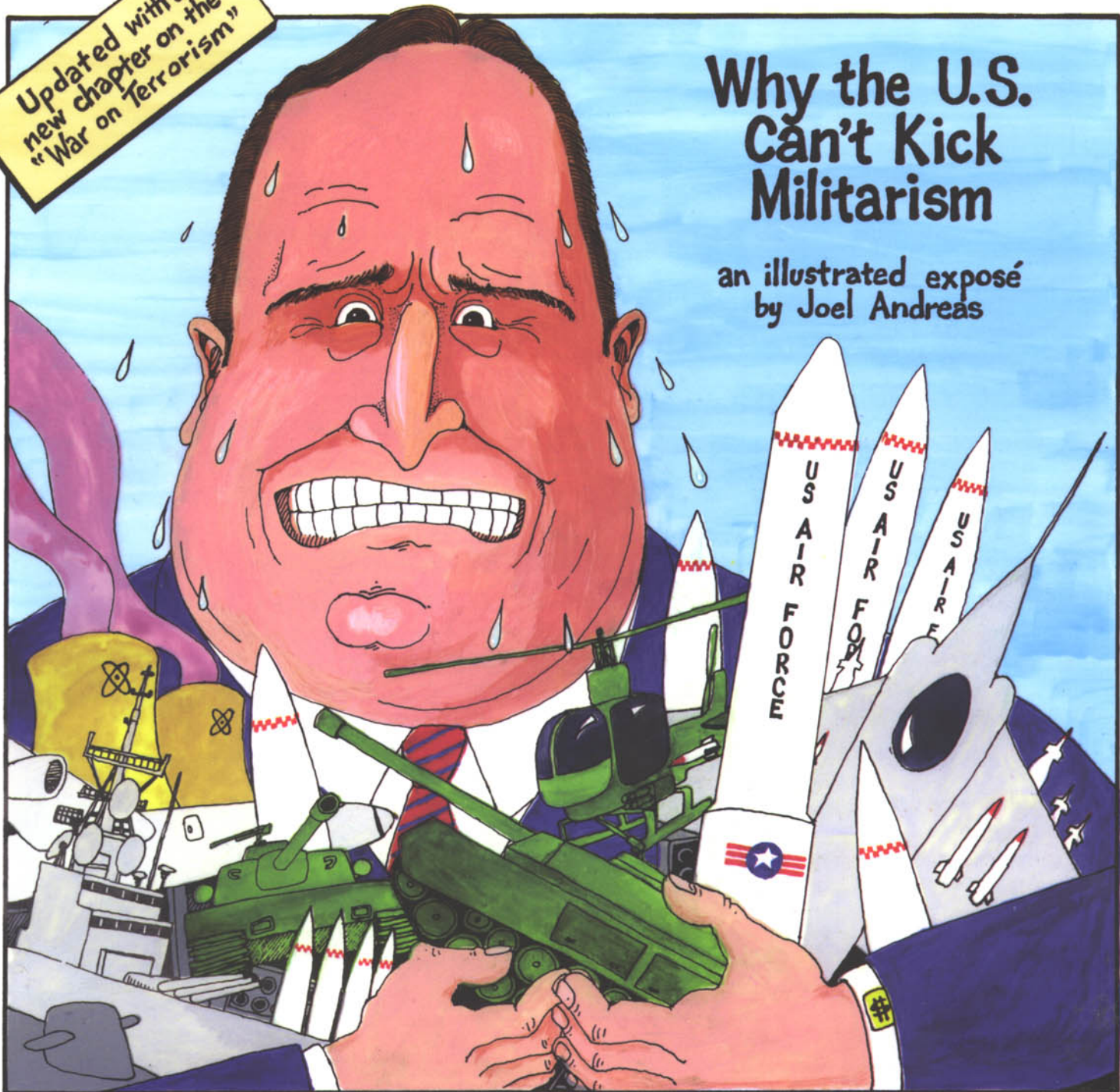


ADDICTED TO WAR

Updated with a
new chapter on the
"War on Terrorism"

Why the U.S. Can't Kick Militarism

an illustrated exposé
by Joel Andreas



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Acknowledgements

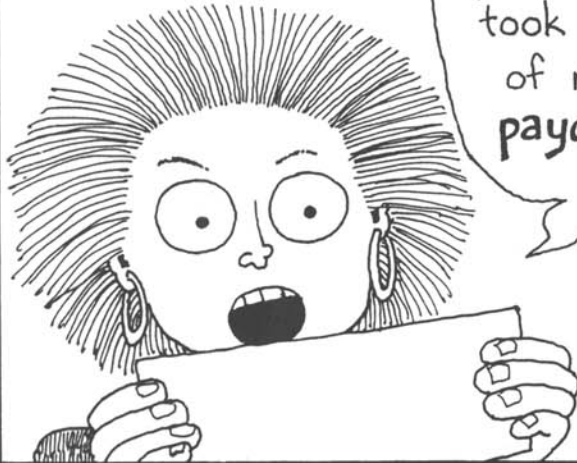
Many people helped make publication of this book possible, including family members and friends who read and made helpful comments on drafts of both the first and second editions. Jennifer Caldwell, Jeff Phillips and Tad Chamberlain generously helped with research for the 2002 edition. Frank Dorrel’s tireless promotion made the second edition both possible and irresistible.

Joel Andreas, January 2002

“The U.S., with 4.5% of the world’s population, arrogantly plunders the world’s resources and cultures to support its American Way Of Life. *Addicted to War* illustrates why the U.S. is NECESSARILY dependent upon war to feed its shameful consumption patterns.”

S. Brian Willson, Vietnam veteran and anti-war activist

Our story begins on a Friday afternoon.



Yeow! Look at all the money the government took out of my paycheck!

Later that evening:

Mom - they want you to help at a bake sale so my school can buy toilet paper.



First no books and now no toilet paper! Do they have anything at your school?



At the next school board meeting:



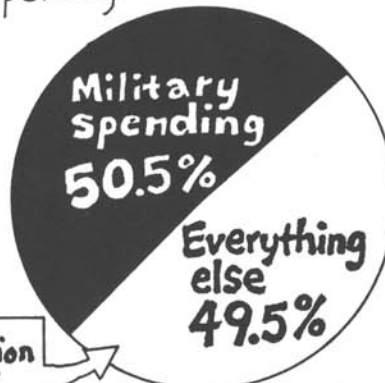
I'm sorry, the local tax base is declining and we get very little help from the federal government. There's just no money!

What do they do with all the taxes I pay?



A huge part of the money the IRS takes out of our paychecks goes to support the military. **Military spending** adds up to **more than half** of the Federal Government's annual discretionary spending.

Federal Discretionary Budget
2002 fiscal year

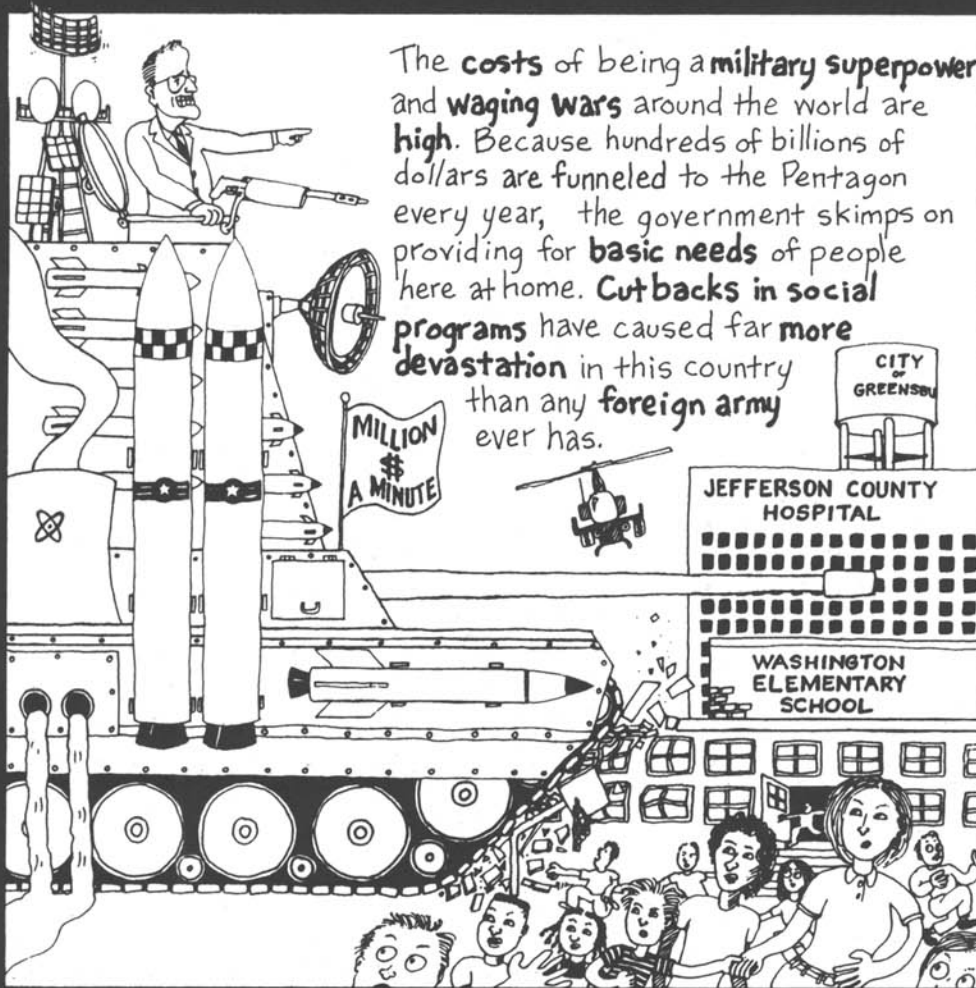


Including education spending, 8%

No wonder there's no toilet paper!



The United States maintains the largest and **most powerful military in history**. U.S. warships dominate the oceans, its missiles and bombers can strike targets on every continent, and hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops are stationed overseas. Every few years the U.S. sends soldiers, warships and warplanes to **fight in distant countries**. Many countries go to war, but the U.S. is **unique** in both the **size and power** of its military and its **propensity to use it**.

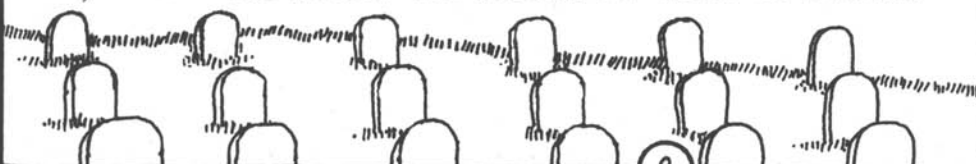


The **costs** of being a **military superpower** and **waging wars** around the world are **high**. Because hundreds of billions of dollars are funneled to the Pentagon every year, the government skimps on providing for **basic needs** of people here at home. **Cutbacks in social programs** have caused far more **devastation** in this country than any **foreign army** ever has.

Foreign wars also bring **bloody retaliation** against the U.S. – such as the **terrorist attacks** that took the lives of thousands of people at the **Pentagon** and the **World Trade Center**.



But the costs of U.S. foreign wars are more than simply economic. They include the **lives of the soldiers** who never come home.



But why is the United States always getting into wars?

To answer that, you have to understand the **history** of this country



Two centuries ago, the United States was a collection of **thirteen small colonies** on the Atlantic coast of North America. Today it **dominates the globe** in a way that even the most powerful of past empires could not have imagined.

The path to world power has **not** been peaceful



I'll have to read up on this...

Chapter 1 "Manifest Destiny"

The **American revolutionaries** who rose up against **King George** in 1776 spoke eloquently about the right of every nation to determine its own destiny.

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to **dissolve** the political bands which have connected them with another, and assume, among the **Powers of the earth**, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them..."



Thomas Jefferson, from the Declaration of Independence, 1776

Unfortunately, after they won the right to determine **their own destiny** they thought they should determine **everyone else's too!**



The leaders of the **newly independent colonies** believed that they were **preordained** to rule all of North America. This was so obvious to them that they called it "**Manifest Destiny**."

"We must march from **ocean to ocean**. ...It is the destiny of the **white race**."

Representative **Giles** of Maryland



2

3

This "manifest destiny" soon led to genocidal wars against the **Native American peoples**. The U.S. Army ruthlessly **seized** their land, driving them west and slaughtering those who resisted.



During the century that followed the American Revolution, the Native American peoples were defeated one by one, their lands were taken, and they were confined to **reservations**. The number of dead has never been counted. But the tragedy did not end with the dead. The Native peoples' **way of life** was devastated. (3) (4)

"I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A **people's dream** died there. It was a beautiful dream ...the nation's hoop is **broken and scattered.**"

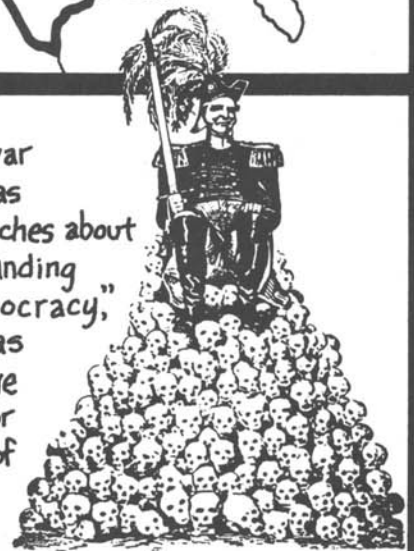
Black Elk, spiritual leader of the Lakota people and survivor of the Wounded Knee massacre in South Dakota



By 1848 the United States had seized nearly half of Mexico's territory.



In Congress the war against Mexico was justified with speeches about the glory of expanding "Anglo-Saxon democracy," but in truth it was the Southern slave owners' thirst for land and the lure of Western gold that inspired these speeches.



General Zachary Taylor Ordered scores of U.S. soldiers executed for refusing to fight in Mexico.

With their domain now stretching from **coast to coast** the "Manifest Destiny" crowd began to dream of an **overseas empire**. Economic factors drove these ambitions. Col. Charles Denby, a railroad magnate and an ardent **expansionist**, argued:

"Our condition at home is **forcing** us to commercial expansion... Day by day, **production is exceeding home consumption**... We are after markets, the **greatest markets in the world.**"



6

Calls for **empire** were echoing through the halls of Washington.

"I firmly believe that when any territory outside the **present territorial limits** of the United States becomes necessary for our defense or essential for our commercial development, we ought to **lose no time** in acquiring it."

Senator Orville Platt
of Connecticut, 1894



7

To become a world power the U.S. built a **world-class navy**. A gung-ho Theodore Roosevelt was put in charge of it.

"I should **welcome** almost any war, for I think this country **needs one.**"

T. Roosevelt, 1897



8

He didn't have **long** to wait.



The next year, taking a fancy to several Spanish colonies, including **Cuba and the Philippines**, the U.S. declared war on Spain. **Rebel armies** were already fighting for **independence** in both countries and Spain was on the verge of defeat. Washington declared that it was on the rebels' side and Spain quickly capitulated. But the U.S. soon made it clear that it had **no intention of leaving**.

"The Philippines are **ours forever**... and just beyond the Philippines are China's **illimitable markets** ... the Pacific is **our ocean.**"

Senator Albert
Beveridge
of Indiana, 1900



9

5

And for the Senator, the Pacific was **only the beginning**:

"The power that rules the Pacific is the power that **rules the world**... That power is and will forever be the **American Republic.**"



10

Elaborate racist theories were invented to justify colonialism and these theories were adopted enthusiastically in Washington.

"We are the ruling race of the world. ... We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God of the civilization of the world. ... He has marked us as his chosen people ... He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples."



Senator Albert Beveridge, again

But the Filipinos didn't share the views of Senator Beveridge and his buddies.

