

# Darrell G. Moen, Ph.D.

Promoting Social Justice, Human Rights, and Peace

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## **BREAKING THE BANK: Mobilization for Global Justice, May 2000**

(77 min.)

Transcribed by Darrell G. Moen

**Caption insert:** In April 2000 the *International Monetary Fund (IMF)* and *World Bank* met in Washington D.C. Tens of thousands of activists came together to protest for global justice.

**Cesar Alvarez** (*Oberlin College* student): This demonstration - it's so much about so many different issues and so many people have been able to rally around it. That's why I think in a lot a ways it's so incredible and that's why I hope it will be effective.

**Jodi Dodd** (*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*): For this day, at this time, this intersection is ours.

**Anita Wheeler** (*Young Communist League*): I'm here to demonstrate against the *IMF* and the *World Bank* for the injustices they've done to people all over the world, and for the injustices they've done to the people here in the U.S.

**Tina Wheeler** (Baltimore, Maryland): I am protesting against the *IMF*. It is not right, it is unchristian.

**Brad Janzen** (*University of Oklahoma* student): We're not about property destruction; we're not about hurting people or violence and stuff. We're just about non-violent resistance to the corporate aggression that they're trying to push on us.

**Irene Tung** (*Brown University* student): In a large meeting yesterday at the convergence spot, we coordinated with representatives from thousands of other groups as to what strategically would be our position, and we came and we took control of this [intersection].

**Unidentified participant:** She just talked to the police and communicated to them that this is a non-violent protest, and they said that they're not going to do anything to us anytime soon and they understand that this is a non-violent protest.

**Pratap Chatterjee** (journalist): The *World Bank* and the *International Monetary Fund* were set up shortly after the Second World War, and the initial idea was to solve the problems of reconstructing Europe after the war and eventually the idea was broadened to have them provide help for countries in the Third World to develop and become industrialized and get rid of poverty.

**Anuradha Tittal** (Policy Director, Food First): The *World Bank* is a development agency. The *World Bank* was supposed to provide loans to developing countries, i.e. countries that were just getting their independence from the colonizers. They were supposed to provide those loans to assist those countries in their development projects. The *International Monetary Fund* was set up, not as a development agency, but its job was to establish monetary financial stability.

**Randy Hayes** (President, *Rainforest Action Network*): Once the economies were rebuilt in Europe and in Japan, then it (*World Bank*) looked to this "poverty elimination" mission. Well, bullshit. Let's call it what it is. It's a false policy. It's not really what their mission is all about. Their mission is about economic development for the betterment of the rich.

**Stan Andrews** (former World Bank consultant): Back in 1982, I was asked to do consultancy as a member of a team. When I went over and saw, at that time in 1982, how they could take hundreds of millions of dollars and basically throw it down a rat hole in terms of helping poor people, [I was shocked]. The only beneficiaries that I saw from that project were American and [other] multinational firms.

**Pratap Chatterjee** (journalist): It is a "for-profit" bank and it has been very successful in making profits. It makes a billion dollars plus a year in profits.

**Anuradha Mittal** (Policy Director, Food First): We have to look at what some of us are calling the "Unholy Trinity" of the *World Bank*, the *IMF*, and the *World Trade Organization* (*WTO*).

**Pratap Chatterjee** (journalist): The *WTO* opens the barriers for trade, the *World Bank* provides the finance for these development projects, and as a result of the fact that everybody is competing against each other, the prices drop and the *IMF* steps in to provide short-term finance. And the only way they do that is by cutting the money that governments spend on health services, education, nutrition, and [other social services].

**Trevor Ngwane** (*Town Councilman, Soweto, South Africa*): The *World Bank* and the *IMF* are recommending the privatization of water and electricity, and running local government basic social services along for-profit, commercial lines. This has led to job losses and the increase in the price of these basic services.

**Gisella Herrera** (UCSB student): The *IMF* and the *World Bank* are undemocratic. They don't allow the people in Third World countries to democratically participate in making decisions. They impose these structural adjustment programs that pretty much abolish social benefits.

**Caption insert:** Structural Adjustment Programs: Devalue currency; reduce social spending; privatize utilities and services; remove subsidies and price controls.

**Dr. Ana Leung** (*Health Alliance for Democracy, Philippines*): Always, when the *IMF* makes loans, there's the structural adjustment program. And part of that is, you have to cut down on health services and social services in general. So, concretely in health services we only have 2% of the national budget compared to 30% to 50% of the budget for paying back the debt [to the *IMF*]. So, there goes the budget! Concretely, that means that for every Filipino there's only one cent per day in the budget [for health services], so what can you get for one cent?!?

**Pratap Chatterjee** (journalist): The World Bank makes more money than it pays out. Therefore, for all the money it puts out, it gets more money back into its coffers. There's also net outflow of natural resources such as timber, gold, oil, copper, and also agricultural products, which are exported as the expense of depleting the soils and degrading the environments of Third World countries.

**Anuradha Mittal** (Policy Director, *Food First*): Because of *World Bank* policies, because of *IMF* structural adjustment programs, as the local currencies are devalued, there is no market for American [or other foreign] products. It is going to hit the U.S. [as well as other developed countries]. Secondly, because the wages are being driven down in other countries, the jobs are moving overseas.

