

**WHAT I'VE LEARNED ABOUT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY:  
THE WAR AGAINST THE THIRD WORLD**

A Video Compilation by Frank Dorrel

## **This 2 hour video compilation features the following 10 segments:**

- 1. Martin Luther King Jr.:** segments of his position against the U.S. war in Vietnam. (2:45)
- 2. John Stockwell:** Stockwell was the CIA Station Chief of Operations in Angola in 1975 under then CIA Director, George Bush Sr. A 13 year veteran of the agency, Stockwell provides a short history of the CIA; estimating over 6 million people have died as a direct consequence of the agency's covert operations since its inception in 1947. This is a segment of a talk he gave in the late 1980's. (6:18)
- 3. "Coverup; Behind the Iran-Contra Affair":** Directed by Barbara Trent of the *Empowerment Project*. The Iran-Contra scandal was not just an aberration of U.S. foreign policy; it has become standard operating procedure. An estimated 20 to 30,000 Nicaraguan men, women and children were killed in US sponsored terror conducted by the CIA backed right-wing contra forces. *Elizabeth Montgomery* narrates. Includes a history of CIA covert operations by *Peter Dale Scott* (20:46)
- 4. "School of Assassins":** An examination of our own terrorist training school right here in the United States. "School of Assassins" looks at the US Army training school known as the School of the Americas where soldiers from Central and South America are trained in the art of torture, terrorism, and assassination. The School of the Americas is located at Fort Benning, Georgia. Narrated by *Susan Sarandon* and features *Father Roy Bourgeois*. (13:31)
- 5. "Genocide by Sanctions":** Examines the impact of the decade long sanctions imposed upon the people of Iraq by the United States with UN Approval. Genocide by Sanctions was produced by Gloria La Riva and features the former *Attorney General of the United States, Ramsey Clark*. (12:40)
- 6. "Phil Agee":** Philip Agee spent 13 years as a case officer in the CIA, resigning in 1969. His book "Inside the Company: CIA Diary" was first published in 1975 and has been translated into 27 languages. It was a best seller worldwide. His autobiography "*On The Run*" was published in 1987. In this speech given in 1991 after the first Gulf War, Agee analyzes why the U.S. invaded Iraq. He also describes "the war against the third world" as being fought for the natural resources, the labor and the markets of these third world countries the United States has invaded either overtly or covertly since the end of World War II.
- 7. Amy Goodman:** journalist and host of *Democracy Now!* on Pacifica Radio, which was founded by World War II anti-war pacifists. On this section of the tape, Amy is talking about two genocides Indonesia committed. First against its own people in 1965, then against the people of East Timor in 1975. Both of these mass slaughters were sanctioned by the United States State department and aided by the CIA. (5:13)
- 8. "The Panama Deception":** This film documents the untold story of the December 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama while exploring the role the mainstream media in the United States has in suppressing or downplaying the serious impact US foreign policy. This documentary includes never before seen footage of this invasion. Directed by Barbara Trent of the *Empowerment Project*. (22:05)
- 9. Ramsey Clark:** former *Attorney General of the United States*: I was there the night Ramsey Clark gave this speech back in 1998 at a church in Los Angeles. Called "Save the Iraqi Children," Ramsey's talk is very powerful as he conveys the aspects of US foreign policy in Iraq that are not often heard. (7:46)
- 10. S. Brian Willson:** Speaking about the necessity of a "revolution in consciousness," Brian offers an inspiring and hopeful perspective on the role of a massive peace movement. Brian is the Vietnam veteran who, in 1987, lost both his legs when run over by a munitions train at the Concord Naval Weapons Station, located in California. The bombs and munitions aboard this train were bound for Central America. (8:37)
- 11. End Credits and Contact Information**

## **BEGIN VIDEO**

### **SEGMENT #1: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

“We’re all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. And whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. John Donne coined it years ago and placed it in graphic terms: “No man is an island entirely of itself, every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.” And then he goes on toward the end to say: “Any man’s death diminishes me, because I’m involved in Mankind; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.”

**Title: What I’ve Learned About US Foreign Policy: The War Against the Third World. CIA Covert Operation and U.S. Military Interventions Since World War II**

**Voice of Iraqi woman crying:** “Why!? Children! Girls! Boys! Man, woman! Why!? Why!?”

**Voice of Narrator:** “The invasion was swift, intense and merciless.”

**Title: What You Didn’t Learn In School and Don’t Hear on the Mainstream Media**

**Martin Luther King, Jr.:** “And I oppose the war in Vietnam because I love America. I speak out against it, not in anger but with anxiety and sorrow in my heart and above all with a passionate desire to see our beloved country stand as the moral example of the world. I speak out against this war because I am disappointed with America. There can be no great disappointment where there is no great love.”

“For those who say to me, ‘stick to civil rights,’ I have another answer. That is that I’ve fought too long and too hard now against segregated public accommodations to end up segregating my moral concerns. I’m not going to do that. Others can do what they want to do. That’s their business. Other civil rights leaders for various reasons refuse or can’t take a stand or have to go along with the administration, that’s their business! But I must say tonight that I know that justice is indivisible; injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”

**Martin Luther King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee, exactly one year after delivering his famous “Beyond Vietnam” speech at the Riverside Church in New York City on April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1967.**

## **SEGMENT #2: JOHN STOCKWELL, former CIA Station Chief Angola Task Force**

“My expertise, as you know, is CIA, Marine Corp, three CIA Secret Wars. I had a position in the National Security Council in 1975 as the Chief of the Angola Task Force running the Secret War in Angola. It was the third CIA Secret War I was part of.”

“The National Security law creating the National Security Council and the CIA, as you know, was passed in 1947. The CIA was given its charter to perform such other duties and functions as might be necessary to national security interests and given a vague authority to protect its sources and methods. I think it was in the mid ‘80s that I coined this phrase the ‘Third World War’ because in my research I realized that we were not attacking the Soviet Union in the CIA’s activities, we were attacking people in the Third World. And I am going to just quickly, in the interest of time, just give you a little sense of what that means, this Third World War.”

“Basically, it’s the third, I believe in terms of loss of life and human destruction, the third bloodiest war in all of history. They undertake to run operations in every corner of the globe. They also undertook the license of operating just totally above and beyond U.S. laws. They had a license, if you will, to kill, but also they took that to a license to smuggle drugs, a license to do all kinds of things to other people and other societies in violation of international law, our law, and every principle of nations working together for a healthier and more peaceful world.”

“Meanwhile, again, they battled to convert the U.S. legal system in such a way that it would give them control of our society. Now we have massive documentation of what they call the secret wars of the CIA. We don’t have to guess or speculate. We had the Church committee investigate them in 1975 which gave us our first really in-depth powerful look inside this structure.”

“Senator Church said in the 14 years before he did his investigation that he found that they had run 900 major operations and 3000 minor operations. And if you extrapolate that over the whole period of the 40 odd years that we’ve had a CIA, you come up with 3000 major operations and over 10,000 minor operations. Every one of them illegal. Every one of them disruptive of the lives and societies of other peoples and many of them bloody and gory beyond comprehension, almost.”

“Extensively, we manipulated and organized the overthrow of functioning constitutional democracies in other countries. We organized secret armies and directed them to fight in just about every continent in the world. We encouraged ethnic minorities to rise up and fight. People like the Mosquito Indians in Nicaragua, the Kurds in the Middle East, the Hmongs in Southeast Asia.”

“And of course, we have organized, and still do, fund death squads in countries around the world. Like the Treasury Police in El Salvador which are responsible for most of the killing of the 50,000 people just in the ‘80s and there was 70,000 before that. An orchestration of CIA secret teams and propaganda led us directly into the Korean War. We were attacking China from the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, Thailand, Tibet, (a lot of drug trafficking involved in this by the way) until eventually we convinced ourselves to fight the Chinese in Korea and we had the Korean War and a million people were killed. Same thing for the Vietnam War and we have extensive documentation of how the CIA was involved at every level of the national security complex because it’s a very cooperative thing into manipulating the nation into the Vietnam War. And we wound up creating the Golden Triangle in which the CIA Air America airplanes were flying in arms to our allies and flying back out with the heroin.”

“We launched the largest; this is something that Jimmy Carter did, Admiral Turner brags about it, the operation in Afghanistan. The biggest single operation I am told in the history of CIA secret wars and sure enough very quickly we produced the Golden Crescent which is still the largest source of heroin perhaps in the world today.”

“Trying to summarize this Third World War that the CIA, the U.S. National Security Complex with the military all interwoven in it in many different ways, has been waging, let me just put it this way, the best heads that I coordinate with studying this thing, we count at least minimum figure six million people who’ve been killed in this long 40-year war that we have waged against the people of the Third World.”

“These are not Soviets, we have not been parachuting teams into the Soviet Union to kill and hurt and maim people, especially not since 1954 when they developed actually the capability of dropping atomic weapons on the United States. They aren’t British, French, Swedes, Swiss, Belgians, we don’t do bloody gory operations in the countries of Europe. These are all people of the Third World. They are people of countries like the Congo, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Indonesia, Nicaragua, where conspicuously, they nor their governments, do not have the capability of doing any physical hurt to the United States. They don’t have ICBM’s, they don’t have armies or navies. They could not hurt us if they wanted to. There has rarely been any evidence that they really wanted to. And that, in fact is perhaps the whole point. If they had had ICBMs we probably wouldn’t have done the things to them for fear of retaliation.”

“Cheap shots, if you will, killing people of other countries of the world who cannot defend themselves under the guise of secrecy and under the rubric of national security.”

**John Stockwell is the highest-ranking CIA official ever to leave the agency and go public. He ran a CIA intelligence gathering post in Vietnam, was the Task-force commander of the CIA’s secret war in Angola in 1975 and 1976, and was awarded the Medal of Merit before he resigned. This speech was given in 1988. Stockwell’s book ‘In Search of Enemies’ is an international best-seller.**

### **SEGMENT #3: COVER-UP: Behind the Iran-Contra Affair**

**Ambassador Robert White (El Salvador 1976 – 1980):** “What we saw in the Iran-Contra Hearings, was the exposure of the beginnings of a National Security State which believes it has the right to override the Constitution of the United States in the name of security.”