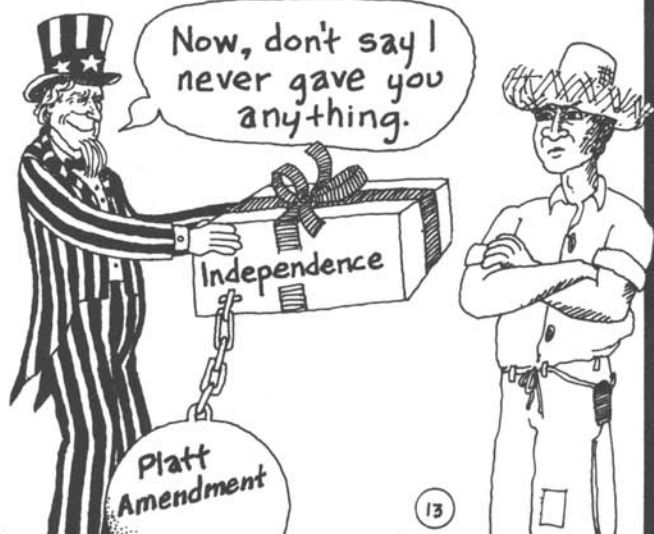


They fought the new invaders just as they had fought the Spanish. The U.S. subjugated the Philippines with brute force. U.S. soldiers were ordered to "Burn all and kill all," and they did. By the time the Filipinos were defeated, 600,000 had died.



U.S. soldiers stand on the bones of Filipinos who died in the war

The Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam were made into U.S. colonies in 1898. Cuba was formally given its independence, but along with it the Cubans were given the Platt Amendment, which stipulated that the U.S. Navy would operate a base in Cuba forever, that the U.S. Marines would intervene at will, and that Washington would determine Cuba's foreign and financial policies.



Now, don't say I never gave you anything.

During the same period, the U.S. overthrew Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani and transformed these unspoiled Pacific islands into a U.S. Navy base surrounded by Dole and Del Monte plantations. In 1903, after Theodore Roosevelt became president, he sent gunboats to secure Panama's separation from Colombia. The Colombian government had refused Roosevelt's terms for building a canal.

If they won't sell, I'll just take it!



Then Uncle Sam began sending his Marines everywhere



14

The Marines went to China, Russia, North Africa, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean.

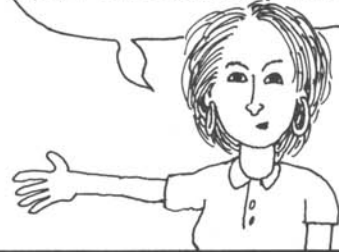
15



From the Halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli...

Troops march in Siberia during the U.S. invasion of Russia, 1918

Between 1898 and 1934, the Marines invaded Cuba 4 times, Nicaragua 5 times, Honduras 7 times, the Dominican Republic 4 times, Haiti twice, Guatemala once, Panama twice, Mexico 3 times, and Colombia 4 times!



16

In many countries, the Marines stayed on as an occupying army, sometimes for decades. When the Marines finally went home, they typically left the countries they had occupied in the hands of a friendly dictator, armed to the teeth to suppress his own people.



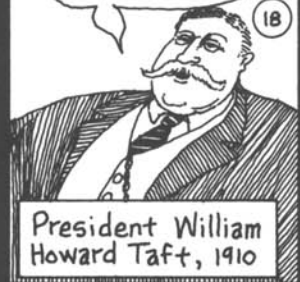
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Behind the Marines came **legions of U.S. business executives** ready not only to sell their goods but also to set up **plantations, drill oil wells, and stake out mining claims.** The Marines returned when called upon to enforce **slave-like working conditions** and put down **strikes, protests, and rebellions.**



17

"[I accept responsibility for] active intervention to secure for **our capitalists opportunity for profitable investments.**"



18

President William Howard Taft, 1910

A reporter described what took place after U.S. troops landed in **Haiti in 1915** to put down a **peasant rebellion:**

American marines opened fire with machine guns from airplanes on defenseless Haitian villages, killing men, women and children in the open market places for sport.



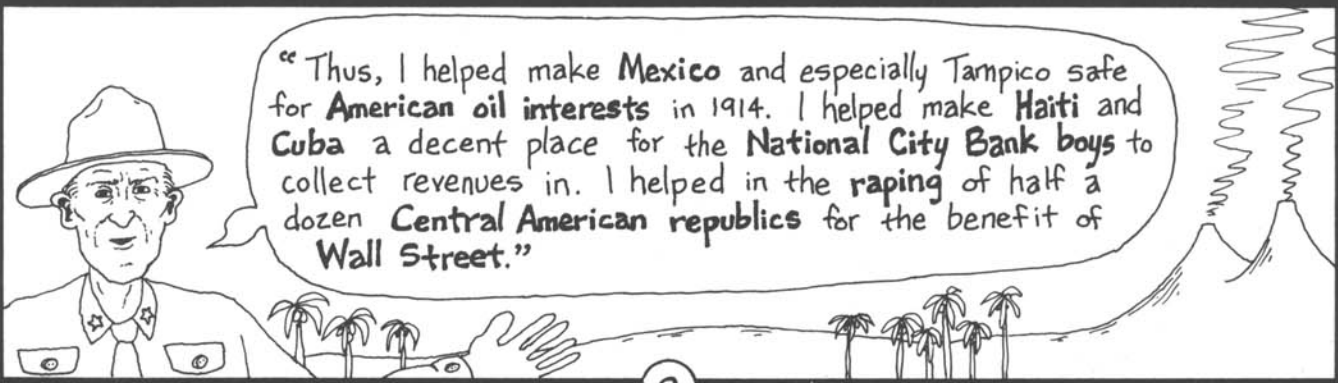
50,000 Haitians were killed.

19

20

General Smedley Butler was one of the most celebrated leaders of these **Marine expeditions.** After he retired, he reconsidered his career, describing it as follows:

"I spent 33 years and 4 months in active **military service...** And during that period I spent most of my time as a **high-class muscle man for Big Business,** for Wall Street and the bankers. In short, I was a **racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.**"



"Thus, I helped make **Mexico** and especially Tampico safe for **American oil interests** in 1914. I helped make **Haiti** and **Cuba** a decent place for the **National City Bank boys** to collect revenues in. I helped in the **raping** of half a dozen **Central American republics** for the benefit of **Wall Street.**"

8

"I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1902-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras right for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927, I helped see to it that Standard Oil went on its way unmolested."



21



U.S. Marine officer with the head of Silvano Herrera, one of the leaders of Augusto Sandino's rebel army, Nicaragua, 1930

World War I was a horrific battle among the European colonial powers over how to divide up the world. When President Woodrow Wilson decided to enter the fray, he told the American people that he was sending troops to Europe to "make the world safe for democracy."



But what Wilson was really after was what he considered to be the United States' fair share of the spoils.



Wilson's ambassador to England said rather forthrightly that the U.S. would declare war on Germany because it was...

22

"...the only way of maintaining our present pre-eminent trade status."



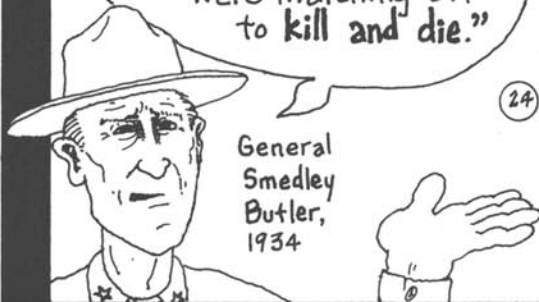
Ambassador W.H. Page, 1917



For this, 130,274 U.S. soldiers were sent to their deaths.

23

"Our boys were sent off to die with **beautiful ideals** painted in front of them. No one told them that **dollars and cents** were the real reason they were marching off to **kill and die.**"



24

World War I was supposed to be the "war to end all wars."



During **World War II**, millions of young Americans signed up to fight **German fascism** and **Japanese imperialism**. But the goals of the strategic planners in Washington were far less **admirable**.



In October 1940, as German and Japanese troops were marching in **Europe and Asia**, a group of **prominent government officials, business executives, and bankers** was convened by the U.S. State Department and the Council on Foreign Relations to discuss U.S. strategy. They were concerned with maintaining an **Anglo-American "sphere of influence"** that included the British Empire, the Far East, and the Western hemisphere. They concluded that the country had to **prepare for war** and come up with...

"...an integrated policy to achieve **military and economic supremacy** for the United States."



Of course, they didn't say this publicly,



If war aims are stated which seem to be concerned solely with Anglo-American imperialism, they will offer little to people in the rest of the world... The interests of other peoples should be stressed... This would have a better propaganda effect.

26

From a private memorandum between the Council on Foreign Relations and the State Department, 1941

A horrendous war was concluded with a horrendous event: **200,000 people were killed** instantaneously when the U.S. dropped **nuclear bombs** first on **Hiroshima** and then on **Nagasaki**. Tens of thousands more died later from radiation poisoning.

27



The defeat of Japan had already been assured **before** the bombs were dropped. Their main purpose was to **demonstrate** to the world the deadly power of America's new **weapon of mass destruction**.

29

"We pray that God might guide us to use [the Bomb] in **His ways** and for **His purposes**."

President Harry Truman, 1945

28

World War II left the U.S. in a position of **political, economic and military superiority**.

"We must set the pace and assume the responsibility of the **majority stockholder** in this **corporation known as the world**."

Leo Welch, former Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil of New Jersey (now Exxon) 1946

30



The U.S. eagerly **assumed responsibility** for determining the economic policies and selecting the management of what it considered to be the **subsidiary companies** that made up the "corporation known as the world."

But this didn't go over too well in many nations that considered themselves to be **sovereign countries**.

FUERA YANKIS!



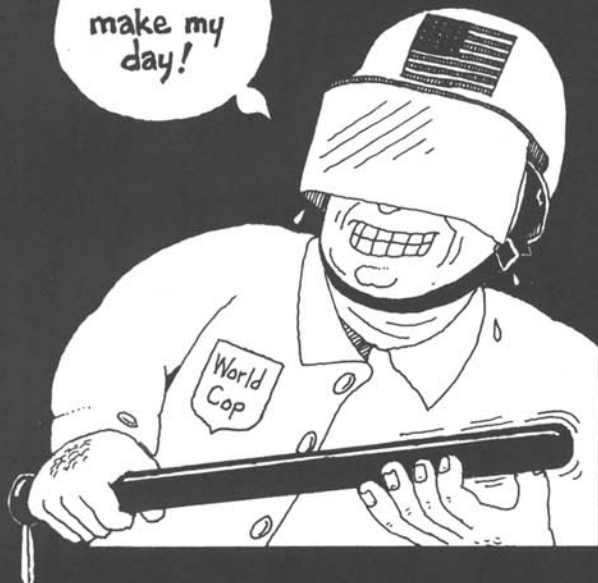
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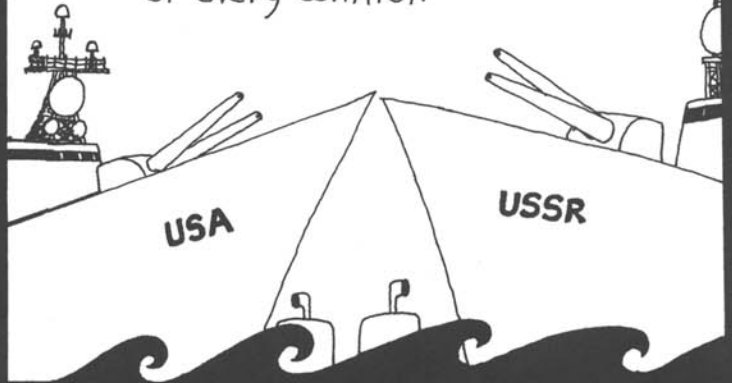
Chapter 2

The “Cold War” and the Exploits of the Self-Proclaimed “World Policeman”

Go ahead—
make my
day!



The United States, however, had to contend with the **Soviet Union**, which had also emerged from the Second World War as a **world power**. For the next 45 years, the world was caught up in a global turf battle between the “**two superpowers**.” The U.S. was always much stronger than its Soviet adversary, but both countries maintained huge military forces to defend and expand their own “**spheres of influence**.” The contention between the two powers was called the “**Cold War**” because they never directly engaged each other in battle. But the “Cold War” was marked by plenty of violence in other countries. Typically, the two superpowers lined up on **opposite sides** of every conflict.



For its part, the U.S. moved to expand its own “sphere of influence” beyond the Americas and the Pacific to include much of the **old British, French and Japanese colonial empires** in **Asia** and **Africa**. In doing so, it had to deal with local aspirations that did not always accord with American plans. To put down insubordination, disorder and disloyalty in its sphere, the new “**majority stockholder**” also appointed itself the “**world policeman**.” During the Cold War, Washington **intervened** militarily in foreign countries more than **200 times**.



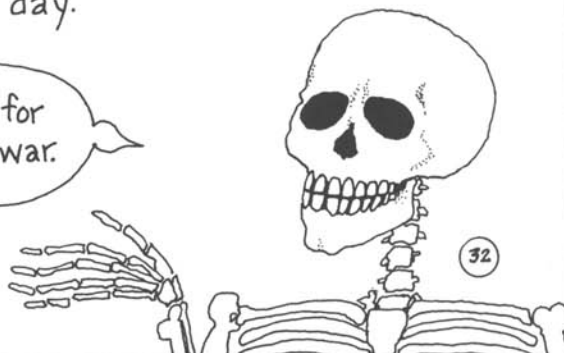
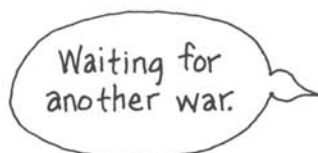
Don't mess with
the U.S.A., buster!

Korea, 1950-1953

After World War II, the **ambitious plans** of the U.S. State Department for Asia and the Pacific were upset completely by **revolutions and anti-colonial wars** from China to Malaysia. A major confrontation developed in **Korea**. Washington decided to intervene directly to show that **Western military technology** could defeat **any Asian army**.



U.S. warships, bombers, and artillery reduced much of Korea to **rubble**. Over **4,500,000 Koreans** died; three out of four were **civilians**. **54,000 U.S. soldiers** returned home in **coffins**. But the U.S. military, for all of its technological superiority, **did not prevail**. After 3 years of intense warfare, a cease-fire was negotiated. Korea is still divided and some 40,000 U.S. troops remain in southern Korea to this day.



Dominican Republic, 1965

After a **U.S.-backed military coup**, Dominicans rose up to demand the reinstatement of the overthrown president (who they had elected in a popular vote). Washington, however, was determined to keep its men in power, **no matter who the Dominicans voted for**. 22,000 U.S. troops were sent to suppress the uprising. 3,000 people were **gunned down** in the streets of Santo Domingo.

33

**YANKEES
GO HOME**



13

Vietnam, 1964-1973

For ten years the U.S. assaulted Vietnam with all the deadly force the Pentagon could muster, trying to preserve a **corrupt South Vietnamese regime**, which had been inherited from the **French colonial empire**. The U.S. may have used **more firepower** in Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) than had been used by **all sides** in **all previous wars** in human history.

Sometimes you have to **destroy** a country to **save** it.



U.S. war planes dropped the equivalent of **one 500-pound bomb** for every person living in Vietnam.



Despite the ferocity of the assault on Vietnam, the U.S. was ultimately defeated by a **lightly armed but determined** peasant army. (34)

400,000 tons of napalm were rained down on the tiny country. **Agent Orange** and other toxic herbicides were used to destroy millions of acres of farmland and forests. Villages were burned to the ground and their residents massacred. Altogether, **two million people died** in the Indochina War, most of them civilians killed by U.S. bombs and bullets. Almost **60,000 U.S. soldiers were killed** and 300,000 wounded.