**Oronto Douglas** (Deputy Director, *Environmental Rights Action, Nigeria*): Because of the policies which have not helped my people [but hurt them], policies which have destroyed our forests, policies that have encouraged the building of dams, the canalization of rivers, policies which encourage the impoverishment of our people and have led to the wiping out of our middle class, policies which are creating social injustice on a mass scale, policies which are encouraging anti-democracy to emerge; it is those policies that we have come to protest peacefully and non-violently so that the world can be a better place for us all.

**Unidentified participant:** Here in we have the lowest incomes, the highest infant mortality rates in the United States, right here in Washington D.C., and that is indirectly the consequence of the policies of the *IMF*, and the *World Bank*. They do no good, they're harmful.

**Unidentified participant:** My name is David. I live on the streets of Washington D.C. I'm homeless.

**[Interviewer]:** What's it like to live in D.C., the cradle of democracy in the United States?

**[David]:** It sucks! It sucks because there are no resources [for people like me]. There's nothing for the homeless in D.C. There's nothing for poor people in D.C. It's a fallacy, a fake out. All these beautiful buildings are not for poor people. They're for the rich. And the rich keep getting richer and the poor keep getting poorer. That's where we are - sleeping on the streets, waking up hungry, no place to bathe, that's it.

**Unidentified participant:** African Americans specifically really need to recognize how this is affecting us. I know people in this community are feeling intruded upon and asking why are they [protesters] coming into our community where we live and disrupting things and causing this huge police presence. This is just a preface to what is really going to go down if we allow the *IMF/World Bank* to persist in continuing what they're doing.

**Unidentified participant:** What's the "contract on America" about? What's "welfare reform" about? You know, that's our own form of structural adjustment that we need to be fighting against in our own country.

**Unidentified participant:** We're talking about all this stuff that they're doing in other countries, but this country is messing up first. If we don't fix this country, then we don't get anything fixed. You know, we can come down here and march all day long, but if we don't talk about the atrocities in this country - since this country is a "trendsetter" - then we've got problems.

**Unidentified participant:** You know, we have to look beyond the drug dealers in our communities, we have to look higher than the police officers on the street. What is motivating us? There's an agenda here. And we, as people of color, have to look beyond our own noses and recognize that we're not an island in these communities in the United States. These types of things [poverty, malnutrition, unemployment, social injustice] are affecting people all around the world. We're having SAPs (structural adjustment programs) imposed on our minority communities all across the United States. It's unbelievable what they're doing to our own people, and we need to recognize that and combat it.

**Unidentified participant:** We're having a standoff with the police. We're trying to push the barricade back a little bit further. As you know, the delegates are meeting in there, and we want them to stop meeting because we believe that they are instituting policies, which are oppressing millions and millions of people.

**Unidentified participant:** We're fighting for justice and we have "truth" on our side. And the only recourse the police have is to use repressive tactics to try and stop us. And that only turns against them later, you know, because we're totally open about what we're doing and why we're doing it. Because we know that we are doing is right.

**Unidentified participant:** The reports we're getting are that it's been really successful, that we've secured a perimeter completely around the *World Bank* and *IMF* buildings.

**Unidentified participant:** This is where all the activist groups and affinity groups from all over the country and all over the world, there's a lot of people here from many different countries, come in and coordinate their efforts into one large action so that no one is working blind - everyone has a plan and can interact.

**Unidentified participant:** We ask people if they can follow our four guidelines, which are: no violence; no weapons, no drugs, and no destruction.

**Unidentified participant:** We're going to give you a scenario: demonstrators who are just trying to do their business at the convergence center and police officers who are refusing to allow back in to do what you have to do in the convergence center. And we want you to try to use your non-violent responses to those police and see how you can discuss it [the situation with them]. After we do this, we're going to break and talk about what was successful and what was not.

**Unidentified participant:** I'm a medic and I'm just supporting those people in the line. Somebody has to help them, so everybody has a job.

**Unidentified participant:** The only way to make change, I think, is to be on the streets.

**Randy Hayes** (President, *Rainforest Action Network*): I'm talking about people power. I'm not talking about the environmental movement in the sense of environmental organizations or the human rights movement in the sense of human rights organizations. We need hundreds of thousands of people turning out for these demonstrations. We need the kind of show of force that it took to end the Vietnam War.

**Unidentified participant:** Historically, labor unions always took direct action. Before there was the *National Labor Relations Act*, that's all we had so we had to do sit downs, shut downs, whatever. And I actually see some movement in the *AFL-CIO* towards being a little more militant and doing direct actions. Of course, on the waterfront that's basically what we rely on [to have our demands met].

**Unidentified participant:** This is what democracy looks like. This is what democracy feels like. Because there's a whole bunch of people here today that are all working on consensus. We're all working together to try to change something that we don't believe is right.

**[chanting]:** Hey hey! Ho ho! The *IMF* has got to go!

**Unidentified participant:** The important thing for me has not just been the actions, which have been crucial in shutting things down, but it's been the way we've been doing it. It's unlike anything I've ever seen. It's the most collective form of decision-making I've ever encountered.

**Unidentified participant:** There is no organizing structure. Everyone is equal. We make all decisions by consensus which means that we all agree or the decision isn't made.

**Unidentified participant:** It's organized by most sectors of civil society: the Direct Action Network, the labor unions, students, people of faith, people from all walks of life, and people from many countries on all continents around the world. They're all with us here, right now.