**Rep. Jack Brooks (Democrat - Texas.):** “I think that there was a substantial shadow government trying to run foreign affairs for the United States.”

**Marilyn Clements (Center for Constitutional Rights):** “In any other country it would have been called a coup. And they seem to have gotten away with it.”

**David MacMichael (former CIA Analyst):** “These are modern day pirates these guys. They have escaped, essentially, the control of national governments, but they are available for use by national governments. Sometimes they move under color of -- and defend themselves as advancing U.S. national interest in this. But I think that is very secondary with these guys. They're out to make a buck.”

**Oliver North (Lieutenant Colonel):** “I did do it. I am not, as I said in my statement, at all ashamed of any of the things that I did. I was given a mission and I tried to carry it out.”

**Elizabeth Montgomery, Narrator:** “The Iran-Contra Hearings, convened in May, 1987, by a special joint committee of the United States Congress to investigate the sale of U.S. weapons to Iran and the illegal diversion of money to the Contras. Often, the official explanation seemed inadequate, and contradictory.”

**President Ronald Reagan:** “Our government has a firm policy not to capitulate to terrorist demands, that no concessions policy remains in force. In spite of the widely speculative and false stories about arms for hostages and alleged ransom payments, we did not, repeat, did not, trade weapons or anything else for hostages. Nor will we.”

**Narrator:** “Despite Reagan’s denials, investigations soon revealed that arms had been traded for hostages held in the mid-East.”

**President Ronald Reagan:** “A few months ago, I told the American people I did not trade arms for hostages. My heart and my best intentions still tell me that’s true. But the facts and the evidence tell me it is not.”

**Narrator:** “Only days later, it was further revealed that the arms to Iran had been severely marked up. Some of the profits had been illegally diverted to support the Contras, a guerrilla force organized by the CIA, fighting the Nicaraguan government. The Reagan administration had a major scandal on its hands. The use of U.S. government money for supporting the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government, was specifically prohibited when Congress enacted the Bolland Amendment in 1984. Even though it remained in effect until 1986, millions of dollars in profits from Iranian arms sales were secretly diverted to the Contras during this period through contacts through middlemen such as Manucher Gorbaniifar. Did these hearings uncover the full story behind the Contra-gate scandal? Or was it merely an attempt to keep the real truth hidden from public view?”

Peter Dale Scott, Professor at the University of California at Berkeley has conducted extensive research on covert action and CIA activities. The results are detailed in his book “*The Iran-Contra Connection*”.

**Professor Peter Dale Scott:** “I think that the real issue was that both the administration and the majority of the people in the committees were frightened that the real scandals, the drug scandals for example, would really threaten any future conduct of covert operations on the scale that they had been handled in the past. And so they were trying very deliberately to limit the damage. This was damage control.”

**John Stockwell** (former CIA covert specialist): “And so they were pulling the punches on all the major questions and issues of what really happened in this thing, what the CIA’s role was. Any time they got into anything that was really sensitive about exactly that, exactly what the CIA’s role was and exactly what laws were broken and when, they went into secret session.”

**Narrator:** “There was a lot of talk during the hearings about covert operations, national security, the necessity of secrecy in conducting foreign policy. But some experts claim that covert action does not work in the interest of the U.S. National Security, nor does it create a more stable world.”

**Peter Dale Scott:** “To think of the democratic governments that have been overthrown in the last 30 years by military coups, it is almost like giving a capsule history of CIA covert operations in the last 30 years. I mean there was the overthrow of Prime Minister Mosaddeq in Iran in 1953; there was the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954; there was the overthrow of the Brazilian government in 1964; there was the overthrow of the Ghana government in 1966. A lot of the governments I just mentioned got into trouble with the international oil companies because they tried to assert their national prerogatives over their own resources. Time after time the CIA has come in on behalf of those multi-national companies.”

**Jonathan Kwitny** (Author – Journalist): “You start a huge covert war that you intend is going to be secret. It’s not secret from the Russians. Certainly not secret from the Laotians who are getting shot at or the Angolans, and Nicaraguans or whoever it is. It is covert from the American taxpayer and voter. And a lot of people make a lot of money off of it. And it attracts criminals. And it has every single time.”

**Narrator:** “Who are the names, the faces, behind these covert activities? Some, like Oliver North, General Secord, Albert Hakim, are practically household names. But Daniel Sheehan, Chief Legal Counsel for the *Christic Institute*, a public interest law firm, believes there are other influential players involved.”

**Daniel Sheehan:** “There exists in operation now, a secret team of some two dozen men, former Central Intelligence Agency covert operatives, former U.S. Pentagon arms suppliers, who have joined together in a private enterprise outside of the control of the American government, either the Congress or the President, who are mounting their personal wars around the world.”

**Narrator:** “Whether there is actually an organized secret team, or simply a loose association of individuals, it is clear that there are a number of people who have been working actively behind the scenes in these covert operations. Some of the names are Theodore Shackley, who was Assistant Deputy Director of Operations for the Central Intelligence Agency as of 1976 under George Bush, who was CIA Director at the time. Thomas Clines, who worked as a case officer under Shackley in Miami and in Laos. General John Singlaub, who worked with Shackley and Clines in Vietnam and was in charge of the CIA’s special operations over the border into Laos. General Richard Secord, who supervised the air operations into Laos and was later assigned to the Pentagon where he was put in charge of arm sales to Iran. Albert Hakim, who was a salesman for the U.S. weapons companies and a middle man in the Iran-Contra Affair.”

**Sheehan:** “These are the men who have been stirring the pot around the world to instigate these wars on the side of the Right-wing. And that’s the group we are dealing with right here – who’re making war around the world for their own personal profit.”

**Newscaster:** “Cuban Revolutionary troops such as these have invaded Castro’s leftist island fortress. Reportedly rallied by a mysterious coded radio message: Alert! Alert!”

**Narrator:** “It was after the failed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, that Theodore Shackley, as CIA station chief in Miami, and his assistant Thomas Clines began working with Raphael Quintaro and other right-winged Cubans to overthrow the Castro government.” In 1965, Shackley and Clines were transferred to Laos

where Shackley became CIA Station Chief, Clines, his assistant, once again. It was here, in Southeast Asia, that they teamed up with General Secord and Singlaub.”

**Sheehan:** “And they there began running the secret war in Laos and Cambodia and Thailand. Everybody in the United States basically thought the war was going on in Vietnam. In fact, it was a major dirty war, a covert war that was fought primarily through assassinations of people that were suspected sympathizers of the Pathet Lao, or other people who were not terribly sympathetic to the Western powers.”

**Narrator:** “When Theodore Shackley was promoted to Director of the CIA Western Hemisphere Operations, he supervised the plans to overthrow the democratically elected President of Chile, Salvador Allende. Allende, a Socialist, had promised to nationalize the copper mines and other industries and posed a threat to U.S. business interests in Chile. After a bloody coup, Allende was replaced by a right-wing military dictator Augusto Pinochét, whose security forces brutally murdered and tortured thousands of political dissidents. Shackley moved on, returning to Southeast Asia.”

**Sheehan:** “By that time, the writing was on the wall. The United States was going to be pushed out of Southeast Asia. It was clear that the Viet Cong were going to prevail under Ho Chi Minh. And so what these men began to do? They began to pilfer hundreds of tons of ammunition and military equipment out of Vietnam. They began to construct a covert war capacity that was unknown to the United States Congress, that didn’t require supervision by the President but would pursue the mission that they viewed as their ultimate mission. That is, to attempt to vanquish any people who didn’t support the United States foreign policy and who were Socialists, Communists, anywhere in the world.”

**Narrator:** “As private businessmen and government operatives, Shackley, Clines, and Secord, along with Wilson, and middleman Albert Hakim, turned their attention to the Mid-East. They supplied arms to Mid-East governments while skimming off huge profits into hidden bank accounts around the world. They secretly supplied weapons and military intelligence to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza and helped the Shah of Iran eliminate his enemies.”

**Sheehan:** “There is an early bond between Iran and Nicaragua. The bond is this secret team of men. So throughout that period from October of 1977 to December of 1978, this secret team has two major operations: One, to support the Shah, the other to support the right-wing dictator Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. This was their world at that time. The Shah collapses in December of ‘78, and Anastasio Somoza collapses in July of 1979.”

**Narrator:** “After the overthrow of Somoza, many of his former national guardsmen fled to Honduras where they were organized and trained by the CIA as a counter revolutionary force to fight against the new government in Nicaragua.”

**Sheehan:** “They began to create the Contras to try to do the identical thing that was done by the supporters of Bautista against the Cuban revolutionary government back in 1959. Not an indigenous force inside Nicaragua that they had any support from any of the population in Nicaragua. It was a total artifice that was created by these men.”

**Narrator:** “One of the original Contra political leaders was Edgar Chamorro. He joined the Contras in 1981.”

**Edgar Chamorro:** “Yeah, I became involved with the Contras because the CIA using people from the White House, they invited me to be one of the Contra leaders. I was told that this was just a war for a year. That the United States wanted to put this pressure on Nicaragua, but then after a year or so, I found out that this was not the case. We were being used to deceive the American people. We were being used to lie to Congress. The



tactics used by the Contras were tactics of terrorizing civilians, making situations where civilians were getting killed.”

**John Stockwell:** “In Nicaragua, under President Reagan, they are in fact, giving the Contras written instructions in violence and destabilization. The target is the people, the social and economic infrastructure is what you are hitting at. It is not a bloodbath. It is like you are going in a village and you kill a few people to make your point. The purpose is to disseminate terror, traumatize the people. We’re not killing Sandinistas in the capital. We’re not blowing up their homes and terrorizing them. We are hitting at the people throughout the interior of the country.”

**Narrator:** “In the early 1980s, when the CIA was working to establish a southern front in Costa Rica in the war against Nicaragua, a relationship was established with John Hull, an American rancher living in Costa Rica. There is mounting evidence that the air strips on Hull’s ranch became not only a delivery point for illegal contra weapon shipments from the U.S., but were also used for transporting cocaine into the United States.”

**Stockwell:** “You have CIA bases in Costa Rica and Honduras. You have airplanes flying back and forth continuously, landing at bases in the United States, where they don’t have to go through regular customs with the CIA escorting the people in and out and a certain laissez faire in the attitude at best at the customs if there is any customs representation there. So it is a dream situation for drug smugglers.”