Lebanon, 1982-1983

After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the U.S. Marines intervened directly in the **Lebanese civil war**, taking the side of Israel and the right-wing Falange militia.

Which had just massacred 2000 Palestinian civilians.



U.S. Marines marching into Beirut, 1983

241 Marines paid for this intervention with their lives when their barracks were blown up by a **truck bomb**.

35

Grenada, 1983

About **110,000 people** live on the tiny Caribbean island of **Grenada**.

About the same number that live in **Peoria, Illinois**.



But, according to **Ronald Reagan**, Grenada represented a **threat to U.S. security**. So he ordered the Pentagon to seize the island and install a new government **more to his liking**.

36

"A lovely piece of real estate."

Secretary of State **George Schultz**, 1983

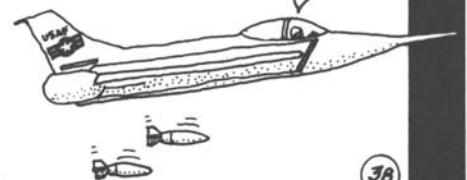
I'm a **Bechtel man** and a **Pentagon fan**

37

Libya, 1986

Washington loved **King Idris**, the Libyan monarch who happily turned over his country's **oil reserves** to Standard Oil for **next to nothing**. It hates **Col. Qadhafi**, who threw the King out. In 1986, Reagan ordered U.S. war planes to bomb the Libyan capital, **Tripoli**, claiming that Libya was responsible for a bomb attack on U.S. soldiers in Germany. (Later the U.S. admitted that Libya was not responsible for the attack.) **100 innocent civilians** were killed in the U.S. bombing of Tripoli.

The nerve of them terrorists - **bombing** those poor people!



38

So far we've recounted wars that have involved U.S. troops.

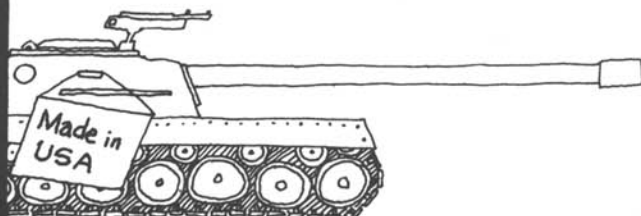
But there are many other wars in which Washington is involved behind the scenes.



After World War II, Britain was compelled to dispose of its **colonial empire** in the Middle East. It decided to give a big chunk of the land known as **Palestine** to **European Jews** displaced by the **Holocaust**. The problem was that there were already people living there. The result has been five decades of violence and war. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were **driven from their homes** in what became Israel. The center of the conflict has been the **West Bank** and **Gaza**, where Palestinians have lived for decades under **Israeli occupation**.



The U.S. provides crucial political support and billions of dollars a year in aid to Israel, including the most **advanced weaponry**. More than three decades of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza have produced bitter anger not only at Israel but also at the United States. As **Palestinian teenagers** continue to die in confrontations with the **Israeli Army** this anger only grows.

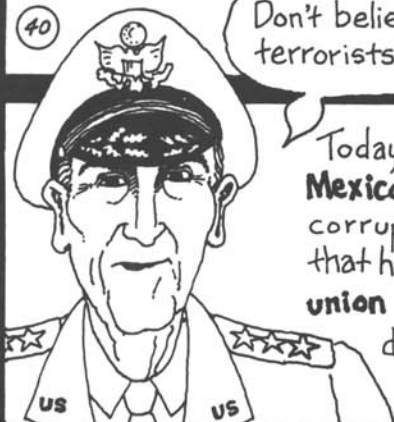


39

The U.S. government stands behind its friends - including dictatorial regimes suppressing their own people. In the 1970s and '80s **popular insurgencies** challenged corrupt dictatorships in **Central America**. The Pentagon and the CIA armed and trained security forces and death squads that killed hundreds of thousands of people, mostly **unarmed peasants**, in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

40

Don't believe them - they were terrorists **disguised as peasants!**



Many of the military officers responsible for the **worst atrocities** in Central America were trained at the Pentagon's "**School of the Americas**" in Georgia. The School trains officers from all over Latin America. Its training manuals recommend **torture** and **summary execution**. Its graduates have returned to establish military regimes and **terrorize** their own people.

CLOSE
the
School of Assassins

NO MORE TORTURE TRAINING

Fort Benning is a Terrorist Training Camp

Today bloody U.S.-backed counter-insurgency wars continue in **Colombia**, **Mexico**, **Peru**, the **Philippines** and other countries. In Colombia, a corrupt U.S.-backed army fights alongside paramilitary forces that have **slaughtered whole villages** and hundreds of opposition **union leaders** and **politicians**. The U.S. has been getting more deeply involved, under the cover of the "**War on Drugs**," providing billions of dollars of arms used to continue the killing.

42

16

The CIA and the Pentagon have also organized **proxy armies** to overthrow governments that are **not well-liked in Washington**. In 1961, for instance, U.S. warships ferried a **small army of mercenaries** to Cuba, hoping to reverse the **Cuban Revolution**. They landed at the **Bay of Pigs**.

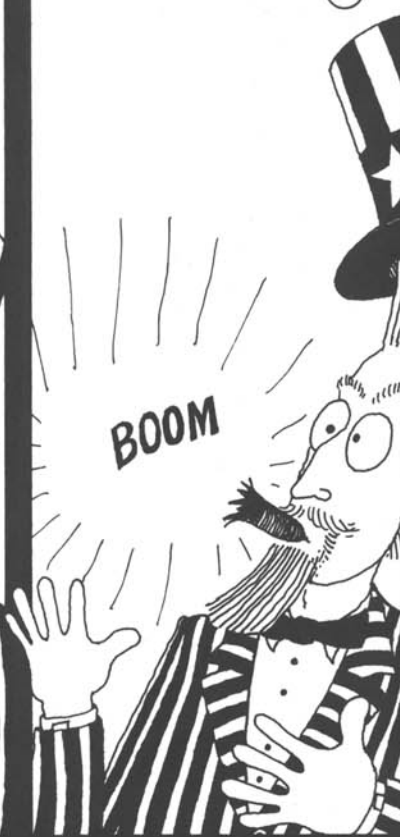
We'll show 'em!



It was the **fifth U.S. invasion** of Cuba this century. But this time the U.S. was **defeated**.

43

BOOM



In the 1970s and '80s, the **CIA** was **particularly busy** financing, training and arming **guerrilla armies** around the world



For years the U.S. backed Portugal's efforts to hang on to its **colonies in southern Africa**, helping it stave off independence wars in **Angola and Mozambique**.

In 1975, after a democratic revolution in Portugal, the Portuguese **called it quits**.

But Washington didn't!

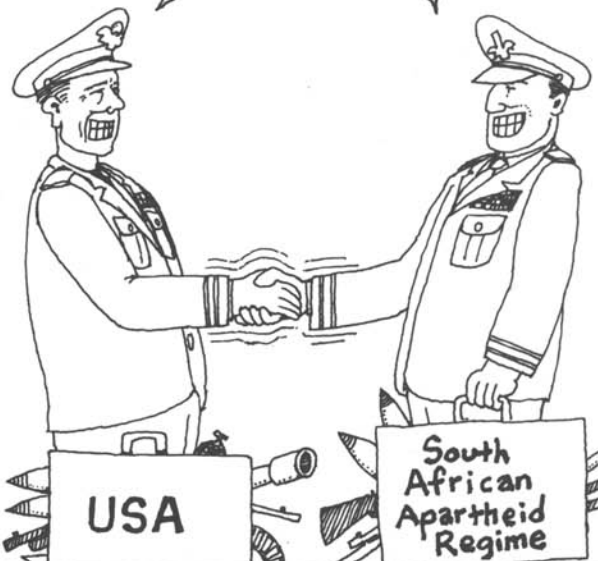


Instead, it teamed up with the **apartheid regime** in South Africa to supply a **mercenary army** to fight the new government in independent Angola. And in Mozambique, top U.S. and South African politicians and ex-military officers sponsored a **particularly brutal bunch** of mercenaries who massacred tens of thousands of peasants.

44

Democracy!

Freedom!



17

And then, of course, there are the "contras."



After the **Nicaraguan people** overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of the Somoza family in 1979, the CIA gathered together the remnants of **Somoza's hated National Guard** and sent them back to Nicaragua with all the weapons they could carry- to **loot, burn, and kill.**

"[The contras are] the **moral equivalent** of our founding fathers."

Ronald Reagan, 1985



45

In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded **Afghanistan** to prop up a friendly regime. **Soviet occupation** met **fierce popular resistance.** The CIA stepped in to arm, finance and train the Afghan **mujahedin guerrillas,** working closely with the Pakistani and Saudi governments. With generous support from Washington and its allies, the mujahedin defeated the Soviets after a **brutal decade-long war.**

46



Among the CIA's collaborators in this war was a Saudi named **Osama bin Laden.** Together with the CIA, bin Laden supplied the Afghan mujahedin with money, and guns to fight the Soviets. The Afghan war helped **militarize an international Islamic movement** to rid the Muslim world of foreign domination. Ultimately, this movement didn't like the **United States** any more than the **Soviets.** At that time, however, the U.S. backers of bin Laden and the mujahedin were not overly concerned about their wider goals.

47

We will drive **all infidel troops** from Muslim lands!

That's right! Let's whip the **Evil Empire!**



18



In the 1980s, Reagan stepped up the arms race, increasing military spending to unprecedented levels. The Soviets, with a much smaller economy, struggled to keep up.



But they couldn't. Massive military spending put tremendous strain on Soviet society, contributing to its collapse. The U.S. won the arms race and the Cold War.

As the Cold War came to an end, some people began talking about an "era of world peace" and a "peace dividend." But behind closed doors at the White House and the Pentagon the talk was quite different.



Chapter 3 The "New World Order"

In 1989, as the "Eastern Bloc" began to crumble, George H. Bush gathered together his national security advisors to discuss the world situation. The Soviet Union, they happily agreed, was no longer able or inclined to counter U.S. military intervention abroad. It was time, they decided, to demonstrate U.S. military power to the world. The White House wanted some decisive victories.



"In cases where the U.S. confronts much weaker enemies, our challenge will be not simply to defeat them, but to defeat them decisively and rapidly."

From a National Security Council policy review document, 1989

Panama, 1989



Panama was the first country selected to be the "much weaker enemy."

Ever since U.S. warships brought Panama into existence, U.S. troops have intervened in the small country whenever Washington deemed it necessary. George Bush continued this tradition in 1989, sending in 25,000 troops.

Supposedly to arrest a drug dealer.



The drug charges were only a pretext. The real motive was assuring U.S. control over the Panama Canal and the extensive U.S. military bases in that country. A new Panamanian president was sworn in at a U.S. air base moments before the invasion. Hardly "Mr. Clean;" the man the U.S. State Department picked for the job, Guillermo Endara, ran a bank that is notorious for money laundering.

49

We believe in free enterprise!



20

Of course, not only Panamanian banks are involved in this business. Most big U.S. banks have set up branches in Panama City.

Gotta get a piece of the action!



50

And drug trafficking and money laundering have increased sharply in Panama since "Operation Just Cause."

51



According to Panamanian human rights groups, **several thousand people were killed** in the U.S. invasion. 26 were U.S. soldiers. 50 were Panamanian soldiers. The rest were **civilians**, cut down by the overwhelming U.S. firepower poured into **crowded neighborhoods** in poor sections of Panama City and Colón.

Many of the dead were put in **garbage bags** and **secretly buried** in mass graves.



52

Iraq, 1991

Only **13 months** after the U.S. invaded Panama, it went to war again – this time on a much larger scale. Like always, the government's PR department was called upon to convince us that the war against Iraq was about **freedom and justice**. But **almost everyone** knows what it was really about.

"Even a **dolt** understands the principle – we **need the oil**."

Advisor to G.H.W. Bush,
Time magazine, 1990



53

Long ago, the U.S. State Department declared that **Middle East oil** was:

"a stupendous source of **strategic power**... one of the **greatest prizes** in world history."



54

65% of the world's known oil reserves lie in the Middle East. Control over the flow of this oil by U.S. oil companies has given the U.S. strategic power over Europe, Japan and the developing world. Washington thinks of the Middle East oil fields as its own **private reserves**, proclaiming them to be among its "**vital interests**."

"Oil is much **too important** a commodity to be **left in the hands** of the **Arabs**"

Henry Kissinger

55



56

What are you up to?

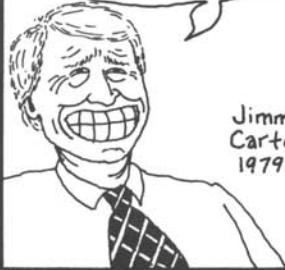
Exploring to see if there are any **vital American interests** under your soil.



21

The U.S. government had been planning for the Persian Gulf War since 1979, when President Carter set up the "Rapid Deployment Force" and declared that any threat to Persian Gulf oil...

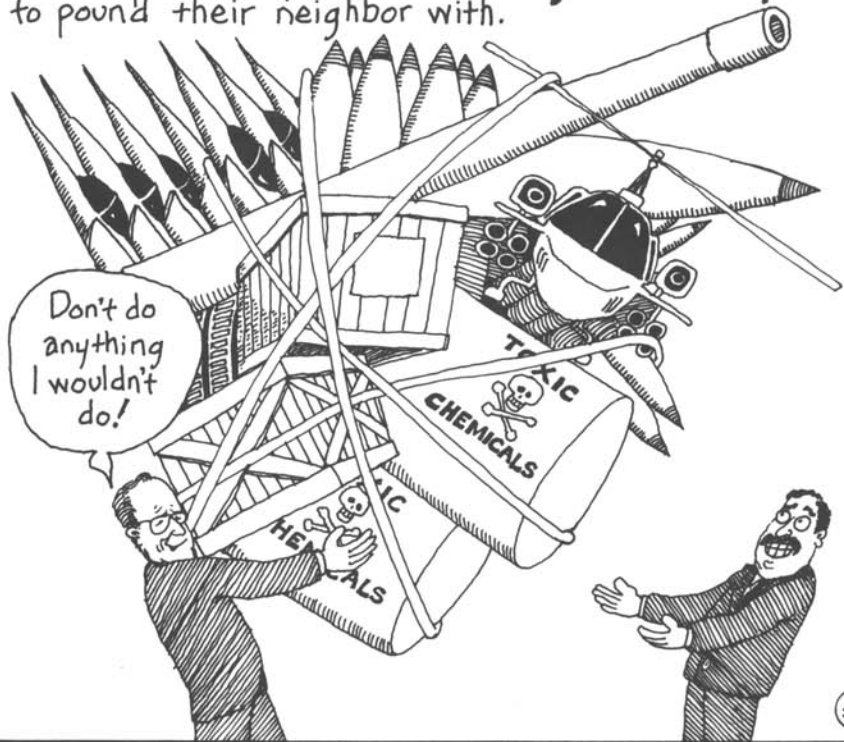
"... will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."



Jimmy Carter, 1979

57

In the early 1980's Iran was seen as the main threat to U.S. "interests" in the Gulf, so Washington and its allies encouraged Iraq to invade Iran and provided the Iraqi military with lots of high-tech weapons to pound their neighbor with.



58

In 1987, the Reagan administration intervened directly in the Iran-Iraq War (on Iraq's side), sending a **naval armada** to the Persian Gulf to protect the oil tankers of a country that was then Iraq's ally - Kuwait. Using state-of-the-art weaponry, the U.S. Navy blew up an Iranian **oil platform**, destroyed several **small speedboats**, and recklessly shot down an Iranian **passenger airliner**, killing all **290 passengers**.



We had to defend our ship!

59

Sure, what were they going to do, flush their toilets on you?