**Unidentified participant:** That to me is what building a movement is all about. It's not just about shutting something down, it's what we're creating in the process.

**Unidentified participant:** It's really about a way of making people look and see and talk about it, and take some motion towards taking it seriously.

**Unidentified participant:** This entire thing is a really good model for democracy because they've put on so much education for us and they've put on so many trainings and workshops, and people who didn't really know what they were doing came down and learned a lot. We've learned how to be non-violent, and we've learned legal training, and we've learned how to put this on without anybody getting hurt and get our message across - that's really what's most important. It's the perfect model - to educate people to make change.

**Unidentified participant:** This morning, the Mobilization for Global Justice warehouse location where we've been building giant and beautiful puppet images of

both the future we'd like to have and the repression of the World Bank and IMF has been raided by the police.

**Unidentified police officer:** We had actually been getting, from what I understand from our inspectors, citizens complaints about the activity in the building all week long.

**Deborah Thomas** (*Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner*): We, the immediate neighborhood that they're in, is not complaining and have no problems [with them], so where's all the confusion coming from? I'm not getting any answers, either.

**Unidentified participant:** Why did they wait until we have several thousand people arriving in town the day before the event, when we've been going for a week?

**Vandana Shiva** (*scientist and author*): The police just enter without a search warrant, locks up the place with all the possessions, the handful of possessions the young people have traveled with across this country. None of them have loads of money to feed themselves; the food here is the community kitchen and they're being denied the access to feeding themselves.

**Unidentified participant:** This is one of the controversial peppers that were brought out from the kitchen area. The police raided the convergence center earlier today claiming that we possessed chemicals that could possibly be used to make pepper spray. And to be quite truthfully honest, this looks like a harmless pepper to me.

**Vandana Shiva** (*scientist and author*): Many of them have their clothes left inside. They're standing in the cold rain and are wet. And medicine, there was a woman crying in the other community hall because she needs the medication that's locked up here. And they [the police] release a few puppets to make a little joke of this?

**Antonia Juhasz** (*American Lands Alliance*): Somebody's very scared of our big puppets. And they should be, because our big puppets spread the message of coming together, of peace, of joy, of solidarity, of how you can come together in a protest and have it be a beautiful thing. So they should be scared of our puppets.

**Asia Russell** (*ACT UP -Philadelphia*): We're in front of the *IMF*, a good distance from it - blocked from it. AIDS activists are here today locking down to a giant image of the glutton *IMF*. In Latin American and in sub-Saharan Africa, two regions of the globe where the *IMF* structural adjustment programs and crippling debt burden are actually killing people with HIV, we are calling on the Clinton administration, on the U.S. government, to use its voice (as the largest stakeholder in the *IMF*) to call for unconditional debt relief to save the lives of people in poverty living with HIV who are being killed by the policies of the *IMF*.

**John Bell** (*ACT UP* - Philadelphia): As a recovering drug addict and alcoholic myself, I'm also HIV positive. When I came to Philadelphia I was 144 pounds and had lost the will to live. I went through a religious experience that allowed me to be okay, and when I came through that experience, there was *ACT UP*. I've been only doing one thing since 1997. I've been learning the tactics of activism, of civil disobedience, of getting involved and taking it back to the community I come from.

**Thamon Pierce** (*One Day at a Time*): We go around and we go to all the recovery houses. We do teach-in presentations to let people know what is going on with the *IMF*.

**Unidentified participant:** Most of all, we don't want the fun to overshadow the importance of this event. Millions of people around the world are dieing for pennies. Because of pennies! And I don't think that should happen. I myself suffer from AIDS. I'm fortunate to have contracted AIDS here in America where I have access to the medication. But what about the people who don't?

**[Caption insert]:** AIDS is the leading cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa. 70% of people with AIDS today live in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1999 alone, 2.2 million Africans died of AIDS.

**Unidentified participant:** I would like for everyone to look around you and imagine that every one in five of you are HIV positive. Now imagine that you have no access to treatment. Then you will die.

**Monica Moorehead** (Organizer, *International Action Center*): This is what's very worrisome because what happened on Saturday was an example of how a police state functions and reacts. And we're talking about organized police terror. Well, the International Action Center called a rally and march in front of the *Department of Justice* several weeks back to protest the prison-industrial complex and show our solidarity with all the other actions that were taking place in D.C. targeting the role of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We didn't apply for a march permit because you don't have to apply for a march permit if you're going to be walking on the sidewalk.

**Charles Ramsey** (*D.C. Police Chief*): We asked them to please get up on the sidewalk and they refused and tried to take the street, and we took action.

**Peter Mhyre** (*Independent Media Center*): I turned around and saw the police fan out behind us and then trap and blockade us on both ends.



**Monica Moorehead** (Organizer, *International Action Center*): We knew right then and there that the negotiations were over, that they had planned this all along, probably the orders came right from the top - including the mayor.

**Anthony A. Williams** (*Mayor, Washington D.C.*): Well, I think it was certainly legal, certainly proper, certainly preventative and proactive.

**Vanessa** (student/protester): But the strategy was to decrease us on the streets by far, and to get rid of the strong leadership that was at that protest.

**Brandy Weir** (student, *UC Santa Barbara*): We got corralled up like animals. They didn't tell us that they were going to arrest us. They gave us no option to leave.

