This led me to an article mentioning one person in the US who had decided to follow UK Uncut's lead—Carl Gibson. Two days later we were on a plane heading to film Carl and the beginnings of US Uncut in Jackson, Mississippi. We soon discovered that the idea was spreading across the country; similar Uncut groups were forming in cities from Novi, Michigan to Honolulu, Hawaii, to New York City. Finally, we had found a way to illustrate the link from the corporations to the everyday person. It wasn't until months later, when we feared US Uncut might be dying out, that the fire started again with Occupy Wall Street.

As I filmed some of the US Uncut members at Zuccotti Park on the first day of Occupy Wall Street (September 17, 2011), I was overwhelmed by the energy of the growing crowd. From interviews with a high school student to an 89 year-old-man, I was inspired by the stories people told about why they had chosen to take to the streets, and by their determination to bring attention to issues that were affecting 99% of Americans.

Throughout every twist and turn in the making of WE'RE NOT BROKE, I've been challenged both personally and professionally. I believe that our film *can* add to the discussion of where do we go from here. As one of our main characters, Kira, states: "We

as Americans have to decide whether or not we want to be a community, we want to be a strong unit or if we want to be every man for his self. And I would be willing to bet that the majority of Americans need a community in order to survive.” I hope audiences will leave the film discussing what steps can be taken to turn things in a far better direction—for *all* of us.

— Karin Hayes, January 2012, New York, NY

In 2010, WE'RE NOT BROKE executive producer Charles Davidson approached me to write a book about how tax evasion places an enormous burden on world economies. Davidson's goal was to bring attention to the issue and to try to help change the global tax system. Although intimidated by the complex subject, I set out to investigate. What I discovered was that the topic seemed much better suited to a documentary film, rather than the book. I then enlisted my long-time filmmaking partner, Karin Hayes, to embark on a year-long journey to direct and produce a film about corporate tax dodgers.

When we first began filming expert interviews in October 2010, I felt like I was making a film far detached from my daily life. But as these experts began to unravel the mysteries of our national and global economy, I was blown away. I was finally able to link the economic ruin that our country is facing to the corporate greed that's been holding our government hostage for most of my lifetime. There was a reason that my neighbors are declaring bankruptcy to save their homes while big banks receive trillions in taxpayer-funded bailouts. Other neighbors have lost their homes to foreclosure. My daughter's best friend in the neighborhood comes over to eat her meals at our house because her mom's unemployment benefits have run out. The other day, I overheard her tell my daughter that she and her mom may soon be on the street. She is 8 years old.

It's been incredibly difficult to understand how my middleclass neighborhood came to be like this. But as we learned more and more through the production of this film, I found the answers. The step-by-step clandestine corporate takeover of our government was accomplished because Americans were blindsided by the opportunity to get everything as cheaply as possible on borrowed money—without consequence. How did we let this happen? What I now understand is that having our collective head in the sand is not a way to have a successful democracy. In being asleep for four decades, we have, in the words of one of our film's experts “outsourced our democracy to the richest people in America” whose interests are only their own.

I was born at the end of the Vietnam War, as a public outcry originating from college campuses put pressure on our leaders to end the bloodshed in that far away country. At the same time, the brave soldiers of the civil rights movement put an end to legalized segregation. As I grew up, there was really no work to be done except to prosper and make money—to buy wholly into the corporate American dream. As a carefree 20-something in the 1980s, I remember Detroit autoworkers laid off as their jobs were sent

to Mexico: a scene from Michael Moore's pivotal film, *Roger and Me* that haunts me to this day and has replayed over and over in my mind for the last 20 years. Why didn't we, as Americans, stand up for those autoworkers? As one American company after another argued that they couldn't compete or survive with Americans making their products, we began to believe that we were too expensive, because the big corporations told us we were. And now, in the end, we've made ourselves obsolete in our very own country where there is no industry or manufacturing to drive a thriving middle class.

This film has changed me irrevocably, and I know that there will not be a day in my future when I don't take responsibility for my contribution to my country and my community. Our political system is broken. Our two-party system is a joke. And Washington D.C. is a hotbed of corporate corruption that only works in the interests of the mega-rich who descend on our leaders like vultures.