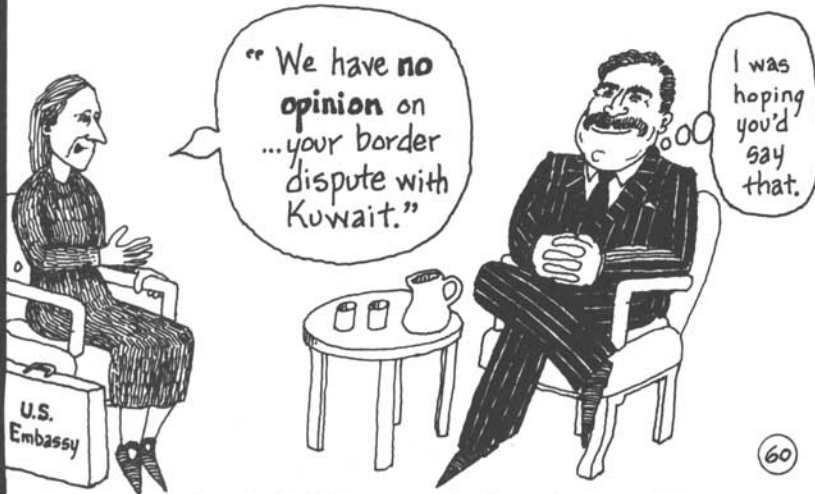
22

After the Iran-Iraq war ended in 1988, Washington was worried that the large army it had helped build in Iraq threatened U.S. domination of the region. Now, it was decided, **something had to be done to disarm Iraq**.

The sabers were sharpened.

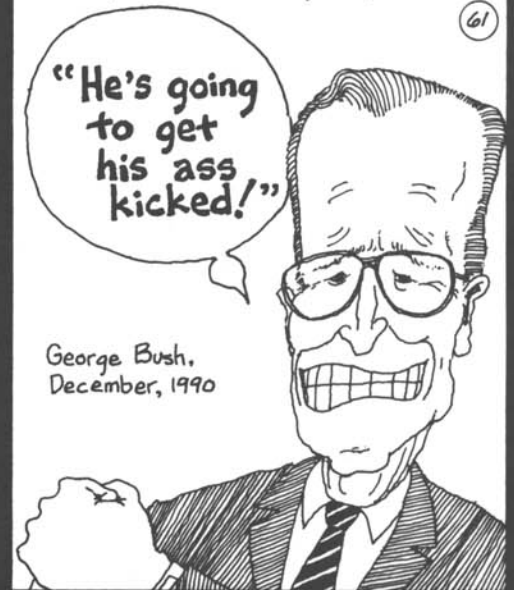


In fact, there's evidence that the U.S. may have **provoked** and then **lured** Iraq into invading Kuwait, to have a **pretext** for U.S. intervention. The U.S., Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait combined to put **severe economic pressure** on Iraq, which is the reason Iraq began thinking about an invasion in the first place. Then, when Saddam Hussein informed the U.S. about his plans, Washington virtually gave him the **green light**.



U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie, to Saddam Hussein, July 1990. To make sure there was **no confusion**, she added: "James Baker has directed our official spokesmen to emphasize this instruction."

Then, after the invasion, Bush immediately began to prepare for a massive war and **blocked all possibilities for a negotiated solution**. He rejected Iraq's offer to withdraw from Kuwait in exchange for convening a Middle East peace conference (which was mainly a face-saving request).



Bush knew the conflict could be **settled through negotiations**. But no negotiated settlement would ever have been acceptable. He needed a **"decisive and rapid" victory**. Iraq had to be bombed back to a **pre-industrial age**. Tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers had to be incinerated. The war had a **message for the world**:



Bush launched the **most intensive bombing campaign** in history using conventional bombs, **cluster bombs** (to rip bodies apart), **napalm** and **white phosphorous** (to cling to and burn skin) and **fuel air explosives** (which are like small nuclear bombs).





Baghdad and Basra were bombed relentlessly, killing thousands of civilians.

63

Iraq had already begun to withdraw from Kuwait when Bush launched the ground war. The main aim of the ground offensive was, in fact, **not** to drive the Iraqi troops out of Kuwait, but to **keep them from leaving**. The "**gate was closed**" and tens of thousands of soldiers, who were trying to go home, were **systematically slaughtered**. Elsewhere, U.S. tanks and bulldozers intentionally **buried thousands of soldiers alive** in their trenches in a tactic designed mainly to "destroy Iraqi defenders."

64



It is estimated that **150,000 Iraqis died** during the Gulf War. But for the people of Iraq, the **tragedy continues** even after the war has ended. Even more people died from **water-borne diseases** that spread because the U.S. systematically destroyed Iraq's **electrical, sewage treatment and water treatment** systems. And the U.S. has insisted on maintaining for over a decade the most **severe economic sanctions** regime in history, continuing to strangle the devastated Iraqi economy, with dire consequences for the Iraqi people.

66



"In the life of a nation there comes a moment when we are called upon to define **who we are and what we believe.**"

George H. Bush
January 1991

65

24

UNICEF has estimated that **7,500 people die every month** as a result of the sanctions. Most are **children** who die because of malnutrition and lack of medication. Altogether since the sanctions were imposed over a decade ago, they have led to the deaths of well over **one million Iraqis**.

67



And the U.S. keeps on bombing Iraq year after year.



Of course, there were those who **celebrated the war as a great victory**. And indeed it was for **some**.



Who were the winners?

First, there are the **oil companies...**



...which reaped **windfall profits** through speculation and price gouging that drove up gasoline prices. 68

Earnings Soar 75% At Exxon

Profits Rise 68.6% At Amoco

Mobil's Profit Jumps 45.6% In Quarter

War Fears Lifted 4th-Quarter Prices: Net at \$538 Million

Texaco Net Up 26.5%; Chevron Climbs 17.8%

But more importantly, the oil companies strengthened their grip on the Middle Eastern oil supply. The war, at least for the time being, preserved the **cozy relationship** between the oil companies and the royal families of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the other Gulf emirates (which were all put in place by the British Empire). This cozy relationship has brought **fabulous wealth** to the owners of the oil companies and to the **princes and emirs** while the majority of Arab people remain poor. As a result of the Gulf War, **U.S. troops** are now permanently stationed in **Saudi Arabia**, despite **strong opposition** among many Arabs.



25

69

Then there are the bankers...



...who are also part of the **partnership** between the Gulf monarchies and the oil companies. Instead of developing the Middle East, the Gulf monarchies have **put the bulk of their money** in the hands of the Western bankers. Some **\$900 billion** in Middle Eastern oil profits **fill the vaults** of Citibank, JP Morgan Chase and other banks in the U.S., Europe, and Japan. Therefore, these bankers were also **extremely concerned** about the fate of the Emir of Kuwait and his buddies.

70

May God save the Emir!



Then there are the contractors...



All the big construction contractors, oil service companies, and other major contractors and suppliers all raced to **get their piece** of the **\$100 billion** worth of contracts to **rebuild Kuwait**. Giant U.S. corporations, such as Bechtel, Halliburton, AT&T, Motorola and Caterpillar, got the great majority of the contracts.



Earthquakes, hurricanes, and industrial accidents are **OK**, but there's nothing like a **good war** for our **bottom line!**

71

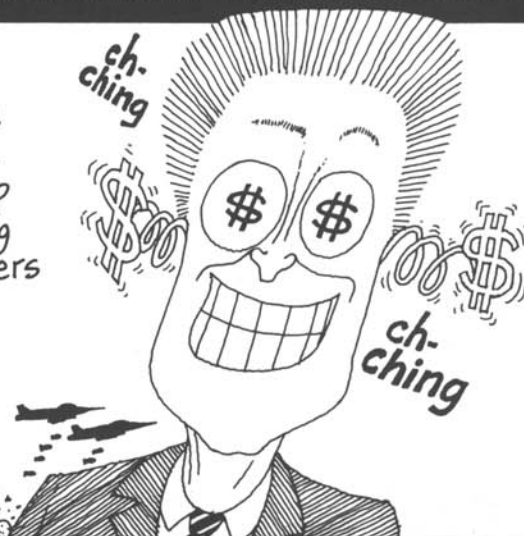


Last but not least, there are the owners of General Dynamics, GE, Boeing, and all of their associates in the **war business itself...**



As they watched the **missiles flying** and the **bombs dropping** in the Persian Gulf, the top executives of the big weapons manufacturers were adding up their profits, their brains working like **cash registers gone haywire**.

26



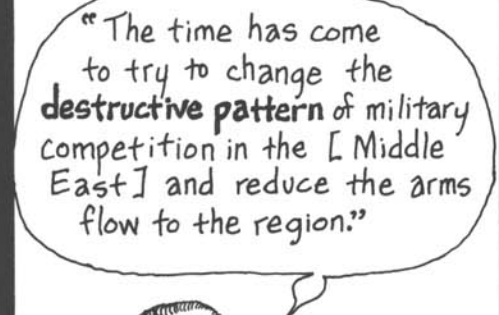
After the Gulf War demonstrated that their weapons can truly **kill on a massive scale**, the arms merchants are busy selling more of them, not only in the halls of **Congress and the Pentagon**, but to generals, bureaucrats, and politicians **around the world**.

U.S. arms sales abroad skyrocketed - from \$8 billion in 1989 to more than \$40 billion in 1991. The U.S. is now selling far more weapons abroad than any country **ever has before**. "Uncle Sam" provides military aid and loan guarantees so that Lockheed-Martin can sell fighter jets even to governments that can't assure their people have enough to eat. (72)

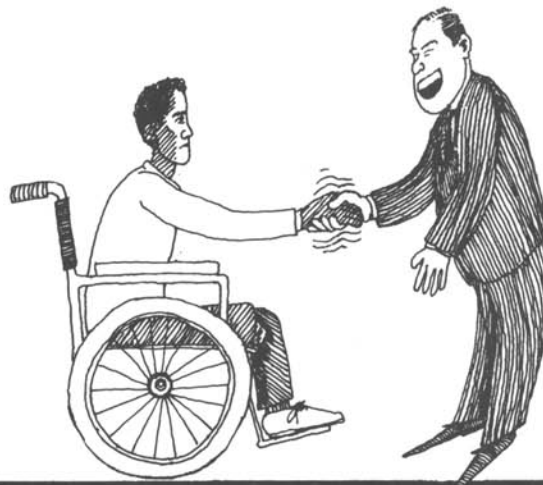


Of course, there's **no shortage** of public statements about curbing the **international arms race** and the militarization of the Middle East.

But while **pious pronouncements** are uttered in Washington, Pentagon representatives have been **busier than ever** selling fighter jets, tanks, helicopters, and cluster bombs to their **favorite customers** in the Middle East, including Israel, the Gulf monarchies, Egypt, and Turkey.



With all of the wonderful tidings the Persian Gulf War brought them, it's no wonder that many of these major corporations were prime sponsors of the "victory parades" that were organized in cities across the country.



On behalf of General Dynamics, Exxon, Chase Manhattan Bank, AT&T, McDonnell Douglas, and General Electric, I want to thank you for a job well done!

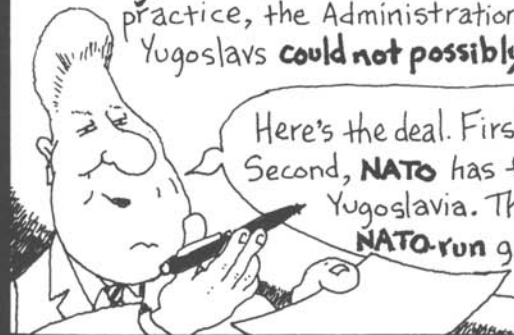
Kosovo, 1999

In the late 1990s, after enduring years of abuse at the hands of a Serbian-dominated Yugoslav government, Albanian rebels in Kosovo started a war for secession. The U.S. usually does not support minority groups demanding separation. But it all depends on whether the U.S. supports the government of the country facing dismemberment. For instance, the U.S. supports Kurdish separatists in Iraq and Iran, but across the border in Turkey, a close ally, Washington has provided tons of arms to crush the Kurds. With U.S. help, tens of thousands have been killed.

Our policy is clear- We support people fighting for their freedom and oppose terrorist separatists



Because the Yugoslav strongman, Slobodan Milosevic, was being less than cooperative with U.S. efforts to extend its influence in Eastern Europe, breaking up Yugoslavia was a cause the U.S. could warm up to. The Clinton Administration embraced the Kosovo Liberation Army, despite their drug dealing, ethnic extremism and brutality. Following established practice, the Administration issued an ultimatum the Yugoslavs could not possibly accept.



Here's the deal. First, NATO takes over Kosovo. Second, NATO has free access to all of Yugoslavia. Third, you help pay for the NATO-run government. Sign here or we bomb you.

The NATO bombing turned an ugly but small-scale Yugoslav counter-insurgency operation into a massive ethnic cleansing drive. After the bombing began, Serbian soldiers and militia members began driving hundreds of thousands of Albanians out of the country and killed thousands of others. When the Albanians returned under NATO protection, Serbian and Gypsy residents were driven out and killed. Ultimately, the war served U.S. political objectives, while causing tremendous death and suffering on all sides and greatly aggravating ethnic antagonisms.



75

76

77

28

Chapter 4

The “War on Terrorism”

After the horrific **September 11 terrorist attacks** on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, **one question** was so **sensitive** it was seldom seriously addressed by the U.S. news media.



To find out, it makes sense to ask the **prime suspect** himself. As U.S. warplanes began bombing Afghanistan, **Osama bin Laden** released a videotaped message. He **praised** the **September 11 attacks** and called for more attacks on the United States. Then he spelled out his **motivations** quite clearly.

“What America is tasting now is something insignificant compared to what we have tasted for scores of years. Our nation (the Islamic world) has been tasting this **humiliation** and **degradation** for more than **80 years**. Its sons are killed, its **blood is shed**, its sanctuaries are attacked and no one hears and no one heeds. Millions of innocent children are being killed as I speak. They are being killed in **Iraq** without committing any sins.... To **America**, I say only a few words to it and its people. I swear to God, who has elevated the skies without pillars, **neither America nor the people** who live in it will **dream of security** before we live it here in **Palestine** and not before all the **infidel armies leave the land of Muhammad**, peace be upon him.”

Osama
bin Laden
Oct. 7, 2001

Few people anywhere in the world, including the Middle East, support bin Laden's terrorist methods. But most people in the Middle East **share his anger** at the United States. They are angry at the U.S. for supporting **corrupt and dictatorial regimes** in the region, for **supporting Israel** at the expense of the Palestinians and for imposing **U.S. dictates** on the Middle East through **military might** and **brutal economic sanctions**.



The Bush Administration immediately instructed U.S. television networks to "**exercise caution**" in airing bin Laden's taped messages.

The official reason?

The tapes may contain **secret coded messages** for terrorist operatives



But were **covert messages** the Administration's main concern? Perhaps it was more worried about the impact of bin Laden's **overt message** - that the **September 11** attacks were carried out in **retaliation** for U.S. foreign policy and particularly **U.S. military intervention** in the Middle East.

If Americans realized that U.S. military intervention abroad brought retaliation - causing **death and destruction at home** - we might **think twice** about whether the U.S. should be so **eager to go to war** overseas



The Pentagon has demonstrated time and again that its advanced weaponry can **devastate countries** targeted for attack, **leveling basic infrastructure** and **killing thousands**, even hundreds of thousands of people.

It would be **naive** to think there would be **no retaliation**



Over the last several decades the **true costs** of the wars the U.S. has waged overseas have been largely **hidden**. We have had to **pay the military bills** but few Americans have died. The **death and destruction** was all **overseas**. That changed on **September 11**.