**Belinda Lafosse** (*Miami Workers' Center*): We sat there. We stood there. We didn't move. We didn't make trouble. But they still went on and arrested everybody - [more than] 600 people got arrested.

**Anthony A. Williams** (*Mayor, Washington D.C.*): I think whenever you're dealing with a situation like this, you're going to be up on the boundary line in terms of constitutional rights.

**Belinda Lafosse** (*Miami Workers' Center*): They didn't tell us anything. They didn't charge us with anything. They just told us \$50 to get out. That was it.

**Monica Moorehead** (Organizer, *International Action Center*): We just felt that it was extortion. Besides the sensory deprivation, the torture, and the dehumanization process.

**Unidentified participant**: And everyone's sitting there with their wrists tied to their ankles. If you wanted to move around and make a phone call, you have to like hop across the room on one leg. It was the most humiliating, dehumanizing experience I've ever had in my entire life.

**Michael Madden**(*attorney*): We found out that they [police] were telling people, giving them legal advice in fact, and saying that if they did not post and forfeit, that they would be held there until Monday or Tuesday. They said that they had tents out back and that people would be sleeping out in the rain. And it just wasn't true.

**Charles Ramsey** (*D.C. Police Chief*): There was no injury to anyone. Everyone's been treated in a very respectful manner.

**Monica Moorehead** (Organizer, *International Action Center*): They put you in these plastic handcuffs and the pain is just excruciating. It really is. In fact, the majority of

people were put on school buses all night long - anywhere from between six hours and 12 hours.

**Unidentified participant:** I'd been handcuffed from 6pm to until I was un-cuffed at 7:00 this morning.

**Monica Moorehead** (Organizer, *International Action Center*): The 678 people who were arrested were political prisoners. Yes, absolutely. Those arrests were based on our political beliefs.

**Unidentified participant:** We don't want to just shut down the *IMF* and the *World Bank*, we want to shut down government in general. We believe that capitalism can't be reformed. We're out here today to show support for people who are locked down, to help them out, to support them in the streets. We're staying mobile so the police can't clamp down on us.

**Unidentified participant:** I think people see, you know, people dressed in black with their faces covered - there's that scary image of them. But if you took two minutes to talk with any one of those people, you would realize that they are intelligent and they care about what's going on or else they wouldn't put themselves on the line.

**Unidentified participant:** The police try to be very divisive, and say that there is a fringe militant group that doesn't represent everyone's interests. Right now, the *Mobilization for Global Justice* and all the people who came to Washington to protest have come up with a consensus to make a lot of space for different tactics and different politics. I know we can all work together, and the coalitions that we form are going to change this world.

**Unidentified participant:** I think there's a lot of people who see the "Black Walk" [anarchists] as their safety net in a lot of ways. At the protest I saw some negative reactions, but I also saw some reactions like, "Oh, there're here. Now we know what to do. Now we know how to set up our barricade." These are kids who aren't afraid to actually drag dumpsters into the street and make them part of the human barricade. They're not afraid to move cars into the street. They're not afraid to stand there and push at the police line.

[chanting: "No justice, no peace!"]

[chanting: "The people united, will never be defeated!"]

**Unidentified participant:** The police were a lot more prepared here than they were in Seattle [during the protests against the *World Trade Organization*].

**Unidentified participant:** Everyone is too divided to go back down there. As long as we keep getting our asses kicked because there's so many [police] beating us. They have people trapped over there and held down.

**Unidentified bystander:** They're environmentalists, they're people who are concerned about Third World debt, you know, they aren't part of corporate America, that's all. I'm certainly much older than you guys are, but man, this is really something.

**Unidentified participant:** We can see by the police repression in this city today that it's coming closer to home. So to resist the *IMF* and the *World Bank* is not just about liberating the Third World, not just to fight for human rights and the environment elsewhere, it's making this country safer for its citizens.

**Cesar Alvarez** (*Oberlin College student*): Well, it's exciting. We're actively stopping people from getting in there, and forcing not only the media but the delegates who are actually having to deal with us, to read our signs and deal with what we're saying.

**Pat Thomas** (*Service Employees International Union*): I'm really energized by seeing so many young people come out and be committed to a cause, whatever it might be. And it very much shares the cause that we in organized labor are committed to.

**Zack de la Rocha** (*Rage Against the Machine*): I think people are waking up to the idea that their so-called democracy has been taken over by institutions like the *IMF*.

[**chanting:** "Hey, howya doin'? Sorry you can't get through. Leave you name and number, and we'll get back to you."]

**Brad Janzen** (*University of Oklahoma student*): It's been very democratic, sometimes even painfully so because we're really working it out. We basically came to a consensus that to really hold a blockade was to hold it completely [without exceptions]. It would be too easy for delegates to come in with press passes.

[**mainstream media babble**]

**Unidentified cameraman:** We're channel 7, the *ABC* affiliate here. I think that content is driven by sponsorship. I think that you won't find much labor news in the news. That's because it doesn't serve the interests of the people who pay for the news shows.

**Debra:** For the most part, what they've been doing is just portraying us as just a bunch of kids who are just looking for fun on the weekend and not really thinking about the political circumstances of what's going on or anything. For the most part, what they've been doing is just portraying the protesters and the protest, but they haven't had anything about structural adjustment policies, anything about non-governmental

organizations (NGOs) that are corporate-based and are doing all this stuff that we're fighting against.