**Narrator:** “But CIA involvement in the drug business did not start in Central America. It dates back at least as far as the Vietnam war.”

**Professor Peter Dale Scott:** “The three men, Shackley and Singlaub and Secord, were all working together from different countries on the huge CIA secret war in Laos. Our allies were the opium growing tribesmen and this meant that we continued in a very large way, not only to support, but really to augment a flow of heroin. This had to be run with the knowledge and the approval of the people who were in charge of these air operations. And these air operations had been controlled in the ‘66 – ‘68 period by General Secord.”

**Daniel Sheehan:** “The weapons trade and the narcotics trade in the world are two of the top five major money making transactions in the whole world. These two major commodities in the world are hundreds of billions of dollars that go on. So the amount of money we are talking about here is absolutely gargantuan! In all of the intelligence community these guys have gone outside the governmental structures are tapping into hundreds of millions, which they need to run their operations.”

**Street interview:** “Do you think the Iran-Contra scandal will have an effect on future government operations?”

**Reply:** “No. I think it will be more of the same.”

**Reply:** “I don’t think it is going to have much of an effect at all. I just think they will be more careful next time.”

**Reply:** “They will continue to carry on covert operations. I think this has been going on forever.”

**Reply:** “They make laws which are for us that they don’t seem to apply to themselves very often.”

**Reply:** “And who was going to inhibit them? The gangsters that are running this country is going to inhibit somebody!?”

**Sheehan:** “What’s happening here my friends, is a major deception, a major deception which is in process as we stand and talk tonight. A major deception in the same way that the Warren Commission was a major deception worked upon the American people. The same way that the Watergate investigation was a major

deception worked upon the American people. Just like the bombing, the secret bombing of Cambodia was kept secret and was a deception worked upon the American people. How long, how long, are we going to stand for being deceived in this manner?"

**John Stockwell:** "Assassination, drug smuggling. If they had pursued that line of questioning they would have soon gotten themselves into a position where they would have had to impeach someone. They could track that right back into the White House. They could put it at least right under the nose of Ronald Reagan."

**Rep. Henry Gonzalez (Democrat – Texas):** "This is the major constitutional crisis since the Civil War. You have a president who is unaccountable and says that it's his interpretation of what laws he'll select to obey. When you have that, you have a constitutional crisis."

**Peter Dale Scott:** "Covert operations have never done this country any good. They may be of momentary advantage to the people who are in power at a particular moment, but in terms of the interest of this country as a whole, they have proven disastrous. There isn't a single one in 30 years that you can point to and say, 'well, that was one that we are now more secure, better off and happier as a result of.' Every one of them has in its own way contributed to the deterioration of security in the world that we live in. And so it is really time to stop them."

**Rep. Jack Brooks (Democrat – Texas):** "Instead of operating within rules and law, we have been supplying lethal weapons to terrorists nations. Trading arms for hostages. Involving the U.S. government in military activities in direct contravention of the law. Diverting public funds into private pockets and secret unofficial activities. Selling access to the President for thousands of dollars. Dispensing cash and foreign money orders out of a White House safe. Accepting gifts and falsifying papers to cover it up. Altering and shedding national security documents. Lying to the Congress. Now I believe, that the American people understand, that democracy cannot survive that kind of abuse."

## SEGMENT #4: SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS, SCHOOL OF ASSASSINS

**Susan Sarandon, Narrator:** “In the late afternoon of December 4<sup>th</sup> 1980, an unmarked grave was found in a field in El Salvador. When it was opened in the presence of the U.S. Ambassador, it revealed the bodies of four women. Maryknoll Sisters Maura Clark and Ita Ford, Ursuline Sister Dorothy Kazel and lay missionary, Jean Donovan. Of the five officers later found responsible for the rape and murder of these women, three were graduates of the United States Army School of the Americas. The School of the Americas originated in 1946 in Panama. Now it is located on the grounds of Fort Benning, Georgia.”

“The school teaches commando operations, sniper training, how to fire an M16 and psychological warfare. Since no major declared war between Latin American countries has occurred in decades and the communist threat has vanished, why provide this kind of training?”

**Representative Joseph Kennedy:** “If you look at the course ranges that are offered to these individuals, they, in fact, are a dedicated way of teaching military leaders in foreign nations how to subvert their local communities.”

**Narrator:** “Since it opened, over 55,000 military officials from 23 Latin American and Caribbean countries have trained at the school. About 2,000 students a year. As facts have emerged about the school and its graduates, it has drawn the attention of a growing number of human rights activists such as Maryknoll Father Roy Bourgeois.”

**Father Roy Bourgeois:** “Just down the road here is a school, the School of the Americas. It’s a combat school. Most of the courses revolve around what they call “counter insurgency warfare.” Who are the insurgents? We have to ask that question. They are the poor. They are the people in Latin America who call for reform. They are the landless peasants who are hungry. They are health care workers, human rights advocates, labor organizers, they become the insurgents, they’re seen as “El Enemigo,” the “Enemy.” And they are those who become the targets of those who learn their lessons at the School of the Americas.”

**Narrator:** “What has been learned about the lessons taught at the school? In the 1980s, the civil war in El Salvador became a focal point for human rights activists throughout the world. Death squads operated freely, often killing 50 people a night. There was so many cases that on March 23rd. 1980, Archbishop Oscar Romero in San Salvador, made a plea to the military leaders of his country.”

**Archbishop Oscar Romero** (translated from Spanish): “I would like to make an appeal in a special way to the men of the army. In the name of God, in the name of the suffering people whose laments rise to the heavens each day more tumultuous. I beg you! I ask you! I order you! In the name of God, stop the repression!”

**Narrator:** “While celebrating mass the next day, Archbishop Romero was assassinated.”

“A number of years later, the National Security Archives in Washington, D.C., made an important discovery when they obtained a copy of a declassified cable.”

**Kate Doyle:** “These two cables are both from the American Embassy in El Salvador. One is from Dean Hinton who was then Ambassador to El Salvador in 1981, and it discusses a meeting during which Roberto D’Aubuisson plans the murder of Archbishop Romero. During the meeting, there is described a lottery that the people who are attending the meeting hold to see who would draw the right to kill Romero himself.”

**Narrator:** “D’Aubuisson was trained at the School of the Americas. Also trained at the school were two of the three officers directly responsible for the assassination.

“December 11, 1981, El Mazote, a small village in El Salvador.”

**Rufina Amaya – El Mazote:** “First, they forced everyone out of their houses and made us all lie face down in the street, both men and women. There were soldiers on both sides. Then they moved away to see the women kneeling down on the ground to pray. They killed all of them. Not a single one of them survived, just me by the grace of God. I hid under a tree. When I heard the screams of the children, and I knew which ones were mine, they were crying, “Mommy! They’re killing us!”

**Narrator:** “Over 900 men, women and children were massacred. Virtually the entire population of the village and the area surrounding El Mazote. Out of 143 bodies identified in the laboratory, 131 were children under the age of 12, including three infants under the age of 3 months.”

“Ten of the twelve officers cited as responsible for the El Mazote massacre were graduates of the School of the Americas. They were members of the Atlacatl Battalion, a part of the El Salvador army.”

“November 16, 1989, San Salvador: Six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her 15 year-old daughter, were slaughtered. To get the facts about this incident, a U.S. congressional investigation began, led by Representative Joseph Moakley.”

**Representative Joseph Moakley:** “I went down, talked with the Embassy, talked with the military, talked with the unionists. The killing was done by the Atlacatl Battalion which is the crack battalion in that country. And these are the people, some of them had just returned from the United States where they were taught a course in Human Rights, amongst other things.”

**Narrator:** “Nineteen of the 26 officers implicated in the Jesuit murders were graduates of the school. The United Nations Truth Commission Report released on March 15<sup>th</sup>, 1993, cited specific officers for committing atrocities during the El Salvador civil war. At School of the Americas Watch, just outside Fort Benning, Georgia, Vicky Immerman matched the names cited in the UN report with names in the United States government document.”

**Vicky Immerman:** “What I did was, I took these officers, all the officers listed in the report, and I took their names and looked them up in this list of graduates of the School of the Americas, which we received through the Freedom of Information Act. What I found were 49 of the 60 some officers listed were graduates of the School of the Americas.”

**Narrator:** “El Salvador is only part of the school’s story. In the entry area of one of its main buildings are photographs of those the school honors. Its so-called “Hall of Fame.” At the top of list, Hugo Bonzer, former dictator of Bolivia, a graduate of the school. Some of the others similarly honored are the former dictators of Honduras, Ecuador and Argentina and Generals from eight other Latin and Caribbean nations, many cited by human rights groups of involvement in human rights abuses in their own countries.”

“Among other graduates, Manuel Noriega, former President of Panama, currently in prison in the United States. Four of the five ranking Honduran officers who organized death squads in the 1980s as part of Battalion 316, are graduates. Half of the 250 Colombian officers cited for human rights abuses attended the school. The three highest ranking Peruvian officers convicted in February, 1994, of murdering nine university students and a professor, were all graduates. During the dictatorship of the Somoza family, over 4,000 National Guard troops graduated from the school. Many of them later became known as the Contras responsible for the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguan peasants in the 1980’s. The General in charge of Argentina’s so-called “dirty war” was a school graduate. During that internal conflict in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s an estimated 30,000 people were tortured, disappeared and murdered. General Hector Gramajo of Guatemala was the featured speaker at the school’s graduation ceremonies in 1991. Human rights groups claim he is the architect of strategies that legalized military atrocities in Guatemala, resulting in the death of over 200,000 men, women and children.”

**Father Roy Bourgeois:** “As a Catholic priest, as a U.S. citizen, I really feel a responsibility to speak out against that because of this. This does not lead to healing. It leads to death and suffering. In a way, this is a death machine. And this I want to say is very close to home because it’s in our backyard. It is not out there in El Salvador. This is not in South Africa. We are talking about a school of assassins right here in our backyard being supported and financed through our tax money. It’s being done in our name.”

**Narrator:** “On September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1993, the School of the Americas was debated by Congress for the first time in its history. It happened when an amendment to the Defense Department budget was introduced by Congressman Joseph Kennedy.”