The violence reached the United States



The September 11 attacks, however, were not simply acts of **retribution**. They were also **provocation**. Bin Laden expected the U.S. to respond with **massive violence**, knowing this would bring him **new recruits**. Ultimately, he hoped to win the majority of the Muslim world to support his **holy war on the U.S.**

More martyrs, more recruits.



The Bush Administration responded according to **bin Laden's script**. George W. Bush declared a "**War on Terrorism**," using "good vs. evil" rhetoric that mirrored bin Laden's. Bush and his advisors were ready, **even eager**, for the war bin Laden wanted. They saw the September 11 attacks as a **grand opportunity** to boost military spending and demonstrate U.S. military power.

"This will be a monumental struggle of **good versus evil**... This **crusade**, this **war on terrorism**, is going to take a while"

G.W. Bush, Sept. 12 and 16, 2001



79

Bush's "**War on Terrorism**" began with U.S. warplanes **bombing Afghanistan**. The Bush Administration refused to negotiate or consider any **alternatives to war**. When the Afghan government asked for evidence against bin Laden, a reasonable request that might have made it possible to cooperate with the U.S., Bush replied:

I said - **no negotiations!** Cough up bin Laden now or die along with him!



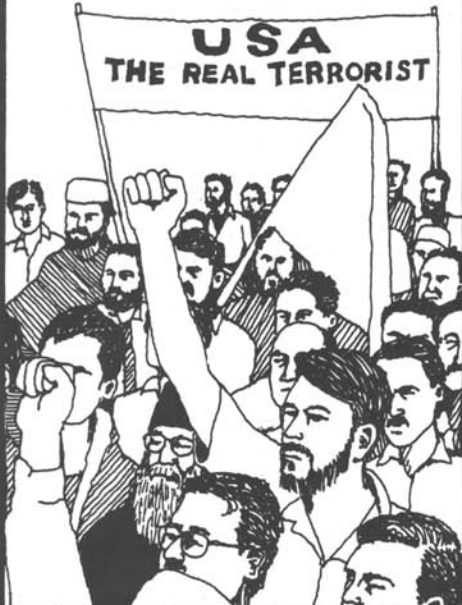
Relatives prepare the bodies of four small children for burial after a U.S. airstrike. Kabul, October 2001.



The people of Afghanistan **suffered the consequences**. **U.S. bombing** killed many civilians and the war cut off relief supplies to millions already **facing starvation**. The total number of deaths will never be known, but it's likely there will be many times more **civilian deaths** in Afghanistan than in the World Trade Center.

31

As warplanes of the world's **richest and most powerful** country bombed people in one of the **poorest and most miserable** countries on earth, the streets of cities throughout the Muslim world filled with **angry demonstrations**. Not only religious radicals were angry. Almost everybody in the Muslim world **opposed the war**.



The war **added fuel** to simmering anti-American sentiments in the Middle East. Bombing Muslim countries and sending U.S. troops into this volatile region will only inspire more hatred for the United States and **more terrorist attacks** on Americans. Bush surely knows this, yet he decided to go ahead and **place us in greater danger** anyway.

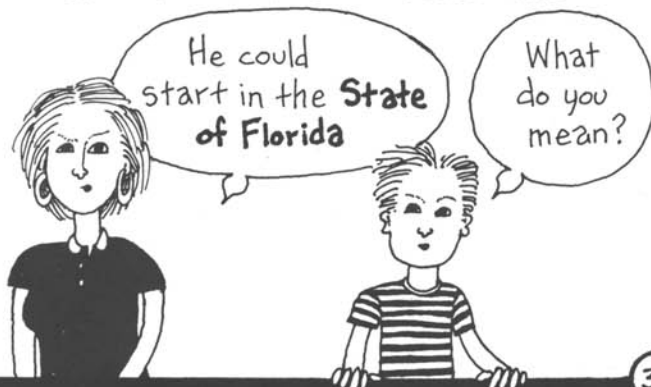


The War on Terrorism **cannot possibly end terrorism**. Even if bin Laden is killed, **new converts will rally** to join his war to drive the U.S. out of the Middle East. The **spiral of violence** is escalating dangerously.



The self-righteous "**good vs. evil**" rhetoric of the War on Terrorism sharpens ironies that have long shadowed U.S. pronouncements against **state-sponsored terrorism**. President Bush, for instance, promises to scour the globe in search of **states that harbor terrorists**.

For over forty years, **Miami** has served as the base of operations for well-financed groups of **Cuban exiles** that have carried out violent **terrorist attacks on Cuba**.



Most recently, they **bombed** a number of Havana tourist spots in 1997, killing an Italian tourist, and they tried to **assassinate** Fidel Castro in Panama in 2000.



It would not be difficult for the government to find evidence involving these terrorist organizations because the **CIA** and the **Pentagon** trained many of their **members**. Take, for instance, **Luis Posada Carriles** and **Orlando Bosch**, suspected masterminds of the **bombing** of a **Cuban passenger airliner** that claimed the lives of **73 people**.



(81)

"All of Castro's planes are warplanes"

Orlando Bosch, 1987, defending the bombing of the civilian Cuban plane

Before Posada Carriles could be tried for the airline bombing, he **escaped** from a **prison** in Venezuela and found a job **supplying arms** to the CIA-backed **Nicaraguan contras**.



My **experience** in the **CIA** gave me the **right credentials** for the job

(82)

Posada's accomplice, Orlando Bosch, has long been **protected from extradition** by the U.S. government. Although Bosch was convicted of carrying out a **bazooka attack** on a ship in **Miami harbor**, President Bush's father, George H., at the urging of his brother, Jeb, prevented his expulsion from the country. He signed an **executive pardon** providing Bosch with **safe haven** in Florida. Bosch promised he would...



(83)

"Rejoin the struggle!"

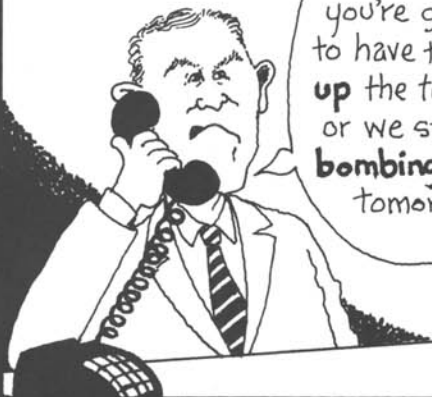
(84)

Hold on!

Let me set the record straight. I **pardon only freedom fighters**, not terrorists!



If the younger Bush were serious about going after **all states** that **harbor terrorists**, he might issue his **next ultimatum** to **his brother**, the governor of Florida.



Listen Jeb, you're going to have to **cough up** the terrorists or we start **bombing Miami** tomorrow!

Posada, Bosch and their friends are **only a few** of the violent characters whose activities have been sponsored by the CIA. Many of the CIA's "**covert operations**" - **bombings, assassinations, sabotage, paramilitary massacres** - are terrorism by any definition. Many of the shadowy figures involved in these activities are still working with the CIA around the world. But others - including **Osama bin Laden** - have **turned on their former partners**.

(33)

(85)

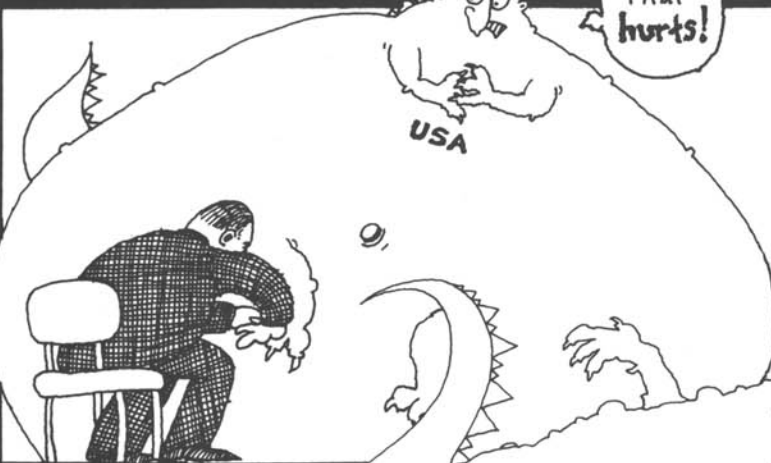
It's **too bad**. They made such a **good team**.



Despite the **hypocrisy** and the **counterproductive** nature of the "War on **Terrorism**," it has already produced major **benefits** for Bush and his friends in Washington, not the least of which was practically a **blank check** for the military.

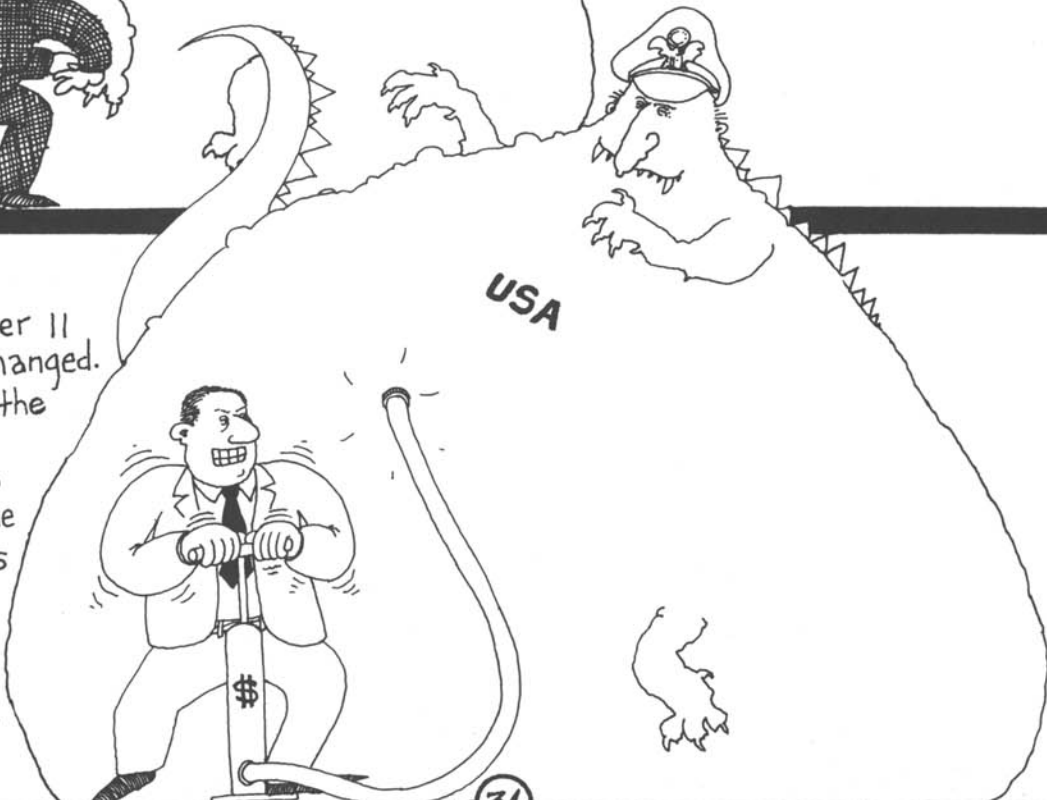


After the end of the **Cold War**, many in Washington were reconsidering the **humongous size** of the military budget, which had converted the U.S. from the world's biggest lender into the **world's biggest debtor**.



In an effort to balance the federal budget, politicians were beginning to **trim** the Pentagon's **toenails**.

After September 11 all this changed. Bush and the Congress started to pump up the Pentagon's **bloated budget** without restraint.



September 11, 2001 marked the beginning of a new chapter in America's foreign wars. In this chapter, violence may be more continuous and widespread and there may be **more impact at home**. "**Homeland defense**" has become a slogan for **eliminating civil rights** protections long deemed inconvenient by the **FBI** and other **police agencies**.

The **Pentagon** and the **CIA** expect to have a freer hand in carrying out **wars** and **covert operations** around the world.

The **enemies of America** better watch out!

Yeah, from now on its going to be **no holds barred!**

Agencies that often give priority to **suppressing political opponents**

86

Remember that the list of those declared to be "**enemies**" and "**terrorists**" by the U.S. government has included many people **fighting for democracy** in their countries

Like who?

Like **Nelson Mandela**

In order to fund the **new war effort**, Congress has **abandoned** efforts to avoid budget deficits and preserve Social Security funds. The **Army, Navy and Air Force** are lining up to get money for **expensive new weapons systems** now packaged as essential for the War on Terrorism.

We can't afford to be without it!

It's vital for **homeland defense!**

We have to close the **window of vulnerability!**

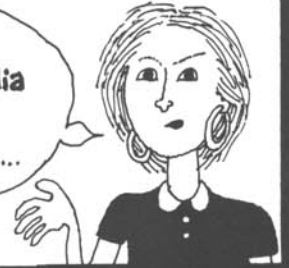
35

Even Congressional opposition to the far-fetched **"missile defense program"** collapsed.



Missile defense, like the "War on Terrorism," **promises to protect Americans** from danger while actually creating a much **more dangerous world**. If other countries think there is any chance the U.S. could block their missiles, they will feel **vulnerable** to U.S. attack. China has already promised to build more and better missiles which could overwhelm the U.S. "missile shield." This will spur a **nuclear arms race in Asia**.

If **China** builds more nuclear missiles, then **India** will. If India does, then **Pakistan** will. If Pakistan...



87

In 1972, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. signed the **ABM Treaty** to try to avoid this kind of arms race. In order to pursue missile defense, the U.S. **unilaterally scrapped** the treaty. But that didn't bother missile defense proponents.



Hey, the world's changed. **We can win an arms race with anyone!**

In this spirit, while the Pentagon has reduced its arsenal of vulnerable land-based missiles, it continues to spend billions to build more **submarine-based nuclear missiles**. And Congress has **rejected** the nuclear **test ban treaty**, which has been signed by 164 countries.



88

The U.S. is keeping enough nuclear firepower to **wipe out** most of **humanity**.



Just to be safe!

36

As potential nuclear targets in Russia have declined, the Pentagon has been retargeting its missiles at **"every reasonable adversary."**



Which makes other countries feel like they better **hurry up** and get nuclear weapons themselves

89

In the post-Cold War world order, the U.S. does not seem to want to be bound by any arms treaties. It **refuses to sign** a new protocol to the 1972 biological weapons treaty because it would require **international inspections** of its **biological weapons research facilities**, where it is creating **deadly new strains** including highly lethal **powdered anthrax**. U.S. officials say they are only creating germ weapons in order to study how to defend against them.



But can other countries **trust** a government that bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki and actually developed plans to use **smallpox** and other biological weapons against **Vietnam** and **Cuba**?



And U.S. "**weaponized**" germs not only represent a threat to people in other countries.

What if some of the Pentagon's powdered anthrax got into the hands of **some fanatic here** in the United States?



During the **Cold War**, the U.S. had a serious **military competitor** in the **U.S.S.R.** Today the U.S. maintains a huge **war machine** despite the lack of any serious competition. The U.S. military budget is now larger than the next 15 biggest spenders put together. It makes up a full **36%** of **total global military spending!**

Being the **world cop** and all, we do have certain responsibilities!





Chapter 5

The High Price of Militarism

Maintaining this huge military machine is **not cheap**. Every year the U.S. spends **hundreds of billions** of dollars on the military.

\$346,500,000,000
military budget
2002 fiscal year

Since 1948 the U.S. has spent more than **\$15 trillion** to build up its military might. Just **how much** is \$15,000,000,000,000 worth?

Lemme see...

My God!

It adds up to more than the cumulative monetary value of all **human-made wealth** in the U.S.!

In other words, the government has spent more on the military over the last four decades than the value of **all the factories, machinery, roads, bridges, water and sewage systems, airports, railroads, power plants, office buildings, shopping centers, schools, hospitals, hotels, houses, etc., in this country put together!**



If we add up the **current Pentagon budget**, the **nuclear weapons budget of the Energy Department**, the military portion of the **NASA budget**, **foreign military aid**, **veterans' benefits**, **interest payments** on debt incurred by past military spending and other military-related expenses, the U.S. spends over **\$670 billion a year** to feed its **addiction to war**.