**Demond Burks:** The only thing I see in the media is ignorant, rioting kids. From a racial standpoint, that's all you see with Black kids - ignorant, rioting Black kids.

**John Stassi** [quoting from a newspaper article]: When asked about it, Police Chief Charles H. Ramsey said, "Witnesses may have been fooled by demonstrators dressed as police and wielding batons."

**Susan Sarandon** (*actress and activist*): I think the media have been unfair. I think they've been patronizing and uneducated and making it seem as if there's no reason why all these people should be here together, as if the fragmentation is in some way a sign of weakness. In fact, [the protesters] they are incredibly well informed and know what they're doing and are very well organized. But they [media] start off calling them rioters and then go downhill from there.

**Unidentified participant:** I wish the media would try and stay more objective, but you know it's not going to happen. It's the media for Christ's sake.

**Tom Sherwood** (*National NBC correspondent*): Broken glass is always more exciting video than people sitting and talking about "beyond Seattle." And that's the true nature of the media business.

[**Caption insert:** About 90% of prime-time TV is owned by 8 corporations: CBS; Disney; General Electric; News Corporation (Fox); Sony; Time Warner; Universal; Viacom]

## **BREAKING THE BANK II: Mobilization for Global Justice, May 2000**

(77 min.)

Transcribed by Darrell G. Moen

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**Walden Bello** (*Focus on the Global South*): The *World Bank* was very much involved with the Suharto [former dictator of Indonesia] regime in Indonesia. Its resources (and everybody now acknowledges that there was a great deal of corruption with *World Bank* resources in Indonesia) helped prop up Mr. Suharto.

**[Caption insert:** Indonesia's army is accused of genocide against the people of East Timor.]

Walden Bello (Focus on the Global South): The World Bank was one of the chief backers of Mr. Marcos in the Philippines in terms of providing [financial] resources. The World Bank in South Korea in the years of the dictatorships provided tremendous resources that were very much involved in keeping the military dictatorship in that country going.

**Unidentified participant:** Globalization is doing two things. It's promoting war and it's providing the means to wage war. So in the first place, you have the *World Bank*, the *IMF*, the *WTO*, which are the main vehicles for globalization, restraining governments, promoting unfair trade, driving down human rights, and really destroying the fabric of what is required for healthy communities (particularly in the developing world, I mean it has that effect here as well, but really has that effect in the Third World).

**Walden Bello** (*Focus on the Global South*): They were lending projects, which were structured within an authoritarian, technocratic sort of context that resulted in disempowering local communities and empowering authoritarian governments. This is the sort of record the World Bank has had. And you cannot just reverse that record with just a few words like "We're now for anti-poverty," because the essence of these programs such as "structural adjustment," "liberalization," "deregulation," "privatization" of the doctrinaire sort remains the same. It is just the rhetoric that has changed.

**Unidentified participant:** There are 36 wars in the world that are going on right now and all of those wars are civil wars, largely as a result of those states breaking down, falling apart. Many of these wars, there has been a history of *IMF* intervention that you can find if you go back and look through the history, you can find those connections. When you have, a breakdown of what we call human security, when people don't have clean water, when they don't have a proper education, when they're denied basic human rights, and then the state even begins to break down itself in some of these cases, what you have are the conditions for war.

This is an actual advertisement from *Boeing Corporation*. This is an Apache helicopter with Hellfire missiles attached. This helicopter costs \$18 million to build. Look at the caption, it's in an actual magazine that's distributed to governments and militaries. It says, "It keeps the peace. In a dominating, intimidating sort of way." This is the face of the new global economy. This is the power that enforces the inequality that globalization produces. This technology can only be made by a handful of countries, industrialized countries that spend billions and billions of dollars on military spending. In this particular case, the United States.

**[Caption insert:** The World Bank has funded over 600 dam projects and displaced over 10 million people worldwide. In 1975, The Guatemalan department of electricity, *INDE*, began the Chixoy dam project. In 1976, *INDE* announced to the people of Rio Negro that the Chixoy Project was going to displace their community.]

**Carlos Chen:** The *World Bank* gave loans to build the dam, which destroyed our community. The community never wanted to leave their land - ever. *INDE* promised to the community that they would build us nice homes, give us good land, create a fishing cooperative, and build a bridge across the dam so the cattle could cross the river. Tons of promises. But it was a falsehood, there was nothing. Some people received a minimal sum to cover their lost crops. They bought things like cattle and horses with this money, but these things were later taken by the civil defense and the army.

**[Caption insert:** Between February and September of 1982, 369 people were murdered by the military and the paramilitary - more than half the community's entire population. At the time of this violence, the filling of the Chixoy Reservoir was about to submerge Rio Negro.]

**Carlos Chen:** My wife urged me to hide in the mountains. She told me that I couldn't stay in the house because they killed her father, her brother, and many people.

**[Caption insert:** On March 13, 1982, Carlos' wife, along with 177 Rio Negro women and children were brutally tortured and murdered in the hills near the village.]