**Congressman Joseph Kennedy:** “Mister Speaker, my amendment would reduce the army operation and maintenance account by \$2.9 million. The amount dedicated to running the Army’s School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia. The intent of this amendment is to close the school.”

“We’re only 30 or 40 votes short of winning. That means that if people around the country hear about this and write their congressman, we can win. This is an issue that we can win on.”

**Father Roy Bourgeois:** “What’s very important right now, I feel, is to let our voices be heard. Bishop Romero said it best before he was killed, before he was assassinated by someone who trained at the School of the Americas. He said, “We who have a voice, we have to speak for the voiceless.” And I realize that we here in this country, we have a voice. We can speak without having to worry about being disappeared, or tortured, or being picked up. We *can* speak. And I just hope that we can speak clearly and boldly on this issue.”

**Voice of translator** (woman speaking Spanish): “I am not very educated but in my simple words I think that the only thing the School of the Americas has accomplished is the destruction of our countries in Latin America. Don’t give us any more of that military aid. It would be better to help the poor who are in need.”

**Father Roy Bourgeois:** “We need the voices of others and we also need those letters to congressional leaders to let them know that we will not allow them to use our money to run a school of assassins.”

**For more information:  
SOA Watch  
P.O. Box 3330  
Columbus, GA 31903  
<http://www.soaw.org/>**

## SEGMENT #5: GENOCIDE BY SANCTIONS

**Captions:** Seven years of sanctions, 1.5 million dead, Iraq is suffering.

**Voice of Iraqi doctor:** “For now, the diagnosis is not settled for this child. He has had prolonged fever and he is wasting.”

**Leslie Stahl (CBS Sixty Minutes interview, 11 May 1996):** “We have heard that a half a million children have died. I mean, that’s more children than died in Hiroshima. And, you know.....is the price worth it?”

**Madeleine Albright (US Secretary of State):** “I think this is a very hard choice. But the price, we think the price is worth it.”

**Narrator:** “Worth it, because she believes the sanctions are working.”

**Narrator:** “In November 1997, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark headed a delegation of the International Action Center on his seventh trip to Iraq to investigate the continued effects of the United Nations’ sanctions on the population. We were shocked by what we saw. An almost total absence of medicines, medical supplies and spare parts for the equipment. Despite the heroic efforts of medical personnel, babies, children and the chronically ill continued to die in vast numbers.”

“The United States government claims that Saddam Hussein is to blame for the crisis. What is the real cause of the suffering? The sanctions. They are an extension of the 1991 United States war against Iraq. The goal was to cripple Iraq’s infrastructure and make civilian life unsustainable.”

**Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General:** “We demonstrated the capacity of technology to cripple a country without ever setting foot on it in the Persian Gulf. It’s important to recognize that because it goes hand in hand with the sanctions. When we merely say that we flew 110,000 aerial sorties in 42 days, one every 30 seconds on the average, 24 hours a day, we ignore what we really did.”

**Bill Blakemore, ABC News correspondent:** “The officials said the death toll was now 288 with many more to come. The trucks kept filling up and driving away past waiting relatives who knew they might never be able to identify the bodies of their loved ones. The community of Ameriyah filled one of the first of many funerals with gunfire in signs of grief and fury, and with angry words aimed through foreign journalists. “My mother, she’s gone!” shouted this young man.”

**Voice of Iraqi woman crying:** “Why!?! Children! Girls! Boys! Man, woman! Why!?! Why!?!”

**Blakemore:** “This woman asked, “Could not all your modern technology tell you that there were children and women here?”

“Bill Blakemore *ABC News* in the Ameriyah district of Baghdad.”

**Ramsey Clark:** “We destroyed every silo for grain or anything else storing food in the whole country. We destroyed all the storage and processing of food plants throughout the country. Even dates, the world’s biggest exporter of dates. Famous processing and packaging plants in Baghdad, deliberately destroyed. We didn’t want them to be able to feed themselves for a long, long time. We’re all aware of the famous little powdered milk plant.”

**Unknown voice:** “The United States government says that in this factory here you were making chemical

weapons. Is that true?"

**Iraqi man:** "No that's not true. They are lie because this is milk for children. This powder – milk of children."

**Unknown voice:** "Nothing else is made only this in the factory?"

**Iraqi man:** "Yes, and you can see in yourself."

**Ramsey Clark:** "The only factory in the Middle East to produce powdered milk, they were producing about 17 per cent of their powdered milk requirements. We destroyed that. Cut off all the milk. The malnutrition of the mothers immediately jeopardized all of the infants. Seventy per cent of the pregnant women even today in Iraq suffer anemia."

**Caption:** "Death rate under 5 years of age: Monthly average in 1989: 593, September 1997: 4,578 = 672% increase."

**Narrator:** "The death rate for children has soared compared to 1989, the last year before sanctions. One of the biggest causes of death in Iraqi children today is diarrhea and dysentery due to the untreated drinking water. Iraq's water purification plants were heavily bombed in the war and many that were repaired have broken down. The United Nations bans the import of spare parts and chlorine into Iraq to purify water. We saw the effects of this policy in the hospitals."

**Voice of Iraqi doctor examining child:** "This is the second attack for him of acute bloody diarrhea and amoebic dysentery. Most of them are due to contamination of water. He is malnourished, anemic, underweight, with a developmental delay."

**Voice of Iraqi man:** "Diarrhea and vomiting."

**Ramsey Clark:** "Do you have tap water there?"

**Voice of Iraqi man:** "No."

**Ramsey Clark:** "You can see the conditions of these children shouldn't happen anywhere and is caused by the sanctions the United States government insists upon."

**Narrator:** "The U.S. military used 800 tons of depleted uranium weapons in the war, causing a rise in cancers among the population."

"Why does the United States government spend \$50 billion a year to patrol the Persian Gulf and keep Iraq locked down?"

**Congressman:** "Please raise their hand...."

**Narrator:** "Why does it pressure the Security Council to maintain the total blockade? We need to look back on the recent history of Iraq. For many years, U.S., British and French oil companies owned 95 per cent of Iraq's oil while they maintained a puppet monarchy in power. The people lived lives of extreme poverty."

"When the Iraqi people carried out a revolution in 1958 against King Faisal II, U.S. and Britain lost their strangle hold. They sent thousands of troops to the Middle East, but it was too late. Iraq had become a sovereign country."

"Iraq nationalized its oil and used the wealth to develop industry, modern sanitation, education and excellent health care system, electricity and highways. Iraqi women won new rights."

“The United States wants to return Iraq to its earlier status as a virtual colony in order to secure its control over the Gulf region’s oil, which is two thirds of the world’s petroleum reserves.”

**President George H. Bush (September 11, 1990):** “Our involvement in the Gulf is not transitory. It predated Saddam Hussein’s aggression and will survive it. Long after all our troops come home, there will be a lasting role for the United States in assisting the nations of the Persian Gulf.”

**President Bill Clinton:** “There are those who would like to lift the sanctions. I am not among them.”

**Tariq Aziz:** “Our main objective, our main objective is lifting the sanctions which has been very, very cruel on our people.”

**Larry King:** “Why do you think Americans want to keep the sanctions?”

**Aziz:** “That’s their policy.”

**King:** “Why do you think?”

**Aziz:** “Just ask them. That’s their policy. It’s against the will of the international community, it’s against the will of many other countries. I think they are making profits from that but I don’t want to make accusations.”

**King:** “Financial profits?”

**Aziz:** “Yes.”

**King:** “Like how?”

**Aziz:** “Who’s selling oil instead of Iraq? Iraq had a share in the oil market. That share was stopped by the sanctions. Who is selling that?”

**King:** “Who?”

**Aziz:** “They knew very well that Saudi Arabia jumped from five million barrels a day to eight million barrels a day. Three million barrels, Iraq’s share, have been added to the share of Saudi Arabia.”

**King:** “And we would take this to a war front to protect Saudi Arabia’s making more money?”

**Aziz:** “No. You are sharing that money, everybody knows that.”

**Narrator:** “Before the sanctions, Iraq used its \$20 billion in annual oil exports to import 70 per cent of the country’s food and medicine. The cutting off of Iraq’s oil by the Security Council has caused widespread hunger.”

**Rania Masri, Iraq Action Coalition:** “Starvation of civilians as a method of warfare is prohibited by international law! The sanctions are a violation of the Geneva Convention, the United Nations Charter, the Constitution of the World Health Organization, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of the States.”

**Brain Becker, International Action Center:** “It’s not France, it’s not Russia, it is the United States which is imposing these sanctions which are killing their children by the hundreds of thousands, and we believe that the right policy for the United States government is to stop the sanctions. And that the people of this country, who are paying – having our tax dollars used to impose hunger and starvation, are not really being spoken for in this current crisis.”



**Woman, Fox News television interview:** “But the UN has backed these sanctions.”

**Brain:** “The United Nations for the last six or seven years has become virtually a plaything for U.S. policy. And that’s because of U.S. dominance in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. That doesn’t mean that the people of the Middle East or the people of the world really support U.S. policies.”

**Sara Flounders, International Action Center Coordinator:** “Today’s march, that we’re beginning now, is a procession to commemorate the more than half a million children in Iraq who have died from the sanctions policy. A policy that’s so linked with the growing hunger here in the U.S. is reflected a thousand times in the starvation of more than a million people who died in Iraq.”

**Gloria La Riva, I.A.C.:** “I think it’s very important that each one of you came out here today and to keep in touch with us and to raise your voice, to show your faith, to stand and walk with the Iraqi people. We are thousands of miles away from them. But when I was in Iraq, I felt so desperately, I wanted to call the United States, and I wanted to say, Sisters and Brothers, organize a demonstration now! Get together even if it’s 25 people, even if it’s 10 of us, show that we are here in the United States, that they have friends here who do not believe in the extermination of the Iraqi people, that they have friends here in the States!”

**Narrator:** “The International Action Center has launched a major medical aide campaign to deliver medical supplies to the people of Iraq. Essential medicines and supplies can save the lives of many, many people. We are asking everyone who sees this video to join in making the Medicine for Iraq Campaign a success.”

**Caption:** “Dedicated to the Iraqi doctors, nurses and healthcare workers who struggle so valiantly to save lives and give comfort to the sick in the face of overwhelming odds.”