96



This **costs you plenty**. An **average American household** "contributes" nearly **\$4000** in taxes every year to the cause of building up the world's most powerful military.

Now I know why we can't ever seem to make ends meet!

97



If you need anything else, just give a holler!

Because Congress is so generous to the Pentagon...



Social programs get **short-changed**.

That's all we can afford - we can't bust the budget, you know.



Bridges, roads, sewers, and water systems are **crumbling** because the government fails to provide the money needed to maintain them.



98

39

Bus fares are rising and **service is being slashed** as the Federal Government has eliminated financial support for mass transit operating costs.



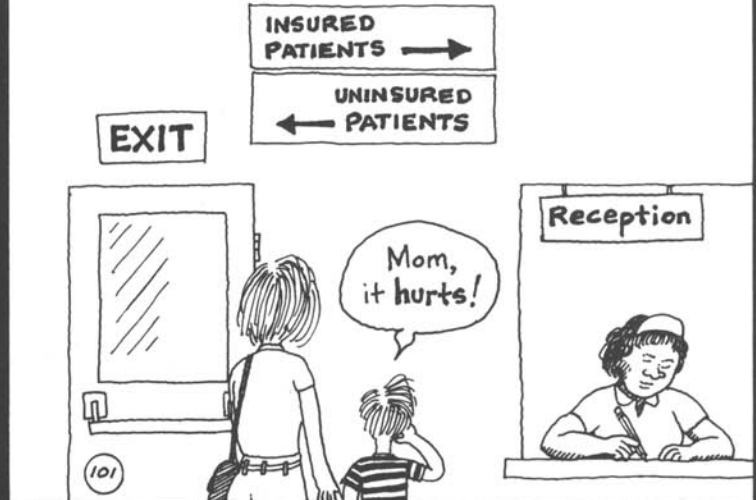
99

Schools are run-down and overcrowded. In some inner-city high schools, 80% of the students drop out. More than a fifth of all adults **can't read** a job application or a street sign. Yet federal education funding per student has declined substantially over the last two decades.

100

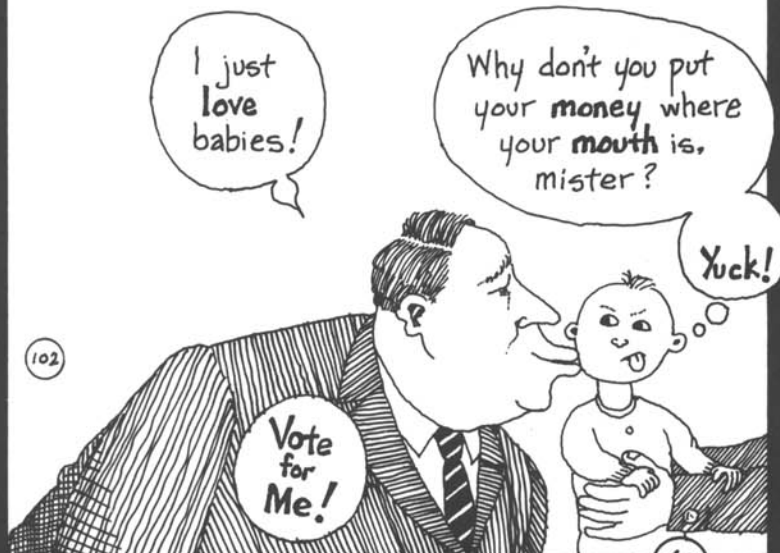


Skyrocketing prices are causing a crisis in health care. **43 million** people have no insurance and millions more have inadequate insurance. More and more people don't get the medical care they need because they can't afford it. Yet **public hospitals are being closed** and the government has failed to enact any serious health care reform.



101

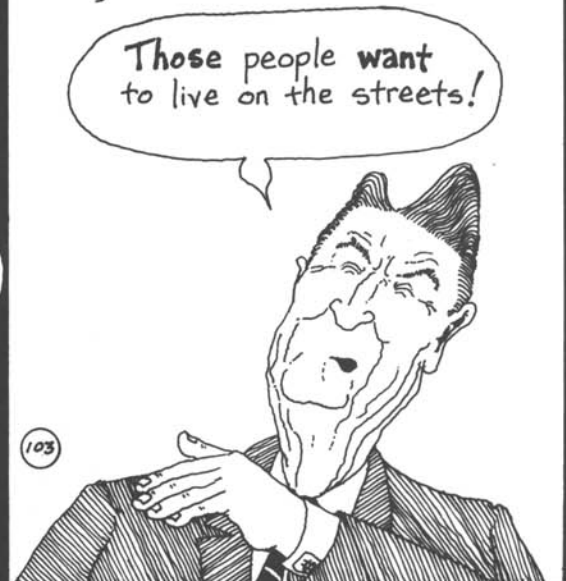
One-fifth of all **expectant mothers** do not receive **pre-natal care**. This is one reason the U.S. has the highest infant mortality rate in the developed world (twice as high as Japan's). **Every 50 minutes**, a child in the U.S. dies as a result of **poverty or hunger**. Yet Congress has been exceedingly stingy in funding maternal and child health programs.



102

40

With **rents rising** and **wages falling**, millions of families are living on the verge of eviction. Millions of people end up **living on the streets**. Yet when it comes to funding for housing and homelessness, most of Washington seems to have adopted Reagan's attitude.



103

Drug addiction and alcoholism are crippling millions of people, and devastating families and whole communities. Yet there are not enough public treatment centers to handle **even a fraction** of those seeking help, and many centers are **closing their doors** for lack of funding.



With the \$1,000,000,000 it takes to maintain just one of those aircraft carriers for a year, you could build **17,000 homes** for 67,000 people

...or you could provide **free prenatal care** for 1,600,000 expectant mothers, saving thousands of babies



...or enroll 384,000 more kids in the **Head Start** preschool program this year

...or provide intensive **drug or alcohol treatment** for 333,000 people

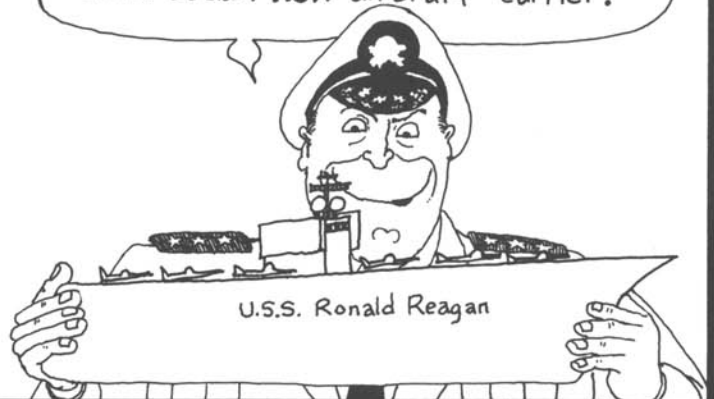


... or give 500,000 malnourished children in this country **three meals a day** for a year



108

...or you could put a down payment on a **brand new aircraft carrier!**



Which is **exactly** what they are doing - building a new aircraft carrier!



The government can find **hundreds of billions** for new aircraft carriers and other military hardware...



But they **say** they can't find the money to deal with the pressing **problems** we face!



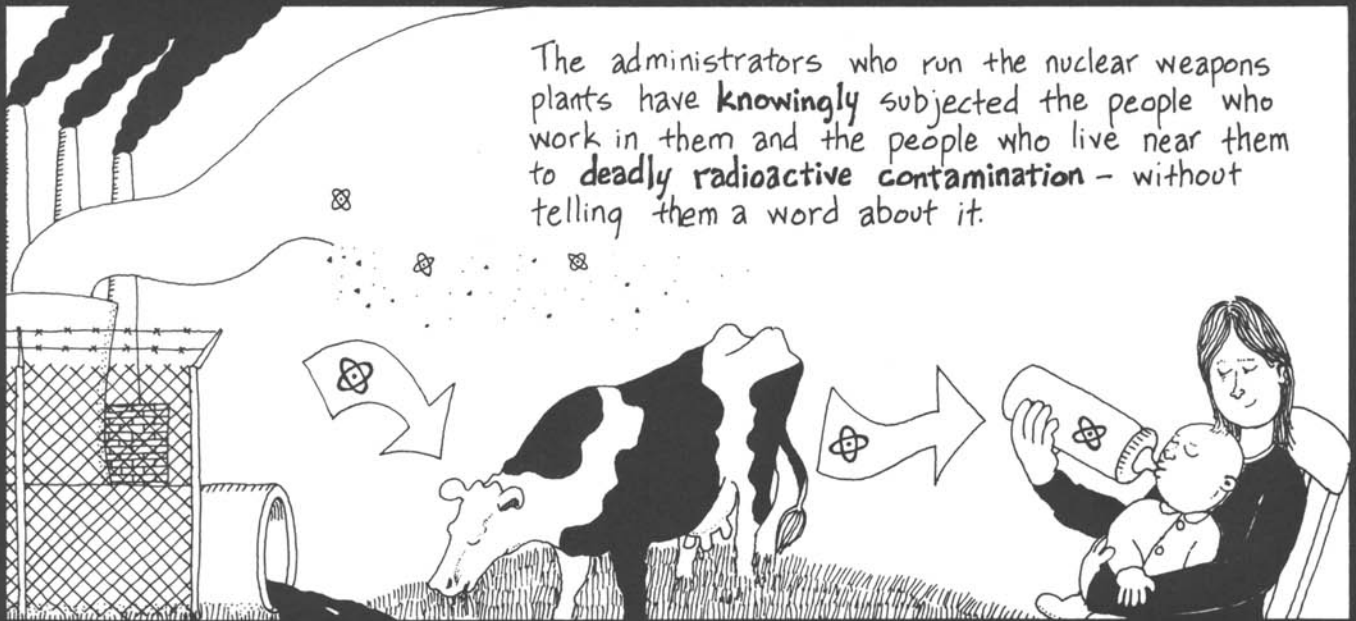
109

The **price of militarism** includes more than high taxes and poor social services. Building nuclear weapons, for instance, has probably been the **biggest environmental disaster** this country has ever seen. More than 100 nuclear weapons plants owned by the Energy Department have been **spewing radioactive waste** into the air, dumping it in rivers, and leaking it into the soil and groundwater for decades.



All under the cover of government **secrecy**

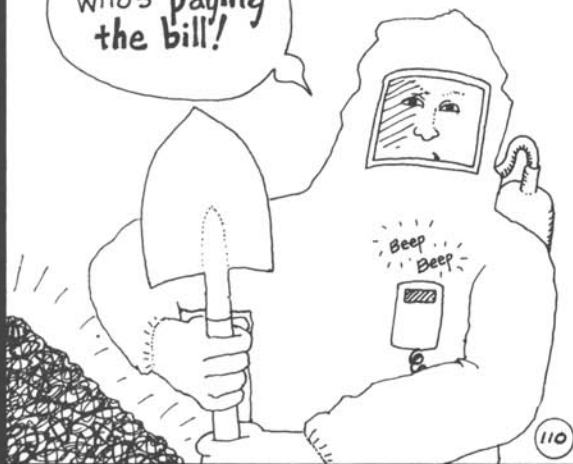
42



The administrators who run the nuclear weapons plants have **knowingly** subjected the people who work in them and the people who live near them to **deadly radioactive contamination** - without telling them a word about it.

The government now estimates it will take **25,000 workers** at least **30 years** to clean up the mess at these plants - at a cost of **\$300 billion** or more.

And guess who's paying the bill!



What's more, nuclear weapons tests have spread deadly **plutonium** across large tracts of the Southwest and the South Pacific. Many of the 458,000 U.S. soldiers who participated in the atomic testing program are now **dying of cancer**.

Don't worry, kid. It's perfectly safe. Just wear these goggles!



But they're not the only ones. **High cancer rates** plague the general population in the testing areas. One study estimated that by the end of this century nuclear testing worldwide will have caused **430,000 people** to die of cancer.

And plutonium remains **highly radioactive** for hundreds of thousands of years.

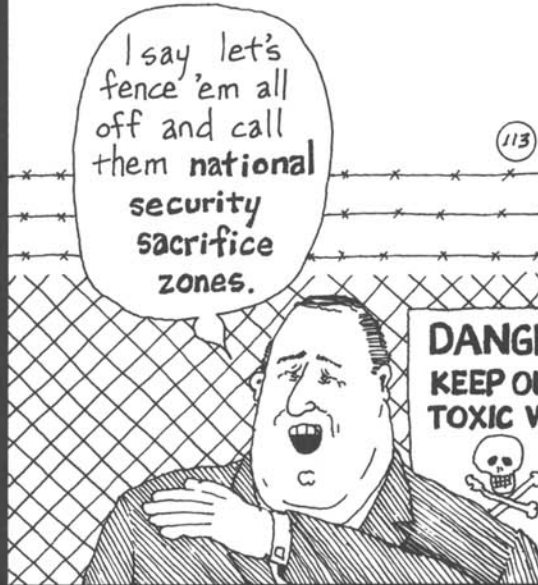


Meanwhile, at military bases around the country they've been **dumping hundreds of thousands of tons of toxic wastes**, including chemical warfare agents, napalm, explosives, PCB's, and heavy metals, creating malignant lagoons and **contaminating the groundwater** of surrounding communities.



There are 11,000 military dump sites that need to be cleaned up. The estimated cost - **\$100 to \$200 billion.**

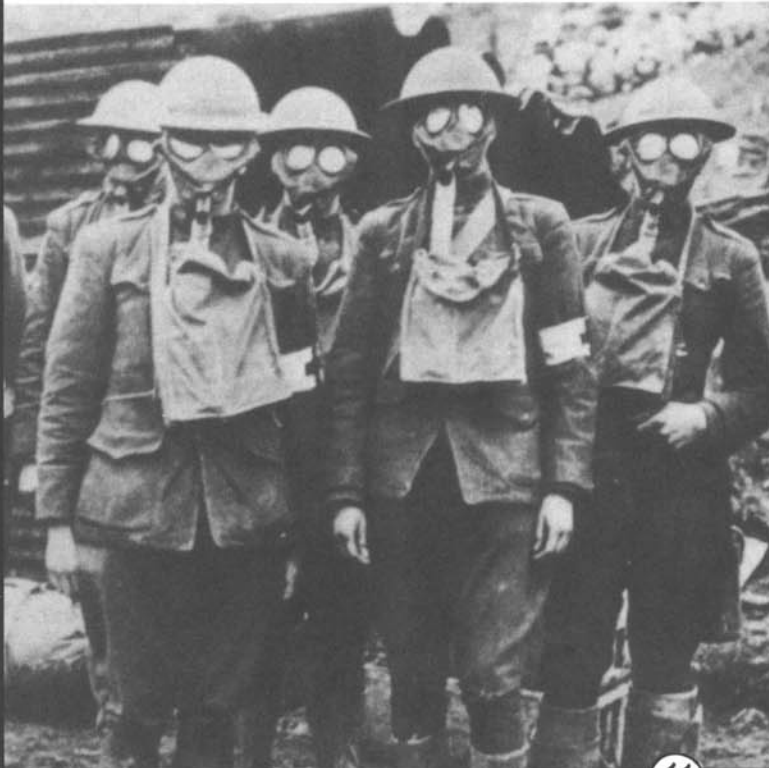
I say let's fence 'em all off and call them **national security sacrifice zones.**



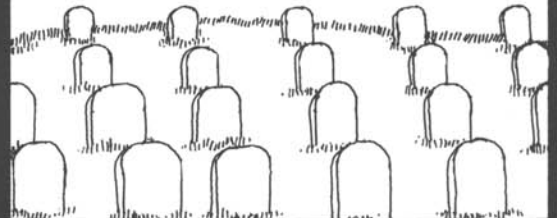
He's serious - that's what some people are proposing.