**Carlos Chen:** The children screaming, gun shots, everything that happened there. On March 14, we arrived at the site of the massacre where I saw lots of blood, shells, and cigars they had used to torture the women, clothes and kids' toys scattered. So that day, all the survivors left for good. We went to the mountains, and nobody was left [in Rio Negro]. I thought the rest of my family would survive because they were women and children. I thought the army or the patrols wouldn't kill them. On March 13, the moment I saw that they had killed them, I decided to end my life. Then, I realized that killing myself is not the answer. So I decided to defend my life so that one day, I would tell [the world] what had happened to my family.

**[Caption insert:** On April 16, 2000, Carlos Chen came to Washington D.C. to ask for reparations.]

**Don Kegley** (*United Steelworkers of America*, Spokane, WA): These corporations are moving all their capital through the *IMF* and *World Bank* to Third World countries, and then exploiting the workforce there.

**Michael Moore** (TV personality): Good afternoon. We've just been told that because of the demonstrations in the streets today, the *IMF* was unable to start their meeting. You have one vote and I have one vote, all right? When it comes to our economy, we're cut out, we're not part of that [decision-making process]. We do not have economic democracy in this country.

**Gerald McEntee** (*President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees*): We are united in our goal - to oppose the boundless greed of the global economy and we've got to get rid of the Republican right-wing in the Congress of the United States.

**Kendra Fox-Davis** (*President, United States Student Association*): The impact globalization has had on students internationally is being experienced by students in this country as well. We are also burdened with debt - it's just called student loan debt. Students are workers. And so on behalf of students, I want to share my tremendous respect and solidarity for the trade unionists who are in the crowd today because together we are building an incredible movement.

**George Becker** (*President, United Steelworkers of America*): The arrest of the students and activists is shameful for this nation. And they refuse to let you exercise your constitutional right to protest. This is the power of a corporate state. You can't fight these corporations by yourself. They're too powerful and too big. It takes groups like this, everybody coming together. And even then, it's a hell of a battle.

**Thomas** (Chesapeake, Maryland): This protest is very important because capitalism is destroying the country little by little.

**Brad Janzen** (*University of Oklahoma student*): Well, it was an incredible display of unity that capped off an incredible weekend of organizing. I think it's been a huge success.

**Anita Wheeler** (*Young Communist League*): Different organizations, church groups, labor, and we all came together with one common focus and that's a very good feeling and this is the first time in my life I've ever felt anything like that. I know I'm still young, but I think it's really something good to have early on, so you know it's possible and there is hope.

**Vandana Shiva** (*Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Natural Resource Policy*): The Green Revolution, which is really the introduction of chemical agriculture under forced circumstances to countries like India, was 100% financed by the World Bank.

**Peter Rosset** (*Institute for Food and Development Policy*): The kind of folks who were behind the Green Revolution at the beginning were the *Ford Foundation* and the *Rockefeller Foundation* in the 1950s who were concerned that if the issue of hunger in the Third World wasn't addressed, then poor people in those countries would be ripe for communist subversion.

**Anuradha Mittal** (*Institute for Food and Development Policy*): In the 1960s, the *World Bank* was very happy to provide the Indian government with loans for setting up chemical industries that would produce fertilizers and pesticides for the use within the country. And of course, the amount was not enough, so they also helped us with loans to be able to bring in international companies such as *Union Carbide*.

[chanting: "*Union Carbide*, you can't hide. We accuse you of genocide!"]

**Peter Rosset** (*Institute for Food and Development Policy*): So what they did was that they took the advances in U.S. agronomy and crop breeding, which were basically breeding new varieties of crops that were more responsive to chemicals (chemical fertilizers, chemical pesticides, and controlled irrigation water) and bring those to the Third World.

**Vandana Shiva** (*Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Natural Resource Policy*): No farmer could take credit of any kind if he didn't buy the new seeds and the new chemicals. And internationally, India's foreign exchange borrowings went up three times just in one year of the Green Revolution.

**Anuradha Mittal** (*Institute for Food and Development Policy*): Once the farmers were used to it, the subsidies were taken away because the *World Bank* and the *IMF* were telling the Indian government that you have too many loans, you have a big debt, and we have to get rid of that debt.

**Marc Lappe** (*Center for Ethics and Toxics*): There were dramatic increases in yield as a result of the Green Revolution, mostly in the United States. In Third World countries like Mexico, India, and elsewhere, farmers initially had success but ultimately discovered, with the over-reliance on chemical pesticides and fertilizers, that they were contaminating water aquifers, that they were having chemical runoff that was creating havoc with neighboring estuaries and fields, and that they ultimately couldn't afford to maintain the irrigation levels and the scale of production which was dependent so much on the chemical infrastructure.

**Anuradha Mittal** (*Institute for Food and Development Policy*): On the one hand, you can say you have this fantastic chemical pesticide or whatever that will take care of your rice crop, but in the case of India which used to have 50,000 varieties of rice, every farming community would plant at least 20 or 30 varieties of rice, some of which



would have more resistance to drought or some of which would have more resistance to certain pests, so even if you had a severe pest infestation or even if you had a drought, you would still have a crop. But the fact that we have moved away into this single-minded, mono-culture we have actually made ourselves more open to destruction and more susceptible to droughts and pests and things like that.

**Nunu Kidane** (*International Development Exchange*): Human suffering must be alleviated. God knows that we have enough resources to feed everybody twice and then some. Then why is there poverty [and hunger]?