But my most prized possession that I take away from the experience of making *WE'RE NOT BROKE*, is what I've learned by following very passionate, caring Americans who took to the streets on a frigid February day in 2011. From Chicago, to San Francisco to Boston to Jackson, Mississippi, young college graduates, middle-aged moms and dads, 30-somethings trying to survive in a broken economy, were not afraid to take the front lines of the fight against corporate greed. And what I took away from them all is a growing and intense feeling of *hope*. As Jim Coleman, one of our film's characters, a father and small businessman from Chicago, says, "It doesn't have to be the *way things are*."

— Victoria Bruce, January 2012, Riva, Maryland

WE'RE NOT BROKE — Attending the 2012 Sundance Film Festival:

Jack A. Blum, Tax Attorney and Investigator:

Jack Blum is a Washington, D.C. lawyer who specializes in issues of money laundering, financial crime, and international tax evasion. He spent fourteen years as a Senate investigator with the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He played a central role in the Lockheed Aircraft bribery investigation of the 1970s, which led to the passage of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, and in the investigation of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International. He is currently chair of Tax Justice Network USA, and the Violence Policy Center. He obtained a J.D. from Columbia Law School and a B.A. in Psychology from Bard College.

Ryan Clayton, Activist: Co-Founder, US Uncut

Ryan Clayton, 29, is a Media Analyst in Washington, D.C. In February 2011, incensed after hearing that as a young, struggling professional, he was paying more income taxes than multi-billion dollar corporations, he co-founded an anti-tax dodging protest movement called US Uncut.

Outraged at the lack of aggressive, direct action by progressives in the political arena, and instilled with an intense desire for justice by his missionary father, Ryan has set off to creatively expose corporate tax dodgers for what he believes is one of the biggest issues bankrupting our country. He led a “Beach Party” at a BP gas station to protest the fact that BP got a tax write off of \$9 billion for the environmental destruction they caused in the Gulf. He dressed as a pirate to lead a “guerrilla book signing” in a Verizon store, and dressed in Rock ‘n Roll gear for a “flash mob” air guitar concert at the Apple store in Washington, D.C. Ryan is best known in the Uncut movement for crashing the Bank of America investors’ conference in New York City—a scene which opens WE’RE NOT BROKE.

Additional experts appearing in WE'RE NOT BROKE

- Chuck Collins, Senior Scholar, *Institute for Policy Studies*
- Jesse Drucker, Reporter, *Bloomberg News*
- Robert Goulder, Editor-in-Chief, *Tax Analysts*
- James Henry, Economist and Author, *The Blood Bankers*
- David Cay Johnston, Pulitzer-Prize winning Author and Journalist, *Reuters*
- Edward Kleinbard, Professor, USC Gould School of Law
- Frank Knapp, South Carolina Small Business Chamber of Commerce
- Senator Carl Levin, Michigan (D)
- David Marchant, Publisher and Journalist, *Offshore Alert*
- Dan Mitchell, Co-Founder, Center for Freedom and Prosperity
- Nicholas Shaxson, Author, *Treasure Islands*
- Lee Sheppard, Tax Attorney and Contributing Editor, *Tax Notes*
- Martin Sullivan, Economist and Journalist, *Tax Notes*
- Rebecca Wilkins, Attorney, Citizens for Tax Justice
- Jeffrey Winters, Professor of Political Economy, Northwestern University

WE'RE NOT BROKE Facts

What is corporate tax dodging?

The use of offshore tax havens by multinational corporations is so incredibly widespread, that our country is losing an estimated \$100 billion per year in revenue. \$100 billion is equal to the amount congress proposed to cut in 2011 from social, scientific and environmental programs. Many experts believe that the total revenue lost to corporate tax loopholes is far greater than this estimate.

What is a tax holiday?

U.S. corporations are asking congress to give them a tax break by allowing them to bring back (“repatriate”) \$1.4 trillion in profits they claimed to have earned overseas. GE alone is asking to repatriate \$94 billion. If the corporations paid the statutory 35% corporate tax rate instead of the 5.5% they are lobbying for, the American public could see as much as \$400 billion infused into our public coffers.