To get involved in the Medicine for Iraq Campaign and to help end the sanctions, contact:

**International Action Center,**  
39 West 14<sup>th</sup> St. 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor,  
New York, N.Y. 10011  
Tel: (212) 633-6646  
<http://www.iacenter.org>

## SEGMENT #6: Phil Agee

### Former CIA Case Officer Philip Agee

This talk was given in 1991 following the first Gulf war in Iraq.

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"Well, we all know don't we, the reasons why the U.S. intervened in the Gulf the way that we did. In the end, killing between 100,000 and 200,000 Iraq's as opposed to 303, I think, Americans killed either in combat or combat related accidents. And we certainly have restored to power the legitimate authority in Kuwait. In fact, we've done it applying that age old all-American political principle of one man, one vote. In this case one man, the emir, one vote, his.

We heard Bush back in August didn't we, at the very beginning saying that our way of life was at stake, that we had to do something about that invasion of Kuwait. We also heard didn't we, besides our way of life being at stake we had to intervene to protect the access to the energy resources of the Persian Gulf? Another one was that we had to stop naked aggression.

What we did not get are alternative interpretations of the events that occurred. And that's what I want to speak about here tonight. It's my opinion that the United States needed an international crisis, an international threat to replace the crisis in Europe that largely disappeared with the collapse of the communism and the chaos in the Soviet Union. Why? In order to keep the permanent war economy going to justify continuing the situation where well more than 50% of the federal budget goes to military purposes. Well, this means that the military expenditures in the United States are the motor of the U.S. economy and they have been that since about 1950.

It's worth reviewing this history because that's where this crisis I think, comes from, this sought for needed crisis. In early 1950 there was extreme worry at the highest levels of the Truman administration that the U.S. was likely to return to the conditions of the Great Depression of the 1930's. And so early in 1950 the decision was taken that this domestic economic problem was going to be solved through militarism, that is, through rearmament in the United States and through U.S. financing of the rearmament of Western Europe, particularly Western Germany.

The document which provides the analysis of the world at that time and the U.S. place in the world and the internal situation in the United States was top secret for 25 years. In 1975 it was accidentally or through error released and published. It was known as NSC68, NSC standing for National Security Council. It was written by Paul Nitze. And it is a very detailed document. The main operative conclusion though was this. This is a quote from the document "The United States and other free nations will within a period of a few years at most, experience a decline in economic activity of serious proportions unless more positive governmental programs are developed." Well, the solution adopted to those more positive governmental programs was expansion of the military.

But Truman could not get this program through congress at first. There was opposition there and public opposition to the enormous new taxes that this program would require. He went on national radio, declared a state of national emergency and said what Bush's remarks about our way of life being at stake reminded me of. He mustered all the hype and emotion he could and Truman said, among other things, he said "Our homes, our nation, all the things that we believe in are in great danger. This danger has been created by the rulers of the Soviet Union." In his speech he also called for massive increases in military spending for U.S. and European forces quite apart from the needs in Korea.

Well, there was no threat from the Soviet Union. They were still rebuilding from the rubble of World War II in which they had lost 20 million people. They were no threat but they were manufactured from 1950 on, from the

time of Korea on, as a grave threat to the United States. And that became the justification for this program which Truman, through manipulation of the Korean War, had been able finally to get through Congress. The result was that in the first two years, that is the two years between 1950 and 1952, the U.S. military budget more than tripled from 13 billion dollars in 1950 to 44 billion dollars in 1952. And during the same two year period U.S. military forces doubled to 3.6 million people under arms.

This was the beginning of the permanent war economy in the United States. The Korean War, by the way, went on for 3 more years after it could have ended. In the end 34,000 U.S. were dead, more or less, more than 100,000 wounded and the total casualty count was in the millions. It is worth recalling that because from 1950 on the Soviet threat was the justification for the permanent war economy and the justification for these enormous military expenditures.

What does that mean as far as the U.S. is concerned? Well it means that we have not addressed or begun to solve the many domestic crises that we all know exists. There is no need to go through this litany of the worst educational system in the developed world; one in three in this country illiterate either totally or to the degree that they can not function in a society based on the written word. Healthcare, not just the cost but the fact that 40 million people in this country have no health insurance. The only developed country in the world with no national health plan. And on and on. The fact that only about 60%, about two-thirds of the eligible voters register to vote and of those who register, only about 80% actually vote. So only in the end 50% of the eligible voters vote in national elections in this country and that means that a president is elected with around 24% - 25% of the potential vote.

The litany goes on. The environment, the infrastructure, finding a prevention and cure for aids, the violence we see everywhere and in every form in the United States.

When you put all these things together, and drugs of course, I don't think anyone would argue that we have a domestic society in profound crisis and the reason why over all these years these crises have not been solved is, in my opinion, because those who really control and rule the United States don't want them solved. Imagine what would happen if we had an informed electorate; if we didn't have the worst educational system; if we had a negligible perhaps illiteracy rate here? There might be an informed electorate. We might be debating real substantive issues in the electoral process or in the political process in the United States. There might be a threat in this country of real democracy if we solved the domestic crises in this country. People might clamor to participate if there was a real debate. There might be a threat of a third party, I mean a second party in the United States.

There are all kinds of threats to elitists control of the U.S. if we were to solve these domestic crises, in my opinion. And it is for this reason that we have always needed this foreign threat and this foreign crises in order to justify putting the money into military expenditures instead of converting the economy, once and for all, to human purposes.

During those 40 odd years of the Cold War the CIA has been a very important factor or tool or instrument of the President of the United States in waging what is continuing today. This new world order of George Bush or new international order seems to me to be nothing more really, then the institutionalization of the north, south dimension of the old cold war; that is the war against the third world for control of their natural resources, their labor and their markets. That is where the fighting really took place, as in Vietnam. This north, south dimension of the cold war, the war against the third world continues today as we sit here with all its racist content.

And we and our allies that is the U.S. and its allies are just as dependant, if not more on the resources of these countries in the third world as they ever were. And that dependency is not going to disappear. It's going to keep

on growing through the years. So what I think Bush has in mind is through this Persian Gulf crisis, to send a message to any aspiring third world leader that third world radical nationalism will not be tolerated. It is a way; in which, in fact, we are beginning to treat the third world or continuing to treat the third world like we treat third world people right here in the United States. They know their place, they have a role to perform and they are expected to do it. If they don't, if they make trouble, they're going to be smashed. That is what happened, of course, with Iraq.

I believe that Bush encouraged the Hussein administration and Saddam Hussein himself; to believe they could get away with taking over Kuwait with impunity. And there are many signs that point in this direction. Iraq never really formerly recognized the independence of Kuwait. They have always claimed that Kuwait was part of Iraq taken away by British imperialism, which is indeed the case. Last April, Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly testified before Congress that the U.S. had no commitment to defend Kuwait. On July 25th the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, April Glasspie meets with Hussein. Among other things, the U.S. ambassador says to Hussein "Mr. President, I have a direct instruction from Secretary of State Baker to emphasize to you that the U.S. has" quote unquote "no opinion on your disputes with Kuwait, particularly your border disputes with Kuwait". She also said I have instructions from President Bush to seek better relations with Iraq. President Hussein in response in several places says that what Kuwait is doing through its over production is the equivalent to war against Iraq. They are destroying the Iraqi economy he said and we are going to take strong action. He as much as said they were going to war. Well, in this meeting with those 100,000 troops on the border, not one word from the U.S. Ambassador of warning to Hussein not to invade.

Well put all those things together and you have to ask yourself the question, why did the Bush administration do nothing during that last week between the Ambassador's meeting with Hussein and the invasion itself, to prevent that invasion? They knew those 100,000 troops were there. But not one word from Glasspie to Hussein about it. My conclusion is that they wanted the invasion; that this was the site selected for the new international crisis that would justify continuation of the war economy in the United States. It was totally avoidable objectively speaking, but because of the tradition in the U.S., after all we are a warrior culture, we do still live in the age of imperialism and the demands of this system require this crisis.

I go back to the CIA, for just a moment because its worth recalling that the agency, from the very beginning in the 1940's, was used not only to collect intelligence from around the world, process it and present it to policy makers like the president for their decisions, to help them in their decisions, obviously that's what an intelligence service should do. But the CIA was used all through these years to subvert the democratic processes of other countries. At the very first meeting of the National Security Council which was set up in the same law that established the CIA as the national intelligence service. This was October of 1947, one month after Truman signed this bill into law establishing the CIA and the National Security Council as the highest policy making body in national security and foreign affairs. At their very first meeting in October 1947 the decision was taken to set aside ten million dollars for the CIA to intervene secretly in the Italian elections coming up about six months later. The CIA was not just used in these electoral operations, you know the media operations were vast and I'm sure they still are. Media operations basically means that the CIA pays a foreign journalist to publish the CIA's material as if it were the journalist's own.

There were CIA interventions of all sorts. But one area I want to mention of special importance are what are known as liaison operations. Liaison operations are all those activities that the CIA undertakes with the intelligence and security services of other countries. Early on the CIA began to set up security and intelligence services in other countries for purposes of internal security. One of the first places was Greece. There was a civil war you know in Greece from 1947 to 1949. The U.S. intervened on the side of the far right in Greece and the U.S. side won. In the aftermath the CIA set up a security service known as the KYP, KYP being the Greek initials for CIA. They gave it the same name. This security service was used to keep the far right in power in

Greece for nearly 20 years. But when that power was threatened with upcoming elections in 1967 the CIA and this service, this KYP organized a military coup in Greece which was successful leading to seven years of military dictatorship in Greece of neo-fascist stripe. During that period torture became an institution in Greece. Thousands of Greeks were forced into exile.

I could give you many, many examples of this. In Iran for example in 1953 the CIA undermined the democratically elected civil government of the day of Mohammed Mossadegh, overthrew that government, installed the Shah as military dictator and in the aftermath set up the service called the SAVACK. This service over the 25 years of the Shah's regime became famous for its torture chambers and its assassinations of the Shah's political opponents.