**Vandana Shiva** (*Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Natural Resource Policy*): If we have hunger today in larger quantities, it is because the systems of agricultural production that pretend to grow more food actually rob more food, both from nature and other species as well as from poorer people. If 800 million people are hungry today, every one of those 800 million people 10, 20, 30 years ago used to grow their food and feed themselves. World hunger is created by destroying peoples' capacity to feed themselves, which includes both the destruction of small farming systems as well as the destruction of peoples' entitlements. That's in the rich countries as well as in the poor countries.

**Nijoki Njoroge Njehu** (*50 Years is Enough Network - Kenya*): Across the street about a block and a half from here at the Safeway supermarket, I'm able to get Costa Rican bananas for 69 cents a pound. I grew up on a farm. I know what it takes to raise crops like bananas. And I'm very, very much aware that that pound of bananas costing me 69 cents a pound [here in the U.S.] means that someone has been massively exploited.

**Anuradha Mittal** (*Institute for Food and Development Policy*): So it brings us back to this whole "export economy" that developing nations have been told to move on. We have been told that we do not have to worry about growing our own food because of this technology, which is present in countries such as the United States - they can grow food for us. And yet what we find is that we are starving our own people because now we're either growing bananas or coffee or tulips for export. So that whole self-reliance that we had, in which the farmers grew food crops to feed their own communities, that principle has been thrown out of the window for the sake of the dollar economy or the export economy.

**Michael Moore** (gadfly): Well, I think Wall Street has already gotten the message. Why do you think there's such a massive police response to this here? It's not because they believe that kids are going to burn a couple of Starbucks down. That's not what's going on. That response is massive because they realize that this movement is way beyond their control.

**Jim Drew** (attorney): This particular demonstration is being treated altogether differently by the police. The *FBI* and the *Secret Service* are very much involved in planning the police strategy. The first arrests were on Wednesday where the police, actually the *FBI*, pulled over a car that had some chicken wire and some pipes. Things the police said would make sitting in streets more effective, but which are also equally useful for building puppets.

**Kent Richards** (Ashville, North Carolina): We were charged with possession of implements of crime and conspiracy to possess implements of crime. I felt confused. They didn't tell us as first why they were stopping us. They didn't tell me that I was under arrest. They didn't read me my rights.

**Jim Drew** (attorney): I'm sure that there is police dressed up as demonstrators, but they don't need to. They can just walk into the meetings. They're open. It's not a secret movement at all.

**Kent Richards** (Ashville, North Carolina): Well, it kind of scares me. We supposedly have the right to assemble, the right to protest, the right to free speech. But what I see going on here is a censorship of those rights before we have the chance to exercise those rights.

Jim Drew (attorney): There were many cracked heads. People that ended up bleeding because of attacks by police batons.

**April Flowers** (Hartford, Connecticut): People were marching and the cops came in from over there. And the people were just sitting there on their knees and the cops started beating on people. And a lady got slashed on her side. It was very hectic.

**Jim Drew** (attorney): What was intended this weekend was a classic example of civil disobedience, possibly sitting down in streets but non-violently. This is exactly the same thing that happened in the 1960s civil rights movement and the 1970s in the anti-war movement. That's been preempted and prohibited by the police, *Secret Service*, and *FBI*. That was their tactic on Sunday, to use violence against the demonstrators as opposed to arresting them. So there're going to be a lot of police brutality lawsuits. [at the *Legal Communication Center for the A16 Mobilization*]: All the legal observers that are out in the field who have cell phones call in and we then dispatch lawyers from here to those arrest sites.

**Volunteer** (*Legal Communication Center for the A16 Mobilization*): That's McPhearson Square, it's a park. You, in theory don't need a permit, but you know, that's gone out the window today.

**Stephon Wilcox** (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma): It's high time that today's young and old come together and say something about this travesty that's going on in society. We should never look down on people who are out here risking life and limb to make a statement and try to get things rolling and force change in the societies we live in.

**Unidentified participant:** Most people don't [get involved] in politics because politics is negativity. And if you can make it lively, it gives energy instead of draining energy.

**Unidentified participant:** Social movements build when the politics get into the theater and the theater gets into the politics.

**Unidentified participant:** We are making a visual metaphor that the IMF is the loan shark of the world.

**Unidentified participant:** There's something so uplifting about doing a kick line while we're being watched by snipers in a helicopter

**Unidentified participant:** I think art can do work in a way that yelling and screaming can't. I mean thoughts are one thing, but when you "feel" that something is right, that's when people move.

**Unidentified participant:** It feels good because sometimes it gets a little scary, and then you hear people shouting support and it makes you feel a lot better.

**Unidentified participant:** We've got more style, and for God's sake, we've got a marching band! Do the Feds have a marching band? I don't believe the police have a marching band.

**Unidentified participant:** I think music adds a really important element to what goes on here. It brings everyone together, and it pacifies some situations that could otherwise get really ugly and dangerous.

**Unidentified participant:** You can't get upset with the puppets. They're so non-threatening and so benign. So it shows that we're not out here to be hostile and not to be an adversary.

**Unidentified participant:** It's a festive atmosphere, like I said, it's a festival of resistance and we're going to demonstrate that not only do we have the power, we can also have fun.

**[taped interview question: "Do you believe that there's been an exclusion in photographs and film of your involvement in this so that the face that is shown is the face of White, middle America opposed to it being an international face?"]**

**Unidentified participant:** Just for once, you know, put the camera on people of color who are actually voicing their opinions and not looting some store and running away.