Corporations (and many lawmakers in Washington, D.C.) argue that a “tax holiday” will create jobs. It won't. In 2004, a law called “The American Jobs Creation Act” was passed by congress. The law allowed corporations to bring back the money (held as offshore earnings) at a reduced tax rate. When the money came home, these same companies fired thousands of workers.

Tax Dodging Statistics

- 30 of the top 100 American corporations paid zero income tax in at least one of the last three years (2008-2010).
- Corporate CEOs whose companies pay nothing or next to nothing in tax to the U.S. government, are raking in enormous paychecks.
- GE (2005-2010): Profit \$26 billion, Federal Income Taxes Paid: \$0
- Bank of America (2010): Profit \$4.4 billion; Bailout \$1 Trillion; Federal Income Taxes Paid: \$0
- Exxon (2009): Profit: \$19 billion; Federal Income Taxes Paid: \$0
- Chevron (2009): Profit \$10 billion, Federal Income Taxes Paid: \$0
- Citigroup (2010): Profit \$4 billion; Bailout \$2.5 trillion, Federal Income Taxes Paid: \$0
- Since 1961, the total percentage of U.S. Federal Income Tax collected from corporations has been cut in half.

- The Uglad House, an office building in the Cayman Islands where the corporate income tax rate is zero, is home to 18,857 registered corporations.
- In 2009, Viagra's parent company, Pfizer, increased its net income by \$1 billion by shifting profits overseas.
- In 2010, with economic recovery stalled and high unemployment, corporate profits rose 37%. And by the 4th Quarter of 2010 reached 1.68 trillion — an all time high.
- There are now 50 countries designated as offshore tax havens.
- Tax Code and Regulations: In 1913, the tax code and regulations were 400 pages, in 2011, they were 72,536 pages.
- From 2007-2009, Google cut its taxes by \$3.1 billion by shifting profits overseas.
- \$2.4 trillion was lost in federal revenue due to the Bush tax cuts.
- In 2010, GE spent \$39 million lobbying congress—more than any other corporation.
- Over the last 30 years, tax revenue as a percentage of GDP has dropped from 19.6% to 14.9% — cutting total tax revenue to our country by nearly a quarter.
- Americans pay among the lowest taxes in the developed world.
- Since 2006 General Electric has amassed \$94 billion in untaxed profits offshore. They are not alone:
- Caterpillar • Government Contracts (2006-2011): \$1.7 Billion; Untaxed profits in overseas subsidiaries: \$11 Billion
- GM • Government Contracts (2010-2011): \$3.6 Billion; Untaxed profits in overseas subsidiaries: \$4.1 Billion
- Verizon • Government Contracts (2010-2011): \$2.5 Billion; Untaxed profits in overseas subsidiaries: \$1.2 Billion

Data and statistics for WE'RE NOT BROKE were drawn primarily from the following sources.

Bloomberg News
The Cato Institute
Center for Corporate Policy
Center for Responsive Politics
Citizens for Tax Justice
Congressional Research Service
Forbes
Government Accountability Office (GAO)
Institute for Policy Studies
J.P. Morgan
MilitaryIndustrialComplex.com
The New York Times
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
Tax Foundation
U.S. Department of Commerce
U. S. Department of the Treasury
U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations
The White House Office of Management and Budget

***Digital press kit contains hyperlinks to sources.
Go to www.werenotbroke.com.**

WE'RE NOT BROKE Press Photos

To download in high resolution go to: werenotbroke.com/press/



Caption: Feb. 26, 2011, Jackson, MS. US Uncut co-founder Carl Gibson explains the new movement that aims to make corporations pay their fair share of income tax. Photo by Victoria Bruce.



Caption: January 21, 2011, Schenectady, NY: President Obama announces that General Electric CEO Jeffrey Immelt will lead the White House Council on Jobs and Competitiveness. Two months later, *The New York Times* breaks the story that in 2010, GE paid zero dollars of income tax on \$26 billion in U.S. profits. Photo courtesy The White House.



Caption: October 5, 2011, Occupy Wall Street protesters join unions at a rally in Foley Square, New York City. Many of the US Uncut protesters join Occupy Wall St. groups across the country. Photo by Karin Hayes



Caption: August 2011, US Uncut Chicago member Jim Coleman protests at the Apple store. Apple is among a group of multinational corporations lobbying congress for a “tax holiday” which would reduce their corporate income tax rate on money held overseas from 35% to 5.5%. Photo by Kevin Caby.