In 1954 the U.S., the CIA, intervenes in Guatemala, undermines the civilian government, the government is overthrown and from 1954 on Guatemala has had one succession of military rulers after another, military dictatorship. In the aftermath of this operation in 1954 the CIA set up an internal security service and then others. But from these services, set up and supported by the CIA all through the years came the death squads. In other words the services established by the CIA then spawned these death squads in Guatemala. The very same thing in El Salvador. You can be as sure as you are of your own name that for the last 10 or 11 years the CIA has been working in there day and night with those Salvadorian security services and military, collecting information, giving it to those services which in turn are the same things as the death squads. Information on activists in the human rights field, the student leadership, the trade unions and so forth and those have constituted the 75,000 or so people who have been murdered over 10 or 11 years in El Salvador. Disappeared, many of them others tortured to death, their bodies thrown on along the sides of the roads. Nobody knows how many have been killed in Guatemala by the military regimes started by the CIA. Some say 100,000, some say 125,000, some say 150,000. Who knows? Nobody will ever really know the exact number who've been killed.

But you multiply this around the world, because I am only mentioning a couple of examples of these CIA operations. There have been now 44 years of this and they have existed all around the world. And put those operations together with the overt military interventions and the enormous cost in human life of those such as Grenada, Panama, Iraq, Vietnam, for example, all of those and you get the picture of this expansionist extremely aggressive U.S. foreign policy.

While I don't think it's enough really to describe what the CIA does or U.S. foreign policy in general. It's also necessary to ask a couple of questions. And going back to the Gulf for just a moment, consider this analysis of what really happened in the Gulf. You know that the U.S. has been exporting war materials for decades, beginning right around 1950 with the document I mentioned earlier. Tanks, guns of every sort, weapons, planes, ships and military equipment of every sort. Well, with a national debt of 3 and a half trillion dollars in this country, \$800 billion of it owned by foreigners. For handling of the debt, it seems that it was only a matter of time before the U.S. armed forces were sent abroad as one more export, because what we did in the Persian Gulf crisis was to send abroad that enormous amount of military hardware, but this time we also exported the people to operate it. It was armed forces sent abroad to protect the resources and the regimes, these family dictatorships of the sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf.

What we did in fact was what we in the United States do the best. We made war and we were financed in this exercise by the people who make things that people around the world want; cars, VCR's and so forth, financed mainly by the Japanese and the Germans. And that puts the United States, as its going to have a permanent presence in the Persian Gulf in a very strong position visa vie the Japanese and the Germans, who are not there militarily and they are going to depend to a great degree for their energy resources, at least from that region on U.S. policy. That is why they went along with the war.

That is an interpretation of the Gulf crisis and the other question that I wanted to raise is why we do these things as a country? Why we do these as a society, as a nation? Why do we do these grizzly things abroad? I believe strongly that until we have fundamental change in the United States domestically, in the domestic system, until we have some kind of real democracy in this country, participatory democracy, where people have a say and where we end the re-election of the 95% to 97% of incumbents at every election, where there is a real political debate, until we change the domestic system were going to have elitist control of the United States, were going to have these foreign adventures and the grizzly things, as I mentioned, that the CIA does abroad. So the real problem is here at home in changing the domestic system, in bringing about a conversion of the economy to human purposes, solving the domestic crisis and getting the people out of office who are in there to back a continuation of the permanent war economy."

**Philip Agee spent 13 years as a case officer in the CIA, resigning in 1969. His book "Inside the Company: CIA Diary" was first published in 1975, has been translated into 27 languages and was a best seller worldwide. His autobiography "On The Run" was published in 1987.**

## SEGMENT #7: AMY GOODMAN: Genocides in Indonesia and East Timor

**Amy Goodman, Pacifica Radio journalist [[www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org)]:** “In Indonesia, you may well know the story about what the military regime has done to East Timor. But by chance, if even one of you doesn’t know it, I’ll tell it again because that is really what it is going to take for the situation to change, is that story told from one person to another, from one community to another, until people simply say they are not going to take it any more. They’re not going to let the U.S. government support these kind of regimes that are responsible for some of the worst genocides in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.”

“Indonesia, under Suharto, the military regime came to power in ‘65 in an incredible bloodbath. Perhaps a half a million to a million people killed in Indonesia with the support of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Because of the reporting of one crusading journalist named Kathy Kadane, who went to journalism school simply to write this article. She had met a CIA agent who had been working in Indonesia and he talked about how the U.S. CIA made up lists of dissidents in Indonesia and gave them over to the military under Suharto as he rose to power. And the military would go out and kill these people as the U.S. CIA would strike their names off the list. And in this way they killed between a half a million and a million people from 1965 to 1967. That was how the Suharto regime rose to power.”

“In 1975, Indonesian military regime under Suharto, the dictator, (and we mustn’t confuse the Indonesian people with the Indonesian military), the Indonesian military invaded East Timor. East Timor is a small country about 300 miles north of Australia, it had been occupied by Portugal for more than 400 years. Portugal went through a democratic revolution in 1974, was disbanding its empire in Africa as well as East Timor and East Timor was going through a decolonization process. At the end of November 1975, they declared independence. And then on December 7, 1975, just more than a week later, Indonesia, the fourth largest country in the world, invaded East Timor.”

“But they didn’t invade before Suharto sat down with then U.S. President, Gerald Ford, and Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, who had come to visit Suharto, and got the go ahead for that invasion. Suharto was concerned that if he launched this clearly offensive invasion that the U.S. would cut off military sales to Indonesia because we have a bilateral agreement with Indonesia that their weapons that they use will not be used for offensive purposes. But once assured that that would not happen, Indonesia invaded by land, by air, by sea, East Timor. First, they went after the capital Dili and thousands of people who lived there dragging thousands of people down to the sea and shooting them into it as their loved ones counted them off.”

“Just before the invasion there were six journalists who were covering the events leading up to the invasion as the Indonesians came over from West Timor, the military and then ultimately had their full scale invasion on December 7<sup>th</sup> and there were five journalist in a small town called Balibo and they lined them up against a house and they executed them. They cut off their genitals, shoved them in their mouths and they suffocated to death as they shot them. Indonesia full well knows how serious it is when word gets out and so they tried very hard not to let word get out about what was happening. In fact, after the invasion of December 7<sup>th</sup> 1975, they closed East Timor to the outside world for more than a decade as they killed the Timorese inside, killing more than a third of the population. One of the worst genocides in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, proportionately worse than Cambodia.”

“You might wonder why we have heard a lot about Cambodia but almost nothing about East Timor until recent years. And that’s because the U.S. government was official enemy of Pol Pot and Cambodia and so the President, Secretary of State would constantly speak out against it and the U.S. press would print what the President and Secretary of State would say. And that was good in terms of Cambodia because Pol Pot did commit a genocide there.”

“But, in the case of Indonesia, Indonesia was an official ally of the United States and so Ford, and then Carter, Reagan, Bush and then Clinton are not going to speak about the atrocities that Indonesia has committed in East Timor. And because they didn’t and because the U.S. corporate media rarely diverges from the Washington agenda, the U.S. media hardly covered it at all. One report, the day after the invasion, by Walter Cronkite, for 40 seconds, announced that Indonesia had invaded East Timor. And then in the corporate press in the broadcast networks NBC, ABC, CBS, even PBS there was not a mention of East Timor for the next 17 years.”



## **SEGMENT #8: THE PANAMA DECEPTION**

**Panamanian woman crying:** “My daughter did not belong to any group! She had nothing to do with Noriega! She was innocent! She had nothing to do with all of this! And they killed her!”

**Elizabeth Montgomery, Narrator:** “On December 19<sup>th</sup> 1989, while Panamanians were getting ready for the Christmas holidays, the United States was secretly mobilizing 26,000 troops for a midnight attack.”

“The invasion was swift, intense and merciless.”

“When it was over, thousands lay dead and wounded and the country was in shambles.”

“Millions of U.S. tax dollars were swallowed up in three days of brutal violence.”

“In many ways, the invasion served as a testing ground for the Persian Gulf War one year later. It is also an indication of the kinds of intervention the United States may undertake in the years to come. But still, big questions remain. What exactly happened during the invasion of Panama? And why?”

“As the invasion unfolded, Americans stayed glued to their TV’s and newspapers for coverage. But how much of the real picture did the media give them?”

**Michael Parenti, Author / Professor:** “The performance of the mainstream news media in the coverage of Panama, has been just about total collaboration with the administration. Not a critical murmur, not a critical perspective, not a second thought.”

**Mark Hertsgaard, Author / Journalist:** “The story that the White House was pushing, was getting this so-called Narco-terrorist in a net. And that was the thrust of all of the coverage. When are we going to get Noriega? Have they let Noriega get away?”

**American news segments:** “By late today, they had taken control of much of the country but their chief target, General Manuel Noriega, escaped.”

“Manuel Noriega belongs to that special fraternity of international villains. Men like Qaddafi, Idi Amin, and the Ayatollah Khomeini, whom Americans just love to hate.”

**Valerie Van Isler, International journalist:** “They focused on Noriega to the exclusion of what was happening to the Panamanian people, to the exclusion to the bodies in the street, to the exclusion of the number dead, to the exclusion of what happened to the women and children in that country, during this midnight invasion.”

**Narrator:** “Noriega was head of Panama’s military intelligence and had a long standing relationship with the United States. He had been on the CIA payroll since the 60’s. When George Bush became Director of the CIA in 1976, under President Ford, he inherited Noriega as a contact. Despite evidence that Noriega was involved in drug trafficking, Bush kept Noriega on the payroll. In fact, he increased Noriega’s salary to more than \$100,000 a year and eliminated a requirement that intelligence reports on Panama include information on drug trafficking.”

“With support from the CIA, Noriega was able to outmaneuver his rivals and in August of 1983, he became Commander of the Panamanian Military. As the Reagan administration expanded its covert war against the

Sandinista government in Nicaragua, Noriega became increasingly helpful. Working with the CIA, and with Israeli arms dealers, Noriega helped coordinate an arms supply network to provide weapons to contra bases in northern Costa Rica.”

**Professor Peter Dale Scott, Author / Professor:** “Noriega’s involvement in the drug traffic really increased his importance as a source for the CIA and as someone who was able to conduct dirty tricks in the region for the CIA. So it’s no accident that the CIA became the most prominent defenders of Noriega against the drug charges, because that’s the sort of thing which CIA clients tend to do.”