[**Chanting:** We are Africans! We are Africans! And we know what's happening!]

**Mali:** A lot of times we don't pay attention to what happens to our youth. What happens is that a lot of them have compared to the rest of the world. My father's from the Philippines, I have a lot of family in San Pablo and a lot of my relatives work in the sweatshop factories that *Nike* and other corporations have [in countries like the Philippines]. So they really have to work hard to earn a living, and girls are being employed there for like 14 cents an hour.

**Nisrin:** My life is political given who I am. I stepped foot into the United States being Sudanese, being Muslim, being Black. But the way I see my activism is representing people who can't do what I'm doing right now. It's my responsibility to do that.

**Minda (*Just Act*):** I think it's kind of sad that there's not more youth of color here. I think we need to represent more for ourselves because you come out here and there's a lot of White folks and that's cool, but we really need to represent [our concerns] because we're the communities that are being the most affected by globalization, both in our homelands and here in our communities in the U.S.

**Luis (*Direct Action Network*, Los Angeles):** Like if you go to the [*Direct Action Network*?], they'll ask "Why don't we have people of color here?" And their answer is, "Oh, we're recruit more." Like what, you're going to bring like six people of color in and [that'll make it all right]? That's their idea of how to deal with issues of "democracy" within the organization or of people of color taking part in a movement that is really "their" movement, right? How do you hold people accountable who never evaluate themselves? I mean, there's no evaluation. We're the only ones who are going to evaluation this, right? After Seattle [demonstrations against the *WTO*], who really evaluated it?

**Lily (*Just Act*):** We can't wait for them to wake up or come to the realization that maybe we're excluding some people. We have to let them know that we're feeling alienated and we don't want to feel alienated. We want to feel that we're all a part of this movement.

**Demetrio (*League of Filipino Students*, Chicago):** Solidarity is very important, but solidarity is nothing when you do not know what your role is as an individual and as a community.

**Unidentified participant:** Right now, everyone is lined up outside of the *World Bank* center and we are trying to block delegates from coming through. The *Peoples'*

*Assembly March* joined with anarchists to block this intersection. Right now, we're just blocking this intersection and trying to keep delegates and police from pushing us out of the way. There's a line of police on horses trying to get us to move, but we're not moving.

**Emery** (*Next Movement*): Although we weren't able to completely shut down the IMF and World Bank meetings, we were able to make a statement to America and to the world that youth of color are concerned about how globalization is happening. And we're not going to let it happen in the way it's happening in which it's [further] marginalizing people who are already marginalized.

**Hop Hopkins** (*Brown Collective*): They wanted to be invited. Well, nobody invited us. Why didn't we get invited? Invited? Why did you need to be invited to the liberation struggle? Either you recognize that you're a part of it and you're already there, or you don't.

**Unidentified participant**: We share a view and we share a dream and a vision of a world that is very different from the world that we live in today. I'm not afraid of globalization. The task that we have at hand is to change globalization, to make it just, to make it globalization that does not pit workers against other workers, that does not destroy the environment, that does not end up deciding who rules and who dies. It is a globalization that serves human needs and that does not make people, the environment, and other kinds of resources goods and services to be traded.

**Unidentified participant**: I do think that the unions are starting to look at this from a global standpoint. I think that it's just a matter of time here before once they see the lack of democracy in this situation here in our nation's capital, that they will act. I hope that they call for a general strike, myself.

**Unidentified participant**: We're really building a movement here, and this is our political moment. And we're telling the world that we know what they're doing, what they're meeting about, what kinds of decisions they're making that are affecting our people, and that we're just not going to take it anymore.

**Unidentified participant**: It's the bad things that are being globalized like inequality, like environmental injustice, and so what we are trying to do is globalize ourselves and globalize our resistance to capital.

**Vandana Shiva**: Suddenly the world is hearing a different voice that's saying, the young people in this country do not want to participate in this. They are rejecting that system of privilege creation and saying, "We want a different world based on justice and equality. We want a different world that uses the scarce resources of this earth with respect and sustainability. To me, the most touching part of what's happening right now

is that the young people of America have voted against American imperialism and American consumerism which is what globalization is all about.

**Unidentified participant:** We've already succeeded. Whether that meeting goes on or not, people across middle America, people across this country are going to ask: What is the *IMF*? Why are so many people opposed to it? They're going to start asking questions and wonder about it. And the fact that this issue has been brought to public attention at all is a success.

**Unidentified participant: [interviewer:** The folks watching this video, what can they do?] One, they can stop watching the video and get up and do something. We need people to get actively involved, not just by words, we don't necessarily need your money. We need your bodies, your physical presence. Change comes by numbers, by the amount of people you see here. This is what will make a change.

**Unidentified participant:** It's become like a fever, a momentum. People are beginning to look at issues. It's not about a group of people trying to lock arms and just keep those delegates out, but we're seeing all the attacks and protests that concern every area of our lives. Guess what? We know that we need to resist, but more than that, we need to win. We've been resisting a long time. We're battling now to win.

**[caption insert:** We dedicate this program to Key Martin, 1944-2000, of *Peoples Video Network* and *International Action Center*, who died of complications from tear gas exposure in Seattle. He was an inspiration to video activists and a great comrade.]

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