Nearly everyone in this country pays a high price for militarism. But those among us who have paid the **highest price** are the **millions of soldiers** who have been sent overseas to fight.



More than **100,000 U.S. soldiers and sailors** have died in foreign wars since U.S. troops were sent to Korea in 1950.



Hundreds of thousands more have been wounded, many **disabled for life.** Many Gulf War veterans are suffering the effects of "**Gulf War Syndrome.**"



Those who survive continue to be **haunted by the wars** they fought in. Half a million **veterans** of the Vietnam War suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder - caused by memories of the horrors of the war. The number of Vietnam vets who have **killed themselves** since the war is greater than the number of U.S. soldiers who died in the war. (115)



Hundreds of thousands of military veterans have ended up living on the streets. (116)

These are all victims of Washington's **addiction to militarism**. And there are more victims...



Every year, hundreds of active-duty soldiers and sailors **commit suicide**.

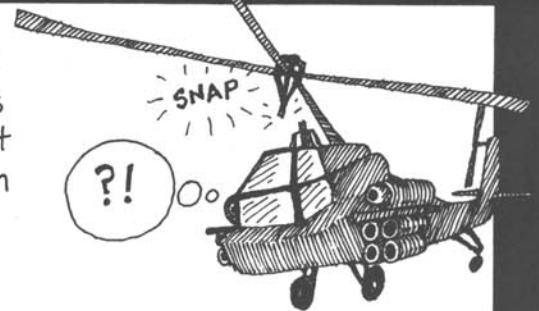
And the **killing goes on**, even between wars.



Every year, more than a thousand U.S. soldiers and sailors are killed in **military accidents**. They are burned to death in fires at sea, crushed by tanks, and blown up by practice artillery fire.



They break their necks jumping out of planes in high wind, and crash in **unsafe helicopters**.



Life in the military is **miserable**. Of course, nobody is **born** with a desire to be **humiliated and treated like a "grunt"**, much less to be killed. So **indoctrination** into the culture of militarism starts early.



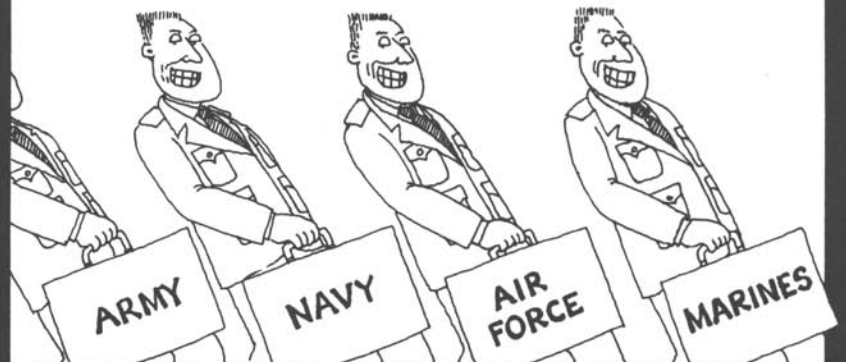
Bang! Bang!
You're dead!

Television, movies, video games, and toy stores all make **killing** seem not only glorious, but **fun**.

Eat lead, scumface!



High school principals lock the doors and hire armed guards, supposedly to protect the kids from **drug dealers, pimps, and other dangerous characters**. But they roll out the red carpet for the **most dangerous characters of all** - the **military recruiters**.



The recruiters, who are not quite as honest as used car salesmen, come armed with **slick brochures and glossy promises**.

Just **sign here** and you'll get money for college and we'll train you to be a **nuclear physicist!**

Cool!



By the time the recruits find out what **military life** is really all about, they're **trapped**.

I said **lick it up** - you got that, **wormhead!**



The ones who end up on the **front lines** are usually kids who can't find a job or pay for college. Almost all of them are from **working-class families**, and a disproportionate number are **African Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans**, and other national minorities. As a result, it's mostly the poor who **die on the battlefield**.

That's why **22% of U.S. casualties** in Vietnam were **Black soldiers**.

Even though Blacks only make up **12%** of the U.S. population.



The greatest injustice is that the people who start the wars are not the ones who fight and die.



My daddy told me I could serve my country better by going to law school!

Maria Cotto spoke out against this injustice. Her brother was killed in the Persian Gulf War:

"I saw them on television saying they were spending billions on this. I saw them on Wall Street and they were cheering. It was sick, they were cheering like it was a game..."



"Don't they know it means people will die? Not them. Not their families. Not their kids. People like my brother."



Ismael Cotto, 27 years old, Bronx, New York. Killed in Saudi Arabia, Jan. 1991

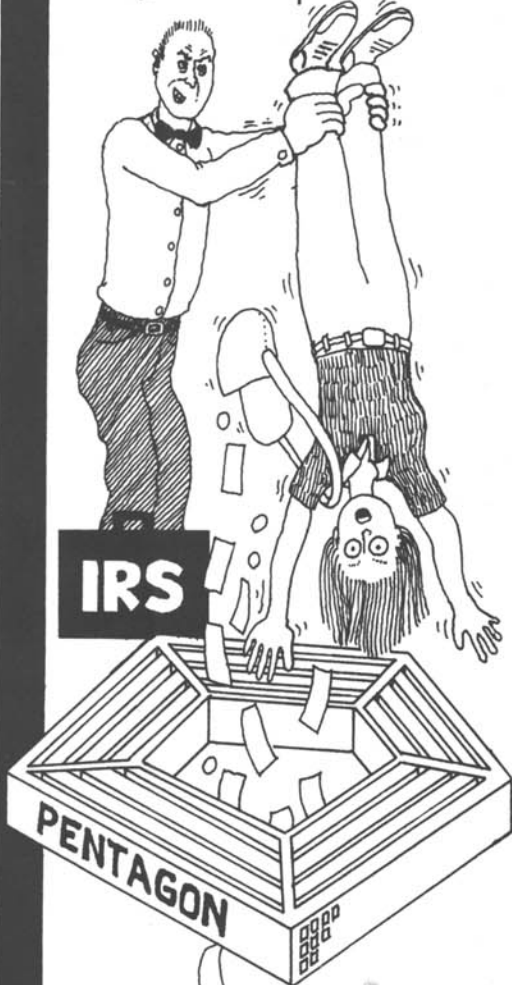
It's the working people of this country who pay the price of foreign wars - in blood and in taxes.



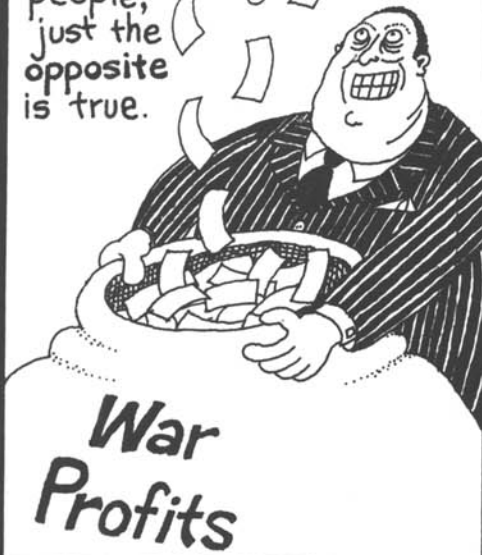
Others reap the benefits



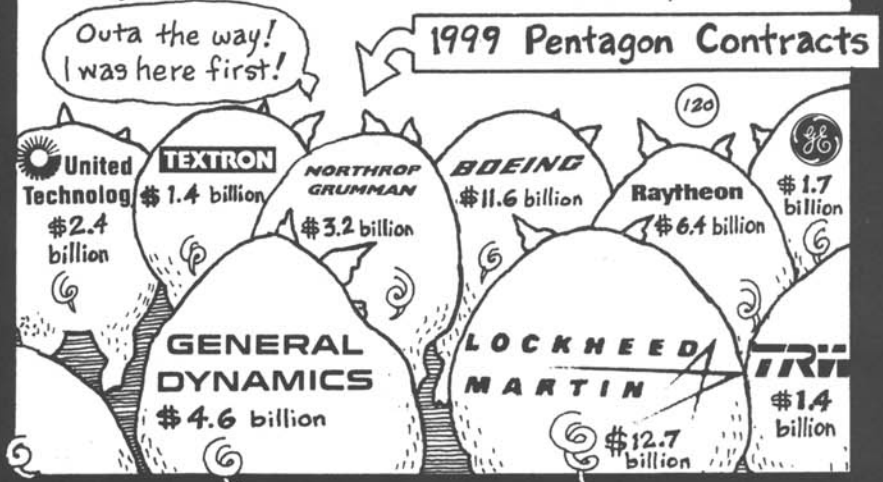
For most people, the huge Pentagon budget means less money in their pockets.



But for some people, just the opposite is true.



Over 100,000 companies **feed** at the Pentagon trough. But the **big money** goes to a handful of huge corporations.



The families that own these corporations owe their wealth to the **Pentagon's generosity** with your tax money. So they don't mind **sharing a little** with their friends and benefactors in Washington.



Dick Cheney, George W. Bush's Vice-President and chief advisor is one of the politicians who has made a very **profitable career** out of promoting the **military-industrial complex**. After presiding over the Gulf War as Defense Secretary under George W.'s father, Cheney was named CEO of Halliburton, Inc. As the world's biggest oil services firm with a **huge stake** in the Middle East, Halliburton was a major beneficiary of the Gulf War. It is also a big military contractor, **raking in billions** for building military bases and providing battlefield services. Under Cheney, Halliburton's government contracts **increased sharply**.



Cheney was **rewarded handsomely**, pocketing millions in salary and stock options every year. He ended up as Halliburton's largest individual stockholder, with a \$45 million stake. (123)



Cheney was also invited to serve on the boards of two other huge war contractors, TRW and EDS. His wife, Lynn, joined the board of Lockheed-Martin. After Cheney returned to the White House in 2001, Lockheed-Martin was awarded the **biggest plum** in the history of war contracts – a deal to manufacture the next generation of fighter jets worth hundreds of billions of dollars. It's no wonder the Cheneys are among the most **avid champions** of the "War on Terrorism."



In the front lines of the **pro-war crowd** you will find an assortment of bankers, corporate executives, politicians and generals. If you ask them why they are so fond of going to war they will give you **noble** and **selfless reasons**.



But what **really motivates** them to go to war are **somewhat less lofty aims**:



Chapter 6

Militarism and the Media

For some people, war means handsome profits and overseas investment opportunities.



But for most people, war means higher taxes and body bags.



It's not surprising, therefore, that most people are less enthusiastic about going to war than the war profiteers are.



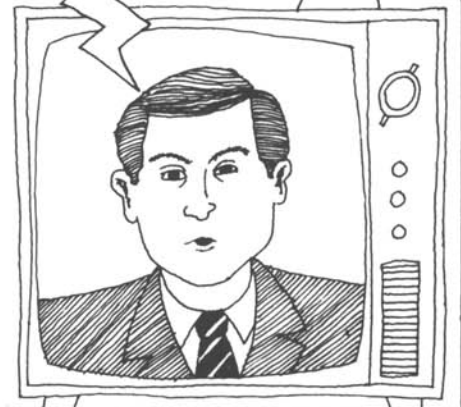
Because people are often reluctant to support wars half way around the world, the government and its spokespeople have always had to go to great lengths to convince people to go along with these wars. They wrap them up in red, white and blue and present them to the people as their patriotic duty.



They paint monstrous pictures of the enemy of the hour.

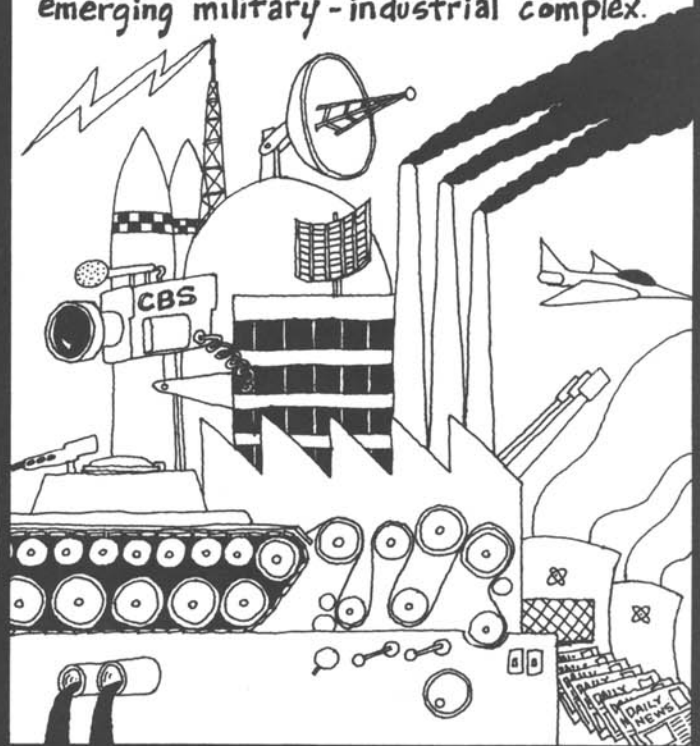
Reliable sources reported today that _____ eats babies for dinner.

Fill in the blank.



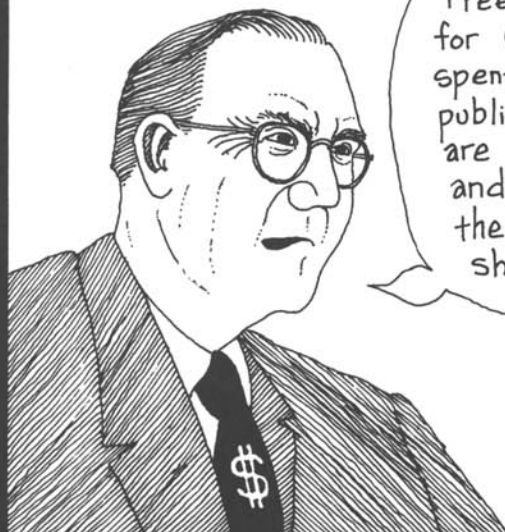
Since the days of William Randolph Hearst, the **pro-war message** has been delivered to the people by the **news media**.

But it was after World War II that the press, the radio networks, and the fledgling television industry became fully integrated into the **newly emerging military-industrial complex**.



Typical Hearst journalism, 1917

With the "**Cold War**" getting under way, this complex had its work cut out for it. Charles Wilson, Chairman of the Board of **General Electric** (whom Truman had just appointed to head the **Office of Defense Mobilization**), spelled out what this work was in a speech to the Newspaper Publishers Association in 1950:



"If the people were not convinced [that the Free World is in **mortal danger**] it would be impossible for Congress to vote the **vast sums** now being spent to avert this danger. With the support of public opinion, as **marshalled by the press**, we are off to a good start. It is our job - yours and mine - to **keep our people convinced** that the only way to keep disaster away from our shores is to **build up America's might**."

Charles Wilson and his cronies at GE were, of course, **very eager** to see a massive military build up.

GE had major investments around the world, which they expected the Pentagon to protect. It also was, and is, a charter member of the military-industrial complex.



GE is the country's third-largest military contractor, raking in billions of dollars every year. It produces parts for every nuclear weapon in the U.S. arsenal, makes jet engines for military aircraft, and creates all kinds of profitable electronic gadgets for the Pentagon. It's also the company that secretly released millions of curies of deadly radiation from the Hanford nuclear weapons facility in Washington state and produced faulty nuclear power plants that dot the U.S. countryside.