Caption: February 26, 2011, Los Angeles: On US Uncut’s first national day of action, protestors focus on Bank of America for the company’s tax avoidance practices. Photo by Adrian Belic

WE'RE NOT BROKE Credits

Directed, Written and Produced by	Karin Hayes & Victoria Bruce
Executive Producer	Charles G. Davidson
Edited by	Cindy Lee
Cinematography by	Bryan Litt
Original Score by	Dan Radlauer
Associate Producer	Paul Rachman
Special Advisor	Jack Blum
Structure Consultant	Julie Talen
Graphic Design	The String Theory John Vondracek Kamaur Bonfield Liz Klein
Motion Graphics	VRAM FX Gavin Guerra Franz Palomares Matt Tragesser
Additional Camera	
Annapolis, MD:	Victoria Bruce
Ann Arbor, MI and Novi, MI :	Alex Dawson • Lucas Zoll
Chicago, IL:	Kevin Caby • Jeff Perlman
Boston, MA:	Taylor Adams • Alexa Amarantos • Mark Zion
Honolulu, HI:	Darin Padula • Michael Daly
Jackson, MS:	Phillip Thomas • Kevin Slark
Long Branch, NJ and Philadelphia, PA:	Laura Seltzer
Los Angeles, CA:	Adrian Belic
Miami, FL:	Dale West

Additional Camera

New York, NY:

Portland, ME:

Portland, OR:

Karin Hayes • Paul Rachman • Julie Talen

Todd J. Burgess

Brian Mohr

Gaffers

Christian Allen

Andrew Sadtler

Steve Sikora

Gregory Watt

Robert Waybright

Sound Recordist

Chris Nickless

Field Producer

Laura Seltzer

Production Assistants

Jacqueline F. Baires

Sophie Erickson

Alexis Fearon

Steve Johnson

Michelle Mimi Motoyoshi

Apprentice**Production Assistants**

Catherine Brady

Evelyn Dahl

Angelina DeBari

Caroline Moss

Catalina Provenzano

Assistant Editor

Aaron Crozier

Nicola Tranquillino

Transcription

Denise Kron

Morgan Gioffre

Kristin Hanne

Archival Producer

Reniqua Allen

Researcher

Sarena Snider

Fact Checker

Sheelagh McNeill

Color byPost Factory^{NY}**Colorist**

Mishel Hassidim

Executive Producers	Alex Halpern and Kim Spikes
Associate Producer	Sebastian Iturralde
Online Technician	Patrick Gerrity
Sound Supervisor	Tom Efinger
Re-recording Mixers	Eric Gitelson
Sound Design	John Moros
Assistant Editors	Jeff Seelye
Dig It In House Producer	Alicia Loving
Audio Post Facility	Dig It Audio Inc.

MUSIC

“Ain’t There Something Money Can’t Buy”
Written by Isaac “Redd” Holt
Published by Yo-Ho Music Publishing (BMI), and
Ambitious Music (BMI), Admin. by American League Music

“Quarter Life Crisis”
Written by Collette Savard (published by Socan/BMI)
Performed by Collette Savard
Produced by John Zytaruk

“We Go Together”
Written by Collette Savard (published by Socan/BMI)
Performed by Collette Savard/John Zytaruk
Produced by John Zytaruk

“US Uncut vs Bank of America”
Written, Performed and Published by Chris Priest
Licensed under Creative Commons
www.ChrisPriestMusic.com

“Back in Brown”
Written, Performed and Published by The Subtractions

“RazorWire”
Written, Performed and Published by Chris Priest
www.ChrisPriestMusic.com

Legal Services

Karen Shatzkin
Shatzkin & Mayer, P.C.

Additional Legal Services

Robert I. Freedman, Esq.
Cowan DeBaets Abrahams & Sheppard

Payroll Services

Maslow Media Group

Production Accountant

Lindsay Mercer

French Connection

Alex Provenzano

**Website Design &
Illustration**

Luke Radl

Social Media

Lejla Huskic

© 2012 Onshore Productions, LLC