**Narrator:** “Despite Noriega’s collaboration with many U.S. covert operations, he was becoming increasingly uncooperative with U.S. objectives in Central America. In 1984, he angered the Reagan administration by hosting Latin American leaders at the Contadora Peace Talks. The talks called for an end to U.S. intervention in Central American affairs.”

**American news segments:** “But relations with Panama are under a new cloud tonight because of news reports alleging.....”

“Senator Jesse Helms charged today that the military strongmen of Panama, Manuel Noriega, is the number one drug trafficker in the Americas.”

**Narrator:** “The Reagan administration now openly called for his removal.”

**Former President Ronald Reagan:** “We do want Noriega out of there and a return to a civilian democratic government.”

**Narrator:** “The U.S. now undertook a systematic effort to overthrow Noriega. Economic sanctions were stepped up and additional troops were dispatched to Panama.”

**American news segment:** “The United States tonight declared in effect that Panama’s General Manuel Noriega is a threat to this country’s national security.”

**Former President George Bush, Sr.:** “Mr. Noriega, the drug indicted, drug-related, indicted dictator of Panama. We want to bring him to justice. We want to get him out and we want to restore democracy to Panama ....”

**Narrator:** “Sabina Virgo, a national labor organizer, was in Panama just weeks before the invasion.

**Sabina Virgo, National Labor Organizer, U.S.:** “Provocations against the Panamanian people by the United States military troops were very frequent in Panama and they had several results and in my opinion probably a couple of different intents. One, I think, was to create an international incident, was to have United States troops just hassle the Panamanian people until an incident resulted and from that incident the United States could then say that they were going into Panama for the protection of American life, which is in fact exactly what happened.”

**Narrator:** “On December 20<sup>th</sup>, U.S. troops invaded Panama. The invasion was code-named *Operation Just Cause*. Shortly after midnight, U.S. troops simultaneously attacked 27 targets, many of which were in densely populated areas. One of the primary targets in Panama City was the headquarters of the Panamanian Defense Forces, located in the crowded neighborhood of El Chorillo. U.S. troops shelled the area for four hours before moving in and calling for surrender.”

**Voice of US soldier:** “We ask you to surrender..... If you do not, we are prepared to level each and every building.....”

**Narrator:** “It soon became clear that the objectives were not limited only to military targets. According to witnesses, many of the surrounding residential neighborhoods were deliberately attacked and destroyed.”

**Unknown person describing what they saw:** “They shot at everything that moved, without mercy and without thinking whether there were children or women or people fighting. Instead, everything that moved they shot.”

**Woman speaking in Spanish (Voice of translator):** “The North Americans began burning down El Chorillo at about 6:30 in the morning. They would throw a small device into a house and would catch on fire. They would burn a house and then move to another and begin the process all over again. They burned from one street to the next. They coordinated the burning through walkie-talkies.”

**Narrator:** “The Pentagon used Panama as a testing ground for newly developed high tech weapons such as the Stealth Fighter, the Apache Attack helicopter, and laser guided missiles.”

**Rear Admiral Eugene Carrol, *Center for Defense Information*:** “President Bush wanted to make certain that this was going to be a success. This was going to be his vindication, denial of the wimp factor in spades. So they sent down a force that wasn’t going to encounter any effective resistance but simply overwhelm the opposition and the fact that it would cause tremendous peripheral damage, damage to innocent civilians on a wide scale, was not of concern in the planning.”

**Mark Hertsgaard, Author / Journalist:** “My God, we were sending in artillery and air strikes against a very heavily populated urban area. There was absolutely no question that there were going to be immense numbers of civilian casualties.”

**Narrator:** “During the days and weeks following the invasion, the U.S. policy of applying overwhelming deadly force continued. There were many reports of indiscriminate killings and executions of unarmed civilians.”

**Gavrielle Gemma: *Independent Commission of Inquiry*:** “We have eye witness accounts on the part of a number of Panamanians where soldiers took Panamanians who had been captured after the invasion and executed them on the street.”

**Gavrielle Gemma:** “They arrested close to 7,000 Panamanian individuals. They arrested almost every trade union leader, the leaders of the nationalist parties, of progressive parties, of Left parties in Panama. They arrested people who were cultural leaders.”

**Narrator:** “As a result of the U.S. invasion, an estimated 20,000 Panamanians lost their homes. Hardest hit were residents in the poor neighborhoods of San Miguelito, Colon, Panama Veijo, and El Chorillo.”

“How many people were killed in Panama? And who were they? These questions may never be answered because the United States military undertook elaborate efforts to conceal the number of dead, how they died, and the location of their bodies.”

**Robert Knight, journalist:** “What happened in Panama is a hidden horror. Many of the bodies were bulldozed into piles and immolated in the slums where they were collected. Other bodies were left in the

garbage shoots of the poor projects in which they died from the shooting, from the artillery, from the machine guns, from the airborne attacks. Others were said to have been pushed into the ocean.”

**Representative Charles Rangel** (Democrat, New York): “The truth of the matter is that we don’t even know how many Panamanians we have killed. But we should have more information on what happened. How many civilians were killed?”

**Narrator:** “The National Human Rights Commission of Panama interviewed hundreds of people in an effort to determine how many had died.”

**Olga Mejia, (*National Human Rights Commission*):** “What we have is different testimonies that help us to arrive to the conclusion that for sure, there were more than 4,000 people who died.”

**Jeff Cohen, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting ([www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org)):** “The U.S. military said 250 civilians were killed. I mean, there isn’t a credible source in Panama that believes that’s true. Whether it’s ambulance drivers, human rights monitors, doctors who worked in hospitals, neighbors of bombed out blocks. It’s just clearly false. That story would be so easy to tell for any journalist worth his or her salt. But they’re not telling it.”

**Michael Parenti:** “When they interviewed people in Panama about what they thought of it, they invariably were interviewing white, middle class people, who could speak English. They didn’t really go into the poor neighborhoods where people had been bombed. Did you see one media actually go into the bombed areas and talk to people who had lost a family or lost everything they had in the bombings? They focused totally on the invasion as a tactical event. Was it effective? Did it work well? Are we losing many American lives?”

**American news segments:** “While another unit moved in by helicopter”..... “15 American servicemen have died”..... “Gertrude Candy Haland, from Dixon, Illinois, is the twentieth American to die.”

**Parenti:** “They focused with utter ethnocentrism only on American lives. The only life that was precious, the only life that one could report on, the only life that one could consider as a serious loss was an American life.”

**Narrator:** “In the months following the invasion, Panamanians were shocked to discover the existence of mass graves where hundreds, perhaps thousands, of bodies were hastily dumped into pits and buried by U.S. troops.”

**Jose Morin (*Center for Constitutional Rights*):** “To date, there have been 15 mass graves that have been identified throughout Panama. The United States military was directly responsible for the killings of the men, women and children that are in these mass graves and for their burial. These mass graves exist throughout Panama and some are believed to be on U.S. military bases which creates a difficulty in terms of access to these mass graves.”

**Voice of translator:** “We found many young people, 15, 16, 18 years old. We found people in their ‘60s, and in their ‘70s. We found people killed by a shot to the back of their heads. Dead with their hands tied. Dead with casts on their legs or arms.”

**Narrator:** “Although the U.S. media created a perception of support for the invasion within the United States, the invasion was overwhelmingly condemned in the international community.”

**Jeff Cohen:** “If you look at any document in international law, any of numerous treaties, it’s clear that this invasion was illegal. It’s not debatable.”

**Mark Hertsgaard:** “The four biggest most important papers in this country all endorsed the rightness of the Panama invasion. That’s the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, strong endorsements, the New Times and the Wall Street Journal. Everyone of them. Now, a little body known as the United Nations had a vote about this. On December 29<sup>th</sup> they voted by an overwhelming majority to condemn the invasion as, in their words, “a flagrant violation of international law.”

**Michael Parenti:** “The media was so cooperative with the government because the media are owned by the same interests that are being defended in Central America by that government policy. The media are not close to corporate America. They are not favorable to corporate America. They *are* corporate America. They are an integral part of corporate America.”

**Ramsey Clark:** “We are a plutocracy. We ought to face it, a country in which wealth controls. May be true of all countries more or less but uniquely true of ours because of our materialism and the concentration of wealth here. Even our democratic processes are hardly that because money dominates politics and we know it. Through politics, it dominates government, and it dominates the media. We really need desperately to find new ways to hear independent voices and points of view. It’s the only way we are going to find the truth.”

**Former President George Bush Sr.:** “The goals of the United States have been to safeguard the lives of Americans, to defend democracy in Panama .....

**Rear Admiral Eugene Carrol:** “Then President Bush said we had to go to restore democracy in Panama. How in the world do you restore that which has never existed? Panama has never been a democracy since we created Panama for our own purposes in 1903. And all we did was go down to restore American control and dominance in Panama.”

**Narrator:** “The new government installed by the invasion, was headed by the U.S.-backed candidates from the aborted national election, Endara, Calderon and Ford. Hours before the invasion, they were taken to a U.S. military base where they were sworn in as the President and Vice Presidents.”

**Esmeralda Brown, (United Nations Methodist Office):** “Of course he is not going to say that Panama is occupied. In fact, he might not even call it an invasion. It wasn’t his kind that were killed or massacred. He lives in the nicer area in the oligarchical area and you know his interest is protected. He is not running Panama, he is a puppet of the U.S. government. The U.S. government is running Panama. They are running all of the ministries in Panama. He’s only abiding by what he’s told to do.”

**Robert Knight, (Investigative Journalist):** “The invasion sets the stage for the wars of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in South America. The 2,000-mile invasion from Washington to Panama City took place primarily with bases from the United States. The essential value of the Southern Command is to get another 2,000 miles of intervention capability which takes us right into the heart of the Andean cocoa producing region, where the wars of the next decade are entirely likely to take place.”

**Peter Kornbluh, (National Security Archive):** “Panama is another example of destroying a country to save it. And it’s another case of how the United States has exercised a “might makes right” doctrine among smaller countries of the Third World. It has long been U.S. practice to invade these countries, get what we want, and leave the people that live there to kind of rot.”

**Angry woman, (Voice of translator):** “George Bush, may his children be spared what my daughter has been subjected to. My daughter, who doesn’t want to live! May his generation be spared what our generation is living through! He should ask God for forgiveness for all the damage caused to many families down here!”