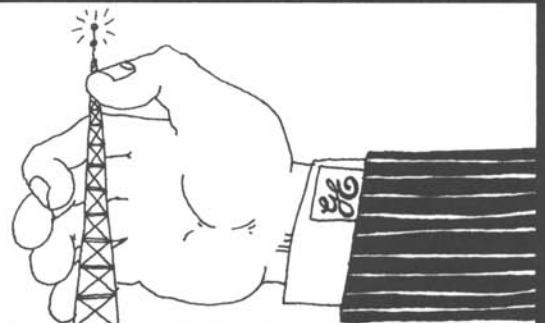
From Wilson's time, GE has been very concerned with making use of the media. In 1954 it hired a floundering actor named Ronald Reagan to be its corporate spokesman. It furnished Ron and Nancy with an all-electric house, and Ron with his own TV show called "GE Theater."



It also furnished Reagan with "The Speech," GE's political message for America, and sent him around the country to deliver it. He's been delivering variations of "The Speech" ever since.

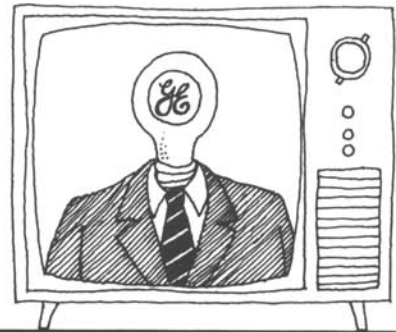


Meanwhile, GE was busy buying up TV and radio stations across the country.



Then, in 1986,
GE bought
its own TV
network -
NBC

Good evening,
I'm Tom Brokaw
and this is the
NBC Nightly News.



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Charles Wilson would be pleased with NBC's programming. The network is very good at marshalling public opinion along just the lines he suggested. And NBC is not alone. You get just about the same message no matter what channel you turn to.

Our game plan is
right on schedule...

Our game plan is
right on schedule...

Our game plan is
right on schedule...



After the Persian Gulf War, one of the Bush Administration's top war planners spoke to a group of prominent journalists and thanked them for their help.

"[Television was]
our chief tool
in selling
our policy."

Richard Hass,
National Security
Council, 1991

128

It sure was. We were treated to live 24-hour war coverage, sponsored by Exxon and General Electric and cleared by the Pentagon.



Just how
many lives
can these
new
high-tech
weapons
save,
Colonel?

53

When it comes to war, the networks discard all pretenses of objectivity.

Bomb 'em back! Bomb 'em back! Wwwway back!



Lawrence Grossman, who was in charge of PBS and NBC News for many years, described the role of the press this way:

"The job of the President is to set the agenda and the job of the press is to follow the agenda that the leadership sets."



Why do all the networks sound the same? Why are they all consumed by war fever every time the White House decides to send troops overseas?



Maybe it's got something to do with who controls them

The television news media are owned by some of the largest corporations in the country. NBC, as we have seen, is owned by GE, CBS is owned by Viacom, ABC is owned by Disney, and CNN is owned by AOL Time Warner. The members of the boards of directors of these powerful corporations also sit on the boards of weapons manufacturers and other companies with vested interests around the world such as Sun Microsystems, EDS, Lucent Technologies, Prudential, etc.

Our networks tell you everything you need to know

XEROX

JPMorganChase

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CHRYSLER

Marrriott

CITIBANK



Most of the news available to us - about war and peace and everything else - is filtered through the perspective of the corporate news media. The government and the news media obviously have a powerful influence on public opinion.

Everyone is rallying behind the President.

Hmmm...Oo

But their influence is not as complete as they might hope.



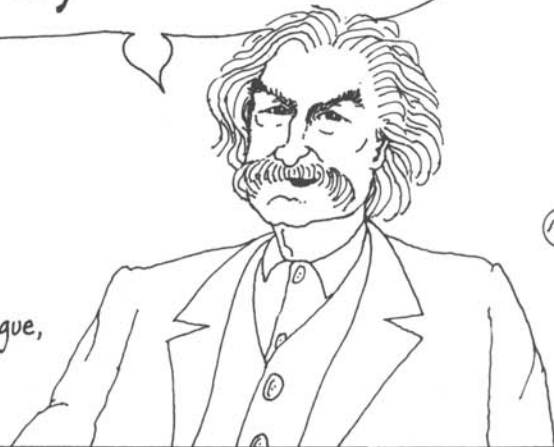
Chapter 7

Resisting Militarism

In fact, there's been **strong opposition** to foreign military adventures since the Mexican-American and Spanish-American wars of the last century. The **anti-war movement** grew especially strong during the war to conquer the Philippines.

"I have seen that we do not intend to free but to **subjugate** the Philippines. And so I am an **anti-imperialist**. I am opposed to having the eagle put its talons on any other land... I have a strong aversion to sending our bright boys out there to fight with a **disgraced musket** under a **polluted flag**."

Mark Twain,
Vice President,
Anti-Imperialist League,
1900



Let's go back to Charles Wilson's era, when he and the media were **mobilizing support** for the **Korean War**. At first they were very successful. But despite their impressive efforts, the support **didn't last long**. After the body bags started coming home, the majority of people turned against the war.

The government and the media once again did their best to whip up support for the war in Vietnam. But as the **war escalated**, the greatest anti-war movement in U.S. history arose. At first, the opposition was **small but determined**.



I want
my son
back home!
Now.



But opposition grew by leaps and bounds as people began to learn what was going on in Vietnam. By 1969 there were 750,000 people marching on Washington, and millions more marching in cities across the country.



In May 1970, after police and National Guard troops fired on anti-war demonstrations, killing four students at Kent State in Ohio and two students at Jackson State in Mississippi, students at 400 universities across the country went on strike - the first general student strike in U.S. history.

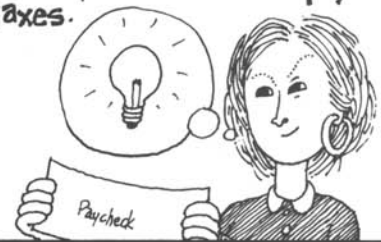


(132)

When police shot and killed three people during the Chicano Moratorium against the war in August 1971, a rebellion raged through East Los Angeles for three days.

(133)

Resistance to the war took many forms. People refused to pay war taxes.



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People burned their draft cards.



The most famous draft resister was Muhammad Ali.

I won't serve in a white man's war!



People blocked the path of trains hauling troops and munitions bound for the war.



14,000 people were arrested when they moved to shut down Washington, D.C., for three days in 1971.

It was the largest mass arrest in U.S. history!

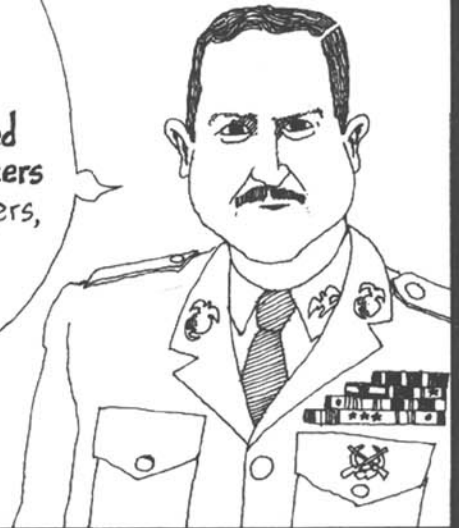


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Even more serious for the Pentagon, discipline was breaking down among the troops in Vietnam. The soldiers saw no reason to fight, and they wouldn't. By the end of the '60s, a virtual civil war simmered between soldiers and officers. A U.S. military expert warned the Pentagon about the state of its army:

"[By] every conceivable indicator, our army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and non-commissioned officers, drug-ridden and dispirited where not near mutinous."

Col. Robert Heintz,
U.S.M.C. retired, 1971



135 136



Record numbers of soldiers and sailors deserted or went AWOL. Organized resistance was developing among the troops. Hundreds of underground GI newspapers were springing up at bases around the U.S. and around the world. Contingents of soldiers and sailors were marching at the head of anti-war demonstrations.

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Soldiers coming home from Vietnam were telling the country about the **horrors of the war** and they were organizing to stop it. In April 1971, more than a thousand **Vietnam veterans** gathered at the Capitol Building in Washington and **threw back the medals** they had received in the war.

(137)



By the end of the decade, the majority of the people were **against the war.**



The **anti-war movement**, together with the **struggles** waged by African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and other oppressed peoples in the U.S., and the women's liberation movement were opening people's eyes to a **whole system of injustice.**

The growing opposition to the war played an important role in convincing the government that it **had to pull out of Vietnam.**



"The **weakest chink in our armor** is American public opinion. Our people won't stand firm in the face of heavy losses, and they can **bring down the government.**"

President Lyndon Johnson, 1968



As a result of the Vietnam War, a broad anti-militarist sentiment developed among the American people, which was derisively called the "**Vietnam Syndrome**" in official circles.

Don't talk about that **dreadful disease!**



When George H. sent troops to the Persian Gulf, people were **very apprehensive**. The majority did not want to go to war. A powerful anti-war movement grew more quickly than ever before in U.S. history.

Soon the **streets were filled** with demonstrations.



Immediately after the war began, hundreds of thousands of people marched in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.



The government tried to organize **pro-war rallies** while the bombs were falling, but only a few people showed up.

Turn Baghdad into a **parking lot!**



OPERATION
DESERT STORM

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After the bombs started dropping, the **pro-war media blitz** convinced many people that they shouldn't oppose the war because they might be endangering U.S. troops.

The media forgot to mention that it was Bush who **put us in danger** in the first place.

And that the best way to get us out of danger is to **get us out of here!**

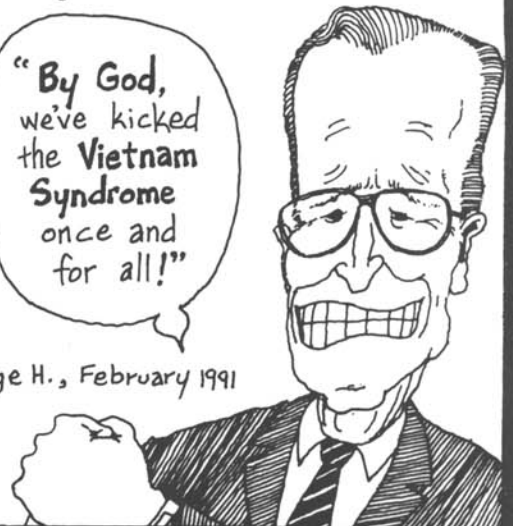


George the Elder knew he had to finish the war quickly and with few U.S. casualties or the people would **turn against it**. When Iraq chose to withdraw rather than fight and the war ended with a **one-sided slaughter**, Bush was **euphoric**.

"By God, we've kicked the **Vietnam Syndrome** once and for all!"

George H., February 1991

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George W. Bush seems to be out to test his father's proposition. He has promised us a **long and bloody War on Terrorism** with lots of casualties. The war in **Afghanistan**, he has declared, is "**just the beginning** of the war against terror."

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"There's a **variety of theaters**. So long as anybody's **terrorizing** established governments, there **needs to be a war**."

George W. Bush
October 17, 2001



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If Bush is serious, we may be facing an **endless war**. Terrorist tactics have been around as long as war and are unlikely to disappear in our lifetimes. Maybe Bush's language is simply rhetorical excess. But it's also possible he and his advisors envision an era of **uninterrupted warfare**, in which one country after another will be **targeted for bombing**.

Which will **make us the targets** of more retaliation!



It seems that Dick Cheney, for one, is ready for this. Emerging from his **secret bunker**, he warned that the "War on Terrorism" would go on for a long time.



Cheney,
Oct. 2001

As part of this endless war, he declared, we have to be prepared for **ongoing terrorist attacks**.

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"For the first time in our history we will probably suffer **more casualties** here **at home** than will our troops overseas"



Cheney,
Oct. 2001

This means, he said, that we have to get used to invasive security measures and **sacrifice civil liberties**.



Cheney,
Oct. 2001

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After **September 11**, Americans were stunned by the **horror** of the terrorist attacks. Bush's **bellicose** words resonated among many. But as the "**War on Terrorism**" goes on, will this initial support **last** longer than it did during the Korean and Vietnam Wars? Even Bush worries that it won't.

"People are going to **get tired of the War on Terrorism**"



George W. Bush, October 17, 2001

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Bush and Cheney offer us a **very grim** vision of the future – War, which will provoke more terrorist attacks, which will be met with more war, which will inspire more terrorism. **Sensible people** will not be willingly dragged down this **path of violence and retaliation**.



Thousands march to protest the bombing of Afghanistan, Washington, D.C., Oct. 2001

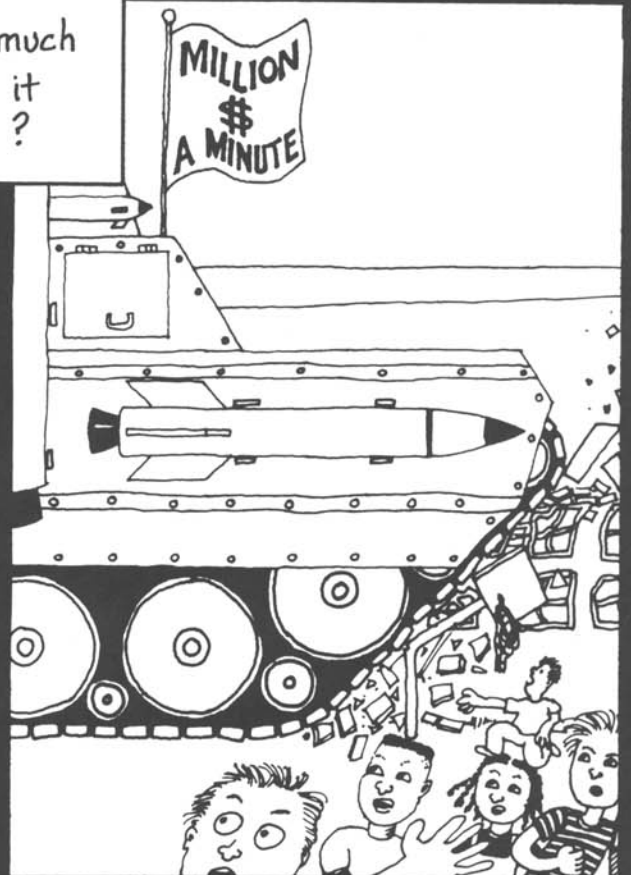
The “War on Terrorism” continues an **inglorious history** of militarism. **Militarism** is the bloody attendant of **empire**. Do we really want to allow this tradition to continue?



As they whip up **war fever** and ask you to put your life on the line, whether in a **bomber** in the skies over the Middle East or as a potential **bomb victim** in New York, ask yourself...

What is this **addiction to war** doing to the people of the U.S. and the world?

How much does it cost?



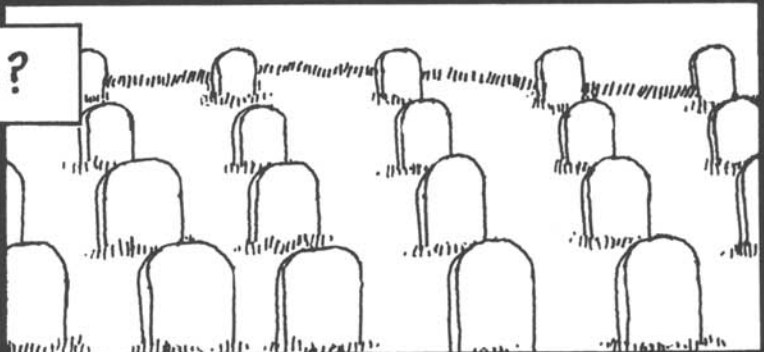
Who's going to profit?



Who's going to pay?



And who's going to die?



Think about it.
Do something about it.

Kick out the war junkies!



How can we do that?

That's up to us to figure out!



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