**Former President George Bush, Sr.:** “One year ago the people of Panama lived in fear under the thumb of a dictator. Today, democracy is restored. Panama is free.”

**Narrator:** “In March 1991, President Guillermo Endara proposed a constitutional amendment that would forever abolish Panama’s right to have an army. Later that year, a law was passed by the United States Congress to renegotiate the Panama Canal Treaties to ensure continued U.S. military presence in Panama, on the grounds that Panama was no longer capable of defending the canal.”

## **SEGMENT #9: RAMSEY CLARK, former U.S. Attorney General**

**Speaker introducing Ramsey Clark:** “Everyone knows Ramsey Clark is a former U.S. Attorney General and he has been a persistent voice for anti-war movement for three decades. Ramsey has traveled all over the world and has been in Iraq every year since the sanctions were imposed.”

**Ramsey Clark:** “If you think it’s been a long evening, wait ‘till I get through. But we’re going to have to take some long evenings because this planet is deeply troubled and the greatest cause of that trouble is our own government. In the speech that Rev. James Lawson referred to that Martin Luther King made on April 5<sup>th</sup> 1967, the most startling thing that he said at the time and the thing that caused the most anger and hatred to be directed toward him, was this sentence: “The greatest purveyor of violence on earth is my own government.”

“Thirty one years ago. Why anyone would have been startled is hard to say because it was an obvious fact. But apparently we need more education in the obvious than we do examination of the obscure and unknown.

“Last year, U.S. military expenditures, with all the suffering on the planet, all the sickness and hunger and ignorance and pain, the American military budget was \$265 billion. The second largest government expenditure for militarism was \$48 billion. And that was the Russian Federation. The United States military expenditures exceed those of the top 12 government expenditures on earth by themselves and are more than a third of all the military expenditures on the planet.”

“We have a war party in this country and we’ve had it all along! And you can call it Democrat for a while, you can call it Republican for a while, but it has been the special economic interest in this society that’s governed us from the time that we founded our governments on this continent. And the people have never controlled those governments.”

“We call ourselves the world’s greatest democracy -- we are absolutely a plutocracy! It’s the most obvious thing in the world! Wealth governs this country! And wealth uses military violence to control the rest of the world as best it can! And we’re responsible! And we will pay the price for it!”

“If we don’t control our violence, if we don’t control the effect of the symbol of our glorification of violence, on our children and on the rest of the planet, then this human species is going to be the first to destroy itself completely. And that’s the road the United States government has put us on.”

“The single most pertinent statement on this issue was by Henry Kissinger. When the Iran-Iraq war began, over a million very young men lost their lives in that war. Henry Kissinger said at the beginning of that war, eight years the war, “I hope they kill each other”. And that was exactly our policy. What could be better – have them kill each other – then who has to worry about that region anymore, you know? And don’t think that is not exactly our policy all over the world where there are poor peoples living today. That’s the solution to over-population – call it triage, whatever you want to call it. Let them kill each other, let them die. And they are dying all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where the masses of poor people live. They are expendable there as they are expendable here.”

“As appalling as what we’ve done and what we’ve threatened to Iraq, the worst violence that all of our technology could unleash and then the strangulation of the sanctions, the thing we have to realize is, it’s what our government leadership has been doing all along. It is not terribly different than how we addressed the folks that were here to meet the Mayflower standing on the dock. The North American aboriginal peoples, the Indians as we call them.

A long steady course of destruction of those peoples. It is not terribly different than what we did to the slaves

that were brought over in chains from Africa, those that survived the transit, which wasn't easy. You look in our history books, you don't read about a Philippine-American War, you read the Philippine history books and they know about the Philippine-American War. We call it the Spanish American War. We were liberating the Filipinos! We killed more than a million. Now we are bragging about the covert actions we are going to engage in against Iraq."

"Do you doubt for a minute they are planning covert actions in half a dozen other places right now, and we'll react to them five years after the misery has begun and the people have been devastated? What we have to realize is that if we don't stand up and stop this now, if we can't stop these sanctions in Iraq, and with them we can't prohibit any further use of sanctions that are designed to impact on the poor, then there are no poor people on the planet that will ever be safe from our government and its future acts."

"It is imperative that we stop them in Iraq today and that we prohibit them in the future as applied to any people, because it is a weapon of mass destruction. We have to stop military interventions by our government completely. We cannot permit more U.S. military interventions in foreign countries. We have to stop economic interventions. We've got to cancel foreign debt that has enslaved most of the poor countries on the planet. Cancel it!"

"So let's organize through every effort and opportunity we have, in our families, in our churches, in our mosques, in our synagogues, in our schools, at our jobs, a massive coalition committed to end militarism and economic exploitation by our government. Thank you. God Bless."

**Ramsey Clark served as the Attorney General of the United States under Lynden Johnson from 1967 to 1969. When this speech was given in 1998 the U.S. military budget was \$265 billion dollars. That number had increased to \$399 billion by 2004. His book "The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf" is a must read!**



## SEGMENT #10: S. BRIAN WILLSON – WAGING UNCONDITIONAL PEACE

**Caption:** “In nonviolence, the masses have a weapon which enables a child, a woman, or even a decrepit old man to challenge the mightiest government successfully. If your spirit is strong, mere lack of physical strength ceases to be a handicap.” *Gandhi*

**Introduction by Kris Kristofferson:** “On Sept. 1 1987, S. Brian Willson began a protest at the Concord Naval Weapons Station near Oakland, Calif. That’s one of the places that send out the weapons that have killed or injured tens of thousands of people in Central America. Brian delivered a letter to the Base Commander telling him that on that day he’d begin using his body to block the trains carrying its weapons. His hope was that if they stopped the train to save one human life, they were not far from understanding they could also stop it from destroying many human lives, each of equal value in Central America.

“They must have known he meant business. One year earlier, with three other veterans, he’d gone without food for 36 days on the steps of the Capital to persuade Congress to stop the killing in Central America. Brian Willson, former high school jock, former Air Force Security Officer in Vietnam, former dairy farmer who’d received the commendation for his work with the traumatized veterans of Vietnam, was run over that day.”

“He put himself in the place of the people of Central America and in doing so, he opened up the deepest truths of human existence. For the life and times of Brian Willson had turned him into a *Satyagraha*, a practitioner of the nonviolent resistance to evil, the path taken by Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, and Archbishop Romero of El Salvador. Brian trusted that even greater than the power of a speeding train, is the power of truth and love. He showed a new kind of heroism, the kind that may just bring the world back from the brink of self-destruction. He acted on his faith in the unity and sanctity of all life and that if one person will speak and act upon this truth, it will open the hearts of many and provide us a way out in this most desperate moment.”

**S. Brian Willson:** “Five per cent of the people of the world live in the United States but we consume 40 percent of the resources of the world. We have become used to thinking that we have a right to all that we have no matter what damage we do to the Earth or to other people. We have become detached and disconnected from reality. We have become detached from the Earth. We have become detached from the feelings and lives of people elsewhere if it interferes with our right to maintain our lifestyle and standard of living. I would submit to you that we’re on a course leading to inevitable annihilation. Martin Luther King said the issue is not between violence and non-violence; it’s between non-violence and non-existence. The course we’re on in the “First World” is a course of ultimate destruction. Do we want to be part of this course of ultimate destruction or do we want to be part of hope and affirmation and justice for all people of the Earth and for the Earth itself without which we cannot live? Yes, I’m talking about a non-violent revolution of consciousness. A consciousness that is able to understand how we’re all inextricably connected to each other on this Earth and to the Earth itself and that if we violate those fundamental principles, we do so at our own peril. Yes, we can continue to live in this delusion and the denials of reality because it’s painful, it’s frightening. Sometimes, it’s terrifying just as Vietnam vets have understood it’s terrifying to face the truth, especially when you don’t have anybody to talk to.”

“How can we continue as a civilization of We The People, if we have to do it at the expense of maiming and murder of people all over the world whether it’s in Angola, or El Salvador, or Guatemala, or Nicaragua or Kampuchea or Vietnam? Or South Africa? Are we going to watch this happen again? Do we just go about our business as usual and know that another 5,000 people will be killed in our name?”

“Or do we have to think about a paradigm shift that somehow is able to experience the anguish of the Earth and the anguish of the Nicaraguans and the anguish of the El Salvadorans, whose lives are being threatened by our guns and our money because we have to protect our National Security. Well, I hope, and I challenge all of you to think, but more importantly, to feel, in your heart, how you might be able to act in such a way so that the

world can live in peace and justice. And I'm liberated, I'm free to stand anywhere, anyplace, and tell them they cannot continue to kill mothers and fathers and children in my name as a citizen of the United States. So I ask each of you to search your hearts, as to what your truth is, for being a citizen of the earth, promoting justice as a foundation for peace."

"It's not going to happen magically, and I think it's not going to happen by relying on these political structures and institutions in Washington. I think we're going to have to wage peace in the most extraordinary ways whether our government wants it or not."

"And so I simply say that you will know in your heart, I believe, what to do. But I know that without a non-violent revolution of consciousness, we will not survive as a civilization or as a planet. We are at an extraordinary point in history where we can choose to have peace if we want to pay the price. And what more glorious goal and value do we want than peace for all people?"

"And so I look forward to working together with you all, with we the people, to build a new society, a society that understands that **we are not worth more, and they are not worth less** and that we will be willing to pay the price and take the risks to wage peace with all fellow and sister human beings."

"I feel ever more empowered to wage unconditional peace."

**Crowd in Spanish:** "El Pueblo! Unido! Hamas Cera Vencido! The People! United! Will never be defeated!"

**Brian Willson is alive and well, and living in Arcata, Northern California. His work on behalf of Peace for all people of the Earth continues...**

## END VIDEO CREDITS

Video Footage from  
**“The Healing of Brian Willson”**

by Lori Joyce of Idhana Films

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

&

**“Nicaragua Diary”**

by Mark Birnbaum

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

Audio from

**“Waging Unconditional Peace”**

by The Other Americas Radio

<http://www.addictedtowar.com/SBW.htm>

Brian Willson – <http://www.brianwillson.com>

Amy Goodman – <http://www.democracynow.org>

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**“School of Assassins”**

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**“Bitter Paradise – The Sell-out of East Timor”**

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